

# THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

# THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

NEW EDITION

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF  
LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

**E. VAN DONZEL, B. LEWIS AND CH. PELLAT**

ASSISTED BY †C. DUMONT, GENERAL SECRETARY, G. R. HAWTING  
AND MISS M. PATERSON, EDITORIAL SECRETARIES (pp. 1-256)

**C. E. BOSWORTH, E. VAN DONZEL, B. LEWIS AND CH. PELLAT**

ASSISTED BY †C. DUMONT, GENERAL SECRETARY,  
AND MISS M. PATERSON, EDITORIAL SECRETARY (pp. 257-768)

ASSISTED BY F. TH. DIJKEMA, M<sup>LLE</sup> M. LEFORT AND M<sup>ME</sup> S. NURIT (pp. 769-1188)

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES

VOLUME IV

**IRAN—KHA**

THIRD IMPRESSION



LEIDEN

**E. J. BRILL**

1997



## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

*Members:* C. C. BERG, C. E. BOSWORTH, J. T. P. DE BRUIJN, CL. CAHEN, E. VAN DONZEL, J. VAN ESS, R. EITTINGHAUSEN, F. GABRIELI, E. GARCÍA GÓMEZ, G. LECOMTE, T. LEWICKI, B. LEWIN, B. LEWIS, FR. MEIER, V. L. MÉNAGE, R. PARET, *the late* J. PEDERSEN, CH. PELLAT, F. C. WIEDER.

*Associated members:* NAJI AL-ASIL, A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI, A. A. A. FYZEE, HALİL İNALCIK, ABD EL-AZIZ KHOWEITIR, İBRAHİM MADKOUR, G. H. NASR, M. TALBI, E. TYAN.

THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME OF THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM WAS MADE POSSIBLE IN PART THROUGH A GRANT FROM THE RESEARCH TOOLS PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES, AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL AGENCY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

The articles in this volume were published in double fascicules of 128 pages, the dates of publication being:

1973: fascs. 61-64, pp. 1-256

1976: fascs. 71-74, pp. 641-896

1974: fascs. 65-68, pp. 257-512

1977: fascs. 75-76, pp. 897-1024

1975: fascs. 69-70, pp. 513-640

1978: fascs. 77-78, pp. 1025-1188

This volume first published 1978  
2nd impression 1990

ISBN 90 04 05745 5

© Copyright 1978, 1997 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

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

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

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

## AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN VOLUME IV

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

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

- the late* A. ABEL, Université Libre, Brussels. 128.  
 A. M. ABU-HAKIMA, McGill University, Montreal. 314.  
 C. ADLE, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 702.  
 AZIZ AHMAD, University of Toronto. 171.  
 FEROS AHMAD, University of Massachusetts, Boston. 284, 286, 857.  
 S. MAQBUL AHMAD, Aligarh Muslim University. 994, 1083.  
*the late* M. AKDAĞ, Ankara. 499, 595.  
 MÜNİR AKTEPE, University of Istanbul. 194, 901.  
 HAMID ALGAR, University of California, Berkeley. 167, 696, 852, 854, 856, 857, 865.  
 J. W. ALLAN, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 1105.  
 ALİ ALPARSLAN, University of Istanbul. 1125, 1126.  
 GÜNAY ALPAY, University of Istanbul. 192.  
 A. ALTMANN, Brandeis University, Waltham. 111.  
 G. C. ANAWATI, Institut Dominicain, Cairo. 86, 277, 283.  
 A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI, Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi. 93, 177, 178, 197, 279, 280, 282, 283, 287, 508, 544, 545.  
 [A. J. ARBERRY, Cambridge]. 1074.  
 [C. VAN ARENDONK, Leyden]. 453, 1087.  
 RACHEL ARIÉ, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 355.  
 M. ARKOUN, University of Paris. 119.  
 R. ARNALDEZ, University of Paris. 120, 121, 255, 988.  
 [T. W. ARNOLD]. 368.  
 E. ASHTOR, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 463, 520, 627, 774.  
 O. ASLANAPA, University of Istanbul. 1159.  
 W. ATALLAH, University of Nancy. 496.  
 D. AYALON, Princeton University. 1100.  
 [F. BABINGER, Munich]. 737, 885.  
 G. BAER, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 206, 835, 894.  
 J. M. S. BALJON, University of Leyden. 916.  
 N. A. BALOCH, Islamabad. 535.  
 [W. BARTHOLD, Leningrad]. 113, 213, 611, 613, 627, 632, 671, 694, 699, 849, 850, 1020, 1181.  
 [H. BASSET, Rabat]. 656.  
 [R. BASSET, Algiers]. 316.  
 A. F. L. BEESTON, University of Oxford. 748, 819.  
 M. A. J. BEG, National University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. 548, 1100, 1162.  
 IRÈNE BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 777.  
 J. E. BENCHEIKH, University of Paris. 719, 929, 1009.  
 [MOH. BEN CHENEB, Algiers]. 327, 528, 964.  
 A. BENNINGSEN, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 724, 850.  
 M. BERGER, Princeton University. 1153.  
 NIYAZI BERKES, McGill University, Montreal. 170.  
 P. BERTHIER, Rabat. 684.  
 [H. BEVERIDGE]. 523, 915, 1022.  
 W. BJÖRKMAN, Uppsala. 409, 743, 807.  
 J. BLAU, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 303.  
 LUCIE BOLENS, University of Geneva. 660.  
 S. A. BONEBAKKER, University of California, Los Angeles. 81, 252, 327, 414, 864.  
 P. N. BORATAV, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 271, 603.  
 J. BOSCH-VILÀ, University of Granada. 117, 478, 665, 718, 739.  
 W. BOSWELL, Stanford University. 746.  
 C. E. BOSWORTH, University of Manchester. 107, 189, 208, 210, 218, 269, 350, 357, 358, 411, 467, 511, 538, 542, 547, 551, 573, 583, 584, 659, 669, 696, 754, 808, 815, 892, 910, 918, 989, 1060, 1065, 1068, 1097, 1143, 1160, 1182, 1188.  
 A. BOUDOT-LAMOTTE, University of Paris. 803.  
 G. H. BOUSQUET, University of Bordeaux. 280.  
 CH. BOUYAHIA, University of Tunis. 523, 867.  
 J. A. BOYLE, University of Manchester. 512, 553, 613, 809, 811, 915, 1010, 1029, 1133.  
 M. BRETT, University of London. 785.  
 [C. BROCKELMANN, Halle]. 377, 506, 515, 596, 737.  
 J. T. P. DE BRUIJN, University of Leyden. 52, 75, 445, 703, 1010, 1022, 1059, 1074.  
 [FR. BUHL, Copenhagen]. 1113.  
 R. M. BURRELL, University of London. 1172.  
 J. BURTON-PAGE, University of London. 277, 368, 513, 514, 534, 538, 667, 752, 908, 1024, 1159.  
 H. BUSSE, University of Kiel. 294, 295, 818.  
 CL. CAHEN, University of Paris. 276, 324, 377, 456, 484, 558, 628, 660, 692, 754, 815, 817, 818, 913, 1029, 1034, 1084, 1086.  
 J. CALMARD, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 695, 851.  
 M. CANARD, University of Algiers. 91, 684.  
 J. CARSWELL, University of Chicago. 1060.  
 Mme J. CHABBI, University of Paris. 1026.  
 M. ABDULLAH CHAGHATAI, Lahore. 1128.  
 P. CHALMETA, University of Madrid. 673, 712, 713.  
 K. N. CHAUDHURI, University of London. 455.  
 J. CHELHOD, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 79, 335, 372, 407, 596, 819, 1149.  
 M. CHOUËMI, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 411.  
 D. COHEN, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 302.  
*the late* G. S. COLIN, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 217, 456, 523.

- C. S. COON, Gloucester, Mass. 11.  
 R. CORNEVIN, Académie des Sciences d'Outre-mer. 314, 352, 539.  
 PATRICIA CRONE, University of Oxford. 929.  
 YOLANDE CROWE, London. 1171.  
 Mme B. CVETKOVA, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia. 92, 122.  
 F. DACHRAOUI, University of Tunis. 460.  
 U. DANN, Tel-Aviv University. 719.  
 R. H. DAVISON, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 461.  
 U. DEGHAN, Pahlavi University, Shiraz. 763, 773, 910.  
 G. DEVERDUN, Lycée Marcel Pagnol, Marseille. 379, 635, 686.  
 A. DIETRICH, University of Göttingen. 418, 773, 1084.  
 S. DIGBY, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 210, 219, 419, 818.  
 A. A. DIXON, Baghdad University. 494, 836, 856, 912.  
 B. DJURDJEV, University of Sarajevo. 575.  
 C. H. DODD, University of Hull. 792.  
 G. DOERFER, University of Göttingen. 918.  
*the late* J. ECKMANN, University of California, Los Angeles. 528.  
 C. J. EDMONDS, Heronden, Kent. 377.  
 A. S. EHRENKREUTZ, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. 419.  
 N. ELISSÉEFF, University of Lyons. 484, 724, 727, 728, 779, 1017.  
 J. VAN ESS, University of Tübingen. 372, 1164.  
 T. FAHD, University of Strasbourg. 92, 260, 264, 265, 270, 291, 406, 422, 763, 804, 1130, 1134.  
 [B. FARÈS, Cairo]. 78.  
 RAVAN FARHADI, Kabul. 1102.  
 A. FAURE, University of Rabat. 775.  
 G. FEHÉRVÁRI, University of London. 292.  
*the late* W. J. FISCHER, University of California, Berkeley. 312.  
 [A. FISCHER, Leipzig]. 839.  
 H. J. FISHER, University of London. 567, 750.  
 H. FLEISCH, Université St. Joseph, Beirut. 123, 182, 255, 273, 285, 400, 732, 895, 896.  
 BARBARA FLEMMING, University of Leyden. 211.  
 C.-H. DE FOUCHÉCOUR, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 715  
 B. FRAGNER, University of Freiburg im Breisgau. 758.  
 G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, Sheriff Hutton, York. 892.  
*the late* J. W. FÜCK, University of Halle. 91, 111, 289, 493.  
 F. GABRIELI, University of Rome. 1027.  
 A. GALLOTTA, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples. 1158.  
 T. GANDJEI, University of London. 188.  
 L. GARDET, Paris. 174, 272, 279, 367, 471, 488, 509, 616, 694, 698, 795, 806, 1109.  
 J. G. GIANOPOULOS, Athens. 777, 893.  
 ORHAN ŞAIK GÖKYAY, Çapa Eğitim Enstitüsü, Istanbul. 762.  
 P. B. GOLDEN, Rutgers University, Newark. 1181.  
 L. GOLVIN, University of Aix-Marseille. 478, 481.  
 NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ, Hacettepe University, Ankara. 574, 882, 885.  
 H. L. GOTTSCHALK, Vienna. 521.  
 O. GRABAR, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 289.  
 [A. GROHMANN, Vienna]. 420, 471, 780, 1131, 1135.  
 A. H. DE GROOT, University of Leyden. 970, 972.  
 A. GUIMBRETIERE, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 598, 711.  
 U. HAARMANN, University of Freiburg im Breisgau. 965.  
 [T. W. HAIG]. 672, 696.  
 SYLVIA G. HAIM, London. 776.  
 ABDUL-HADI HAIRI, University of California, Berkeley. 1028.  
 T. S. HALMAN, Princeton University. 545.  
 L. HAMBIS, Collège de France, Paris. 989, 1024, 1027.  
 S. MOINUL HAQ, Karachi. 924, 1019, 1020.  
 G. S. HARRIS, Washington. 125.  
 W. HARTNER, University of Frankfurt. 811.  
 MOHIBBUL HASAN, Aligarh. 710, 962.  
 G. R. HAWTING, University of London. 927.  
 J. A. HAYWOOD, University of Durham. 525.  
 G. HAZAI, Humboldt University, Berlin. 701, 849.  
 [W. HEFFENING, Bonn]. 690, 863.  
 [J. J. HESS]. 741.  
 C. J. HEYWOOD, University of London. 540, 589, 592, 658, 671, 739.  
 M. H. EL-HILA, Tunis. 356.  
 R. M. HILLENBRAND, University of Edinburgh. 863.  
 M. HISKETT, University of London. 551.  
 Mlle M. HOEXTER, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 835.  
 P. M. HOLT, University of London. 462, 553, 568, 687, 723, 853, 893, 953.  
 [E. HONIGMANN, Brussels]. 639.  
 J. F. P. HOPKINS, University of Cambridge. 482.  
 [J. HOROVITZ, Frankfurt]. 806.  
 [CL. HUART, Paris]. 420, 471, 706, 808, 813, 816.  
*the late* A. HUICI MIRANDA, Valencia. 254, 384, 467.  
 J. O. HUNWICK, American University, Cairo. 754.  
 H. R. IDRIS, University of Bordeaux. 341.  
 C. H. IMBER, University of Manchester. 871, 969.  
 H. İNALCIK, University of Chicago. 140, 179, 211, 248, 562, 566, 569, 571.  
 A. K. IRVINE, University of London. 79, 449, 1074, 1135.  
 J. IRWIN, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 472.  
 RIAZUL ISLAM, University of Karachi. 760.  
 H. ISNARD, Nice. 360.  
 F. İZ, Bosphorus University, Istanbul. 191, 196, 296, 599, 637, 682, 812, 853, 874, 884, 916, 933, 936, 988, 1137.  
 K. JAOUICHE, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 629.  
 M. A. JAZAYERI, University of Texas, Austin. 733.  
 R. JENNINGS, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. 846.  
 [B. JOEL]. 528.  
 T. M. JOHNSTONE, University of London. 681, 752.  
 J. JOMIER, Institut Dominicain, Cairo. 177, 322, 444.  
 F. DE JONG, Leyden. 952, 993.  
 G. H. A. JUYNBOLL, University of Exeter. 896, 1135, 1136.  
 [TH. W. JUYNBOLL, Utrecht]. 377.  
 GY. KÁLDY-NAGY, Budapest. 365, 375, 376.  
 ABDÜLKADİR KARAHAN, University of Istanbul. 716, 972.  
 A. G. KARAM, American University, Beirut. 968.  
 E. KEDOURIE, University of London. 966.  
 A. KELIDAR, University of London. 198.  
 J. B. KELLY, London. 954.  
 H. KINDERMANN, University of Cologne. 870.  
 M. J. KISTER, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 833, 897.  
 C. M. KORTEPETER, New York University, New York. 500, 630.  
 [T. KOWALSKI, Cracow]. 836.  
 [J. H. KRAMERS, Leyden]. 572, 970.  
 [F. KRENKOW]. 714, 912, 913.  
 G. S. VAN KRIEKEN, Haarlem. 1155.

- E. KURAN, Hacettepe University, Ankara. 113, 323, 456, 461, 611, 1153.  
 SUBHI Y. LABIB, Hamburg. 137, 643.  
 M. LAKHDAR, Rabat. 325, 373, 380, 522, 639, 736, 1085.  
 Mlle A. K. S. LAMBTON, University of London. 33, 105, 399, 476, 532, 790, 862, 950, 979, 1053, 1092.  
 J. M. LANDAU, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 1137.  
 H. LANDOLT, McGill University, Montreal. 991.  
 H. LAOUST, Collège de France, Paris. 990.  
 J. LASSNER, Wayne State University, Detroit. 87, 384, 387, 653, 676, 725, 729, 731, 832, 898.  
 G. LAZARD, University of Paris. 313.  
 G. LECOMTE, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 714.  
 Mme CH. LEMERCIER-QUELQUEJAY, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 848.  
*the late* R. LE TOURNEAU, University of Aix-Marseille. 179, 364, 482.  
 [G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, Rome]. 753, 1077, 1106.  
 T. LEWICKI, University of Cracow. 78, 867, 920.  
 B. LEWIS, Princeton University. 900, 919.  
 Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 254, 264, 269, 286, 355, 373, 377, 404, 405, 557, 690, 917.  
 M. LINGS, The British Library, London. 326.  
 D. P. LITTLE, McGill University, Montreal. 1187.  
 [M. LONGWORTH DAMES, Guildford]. 364, 534, 666, 908.  
 M. LOUCEL, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations orientales, Paris. 928.  
 A. LOUIS, Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes, Tunis. 652.  
 [D. B. MACDONALD, Hartford, Conn.]. 509, 664, 673.  
 D. N. MACKENZIE, University of Göttingen. 351, 527.  
 K. S. McLACHLAN, University of London. 7.  
 W. MADELUNG, University of Chicago. 108, 184, 206, 457, 610, 665, 703, 712, 838, 847, 1084, 1133.  
 J. MAJED, University of Tunis. 907.  
 J. MANDAVILLE, Dhahran. 680, 681.  
 R. MANTRAN, University of Aix-Marseille. 568, 619, 717.  
 [D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, Oxford]. 383.  
 [L. MASSIGNON, Paris]. 1133.  
 R. MAUNY, University of Paris. 777.  
 R. DI MEGLIO, Rome. 925.  
*the late* V. MELKONIAN, Basra. 906.  
 V. L. MÉNAGE, University of London. 601, 657, 881, 891.  
 [T. MENZEL]. 186, 966.  
 A. MERAD, University of Lyons. 163.  
 J.-L. MICHON, Geneva. 95.  
*the late* G. C. MILES, American Numismatic Society, New York. 191, 222.  
 A. MIQUEL, Collège de France, Paris. 132, 223, 273, 402, 654, 685.  
 M. MOHAGHEGH, University of Tehran. 399, 762.  
 M. MOKRI, Paris. 13.  
 H. MONÉS, University of Kuwait. 87.  
 [J. H. MORDTMANN, Berlin]. 109, 138, 292, 580.  
 S. MOREH, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 856, 936.  
 S. H. NASR, Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, Tehran. 279.  
 L. NEMOV, Dropsie University, Philadelphia. 608.  
 [R. NICHOLSON, Cambridge]. 283.  
 P. NWOYA, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 114, 467, 513.  
*the late* C. ORHONLU, University of Istanbul. 570, 594, 599, 679, 722, 736, 766, 870, 894, 902, 909, 1055, 1093, 1097, 1100, 1131, 1186.  
 SOLANGE ORY, University of Aix-Marseille, Aix-en-Provence. 76.  
 S. ÖZBARAN, University of Istanbul. 572.  
 R. PARET, University of Tübingen. 185, 259, 824, 839.  
 İSMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU, University of Istanbul. 299, 720.  
*the late* V. J. PARRY, University of London. 186, 274, 517, 546.  
 [J. PEDERSEN, Copenhagen]. 690, 1111.  
 CH. PELLAT, University of Paris. 190, 254, 269, 291, 315, 468, 472, 614, 735, 748, 824, 919, 927, 928, 937, 1069, 1092, 1148, 1150, 1160.  
 S. PINES, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 96.  
 D. PINGREE, Brown University, Providence. 259, 341, 515.  
 X. DE PLANHOL, University of Paris. 577, 580, 629.  
*the late* M. PLESSNER, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 445.  
 H. RABIE, University of Cairo. 486.  
 MUNIBUR RAHMAN, Oakland University, Rochester. 507, 954, 1136.  
 H. A. REED, University of Connecticut, Storrs. 617.  
 B. REINERT, University of Zurich. 916.  
 M. REKAYA, University of Paris. 647.  
 G. RENTZ, Hoover Institution, Stanford University. 717, 746, 765, 778, 906, 1057, 1073, 1085, 1133.  
 R. C. REPP, University of Oxford. 884.  
 [A. RICHTER]. 515.  
*the late* H. RITTER, University of Istanbul. 207.  
 U. RIZZITANO, University of Palermo. 112, 194, 195, 276, 497, 721, 733.  
 FRANCIS ROBINSON, Royal Holloway College, Egham. 794.  
 J. ROBSON, Glasgow. 207.  
 M. RODINSON, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 333, 519.  
 J. M. ROGERS, British Museum, London. 441.  
 [PH. S. VAN RONKEL, Leyden]. 540.  
 F. ROSENTHAL, Yale University. 414.  
 R. RUSSELL, University of London. 716.  
 D. A. RUSTOW, City University, New York. 298.  
 Mme L. SAADA, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 1072.  
 A. I. SABRA, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1069.  
 J. SADAN, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 998.  
 T. SAGUCHI, Kanazawa. 553.  
 K. S. SALIBI, American University, Beirut. 255.  
 H. SALIHOĞLU, Istanbul. 325, 597.  
 A. I. SÄLIM, University of Nairobi. 891.  
 J. SAMSÓ, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Tenerife. 1059, 1162, 1183.  
 R. M. SAVORY, University of Toronto. 43, 118, 131, 187, 188, 282, 722.  
 M. SAYADI, Tunis. 924.  
 [A. SCHAADÉ, Hamburg]. 839, 848.  
 [J. SCHACHT, New York]. 772, 1102.  
 [M. SCHMITZ]. 317.  
 [P. SCHWARZ]. 654, 1025.  
 R. SELLHEIM, University of Frankfurt. 502, 757, 964, 1112.  
 C. SHACKLE, University of London. 711.  
 IRFAN SHAHID, Georgetown University, Washington. 840.  
 M. SHAKI, Orientální Ústav, Prague. 313, 516.  
 M. SHARON, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 447, 842, 961.  
 S. J. SHAW, University of California, Los Angeles. 80.  
 I. H. SIDDIQUI, Aligarh Muslim University. 1019.  
 A. DE SRMONE, University of Palermo. 980.  
 ABDULLAHI SMITH, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 542.  
 P. SMOOR, University of Amsterdam. 1188.  
 [M. SOBERNHEIM, Berlin]. 614.

- M. SOUISSI, University of Tunis. 477, 726.  
 D. SOURDEL, University of Bordeaux. 77, 88, 127, 213, 378, 379, 424, 458, 482, 609, 610, 757, 947, 1094.  
 Mme J. SOURDEL-THOMINE, University of Paris. 107, 354, 1122.  
 O. SPIES, University of Bonn. 111.  
 B. SPOONER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. 1030.  
 B. SPULER, University of Hamburg. 213, 503, 612, 613, 632, 671, 672, 694, 699, 808.  
 [M. STRECK, Jena]. 222, 384, 387, 402, 468, 499, 502, 533, 556, 653, 655, 676, 725, 731, 841, 856.  
 G. STROHMAIER, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. 110, 130.  
 ABDUS SUBHAN, Calcutta. 966, 1056.  
 F. SÜMER, University of Ankara. 387, 578, 588, 625, 706, 722, 813, 1097.  
 [H. SUTER, Zurich]. 1162.  
 G. W. SWANSON, Nathaniel Hawthorne College, Antrim, N.H. 298.  
 M. TALBI, University of Tunis. 290, 340, 404, 417, 423, 741, 805, 832.  
 Mme F. A. TANSEL, University of Ankara. 879.  
 M. C. ŞEHABEDDİN TEKİNDAĞ, University of Istanbul. 88.  
*the late* H. TERRASSE, Paris. 118.  
 G. R. TIBBETTS, Oxford. 97.  
 G. TROUPEAU, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 546, 672.  
 E. TYAN, Université St. Joseph, Beirut. 184, 374.  
 M. ULLMANN, University of Tübingen. 930, 1098.  
 V. VACCA, University of Rome. 519.  
 J. C. VADET, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 489.  
 G. VAJDA, University of Paris. 79, 212, 307.  
 P. J. VATIKIOTIS, University of London. 126, 193, 263, 784.
- Mme L. VECCIA VAGLIERI, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples. 387, 1143.  
 J. VERNET, University of Barcelona. 600, 703, 1071, 1186.  
 F. S. VIDAL, University of Texas, Arlington. 897, 994.  
 F. VIRÉ, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 216, 492, 650, 745, 1146.  
 [Ph. C. VISSER]. 612.  
 W. VYČIČL, University of Fribourg. 512, 680.  
 J. R. WALSH, University of Edinburgh. 544.  
 W. MONTGOMERY WATT, University of Edinburgh. 110, 127, 315, 316, 820, 834, 899, 1020, 1187.  
 W. F. WEIKER, Rutgers University, Newark. 854.  
 [A. J. WENSINCK, Leyden]. 211, 293, 322, 749, 781, 824, 839, 895, 899, 905, 997, 1109.  
 G. E. WHEELER, Epsom. 113, 512, 793.  
 [E. WIEDEMANN, Erlangen]. 805, 1059, 1086.  
 J. C. WILKINSON, University of Oxford. 501.  
 J. R. WILLIS, Princeton University. 774.  
 R. WIXMAN, University of Oregon, Eugen. 571, 611, 627, 631, 847, 1029.  
 A. N. AL-WOHAIBI, University of Riyadh. 680.  
 M. E. YAPP, University of London. 524.  
 TAHSİN YAZICI, University of Istanbul. 190, 473, 474.  
 GHOLAM HOSEIN YOUSOFI, University of Mashhad. 705.  
 HÜSEYİN G. YURDAYDIN, University of Ankara. 334.  
 [A. YUSUF ALI]. 626.  
 [G. YVER, Algiers]. 75, 541, 729, 730.  
 H. ZAFRANI, University of Paris. 308.  
 W. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, Jagiellonian University, Cracow. 609.  
 S. ZAKKAR, University of Damascus. 749.  
 [E. VON ZAMBAUR, Vienna]. 248.  
 A. H. ZARRINKOOB, University of Tehran. 462, 516, 640.  
 [K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN, Uppsala]. 464.

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

### VOLUME I

- P. 8<sup>b</sup>, **‘ABBĀS I**, *add to the Bibliography*: Hans Müller, *Die Chronik Ḥulāṣat at-tawārīḥ des Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī. Der Abschnitt über Schah ‘Abbās I.*, in *Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit., Veröffentl. der Oriental. Kommission*, xiv, Wiesbaden 1964.
- P. 212<sup>b</sup>, **‘ADUD AL-DAWLA**, l. 11, *for al-Maḥḍisī read al-Muḥaddasī*; l. 13, *for al-Maḥḍisī*, 499 *read al-Muḥaddasī*, 449; l. 21, *for Maḥḍisī read Muḥaddasī*
- P. 300<sup>a</sup>, **AḤMADĪ**, *add to the Bibliography*: Tunca Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild des altosmanischen Dichters Aḥmedī unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Diwans*, in *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* xxii, Freiburg 1973.
- P. 317<sup>b</sup>, **AKBAR**, *add to the Bibliography*: Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 167-81; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign, with special reference to Abu 'l-Fazl (1556-1605)*, New Delhi 1975; A. R. Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal empire during the reign of Akbar*, Simla 1977.
- P. 1347<sup>b</sup>, **BUSTĀN**, *add to Bibliography*: James Dickie, *The Hispano-Arab garden: its philosophy and function*, in *BSOAS* xxxi (1968), 237-48; idem, *The Islamic garden in Spain*, in *The Islamic garden (Fourth Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium in the History of Landscape Architecture)*, Washington D.C. 1976, 89-105. See also IBN LUYŪN in Suppl.

### VOLUME II

- P. 239<sup>a</sup>, **DĤŪ 'L-HIMMA**, *add to the Bibliography*: Udo Steinbach, *Dāt al-Himma. Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem arabischen Volksroman*, Wiesbaden 1972.
- P. 523<sup>a</sup>, **AL-DJAZARĪ**, l. 5, *for at Wāsiṭ read outside Damascus*  
*Add to the Bibliography*: Donald P. Little, *Introduction to Mamlūk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970, 53-7; U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969, 12-60, 92-116; the same, *Édition de la chronique mamelouke syrienne de Šams ad-Din Muḥammad al-Ġazārī*, in *BÉO* xxviii (1975); C. Cahen, *Addenda sur al-Djazari*, in *Israel Oriental Studies* ii (1972), 144-7; the same, *Rectificatif, ibidem*, iii (1973).
- P. 537<sup>a</sup>, **DJIDJELLI**, l. 3, *for west read east*
- P. 966<sup>a</sup>, **FUTUWWA**, l. 2 from bottom, *after a‘shā, add xii*,

### VOLUME III

- P. 70<sup>a</sup>, **ḤĀḤĀ**, *last l. but one before the Bibliography, for Ibn Ḳunfūdḥ read Ibn Ḳunfudḥ*
- P. 82<sup>a</sup>, **AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH**, *add to Bibliography*: J. van Ess, *Chiliasische Erwartungen und die Versuchung der Göttlichkeit. Der Kalif al-Ḥākīm (386-411 H.)*, in *Abh. der Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1977), 2. Abhandlung.
- P. 167, **HANSALIYYA**, *read Ḥanšaliyya throughout the article.*
- P. 390<sup>b</sup>, **AL-ḤILLĪ**, l. 20, *for 638/1240-1, died 726/1326 read 602/1205, died 676/1277*
- P. 719<sup>b</sup>, **IBN AL-AŠḤĀTH**, *add to Bibliography*: Redwan Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aš‘aṭ und die Koranleser. Ein Beitrag zur Religions- und Sozialgeschichte der frühen Umayyadenzeit*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1977.
- P. 744<sup>b</sup>, **IBN AL-DAWĀDĀRĪ**, *add to the Bibliography*: *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, vii (ed. Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Ašḥūr, Cairo-Freiburg 1972; cf. P. M. Holt in *BSOAS* i (1974)), viii (ed. U. Haarmann, Cairo-Freiburg 1971); U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969, *passim*, esp. 61-84, 107-118; the same, *Altun Ḥān und Čingiz Ḥān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken*, in *Der Islam* li (1974), 1-36.
- P. 751<sup>a</sup>, **IBN AL-DJAWZĪ**, l. 5, *for 510/1126 read 511/1116*
- P. 812<sup>b</sup>, **IBN IYĀS**, l. 22 from bottom, *for 1421-5102 read 1421-1502*
- P. 825<sup>b</sup>, **IBN ḲHALDŪN**, l. 2, *for 732-84/1332-82 read 732-808/1332-1406*
- P. 940<sup>a</sup>, **IBN ŠUHAYD**, *add to Bibliography*: a new edition of his poetry by James Dickie, *El Dīwān de Ibn Suhayd al-Andalusī 382-426 H = 992-1035 C*, Cordova 1975.
- P. 1068<sup>a</sup>, **AL-IḲHWĀN**, l. 10 from bottom, *instead of Rīḥānī read Rayḥānī*
- P. 1157<sup>a</sup>, **ILYĀSIDS**, *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kīrman (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 107-24; A. H. Morton, *A dirham of Muḥammad b. Ilyās of Kīrmān*, in *Iran. Journal of the British Inst. of Persian Studies* xv (1977), 152-6.
- P. 1170<sup>b</sup>, **IMĀN**, l. 16 from below, *for Cairo n.d., i, 327 read Cairo n.d., i, 320-5*
- P. 1204<sup>b</sup>, **INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**, l. 15 from bottom, *for M. A. Djināḥ read M. A. Jheenā*

### VOLUME IV

- P. 39<sup>a</sup>, **IRAN**, ll. 8-12, *for the sentence* Consequently . . . that city *read* Consequently, when Iranian troops on three separate occasions attempted to recapture Harāt, Britain either despatched armies to prevent them (1837; 1856), or exerted diplomatic pressure to secure their withdrawal (1852).
- P. 174<sup>b</sup>, **ISLAM**, *add to Bibliography*: H. Rizzitano, *Islam, Aslama and Muslim*, Upsala 1949, and D. Z. M. Baneth, *What did Muhammad mean when he called his religion "Islam"*; *the original meaning of aslama and its derivatives*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, i (1971), 183-90.

- P. 188<sup>a</sup>, **ISMĀ'IL I**, add to the Bibliography: E. Glassen, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī*, in *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* v, Freiburg 1970.
- P. 369<sup>a</sup>, **ḲADARIYYA**, l. 1, for der read under
- P. 371<sup>a</sup>, l. 18 from bottom, for his read the latter's; l. 12 from bottom, for they read the anti-Ḳadarites; l. 5 from bottom, for Abū 'Ubayd's read 'Ubayd's
- P. 371<sup>b</sup>, second paragraph, l. 3, for the *Hadīths* speak read the *Hadīth* quoted above speaks
- P. 372<sup>a</sup>, Bibliography, l. 23: for 'Abd-al-'azīz read 'Abdal'azīz; ll. 24 and 27, for 1973 read 1974
- P. 379<sup>b</sup>, **AL-ḲĀDIRI**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ṬAYYIB, add to the Bibliography: al-Ḳādirī's *Lamḥat al-bahāja al-'aliyya fī ba'q' ahl al-nisba al-Ṣikīlliyya* has been published by U. Rizzitano, *Un trattatello di storia dinastica sui "Siciliani" di illustre discendenza nel Marocco*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques*, iii, Cairo 1957, 85-127.
- P. 388, **ḲĀDJĀR**, ll. 2-3, change the genealogical tree so as to make Muḥammad Ḥasan, not Muḥammad Ḥusayn, the father of Ākā Muḥammad and his brothers.
- P. 411<sup>a</sup>, **ḲĀFIRISTĀN**, add to Bibliography: S. Jones, *An annotated bibliography of Nuristan (Kafiristan) and the Kalash Kafirs (Chitral)*, in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-Fil. Med.*, xlii/III, xliii/1 (Copenhagen 1966-9); K. Jettmar (ed.), *Cultures of the Hindukush. Selected papers from the Hindu-Kush cultural conference held at Moesgård 1970*, in *Beiträge zur Südasien-Forschung*, Südasien-Institut, Heidelberg (Wiesbaden 1974).
- P. 455<sup>b</sup>, After article **ḲAḤWA** add: **ḲAḤYA** [see **ḲETḲHUDA**].  
**ḲAḤYĀ** or **DJENĀZE ḤASAN PAŠHA**, l. 1, for *Ḳaḥyā* read *Ḳaḥyā*
- P. 509<sup>a</sup>, **KALIMANTAN**, after Supplement add s.v. BORNEO.
- P. 511<sup>a</sup>, **AL-ḲALKĀSHANDĪ**, add to Bibliography: Muṣṭafā al-Šhak'a, *al-Uṣūl al-adabiyya fī Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, Beirut 1971; Aḥmad 'Izzat 'Abd al-Ḳarīm, ed., *Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ḳalkāshandī wa-kitābuhu Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (collection of essays), Cairo 1973.
- P. 532<sup>a</sup>, **ḲANĀT**, I, IN IRAN, add to the Bibliography: C. Braun, *Teheran, Marrakesch und Madrid*, Bonn 1974.
- P. 610<sup>b</sup>, **AL-ḲARAKĪ**, add to the Bibliography: M. T. Dānišpazhūh, *Yak parda az zindigāni-yi Šhāh Ṭahmāsb Šafawī*, in *Madjalla-yi Danīškada-yi Adabiyyāt wa-'Ulūm-i Insāni-yi Mašhad*, vii (1972), 967-75.
- P. 616<sup>b</sup>-617<sup>a</sup> **ḲARĀMĀN**, read *Ḳaramān throughout*.
- P. 619-625 **ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARĪ** (ḲARĀMĀNIDS), read *Ḳaramān-oghullarī and Ḳaramānids throughout*.
- P. 629<sup>b</sup>, **AL-ḲARASTŪN**, Bibliography, ll. 10-12, for K. Jaouiche ... (Paris doctoral thesis, 1972) read K. Jaouiche, *Le livre du Qarastūn de Ṭābit ibn Qurra. Étude sur l'origine de la notion de travail et du calcul du moment statique d'une barre homogène*, Leyden 1976
- P. 669<sup>b</sup>, **KARRĀMIYYA**, add to Bibliography: J. Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle-IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *SI* xlvi (1977), 5-72.
- P. 706<sup>b</sup>, **ḲĀSHĲĀY**, for additional bibliography on this tribe, see the Bibliography to **BISĀṬ**, 3. Tribal rugs, in the Supplement.
- P. 721-2, **ḲĀSIM-I ANWĀR**, instead of *Ḳāsim-i Anwār* read *Ḳāsim-i Anwar throughout the article*.
- P. 730<sup>b</sup>, **AL-ḲAŠR AL-ŠAĠHĪR**, add to the Bibliography: G. Gozalbes Busto, *Datos para la historia de Alkazar Seguer*, in *Cuad. de la Bibl. esp. de Tetuan*, xii (Dec. 1975), 55-77.
- P. 746<sup>b</sup>, **ḲATABĀN**, l. 28 from bottom, between *Wādī and* but insert *There exists a text (RES 3958) dealing with a Sabaeen farm in the Wādī*,
- P. 747<sup>a</sup>, ll. 15-16, after *Somewhat further* add *south*
- P. 748<sup>a</sup>, l. 27 from bottom, for verb-system read verb-stem
- P. 777<sup>b</sup>, **KAWĀR**, l. 5, instead of 1-54 read 1, 54
- P. 794<sup>b</sup>, **ḲAWMIYYA**, Section vi, end of the Bibliography, instead of (F. ROBINSON) read (FRANCIS ROBINSON)
- P. 834<sup>a</sup>, **ḲAYS 'AYLĀN**, Section **ḲAYS AND YAMAN IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD**, end of the first alinea, add (ED.)
- P. 870<sup>b</sup>, **KELEK**, Bibliography, add J. Henninger, *Zur Verbreitung des Schlauchflosses*, in *Anthropos* xxxv-xxxvi (1940-1), 975.
- P. 893<sup>b</sup>, **KESRIYE**, add to the Bibliography: V. D. Demetriades, *'H Κεντρική και Δυτική Μακεδονία κατά τόν 'Εθλεγιά Τσελεμπή*, Salonica 1973.
- P. 916<sup>b</sup>, **ḲHĀKSĀR**, add to the Bibliography: Shan Muhammad, *Khaksar Movement in India*, Meerut 1973.
- P. 950<sup>a</sup>, **ḲHALĪFA**, l. 43, for *Tanḳīh* read *Tanḳīḥ*; l. 50, for *Ḳhālf* read *Ḳhalaf*
- P. 952<sup>a</sup>, ll. 26-27 of Bibliography, for *Beiträge zur Kenntnisse der ägypt. Derwischordens* read *Beiträge zur Kenntnis eines ägyptischen Derwischordens*
- P. 952<sup>b</sup>, ll. 3 and 7, for al-Ḥalawānī read al-Ḥalwānī
- P. 991<sup>b</sup>, **ḲHALWATIYYA**, l. 2, for 'Umar read Yaḥyā; l. 24 from below, for al-Ḳaṣtamūnī read *Ḳaṣtamūnī*
- P. 992<sup>a</sup>, l. 6 from below, for *Sahar* read *Saḥar*
- P. 993<sup>a</sup>, l. 3, for *Warrādīhi* read *Wurrādīhi*
- P. 993<sup>b</sup>, add to Bibliography: Yūsuf b. Ya'ḳūb, *Menāḥib-i Ṭarikat-i 'Alīyye-yi Ḳhalwetiyye*, Istanbul 1290/1873.
- P. 1171<sup>a</sup>, **ḲHAZAF**, add to the Bibliography, section "China and Islam": Y. Crowe, *Early Islamic pottery and China*, in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, xlii, London 1978.

# I

## CONTINUATION

### IRAN

#### I.—GEOGRAPHY

1. The geological background: The alignments of Iran's principal topographic features, represented by the Kūhhā-yi Alburz and the Zagros Chain, are west to east and north-west to south-east, respectively. In broad context, the Alburz is a continuation of the European Alpine structures, while the Zagros chain has been linked through Cyprus with the Dinaric Alps (Fisher, 1956). The structure of the mountain rim of the country has been influenced strongly by tectonic movements which have not only caused considerable folding, giving rise to the mountain ridges, but have also resulted in overthrusting of the anticlines and complex step-faulting, particularly in the east and north-east. Lying between the two mountain systems of the north and south is the block of the central Iranian plateau, though even here large areas have been affected by the powerful movements which created the Alpine Himalayan orogenic systems.

Structural characteristics have an appreciable influence on the extreme regionalism of Iran. The Caspian basin may be regarded as a down-faulted area in sharp contrast to the adjacent main Alburz range, itself discerned as a main northern range, a southern range or Anti-Alburz (Rivière, 1934) with an internal tertiary basin between the two. The Zagros exhibits two structurally characteristic regions including the area of large-scale over-thrusting, as exemplified in the zone between 'Ali Gūdarz and Shahr-i Kurd, and the area of lower altitude, where elongated anticlines and synclines are arranged in sub-parallel lines as for example around Do Gunbadān.

The main period of earth movements has been established for the Alburz and the north-east region as belonging to the pre-Cretaceous era, when the permocarboniferous beds were widely affected. Further movement began in post-Eocene times and continued through to the end of the Miocene, while the close of the Cretaceous saw increased volcanic activity. The major period of folding is attributed to the Pliocene, especially the late Pliocene (Gansser, 1955). The Zagros was influenced considerably by epeirogenic movements dated to Paleozoic and early Mesozoic times with orogenic disturbances beginning in the Upper Cretaceous (Lees and Richardson, 1940). Prolonged folding in the late Miocene and Pliocene saw the emergence of elongated anticlines and synclines compressed against the resistant Arabian Shield.

2. Location and frontiers: Covering some 164 million hectares, Iran stretches from Bāzārgān (39° 20' N-44° 20' E) in the north-west to Sarākhs (36° 30'

N-61° 10' E) in the north-east and from Abādān (30° 20' N-48° 15' E) in the south-west to Gvātar (25° 05' N-61° 30' E) in the extreme south-east.

The land frontiers of Iran total approximately 4,400 kilometres much of which is aligned along natural features and the subject of established international agreements with the notable exception of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab boundary with 'Irāk. The 460-kilometre border with Turkey runs south from the Rūd-i Aras through the eastern foothills of the Büyük Ağrı Dağı and thence roughly along the watershed between the Reżā'iyeh basin and the Van Golü basin. Of the 900-kilometre frontier with 'Irāk, the northern section follows the watershed of the Zagros and then the low-lying foothills of Mesopotamia before cutting across on arbitrary alignments to the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab upstream of the confluence with the Rūd-i Kārūn. Iran's border with the U.S.S.R. in Ādhārbāydjān is coincident with the Rūd-i Aras over much of its length except for the eastern extremity, where from approximately 48° E it swings southwards through the Dašt-i Moghān to the foothills of the Kūh-i Tālish, which it follows to the Rūd-i Āstārā which forms the boundary to the Caspian Sea (Daryā-yi Māzandarān). The Trans-Caspian border with the U.S.S.R. follows the line of the Rūd-i Atrāk upstream from the Caspian Sea to the confluence with the Rūd-i Sūmbār and then crosses the Kopet Dāgh to arc round to the Hari Rūd along the north facing slopes of the northern Alburz ridges including the Golül Dāgh and the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjed. Although the Irano-Afghān border runs south along the Hari Rūd over the first section of its 800 kilometres length, the rest of the boundary is more arbitrarily aligned, traversing the inland drainage sumps east of the Kāyin-Birdjand highlands and the western rim of the Dašt-i Nā Umid before cutting east through the Daryāčeh Sistān to include much of the lowland around the Daryāčeh Hāmūn-i Šābari before swinging south-west towards Zāhidān. After following the watershed of the hill range east of Zāhidān, the frontier with Pakistan is coincident with the Tahlāb Rūd south to the Hāmūn-i Mashgel. Thereafter the frontier trends more or less due south with an abutment eastwards to take in the valley of the Rūd-i Mashgel as far as Kūhak, from whence it swings south-west, in parts along tributaries of the Nehang Rūd, to the coast of the Gulf of Oman at the Khaliḍj-i Gvātar.

3. Physical geography: The heartland of Iran is regarded by geographers as a plateau defined in the north by the Alburz system and to the south-west and south by the Zagros Mountains, though continuing eastwards into Afghānistān without firm



delineation. This vast triangular plateau is far from homogeneous and includes not only the extensive desert lands of the *Dasht-i Kavir* and *Lūt* but also large, though discontinuous, areas of well watered and fertile soils lying between the enclosing mountains and the desert basins which are the centres of the introspective drainage systems. Whereas the great deserts contain few, if famous, settlements, many of the country's richest agricultural areas are located in the lands bordering the plateau, including among others the *Dasht-i Kāzvin*, *Dasht-i Varāmin*, the extended oases of *Mashhad*, *Sabzavār*, *Nishābūr*, *Simnān*, *Tehran*, *Qumm*, *Yazd* and *Kirmān* and the rich valleys of *Arāk* and *Hamadān*.

The two principal mountain systems add further regional diversity. The *Alburz Mountains* dominate the topography of northern Iran even in their eastern extensions where many subsidiary ranges give rise to local micro-climates and permit specialised agricultural activities. No less important, the *Zagros* chain imposes its own regional influences throughout its length from *Kurdistān* to *Balūčistān*, with altitudes sufficient in the west and for a considerable distance south-east to give rise to reliable orographic rainfall capable of supporting forest cover and, in places, a rich agriculture.

Outside the plateau and its surrounding rim lie limited but economically significant lowlands including the *Caspian Plain*, the *Turkoman Shaḥrā*, the inland sumps of the *Hari Rūd* and *Rūd-i Hirmand* and the great plain of *Khūzistān*.

In view of the very considerable regional diversity of the country, detailed review of the main geographic areas is necessary.

### 3.1. The Plateau:

(a) The Central deserts: The central deserts of Iran fall naturally into two groupings separated by the mountain range running from the south-east of the highland belt of *Khurāsān* from *Dastgerdān* to *Ardestān*, the northern section known as *Dasht-i Kavir* and the southern as *Dasht-i Lūt*. Both areas are themselves slit into a series of sub-basins, separated by hill ridges, many rising to over 1,500 metres. *Dasht-i Kavir* is often presented as a series of ten basins (British Admiralty, 1944), the largest known as *Kavir-i Buzurg*, in which the main characteristics are clayey, salty soils and extremely brackish groundwater in parts giving rise to ooze flows (Fischer, 1968), *namakzar* and temporary salt lakes (Mostofi, 1970). Most settlements are located on higher ground about 1,000 metres in altitude and represent for the most part staging posts on the ancient caravan routes linking northern *Khurāsān* and even the *Caspian* area via *Simnān* and *Djandaq* (MacGregor, 1871) with *Yazd* and *Iṣfahān*. Agricultural life is primarily based on oasis cultivation in which the date palm, other fruits and grains and fodders play a major role. The supply of dyes for the carpet industry, formerly of some importance, is now in decline. Mining for lead and other non-ferrous metals retains an albeit smallscale industrial base in the *Anārak-Nā'in* area.

*Dasht-i Lūt* forms an elongated basin set between the *Kirmān* and the *Qāyin-Birdjand* highlands and contains many complex geographical features, some only recently studied (Mostofi, 1970). The so-called high northern *Lūt* lies between the *Dastgerdān-Yazd* axis and the *Dehūk-Nayband-Rāvar* col and is sometimes taken to include the highlands around *Anārak*. The southern *Lūt* or *Lūt-i Zangi Aḥmad* is defined in the south by the line of the *Bam-Zāhidān* road and traditionally and economically excludes *Narmāshūr*,

the *Kirmān Desert* and *Rigān*, though physically this zone, extending up to the *Kūh-i Taftān*, is included within the *Lūt* proper. Among the characteristic features of *Dasht-i Lūt* is the extensive *namakzar-i Shāhdād* occupying a long trough extending on a serpentine 170-kilometre alignment from north-west to south-east, though formerly of greater extent (Gabriel, 1938). In the shallow centre of the *Lūt* adjacent to the *namakzar* complex fluvial and later aeolian erosion has produced areas of spectacularly dissected country having much the appearance of ruined towns called *Shahr-i Lūt*. In addition to a series of hill, valley and plain areas, of which six separate units have been recognised (Mostofi, 1970), the other dominating feature of the *Lūt* is the dune mass of the east running from *Dih Salm* on a NNE-SSW axis almost to *Kahūrak* on the *Bam-Zāhidān* road and in parts exceeding 80 kilometres in width.

Production from the region of *Dasht-i Lūt* is small and poor communications discourage active export of most goods. Agricultural output from the oases tends to be subsistence orientated, though oranges from *Shāhdād* and dates from *Shāhdād* and *Dih Salm* do find their way to markets in *Kirmān* and *Birdjand*. Mining has more than local importance with lead at *Nayband*, *Kūh-i Garmāb* and *Seh Čangi* and copper at *Qal'a Zari* and *Qollehā* (Bariand et al., 1965).

(b) The plains of the *Zagros Slopes*: A series of fertile plains and basins surround the central deserts lying along the north-eastern edge of the *Zagros Mountains*. The most extensive areas are those surrounding *Iṣfahān*, *Yazd* and *Kirmān*, though many other smaller centres exist with prosperous agricultural bases. Throughout the zone the principal means of water supply is the *kanāt* [q.v.], with river water retaining local importance especially in the *Iṣfahān* region. Drainage within the basins is largely internal and a number of salt-lake basins altitudinally and physically accordant with the *Dasht-i Kavir* (Fischer, 1968) stretch from *Sirdjān* via *Gāvkhūni* to *Iṣfahān*. Outside the *namakzar* soils are generally deep and fertile, supporting a varied agriculture mainly irrigated but with a significant area of dryland grains and a rich associated livestock economy. Traditional craft industries are still important employers of labour in this region, with the hand-made carpets of *Iṣfahān*, *Nā'in*, *Kāshān* and *Kirmān* accounting for a major portion of Iran's non-oil exports.

One of the factors permitting the early growth of sophisticated urban centres in this area of Iran has been the existence of readily accessible and varied mineral deposits, particularly the lead-zinc occurrences associated with the *Jurassic* and *Cretaceous* limestones around *Iṣfahān*, *Kāshān* and *Yazd* and orientated with the line of the *Zagros* overthrusting (Bariand, 1965). It is an interesting fact that many of the modern mine enterprises in the area represent new workings on ancient sites. Copper mining also has ancient origins in this area, the deposits to the south of *Kirmān* at *Kūh-i Bahr Āsmān* and *Tal-i Ma'dan* near *Rafsenjān* both having been exploited at an early date. More recently, the *Sar Čashma* copper deposit has been proved and developed. Although iron deposits were not valued so highly or subject to such early exploitation as copper, iron workings dating from *Archemenian* times have been recorded in this area. Among the largest known ironfields in Iran is the magnetite iron bearing area around *Bafq* occurring along the contact lines of the *grano-dioritic* intrusions with the *Upper Cretaceous* sediments.

(c) North-West Iran: North-west Iran including East and West *Ādhārbāyājān*, *Kurdistān* and *Hamadān* with its geological continuation through the regions of *Malāyer*, *Golpāyegān*, *Shahrezā* and *Balūchistān* is considered at the present time to be an integral part of central Iran. The area was intensely folded and faulted during the Alpine orogeny and intrusive processes, localised metamorphism and widespread volcanism are characteristic throughout the zone. Despite the underlying geological similarities, the north-west remains geographically distinct from the areas further east. Topographically, the area has been likened to a series of irregular tablelands (Fisher, 1968), where altitudes attain between 4,811 metres in the main peak of the *Sapālān Dāgh*, 3,700 metres in *Kūh-i Sahand* and 3,306 metres in the *Kūh-i Boz Ghūsh*. Drainage of the north-west area is intricate in pattern. The *Rūd-i Aras* drains the north-flowing tributaries running from the *Qareh Dāgh* and the *Büyük Ağrı Dağı* as well as the *Khūy* and *Ardabil* basins. Much of the south-west of the area is drained by the tributaries of the *Rūd-i Zandjāncāy*, which eventually joins the *Kizil Uzon* and the *Safid Rūd* system. Other radial drainage lines include those streams west of *Mahābād* which link in the *Āb-i Zāb*, cross the 'Irāqī frontier, and link with the *Zāb al-Asfal*. Introspective drainage in Western *Ādhārbāyājān* centres on the *Daryācheh-i Rezā'iyeh* fed by the *Zarīneh Rūd* and *Simīneh Rūd* from the south and the *Adji Čāy* from the east.

*Ādhārbāyājān* is among the better watered areas of Iran and average annual rainfall at *Tabriz* is 285.6 millimetres, though the surrounding highlands receive heavier rainfall, much of it in the form of winter snows. Dryland grain cultivation is possible over large areas and deciduous fruits are universally important together with the vine and almond. Irrigated culture is found throughout the region, with the most productive areas located in the major river valleys around the towns of *Ardabil*, *Khūy*, *Mahābād*, *Miyāneh*, *Rezā'iyeh*, *Tabriz* and *Zandjān*, where soils are rich and deep and where some shelter is available from harsh winds, frosts and prolonged snow cover.

*Ādhārbāyājān* is extremely mineral rich in two main areas including the *Ahar-Gūlān-Marand* area, where large and medium scale deposits of lead-zinc, copper, gold, arsenic and molybdenite exist and the southern *Ādhārbāyājān* region lying in the *Angūrnā-Takāb-Marāghēh* area, where large and medium-scale deposits of lead-zinc, copper, arsenic, gold, bismuth and other minerals have been located. Small-scale iron fields are worked at *Afshārābād* and *Goldjūk*, while lead-zinc and copper deposits are found between *Zandjān* and *Firūzābād*.

The southern rim of the central Iranian plateau land running south-east from southern *Ādhārbāyājān* through *Kurdistān* and *Hamadān* to *Shahrezā* is geologically similar to *Ādhārbāyājān*, as noted above, though here a larger element of Mesozoic and Tertiary metamorphism is apparent, especially in the *Hamadān-Dārān* belt. The rim takes the form of a broken mountain system beginning in the west with the *Kūh-i Čehel Časmeh* (3,163 metres) and continuing in the *Kūh-i Alvand* (3,548 metres) and in *Ashfarān Kūh* (4,176 metres). South-west of *Nadjafābād* the ridge is less distinct. The areas as far east as *Nadjafābād* are agriculturally well-endowed with deep soils in the valleys and reliable rainfall (*Hamadān* 385.2 millimetres annual average). Both *kanāt* and river water irrigation supplies are utilised for sedentary agriculture, especially favoured

centres for which are *Malāyer*, *Arāk*, *Golpāyigān*, 'Ali *Gūdarz* and *Nadjafābād*. Livestock is generally important, with a strong transhumant tradition affecting mainly the *Kurdistān* area. Sizeable mineral deposits occur in the area of Mesozoic and Tertiary metamorphism and lead-zinc is found at *Lākān*, *Husaynābād* and *Darreh Nokreh* south-east of *Arāk* and at *Andjireh*, *Viđin*, *Khāneh Sormeh* and *Shāhkūh* in the area west and south of *Işfahān*.

(d) *Balūchistān*: The mountains of *Balūchistān*, formerly regarded as continuations of the main *Zagros* system, are now recognised as a south-east limb of the central Iranian zone. To the north, the area is clearly defined by the *Kūh-i Bazmān* which, reaching its greatest elevation at 3,489 metres, effectively separates the depression of *Dasht-i Lūt* from the *Djaz Moriyān Hāmūn*. The mountains of *Kūh-i Bazmān* are made up of extrusive material with a series of geologically youthful volcanic peaks dominating the range. A north-south syncline running from north of *Irānshahr* to the region of *Nuṣratābād* divides the *Kūh-i Bazmān* from the *Kūh-i Taftān*, a geologically mixed region, with extrusive igneous and metamorphic rock in the area of *Kūh-i Taftān* volcanic peak, a complex zone of ophiolite-radiolarite rocks with ultrabasic masses located west of *Taftān* and a surrounding mass of Cambrian to Paleogene sedimentaries. Topography throughout the region is irregular and mainly above an altitude of 1,000 metres. In addition to the mountain ridges traversing the area, and noted above, two plateaux lie to the north and south of the *Kūh-i Taftān* centred on *Zāhidān* and *Khāsh*, respectively, though the former is not endowed with sufficient soil or water resources to offer a base for a strong sedentary agriculture. The *Khāsh* plateau presents a strong contrast, with settled cultivation developed over large areas dependent upon adequate if not abundant subterranean water resources and rich and deep soils, where grains, fodder crops, vegetables and orchard fruits give generally reliable returns (Plan Organisation 1960).

Although the Iranian *Makrān* shows geological similarities with western *Balūchistān*, intense overthrusting along a roughly west-east alignment has given the northern *Makrān* distinctive topography, extremely broken in places and difficult of access and agricultural utilisation. Separating the *Djaz Moriyān Hāmūn* from the *Makrān* is the *Kūh-i Bashāgerd*, the main west-east ridge of which rises to over 1,500 metres, where the ophiolite-radiolarite areas form a more resistant mass than the surrounding sedimentaries. Coastal *Makrān*, beginning from *Rā's al-Shir* in the west and continuing into *Pakistan* in the east, forms yet another distinctive zone of relatively regular anticlines and succeeding synclines aligned more or less parallel with the coastline. The area is pre-eminently one of sedimentaries, geologically forming a depression zone of which the larger part lies below the *Gulf of Oman*, though the regular folding of the anticline structures gives coastal *Makrān* a character much different from other major depressions and internal basins in the country. Rapid and intensive erosion of the ridges near the coast by fast-running north-south streams has dissected the anticlines into small hill groups of low elevation except where the geologic outliers of the Cambrian-Paleogene series are exposed to stand out as resistant blocks occasionally attaining more than 1,000 metres in altitude. Despite the occurrence of monsoon rainfall in coastal districts and the existence of ancient *kanāt* systems, agricultural devel-

lopment has been inhibited by the unreliability of rainfall, the poor condition of the *kanāts* and, not least of all, by the low levels of technical knowledge of the predominantly Balūc population in both water utilisation and cultivation skills (Spooner, 1968).

Lying between the mountain rims of Balūcistān is the *Djāz* Moriyān depression, structurally an internal basin and now filled with recent alluvial deposits brought from the hills by numerous streams seasonally flowing to the centre of the basin where *kavir* and swamp lands cover a considerable area. Away from the Hāmūn itself, the plains of Bampūr and *Djiruft*, and particularly the latter, offer scope for settled agriculture, though geographic isolation and preoccupation with livestock herding have been constraints on effective use of available land and water resources. Nonetheless, the Bampūr-Irānshahr area produces grains, including rice, fodders and tree crops utilising *kanāt* water supplies and temporary 'bands' or earth dams across the major drainage channels to trap water and silt for cultivation purposes. *Djiruft* has been developed in the very recent period as a major crop and livestock area under government auspices.

Large deposits of chromite have been located in Balūcistān and the adjacent areas between Bāft and *Djiruft*, occurring in the area of ultrabasic rocks where magmatic segregation has taken place. The most important deposits are established at *Shahriyār* and Amīr, north-east of Mināb, though scattered sites as distant as *Ābdašt* and *Khāsh* are known.

(e) The East Persian Highlands: The East Persian highland system runs from the Kūh-i Surkh south of *Mashhad* and links up with the Kūh-i Taftān in northern Balūcistān. Kūh-i Surkh is separated from the hill area to the south by the Great Kavir Fault, which arcs across from west to east fading out near *Ālamdār*. The Kūh-i Surkh attains an altitude of 3,020 metres north-west of Turbat-i Ḥaydari, though much of its continuation east in the Kūh-i Bizak and Kūh-i *Khvāf* rises to over 2,000 metres. South of these highlands a large depression forms a west to east trough, through the foothills of the highlands between *Kāshmar* and *Ālamdār* including the Turbat-i Ḥaydari region which act as an intermediate zone, where areas of good soils and fair underground water resources permit cultivation of grains, vegetables and mixed tree crops. In years of above average rainfall, dayin, or dryland, cultivation is important and some villagers augment their irrigated lands by damming small streams. South of the foothills, soils are poor and namakzar formations characterise the basin bottom from Kavir-i Namak to the *Afghān* borders, where marshes are also found. Drainage from the Kūh-i Bizak, the northern *Kāyin-Birdjand* highlands and the *Dastgerdān* flows to the namakzar formations.

West-east faulting in the north *Kāyin-Birdjand* highlands separates the Kūh-i Kalāt from *Kāyināt* proper by a high col. *Gunābād* village group and its related *yaylāk*, *Kākhhk*, form a relatively prosperous agricultural area on the foothills and north-facing slopes of the Kūh-i Kalāt reliant on *kanāt* water supply. Crustal instability is marked both here and in the areas as far south as *Birdjand* and many settlements suffer periodic earthquakes of which the last occurred in 1968 affecting *Kākhhk* and *Ferdaus* particularly.

The *Kāyin-Birdjand* Mountains achieve their greatest height in the Kūh-i *Āhangerān* at 2,877 metres, while the north-west to south-east ridge east of

*Birdjand* also runs for some 100 kilometres at altitudes above 2,000 metres. Drainage of the highlands is to the namakzar in the north and to the small western basins and the *Dašt-i Lūt* in the west. Southwards the situation is more complex and the line of the hill ranges and the major streams is strongly affected by faulting trending north-west to south-east in the south-east sector and north to south in the south-west sector, with drainage fed to the *Daryāča-i Hāmūn-i Hirmand* in the former and to the *Dašt-i Lūt* in the latter case. Agriculture in the *Kāyināt* and *Birdjand* is based on *kanāt*, pump and earth dam systems with subterranean aquifers replenished by the irregular, though at times heavy, rainfall and snows on the mountain ridges. Some hill villages are famous for saffron and vegetable dye cultivation on small artificial terraces, and there is a considerable export of these products from the region to other parts of the country. The southern col reaching from the main mountain area around *Khūsf* to *Nusratābād* is faulted to both west and east and carries little settlement or cultivation with the exception of the lower east-facing slopes around *Neh* which sustain minor pockets of cultivation where shelter from the 120-day wind (*bād-i šad-u-bist rūz*) is possible. Further west, oasis date palm culture is found on the fringes of *Dašt-i Lūt*.

(f) The *Sistān* Depression: Centring on *Zābul* is a large depression clearly marked in the east by north-south faults and running east to the foothills of the *Hindu Kush* ranges. The principal features of the lowland within Iranian territory are the two permanent lakes of the *Hāmūn-i Hirmand* and *Daryāča-i Hāmūn-i Šābari*, which seasonally link with the *Hāmūn-i Pūsak* in *Afghānistān* to form a single sweet water lake. The lake is fed by the *Rūd-i Hirmand*, having its catchment in *Afghānistān*, while drainage is to the south via the *Shalāk Rūd* to *Gūd-i Zarra* on the *Afghānistān-Pakistan* frontier. Despite the ample supplies of water available for irrigation, settled agriculture is poorly developed, not least of all as a result of structural problems affecting ownership and tenancy of land in the area (Lambton, 1953 and 1969). Distance from urban markets and poor roads have also inhibited development, though severe constraints on summer cropping are imposed by the *bād-i šad-u-bist rūz*, which tends to have a scorching effect on crops. Main products of the area are grains and some vegetables and cotton.

### 3.ii. The Bordering Mountain Ranges:

(a) The *Alburz*: Comprising one of the world's greatest mountain systems, the Kūh-i *Alburz* has an average height estimated at 3,100 metres, the highest point being the volcanic cone of Kūh-i *Damāvand* overlooking *Tehran* at an altitude of 5,654 metres. Although strongly related to Central Iran and affected by the faulting and thrusting of the *Alpine* orogeny, the *Alburz* Mountains were little involved in the phase of late *Jurassic-early Cretaceous* folding. Folding intensity decreases appreciably in the northern foothills of the range (Bariand, 1965). The range carries a heavy snow cover through the winter and the northern slopes attract heavy orographic rainfall throughout the year with the seasonal maximum varying with altitude. Abundant water maintains a dense and self-regenerating forest cover on the north slopes of the *Alburz* above the *Caspian Plain*, though extremely narrow valleys and absence of broad and well-watered plains in the intermontane basins has limited agricultural life in the mountain areas to small valley defiles and terraces. Drainage patterns in the *Alburz* are aligned to the *Caspian* coast or to the central

basins, with streams mainly falling in torrents down the deep slopes. A more intricate pattern exists in the case of the Safid Rūd, where the north-south stream has captured the Kizil Uzon and the Shahrūd which occupy an elevated trough in the central basin of the Alburz. Land communications across the Alburz are difficult and hazardous even at the present time. Except for the Kazvin-Mandjil-Rasht route using the Safid Rūd gap, all other routes are subject to temporary closure in winter as a result of snow-blockage, flooding and landslips. The Tehran-Āmul crossing using the Rūd-i Harāz valley is especially notorious in this respect.

Although the Alburz tend to be of lower altitude in the east, there is a large element of geological continuity between the main Alburz and the eastern ranges of Kūh-i Hazār Masjdīd and Kūh-i Binālūd than specialists formerly believed, the basic folded sedimentaries of the Cambrian to Paleogene of the Alburz system giving an underlying unity (Bariand, 1965). As noted, however, intensity of folding declines in the northern foothills and has given rise to a more regular series of hill ranges and intervening troughs with topography rather different, therefore, from the main Alburz. The main lines of drainage run along the central valley lying between the northern ranges, including the Kūh-i Golūl, Kūh-i Allāh Akbar and Kūh-i Hazār Masjdīd and the southern ridges of Kūh-i Alā Dāgh and Kūh-i Binālūd. From a watershed in the Kūcān-Kalāteh area, the region is drained westwards by the Rūd-i Atrāk and its tributaries towards the Turkoman Şahrā, while the Kashāf Rūd drains to the south-east joining the Hari Rūd north of Garmāb 'Alīyā. Livestock herding is important in the hill areas of northern Khurāsān, while the major areas of settled agriculture occur both in the lower Atrāk region and the broad plain around Mashhad and in the extended oases of Nishābūr and Sabzavār. The vast but poorly watered and isolated Djuvayn plain supports a number of formerly prosperous but now depressed villages reliant on *kanāt* and spring water supply for agriculture and on livestock herding.

The Alburz is poorly endowed with minerals compared to other areas of the country, though exploration is far from complete. In addition to lead-zinc deposits at Donā, Kalār Daşht, Sarbişeh, Rezaābād and Tūyeh, barite is found at Sirā, while small deposits of iron ore have been located at Simnān. Old-established coal workings are still actively exploited by addit mining in the high Rūd-i Harāz valley north of Polūr. East of Damghān, the Alburz proper offers no mineral wealth. The sedimentaries of the central Iranian group and the internal Neogene basins between Miyāndaşht and Nishābūr are better endowed, with copper deposits at Dāman Djalā, Buzurg and Çoghondar Sar and turquoise found in the Nishābūr district.

(b) The Zagros: The Zagros Mountains bound the Iranian plateau on the south, running from the Irano-Irāki border at Kaşr-i Şhirin to the Tangeh-i Hurmuz. A clear boundary marks the break between the Zagros and the plateau on the continuous north-west to south-east line of the main Zagros thrust zone which runs in a roughly 50-70 kilometre belt. The belt may be regarded as the deep central trough of the Zagros basin of former times and exhibits areas of thinbedded red cherts containing radiolaria (Harrison, 1968) in the west around Kirmānshāh and southern Kurdistān and in the east around Niriz. Considerable areas lie above 3,000 metres with Zard Kūh at some 4,540 metres and Kūh-i Kalar at some 4,300 metres.

The main Zagros is distinguished from the zone of overthrusting and its associated imbricate zone (Oberlander, 1965) by a discontinuous major line of overthrusting running from slightly south of Kirmānshāh in the north-west to Kūh-i Çashma north of Mināb in the south-east and including a 200-kilometre wide zone taking in the whole of south-west and south Iran as far east as Rā's al-Şhir with the sole exception of the Plain of Khūzistān. In the main Zagros, conformably laid Cambrian to late Tertiary sedimentary rocks have been folded during Plio-Pleistocene times into extended parallel folds now much eroded and dissected by deep gorges through which the major rivers flow to the Persian Gulf in a complex longitudinal/transverse pattern. The major rivers, all of them perennial, include the Karkha, Kārūn, Hendiġiān, Helleh, Mond and Mihrān systems, though several small streams make a direct but seasonal route to the Persian Gulf.

Although few minerals other than hydrocarbons have been found in the main Zagros, oil and gas fields abound, especially in the dome formations of the Asmari and Cretaceous limestones, which have been the basis for the development of the Iranian oil industry since the early twentieth century, first in the northern fields of Masjdīd-i Sulaymān and Lāli and later in the more prolific structures such as Āghā Djāri, Ahwāz, Gaç Sarān and Mārūn further to the south. Overlying the Asmari limestone in the oilfield zone are the lower Fārs beds which contain plastic evaporite deposits acting as a seal for the oil-bearing structures (Harrison, 1968).

Despite a relatively heavy and reliable rainfall in the area of the western Zagros (Khurramābād, 504.0 and Şhirāz 384.6 millimetres) sedentary agriculture is not well developed except around Şhirāz, most of the area falling under tribal group herding systems of land utilisation. Central government control in the area was tenuous until comparatively recent years since access was difficult and tribal control absolute outside the major towns. The main tribal groups occupying this vast area include Kurds, Lūrs, Bakhtiyāri, Kūhgīlu, Boyer Aġmad and Kaşkhāy, all of which are still concerned with transhumant herding, though growing government pressure on the tribes to settle through enforced security, the establishment of agricultural extension services and a road construction programme is having some effect towards increasing the area under sedentary cultivation. Protection of the extensive oak forests on the higher ridges and valleys of the Zagros is helping to conserve timber resources in tribal areas of the zone. The eastern Zagros is an area of poorer rainfall than the west but a prosperous sedentary agriculture is developing in the major river valleys and plains, particularly around Işahbānat, Fasā and Niriz, with grains, including millet, and sugar beet of importance. Livestock, often under a nomadic regime, remain the basis of the economy of the area, exploiting seasonal grasslands of the Garmsir and Sardsir.

The long coastline of the Persian Gulf permits of widespread smuggling activity of luxury goods from the trade entrepôts of the Gulf for the Iranian market. Fishing, on the other hand, is little developed and is of only local significance. Of the ports of the coast between Bandar Daylām and Bandar 'Abbās, none has yet risen to national importance other than the oil terminals of Djazira-i Kharg, Baġregān and Djazira-i Lavān. The agriculture of the coastal strip is extremely poor, limited to grazing and shifting cultivation with the exception of the oases around Bandar 'Abbās and Mināb.

### 3.iii. The Iranian Lowlands:

(a) The *Khūzistān* Lowlands: The lowlands of *Khūzistān* have been described by Fisher (1968) as the largest single expanse of true lowland in Iranian territory and the area does present a sharp contrast to the rest of the country where mountains are rarely out of view. Structurally, the plain is regarded as part of the Arabian platform with a deep cover of Paleozoic-Mesozoic-Tertiary sedimentary rocks under more recent layers of alluvial material making up a continuation of the Mesopotamian region to the foothills of the Zagros (N.I.O.C., 1959). A high rate of deposition of alluvium still exists in the headwaters of the Persian Gulf dependent on the silt load brought down by the Tigris-Euphrates and *Kārūn* systems. De Morgan's (1905) classical theory on the infilling of the headwaters of the Persian Gulf and the gradual advance of the land surface there has been widely accepted though Lees and Falcon (1952) have offered an alternative hypothesis on the assumption that the lowlands represent a gradual down-warping of the land surface under the weight of accumulated sediments and that the coastline is therefore more or less in stable equilibrium.

Topographically, the plain is virtually unbroken with a slow rise in altitude from the coast to the abrupt slopes of the Zagros foothills. Not until *Andimeshk* is reached, 130-kilometres north of *Ahvāz*, do altitudes rise above 150 metres. The area is drained by the *Rūd-i Karḵha* in its north-west sector towards the *Rūd-i Kārūn*, which is not reached before the *Karḵha* peters out in salt and mud flats. The north and north-east is served by the *Rūd-i Kārūn* and its tributaries, while the east is drained by the *Rūd-i Djarrāhi* system. Although much of the water is fed to the Persian Gulf through the *Shaṭṭ al-'Arab*, a number of narrow creeks known as *khūr* also distribute the river waters of both systems. The largest of these creeks, the *Khūr Mūsā*, serves as a sea-way to the ports of *Bandar Shāhpūr* and *Māh Shahr*, the former rising to importance as a major Gulf port and the latter acting as a terminal for oil product exports from the *Ābādān* refinery. *Khurramshahr* lies at the junction of the *Rūd-i Kārūn* and *Shaṭṭ al-'Arab* (the latter officially referred to as the *Arvand Rūd* in Iran) and is the major commercial goods port for international trade. *Ābādān* lies downstream from *Khurramshahr* and is the former oil products port for the *Ābādān* refinery. The city retains its position as an oil processing centre but is no longer a port of any significance. *Ahvāz*, situated on the *Rūd-i Kārūn* 125 kilometres from *Ābādān*, is the provincial capital and an expanding centre of the oil industry from which most administration and servicing of the field areas is carried on. Until the early 1950s, the agricultural state of the *Khūzistān* lowland was extremely poor, contrasting sharply with the former prosperity of Archaemenid and Sasanian times. Much of the plain was cultivated by tribal groups under shifting agriculture with only minor pockets of sedentary agriculture in the palm groves around *Ābādān* and *Khurramshahr* and the gardens fed by the waters of the *Kārūn* around *Ahvāz*. Control of the *Āb-i Diz* following construction of the *Muhammad Reżā Shāh* dam above *Dezfūl* has permitted rapid growth of newly reclaimed agricultural areas on the plain of which *Haft Tappeh* sugar cane plantation is an important early example.

In addition to the activities associated directly with oil production and export, a number of modern industries utilising natural gas have grown up in *Ābādān* and *Bandar Shāhpūr*, while new industries

processing heavy and bulky imported raw materials, particularly steel, have developed near *Ahvāz*. The region is favoured by the existence of excellent rail links which run through the *Diz-Sehzar* gap in the *Zagros* to *Tehran* and northern Iran.

(b) The Caspian Lowlands and *Turkoman Shāhrā*: The Caspian Lowlands and the *Turkoman Shāhrā* reach from the Irano-Soviet frontier at *Āstārā* in a belt of radically varying width (from two to three kilometres to 50 kilometres) to the east of *Gunbad-i Kābūs*. The lowlands are seen as the southern edge of the Asiatic foreland (Harrison, 1968) or as areas of young depressions (Bariand, 1965). Much of the Caspian lowland represents the area left by the recession of the Caspian Sea and the characteristic soil cover is nonsaline alluvial soils and, in the *Bandar Pahlavi-Lāhidjān* region, peat and grey soils (Dewan, 1961). In the *Gurgān-Gunbad-i Kābūs* area of the Caspian piedmont, soils are extremely fertile and include deep horizons of podzolic soils. Such fertility combines with heavy rainfall over much of the plains, with the *Bandar Pahlavi-Lāhidjān* area receiving an annual average of no less than 1,800 millimetres, though precipitation amounts decline very steeply southwards and more gradually to the east, *Bābulsar* receiving 819.7 millimetres and *Gurgān* 649.8 millimetres.

Drainage is highly variable in type. Many short streams run down to the Caspian Sea between *Āstārā* and *Rizvāndeh* and between *Rūdsar* and *Nūr*. The plain is also traversed by the braided distributaries of the *Safid Rūd*, some water of which is diverted artificially by tunnel to the *Fūmenāt* district. Flooding of the *Safid Rūd* delta was a usual occurrence until the construction of the *Safid Rūd (Shāhbānū Farāh)* dam and its associated re-regulation works and present-day river levels are only fractionally below those of the plain itself, thereby permitting direct off-take of irrigation water for the inundation of rice-paddies which form the major item of land use in this zone. Further east, the rivers tend to be more incised, making irrigation more difficult, though rice remains the dominating crop of the lowlands proper as far east as *Galūgāh*.

Although rice has become increasingly important in the modern period, often on land reclaimed from the sea, swamps and lower slopes of the *Alburz*, and tea plantations have taken over the undulating land above the Caspian plain, other crops have considerable national importance, including tobacco, citrus fruits (particularly in the *Shahsavār-Čālūs* region), and sunflower seeds. Mulberry trees are present in large numbers and a small-scale silk industry survives as a fractional legacy of the former traditional economic basis of the area. The *Gurgān* and *Gunbad-i Kābūs* plains produce large quantities of cotton and grains on lands only recently reclaimed to arable use. Forestry activity on the higher slopes of the *Alburz*, where the *Hyrcanian* forest survives over a considerable acreage, is economically important, though the timber resource has been abused in the past by random cutting for construction and charcoal burning purposes. A flourishing fishing industry exists in the small Caspian ports and coastal villages and along the rivers of the region. The state-controlled caviar interest has had international significance for many years and is of continuing importance despite rigorous supervision of sturgeon fishing made necessary by fears of over-rapid depletion of the species. Local and *Tehran* markets are supplied with fresh-water fish caught in the rivers, particularly the *Safid Rūd*. Although the Caspian

ports suffered eclipse following the end of World War II as a result of restrictions on trade with the U.S.S.R., the many problems posed by the silting up of the harbours and the recession of the coastline, the expansion of the Irano-Soviet trade since 1965 has led to the reinvigoration of trade and communications sectors in the area. Bandar Pahlavi handles both Irano-Soviet exchanges and an increasing volume of international transit trade.

4. Summary: Geology, soils and climate combine to give Iran an extremely varied face. Within the broad regions of the Plateau, the Mountain Chains and the Lowlands, very considerable contrasts in land, water and mineral resource endowment are to be found between localities even in close geographical proximity. Differing responses to these underlying variations in natural conditions and isolation of areas from the mainstream of the nation's life caused by strong physical barriers to movement between the regions have accentuated Iran's regional diversity.

*Bibliography:* Bariland *et al.*, *Preliminary metallogenic map of Iran*, Geological Survey of Iran, No. 7, 1965; British Admiralty, *Persia*, Naval Intelligence, London 1944; M. L. Dewan, *Soil map of Iran*, 1: 2, 500,000, Soil Dept., FAO, Tehran 1961; W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East*, London 1956; idem, *Cambridge History of Iran*, Chap. 1, 1968, Vol. 1; A. Gabriel, *The Southern Lut and Iranian Baluchestan*, Geogr. Jour., lxxx (1938); A. Gansser, *New aspects of the Geology of central Iran*, Proc. 4th Petr. Congr. Rome, 1955; J. V. Harrison, *Cambridge History of Iran*, Chap. 2, Vol. 1, 1968; Iranian Government, Ministry of Roads, Meteorological Service, *Meteorological Yearbooks*, various years; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953; eadem, *Persian Land reform 1962-66* London 1969; G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, *The geological history of the Mesopotamian plains*, Geogr. Jour., cviii (1952); G. M. Lees and F. D. S. Richardson, *The geology of the oilfield belt of south-west Iran*, Geol. Mag., lxxvii (1940); C. M. MacGregor, *Gazetteer of Persia*, G.S.H.Q., India, Simla, Vol. 1, 1871; idem, *Narrative of a journey through the province of Khorasan and on the north-west frontier of Afghanistan in 1875*, London 1879; J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, Paris 1905; A. Mostofi, *Lūt-i rangī ahmad*, Gozāreshhā-yi Djoḡrāfiyā'i, Tehran 1348; J. Murray, *Iran To-day*, Tehran 1950; National Iranian Oil Company, *Geological map of Iran*, 1: 2, 500,000, with explanatory notes, Tehran 1959; T. M. Oberlander, *The Zagros streams*, New York 1965; Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for Official Use, Persia, 1955; M. Pürkemāl, *Bar-rasihā-yi kartōgrāfi dar janūb-i sharqī-yi Irān*, Gozāreshhā-yi Djoḡrāfiyā'i, Tehran 1349; Plan Organisation, *Socio-economic development plan for the south-eastern region*, Italconsult, 1960; A. Rivière, *Contribution à l'étude géologique de l'Elbourz*, *Révue Géogr. Phys. et Géologie Dyn.*, vii (1934); University of Tehran, *Climatic Atlas of Iran*, Tehran 1348.

(K. S. McLACHLAN)

#### ii.—DEMOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

The distribution of population in Iran, and the ways in which its peoples make their livings, are to a considerable extent a function of its geography (see above). A horseshoe-shaped arc of varying width containing habitable mountains and other arable and pastoral lands, encloses the nucleus of a desert. Because this arc points northwestward, where it

merges into the highlands of Irāk and Turkey, the bulk of the Iranian population is concentrated near its borders. Since Achaemenian times this habitation pattern has posed an administrative problem to the successive Iranian governments.

Geography has thus also contributed to a diversity of peoples, a problem which the Achaemenians solved by creating the first empire, one in which minorities were allowed local autonomy in dress, religion, speech, and other aspects of culture within a single political framework. This diversity has continued until modern times. To the southwest, Iran touches Arab country, with many Arabs living on contiguous Irākī soil, as well as on Baḡrayn Island (which Iran once claimed). To the northwest the crest of the Zagros splits the Kurdish people, and the northwestern corner of Iran, bordering on Turkey and Soviet Ādharbāyḡdīān, contains populations speaking Āzari Turkish, while other Turks are found on Iranian territory east of the Caspian Sea as well as in the southern Zagros. To the east, Iran's borders with Afghānistān and Pakistan are overlapped by Persian-speaking Čahār Lang Mongols, Balūcis, and a few Brāhūis.

The population of Iran, most recently (1967-9) estimated at 26,284,000 persons, may be divided as follows (see Table I):

4,783,000 inhabitants of cities of over 50,000, or about 18% of the total; 1,110,000, or about 4%, living in smaller cities; and 18,660,000, or about 71%, living in more than 40,000 villages; plus about 1,742,000 "others", including tribal nomads and Gypsies.

As Table II indicates, one sixth of the population of Iran is still tribally organized, whether nomadic or sedentary. In the tribes designated by (f) on Table II the count was made by families, households, or tents, rather than by individuals. Because most tribal "families" are extended households, the number of such units has been multiplied by ten in each case. Although most of these counts were made over twenty years ago, if the number of houses has increased and the number of persons per household has decreased, the tribal populations may not have changed much, especially as some of the tribal people have been lost to the cities.

TABLE I  
Population by types of settlement

<i>Cities</i>		
Tehran	2,317,116	
Tabriz	387,803	
Iṣfahān	339,909	
Mashhad	312,186	
Ābādān	302,189	
Shirāz	229,761	
Hamadān	114,610	4,003,574
<hr/>		
Kirmānshāh		
Ahvāz	said to be over 100,000 in 1964.	
Rasht		ca. 330,000
<hr/>		
Arāk		
Ardabil		
Dizfūl	said to be between 50,000 and	
Ḳazvin	100,000 in 1964.	
Yazd		
Ḳumm		ca. 450,000
<hr/>		
Total urban = ca. 4,783,357 = 18.2% of population		

<i>Towns</i>	
Towns of 5,000—50,000, ca.	1,109,000 = 4.2% of population
<i>Villages*</i> , numbering over 40,000	
	ca. 18,661,640 = 71.0% of population
<i>"Others"***</i>	
	ca. 1,740,860 = 6.6% of population
<i>Total</i>	
	ca. 26,284,000 = 100%
* Includes tribal and non-tribal, sedentary and seasonally nomadic.	
** Probably includes full nomadic.	

TABLE II  
*Tribal Peoples*

<i>Zagros</i>			
Kurds (Kurdistan)	600,000		K
Lurs	300,000		P
Bakhtiyāris	300,000		P
Kuh Galus	150,000	f	P
Mamassanis	55,000	f	P
Kāshghāi	625,000	f	T
Khāmseh	525,000	f	PTA
<i>Northwest, Alburz, and East Caspian Plain</i>			
Shāhsavans	200,000		T
W. Elburz	30,000	f	KT
E. Elburz	280,000	f	KT
Turkomans	100,000	f	T
Kirghiz	500		T
<i>Southern Coast and Southeast</i>			
Arabs	1,200,000		A
Balūčis	120,000		B
Brāhūis	10,000	f	D
Sistān	42,000	f	PBD
<i>Total</i>			
	4,537,500 or 16.5%		of whole
K = Kurdish	P = Persian	T = Turkish	
B = Balūči	A = Arabic	D = Dravidian	
f = count by families.			

Except for about 15,000 Zoroastrians remaining in and about Yazd and Kirmān, the ethnic Persians, including the tribal ones, are Shi'ī, and so are most of the Arabs living in Iran. Over two million more of the Shāh's subjects are Sunnis, particularly the migratory Kurdish tribes of the northwest, the Turkomans, and the Balūčis. Ismā'īlis and Bahā'īs still persist in Iran, and the Lur tribesmen were, and may secretly still be, 'Alī Ilāhīs.

In 1960 there were still some 60,000 Jews in Iran, engaged mostly in the professions and trade, whereas many of the Kurdish Jews of Sanandaj and Saqqiz had already migrated to Israel. Almost equally scattered were over 50,000 Armenians, although some had left Iran for Soviet Armenia. Armenian villages may still be seen in the northwest, and the entire suburb, or half-city of Djulfā-Isfahān is Armenian.

Armenians and Georgians, both used to cold weather, occupy throughout the year villages in the summer pastures of the Kāshghāi. Like the Jews, the Armenians specialize in the professions, in trade, and also in truck-driving. A colony of Nestorian Christians who call themselves Assyrians and speak Syriac are concentrated in and about Režā'iyye. They number over 20,000. Many others have migrated to

the United States. Both the Armenians and the Assyrians have undergone strong American and British missionary influence.

Except for the addition of a certain amount of modern industry, the cities of Iran are essentially commercial. In them handicrafts flourish and imported as well as local products are sold in modern shops and in covered bazaars. During the last thirty or forty years Tehran has replaced Tabriz as the largest city, and has drawn to itself persons from all over the nation, including gardeners from Zabol, Turkoman truckdrivers, an intellectual élite educated mostly abroad, the absentee owners of thousands of villages, and a host of public servants. In summer those who can afford it move to the mountain slopes north of the city or to resorts on the Caspian shore.

The usual Iranian village is an assemblage of mudbrick or pisé dwellings roofed with poplar poles covered with earth. The poles are cut from the closely packed rows of quick-growing poplars that line nearly every canal and stream. In regions lacking such watercourses a row of circular mounds, like hollow molehills, stretches from the hills across the sloping plain to the village. These mounds mark the course of a deep, manmade, underground stream called a *kanāt* [q.v. & see MĀ']. Sheltered from evaporation, it is the product of highly skilled labour. *Kanāt*-diggers are specialists from the Gurgān region who go wherever their services are needed.

Apart from the aforementioned poplars and fruit trees, the typical landscape is almost bare of vegetation taller than short grass, for the goats and sheep keep it down and every day women and children go out to collect low bushes and twigs for fuel. There is usually one carpenter in the village, but most of the men are engaged in agriculture, while the boys tend the flocks.

In the absence of the landlord, whom many of the villagers may never have seen, the community is run by his agent, the *kakkhudā*, who allocates the land, provides most of the tools, and collects the rent. This usually consists of four-fifths of the grain produced by each man, unless he is the lucky owner of an ox used in ploughing, in which case he may receive the share of five men and may not need to work.

In tribal territory the village may belong to the tribe as a whole, and in non-tribal territory there were, even twenty years ago, a few "free" villages owned by the villagers themselves, and ruled by their own headmen who paid taxes directly to the government. Under the current land reforms instituted by the present Shāh, the number of such villages has increased.

The principal respites from the dreary, impoverished routine of most villagers' lives come from weddings and other rites of passage, from the celebration of the 'āshūrā [q.v.], and particularly from *Nawrūz*. Beginning at the vernal equinox, this holiday lasts twelve days. In the balmy spring weather, families move out to the fields to picnic and to disport themselves. Each family collects seven plants and foods whose Persian names begin with S, as does the word for green, the colour of spring. They are apples, malt, sweet biscuits, chives, garlic, vinegar, and hyacinth. These offerings are placed in a prominent place in each house, and thrown out on the thirteenth day.

The Persians are fond of athletic competitions such as wrestling and weight-lifting, and in the cities specially clothed men in need of exercise practise with Indian clubs and dumb-bells, in special gymnasia, to the beat of drums and recitations from the *Shāh-nāma*. Such a gymnasium is called a *sūrkhāna* [q.v.].

The northern Kurds live in villages ruled by their own chiefs during the winter, but in spring it was their habit, until forbidden by the government, to migrate each spring to high pastures across the 'Irāqī border, and return before snowfall. They are Sunnis and prefer the type of marriage common among Arabs, in which a young man marries his paternal uncle's daughter. They have three cities, Mahābād, Sanandāji, and Saqqīz, of which the third, until recently, included a considerable Kurdish-speaking Jewish population. Around Kirmānshāh the local Kurds have become detribalized tenant farmers and Shi'ī.

In the mountains south of the Kurds live the Lurs, who speak an aberrant form of archaic Persian. Although nominally Shi'ī, they were formerly openly 'Alī Ilāhīs. Like the Zoroastrians, they revere bread and fire. Being split up into numerous tribes and sections, they migrate to their summer pastures as separate bands without overall command. In 1936 Rezā Shāh's army conquered them, with much bloodshed and starvation, forcing many of the survivors to settle in villages under landlords.

Next to the south are the Bakhtiyārīs, who speak a dialect similar to that of the Lurs. They are a powerful confederation under the command of a paramount chief called the *Ilkhāni*. In their annual migrations they move simultaneously over five routes from their winter to their summer pastures, crossing the Shustar River partly by fording and partly on inflated skins. Their winter pasture lies on the lowlands and foothills of the lower course of the Kārūn river in Khūzistān, their summer pasture in the long alpine valley of the Upper Kārūn. In both places they have permanent villages, the summer ones occupied by Armenians and Georgians. In between, the Bakhtiyārī chiefs own many of the villages through which they pass. Their migrations require much organization, accurate planning, and exact timing, and armed horsemen police the migrants and their flocks on the way. Kinship ties are strong and succession to the chieftainship is by primogeniture.

Very little is known about the Kuh Galus, who live south and east of the Bakhtiyārīs, except that they are organized into some six tribes, some sections of which speak Turkish, the others Persian. They are under the control of four families which, unlike the ruling élite of the Bakhtiyārīs, include (or did so until recently) few if any men with modern education. The same generalizations may be made of the Mamassanis, about whom even less information is to be found in the pertinent literature.

Beyond the Mamassanis are the Kashghāys, members of a powerful confederation divided into twelve tribes. Their Turkish-speaking ancestors moved out of the Central Asiatic grasslands about 700 years ago, crossing Iran to their present home in the southern Zagros. About half are still nomadic. Every year the latter make the longest biennial migration in Iran, some 350 miles in each direction. They winter between the Fahlian River on the north and the encircling Mand River on the northeast, east, and south; westward it reaches the coast. It is split into two sections by a tongue of Mamassani territory on the Upper Shāhpūr River. Their summer pastures lie in two adjoining regions. One is in the Niriz basin, the hills flanking the headwaters of the Upper Pulvar River and the great bend of the Upper Kūr River. The other is on the western side of the Zagros watershed on the plateau between Abādeh and Shāhrezā. These summer pastures are verdant but

treeless, ideal country for breeding horses, in which the Kashghāy specialize, importing stallions from Arabia.

Although they follow several routes on the lower and upper parts of their migration, all must converge at a place called Guyum some twenty miles north of Shirāz, and a vulnerable spot. In Shirāz is their tribal headquarters, a palace occupied by four brothers who rule the tribe, and who can reach Guyum in less than hour by jeep. On the march the Kashghāy ride both horses and camels along the valley bottoms, while along the ridges to either side mounted men drive their seven million or so sheep, mostly fat-tailed.

Although nominally Shi'ī, the Kashghāy rulers govern by the Turkish *'ādat*, or customary law, instead of by the *shari'a*. The four brothers hold their power in common because, in order to survive, the confederation needs tight organization, run like clockwork. The brothers must constantly make the rounds of the followers, listen to complaints, administer *ad hoc* justice, officiate at ceremonies, and make their presences known and felt. Like that of the Bakhtiyārī, their ruling family includes men educated in Europe and America. As might be expected, from time to time their autonomy has been challenged by the central government.

The easternmost of the Zagros nomads are the Khamsehs, so-called because they consist of five units, brought together over 100 years ago under the leadership of the Kavām family of merchants in Shirāz. One unit, the Bāširi tribe, is Persian-speaking. A second, consisting of the Jebbara and Shaybāni and other Arab tribes, all speak Arabic, while the third is made up of the Turkish-speaking Aynalu, Baharlu, and Nafar. The first two are now settled while the third has joined the Bāširi. In winter the Khamseh nomads live on the coastal plain east of the Kashghāy. They move to and from their summer pastures, also located east of the Kashghāy's, via the Persepolis plain and over different routes. On both migrations, but not in winter or summer quarters, the Bāširi are accompanied by Gypsies who provide them with services in return for protection.

Returning to northwestern Iran, in the country bordering Soviet Ādharbāydzjān, we are next concerned with the Turkish-speaking Shāhsavans, or King's Guards. North of Menab and near Khūy, they occupy about 100 villages with about 100,000 inhabitants, and an equal number of seasonal nomads are organized into four main tribes, living farther east. These tribesmen are seasonally nomadic, living during the summer in felt-covered yurt-like portable dwellings, with their roofs reaching a peak rather than being domed. They are first-rate horsemen, and long served the Shāhs as guardians of the Russian border.

The two northernmost tribes spend their summers on the Savālān Dāgh between Ahar and Ardabil, and winter on the Mughān Steppe, a lowland area shared by the Ādharbāydzjān SSR and Iranian Ādharbāydzjān. The other two summer in the hills north of Sāwa and Hamadān and move in winter to the inner side of the central plateau, on the northern edge of the Dasht-i Kavir, which is snow-free at that season.

In the western Alburz mountains live a few other tribes, both Turkish and Kurdish speaking, who dwell in black tents in high pastures during the summer, and winter lower down, but not far enough down to avoid deep snow; in winter some of their sheep freeze and wolves devour them.

In the eastern Alburz, east of a line between



Gurgān and Dāmghān, the crest of the range divides, forming the walls of a valley whose waters flow into both the Atrak River and the canals of Mashhad. Both Kurds and Turks have lived in this valley ever since Shāh ‘Abbās moved them there from the Zagros in about 1031/1622. While the Turks have since become sedentary, the Kurds are still partly pastoral, and live in black tents.

A different type of pastoral nomadism is practised by the Yamut Turkomans who live in domed, felt-covered yurts north of Gurgān from the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea to Gunbad-i Kābūs. Beyond the Russian border, more than 600,000 more Turkomans are found in the Turkmen SSR and in Afghanistan. The Turkomans are typical Central Asiatic nomads, who raise horses, cattle, sheep, and hardy one-humped camels. They drive four-wheeled wagons, as well as riding horseback, and many now drive cooperatively-owned trucks. Their women weave the famous rugs known to the trade as Bokharas.

On the outskirts of Gurgān city is a refugee camp of about 500 Kirghiz who fled from the Soviet Union in 1935 and 1936. They are mostly employed by the Highway Department in moving earth in their high, two-wheeled carts.

Moving to the Persian Gulf, we find Arabs scattered all the way from the ‘Irāki border to Pakistan, except for a stretch of shore held by the Kashghāy and the Persian port of Bushire, out of which Persian dhows sail as far afield as Aden and the African coast. Most of the Arab population of Iran is tribally organized, whether sedentary or nomadic, and Shī‘ī, although one tribe, the Banū Tamim, is Sunnī. The two largest tribes are the Āl Kathīr and the Banū Lam.

Most of the semi-settled tribes keep cattle, sheep, and camels, cultivate rice and other cereals, and either own or work in date groves. This mixed economy sets complicated time-tables for some of them. For example, the Muḥaysin leave their palm groves on the east bank of the Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab in November to sow their grain fields along the banks of the Kārūn River, return in February to pollinate their date-palms, and are off again in May to reap their grain, going back once more to harvest their dates in July and August. Like their brethren west

of the Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab, they are in every sense unacculturated ethnic Arabs, although none are full-time camel nomads like the bedouin.

Farther east along the coast are maritime settlements of Arab seamen who ply their dhows and *būms* to both sides of the Indian Ocean. Lingeh is their principal port. Nomadic, tentdwelling Arabs also live in small groups scattered along the eastern edge of the Dasht-i-Lūt and beyond Mashhad into Soviet territory.

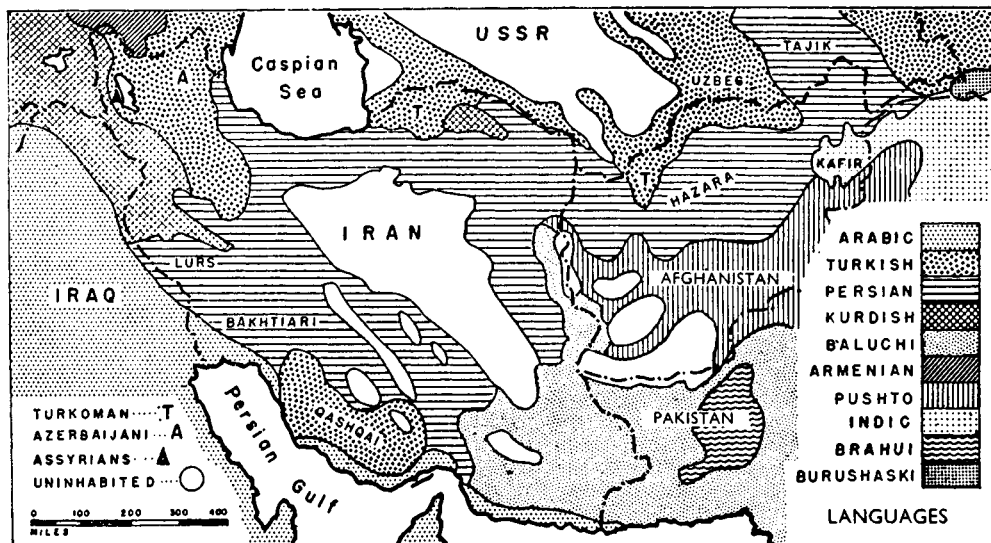
Except for the coast, the southeastern corner of Iran is principally occupied by Balūčīs, whose territory also extends northward between the edge of the desert and the Afghān border to Lake Hāmūn, fed by the Helmand River. Others live in Afghānistān and Pakistan; in the latter country they are most numerous. Their economic adaptation is to desert country where grass grows in winter. In summer they camp near permanent water; along *kanāts* serving dependent Persian villages and along the banks of the Helmand and Hari Rūd. Divided into more than a dozen tribes, the Balūčīs are Sunnīs, but they also revere the graves of *pīrs*, or holy men.

Like the Kurds, they speak an Iranian language of their own. They breed horses, asses, mules, camels, and sheep. Considering themselves a warrior caste, the Balūčīs used to keep the caravan roads open for a fee, to draw rent from villages that they own, and to raid each other for slaves.

Scattered among the Balūčīs are Dravidian-speaking Brāhūīs, whose home is in Kalat in Pakistan. They live in small groups of families all the way up the eastern side of Iran to Mashhad and Sarakhs. Many of the Brāhūī men serve in the police and the national gendarmerie.

Near Lake Hāmūn in Sistān live four tribes of nomadic Persians, the Sarbandīs, Shārekīs, Khimars, and Herātīs, totalling about four thousand families. About them we have no detailed information. In the swamps and along the aquatic labyrinth of the mouths of the Helmand is a small population of fishermen and fowlers called Šayyād (“hunters”). They catch both fish and ducks in nets, and appear to be the residue of an earlier hunting people.

Viewing the demography and ethnography of Iran



Languages of Iran and Afghanistan

From *Caravan, the Story of Middle East*, by Carleton S. Coon, London 1952.

as a whole, it would be hard to find another Islamic country of its size as decentralized as Iran is geographically and containing as many different peoples and languages. Yet since Achaemenian times it has remained, with a few interruptions, a nation, the world's oldest empire, and with the help of modern transportation and communication, it seems so destined to remain.

*Bibliography:* F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia: the Basseri tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy*, Bulletin No. 8, Universitets Etnografiske Museum, Oslo 1961; Baron C. A. de Bode, *On the Yamud and Gokland tribes of Turkomania*, in *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, (Edinburgh 1848), 60-78; E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians, 1887-1888*, London 1950; M. C. Cooper and E. B. Schoedsack, *Grass*, New York 1925; J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys and wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Beloochistan*, London 1856; E. R. Leach, *Social and economic organization of the Rowanduz Kurds*, London School of Economics and Political Science Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 3, London 1940; S. B. Miles, *Countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, 2 vols., London 1919; Youel Mirza, *Stripling*, New York 1940; Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Oxford 1922; D. L. Wilber, *Iran, past and present*, Princeton 1948; Sir Arnold Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1928; S. G. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, New York 1895

(C. S. COON)

iii.—LANGUAGES—[see suppl.]

iv.—PRE-ISLAMIC MYTHOLOGY

The chief sources for Iranian mythology are the *Avesta* and the deeds of kings and heroes collected by the historians and poets of the early centuries of Islam. Their information doubtless came from the "ancient annals" of Iran, the *Khudāy-nāmak*. The longest of these works is the famous *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi (330/941-411/1020 [g.v.]). The evidence of ancient Greek historians, rock inscriptions and some Mazdaean books and literary works, rich in pre-Islamic materials but often compiled in Islamic times, are also very valuable. Besides the *Avesta* attributed to Zoroaster, there may be mentioned the *Denkart* (a vast commentary on the *Avesta*, completed in the 3rd/9th century), and the great *Bundahishn* (Book of the Creation). Numerous Mazdaean works written in Pahlavi, the bearers of the ancient tradition, have in large measure only been known for less than two centuries, and the Islamic Iranian world was dependent on traditions recorded in Persian and Arabic by early Muslim writers for its knowledge of a history that was partly only mythology. Ancient Iran continued for a long time to elaborate its mythology from pre-Mazdaean and Mazdaean sources. In the course of centuries chivalrous exploits and an exalted human dignity were grafted on to them. This elaboration in its popular form, written down in Persian, came to an end in the 5th/11th century when the pre-Islamic sources and the oral traditions gave birth to several "books of kings" and historical summaries culminating in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi.

Iranian mythology, rich as it is, has some common features and some undeniable affinities with that of India, but the power and preponderant role of some Indian gods are relegated to a secondary level in Iran.

The analogies and differences between the myths

of Iran and those of the Indo-European world are particularly worthy of interest and reveal some relationship between their systems of thought. The tripartite idea of society (priests, warriors and cattle-breeders/agriculturalists) which G. Dumézil remarkably demonstrated in the mythology of India and the Indo-European peoples is at present held in great favour. These three hierarchical functions which are confirmed in the *Avesta* (Y. xi, 6, xiii, 3; Yt xiii, 88-9, xix, 8, xxiv, 16; Vt iv, 28, 57-8, xiii, 44-6, etc.) and to which the *Yasna* xix, 17, adds a fourth, that of the artisans, continued with some slight modifications (priests, *dabirān* officials, warriors and artisans-peasants) to make up the social order of Iran until the end of the Sasanid period. There is every reason to believe that the tetramorous division of society, whether it was due to the *Yasna* or to the social reorganization of the Sasanid period, follows this triad of hierarchical functions.

Certain memories preserved in the *Gathas* (the oldest part of the *Avesta*) and several *Yashts* of the *Avesta* betoken a pre-Mazdaean mythology. The two primordial spirits, Spēnta mainyu (Holy Spirit) and Ahra mainyu (Spirit of Evil) correspond to the two antithetic aspects of *Vayu*, at the same time the good and the bad wind which is the breathing-spirit and the motive force of the Universe. The Indian counterpart of *Vayu* is *Vāyu* who stands at the head of a series of functional divinities. In the same manner, but by a reversal of the Indian position, the Iranians contrasted the nature of the ahura (Indian asura) with that of the daēva (Indian déva). These latter, whom the Indians considered as good, take on a malignant character in Iran, while the malignant asura make way for the benign Iranian ahura. The Indian god Indra, who is assigned the function of a warrior, sees his role reversed in Iran where he becomes a demon in the *Vīdēvdāt* (the part of the *Avesta* dealing with canonical law and exorcism) x, 9 and xix, 43.

The series of the great Mazdaean divinities is made up of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god, and six entities called Amasha Spēnta (Holy Immortals) who surround him: 1) *Vahu Manah* (Good Spirit), an entity protecting the conscience of just men and to whom the ox is connected. Her auxiliaries are *Māh* (the Moon), *Geush Urvan* (the spirit of the primordial ox) and *Rām*, a helping divinity which guides the soul after death. 2) *Asha* (Order-Justice), an entity guaranteeing cosmic and moral order. She is seconded by *Atar* (the divinity of Fire), *Vīragna* (a god who embodies the victorious attack) and *Sraoṣha* (a god of Vigilance and Obedience). 3) *Khshathra* (Kingdom), the entity presiding over metals and thus over arms and the army. She fills the role of warrior or rather of defender of the poor, and she is helped by the Sun, the Sky and *Mithras* whom a remarkable rise made a rival of Ahura Mazda and who became the object of a cult in the west, the cult of Mithraism. 4) *Armaiti* (Moderation), the goddess of fecundity and mercy, to whom the earth is linked. The secondary divinities accompanying her are *Ardivisura Anahita* (the waters) and in second place *Daēna* (or *Dēn* in Pahlavi), Religion. 5) *Haurvatāt* (Integrity) whose associated divinities are *Tishtriya* (Sirius), *Vāta* (the Wind), and the *Fravashī* (protective spirits). 6) *Amərətāt* (Immortality), the guardian of plants, around whom are gathered *Rashnu*, the infernal Judge, and the two divinities who lead dead souls over the bridge of *Činvat*: *Aštāt* and *Zām*. Finally, considered as seventh, there is again *Sraoṣha* who is added to this but who does not strictly belong to the category of the holy Immortals. In addition, a

multitude of Yazata and Fravashī, who are considered as divinities with less well defined roles, fill out the Iranian pantheon, and hence the idea arises that the origin of angels might be linked to them and to the holy Immortals. A malignant spirit belonging to the train of Ahra Mainyu is opposed to each divinity in the cortege of Ahura Mazda.

If the tripartite division of G. Dumézil is borne in mind, the entities Vahu Manah and Aṣha correspond to the Indian gods Mitra and Varuṇa and they fulfil, along with Ahura Mazda, the first function—the priesthood and sovereign order. The function of warrior is incumbent upon the Iranian *Khshathra* as it is upon the Indian Indra. Finally, the function of production and wealth is shared between Armaiti (goddess of fertility, the Earth) and the Haurvatāt and Amərətāt who are related to the Indian divinities, the goddess Sarasvati, the twins Nāsatyas, and others.

The Mazdaean holy Immortals are at the same time abstract representations giving Ahura Mazda his fullness and beings who, although superior to creatures, remain inferior to Ahura Mazda. They are shown both as personal Agents and personified Powers. The antagonism which sets the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil in opposition, the basis for Iranian dualism, is the metaphysic and the morality of this mythology. According to the great *Bundahishn* (ch. 1), the Upper World, spiritual and luminous, has been the domain of Hormazd (Ahura Mazda) since the beginning of creation, while the nether region is the shadowy world of Ahriman (Ahra Mainyu). An intermediate space divides these two worlds, a mixed world in which good and evil do battle. In this continuous conflict the force of Ahriman faces the army of Hormazd and finally the Spirit of Good triumphs over the Spirit of Evil. Each being must take part in this struggle and it is thanks to his meritorious actions, his good thoughts and words, that Man participates in the final victory.

Ahura Mazda has gradually taken the place of Spənta Mainyu, his own emanation, so as to confront the Spirits of Evil himself. He has granted Ahra Mainyu a respite of 12,000 years and knows his plans in advance.

Alongside this divine mythology, there is a human mythology related to it. In large measure it is presented in the form of historical epics situated (with some exceptions such as the longevity of certain heroes) on the human plane. They tell of a succession of events which are linked together by their own chronology. The first man, Gayomart, directly succeeding the creation of the primordial ox, his source of food, gives birth to an androgynous plant which divides into two, *Mashya* and *Mashyāni*, the ancestors of human beings. According to the *Avesta* the first sovereign is not Gayomart, as the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī states, but Yima (or *Djamshīd* in Persian). A latent force, described as a victorious light (*Khvarnah*), a witness of celestial favour, protects Iran and numerous sovereigns and ancient heroes. The *Khvarnah* abandons Yima who has committed a sin (falsehood or pride) and thus Azhi Dahāka, a foreign tyrant, defeats Yima and steals his kingship. *Θraitauna* (= Faridūn), an Iranian hero who has become king thanks to the protection of *Khvarnah*, triumphs over Azhi Dahāka (Y. ix, 8; Yt xiv, 40, xix, 92; Vt i, 17) and puts him in chains on mount Damāvand. He is at the beginning of the universal genealogy of races and human peoples since he shared out the world among his three sons: to Irādī went Iran and India; to Salm the countries to the west of

Iran, i.e., the lands of the Semites and the blacks; and to Tūr the countries to the east of Iran, the lands of the Turks (Central Asia) and the Chinese (the Far East). This division of the world is not without echoes of Noah's giving the country of the Turks to Japheth, the tropical countries to Ham, and the lands of the Semites to Shem.

Several kings of this Pēshdādi dynasty, the descendants of Irādī, reign in succession in Iran and then make way for the second mythical dynasty, that of the Kayāni (Kayānids). *Yasht* xix (*Zamyad Yasht*) and *Yasht* xiii (*Farvardīn Yasht*) of the *Avesta* mention a list of Pēshdādi and Kayāni heroes and kings on the occasion of praises addressed to their *Khvarnah* and their Fravahr (or Fravashī), i.e., their protective spirits. Among them may be mentioned the Kayānids Kavi Usan (Persian Kay Kāvūs), Kavi Haosravah (Kay *Khosraw*), and Kavi Višhtāspa (Kay *Goshasp*). It was under Višhtāspa that Zoroaster preached his doctrine. The Pēshdādi and Kayāni kings are personal-types of Iranian mythology. Moreover, it is to be noted that, if the figures of the first dynasty are common with those of India, the Kayānids who make up the second dynasty are specifically Iranian heroes.

These historicised myths recount the main facts which occurred in an era without archives. This human mythology mingles with the other divine one and, by a cyclical conception of time, the Pahlavi Mazdaean books explain the reappearance of certain ancient heroes and kings, Pēshdādids and Kayānids, who are to play their definitive role at the end of time. The three sons of Zoroaster are to succeed each other every three thousand years from the beginning of the fourth millennium. The last of these sons, Saoshyant, will, together with Kay *Khosraw*, put an end to the corruption and iniquity of the world. The champion Saoshyant will finally give way to Zoroaster, and the king Kay *Khosraw* to *Goshasp*. Thus there will be established eternal life and the return to cosmic origins.

An apocalyptic literature, enriched by elements of myth and folklore, flourished in the Mazdaean books and expressed the hopes of believers.

On the margin of Mazdaean orthodoxy was to be found the belief in a god of time, Zurvān, who engendered two sons, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, whose struggle began even in the womb. Ahriman, conceived of doubt, struggled to come into the world before Ohrmazd, but Zurvān made his plans miscarry. The cult of Mithras (propagated about the beginning of the Christian era) and Manichaeism (preached after the 3rd century A.D.) preserved the dualist nature of Iranian religious thought, and it was not until its encounter with Islam that the mythical antagonism of Mazdaism was directed towards an absolute monotheism by the accentuation of its moral and transcendental values.

*Bibliography*: Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, (2. Unveränderte Auflage, Berlin 1961); J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris 1892-3, 3 vol.; A. Meillet, *Trois conférences sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta*, Paris 1925; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre. Étude critique avec une traduction des Gāthā*, Paris 1948; E. Benveniste and L. Renou, *VRTRA et VRΘRAGNA. Étude de mythologie indo-iranienne*, Paris 1934; Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazdar Framarz*, Bombay 1932; B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Ākāsīh Iranian or Greater Bundahishn*, Bombay 1956; E. W. West, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxxvii (Pahlavi texts:

*Dīnkarā*, Book v, vii), Delhi 1892 (New Ed. 1965); H. S. Nyberg, *Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes*, in *JA*, April-June 1929; J.-P. de Menasce, *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne, le Dēnkarī*, Paris 1958; idem, *La mythologie mazdéenne*, in *Mythologie de la Méditerranée au Gange*, Paris 1963, 202-19; M. J. Dresden, *Dēnkarī. A Pahlavi text*, Wiesbaden 1966; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, Copenhagen 1944; idem, *Le premier chapitre du Vendīdād et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes*, Copenhagen 1943; F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels 1896-8; H. Ch. Puech, *Le Manichéisme, son fondateur, sa doctrine*, Paris 1949; R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvān, a Zoroastrian dilemma*, Oxford 1955; G. Dumézil, *Mythes et épopées*, Paris 1968; H. Massé, *Firdousi et l'épopée nationale*, Paris 1932; G. Widengren, *Les religions de l'Iran*, (trans. from German by L. Jospin), Paris 1968; M. Mokri, *La légende de Bīzān-u Manīja, version populaire du Sud du Kurdistan en langue gouranie* (épisode du *Shāhnāma*, épopée iranienne), Paris 1966; idem, *L'ange dans l'Islam et en Iran*, in *Anges, démons et êtres intermédiaires*, Paris 1969, 65-87. (M. MOKRI)

#### v.—HISTORY:

##### (a) TO THE TURKOMAN INVASIONS

The history of Persia is marked by a number of breaks in political continuity. The most significant is, perhaps, the Islamic conquest, which brought Persia's existence as an independent state to a temporary end. She did not become an independent political unit again until Šafavid times. During the intervening period she formed part of the Umayyad and then the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, and when that fragmented, after the period of the minor dynasties, she became the centre of successively the Great Saldjūk, İlkhān, and Timūrid empires, the frontiers of which extended beyond the geographical frontiers of Persia. In this article attention will be concentrated on events in Persia, but reference will inevitably be made frequently to a wider area, and in particular to 'Irāk and Transoxania.

The Arab conquest swept away the political framework of the Sasanian empire. The ruling family, the territorial princes and feudal magnates disappeared, and the power of the Zoroastrian clergy, which had been closely associated with the Sasanian empire, was broken. Nevertheless, the new civilization which grew up in the eastern provinces of the caliphate owed much to Sasanian Persia and the Persians played an important part in its development. There was, indeed, a two-fold movement of change, which took some time to work out. On the one hand Islamic theory reacted upon and influenced the development of Persian political, social, and economic institutions, while on the other hand Islamic theory was itself in part moulded and modified by the institutions and attitudes of mind which prevailed in Persia.

When the prophet Muḥammad was born the Sasanian empire under Anūshīrawān (A.D. 531-79) had every appearance of strength, but it no longer preserved its original form. Consequent upon the suppression of the revolt of Mazdak it had become a military despotism. The social discontent manifested by that revolt had been suppressed but not allayed. The prolonged wars with Rome and inroads by nomads from Central Asia had greatly weakened it. The rule of the later Sasanian monarchs was marked by anarchy and the persecution of Christian, Jewish,

and Sabeian minorities. The disappearance of the Lakhmids, a dynasty of Southern Arabian origin who were Persian vassals, moreover, left the western border of the Persian empire unprotected.

The first attack on the Sasanian empire by the Muslim Arabs began as a raid. Al-Muḥannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī, after the *riḍā* wars on the Eastern Arabian coasts, led an expedition into the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates. He encountered little opposition and won much booty. Abū Bakr then sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd with reinforcements to join him. By 13/634-5, when Khālīd was recalled to Syria, several towns, including Ḥīra, had capitulated or been captured. No permanent administration was established by the Arabs. Tribute was fixed upon the town and freedom of worship accorded. In return the people agreed not to commit hostile acts or aid the Persians. Similar terms were made with some other towns, but in the case of those taken by war, some of the inhabitants were killed, others sold into slavery, and tribute was exacted from the remainder.

The Persians, mounting a counter-offensive, defeated the Arabs at the battle of the Bridge and retook Ḥīra. In 14/635 al-Muḥannā temporarily reoccupied it. Yazdigird III, the last of the Sasanian kings, had meanwhile succeeded to the throne. With the defeat of Heraclius at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636) and the collapse of Byzantine resistance in Syria, a large body of troops was made available for operations against the Sasanians. 'Umar sent these east under Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās. The Persians were defeated at the battle of Kādisiyya and the Arabs occupied Ḥīra for the third time. They then took Madā'in, one of the Sasanian capitals, and shortly afterwards again defeated Yazdigird's army at Djalūlā (16/637).

The conquest of Persia which followed was undertaken mainly from the garrison cities of Baṣra and Kūfa. The area to the north of Nihāvand, taken by the Kūfāns, was known as Māh Kūfa, while the territory further south round Dinavar was taken by their Baṣran rivals and known as Māh Baṣra. The occupation of Khūzistān (17/638—21/642) was organized by the governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who also took part in the conquest of Mesopotamia (18/639—20/641). Expeditions also set out towards Ādharbāyḍjān from Mawsil. Ardabil capitulated about 20/641. The final defeat of the Persian army took place at Nihāvand in 21/642. Hamadān made peace and further conquests were made in the direction of Ādharbāyḍjān (variously recorded under the years 18/639—22/643). Expeditions were also sent against Kāzwin, Abhar, and Zandjān, and efforts made to take Daylam and Gilān. Hamadān appears to have broken the terms of the peace, for it is recorded as being stormed in 24/645. Rayy and Qumis fell also about 24/644-5.

Although the battles of Kādisiyya, Djalūlā and Nihāvand were decisive in the overthrow of the Sasanian empire, the conquest, which took place piecemeal, was not completed for many years and the conversion of its people took much longer. The conquest was carried out mainly from the garrison cities by Muslim Arabs, who were by this time far removed from their nomadic background. There was some settlement of Arabs chiefly in the towns; and also of some nomadic groups mainly in southern Persia and Khurāsān. Much of the former system of administration continued in operation. The tax records were kept in Pahlavi by local scribes until the time of Ḥadīdjādī [q.v.], and many of the *dahāqīn* continued to carry out on behalf of the Arabs the

functions they had fulfilled under the Sasanians (see also M. Sprengling, *From Persian to Arabic*, in *A. J. S. L.*, lvi-lvii (1939-40)). From the account of Ṭabarī it appears that prior to Anūshirawān the land tax was assessed on a crop-sharing basis. This led to abuses, and Anūshirawān replaced crop-sharing by measurement as the basis for assessment. He also reformed the poll-tax, grading it according to the taxpayer's income. The seven great families (including the royal family), the leading officials, soldiers, priests, and officials in the service of the king were exempt. The payment of poll-tax was, therefore, regarded as degrading.

After the defeat of the Persian army at Djalūlā, 'Umar was faced with the problem of the administration of the conquests in the Sawād. He could not conclude treaties as Khālid had done, because large areas had been abandoned by the ruling classes and had remained without a government. He therefore decided to immobilize the land and to levy land and poll taxes on the inhabitants, the revenue therefrom to be *fay'* for the profit of the Muslim warriors and those who came after them. In the name of the Muslim state, he assumed full ownership of the estates and villages which had formerly belonged to the Sasanian royal family and the nobility who had been killed or fled, leaving the peasants on the land, and of deserted and "dead" lands. This assumption of ownership carried with it the right to cultivate the lands for the state, give them away, sell them, or grant them as assignments, and to impose on the holders *kharađj* or *'ushr*. In the case of estates and villages still in the possession of their former owners, 'Umar considered that the legal title belonged to the Muslim state, on the grounds that their holders had resisted conquest, but he allowed them to remain in possession on condition that they paid to the Muslim state the taxes which had formerly been paid to Anūshirawān, and acted as the agents of the Muslim state in their collection. This category of land was probably the largest. Alterations were later made in the rates of taxation paid and the crops on which taxes were levied. This arrangement differed from the case of Hira and other towns which had treaties providing for the payment of a fixed sum. In such cases the population raised this sum by whatever means they wished, and after its payment were released from further interference by the Arab government.

In addition to land tax, the non-Muslims paid a graded poll-tax, except that in towns which had treaties they paid such tax only as their own officials assessed it. In 20/641 a *diwān* on the Persian model was set up, and in it were recorded receipts, expenditure, and stipends. It was not, however, until the reign of Mu'āwiya that the foundations of the future bureaucratic system were really laid, when Ziyād, the governor of Baṣra (45/665—50/670) and of 'Irāk (50/670—53/673), established *diwāns* and appointed Arabs and *mawālī* as secretaries. Several *dahāqin* became Muslims after the battle of Djalūlā and various groups in south Persia joined with the Arabs, but there is no evidence of widespread conversion after the early conquests. It also seems that some of those who were exempt from the payment of poll-tax in Sasanian times became Muslims rather than pay poll-tax to the Muslims, since to pay such was considered degrading.

The circumstances of conquest varied in different provinces and from this stemmed differences in the tax administration. Towns which did not capitulate before conquest, but asked for an armistice after resistance had seemed hopeless, were required to pay

a poll-tax in money and a contribution in kind, which could be increased or decreased as the population changed. The land, having been taken by force, was placed at the disposal of the *imām*, but in contradistinction to land which had capitulated before conquest ('*ahd* land) the terms of the agreement (*ṣulḥ*) could be changed. *Ṣulḥ* and '*ahd* lands had their own local administration, whereas *kharađj* lands were closely regulated by the Arab *diwāns*. (For a discussion of these problems see D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1950).

Although Yazdigird's supporters were still active in northern Fārs, organized resistance ceased with the defeats suffered by the royal army. Some local communities and *marzbāns* with their troops continued to resist. Others concluded treaties with the Arabs on their own account. Many of the Persian captives became *mawālī* and some of Yazdigird's army joined the Arabs. About 23/643 'Uṭhmān b. Abi 'l-Āṣ Ṭhaḳafi made advances into southern Fārs from Baḥrayn, supported by Abū Mūsā from Baṣra. Tawwādj fell and raids were made on other towns in Fārs. Further advances were made during the caliphate of 'Uṭhmān and between 25/644 and 27/647-8 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir, who had been appointed governor of Baṣra, took Arrađjān, Shāhpūr, Shīrāz, Sinīz, Dārābdjird, and Fasā. Iṣṭakhr fell in 28/648-9 and Gūr (Fīrūzābād) shortly afterwards. In the following year 'Abd Allāh set out for Khurāsān. Yazdigird, pursued by a Muslim force, had meanwhile fled via Kirmān to Marv. Sirdjān, Bam, and Djīruft were conquered, and Hurmuz fell in 30/650-1. Skirmishes with the inhabitants of the mountain districts of Kirmān continued for many years.

From Kirmān the Arabs under Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Hārithi pushed north-eastwards into Sistān. His successor was expelled from the country, but another expedition was sent by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir under 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, who penetrated to Zamin Dāwar, Bust, and Zābul. 'Abd Allāh had meanwhile reached Ṭabasayn and sent Aḥnāf b. Ḳays to take Kūhistān, whence he pressed on to Marv, which surrendered. Yazdigird fled to Balkh and over the Oxus to Tirmidh. In 31/651-2 he was murdered in flight near Murghāb. The Muslims under Aḥnāf took Djūzdjān and Balkh and advanced to Khwārazm. 'Abd Allāh had meanwhile set out for Nishāpūr, which surrendered. Bayhaḳ, Nisā, and Saraḳhs also fell. Another group went to Harāt (32/653). 'Abd Allāh then returned, leaving Ḳays b. al-Hayṭham as governor of Khurāsān.

'Uṭhmān died in 35/656. The conquests in Persia were not yet secure, and during the civil war the Arab advance was stayed. In Khurāsān fighting broke out between Muḍar and Rabi'ā. The disorders spread throughout the province and enabled the Trans-oxanian leaders to regain their independence which had been on the point of being extinguished. Balkh for a brief period fell under Chinese control. Numerous outbreaks of resistance also occurred in other parts of Persia. In 42/662 Mu'āwiya reappointed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir governor of Baṣra and the east. He sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura to restore Arab rule in Sistān and Khurāsān. Balkh was reconquered in 43/663, Sistān reoccupied and Kābul taken. The reconquest of Khurāsān, begun by Ḳays b. al-Hayṭham, was continued under Ziyād b. Abi Sufyān, who established a strong Arab garrison in Marv and shortly afterwards settled 50,000 Arab colonists in Khurāsān. Bukhārā was captured in 54/674 and Samarkand fell in 56/676.

In Khurāsān the local leaders had mainly capitulated by treaties (*'ahd*) which stipulated that a fixed sum should be paid annually to the Arabs. Local administration remained in the hands of the local leaders. The inhabitants, for the most part, continued to pay land, trade, and poll taxes as they had under the Sasanians; local officials kept the registers and collected the taxes, paying the stipulated amount to the Arabs and keeping the remainder. Conversion in Khurāsān, partly because of the large number of Arabs who had migrated there, was probably higher than elsewhere. Large numbers of *mawālī* are mentioned as accompanying the Arabs on their campaigns against the Turks of Central Asia. The local tax-collectors do not appear to have released all converts from poll-tax, or, if they did, they increased the converts' other taxes to compensate for the loss to the revenue of their poll-taxes. This led to discontent and rebellion. (See further Dennett, *op. cit.*).

'Irāk meanwhile had been reduced to a state of turmoil by the activities of the Khāridjites and the Shi'ā. In 66/685 Mukhtār, launching a revolt in the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, seized Kūfa. There were *mawālī*, many of whom were Persians, among his followers but his main support came from the dissatisfied Arabs of Kūfa. They were not defeated until 67/687. (See M. A. Shaban, *The 'Abbāsīd Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 145-6.) In 65/684-5 the Azāriḳa branch of the Khāridjites withdrew from 'Irāk to Khūzistān, and created many disorders in the territory between Baṣra and Ahwāz. After Muhallab b. Abi Ṣufra defeated them in 66/686 they retreated to Fārs. Regrouping themselves, they returned to 'Irāk and sacked Madā'in, but on the advance of an army from Kūfa they withdrew. They next attacked Iṣfahān, but were defeated and fled in disorder to Fārs and Kirmān (68/687-8). Once more they reassembled, reoccupied Ahwāz and advanced on Baṣra. 'Abd al-Malik had meanwhile recovered control of 'Irāk and appointed Ḥadjidjādī governor of the province in 75/694. Al-Muhallab, whom Ḥadjidjādī sent against the Azāriḳa, forced them to retreat to Kāzīrūn and then to evacuate Fārs. Retiring to Djiruft, they maintained themselves there for some years, but finally split among themselves. One group took refuge in Ṭabaristān, where they were defeated in 78-9/698-9, while a second remained in Kirmān, to be extirpated by al-Muhallab. The last remnants of the Azāriḳa were finally rooted out near Ḳūmis.

Civil war broke out in Khurāsān among the Arabs after the death of the caliph Yazīd in 64/683. In 78/697, after a renewed outbreak of disorder, 'Abd al-Malik added Khurāsān and Sistān to Ḥadjidjādī's government. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath [see IBN AL-ASH'ATH], who was sent by Ḥadjidjādī from Kirmān to Sistān, recovered part of the province. After Ḥadjidjādī had reproached him for not pushing his advance with greater vigour, he returned to 'Irāk, and attacked Ḥadjidjādī in Baṣra, but was defeated in 82/701. Khurāsān was then entrusted to al-Muhallab, but it was not until Ḥadjidjādī sent Ḳutayba b. Muslim to Khurāsān as governor in 85/705 or 86/705 that the Muslim advance was resumed. Lower Tukhārīstān was recovered in 86/705, Bukhārā between 87/706 and 90/709, and Arab authority consolidated in the Oxus valley and extended to Sughd between 91/701 and 93/712. Finally from 94/713 to 96/715 expeditions were sent into the Jaxartes province. (See further H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, and W. Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*<sup>3</sup>, London 1968). In 98/716, Yazīd b. Muhallab, who

had succeeded Ḳutayba as governor of Khurāsān, took Gurgān and invaded Ṭabaristān.

It appears that the status of '*ahd*' land in Khurāsān had meanwhile been altered to *khārādī* land, though exactly when this happened is not entirely clear. Converts were thus freed from the poll-tax, but this reform was not extended to Transoxania, where the tax system was probably not identical with that of Khurāsān. In 110/728-9 Abū Ṣaydā' b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf was sent to Transoxania by al-Ashras, the governor of Khurāsān, to summon the people to Islam. He appears to have promised exemptions from land and trade taxes to converts. When al-Ashras disregarded these promises and ordered these taxes to be taken from everybody regardless of their religion and position, revolt broke out. (The details of these events are not entirely clear. See further Shaban, *op. cit.* 111-2). The next ten years or so were occupied by military operations of a somewhat confused nature (see Bartold, *op. cit.*, 189 ff.). Arab dominion was not fully restored until the governorship of Naṣr b. Sayyār (121/738—131/748). He decreed that Muslims and non-Muslims must pay *khārādī* but only unbelievers poll-tax. To enforce this without damage to the revenue, he reclassified *khārādī* and assessed the stipulated tribute according to the treaty of capitulation. (See further Dennett, *op. cit.*) Although Naṣr b. Sayyār brought a measure of prosperity to the province and corrected some of the abuses in the tax administration, he failed to restore order fully or to remove the grievances of the Arab settlers, while the resentments of the *mawālī* were also not entirely removed. It was among these two groups in Khurāsān that 'Abbāsīd propaganda achieved its success.

Umayyad rule, for different reasons, antagonized various groups of people. The hegemony of the Syrians was resented by the 'Irākīs and others, pious Muslims were alienated by the profanity and worldliness of the Umayyads, the Shi'at 'Alī, whose alleged wrongs culminated at Karbala, were disaffected, as also were the Khāridjites and many of the *mawālī* because of their position of inferiority. Persians, however, were to be found mainly only amongst the last named group. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, a grandson of al-'Abbās, the prophet's uncle, who had become the leader of the Hāshimīyya on the death of Abū Hāshim in 98/716, sent missionaries from Kūfa to the Persian provinces. The first to have any considerable success was Ḳhidāsh (first mentioned under the year 109/727-8). He obtained a following in Marv among Arabs, *mawālī*, Khurramiyya, and Rāwan-dīyya, uniting these disparate groups by the wish to overthrow the Umayyads. He was executed in 118/736 and disavowed for his extremist views by Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The latter died in 125/743 and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm, who sent Abū Muslim, a *mawālī* from Kūfa, to Khurāsān. His main appeal was to the Arab settlers in Khurāsān and his movement was primarily directed against Umayyad and Syrian rule. But he also won support from the Persian *mawālī* and some Zoroastrian and Buddhist *dahākīn*. In the new society promised by the revolution all members were to be regarded only as Muslims with the same rights and responsibilities regardless of their racial origins and tribal connections (Shaban, *op. cit.*, 153 ff.). Revolt broke out in 130/747. The Arabs, preoccupied with their inter-tribal feuds, made little effort to check it. Marv was seized and the whole of Khurāsān fell. Advancing via Rayy and Nihāvand, 'Abbāsīd forces crossed the

Euphrates and defeated the Umayyads near Kūfa (132/749). Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh was proclaimed caliph shortly afterwards. Another 'Abbāsīd army had meanwhile defeated an Umayyad force near Shahrāzūr in 131/749, and the fate of the Umayyads was sealed by a second engagement, the battle of the Greater Zab, in 132/750. 'Abbāsīd troops advanced to Syria, occupied Damascus and pursued Marwān to Egypt, where he was killed (see further Shāban, *op. cit.*).

The 'Abbāsīd victory was followed by the transfer of the centre of the caliphate from Syria to 'Irāk. With this the importance of Persia and the Persians in the development of Islamic civilization greatly increased. Syrian *mawālī* in the entourage of the caliph were replaced by *mawālī* from Persia and 'Irāk. Whereas the Umayyads had been first and foremost representatives of the Arabs, the 'Abbāsīds succeeded to a much greater extent in creating an amalgam of the diverse ethnic and social elements included in their empire. The concept of the universal empire of the Sasanians had already made its influence felt under the Umayyads. Under the 'Abbāsīds, Sasanian traditions of government and administration were increasingly in evidence. (Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *Evolution of government in early Islam*, in *SI*, iv, 5-17). As warriors, merchants, and 'ulamā' travelled along the great trunk roads which fanned out through Persia, there grew up, in due course, among its people a sense of sharing in a common heritage. This had two components, Islam and *irāniyyat*, and was handed down on the one hand by the 'ulamā' and on the other by the *udabā'*. This reassertion of Persian consciousness first found expression in the Shu'ūbiyya movement [q.v.], which was in Persia primarily a literary movement, and in due course the Persian language and Persian literature played an important role in keeping it alive.

'Abbāsīd propaganda only temporarily united the heterogenous elements which were opposed to the Umayyads. Once victory had been achieved, the responsibilities of government prevented the 'Abbāsīd leaders from satisfying the aspirations of all their followers (cf. Bartold, *op. cit.*, 194). Rebels arose on every side. In Khurāsān Abū Muslim had to contend with movements of unrest among both Arabs and Persians. In Nishāpūr Bih'āfrīd led a movement against the Zoroastrian priesthood and Abū Muslim aided the Magians in suppressing him. In Bukhārā, Sharik b. Shaykh al-Mahri headed a revolt of Arabs in favour of the 'Alids (133/750-1); Abū Muslim sent Ziyād b. Šālīh to suppress this revolt. Ziyād also frustrated an attempt by the Chinese to reassert their authority in Transoxania in 133/751. Meanwhile, Abū Muslim's success in Khurāsān aroused the apprehension of the 'Abbāsīds. In 135/752-3 Al-Saffāh secretly ordered Sibā' b. Nu'mān and Ziyād b. Šālīh, whom Abū Muslim had appointed governors in Transoxania, to revolt against him. They were defeated. Eventually, Abū Muslim was induced by Manšūr to come to Baghdād, where he was treacherously murdered in 137/755. This, together with the suppression of the Rāwandīyya, alienated the extremist followers of the 'Abbāsīds.

Between 137/755 and 163/780 there were five uprisings in Persia against 'Abbāsīd rule connected with the name of Abū Muslim. The first was led by Sinbād in Nishāpūr (137/755), the express purpose of which was to avenge the death of Abū Muslim. It spread from Nishāpūr to Rayy and was eventually stamped out near Hamdān. The second, an outbreak under Barāz in 142/759 in Khurāsān, was more easily

quelled. A third rising, which started almost simultaneously in Transoxania, was led by Ishāk the Turk (so-called because Abū Muslim had sent him on a mission to the Turks); it had a semi-secret organization devoted to the cult of Abū Muslim and proclaimed the imminent return of Zoroaster. Its followers wore white garments and were therefore known as the *safid-djāmagān* (or *al-mubayyaḍa*). A fourth rising was led by Ustād Sis in Harāt in 150/767. He obtained a large following in Sistān and Khurāsān but was defeated. The fifth, that of al-Muḳanna' in 159/776, was the most serious. He declared that he had succeeded Abū Muslim under whom he had previously served, and that Abū Muslim had succeeded Jesus as the incarnate deity. The movement, which was inspired by extremist Shi'i ideology and also had 'social' aspects, won many followers in eastern Khurāsān and Transoxania. It was not put down until 163/780. This was not all. There was also a series of Kharijīte disturbances in Khurāsān, Sistān and Transoxania, notably that led by Yūsuf al-Barm in Bukhārā about 160/777. On the other hand, in Ṭabaristān the Arabs made considerable advances and from about 141/758 appointed governors over the province.

Meanwhile it was not only in Khurāsān that there was turmoil. In 'Irāk there was intellectual ferment and social unrest. This was expressed in a movement generally known by the term *zandaqa* [q.v.]. Its general purpose appears to have been partly at least to curtail the range of Islam and to keep alive Persian cultural traditions. The *zindīqs* were thought to have retained, in spite of conversion, their former Manichean convictions and to wish to encompass the downfall of Islam (*Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge 1971, i, 114). The movement also spread among the lower classes as a revolutionary movement. By the time of the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786), the Persian provinces were in a state of unrest, and 'Abbāsīd authority was challenged in Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces. Harūn made his secretary and tutor, Yaḥyā b. Khālid (whose father had served al-Saffāh and al-Manšūr) his vizier. For some seventeen years until their fall in 187/803 Yaḥyā and his two sons played a prominent role in the affairs of the caliphate, and continued the work started under al-Manšūr of creating a balance between the two main elements in the empire, the Arab and the Persian.

In the east, the rapacity of the governor of Khurāsān, 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān, had meanwhile caused considerable discontent, and in 180/796-7 Hārūn set out himself to investigate affairs. 'Alī b. 'Isā came to meet him at Rayy and secured his position by gifts. Hārūn returned to Baghdād, leaving the causes of discontent unremedied. Rāfi' b. Layth, the grandson of Naṣr b. Sayyār, put himself at the head of the malcontents, made an agreement with the Turkish tribes and killed the son of 'Alī b. 'Isā (191/807). Hārūn then sent Harthama b. A'yān to seize 'Alī b. 'Isā and confiscate his possessions, and dispatched a free pardon to Rāfi' in the vain hope that he would submit. Rāfi', who had won support in Khwarazm, Bukhārā, Farghāna, and among the Ghuzz, remained to all intents and purposes master of Transoxania. In 192/808 a revolt also broke out in Āṭharbāyḍiān, to be followed later by widespread and prolonged disorders by the Khurramdinis under Bābak [q.v.].

Finally, Hārūn, having sent Ma'mūn in advance to Marv, set out against Rāfi', but died *en route* at Tūs in 193/809. Civil war broke out almost at once

between al-Amin, Hārūn's son by an Arab wife, who had been declared *walī 'ahd* in 175/792, and al-Ma'mūn, the son of a Persian slave-girl, who had been made the next heir to al-Amin in 183/799, and whose sovereignty over the eastern part of the empire had been recognized by al-Amin in 186/802 [see AL-AMĪN]. Hārūn's vizier, Faḍl b. Rabi', led the troops back to Baghdād and read the *khutba* in the name of al-Amin first and then of al-Ma'mūn. In the following year al-Amin introduced the name of his son Mūsā after that of al-Ma'mūn. The latter, apparently on the advice of his vizier, Faḍl b. Sahl, a convert to Islam from Zoroastrianism, refused to be inveigled by his brother into going to Baghdād and remained in Marv. In 195/810 Faḍl b. Rabi' induced al-Amin to drop al-Ma'mūn's name from the *khutba* and substitute for it that of Mūsā, and to send an army against al-Ma'mūn. The latter made peace with Rāfi' b. Layth, leaving him virtually master of Transoxania, struck coins in his own name, took the *Shi'i* title, *imām al-hudā*, and sent his general Ṭāhir b. al-Husayn against al-Amin.

After defeating al-Amin's forces near Hamadān, Ṭāhir marched on Baghdād and laid siege to the city. It fell in 198/813. Al-Amin was murdered; Ma'mūn then appointed Ṭāhir over the whole of 'Irāq. Later Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother of Faḍl, was entrusted with the governorship of the *Djibāl*, Fārs, *Khūzistān*, and 'Irāq, and Ṭāhir was given the *Djazira* with the frontier regions, Syria and Egypt. Ḥasan b. Sahl had to contend with various revolts. One of the most serious was in 199-200/815 in Kūfa led by Abū Sarāyā, who raised the standard of revolt in the name of an 'Alid, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (whom he poisoned in due course). There were also increasingly frequent riots in the city of Baghdād. In 201/817 al-Ma'mūn, on the advice of Faḍl b. Sahl, and probably in the hope of putting an end to 'Alid movements of revolt, declared 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā the eighth *imām*, his *walī 'ahd* and married him to his daughter. In the following year, the people of Baghdād, who had already supported an abortive movement in favour of Maṣ'ūr b. al-Mahdi, read the *khutba* in the name of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi. Rebellion meanwhile had broken out in Egypt, and the disturbances of the *Khurramdinis* under Bābak in *Ādharbāyḍjān* and *Arrān*, which had begun in 201/816, were assuming threatening proportions.

It was now clear that al-Ma'mūn, if he was to control his empire, must move from Marv to the centre. In 202/818 he set out for Baghdād but did not enter the city until 204/819. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi fled. Faḍl b. Sahl had meanwhile been murdered at al-Ma'mūn's instigation and 'Alī b. Mūsā poisoned near Ṭūs (203/818). In 205/821, al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṭāhir governor of *Khurāsān* and *Sistān*. He succeeded in making himself virtually independent in *Khurāsān* and founded the first of the semi-independent dynasties in Persia after the Islamic conquest. Ṭāhir's son 'Abd Allāh was given Ṭāhir's government in the *Djazira* and remained in the western provinces until about 213/828-9. Other members of the family also held office in Baghdād until 270/883-4, which facilitated the rise of the family to semi-independence as governors of *Khurāsān*. It was not only in *Khurāsān* that al-Ma'mūn's power was shrinking. Riots occurred in the *Djibāl* in 210/824 and rebellion in Mesopotamia in 214/829 and in *Ḳumm* in 216/831. Repeated efforts to suppress the rebellion of Bābak also failed and his revolt had spread to the *Djibāl* by the end of al-Ma'mūn's reign.

A new period was now beginning in the history

of Persia. By this time she had been fully incorporated into the Islamic world. The Arab settlers had been largely assimilated to the local population. Conversion had proceeded throughout the country, though Zoroastrianism was still, to some extent, tolerated. The former ruling classes, so far as they had survived, had been converted to Sunni Islam, as too had the mass of the people, though there were enclaves of *Shi'ism* from an early period in some districts, notably *Ḳumm*, *Ahwāz*, *Kāshān*, *Rayy*, and *Sāva*. As the central government in Baghdād declined old political and social tendencies began to reassert themselves more strongly and new centres of power began to emerge.

In the field of political thought, there was a strong continuity. The Sasanian concept of the universal empire was greatly strengthened under the 'Abbāsids. The caliph came to be regarded as the Shadow of God upon earth (though the strictly orthodox never accepted this view). In the course of time this concept was transferred to the temporal rulers, with consequences detrimental to the freedom and dignity of the subject. Similarly, the *imām's* rights in regard to the ownership of land passed tacitly to the temporal rulers, and his power to delegate authority. Other Sasanian concepts, such as the identification of the state with the social order and the hierarchical nature of society, also came to be increasingly accepted. *Dīn* and *dawla* were two sides of one coin, with the result that non-conformity and political opposition were inseparable. Hostile movements against the government and the ruling classes thus tended to manifest themselves under the guise of *Shi'ism*.

Most of the dynasties which arose as the caliphate fragmented came to power within the general political framework of the Muslim world and accepted the prevailing administrative traditions and political concepts, or if they did not before their assumption of power, they rapidly conformed once they had seized power—as in the case of the 'Abbāsids, who quickly abandoned any messianic or extremist tendencies they may have entertained before their victory over the Umayyads. There was, it is true, alongside the "conservative" tendency of society and government a messianic tendency, but its manifestations were usually fleeting. Its most striking expression in 'Abbāsid times was the *Ismā'ili* movement, which at one time threatened the existence of the Great *Saldjūk* empire and was only finally extinguished as a political movement by *Hūlāgū*. Broadly speaking, however, the rise of new dynasties did not materially alter the structure of society, but merely the composition of the ruling class and, sometimes, the relative importance of the different classes. From *Saldjūk* times onwards the balance between the settled and semi-settled elements of the population was a delicate one. After the Mongol invasion there was a widespread expansion of nomadism accompanied by a dislocation of rural and urban life.

By the death of al-Ma'mūn in 218/833 the balance between the civil and military arms of the administration had been upset. In an attempt to increase the revenue, the tax-farm became increasingly common, but the money received from the farming of the taxes soon ceased to be sufficient to pay the army leaders and their troops. The practice then arose of assigning the taxes not to taxfarmers but to the military themselves, a practice which made it easy for the military, when the central government was weak, to establish their semi-independence. The result of this was, on the one hand, the ruin of the land, and



on the other the failure of the military to support or defend the central government. This militarization of the state and the growing tendency of the military to be occupied not only with the arts of war but also with administration became marked not only in 'Irāq and the western provinces but also in the east under the Sāmānids and more especially the Ghaznavids.

Under the Būyids the military did not normally live on their assignments or *ikhṭā's*, but sent their agents to collect the revenue. In return for his *ikhṭā'* the soldier had to perform military service and was in theory subject to detailed regulations and inspection. A provincial governor could distribute the area under his jurisdiction as *ikhṭā's* but he did this as an official of the state. Legally the possession of an *ikhṭā'* did not give the holder rights of jurisdiction over the inhabitants, but in practice it contributed to the spread of patronage and under the Būyids there were widespread acts of usurpation by the military. Further, the tendency for the function of the provincial governor, provincial military commander, tax collector, taxfarmer, and *muḥṭa'* to be combined in one person led to the emergence of large properties virtually independent of the central government. Under the Būyids the military *ikhṭā'* was the dominant type. Under the Great Salḍjūks there took place an assimilation of the military *ikhṭā'* to the governorate or administrative *ikhṭā'* and the tendency was for the *ikhṭā'* to be defined not by fiscal value but by service and to become by usurpation a hereditary domain over which the *muḥṭa'* had governmental prerogatives (see further, A. K. S. Lambton, *Reflections on the iqtā'*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965 and C. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqta' du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* in *Annales*, E.S.C., 1953).

Throughout, though especially from Salḍjūk times onwards, four strands were closely interwoven: administration, taxation, tenure, and military service (though society was *not* feudal in the technical sense). The main burden of supporting the government rested upon the peasantry. Agriculture, especially in the pre-Mongol period, showed an astonishing recuperative power. This is probably to be explained in part by the fact that the local village communities formed relatively stable and, to some extent, self-governing communities under their own *hadḥhudās*, and in part to the fact that in the pre-Mongol period, although wars were frequent, the numbers engaged were, on the whole, small and the destruction which accompanied campaigns was, for the most part, localized and as such was incidental to the movement of armed bands through the countryside.

In spite of the succession of empires, Salḍjūk, Ilkhān and Timurid, there was a persistence of administrative tradition from the 'Abbāsīd period and more especially from Salḍjūk times onwards. This is not to say that there were no changes or new developments: of course, there were, but the element of continuity is more striking than that of change. The Mongol conquest caused a temporary break, but after the conversion of the Ilkhāns to Islam there was a reassertion of Islamic government, though the spread of administrative practices based on custom continued under the Ilkhāns and the Timurids, perhaps to a more marked extent than formerly.

One of the reasons for the persistence of administrative tradition is that the conquerors, whether Arab, Salḍjūk Turk, Mongol, or for that matter Šafavid or Qādjār, lacked administrative experience; the original basis of their power was, in all cases, tribal, the

officials of the bureaucracy had the "expertise" and so successive dynasties relied upon them. The great families of viziers, the Barmakids under the 'Abbāsīds, the Dījayhānīs, Bal'āmls and 'Uṭbīs under the Sāmānīds, Šāḥīb b. 'Abbād under the Būyīds, Niẓām al-Mulk and his sons and grandsons under the Salḍjūks, and the Djuwaynīs and Raḥīd al-Dīn and his family under the Ilkhāns, played a significant role in the transmission of this tradition, as also did the families of *mustawfīs*. The religious classes, at another level, also played an immensely important part in the maintenance of continuity. The 'ulamā', as the guardians of tradition, enjoyed high status and prestige, and were a stabilizing force. In times of political upheaval they carried on as local administrators and often acted as peacemakers. This was particularly true of the *kādīs*, among whom there was a strong hereditary tendency.

Alongside this conservatism and continuity, there was also a marked provincial particularism, partly because difficult communications tended to foster isolation, and partly because ethnic differences made for a different ethos of society. The successive empires tended to fragment broadly along similar geo-political lines. Khurāsān, the Caspian provinces, Sistān, Fārs, Kirmān, Kurdistān, and Aḥḥarbaydġān, all tended at one time or another to become centres of local power, though it must not be supposed that within these different provinces there was necessarily uniformity. Some of these local movements had special and distinguishing characteristics. At the same time, the various movements arising in the different parts of Persia did not develop in isolation, but often reacted upon each other.

Under the Umayyads the Central Asian frontier was re-established broadly where it had been under the Sasanians. They handed on their function as wardens of the marches to the 'Abbāsīds. With the decline in the power of the caliphate, the local dynasties which governed Khurāsān, first the Ṭāhirīds, then the Sāmānīds, and later the Ghaznavīds, took over this task. The first two, broadly, represented the landowning classes and orthodoxy. Although they established virtually independent dynasties, they sought the authorization of the caliph, as did later dynasties, and there was no implication of revolution in their rise to power. Maḥmūd of Ghazna also ruled within the previously existing Muslim political framework. In the latter half of the 4th/10th century the Ilak Khāns broke into Transoxania while the Ghuzz moved into Transcaspiā, and finally into the *dār al-islām*. The Salḍjūks, who established themselves as the leaders of the Ghuzz, in due course found themselves in possession of an empire centred on Persia, and became themselves the wardens of the marches. Towards the end of the reign of Sandġar those Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia overran Khurāsān. The Khwārazmshāhs, who succeeded the Salḍjūks in the east, failed to hold the marches against the Mongols in the 7th/13th century.

Although the maintenance of a stable border in the north-east was a condition for the stability of the interior of Persia, Khurāsān was not itself a suitable centre from which to exercise dominion over the whole area. Al-Ma'mūn was forced to move from Marv back to Baghdād, and the Salḍjūks transferred their capitals progressively westwards and southwards, from Niḥāpūr to Rayy and Iṣfahān. Sandġar, the only one of the Great Salḍjūk sultans to attempt to rule permanently from Khurāsān, was unable effectively to control 'Irāq. In Šafavid and Qādjār

times the maintenance of the north-east frontier against encroachments by the Uzbeks and Turkomans was a perennial problem. The frontier finally established in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was far to the south and west of the mediaeval frontier.

The Caspian provinces with their forests and mountain valleys and difficult communications proved hard to conquer. During the early Islamic period Qazvin remained a frontier district. From the reign of 'Umar to that of al-Ma'mūn, seventeen expeditions are recorded against Daylam. From about 250/864 the mountain fastnesses of Daylam served as a refuge for the 'Alids against the 'Abbāsids, where they formed a new centre of resistance hostile to both Baghdād and Khurāsān, the governors of which sought to extend their dominion over the Caspian provinces. Conversion in the Caspian provinces had been slow. In 259/873 a large number of Zoroastrians were converted by Nāṣir al-Ḥaḳḳ Abū Muḥammad in Daylam, and in 299/912 Ḥasan b. 'Alī is said to have converted the inhabitants of Ṭabaristān and Daylam, who were still partly idolators and partly Magians, to Islam (Mas'ūdi, viii, 279). Many of the movements which originated in the Caspian provinces were characterized by Shi'i tendencies. Here, as elsewhere, the Shi'i movement tended to be associated with social movements and to draw into its ranks the discontented. It was not a clear-cut anti-Arab movement supported by Persians. Shi'ism was rather a convenient banner under which to unite in hostility to the ruling class, whether this was Arab in the person of governors appointed by the caliphs, or local rulers who had retained their Zoroastrian faith and who, when they did not feel strong enough to throw off control, either out of fear of local rivals or of rebellion by their subjects, co-operated with the caliphs. The Būyids, who came from Daylam, professed Ithnā-'Ashari Shi'ism, though the earlier 'Alid movements in the province were Zaydi. The Caspian provinces were not only difficult to conquer: they were also difficult to unite. Numerous local dynasties flourished, often simultaneously, sometimes paying tribute to the central government, but more often withholding it, and sometimes extending as far as Ādharbāyḍjān (see also V. Minorsky, *La domination dailamite, in Soc. des études iraniennes*, iii (1932), and DAYLAM).

The neighbouring province of Gurgān, of a rather different physical character, had been a frontier province in Sasanian times over against the nomads from the north. In the 3rd/9th century the 'Alids of Ṭabaristān extended their influence over it, but in 316/928 Mardāwīḍj b. Ziyār, by origin a Gilakī in the service of the Daylamite leader Asfār b. Shīrūya, whom he overthrew in 319/931, founded a kingdom, which lasted for about a hundred years, nominally dependent, first on the Sāmānids and then on the Ghaznavids. In Saldjūḳ times Gurgān came more fully under the control of Khurāsān and one of the main concentrations of Ghuzz was to be found in its steppes with their plentiful grazing. In the late 18th century it became of importance as the province from which the Kādḳārs [q.v.] drew their main support.

Sistān (which included much of the modern Afghānistān), partly surrounded by a desert barrier, tended to be isolated from the developments in other parts of Persia, except for a brief period under Ya'qūb b. Layṭh and 'Amr b. Layṭh. The special characteristic of political movements in Sistān in the early centuries of Islam was their Khāridjite tendency. Under the Ghūrīds [q.v.] Sistān tended to look east. After the break-up of the Ilkhān empire, Harāt

became the centre of the Karts, who had acted as governors on behalf of the Ilkhāns in the heyday of their power. Still later, after the death of Timūr, it became the centre of the eastern Timurid empire. (See also C. E. Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffarids, 30-250/651-304*, Rome 1968).

Fārs, which had been the original seat of power of both the Achaemenids and the Sasanians, tended to be somewhat isolated from the rest of Persia in the early years of the Islamic period. This was perhaps partly due to the fact that much of it was difficult mountain country occupied by a tribal population, which formed an obstacle to its conquest and control [see ILĀT]. Conversion appears to have been slow. Iṣṭakhri, writing in the 4th/10th century, states that the madjūs were more numerous in Fārs than in any other province. Under the Būyid 'Aḳud al-Dawla (338/949—372/982), Fārs enjoyed prosperity and importance. After the break-up of the Great Saldjūḳ empire Fārs was ruled by the Salgharid dynasty (543/1148—686/1287). Later in the 8th/14th century Fārs became the centre of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, and in the 18th century of the short-lived Zand dynasty.

Kirmān was bounded on the north and east by the great desert. The mountain districts of the province stubbornly resisted the Arab advance and gave much trouble to later rulers also [see ILĀT]. Under the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān it formed a prosperous and semi-independent kingdom but suffered in the disorders committed by the Ghuzz at the end of the Great Saldjūḳ period.

Kurdistān was ethnically separate from the rest of Persia. Both the physical configuration of the country and the tribal nature of society there militated against political unity. It looked to Mawṣil. Like the Caspian provinces, parts of Fārs and Kirmān, it was difficult campaigning country, and proved a "thorn in the flesh" of the caliphate and the subsequent empires. Few of their rulers succeeded fully in controlling it, and it tended to break away the moment there was a weakening of the central government. The Arab Dynasty of the Ḥamdānids in the 4th/10th century (see M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Ḥamdānides de Jaxtra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers—Paris, 1951), the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids who superseded them in Diyār Bakr in the 5th/11th century, and the 'Ukaylids, who held Mawṣil from 380/991 to 489/1096, attained some importance and exercised influence beyond the borders of Kurdistān. Under the Saldjūḳs Mawṣil looked increasingly westwards. It became under the Zangids one of the most important states of Western Asia, but with little influence on the history of Persia. With the rise of the Ottoman and Ṣafavid empires, Kurdistān became disputed frontier territory.

The neighbouring province of Ādharbāyḍjān was also partly inhabited by Kurds. It was the scene of the Khurramdīni disorders in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. Subsequently a number of minor local ruling families held sway: first the Sādḳids (276/889—317/929), then the Kurd, Daysam, who was a Khāridjite, followed by the Muṣāfirids, who had Bāṭini leanings, and others. In 513/1136, towards the end of the Great Saldjūḳ period, the atabeg Ildiguz established himself and founded one of the succession states to the Saldjūḳ empire. Under the Mongols, after the destruction of Baghdād, the political and economic centre of the empire shifted from 'Irāḳ and the Dḳjībāl, where it had been under the Buyids and Saldjūḳs, to Ādharbāyḍjān. Iṣfahān,

which had been the main city of Persia under the Great Saldjūks, although it became one of the centres of power of the Indjuids, one of the succession states to the Ilkhān empire, did not fully recover its importance until the reign of Shāh 'Abbās. Numbers of Ghuzz had settled in Ādharbāydjān in Saldjūk times, and from Mongol times onwards it was inhabited predominantly by Turkish tribes. On the break-up of the Ilkhān empire, the main centre of activity tended to move from Ādharbāydjān to Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Irāk-i 'Adjam, perhaps partly because Ādharbāydjān was becoming at this time subject to raids by the Kipchaks. A succession state was established by the Djalā'irids, who ruled intermittently over Ādharbāydjān and 'Irāk.

In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ādharbāydjān became the centre of the rising Šafavid power, and Tabriz became the capital in the early years of the 10th/16th century. Just as the Saldjūks moved their capitals westwards from Khurāsān to the centre of Persia, so also the Šafavids moved progressively eastwards, from Tabriz to Qazwin and Işfahān. In the 19th century Ādharbāydjān, with the advance of Russia through the Caucasus, succeeded Khurāsān as the crucial frontier area. Here, too, the frontier eventually established after Persia's defeat by Russia in 1828 was considerably inside the mediaeval border.

The period from the death of al-Ma'mūn up to the Mongol invasion falls into three periods, those of the minor dynasties, the Great Saldjūk empire (447/1055—552/1157), and the Kh'wārazmshāhs, ending with the sack of Baghdād by the Mongols in 656/1258. During the first of these, the western provinces dominated by Baghdād developed along rather different lines from Khurāsān and the east, although there was a certain influence of the one on the other. This was partly because of the difference in society in the two areas and partly because of differences in political development. Baghdād and the neighbourhood had experienced all the vicissitudes of the political and economic decline of the caliphate after the death of al-Ma'mūn. In Khurāsān, on the other hand, the old structure of society had maintained itself to a greater extent: the local ruling families still retained a good deal of their former influence and there was a rich merchant class engaged in the caravan trade with China and other countries. On the other side of the frontier there were still a number of independent principalities, often at war with each other. Under the Tāhirids, who came to power in the east, and their successors the Sāmānids, there was a reassertion of old social tendencies, whereas under the Būyids, society was in an advanced stage of disintegration. The Ghaznavids, the successors of the Sāmānids, were in due course overthrown by the Saldjūks, under whom the lands of the eastern caliphate were re-integrated and a new system of government worked out, combining features found in both the eastern and western provinces in a new symbiosis.

The Tāhirids during their fifty or sixty years' rule based their power on a community of interest of the *dihkāns*, though the influence and rights of this class were not so rigidly enforced as they had been in Sasanian times. Externally their main problem was to hold the frontier against the nomad Turks from Central Asia and prevent their intervention in the disorders which occurred in Transoxania. Tāhir, whose father and grandfather had been governors of Bushang, reached Khurāsān as governor in 206/821-2. His rule, apart from some Khāridjite disturbances, was brief and uneventful. By 207/822 he had con-

solidated his power. In that year he omitted al-Ma'mūn's name from the *khufba*, but providentially died the same night (or shortly afterwards) (see D. Sourdel, *Les circonstances de la mort de Tahir*, in *Arabica*, 1958). In spite of this act of overt rebellion, al-Ma'mūn recognised Ṭalhā b. Ṭāhir as his successor. Khāridjite disturbances, especially in Sistān, continued during his governorate. On his death in 213/828-9 al-Ma'mūn, perhaps with a view to regaining some of his lost authority in the eastern provinces, appointed his favourite, 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, who was at that time conducting operations against the Khurramdinis in Dinavar, to succeed Ṭalhā. He advanced to Nishāpūr and put down the Khāridjite disturbances which had become widespread. Al-Mu'tašim, who succeeded to the caliphate in 218/833, confirmed 'Abd Allāh in his government.

Unrest meanwhile spread throughout the 'Abbāsīd empire. The Turks, whom al-Mu'tašim had enrolled in greater numbers in his bodyguard than had former caliphs, increased in power and violent quarrels between them and the people of Baghdād occurred repeatedly. In Ādharbāydjān Bābak and the Khurramdinis were still in a state of rebellion. In 220/835 the Afshin [*q.v.*] was placed in charge of the campaign against them and eventually defeated them in 222/837. In Ṭabaristān Māziyār b. Kārin, the last of the Kārinwand dynasty, who, after being deprived of his possessions by the Bāwand, the Ispahbud Shāhriyār, had taken refuge with al-Ma'mūn, embraced Islam and been sent back to Ṭabaristān as governor, apostasized and rebelled. The Afshin, who was sent against him, appears to have encouraged him to rebel. Al-Mu'tašim then sent 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir from Khurāsān against him; Māziyār was captured and executed in 226/841, and 'Abd Allāh made his uncle, Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn, governor of Ṭabaristān.

'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir's rule in Khurāsān and Transoxania appears to have been enlightened. There are indications that he encouraged agriculture and fostered the spread of learning. He was succeeded in 230/844-5 by his son Ṭāhir, who had become governor of Ṭabaristān in 228/842-3 in succession to his great uncle. Ṭāhir II received diplomas from successive caliphs. He ruled until 248/862-3. Trouble from the Khāridjites in Sistān continued, and during his reign the 'ayyār under Ya'qūb b. Layth, the Šaffārid, increased in power. Under Ṭāhir's successor, Muḥammad, Ṭabaristān was lost to the Ṭāhirids, when the Ṭāhirid governor, after being defeated in 250/864 by Ḥasan b. Zayd, the 'Alid, abandoned the province in 252/866. Family quarrels also broke out among the Ṭāhirids, and one branch made common cause with the Šaffārids in Sistān.

Ya'qūb b. Layth, the son of a peasant of Qarūn, who became apprenticed to a coppersmith — hence the name of the dynasty he founded — subsequently, with his brothers, joined a band of *muta'awwi'a* led by the Ṭāhirid governor, Dirham b. Naṣr b. Šāliḥ, and took part in operations against the Khāridjites. He was then made amir of Bust, but in 247/681 drove out the Ṭāhirid governor and made himself master of Sistān. Ya'qūb's relations with the Khāridjites are not entirely clear. According to some accounts he was a Khāridjite at the beginning of his career. Later attributions of Shī'i sympathies to the Šaffārids would appear to be unfounded. He extended his rule to the Kābul valley, Sind and the Mikrān, and in 253/867 he conquered Harāt and Bushang from Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir.

Meanwhile al-Mu'tazz, who had succeeded to the caliphate in 252/866, was unable to control his go-

vernors in the east, and was threatened by the Zandj rebellion in lower 'Irāk in 254/868. Hoping to rid himself of at least one of his troublesome governors, he granted a diploma for Kirmān to both Ya'qūb and the governor of Fārs, 'Alī b. Ḥusayn. Ya'qūb was the victor and took not only Kirmān but also Fārs. In 257/871 al-Mu'tamid, following a somewhat similar policy, appointed Ya'qūb over the Ṭāhirid provinces of Tukhārīstān and Balkh. According to another group of sources, however, Ya'qūb had already taken Tukhārīstān and Balkh together with Ghazna, Gardiz, and Kābul in 256/870, when the caliph gave him a diploma for Tukhārīstān, Balkh, Fārs, Kirmān, Sistān, and Sind. Finally in 259/873 he marched on Khurāsān, took Nishāpūr, and made Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir prisoner.

Ya'qūb then turned his arms against Hasan b. Zayd, the 'Alid, in Gurgān. The latter fled without giving battle. In 261/874-5 Ya'qūb went again to Fārs, and in 262/875-6 he sent an envoy to the caliph al-Mu'tamid. Alarmed by Ya'qūb's growing power, al-Mu'tamid, or the regent al-Muwaffaq, had given in that year a diploma for Transoxania to the Sāmānid, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, no doubt in the hope that he would counter the spread of Ya'qūb's influence. Weakened by the rebellion of the Zandj, who by 264/877 were raiding within seventeen miles of Baghdād, the caliph now gave Ya'qūb a diploma for Transoxania, Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Fārs, Kirmān, Sind and Hind, and made him military governor of Baghdād, and titular governor of the holy cities. Ya'qūb, nevertheless, continued his advance on Baghdād, but was worsted by the caliph in an engagement outside the city (265/879). Ya'qūb's defeat, however, was not decisive. By the terms of the peace the Ṣaffārids were recognized as the rulers of the provinces mentioned in the diploma already given to Ya'qūb, and in return they were to pay an annual tribute of 20 million *dirhams*.

Ya'qūb died shortly after this. He was succeeded by his brother 'Amr, who made 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir his deputy in Baghdād, perhaps in the hope of enlisting Ṭāhirid support against the growing power of the Sāmānids. 'Amr's succession was contested by his brother 'Alī. He was defeated and held captive by 'Amr. The provincial governors also began to throw off their allegiance, while in the holy cities 'Amr's rights of precedence were challenged by the Ṭūlūnids. 'Amr's life, like that of Ya'qūb, was largely spent in expeditions from one part of the empire to another, to deal with rebellious governors, and in particular in wars on the eastern frontier of Sistān.

With the defeat of the Zandj in 269/883 by al-Muwaffaq, pressure on the caliphate began to lessen and intrigues against 'Amr at the caliph's court began. An envoy was sent to him to demand the tribute due and the despatch of his son to Baghdād as a hostage. 'Amr retired from Fārs to Kirmān, followed by al-Muwaffaq. In 271/885 Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was again declared governor of Khurāsān and was represented by Rāfi' b. Harthama, who had conquered Nishāpūr in 268/882. Matters did not yet reach breaking-point. In 275/888-9 'Amr agreed to pay 10 million *dirhams* tribute for Kirmān, Fārs and Khurāsān, sent presents to al-Muwaffaq, and retired to Fārs. About this time 'Alī b. Layth escaped from captivity and joined Rāfi' b. Harthama in Khurāsān against 'Amr. In 276/889-90 al-Muwaffaq seized the occasion offered by this embarrassment to 'Amr to withhold from him the privileges of the military governor of Baghdād, to which office he had ap-

pointed him earlier that year. 'Amr in retaliation dropped al-Muwaffaq's name from the *khutba* in Shirāz in 277/890-1 and advanced on Khūzistān. Al-Muwaffaq meanwhile died in 278/891. His son al-Mu'taqid, who became caliph on the death of al-Mu'tamid in 279/892, made peace with 'Amr, confirmed him in his governorships and ordered him to set out for Khurāsān against Rāfi' b. Harthama in 279/892-3. After a long-drawn out campaign Rāfi' was eventually put to flight, and 'Amr entered Nishāpūr in 283/896-7. Rāfi', after briefly joining the 'Alids in Ṭabaristān, fled to Khwārazm, where he was killed in the same year. With his death disturbances in Khurāsān subsided.

Not much is known of the civil administration of Ya'qūb and 'Amr, but their military organization is reputed to have been excellent. A distinction seems to have been made between public and private revenue. 'Amr apparently had three treasuries, one for revenue from land and other taxes, which was utilized for the upkeep of the army, a second for revenue from the personal property of the ruler, which was expended upon the upkeep of the court, and the third for revenues from occasional taxes (*ahdāth*), and confiscations, the proceeds of which were largely used to reward faithful servants, followers and envoys. The army was the object of special care, and paid every three months through the *'arīd* (see Bartold, *op. cit.*, 220-22; and C. E. Bosworth, *Armies of the Saffarids*, in *BSOAS*, 1968).

In origin the Ṣaffārid movement seems to have been a "popular" movement and to have been regarded by the landowners and merchants of Khurāsān and Transoxania as a threat to the established order. Opposition was directed against Ya'qūb's alleged Khāridjite tendencies, but it may be that the real grounds for it was the "popular" nature of the movement. Once Ya'qūb, and after him 'Amr, had extended their power beyond Sistān it seems probable that the "popular" nature of their movement was to some extent lost. They retained their influence in Sistān, however, and reappeared after the death of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and still existed as a local ruling house when the Mongols invaded in the 7th/13th century.

The Ṣaffārids were faced not only with a revival of the power of the caliphate under al-Mu'taqid, but also by the rise of a new power in the east, the Sāmānids, who were extending their influence in Transoxania. Their ancestor, Sāmān, appears to have been a small landowner from the neighbourhood of Bukhārā. During the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, the sons of Asad b. Sāmān were ordered to help Harthama against the rebellious Rāfi'. In return they received governorships in Khurāsān. Under the Ṭāhirids Nūh b. Asad was in Samarqand and in 261/874-5 the caliph al-Mu'tamid gave Naṣr b. Aḥmad a diploma for Samarqand. When Bukhārā was sacked by Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭā'ī from Khwārazm in 260/873-4, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, in response to an appeal from the people of the city, sent his brother Ismā'īl to their aid. In the same year the caliph gave Ismā'īl a diploma for Bukhārā. Having restored order in Bukhārā, Ismā'īl turned his army against Naṣr. Ismā'īl is represented as the victor and as acting with great moderation in victory. This may or may not be true. What probably happened is that they arrived at a deadlock, neither able to defeat the other. In any case, Naṣr remained governor of Transoxania until his death in 279/892, when he was succeeded by Ismā'īl, who received a diploma from the caliph in 280/893.

In 285/898 'Amr demanded a diploma as governor of Transoxania, in return for which he offered to overthrow the 'Alid ruler of Ṭabaristān. Al-Mu'taqid, anxious for the decline of 'Amr, probably saw in his demand an opportunity to weaken him by playing him off against Ismā'īl. Whether 'Amr was overconfident of his ability to overthrow Ismā'īl, or whether he feared that Ismā'īl would, as his power grew, intervene in Khurāsān, and thought it better to forestall him, is not clear. In 286/899 'Amr's commander Muḥammad b. Baṣḥar was defeated by Sāmānid forces, and in the following year 'Amr himself was captured and sent to Baghdād. His sons retired to Sistān. For some years they continued operations against the Sāmānids in Sistān and the local rulers in Fārs, but were unable to restore Ṣaffārid fortunes.

By 289/902, when al-Muktafi succeeded to the caliphate, the Sāmānids had gained the whole of Khurāsān, and in the diploma which Ismā'īl received from al-Muktafi Rayy, Kazwin, and Zandjān were added to Khurāsān. The Sāmānids were, however, unable to establish effective control over the western regions and disputed them with the Sādjids, who had come to power when al-Muwaffaq had appointed Muḥammad Afshin Abū 'Ubayd b. Abī'l-Sādjī governor of Ādharbāyḍjān in 276/889-90. The rapid extension of Sāmānid territory put a certain strain on Sāmānid organization, although this was not immediately felt. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, who succeeded in 295/907, established his claim by force of arms. He extended the Sāmānid domains still further by temporarily occupying Sistān in 298/910-11. Ṭabaristān, on the other hand, was lost to the 'Alids when Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Uṭrush (al-Nāṣir al-Kabir) staged a successful revolt, making skilful use of the discord existing among the local rulers in the Caspian provinces.

The Sāmānids, like the Ṭāhirids, had a certain affinity with the *marzbāns* on the eastern frontiers of the Sasanian empire. Theirs was the last attempt to maintain the old social system against the general levelling tendencies of Turkish military government. The two centres of their kingdom were Samarqand and Bukhārā; on the periphery there were a number of states which acknowledged Sāmānid overlordship and in some cases paid a nominal tribute. Among them were Khwārazm, Ḡhardjistān, al-Shār, Djūz-djān, Isfidjāb and Ṣāghāniyān. The bureaucracy under the Sāmānids was well-developed and on a somewhat similar model to the bureaucratic administration of the caliphs at Baghdād. Narshakhi mentions nine government offices or *diwāns*, those of the vizier, *mustawfi*, *sāhib shurt*, *sāhib mu'ayyid*, *mushrif*, and *muhtasib*, and the *diwān-i mamlaka-i khāṣṣ*, the *diwān-i awkāf*, and the *diwān-i ḥadā* (*Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Riḍawī, p. 31). According to Bartold there was a tenth *diwān*, the *diwān-i barid*. The chief civil official was known as the *khwāḍja-i busurg*. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Djayhāni, who held this office under Naṣr. b. Aḥmad, was, perhaps, a more important figure than his sovereign.

The army was composed of a nucleus of Turks, mainly purchased or captured on the frontiers and brought up as slaves, and levies supplied by the *dihkāns*. The leading military commander had the title *sipahsālār* and from Niṣhāpūr administered Sāmānid territories south of the Amū Daryā. The chief military offices and provincial governments were held by members of local ruling families and by Turkish slaves. The court was elaborately organ-

ized with a hierarchy of officials. The main offices were held by the military classes. The domestic affairs of the court were under an official known as the *wakil*. In the provincial governments many of the same offices and departments were found as at the centre, though there was no uniformity throughout the empire. In the early period of Sāmānid rule, the civil power held the upper hand: the army was subordinate and the troops were paid in cash, but were not debarred from acquiring land. Ibn Hawḳal states that taxes were lower in the Sāmānid empire than anywhere else and wages higher. The taxes, levied in two instalments, totalled some 40 million *dirhams*. Officials were paid quarterly and their pay amounted to about half the revenue. This favourable position of income in relation to expenditure allowed considerable mildness to prevail in the tax administration. Trade and industry were highly developed. Muḥaddasi gives an extensive list of exports from the various towns. Trade with the nomads of Central Asia was also important (ii, 468 ff.; see further, Bartold *op. cit.*, 235 ff.).

Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, after a reign of nearly six years, was murdered by his Turkish guards in 301/913. His 8-year-old son Naṣr succeeded. During his reign the spirit of revolt entered the Sāmānid house itself and Naṣr spent much of his long reign, which lasted until 331/942, in putting down the revolts of his cousins and brothers. About 318/930 three of his brothers, who were imprisoned in Bukhārā, were liberated with the help of seditious elements in the city, including Shi'īs and Khārīdijites, and one of them, Yahyā, proclaimed amir. The movement was abortive.

In the west the Sādjids had maintained themselves against further Sāmānid advance. In 305/917-18 Yūsuf b. Abī'l-Sādjī defeated a force sent against him by the caliph al-Muktadir, but was forced, in spite of this, to give up Rayy, and some two years later, although he defeated an army led by the caliph's general Mūnis, retired to Zandjān. Mūnis followed him, defeated him near Ardabil and brought him to Baghdād. In 310/922, he was set free and given the government of Rayy and Ādharbāyḍjān. Later he was defeated and killed by the Carmathians (314/926). Ādharbāyḍjān was then disputed between the Khārīdijite Kurd, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, and the Muṣāfirids, who in the end prevailed.

More important than the attempts by provincial governors to seize the opportunity to establish their independence was the spread of the Carmathian movement, which was eventually captured by the Ismā'īlis, who founded the Fāṭimid anti-caliphate in 297/910. Between 318/930 and 328/940 Fāṭimid propaganda made great strides in Khurāsān and Transoxania. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafi (al-Nakshabi), a Fāṭimid missionary, won over a number of prominent officials and eventually Naṣr himself. The 'ulamā' and the Sunnī notables were unable to meet this challenge alone and were forced to turn for help to the Turkish nucleus of the army. Naṣr, following a plot to overthrow him, abdicated in favour of his son Nūḥ and was thrown into prison in 330/942. Al-Nasafi and his supporters were massacred. Henceforward the army decided the course of events. Joining in the struggles for supremacy between the rival claimants, they eventually brought the state to ruin.

Khwārazm revolted in 332/943-4 and in the following year Abū 'Alī Ḡaghāni, governor of Khurāsān, rebelled. By this time also, the favourable financial position which had prevailed earlier had changed for

the worse. There were acute shortages of funds and the army's pay was often in arrears. There were desertions to Abū 'Alī, who also obtained support from some of the tributary states. Nūḥ fled to Samarkand and Abū 'Alī entered Bukhārā in 335/947 with Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, Nūḥ's uncle. Abū 'Alī was unable, however, to maintain himself in Bukhārā and returned to Ṣāghāniyān, whence he encouraged the tributary rulers along the Amū Daryā to rebel. Sāmānid prestige declined rapidly and the Sāmānid princes played less and less part in the struggles which ensued between the rival amirs and governors.

With the decline of the Sāmānids and the failure of the caliphate to maintain its temporary revival under al-Mu'taḍid, the northern provinces of Persia became the scene of the exploits of a series of Daylamite leaders who were little more than robber barons, the common characteristics of whose rule were love of money, extortion, and cruelty. In 308/920 Laylā b. Nu'mān seized Nishāpūr from the Sāmānids on behalf of Ḥasan b. Kāsim, the 'Alid, who succeeded Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Uṭrush in 304/917. He failed to hold it. Some years later Kāki took Rayy, but, unable to establish his independence, entered Sāmānid service. Meanwhile Asfār b. Shīrūya had proclaimed himself in Sāri but was defeated by Mākān b. Kāki. He then took refuge with the Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān, Abū Bakr b. Ilyās. When the latter died, Asfār received the allegiance of his troops and seized Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Kazwin, Kūmm, Kāshān, and Lur-i Kūčik. He was overthrown in 319/931 by one of his own generals, Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty. Mardāwīdj, who, according to Ibn Miskawayh, appears to have had visions of restoring the old Persian empire (vii, 5, 489; cf. also Ibn al-Aḥṡir, viii, 226), took Kazwin, Rayy, Hamadān, Kangavar, Dīnavar, and Burūdjird, and then turned back to invade Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, which had been seized by Mākān. Among Mardāwīdj's followers were the three sons of Būya, 'Alī, Ḥasan, and Aḥmad. They had originally been in the service of Mākān, but had deserted him for Mardāwīdj. When the latter extended his conquests southwards, he appointed 'Alī b. Būya governor of Karādj.

At first 'Alī appears to have considered entering the service of the caliph, who was by now a puppet in the hands of the *amīr al-umarā'*, but his overtures were ignored. He then took Iṣfahān, but retired to Arrādjān when Mardāwīdj sent his brother Wuṣḥmgīr against him, and seized Fārs in 321/933, while his brother Aḥmad occupied Kirmān in 322/934. Mardāwīdj, on receipt of this news, set out himself for Iṣfahān and sent another army from Khūzistān to march on the Būyids. 'Alī thereupon renewed his allegiance to Mardāwīdj and sent his brother Ḥasan to him as a hostage. Mardāwīdj meanwhile appears to have conceived the plan of conquering Baghdād, but before he could put the plan into operation he was assassinated by his Turkish slaves in 323/935. He was succeeded in part of his domains by Wuṣḥmgīr, who spent his reign in a constant state of war with the Sāmānids, Būyids, and others and eventually accepted Sāmānid overlordship.

Ḥasan b. Būya rejoined 'Alī on the assassination of Mardāwīdj and they occupied Iṣfahān. Mākān had meanwhile taken Kirmān and acknowledged Sāmānid overlordship. Later he left Kirmān in an attempt to regain Gurgān and Ṭabaristān. About 329/940-1 he threw off Sāmānid allegiance and when the Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān sent an army against him he appealed to Wuṣḥmgīr for help. Ḥasan b. Būya, prof-

iting from the preoccupations of his rivals, seized Rayy and made himself master of the surrounding district.

In Baghdād the struggles between the Turkish amirs and between the Turks and Daylamites had reduced the city and the neighbourhood to anarchy. In 334/945 Aḥmad b. Būya, encouraged by Ināl Kūsha, governor of Wāsiṭ, (Ibn al-Aḥṡir, viii, 337) set out for Baghdād and took it without battle. The caliph al-Mustakfi welcomed him and gave him a diploma and bestowed *laḡabs* on the three brothers: 'Alī became 'Imād al-Dawla, Aḥmad, Mu'izz al-Dawla, and Ḥasan, Rukn al-Dawla. Mu'izz al-Dawla treated the caliph with the greatest contempt. Eleven days after his arrival in Baghdād, he accused him of seditious correspondence with the Ḥamdānids and made al-Muṭi' caliph in his place. Although the caliphate reached its lowest ebb during the period of Būyid supremacy, the Būyids did not attempt to overthrow it altogether. There were probably two main reasons for this. In the first place, they may have hoped to use for their own political ends such prestige as the 'Abbāsids still possessed, and secondly, the existence of a Sunni caliphate left them with a free hand: had they set up a Shī'i caliph their troops might well have supported the caliph against them [see further BUWAYHIDS or BŪYIDS]. The consequence of the retention of the caliphate under their dominion was important: it discredited Iḥna 'Ashari Shī'ism as a serious alternative to it with the result that it was the Ismā'ilis to whom the discontented turned in the 5th/11th century in the hope of overthrowing the existing order (see further B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967, especially 29 ff.).

The main Būyid centres were Shīrāz, Rayy and Baghdād. 'Alī during his lifetime was looked upon as the head of the family. He ruled Fārs and the area extending to Iṣfahān and Ahwāz, while Rukn al-Dawla ruled in the west from Rayy to Hamadān and Iṣfahān, and Mu'izz al-Dawla in 'Irāk. On the death of 'Imād al-Dawla the rest of the family deferred to Rukn al-Dawla, who proved totally unable to control his Daylamite troops, who robbed and plundered wherever they went. After his death there was a repeated subdivision of Būyid territories and their partial reunification by force of arms by one member of the family or another. An abortive attempt was made by the Muṣāfirids to regain Rayy in 336/947-8. The Muṣāfirid Marzbān was defeated near Kazwin in 338/949, but the Būyid force then sent to Aḡhar-bāyḡjān was unable to make permanent gains and returned to Rayy.

The rule of Mu'izz al-Dawla in 'Irāk did nothing to improve conditions. He had no care for the local population and introduced the custom of quartering the troops on the local population, which caused them serious annoyance. He also made a practice of giving lands to his troops, the result of which was to bring agriculture into a hopeless state of disorganization (*Eclipse*, ii, 96). Quarrels between Daylamites and Turks continued. In every Būyid army there was a bitter feud between the Turks and the Daylamites, to which much of the indecisive fighting of the period is due. From the time of Mu'izz al-Dawla onwards, however, the Turkish element became increasingly important. Mu'izz al-Dawla, not surprisingly in these circumstances, found himself in constant difficulties for money. Confiscations of the property of officials on death or dismissal were common, and offices were put up to the highest bidder. His reign was largely occupied by internal rebellions and a series of expeditions against the Ḥamdānids, the last of

which was in 353/964. The balance of these was in his favour, and from time to time he exacted tribute from them, but he failed to crush them entirely. When finally the Ḥamdānids became increasingly engaged in Syria in a struggle with the Fāṭimids, pressure on the western flank of the Būyids ceased. Mu'izz al-Dawla also undertook various operations against the Barīdis [q.v.] in Khūzistān, and finally extinguished them in 349/960-1. He was succeeded in 356/967 by his son Bakhtiyār 'Izz al-Dawla, who was an ineffective ruler.

When Bakhtiyār's Turkish mercenaries revolted and seized power, 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the son of Rukn al-Dawla, who had been ruling in Shīrāz since 338/949, set out for Baghdād in 364/974 to restore order. He forced Bakhtiyār to abdicate, but because of the protests of Rukn al-Dawla he re-established Bakhtiyār and returned to Shīrāz. In 366/976 Rukn al-Dawla died and was succeeded by his son Mu'ayyid al-Dawla in Rayy and by another son Fakhr al-Dawla in Hamadān. Bakhtiyār took the opportunity to march on Shīrāz and provoke a conflict with 'Aḍud al-Dawla. He was defeated. 'Aḍud al-Dawla occupied Baghdād in 367/977 and seized Fakhr al-Dawla's territories also, but allowed Mu'ayyid al-Dawla to rule as his subordinate.

Under 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who ruled first in Fārs (338/949—366/977) and then in Fārs and 'Irāk (366/977—372/983), the Būyids reached their height. Būyid troops occupied Balūcistān and the Mikrān and even operated in 'Omān. On the Khurāsān border, where there had been constant conflicts with Sāmānid governors usually ending in a Sāmānid victory, there had been a sudden weakening of the Sāmānids, who were defeated towards the end of 371/982. 'Aḍud al-Dawla's death at the critical moment prevented any further Būyid advance into Khurāsān. 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the only real figure of a ruler among the Būyids, established an effective administration. He reorganized the postal system, put down brigandage, and fostered commerce. He followed a policy of religious toleration and suspended the public celebration of sectarian ceremonies which had been introduced by Mu'izz al-Dawla in Baghdād. He was a great builder and patronized men of learning and theologians. He did not, however, entirely lose the characteristics of his race: old taxes were increased and new ones introduced. (See further H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969).

After the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla the Būyid dynasty declined rapidly. Until the reimposition of orderly government by the Saljūqs the western provinces were torn by internecine strife and almost interminable conflicts. The administration was completely broken up, agriculture ruined, and the old money economy destroyed beyond repair. A contributory factor in this decline was the change in the flow of trade connected with the rise of the Fāṭimids (see 'ABBĀSIDS, and B. Lewis, *Fāṭimids and the route to India*, in *Istanbul Thtsāt Fak. Mecm.*, 1950, 355-66).

In due course Khurāsān fell, not to the Būyids, but to the new power rising in the east, the Ghaznavids. Two favourable circumstances attended their rise: first the absence of any strong power in western Persia able to fill the vacuum created by the decline of the Sāmānids, and secondly the existence on their frontier of the decaying empire of the Hindū Shāhīs, which offered to them a new field of operations. Alptakīn, the commander of the Sāmānid forces in Khurāsān, after an abortive rising in favour of 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ in 350/961, withdrew to the eastern frontiers and took Buṣṭ and Ghazna. After an inter-

regnum following his death in 352/963, Sebuktegin, one of his *ghulāms*, assumed power in 366/977. He regarded himself as governing on behalf of the Sāmānids but paid no tribute to them. In 383/993 Nūḥ b. Naṣr summoned him to Transoxania to aid him against rebels. After a successful campaign Sebuktegin was given the governorships of Balkh, Tukhārīstān, Bāmiyān, Ghūr, and Ghardjīstān in 384/994, and his son Maḥmūd was made commander of the army with his headquarters in Nishāpūr. When the Karakhānids invaded Transoxania in 386/996, Nūḥ again appealed to Sebuktegin for help. By the peace which was concluded with the Karakhānids the frontier was established on the Kaṭwān steppe.

Sebuktegin died in 387/997. He left his domains to various members of his family, but by 388/998 Maḥmūd, temporarily abandoning Khurāsān, had made himself master of the territory held by his father. In the following year he seized Khurāsān and read the *khutba* in the name of al-Kādir, whose succession the Sāmānids had not recognised, continuing to read the *khutba* in the name of his deposed predecessor, al-Ṭā'if. In return Maḥmūd was granted a diploma by al-Kādir for Khurāsān (389/999). In 390/1000 Maḥmūd made an expedition into India, capturing some fortresses near Lamghān. The following year he invaded India again, defeated Jaipal, and took a great quantity of booty. Subsequently he made several successful expeditions into India, the most famous of which was in 416/1025-6 when he destroyed the idol temple at Sumnath. The attempts made by the last of the Sāmānids, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl (d. 395/1005) to recover Khurāsān were in vain. The former Sāmānid territories were now divided between the Ghaznavids and the Karakhānids. In 398/1008 Maḥmūd defeated Ilig Naṣr and Kādir Khān Yūsuf near Balkh. He then extended his authority over Ghardjīstān, Khwārazm, Sistān, Ghūr, Ṭabaristān and Gurgān. The conquest of Khwārazm in 408/1017 gave him a preponderance over the Karakhānids, and when civil war spread in the Karakhānid kingdom, he invaded Transoxania in 415-16/1025, but does not appear to have made permanent gains. In 417/1026 Maḥmūd received a diploma from the caliph al-Kādir for the conquered provinces. The caliph moreover bound himself not to enter into relations with the Karakhānids except through Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd was a strict Sunnī, and since at the time of his rise the Fāṭimids were pressing in through Syria towards Baghdād, where the caliph was a puppet in the hands of the Būyids, considerable glamour attached to him as the first ruler who came to the rescue of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, though in fact it was not until Tuḡhrīl Beg arrived in Baghdād that it was relieved of tutelage to the Būyids. So far as Maḥmūd's administration is concerned there was outwardly little change, but the spirit of the imperial organization was changing. The state was no longer a civil power which maintained an army. The court was to a greater degree than had formerly been the case military and tribal. The army had become the state and its commander the sultan, and the only function and duty of the people was to pay taxes. Maḥmūd did not, however, solve the problem of how to support the army: the new system was to be worked out, not by the Ghaznavids, but by the Saljūqs. In 420/1029 Maḥmūd entered Rayy, which had been in the hands of the Būyid, Maḥmūd al-Dawla, and left his son Mas'ūd there with orders to complete the conquest of Būyid territories. Hamadān and Iṣfahān fell, but in 421/1030 Maḥmūd died and

Mas'ūd hastened back to *Khurāsān* to claim the throne. The early years of Mas'ūd's reign were occupied by struggles for power between rival factions. With his withdrawal from Rayy, the local branch of the Būyids, the Kākūyids, threw off their allegiance. The real threat to the *Ghaznavids*, however, was to come from elsewhere. During the reign of Maḥmūd, groups of *Ghuzz* had passed into *Khurāsān* and the interior of Persia. The first considerable movement was in 420/1029, when Maḥmūd ordered the tribes under Isrā'īl b. Saldjūq, whom he had seized, to migrate into *Khurāsān*. In 425/1033-4, two brothers, Tuḡhril Beg and Čaghri Beg Dā'ūd, the sons of Mikā'īl b. Saldjūq, and their uncle Yabḡū b. Saldjūq moved from Transoxania to the borders of *Kh̲wārazm*, but were obliged to move again in 426/1034-5 on the death of Hārūn the *Kh̲wārazmshāh*. A number of them crossed the Oxus into *Khurāsān* and asked permission to live under Mas'ūd's protection. During the next few years they were constantly on the move in search of new pastures, harried by and harrying the *Ghaznavids*, until finally they met in battle at Dandankān in 431/1040. Mas'ūd was decisively defeated. *Ghaznavid* rule was brought to an end in *Khurāsān*, though the *Ghaznavids* continued to rule in *Ghazna* until dispossessed by the *Ghūrids* [q.v.] in 569/1173-4. Further weakened, they retired first to Kābul and then to Lahore.

The Saldjūq period in some ways represents a culmination of previous developments, in others a new departure. There had been from the 3rd/9th century onwards much recruitment of Turkish slaves in western and eastern Persia, and the *Ghaznavids* were, by origin, a slave dynasty. During their rule there was an increased militarization of the state, but no major change in its structure. The *Ghuzz* movement was different: it was a tribal migration, and the Saldjūqs who emerged as its leaders became, almost by chance, the rulers of a vast empire. This, at its height, stretched from Transoxania to Syria and Anatolia, though the last two were never under the effective control of the Great Saldjūq sultan, and included *Khurāsān* and the rest of Persia, 'Irāk-i 'Arab, and the *Djazira*. The numbers involved in this migration were not large: those taking part were to be counted, perhaps, in tens of thousands. They seem to have caused remarkably little dislocation economically [see *ILĀT*]. Small though their numbers were, they altered the balance of the population in two ways: henceforward the two main elements were Persian and Turkish—the dichotomy of the early centuries between 'arab and 'adjam was replaced by that between *turk* and *tādjik*, and secondly there was an expansion of nomadism and a more strongly marked dichotomy between settled and semi-settled. This dichotomy, in the early period of Saldjūq rule, coincided, to some extent, with that between Turk and non-Turk, and this in turn corresponded, in large measure, with the dichotomy between the military and the rest of the population.

The Saldjūq leaders were not simply the leaders of a nomad tribal group. They were also familiar with urban life, and from the very beginning of their transformation into the rulers of an empire they had settled capitals. As heirs to an empire and to the civilization which had developed in the lands of the Eastern Caliphate, they became the defenders of Sunni Islam and under them a great revival took place, which made possible the unification of the Sunni world, against which the Crusaders were unable to achieve lasting success. As heirs to an empire it was not long before a conflict developed between

them and the Turkoman nomads, whose main concern was for new pastures and who, in religion, had the attitude of the *ghāzī*. Since many of the Turkomans pushed on to the Georgian, Armeno-Byzantine and Caucasian frontiers to undertake the activities of *ghāzīs*, it was in Anatolia rather than Persia, however, that this Islam took root. Support for Sunnism was imposed upon the Saldjūqs by political circumstances: opposition to the Būyids dictated a pro-Sunni and an anti-Shi'i policy. From the time of Malikshāh onwards, i.e. after the Būyids had been deprived of their political power, the strict orthodoxy of the Saldjūq sultans was modified. A pro-Sunni attitude was also imposed upon them by their need to win the support of the 'ulamā' in order, in turn, to gain the support of the masses—though they failed to carry with them those who were discontented with the established order, and who were to be found among all classes.

Under the Saldjūqs, al-*Ghazālī* [q.v.] worked out a new relationship between caliph and sultan, from which stemmed a series of interconnected jurisdictions, whose stability depended upon orthodoxy or right religion, and the personal loyalty of the sultan to the caliph, and of subordinate officials to the sultan. The power of the Saldjūqs was thus given a *shar'ī* basis and differed from that of the Būyids, which had been usurped. Since Islam still had relevance to the daily life of the people this reformulation was of more than theoretical importance: it made possible the preservation of the religious life of the community and enabled political life to run its course within the framework of Islam. That the sultan's rule was given a *shar'ī* basis did not, of course, stop the arbitrary use of power, but it tempered its use and, generally speaking, prevented it reaching lengths which were felt to be intolerable by the people.

The Saldjūq theory of state, as well as its primary Islamic basis, had another basis, which derived its inspiration from Sasanian theory and was expressed by Niẓām al-Mulk, the vizier of Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. According to this theory the sultan was directly appointed by God. His power was absolute and required no justification, and against it the population had no rights and no freedom. This theory, like the Islamic theory, also emphasized the interdependence of kingship and religion, and of stability and right religion. It rested, however, on justice rather than right religion. This was to be achieved by the maintenance of each in his rightful place. To these two bases the Saldjūqs brought a third, which derived from the practice of the steppe: the practice of consultation. This was, perhaps, never very strong, and as the power of the central government was strengthened and the Saldjūqs came to rely less on the Turkoman tribes and more on an army composed of slaves and freedmen, so the Islamic theory tended to be superseded by the conception put forward by Niẓām al-Mulk, while the element of consultation weakened and virtually disappeared.

The establishment of a strong central government provided order and discipline, secured the defence of the Muslim community and Muslim lands, and created conditions in which Muslim life could be lived and the various classes carry on their occupations in relative security. But it failed to remove the underlying dissatisfactions, and the Saldjūq period is also marked by the appearance of a new phase of the Ismā'ill movement, known to Arab historians as the "new propaganda" (*al-da'wa al-djādīda*) in contradistinction to the "old propaganda" (*al-da'wa al-kadīma*) of the Fāṭimids, and its followers as the Bāṭiniyya.



In the field of administration there was a long continuity of practice stretching back beyond the Saldjūks, but, consequent upon the changed political, economic, and social circumstances which prevailed, certain developments which had begun before their arrival took definite shape and provided a pattern which was to persist in its essentials down to the 20th century. The two main aspects of the sultan's administration were the *dargāh* or court and the *diwān* [q.v.], which was the chief department of the bureaucracy. The former was essentially military, composed of amirs, slaves, and freedmen, though it was also frequented by the chief officials of the bureaucracy, the religious classes and learned men. The relations between the *dargāh* and the *diwān* were not clearly formulated. The vizier, the chief bureaucratic official, bridged the gap between the two. In the reigns of Alp Arslān (455/1063—465/1072) and Malikshāh (465/1072—485/1092), the vizirate reached its height under Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.], who supervised all aspects of the administration. Later the vizier declined in importance and there was an increased militarization of the state and a contraction in the area of its direct operation. (See further A. K. S. Lambton, *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, ed. J. A. Boyle, 1968, v, 203-82).

This was accompanied by the emergence of what tended to become a "hereditary" domain or *ikhāṭ* over which the *mukṭa* had governmental prerogatives, which included the collection of taxes (in the details of the local arrangements for the assessment and collection of which there is a striking continuity), the holding of the *maẓālim* court, and the general supervision of security and religious affairs. This development coincided with and was partially the consequence of the change in the military forces of the state. As the army became composed not of Turkoman tribes but mainly of slaves and freedmen, the problem of providing their pay and of financing the administration in general became urgent. The *ikhāṭ* was simply a device to solve the problem. Under a strong ruler it did not necessarily involve a relaxation of the control of the central government or decentralization, but in the long run it made for a decline in the power of the sultan relative to that of the amirs and finally under the series of weak rulers who succeeded Muḥammad b. Malikshāh contributed to the political disintegration of the empire.

This tendency was further aggravated by the atabegate, an institution peculiar to the Saldjūk period, which had a social and a political aspect. The atabeg [q.v.] was placed in charge of a prince's education and normally married to his mother. If the young *malik* was assigned a province, the atabeg attached to him was responsible for its administration. Politically one of the objects of the atabegate was to control the *malik* and prevent his rebellion, but as the power of the amirs increased relative to that of the sultans, the atabegate was used, not so much to prevent the rebellion of a Saldjūk *malik* as to retain the nominal allegiance of a powerful or rebellious amir (see further *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, *op. cit.*). This was the origin of the various atabeg dynasties which arose on the decline of the Great Saldjūk empire.

After the battle of Dandankān, as the Saldjūks consolidated their conquests in Khurāsān and moved westwards, the majority of the Ghuzz became associated with them, though full control was never established over the movement as a whole. Outlying groups, although acknowledging the nominal over-

lordship of the Saldjūks, continued to act independently. Many of them pushed on into Syria and Asia Minor. The geographical extent of the operations of the Ghuzz was thus wider than the area over which the central government exerted control. Politically the Great Saldjūk empire was a loose confederation of semi-independent kingdoms. Of these, the Saldjūk kingdoms of Rūm and Syria broke away at an early date and developed along more or less independent lines, while the Saldjūk kingdom of Kirmān, whose founder Kāwurd b. Čaghri Beg was appointed governor of the province by Tuğhril Beg in 433/1041, also became virtually independent and exerted little influence on the general course of events. During the reign of Tuğhril Beg (429/1037—455/1063) the power of the Saldjūks was based on the Turkoman tribes. Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, during whose reigns the Great Saldjūks were at the height of their power, relied increasingly on armies composed, not of Turkomans, but of Turkish slaves and freedmen. After the death of Malikshāh, these slaves and freedmen as *mukṭa*'s and *atabegs*, became the dominant class, and eventually, as the power of the central government waned, set up virtually independent kingdoms.

Under Tuğhril Beg there was on the one hand an expansion northwestwards, which was facilitated by the weakness of the Byzantine empire, and on the other a consolidation of the gains made in Persia. Čaghri Beg remained in Khurāsān and ruled in the east until his death in 452/1060. In 440/1048 Ibrāhīm Ināl, Tuğhril's half-brother, undertook a campaign into Armenia, and in 446/1054 Tuğhril captured Ardjiṣh and besieged Manzikert. In the following year Tuğhril entered Baghdād. Already in 429/1038, when the Saldjūks had first entered Nishāpūr, al-Kā'im had sent an envoy to them, and in 431/1040 after Dandankān, when they had written to the caliph asking him to bestow upon them the sovereignty of the lands they had already conquered, the caliph in reply had invited Tuğhril to Baghdād. Other preoccupations prevented his coming until 447/1055-6. Shortly after his entry, al-Raḥīm, the Būyid general, was seized and the rule of the Būyids brought to an end, although a branch of the family continued to rule in Yazd as Saldjūk governors for several years. On this occasion, however, Tuğhril was not granted an audience by the caliph: this honour was reserved until his second visit to Baghdād in 449/1058. Meanwhile in 448/1056 Arslān Khātūn, Dā'ūd's daughter, was betrothed to the caliph.

Al-Basāsiri, the Shi'ī Turkish general, to whom power had passed in Baghdād on the fall of the Būyids, fled on Tuğhril's entry. He was joined by many of the Arab Shi'ī tribes on the Syrian border, and appealed to the Fātimids for help. Tuğhril followed him and operations took place between them in northern 'Irāk in 450/1058. Ibrāhīm Ināl seized this opportunity to rebel a second time—the first had been in 441/1049-50, when he had refused to hand Hamadān over to Tuğhril. The latter was forced to leave Mesopotamia to deal with Ibrāhīm Ināl. Al-Basāsiri thereupon marched on Baghdād and proclaimed the Fātimid al-Mustanshir caliph. Al-Kā'im, who had sent an urgent message to Tuğhril to return to Baghdād, took refuge with Kuraysh, the 'Uḳaylid, who entrusted him to Muhārish b. Badrān. Tuğhril, after he had overcome Ibrāhīm Ināl's revolt with the help of Dā'ūd's sons, Yāḳūti and Kāwurd, retook 'Irāk. Al-Basāsiri was killed and the 'Abbāsīd caliph restored, but the administration of Baghdād was taken over by Tuğhril.

The caliph's function was henceforward to occupy himself with religious leadership: temporal affairs were delegated to the sultan, though in Baghdād itself there was, to some extent, a conflict of authority.

By 451/1059 Ṭuḡhril was master of Mesopotamia up to Syria and the Byzantine frontier, though on his death there were outbreaks of disorder by the bedouin of 'Irāk. His ambitions were meanwhile growing and in 453/1061 he demanded the hand of the caliph's daughter in marriage. This caused the caliph great annoyance—even the Būyids had not demanded this of him—but after negotiations and threats the marriage contract was eventually ratified in 454/1062 outside Tabriz. When Ṭuḡhril came to Baghdād in the following year the caliph's daughter was taken to his residence, and when he left Baghdād in 456/1064 she accompanied him.

So far as the relations of the Saldjūks with local ruling families were concerned, in the early period of their expansion, the local rulers probably looked upon them as a reserve of mercenaries to draw upon in their quarrels. The payments received by them were not tribute (as they are often represented in the sources) but payments to mercenaries for their services, and when the Ghuzz left the district these payments naturally ceased. As the Saldjūk conquests spread in some cases the local rulers were driven out, but in many cases they were confirmed in all or part of their possessions in return for tribute. By the end of Ṭuḡhril's reign, however, administration by Saldjūk officials was becoming increasingly common. In due course the former ruling families were merged into the Saldjūk imperial structure. Marriage alliances were made with them and hostages were often taken to lessen the likelihood of rebellion.

The loose confederation over which Ṭuḡhril had established some kind of central control was far from being firmly united at his death in 455/1063. In accordance with his will, Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd was declared his successor by his vizier al-Kunduri. Seeing, however, that the amirs opposed his accession, al-Kunduri proclaimed Alp Arslān, another of Dā'ūd's sons, who had been his father's chief lieutenant in the east. Yabḡhū b. Saldjūk, governor of Harāt, and Kutulmīsh, a grandson of Saldjūk, both rebelled and were defeated in 456/1063-4. These events probably mark a turning point in the position of the sultan: if control of the empire was to be retained, it was clear that a standing army loyal to the sultan was necessary. As the conception of an autocratic ruler replaced that of the ruling khān, and the moral basis of Saldjūk authority weakened, some substitute had to be found for the former tribal loyalties. To some extent the central government supplied an element of unity, but this could be effective only as long as it was supported by a strong central army. This condition was fulfilled under Alp Arslān (455/1063—465/1072) and Malikshāh (465/1072—485/1092), and the latter in particular succeeded in imposing a measure of control throughout the empire.

Under Alp Arslān conquests in the northwest continued. Partly to co-ordinate and partly to control the various groups operating on the Byzantine frontier, Alp Arslān intervened himself and took Ani in 457/1065 and laid waste Cilicia and stormed Caesarea in 459/1067. Romanus IV Diogenes mounted a counter-offensive and had some success in campaigns in 460/1068 and 461/1069, but a third campaign ended in a crushing defeat at Manzikert and his capture in 463/1071 (see C. Cahen, *La campagne de Manzikert d'après les sources musulmans*, in *Byzantion*,

ix (1934), 613 ff.). In 465/1072 Alp Arslān was assassinated while on an expedition against the Karakhānids. He had appointed Malikshāh his *walī 'ahd* in 458/1066 and with a view to safeguarding his accession had allocated different parts of his kingdom in the form of *ikhā's* to various of his relatives. Nevertheless Malikshāh's accession was disputed by Kāwurd, the Saldjūk ruler of Kirmān. He was defeated and killed, but his descendants continued to rule in Kirmān. In 466/1073-4 Malikshāh marched east and turned the Karakhānids out of Tirmīdh and assigned Balkh and Ṭukhārīstān to his brother Tekīsh. The latter rebelled in 473/1080-1 and again in 477/1084-5. In 470/1077-8 Malikshāh assigned Syria to another brother, Tutuḡh. Although Malikshāh's nominal authority appears to have been recognized in Syria, he twice had to intervene in person (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932, 20-1), but in 484/1091 Tutuḡh came to Baghdād to pay homage to him. In 482/1089-90 Malikshāh made an expedition to the east to deal with disturbances there. During this he received the submission of the Khān of Kāshghar. Further consolidation took place inside Persia. The Shabānkāra [q.v.] of Fārs were subdued, the states of northwestern Persia, except Shirwān, were annexed, and the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids, which had played an active role in the earlier struggles between Ṭuḡhril, Ibrāhīm Ināl and the Būyids, was brought to an end in 478/1085-6, although the last Marwānid possession was not finally lost to the Artuqid, Husām al-Dīn Taymūrtāsh b. Ilghāzi, until 532/1137-8. Various operations were undertaken against the 'Uḡaylids, with whom earlier Ṭuḡhril's relations had been marked by a spirit of compromise. They had by this time begun to expand westwards, but with the death of Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Quraysh at Antioch in battle with Sulaymān b. Kutulmīsh in 478/1085 their power disappeared.

The decline of the 'Uḡaylids facilitated the rise of another Arab dynasty, that of the Mazyadids in Hilla. They were Shi'is, as were the majority of the Arab tribes in the region, and were, generally speaking, ready to support 'Alid movements against the Saldjūks, as were the Kurds of this region, who also had Shi'i leanings. Moreover, it was the natural tendency of the tribes to support a distant ruler, in this case the Fātimid, rather than a near one. The Mazyadid ruler, Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa b. Dubays, who succeeded his father in 479/1086, became a powerful figure in 'Irāk, and became the leader of an Arab revolt against the Saldjūks.

An attempt to exercise a stricter control over the caliph was made by Nizām al-Mulk, who sought to control him through the appointment of his own nominee to the caliph's vizirate. Relations with the caliph became further strained when Malikshāh's daughter, who was betrothed to al-Muḡtadī, complained of his neglect after being taken to the caliph's residence in 480/1087-8. In 484/1091 when Malikshāh came to Baghdād, he ignored the caliph's presence and demanded that he should revoke the nomination of his eldest son in favour of his son by Malikshāh's daughter and retire to Baṣra (or according to some accounts to Damascus or the Ḥidjāz). The caliph demanded a delay and was relieved of Malikshāh's demand by his assassination in 485/1093.

An important step towards strengthening and regimenting the religious institution—apart from the reaffirmation of the caliph's position as the head of the Islamic community by the early sultans, and

the limitation of his functions to the religious sphere—was the development of the *madrasas* [q.v.]. The initiator of this movement was Nizām al-Mulk, whose intentions were presumably to provide government officials trained in the tenets of orthodoxy to implement his political policies and to use the ‘*ulamā*’ educated in the *madrasas* to control the masses and combat the spread of the Ismā‘īlis. He did not found the *madrasas*, as is sometimes claimed, but he was responsible for the era of brilliance which began for them in the reign of Malikshāh and caused the new *madrasas* to eclipse all other contemporary institutions of learning. Numerous *madrasas* were built by Salḍjūk rulers, their ministers, and others, partly for the reasons mentioned above, but partly also to gain the support of the ‘*ulamā*’, in order, through them, to gain the support of the masses (see further *The interval structure of the Saljuq empire, op. cit.*)

With the failure of al-Basāsiri to establish Fāṭimid power in Baghdād, Shi‘i propaganda apparently ceased or was carried on in secret, and when the Salḍjūks invaded Syria, the Fāṭimids went on the defensive. In the reign of Malikshāh a revival of the Ismā‘īli movement took place, not, perhaps, unconnected with the vigorous steps taken to strengthen the orthodox institution. His reign had brought a measure of order but it had not removed all the old discontents, and by its stricter control and insistence on greater uniformity of thought had probably brought new ones. The “new propaganda” broke away from the old over a dynastic dispute (see further B. Lewis, *The Assassins*). Its founders regarded Nizār as the successor of al-Mustansir instead of al-Musta‘īl. A grandson of Nizār, who with his son was murdered in prison in Egypt, was allegedly brought up at Alamūt by Ḥasan-i Sabbāh (see M. G. Hodgson, *The order of the assassins*, the Hague 1955, 66-7). The latter and his two successors, Kiyā Buzurg Umid (518/1124—532/1138) and Muḥammad (532/1138—557/1162) claimed only to be emissaries of the imām, but the fourth grandmaster, al-Ḥasan ‘alā Dhikrihi ‘l-Salām (557/1162—561/1166), proclaimed himself to be the son of the infant brought from Egypt and the first of a new cycle of imāms. Politically the methods of the new propaganda were marked by extreme violence. The first assembly of the followers of the new propaganda took place, according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, in Sāva in the reign of Malikshāh. In 483/1090 they gained possession of Alamūt, in the neighbourhood of Kazwin, which became their headquarters. In the following year they established themselves in Kūhistān in east Persia. Malikshāh in 485/1092 sent expeditions against them in both districts. The one despatched against Alamūt was routed by a sally by the garrison. Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated by a Bāṭini shortly afterwards. When Malikshāh’s death followed a few weeks later, the expedition withdrew. The other sent to Kūhistān also failed to make headway and on Malikshāh’s death broke up.

Malikshāh and the sultans after him all left young, or fairly young, boys to succeed them, and the death of the sultan was almost always followed by struggles for supremacy among his surviving uncles, brothers, and cousins. The size of the sultan’s standing army after the death of Malikshāh decreased, whereas those of the amirs increased. This change in their relative strength was an invitation to the amirs to assert their independence, and especially from the death of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (525/1131) onwards the internal political history of the Salḍjūk empire consists largely of a series of struggles by the

amirs and atabegs to establish their supremacy over the sultan and set up virtually independent governments. Further, since the road to Asia Minor had become blocked by the Turkomans already there, and a stable Christian kingdom had been established in Georgia, the Turkomans had fewer outlets for their activities and were the more ready to join in the struggles for the throne. The incorporation into the state of the Turkoman tribes, to whom the Salḍjūks for family reasons were under special obligation, had proved an intractable problem. Some had been enrolled in the service of the sultan, but the majority continued to live a semi-nomadic existence, with a general tendency to move westwards. As the basis of the power of the Salḍjūk state shifted from the Turkomans to slaves and freedmen, the position of the Turkomans in relation to the rest of the population worsened. Apart from Syria and Anatolia, the main concentrations of Turkomans were to be found in Gurgān, the *Ḍjazira*, ‘Irāk and Ādharbāyḍjān, and to a lesser extent Khūzistān. The weakening of the Great Salḍjūk empire on the death of Malikshāh and the subsequent dissolution of the kingdom created by Tutuḥ in Syria to some extent restored the freedom of the Turkomans and several of them succeeded, within a few years, in founding independent principalities. The fact that some of them, such as Ilghāzi b. Artuḥ [see ARTUKIDS] were officers of the sultan, helped them to transform themselves quickly into small territorial princes when the central authority declined.

On the death of Malikshāh, his wife Turkān Khātūn succeeded in putting her son Maḥmūd on the throne. He was nominally sultan for some two years (485/1092—487/1094), but Turkān Khātūn was ultimately unable to defeat the opposition which gathered round Barkyāruḥ. Ismā‘īl b. Yāqūti, Barkyāruḥ’s maternal uncle, in response to an appeal from Turkān Khātūn, marched against Barkyāruḥ with an army from Ādharbāyḍjān and Arrān, of which provinces he had been governor under Malikshāh. He was defeated. Turkān Khātūn’s death in 487/1094 was followed shortly afterwards by that of Maḥmūd. Tutuḥ also made a determined effort to obtain the sultanate, but was finally defeated and killed by Barkyāruḥ in 488/1095. This was the last attempt to unite Syria with Persia and the eastern provinces. The Great Salḍjūk sultan continued for a time to be recognized nominally in Syria, but the control he exercised was negligible. By 490/1097 Barkyāruḥ had obtained possession of Khurāsān, of which his uncle, Arslān Arghū, had made himself master on the death of Malikshāh, and was recognized over the whole of Persia except Kirmān, and in ‘Irāk. In 492/1098-9 his brother Muḥammad rebelled. After many vicissitudes, in 497/1103-4, Barkyāruḥ established a slight superiority but at the cost of disorder throughout the country and a decline in the prestige of the sultanate. By the terms of the peace Muḥammad’s status was virtually that of an independent ruler in Arrān. Ādharbāyḍjān, Diyār Bakr, the *Ḍjazira*, Mawṣil and Syria. Sandjār in Khurāsān was also to read the *khutba* in his name.

The internecine strife between the Salḍjūk princes on the death of Malikshāh enabled the Bāṭinis to strengthen their position. In 489/1096 they obtained possession of Girdkūh, situated near Damghān on the main route from Khurāsān to western Persia. About the same time they also seized Shāhdiz just outside Iṣfahān, whence they threatened the capital itself. About 493/1100 they infiltrated Barkyāruḥ’s court and army. Eventually the sultan (who had him-

self been accused of Ismā'īl sympathies) gave permission for measures to be taken against them. In 494-5/1101 he came to an agreement with Sandjar, who had been governor of Khurāsān since 492/1098, for combined action against them, and an expedition was sent by Sandjar to Kūhīstān, which achieved some success, as did another expedition three years later.

On the death of Barkyāruk in 498/1105, although he had nominated his son Malikshāh as his successor, his brother Muḥammad soon established himself as sultan. The Great Saldjūk sultanate once more extended over the whole of Persia with the exception of Kirmān, which continued under the Saldjūks of Kirmān. Muḥammad's reign did something to restore the prestige of the sultanate, but the unity of the empire was never again effectively imposed. Fārs was pacified by Čawli Saḡao, who was governor from 498/1104—500/1106 and 502/1109—510/1117. Sandjar nominally governor of Khurāsān on behalf of Muḥammad, was, in fact, all but independent, and engaged in consolidating his position, which was to enable him to make himself sultan after the death of Muḥammad. Šadaḡa b. Dubays, who had encouraged the internal dissensions of the Saldjūk empire in order to establish his own independence, rebelled in 501/1107 but was killed in battle. With his death the Arab revolt collapsed. That his son Dubays was appointed to succeed him, although in keeping with the Saldjūk policy of toleration and compromise, is, perhaps, also indicative of the inability of the Saldjūks to administer the Arab tribal districts except through their own leaders.

Operations against the Bāṭinis, which under Barkyāruk had not been seriously pressed, were prosecuted vigorously. In 500/1106-7 Muḥammad undertook in person successful operations against them in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān. Šhāhdiz was captured after a prolonged siege. Muḥammad then sent an expedition to Alamūt. Operations continued for eight years and the castle was on the point of falling when it was saved by Muḥammad's death. Ismā'īl fortresses near Arradjān in Fārs were also taken.

On the death of Muḥammad, although he had nominated his son Maḥmūd as his successor, Sandjar was generally regarded as the head of the family. Maḥmūd ruled in the west from 511/1118 to 525/1131, but his rule was disputed at different times and in different districts by his brothers, Mas'ūd, Tuḡhril, and Sulaymān Shāh and their atabegs, and in 513/1119 Sandjar intervened and defeated him at Sāva. Sandjar, however, returned to Khurāsān and allowed Maḥmūd to rule in the west. Although he and his successors used the title sultan, their status was that of *maliks*. Various Saldjūk princes on their own initiative, or on the initiative of different amirs and atabegs, rebelled against Maḥmūd and his successors. Sandjar was forced to interfere on a number of occasions, but proved unable to restrain the increasing ambitions of the amirs and atabegs or to prevent the ultimate fragmentation of the empire, preoccupied as he was by the increasing pressure on the eastern frontier from the Karā Khitāys and the growing strength of the Kh'wārazmshāh. He suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the former in 536/1141, and 'Alā' al-Din Atsiz, who had succeeded his father Muḥammad b. Anūsh Takin as governor of Kh'wārazm in 521/1127, temporarily occupied parts of Khurāsān after Sandjar's defeat.

The caliphs also took part in the family quarrels

of the Saldjūks, and as the caliph emerged again as a military power the amirs began to join him as they joined the other temporal leaders. After the death of Muḥammad b. Malikshāh a triangular struggle took place for the possession of 'Irāk between the caliph and al-Bursuḡi against Dubays, who was later joined by the atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, ruler of Mawṣil since 521/1127, with the sultan playing an uneasy part in the background. The first caliph to assemble an army and lead it in person in Saldjūk times was al-Mustarshid (512/1118-529/1135). Finally, on the death of Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad in 547/1152, al-Muktafi established himself as the dominant power in 'Irāk, exercising both temporal and religious power.

During the disorders which followed the death of Muḥammad, the Ismā'īlis were to some extent able to recover their position in Kūhīstān and northern Persia, though Ḥaṣan-i Sabbāh died in 518/1124. In 520/1126 Sandjar resumed operations against them in Kūhīstān. These were only partially successful, and the Ismā'īlis, benefiting from the preoccupations of Sandjar on the eastern frontiers and with the Ghuzz in Khurāsān, were able again to increase their power. The fact that the Ghuzz became increasingly restive and intractable towards the end of Sandjar's reign was partly due to an increase in their numbers brought about by a southward movement of the Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia, which was occasioned by the expansion of the Karā Khitāy into Transoxania. The control of the frontier against the inroads of the Ghuzz became increasingly difficult, and in 548/1153 battle was joined with them. Sandjar was defeated and held captive for over two years, during which the central government in Khurāsān broke down and the province was overrun by the Ghuzz. Sandjar escaped in 551/1156 but died the following year.

With the death of Sandjar, the Kh'wārazmshāh II Arslān, who succeeded his father Atsiz in 551/1156, emerged as the most powerful ruler in the eastern provinces. He was, however, unable to establish his undisputed rule against the Ghuzz who had defeated Sandjar, and was nominally a tributary of the Karā Khitāy. In the west the Saldjūk empire had split into warring principalities. In Mawṣil the Atabegs looked west and were largely occupied in a struggle with the Crusaders. In 'Irāk the caliph was disputing supremacy with the Saldjūks of 'Irāk, while in Luristān and Ādharbāyḡdīān atabeg dynasties were establishing themselves, and in Fārs the Salgharids came to power. The last named, whose rule in Fārs began about 543/1148, were descended from Salghar, a Turkoman chief who had been one of Tuḡhril Beg's *hādīb*s. They were a successful and popular local house under whom considerable prosperity prevailed.

II Arslān's death in 567/1172 was followed by civil war. His son, Tekiṣh, finally established himself as Kh'wārazmshāh and when the power of the Karā Khitāys weakened towards the end of the 6th/12th century, he became independent. About 588/1192 the caliph al-Nāṣir appealed to Tekiṣh for help against Tuḡhril, the last of the Saldjūk sultans of 'Irāk. They defeated him in 590/1194 near Rayy. Tekiṣh proved a more formidable rival to the caliph than Tuḡhril, and towards the end of his reign he demanded that the *khutba* should be read in Baghdād in his name. In 592/1196 fighting took place between the Kh'wārazmshāh's army and the caliph's to the disadvantage of the latter and skirmishes continued between them for the next few years until Tekiṣh's death in 596/1200.

This conflict with the caliph played a part in alienating the religious classes and the population from the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*.

Muhammad b. Tekish, who succeeded, came into collision with the *Ch*<sup>h</sup>*ūrīds*, who invaded *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*urāsān* about 597/1200-1. They were eventually worsted and by 612/1215-16 their territories had been annexed by the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*. Some years earlier, about 607/1210-11, the *Karā* *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*itāy* were turned out of Transoxania, and in 612/1215-16 the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh* undertook a campaign against the Kipchaks. On this occasion Muhammad came into contact with the Mongol vanguard for the first time. Meanwhile Muhammad reiterated Tekish's demand that the *khufba* be read in Baghdād in the name of the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*, but met with an uncompromising refusal. He then declared the caliph a usurper and marched on 'Irāk. In 614/1217 he defeated successively the Salgharids of Fārs and the atabegs of *Ādharbāyājān*, but in the winter of that year an army sent from Hamadān to Baghdād was annihilated by the Kurds. The threat of trouble in *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazm*, led by the religious classes, forced Muhammad to leave the west before he could make good his defeat. After his return to *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazm*, hostility between him and his mother, Turkān *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*ātūn*, who had placed herself at the head of the opposing faction, became open. The army, composed largely of Kipchaks and Kangli Turks (who were not, as had been the slave troops of the *Saldjūks*, thoroughly familiar with Islam), was also riddled with faction, and there was a standing opposition between them and the Persian element.

In, or about 615/1218 Čingiz *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*ān* sent a body of merchants to gather information about the empire of the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*. When they reached Uṭrār they were plundered and put to death by the local governor with the connivance of the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*. Čingiz sent envoys to Muhammad's court to protest, threatening war if satisfaction was not given. One of the envoys was murdered and the other two were sent back with their beards shaved off. This action precipitated the Mongol invasion. In the subsequent operations the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh* retreated before the Mongols, and many of his troops deserted to the Mongols. Uṭrār, Bukhārā, Uzkand, *Dj*<sup>h</sup>*and*, Banākat, *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*udjand*, Samarkand, *Balkh*, and Marv were sacked and their inhabitants massacred. *Ni*<sup>h</sup>*āpūr* fell in 618/1221. Muhammad had meanwhile retired to Qazwin, and thence to Gilān and Māzandarān. He eventually fled to the island of Abasgūn in the Caspian where he died in 617/1220-1.

Dissension and faction prevailed in *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazm*. Muhammad's son, *Dj*<sup>h</sup>*alāl al-Dīn Mengubirdī*, was unable to establish himself. Fighting a rearguard action, he eventually crossed the Indus (618/1221). The Mongols pushed on through northern Persia and left through the Caucasian Gate near Darband in 620/1223. *Dj*<sup>h</sup>*alāl al-Dīn*, having failed to deprive the slave kings of Delhi of their kingdom, returned some three years later from India to Kirmān, and thence to Fārs and the *Dj*<sup>h</sup>*ibāl*. He clashed with the caliph and the atabeg of *Ādharbāyājān*, and having defeated the latter made a foray into Georgia, and embarked on a struggle with the Ayyūbids, who were split by internal dissensions. He seized *Akh*<sup>h</sup>*lāt*, but was defeated in 627-8/1230 near *Erzindjān*. With the accession of Ogedei in 626/1229 the respite given by the death of Čingiz in 624/1227 came to an end and a new Mongol attack was launched in 627/1230. *Dj*<sup>h</sup>*alāl al-Dīn*, unable to regroup his forces, fled to *Diyār Bakr*, and was murdered by a Kurdish peasant in 628-9/1231.

By the death of Ogedei in 638/1241 the Mongols had overrun northern Persia and had made further conquests in northern Mesopotamia, Georgia, Arrān and Armenia. After his death, the Mongol advance was temporarily held up by dissensions. At the *kuriltay* in 649/1251 Hülāgū (Hülegü) was appointed to lead an expedition to occupy all the territories between the Oxus and the extreme limits of Egypt, and entrusted with hereditary rights of sovereignty as the representative of the Great *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*ān* in the conquered lands. After lengthy preparations he set out and crossed the Oxus in 653/1256. He was joined at *Ki*<sup>h</sup>*sh* in 654/1256 by *Arghūn Ākā*, who had been appointed governor of Persia by Mōngke. One of the Hülāgū's first steps to consolidate Mongol domination in Persia was to exterminate the *Ismā'ilis*, who had by this time become virtually territorial princes, and as such made and changed alliances with other local rulers. He overthrew their strongholds in *Kūhistān* and in 654/1256 took *Alamūt* and sent *Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh*, the grandmaster, to *Karakorum*, where he was put to death. Thenceforward the *Ismā'ilis* survived in Persia only as a minor sect (see further B. Lewis, *op. cit.*).

From Hamadān Hülāgū called upon the caliph al-Mu'tašim to surrender to the Mongols. His reply was considered unsatisfactory, and Hülāgū marched on Baghdād. After a siege of some fifty days it fell and was sacked. The caliph and those of his family who could be found were put to death. Hülāgū then pushed on to *Ādharbāyājān* and made his headquarters at *Marāgha*. In 657/1259 he set out for Syria and took Aleppo in 658/1260, and Damascus surrendered. On news of the death of Mōngke (657/1259), Hülāgū returned to Mongolia, leaving an army in Syria. Its defeat at 'Ayn *Dj*<sup>h</sup>*ālūt* by the Mamlūks in 658/1260 stayed the Mongol advance on Egypt. The Mongol empire now split up. Berke, who ruled in the Kipchak steppe, sought to assert his supremacy over Hülāgū and invaded Persia via Darband and *Shirwān*, but was defeated in 660/1262. In the following year *Abākā*, Hülāgū's son, invaded Berke's territory but was defeated and retired to *Dāghistān*. Hülāgū meanwhile died in 663/1265 (for details of the Mongol invasion see Bartold, *op. cit.*, and J. A. Boyle, *Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v).

The Mongol invasion was carried out by a horde organized for war with the deliberate intention of imposing political domination. Its immediate effect was the devastation and depopulation of the eastern provinces of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. 'Irāk, once the metropolitan province of the 'Abbāsīd empire, did not recover for centuries. (See further I. P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic condition of Iran under the Il-Khāns*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v). Only Fārs partially escaped by the timely payment of tribute. The invasion also altered the balance of population by introducing new Turkish tribes, brought about a widespread extension of nomadism leading to the destruction of agriculture and urban life, and sharpened the dichotomy between *turk* and *iādjik* and between settled and semi-settled. In the early period of Mongol domination the conquerors lived apart from the local population in tents and encampments. The Mongol leaders and their ministers owned large flocks, which were placed under the care of officials called *khā'amīs*. Their depredations were a constant source of anxiety to the settled people. The practice of reserving pasturage for the Mongol army was also a burden on the local people. A new feature of society was the extent to

which the Mongol leaders personally indulged in trade (cf. *Dastūr al-Kātib*, 203 ff.). The Yāsā of Čingiz Khān was followed by the early Ilkhāns, as the rulers of the dynasty founded by Hülāgū were called, and quoted by the later rulers. New practices and taxes, notably *kubčūr*, originally a cattle tax and later a fixed tax on peasants and nomads, *kalān*, a land tax, possibly levied partly in the form of labour service, and *šamghā*, a tax on trade and urban crafts, possibly originally a poll-tax on urban dwellers and merchants, were introduced. The Mongol leaders, or some of them, and their wives, and the religious leaders enjoyed certain immunities from taxation. The administration was largely in the hands of officials who had served preceding dynasties, and the new customs were in due course to a large extent assimilated to existing Islamic and customary usages. With the conversion of the Mongols to Islam there was a reassertion of the traditional theory and practices of government. The head of the bureaucratic administration was known as the *šāhib dīwān*, whose duties were similar to those of the traditional vizier.

As Persian rulers, the Ilkhāns were subject to the same limitations as other dynasties which ruled in Persia. They were faced with the problem of defence against the peoples of Central Asia and Turkestān in spite of the fact that there were now Mongols on both sides of the Oxus. They were also confronted with a second problem of defence, namely the maintenance of the Caucasus frontier. This region formed a bulwark in the defence of the region to the north and the south of it and was repeatedly fought over by the Ilkhāns and the Golden Horde, and later from the 10th/16th century to the 12th/18th by the Šafavids, and in the 19th century was disputed by Russia, the heir to the Golden Horde, and finally obtained by her (see further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1955). In the west the Ilkhāns sought to expand by overthrowing the Mamlūks in Syria and Palestine, but they were unable to establish their domination outside the western frontier of Mesopotamia, which became the geo-political boundary of Persia.

The reign of Abāqā, who succeeded Hülāgū, was spent in ceaseless campaigns against the Golden Horde, in repelling attacks from Transoxania, and operations against the Mamlūks, which ended in a Mongol defeat at Marǧī al-Safar in 680/1281. Abāqā's successor, Tegüder, the seventh son of Hülāgū, announced his conversion to Islam after his accession and took the name Aḥmad. It is possible that this was a political gesture to be seen against the failure of the Mongols to take Syria (see Spuler, *op. cit.*, 78). Whether this is so or not, Tegüder Aḥmad's policy of favouring Islam caused unrest among the Mongol leaders to whose support he owed his accession. Civil war broke out and Arghūn seized the throne in 683/1284. During his reign, an abortive attempt was made to enlist support in Europe for a common crusade against Islam. Internally there was a marked improvement in the position of the Christian and Jewish communities and an increase in their influence. Arghūn was succeeded by his brother Gaykhātū in 690/1291. His reign, which is marked by numerous rebellions and losses to the Mamlūks, is chiefly remarkable for growing financial stringency, and the disastrous attempt to solve this by the introduction of paper money known as *čao*. Baydū, a grandson of Hülāgū, governor of 'Irāq, seized power in 694/1295, but was eventually overthrown by Ghāzān, who was then governor of

Khūrāsān, in 694/1295. Ghāzān made a public profession of Islam after his victory.

Under Ghāzān (694/1295—703/1304) the Ilkhāns reached their height. The links between them and the Great Khān, which had already been greatly weakened though still borne witness to on the coinage and in documents, were finally broken. This was partly because of Ghāzān's conversion and partly because of the disintegration of the Mongol empire on the death of Kubilay in 694-5/1294. In 695/1295-6 the Čaghatay Khān Duwa b. Baraḳ invaded Khūrāsān from Transoxania. Financial stringency had not been relieved and a compulsory loan had to be made on the inhabitants of Tabriz to enable a force to be sent to expel the invaders. Duwa subsequently seized Ghazna and part of Sistān and Balkh, whence he invaded India. In 698/1298-99 he invaded Fārs and penetrated to Kāzīrūn. An attack by the Mamlūks on Asia Minor in 697-8/1298 was followed by a Mongol invasion of Syria. The Mamlūks were defeated near Ḥimš in 699/1299 and Damascus temporarily occupied. In 700/1301 the Mongols of the Golden Horde attacked from the Caucasus via Darband but were repulsed. In 703/1303 another expedition was made against the Mamlūks, ending in defeat at Marǧī al-Safar. This was the last attempt by the Ilkhāns to extend their borders to include Syria.

Ghāzān's reign, although a period of military expeditions, was also a period of reform and reorganization, but his reign was too short fully to subordinate the Turko-Mongol tribal element to settled government or to repair the ravages committed during the rule of the earlier Ilkhāns, which had brought about the ruin of agriculture. During the reign of Arghūn there had been an increase in maladministration and extortion. By the accession of Ghāzān, the administration had fallen to a low ebb and the finances of the state were in a critical condition. Farming of the revenue was common, as also were confiscations, extraordinary levies (*nemari*), and the demand of taxes in advance. Peculation was widespread. Officials of all kinds lived on the country, and the requisitions by *ilīs*, *i.e.*, envoys and officials despatched by the central government on official business, who travelled through the country with large trains, were a crying evil. Owing to the fact that the treasury was usually empty, the practice of writing drafts on the country had reached unprecedented proportions, and as their realization became increasingly difficult it became the custom to send military expeditions to collect them. Public order also fell to a low ebb: large numbers of fugitive slaves and disaffected elements roamed the countryside (Rashīd al-Dīn in the *Ta'rikh-i Ghāzānī* gives a vivid account of contemporary conditions).

Realising the difficulty of altering established habits, Ghāzān attacked abuses gradually. He first prohibited the writing of drafts on the peasantry, and reorganised the assessment and collection of taxation. Rashīd al-Dīn, who in all probability played an important part in initiating these policies, claims that as a result the revenue came in and civil and military expenses were paid. The improvement, however, did not last after Ghāzān's reign (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nushat al-Kulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, pp. 32-3). The Mongol invasion had brought about great insecurity in matters of tenure and a new expansion of crown lands in the form of *dalāy* lands, *i.e.*, lands which were the property of the ruler, and *indjū* lands, *i.e.*, the appanages of his relatives and the Mongol leaders. Ghāzān attempted to give security of tenure to those in undisputed

possession of land by obtaining a *fatwā* giving validity to the provision in Čingiz *Khān's yāsā*, by which all land claims lapsed after thirty years, and by putting a stop on transactions in land the tenure of which was disputed. The pay of the army was also reorganized and in 703/1303 he reintroduced with modifications the old system of land assignments (*iḥtā's*) to the soldiery (see further *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, and I. P. Petrushevsky, *op. cit.*).

With the death of *Ghāzān* in 703/1304 decline set in. There were no more expeditions to Syria. The Turkish rulers in Asia Minor began to throw off Mongol rule. Fārs and Kirmān became increasingly independent. *Öljejtü* (703/1304—716/1316), who transferred his capital to *Sultāniyya*, failed to complete the reforms of *Ghāzān*. The empire was divided into rival factions, the most powerful of which were the *Čüpānids [q.v.]* and the *Djalā'irs [q.v.]*. *Ghāzān* was succeeded by a child, *Abū Sa'īd* (716/1316-736/1335), after whose reign the *İlkhān* empire broke up, various amirs and provincial governors asserting their independence. (For details of the rule of the *İlkhāns* see further J. A. Boyle, *op. cit.*). A period of restless strivings and repeated expeditions by the different leaders to extend their domains at the expense of their rivals ensued. In the east in *Harāt* there were the *Karts [q.v.]* and in *Luristān* the *Atabegs*, also called the *Hazarāspids [q.v.]*, both of whom pre-dated the *İlkhāns* and acted as their governors in the heyday of *İlkhān* power. In 'Irāk and *Ādharbāyḍjān* there were the *Djalā'irs*, whose founder *Hasan-i Buzurg* first attempted to rule through a series of puppet *khāns*, and in Fārs and 'Irāk-i 'Adjam the *Inḍiūds q.v.* and the *Muzaffarids [q.v.]*, who were perhaps the most successful of the succession states, although internecine strife eventually caused their decay. Their main centres of power were Fārs, Yazd and Kirmān. In the last-named province they succeeded the *Kutluḡ Khāns* (the *Ḳarā Khitāyiān*), whose founder, *Baraḡ Hāḍjib*, had established himself in Kirmān after the overthrow of the *Kh'wārazm-shāh* by the Mongols. He and his successors ruled as Mongol governors. The last of the *Kutluḡ Khāns*, *Ḳuṭb al-Din Shāh Djalān*, died in 703/1303-4. One of the most interesting of the succession states was the *Sarbadārid* in *Sabzawār*. They, like the *Sayyids* of *Mar'ash*, who also established themselves as small local rulers, appear to have based their power partly on a "popular" movement (see further, I. P. Petrushevsky, *Sarbadārids*, translated by *Muḥammad Karim Kishāvarz*, in *Farhang-i Irān Zamin*, x, 1-4 (1962). All of these local rulers, except the *Djalā'irs*, who survived in Lower Mesopotamia until 835-6/1432, were extinguished by *Timūr*, if they had not already disappeared.

The *Čaghatāy khānate*, which bordered the *İlkhān* kingdom on the north-east, had been temporarily usurped by *Ḳayḍū*, *Ogedei's* grandson. It was recovered by *Duwa b. Baraḡ* on *Ḳayḍū's* death in 700-1/1301. It consisted of two parts: the western part formed by the oases of the *Oxus-Jaxartes* basin, excluding the lower course of the *Oxus* in *Kh'wārazm* which belonged to *Dioči's khānate*, and the eastern part, comprising the *Zungarian* steppes and known as *Mughulistān*. In the former the Mongols ruled over a sedentary Muslim population, but in the latter the *Čaghatāy khāns* were the leaders of pagan nomads. In *Mughulistān* the Mongol *khāns* retained their domination, but in *Transoxania* power passed into the hands of the local Turkish amirs, the most influential of whom in the 9th/14th century was *Ḳazaghān*, who seized power in 747/1346-7 and ruled some twelve

years. His death was followed by an uninterrupted period of war and strife between the Turkish and Mongol *khāns* of western *Turkistān*. About 761/1360 *Tughluḡ Timūr*, the newly converted Eastern *Čaghatāy khān*, sought to assert his dominion over the western as well as the eastern part of the *Čaghatāy khānate*.

Among the conflicting parties and interests, *Timūr* gradually established himself as the defender of the Islamic borderlands against these renewed attacks from Central Asia. At first, not strong enough to show uncompromising resistance to the invaders, he made terms with *Tughluḡ Timūr*, who gave him *Kish* as a *suyūrghāl*. He then entered into an alliance with *Amir Ḳusayn*, the ruler of *Balkh*. The next few years (763/1362—769/1367) were a period of great confusion, in which the struggle between the Mongol and Turkish leaders ebbed and flowed. In 766-7/1365 *Timūr* and *Amir Ḳusayn*, after being defeated by *Ilyās Khwādja Tughluḡ Timūr's* successor, abandoned *SamarḲand*, which was, however, successfully defended by the townspeople under the leadership of the '*ulamā*'. When they eventually returned to *SamarḲand*, conflict broke out between them. *Timūr* was forced to retire to *Khurāsān*, but when a new Mongol attack threatened, *Amir Ḳusayn* was reconciled to him. The Mongol threat proved to be only temporary, and *Timūr* now turned against his erstwhile ally and took *Balkh* in 771-2/1370. Although *Timūr's* military power was based on the nomads of western *Turkistān*, since they were closely linked to the settled population through commercial interests and the protection of the caravan routes, and their chiefs were beginning to acquire property in the towns and to be more fully islamized, he served, at this period, the interests of both the nomads and the settled population: to the former, who had been rent by squabbles among themselves, he gave cohesion and unity and to the latter security to pursue their commercial activities and to continue their religious life.

*Timūr's* next step was to take the offensive against the nomads of eastern *Turkistān*, and in a series of campaigns between c. 771/1369—782/1380 he defeated both them and the *Kipchaks* in *Kh'wārazm*. He then turned his arms against the interior of the *dār al-islām*. In 782/1380-1 he invaded *Persia*, subduing *Khurāsān*, *Māzandarān*, and *Sistān*. In 786/1384-5 he made a second expedition into *Persia*, invading *Māzandarān* again and pushing on to *Ādharbāyḍjān*, 'Irāk-i 'Adjam, and *Georgia*, coming back via *Shirāz* and *Ishfahān*. In 790/1388, the *Kipchaks* under *Tukatmiṣh* overran the oases of the *Oxus-Jaxartes* basin up to *SamarḲand*, but withdrew when *Timūr* returned from Fārs. Two years later, he pursued them into the *Kipchak* steppe and defeated them at *Urtapa* in 793/1391. He then went again to Fārs and thence to 'Irāk, *Armenia*, and *Georgia*, which he subjugated (795/1393 to 798/1396), before returning once more to *SamarḲand*. From the spring of 800/1398 to the spring of 801/1399 he was occupied in his Indian campaign and the following autumn (802/1399) he set out for *Asia Minor* on his most famous campaign, which culminated in the defeat of the *Ottomans* at the battle of *Ankara* in 804/1402 and the capture of the *Ottoman* sultan, *Bāyazid*. In the following year *Timūr* raided *Georgia* and in 806-7/1404 returned to *SamarḲand*, whence he set out for *China*, but died en route at *Utrār* in 807/1405 (see further H. Hookham, *Tamburlaine the conqueror*, London 1962, and R. Grousset, *Les empires Mongoles*).

*Timūr's* empire looked back to the *Mongols*, but although many of its institutions derive from

Mongol practice, his administration had an Islamic veneer and alongside the begs (or amirs), *nā'ibs*, *yasaklik* (public guards), *yasā'uls* (officers charged with the keeping of the public peace), *dārūghās*, falconers, hunters, and so on, were the whole range of officials known in pre-Mongol times. Under Ḥasan Bāyqāra a sophisticated bureaucratic administration existed, at the head of which was the *dīwān-i a'lā*, responsible for military and civil affairs. A special *dīwān*, the *dīwān-i buzurġ-i imārat* under a *dīwānbeġi*, dealt with Turkish and military affairs (see further, 'Abd Allāh Marwārdī, *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. H. R. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952). In military affairs Timūr carried on Mongol tradition but introduced certain innovations. Although he started his career as the defender of the sedentary Islamised population of western Turkistān against the nomads of eastern Turkistān these terms are relative: the basis of Timūr's military power was the nomadic tribes, who made regular summer and winter migrations in which the whole horde took part. Clavijo gives a vivid description of Timūr and his horde (*Clavijo: Embassy to Tamerlaine*, 1403-1406, ed. G. Le Strange, Broadway Travellers, 1928, 191 ff.). Their flocks were numbered for taxation. Tradesmen and craftsmen followed the armies, supplying their needs, and the booty obtained in campaigns was bartered and sold in these bazaars. Colonies of workmen were transplanted to Tabriz and Samarkand from Syria, China, and other parts of Persia. Artisans were organised in guilds. Some of these were forced to give free labour for the ruler, and in time of war were requisitioned. Samarkand became under Timūr a great industrial and commercial centre. Silk, glass, ceramics, and paper were manufactured there. Trade, which had fallen off since the conversion of the Mongols to Islam, was encouraged with China, India, Persia and Syria. Tabriz became an important entrepôt.

Timūr's religious policy appears to have been dictated by political expediency. In Khurāsān he supported strict orthodoxy but in Syria he appeared as the defender of 'Alī and the *imāms*. Two important darwish orders, the Ni'matullāhi and the Nakhshbandi, were founded during his reign. There was a trend towards a closer control of the religious institution which was continued under the Turkoman dynasties of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep and reached its culmination under the Ṣafavids. *Shar'ī* officials were placed under the supervision of a new official known as the *ṣadr*, who was entrusted with their dismissal and appointment, the upkeep of mosques, *madrasas*, graveyards, and *khānkāhs*, and whose duty, in general, was to further right religion (see especially document 9 in the *Sharaf-nāma*, *op. cit.*).

On Timūr's death internecine strife broke out, from which two main kingdoms emerged. Mirān Shāh, the third son of Timūr, and his sons Abū Bakr and Muḥammad 'Umar, obtained western Persia, with their main centres at Tabriz and Baghdād, and Shāhrukh, Timūr's fourth son, Khurāsān, to which he subsequently added Transoxania. The Timūrid state in western Persia did not last long: the Djalā'irs recovered Baghdād and the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, whom Timūr had driven out of Armenia, returned to that province and in 810-11/1408 invaded Ādharbāyḍjān and defeated Mirānshāh near Ṭabriz. Two years later they took Baghdād from the Djalā'irs and found themselves masters of the western part of Timūr's empire. The eastern branch ruled rather longer. Shāhrukh (807/1404—850/1447) took Transoxania from one of his nephews and 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjam and

Fārs from another, thus uniting eastern Persia under his rule. He subsequently attacked the Black Sheep, occupied Ādharbāyḍjān, and penetrated Armenia, but was unable to defeat the Black Sheep decisively and was forced to leave them in effective possession of Armenia, Ādharbāyḍjān, and Baghdād (see further below). Shāhrukh was faced by numerous revolts and on his death his kingdom rapidly disintegrated, to fall in part to the Black Sheep and in part to the Uzbegs, who invaded Transoxania at the turn of the 9th/15th century. In spite of the political decline, a brilliant cultural revival took place in Harāt under the successors of Timūr and continued down to the end of the dynasty.

*Bibliography:* In view of the general character of the above article, for detailed bibliographical information reference should be made to the historical, geographical, ethnological, and religious articles dealing with Persia. (A. K. S. LAMBTON)

#### (b) TURKOMANS TO PRESENT DAY

The devastating campaigns of Timūr in Iran between 783/1381—807/1404 swept away the minor dynasties which had sprung up in various parts of the country after the Mongol invasions, and left a political and social vacuum from the Oxus to the Euphrates. In this vacuum, various rival forces fought for supremacy for nearly a century. The establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty in 907/1501-2 led to the re-integration of Iran and 'Irāk-i 'Arab under one stable administration, certainly for the first time since the break-up of the Īlkhānid empire, ca. 736/1335, and, if one takes into consideration the important city of Harāt, virtually for the first time since the invasions of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*].

At the time of the death of Timūr in 807/1405, his descendants found themselves in secure possession only of Khurāsān and 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjam, outside Transoxania itself. In the course of the next fifteen years, however, Shāhrukh b. Timūr successively annexed the provinces of Gurgān and Māzandarān (809/1406-7), Fārs (817/1414-15), and Kirmān (819/1416-17), and in 823/1420-1 felt strong enough to invade Ādharbāyḍjān, which had passed into the hands of the Kara Koyunlu (Black Sheep) Turkomans.

The Kara Koyunlu group of nomadic Turkoman tribes, like their rivals the Aq Koyunlu (White Sheep) Turkoman group, had settled in Saldjūq times in Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In the second half of the 8th/14th century, the Kara Koyunlu moved eastwards into north-west Iran, and established themselves in the region of Lake Van as vassals of the Djalā'irids [*q.v.*]. In about 792/1390 the Kara Koyunlu *amir* Kara Yūsuf seized Tabriz and declared his independence of the Djalā'irid sultan. Both rulers were dispossessed by Timūr, but regained control of Ādharbāyḍjān and 'Irāk-i 'Arab respectively within a few years of the death of Timūr.

Kara Yūsuf rapidly enlarged the area under Kara Koyunlu control. In 812/1410 he subjugated Diyār Bakr, held by the Aq Koyunlu. In 813/1410 he defeated Sultan Aḥmad Djalā'ir and annexed the whole of 'Irāk-i 'Arab except for a small area of southern 'Irāk. He asserted his authority over various local rulers in Shirwān and Georgia. In 822/1419 he invaded 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjam and expelled the Timūrid officers from the cities of Sultāniyya, Ṭarum, Kazwin and Sāwa. Kara Yūsuf had made the Kara Koyunlu the dominant power in western Iran, ruling directly over Ādharbāyḍjān,



‘Irāk-i ‘Arab, and parts of ‘Irāk-i ‘Adjam, while the Aq Koyunlu of Diyār Bakr, and the Shīrwānshāh, acknowledged their suzerainty.

Kāra Yūsuf’s death in 823/1420 was followed by dissension among his sons, and Shāhrukh was able to subjugate Ādharbāydzjān. The Kāra Koyunlu carried on a guerrilla war against the Timūrids, and in 832/1429, and again in 839/1435, Shāhrukh was forced to return to Ādharbāydzjān to stabilise the situation. The Timūrid governor was replaced by a Kāra Koyunlu prince subservient to Shāhrukh.

Shāhrukh [q.v.], whose reign had represented a measure of stability and reconstruction, died in 850/1447. The Kāra Koyunlu leader Djahānshāh immediately went over to the offensive and, taking advantage of divisions among the Timūrids, extended the Kāra Koyunlu empire to its greatest extent. He seized Sulṭāniyya and Kāzwin in 850/1447, overran the whole of ‘Irāk-i ‘Adjam and Fārs within the space of a few months in 856/1452, and in 862/1458 occupied Harāt, the capital of Timūrid Khurāsān. A revolt in Ādharbāydzjān forced Djahānshāh to cede Khurāsān to the Timūrid Abū Sa‘īd, who transferred his capital from Samarqand to Harāt, but Djahānshāh continued to rule over Ādharbāydzjān, the two ‘Irāks, Fārs, the shores of the Sea of ‘Umān, Kirmān, Sarīr, Armenia, and Georgia, until his death in 872/1468.

During the reign of Djahānshāh a new contender for power in Iran appeared in the shape of the Šafawids. Under the leadership of Djunayd [q.v.] (851/1447—864/1460), the now strongly Shi‘i Šafawid movement entered a new militant phase, and for the first time its leaders aspired to temporal power. Djahānshāh considered the threat so real that he ordered Djunayd to disperse his forces and depart from Ardabil; should he fail to comply, Ardabil would be destroyed. Djunayd fled, and ultimately took refuge at the Aq Koyunlu court in Diyār Bakr (861-3/1456-9). The political advantages of an alliance against their mutual enemy, the Kāra Koyunlu, led the militantly Shi‘i Djunayd and the zealously orthodox Aq Koyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan to sink their religious differences, and to cement their alliance by the marriage of Djunayd to Uzun Ḥasan’s sister. Djunayd was killed in battle in Shīrwān in 864/1460, but his successor Ḥaydar maintained the close alliance between the Šafawids and the Aq Koyunlu by marrying Uzun Ḥasan’s daughter.

In 872/1468 the Kāra Koyunlu ruler Djahānshāh attacked Uzun Ḥasan. He was defeated, and the Kāra Koyunlu empire was overthrown. The Timūrid ruler Abū Sa‘īd saw this as an opportunity to extend his authority westwards from Khurāsān, but he too was defeated by Uzun Ḥasan, and put to death. The Aq Koyunlu thus succeeded to the Kāra Koyunlu empire in Iran, ‘Irāk-i ‘Arab, Diyār Bakr and Armenia, but an attempted Aq Koyunlu coup at Harāt was frustrated by Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā [q.v.], whose occupation of Harāt in 875/1470 inaugurated a period of some thirty-five years of relatively stable and prosperous Timūrid rule in Khurāsān. Uzun Ḥasan also had aspirations to extend his empire westwards, but, after some initial success against the Ottomans, he was decisively defeated in 878/1473.

The death of Uzun Ḥasan in 882/1478 marked the beginning of Aq Koyunlu decline, as rival princes, supported by, and sometimes dominated by, ambitious amīrs, successively contested the throne. In the twenty-five years which remained before the last Aq Koyunlu ruler, Murād, was expelled from

Iran in 908/1503 by Shāh Ismā‘īl I [q.v.], the only thread of continuity is the inexorable progress of the Šafawid movement towards its goal of achieving power in Iran by revolutionary means. This progress was marked by the death in battle of two more Šafawid leaders (Ḥaydar [q.v.], in 893/1488, and ‘Alī in 899/1494), and by the breakdown of the Aq Koyunlu-Šafawid alliance. Once the mutual enemy, the Kāra Koyunlu, had disappeared from the scene, it was only a matter of time before the political and military ambitions of the Šafawids came into conflict with those of the Aq Koyunlu. In 893/1488 Aq Koyunlu troops were the major factor in the defeat of Ḥaydar, and in 899/1494 the Aq Koyunlu sultan Rustam, having released ‘Alī from imprisonment because he needed his help against a rival prince, then had to crush him when support for him developed on an alarming scale. ‘Alī’s brother, Ismā‘īl, escaped, and for five years directed from his refuge in Gilān the final stages of the Šafawid revolution. His emissaries went to and fro between Gilān and their bases in Anatolia, Syria and the Armenian highlands. It was from these areas that Ismā‘īl derived the élite of his fighting men, his most fanatical adherents, men of the Rūmilū, Ustādjlū, Takkalū, Dhū’l-Ḳadar, Warsāk, Shāmlū, Turkman, Afshār, Kādjār and other Turkoman tribes. These men considered Ismā‘īl to be both their *murshīd-i kāmīl*, as head of the Šafawid Order, and their *pādīshāh*; i.e., Ismā‘īl was both their religious leader and their temporal ruler. They had acquired the celebrated soubriquet of *kizil-bāsh* (“red-heads”, T. *kizil-bash*), by virtue of the distinctive crimson hat, with the twelve folds denoting the Iṭhnā ‘ashari imāms, which had been devised for them by Ḥaydar.

In 905/1499 Ismā‘īl made his bid for power; by the autumn of 1500 he had been joined by 7,000 *kizilbāsh* at his rendezvous at Erzdjān. He turned aside to crush the Shīrwānshāh, who had killed both his father and his grandfather, and then, at the battle of Sharūr, he routed Alwand Aq Koyunlu. Ismā‘īl entered Tabriz (907/1501), had himself crowned as the first shāh of the Šafawid dynasty, and proclaimed the Dja‘fari rite of Iṭhnā ‘ashari Shi‘ism to be the official religion of the new Šafawid state. He had two main reasons for taking this step: first, he wished clearly to differentiate the Šafawid state from the Ottoman Empire, into which it might otherwise have been absorbed; second, he aimed at creating by this means a sense of unity among his subjects, a sense of separate identity which would permit the evolution of a national state in the modern sense of the term. The change to Shi‘ism seems to have been accepted by the people at large without any serious display of opposition. Šafawid propagandists had, of course, been active for a long period, but there are other factors which may have helped to produce a climate of religious opinion favourable to Šafawid Shi‘ism, for example, the activities of heterodox and antinomian groups such as the Ḥurūfīs, and the activities of other Šīfi Orders in Persia, some of which were unquestionably permeated by Shi‘i ideas. Many, but not all, of the ‘ulamā’ resisted the change. Some who did were put to death, notably at Shīrāz; others fled first to the Timūrid court at Harāt, and later, after the conquest of Khurāsān by the Šafawids, to the Uzbek capital at Bukhārā. To impose doctrinal unity, the Šafawids appointed an official termed the *saḍr*, who was the head of the religious institution, but in practice derived his authority from the political institution.

The first ten years of Ismā'īl's reign were spent in conquering the rest of Iran and Mesopotamia: In 908/1503 a victory over the remaining Ak Koyunlu forces under Sultan Murād, near Hamadān, gave him control of central and southern Iran; Māzandarān and Gurgān were subjugated in 909/1504; Diyār Bakr was annexed in 913/1507, Baghdād was captured in 914/1508, and Khurāsān was annexed in 916/1510 after a crushing defeat of the Uzbeks at Marw. The victory at Marw, however, did not solve the problem of the defence of the eastern marches against the nomads, and, only two years later, a Šafawid army was routed at Ghudjuwān, just east of the Oxus, and the Uzbeks swept across Khurāsān as far as Mashhad. Ismā'īl restored the situation, and an uneasy truce with the Uzbeks followed.

The Sunni Uzbeks in the east and the Sunni Ottomans in the west were the principal enemies of the Šafawid state. The existence on the borders of Anatolia of a powerful Shī'ī state, which claimed the allegiance of large numbers of Turkoman tribesmen living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire itself, was a threat which the Ottomans could not ignore, and in 920/1514 Selim I launched what proved to be the first of a long series of invasions of Iran by Ottoman forces. On 2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514 the Šafawid army, composed almost entirely of cavalry, was defeated with heavy losses at Čaldirān [q.v.] by the fire-power of the Ottoman muskets and artillery. Selim had to withdraw from Tabriz after a short occupation, but the Ottomans annexed the province of Diyār Bakr, and the regions of Mar'ash and Albistān.

The Šafawid defeat at Čaldirān had important repercussions. Ismā'īl lost his faith in his own invincibility, and during the remaining ten years of his life never again led his men into battle. The kizilbāsh, who had revered their ruler as the Shadow of God upon earth and had worshipped him as the manifestation of God, were disillusioned. The actions of the kizilbāsh after Čaldirān, and particularly after the death of Ismā'īl, show clearly that, although they preserved the outward forms, they considered the concept of their leader as the Shadow of God upon earth, immortal and infallible, to be a polite fiction. From this time, too, the term Šūfi, implying a relationship between *murshid* and *murid* which the kizilbāsh had in practice, though not in theory, repudiated, occurs less and less frequently in the sources. The status of Šūfis declined, and the term "Šūfi" acquired a definitely pejorative significance under the later Šafawids.

Shāh Ismā'īl died on 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524, and was succeeded by his son Tahmāsp, then ten and a half years of age. The extent to which the theocratic concept of the early Šafawid state had broken down in practice was demonstrated by the ten years of civil war between rival kizilbāsh factions which marked the beginning of his reign. The authority of the shah was usurped by kizilbāsh chiefs, who were the *de facto* rulers of the state during this period. In 940/1533-4, however, Shāh Tahmāsp made clear his intention to rule in fact and not in name only, and, for most of the remainder of his long reign of fifty-two years, he maintained a precarious ascendancy over the turbulent kizilbāsh.

Most Western and Oriental sources give us a totally unfavourable picture of Tahmāsp [q.v.]. They portray him as a miser, as a melancholy recluse who swung between extremes of abstinence and intemperance, as a man capable of great cruelty. Nobody has given Tahmāsp credit for holding the

Šafawid state together for more than half a century, in the face of the most determined onslaughts by the Ottomans under their greatest conqueror, Süleymān the Magnificent, and by the Uzbeks under one of their greatest leaders, 'Ubayd Allāh Khān. Between 930/1524 and 944/1538, the Uzbeks launched five major attacks on Khurāsān. Between 940/1533-4 and 961/1553, the Ottomans made four full-scale assaults on Ādharbāydjān. Baghdād was captured by the Ottomans in 941/1534, and thereafter 'Irāk-i 'Arab remained in Ottoman hands, except for a brief interlude between 1032/1623—1048/1638. Tabriz was occupied on several occasions, and Tahmāsp transferred the capital to Qazwin, which was not so close to the Ottoman frontier. Attacks by foreign enemies were not the only problem confronting Tahmāsp. During the first decade of his reign, Iran was gravely weakened by kizilbāsh inter-tribal rivalries and by the defection of groups of kizilbāsh to the Ottomans; moreover in 941/1534-5, and again in 955/1548, Tahmāsp had to deal with rebellious brothers. In 962/1555 Tahmāsp negotiated the Treaty of Amasya, and Iran obtained a respite from Ottoman attack for thirty years.

The reigns of Ismā'īl I and Tahmāsp I represent a period of change and adjustment. Under Ismā'īl, an attempt was made to reconcile the Šūfi organization inherited from the Šafawiyya Order with the administrative organization of the Šafawid state. The failure of this attempt posed problems in regard to which Tahmāsp temporized and to which 'Abbās I provided solutions which were effective only as short-term measures. The failure precisely to define the scope and function of the principal offices of state during this period produced some degree of conflict between the holders of these offices, and meant that the boundary between the "political institution" and the "religious institution" was never clearly demarcated. The movement away from the theocratic form of government which obtained after the establishment of the Šafawid state was noticeable even before the death of Ismā'īl, and this tendency was reflected in changes in the scope and function of the principal offices of state, and in their relative importance. In particular, the status of the *wakil-i nafs-i nafs-i humāyūn*, the *alter ego* of the *shāh* and his vicegerent both in his religious and his political capacity, declined until his position was little different from that of the vizier, the head of the bureaucracy; the power of the *šads*, once their primary task of imposing doctrinal unity had been achieved, also declined; and the shah himself attempted to restrict the power of the *amir al-umūrā*.

In 982/1574, Shāh Tahmāsp became seriously ill, and the Šafawid state was once again involved in a crisis. At first, the dissensions which broke out among the kizilbāsh appeared to be merely a recrudescence of the factional struggles which had imperilled the Šafawid state fifty years previously. But the new crisis was, in fact, of a very different nature. The question from 982/1574 onwards was not which of the kizilbāsh tribes should achieve a dominant position over its rivals, but rather, whether the kizilbāsh as a whole could maintain their privileged position as the military aristocracy in the Šafawid state, in the face of the challenge from new ethnic elements in Šafawid society, namely, the Georgians and Circassians. The majority of these people were the offspring of prisoners taken during the course of four campaigns waged in the Caucasus by Tahmāsp between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4. In addition,

a certain number of Georgian noblemen voluntarily entered Šafawid service during Tahmāsp's reign. By the time of the death of Tahmāsp in 984/1576, the power of the Georgian and Circassian women in the royal *haram* was such that they intervened in political affairs and engaged in active intrigue with a view to securing the throne for their own sons. In this way, they introduced into the Šafawid state dynastic rivalries of a new kind.

The struggle for power between the *qizilbāsh* and the Georgians and Circassians, continued during the reigns of Ismā'īl II (984/1576—985/1577) and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (985/1578—996/1588), and was finally settled in favour of the latter by the measures taken by Shāh 'Abbās I [q.v.] (996/1588—1038/1629) — measures which radically altered the social basis of the Šafawid state.

The situation which 'Abbās faced at his accession was critical in the extreme. The Ottomans had resumed operations in Ādharbāyḍjān, and the citadel at Tabriz had been in their hands since 993/1585. In the east, the Uzbeks stormed Harāt in 997/1589, and swept on across Khurāsān as far as Maṣḥad. To free his hands to deal with the Uzbeks, 'Abbās was forced to negotiate a humiliating peace with the Ottomans which left more Persian territory in Ottoman hands than ever before (998/1589-90). The events of his youth had led him to place no faith in the loyalty of the *qizilbāsh* and he set about creating a standing army which would be paid direct from the Royal Treasury and would be loyal only to himself. From the ranks of the Georgians and Circassians (thereafter termed *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharifa*) he formed a cavalry regiment of some 10,000 men, and a personal bodyguard of 3,000 men. A regiment of musketeers, 12,000 strong, recruited from the Persian peasantry, and an artillery regiment, also of 12,000 men, completed the new standing army of 37,000 men. In order to pay these new troops, 'Abbās resorted to the device of increasing the extent of the crown lands (*khāṣṣa*) at the expense of state lands (*mamālik*). The *mamālik* provinces were in general governed by *qizilbāsh* amirs, who consumed in the areas under their jurisdiction most of the taxes which they levied, but whose self-interest to some extent militated against extortion. Once such provinces were converted to *khāṣṣa* lands, they were placed in the hands of a comptroller or intendant of the Crown, who had no interest in maintaining their prosperity but whose sole concern was to remit to the Royal Treasury the maximum amount of money possible, in order to ingratiate himself with the shah. Under Shāh Šafi (1038/1629—1052/1642) and Shāh 'Abbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), this process was accelerated to such an extent that even the frontier provinces were brought under the direct administration of the Crown, except in time of war, when *qizilbāsh* governors were reappointed. Ultimately, this policy impaired the economic health of the country and weakened it militarily. Every increase in the extent of crown lands at the expense of *mamālik* lands meant a corresponding decrease in the power of the *qizilbāsh*, and, in practice, the new *ghulām* regiments did not possess the fighting qualities of the old *qizilbāsh* tribal forces.

In the short term, however, the creation of the *ghulām* regiments enabled 'Abbās gradually to reassert the authority of the ruling institution, and so to stabilize the internal situation in Iran. Even so, it was not until 1007/1597 that he dared to commit his forces to a pitched battle against the Uzbeks. In that year, 'Abbās gained a great victory over the

Uzbeks, and liberated Harāt after ten years of Uzbek rule. With the north-eastern frontier at least temporarily secure, 'Abbās turned his attention to the Ottomans, and by 1016/1607 the last Ottoman soldier had been expelled from Šafawid territory as defined by the Peace of Amasya in 1555.

Throughout his reign, 'Abbās continued his policy of weakening the position of the *qizilbāsh* and strengthening that of the *ghulāms*, on whom he principally relied for support. He sought to break up *qizilbāsh* tribal groupings, and he constantly replenished his *ghulām* forces by fresh drafts of Georgian, Circassian, and (from 1013/1604 onwards) Armenian prisoners. The revolution in the social structure of the Šafawid state which he thus effected was reflected in changes in the highest levels of the political institution and the religious institution. The titles of *wakīl* and *amīr al-umarā'*, which were so closely associated with the organization of the early Šafawid state and with the period of *qizilbāsh* supremacy, were no longer used. The *kūrībāshī*, as the commander-in-chief of the drastically reduced *qizilbāsh* forces was henceforth usually termed, was still one of the highest officers of state, but his power was balanced by that of the commanders of the new non-*qizilbāsh* regiments, the *tufangči-ākhāsi* and the *kullar-ākhāsi*. The influence of the *šadr*, who was a political appointee, decreased once doctrinal unity had been imposed throughout the Šafawid dominions, and, with the increasing crystallization of Iṭḥnā 'aṣḥarī theology, the *muḍjtahids* became the most powerful members of the religious classes. Finally, with the increasing separation between temporal and religious powers, and the growing tendency towards centralization of the administration, the vizier, as head of the bureaucracy, became one of the most influential officials in the state, and frequently adopted the grandiose titles of *i'timād al-dawla* and *šadr-i a'zam*.

The reign of 'Abbās I in many ways marks the highest point of Šafawid achievement. Commercial rivalry in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean between the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English, meant the development of diplomatic relations between Iran and the West. Spain, Portugal, and England sent ambassadors to 'Abbās's court, and foreign monastic orders, such as the Carmelites, the Augustinians, and the Capuchin friars, were given permission to found convents in Iran. In 1007/1597 'Abbās transferred the capital from Qazwin to Iṣfahān; the more central location of the latter city made it a more satisfactory base for operations against either the Ottomans or the Uzbeks. 'Abbās addressed himself with characteristic energy to the task of transforming Iṣfahān into one of the most beautiful cities in the world. He embarked on a huge programme of public works, which included mosques, *madrāsas*, caravanserais, and *hammāms*. The Masḍjīd-i Shāh (begun in 1020/1611) and the Masḍjīd-i Shaykh Luṭf Allāh (begun in 1022/1603), situated in the famous *maydān* of Iṣfahān known as Naqsh-i Dīhān, are two masterpieces of Iranian architecture. The reign of 'Abbās also marks the highest point in the renaissance of Iranian arts which had begun under the Timūrids in the 9th/15th century and which continued throughout the Šafawid period. Except perhaps in painting, in which the productions of the Tabriz school during the reign of Tahmāsp are superior, the artistic productions of the period of 'Abbās are unsurpassed. In book painting and the illumination of manuscripts, in ceramics, textiles, and the manufacture of carpets and rugs, the Iranian genius achieved its finest expression.

The Šafawid state, as rebuilt by Šhāh ‘Abbās, had an imposing façade, behind which the decay which spread with increasing rapidity during the second half of the 11th/17th century was not immediately apparent. Of the Šafawid rulers who followed ‘Abbās, only his great-grandson, ‘Abbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), was a ruler worthy of the name. The degeneration of the dynasty must be attributed to the pernicious practice, instituted by ‘Abbās I himself, of incarcerating the royal princes in the *haram* and never allowing them any contact with the outside world. Prior to ‘Abbās I, it had been the custom to place the royal princes, and in particular the heir-apparent, in the charge of one of the *kiżilbāsh* provincial governors. Such a governor, termed *lala* or *atabeg*, was responsible for the physical and moral welfare of his charge, and for training him for his future responsibilities. Occasionally, an ambitious or rebellious *lala* would use the young prince committed to his care as the focal point of a revolt against the ruler. But this possibility was infinitely to be preferred to the certainty that a prince, brought up by the court eunuchs, in the debilitating atmosphere of the *haram*, would be totally unfitted to rule when the time came to place him on the throne. The increasing control of political and administrative affairs exercised by the officers of the *haram*, in association with the vizier, and the dynastic struggles for the succession resulting from the intrigues of the women of the *haram*, are indeed two of the main features of the later Šafawid period and two of the principal reasons for the decline of Šafawid power. A third reason, the increase of *khāssa* lands at the expense of *mamālīk* provinces, which reduced both the economic prosperity and the military strength of the country, has already been mentioned.

Under Šhāh Sulaymān (1077/1666—1105/1694), who was an alcoholic, and under the pious but uxorious Šhāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105/1694—1135/1722), neither of whom took any interest in state affairs, the progressive breakdown of the central administration was marked by increasing inefficiency and corruption at all levels of government. The military machine had been allowed to run down to such an extent that the Šhāh had to turn to the Georgians for help in dealing with a band of Balūči marauders in 1110/1608-99. This warning went unheeded, and in 1121/1709 a group of Ghalzai Afghāns seized Kāndahār, which had been in Šafawid hands since 1058/1648. Further north, the Abdāli Afghāns ravaged large areas of Kḥurāsān, and the whole eastern frontier was in jeopardy. In 1131/1719 the Ghalzai chief, Maḥmūd, having subdued the Abdālis, temporarily seized Kirmān. Emboldened by the lack of resistance, he returned to the attack two years later, and routed a pathetically weak Šafawid force at the battle of Gulnābād, 18 miles east of Iṣfahān, on 20 Djumādā I 1134/8 March 1722. Too weak to storm the city, Maḥmūd blockaded it. Treachery within the city, and incompetence and irresolution on every side, delivered the Šafawid capital to the Afghāns in October 1722. Some 80,000 people are said to have perished during the siege from starvation and disease, and the population of Iṣfahān today is probably only one-third of what it was in Šafawid times.

The Afghāns, though they never subjugated the north and west of the country and though their hold on the remainder was precarious, ruled at Iṣfahān for seven years, 1134/1722—1142/1729. At Kazwīn, Ṭahmāsp, a son of Šhāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, proclaimed himself Šhāh Ṭahmāsp II. In 1138/1726

the Ottomans broke the long peace with Iran which had existed since 1048-9/1639, and the Afghān ruler Aṣhrāf was forced to give *de facto* recognition to the Ottoman occupation of west and north-west Iran. About the same time the Afshār chief Nādir Khān emerged as the most powerful of the tribal chiefs lending their support to the Šafawid house, and in 1142/1729 he drove the Afghāns from Iṣfahān and re-established the Šafawid monarchy in the person of Ṭahmāsp II. It soon became clear, however, that Nādir Khān's support of the Šafawids was only a device to enable him to use pro-Šafawid sentiment for his own ends. In 1145/1732 he deposed Ṭahmāsp II in favour of the infant ‘Abbās III, for whom he acted as regent. Four years later, he abandoned this fiction, and had himself crowned as Nādir Šhāh. This marked the extinction of the Šafawid dynasty, which had existed only in name since 1134/1722.

Nādir Šhāh (1148/1736—1160/1747) consciously modelled himself on Timūr, and there are some points of similarity between his career and that of his exemplar. Like Timūr, Nādir was primarily, indeed solely, a soldier, and, like Timūr, he was totally unable to administer the territories overrun by his armies. As a result, just as the campaigns of Timūr had left a vacuum in south-west Asia, so those of Nādir disrupted the administrative system inherited from the Šafawids, impoverished the state, and led to a general breakdown of law and order. The result was half a century of civil war as the Zands and the Kādjārs fought for supremacy in the vacuum created by Nādir. Nādir restored national dignity and prestige after the humiliation of the Afghān episode, and recovered Iranian territory which had been usurped by the Ottomans, the Russians, and the Afghāns. After an ineffectual siege of Baghdād in 1145/1733 (the Iranian army still had no proper siege artillery), and an initial defeat at the hands of the Ottoman relief army, Nādir turned the tables on the Ottomans on 1 Djumādā II 1146/9 November 1733, and the Ottoman commander, Topal ‘Oṯmān Pasha, was killed. A provisional treaty between Nādir Šhāh and Aḥmad Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Baghdād, provided for the return to Iran of all territory seized by the Ottomans in the previous ten years, but the treaty was never ratified by the Porte. In 1147/1735 Russia surrendered Bākū and Darband, and Nādir struck further blows against the Ottomans. ‘Abd Allāh Pasha Köprülü-zāde, governor of Kārs, was killed at the battle of Ak Tepe: ‘Ali Pasha surrendered at Gandja, and Iṣhāk Pasha at Tiflis; Erivan fell soon afterwards.

Had Nādir Šhāh at this point devoted his efforts to reorganizing the administration of the country on a firm basis Iran might have entered the 19th century better equipped to deal with the internal and external problems of that period. Instead, his growing megalomania led him to invade India, as Timūr had done before him. A necessary preliminary was the capture of Kāndahār, a frontier city which had been held alternately by the Šafawids and the Mughals during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, and had been in Afghān hands since 1121/1709. To raise money for his Indian campaign, Nādir levied taxes with more than usual ruthlessness, and Kirmān suffered particularly severely. Kāndahār surrendered to Nādir in Dhu'l Ka‘da 1150/March 1738, Ghazna was occupied in June, and Nādir, crossing the Kḥaybar Pass, entered Peshawar. Lahore paid a large indemnity, and thus escaped the sack. After an engagement with the Mughal

army at Karnāl in Dhu'l-Kā'ḍa 1151/February 1739, Nādir made his triumphal entry into Delhi on 9 Dhu'l-Hijjā 1151/20 March 1739, and let his troops loose to pillage the city. In this, too, he faithfully followed the actions of his model, Timūr, who had sacked Delhi in 801/1398. After levying the enormous sum of 20,000,000 rupees in tribute from the Mughal Empire, Nādir returned to Iran laden with his spoils, which included the fabulous Peacock Throne and the Kūh-i Nūr diamond. The Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh ceded to Nādir Shāh all his territory west of the Indus. On their return from India, Nādir's armies overran Turkistān, the ancient Transoxania and Khwārazm, and Nādir signalled this eastward expansion of his empire by transferring his capital from Isfahān to Maḥhad. Maḥhad had fewer associations with the Ṣafawids—although of course the shrine of the *imām* 'Alī al-Riḍā was one of the principal places of pilgrimage for the *Ithnā 'ashari* Shi'is—and was nearer the centre of his empire with its new extensions in Turkistān, India and Afghānistān.

In 1153/1741 Nādir Shāh was at the height of his power, but signs of approaching insanity were already visible. His madness was characterized by an overweening lust for power and the most extreme avarice. He became subject to ever more violent fits of rage, associated with the inflicting of ever more terrible punishments. Instead of using his Indian treasure to replenish the exchequer, which he had exhausted by his endless campaigns, he hoarded it in a special treasure-house at Kāl'at-i Nādiri [q.v.] in Khurāsān, and imposed further crippling tax burdens on the people to finance expeditions which had no strategic justification, such as his disastrous campaign in Dāghistān in 1154-55/1741-2. Revolts broke out in various parts of his empire, and his attempt to effect a reconciliation with the Sunni 'ulamā' did not add to his popularity. On 1 Djumādā II 1160/20 June 1747 he was assassinated by a group of his own officers. His death was followed by a period of anarchy and civil war. In the south, the Zand dynasty gave that part of the country at least a brief respite in the form of orderly, and on the whole good, government. After the death (1193/1779) of Karīm Khān Zand, however, the Zands were weakened by dynastic feuds, and this gave the Kādjārs, who from their base at Astarābād had gradually brought most of northern Persia under their control, their chance. Ākā Muḥammad Khān Kādjār escaped from Zand captivity at Shirāz and embarked on a sixteen-year struggle to assert his authority over that of rival Kādjār chiefs, and to overthrow the Zands. By 1209/1795 he had achieved both objectives.

The new rulers of Iran, the Kādjārs, were of Turkoman stock. Like the Afshārs, they had formed part of the group of Turkoman tribes which had brought the Ṣafawids to power, and which had constituted the military aristocracy of the Ṣafawid state. The Kādjārs, however, like two other Trans-Caucasian Turkoman tribes, the Afshārs and the Bayāts, did not come into prominence until the middle of the 10th/16th century. The first ruler of the new dynasty, Ākā Muḥammad Shāh, possessed undoubted administrative ability. Making Tehran his capital, he restored security and public order, and reunited Iran under a strong and efficient central administration for the first time for more than half a century. But he maintained his position by the fear which he inspired in all. The castration which he had suffered as a boy at the hands of

Nādir's nephew, 'Ādil Shāh, had rendered him vicious and cruel. In an age when the qualities of mercy and compassion were rare, he became a byword for bloodthirstiness. His ruthless elimination of all possible rivals caused rifts within the Kādjār ranks, and militated against the stability of the dynasty. The succession was disputed both in 1250/1834, and again in 1264/1848. Outwardly pious, he cared nothing for an oath, and did not hesitate to obtain his ends by treachery. On 21 Dhu'l-Hijjā 1211/17 June 1797, two years after his coronation, he was assassinated by two of his soldiers. He was succeeded by his nephew, Fath 'Alī Shāh.

Fath 'Alī Shāh [q.v.] had scarcely ascended the throne when he was forced to recognize that a major change had occurred in the relations between Iran and her neighbours in general, and between Iran and the Great Powers in particular. The advent of the 19th century saw the beginnings of Great Power rivalry in Persia which directly or indirectly affected the political, social and economic life of the country. Already Ākā Muḥammad Shāh, by his atrocities in Georgia, had caused that country to abandon its traditionally Persian orientation and turn to Russia. Russia had eagerly seized this opportunity to resume that southwards movement toward the Persian Gulf which had been a cardinal point in Russian policy since the time of Peter the Great. Already Russia had demonstrated that, in the military sciences, Iran had fallen behind the West to an alarming extent during the 18th century. If Iran was to preserve its independence, it needed modern weapons and an army trained on modern lines. This point was emphasized when the Russians annexed Georgia in 1800. Fath 'Alī Shāh's political naivété and ignorance of world affairs led him to sign the Treaty of Finkenstein (4 May 1807) with Napoleon. Article 4 pledged France to work for the restitution of Georgia to Persia. In return, Fath 'Alī Shāh promised to declare war on Great Britain (art. 8), and to allow French troops the right-of-way across Iran as part of Napoleon's Grand Design for the invasion of India. The Treaty of Finkenstein, however, was rendered a dead letter almost immediately by the Treaty of Tilsit (2 July 1807), which brought to an end hostilities between France and Russia, and gave Russia a free hand to resume her aggression against Iran. Russia lost no time in pressing her advantage. By the Treaty of Gulistān [q.v.] (12 October 1813), Iran lost all her rich Caucasian provinces, and only Russian naval vessels were allowed to operate on the Caspian Sea. A border dispute caused war to break out again in 1826, and the Treaty of Turkomanchai (22 February 1828) imposed even more severe terms on Iran. Iran ceded Erivan and Nakhčivān, and the Aras river was fixed as the Russo-Iranian border. Iran had to pay a heavy indemnity, but the most significant clause in the Treaty was that concerning "capitulations", *i.e.*, extra-territorial rights for Russian officials resident in Iran. The "capitulations" [see IMTIYĀZĀT] infringed the rights of Iran as a sovereign and independent nation, and marked a new phase in the relations between Iran and the Great Powers. Other countries, including Britain, hastened to follow the Russian example and to demand extra-territorial rights for their nationals in Iran, and the direct penetration of Iran by foreign influences may be said to date from this time.

Fath 'Alī Shāh's grandson, Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded to the throne in 1834, attempted to recover territory which had been lost in the east

to the Afghāns. Britain went to the aid of the Afghāns, and Muḥammad Shāh had to abandon the siege of Harāt. Throughout the 19th century, British policy was dominated by one obsession, the defence of India. To achieve this, Afghānistān had to be maintained as a buffer-state, and Iran could not be allowed to regain the territory which had been taken from her by the Afghāns. Consequently, British armies were dispatched from India in 1837, when Iranian troops threatened to recapture Harāt, and in 1852 and 1856, when they succeeded in re-taking that city. Finally, by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, Iran was forced to recognize the independence of Afghānistān and to reconcile itself to the permanent loss of a city which in Timūrid and Ṣafawid times had been one of the great cities of Khurāsān.

During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the first rumblings of social protest found expression in the politico-religious revolt which followed the manifestation of the Bāb (1844). The Bāb declared himself to be the Hidden Imām (the Mahdī or *ṣāhib al-samān*), and in 1848 the Bābis declared their secession from Islam and the *sharī'a*. The revolt was harshly repressed by the government, and the Bāb himself was executed at Tabriz in 1850. An unsuccessful attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1852 led to further persecution of the Bābis. The movement split into two groups, termed Bahā'īs and Azālīs, of which the former is the more important. Its leader, Bahā' Allāh, was banished from Iran, but Bahā'ism was later widely disseminated in Europe and America [see BĀB; BĀBIS; BAHĀ' ALLĀH; BAHĀ'ĪS].

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who came to the throne in 1848, and whose long reign was ended only by his assassination in 1896, was a more able man than either of his two immediate predecessors. He appreciated the need for change, if Iran was to retain her independence and to break the political stranglehold which was being exerted by Britain and Russia. During his reign, however, the other half of the Russian pincer gripping Iran lengthened inexorably. In 1865 the Russians captured Tashkent, and extinguished the khānate of Khoḳand. In 1868 they took Bukhārā and, from their new base at Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian, pushed steadily forward into Central Asia. They put an end to the khānate of Khiva in 1873, crushed for ever the Turkoman tribes of the steppe at the battle of Gök Tepe [*q.v.*] (1881), and completed the conquest of Trans-Caspia by occupying Marw in 1884. The Atrek river was established as the new Russo-Iranian frontier in the east.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh instituted a policy of granting concessions to European powers, in the hope that this would improve the economic prosperity of the country. The net result, however, was that by the end of the 19th century, most of Iran's economic resources were exploited or directed by foreign concessionaires, who obtained sweeping concessions in return for paltry sums of money which satisfied the shah's immediate needs. In 1872, for example, a British subject, Baron Julius de Reuter, obtained the exclusive right to exploit all minerals in Iran (except gold and precious stones), to build factories, to construct railways, canals and irrigation works, to exploit the forests, to create a national bank and public utilities (such as a telegraph system), and to control the customs. Strong Russian pressure led the shah to rescind the concession, and, as compensation, the British received a concession to establish

the Imperial Bank of Persia (1889). The Russians followed suit with their Banque des Prêts, or Loan and Discount Bank. In 1890, the celebrated Tobacco Concession was awarded to a British company. A letter written by Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] to the chief *mudjtahid* at Sāmarrā, caused the latter to issue a *fatwā* prohibiting the use of tobacco by all believers until such time as the shah cancelled the concession. The *mullās* and *mudjtahids* organized demonstrations in Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, and Tabriz, and the shah had to revoke the concession in December 1891. This was a significant occasion: for the first time popular opinion had openly opposed the shah, and the shah had had to give way. As usual, popular opinion had been voiced through the medium of the religious classes, who could, in certain circumstances, be counted on to take the lead in opposing the shah and the government.

Growing discontent with the incompetence and corruption of the government, and resentment at foreign political pressure and economic control, found expression during the last quarter of the 19th century in the form of a challenge to the traditional pattern of society. Secret societies (*andjuman*s) were formed whose members discussed the ideas of Western liberalism and problems of social reform [see DJAM'IVVA]. Out of this social ferment grew the Constitutional or Nationalist movement, which began by demanding a measure of social and judicial reform, the dismissal of certain tyrannical officials, and the expulsion of certain foreign concessionaires, notably the much disliked Belgian Director of Customs, and ended by demanding the promulgation of a Constitution and the establishment of a National Consultative Assembly [see DUSTUR: iv.—Iran]. Although the Fundamental Law was not signed by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh until 30 December 1906, the first National Assembly (Maḳjilis) was convened on 7th October 1906.

The victory over despotism, far from being won, had in fact barely begun, and the Nationalists, absorbed in their struggle with the shah, were unable to prevent Iran falling even further under foreign domination. Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, who came to the throne in 1907, tried by every means to subvert the Constitution and to prevent the implementation of bills passed by the Maḳjilis. The religious classes, who up to this point had supported the Constitutionalists, mainly from patriotic motives, began to be alarmed by the views of some of the more radical deputies, and this portended a fatal split in the ranks of the Nationalists. On 31 August 1907 the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention, a treaty inspired by the fear of resurgent German militarism, were made public. Iran was to be divided into a Russian and a British sphere of influence, separated by a neutral zone. In June 1908 the shah declared martial law in Tehran and closed the Maḳjilis. Despite strong pressure from the Russians, whose troops occupied Tabriz, the Nationalists mounted in the provinces a counter-offensive which resulted in the deposition of the shah in July 1909. His eleven-year-old son Aḥmad was proclaimed shah. In July 1911 an abortive attempt by the exiled Muḥammad 'Alī to reinstate himself in Iran led to further direct Russian intervention, and on 3 Muḥarram 1330/24 December 1911 the Maḳjilis was again forcibly closed.

During World War I, although Iran was a neutral, her territory became a battlefield for Turkish, Russian and British forces, and Iran emerged from the war in a state of administrative and financial chaos. Lord Curzon's solution was an independent

Iran firmly under British tutelage, and the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919 provided for the appointment of British advisers to the Iranian Government. The treaty was never ratified by Iran. The Bolsheviks, after the collapse of the short-lived Soviet Socialist Republic of Gilān [see *DJANGALI*], concluded the Soviet-Iranian Treaty of 26 February 1921, by the terms of which they renounced the imperialist policies of the former Tsarist regime. Five days before the signature of this treaty, Rezā Khān seized power by *coup d'état*. Rezā Khān was the commander of the Cossack Brigade, created in 1879 by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh as a royal bodyguard and used by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh to suppress the Nationalists in the period 1907-9. The atmosphere of the post-war period was favourable to Rezā Khān's attempt to re-establish national integrity and independence; the Constitution had been suspended; there had been a complete breakdown of government authority; the treasury was empty, and famine conditions prevailed. Riḍā Khān first thought of abolishing the monarchy and establishing a republic, but, faced with strong opposition from the 'ulamā' and other traditional elements, he abandoned the idea. Aḥmad Shāh was deposed in 1923, and Rezā Khān was proclaimed shah in December 1925 and crowned on 25 April 1926 as the first ruler of the new Pahlavi dynasty.

Rezā Shāh was determined to launch Iran into the 20th century. Prior to his accession, despite the fact that Iran had been officially converted from a mediaeval Islamic state to a modern constitutional monarchy by the granting of the Constitution in 1906, there were few signs of change in the traditional structure of society. The far-reaching programme of westernization, modernization, and centralization of the administration, on which Rezā Shāh embarked, involved a major upheaval of the traditional social order, and the abolition or modification of many traditional Islamic institutions. Without possessing an ideology, he succeeded in carrying out a revolution. He was impatient with the intellectuals, whom he blamed for Iran's weak and divided state. Unlike Atatürk, he made no long statements of policy, wrote no articles. His failure adequately to explain his objectives to the people was, in fact, a source of weakness. In so far as he succeeded in his objectives, his policies were beneficial to Iran. He completely reorganized the army and created the first unified standing national army in Iran. Between 1921 and 1941, on average one-third of the national budget was allocated to the armed forces. He reorganized the Civil Service on Western lines. In successive phases he laid the foundations of a modern judiciary system: the Penal Code was promulgated in 1926 and the Civil Code in 1928, the year which saw the abolition of the much hated capitulations. Each step necessarily meant a further blow at the position of the *shari'ā* and at the power of the religious classes in general. In the field of education, the *maktabs*, where pupils of all ages were taught in one room by an *ākhūnd*, were swept away. Compulsory state education for both sexes was introduced (it has not yet been fully implemented, particularly in rural areas), and the curricula were modernized. Teachers' Training Colleges were established, and the University of Tehran was founded in 1935. In 1940 all foreign missionary schools were taken over by the government. In the field of commerce, Rezā Shāh established a number of state monopolies, partly to strengthen the Iranian economy vis-à-vis Britain

and Russia, and partly to provide additional revenue. The entire cost of the Trans-Iranian Railway, constructed from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf between 1926-38, was defrayed by means of a tax on tea and sugar, which were state monopolies. Rezā Shāh did much to develop industry in Iran, and his efforts to develop an Iranian textile industry succeeded in making Iran to a large extent independent of Russian textiles. On the debit side, Rezā Shāh, as his reign progressed, showed increasingly despotic tendencies. He became impatient of all criticism, and virtually suppressed political parties, trade unions, and the Press. The *Madjlis* was reduced to the status of a rubber-stamp. Two areas in which Rezā Shāh failed signally were agriculture and relations with the tribes. Not until 1937 did he make any attempt to improve the lot of the peasants or to introduce legislation to encourage landlords to improve methods of cultivation. Even then, because the implementation of the legislation was entrusted to the very landowners at whose interests it was aimed, nothing was achieved. In regard to the tribes, his policy of enforced resettlement, often in unsuitable regions, failed, and his severe treatment of many tribal leaders left a legacy of bitterness.

During Rezā Shāh's reign, German political and economic influence in Iran increased to a marked degree. Since the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Iran had been psychologically prepared to accept the friendship of a third power which might act as a buffer against British and Russian pressure. Germany, which had no previous history of interference in Iran's affairs and which seemed to be at a safe distance, was welcomed by Rezā Shāh as the "third power". Germany's share of Iranian trade jumped from 8% in 1932 to 45% in 1940. Much of the machinery and heavy equipment needed for Rezā Shāh's programme of industrial expansion was supplied by German, and after Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia, by Czech firms. German architects designed many of the new government and public buildings in Tehran. In 1936 the German Minister Dr. Schacht visited Iran, and expressly exempted Iranians, as being "pure Aryans", from the provisions of the Nuremberg race laws. On the heels of German technicians came German cultural officials and "tourists", who soon constituted an effective Fifth Column in Iran. In 1941 Britain and Russia presented an ultimatum to Rezā Shāh, calling on him to expel large numbers of these Germans from Iran. Rezā Shāh refused, and on 25 August British and Russian forces simultaneously invaded Iran. Rezā Shāh abdicated and went into exile; he died at Johannesburg in 1944. His son, Muḥammad Rezā Shāh, succeeded to the throne.

The position faced by the young shah was one of the utmost difficulty. There was a dearth of leaders—one consequence of Rezā Shāh's concentration of power in his own hands. Effective government was in any case virtually impossible while the country was occupied by foreign troops. The liberalizing of internal conditions released forces of an illiberal character—forces of the extreme right, such as the *fidā'iyyān-i islām* [q.v.], a terrorist organization which came into being about 1943 and which was later protected by the religious leader Āyat Allāh Kāshāni, and forces of the extreme left, such as the Tudeh party, which was formed in 1942. Initially, the Tudeh party attracted many frustrated intellectuals of leftist sympathies who were not

necessarily Communists, but the party fell more and more under Communist influence and direction, and in 1945 the Tudeh, in close co-operation with the Russians, engineered the overthrow of the authority of the central government in Ādharbāydjān and Kurdistān. By the terms of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance (29 January 1942), the Allies had promised to withdraw their troops from Iran within six months from the termination of hostilities with Germany and its associates, but Russian troops did not leave until May 1946. Deprived of Russian support, the Autonomous Republic of Ādharbāydjān and the Kurdish People's Republic collapsed before the advance of the Iranian army in October 1946.

German influence in Iran came to an abrupt end in 1941, and the United States now became the "third power" in Iran. American involvement rapidly increased after the formation in 1942 of the Persian Gulf Command, which developed the port facilities at Khurramshahr, Bandar 'Abbās and Bandar Shāhpūr, and assisted in the supply of war material to the Soviet Union through Iranian territory. The United States also furnished Iran with military and financial advisers. Among the latter was Dr. Millspaugh, who had functioned in a similar capacity in Iran from 1922-27. Finally, in 1947, the United States extended the "Truman doctrine" to include Iran as well as Turkey and Greece, and was thus definitely committed to the maintenance of Iran's independence.

The Tudeh Party rapidly recovered from its defeat in Ādharbāydjān in 1946, and its increased militancy caused widespread insecurity and unrest. On 4 February 1949 a Tudeh Party member made an attempt on the life of the shah. This action was at once followed by the outlawing of the Party and by the reimposition of martial law. The second important event of 1949 was the inauguration of the First Seven-Year Plan for Economic Development. The third significant event of 1949, a year which in many respects marks a turning-point in the history of modern Persia, was the formation by Dr. Muṣaddīk of the National Front. This was a coalition of groups of every political hue, from the neo-Fascist *Sumka* Party and the extreme right-wing *fidā'iyyān-i islām* led by Kāshāni, through the centre block of the Iran Party, composed of bourgeois nationalists and the intelligentsia, to left-wing intellectual groups such as Khalil Māliki's "Third Force". The only common ground shared by these disparate political groups was xenophobia, and fear of the re-imposition of royal dictatorship. There were clear signs that the shah, frustrated by the persistent failure of the Maḍjlis to pass urgently needed legislation, and desirous of pressing ahead with social and economic reforms, was considering assuming a greater degree of executive power, and each group had its own reasons for opposing such a move.

In 1950 the shah took the first positive steps in the direction of social and economic reform when he established the Imperial Organization for Social Welfare, and transferred to this organization, for distribution to the peasants, the crown lands. He further appointed to the office of Prime Minister General 'Alī Razmārā, an honest, patriotic and energetic man. General Razmārā immediately launched an anti-corruption drive which was so effective that still more individuals arrayed themselves against him and the shah. On 7 March 1951 General Razmārā was assassinated by a member

of the *fidā'iyyān-i islām*, an act which put an end to orderly progress towards reform. Dr. Muṣaddīk introduced into the Maḍjlis a bill calling for the nationalization of the oil industry. On 29 April, Dr. Muṣaddīk became Prime Minister, and at once implemented the oil nationalization law and appropriated the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's installations. Muṣaddīk's National Front supporters, deprived of the principal target for the xenophobia which had held them together, soon showed signs of disunity. Muṣaddīk, in the absence of oil revenue, faced a financial crisis; furthermore, once he had achieved his "negative equilibrium", the poverty of his political thinking became apparent. Far from ushering in a social revolution, Muṣaddīk found himself obliged to demand plenary powers and to resort to unconstitutional means in order to maintain his own position. The dissolution of the Senate (the upper house of the Iranian Parliament, provided for in the 1906 Constitution but not convened until 1950), in July 1952, was followed by that of the Supreme Court (November 1952) and of the Maḍjlis itself (August 1953). In addition, Dr. Muṣaddīk imposed martial law and curbed the Press. After January 1953, when Muṣaddīk insisted on an extension of his plenary powers, he found himself in a position of increasing isolation as National Front leaders such as Makki, Baḳā'i and Kāshāni successively broke away from him. On 13 August the shah issued a *farmān* dismissing Muṣaddīk and appointing General Zāhidi Prime Minister. Muṣaddīk refused to take cognisance of the *farmān*, and the shah temporarily left the country. On 28 Murdād 1332 s./19 August 1953 Zāhidi suppressed the Tudeh mobs over which Muṣaddīk no longer had any control, and succeeded in establishing himself in Tehran. The Shāh returned to Iran, and in November 1953 Muṣaddīk was brought to trial on a charge of treason, on the grounds that he had defied an imperial *farmān* and had abrogated the constitutional procedures and basic laws of the land. He was sentenced to three years' solitary confinement, from which he was released in August 1956.

After the fall of Muṣaddīk, the oil dispute was settled (August 1954) by the formation of a consortium of British, American, Dutch and French companies, which ran the industry on behalf of the National Iranian Oil Company. On 3 November 1955 Iran joined the Baghdad Pact, with Great Britain, Turkey, Pakistan and 'Irāḳ; 'Irāḳ withdrew in 1959, and the alliance was renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The shah, advocating a policy of "positive nationalism", indicated that he intended to exercise greater personal control over the administration of the state than he had prior to the dictatorship of Muṣaddīk. In 1957 the National Security Organisation (SAVAK) was formed. The shah attempted to check corruption. In 1958 the Imperial Investigation Organization was set up to receive and investigate complaints from the public against any official of the bureaucracy, judiciary, or army, and this was followed by the passage of several bills designed to discourage bribery and peculation by government officials. In 1958 the Pahlavi Foundation (*Bunyād-i Pahlavi*) was set up to administer certain resources of the Crown and to expend the income accruing from these assets on social services. On 5 October 1961 the shah handed over to the Pahlavi Foundation property valued at more than £ 47,500,000, comprising farms, villages owned by the shah, hotels, the shah's holdings in the Iranian oil tanker fleet,



and all stocks and shares held by the shah. These funds and assets were constituted into a *wakf*, or trust, for charitable, social, educational and health services. In this way, the shah has virtually divested himself of the personal fortune which he had inherited from his father. The birth of a son and heir (Reżā) to the shah and the Empress Faraḥ on 31 October 1960 was a stabilizing factor in Iranian affairs, in that it assured the continuance of the Pahlavi dynasty (succession is through the male line only). Nevertheless, the political outlook continued to be uncertain. The shah's policy of "repolitization" had resuscitated the National Front, which contained many of Muṣaddiḳ's former supporters. The shah's experiment in "controlled democracy", in which two artificially-created parties known as *Milliyūn* and *Mardum* were to represent the government party and the "loyal opposition" respectively, predictably failed. The shah had to annul the elections of August 1960, and the new elections, begun in January 1961, were accompanied by such widespread disorders that on 9 May 1961 the shah, using powers which had been granted to him in 1949, dissolved the Maḍjlis and the Senate. He took this action not only "for the protection of the nation's rights and interests, and to safeguard the Constitution", but also in order that "no obstacles should hinder the strong Government which had been appointed to institute fundamental reforms."

As an earnest of his intentions, the shah promulgated the Agrarian Reform Bill (15 January 1962). Prior to this, all legislation designed to break up the large estates, and thus make land available for distribution to the peasants, had consistently been blocked in the Maḍjlis. The shah had completed his programme, begun in 1951, of distributing crown lands to the peasants, but his example had not been followed by the large landowners. Under the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Bill, no landowner was to be allowed to own more than one village, regardless of size; all villages in excess of this allowance were to be bought by the State and sold to the peasants. Considerable progress was made during 1962 in implementing the new regulations, and land reform was a major item in the shah's six-point programme which was approved by national referendum in January 1963; other radical reforms were the enfranchisement of women, and the creation of the "Literacy Corps" to combat illiteracy, particularly in rural areas. This six-point programme was opposed by the National Front, and opposition from the religious classes culminated in serious rioting in the capital and the major provincial cities in June 1963. In September 1963, after an interval of more than two years during which the shah ruled by decree, general elections were held, and the newly-formed National Union Party, a coalition pledged to give full support to the shah's reform programme, gained a strong majority in the Maḍjlis. The elections were boycotted by the National Front. The election of six women to the Maḍjlis no doubt reflected the fact that, in these elections, women for the first time were able to vote.

Since 1963, the shah has made steady progress with his "white revolution", or "revolution from above," despite further acts of violence by those opposed to his policies. On 21 January 1965, for instance, the Prime Minister Ḥasan 'Alī Manṣūr, whose New Iran Party, formed in December 1963, commanded a large measure of support in the Maḍjlis, was shot and mortally wounded by a supporter of an extreme right-wing *mudjtahid*.

In April 1965 yet another attempt was made to assassinate the shah. The greatest hope for the future, perhaps, lies in the achievements of the Plan Organization. The First Seven-Year Plan was launched in 1949, but the preliminary surveys and blueprints had hardly been completed before Muṣaddiḳ's nationalization of the oil industry deprived the Plan Organization of its principal source of revenue, and consequently many of the projects remained unrealized. The Second Seven-Year Plan (1956) provided for the expenditure of \$ 850,000,000 (to be obtained partly from oil revenue and partly from foreign loans) on communications, agriculture and irrigation; industry and mines; and public works. The Second Plan brought positive benefits, including the completion of major hydro-electric and irrigation projects like the Karaḍi dam (1961), the Safid River dam (1962), and the Diz River dam (1963). This last is the largest Iranian development project to date. It is designed to irrigate 325,000 acres of *Khūzistān* which were once fertile, but which for centuries have been arid; the hydro-electric project associated with the dam has a potential capacity of 520,000 Kw. It is only one of fourteen major projects scheduled for *Khūzistān*. During the period of the Second Plan, too, the capacity of the Gulf ports was increased, highways were built, and the production of sugar, construction materials, and textiles was increased. The Third Economic Development Plan, inaugurated in 1962, has been severely hampered by drastic cuts in the budget of the Plan Organization, but in October 1963 the shah pledged more money for this purpose. On 29 July 1963 Iran and the Soviet Union signed an Economic and Technical Co-operation Agreement for the construction of a barrage on the River Araxes which will irrigate 148,000 acres on both sides of the frontier. The oil industry, under the control of the National Iranian Oil Company, continues to expand, and production increases as new oil-fields are discovered.

There has been a gradual détente between Iran and the Great Powers as the latter have relaxed their political and economic pressure. Simultaneously, relations between Iran and its immediate neighbours have become closer as a result of the establishment in 1965 of the Regional Co-operation for Development Corporation (R.C.D.). The participants in this corporation are Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, and already joint schemes are in progress in such fields as communications, industry, education and health.

The stability of the dynasty has been further assured by the birth of a second royal prince, 'Alī Reżā, on 28 April 1966, and particularly by an amendment to the Constitution effected on 7 September 1967. This amendment provides that, if the shah dies before Crown Prince Reżā comes of age, or if the shah is unable to carry out his duties, the Empress Faraḥ will act as Regent until the crown prince reaches the age of twenty. In such a case, the Regent will be assisted by a Council of Seven, including the Prime Minister, the Presidents of the Maḍjlis and the Senate, and the President of the Supreme Court. On 26 October 1967, the shah, then in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, was officially crowned. This was a symbolic act, since the shah had repeatedly declared that he did not wish to be crowned as long as Iran was under foreign domination. There is no doubt that Iran today (1971) is more truly independent than at any time since 1800. The reforms introduced by the shah have already brought about radical changes in the struc-

ture of Persian society, and this trend is likely to become more marked in the years to come.

(R. M. SAVORY)

#### vi.—RELIGIONS

When the Arabs destroyed the Sasanian empire they also dealt a heavy blow to the national religion of ancient Iran, Zoroastrianism. As the official cult of the state, the Mazdean church had become dependent on the support of the political body and had identified itself to a large extent with the existing social order. As a result of this the clergy had lost touch with the broad masses of the population. Although our knowledge of the religious situation during the last days of the Sasanids is very limited, it seems certain that Zoroastrianism was no longer a very vital force, at least not in the orthodox form of the religion. Sectarian movements, the true nature of which is still rather difficult to ascertain, provided alternatives to the official doctrines and practices. The most important of these was Zurvānism.

In the Islamic theocracy, which during the first century of its existence was dominated by the Arabs, the Zoroastrians could only retain their identity as one of the tolerated religious minorities. In general, the Arab conquerors did not insist on an immediate conversion of their foreign subjects. In most cases, they were satisfied with the conclusion of a treaty which guaranteed freedom of cult to the non-Muslims in exchange for tribute. Originally the Zoroastrians (*Madjūs* [q.v.]) were not included among the "people of the Book" (*Ahl al-Kitāb* [q.v.]), but very soon the doctrine was adapted in such a manner as to extend the contractual protection (*dhimma* [q.v.]) to the Zoroastrian communities as well. Traditions containing decisions made by the Prophet in favour of the Zoroastrians in Bahrayn and Yaman were adduced in support of this new interpretation.

Thanks to the tolerant attitude of Islamic officialdom, the Mazdeans were able to consolidate their position by retreating into small close communities standing aside from the life of the Islamic commonwealth. In this way they were able to survive the coming of Islam for several centuries, especially in rural districts and in those provinces where the Arabs did not settle in great numbers. Fire-temples continued to function in many parts of the country. The main centre of intellectual activity of the Zoroastrian theologians was Fārs. The archaic Pahlavi was used to commit the whole body of religious knowledge to writing after it had been transmitted chiefly by oral tradition during the pre-Islamic period. In some of the Pahlavi books there are traces of a confrontation with Islam, more specifically with the speculative *kalām* of the Mu'tazila. Important in this respect is the apologetic work *Shkand Gumānik Vīstār* ("The decisive solution of doubts") (edited by P.-J. de Menasce, Freiburg 1945). Citations from the *Ḳur'ān* occur in the Zoroastrian encyclopaedia *Dēnkart* (cf. A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa*, 138 ff.). This renaissance of Mazdean religious culture reached its peak in the 8th-9th centuries. Afterwards, the pressure exerted by the Muslim environment, which by that time had already been strongly iranzed, became too strong. Those who did not want to follow the majority of the people in their conversion to Islam began to leave Iran. This exodus to Guḍjarāt seems to have started in the 10th century A.D. [See FĀRSIS]. Only a small minority continued to adhere to the religion in Iran. In later times they were chiefly concentrated in Yazd and Kirmān. They were rather contemptuously designated as *gabr*s [q.v.].

Already the Sasanian empire had had its religious minorities. Its policy with regard to these groups had been subject to many changes resulting from the vicissitudes of foreign and internal political events. Generally speaking, the minorities were far better off under Islamic rule. This is especially true of the Manichaeans who had fled from Sasanian persecution to Central Asia but partly returned to the homeland of their creed, Mesopotamia, in the early Islamic period. Little is heard of them until 'Abbāsīd times when they began to exert a considerable intellectual influence which was countered both by Mu'tazilī apologists and by an official inquisition [see further s.v. ZINDĪK]. As far as Iran is concerned, there are only scattered references to Manichaean communities in the north-eastern provinces. A *Khānqāh-i Manāvī-yān* directed by a *nigōshak* is still mentioned by the *Hudūd al-'ālam* (p. 113) in 372/982-3. Persian literature has preserved numerous references to Manichaean painting.

The Christians in Iran belonged in the main to the Nestorian church which had sought here a refuge from persecution in the Byzantine Empire. Its missionary activity did not have much success in Iran. The evidence relevant to the early Islamic period points to the existence of a limited number of bishoprics with a relatively great density in Fārs. In the north-east, Marv was the see of a Metropolitan.

The settlement of Jews in Iran goes back to antiquity. They enjoyed a large amount of tolerance in the country both before and after the coming of Islam. Their communities, often living in separate Yahūdiyya-quarters, were to be found in many of the larger cities, but were particularly important in Khūzistān, Hamadān and Isfahān. At an early stage, the Iranian Jews started to use Persian for their writings, using the Hebrew-Aramaic alphabet. A small but interesting Judaeo-Persian literature [q.v.], consisting mainly of religious works, has been preserved.

Since the 2nd century B.C., Mahāyana Buddhism had penetrated those parts of Central Asia which were inhabited by Iranian peoples. Already in pre-Islamic times it had to retreat before Zoroastrianism but it continued to be of some importance in the region of Gandhara and Balkh during the first few centuries of the Islamic era. The Buddhist convent of Naw Bahār (from Sanskrit *nōva vihāra* "new monastery") was very renowned and figures often in early Persian poetry. The Barmakids, the Iranian viziers of Hārūn al-Raḡhīd, were descended from an abbot (*parmak*) of the convent [cf. AL-BARĀMIKA].

The process of Islamization which eventually made Iran a thoroughly Islamic country took several centuries to be completed. The great historians of the Arab conquest (e.g., al-Balādhuri, al-Tabarī), as well as a number of local histories (e.g., the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, al-Narshakhī on Transoxania and Ibn Isfandiyār on the Caspian provinces), have transmitted a great variety of reports on the conversion of groups or individuals originating from different regions and scattered over a large period of time. It is hardly possible to form a coherent picture of the process as a whole out of incidents which not unfrequently seem to contradict each other. Undoubtedly, the chaotic character of the evidence corresponds with the nature of the actual historical development. As there was no consistent policy on the part of the government, local conditions as well as social differences usually decided the course of events. The individual arbitrary decisions of local officials were often a very important factor.

The first report about the acceptance of Islam dates from as early as the battle of al-*Ḳādisiyya* [q.v.] when Daylamī cavalry troops (*asāwira*, also designated as *Ḥamrā* Daylam) deserted from the Imperial army and came to terms with the Arabs. This included conversion to the new religion as well as the settlement of these mercenaries in the recently founded *miṣr* of *Kūfa* (cf. L. Caetani, *Annali*, iii/2, 916-20). On some occasions Iranian notables were deported to the centre of the Caliphate to serve in the Umayyad administration and were remembered by later generations as the pride of their regions (cf. e.g. *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, ed. M. T. Bahār, 18 ff.).

Conversions of this kind required a complete assimilation to the way of life of the conquerors, including the adoption of Arabic names. Reports of forced conversions or the violation of the sanctuaries of the protected religions are rare, but this may be partially due to the predominantly Islamic bias of the sources.

The pattern of Arab settlement [see AL-<sup>ARAB</sup>, iii] largely determined the pace of the Islamization of the different regions. In the cities of *Khurāsān* and of northern al-*Djībāl*, later also in those of Transoxania, large Arab garrisons were stationed which had a great influence on the rate of conversion among the townspeople. It has been suggested by several scholars that the urban class of artisans and tradesmen adopted the new religion so easily because in Sasanian society they had been discriminated against on account of their low status in the Mazdean scale of social values. Of the other social classes, the peasants were least open to outside influences and accepted Islam only very slowly. This cannot be explained exclusively by their isolation and the conservatism usually found among a rural population, but equally by their economic situation. The dependence of the state finances on the revenues of the land-tax, which was levied only on the non-Muslims, one of the most thorny problems of the young Islamic empire, put a great restraint on missionary activity directed towards the peasantry. In the administration of the great mass of non-Muslim subjects the Arab rulers for a long time used the services of the local aristocracy who had survived the downfall of the Sasanian empire. Although the *dihkāns* [q.v.] and *marzāns* were sometimes invited to become Muslims, their symbiosis with the Islamic government was not dependent on a religious affiliation but was essentially a political and economic necessity.

Massive conversions could still take place in Iran as late as the 5th/11th century. The rise of *Ṣūfism* did much to bridge the gap between the broad masses and the bearers of the religious tradition who mainly belonged to the upper classes of society. Members of the pietist *Karrāmiyya* sect were also very active as missionaries. The *Shi'ī* propaganda of the *Zaydiyya* is to be credited with the Islamization of the Caspian provinces.

Being a Muslim brought many social advantages to a non-Arab subject of the Islamic theocracy, but during the period of Arab hegemony which lasted till the downfall of the Umayyads in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the convert could only aspire to the status of a second-class citizen. As a client or *mawālī* (pl. *mawālī* [q.v.]), the non-Arab Muslim enjoyed the protection of an Arab tribe or family but was subject to certain disabilities.

Although the Iranian *mawālī* often participated with great enthusiasm in the wars against unbelievers (e.g., at the time of the conquest of *Soghdiā* and afterwards in the struggle with the pagan Turks), the

disadvantages of their status made them a potential ally to any politico-religious movement that came out in revolt against Umayyad rule.

The participation of Iranian *mawālī* in a sectarian movement is recorded for the first time in the accounts of the rebellion of al-*Mukhtār* [q.v.] who in 66-7/685-7 defended the claims to the imāmate of *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya* [q.v.] and demanded revenge for the death of al-*Ḥusayn*. His personal guard was recruited from the *Ḥamrā mawālī* in *Kūfa*. They are designated as *kāfir-kubāt* [q.v.] literally "unbeliever clubs", a designation which reappears in the sources when they mention the Iranians who took part in the 'Abbāsīd revolt. [See also *KAYSANIYYA*]. The *Azāriḳa* [q.v.], a *Khāridjīte* group which, after having been defeated in 'Irāk, continued its opposition in various parts of Iran (66/685-78/698-9), was also supported by many Iranian clients. Another *Shi'ī* pretender, 'Abd Allāh b. *Mu'āwiya* [q.v.], was equally forced to retreat into Iranian territory after the failure of his rising in *Kūfa* (127/744). Taking advantage of the general atmosphere of discontent prevailing in the later Umayyad period, he succeeded in uniting dissenters of quite different religious and political parties under his command. Among them were *Zaydīs*, *Khāridjīs* and even prominent members of the 'Abbāsīd family. This sect, known as al-*Djanāhiyya* [q.v.], displays doctrinal features that are common to many other early *Shi'ī* heterodoxies (e.g., esoteric knowledge invested in the *imām* and the concealment (*ghayba*) and eventual return (*radī'a*) of the founder of the sect). None of these movements, however, originated in Iran. They were the products of the syncretistic religious culture of 'Irāk where Iranian ideas formed only one of several constituent elements. [See further s.v. *GĤULĀT*].

From 116/734-128/746, the *Soghdiāns* were in open revolt over the poll-tax. This rebellion acquired a religious dimension through the collaboration of a group of pious Arabs like *Abu 'l-Ṣaydā' Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf*, who had been a successful missionary among the *Soghdiāns*, and al-*Hārīṭh b. Suraydī* [q.v.]. In the interests of Islam, they supported the claim of the *mawālī* to full rights as Muslims and they summoned the Umayyad government to return to the ordinances of the *Kur'ān* and the *sunna*. The secretary of al-*Hārīṭh*, *Djāhm b. Ṣafwān* [q.v.], was one of the earliest Islamic theologians working in Iran.

The non-Muslim subjects showed a remarkable restraint towards the strife among the different factions of the Muslim community. The orthodox *Mazdeans*, the most numerous group, made no attempts to take advantage of this confusion. The movement of *Bih' āfrīd b. Farwardān* [q.v.], who proclaimed himself a Prophet about 129/747 in *Kh'āf* (near *Nīshāpūr*), originated in a sectarian environment. He claimed to be sent from heaven in order to reform the Mazdean religion. His message, which is said to have been laid down in a book written in Persian, was mainly concerned with religious practice. The prescriptions he gave were aimed at an adaption of Zoroastrianism to the moral and ritual code of Islam. The most outspoken opposition to his activities came from the orthodox Zoroastrian clergy.

In the last years of the first century A.H., the 'Abbāsīd family, through the famous testament of *Abū Ḥāshim* [q.v.], had acquired the leadership of the most active section of the early *Shi'ī* movement. From *Kūfa*, the traditional centre of politico-religious opposition against the Umayyad regime, an effective propaganda was organized, focused on the province of *Khurāsān* where conditions seemed especially favour-

able for stirring up a massive revolt. The activities of the 'Abbāsīd missionaries were directed to all the groups, whether Arab or Iranian, who had reason to be discontented with the present situation. To Iranian participants, the problem of equality within the Muslim community provided the main incentive. Another issue of a religious nature was the claim of revenge for the Zaydī pretender Yaḥyā b. Zayd [q.v.], who had been killed in battle with Umayyad troops in 125/743 when he was trying to win support in *Khurāsān*. The religious motivation of the 'Abbāsīds themselves is not quite clear [see *AL-HĀSHIMIYYA*], but it is certain that they did not desire any emphasis on extreme points of doctrine, as is apparent from their disavowal of one of the prominent agitators, *Khidāsh*, when he was tried and executed on the grounds of spreading "khurrāmī" heresies, as well as from the vehement action taken by Abū Muslim, the architect of 'Abbāsīd victory, against several heretical movements.

In retrospect, the founding of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate appears to be a turning point in the development of Islam in Iran. Iranian Muslims, whose numbers were rapidly increasing, could now partake on an equal footing in the affairs of the Islamic community. The theocracy itself, on the other hand, became to a certain extent "iranized" as a result of the infiltration of a great number of Iranians into all the branches of its central administration. Many cultural traditions of ancient Iran were integrated into Islamic culture. There was also a large measure of participation by the Iranian Muslims in the elaboration of the great theological and juridical systems of Islam which took place in the early 'Abbāsīd period. The cities of *Khurāsān* and Transoxania developed into important centres of Islamic learning.

The immediate effects of the revolt which brought the 'Abbāsīds into power seemed at first to point to a quite different line of development. A wide-spread discontent with social conditions, as well as a receptiveness to heterodox religious ideas, notably among those sections of the population which had only been touched very slightly by Islam, the very elements on which the leaders of the revolution had built their success, continued to form an obstacle to political stability in the Iranian provinces. The severance by the 'Abbāsīds of their former relations with sectarian groups and, more specifically, the crude disposal of the popular leader of the movement in *Khurāsān*, Abū Muslim, provided the incentive for a long series of politico-religious risings. They were often headed by former collaborators of Abū Muslim, who made him the object of a messianic expectation similar to those current among the early *Shi'ī ghulāt*. It was believed that after a period of occultation (*ghayba*) he would return in the company of the pre-Islamic heretic Mazdak and of the Mahdī. A pronounced anti-Islamic tendency was expressed in the prophecy of a return of Zoroaster and the destruction of the Ka'ba. The idea of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) was also present: a divine element was thought to have been transmitted to Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima and to his son Firūz Mahdī. Collectively these movements are designated as the Abū-Muslimiyya. Another general term used in reference to a variety of these sects is *Khurrāmīyya* or *Khurramdīniyya* [q.v.]. This appellation is used in particular to characterize a number of customs, among which community of goods and wives are cited as the most objectionable, deviating from the Islamic way of life. A historical connection with the movement of Mazdak in Sasanian times has often been suggested

but cannot be substantiated by the available evidence.

Most of these movements manifested themselves in the rural districts of eastern Iran and Transoxania. The leaders of the revolts were *Sinbādh*, *Ishāk al-Turk*, *Ustādh* and the "veiled Prophet", *al-Mukanna'* [q.v.], whose followers were known as the *Mubayyida* or *Safid-djāmagān* on account of their white garments. The most dangerous rebellion was led by *Bābak* [q.v.], and took place in *Ādharbāyḡdjan*. It was only subdued after a long campaign directed by the best generals of the 'Abbāsīd army. The *Rāwandīyya* [q.v.], which projected spiritual leadership, based on a divine incarnation, in the person of the caliph *al-Manṣūr* [q.v.], also originated in Iran, but its main activity was in *Irāk*. The geographers and historians of the 4th/10th century still make mention of remnants of these sects in isolated parts of the country [for historical details see *IRAN, HISTORY* and the references given there].

Among the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs who still had a direct control over all the Iranian provinces, *al-Ma'mūn* [q.v.] showed a special interest in this part of his empire. His attempt to make an alliance with the *Husayni* branch of the 'Alids by appointing the *imām* 'Ali al-Riḡā as his heir to the caliphate was little more than an episode. Yet it left permanent traces in Iran in the form of the two most venerated shrines of the Iranian *Shi'a*: the *Āstān-i quds-i Raḡawī*, the grave of the *imām* 'Ali al-Riḡā [q.v.], who died under suspicious circumstances in *Tūs* (the present-day *Mashhad* [q.v.]) in 203/818, and the tomb of his sister *Fāṭima al-Ma'sūma* in *Qumm*. The religious disputes held at the court of this caliph in *Marv*, in which representatives of various Islamic and non-Islamic denominations took part, show the great differentiation of religious opinion prevailing at this time as well as the relatively tolerant attitude adopted by the government.

In the long run, however, Iran developed into a predominantly Sunni country, which it remained until the end of the Middle Ages. The rise of semi-independent dynasties in the eastern parts from the early 3rd/9th century onwards in no way checked this general trend. Both the *Ṭahirids* and the *Sāmānids* acted as guardians of Sunnism and continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the 'Abbāsīds as the ultimate source of legitimate rule within the Islamic community. The same seems to hold true of the *Ṣafāfārids* in spite of the intimation of heterodox leanings put forward by *Niẓām al-Mulk* (*Siyāsaināma*, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340 sh., 20; transl., idem, London 1960, 15). They had come to power as the leaders of a popular movement against the *Khāridjites* who had managed to obtain a foothold in *Sistān*. Even the growth of a distinctive Iranian self-awareness, expressing itself in the use of Persian for literary purposes and the creation of Persian literature, was not connected with a tendency to depart from Islamic orthodoxy. Among the earliest works that became accessible in Persian were such classics of Sunni Islām as the *Ta'rikh* and the *Tafsīr* of *al-Ṭabari*.

The religious situation in Iran during the second half of the 4th/10th and the beginning of the next century can be reconstructed to some extent from scattered pieces of information which have been transmitted by the geographers and historians of this period. The *Kitāb Aḡsan al-takāsim* of *al-Mukaddasī*, written in 375/985, is a particularly rich source as far as the geography of religion is concerned (cf. the compilation of these references in P. Schwarz, *Iran, passim* as well as B. Spuler, *Iran*, 145 ff. and the *Karte III* with *Erläuterungen* at the end of this work).

Together these data point to a confusing diversity, even within the community of the people of the Sunna. It is therefore difficult to trace the main lines of division between the various doctrinal and juridical schools. In general there was a preference for the Ḥanafī school of law in the eastern provinces, especially among the lower classes. The Shāfi'iyya had strongholds in Kirmāu, Ṭabaristān and in several parts of Transoxania. The position of the *madhāhib* in the western provinces is less clear. For some period of time smaller schools like the Zāhiriyya [q.v.] founded by Dā'ūd al-Iṣfahānī [q.v.] and the Ṭhawriyya of Sufyān al-Ṭhawrī [q.v.] had a fair number of followers in Iran. The doctrinal school of the Mu'tazila had, from the time of its efflorescence under the protection of the early 'Abbāsids onwards, penetrated the Iranian provinces with much success. It managed to hold its ground there for a very long time after the reaction of the Ḥanbali traditionalists had put an end to its dominant position in 'Irāk. The struggle with the emerging neo-orthodox schools founded by al-Ash'arī and al-Māturidī continued at least till the time of the Saljūqs. The *kalām* of the Mu'tazila became of lasting significance to Iranian Islam on account of its influence on the doctrinal system of the Iṭhnā-'ashari branch of the Shi'a. The larger cities usually contained a number of different religious minorities who lived in continuous rivalry and strife. The antagonism of social groups designated as *'aṣabiyyāt* [q.v.] merged with the controversies among the adherents of the various ritual or doctrinal schools. Not unfrequently, this took the form of small-scale civil war within the cities (cf. Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 27 ff.).

The sect of the Karrāmiyya [q.v.] originated in Khurāsān out of the teachings of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (d. 255/869). It found its following chiefly among the artisans. The most remarkable traits of the Karrāmiyya as far as practical religious life is concerned were the emphasis on traditionalist piety, the foundation of *khānkhāhs* or small convents which may have supplied the models for later institutions of religious education, and the vehement missionary zeal of the sect, directed as much to the heterodox groups within Islam as to the non-Muslims. The height of its development was reached at the beginning of the 5th/11th century when they acquired a considerable influence on the Ghaznavid rulers as well as on the early Ghūrids [q.v.].

Šūfism appears in Iran for the first time in the second half of the 4th/9th century. One of the earliest representatives was the great Šūfi *shaykh* Abū Yazid al-Bisṭāmī [q.v.]. The foundation of the school of the Malāmatiyya [q.v.] is attributed to Ḥamdūn al-Kāṣār [q.v.] of Nishāpūr. The emphasis on absolute sincerity and indifference to all outward appearances of piety, characteristic of the Malāmatiyya, became a distinctive mark of the mysticism of Khurāsān as compared with the Šūfism of 'Irāk. In the first half of the 5th/10th century pupils of the 'Irāki schools settled in eastern Iranian towns, e.g. Mūsā al-Anṣārī (d. ca. 320/932) in Marv and al-Thakāfi (d. 328/940) in Nishāpūr. The great extension of Šūfism in Khurāsān was recorded a century later by al-Ḥudjwiri [q.v.] in his *Kashf al-mahjūb*.

A second centre of early Šūfism was Fārs where the first important *shaykh* was Ibn al-Khafif [q.v.] (d. 371/981). His teaching had a profound influence in this province which lasted for many centuries. It was continued by *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b.

Shahriyār (d. 426/1033) [q.v.] of Kāzarūn, the eponym of the Ishākiyya or Kāzarūniyya, one of the very first Šūfi orders not only of Iran but of Islam in general.

Until the rise of the Šafawids about 1500 A.D., the Shi'a remained a religious minority in Iran. As a matter of fact, it did not constitute a homogeneous group but consisted of quite different parties which were opposed to each other as much as the Sunnis were opposed to all of them together. The small but militant movements of the *ghulāt*, which were particularly active during the Umayyad period, as a rule did not originate in Iran but emanated from southern 'Irāk. The great majority of the Shi'ites living in Iran adhered to the quietist attitude in the matter of the political leadership of the community which had been adopted by the Ḥusayni branch of the 'Alids after the tragic failure of al-Ḥusayn's expedition to 'Irāk at Karbalā'. Apart from their views on the doctrine of the Imāma [q.v.], they did not differ significantly, either in doctrinal or in ritual questions from the Sunnis. This large moderate group of the Shi'a, originally referred to by the general name of al-Rāfi'iyya [q.v.], was from an early date strongly represented in the northern cities of al-Djibāl or 'Irāk-i 'Adjami. Shi'ism was brought here by the Arabs who settled in this area when this part of the country was still a frontier with the not yet Islamized Caspian regions. Kumm, in particular, is an old stronghold of the Shi'a in Iran. Scattered Shi'a communities were to be found in other provinces as well. In Khurāsān, Nishāpūr, Harāt and Ṭūs significant Shi'i minorities were living together in separate quarters, generally tolerated by the Sunni majority although from time to time they became involved in *'aṣabiyyāt* struggles. A rural district with a long tradition of Shi'ism was Bayḥāk, with the city of Sabzawār. Khūzistān and Fārs also contained a fair number of Shi'ites.

The Zaydiyya [q.v.], for whom the active assertion of his claim had become an important pre-requisite of the rightful *imām*, were moderate in doctrine but not deficient in political zeal. In 250/864 a Zaydi pretender belonging to the Ḥasani branch of the 'Alids, Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, entitled *al-dā'i al-kabir*, succeeded in driving the Ṭāhirid governor out of Māzandarān, and founded there a Shi'i state which in spite of successive reverses held its ground for several centuries. The Zaydites did a great deal to spread Islam in the Caspian regions, extending their influence both to Gurgān in the East and to Gilān and Daylam in the West. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Utrush [q.v.] was very active as a missionary of Shi'i Islam.

The mountains of Daylam, the inhabitants of which owed their acquaintance with Islam mainly to Zaydi missionaries, were the place of origin of the clan of the Būyids [q.v.]. As rulers of western Iran and 'Irāk they did not put an end to the Sunni caliphate of Baghdād, although it had been deprived completely of its political power. On the other hand they gave much stimulus to the further development of Shi'i doctrines and customs, especially among the followers of the Ḥusayni *imāms* who began to form a more defined denominational entity as the Imāmiyya or Iṭhnā-'ashariyya [q.v.]. The celebration of the most important Shi'i festivals such as the remembrance of the investiture of 'Alī at Ghadir al-Khumm [q.v.] and the mourning (*ta'ziya*) of the martyrs of Karbalā' in the month of Muḥarram [q.v.] is for the first time recorded in the Būyid period.

The mission (*da'wa*) of the Ismā'iliyya [q.v.] in Iran had already started before the end of the 3rd/9th century. The initiative was taken by the Ḳarma-

tians [q.v.] who, in addition to their centres in the Arabian territories bordering on the Persian Gulf, had a footing in *Khūzistān* as well. From here the missionary *Khālaf* was sent to the *Shi'ī* areas in al-*Djībāl*. From their base near Rayy, the *Ismā'īlis*, who in this part of Iran were known for a long time as *Khālafīyya*, tried to extend their influence to the Caspian regions, and to *Khurāsān* and Transoxania. After the establishment of the Fātimid caliphate in Egypt propaganda was directed from Cairo. Missionary activity in Iran was on the whole not very fruitful, in spite of the frequently outstanding intellectual capacities of the *dā'īs*. The efforts were chiefly directed to the conversion of influential men of the ruling classes. Some spectacular but not very permanent achievements were made, e.g., the conversion of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr II b. Aḥmad by the *dā'ī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, which led to the former's forced abdication in 331/942-3, and of one of the latest Būyid rulers, Abū Kalidjār, who was won over to the Fātimid cause by al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Din [q.v.]. The latter, by winning over a Turkish commander in the Būyid service, al-Basāsiri [q.v.], almost succeeded in establishing Fātimid suzerainty in Baghdād. But this was frustrated by the intervention of the Saljūq chief Tuḡhril Beg, who rescued the 'Abbāsids from their imprisonment in a *Shi'ī* state. More permanent results of the early *Ismā'īlī dā'wa* were the strongholds in isolated parts of the country like *Kūhistān* and *Badakḥshān*. The literary output of the *Ismā'īlī* communities, both in Arabic and Persian, was not inconsiderable. (See further S. Stern, *The early Ismā'īlī missionaries in North-West-Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 59-60; on the literature of the early period: W. Ivanow, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*, Bombay 1955<sup>8</sup>; idem, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933; idem, *Ismaili Literature. Bibliographical Survey*, Tehran 1963).

The propagandist activities of the *Ismā'īliyya*, usually referred to as *Bāṭiniyya*, became a great concern of the Sunni rulers in Iran. This led to increasing intolerance with regard to religious minorities. Especially under the rule of the *Ghaznavids* and the *Saljūqs* in the 5th/11th—6th/12th centuries, a hardening of the relationship between the denominations can be observed. The situation grew worse towards the end of the 5th/11th century. The leadership was taken by Ḥasan-i Sabbāh [q.v.], who in 483/1090 made himself master of the impregnable fortress of Alamūt [q.v.] in Daylam. This became the residence of an Iranian *Ismā'īlī* dynasty in open rebellion against the *Saljūq* sultan. Almost at the same time the supporters of the Fātimids split over the succession to the imāme after the death of the caliph al-Mustansir (487/1094). The party who lost the struggle in Cairo, the *Nizāris* [q.v.], had won the support of most of the *Ismā'īlis* in Iran under the guidance of Ḥasan-i Sabbāh. In Western reports on this movement they are referred to as the Assassins, a name originating in Syria [see *ḤASHIḤIYYA*]. In the doctrines of this new sect great emphasis was laid on the necessity of a continuous teaching (*ta'lim*) by a present *imām* in order to make the esoteric meaning of the revelation accessible to the believers. The breach from all the other sections of the Islamic community became absolute when in 559/1164 the "resurrection" (*kiyāma*), by which the *shari'a* was abolished for the *Nizāri* community, was proclaimed. Half a century later the community reconciled itself to its Islamic environment and placed itself again under the rule of the religious law.

After the final destruction of its strongholds during the campaign of the Mongol prince Hülegü (654/1256), the *Ismā'īliyya* in Iran ceased to exist as an independent force but lived on in the form of a religious minority for which the *imām* acted as spiritual guide (*pir*).

Through the victory of the *Saljūqs* over the Būyids Sunnism had again acquired supremacy in most parts of Iran. Although the sultans adhered to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, the *Shāfi'iyya*, to which the most prominent theologians belonged, became very influential thanks to the personal adherence of the powerful vizier Nizām al-Mulk. The class of the theological and juridical scholars began to infiltrate the administration of the central government. To this end the extension of traditional academic education was fostered by the foundation of *madrasas* [q.v.] in the larger cities of the empire, known by the name of *Nizāmiyya*.

The representatives of the *Iḥnā-'ashariyya* were, at the beginning of the Sunni restoration in Western Iran, regarded with great suspicion. This attitude both on the part of the sultans and of the great vizier is clearly expressed in several anecdotes of the latter's *Siyāsatināma*. In the 6th/12th century, when Nizām al-Mulk no longer put his stamp on religious policy, the *Shi'ites* were able to take a greater share in the affairs of the state. Some of them even reached the rank of vizier. The altercations between Sunnis and *Shi'a* continued, however, in disputes and literary polemics, as well as outbursts of physical violence. An invaluable source for our knowledge of these controversies is the *Kitāb al-Nakḥ* or *Ba'd mathālib al-nawāṣib fi nakḥ ṣaḍā'ih al-Rawāfiḍ* by Naṣr al-Dīn Abū 'l-Raṣhid 'Abd al-Djalil al-Kāzwinī al-Rāzi, an apology for the *Shi'a* in reply to a Sunni literary attack.

In the course of the 5th/11th century *Ṣūfism* was well on its way towards becoming one of the dominant forms of Islam in Iran. Its greatest progress was made among the predominantly Sunni population of the eastern provinces while the *Shi'a*, in general, took a critical stand towards mysticism. The numerous *Ṣūfi shaykhs* of this period still lived and worked within the small circles of their pupils, established usually in convents (*ribāṭ*, *khānqāh*) but without organizational ties. They taught by their words as well as by the example of their spiritual life, and did not pay much attention to the scholastic elaboration of *Ṣūfi* doctrine, to which, in the schools of 'Irāki *Ṣūfism*, the name of al-Djūnayd [q.v.] is especially connected. The ideas of the great *shaykhs* of *Khurāsān* living in this period are best known from the hagiographic works written by their followers (e.g., Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [q.v.], Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kharakāni [q.v.] and Aḥmad-i Djāmi [q.v.]). One of the first theoreticians of mysticism in eastern Iran was 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī [q.v.] of Harāt (d. 481/1089). The reconciliation of *Ṣūfism* with the doctrines of Sunni orthodoxy which took place in this century was largely due to the efforts of eminent *Khurāsāni* mystics like al-Kuṣhayri [q.v.] and Muḥammad al-Ghazālī [q.v.]. On the whole, the Turkish rulers of Iran, as well as their Iranian bureaucrats, favoured the *Ṣūfi shaykhs*, chiefly out of respect for the miracles (*karāmāt*) attributed to these holy men.

One of the most decisive influences of Iranian mysticism, spreading to the farthest corners of the Islamic world, was the formation of *Ṣūfi* brotherhoods known as *ṭarīkas* [q.v.]. Apart from the *Kāzarūniyya* of Fārs already mentioned, most of the early orders were formed in the 6th/12th century. Among them was the fraternity of the *Khwājagān* founded by

**Kh'wādja** Yūsuf al-Hamadhāni (d. 555/1160) in **Khurāsān** but better known through its Transoxanian branch, the Yasawiyya, named after the Turkish **Şūfi shaykh** Aḥmad Yasawī [q.v.] (d. 562/1166). With the expansion of the Turks to the West the Yasawi type of **Şūfism** was introduced in Anatolia where it was continued by the **Bektashiyya**.

Towards the end of this century two great **ḥarīkas** emerged almost simultaneously at opposite sides of Iran. In **ʿIrāk** and western Iran the **Suhrawardiyya**, which was based on the teachings of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardi [q.v.] (d. 632/1234-5), was raised for a short time to the position of an official **Şūfi** organization by the caliph al-Nāṣir. A secondary branch of the **Suhrawardiyya** was established in Multān on the Indian subcontinent. The order of the **Kubrawiyya** goes back to the **Kh'wārazmian shaykh** Naḍīm al-Dīn Kubrā [q.v.] (d. 617 or 618/1220-2). The majority of the later **Şūfi** orders of Iran derive their **silsila** from this order. Both the founder and the many eminent scholars among his pupils made a great contribution to mystical thought in Iran. The order of the **Čiṣhtiyya** [q.v.] was also formed in Iran but reached its greatest development in India. Although it was founded in Anatolia, the **Mawlawiyya** [q.v.] should also be mentioned in this connection on account of the deep roots it had in the religious environment of eastern Iran.

The attempts of the caliph al-Nāṣir [q.v.] to assert the secular power of the **ʿAbbāsids** as well as their leading position in the religious matters of the **Sunni** community led to sharp conflict with the **Kh'wārazm-šāhs**, who were supported by **Şiʿis** seeking revenge for the repression suffered under **Sunni** rule. As a part of this struggle **Šāh Muḥammad** tried to establish a rival caliphate for which he put forward, as his candidate, a member of the **ʿAlid** family. This scheme was frustrated by the **Mongol** invasion.

The effects of the **Mongol** conquest decisively changed religious conditions in Iran. Retrospectively, these changes appear to form a prelude to the establishment of a **Şiʿi** state a few centuries later. The disappearance of the **ʿAbbāsīd** caliphate had weakened the position of the **Sunnīs**, who were deprived of this living symbol of the unity of the **Islamic** community, without having any theological expedient to account for the vacancy of its leadership such as the **Şiʿa** possessed in the doctrine of the **ghayba**. The secular power had, moreover, for the first time since the **Arab** conquest, passed into the hands of unbelievers. Up to the time of the conversion to **Islam** of **Ġhāzān Khān** and the **Mengol** aristocracy (694/1295), the **Ilkhāns**, with the sole exception of the **Muslim** Aḥmad Tegüder (681/1283-683/1285), were either **Shamanists**, **Buddhists** or **Nestorian Christians**. Temples and churches had been erected in various places and **Buddhist** **bakḥshis** came to Iran from **Central Asia** and **India**. An interesting example of their spiritual influence is provided by the conversations with **Buddhist** ascetics recorded in the biography of the famous **Kubrawi shaykh** 'Alā' al-Dawla [q.v.] al-Simnāni. Other groups of non-Muslims were able to acquire a greater political influence than had previously been possible. The rise to power of the **Jewish** vizier Sa'd al-Dawla during the reign of **Arghūn Khān** (683/1284-690/1291) and the prominent place he gave to many of his co-religionists provoked at the time of his downfall one of the rare instances of an anti-Jewish outburst in the history of **Iranian Islam**.

In so far as the early **Ilkhāns** showed any interest in the religious affairs of their **Muslim** subjects,

they not unfrequently favoured the cause of the **Şiʿa**. Already under **Hülegü** the prominent **Şiʿi** scholar **Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī** [q.v.] reached a position of great influence at the **Mongol** court. Apart from his many other intellectual pursuits, he founded a school of **Şiʿi** theology which flourished throughout the **Mongol** period. Although **Ġhāzān** officially adhered to the **Ḥanafī madhhab**, on several occasions he showed his devotion towards the **ʿAlid** family, e.g., by making the pilgrimage to the holy shrines in **ʿIrāk** and by founding "houses of the **sayyids**" (*dār al-siyāda*) in many of the larger towns providing shelter and support to indigent and wandering descendants of the *ahl al-bayt*. His successor **Öldjätü** (703/1304-716/1316) even temporarily joined the **Şiʿa** after earlier having shifted his allegiance from the **Ḥanafīyya** to the **Şāfiʿiyya**.

During the interval between the decline of **Ilkhānid** power after the death of **Abū Saʿīd** in 736/1336 and the rise of **Timūr**, the discontent of the population with **Mongol** rule found an outlet in the revolt of the **Sarbadārīds** [q.v.] in **Khurāsān**. A religious dimension was given to this movement by the collaboration of the **Shaykhīyya-Djūriyya**, a **Şiʿi** order of **Şūfis** established in **Sabzawār** by **Shaykh Khālifa** (d. 736/1335) and his pupil **Ḥasan Djūri** (d. ca. 739/1338). To a branch of this order belonged **Mir Kīwām al-Dīn al-Marʿaṣhī**, a **sayyid** who in the same period founded a small **Şiʿi** state in **Māzandarān**. His dynasty, residing in **Āmul**, is known as the **Sādāt-i Marʿaṣhī**.

**Timūr** and his successors were without exception **Sunnīs**. The great conqueror, however, often subordinated his religious allegiance to political interests. His son **Shāhrukh** (807/1405-850/1446) was an excellent example of the righteous **Sunni** ruler, but a much more relaxed attitude was adopted by the provincial government in **Transoxania** under **Uluġ Beg** [q.v.]. It was supported by the aristocratic **ʿulamāʾ** of **Samarqand** and **Bukhārā** who by tradition exerted secular power. But, on the other hand, it provoked a fierce reaction from the **Naqshbandiyya** [q.v.]. This **Şūfi** order regarded itself as the defender of the lower social classes as well as of the strict observance of the **shariʿa**. With the rise to power of the **Timūrid** Sultan **Abū Saʿīd** [q.v.] (855/1452-872/1469) in **Samarqand** and the leading **Naqshbandi shaykh**, **Kh'wādja Aḥrār**, acquired a predominant influence in political affairs. Simultaneously, the **Naqshbandiyya** became also the main spiritual force at the court of the **Timūrids** in **Harāt** during the reign of **Ḥusayn Baykara** [q.v.] (872/1468-911/1504). But here the **ḥarīka**, led by such eminent cultured men as **Djāmi** [q.v.] and his **murīd** **Mir ʿAlī Şhīr Nawāʾi** [q.v.], did not display the obscurantism which characterized the **Transoxanian** branch. The sultan himself was not entirely free from **Şiʿi** sympathies. His deportment at the rediscovery of the alleged tomb of **ʿAlī** near **Balkh**, where he founded the shrine that became known as **Mazār-i Şharif** [q.v.], was a remarkable instance of this.

At the end of the 8th/14th century the **Ḥurūfiyya** [q.v.], a sect originating in a milieu of **Şūfis** and **sayyids**, and owing its name to its **grammatolatrous** tendencies, was initiated by **Faḍl Allāh** [q.v.] **Astarābādi**. Very soon it was subdued in Iran by **Mīrān Shāh**, a son of **Timūr**. The further history of the sect was enacted chiefly in **Syria** and **Anatolia**. Another heretic leader, **Nūrbakḥsh** [q.v.] (d. 869/1464), who during the reign of **Shāhrukh** repeatedly asserted himself to be **Mahdī** in various parts of Iran, was through his teacher **Ishāk al-Khuttalāni** connected with the **Kubrawiyya** order which up to his time had adhered

to the Sunni *shari'a* in spite of a considerable influence of *Shi'i* ideas.

The dynasties which dominated Western Iran during most of the 9th/15th century were based on confederations of Turkoman tribes. Among these still only superficially Islamized nomads an intensive religious propaganda was spread in the course of this period. It radiated from Ardebil in *Ādharbāyḍjān*, which from the early 8th/14th century onwards was the centre of a Sunni mystical order founded by *Shaykh* Ṣafī al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (d. 735/1335). Under the leadership of his descendants, this *ḥarīka* won great support among the tribes living in the borderland between Anatolia and Iran. This expansion was accompanied by a shift in the religious orientation of the Ṣafawid family towards *Shi'i* concepts, which included the belief in a divine incarnation in the spiritual leader (*murshid*) of the order. This change seems to have taken place when it was guided by *Shaykh* Ḍjunayd [*q.v.*] (851/1447-864/1460), and became particularly clear at the time of his successor *Shaykh* Ḥaydar [*q.v.*] (864/1460-893/1483). From this time onwards the Ṣafawids claimed descent from the line of Ḥusaynī *imāms*. The politico-religious confederation of Turkoman tribes which they formed was known as the *Kīzīlbāsh* [*q.v.*]. Similar traces of extreme *Shi'i* doctrines, though far less clear than in the case of the *Kīzīlbāsh*, appear among the *Qara Koyunlu* [*q.v.*], especially during the reign of Sultan *Djahān Shāh* (841/1438-872/1467) (cf. V. Minorsky, *BSOAS*, xvi/2 (1954), 271-97). The other Turkoman power in this area, the *Aq Koyunlu* [*q.v.*] was, however, unquestionably Sunni.

Two other *Shi'i* movements with *ghulāt* doctrines, focused on the concepts of incarnation and messianism, and not unsimilar to those of the 15th century Ṣafawiyya, were the sect of the *Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ* [*q.v.*], which spread from its place of origin in the area of *Shahrazūr* into western Iran, and the *Muṣḥa'sha'* [*q.v.*], which recruited its following among the Arab tribes in *Khūzistān* and southern *Irāq*. The latter started with the appearance as *Mahdī* of Sayyid *Muḥammad b. Falāh* in about 840/1436. He formed a small theocratic state which under the suzerainty of the Ṣafawid *shāhs* continued to exist for a considerable period as a buffer state between *Iraū* and *Ottoman Irāq*.

The great expansion of Ṣūfism is one of the main characteristics of spiritual life during the three centuries separating the Mongol invasion from the rise of the Ṣafawids as rulers of Iran. The most obvious signs of this in religious practice were the pious devotion offered by men of quite different social status to the mystical *shaykhs* and the growth of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods. The orders which came to flower in the course of this period have maintained themselves in Iran up to the present day in spite of a dramatic reversal of their success in the subsequent period. The *Kubrawiyya* [*q.v.*] produced a number of outstanding mystical philosophers like 'Alā' al-Dawla [*q.v.*] al-Simnānī (d. 736/1335-6) and Sayyid 'Alī al-*Hamadhānī* [*q.v.*] (d. 786/1385). A gradual convergence of the lines of thought of Sunni mysticism and *Shi'i* imāmology is the most interesting feature of their works. The main theme is the identification of the doctrine of the *ghayba* of the *Imām-Mahdī* with the concept of the permanent existence of a hidden *kuṭb* [*q.v.*] at the top of a hierarchy of Ṣūfī saints. (See further M. Molé, *Les Kubrawiyya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 61-142).

The second great organization of Iranian Ṣūfism,

the *Ni'mat Allāhī Order*, was founded by *Shāh Ni'mat Allāh* [*q.v.*] *Wālī* (d. 834/1431). Although this *ḥarīka* has split into many independent branches in later times, its spiritual centre is still the shrine of the founder at *Māhān* in *Kirmān*. The individual wandering *darwish* [*q.v.*], a well-known figure of Iranian social life until quite recently, had his prototype in the members of *qalandari* [*q.v.*] groups.

Among the *Shi'a*, who in this period were still a minority, the tendency towards a reconciliation with Sunni Ṣūfism can also be observed. Sayyid *Ḥaydar Āmulī* (d. after 787/1385) in his main work, *Djāmi' al-Asrār*, laid great emphasis on the fundamental unity of both strains of esoteric thought in Islam. They converge in the acknowledgement of a common source of religious inspiration: the teaching of the *imāms*, who appear at the beginning of nearly all the chains of tradition (*silsilas* [*q.v.*]) of the Ṣūfīs. (Cf. H. Corbin, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 72-101; see also the edition of the *Djāmi'* by H. Corbin and *Osman Yahya*, *La philosophie shi'ite*, Tehran-Paris 1969).

As elsewhere in the Islamic world of that day, the pantheistic philosophy of *Ibn al-'Arabi* [*q.v.*] did not fail to have a profound influence on metaphysical thinking in Iran. It found a particularly fertile soil as quite similar ideas were already current in Persian mystical poetry although they had not yet been synthesized into a coherent system of doctrine. This congeniality, which is notable especially with the great mystical poets of the 7th/13th century, made it very easy for the commentators of subsequent generations to interpret their works in terms of the scholastic patterns of the philosophy of *wahdat al-wudūd*. Beginning with the poets of the early 8th/14th century like *Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Wālī* and *Maḥmūd-i Shabistari* [*q.v.*], these models were consciously applied in all Ṣūfī poetry. The impact of *Ibn al-'Arabi* affected both Sunnis and *Shi'is*. To the latter belonged the earliest writers on mystical philosophy who can be regarded as his adepts in Iran: *Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūya* (d. 650/1252) and his pupil 'Aziz al-Dīn *Nasafi*.

The proclamation issued by *Shāh Ismā'il* in 907/1501 on his ascent to the throne in *Tabriz* as the first Ṣafawid ruler marks the most decisive turning-point in the history of Iranian Islam. The population of the newly conquered empire was enjoined to adopt the *Shi'i* form of the call to prayer and to practise the cursing of the first three patriarchal caliphs. The former kaleidoscopic pattern of religious allegiances, which up to that time had always shown a predominance of Sunnism, was now replaced by theocratic unity based on the claim of the exclusive sovereignty in matters spiritual and secular of the 'Alid *imāms*. In its earliest stage the Ṣafawid state was dominated by the Turkoman tribal chiefs of the *Kīzīlbāsh* who at the same time constituted the leading caste of the religious body. The *shah*, who was also the *murshid* of the Ṣafawī order, was according to contemporary reports of European observers worshipped as God. This is confirmed by allusions to a divine incarnation made by the *shah* himself in his Turkish poems (cf. V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, x (1942), 1007 ff.).

Apart from the belief in the mission of their religious guide, the intellectual content of the *Kīzīlbāsh* movement seems to have been very limited. Before long the movement proved to be unequal to the task of converting the majority of the people of Iran, with its ancient Sunni traditions, into a homogeneously *Shi'i* community. The initiative was taken over by the 'ulamā' of the *Iṭnā-'ashariyya* [*q.v.*], the only



section of the Shi'a numerous and sophisticated enough to provide religious leadership on an adequate level. The indigenous tradition of Shi'i scholarship was considerably reinforced by the emigration of 'ulamā' from centres outside Iran like Djabal 'Amil in Syria and al-Bahrayn. A powerful clergy came into being which gradually extended its influence and endeavoured to eliminate the traces of the heterodox origins of the Şafawids. At the same time, however, the emergence of this class posed the fundamental question of ultimate sovereignty within the theocracy. According to the Ithnā-‘ashari doctrine of the *imāma* [q.v.], the Hidden Imām continues to govern the world during his *ghayba* and his sovereign rights cannot be shared by any secular power. In the 11th/17th century it had become a point of discussion whether the interpretation of the will of the *imām* was entrusted to one of the living members of the 'Alid house (which implicitly meant the Şafawid shāh) or whether it was the prerogative of the collective opinion of the community as interpreted by the doctors of the Shi'a. About the same time shah 'Abbās I was, for political reasons, forced to break the military power of the Kizilbash. For a short while the shah tried to find a new base for his position as a spiritual leader in the Nuqtawiyya [q.v.], a sect in Khurāsān in which remnants of various earlier Shi'i movements seem to have reassembled. At the time of the last Şafawid ruler, Shāh Sultān Husayn (1105/1694-1135/1722), the theologians virtually dominated the state.

The central religious official in the Şafawid state was the *şadr* [q.v.], whose function had existed already in the Timūrid period. He was charged with the supervision of religious affairs and institutions in general. At the local level he was represented by the *shaykh al-Islām* [q.v.], who was appointed in most of the larger cities and controlled more directly the jurisdiction of the *shari'a* courts. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century the office of the *şadr* declined and was replaced by that of a *mullābāshī* (Turkish: head mullah). The members of the clergy were mainly dependent on the revenue of *wakfs*, but some of them also acquired great personal wealth which enhanced their prestige among the populace and made them more or less independent of the support of the political power. The shahs, for their part, took a great interest in the maintenance of the pious foundations and the embellishment of the holy places of the Shi'a, both inside and outside Irān. Shāh 'Abbās I, who transformed his own landed property into *awkāf*, assumed the title of administrator (*mutawallī*) of the extensive possessions of the shrine of the *imām al-Riḍā*, the actual duties of which were performed by a *mutawallībāshī* residing in Mashhad. The Shi'i clergy was hierarchically divided into the higher group of the 'ulamā' and the lower one of the *mullās* [q.v.]. The duties of the latter were restricted to education and some functions deriving from the practical application of the *shari'a*. Among themselves the 'ulamā' constituted two opposing theological schools, the Alkbārīs who rejected all speculative theology and demanded a strict adherence to the *hadīth* of the Prophet and the *imāms*, and the Uşūlīs [q.v.] who claimed a right of direct resort to the ultimate sources (*uṣūl*) of the faith for the fully qualified scholars of Islam. On the basis of this claim these scholars could call themselves *mudjtahid*. From this emerged the later institution of the *Mardja'-i taklid* [q.v.].

The history of the conversion of the people of Iran to Shi'ism is still largely unknown in its details.

Apparently, it was not quite completed before the 12th/18th century. The victims of the first wave of actual persecution at the time of the conquest by Shāh Ismā'il and his Kizilbash were predominantly Sunni theologians. Among the Şūfīs, the order of the Kāzarūniyya in Fārs suffered very great losses as a result of this persecution. Outbursts of violence against dissenters continued to take place throughout the Şafawid period. During the reign of Shāh Sultān Husayn the powerful *mullābāshī* Muḥammad Bākīr al-Maḍlīsī [q.v.] intensified the persecution of Şūfīm in which the Kizilbash were not spared. Most of the Iranian *şarīḥas* had virtually ceased to exist at the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

Religious topics were very much in prominence in the intellectual life of Şafawid times. In Persian poetry the preoccupation with mysticism was replaced by the cultivation of Shi'i themes such as the elegies on the holy martyrs. These products of classical literature also influenced the various forms of a rich religious folk-literature. Traces of this can, for instance, be found in the libretti used for the recitals of the *rawḍakḥwān* [q.v.]. According to the autochthonous tradition, the passion plays (*ta'ziya* [q.v.]), the occurrence of which is not documented before the late 12th/18th century, were instituted by Shāh Ismā'il as a means of propagating Shi'i sentiment among the Iranians. Whatever the historical value of this assertion, it shows at least the important part played by religious literature in this respect. Through the efforts of the expanding religious class a large theological literature written in Arabic came into being, the magnum opus of which is the *Bihār al-anwār* of Muḥammad Bākīr al-Maḍlīsī. In addition to these scholarly works, many books on religious subjects were composed in Persian for the propagation of Shi'i doctrines.

The most important contribution of Şafawid Iran to Islamic culture was the philosophical school of Işfahān which resuscitated the philosophy of *ishrāḥ* [q.v.], first elaborated by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [q.v.] al-Maḳṭūl in the 7th/12th century. Forerunners of this school were the eminent Shi'i scholars, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Amilī [q.v.] and Mīr Muḥammad Bākīr al-Dāmād [q.v.], but the actual founder, as well as its foremost representative, was Mullā Şadr al-Dīn al-Şhīrāzī [q.v.], usually known as Mullā Şadrā. Other notable members were Mullā Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, Mullā 'Abd al-Razzāk-i Lāhidjī and Mīr Abu 'l-Kāsim-i Fīndariskī. A late 13th/19th century follower of the Işfahān school was Hadjīdī Mullā Hādī-i Sabzawāri (1212/1797-8—1295/1878). The strong gnostic element in their philosophy made them suspicious in the eyes of the orthodox *mudjtahids*. They did in fact have an impact on the development of new religious tendencies deviating from the mainstream of the Ithnā-‘ashariyya such as the school of the Shaykhiyya and the Bābī religion.

Since the establishment of the Shi'i theocracy in Iran, the allegiance of the political power to this form of Islam has only been interrupted twice. The first occasion was the short reign of Ismā'il II (984/1576-985/1577), the second the period of Nādir Shāh [q.v.] (1148/1736-1160/1747). Notwithstanding the fact that his tribe, the Afshārs, had taken part in the original Kizilbash confederation, he pledged himself at the time of his election as *Shāhinshāh* of Iran in 1148/1736 to an attempt at a reconciliation between the Ithnā-‘ashari Shi'a and the Sunnism of the surrounding Islamic peoples. To this end he suggested a transformation of the Shi'a into a fifth school of Islamic law, the Dja'fariyya, which would share in the state of

mutual recognition existing between the four Sunni *madhāhib*. Although this proposal was favourably received by a council of Sunni and Shi'ī scholars held at Naḍīaf in 1156/1743, it was rejected by the leading Sunni power, the Ottoman sultan.

Under the rule of the Zand dynasty, the government returned to a strict observance of orthodox Shi'ism. One of the signs of this was the reinstatement of a *shaykh al-Islām* in Shirāz. During this period a revival of Šūfism came about as a result of the missionary activities of Ma'šūm 'Alī Shāh, who was sent to Iran by the "pole" (*kuṭb*) of the Indian branch of the Ni'mat Allāhī order. This provoked a fierce persecution end with the execution of Ma'šūm 'Alī Shāh in 1212/1797-8. The driving force behind this was the dominating *mudjtahid* of this time, Ākā Muḥammad Bākī-i Bihbihāni (1117/1705-1208/1803). Living in Karbalā', as a leading scholar of the Uṣūlī school, he succeeded in bringing to an end the predominance of the Akhbārīs at the holy shrines (*atabāt*) in 'Irāq, a predominance which had existed there since the end of the Šafawid period. At the same time, the Shi'ī theory of the *uṣūl al-fikḥ* was being elaborated and greater emphasis was laid on the right of *idjtihād*. These developments were of great significance for the relationship between the dynasty of the Kādjārs and the clergy during the 13th/19th century. The latter came to hold the spiritual leadership whereas the shahs could no longer point to an 'Alid descent as a counterweight. The situation of the chief centres of Shi'ī learning outside the boundaries of the Iranian state did very much to strengthen the position of the clergy whenever they opposed the policy of the Kādjārs. But even inside Iran they enjoyed a large measure of immunity, an important part of which was the traditional right of asylum (*bast* [q.v.]) accorded to places of religious importance.

During the reigns of the early Kādjārs, the Shi'ī clergy was able to exert a considerable influence on the affairs of the state. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (1211/1797-1250/1834), who in all possible ways endeavoured to foster the growth of the religious body, showed himself especially amenable to pressure from the *mudjtahids*. On more than one occasion they actually interfered with his foreign policy. Under his successors relations between the state and the religious leaders became more strained. The latter's fierce opposition to the growing impact of western influences in Iran finally led to their active support of the popular protests against foreign monopolies like the tobacco concession of 1891-1892 and their involvement in the struggle against the authoritarian rule of the Kādjār shahs during the constitutional revolution at the beginning of this century. The Iranian government, on the other hand, as it more and more assumed the attitudes of a modern secular state, became less willing to respect the traditional privileges of the religious class.

Almost at the same time as the controversy between Akhbārīs and Uṣūlīs was settled in favour of the latter, a new schism divided the Shi'ī theologians. The doctrines of *Shaykh* Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī [q.v.], which were mainly concerned with the role of the Hidden Imām as a mediator in men's striving towards moral perfection and with problems of eschatology, were condemned as heretical by the *mudjtahids*. As a result of this the sect of the *Shaykhīs* [q.v.] was formed out of what had only been a school of Shi'ī theology. After the death of al-Aḥsā'ī in 1241/1826, his teaching was continued by Sayyid Kāzīm-i Raṣṭī (d. 1259/1843) who, from his residence in

Karbalā', was able to exert his influence through the Iranian pilgrims. Afterwards the *Shaykhī* sect split into three branches of which only the Ākā'īs are of any significance today. The centre of the present community is the *madrasa* of Kirmān. Larger groups of *Shaykhīs* are also to be found in Tehran, in Āḍharbāyḡjān and Fārs, as well as among the employees of the oil industry in Khūzistān. (Cf. G. Scarcia, *Stato e dottrine attuali della setta sciita degli shaykhī in Persia*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xxix (1958), 215-41).

In 1260/1844 Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad of Shirāz revealed himself as the Bāb [q.v.] or "gateway" who had come to inaugurate a new prophetic cycle. This meant no less than a breach with the Islamic *shari'a*, as was explicitly confirmed by a convention of the followers of the Bāb in 1264/1848 at Badāshṭ. The first stage of this new religion was a period of persecution to which the early believers often reacted with violence. The Bāb himself was executed in 1266/1850. After an attempt on the life of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh in 1266/1852, the persecution reached a climax and the movement was wiped out as far as public life in Iran was concerned. Although it continued to have its secret sympathizers, especially among merchants and other groups of the middle class of Iranian society, its further development as an organization could only take place in exile. The succession to the Bāb was for some time a matter of contention between Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Nūrī and his brother Mirzā Nūrī, who, among their following, were respectively known as Bahā' Allāh [q.v.] and Šubḥ-i Azal. The former, who was able to get the support of the large majority, initiated a reform of the Bābī religion, which, as the religion of the Bahā'īs [q.v.], extended its aspirations and activities far beyond the limits of Iranian religious life.

The renaissance of Šūfism in Iran, which had started in the late 12th/18th century, had continued during the Kādjār period in spite of the often violent opposition of the *mudjtahids*. During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1250/1834-1264/1848), it even received official backing as the shah had become an adept of Šūfism under the influence of his vizier Ḥādīdīl Mirzā Ākāsi. Up to the present time the *ṭarīqas* have been able to hold their ground and even to expand the number of their adherents, which are to be found almost exclusively among the urban population. They have also displayed a considerable literary activity. Modern Shi'ī Šūfism in Iran chiefly consists of three big orders: 1. The *Dhahabiyya*, which is a recent appellation of that branch of the Kubrawiyya that separated itself from the main body at the time of the appearance of a Mahdī of Nūrbakḥs in the 9th/15th century. It was also called *Dhahabiyya-i ighṭishāshīyya*, the "*Dhahabiyya* of the rebels". The modern revival dates from the middle of the 19th century and is due to the activities of the *kuṭb* Ḥadrat-i Rāz (d. 1286/1869-70). His descendants, the *Sharīfis*, are still at the head of a smaller branch of this *ṭarīqa*, whereas the majority follows the tradition of Wahīd al-awliyā' (d. 1374/1954). Both sections of the *Dhahabiyya* have their centre at Shirāz. 2. The Ni'mat Allāhiyya have since the middle of the 19th century been divided into three independent groups which each have a separate chain of *kuṭbs*. The most numerous and influential branch is the Gunābādiyya, named after the *Khurāsānī* town of Gunābād near which the spiritual leadership has its residence. It has many followers among the higher classes. The other branches are the line of *Dhu'l-riyāsātayn*, starting with Munawwar 'Alī Shāh

(d. 1301/1884), and that of Šafi 'Ali Šhāh (d. 1342/1924). The majority of the latter's adherents have, after his death, abolished the principle of guidance by one single *kuḏb* and have replaced this by the form of a brotherhood (*ukhuwwa*) with a collective leadership. 3. The *Khāksār darwīshes*, who recruit their following chiefly from the lower classes, continue the traditions connected with the mystical life of the ancient Malāmatis and *Qalandar darwīshes*. They have no reliable tradition about their origins. They regard as their founder a *Shaykh* Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Haydar who may be identical with *Shaykh* Djalāl al-Dīn of Bukhārā (d. 690/1291). This would mean that they go back to the Djalālīya branch of the Suhrawardī order. In recent times the *Khāksār*s have abandoned the way of life of wandering *darwīshes* and have adopted almost completely that of the other Šufī orders of Irān. The *fakr-i 'adjam*, an organization of artisans of the *futuwwa* type, is closely related to the *Khāksār* order. Among the Sunni population of Kurdistan, the *Qādiriyya* and the *Nakshbandiyya* are still of some importance. (See further R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Erster Teil: Die Affiliationen*, Abh. K.M., xxxvi, 1, Wiesbaden 1965).

The Iranian Constitution of 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law of 1907 confirmed the privileged position of *Ithnā-'ashari* Shi'ism as the religion of the state. The *mudītahids* acquired a right of veto on legislation as far as any proposals violating the prescriptions of Islamic law were concerned. [See further *DUSTŪR*, iv. - IRAN]. The policy of modernization pursued by the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, Rezā Šhāh (1924-1941), greatly affected the religious life of the country. Although he had yielded to the opposition of the 'ulamā' against the establishment in Iran of a republic modelled on the modern Turkish state, Rezā Šhāh embarked on a vigorous programme of secularization in education, and civil and penal law which to a large extent reduced the clerical predominance in public life. The political power granted to the 'ulamā' under the Constitution was suspended. Regulations regarding the celebration of religious festivals, the emancipation of women and the use of European dress very much changed the outer appearance of the Islamic society of Iran. The introduction of the Djalālī [q.v.] era, a solar hijrī calendar based on pre-Islamic traditions, is only one example of the vivid interest in ancient Iranian civilization which constitutes an essential element of modern nationalism. Although the impact of these developments on the attitude towards Islam among the educated was very considerable, its effects on the broad masses were still only superficial. After the abdication of Rezā Šhāh in 1941, many of the old religious sentiments and customs were revived. Political groups based on a reaction against secularization and foreign influence took part in the turbulent political life of the early post-war years. The most prominent of these organizations were the *fidā'iyyān-i islām* [q.v.], led by Nawāb-i Šafawī, and the *mudjāhidīn-i islām* of Āyat Allāh Abu 'l-Kāsim Kāshānī [q.v.]. The publication of religious literature was also revived (cf. Y. Armajani, *Islamic Literature in post-war Iran*, in *The World of Islam. Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti*, ed. by J. Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder, London 1959, 271-82).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the references in the text of this article only a few works of general character can be mentioned here. For more detailed bibliographies see the individual

articles relating to each of the manifold aspects of Iranian Islam.

A. de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859; idem, *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1865; T. W. Arnold, *The preaching of Islam*, London 1896, 206 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia, passim*; S. M. Iqbal, *The development of metaphysics in Persia*, London 1908; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion. A history of Islam in Persia and Iraq*, London 1933; L. Massignon, *Sālman Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938; B. Spuler, *Der Verlauf der Islamisierung Persiens*, in *Isl.*, xxix (1950) x, 63-76; idem, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 133-224; idem, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 167-249; G. M. Wickens, *Religion*, in *The legacy of Persia*, Oxford 1953, 148-73; Dh. Šafā, *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Irān*, i, ii and iii/1, Tehran 1332-41 sh., *passim*; V. Minorsky, *Iran: opposition, martyrdom and revolt*, in *Unity and variety in Muslim civilization*, Chicago 1955, 183-201; idem, *Iran Islamico*, in *Civiltà Orientali*, Rome 1956, 461-513; A. K. S. Lambton, *Quis custodiet Custodes: Some reflections on the Persian theory of government*, in *Stud. Isl.*, v (1956), 125-48; vi (1956), 125-46; eadem, *A reconsideration of the position of the Marja' al-taqlīd and the religious institution*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xx (1964), 115-35; A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa da Zaratustra a Bahā'u'llāh*, Milan 1959; idem, *Religion in the Saljuq period*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 1968, 283-302; idem, *Religion under the Mongols*, *ibid.*, 538-49; Scarcia, *Iran ed eresia musulmana nel pensiero del Corbin*. (*Spunti di una polemica sul metodo*), in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xxix (1958), 113-27; H. Corbin, *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection*, Paris 1960; B. J. Spooner, *The function of religion in Persian society*, in *Iran*, i (1963), 83-97; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Ithnā 'Ashari Shi'ism and Iranian Islam*, in *Religions of the Middle East*, Cambridge 1969, ii, 96-118; *Le shi'isme imāmīte*, Paris 1970 (with contributions by W. Madelung, H. Corbin, R. Gramlich, Y. Linant de Bellefonds, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, J. Aubin, A. K. S. Lambton, H. Massé and E. Cerulli on subjects directly related to Iranian Shi'ism); Nikki R. Keddie, *Religion and irreligion in early Iranian nationalism*, in *Comparative studies in History and Society*, iv (1962), 265-95; eadem, *The roots of the Ulama's power in modern Iran*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxix (1969), 31-53; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906: the role of the Ulama in the Qajar period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969; H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien, aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, i, *Le Shiisme duodécimain*, ii, *Sohrawardī et les Platoniciens de Perse*, Paris 1971; A. Gabriel, *Religionsgeographie von Persien*, Vienna 1971.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

#### vii.—LITERATURE

As the literature of Iran in its widest sense can not be surveyed in this article, a preliminary definition of its contents is necessary. Essentially, the article is restricted to Persian literature, by which we will understand the poetry and belletristic prose works composed in the New Persian literary language in as far as they have been produced by the Muslim population of Iran from the 3rd/9th century onwards. After a treatment of the origins of this literary tradition and of some of its main characteristics, a historical survey will be given encompassing both the

literary works of the past and of the present. This definition excludes the literatures of pre-Islamic times, the writings of the non-Muslim communities (e.g. Judaeo-Persian literature [q.v.]), the learned prose works, the literatures of other New Iranian languages and folk-literature. The cultivation of Persian letters outside the boundaries of present-day Iran is taken into consideration only as far as and as long as it has been directly connected with the literary life of *l'Iran intérieur*. Some references to general works about most of these excluded branches of Iranian literary activity have, however, been entered into the Bibliography.

#### I. General Aspects.

##### a. *The origins of Persian literature.*

About the beginnings of Persian poetry, several different traditions have been handed down. According to one of them, the first Persian poem was composed by the Sasanian king Bahrām V Gūr (421-439 A.D.). This initiative remained fruitless, it is said, on account of the opposition by the Zoroastrian clergy who regarded all forms of poetic speech as being based on falsehood and as a dangerous tool in the hands of heretics. Whatever the historical value of this story might be, it is at any rate significant in as far as it perfectly illustrates the literary conditions in pre-Islamic Iran during the last few centuries preceding the Arab conquest. The fact that the same monarch is credited with Arabic poems as well, moreover, points to the complex origin of Persian literature: on the one hand, from patterns of linguistic art as they are known to have existed in pre-Islamic Iranian culture; on the other, from Arabic literature as it had developed during the first two centuries of Islam out of the Bedouin poetry of the *Djāhiliyya*. The traditional literary critics of the Middle Ages, like 'Awfi [q.v.] and *Shams-i Kays* [q.v.], have denied this double ancestry. To them, Persian poetry was entirely a product of Islamic culture. Its formal and thematic conventions were either taken over from Arabic poetry or newly invented by the first Persian poets. An important role as a creator of new forms in assigned to Rūdākī [q.v.]. The information concerning literary activity in Sasanian times that was available to these mediaeval critics was not accepted as evidence of the existence of a pre-Islamic poetry in Iran but was interpreted as referring only to a kind of rhymed prose set to music, not to be confused with serious literature.

Modern scholarship has established beyond doubt that Iran did have an independent literary tradition from ancient times onwards. This included poetry with a set of prosodic and metrical rules of its own, the historical development of which can be traced up to a certain extent. The oldest documents of Iranian literature, the *Gathas*, have been found to be partly poetical texts with an arrangement into stanzas of different length and with a metrical system based on the number of syllables. Within this system at least five variants are known. This prosody is quite similar to that of the Vedic texts. Poetical fragments have also been discovered in the younger parts of the Avesta. A new metrical principle seems to be involved in these last texts, viz. the fixed number of accents. Most of the Middle Iranian languages were also used for writing poetry. The Manichaean hymns in Parthian and Middle Persian that have been found among the Turfan-manuscripts are partly translations from Syrian models, partly original compositions. Many of them are acrostic poems based on the order of the Semitic alphabet. In some of these hymns there are evocations of nature at the time of spring which are

very much reminiscent of later Persian lyrical poetry. In the so-called Book-Pahlavi literature a number of texts have been shown to be original poems disguised by later Zoroastrian traditions as prose works. They represent different strains of Middle Iranian literary culture: the *Ayyātkār* (or *Yādgar*)-i *Zarērān* belongs to the national epic (cf. E. Benveniste, *JA*, ccxiv (1932), 245-93), the allegorical tenzone *Drakht-i Asūrig* to the literature of wisdom (cf. idem, *JA* ccxvii (1930), 193-225). In both cases, linguistic evidence points to a Parthian origin. There are also remnants of religious poetry like the hymn on Zurvān discovered by H. S. Nyberg in the *Bundahishn* (*JA*, ccix (1929), 214-5) and a number of other Zoroastrian poems of a didactical or visionary nature (cf. E. Benveniste, *RHR*, cvi (1932), 337-80; J. C. Tavadia, *Indo-Iranian Studies*, i (1950), 86-95; idem, *JRAS* (1955), 29-36; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 641-8). The metrics of Middle Persian verse presents considerable difficulties as a result of the corrupted state of the available material. According to W. B. Henning (*l.c.*), the predominant principle is not syllabic but accentual; there are also unmistakable traces of rhyme, although this was not used with great consistency, while the dating of the known specimens is still uncertain. Imitation of Persian models is, therefore, not excluded. In addition to these specimens of poetry, some examples of *belles-lettres* in prose have been preserved as well. Furthermore, a number of Pahlavi works have survived in Arabic translations or at least in the New Persian versions based on the latter. Extremely popular were the collections of Indian stories such as the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q.v.], *Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* [q.v.] and the book of Sindbād [q.v.]. They had been introduced in Iran during the later Sasanian period. Their preservation is due to the translators of the 2nd/8th century among whom Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q.v.] is the most prominent. References to a fairly extensive novelistic literature in Middle Persian are to be found in Arabic sources of which the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm should be mentioned in particular. Nearly all of this literature has disappeared in Islamic times but not without leaving behind numerous traces both in Arabic and Persian literature. In this way, most of its subject-matter has in fact been incorporated into Islamic culture. This process of assimilation took place at such an early date that this ancient Iranian lore could play an important role in shaping the typical Islamic civilization of the Middle Ages. Instances of this cultural influence are: the legendary or semi-historical tales about the Iranian kings which through the late Sasanian codification in the *Khvatāy-nāmak* not only reached its definite form in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [q.v.] but also became a part of Islamic world-history; the gnomic literature of the *andarz* surviving in numerous didactical works in poetry and prose, more specifically in collections of maxims like the one put to the name of the vizier Buzurgmīhr [q.v.]; finally, a number of romantic themes both with and without a historical background, a famous example of which is the Parthian romance of *Wis u Rāmin* adapted from a Pahlavi model by Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī [see GURGĀNĪ]. The Arabic sources also tell us something about the activities of court minstrels and musicians at the time of the last Sasanian kings. The names of some of these artists like Barbād, Sarkash and Nigīsa remained famous far into Islamic times and we know a few titles of their songs.

From this and similar materials it has been possible to reconstruct a long tradition of minstrel poetry going back to Parthian times and perhaps even

earlier. As a form of oral literature closely connected with the art of music, it continued to flourish up to the time of the Arab conquest. Even after that event it did not vanish completely but left its influence on the popular poetry of Iran as well as on the practice of the Persian poets of the classical tradition. The minstrel tradition was clearly distinct from the written literature that was mainly cultivated by the class of professional scribes who monopolized the difficult writing system of Pahlavi. The Zoroastrian clergy, whose bias against poetry is exemplified by the anecdote about Bahrām Gūr cited above, adhered for a very long time to an oral tradition of the religious texts (see further Mary Boyce, *The Parthian gōsān and Iranian minstrel tradition*, *JRAS* (1957), 10-45).

Several modern scholars have tried to correct the traditional view of the origins of Persian poetry by making use of this new evidence for the existence of a pre-Islamic poetry in Iran. Special attention has been given to the possible connections between the quantitative metrics of classical poetry, described by the theoreticians of the Islamic period in terms of the Arabic system of al-*Ḳhalil* [see 'ARŪḌ], and older indigenous metrical patterns. According to some, the later prosody is nothing but an adaptation of earlier syllabic or accentuated metres. Although this conclusion seems too rash in view of the limitations and uncertainties of our knowledge of Middle Iranian prosody, there are on the other hand a few indications that make a more complex origin of the New Persian metres at least plausible. One could point, e.g., to the great differences in the frequency of certain metres or metrical variants between Arabic and Persian poetry, and to the fact that some of the most popular metres, at least as far as the Persian *mathnawīs* are concerned, seem to fit into an eleven-syllable scheme that could very well be related to an older autochthonous metre (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 132 f. with further references). On the evidence of two late Middle Persian or early New Persian poetical fragments Chr. Rempis has tried to establish an Iranian lineage for two forms of Persian poetry. In a hymn on the firetemple of Karkōy, preserved in the local history *Ta'riḵh-i Sīstān*, he recognized a stanza of a strophic poem comparable to the later *tarāji* 'band' or *mukhammas*; in the ceremonial address of the *mōbadhān mōbadh* to the King of Kings at the New Year festival, transmitted in the *Nawrūs-nāma*, a work ascribed to 'Umar-i *Ḳhayyām*, a specimen of the double rhymed *mathnawī* in Pahlavi (*ZDMG*, ci (1951), 233 ff.).

No matter how great a continuity can be reconstructed in Iranian literature, the fact remains that the minstrel poetry dissolved as a self-conscious artistic tradition after the coming of Islam, together with many other elements of ancient Iranian culture. Since the time of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.] Arabic had replaced Pahlavi and Greek in the chancelleries of the Muslim empire. The religious minorities continued to have literary languages of their own. In Iran the Zoroastrian clergy continued to cultivate the archaic Pahlavi whereas the Jews started at a very early date to write in a form of Persian that was close to the actual speech of those days. Within the Muslim community, however, Arabic dominated all literary activity during the first few centuries of Islam. At a very early date the Iranian *mawālī* appear to have taken an active part in Arabic poetry. A few names are even known from Umayyad times: Abū Ziyād b. Salmā (d. after 100/718) used Persian words in Arabic lines; Ism'īl b. Yasar, of Ādharbāyjdānian extraction, dared to

sing the praise of the Persians in front of the caliph Hishām (cf. V. A. Eberman, *Persi sredi arabskikh poetov epokhi Omeyyadov*, in *Zapiski kollegii vosto-kovedov Akad. Nauk*, Leningrad, ii (1927), 113-53; *GAL*, I, 60 ff. and S I, 92 ff.; Dh. Šafā, *Ta'riḵh*, I<sup>4</sup>, 190-4). The hazardous action of this last poet, which nearly costed him his life, can be regarded as an early instance of the *Šu'ūbiyya* [q.v.], the struggle for equality of Arabs and non-Arabs—in particular the Iranian *mawālī*—that in the early 'Abbāsīd period was fought out on the field of literary culture (*adab*). It should be pointed out that the question of the use of the vernacular in literature did not enter at all into this controversy. It is a wellknown fact that several of the great poets of Baghdād who created the new style of Arabic poetry during the 2nd/8th century were of Iranian descent. The oldest of these was Bashshār b. Burd [q.v.]. Abū Nuwās [q.v.] actually used Persian words and expressions in some of his poems (cf. M. Minowī, *Madjalla-i Dānīshkada-i Adabiyāt, Dānīshgāh-i Tihṛān*, i, 3 (1333 sh.), 62-77). It is likely, though difficult to assess in detail, that the emergence of new trends in the poetry of the multiracial urban society of 'Irāk during this period owed much to Iranian influences. More evident is this impact in Arabic prose literature as well as in such a short-lived phenomenon as the adaptation of Middle Persian prose works in epic *radjāz* or *muzdawīdī*-verses as practised by Abān b. 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Lāhīql [q.v.]. Arabic poetry was also cultivated with great intensity in the great cities of *Ḳhūrāsān* and Transoxania. A rich documentation about the poets in the Iranian provinces who wrote in Arabic from the 4th/10th century onwards has been brought together by al-Tha'ālībī [q.v.] in the 3rd and 4th volumes of his anthology *Yatīmat al-dāhr* and its numerous supplements, like the author's own *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* (ed. by 'Abbās Iqbal, Tehran 1313 sh.), the *Dumyat al-kaṣr* by al-Bāḳharzī [q.v.], the *Zīnat al-dāhr* by Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'd b. 'Alī al-Ḳarīrī (d. 518/1172), and the *Ḳharīdat al-kaṣr* by 'Imād al-Dīn al-*Kātib al-Isfahānī* (d. 597/1201; for the subsequent centuries see *GAL*, I, 251-4; S I, 445-9; II, 245; S II, 255-7). Arabic coexisted for a considerable time with Persian as an idiom for poetry. This is expressed in the honorific *ḏhu 'l-lisā-nayn*, "master of the two tongues", bestowed on some poets.

The very first signs of the use of the vernacular in poetry are a few scattered pieces that have come to light from a number of different Arabic sources as well as from the Persian *Ta'riḵh-i Sīstān*. Dating from the first two centuries A.H., they do not yet follow the quantitative metrics of later times, but on the other hand they do have rhyme in some sort. They can be regarded as late examples of the old minstrel poetry, or, rather, as specimens of popular literature from the time when Arabic poetry still reigned unrivalled among the educated classes. Often quoted and much discussed by modern researchers are the satirical lines put into the mouth of Yazīd b. Mufarrīgh (cf. Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 9. f. with further references). Also satirical are the four lines of Balkh addressed to the governor of *Ḳhūrāsān*, Asad b. 'Abd Allāh, at the moment of his return after having been defeated in battle (*ibid.*, 10). See further on these fragments: Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*<sup>2</sup>, 91; M. Kazwīnī, *Bist Maḳāla*, i, Bombay 1928, 26-36; S. Ḥ. Taḳīzāda, *Hasāna-i Fīrdawī*, Tehran 1944, 46-9; Muh. Taḳī Bahār, *Mīhr*, v, 1316-7 sh., *passim* (reprinted as *Subḳshīnāsī*, iv/1 by 'Alī-ḳulī Mah-

mūdt Bakhtyārī, n.p. 1342 sh.); Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'riḫh*, i, 147-51. The distich attributed to Abū Ḥafṣ Sughdī might very well be a citation from his lexicon (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, i, Tehran-Paris 1964, 10 f.). A more serious claim to precedence as the author of a Persian poem composed according to the rules of Arabic prosody can be held by 'Abbās or Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Marwazī, who is named by 'Awfi (*Lubāb*, i, 21) as the author of a *ḥaṣīda* in honour of the caliph al-Ma'mūn composed at the occasion of the latter's arrival in Marw in the year 193/809. This account is rejected by most modern scholars, mainly on stylistic grounds. The lines quoted by 'Awfi show a dexterity of poetical diction that suggests a much later time of origin (cf. G. Lazard, *l.c.*, 12 and the references there; for contrary opinions see Chr. Rempis, *l.c.*, 221 and J. Rypka, *History*, 135).

Whether this notice of 'Awfi is to be accepted as historical or not, the rise of Persian poetry appears to us essentially as one aspect of a larger development of political and cultural emancipation in the Iranian provinces of the caliphate. It has often been styled an "Iranian renaissance" though it should be understood that this may not be interpreted as a return to pre-Islamic culture. As the final outcome of that process of Iranization which was facilitated by the 'Abbāsīd revolution, it really meant the acceptance of the Iranian element as an integrated part of the Islamic commonwealth and its civilization. In politics, this found its expression in the short intermezzo of *de facto* independent rule of Iranian dynasties between the periods of Arab and Turkish domination; in the domain of culture, in the elevation of Persian to the rank of a literary language. In its oldest form it was known as *dari* [q.v.], originally a south-western dialect which since the later Sasanian period had spread over the whole area where Iranian languages were spoken [see further IRAN. LANGUAGES]. The eastern parts of Iran took the lead in the use of the vernacular in writing. In the west and the south, Arabic retained its supremacy even under the rule of the Daylamite Būyids.

From the time of the Ṭāhirids, only a few names of Persian poets are known to us and next to nothing of their work has been preserved, although it is recorded that at least one of them, Ḥanzāla of Bādghīs, had his poems collected into a *diwān*. Thanks to the data transmitted by the *Ta'riḫh-i Sīstān* we are somewhat better informed about the poetry at the court of the Ṣaffārīds. This source contains a detailed account of the birth of Persian poetry which presents a convincing picture of the way it actually happened, even if similar occurrences can easily be imagined to have taken place in the entourage of other local rulers as well. The notice has the form of an anecdote situated at the court of Ya'qūb b. Layḥ when he was being hailed by the poets after the capture of Harāt and the victory over the *Khārijītes*. As the amir expressed his annoyance on account of the fact that he could not understand anything of these Arabic panegyrics, one of his secretaries, by the name of Muḥammad-i Waṣīf, started to compose poetry in Persian. "And he made the first Persian poetry addressed to Iranians. Before him, no one had done such a thing for, as long as they were *pārsīs* (i.e. before they became Muslims, both in a religious and in a cultural sense), lyrics used to be sung to them at the sound of the lute (*rūd*) in the *khusrawānī* manner. When the Iranians were defeated and the Arabs came, poetry among them was in Arabic and they all had knowledge and understanding of it. No one amongst

the Iranians rose to such a greatness that they would sing poems to him, before the time of Ya'qūb. The only exception was Hamza b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣhārī, but he was a learned man and knew Arabic." (ed. Muḥ. Taḳī Bahār, Tehran 1314 sh., 210). The expression *bar farīḫ-i khusrawānī* in this passage corresponds to the terms *surūd* or *nawā-i khusrawānī* as they occur in the descriptions of the minstrel and his art at the Sasanian court in other sources. Scattered pieces of a few other poets of the Ṣaffārīd period have also been preserved but this material is too limited to give us more than a vague idea of the poetry of this time. The poets made use of Arabic prosody though the lack of technical perfection they display characterizes them as first trials at handling a new linguistic medium of literary expression. The real history of Persian literature only began with the next period, the time of the Sāmānīds of Transoxania.

#### b. General traits of the Persian literary tradition.

Already from the earliest phase of its history Persian literature presents itself as a clearly defined tradition that guides as well as limits the artist in his creative work. Within this traditional pattern there are not only strict rules for prosody but also stringent prescriptions with regard to the choice of themes, images and metaphors. In spite of the dramatic developments that occurred in the course of time in Iranian society, its artistic traditions displayed a remarkable resistance to fundamental changes, at least until the overwhelming influence of Western civilization made itself felt with all its force in the present century. In the preceding section we have referred to some of the elements out of which this tradition has been built up. Ancient Iranian literature may have played a much greater role than has been thought before. Undoubtedly there have also been indirect influences from Indian and from Hellenistic culture. As a typical product of mediaeval Islamic culture Persian literature was syncretistic. It was able to absorb these heterogeneous elements and give them a place in a new harmonious unity. This adaptability can also be observed in other forms of Persian art. The mould in which this literary tradition was cast was, however, Arabic literature. In the 3rd/9th century the latter had already gone through the most dynamic stages of its history. It had developed a formal and conceptual idiosyncrasy that would determine the literary activity of the Arabs for many centuries to come [see further 'ARABIYYA. B. ARABIC LITERATURE, especially the sections i and ii]. This determined also to a large extent the Persian tradition. The work of the early Persian poets was in particular influenced by the "new poetry" of the early 'Abbāsīd period, although some Persian poets still tried their hands at imitations of the old Bedouin *ḥaṣīda* and its repertoire (e.g. Manūčīhrī, Mu'izzī). The poets of the Ḥamdānīd school equally should be mentioned in this respect. In particular al-Mutanabbī was very much admired in Iran. The nature poetry of al-Ṣanawbarī [q.v.] and the genre of the prison ballad of Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī [q.v.] also provided models for the Persian poets (cf. U. M. Daudpota, *The influence of Arabic poetry on the development of Persian poetry*, Bombay 1934; Viktūr al-Kik, *Ta'ḥīr-i farhang-i 'Arab dar ash'ār-i Manūčīhrī-i Dāmghānī*, Beirut 1971).

The faithfulness of the artist to the established patterns was greatly favoured by the methods of training recommended to the beginner. He was advised to learn the craft by memorizing large quantities of verse from the works of the great masters of the

preceding generations. In addition to this he was urged to become a scholar since learning was considered to be a great asset in poetry. Finally he should study the different branches of literary theory and criticism. The censure of the critics, either the professionals in their learned works on *naḥd-i shi'r* or the educated public in its informal reactions, will have done its share to contain any attempt to go too far beyond the accepted bounds of tradition.

A similar restraint was put on the poet by his social status. Until the end of the 19th century most Persian poets were in some way or the other dependent on patronage. Literary life was mainly centred at the courts of greater or smaller monarchs. If the position of the poet as a craftsman was economically based on the favours of the princely maecenas, he was at the same time indispensable to the court. His task was not confined to entertaining but included also the advertizing of the virtues and exploits of the ruler. From the eagerness with which poets were attracted to the courts it can be concluded that this form of political propaganda was regarded as effective. Apart from the sultans, the amirs and the atabegs, the poets sang the praise of lower members of the ruling class as well: viziers, generals or prominent jurists and theologians. From the 5th/12th century onwards the patronage was also assumed by the urban aristocracy. The persistence of this relationship between poet and maecenas (*mamdūh*) is illustrated by the continuous use of titles like *amir* or *malik al-shu'arā'* (poet laureate) from the times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna ('Unṣuri) to the last days of the Kādjārs (Bahār). A counterpart to the panegyric function of poetry was formed by satire [see HJDĪĀ, ii]. If poetry had the power to enlarge the prestige of a patron it could equally well serve to damage a reputation. This weapon might be used against the enemies of the patron or of the poet himself, but it could also be wielded against the former when he disappointed the poet's expectations. This social function of Persian court poetry certainly did not hinder its reaching at times a high degree of artistic perfection. Sometimes the symbiosis of political power and literary talent may even have stimulated the endeavours towards an ever more refined use of the poetical means. The effectiveness of a literary work as a medium for social and political publicity depended to a large degree on its artistic value. (Several authors have left explicit statements of the opinions concerning the poet and the function of his profession in society prevailing in their times, e.g.: Nizāmi-i 'Arūḍi, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. M. Kazwini-M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1955-7, text, 42 ff.; tr. by E. G. Browne, JRAS (1899), 661 ff.; Kay-Kā'ūs, *Kābūs-nāma*, ed. Ghulām-Husayn Yūsufi, Tehran 1345/1967, 198-92; Shams-i Kays, *al-Mu'djam fi ma'āyir ash'ār al-'adjam*, *khātima*, ed. M. Kazwini, Leiden-London 1909, 415 ff.; ed. M. Raḳawī, Tehran 1338 sh., 445 ff.; see also Naṣr Allāh Falsafi, *Zindagāni-i shā'irān-i darbārī*, in *Čand maḳāla-i ta'riḳhi wa-adabi*, Tehran 1342 sh., 327-51).

Next to its other functions literature has in Iran always served as a medium for instruction and edification. Didactical works were among the first manifestations of Persian literature. Even the heroic epic, as we know it from the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi and the works of his imitators, is full of moralising asides. Religious themes also appear at a very early date. At first they consisted of ascetic warnings (*ma-wā'iz*) which had their parallels already in Arabic literature in the *suhdiyyāt* of poets like Abū Nuwās

and Abū 'l-'Atāhiya [q.v.]. Gradually ecstatic mysticism found a way of expression in most forms of literature whether poetry or prose. This conquest by Šūfism is by far the most decisive development that took place in the history of Persian literature. Some poetical forms became almost completely absorbed by it. The line of development A. Bausani has sketched for the Persian *ghazal* [q.v.]—from the address to the *mamdūh* through an identification with the *ma'shūkh*, the beloved as the object of an erotic poem, to the *ma'būd*, the transcendental Beloved—can very well serve to characterize this whole process of transformation. The attitude of absolute loyalty towards the maecenas which had to be expressed by the panegyric poet was already in the early court poetry often associated with the total submission of the lover to his beloved as a metaphorical device. For a mystical application of this poetry with all its conventions this fundamental attitude did not need, therefore, to be changed. All that was necessary was a new interpretation of the symbols used. One of the results of this was a great amount of ambiguity in Persian poems. It is by no means always clear whether a poem is addressed to a venerated person in this world or in a transcendental sphere. This ambiguity constitutes one of the greatest problems of the interpretation of the work of a poet like Ḥāfiẓ, who seems to fuse the panegyric, the erotic and the mystical intention into one. This case may not be as unique as it is sometimes presented. Although some of the Šūfi poets certainly did withdraw from all attachments to this world in actual life and projected their poetically phrased veneration exclusively to the mystical object, or perhaps to the person of their spiritual leader (*pir*), it is undeniable that mystical ecstasy did turn out to be not always incompatible with the relationship to an earthly maecenas. In the course of time the flavour of Šūfism to such an extent permeated lyrical poetry that its absence was felt as an aesthetic defect (cf. the remark of Shibli Nu'māni, cited by J. Rypka, *History*, 233).

Another characteristic that made Persian verse a pliable medium for the expression of mystical ideas was its idealism. Quite often, and not least by modern Iranian critics, the early poetry in the so-called *Khurāsāni*-style is qualified as realistic. This misunderstanding arises from the fact that the poet seems to speak about things in the outer world whereas in fact he evokes a poetical world in which the objects of his description possess an ideal and immutable form. His vernal garden is more akin to paradise than to any specific garden on earth, his idolized beauty is more like a *hūrī* than like any particular human being. Even when he speaks about topical events such as a military campaign, a hunting-party or a festival he does not depict them as concrete events, but treats them on an abstract level. In the same way his often very detailed attention for natural phenomena does not concern the things themselves but rather the metaphorical possibilities they offer him as symbols. Together they form a fixed stock of images that tend to acquire stereotyped symbolic values. A great number of these have been accepted as tropic expressions in the ordinary use of the language, e.g. narcissus (*nargis*) for the eye, ruby (*la'li*) for lips, cypress (*sarw*) for slim stature.

The originality of an artist can only be evaluated within the framework of the artistic tradition which defines the boundaries of his work. In the case of Persian lyricism with its pronounced classicism this means that creative invention can only be applied on

the smallest elements of the poem, *i.e.* the individual lines (*bayts*) and the images and metaphors on which they are based. The poets vie with each other in formal perfection and refinement of expression, not in novelty of ideas. Sometimes this takes the form of citation (*taḍmīn*) which consists in incorporating a line of another poet into one's poem in order to be able to add an original line expressing the same idea in a still subtler way. This preoccupation with the single line of poetry has resulted in a remarkable loose structure, in particular of the *ghazal*. Recent research on the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] has for a great deal been concentrated on attempts to ascertain the structural principle of these poems which is thought to be of an associative character.

### c. *Forms and themes.*

The most obvious mark of its ties to Arabic literature is the prosodic system that governs classical Persian poetry. At least theoretically all poetical forms, whatever their origin, have been defined in terms of the flexible system of 'arūd [*q.v.*] as formulated by al-Khāllī. Both quantitative metres and, to a lesser extent, the use of rhyme were novelties to Iranian literature. Differences in linguistic structure between the two languages presented the first Persian poets with many difficulties as can be noticed in the technical deficiencies (from the point of view of scholastic theory) in their works (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin-Leipzig 1920, 95 ff.; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes*, I, 45 f.; M. Dj. Mahdjūb, *Sabk-i khurāsāni dar shi'r-i fārsi*, Tehran 1345/1967, 35, 40 ff.). Before long a strict observance of the rules became imperative for the professional poet. It came also to play an important role in indigenous criticism. In practice there exist many differences between Arabic and Persian prosody. Apart from the striking diversity in the use of certain metres referred to already there is also a contrast in the manner in which the metres are applied within the bounds of a single poem. Whereas Arabic poetry permits of a wide range of variants to be chosen as derivative forms (*azāhīf*, 'ilāl) from the ideal metrical patterns (*buhūr*), the Persian poets restrict themselves to one fixed (usually a derivative) form with only small room for alternatives (in most cases the substitution of two short syllables for one long syllable or *vice versa*). The rules of scansion allow a limited number of anceps syllables—the enclitic denoting the *idāfa*, the conjunction *u*, the words *tu* and *du* and the ending *-a*—and leave it to the poet to decide whether he wants to treat a vowel at the beginning of a word independently or whether he connects it with a preceding consonant. The enclitic forms of the singular personal pronouns can be treated as open short syllables. The most characteristic trait of Persian scansion is, however, the extended long syllable. This feature is disregarded in the contemporary practice of reciting poetry. A peculiarity of Persian rhyme is the *radīf*, *i.e.*, the adjunction of a word or a short phrase to the rhyming sound (*ḥāfiya*) and its repetition throughout the poem. It is very frequently used in *ghazals*. [See further 'ARŪP, II].

The forms of poetry can be divided into two groups, the lyrical and the epic forms. The first group is characterized by patterns of rhyme that can all, again in theory, be reduced to the monorhyme pattern of the *ḥaṣīda*: aa, ba, ca, etc. The second consists only of one form: the *mathnawī* in which each distich has a different internal rhyme (aa, bb, cc, etc.). In other respects as well, the *ḥaṣīda* [*q.v.*] can be regarded as a basic form. It is the most unquestionable piece

of the Arabic legacy. True to its origin it is first and foremost a medium for panegyric poetry and therefore closely connected with the social role of many Persian poets. The *ḥaṣīda* usually consists of three parts: the prologue (*nasīb*, *tashībīb*), the actual panegyric (*madīh*) and the concluding appeal to the generosity of the patron (*du'ā'*). The literary convention required that the poet should give special attention to the embellishment of the opening (*maḥṭa'*) and concluding lines (*maḥṭa'*) of the poem as well as of the passage where he turns from the prologue to the panegyric (*gurūzgāh*, *makhḥās*, *takhḥallūs*). The most interesting part is undoubtedly the prologue. A great variety of topics can be used as themes. The choice is often decided by the topical occasion of the poem. Descriptions of nature in spring or in autumn were current in odes to be recited at the *nawrūz* or the *mihragān* festivals. The fire festival (*djāshn-i sada*) at the end of winter called for descriptions of bonfires. Another famous theme was provided by wine and viniculture. The life of the court gave opportunities to chant the hunting parties or the campaigns of the patron or to describe the symbols of his royal status (*e.g.* the sword, the pen, the horse). A special branch of *ḥaṣīda* poetry was formed by the elegy (*marthiya*). A more personal note seems also to be struck in complaints about old age or about imprisonment as well as in the favourite subject of love (*taghazzul*). All of these are conventional themes which can be traced back to the tradition of Arabic poetry. Very soon the *ḥaṣīda* was equally used for the expression of secular moralism, religious topics and even mysticism. The most common form of the prologue was that of a description (*waṣf*), but sometimes other devices were applied as well, such as semantic riddles (*luḡz*, *ḥīst*), *tenzons* (*munāzara*) or plays of question and reply (*su'āl wa-djawāb*). Until the time of the Mongol invasion the *ḥaṣīda* was the most important lyrical form. It reached a height of rhetorical perfection in the hands of the poets of the Salḏjūk court (Mu'izzi, Anwarī) and in the school of Ādharbāyḏjān (Khāḥkānī). From the 7th/13th century till the classicist renaissance of the middle of the 12th/18th century it was relegated to the background, although the intervening period still produced some outstanding poets of the *ḥaṣīda* like Salmān-i Sāwādī [*q.v.*] and 'Urfl [*q.v.*]. At the time of the Ṣafawids the elegiac *ḥaṣīda* was used for religious poetry mourning the holy martyrs of the Shi'a. The decline of the *ḥaṣīda* in the Mongol period coincided with the full development of the *ghazal*. It succeeded as the principal form of lyrical poetry. The prosodic characteristics of the *ghazal* are identical with those of the prologue of a *ḥaṣīda*; it has approximately the same length and exactly the same pattern of rhyme. Although no specimens that can be attributed with certainty to Sāmānid and early Ghaznavid times (4th/10th-middle of the 5th/11th century) have survived, the occurrence of *ghazals* in a romantic *mathnawī*, *Warka u Gulshāh* by 'Ayyūki, proves that it was known already as a separate form during the latter period. At a later stage of its development the use of the poet's *nom de guerre* (*takhḥallūs*) in the *maḥṭa'* became an inseparable element of the *ghazal*. Some researchers have tried to relate the origin of this usage to the origin of the Persian *ghazal* itself, in particular in its function as a mystical poem (cf. *e.g.* E. E. Bertel's, *Istoriya*, 519; A. Ateş, *IA*, s.v. *gazel*). This view is incompatible with the evidence. Its use is from the earliest period onwards attested in the panegyric *ḥaṣīda*. In the *diwān* of Sanā'ī, one of the oldest poets who has left an extensive collection of



*ghazals*, the *takhalluṣ* occurs far more frequently in the *kaṣīda* than in the latter form. In addition to its use as a poem of profane and mystical love it could also serve as a subtle medium for panegyricism. [See further s.v. *GHAZAL*, ii]. Other lyric forms, far less frequently used, are the strophe-poems, *tarjīʿ-band* and *tarḥīb-band*, the multiple poem, *musammāt*, which most often consists of four (*murabbaʿ*), five (*mukhammas*) or six lines (*musaddas*), and the increment poem *mustazād*. [See also 'ARŪD, ii]. Most collections of poetry contain a series of fragmentary pieces (*kiṭʿa*, pl. *kiṭaʿāt* or *mukhaṣṣaʿāt*). They are classified as unfinished poems because of the omission of a regular *maṭlaʿ* with internal rhyme. They range from a half verse or a single line (*fard*) to a poem of the length of a *kaṣīda*. Very often these *mukhaṣṣaʿāt* are topical poems, such as elegies, chronograms (*taʿrīkh*) and satires.

The Persian quatrain (*rubāʿī* [q.v.], also named *du-baytī* or *tarāna*) is not only defined by the number of lines but also by its pattern of rhyme (aaba, less commonly aaaa) and by its metre, to be described as a series of variants of the ideal metre *ḥazāji* according to traditional theory. This is undoubtedly an artificial construction but the real origin of this form of short epigrammatic poems is still uncertain. Various themes can be chosen as a subject for the *rubāʿī*. At an early date they occur in the sermons and the biographies of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* and in mystical treatises. Best known to Western readers is the philosophical quatrain. Erotic and anacreontic themes were by no means incompatible with this form. It is also frequently used for topical poetry, for inscription on buildings, tombstones etc.

The possibilities offered by the much simpler rhyme of the *mathnawī* [q.v.] have been exploited to the full in Persian literature. A rich epic poetry has been based on it, comprising many works of great extent. The only rarely used *muzdawadj* [q.v.] of Arabic poetry can hardly be compared with it. Although the factual evidence pointing to an Iranian origin for the Persian *mathnawī* is very limited, the importance this form has had from the very beginning makes it at least likely that it continues some kind of older indigenous literary form. Three main groups can be distinguished in the Persian epic: (a) the heroic epic, based on ancient Iranian mythology, the legendary as well as the historical lives of the kings of Iran and other heroic cycles that became attached to this [see further *HAMĀSA*, ii]. (b) The romantic epic, elaborating in most cases famous stories about a pair of lovers whose names provide the title of the poem. These stories come from quite different origins. Some of them are episodes taken from the heroic epic (e.g. *Khusrāw* u *Shīrīn*), others go back to Iranian (e.g. *Wis* u *Rāmin*), Hellenistic (e.g. *Wāmiḡ* u *Adhrā*) and Arabic sources (e.g. *Laylā* u *Madīnūn*), or are derived from the *Kurʿān* (*Yūsuf* u *Zalīkhā*). Nearly all of them developed into literary models which were imitated by successive generations of poets. The poetical language of the romantic *mathnawī* is more rhetorical than that of the heroic epic. Lyrical intermezzi often interrupt the intrigue. There are always a few passages added with moralistic aphorisms. With the growing influence of mystical philosophy on literature, the romantic tales acquired an allegorical meaning. (c) The didactic *mathnawī* includes a diversity of works the main purpose of which is instruction of one kind or another. This can be the vulgarization of science, moral precepts of a secular nature or the exposition of philosophical, religious or mystical truth. The poems

of this category belong to epic literature in as far as they make use of narratives to typify the theoretical subject-matter. Frame-stories are also used to wrap the contents in an attractive epic form (cf. e.g. Rūdākī's *Kalīla* u *Dimna* and several of the mystical *mathnawīs* of 'Aṭṭār). In the great tradition of the so-called Ṣūfī *mathnawī* anecdotes became particularly important. In these last works stories can be found that were taken from the *Kurʿān*, from *Hadīth*, from the *kiṣāṣ al-anbiyāʿ* and the hagiography of Ṣūfī saints as well as from a great number of other sources. (Of some of the most important among these works the narrative elements have been analysed and related to their sources; cf. on Sanāʿī: M. Raḡawī, *Taʿlīkāt-i Ḥadīkāt al-ḥakīka*, Tehran 1344 sh.; on 'Aṭṭār: H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955; on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī: R. H. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī of Jalālud-dīn Rūmī*, vols. vii and viii (*Commentary*), London 1937-40; Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Maʿākhidh-i kiṣāṣ wa tamhīlāt-i Mathnawī*, Tehran 1333 sh.; idem, *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī-i Sharīf*, 3 vols., Tehran 1346-8 sh., left unfinished). A favourite allegorical technique is the *zabān-i ḥāl*, "the speech of state". This means that animals, things, or even metaphysical and legendary beings are introduced as speakers illustrating through a description of their own mode of existence the abstract ideas put forward by the author.

As metre and rhyme were, in the classical tradition, regarded as almost indispensable to a genuine literary composition, prose could only play a modest role in Persian literature. It had, moreover, to compete with the *mathnawī* in most narrative genres. Still, when considered from a more impartial point of view, a rich and varied literature of prose works of artistic value appears to exist. Anecdotes are also a favourite instrument of prose-writers even if their works are of an entirely utilitarian intent. It is, for that reason, not always possible to draw a clear line between artistic and non-artistic prose. A survey of different genres of story-telling in prose is given s.v. *ḤIKĀYA*, ii.

Conspicuous traits of the stylistic development of Persian prose are the interspersing of prose with poetical fragments and the increasing abundance of rhymed prose for which full advantage was taken of the possibilities offered by the vocabulary of Arabic. From the Mongol conquest onwards the tendency towards formal embellishment went to such extremes that meaning became almost completely subordinated to form. A trend to simplify the language of literary compositions started early in the 13th/19th century. For a detailed history of Persian prose style see M. T. Bahār, *Sabkshīnāsi, yā taʿrīkh-i taṭawwur-i naṭhr-i fārsī*, 3 vols. Tehran 1321 sh.

In the course of this survey there has been occasion to refer to several of the genres current in Persian literature, in particular in as far as they were connected with one of the poetical forms. In addition to this, some reference should be made to the genre of the *ḡalandariyyāt*, named after the *ḡalandar* [q.v.], a type of wandering *darwīsh* who practices in its extreme form the antinomian way of life of *malāmatiyya* [q.v.] mysticism. Poems of this genre can be quatrains (Bābā Ṭāhir, 'Aṭṭār) or may have a form intermediate between the *kaṣīda* and the *ghazal* (cf. esp. Sanāʿī). It seems to have absorbed the literary tradition of provocative identification of the poet with forms and symbols of non-Islamic religions (*kufriyyāt*) which is attested already in Arabic poetry of 'Abbāsīd times and in Persian poetry appears as early as Daḡīkl [q.v.]. The *ḡalandariyyāt* later on

merged with the mystical *ghazal* (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 487 ff.; idem, *Oriens*, xii (1959), 14 ff.). Another genre worth mentioning here is the *shahr-āshūb* or *shahr-angiz*, short poetical witticisms on young artisans, usually quatrains but also occurring as *kašidas*. In the latter case, they have been worked out to a satire on a whole town. Although themes of this kind can be found at quite an early date they really became popular only from the 10th/16th century onwards. The importance of the *shahr-āshūb* poems as documents of social conditions has been overrated (cf. A. Mirzoev, *Sayyido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadžikskoy literatury*, Stalirabad 1955, 143 f., cited by J. Rypka, *History* 297, 302 f. See also on this genre: M. Dī. Maḥdījūb, *Sabb-i Khurāsāni*, 677-99; A. Gulčīn-i maʿāni, *Shahr-āshūb dar shīʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346 sh.). There are also genres that are strictly bound to prosodic forms, e.g. the *Sākī-nāma*, a short *mathnawī* piece in the metre *mutakārib* on themes belonging to the topic of wine-drinking. The oldest specimens date from the 8th/14th century (Salmān-i Sāwadjī, *Hāfiz*). An anthology of works of this type was compiled by ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Kāzwinī in 1028/1619 (*Tadhkirā-i Maykhāna*, ed. by Gulčīn-i maʿāni, Tehran 1340 sh.).

The poetical language, its images and metaphors have only been explored to a limited extent so far. The nature themes in the early court poetry have been inventoried and analysed by C.-H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Inventaire et analyse des thèmes*, Paris 1969. Especial attention is given to the symbolism of the erotic-mystical *ghazal* in the chapter on *Motivi e forme della poesia persiana* of A. Bausani's *Storia*, 239-95; cf. idem, *Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 298-354; Manūčīhr Murtaḍawī, *Maktab-i Hāfiz yā muḥaddama bar Hāfiz-shināsī*, Tehran 1344 sh. The Zoroastrian background of many themes is examined by Muʿīn, *Mazdayasnā wa taʿthīr-i ān dar adabiyāt-i pārsī*, Tehran 1326 sh., 1338 sh.<sup>2</sup>. On various topics of lyrical poetry see further: A. Schimmel, *Die Bildersprache Dschelāladdīn Rūmī's*, Walldorf-Hessen 1950; eadem, *Schriftsymbolik im Islam, in Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift E. Kühnel*, Berlin 1957, 244-54; eadem, *Rose und Nachtigall, in Numen*, v/2 (1958), 85-109; E. Yarshater, *The theme of wine-drinking and the concept of the beloved in early-Persian poetry*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xiii (1960), 43-53. The fundamental study by H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Nizāmīs*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, deals in particular with the use of metaphor in Persian poetry. A new approach to the study of the language of poetry and literary prose makes use of the method of statistical wordcount: cf. R. Koppe, *Statistik und Semantik der arabischen Lehnwörter in der Sprache Alawī's*, in *Wissensch. Zeitschrift d. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, gesellsch. u. sprachwiss. Reihe*, ix (1959-60), 585-619; W. Skalmowski, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik der arab. Lehnwörter im neupersischen*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 171-5 (on Saʿdī and Hāfiz) and M. N. Osmanov, *Častotnyy slovar' Unsuri*, Moscow 1970. Some aspects of literary technique have been studied by G. Richter, *Persiens Mystiker Dschelāl-Eddīn Rūmī: eine Stildeutung*, Breslau 1933; W. Lentz, *Beobachtungen über den gedanklichen Aufbau einiger zeitgenössischer Prosastücke*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 166-208; idem, *Aḥfār als Allegoriker*, in *Isl.*, xxxv (1960), 52-96.

The rhetorical schemes played an important part in the style of Persian lyricism, especially in the art of the panegyric *kašīda*. Poems based on an intensified use of these figures were called *kašīda-i mušan-*

*naʿ*. A specimen of this is the poem designed by Kīwāmī of Gandja (6th-12th century) as a textbook on the subject (cf. Browne, ii, 47-76). An analysis of one of the masterpieces of poetical rhetoric has been given by J. Rypka, *Hāqānis Madāʿin-Qašīde rhetorisch beleuchtet*, in *AO*, xxvii (1959), 199-205. The exposition of the schemes by Persian theoreticians is derived from the Arabic works on *badiʿ* and *balāgha* [qq.v.]. The oldest extant work is the *Tarjūmān al-balāgha* by Muḥ. b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī (probably second half of the 5th/11th century; ed. with facsimile of the unique MS. by A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949). It was adapted about a century later by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt in his *Hadāʾik al-shīʿr*. The most authoritative work dealing with the disciplines of prosody as well is *al-Muʿdjam fi maʿāyir ashʿār al-ʿadjam* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kays al-Rāzī, *Shams-i Kays* for short (ed. by E. G. Browne and M. Kazwīnī, London 1909; ed. by Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1314 sh., 1338 sh.).<sup>3</sup> For a survey of works on the theory of literature see the introduction by M. Kazwīnī to the last-mentioned work and F. Tauer, in J. Rypka et al., *History*, 432 ff.

## II. Historical Survey.

### a. Periodization of Persian literary history.

Most histories of Persian literature derive the arrangement of their subject-matter largely from the divisions of dynastic history. This method is to a certain extent justified by the fact that royal courts have always been very important in the literary life of Iran. Schools of poetry can quite conveniently be identified and labelled by reference to the political centres on which they depended. Apart from the theoretical objections that can be brought forward against the exclusive use of a political frame of reference, one of the main practical disadvantages is that it cannot account for literary developments that intersect the boundary lines of political history. An arrangement based on a classification of forms and genres, as has been chosen for instance by H. Ethé and, more recently, by A. Bausani, can do more justice to the intrinsic history of literature as an autonomous artistic tradition. In the present survey, a broad historical scheme has been adopted which leaves sufficient room to trace out at least the most essential lines of the purely literary development. Within each historical section a secondary arrangement according to the main genres of literature (lyric poetry, epic poetry, prose) has been followed as far as possible.

Several attempts have been made to work out a more fundamental theory of periodization. A. Zarre has based his trifold division of Iranian literature as a whole on the principles of Marxist literary theory. The feudal period encompasses both the classical Persian literature and the literature of the Middle Iranian period (cf. *Očerk in Vostok, sbornik*, ii, 26). Suggestions for a much more refined scheme based on autonomous literary developments as well as on political and economic factors have recently been made by A. N. Boldřev and I. S. Bragin'skiy (cf. I. S. Bragin'skiy et al., *Problemy periodizatsii istorii literatury narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1968, containing reprints of articles published earlier in *Narodī Azii i Afriki*, 1963/6, 290-314 and *ibid.*, 1965/2, 100-10; see also the summary in *Central Asian Review*, xii (1964), 132-9). S. Nafīsī has borrowed the terms of his scheme (realism, naturalism, symbolism, etc.) from the historians of European literatures (cf. *Shāh-kārhā-i naṯr-i Fārsī-i muʿāṣir*, i, 23 ff.). A quite different system, developed by Oriental students of Persian literature, both in Iran and on the Indian subcontinent, makes use of a geographical nomen-

clature but is essentially based on stylistic criteria. This theory distinguishes three different styles each of which is typified by the poetry of a specific region during a certain period of time. (a) The style of *Khurāsān* or *Turkistān* (*sabk-i Khurāsāni*, *sabk-i Turkistāni*), i.e., the comparatively simple and balanced style of early Persian poetry up to the *Saldjūk* period. It is ruled by the principle of harmonious use of images and metaphors within the limits of one line (*murā'āt al-naẓir*). The language both of prose and verse is still the old *darī* which has not yet been overloaded with Arabic loanwords and expressions. The main forms of poetry are the *ḡaṣīda* and the *maḥnawī*, especially the heroic genre. (b) The style of 'Irāk (*sabk-i 'Irāki*) is characterized by a development towards a rhetorically more sophisticated type of poetry, the language of which is much more influenced by Arabic. There is also a tendency to use difficult learned allusions. In the course of the period of the 'Irāki style, the *ghazal* and the romantic epic become the most prominent forms of poetry. It is equally the time of the rise of *Sūfi* literature in all its various forms. Most of these developments affect prose literature as well. There exists some uncertainty about the exact beginnings of this style. The shift of the main centre of literary life to the west during the second half of the 6th/12th century is reflected in its name, but unmistakable traces of similar stylistic trends can be found in the literature produced in the eastern parts of the country from the end of the preceding century onwards. (c) The Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī* [q.v.]) is in its origin as a clearly defined poetical style more narrowly associated with historical and geographical factors than the two others. These factors are the radical changes in Iranian society resulting from the victory of the *Ṣafawids* in the 11th/16th century and the migration of many Persian poets to Indian courts, which took place simultaneously. The characteristic traits, as they have been described by A. Bausani, are: deviations from the rule of harmonious use of imagery, leading to a "baroque" extension of the stock of images and metaphors allowed in poetry, the predominance of mystical-philosophical themes, and an extreme tendency towards allegory. This style reached its full development with the Indian poets, but was also followed for some time by poets in Iran until the middle of the 12th/18th century when a return to the classical models (*bāzgaṣṭ*) took place. This neo-classicism prevailed in traditional poetry and criticism until quite recently. (For a general survey of the theories of periodization see J. Rypka, *History*, 112 ff. See also M. Dī. Maḥdījūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsāni dar shi'r-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345/1967 and, on the *sabk-i Hindī*, A. Mirzoev, *Sayyido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadzhikskoy literaturī*, Stalinabad 1955; E. E. Bertel's *K. voprosu ob "indiyshkom stile" v persidskoy poezii*, in *Charisteria orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia Ioanni Rypka... sacrum*, Prague 1956, 56-9; A. Bausani, *Contributo a una definizione dello "stile indiano" della poesia persiana*, *AUON*, NS, vii (1957), 167-78).

b. *From the Sāmānids to the Mongol invasion (4th/10th—beginning of the 7th/13th centuries)*

As has been observed already in the section on the beginnings of Persian literature, the poetry of the time of the *Tāhirids* and the *Ṣaffārids* has been almost completely lost. Only from the early 4th/10th century onwards does the available material gradually increase, although our documentation remains scanty till the beginning of the next century, from which time date the oldest *diwāns* that have been preserved.

For the earlier period our knowledge entirely depends on the fragments transmitted by a number of sources of quite different nature. The most important categories are the anthologies (*tadhkīra* [q.v.]), foremost the *Lubāb al-albāb* by 'Awfī [q.v.], lexicographical works, the oldest extant work being the *Lughat al-Furs* by Asadī [q.v.], and works on literary theory. Usually the fragments do not amount to more than one or two lines. Complete lyric poems of the 4th/10th century are very rare. Perhaps the most ancient specimen is a *ḡaṣīda* on the cultivation of wine by Rūdakī preserved in the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*. The first attempt to reassemble these scattered pieces was made by H. Ethé in a series of monographs published between 1872 and 1875. Several scholars both inside and outside Iran have continued this line of research (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (ix<sup>e</sup>-x<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, *Fragments rassemblés, édités et traduits*, 2 vols., Tehran-Paris 1964, with further references).

The court of the Sāmānid *amīrs* in *Bukhārā* in the 4th/10th century is the first great centre of literature about which some detailed information is available. Both the *amīrs* and the prominent men of their entourage, like the Bal'amīs [q.v.] and the members of the military clan *Simdjūr*, encouraged men of learning and poets to use the vernacular as a literary language. There was much interest in Iranian lore but on the whole the literary tradition conformed to the existing patterns of Islamic culture. A particularly splendid episode was the reign of Naṣr II (301/914-331/942), the patron of Rūdakī [q.v.] (d. 329/940-1), who was the most distinguished figure of Sāmānid literature. More than 100 *bayts* from his works have been retrieved, considerably more than of any of his contemporaries. He cultivated a great variety of forms but the traditional accounts that ascribe to Rūdakī the invention of several forms of poetry are certainly unhistorical. There are indications that the literary activities of the *Ismā'īliyya* [q.v.] exerted some influence on the intellectual circles at the Sāmānid court. The anonymous commentary on a didactical *ḡaṣīda* by Abu 'l-Ḥaytham Gurgāni (ed. by H. Corbin and M. Mu'īn, Tehran-Paris 1955; cf. G. Lazard, *op. cit.*, i, 24) contains references to the interest taken in the doctrines of this *Ismā'īlī* philosopher by Rūdakī and two other poets: *Shahīd* of *Balkh*, who himself is also known as a philosopher, and Muṣ'abi, one of the viziers of Naṣr II. Another notable poet of the earlier Sāmānid period was Farāblawī. To a later generation belong Abu 'l-'Abbās *Rabīdjāni*, Abū *Shu'ayb* of *Harāt*, Ma'rūfī of *Balkh* and *Dakīkī* [q.v.]. This last, who is best known through his epic work, was also a great master of the early lyrical style. Much attention has been paid to his allusions to Zoroastrianism, which are best explained as early instances of the topic of the *kufriyyāt* and should not be taken at their face-value. From the increasing number of poets of the last decades of this century, special mention should be made here of *Kīsā'ī* (born 341/952), the first to write religious poems showing his *Shī'ite* sympathies. Other names are Abu 'l-Ḥasan *Lawkari*, *Sipihri*, *Badi'* *Balkhī*, *Khusravāni*, Abu 'l-Mathal, *Shākīr*, *Djullāb*, 'Ammāra *Marwazi*, *Amīr Aghādī* and *Ismā'īl Muntazir*, the last two mentioned being members of the Sāmānid house.

The local rulers of *Caḡhāniyān*, the *Āl-i Muḥtādī*, were equally interested in Persian poetry. They patronized *Dakīkī* during a part of his career and later *Mundjūk Tirmidhī* as well as some of the great poets of the *Ghaznavid* period. To the west, Persian poetry penetrated to the court of the *Ziyārids* in *Gurgān* and even to the residence in *Rayy* of the *Būyid* vizier

“Šāhib” Ismā‘il b. ‘Abbād al-Ṭālakāni [see IBN ‘ABBĀD] (326/938-385/995), who is also renowned as a writer and a patron of Arabic letters. Among the first poets at these courts were Manṭiqi Rāzi (d. between 367/977 and 380/991) and Khusrāwi Sarakhsī (d. before 383/993). The popularity of poetry in dialects (Ṭabari, Gilaki) in northern Iran during this period is worthy of note.

The Turkish Ghaznavids inherited the cultural traditions of their former masters, the Sāmānids. Their remote capital, Ghazna, was, during the first half of the 5th/11th century, the most brilliant centre of intellectual and literary life in Iran. All this was the result of a conscious policy pursued by the early Ghaznavids to attract scholars—the most celebrated among them being al-Bīrūnī [q.v.]—and poetical talents to their court. It was inspired by a keen sense of the propagandist value of patronage. The writers and poets of this time put great emphasis on the glory of the dynasty and on its legitimacy. Poets accompanied the sultans on their campaigns, particularly on the raids into Indian territories, and celebrated their victories (e.g. the destruction of the temple of Shīva at Sōmnāth in 416/1026). Sultan Maḥmūd himself entered into literature on account of the stories about him and his favourite slave Ayāz [q.v.].

Thanks to a much fuller documentation of the literary production, we can for the first time study the lyricism of the Khurāsāni style in all its details in the works of the poets of the early Ghaznavid school. The period is dominated by three poets who exerted an influence on Persian poetical style that lasted throughout the centuries: ‘Unṣurī [q.v.] (d. 431/1039-40), Farrukhī [q.v.] (d. 429/1037-8) and Manūčihri [q.v.] (d. about 432/1040-1). ‘Unṣurī, the poet laureate of the court of Sultan Maḥmūd, is first of all a great panegyrist, which made his work a favourite source for the older writers on the rhetorical schemes. The descriptive art of the prologues is more fully developed in the poetry of Farrukhī, especially in the formalized descriptions of nature. His style is characterized by the use of parallelism in the structure of the two parts of the distich. Manūčihri shows a certain amount of individuality within the common tradition in the choice of his images. He is especially famous on account of his strophic poems.

The works of the other poets of the period have only been transmitted in a very imperfect way. We can have at least some idea about the poetry of Labībī [q.v.] (d. after 429/1037-8) and ‘Asḍiādī (d. ca. 432/1040-1). Rābi‘a Quzdāri of Balkh is probably the earliest female poet of Iran, although the chronology of her life is uncertain. She became the heroine of a popular romance (cf. Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, 27-42). The poet Bahrāmī is known to have composed some treatises on prosody which were used as textbooks for a considerable time but have not been preserved. Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ Bustī (d. between 400/1009 and 403/1013) is said to have left two *diwāns*, one in Arabic and one in Persian.

A second centre of patronage was the residence of Amīr Naṣr, a brother of Sultan Maḥmūd and governor of Khurāsān. In Rayy lived the poet Ghada‘irī (d. 426/1034-5) who, in spite of his service to the Būyid court, was in close contact with the Ghaznavid sultan as well.

The defeat of Sultan Mas‘ūd I at the hands of the Saldjūks in the battle of Dandānḳān (432/1040) divides the history of the Ghaznavids into two parts. After this event they lost control over the western parts of their empire and drew back upon the eastern half, i.e., the present-day Afghānistān and the con-

quered areas on the Indian subcontinent. They did not abandon their cultural interest, however. Poetry was now also patronized at the court of the Ghaznavid viceroy in Lahore. This can be regarded as the starting-point of Indo-Persian literature. Quite prominent names are to be found among the first poets at the court of the Panḍjāb: Abu ‘l-Farāḍī Rūnī (d. after 492/1098-9) and Mas‘ūd-i Sa‘d-i Salmān [see MAS‘ŪD-I SA‘D] (438/1046-7—515/1121-2). The former brought many new elements in the style of the panegyric *kašīda* which anticipated later developments finally resulting in the style of ‘Irāk. His work is known to have influenced Anwarī. Mas‘ūd-i Sa‘d is especially famous because of his prison-poems, reflecting personal experiences, although as a genre the *ḥabsiyyāt* were already a part of the Arabic-Persian tradition. The importance attached to poetry in the capital itself is demonstrated by the large frieze containing poetical inscriptions that has been unearthed in the ruins of the palace of the sultan (cf. A. Bombaci, *The kufic inscription in Persian verses in the court of the Royal Palace of Mas‘ūd III at Ghazni*, Rome 1966). The reign of Sultan Bahram-shāh (512/1118-552/1151) was very fruitful. Mukhtārī (d. probably 554/1159 [q.v.]) was a versatile writer of *kašīdas*. The fame of Sanā‘ī [q.v.] (d. about 535/1140-1) is particularly based on his religious and moralistic poetry. A great number of his *kašīdas* belong to the genres of the “ascetic poems” (*suḥbiyyāt*) and the *ḥalandariyyāt*. A similar preoccupation with religious and ethical themes is to be found in the *diwān* of the great Ismā‘īlī poet and philosopher Nāšir-i Khusrāw [q.v.] (d. about 465/1072-470/1077). Sanā‘ī’s extensive collection of *ghazals* has been mentioned already on account of its significance for the history of this poetical form. Another notable poet of the *ghazal* was Sayyid Ḥasan-i Ghaznawī Ashraf (d. 556/1160-1).

The foundation of the Saldjūk sultanate in Iran reunified the country both politically and in a religious sense. This new situation gave the cause of Persian letters a better chance to win the western provinces. Asadi [q.v.] of Ṭūs compiled his dictionary *Lughat al-Furs* in order to make the writers in other parts of Iran acquainted with the vocabulary of the eastern literary language. He himself emigrated to Ādḥar-bāyḍjān where he found a patron in Abū Dulaf, the ruler of Nakhčuwān. The first prominent poet born in the west was Kaṭrān [q.v.] (d. after 465/1072-3). He attended the local courts of Tabriz and Ghazna. Local centres of power emerged also in other parts of the country and offered the poets a greater variety of chances. Best known among the provincial panegyrists was Azraḳī [q.v.] (d. before 465/1071-3), who glorified the governor of Harāt as well as the Saldjūk Sultan of Kirmān. The central seat of power, the court of the Great Saldjūks, was during the 5th/11th century not very conspicuous for its interest in poetry. We know a few names such as Lāmi‘ī (d. ca. 455/1063) and Burhānī (d. 465/1072-3), but the one truly great poet was the latter’s son Mu‘izzī [q.v.] (d. between 519/1125 and 521/1128), who later on joined the group of poets at the court of Sandjar in Marw. Here the art of the *kašīda* was elaborated with great rhetorical refinement. A great master of this art was Anwarī [q.v.] (d. probably 585/1189-90). Other lyricists of great talent were Adib-i Šābir (d. between 538/1143 and 542/1148) and Djabālī (d. 555/1160).

In Central Asia Turkish dynasties continued to favour Persian panegyricism. Under the Ilk-Khāns, Bukhārā had its own school of poets led by the rivals ‘Am‘aḳ (d. ca. 543/1148-9) and Rašhidī of Samar-

kand. The most interesting figure was the satirist Sūzani [q.v.] (d. 562/1166-7) who directed his ridicule against several of his colleagues. In the time of the Kh̄wārazm-shāhs the most influential man of letters was Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt [q.v.] (d. 573/1177-8 or 578/1182-3). Besides being a poet, he was a prolific writer in Arabic and Persian prose.

The growing insecurity of life in Khurāsān from the middle of the 6th/12th century onwards, mainly a result of fresh invasions of Turkish Ghuzz tribes, caused an increasing number of poets to emigrate to the west. This trend is exemplified in the career of Aḥir-i Akhsikati (d. ca. 570/1174-5) and Zahir-i Fāryābi [q.v.] (d. 598/1201-2), who both travelled to the Salḡjūq court in 'Irāq and further to the Ildegizid atabegs in Āḡharbāyḡjān. At the same time there emerged a short-lived but not insignificant school of poets in Iṣfahān dependent on the patronage of local aristocrats such as the Āl-i Khudjānd and the Āl-i Sa'īd. To this group belonged Dījamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahāni (d. 588/1192-3) and his son Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl [q.v.] (d. 635/1237-8) as well as the lesser known Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa. Closely related to the work of these poets was the school of Āḡharbāyḡjān. It comprised the encomiasts of the many local rulers of north-western Iran, among whom the Ildegizids and the Shirwānshāhs were the most prominent. The outstanding lyrical poet was Khākāni [q.v.] (d. 595/1199), the last great poet of the ḡaṣīda of pre-Mongol times. Mention should also be made of Falaki Shirwāni [q.v.] (d. about 550/1155-6), whose *diwān* contains a number of remarkable *ḡabsiyyāt*, and Muḡjir-i Baylakāni (d. about 594/1197-8), one of Khākāni's pupils.

The *ghazal* continued its development into one of the majors forms of lyricism throughout the 6th/12th century. The course of this process since late Ghaznavid times can be traced in the *diwāns* of Adib-i Šābir, Anwari, Dījalāl al-Dīn Iṣfahāni, Zahir Fāryābi and Khākāni. The mystical application of the symbolism of the *ghazal* shows itself in an unequivocal form only at the very end of this century in the work of Farid al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [q.v.].

Another form that became a favourite of Salḡjūq times was the *rubā'ī*. We find it in the 5th/11th century often used for the expression of mystical thoughts. The poems are ascribed to famous Šūfi *shaykhs* like Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [q.v.], Anšārī [q.v.] and Abū 'l-Ḥasan Kharakāni (d. 425/1033-4). The *du-baytīs* of Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān [q.v.] (d. 401/1010) contain early examples of the *ḡalandari* themes. They show their affinity to popular poetry by the use of dialect forms. At the end of the period the mystical quatrain is again well represented in the *Mukhtār-nāma* of 'Aṭṭār, a huge collection of *rubā'īyyāt* arranged according to topics by the poet himself (cf. H. Ritter, *Philologica* xvi, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 195-228). The philosophical agnosticism of the famous quatrains of 'Umar-i Khayyām [q.v.] (d. probably 515/1121-2) has some affinity to this mystical trend but cannot be identified with it. This short poem lent itself to the expression of quite profane topics as well. Anacreontic and erotic themes closely related to those of the *ghazal* are to be found in the poems of the female poet and singer Mahsati [q.v.]. Like Rābi'a, she is historically a rather vague personality and appears also as the heroine of a popular novel. It should be noted that most Persian poets have left collections of quatrains.

Among the fragments of Sāmānid poetry there is a remarkably large number of *mathnawī*-lines, but it is very often impossible to define the exact nature of the poems from which they originate. It is clear,

however, that in addition to the versions of the heroic epic in prose, already at the turn of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries an attempt was made to treat the same subject-matter in the form of a *mathnawī*. The poor remnants of this work by Mas'ūdi of Marw just permit the conclusion that it comprehended the whole range of the royal epic as we know it in the classical form of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [q.v.], which was completed about 400/1009-10. Through the latter work a fragment from the unfinished *mathnawī* of Daḡīkī has been preserved. After Firdawsī the heroic epic continued in the form of monographic poems dealing with the adventures of individual heroes. Especially favourite were the members of the Sīstānian dynasty of vassals to which Rustam belonged. The most important writer of this genre is Asadī [q.v.] (the theory of the two Asadis now has few defenders) with his *Garshāspnāma*. The strong influence of the romance of Alexander shows itself in the emphasis on philosophical discussions and journeys to far and mysterious countries. The tales about Alexander [see ISKANDARNĀMA] formed the only part of the epic of the kings that ultimately survived as a separate genre in the literature of the *mathnawī*. The classical model of this branch was provided by the double *Iskandarnāma* of Niẓāmī [q.v.]. [See further ḤAMĀSA, ii].

The earliest subject of a romantic *mathnawī* that can be identified is the story of *Yūsuf u Zalikḡhā* [q.v.], based on the 12th sūra of the Qur'ān. Of the several versions known to have been composed in pre-Mongol times only one has been preserved. This poem used to be ascribed to Firdawsī but recent research has rejected this and attributed it to a certain Amāni who wrote it after 476/1083 for a Salḡjūq prince (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 157 f.). It contains references to two versions of the 4th/10th century by Abū 'l-Mu'ayyad and Baḡhtiyāri. The same story was later treated by 'Am'āk. From the romances written by 'Unšuri [q.v.], *Wāmiḡ u 'Aḡhrā*, a story going back to Hellenistic sources, has been partly recovered recently. Two others, *Khing-but u surkh-but*, inspired by the statues of Buddha at Bāmiyān, and *Shādbahr u 'Ayn al-Hayāt* have been lost. Another recent discovery is *Warḡau Gulshāh* by 'Ayyūḡī, a contemporary of Sultan Maḡmūd. It is a love story, situated in Arabia in the lifetime of the Prophet, and not unlike the European romance of Floire and Blancheflor. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century Faḡhr al-Dīn Gurgāni [q.v.] elaborated an ancient Parthian tale, transmitted up to his times by Pahlavi literature, in the *mathnawī*, *Wis u Rāmīn*. The significance of this work for the history of Persian literature lies not only in its origin, thoroughly investigated by V. Minorsky, but equally in the influence it exerted on the further course of courtly romance. Several stylistic conventions and topics were introduced by Gurgāni and afterwards developed by a long line of imitators. A particularly close relationship appears to exist between this work and *Khusrāw u Shirīn* of Niẓāmī [q.v.] (d. 605/1209). While Gurgāni's story itself was abandoned, Niẓāmī set the pace for future generations both as far as the subject-matter and the formal conventions are concerned. The same can be said of his other romances: *Haft Paykar*, the romanticized life-story of Bahrām Gūr, serving also as a frame-story for seven splendidly told fairy tales, and the celebrated Arabian story of *Laylā u Madjūnīn*. Niẓāmī treated these subjects with great psychological depth. On the other hand he enriched the romantic *mathnawī* by using the imagery of lyric poetry to the full, treating it with all the rhetorical

ingenuity characteristic of the 'Irāki style. He is justly regarded as the real founder of the Persian romantic epic. The *Khusrāwnāma* by 'Aṭṭār [q.v.] also belongs to this category.

The *mathnawī* was from the earliest times onwards used for didactic purposes as well. Rūdākī composed versions of the Indian collections of fables and tales *Kalīla u Dimna* [q.v.] and *Sindibād-nāma* [q.v.]. They were both repeatedly remodelled by later writers both in prose and in verse. To the same group of works belongs the *Bilawhar u Yūdāsaf* (*Būdāsaf*) [q.v.], fragments of which have been recovered from the Turfan manuscripts. Although written with Manichaean characters, the language of this text shows unmistakable signs of a New Persian original which can be dated in the Sāmānid period (cf. W. B. Henning, *Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdākī, in A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 89-104). Narratives of this kind were from pre-Islamic times onwards especially valued on account of the element of moral instruction they contained. They can therefore be classified as a branch of the didactic epic. Another type is represented by the *Āfarīnnāma* of Abū Shākūr of Balkh completed in 336/947-8. Quite a number of fragments have been retrieved which can be ascribed to this work with some certainty. As far as we can judge from these remnants, it consisted of a series of aphorisms predominantly of a moralistic nature and illustrated by the use of inserted anecdotes. If this description is correct, it would mean that the *Āfarīnnāma* prefigured a structural type on which most later works of secular or mystical didacticism were based. The first and perhaps most important instance of this is the *Hadīkat al-Ḥakīka* of Sanā'ī [q.v.], usually regarded as the beginning of a long tradition of Ṣūfī *mathnawīs*. The anecdotes in this work are very short and entirely subordinated to the theoretical contents they serve to exemplify. Although the poem has sometimes been described as an encyclopaedia of Ṣūfism, the *Hadīka* contains, in fact, besides mystical elements, a wide range of other themes such as philosophy, ethics, science and even panegyrics. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that diverging lines of development originate from this point in the history of the genre. On the one hand, the *Makḥzan al-asrār* of Niẓāmī, dealing mainly with secular ethics, is notwithstanding its different metre and the far more rigid composition, according to the statement of the poet himself written in competition with the work of Sanā'ī. On the other hand, 'Aṭṭār's *Asrār-nāma*, built on the same principle, is entirely devoted to mysticism. In both works the narrative has become a fully elaborated element in its own right. Quite a different type of structure is revealed by the "frame-story" *mathnawīs* of 'Aṭṭār [q.v.], the most famous of which are the *Ilāhīnāma*, the *Manṭiq al-tayr* and the *Muṣibat-nāma*.

Some of the *mathnawīs* produced in this period cannot be classified into any of the three categories outlined above. Still in the Sāmānid period belongs the *Dānišnāma* of Ḥakīm Maysarī composed between 367/978 and 370/981. It gives a popular exposition of medical theory and practice and therefore hardly belongs to literature proper (cf. G. Lazard, *Premiers poètes*, i, 36 ff.). Metaphysical doctrines combined with ethical maxims and some amount of gnostic speculation are to be found in the *Rawṣhanā'ināma* of Nāṣir-i Kḥusraw, in which no anecdotes have been used. A number of short *mathnawīs* has been ascribed to Sanā'ī, but only two of these can with certainty be regarded as authentic: *Karnāma-i Balkhī* containing both eulogy and satire, the latter directed against

some of the Ṣūfīs and poets of Ghazna, and *Sayr al-'ibād ila'l-Ma'ād* depicting the gnostic's journey through the cosmos followed by a panegyry. To a similar type belongs the *Hunarnāma* of Muḥtārī. A very original work is the *Tuḥfat al-'Irāqayn* of Khākānī. Conceived as the poetical journal of a pilgrimage, it contains a variety of other materials as well, out of which the repeated addresses to the sun deserve to be noted.

Among the many cultural achievements of the Sāmānid period, the creation of a Persian prose literature takes a very prominent place. Nearly all the works of this early time that have been handed down are non-artistic writings and cannot concern us here. Still, some information is available which points to the existence of a number of works in prose that, at least on account of their subject-matter, are relevant to literary history. To this group belong the prose versions of the epic of the kings, three of which are known to have existed although no more than the introduction to one of them, composed in 346/957 by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ma'marī (or Mu'ammari), has been preserved. It is not quite certain whether the fragments dealing with the hero Garshāsp, cited in the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān* and attributed there to Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad of Balkh, have been taken from the *Shāhnāma* version of this prolific writer or from a separate "Book of Garshāsp". Monographs of this last type were written about several heroes who play some role in the epic cycles. They have all disappeared, but to a large extent their contents have been transmitted by way of the numerous *mathnawīs* of the same genre produced during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. In prose, heroic themes are further developed in an extensive literature of popular novels. To the 6th/12th century belong the works of Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭarsūsī (or Ṭartūsī). His *Dārābnāma* elaborates the legends about the last of the ancient Iranian kings with many fantastic details. It ends with a treatment of the history of Alexander, one of the favourite subjects of this narrative literature. Another novel of Ṭarsūsī deals with a hero of Islamic times, Abū Muṣlīm (cf. I. Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim, le Porte-Hache du Khorassan, dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris 1962). The chivalrous romance *Samak-i 'Ayyār*, which was originally written by Ṣaḍāka b. Abi 'l-Kāsim of Shīrāz, but has only been preserved in a later version dated 585/1189, is entirely a work of fiction.

An alternation between versions in prose and in verse is equally observable in the tradition of the Indian collections of fables and stories. For two of these there is evidence of Persian prose renderings in the Sāmānid period (*Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Sindibād-nāma* [qq.v.]). They have been replaced by later adaptations made with an intent to make these works more palatable to the literary taste of a later generation. The principle of the frame-story, so characteristic of these Indian books, was borrowed for a Persian imitation in the *Bakhtiyār-nāma* [q.v.], while the animal fable introduced by the *Kalīla wa Dimna* was cultivated in the collection entitled *Marzbānnāma*, which was originally composed in the Ṭabari dialect. [See further *ἩΚΑΥΑ*, ii].

The fashion of embellishing prose by the application of rhymed and measured phrases was known already from the early 5th/11th century from the sayings attributed to the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [q.v.] and, more particularly, from a string of *risālas* usually ascribed to Anṣārī [q.v.] (cf. on the philological problems attached to these texts and their authenticity, G. Lazard, *La langue des plus*

*anciens monuments*, 111 f.), of which the small collection of prayers called *Munādīāt* has become quite celebrated. The style of Arabic prose, as it had developed in the time of the Būyids in the hands of such masters of the *risāla* as Ibn ‘Abbād [q.v.] and al-Hamadhānī [q.v.], very much affected the style of elegant Persian prose. A clear instance of this influence is the introduction of the genre of the *makāma* [q.v.] into Persian literature by the *kaḏī* Ḥamid al-Din of Balkh or Ḥamidī [q.v.] (d. 559/1164). One of the best examples of the sophisticated style of pre-Mongol times, still very much appreciated in present-day Iran, is the version of *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad [q.v.], a secretary to the late Ghaznavid Sultan Bahrāmshāh. Other specimens of the style current among secretaries, theologians and men of learning and letters include pieces of official or personal correspondence preserved from the hands of several prominent men (e.g. the *Faḏā’i al-Anām* by Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, the correspondence between his brother Aḥmad al-Ghazālī and ‘Ayn al-Ḳudāt al-Hamadhānī, and further the letters handed down from poets such as Sanā’i, Khāḳānī and Rashid-i Waṭwāt).

The characteristic traits of artistic prose are not confined to those works that can be classified as *belles lettres* in the strict sense of the term but occur in many works of a more “utilitarian” purpose as well. The same can be said of the art of narrative, whether of pointed anecdotes or of short stories. They are especially abundant in works of history and biography. It need not surprise, therefore, if a work like the *Ta’rikh* of Bayhaḳī [q.v.] is reckoned among the masterpieces of early Persian prose. Even a listing of all the writings that in some way or the other are interesting from the aesthetic point of view would by far exceed the limits of this article. Only one group of prose-works cannot be left unmentioned here. In spite of great individual differences, these works share a common feature in that, as a kind of *Fürstenspiegel*, they have been written for the instruction of those in power and they abundantly make use of anecdotes and tales functioning both as illustrative examples and as a means to enliven the theoretical exposition. To this group belong the *Kābūs-nāma* by ‘Unsur al-Ma’ālī Kay-Kā’ūs [q.v.] (d. 492/1098-9), the *Čahār Maḳāla* by Niẓāmī ‘Arūḏī [q.v.] (d. about 560/1164-5), the *Siyāsat-nāma* by Niẓām al-Mulk [q.v.] (d. 485/1092) and the *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* by al-Ghazālī [q.v.] (d. 505/1111). All these works were written in a comparatively sober style.

Mainly on account of the relevance of its subject-matter to the study of certain themes of lyric poetry, mention should also be made of the *Nawrūznāma*, a treatise on the origins and customs of the ancient Iranian New Year’s festival. It contains, among other things, a reference to the ceremonial use of poetry at the Sāsānian court and an account of the legendary origins of the cult of wine. The authorship of ‘Umar-i Khayyām [q.v.] is denied by most scholars.

Apart from the wealth of narratives contained in such works as the commentaries on the *Ḳur’ān*, the biographies of prophets and Ṣūfī saints, and mystical treatises, there is little in the religious prose literature of the pre-Mongol period that needs to be mentioned on account of its great artistic value. An exception, however, should be made for the allegorical tales, describing the spiritual journey of the gnostic, by Ṣhihāb al-Din Yaḥyā Suhrawardī [q.v.] (d. 587/1191). Another famous mystic, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī [q.v.] (d. 520/1126), examined the psychology of love in a string of concise and subtle aphorisms

entitled *Sawānīb*. As it is presented in this work, the theory of love can be applied both to the earthly and to the mystical beloved.

c. *From the Mongol period to the rise of the Ṣafawids (7th/13th-9th/15th centuries).*

The successive invasions of the Mongols, resulting in the founding of the empire of the Ilkhāns, did not fail to affect the course of literary history just as it affected all other sections of Iranian society. The destruction of the great cities of Transoxania and Khurāsān, the enormous loss of life, the sharp decline of the economy, the disappearance of dynastic centres, all brought to an end the predominance of the north-eastern provinces in the Islamic civilization of Iran that had lasted for so many centuries. Not before the 9th/15th century could these areas for a short while regain some of their old cultural importance under the reign of the Timūrids. The shift of literary activity from the east to the western parts of the country, already in process from the middle of the 6th/12th century onwards, became definite as a result of these events, but it was no longer the north-western part that profited from this development. The Mongol Khāns, who established the centre of their rule in this area, assimilated far less easily to Persian culture than their Turkish predecessors. They were willing to accept and support those products of Islamic civilization that they regarded as useful, such as historiography and the natural sciences, but never developed any taste for the aesthetic achievements of its literature. The few instances of patronage to poetry known from the court of the Ilkhāns did not emanate from the rulers themselves but from erudite high officials of Persian descent in their service, like the Djuwaynis [q.v.]. While the vocabulary of the great historians of this period was very much influenced by Mongol and Turkish (cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-71 and H. H. Zerneẓade, *Fars dilinde Azerbaydjan sözləri*, Baku 1962) the language or artistic literature shows hardly any trace of this. The *kaṣīda* on an earthquake in Nishāpūr of Pūr-i Bahā-i Djānī, a deliberate attempt to introduce loanwords from the language of the conquerors into the poetical idiom, is an isolated phenomenon (cf. V. Minorsky, *Charisteria Orientalia... Ioanni Rypka... hoc volumen sacrum*, Prague 1956, 186-201; BSOAS, xviii/2 (1956), 262-78).

In spite of all this, some of the greatest works of Persian literature were produced during these centuries. Favourable conditions for a continuation of the literary tradition were present in those parts of the country that had escaped from the devastations of Mongol warfare. For the first time, southern Iran, more specifically Shīrāz, began to take part in the history of Persian poetry. A strong impulse was given by the arrival of many refugees, among whom the prominent theoretician of literature Ṣhams-i Ḳays [q.v.] should be mentioned. New centres also arose outside the boundaries of Iran. The capital of the Saldjūqs of Rūm, Konya, became the seat of a major school of mystical literature established there by immigrants. The cultivation of Persian letters on the Indian subcontinent became more and more independent after the foundation of the Sultanate of Dīhli in 602/1206.

In those days, however, poetry was no longer exclusively dependent on the economic and social support provided by patronage. From the 5th/11th century onwards, Ṣūfism penetrated Persian literature just as it gradually permeated Persian society as a whole. As a social phenomenon, this meant that a new

public and a new environment had come into being which created a wider range of functions for the poet and his art. Poetry could serve to express the ineffable experiences of the mystic through an ever more refined use of its symbolic language, or illuminate the subtleties of mystical doctrines from its vast resources of narrative material and techniques. It could also be used as a liturgical element in the "musical sessions" (*samāʿ*, [q.v.]) of the Ṣūfī circles. The traditional place of the *mamdūh* could be taken either by the spiritual leader (*pir*) or by a human manifestation or "witness" (*shāhid*) of the Eternal Beloved. For the poet who wanted to devote himself entirely to mysticism without any attachment to secular patronage, this new environment was provided by the communities of mystics, out of which the Ṣūfī fraternities (*ṭarīqas*) developed in the course of this period. The first notable example of this withdrawal of poetry from the world is Farid al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, of whom no relation to any *maecenas* is known.

The most striking result of these developments to be noticed in literature is the sharp decline of the *kaṣīda* as the main form of lyric poetry. To some extent this can be explained by the lack of interest in panegyrics shown by the chief court of the times. But the same trend can be observed at those courts where the traditions of courtly lyricism were continued on similar lines as before. In many instances the *ghazal*, which had now become the favourite poetic form, seems to have taken over the panegyric functions of the *kaṣīda*.

The ubiquity of the *ghazal* in Persian literature between the 7th/13th and 12th/18th centuries tends to obscure the fact that the *kaṣīda* never quite disappeared from the scene. At the beginning of this period Saʿdī [q.v.] of Shīrāz (d. 691/1292) cultivated the ode, which he largely used for religious and moral admonition on the lines of Nāsir-i Khusraw and Sanāʿī. Apart from Salmān-i Sāwādī [q.v.] (d. 778/1376), who glorified the Djalālīrīds of Baghdād, in the 9th/15th century Djāmī should also be mentioned as a prominent poet of the *kaṣīda*. Most other poets also wrote at least some poetry in this form, although it is true that the production of *kaṣīdas* during this period lags far behind that of the *ghazal*.

In the main line of the history of lyric poetry two strains, which seem to be distinguished by the different demands put upon the poets by their social environment, become visible. One of these strains is the purely mystical *ghazal* which leaves no room for any ambiguity concerning its fundamental meaning. Its model was provided by the *diwān* of ʿAṭṭār (see, for an analysis of his *ghazals* in comparison to those of the earlier Sanāʿī and the later Hāfiz: H. Ritter, *Oriens*, xii (1959), 1-88). The foremost representative of this type of the *ghazal* after ʿAṭṭār is Djalāl al-Dīn [q.v.] Rūmī (d. 672/1273), in Iran usually known as Mawlāwī. His life as a spiritual leader and a poet in the community of mystics at Konya is the best documented instance of the entourage in which an uncompromisingly mystical literature could flourish. His immense collection of *ghazals*, the *Kullīyyāt-i Shams*, is attributed by the poet himself to Shams al-Dīn al-Tabrizī as an act of identification with the person regarded as the *shāhid*. These poems are either expressions of mystical love, formulated under emotional stress without much care for formal perfection, or they serve to illuminate essential topics of mystical doctrine by means of a rich and sometimes very original imagery. In spite of this idiosyncrasy of Mawlāwī's poetry, it became in its turn a model for the literary tradition of the frater-

nity of the Mawlāwiyya [q.v.], which was formed out of the spiritual community of Konya after his death. This is especially noticeable in the lyrical poetry of his son Sultan Walad [q.v.] (d. 712/1312) and his grand son Ulu ʿArif Çelebi (d. 719/1320). Another poet who cultivated this type of *ghazal*, though with a greater technical sophistication, was ʿIrāqī [q.v.] (d. 688/1289). In the course of his eventful life he practised the way of life of the *ḫalandar darwishes*, the traces of which can be found in his works.

The second type of *ghazal* was cultivated by those poets who did not abstain from the established conventions of courtly poetry even if their works display the all-pervasive influence of Ṣūfism. The double character of the *ghazal*-style, referred to above, is characteristic of this type. Although there are great differences in the intensity of mystical influence, some overtones of a transcendental connotation can be noticed in nearly all erotic poetry written in this period. The Shīrāzī school is particularly famous on account of the full development of this kind of *ghazal*. The oldest of the two great poets of the *ghazal* who flourished in this city was Saʿdī. His lifetime covered most of the 7th/13th century when Shīrāz was ruled by the Salghurid Atabegs. Nearly all his *ghazals* are contained in three large collections, the *Ṭayyibāt*, the *Badāyīʿ* and the *Khawātim*. They show Saʿdī's perfect mastery of all the themes connected with the *ghazal* as a genre as well as of their associative interplay. Mystical notes can be observed, but they are harmoniously fused with secular themes. His graceful style, which also pervades the other literary works of this very versatile author, influenced the idiom of Persian more than the work of any other writer. Among his contemporaries, the names should be mentioned of Imāmī of Harāt (d. 667/1268-9 or 676/1277-8) who attended the court of Kirmān, Maḡjd al-Dīn Hamgar (d. 686/1287), a citizen of Shīrāz, and Humām al-Dīn [q.v.] of Tabriz (d. 714/1314), who glorified the members of the Djuwaynī family.

During the 8th/14th century, Shīrāz was in turn ruled by the Indjūs and by the Muẓaffarids. The names of these two dynasties are forever connected with that of Hāfiz [q.v.] (d. 792/1390), often nicknamed *Kh\*ādja* or Lisān al-Ḡhayb. He was much more a specialist of the *ghazal* than Saʿdī, as his not very extensive *diwān* contains only a few poems in other forms. Of these, the short *mathnawī* piece *Sākīnāma* has acquired some celebrity. According to A. J. Arberry, Hāfiz developed in the course of his career the refined art of the *ghazal*, as he inherited it from Saʿdī, by introducing the device of contrapuntal interaction of several themes within one single poem. Very often no more than a short allusion in one or two lines was applied to evoke, in the mind of the hearer who was familiar with the literary tradition, associations with a whole thematic complex. This technique was the essential novelty of Hāfiz's art (cf. *BSOAS*, xi (1943-6), 699-712; *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*, Cambridge 1953, 28 ff.). The most characteristic themes he employed—e.g. the cult of wine, the tavern, the cup-bearer, the *pir-i muḡhān* who reveals esoteric wisdom from the cup of Djāmshīd (*djām-i Djām*), the disdain of the antinomian mystic for the hypocritical piety of the ascetic, showing itself in a provocative playing with non-Islamic religious symbols—were derived from such traditional topics of Arabic and Persian literature as the *ḫamriyyāt*, the *ḫalandariyyāt* and the *kufrīyyāt*. Outstanding features of the style of Hāfiz are also his frequent use of ambiguity (*ihām*) and his irony. In spite of his pre-



dilection for mystical subjects, several of his *ghazals* have proved to be designed as paeneyric poems.

There were several other prominent poets of the *ghazal* in the time of Ḥāfiẓ: 'Ubayd-i Zākāni [q.v.] (d. 772/1371), more renowned as a satirist, left a small but exquisite collection of lyrics. He shows a preference for short poems usually of seven lines, a trait also observable with Kamāl-i Khudjandi [q.v.] (d. probably 803/1400-1). The *ghazals* of Kh<sup>w</sup>ādju-i Kirmāni [q.v.] (d. 753/1352 or 762/1361) and Salmān-i Sāwādji are of particular importance on account of the influence they exerted on Ḥāfiẓ, as has been acknowledged by the poet himself.

In the early 9th/15th century, the unambiguously mystical *ghazal* is cultivated again by Muḥanimad Shirin Maghrībi [q.v.] (d. 809/1406-7). By this time the poetical symbolism of the genre had been reduced to a system of fixed emblems denoting elements of the pantheistic philosophy of Ibn al-'Arabi [q.v.], which had become predominant in Persian mystical thought. They lend themselves quite easily to a more or less mechanical interpretation, as often applied in commentaries or other essays on the allegorical language of Ṣūfī poetry. Of a quite similar nature is the poetry of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh [q.v.] of Kirmān (d. 834/1431), the founder of one of the most important Ṣūfī orders of Iran, and of Shāh Kāsim al-Anwār [q.v.] (d. 837/1433-4), who also wrote some poetry in Turkish and in the Gilaki dialect.

The first sign of a revival of Persian letters in Khurāsān was the literary activity at the local courts that asserted themselves during the interval between the decline of the Ilkhānid empire and the rise of Timūr: the Shīfite Sarbadārs of Sabzawār and the Kurts of Harāt. This short period produced a notable poet in Ibn-i Yanin [q.v.] (d. 769/1368), who together with Anwari, is reckoned among the best writers of the fragmentary poem (*hi'ā*). The old traditions of courtly poetry were more completely restored in the times of the Timūrids of the 9th/15th century. The wide range of cultural activities being cultivated in this period, as well as the active interest shown by several princes of the Timūrid house, are very reminiscent of the European renaissance. As far as literature is concerned, the flowering of all the visual arts connected with the production of manuscripts (calligraphy, miniature-painting, bookbinding) and philological projects such as the redaction of the *Shāhnāma*, usually attributed to the prince Bāysonghor [q.v.], should be mentioned in this connection. The main trait of literature itself is its classicist attitude. The Timūrid writers apply themselves to an ever more refined use of the transmitted forms and genres without adding much new to it. Some amount of novelty may, however, be granted to a genre of a rather bizarre kind introduced by Būshāk [q.v.] (first half of the 9th/15th century) of Shirāz, who wrote a number of literary parodies on famous poets using culinary themes in his *Diwān-i Afīma*. On the same lines Kāri of Yazd (prob. 2nd. half of the 9th/15th century) composed a series of parodies based on terms current in the craft of the tailor (*Diwān-i Albīsa*). Other rhetorical devices like the enigma (*mu'ammā*) and topical verses such as the chronogram (*ta'rikh*) enjoyed a great popularity.

The most splendid centre of Timūrid culture was Harāt during the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn [q.v.] Baykara (873/1469-911/1506). Two great personalities dominated the literary scene of this court. 'Alī-Shir Nawā'ī [q.v.] (d. 906/1501), counsellor of the sultan and himself a patron of literature, wrote some

Persian poetry under the pen-name Fāni but his main significance lies in the many works he composed in the eastern-Turkish literary language, known as Çağhatay. In addition to a great number of non-artistic writings, they comprehended the complete range of literary forms current in Persian poetry. In this way Nawā'ī created a series of classical models for the Turkish literature of subsequent ages, both in Central Asia and in the Ottoman empire [see further TURKSLITERATURE]. Closely associated with Nawā'ī was the Persian poet and Ṣūfī *shaykh* Djāmi [q.v.] (d. 898/1492), whose productivity and versatility were even greater than those of his patron. He has often been called the last classical poet of Persian literature, a qualification based on the presumption that with the rise of the Ṣafawids a period of decadence began, lasting for nearly three centuries. But it is true that the works of Djāmi can be regarded as a vast summary of the entire mediaeval literature of Iran, comprising both its courtly and its mystical traditions. His lyrical work has been collected in three volumes, the first containing the poetry of his youth (*Fātiḥat al-Shabāb*), the second that of his middle age (*Wāsiḥat al-'Ikd*) and the third the production of his later days (*Khātimat al-Ḥayāt*). With this arrangement he imitated the Indian poet Amīr Khusrāw [q.v.] (d. 725/1325) who, together with Sa'di and Kamāl-i Khudjandi, also provided models for his *ghazals*. Other *ghazal*-poets of the Timūrid period worthy of note are Kātibi [q.v.] of Turshiz (d. 838/1434-5) and Amīr Shāhi of Sabzawār (d. 857/1453).

In the *mathnawi*-literature of the post-Mongol period, the five poems of Niẓāmi, joined by a later tradition into an artificial unity known as the *Khamsa* [q.v.], had become a conventional model that constituted an irresistible challenge to numerous poets both in Persian and in Turkish literature. The first of the long line of imitators was Amīr Khusrāw. He kept himself strictly to the scheme of Niẓāmi, reproducing most of its structural features, but showed his originality by laying special emphasis on certain elements of the stories or by choosing new subsidiary tales in *Haft Bihisht*, his imitation of *Haft Paykar*. The *Khamsa* of Kh<sup>w</sup>ādju Kirmāni deviates much farther from the original pattern. It comprises two romantic epics with new stories (*Humāy u Humāyūn*, *Nawrūz u Gul*) as well as three didactical poems of a mystical and ethical nature. Djāmi enlarged the scheme to seven poems in his *Haft Awwang*. The most celebrated of these is his version of *Yūsuf u Zalikhā* in which the Qur'ānic story has been elaborated into an extensive allegory. Another of his new subjects is the philosophical novel *Salāmān u Absāl*. Many poets readapted only single poems of the Niẓānian canon. The *Laylā u Madjnūn* of Maktabi of Shirāz, written in 895/1489-90, one of the most successful instances among the works of this kind. (A full list of the known imitators of the *Khamsa* has been compiled by H. Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 245-8; see also the following works on the tradition of the individual poems, usually dealing with the Turkish versions as well: (1) on *Makhzan al-Asrār*—E. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannie Trudī. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 204-14. (2) on *Laylā u Madjnūn*—H. Araslı, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Belleten* 1958, 17-39; A.-S. Levend, *Arap, Fars ve Türk Edebiyatlarında Leylā ve Mecnun hikāyesi*, Ankara 1959; E. E. Bertel's, *op. cit.*, 275-313. (3) on *Khusrāw u Shirin*—H. W. Duda, *Ferhad und Shirin. Die literarische Geschichte eines persischen Sagenstoffes*, Prague 1933; G. Y. Aliyev, *Legenda o Khosrove i Shirin v literaturakh narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1960. (4) on *Haft*

*Paykar*—Hikmet T. Ilaydın, *Behram-i Gúr men-kabeleri, Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1935) 275-90. (5) On *Iskandarnama*—E. E. Bertel's *Roman ob Alek-dandre i ego glavnie versii na Vostoke*, Moscow-Leningrad 1949, reprinted in *Isbrannle Trudl. Navoi i Džami*, Moscow 1965, 283-413).

In spite of the overwhelming influence of these models, new ways were also sought for the further development of epic literature in the *mathnawī* form. Amīr *Khusraw* introduced items taken from contemporary history, either romances or glorious events in the reigns of the sultans of Dihli. This example was followed by Salmān-i Sāwādī in his *Firāknāma*, whereas the *Dīamshid* u *Khwarshid* of the same author is in its outline related to *Khusraw* u *Shirin* of Nizāmi. An important new development was also the growing tendency to allegorize the courtly romance. In analogy to the semantic transformation that had been applied to the themes and images of the *ghazal*, the plots and characters of epic literature could equally be exploited for an allegorical representation of mystical ideas, such as the relationship of the mystic and his transcendental Beloved, or the purification of the human soul in the course of its journey through the cosmos. It is difficult to assess when and where the transformation of a particular narrative theme has actually taken place. The process affected old favourite tales of Persian literature like *Laylā* u *Madīnūn* and *Yūsuf* u *Zalikhā*. But new protagonists acting according to more or less stereotyped plots were introduced as well. This allegorical fashion became particularly prominent during the Timūrid period, although a forerunner can already be found in 'Aṣṣār [q.v.] (d. 779/1377-8 or 784/1382-3), who attended the court of the Djalā'irid Sultan Uways. A very influential writer, at least as far as the history of Persian literature outside Iran is concerned, was Fattāhī [q.v.] (d. 852 or 853/1448-50), in whose main work, *Dastūr-i 'Ushshāḡ*, the protagonists are the abstract concepts Beauty (*Husn*) and Heart (*Dil*). 'Arīfī of Harāt (d. ca. 853/1449) construed his *Hāināma* or *Gūy* u *Čawgān* on symbols provided by the game of polo as well as on the equally conventional theme of the king and the beggar. To this last feature of his work refers the title of an imitation by Hilālī [q.v.] (d. 936/1529-30), *Shāh* u *Gadā*. The theme of the candle and the moth, another commonplace of mystical lyrics, was treated by Ahlī of Shīrāz (d. 942/1535-6) in his *Sham'* u *Parwānā*.

The history of the mystic *mathnawī* after the Mongol invasion opens with the *Mathnawī-i Ma'nawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the most impressive work of its kind. It is especially renowned for the riches of its narratives, the complicated style of its composition, consisting of an endless associative concatenation of primary and secondary tales, and for the kaleidoscopic structure of its ideological contents. The doctrinal background of this great work, by traditional commentators usually identified with the pantheism of Ibn al-'Arabī [q.v.], is far from being fully understood. The poet consciously attached himself to the tradition of Sanā'ī and 'Aṭṭār. Together these three poets had a very great impact on the subsequent generations of mystical poets and writers, but it is not possible to survey completely those compositions which develop one aspect or another of their works since only a few have been published. (See for the most complete survey: H. Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 298-301).

The earliest follower of Mawlawī's work was his son Sultān Walad who explained the meaning of his father's works in a series of *mathnawīs* giving at the same time invaluable information about his life.

Among these poems the *Waladnāma* is the most celebrated. In the '*Ushshāḡnāma* of 'Irāqī, characterized by the insertion of *ghazals*, the theme of mystical love is elaborated. The topic of the *Miṣbāḡ al-arwāḡ* is the visionary journey of the mystic through the cosmos. The authorship of this interesting work is uncertain. Old manuscripts attribute it either to the well-known Ṣūfī *shaykh*, Awhād al-Dīn Kirmānī, or to a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardsīrī Kirmānī (cf. the edition by Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Tehran 1349 sh.). A pupil of the former, Awhādī [q.v.] (d. 738/1337-8), wrote his once very popular *Djām-i Djām* as an imitation of Sanā'ī's *Hadiqa*. Its more ethical than mystical spirit is also reminiscent of another masterpiece of the didactic *mathnawī*, the *Būstān* of Sa'dī. Written almost simultaneously with Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, with all the brilliance and clarity of the style of Sa'dī, the *Būstān* certainly surpassed the latter's celebrity, but nowhere does it even approach Rūmī's depth of thought. Although some of its chapters deal with mystical topics, on the whole the work seems to be designed for little more than elegantly presented moral admonition. From the 8th/14th century three other writers of mystical *mathnawīs* are worthy of note: Ḥusaynī Sādāt [q.v.] (d. after 729/1328), 'Imād al-Dīn Faḡih, a contemporary of Ḥāfīz, (d. 773/1371), and Maḥmūd-i Shābistārī [q.v.] (d. about 720/1320-1). The last mentioned wrote *Gulshān-i Rāz*, which among other things contains an explanation of the symbolic language of Ṣūfī poetry.

An interesting personality, standing more or less aside from the trodden paths of Persian literature, is Nizāri [q.v.] (d. 720/1321). Being an Ismā'īlī, he incurred the condemnation of orthodox critics which the vehement sarcasm often displayed in his works did nothing to prevent. He wrote three *mathnawīs*: a love-story, *Azhar* u *Maḡhar*, a short but highly original parody on the customary didacticism, *Dastūr-nāma*, and a versified book of travel, *Safar-nāma*.

Among the prose-works produced in these centuries, again a work by Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, stands out as the most perfect example of classical Persian style for which it serves as a textbook up to the present day. It treats of much the same subjects as the *Būstān* but presents them in a more entertaining form. The anecdotes are told in a terse, rhythmic prose sometimes approaching the metrical patterns of poetry. The poet's moralising reflections upon the narratives are mostly put into the form of Persian or Arabic poetical fragments. Like so many other great works of Persian literature, it very soon became a model that was copied by a long row of imitators. One of these was Dījāmi, in whose *Bahāristān* even more room is given to poetry than in Sa'dī's work. The stylistic type of the *Gulistān* was the target of parody in some of the best works of 'Ubayd-i Zākānī, by far the greatest satirist Iran has ever produced (*Akh-lāḡ al-Ashraf*, *Rishnāma*); [see also HDP, ii].

The tendency towards an ever more prolix rhetorical embellishment of Persian prose came to its full strength in Mongol times and continued to dominate the style of prose-writing for several centuries to come. It gave most works on history, the sciences, ethics, religion and other scholarly subjects the appearance of artistic writings. The *Ta'riḡh* of Waṣṣāf [q.v.] (d. 735/1334), the last of the great historians of the Ilkhāns, has become proverbial for this extremely florid style. Another work that set the pace in the use of a literary idiom inflated with Arabic words was the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, another

version of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* written by Ḥusayn Wā'iz-i Kāshifī [see KĀSHIFĪ] (d. 910/1504-5), a very prolific and versatile author attending the Timūrid court of Harāt.

d. *From the rise of the Ṣafawids to the late Kādjār period (beginning 10th/16th-end 13th/19th centuries).*

The establishment of the Ṣafawid state in Iran was not merely a political event. Through the introduction of Imāmi Shī'ism [see ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA] as the official religion of Iran, radically new conditions were created which were not very favourable to the flourishing of literature. Especially during the 10th/16th century neither the theocratic rulers nor the powerful Shī'ite clergy, which had acquired a great influence on official policy, were particularly interested in the traditional court literature. The cultivation of religious poetry was, on the other hand, greatly encouraged. The founder of the dynasty, Shāh Ismā'il [q.v.], was himself a writer of Turkish poems, in which he expressed ideas related to the doctrines of extreme Shī'ite sects. As soon as religious policy was firmly in the hand of the Imāmi 'ulamā', deviations of this kind were no longer possible. The themes of Ṣafawid religious poetry were mainly taken from the stories about the martyrdom of the imāms. Devotion to the 'Alid family is very often expressed in pre-Ṣafawid literature as well. It can even be found with authors whose Sunni persuasion is beyond doubt. At least from the Būyid period onwards, the Shī'ite communities in Iran had tried to win more support by sending around the bazaars popular reciters of poems on the "virtues" of 'Alī (*manāqibkhwānān*, *manāqibīyyān*) who made use of the works of Shī'ite poets like Kīwāmi of Rayy (6th/12th century). These texts were mainly *kaṣidas* (cf. Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rikh*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 192 ff.). A Shī'ite epic, modelled on the style of the *Shāhnāma*, was introduced by Muḥammad b. Ḥusām (d. 875/1470) with his *mathnawī*, *Khāwarān*-(or *Khāwar*)-*nāma* [see further ḤAMĀSA, ii]. Another work of the Timūrid period, the collection of tales about the holy martyrs, *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, written in artistic prose by Muḥammad Wā'iz-i Kāshifī [q.v.], was used as a textbook for the Muḥarram celebrations and even lent its name to the function of a reciter of religious poetry, the *rawḍakhwān*.

The most important Ṣafawid poet of this genre was Muḥtaṣham [q.v.] of Kāshān (d. 996/1587-8). He is especially famous on account of a *marthiya* on the holy martyrs known as the *haft-band*, i.e., a poem consisting of twelve seven-line stanzas. The *kaṣida* was also used for this kind of elegy. *Mathnawīs* on the imāms were composed by Ḥayratī (d. 961/1553-4 or 970/1562-3) and by Fāriḡh of Gilān who wrote his work in 1000/1591-3 to celebrate the conquest of Gilān by Shāh 'Abbās I. There was, in fact, a subtle connexion between the praise of the 'Alid family and the glorification of the dynasty, as the Ṣafawids regarded themselves as descendants of the imāms. Shī'ite literature both in poetry and prose continued to be extremely popular till the present day. It has a solid base in religious sentiment as well as in the demand for liturgical texts to be used on various occasions.

The propagation of Shī'ite traditions and doctrines among the population of Iran could not be achieved by means of poetry alone. While the learned theological works continued to be written in Arabic, there was a growing need for works of a more popular kind in Persian on the different branches of religious science. A number of theologians set themselves this task. The comparatively simple style they used favourably contrasts with the verbosity still current in

the literary prose of this period. Notable among these writers were Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmili or Shāykh-i Bahā'ī [see AL-'ĀMILĪ] (d. 1031/1622), who should also be mentioned on account of his Persian poetry, and Muḥammad Bākīr al-Maḍjīsi [q.v.] (d. 1111/1699-1700).

Šūfism as a form of religious life was declining in Ṣafawid times as a result of the enmity of the religious leaders, which sometimes took the form of actual persecution. As mysticism and poetry had become very closely connected during the preceding centuries, this could not but unfavourably affect literary production. Yet the mystical strain could never be deleted entirely from Persian poetry. It is particularly evident in the poetical works of the members of the flourishing school of philosophy founded by Mullā Ṣadrā of Shīrāz, e.g. Muḥsin-i Fayḍ of Kāshān (d. 1090/1679), Mir Abu 'l-Qāsim Fīndarīski (d. ca. 1050/1640-1) and the teacher of Mullā Ṣadrā, Mir Muḥammad Bākīr-i Dāmād [see AL-DĀMĀD] (d. 1040/1630). The poet Saḥābī of Astarābād (d. 1010/1601-2), who spent most of his life at the holy shrine of Naḍjaf, expressed pantheistic mysticism in a *diwān* which consisted almost entirely of quatrains.

Secular poetry suffered not only from the changes in the intellectual atmosphere but also from political changes. The disappearance of local courts reduced the market for the professional poet to one dynastic centre. Apart from the successive residences of the Ṣafawids, only Shīrāz remained as an important literary centre. Yet there was a great deal of continuity with the preceding Timūrid period. Just like the painters of the school of Bihzād [q.v.], the poets travelled to the west as soon as the new power had established itself there. That the royal family was not completely averse to court poetry is shown by Sām Mirzā (d. 974/1566-7), a son of Shāh Ismā'il I, who described the history of poetry during the first half-century of Ṣafawid rule in his *tadhkira*, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmi*. Even the court of Shāh Ismā'il had its eulogist in Umīdī (d. 935/1519). The genre of *shahrāshūb* poems on the young artisans of a particular city was revived by Lisānī (d. 940/1533-4). It became a great fashion both with the Persian poets of his time and with the contemporary Ottoman poets (e.g. Mediḥī [q.v.]). The historical connection between these two schools is still uncertain. Another favourite topic was short poems on a single dramatic incident, under the heading "*kaḍā u kaḍar*". Some scholars have interpreted these genres as indications of a growing tendency towards realism in poetry (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 296).

During the long reign of Tahmāsp I (930/1524-984/1576) courtly poetry gradually regained more ground. Waḥshī [q.v.] of Bāfk (d. 991/1583) excelled in the didactic and romantic *mathnawī* as well as in strophe poems. Even Muḥtaṣham did not shun panegyricism and Ḥayratī combined his religious art with satire.

To the most ambitious young talents, however, Iran did not offer sufficient opportunities for a literary career. Far better prospects offered themselves on the Indian subcontinent where the Mughal emperors resumed the splendid cultural traditions of their Timūrid ancestors. From the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards, an increasing number of Persian poets went to India and gave there a new impulse to the tradition of Indo-Persian letters. The most decisive literary development of the Ṣafawid period is connected with this migration of poets: the emergence of a new poetical style which in modern criticism has received the name *Sabk-i Hindī* [q.v.].

This Indian style, the main characteristics of which have been sketched above in the section on the periodization of Persian literature, distinguishes itself markedly from the earlier poetical styles. The causes of this greater amount of independence from the established literary canons have been sought in changes in the social conditions (A. Mirzoev) or in a relaxation of critical attention to the work of the poets especially in Safawid Iran (A. Bausani). Under the influence of the negative verdict given almost unanimously by neoclassicist literary critics since the 12th/18th century, the characteristics of this style have for a long time been regarded as symptoms of a general poetical decadence. The rich imagery and the often highly original use of metaphors in the poems influenced by the Indian style has only quite recently become more appreciated. There is still a great deal of uncertainty about the actual beginnings of this new stylistic trend. Traditionally, an important role as an initiator is assigned to Bābā Fighānī [q.v.] (d. 925/1519), a poet of the *ghazal* continuing the style of Hāfiz who attended the court of the Ak Koyunlu in Tabriz. It is certain, anyhow, that from the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards its characteristics can be detected almost everywhere in Persian poetry. The works of 'Urfi [q.v.] of Shīrāz (d. 999/1590-1), one of the earliest poets who went to India, and of his patron at the court of Akbar, Fayḍī [q.v.] (d. 1004/1595), although their renown was much greater in Indo-Persian and Turkish literature than in Iran, were very influential. Many of the prominent representatives of this style were Iranian by birth but made their literary careers at Indian courts (e.g. Nazīrī of Nishāpūr (d. 1021/1612-3), Zuhūrī [q.v.] of Khudjand (d. 1024/1615), Tālib of Amul (d. 1036/1626-7), Abū Tālib Kalīm of Hamadān (d. 1061/1651)). The Safawid poets who remained in Iran, or returned there after a stay in India, applied the devices of the Indian style as well but generally with a great deal of moderation. By far the most talented among them was Sā'ib [q.v.] of Tabriz (d. 1088/1677-8). Other notable poets in Iran during the 11th/17th century were Zulālī [q.v.] (d. 1024/1615), who wrote the *Sab' sayyāra*, a set of seven didactic and romantic *mathnawīs*, Faṣīḥī-i Anṣārī of Harāt (d. 1046/1636-7), Djalāl-i Asīr (d. 1049/1639-40 or 1069/1658-9), who was famous as a "drunken" (*rind*) poet, and Nāzīm of Harāt (d. 1080/1670). Some independence from the current literary fashion was shown by Shīfā'ī (d. 1037/1628), the physician of Shāh 'Abbās I, who wrote satires as well as *mathnawīs* in the style of Sanā'ī and Khāḳānī.

The Safawid period did not produce any artistic prose work of great value. Mention might be made of *Latā'if al-tawā'if*, a collection of anecdotes about the various social classes by Safī [q.v.] (d. 939/1532-3), the son of Husayn-i Wā'iz-i Kāshīfī. A typical man of letters of this time was also Kāshīf-i Kumayt [q.v.]. Much more fertile in this respect was again Indo-Persian literature. Already in the 8th/14th century it had produced a major work in the *Tūfīnāma* of Diyā' al-Dīn Nakhshabī [q.v.] which was adapted in this period by Muḥammad Qādīrī. The interaction of Hinduism and Islam in the culture of the Mughal empire resulted in translations of the classical works of Sanskrit literature, *Mahābhārata* and *Ramāyana*, as well as in the religious writings of Dārā Shukōh [q.v.]. The poet Zuhūrī achieved fame with a series of short sketches written in a highly affected form of prose. The poor state of Iran during the first few decades of the 12th/18th century, the time of the Afghān invasion and the subsequent downfall of the Safawid

dynasty, is reflected in the *Tadhkirat al-ahwāl* or *Ta'rikh-i Hazīn*, a book of memoirs by Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn [q.v.] (d. 1180/1766-7). Under the rule of Nādir Shāh national pride was restored in Iran, which showed itself in a flowering of panegyricism on the great conqueror. The leading man of letters was Mahdī Khān [q.v.], secretary as well as historiographer to Nādir. He used the bombastic style of Waṣṣāf in his main work, *Durra-i Nādīrī*, but wrote his various other works in a much simpler fashion.

About the middle of the 12th/18th century a new school of poetry asserted itself in Isfahān and Shīrāz. The poets of this school, headed by Muḥtāk (d. 1171/1757-8) and Shu'la (d. 1160/1747), turned their backs on the Indian style and proclaimed a literary return (*bāzgašt-i adabī*) to the more harmonious standards of the earlier styles. They looked, for the models of their poems, to the *diwāns* of the great poets of the pre-Mongol period. The *kaṣīda* was restored to its former prominence as a poetical form. This movement very soon dominated the literary scene and its aesthetic ideals have governed traditional poetry in Iran up to the present day. (See further M. T. Bahār, *Bāzgašt-i adabī*, in *Armaghān*, xiii-xiv (1311-2 sh.), *passim*; idem, *Sabkshīnāsī*, iii, 318 f.; J. Rypka, *History*, 306-8).

To the first generation of neo-classicist poets belonged Muḥammad 'Ashīk (d. 1181/1767-8), Hātīf [q.v.] (d. 1198/1783), Shīhābī of Turshīz (d. 1215/1800-1) and Luṭf 'Alī Beg Ādhar (d. 1195/1780-1), the author of the *tadhkira Ātashkade*, a first-hand source on the *bāzgašt*-movement. After the founding of the Kādjār dynasty, Fath 'Alī Shāh (reigned 1212/1797-1250/1834) tried to revive the ancient traditions of the royal maecenate at his court in Tehran. The centre of the circle of poets gathered here, who all emulated the classics, was Šabā [q.v.] (d. 1238/1822-3). He was highly appreciated in his own days on account of his panegyric *kaṣīdas* and of his *mathnawī*, *Shāhanshāhnāma*, picturing the contemporary wars with Russia in the style of the old heroic epic. Worthy of note are also Šabāhī Bīdgūlī (d. 1218/1803), Šahāb (d. 1222/1807-8), Mīdīmār (d. 1225/1810) and Naṣhāt (d. 1244/1828-9). A peculiarity of this period was the formation of small literary societies (*andjūmans*) (see DJAM'YYA). In the next generation the cultivation of classicism reached its richest development in the work of Kā'ānī [q.v.] (d. 1270/1854), a virtuoso of the poetical language. He showed, however, his awareness of the reality of his time in satirical poems and in his prose-work, *Kitāb-i parišān*. Kā'ānī was the first Persian poet who had some knowledge of European languages.

The tradition of the mystical *ghazal* was resumed by Furūghī [q.v.] (d. 1271/1857-8) of Bīstām, who also used the pen-name Miskīn. A remarkable personality was Yaḡmā [q.v.] (d. 1276/1859) of Djandaq. He lived both as a *darwish* and as a panegyrist of the Kādjār court while he was at the same time a redoubted satirist. His independent frame of mind showed itself in the invention of a new type of religious elegy in a style related to popular songs, known as *nawha-i sīnazar*. An interesting trait of his use of the language is the puristic effort to replace Arabic words by Iranian equivalents. Several poets of this century founded literary dynasties as their sons continued to work on the same lines as their fathers. Besides Šabā and Yaḡmā, a famous instance of this is the family of Wiṣāl [q.v.] (d. 1262/1846), a learned poet living in Shīrāz.

During the last period of the unchallenged rule of classical poetry, the long reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh

(1848-96), the institution of the encomiast of the court was already declining. Only a few names are worthy of mention: the religious poet Surūsh (d. 1285/1868), Humā (d. 1290/1873-4), a poet of the *ghazal*, and the mystic Shaybāni [q.v.] (d. 1308/1890), in whose pessimistic lyrics an element of social criticism can be noticed. Minor poets, who distinguished themselves in other fields of literary activity or in public life, were the historian Muḥammad Taqī Siphir [q.v.] (d. 1297/1880) and Riḍā Kūli Khān [q.v.] (d. 1288/1871). The latter, who used Hidāyat as his poetical name, was the leading literator of his time. He wrote a number of authoritative works on political, literary and religious history as well as a lexicon. The *Madīma' al-Fuṣṣahā'*, the last great *tadhkirā* of the old style, in which most of the materials on literary history contained in earlier works of this kind was compiled, became particularly famous.

e. *Modern literature (19th-20th centuries).*

The impact of western civilization, which began to affect life in Iran in the course of the 19th century, did not leave its solid literary tradition untouched. The ancient structure of Persian literature was attacked by the forces of change from several sides. Political developments put an end to the system of court poetry and caused a fundamental change in the attitude of the poet towards his art. The modern poet, whether he continued to work on traditional lines or not, could no longer make a living out of poetry. He had become, in a certain sense, an amateur who composed his poems on his own account. This led, on the one hand, to a much greater involvement of literature in the political and social vicissitudes of the nation, on the other, to a more individual form of poetical expression, the models of which were provided by European literature. New concepts like nationalism, democracy and social justice demanded the attention of the modern intellectual. The earliest poets of the modern period who, during the struggle for the Iranian constitution [see IRAN, HISTORY], had to express these ideas with some urgency, could only make use of the classical forms of poetry, which proved to possess a remarkable adaptability. Eventually, however, the formal system could not remain unchallenged. Especially in poetry a long battle was waged on the question whether it was permissible to evolve a new type of poetry (*shī'r-i naw*) through experiments with prosody, or even to use entirely free verse (*shī'r-i āzād*), or not. In this struggle the classical style of poetry was shown to have deep roots in Iranian culture. Perhaps the most important formal innovation was the emergence of a genuine prose literature based on the forms of the novel and the short story, which were borrowed from modern European literature.

While the actual birth of the modern literature of Iran took place during the turbulent years between 1890 and the beginning of the First World War, the process leading up to fundamental changes started early in the Kādjār period. Simultaneously with the classicist renaissance at the court of Fath 'Alī Shāh, a much more progressive attitude could be observed in the entourage of 'Abbās Mirzā [q.v.], the heir-apparent and governor of Āḥarabāyḍjān. Confronted with the necessity of military reform on account of successive defeats in the wars with Russia, several measures were taken which proved to be of great consequence to the future course of cultural life in Iran. For the first time students were sent to Russia and Western Europe. One of their tasks was to study typographical techniques. A printing-press was founded in Tabriz in 1816-7. Very soon typography (*lāpī-*

*surbi*) was replaced by lithography (*lāp-i sangī*), which remained the principal form of printing during most of the 19th century. In 1834 the first Iranian newspaper was published in Tehran, the *Rūznāma-i akhbār-i wakāyi'* which had only a limited circulation. A more direct influence on literature was exerted by the efforts to simplify the style of official correspondence, a good example of which was given by Abu 'l-Kāsim Farahāni (1799-1835), better known by his title Kā'im-makām [q.v.], i.e., deputy-minister of 'Abbās Mirzā.

A second episode of cultural modernization was the short term of office of Mirzā Taqī Khān [q.v.], also known as Amir-i Kabir or Amir-i Nizām, as prime-minister of the young Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh. It ended abruptly with the execution of the Amir-i Kabir in 1852. The publishing of a newspaper was resumed in 1851 (*Rūznāma-i wakāyi'-i illīfākīyya*, in 1860 renamed *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i 'aliyya-i Irān*). In the following decades the number of periodicals rapidly increased. Although they were all more or less mouthpieces of the government, they helped to spread new ideas through the information they provided about the world outside Iran. During the last few decades of the century political emigrants spread pan-Islamic or liberal ideas in a number of papers published in Istanbul, Cairo, Calcutta and London. [See *DJARDNA*, ii, with further references].

Another initiative of the Amir-i Kabir was the founding of a polytechnic school (Dār al-Funūn) in Tehran (1852), which provided a modern education in technical and natural sciences with some attention to the humanities as well. The staff of the school, directed by Riḍā Kūli Khān, consisted mostly of European teachers. The Dār al-Funūn formed the beginning of modern academic education in Iran [see *DJĀMI'Ā*]. An immediate effect was an increased demand for the translation of books from European languages, among which French was by far the best known in Iran. The list of the earliest translations contains, besides textbooks and scientific works, also *belles lettres*, e.g. works by Al. Dumas, Daniel Defoe and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (cf. E. G. Browne, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 154-66). Many translations are attributed to Muḥammad Hasan Khān [q.v.] (d. 1896) who successively used the titles Ṣanī' al-Dawla and I'timād al-Saltana, but they were chiefly made by a corps of translators working under his direction in the government's printing office (Dār al-Tibā'ā) and the bureau of translators (Dār al-Tarḍjama).

Among the preliminaries to the modern period mention should also be made of the religious movement of the Bāb [q.v.], which manifested itself for the first time in 1844. From the very beginning the Bābis displayed a great literary activity, encompassing theological and historical writings as well as poetry. The most celebrated figure is the female poet and martyr of the Bābi cause, Kurrat al-'Ayn [q.v.] (d. 1851). (See further E. G. Browne, iv, 198-220; idem, *Materials for the study of the Bābi Religion*, Cambridge 1918, 341-58).

The heralds of modern "committed" poetry were Muḥammad Bākīr Bawānāti (d. 1891-2), who as early as 1882 published a *ḥaṣīda* attacking the imperialist policies of Britain and Russia, and Akā Khān Kirmāni (d. 1896), a prominent political exile in Istanbul and a follower of *Djāmāl al-Dīn al-Afghāni* [q.v.]. The latter contrasted the decadence of Iran in the late Kādjār period with its ancient splendour in his historical *mathnawī*, *Sālār-nāma* or *Nāma-i bāstān*. An interesting feature of this work was the attack launched

on classical literature (with the single exception of Firdawsi whose *Shāhnāma* stood as a model for the poem), which was considered as a principal source of degeneration in the Islamic history of Iran. The political movement against the despotism and misrule of the Kādījārs and the foreign forces that supported it brought quite different groups of the population together. Several eminent erudites of the old cultural tradition contributed to the creation of a patriotic poetry: e.g. Sayyid Ahmad Adib-i Pishāwari (ca. 1845-1930), 'Abd al-Djawād Adib-i Nishāpūri (1864-5—1926), and especially Mirzā Šādiq Khān, better known by his pen-name Amīrī or his honorific Adib al-Mamālik (1860-1917), who abandoned a successful career as a court-poet in 1898 to become a journalist. In the first decade of the 20th century the proliferating press became the chief medium for the publication of poetry. One of the best periodicals was the *Nasīm al-Shimāl* edited in Rasht by Ashraf-i Gilāni (1871-about 1930), a writer of satirical poems (*fukā-hiyyāl*) criticizing in particular the conservative Šhi'ite 'ulamā' in a simple language full of colloquial expressions. 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā (about 1880-1956) published his poems under the name Dakḥaw in the *Šūr-i Isrāfil*. Besides his great merits in other fields of literature and scholarship, he was the first to try some formal experiments. Muḥammad Taqī Bahār [q.v.] (1886-1951), a master of the classical forms who already in his early years had earned the title *malik al-šū'arā'* as a panegyrist, put his great talents entirely at the service of the constitutional movement, successfully applying the old forms to the expression of new contents. Throughout the first half of this century Bahār was the leading modern poet of Iran. Forms of popular poetry like the folk-song (*surūd*) and the ballad (*tašnif*), usually recited to the accompaniment of music, became favourites with the political poets. A famous composer, as well as an impressive performer of *tašnifs*, was Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Ārif of Qazwin (about 1880-1934).

The core of the new nationalist ideology was Iranism, i.e., the glorification of the pre-Islamic past of Iran, of which the Iranian intelligentsia had become conscious mainly through the results of western philological, historical and archaeological research. Zoroastrianism very often appeared as the enlightened counterpart of the obscurantism that was felt to be fostered by traditional Islam. Those works of the classical literature that seemed to express a similar feeling of nostalgia for the glorious past, like the *Shāhnāma* and the *kašida* on the ruins of al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon) by Khākāni, enjoyed a great popularity. The foremost philo-Iranian poet was Ibrāhīm Pūr-i Dāwūd (1886-1968), who later in his life became a distinguished student and translator of the *Avesta*.

To Abu 'l-Kāsim Lāhūti (1887-8—1957) a revolutionary change of social conditions was the main goal of the political struggle in which he took a most active part until he was forced to flee to the Soviet Union in 1922. There he wrote the long poem (*man-zūma*), *Kirimi*, as a tribute to communism. Afterwards, he became the leading poet of the Soviet Republic of Tādjikistān [q.v.]. Farrukhī Yazdī (1889-1939) continued to fight for his socialist ideals in Iran. His best poetry is to be found among his *ghazals*, written in a conventional style in spite of their quite modern contents.

Although his short life was filled with radical political action, Muḥammad Riḍā 'Ishki [q.v.] (1894-5—1924) is more significant in the history of literature on account of his formal and thematical innovations. He has been styled the first romantic

poet of Iran, because of the strong influence of French romantic and symbolist poetry on his work. This is particularly noticeable in his greater poems, *Kafan-i siyāh*, *Ideāl* and *Rastākḥiz*. His experiments with prosody were chiefly concerned with the strophe-poem (*musammal*). Many other poets endeavoured to extend the possibilities of the 'arūd system, but, until the period after the Second World War, few dared to follow the example of a complete rupture from traditional forms given by Muḥammad Isfandi-yārī, better known as Nimā Yūshidj [q.v.] (1897-1960). His *Afsāna* (1921) marks the beginning of his efforts to create a type of free verse that was no longer bound by the old rules of metre and rhyme but was based directly on the rhythm and music of the language.

During the period between the wars contemporary politics almost completely disappeared as a theme of literature. All the same, many poets displayed a concern with individual social problems, most prominent among which was the position of women in Iranian society. This was the main topic of Tradj Mirzā (1874-5—1925), a prince of the Kādījār house, whose simple yet graceful style made him one of the most beloved poets of modern times. The talented female poet Parwin-i I'tišāmī (1906-7 or 1910-1941) showed a deep concern with the miseries of the poor. Satirical verse was still very popular but had to respect the bounds set by official censorship. Especially renowned for their satirical poems were Kulzum (b. 1891), Rūhāni (b. 1896) and Muḥammad 'Alī Nāsih (b. 1898).

The mainstream of Persian poetry still consisted of the poets who applied in varying degrees modern elements in their works but remained essentially faithful to tradition. A point of focus of literary life was the *andjuman-i adabi-i Irān* founded by Waḥid-i Dastgardi (1880-1942), who, since 1919, edited the authoritative literary periodical of this period, *Armaḡhān* (cf. F. Machalski, *Vahid Dastgardi and his "Armaḡhān"*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1963), 81-103). M. T. Bahār established a circle of poets of his own as well as the journal *Naw-Bahār* (1921-51). *Wafā* (1923-5) was edited by the popular poet Nizām-i Wafā (b. 1887-8). The progressive writers expressed themselves in *Āyanda* (1925-40). The most brilliant poet among the many who first appeared on the literary stage between 1920 and 1940 was Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shahrivār (b. 1906-7). In his *ghazals* inspired by Ḥāfiẓ he displays a remarkable ability to blend the old poetical idiom with a modern sentiment.

From 1941 till about 1950 there was a great increase in political and literary activities. In 1946 the first congress of Iranian writers was held in Tehran (cf. *Nukhustin Kongre-i nawisandagān-i Irān*, Tehran 1325 sh.). Several new periodicals were started, e.g. *Sukhan* (1943), the organ of the progressive poets and prose writers, edited by Parwiz Nātil Khānlari (b. 1913), and *Yaghmā* (1948), edited by the poet Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'i (b. 1901). Among the scholarly journals which pay much attention to the study of literature mention should be made of *Yādgar* (1944-9), *Farhang-i Irān-zamin* (since 1953), and of the periodicals of the Faculties of Arts of the Iranian universities e.g. *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyāt*, Tehran (since 1953), *Nashriyya-i Dānishkada-i adabiyāt-i Tabriz* (since 1948), *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyāt*, Isfahān (since 1964), and *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyāt*, Mashhad (since 1965).

The most conspicuous feature of the poetry of the post-war period is the acceptance by an expanding group of poets and literary critics of the ideas on free verse as they had been put forward by Nimā

Yūshīdī. The debate between modernists and the defenders of the classical tradition was resumed with great intensity in the literary journals. The leading advocates of a modernized prosody were Farīdūn Tawallūf, who published a manifesto as an introduction to his volume of verse *Rahā* (1951), P. N. Khānlārī and Nadīr-i Nādirpūr. They also belong to the most prominent poets of the new style. The criticism of the classicists is not only directed against deviations from the traditional forms but equally against the unusual metaphors applied by these poets. (See further on the latest developments of Persian poetry: V. B. Klyashchorina, *Sovremennaya persidskaya poeziya. Očerki*, Moscow 1962; B. Alawi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung*, 225-35; Fr. Machalski, *New Poetry in Iran*, in *New Orient*, iv (1965/4), 33-6; Mansour Shaki, *Modern Persian Poetry*, in *Yādname-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1907, 187-94; Dār-yūsh Shāhīn, *Rāhiyān-i shī'r-i imrūz*, *Djungi az nawsarāyān-i shī'r-i imrūz*, Tehran 1349 sh.<sup>5</sup>).

The tendency towards a simplification of the language and style of prose writing continued to become stronger throughout the 19th century. Whereas the Kā'im-makām still wrote in a style that was very close to the classical concept of literary elegance, the growing necessity to express new impressions and ideas demanded the creation of a much more direct way of writing and the use of a form of language that was understandable to a greater number of people. Abundant material for a study of the modernization of prose is to be found in the works of the translators and journalists of the second half of the century. But already before 1850 an example of a graceful sober new style had been given by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ṭasūḍīl in his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*. A similar concern for directness of expression is displayed by several memoirs and books of travel written by prominent men of the Kādjār period. The most celebrated example of this was given by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [q.v.] in the books of travel he composed after each of his many journeys to Europe, to 'Irāk, and to the provinces of Iran.

The propagation of new ideas on political, social and scientific issues was the principal aim of many early writers of modern prose. A number of political essays was composed by Malkūm Khān [q.v.] (1833-1909), e.g. *Kitāb-e ghaybī* of 1859, a proposal for a radical reform of the public institutions of Iran addressed to the shah. He made great efforts to adapt Persian to its modern functions and even suggested a change of the writing system. The Ādharbāyḍjānīan writer 'Abd al-Rahīm Nāḍīdjārzāda, better known as Ṭālibof [q.v.] or Ṭālibzāda (ca. 1845-1910), devoted himself in particular to the vulgarization of modern science in an attractive literary form (e.g. the dialogue between a father and his son in *Kitāb-i Aḥmad*, the device of an imaginary journey in *Masālik al-Muḥsinīn*). Mīrzā Ākā Khān Kirmānī should also be named among these pioneers, especially on account of his *Ā'ina-i Iskhāndari*, a history of ancient Iran.

On the eve of the constitutional revolution two works were written that are usually regarded as the beginning of modern fiction in Iran. The picaresque novel of James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, was adapted in Persian by Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī (d. 1897-8), a teacher of Persian living in exile in Istanbul (cf. H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian Prose*, 21 ff.). In spite of its pitiless criticism of traditional Persian life, the work became extremely popular in Iran. The second work is *Siyāhatnāma Ibrāhīm Beg*, an original novel by Zayn al-'Ābidīn Marāghā'ī [q.v.] (d. 1910). The first volume was com-

pleted in 1887 and published in 1888 at the press of the emigrant paper *Akhtar* in Istanbul (cf. the introduction to the reprint, Calcutta 1910, by Ākā Muḥammad Kāzīm-i Shīfrazī). It is a fictitious book of travel describing the deplorable state of Iran in late Kādjār times. The narrative structure is rather loose and dissolves in the two subsequent volumes (published in Calcutta, 1907 and 1909) into a string of instructive and moralistic excursions. In this respect, the author follows an ancient indigenous tradition of moralizing prose writings, the influence of which can be traced in many later Persian novels as well.

During the years of the revolution, political journalism became militant in Iran. The best specimens of this are the satirical sketches contributed to the journal *Sūr-i Isrāfīl* by Dihkhudā under the heading *Čarand-parand*. He frequently used colloquial words and expressions, by which he led the way for the *avant garde* writers of a later generation. An anonymous work of this period is *Ru'yā-i šādika*, written by a group of supporters of reform about 1900. It contains an attack on those in power in Iṣfahān clothed in the form of a vision of doomsday.

The first genre of fictional prose to become fully developed and achieve a great popularity was the historical novel. The earliest was *Shams u Tuḡhrā* of Muḥammad Bākīr Khusrāwī, the first part of a trilogy situated at the time of the Mongol rulers of Iran, published in 1909. It was followed in 1919 by *'Ishk u Saḥānat of Shaykh Mūsā Nathrī*, a novel about Cyrus the Great. The same period was treated by Ḥasan Badī' in *Dāstān-i bāstān* (1920-1). The ruin of the Sāsānids and the Arab conquest provided the background to *Dāmgustārān yā Intikām-ḥwāhān-i Mazdak*, which in 1921 opened a long series of novels by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ṣan'atizāda. The best writers of this genre took pains to base their works on historical research. Sometimes they even supplied notes with references to their sources. The choice of the subjects, taken either from pre-Islamic or Islamic history, was dictated by nationalistic sentiments. Occasionally, contemporary history provided the material, e.g. in *Dalīrān-i Tangistān* of Ḥusayn Ruknzāda Adamiyyat, which is situated in southern Iran during the First World War. Quite often, these works show the influence of European novels of the romantic period. (See further on the historical novel: E. E. Bertel's *Persidskiy istoričeskij roman XX veka*, in *Problemi literatury Vostoka, Trud Moskovojskogo Instituta vostokovedeniya*, i (1932), 111-26; B. Nikitine, *Le roman historique dans la littérature persane moderne*, in *JA*, cciii (1933), 297-33; Fr. Machalski, *Historyczna powieść perska*, Krakow 1952 (in Polish with a French summary); H. Kamshad, *op. cit.*, 41-53).

From 1920 onwards the range of fictional prose became considerably wider. Many novelists began to pay attention to the social problems which were either caused or brought to the moral consciousness by the accelerated process of westernization. Themes like the inferior position of women in Iranian society, the disorientation and immorality of modern youth, prostitution and corruption were taken as subjects for a long series of novels most of which had very little artistic value. Among the best works of this kind is *Tīhrān-i makhūf* (1922) of Murtaḍā Muṣḥfīk Kāzīmī, giving a gloomy picture of modern life in the capital. Worthy of note are also *Man ham girya kardā-am* (1933) of Djahāngīr Djālīlī (1909-38) and *Tafriḥāt-i shāb* (1932) of Muḥammad Mas'ūd (d. 1947), whose pen-name was Dihātī. The latter was much criticized on account of his negativism. In

1942 he started to publish a series of autobiographical novels of great interest, beginning with *Gulhā-i kī dar dījahannam mirūyad*, which was left unfinished. The most popular writer of the period between the wars was Muḥammad Hīdījālī (b. 1899). His novel *Zībā* (1931) is distinguished by the clever description of a corrupt bureaucracy. He also published many short stories and essays with a strong element of didacticism. 'Alī Daštī opened his career as a writer with *Ayyām-i mahbas* (1921), a collection of sketches and essays written in prison, which was later on enlarged with recollections of his life as a politician during the reign of Reżā Shāh Pahlavī. In recent years Daštī has become a successful novelist as well as an important critic of the classical poets (e.g. *Naḫštī az Hāfiz*, 1957).

The most significant contemporary writers have shown a distinct preference for the short story and the novelette. These forms were developed to a much higher level of artistic perfection than the longer novel. An event of major importance in the history of modern Persian prose was the appearance in 1921 of *Yakī būd yakī nabūd*, a volume of satirical stories by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamālzāda (b. 1891-2). It was the first completely successful attempt to apply the narrative technique of European literature. The first edition was accompanied by a manifesto advocating the right of existence of a realistic literature, the value of which as a means of public education is particularly stressed. In order to be able to reach the broad masses of the people, the literary language should not only be simplified but also made more democratic by the assimilation of elements from living speech which were not regarded as correct forms according to the prevailing standards of literary culture. In spite of the fact that he has lived in Europe during most of his life, Djamālzāda never lost his interest in the exploration of the resources of colloquial Persian, which eventually resulted in the compilation of a special dictionary of colloquial words (*Farhang-i lughāt-i 'ammiyāna*, edited by M. Dī. Mahdījūb, Tehran 1341 sh.). His later novels and short stories were not published before 1941. The autobiographical work *Sār u tah-i yak karbās* (1956) is of popular interest.

The principles laid down by Djamālzāda were applied with great talent by Šādīk Hīdāyat [q.v.] (1903-51) in his early stories collected in the volumes *Zīnda bi-gūr* (1930), *Sī kaṭra khūn* (1932) and *Sāya-rawshan* (1933), as well as in the novelette 'Alawiyya *Khānum* (1933). This can be observed especially in the stories which portray the life of the middle and lower classes of Iranian society. The most celebrated aspect of his work is the analysis of mental suffering for which Hīdāyat made use of the literary technique of surrealism. The novelette *Būf-i kūr* (1937) received international attention when a French translation was published in 1953. The short novel *Hādīdī Aḥā*, which was published in 1945, is his best satirical work.

To the same school of writers belongs Buzurg 'Alawī (b. 1907). He is, however, much more involved in politics than the preceding authors. The collection *Āmadān* (1934) earned him an early recognition as an important writer. His *Āshmhāyash* (1952) is one of the best modern Persian novels. Among the writers who made their debut after the Second World War the outstanding writer of the short story is Šādīk Čubak (b. 1916) whose first collection *Khayma shab-bāzi* was published in 1945. His latest works are the novels *Tangstīr* (1963) and *Sang-i šabūr* (1966). Other notable writers of the last few decades are

Muḥammad I'timāzāda (Bihādīn), who is especially known on account of his novel *Dukhtar-i ra'iyat* (1951), Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad (1923-69) and Taqī Mudarrīsī. The extensive novel *Shawhar-i Ahū Khānum* (1961) of 'Alī-Muḥammad Afghānt (b. 1925) was received with great enthusiasm both by the public and the critics in spite of its technical defects. (See on the latest development of modern prose: B. Alawī, in *Yādnāma-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1967, 167-72; M. Zavarzadeh, in *MW*, lviii (1968), 308-16).

Drama (*numāyish*) has never been a part of the classical tradition but has existed on the level of folk literature for a long time in many different forms (cf. J. Cejpek, *Dramatic Folk-literature in Iran*, in J. Rypka et. al., *History*, 682-93). Much attention has been given to the Iranian passion plays (*ta'ziya* [q.v.]), the development of which culminated in the Kādjār period. Modern playwrighting in Iran is entirely derived from European literature. The oldest specimens are translations of some of the most famous comedies of Molière. Of greater importance were the modern comedies of Ākhundzāda [q.v.], written in Azeri Turkish and adequately translated into Persian by Muḥammad Dī'afar Karācādāghī. They were published for the first time in 1874 (reprinted Tehran 1349 sh.). The plays of Ākhundzāda inspired the first original dramatic works: a series of comedies said to have been written by Malkum Khān [q.v.], although his authorship of at least some of these has been denied recently (cf. *Central Asian Review*, xv (1967), 21-6). Interesting features of these early comedies are the element of social criticism they contain and the use of colloquial expressions in the dialogues. From the First World War onwards play writing became a great fashion in Iran. From the vast production of plays only the historical dramas *Parwān dukhtar-i Sāsān* (1930) and *Māziyār* (1933) of Šādīk Hīdāyat are named here because of their importance for the history of literature [See further MASRAHIYYA].

*Bibliography*: in addition to the references in the text, only works of a general character can be mentioned here. For monographs, editions of texts and translations see especially the bibliographies in H. Ethé's contribution to *Gr.I.Ph.*, *passim* and, for works published after 1900, in J. Rypka, *History*, 757-808. The articles in Iranian periodicals have been recorded in *Irādī Afshār*, *Fihrist-i maḥālāt-i Fārsī*, i: 1328 k.—1338 sh., Tehran 1340 sh., ii: 1339-1345 sh., Tehran 1348 sh. For books published in Iran see *Khān-Bānā Mushār*, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i tāpī-i Fārsī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1337-42 sh., supplemented by Karāmat Ra'nā Husaynī, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i tāpī-i Fārsī*. *Dhayl-i Fihrist-i Mushār*, Tehran 1349, sh.; cf. also I. Afshār and H. Banī-Ādam, *Kitāb-shināsi-i dahsāla-i (1333-1342) kitābhā-i Irān*, Tehran 1346 sh. The current production of books can be followed in the periodical *Rāhnumā-i kitāb* (since 1337 sh.), as well as in the annual surveys *Kitābhā-i Irān*, edited by I. Afshār, and *Kitābshināsi-i millī-i intishārāt-i Irān*, a publication of the Wizārat-farhang wa hunar.—As no comprehensive biobibliographical survey of the classical literature exists, reference to the catalogues of Persian manuscripts is still indispensable. A bibliography of catalogues has been compiled by I. Afshār in *Kitābshināsi-i fihristihā-i nushkahā-i khaṭṭī-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1337 sh., which has been supplemented by O. F. Akimushkin and Yu. E. Borshchevskiy in *Narodī Azii i Afriki*, 1963/3, 169-74 and *ibid.*, 1963/6,



228-41. Several important new catalogues have been published during the last decade; a) in Iran: M. T. Dānīsh-pazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭi-i kitābhāna-i Dānīshkāda-i adabiyyāt, Tihrān*, Tehran 1339 sh.; idem and 'Alī-Naḳlī Munzawī, *Fihrist-i kitābhāna-i Sipahsālār*, iii-iv, Tehran 1340-6 sh.; Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Anwār, *Fihrist-i nusakh-i khaṭṭi-i kitābhāna-i millī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1342-7 sh.; the cataloguing of the Kitābhāna-i markazī-i Dānīshgāh-i Tihrān, the Kitābhāna-i Maḍjlis-i Shūrā-i millī and the Kitābhāna-i Astān-i quds-i Raḍawī, Mashhad, has been carried on by several scholars. A systematically arranged synopsis of Persian manuscripts is being supplied by 'Alī-Naḳlī Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭi-i Fārsī*, i-ii, Tehran 1348-9 sh. b) in other countries: A. M. Mirzoev and A. M. Boldřev, *Katalog vostočnikh rukopisey AN Tadžikskoy SSR*, 2 vols., Stalinabad/Dushanbe 1960-8; F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı sarayı müzesi kütüphanesi, Farsça yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961; H. W. Duda, *Die persische Dichterhandschriften der Sammlung Es'ad Ef. zu Istanbul*, in *Isl.*, (1964), 38-70; S. de Beauceceuil, *Manuscripts d'Afghanistan*, Cairo 1964; N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, et. al., *Persidskie i tadžikskie rukopisi Instituta Narodiv Azii AN SSSR, Kratkiy alfabetniy katalog*, Moscow 1964; A. Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde Farsça manzum eserler*. I: *Universite ve Nuruosmaniye kütüphaneleri*, Istanbul 1968; G. M. Meredith Owens, *Handlist of Persian manuscripts*, 1895-1966, The British Museum, London 1968; W. Heinz and W. Eilers, *Persische Handschriften (Verzeichnis der orient. Handschr. in Deutschland, xiv/1)*, Wiesbaden 1968.—The traditional works of literary history, the *tadhkiras*, have been recorded by Storey, i/2, 781-923 and A. Gulčīn-i Ma'ānī, *Ta'riḫ-i tadhkirahā-i Fārsī*, i, Tehran 1348 sh.—The most important modern surveys are: J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818; Sir Gore Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, London 1846; H. Ethé, *Die höfische und romantische Poesie der Perser*, Hamburg 1877; idem, *Die mystische, didaktische und lyrische Poesie der Perser und das spätere Schrifttum der Perser*, Hamburg 1887; idem, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 212-68; I. Pizzi, *Storia della poesia persiana*, 2 vols., Turin 1894; P. Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1901, 1909<sup>2</sup>, enlarged Persian translation by Riḍāzāda Shafak, Tehran 1349 sh.<sup>2</sup>; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, i: *From the earliest times until Firdawsi*, London 1902, Persian translation by 'Alī-Pāshā Šālih, Tehran 1334 sh.; ii: *From Firdawsi to Sa'dī*, London 1906, Persian translation by Fath Allāh Muḍjābā'ī, Tehran 1341 sh.; iii: *The Tartar dominion (1265-1501)*, Cambridge 1922, Persian translation by 'A. A. Hikmat, Tehran 1327 sh.; iv: *Modern times (1500-1924)*, Persian translation by Sayf-pūr Fātimī, Iṣfahān 1310 sh. and R. Yāsīmī, Tehran 1329 sh.<sup>2</sup>; Šhiblī Nu'mānī, *Šhi'r al-Adjām*, i-iv, 'Allgafh 1906-12, v (unfinished), A'zamgafh 1919 (in Urdu), Persian translation by M. T. Fakhr-i Dā'ī Gilānī, Tehran 1316-8 sh.; A. Krlmskiy, *Istoriya Persii, ego literatur i dervišeskoj teosofii*, 3 vols., Moscow 1909-17; E. E. Bertel's, *Očerki istorii persidskoj literatur*, Leningrad 1928; Djalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Ta'riḫ-i adabiyyāt-i Irān*, 2 vols., Tabriz 1348/1929-30, Tehran 1342 sh.<sup>2</sup>; Badī' al-Zamān Furzānfar, *Sukhan wa Sukhanwarān*, 2 vols., Tehran

1308-12 sh.; Riḍāzāda Shafak, *Ta'riḫ-i adabiyyāt-i Irān*, Tehran 1313 sh., 1321 sh.<sup>2</sup>; A. Zarre, *Očerki literatury Irana*, in *Vostok*, ii: *Literatura Irana X-XV v.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1935; E. E. Bertel's, *Persidskaya poeziya v Bukhara v X veke*, Moscow-Leningrad 1935; Dh. Saḳā, *Ta'riḫ-i adabiyyāt dar Irān*, i: *Az āghāz-i 'ahd-i Islāmī tā dawra-i Saldjūki*, Tehran 1332 sh., 1342 sh.<sup>4</sup>; ii: *Az miyān-i ḳarn-i pandjum tā āghāz-i ḳarn-i haftum-i hidjri*, Tehran 1336 sh., 1339 sh.<sup>2</sup>; iii/1: *Az awā'il-i ḳarn-i haftum tā awāḳhir-i ḳarn-i hashtum-i hidjri*, Tehran 1341 sh.; J. Rypka, et. al., *Dějiny perské a tadžické literatury*, Prague 1956, 1963<sup>2</sup>; idem, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959; idem, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958; Dh. Saḳā, *Gandj-i sukhan*, 3 vols., Tehran 1339 sh. (in Vol. i, *yak-muwad u šahr: muḳaddama dar ta'riḫ-i zabān wa shi'r-i Irān*); E. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannye trud. Istoriya persidsko-tadžikskoy literatury*, Moscow 1960 (unfinished work, posthumously published); A. Bausani, *Literatura neopersiana*, in A. Pagliaro and A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 1968<sup>2</sup>; I. Braginskij and D. Komissarov, *Persidskaya literatura. Kratkiy očerk*, Moscow 1963; F. Machalski, *Persian court poetry of the Kāḡār epoch*, in *Folia Orientalia*, vi (1964), 1-40; S. Nafisi, *Ta'riḫ-i nazm wa naṭh dar Irān wa dar zabān-i Fārsī tā pāyān-i ḳarn-i dahum-i hidjri*, 2 vols., Tehran 1344 sh.; M. I. Zand, *Six centuries of glory: essays on medieval literature of Iran and Transoxania*, Moscow 1967; J. Rypka, *Poets and prose writers of the late Saljuq and Mongol periods*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 550-625; Dh. Saḳā, *Gandjina-i Sukhan*, 3 vols., Tehran 1348 sh. (in vol. i, 1-156: *muḳaddama dar ta'riḫ-i tahawwul-i naṭh-i pārsī*); G. Scarcia, *Literatura persiana*, in *Storia delle letterature d'oriente*, ii, Milan 1969, 245-455; Zahrā Khānlārī (Kiyā), *Farhang-i adabiyyāt-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1348 sh.; R. Levy, *An introduction to Persian literature*, New York-London 1969.—On contemporary literature only: K. Čavkin, *Kratkiy očerk novejšey persidskov literatury*, Moscow 1928; M. Ishaque (Ishāk), *Sukhanwarān-i Irān dar 'asr-i hādīr*, 2 vols., Delhi 1933-7; Dinshah J. Irani, *Poets of the Pahlawi Regime*, Bombay 1933; Rašīd-i Yāsīmī, *Adabiyyāt-i mu'āsīr*, Tehran 1316 sh.; M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian Poetry*, Calcutta 1943; R. Lescot, *Le roman et la nouvelle dans la littérature iranienne contemporaine*, in *B. Ét. Or.*, ix (1943), 83-101; S. Nafisi, *Šāhkhārhā-i naṭh-i Fārsī-i mu'āsīr*, 2 vols., Tehran 1330-2 sh.; M. Bākir Burkā'ī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-i mu'āsīr*, 3 vols., Tehran 1329-38 sh.; B. Nikitine, *Les thèmes sociaux dans la littérature persane moderne*, in *OM*, xxxiv (1954), 225-37; Munib Rahman (Munib al-Rahmān), *Post-Revolutionary Persian verse*, Aligarh 1955; idem, *Social satire in modern Persian literature*, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies* (Aligarh), ii-iii (1958-9), 63-91; idem, *Djādīd Fārsī šā'iri*, Aligarh 1959 (in Urdu); G. S. Komissarov, *Očerki sovremennoy persidskoj prozi*, Moscow 1960; Fr. Machalski, *Principaux courants de la prose persane moderne*, in *RO*, xxv (1961), 121-30; V. B. Kljashatorina, *Imagery in 20th Century Persian poetry*, in *Central Asian Review*, xiii/3 (1965), 205-15 (translated from *Narodl Azii i Afriki*, 1956/1, 124-34); R. Gelpke, *Die iranische Prosaliteratur im 20. Jahrhundert*, i: *Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen*, Wiesbaden 1962; Bozorg

Alawi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964; Fr. Machalski, *La littérature de l'Iran contemporain. I: La poésie persane de l'époque du "réveil des Iraniens" jusqu'au coup d'état de Reḏā Ḥān (environ 1880-1921)*; ii: *La poésie de l'époque de Reḏā Šāh Pahlavī (1921-1941)*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow 1965-7; H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian prose literature*, Cambridge 1966; Věra Kublčková, *Persian literature of the 20th Century*, in J. Rypka et al., *History*, 353-418, bibliography 809-13.—On the history of Persian literature outside Iran: A. Bausani, *L'eredità persiana*, in *Letteratura del Pakistan*, Milan 1968<sup>3</sup>, 37-81; J. Marek, *Persian literature in India*, in J. Rypka et al., *History*, 711-34, bibliography 832-8; G. Yu. Aliyev, *Persoyazičnaya literatura Indii. Kratkiy očerok*, Moscow 1968; Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Šhamim, *Ši'r-i Fārsī dar Hind wa Pākistān*, Tehran 1349 šh. (anthology); G. L. Tikku, *Persian poetry in Kashmir (1339-1864)*, Introduction, Berkeley 1971; E. E. Bertel's, *Literatura na persidskom yazike v Sredney Azii*, in SO, 1948, 199-228, German translation by I. Engelke, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung*, iii/2 (1955), 180-223; J. Bečka, *Tajik literature from the 16th century to the present*, in J. Rypka et al., *History*, 483-605, bibliography 814-31; H. J. de Dianous, *La littérature afghane de langue persane*, in *Orient*, xxvi (1963), 47-63; *ibid.*, xxvii (1963), 129-43; *ibid.*, xxxi (1964), 137-71; G. Scarcia, *Poeti e prosatori afghani moderni*, OM, xli (1966), 254-67; J. Rypka, *History*, 808 (short bibliography on Persian letters in Afghanistan); A. Ateš, *Hicri VI.-VIII. (XII.-XIV.) asırlarda Anadolu'da Farsça eserler*, in *TM*, vii-viii (1945), cüz ii, 94-135.—On learned prose: C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A bio-bibliographical survey. I: Qur'anic literature; history and biography*, London 1927-39; ii/1: *A. Mathematics*; B. *Weights and measures*. C. *Astronomy and astrology*. D. *Geography*, London 1958; ii/2: *E. Medicine*, edited by J. D. Pearson, London 1971 (parts i and ii of an enlarged Russian translation, in 3 parts, by Yu. E. Bregel' was published in 1972: *Persidskaya literatura, bio-bibliografičeskiy obzor*; cf. also Yu. E. Borshčevskiy and Yu. E. Bregel' in *Narodī Azii i Afriki*, 1970/3, 105-19); G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 36-134; F. Tauer, *Persian learned literature from its beginnings up to the end of the 18th century*, in J. Rypka et al., *History*, 419-82; B. Spuler, *Die historische und geografische Literatur in persischer Sprache*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i/4; *Iranistik*, ii/1: *Literatur*, Leiden-Cologne 1968, 100-67.—On popular literature: J. Cejpek, *Iranian folk-literature*, in J. Rypka et al., *History*, 609-709, bibliography 839-54.

On the literature of Persian Jews see JUDAEO-PERSIAN LITERATURE.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN).

viii.—ART AND ARCHITECTURE, [see Supplement].

**IRĀNĪ** [see Mughals].

**IRATEN** (Ayt > Aḥ Yiratān; Ar. Banū Ratān), a Berber tribal group of Great Kabylia, whose territory is bounded on the north by the Sebaw, in the west by the Wādī Aīssi (Wādī 'Aysi), which separates them from the Ayt Yenni, in the south by the Ayt Yahyā and in the east by the Ayt Frawsen. It is a hilly country from 3000 to 3500 feet in height, producing olives and figs and some cereals. The

inhabitants are settled in several villages, of which the most important are Adni, Tawrirt Amezkrān, Usammer and Agemmun. The Iraten numbered some ten thousand, belonging to the *commune mixte* of Forth-National.

We know little about the history of the Iraten. Ibn Khaldūn (*Berberes*, tr. de Slane, i, 256) mentions them as inhabitants of "the mountain between Biḏjāya [Bougie] and Tedellys [Dellys]". They were nominally under the governor of Bougie and were on the list of tribes liable to *kharādī*, while being in fact independent. At the time when the Marīnid al-Ḥasan undertook his campaign in Ifrīkiya, they were subject to a woman called Šhamsī, of the family of the 'Abd al-Šamad, from whom their chiefs came.

Throughout the Turkish period, the Iraten maintained their independence, secure behind their mountains. They formed one of the most powerful federations in Kabylia, which comprised five 'arsh: Ayt Irḏjen, Akerma, Usammer, Awggasha and Umalu, and could put in the field a force of 2800 men. They kept their independence until in 1854 the French, under Marshal Randon, for the first time penetrated into the Kabylia mountains. To prevent an invasion of their territory the Iraten agreed to give hostages and to pay tribute. Nevertheless, their land remained a hotbed of intrigues against French rule, so that Randon in 1857 decided to subdue them completely. The French troops, leaving Tizi-Ouzou on 24 May, conquered all the Kabyl villages in succession and on 29 May defeated the army of the Iraten and their allies on the plateau of Sūk al-Arb'ā. To keep them in check Randon at once began to build Fort-Napoléon (later Fort-National) in the heart of their country and thus placed "a thorn in the eye of Kabylia". The Iraten were then quiet for 14 years, but in 1871 they again took to arms and participated in the siege of Fort-National, which however the rebels did not succeed in capturing. (For subsequent events, see ALGERIA).

*Bibliography*: See references given in art. KABYLIA; for the Iraten, more especially: S. Boulifa, *Le K'anoun d'Ad'ni*, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905; Carette, *Études sur la Kabylie (Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie, Sciences historiques et géographiques)*, Paris 1848, ii, 287; E. Carrey, *Récits de Kabylie, Campagne de 1857*, Algiers 1858; Clerc, *Campagne de Kabylie*, Paris 1857; Devaux, *Les Kabayles du Djerdjera*, Marseille 1859; (Maréchal) Randon, *Opérations militaires en Kabylie. Rapport au ministre de la guerre*, Paris 1854; Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1893, 3 vols., i, 238-41. On the dialect of the Ath Iraten: Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Jurjura*, Paris 1867, 123-47; S. Boulifa, *Recueil de poésies kabyles*, Algiers 1904; idem, *Méthode de langue kabyle*, 2<sup>e</sup> année, Algiers 1913; idem, *Recueil de compositions*, Algiers 1913; A. Basset and A. Picard, *Éléments de grammaire berbère*, Algiers 1948; idem, *Sur berbère yir "mauvais" chez les Irjen*, in *RAfr.*, xciii (1949), 291-313; A. Picard, *Textes berbères dans le parler des Irjen*, Algiers 1958; idem, *De quelques faits de stylistique dans le parler berbère des Irjen*, Algiers 1960. (G. YVER).

**IRBID**, the name of two places:

I: (Irbid/Arbad), the centre of the *kaḏā'* of 'Adjlūn [q.v.] in Transjordan (32° 33' N., 35° E.). According to al-Ṭabarī, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd II died at Irbid which, the chronicler states, at that time formed part of the region of the Balḳā' [q.v.].

Several traditions place the residence of Yazīd II at Bayt Rās [q.v.], situated about 3 km. to the north of Irbid. In the Mamluk period, Irbid was a halting-place of the *barīd* [q.v.]. Today it is a small town of about 3000 inhabitants with basalt houses.

II: (Khirbat Irbid, Arbad, Erbed), vestiges of the ancient Arbela, west of Lake Tiberias, in the ravine formed by the Wādi 'l-Hamām. The most noteworthy of the ruins is a synagogue which dominates the ravine. On the sides of the ravine some caves are situated, connected by steps cut from the rock. It is in one of these caves that tradition places the tomb of the mother of Moses (Mūsā b. 'Imrān), and also those of four sons of Jacob (Ya'qūb)—Dān, Isākhār, Zabūlūn and Gād.

*Bibliography*: I: Tabarī, ii, 1463; J. Sauvaget, *Poste aux chevaux*, Paris 1941, 72-6. II: Yākūt, s.v.; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 19-20; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 457; Marmardjī, *Textes géographiques*, Paris 1951, 4; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-8, i, 410, ii, 249; Clermont-Ganneau, in *RAO*, i, 324; *ZDPV*, xix (1896), 222-3, xxviii (1905), 22-4. (S. ORV)

**IRBIL**, a town in Upper Mesopotamia, situated about 80 km. east-south-east of al-Mawṣil (36° 11' N., 42° 2' E.), in the centre of a region known as Adiabene, bounded on the north by the course of the Great Zāb and on the south by that of the little Zāb. Irbil is a site which has been inhabited since very early times, being referred to in cuneiform inscriptions under the name Arbāflu; the religious centre of the kingdom of Assyria with a sanctuary of the goddess Ishtar, it was also a centre of communications and a point of intersection of caravan routes. It was near to this spot, later known as Arbeles, that in 331 B.C. Darius III was defeated by Alexander. In dispute between the Parthians and the Romans, the town, then known as Arbīra, became Christian at an early date, though it is not possible to determine to what extent Christianity penetrated the region. The seat of a governor in the Sāsānid period, Irbil was the scene of persecutions of the Christians, who by an edict of 340 were subjected to a capitation tax and various other tribulations; the resistance of certain Christians led to their execution, and some years later, in 358, the governor Kardagh suffered martyrdom when he became a convert to Christianity.

The conquest of the town by the Muslims, apparently achieved without serious resistance, did not prevent its remaining an active Christian centre, the seat of a bishopric which was held by several outstanding figures. However, for reasons that elude the historian, Irbil was swiftly eclipsed by al-Mawṣil, to which the metropolitan moved in the 3rd/9th century. At that time, Irbil was referred to by the Arab geographers merely as a leading town of the district of Hulwān. Irbil again became a town of some importance when, in 563/1167, it was the capital of the Kurdish *amīr* Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Kūčūk Begtegin, the former lord of Sindjār, Harrān and Takrīt, who was soon replaced by his son. The most famous sovereign of this dynasty was Muzaḥfar al-Dīn Kōkbūrī [see BEGTEGINIDS], the brother-in-law of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who ruled Irbil from 586/1190 until 630/1232 and made his capital a place of some importance, in particular by the creation of new districts at the foot of the upper town. This lower town was embellished with various public buildings, hospitals, a *madrasa* known as al-Muzaḥfariyya, and a *ribāḥ* for the use of the Ṣūfīs. It was there, every

year, that Kōkbūrī had the *mawlid* celebrated with particular solemnity, in commemoration of the Prophet's birth. On the death of Kōkbūrī, the state of Irbil passed into the hands of the caliph al-Mustansīr, to whom Kōkbūrī had bequeathed it, but he was compelled to lay siege to the town to gain possession of it.

In 633/1235, the town was attacked and partly pillaged by the Mongols, who succeeded in capturing the citadel only in 656/1258, after the fall of Baghdād, and with the help of Kōkbūrī's old rival, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', upon whom the town was conferred. For some years, despite a massacre which took place on the occasion of the unsuccessful revolt of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, son of Lu'lu', in 659/1261, the Christian community of Irbil experienced a period of relative prosperity, and was strengthened by the arrival of new elements. In fact, the town was given a Christian governor, Tādī al-Dīn Mukhtaṣ, who encouraged some Jacobite country-people to move to Irbil and, with the agreement of the Nestorian metropolitan Denḥa, allowed them to build a church there. The new Jacobite community succeeded, some years later, in being granted their own bishop. Denḥa, for his part, was appointed catholicos in Baghdād in 663/1265, but he had to leave that town in 666/1266 and take refuge in Irbil, from which he also fled in 669/1271, this time settling in Āḏhar-bāyḏjān, as a result of a dispute with the governor. In 687/1289 the recall and torturing of Tādī al-Dīn marked the beginning of a period of persecution and harassment for the Christians of Irbil. In 693/1295, three churches were destroyed on the orders of the Mongols and, in 708/1310, following some incidents provoked by Christian mercenaries, the Christian population of the lower town, and later that of the upper town also, were in part exterminated and several churches sacked. From that time the Christian community of Irbil lost all its importance and the few survivors gradually emigrated. Under Ottoman rule Irbil, which belonged to the *pashallīk* of Baghdād, had to endure the campaign of Nādir Shāh into Turkey in 1156/1743. In 1892 the town possessed only 3,200 inhabitants, of whom 457 were Jews, but this estimate was considered too low by travellers who visited it at the beginning of the present century. Today Irbil is the chief town of a province which, in 1935, contained some 100,000 inhabitants. It is a commercial centre, and still dominated by its upper town. A little way outside the lower town there still stands a minaret with a cylindrical shaft and octagonal base which may be attributed to the end of the 6th/12th century and which probably belonged to the Muzaḥfariyya *madrasa*.

*Bibliography*: L. Dilleman, *Haute-Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents*, Paris 1962, 112; J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, Beirut 1965, 31-97; Le Strange, 92; *BGA*, vi, 6, 235; Ibn Khallikān, no. 558; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Yākūt, i, 186-9; Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'rikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1890, 436-72; idem, *Chronography*, tr. Budge, London 1932, index; idem, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. Bedjan, Paris 1890, in particular 466, 506, 525, 528-9, 557; idem, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, Paris 1872-7, *passim*; *La Chronique des Ayyoubides d'al-Makin b. al-'Amīd*, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *B. Et. Or.*, xv (1955-7), 119, 140-1; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriḏī al-kurūb*, iii, Cairo n.d., index; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-samān*, viii, *passim*, in particular s.a. 586. Of the various Western accounts of travels and modern des-

criptions, the following may be consulted: C. Niebuhr, *Reiseberichte nach Arabien*, ii, Copenhagen 1778, 342-5; C. Ritter, *Erchkunde*, iv, 691-4; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 847-8, 856-8. For archaeological remains: F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1920, ii, 313-8.

(L. SOURDEL)

'IRD (pl. *a'irād*), Arabic term corresponding approximately to the idea of honour, but somewhat ambiguous and imprecise, as the hesitations of the lexicographers testify. It does not appear in the *Ḳur'ān*, and the contexts in which it figures in *ḥadīth* do nothing to clarify its precise meaning. Al-*Ḍjāhiz* does not seem to have attempted to analyse the idea of 'ird, while Ibn *Ḳutayba* sees in it a reference sometimes to the soul, sometimes to the body, an interpretation attacked by al-*Ḳālī*, *Amālī*, Cairo 1323, i, 118. In fact, apart from such material meanings as "strong army", "valley covered with palm trees", etc. (see *TA*, s.v.; *LA*, s.v.), 'ird seems to imply also, in *ḥadīth* and in poetry, the body of animals, or even of men; the parts of the body which sweat; and the smell of a man or a woman. In the abstract, the lexicographers accept the following notions; distinction of one's ancestors or personal nobility (*ḥasab* [q.v.]), good character (*ḫalīka maḥmūda*) or soul (*nafs*). Now the expressions, very common in Arabic, relating to the protection (*šāna* and its synonyms) or the insulting (*šatama* and its synonyms) of 'ird obviously cannot apply either to the soul, considered as a metaphysical entity, or to good character, which can claim only praise; hence, whereas the identification of 'ird with *ḥasab* is correct in itself, yet the first implies more than the second, which is merely one of its manifestations.

From the semantic point of view, the radical letters of 'ird can give useful guidance. Several derivatives from this root imply the notion of something "laid across" (*ta'arraḍa*, *i'taraḍa*), and a 'ard is a cloud which obstructs the horizon. Since the Arabs used the expression *hatak al-'ird* "to tear the 'ird" as one tears a veil, and since *ḥatīka*, from the same root, meant "dishonour", it is legitimate to consider 'ird as a sort of partition or curtain separating the individual from the rest of mankind; behind this veil were concealed personal characteristics or characteristics relating to ancestors which the Arabs of old were assiduous to keep safe from insult; one of the aims of *ḥidā'ā* [q.v.] was to tear down this veil and to expose the dishonourable characteristics of the person attacked.

The elements of 'ird may be classed under three headings: the tribal group, the family and the individual. Under the heading of the group come the number of its members, the qualities of the poet and the orator, victories and independence; under the head of the family: the sons; of the individual: the group. Other elements like rebellion, courage, liberty, vendetta, chastity of the wife, liberality, faithfulness to one's word, *ḥasab*, protection of the weak, hospitality, invulnerability of the abode, belong sometimes to the group and the individual, sometimes to the family and the individual, sometimes to the group, family and individual.

We find the explanation of the various elements of 'ird in the warlike life led by the ancient Arabs. Indeed any sign of failure in fighting or of loss of independence humiliated the Arab and dishonoured him. Now humiliation (*dhilla*) is the opposite of power ('izza) simply because it implies weakness; hence weakness is the condition of dishonour, while power is the foundation of honour or 'ird. In other words,

everything that contributes to power is an element of honour, while all that causes weakness is an element of dishonour. It is evident then that 'ird was in its origin associated with fighting.

'IRD moreover had an important social function; it was the guiding motive in the acts and deeds of all the Arabs except those of the Yaman, and so took the place of religion at the gatherings held for contests of honour called *mufāḫhara* and *munāfara* [q.v.], and 'ird, on account of its sacred nature, was entitled thus to take the place of religion, since the Arab put it in the highest place and defended it arms in hand.

The consequences to be drawn from the above are the following: being subjected in their everyday life to the controlling influence of an ethical principle, namely honour ('ird), the Arabs were not an anarchical nor truly individualist, nor primitive people, nor one at heart materialist; on the contrary, 'ird, regarded as an ethical principle, was found to be at the root of various aspects of the moral life, of manners and even of social institutions. It was at the basis of the social hierarchy or of the non-egalitarian social structure; the poet, the orator, and, in a certain sense, the *sayyid*, enjoyed a special respect. The son was superior to the daughter, the *šarif* to the *waḍī*, the *ḥurr* to the 'abd, the vigorous tribe to the weak tribe, etc.

The 'ird which we have analysed refers to the *ḍjāhiliyya*. Yet Muḥammad still regarded 'ird as sacred; it even ranks as equal to religion. Islam maintained many of its elements, which found a place in it in the form of obligations: protection, largesse, courage, etc., form part of Muslim practice. These elements lost their original character: they are no longer capable of being the cause of boastfulness (Islam opposing *taḳwā* to *ḥamiyya*); they are rather connected with religion or with a moral principle emanating from religion. Other elements have been rejected by Islam (like *ḥasab* and *šaraf*) because they were incompatible with its spirit. Some of them, on the other hand, still survive and sometimes are intensified. Among the modern Bedouins we still find 'ird with almost all its pre-Islamic force (the *ḫukūk* of the Arabs of Transjordan and Moab).

At a later date these elements underwent more than one transformation, or even became extinct, especially in the cities. Yet the use of the term 'ird in its traditional sense, though less rich in meaning, continued, especially in the Umayyad period, keeping its sacred character and its relation with insult (cf. Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, Būlāḡ ed., 166; *Aḡḫānī*, xi, 49; Ibn *Ḳutayba*, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, i, 293; al-*Ṭha'ālībī*, *Mir'āt al-muruwwāt*, Cairo 1898, 22, 31; Abū Tammām, *Diwān*, Cairo 1875, 93; al-Buḥturi, *Diwān*, Beirut 1911, 441, 442, 449, 652; al-Mutanabbī, *Diwān*, ed. Dieterici, 416; Miḥyār al-Daylamī, *Diwān*, Cairo 1929, ii, 4). Its place has been partly taken by the term *šaraf*, which has received the simple meaning of honour, without the complicated shades of the *ḍjāhiliyya* attached to this idea (Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 314; Ibn *Ḳutayba*, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, i, 246; al-Mutanabbī, *Diwān*, 342; Ibn *Ḳhaldūn*, *Muḳaddīma*, Beirut ed. 1900, 396; cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, ed. Zakī Mubārak, i, 135 and the lexicons).

At the present day, the meaning of the word 'ird has become restricted, relating particularly to women: in Transjordan it is associated with the virtue of a woman or even with her beauty. In Egypt the 'ird of a man depends in general on his wife's reputation and that of all his female relatives. In Syria the reputation of every member of a tribe reflects on a man's 'ird.

*Bibliography:* B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, where the subject is fully treated; see also *SHARAF*. (B. FARÈS\*)  
 AL-**IRĪJĀNĪ**, ABŪ YAḤYĀ ZAKARIYYĀ<sup>3</sup>, chief of the Berber tribe of Nafūsa and last Ibāḍī-Wahbī *imām* in North Africa. He is probably the same person as R. Basset refers to in error as Abū Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> Yaḥyā al-*Irĵiānī*, confusing him with his son, Abū Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> b. Abī Yaḥyā al-*Irĵiānī*, who also was chief (*hākīm*) of the *Djabal Nafūsa*. According to the Ibāḍī document known under the name of *Tasmiyat shuyūkh Djabal Nafūsa wa-qurāḥum* (6th/12th century), Abū Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> (error for Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup>) of *Irkān* (*Irĵiān*) was elected *imām* after Abū Ḥātim (that is Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Abī 'l-Yaqẓān Muḥammad b. Aflāḥ b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustam). As the latter was in office until 294/906-7, the election of Abū Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> Yaḥyā al-*Irĵiānī* cannot have taken place until after that date, perhaps not until after the fall of the Rustamid *imāmate* of Tāherit in 296/909. In a passage in his *Kitāb al-Siyar* (also entitled: *Kitāb Siyar mashāyikh Nafūsa*), quoted by al-Shammākhī, Maḥrīn b. Muḥammad al-Bughṭūrī refers to Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> al-*Irĵiānī* as *hākīm* or *imām mudāfi*<sup>4</sup>, "the *imām* of defence". In another passage in al-Shammākhī's work, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> is given the title of *al-ḥāfi al-'ādil al-'ālim al-hāmil al-imām al-fādil*. He was thus *imām* and judge at the same time. He lived at *Irĵān* or *Arĵān* (also *Irkān* or *Arkān*), a village in the eastern region of the *Djabal Nafūsa* (today the ruins of *Khīrbat Arĵān* near *Mezzu*, in the region of *Fossaṭo*), whence he travelled each day to the town of *Djādū*, at that time the political and administrative centre of this region and perhaps of the whole of the *Djabal Nafūsa*.

The rule of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> al-*Irĵiānī*, which lasted for about fifteen years and which extended over the whole of the *Djabal Nafūsa*, was disturbed by civil wars which took place between two Ibāḍī-Wahbī factions of the region—the Banū Zammūr and the people of *Ṭermīsa*. It was in the middle of these civil wars, which ravaged all the eastern part of the *Djabal Nafūsa* and in which the family of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> al-*Irĵiānī* could not avoid becoming involved, that, in 310/922-3, there occurred the invasion of the *Djabal Nafūsa* by Fāṭimid troops. According to Ibn 'Idhārī, these troops were under the command of the general 'Alī b. Salmān al-Dā'ī, and, according to the Ibāḍī chronicles, they consisted of *Kutāma* warriors, the bravest and most loyal supporters of the Fāṭimid dynasty. The Fāṭimid troops attacked al-*Djazīra*, the main stronghold of the *Djabal Nafūsa*, but they were defeated by the Ibāḍīs. In the course of a second battle between the *Nafūsa* and the troops of 'Alī b. Salmān, which took place near *Tirakt* (apparently on the territory which is now al-*Rudjebān* in the east of the *Djabal Nafūsa*), Abū Yaḥyā was killed by an Ibāḍī soldier in vengeance for some act of injustice.

In Ibn 'Idhārī, the chief of the *Nafūsa* who fought against 'Alī b. Salmān al-Dā'ī is called Abū Baṭṭa. There is no doubt that this was one of the by-names of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> al-*Irĵiānī*.

*Bibliography:* R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, in *JA*, May-June 1889, 433, 454; Fournel, *Berbers*, ii, 144; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i, 187; T. Lewicki, *Études ibādites nord-africaines*, Part 1, *Tasmiya shuyūkh Gabal Nafūsa wa-qurāḥum*, Warsaw 1955, 97-8; idem, *Ibādītica*, 2: *Les*

*Hākims du Gabal Nafūsa*, in *RO*, xxvi/2 (1962), 99-101; Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301.

(T. LEWICKI)

'**IRĶ**, an Arabic word which, etymologically, has the basic meaning of "root", but other acceptations have been grafted on to this original meaning so that it eventually approximates to the idea of race. It is clear, as far as can be judged from the rare documents which can be collected, that such a concept is nowhere clearly attested, and it would be more correct, in this respect, to speak of a stock: "I trace my origins ('*urūḥ*) to the root ('*irḥ*) of the land" said Imru' l-Qays (*LA* s.v. '*irḥ*). But the idea of race seems to be present in outline behind this substantive which also designates blood, understood as a factor of heredity.

'*Irḥ* is nowhere used in the *Qur'an*. In *ḥadīth* it is not unknown but is only used sporadically. There, first of all, the general sense of root is to be noted: "whoever brings back to life uncultivated land becomes the owner of it; but a root which unjustly grows there does not give any right to this land" (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Wakāla*, Cairo 1376, iii, 93). Besides the idea of a nerve which strikes man in his head, there is also to be found in *ḥadīth* the indiscriminate sense of artery and vein: "When he finished massacring them, his "artery" burst and he died" (see Wensinck, *Concordance*). It also designates the blood: "his soul left with the '*urūḥ*" (see Wensinck), alluding to the liquid soul, *al-nafs al-sā'ila*; regarding a woman whose period is unusually long, it is said: "it is not a question of menses, but of blood ('*irḥ*)" (Bukhārī, vii, 46). Finally, and it is this acceptance which especially interests us here, an '*irḥ*, the function of which is imprecise, seems to be at the origin of certain anomalies of birth. A man came to the Prophet and said to him "Oh Messenger of God, I have had a black child".—"Do you have any dromedaries?", Muḥammad asked him. "Yes."—"What colour are they?"—"Red."—"Are there no grey ones among them?"—"Indeed yes."—"How did that happen?"—"Perhaps an '*irḥ* attracted it towards him."—"Then for your son too, perhaps an '*irḥ* attracted him." (Bukhārī, vii, 46). Thus the concept is made to relate to descent and birth. The *ḥadīth* in question would seem to go even further since it seems to invoke, in order to explain an irregularity, a factor as uncontrollable as heredity. According to this hypothesis, '*irḥ* would here, too, be a synonym for blood. It is exactly this idea which modern bedouins express when they announce: '*irḥ al-ḥāl lā yanām* (the blood of the maternal uncle does not lie dormant). Classical Arabic also seems to confirm this interpretation when it says: *fī fulān 'irḥ min al-'ubūdiyya* (so and so has some slave blood). In the final analysis, then, we are faced with a notion which, in spite of its ambiguity, seems related to the concept of race, since it appeals to the purity of blood.

It is well known that the ancient Arabs made much of the purity of their genealogy [see *NASAB*], to the extent that they only grudgingly recognized a child born of a slave woman. The purer their blood, the greater the esteem they enjoyed. The social inferiority of those who could not boast of a noble extraction, who were neither *ṣarīḥ* nor *maḥd*, was in direct relation to the dubiousness and obscurity of their origins. The *Qur'an* attempted, not unsuccessfully, to substitute religious ties for tribal and to affirm the supremacy of Islamic values in everything. In advising his followers to marry a believing slave rather than a woman of the polytheists (II,

221), Muḥammad struck a blow at the old preoccupations concerning race. But, nevertheless, these survived among the bedouins. The same concern is shown among the *sharifs* and the *sayyids*, both because of the nobility of their stock and the *baraka* which they have received from their illustrious ancestor Muhammad.

*Bibliography*: On racial attitudes in Islam see G. Rotter, *Die Stellung des Negers in der islamisch-arabischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Bonn 1967; B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York 1971. (J. CHELHOD)

‘İRK, [see ŞAHRĀ’].

‘İRK AL-LU’LU’, [see ŞADAF].

‘İRKA (ARKA), township and district on the southern coast of Arabia, situated just within the Ḥaḍramawt [q.v.], about midway between Aḥwar and Ḥawra [q.v.]. The population of about 500 depend mainly on fishing for their livelihood. Prior to the creation of the People’s Republic of Southern Yemen, ‘Irka formed an independent *shaykhdom* within the territories of the Wāḥidī sultanates, and came under the protection of the Aden authorities under an agreement concluded in 1888. According to Landberg the town was the residence of the *shaykh* of Bā Dās, a division of the *Dhi’āb* [q.v.], who were the largest tribe of the Eastern Ḥimyar, though in Hamdānī’s time it belonged to the banū ‘Āmir of Kinda. Of ‘Irka’s history little is known and it is not mentioned in the inscriptions. The *Dhi’āb*, however, probably feature in the inscription R.E.S. 3945/4, where the cities and irrigated lauds of ḤBN (Ḥabbāb, [q.v.]) and DYB are seized by Karab’il Watar of Saba’ from the kingdom of Awsān. In more recent times ‘Irka contained the sanctuary of a woman of the same name who was venerated by the local *mashā’ikh* and passing sailors.

*Bibliography*: A. Grohmann in N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte I, Sitzungsber. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 106/2, Vienna 1927, 123-4; Hamdānī, *Şifa*, 96; Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, (London), 1946; C. Landberg, *Arabica IV, V*, Leiden 1897-98; idem, *Études sur les dialectes de l’Arabie méridionale II : Datīnah*, Leiden 1905-13.

(A. K. IRVINE)

İRMİYÄ (the name is also written Armiyā and Urmiyā, with or without *madd*), the prophet Jeremiah (Yirmeyāhū) of the Old Testament, is not mentioned in the Qur’ān although the legends concerning him are connected by traditional exegesis with sura II, 261/259, a “récit édifiant” (R. Blachère), inspired by the apocryphal book “the Paralipomena of Jeremiah” or III Baruch (ed. R. Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, London 1889; G. tr. P. Riessler, *Alijüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel*, Augsburg 1928, 903-19; reconstruction (in Hebrew) by J. Licht *Sefer ma’asey Yirmeyāhū*, in *Shenaton Bar-Ilan*, i (1963), 63-80), perhaps also by the Talmudic legend of “Ḥōnī the drawer of circles”, and related in its general theme to the legend of the “Seven Sleepers”.

Two versions of the Muslim legend, transmitted on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih and Ka’b al-Aḥbār, make wide but free use of the details in the Bible concerning Jeremiah. In the first (al-Ṭabarī, i, 658 ff.) the oracles attributed to the prophet consist of a cento of scriptural passages drawn not only from the Biblical book which bears his name but also from that of Isaiah. According to this account, the destruction of Jerusalem was not actually to take

place until the prophet had himself pronounced judgment on the faithless city.

The second version (al-Ṭabarī, i, 646 f.) has as its main theme the relations between İrmiyā and Buḥt-Naşşar [q.v.] Nebuchadnezzar; it corresponds roughly to the Biblical account in Jeremiah XXXIX-XLIII. The tomb of İrmiyā was pointed out in Alexandria: al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 47, tr. 111. On the other hand, al-Ya’kūbī (*Ta’rikh*, ed. Houtsma, i, 70 = G. Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 83) echoes the Aggadic tradition, according to which the Ark of the Covenant had been hidden before the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians; however, no other source, apocryphal or rabbinic, attributes (as Ya’kūbī does) this precaution to Jeremiah: cf. L. Ginzberg *The Legends of the Jews*, vi, 377 (n. 118) and 410 (n. 61).

Finally, it is Jeremiah who, in a story also recorded by al-Ṭabarī (i, 666) and repeated many times by later authors, is the hero of the episode of the man of God (according to another version this was ‘Uzayr [q.v.]) who slept for a century and was miraculously restored to life, in order to demonstrate God’s power to bring the dead to life. It is said that, after this return to life, İrmiyā became one of the mortals endowed with exceptional longevity: thus there is a tendency to confuse him with al-Khaḍīr (*Khiḍr* [q.v.]), as is attested by a passage of al-Djāhīz (*Tarbī’*, ed. Pellat, § 40).

*Bibliography*: The legends briefly summarized above are analysed in more detail in the article İrmiyā, by A. J. Wensinck, *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, 214 ff. = *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 172 ff. In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, new ed. v, 438-84; *Chronique de Tabari* (Bal’amī), i, 492, 494 ff.; Mas’ūdi, *Murūdj*, i, 117 f., tr. Pellat, i, § 113; *al-Bad’ wa’l-ta’rikh*, iii, 114/117 f.; *Tha’labī*, ‘Arā’is al-maḍjālis, 195-8 (old ed., 192 ff.); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ii, 33-8; Muḍjīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns al-djātil*, Cairo 1283/1866, i, 138 ff.; I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 269 f.; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 425. (G. VAJDA)

İRÖN [see OSSETS].

İRSÄLIYYE or MÄL-I İRSÄLIYYE, an Ottoman financial term applied to the annual “remittances” of cash and kind sent to the personal treasury of the sultan (*Diyyb-i hümayün* or *Harem-i Hümayün khazinesi*) in Istanbul by the holders of the non-feudal *sandjaks* as well as by the governors of the non-feudal Arab provinces. The former usually were remitted under names such as *Nevrüz İrsäliyyesi* (New Years Remittance) or *Aghustos İrsäliyyesi* (August Remittance). The latter were called *İrsäliyye Khazinesi* (Remittance Treasury), sometimes shortened to *Khazine*, and consisted of the balance left in each provincial treasury (*Khazine-i ‘Amire*) after the provincial expenditures and governor’s salary (*säliyâne*) were paid.

Such remittances came regularly to the sultan from Damascus, the Yemen, Baṣra, and Baḡdād, but by far the largest and best-known of them was that sent by the governors of Ottoman Egypt from the time of its conquest until well into the 13th/19th century. The Egyptian *irsäliyye* was fixed at sixteen million *paras* shortly after the conquest. It was raised to 20 million *paras* annually in 1005/1596 and to 24 million *paras* in 1009/1601, and it remained at between twenty and thirty million *paras* during the remainder of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries.

While the dispatch of the Remittance, whether by caravan through Syria or by sea, was always the occasion for a lavish ceremony, only a small part of the *irsāliyye* was actually sent to Istanbul. The remainder was kept in Egypt and used as a permanent deposit, applied to meet special obligations of the sultans, such as provisioning Ottoman naval units at Alexandria, Damietta and in the Red Sea, supplying Ottoman pilgrims and troops passing through Egypt on their way to southern Arabia, and paying for the purchase of Egyptian commodities and supplies used in the Sultan's palace kitchen in Istanbul and in the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. Starting in the late 17th century, the Mamlūk factions in Egypt assumed control of the Ottoman administrative structure in the country, including the Treasury, and managed to divert an ever-increasing proportion of the *irsāliyye* sums to their own accounts in addition to collecting much of the Treasury's tax revenues, thus further lowering the amount left for the *irsāliyye*. Periodic efforts were made to correct this situation and restore the *irsāliyye*, with the administrative reforms introduced in 1081/1670, 1106/1695, 1156/1743, 1175/1761 1180/1767, and 1200/1786 being most important, but their effects were short-lived due to the continued Mamlūk power. During most of the 12th/18th century, however, the Ottoman governors were largely able to replace the lost *irsāliyye* funds by using Mamlūk rivalries, supporting those parties which agreed to allow the Treasury to confiscate and sell the properties of their defeated rivals and to use the resulting revenue, called *māl-i huluwān*, to pay for the expenditures formerly provided by the *irsāliyye*.

*Irsāliyye* payments were completely suspended during the reign of the Mamlūk rebel 'Alī Bey al-Kabir [q.v.] (1170/1757-1178/1765, 1180/1767-1186/1772) and the French Expedition to Egypt (1798-1801), but they were resumed, on a reduced scale, upon the restoration of the Ottoman power and were retained by Muḥammad 'Alī, not only for Egypt but also for his Syrian possessions, except during the time of his two wars with the Porte.

*Bibliography*: Detailed references to sources and secondary works concerning the Egyptian *irsāliyye* can be found in S. J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton, New Jersey 1962, 283-315; idem, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1964, 152-3; and idem, *The budget of Ottoman Egypt, 1005-1006/1596-1597*, The Hague and Paris 1968, 13-14, 202-5. See also H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, 1 vol. in 2, London and New York 1950-57, vol. 1, part 1, 148-9, vol. 1, part 2, 17, 18; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 391; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 363, 371; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, 3 vols., Ankara 1946-56, vol. ii, 81-2; L. Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, 2 vols., Budapest 1955, vol. i, 74 on; Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 114n, 118n., 123-4; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, 1070-1080 (1660-1670) *Mâlî yılına ait bir bütçesi ve ek'leri*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii (Ekim 1955-Temmuz 1956), 225-303; idem, 1070-1071 (1660-1661) *Tarihli Osmanlı bütçesi ve bir mukayese*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii, 304-38, particu-

larly 324, 334-338 (where the supplies purchased with the Egyptian *Irsāliyye* funds are itemized. (S. J. SHAW)

**IRTIDJĀ'** [see RADĪ'YYA].

**IRTIDJĀL**, improvising, extemporizing a poem or a speech. Ibn Raṣṣīk ('*Umda*, i, 131), followed by Azdī (*Badā'i'*, p. 5 of the Bülâk ed.) connects the term with the meaning "to be easy", "to flow down" implied in the expression *ṣa'ir radjīl*, "lank hair", or with *irtidjāl al-bi'r*, "descending into a well on one's feet", i.e., without the help of a rope, and the synonym of *irtidjāl badīha*, with the root *bada'a*, "to begin", substituting *hā'* for *hamza*. According to these two authors, the difference between *irtidjāl* and *badīha* is that whereas in the case of *irtidjāl* the poet does not prepare his poem in advance, in the case of *badīha* he allows himself a few moments of thought. Of the other synonyms of *irtidjāl* mentioned in the dictionaries only the term *ihṭiqāb* is used occasionally. For an explanation of the etymology of this last term see Abū Hilāl al-'Askari, *K. al-Ṣinā'atayn*, 39-40 (cf. also the expression *kalām kaḍīb*, "unprepared, unpolished speech", as used by the poet Ba'īth and in a famous saying by the Khāridījī leader 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī in *Djāhīz, Bayān*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 204-5).

According to R. Blachère (*Litt.*, 87-8, 364, 369-73), the metre used for improvisations in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times was mostly, though not exclusively, the *radjiaz*. In addition to songs by camel drivers (*hidā'*), cradle songs, etc. which in the nature of things are often improvised, there were improvisations on solemn occasions: curses or satires directed against the enemy, war songs, and dirges (see also the catalogue of *radjiaz* themes in M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 18-24). The corresponding verbs *radjaza* and *irtadjaza* are therefore often used in the sense of "to improvise in *radjiaz*" (often also with the secondary meaning "to deride", "to sneer", see I. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896, i, 79-81). For a *radjiaz* improvisation on a victory won by the 'Abbasid caliph Mutawakkil see *Aghānī*<sup>3</sup>, ix, 119 (= *Aghānī*<sup>3</sup>, x, 231-2).

On the other hand the terms *irtidjāl* and *badīha* (as well as *badīha'*, "extemporaneously") seem to have been used mostly of improvisations in metres other than *radjiaz* (for exceptions see the above-cited passage in the *Aghānī* and Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 178). These terms are commonly found in texts dating from the first half of the 3rd/9th century, but many anecdotes suggest that they existed earlier. Except for the chapter by Ibn Raṣṣīk there is little discussion of either term in the handbooks on rhetoric. 'Alī b. Zāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216) may therefore be correct when he claims that his *K. Badā'i' al-badā'i'h* (Bülâk 1278/1862 and on the margin of 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1316/1898) is the only work on the subject. The *Badā'i'* contains a wealth of anecdotal material and improvisations on an almost unlimited variety of humorous, sometimes also serious, themes arranged roughly in chronological order, as well as a detailed discussion of various types of the *idjāza* [q.v.] which, since metre and rhyme are suggested by somebody else, is the only form of improvisation which does not allow the poet to compose any part of his poem in advance. Some of these anecdotes may well be authentic (e.g., the anecdote on pp. 90-2 of the Bülâk ed.) as is shown by the fact that individuals capable of improvising compositions of some length are found in the Arab countries to this day.

*Bibliography:* Ibn K̄utayba, *K. al-Shi'r*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1902, 26-28; Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *K. al-Šinā'atayn*, Cairo 1371/1952, 39-41; Thā'ālībī, *Yatima*, Damascus 1302/1885, iv, 167; Ibn Rashīq, *K. al-'Umda*, Cairo 1352/1907, i, 126-31; Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, Cairo 1326/1908, i, 38-9; Niẓāmī-i 'Arūdī, *Čahār Maḥāla*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad, London 1910, 31, 35-6, 42, 43, 47, 53 (= idem, tr. E. G. Browne, London 1921, 32, 38, 47, 53, 60); Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ru'aynī, *Barnāmađi*, Damascus 1381/1962, 101-2, 195; A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853, 319-20; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 177; J. Lecerf, *Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne*, in *B. Ét. Or.*, ii (1932), 218-20, 234 (quotes *Mashriq*, xxviii [1930], 501-3). (S. A. BONEBAKKER)

For improvisation in Persian and Turkish, [see Supplement].

**IRTIFĀ'** [see FALAK, 'ILM AL-HAY'Ā].

**IRTISH** [see Supplement].

**'ISĀ**, K̄ur'ānic name for Jesus; the K̄ur'ān refers to him in 15 s̄iras and devotes to him 93 verses which are the foundation for Muslim Christology. Various traditions, containing additions drawn from the apocryphal gospels of the childhood of Jesus, or from mystic Christian literature, have enriched this Christology and, in certain respects, brought it nearer to the Christian Christology. Islamo-Christian polemic has tended through the years to harden the positions; most of these positions have become classic and are to be found unchanged in present day Muslim writers.

I. Etymology of the word 'Isā: Certain western writers (Marracci, ii, 39; cf. Landauer and Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, xlvi, 720) consider that the Jews induced Muḥammad to use the form 'Isā and he did so in good faith. In fact the Jews, in hatred, referred to Jesus as Esau (עֵשָׂו) maintaining that the spirit of Esau had passed into him (cf. Lammens, in *Machriq*, i, 334). Others (cf. J. Derenbourg, in *REJ*, xviii, 126; Frankel, in *WZKM*, iv, 334; Vollers, in *ZDMG*, xlv, 352; Nestle, *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i, 861) state that Yasū' derives, by a phonetic change, from the Syriac Yesḥū' (ܝܫܘܥ), itself coming from the Hebrew Yeshua', with harmonization with Mūsā. But it should be pointed out that it is used only five times with Mūsā, while it is mentioned 25 times altogether (cf. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, London 1965, 16-7; Henninger, *Spuren christlicher Glaubenswahrheiten im Koran*, Freiburg 1951, 32-3). Finally some modern scholars have seen it as a reference to an 'Isā mentioned in the pre-Islamic inscriptions, *ys'*: a dialectical variant of *hys'*, a theory which has been strongly rejected by G. Ryckmans who disputes the reading in *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxxvii (1949), 62 and in *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 1951, 48. For the Muslim writers, see al-Bayḍāwī on III, 45 (ed. Fleischer, i, 156, l. 2).

II. The various names of Jesus in the K̄ur'ān (see below for a study of the terms):—a) al-Masīḥ (eleven times).—b) *Nabī*, prophet (XXIX, 30).—c) *Rasūl*, "envoy, messenger" (IV, 157, 171, V, 75).—d) Ibn Maryam, "son of Mary" (33 times: 16 times 'Isā ibn Maryam, 17 times Ibn Maryam alone or with another title, while in the Gospels the expression appears only once; cf. E. F. F. Bishop, *The Son of Mary, in Moslem World*, 1934, who considers that the name came from the Church of

Ethiopia after the return of the second group of emigrants. The expression appears five times in the Arabic Gospel of the Childhood, and fifteen times in the Syriac version of this Gospel.—e) *Min al-mukarrabin*, "among those who are close to God" (III, 45), later explained by the fact of his "ascension" (*su'ūd, raf'*).—f) *Wadīh*, "worthy of esteem in this world and the next" (III, 45); al-Bayḍāwī explains this: on earth as a prophet and in Heaven as an intercessor.—g) *Mubārak*, "blessed" (XIX, 31): "a source of benefit for others" (al-Bayḍāwī), probably a bringer of *baraka*.—h) *Kawl al-ḥaḥḥ* (XIX 34), "sure word", an obscure expression which is perhaps not a title but refers to the preceding statement; cf. al-Bayḍāwī, i, 580, l. 25.—i) 'Abd Allāh, "Servant of God" (see below).

III. The annunciation, conception and birth of Jesus. There are in the K̄ur'ān certain features which, more or less directly, reflect the Gospels. Some writers, for example P. Hayek (*Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, 65) go so far as to state that apart from the dogma that Mary is the mother of God, rejected by the Muslims since they formally deny the divinity of Jesus, "all the other dogmas defined by the Church or transmitted by its traditions of worship, find a support in the K̄ur'ān, rather weak it is true, but certainly real: the Immaculate Conception, the Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Virgin Birth, Christmas and even the Assumption" [cf. MARYAM].

The Annunciation made to Mary is related with a touching freshness and recalls the scene in the Gospels. Mary, withdrawn into the Temple, receives the visit from the "Spirit of God" [see RŪḤ ALLĀH], "then We sent unto her Our Spirit that presented himself to her a man without fault", (XIX, 17), which tradition identifies with the Archangel Gabriel. He announces to her the miraculous birth of Jesus; miraculous because Mary has vowed her virginity to God and intends to retain it (LXVI, 22; XXI, 91). The Angel reassures her: this is easy for the Lord, who wishes to make of her a sign (*āya*) for men and a mercy (*rahma*) from Him (XIX, 21). "So she conceived him, and withdrew with him to a distant place".

It seems that in the K̄ur'ān the distinction between the Annunciation and the Conception is not precisely made. According to Luke I, 26-38, the angel of the Lord who appears to Mary is distinct from the Holy Spirit who performs the miracle. The K̄ur'ān seems to unite these two ideas. In fact, while in XIX, 17, there is mentioned an angel who appears to Mary in the form of an actual mortal, in two other texts (LXVI, 12 and XXI, 9) where God mentions the Spirit ("Our Spirit"), there is no reference to the angel. The confusion between the annunciation and the conception led to the Angel Gabriel's being considered as the father of Jesus, a thesis supported by Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran*, Hamburg-Gotha 1839, 36-46; cf. Michaud, *Jésus selon le Coran*, Neuchâtel 1960, 20, a thesis based on the interpretation of certain Muslim exegetists stating that the angel breathed into a slit in Mary's cloak which she had taken off; when she put it on again, she conceived Jesus (cf. al-Thā'ālībī, *Kiṣaṣ*, 381).

In fact, the conception of Jesus was the result of a creative decree made by God: the creation of Jesus by God was after the example of that of Adam. The creation of Adam was at least as marvellous as that of Jesus, conceived by a virgin (cf. III, 52).

Mary was overtaken by the pangs of childbirth be-



side the trunk of the palm tree. To reassure Mary's fears of a scandal, the child addressed her from the cradle. She shows the child to her family. In order to silence their reproaches he declares: "Lo, I am God's servant; God has given me the Book, and made me a Prophet. Blessed he has made me, wherever I may be; and He has enjoined me to pray, and to give alms, so long as I live, and likewise to cherish my mother" (XIX, 16-35).

It is known that Islam does not admit the idea of an "original sin" transmitted to the descendants of Adam (cf. G. Anawati, *Islam and the Immaculate Conception*, in *The dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, ed. E. D. O'Connor, University of Notre Dame Press, 1958, 447-61). Concerning Mary and her son however, there is a tradition, accepted by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, which states that they were granted an extraordinary privilege: that of both having been preserved from any contact with the devil at the instant of their birth. "Every son of Adam when newly born", says the *hadīth*, "is touched (or probably squeezed) by Satan, except for the Son of Mary and her mother; it is at this contact that the child utters his first cry".

IV. The mission of Jesus: Jesus is a Prophet (*nabī*; XIX, 31) and the Envoy (*rasūl*; IV, 156, 169, LXI, 6). Like all prophets, he has a mission to fulfil, for to each separate people God has sent a special prophet. Of the son of Mary and of his mother He has made a sign, "and He has given them refuge on a quiet and dewy hill" which the commentators have identified with Jerusalem or Damascus. On the different interpretations concerning this topography (the influence of Byzantine iconography [Ledit], reference to the Assumption of Mary [Rudolph, Ahrens, Henninger], Srinagar [Ahmadiyya]), cf. Michaud, 29, n. 3.

The "miraculous sign" shown by Jesus and his mother is apparently his miraculous birth. But he himself was to perform "signs", proving through miracles his prophetic mission. Among these "proofs" (*bayyināt*) (cf. II, 254 and 81, III, 43, V, 110, XLIII, 63, LXI, 6), should be mentioned the following:—1. Jesus spoke even in the cradle (XIX, 30) and already with the authority of a grown man (III, 41).—2. He made small clay models of birds, breathed life into them, and "it will be a bird, by the leave of God" (III, 43). The modelling of birds is found in the apocryphal gospels: the Gospel of Thomas, ch. 2, the Gospel of the Childhood in Arabic, ch. 36, 46, 1; the Armenian book of the childhood, 18, 2. The Ahmadiyya give a symbolic interpretation to this miracle: it signifies the spiritual flight of the Galilean peasants under the influence of Jesus (cf. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, 6).—3. Jesus cured the man blind from birth and the leper (V, 110).—4. He raised the dead, always "with God's permission" (III, 43; V, 110).—5. At the request of the Apostles (*ḥawāriyyūn*, [q.v.]), he made to come down from the sky a "Table prepared" (*mā'ida*); for them it was a feast (*ʿīd*), a meal and a proof (*āya*) of his mission (V, 111-14); cf. Baydāwī, I, 280; Hayek, 220-2; Gerock (46), followed by Rudolph, thought that this was either a reminiscence of the Last Supper or of the vision of Peter related in the Acts of the Apostles, X, 9). According to the traditional material collected by al-Ṭabarī, 86 (Hayek, 220-2) this is an echo of the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Matthew, XIV, 17 f.; XV, 32 f.). Michaud (56-7), following Masson (328-9), produces texts from the Old and the New Testament in favour of interpreting it as referring to the Last Supper. On the sources of the commentaries on this passage cf. Sidersky, 328-9. It is

possible that the Qur'anic passage was influenced by some apocryphal tradition of which nothing has survived. (cf. G. Rosch, *Die Jesusmythen*, 447).

Jesus comes to declare the truth of what has been given before him in the Torah (III, 44). The Scripture which belongs to Jesus is the Gospel [cf. *إنجيل*] which is judged favourably because it fills the hearts of those who follow it with meekness and pity (V, 82). Jesus covers with his prophetic authority not only the Gospel and the Torah but also the earlier writings, all of them taught by God to the Son of Mary (III, 43, V, 110).

V. Jesus the Messiah: We must here define certain terms applied to Jesus which, in Christianity, have a fundamental value: the terms Messiah and Servant of God. Concerning the first, in the structure of the New Testament the revelation was gradual and Jesus did not reveal himself to the disciples as the promised Messiah until after a long psychological preparation. This historical perspective is not found in the Qur'an: the term Messiah is given to Jesus from the time of his birth, though in a narrow sense which in no way corresponds to the Christian concept. Jesus the Messiah in the Qur'an is only one in a series of prophets which ends with Muḥammad. Like all the prophets he is only an ordinary man; the Qur'an is entirely opposed to any doctrine of Jesus the Messiah the Son of God (IX, 30-1). It reproaches Christians for having taken "their scholars and their monks as lords apart from God, and the Messiah, Mary's son" (IX, 31). The uncompromising dogma of the unity of God removes any Christian overtones from the word Messiah.

The word *Masīḥ* is used eleven times in the Qur'an, in passages all of which are Medinan (III, 40, IV, 156, 169, 170, V, 19 (twice), 76 (twice), 79, IX, 30, 31). The word is of Jewish origin, transmitted through Syriac. It seems to have been known in the north and the south of Arabia in the pre-Islamic period. The Hebrew *mashiah* was used of the kings and the patriarchs and especially for the awaited Saviour. The Septuagint translates it by *Christos*. Al-Zamaḥsharī and al-Baydāwī admit that the word is foreign and al-Firūzabādī states that there are fifty explanations for this word [see *MASĪḤ*]. In the Qur'an the word is used only to signify Jesus.

The Arabic writers found two roots for it: 1. the verb *masaḥa*, to rub with the hand, to anoint; in the passive sense Jesus is Messiah, a) because he was anointed by means of blessings and honours (XIX, 32), b) because he was covered, from birth, by the wing of Gabriel to shield him from the bite of Satan, c) because he was anointed in Adam, like all men, but in a particularly way in order to be implanted in Mary. In the active sense, Jesus is Messiah, a) because he anointed the eyes of those born blind in order to cure them (III, 43), b) because he rubbed sick people with his hand, c) because he anointed with a holy oil. 2. The second root is the verb *sāḥa*, to travel, go on a pilgrimage, to wander. Jesus became for the Muslim mystic writers "the model of the pilgrims", "the imām of the wanderers", the example of the mystics. Cf. Abd El-Jalil, *Marie et l'Islam*, 59, based on the Commentary of al-Alūsī, iii, 142.

VI. Jesus the servant of God: *ʿAbd*, literally "slave", means in theological terms, "the creature". Man is not only the "servant" of God but also his "property". Cf. *ʿebedh* in the Old Testament (Isaiah, XLII, 1, LII, 13-LIII, 12, the fourth song of the Servant of Yahweh) and *δοῦλος* in the New Testament (Phil., II, 7). In the Qur'an IV, 170, the angels

are also called 'abd. The basic meaning of adoration is found, with various nuances, in all the derived meanings (cf. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an*, 209). What must be remembered is that the Qur'an insists on the status of Jesus as no more than that of a created being (XLIII, 59); it reacts against any belief in the divinity of Jesus. "Thus the first word he uttered was to recognize his character as a servant, to make more decisive the argument against any who might claim that he was God" (Hayek, 84; cf. Ibn al-Athir, i, 220-1; al-Tabari, i/2, 733-4; al-Tha'libi, *Kiṣāṣ*, 386). Thus it would be wrong to exaggerate the meaning of this term (as does Ledit, *Mahomet, Israel et le Christ*, 145) and to interpret it in the Judaeo-Christian sense: everywhere in the Qur'an the word means a being created by God and subject to Him (cf. III, 52, 73).

VII. Jesus and Muḥammad: According to the Muslim commentators, who base themselves on LXI, 6, Jesus announced the coming of one who would come after him. According to the recension of Ubayy, this was "the seal of the Prophets" and of the messengers; in the Vulgate, it is "a Messenger" named Aḥmad. On the meaning of the variant of Ubayy, cf. Blachère, tr. 909. Islam recognizes Muḥammad in Aḥmad, both names deriving from the root *h.m.d.* In St. John's Gospel Jesus announces the sending of the Paraclete (XIV, 16; XIV, 26; XVI, 7). The main early versions of the Gospels have merely transcribed the term without translating it: *parakletos* has given *fāraqlūt*.

Sale, in his *Preliminary Discourse*, 1877, iv, 53 (quoted by H. A. Walter, *The Aḥmadiyya Movement*, 30), following up a suggestion of Marracci, suggests that the Gospel text on which these are based had something like *περικλυτός*, meaning famed, illustrious, and rendered in Arabic by Aḥmad. The same explanation is found in C. F. Gerock, 109 and Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ*, 139, n. 1: the Muslim commentators accuse the Christians of having substituted *παράμλητος* for *περικλυτός* which stood in the original. Cf. Michaud, 36-7; Henninger, 313; Par-rinder, 96-100; L. Bevan-Jones in *Muslim World*, x, 112 ff.; A. Guthrie and E. F. F. Bishop, *ibid.*, xli, 251 ff.; M. Watt, *His Name is Aḥmad*, *ibid.*, xliii, 110 ff.; J. Schacht, in EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. AḤMAD.

VIII. Jesus and the Word of God: On the use of the word *kalima* in the Qur'an see the thesis by Th. O'Shaughnessy, *The koranic Concept of the Word of God*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1948. On its origin and possible borrowing from the Christian Logos, cf. Gardet-Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 88 ff. For Pretzl, (*Die Frühislamische Attributenlehre*, Munich 1940, 26-7), the question of the Logos and that of the nature of the Qur'an share earlier common sources.

As to the Muslim exegesis of the Qur'anic texts referring to the "Word" coming from God to Jesus, four possible exegeses may be distinguished (cf. Abd El-Jalil, 39, using al-Alūsī, iii, 141):—1. Jesus is the fulfilment of the creating word of God, uttered at the moment of his conception (IV, 169, XIX, 30, III, 42).—2. Jesus is the prophet announced in the word of God, received and preached by the earlier messengers.—3. Jesus is the word of God because he speaks on behalf of God and thus leads men in the right way.—4. Jesus is a word of God because Jesus is, in his own person, "good tidings".

IX. Jesus and the Spirit of God: In order to accomplish his mission, Jesus was fortified by the Holy Spirit (*Rūḥ al-ḥudūs*) (V, 109, XIX, 30-3), first at his birth, and then during his adult ministry

among the Jews (II, 81, 254). The complete formula: "we have . . . confirmed him with the Holy Spirit" is used in the Qur'an only for Jesus. However the Qur'an uses an almost identical formula in connection with the believers whom God confirms "with a Spirit from Himself" (LVIII, 22). On the Holy Spirit in the Qur'an, cf. Henninger, 4-6, which is based, among others, on the article by Macdonald in *Moslem World*, xxii (1932).

X. Jesus and the Trinity: In the passage III, 40, Jesus is mentioned as being among those "close" to the Lord (*min al-muḥarrabīn*). Jesus will be glorious, honoured both in the present world and in the world to come. This privilege of being close to God is shared by Jesus with the angels (IV, 170). But, however sublime they may be, both they and he remain created beings. The unity of God is stated in III, 52-5 in a passage dealing with the person of Jesus. The reference is probably to the reply made to the Christian delegates of Nadjran in 631 (cf. Blachère, 865). In spite of his great veneration for the Son of Mary, Muḥammad is quite clear that he is in no sense divine. The Christians who insist on this divinity are "Liars".

From the same period is the passage V, 19-21, in which Muḥammad once again insists on the entirely human condition of Jesus: "They are unbelievers who say, 'God is the Messiah, Mary's son' ". And the Christians are no more the sons of God than is Jesus himself.

It will be clear that with such a perspective, the Qur'an formally rejects any doctrine of the Trinity. It should however be pointed out that the Trinity as understood and rejected is not the same as that which is taught by Christian dogma, and defined by the councils which were held before the revelation of the Qur'an. The Qur'anic Trinity seems to be a triad composed of Allāh, of Mary his consort and of Jesus their child (cf. V, 116); a concept which is reminiscent on the one hand of the stellar triads of the pre-Islamic Pantheon (cf. T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968), and on the other hand of the cult of Mary verging on idolatry practised by certain Christian sects of Arabia, the Mariamites and the Collyridians.

It is important to note that the formal denials of the Qur'an are directed towards these views, which are "heretical" from the point of view of Christian orthodoxy itself. Certain modern Muslim writers, taking note of the explanations provided by their Christian informants, are inclined to recognize the basic monotheism of the Christian religion, without however admitting its revealed nature, (cf. J. Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique du Manār*, 308). For all this section, cf. Michaud, 77-83.

XI. Jesus and the problem of the crucifixion. On the subject of the death of Jesus, two questions require to be answered: (1) was Jesus really crucified and did he therefore die on the cross? (2) supposing that this was not the case, did he die a natural death?

Concerning the first question, the Qur'an states its position categorically: against the Jews who claimed "we slew the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the Messenger of God", it states "yet they did not slay him, neither crucified him, only a likeness of that was shown to them (*walākin shubbiha lahum*). Those who are at variance concerning him surely are in doubt regarding him; they have no knowledge of him except the following of surmise; and they slew him not of a certainty (*yaḥimūna*)—no indeed; God raised him up to Him"; (IV, 156-7). Muslim tradition com-

pletes the statements of the Qurʾān. According to some, Christ was replaced by a double, according to others it was Simon of Cyrene or one of the Apostles (Judas).

On the different modern explanations of the *walākin shubbihā lahum*, cf. Michaud, 64-5, who mentions them and himself agrees with Hayek (41) in understanding "it seemed thus to them", which this writer considers to be the most plausible interpretation. Certain *falāsifa* and some Ismāʿīli commentators have interpreted this passage thus: the Jews intended to destroy the person of Jesus completely; in fact, they crucified only his *nāsūt*, his *lāhūt* remained alive; cf. L. Massignou, *Le Christ dans les Évangiles selon Ghazālī*, in *REI*, 1932, 523-36, who cites texts of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (ed. Bombay, iv, 115), a passage of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (about 934), and another of the Ismāʿīli Muʾayyad Shīrāzī (1077). But this interpretation was not generally accepted and it may be said that there is unanimous agreement in denying the crucifixion. The denial, furthermore, is in perfect agreement with the logic of the Qurʾān. The Biblical stories reproduced in it (e.g., Job, Moses, Joseph etc.) and the episodes relating to the history of the beginning of Islam demonstrate that it is "God's practice" (*sunnat Allāh*) to make faith triumph finally over the forces of evil and adversity. "So truly with hardship comes ease", (XCIV, 5, 6). For Jesus to die on the cross would have meant the triumph of his executioners; but the Qurʾān asserts that they undoubtedly failed: "Assuredly God will defend those who believe"; (XXII, 49). He confounds the plots of the enemies of Christ, (III, 54).

On the origins of the Qurʾānic concept of the crucifixion (gnostic and docetic Christianity, as maintained by H. Gregoire, seeing here a concession to certain docetic Monophysites, in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris 1930, i, 107-19; a rejection of Ledit's view in *Mahomet, Israël et le Christ*, 151-6, where he attempts to find texts of the Qurʾān which refer symbolically to the mystery of the redemption) cf. Michaud, 68-71.

Concerning the second question (the death of Jesus and his ascension to God), an examination of the Qurʾānic texts XIX, 34, III, 48, XXXIX, 43, and in particular the key text IV, 155-7 (which throws light on the preceding ones and reveals the true Islamic attitude to the death of Jesus), shows (1) that the resurrection referred to in XIX, 84 is the general resurrection which the Qurʾān proclaims for the end of the world; there was a special resurrection for Jesus, since Jesus did not die on the cross. Later tradition (cf. Hayek, 265-8) stated that it would be at the end of time, when Jesus returned again, that he would die the natural death announced in XIX, 34. (2) The word *tawaffā* usually means a death which is blessed, a return to God for the final judgement, but it is also used in VI, 60 for God's recalling the souls of those who sleep while they are asleep and returning them when they awake (cf. Fränkel, in *ZDMG*, lvi, 77). The verb is twice used of Jesus, in III, 48 and V, 119. The first passage could imply an elevation of the living Jesus to God. The second is ambiguous. The question is settled by the passage IV, 155-7, in which it is stated that Jesus was not killed by the Jews but was raised up to heaven. In other words, we have the following succession of events: apparent death, ascension, second coming, natural death, general resurrection. For all this section, cf. Michaud, 60-4.

XII. The return of Jesus: The only authority is the passage XLIII, 61, which contains some variant

readings: the first reading, that of the Vulgate: *wa-innahu la-ʿilmun*, "He (Jesus) is truly a knowledge of the Hour", i.e., he by whose descent the approach of the Hour is known; the second reading, the canonical variant: *wa-innahu la-ʿalamun*, "And he (Jesus) is truly a sign for the Hour"; the third reading, in the recension of Ubayy: *wa-innahu la-dhikr*, "And he (Jesus) is truly a warning of the hour"; fourth reading: *wa-innahu*: the *hu* refers to the Qurʾān.

If the second coming of Christ is taken as established, his death is placed after the Hour, as mentioned above, and then the references in IV, 159 and XIX, 33 are easily explained. Similarly, the expression *kahl* in III, 46 becomes clear, because when he was "raised" he was still *shābb*, young, and had not attained *kuhūla*; cf. al-Bayḏāwī, in loco. On the positions of various commentators, cf. Hayek, 244-51.

On these few facts tradition has succeeded in accumulating a mass of detail (cf. al-Bayḏāwī on XLIII, 61, ed. Fleischer, ii, 241) and in producing books devoted specifically to this subject, among them: *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-mā tawātara fi nuzūl al-Masīḥ*, of Muh. Anwar Shāh al-Kaṣhmīrī al-Hindī (published in 1965 in Aleppo by Abū ʿl-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda). Some of these details are as follows: Jesus, on returning to the earth, will descend on to the white arcade of the eastern gate at Damascus, or, according to another tradition, on to a hill in the Holy Land which is called ʿAfiḳ; he will be clothed in two *muṣarra*; his head will be anointed. He will have in his hand a spear with which he will kill the Antichrist (al-Daḏīdjāl). Then he will go to Jerusalem at the time when the dawn prayer is being said, led by the *imām*. The latter will try to give up his place to him, but Jesus will put him in front of him and will pray behind the *imām* following the prescription of Muḥammad. Then he will kill all the pigs, will break the cross, destroy the synagogues and the churches, and will kill all the Christians except those who believe in him (following IV, 159). Once he has killed the false Messiah (al-Masīḥ al-Daḏīdjāl), all the Peoples of the Book will believe in him, and there will be only one community—that of Islam. Jesus will make justice to reign. Peace will be so complete that it will extend also to the animals among themselves and to man's relations with the animals. Jesus will remain for forty years and then will die. The Muslims will arrange his funeral and will bury him at Medina, beside Muḥammad in a place left vacant between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

There has come to be grafted on to the belief in the second coming of Christ, sometimes merging with it, the doctrine of the Mahdī. This term, which at first had a mainly honorific meaning, gradually came to indicate the very person of him who, at the end of time, is to restore the lost faith. On this doctrine, [see MAHDĪ].

Finally, it may be mentioned that the Aḥmadiyya sect holds that Jesus, after his apparent death on the cross and resurrection, emigrated to India, to Kaṣhmīr, to preach the Gospel there. He lived there until the age of 120. His tomb is at Srinagar. They believe that the Mahdī is an incarnation simultaneously of Jesus, Muḥammad and an avatar of Krishna [see AḤMADIYYA].

XIII. Jesus and the Last Judgement: At the time of his nocturnal ascension (XVII, 1), Muḥammad met Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Questioned concerning the Final Hour, Jesus announced: "To me has been confided the knowledge of what will precede its occurrence. As to the occurrence itself, only God can determine this". This verse enables us to

understand the passages where Jesus is called “Knowledge of the hour”: he knows of its existence, but not the exact time, this being reserved to God alone. In spite of his ascension to God’s side and his purification (III, 48), Jesus will not assist God in the Judgement which will follow the Hour: it is God alone who decides, He is the only Judge. On the day of the universal Resurrection, Jesus will be a witness against the Christians, accusing them of having regarded him and his mother as equal with God, but he will not be their judge (cf. *infra*, the different position of Ibn ‘Arabi).

XIV. Jesus in tradition and in the mystic writers: The Christological elements contained in the Qurʾān, listed systematically above, have been the subject of meditation by ascetics and mystics. There has gradually grown up around the figure of Jesus an abundant hagiographic literature stressing the poverty of the Son of Mary, his detachment from the world, his teaching, his power of performing miracles, his devotion to prayer. These elements, with anecdotes, sermons and advice attributed to Jesus, are found in the classical works of the mystics such as the *Hilyat al-awliyāʾ* of Abū Nuʿaym, the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfiʿī, the *Kūt al-kulūb* of al-Makki, the *Nawādir* of al-Tirmidhī, and especially in the works of al-Ghazālī: *Ihyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, *Mukāshafāt*. Even in the “secular” writers like al-Damiri in his *Hayāt al-ḥayawān* and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih in his *ʿIḡā*, there may be found interesting details on Christological literature. Fifty years ago, Asñn Palacios had collected and translated the texts concerning Jesus in the works of al-Ghazālī and had published them under the title of *Logia et agrapha Domini Jesu*, in *Patrologia orientalis* (xiii (1919), 335-431; xix (1926), 532-624). In his turn, Father Michel Hayek collected and translated texts about Jesus and classified them systematically in a complete Christology (*Le Christ de l’Islam*, Paris 1959; Arabic text: *Al-Masīḥ fi ’l-Islām*, Beirut 1961). A large part of the work is occupied with Jesus’s teaching; it includes *logia* on poverty, on detachment from the life of this world, denunciation of false wisdom and of the specious sureties of this world, dialogues, pilgrim stories, the resurrection of the dead who bear witness against the vanity of the world against which Jesus constantly warned his Companions, his Apostles, the Children of Israel and his listeners in general. His description is based on that of the Christian ascetics and monks: wearing a woollen habit, detachment, a life of solitude, the power of the initiate to perform cures.

When, later, the Sūfis came into direct contact with the Gospels, they took from them the elements which corresponded to their ascetic ideas, which they themselves attributed to Jesus: “this explains the gospel background of certain *logia* and accounts which are here almost always taken out of their original context” (Hayek, 136). Ibn ‘Arabi (d. 638/1240) went even further: he stated that it is Jesus who merits “the Seal of universal Holiness” because he possesses the quality of faithfulness in the faith (*amāna*), because he holds in his hands the keys of living breath and because he is at present in a state of deprivation and journeying” (cf. Hayek, 262-3). “And”, he adds, “know that without doubt Jesus will descend and will be our judge, according to the law of Muḥammad” (*ibid.*).

XV. Islamo-Christian polemic concerning Jesus: The central place in the Christian religion of the dogmas of the Incarnation and the Redemption made inevitable doctrinal conflict between

Christian and Muslim theologians. The latter worked out fairly rapidly a system of apologetics which became accepted as classic and the features of which have been repeated without variation until the present time; cf. *INDJL* where a substantial bibliography is given. On the most recent Muslim books on Christ see the article by J. Jomier im *MIDEO*, v (1958), *Quatre ouvrages en arabe sur le Christ*, 367-86, and G. C. Anawati, *Polémique, apologie et dialogue islamochrétiens, Positions classiques médiévales et positions contemporaines*, in *Euntes docete*, Rome 1969.

Two works published in Cairo show a new tendency in the Muslim approach to the problem of Christ. The first (1952) is by the Egyptian essayist ‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-‘Aḡḡād and is entitled *The spirit of the Messiah* (*ʿAbḡariyyat al-Masīḥ*). This work, which enjoyed wide success, may be described thus: the writer approaches Christ with great respect—the Christ of the actual Gospels and not only the ‘Isā of the Qurʾān; he defends vigorously the historicity of Jesus and the authenticity of the Gospels, the only sources for our knowledge of Christ; he rejects nationalist prejudice against the miracles but, following a method which he has worked out for himself, he does not make use of them in his exposition. Finally, al-‘Aḡḡād has a clear grasp of certain aspects of Christ’s teaching: the insistence on love, the complementary role of the Gospel counsels, the primarily spiritual character of Christianity: this is essentially a demand for perfection made of the conscience and not a religious law bristling with texts. From the Christian side he has been criticized for announcing arbitrarily when he approaches the account of the Passion and death of Jesus: “This is where history ends and belief begins”, whereas the remainder of the book rests on the authenticity of the Gospels, which he defends vigorously. Furthermore, the dogmatic teaching of Christ is left in the background.

The second book (1954), *An iniquitous city* (*Qarya ḡālīma*) is by a doctor, Dr. Kāmil Ḥusayn, former rector of the University of ‘Ayn Ḥams (Cairo). It is presented rather as a work of imagination than a historical biography, being a personal meditation on the trial and condemnation of Christ, a trial considered as the greatest crime in history. The whole thread of the story unwinds on Good Friday and the work is conceived in the form of a triptych describing successively, in a style both sober and elegant, the attitudes of the Jews, the Apostles and disciples, and finally of the Romans. Concentrating on this or that scene (Calvary, the meeting of the Apostles), on this or that person (Caiaphas, Lazarus, Pilate, Mary Magdalene) the author is able to stress profound psychological details and to discuss great metaphysical or moral problems: liberty, authority, the existence of God, the relations between religion and the state, conscience etc. Without being described anywhere, the face of Christ is present everywhere. The essential part of his mission is to remind men that conscience, which is a participation in the divine light, must be above everything, above even religion if need be. Very skilfully, in order to distress neither Christians nor Muslims, the author leaves the problem of the Crucifixion in the background. Although to a certain extent the whole book converges on this main event (all the characters speak of it, all the movement of the book leads to it, nature herself is covered with darkness on the afternoon of Good Friday), the author does not actually state that Christ was crucified. Nor however does he deny it. He merely repeats a Qurʾānic saying: “God has raised Jesus to Himself”, a saying which in the context can receive

an acceptable interpretation from Christian readers. Finally, in one of the last chapters, "Return to the Sermon on the Mount", the author movingly develops the words of Christ. He summarizes them for the modern world into the three following points: one should reject with all one's might all the false gods of money, the state, religion or the common good; one should truly live according to the precept of brotherly love; finally one should free oneself of any passion which might stifle the voice of conscience.

The book has been translated into English by Kenneth Cragg under the title *City of Wrong. A Friday in Jerusalem*. Djambatan-Amsterdam 1959 and into Spanish by José Maria Fornéas; the Spanish translation has as an introduction the long article on the book by G. C. Anawati in *MIDEO*, ii (1959), 71-134, entitled *Jésus et ses juges d'après "La Cité inique" du Dr. Kamel Hussein*.

On a portrait of Jesus by a contemporary Persian writer, Shin Parto, in a short book entitled *Haft Šehrē (Sept visages)*, cf. the article by P. de Beau-recueil in *MIDEO*, ii, (1955), 310-2.

**Bibliography:** A large part of the bibliography has already been given in the article itself and in the article *INḌĪL* where are listed the works of Ahrens, Blachère (tr. of the Kur'ān), Fritsch, Goldziher, Henninger, Horowitz, Jomier, Masson, Steinschneider, Tor Andrae, etc. We give here only the books and articles devoted more especially to Kur'ānic Christology (in chronological order):

C. F. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran*, Hamburg and Gotha 1839; M. Manneval, *La christologie du Coran*, Toulouse 1867 (a thesis based on the above book); G. Rosch, *Die Jesusmythen des Islam*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1876, 409-54; E. Sayous, *Jesus-Christ d'après Mahomet*, Paris-Leipzig 1880; E. Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane*, Paris 1903; F. W. von Herbert, *The Moslem tradition of Jesus' second visit on earth*, in *Hibbert J.*, vii (1909), 27-48; C. H. A. Field, *Christ in Mohammedan tradition*, in *MW*, i, (1911), 68-73; S. M. Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ, An essay in the life, character and teachings of Jesus Christ according to the Koran and orthodox tradition*, Edinburgh-London 1912; Muhammad Din, *The Crucifixion in the Koran*, *MW*, xiv (1924), 23-9; E. J. Jenkinson, *Jesus in Moslem Tradition*, *ibid.*, xviii (1928), 263-9; E. J. Robson, *Christ in Islam*, 1929; H. Gregoire, *Mahomet et le monophysisme*, in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris 1930, i, 107-19; L. Massignon, *Le Christ dans les Évangiles selon Ghazālī*, in *REI*, 1932, 523-36; Th. Monod, *Le Christ des Musulmans*, in *Le Monde non-chrétien, Cahiers de Foi et Vie* no. 5, December 1933, 7-26; E. F. F. Bishop, *The Son of Mary*, in *MW*, xxiv (1934); Ign. di Matteo, *La divinità di Cristo e la dottrina della Trinità in Maometto e nei polemisti musulmani*, Rome pont. Ist. Bibl. 1938; Ghazālī *Réfutation excellente de la divinité de Jésus-Christ d'après les Évangiles*, ed. and tr. by R. Chidiac, Paris 1939; J. Robson, *Mohammedan teachings about Jesus*, in *MW*, xxix (1939), 37-54; F. V. Winett, *References to Jesus in pre-islamic Arabic inscriptions*, in *MW*, xxxi (1941), 341-53; J. Robson, *Stories of Jesus*, *ibid.*, cl (1950); E. Littmann, *Jesus in a pre-islamic inscription*, *ibid.*, xl, (1950); J. Abd El-Jalil, *Marie et l'Islam*, Paris 1950; W. M. Watt, *His name is Ahmad*, in *MW*, xlii (1953); F. L. Bakker, *Jesus en de Islam*, The Hague 1955; E. F. F. Bishop, *The Qumran Scroll and the Qur'an*, in *MW*, xlvi

(1958); G. Farès, *Le Christ et l'Islam contemporain, in Méditerranée, carrefour de religions*, 31-52 (Cahier no. 28 of *Recherches et débats du centre catholique des intellectuels français*, September 1959); K. Cragg, Introduction to his translation of Kāmil Ḥusayn, *City of Wrong*, Djambatan-Amsterdam 1959; M. Hayek, *Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris 1959 (2nd Arabic edition, Beirut 1961); ‘Abd al-Tafāḥum, *The Qur'an and the Holy Communion*, in *MW*, xlix (1959); Ishaq al-Husayni, *Christ in the Qur'an in modern arabic literature*, Tokyo 1960; H. Michaud, *Jésus selon le Coran*, Cahiers Théologiques 46, Neuchâtel 1960; M. Hayek, *L'origine des termes 'Isā, al-Masīh (Jesus-Christ) dans le Coran, in l'Orient chrétien*, vii (1962), 223-54 and 365-82; Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, London 1965; Ali Mērad, *Le Christ selon le Coran*, in *R.O.M.M.*, v (1968/1-2), 79-93.

For Muslim works in Arabic, see the articles by J. Jomier and G. C. Anawati mentioned in paragraph XV above. (G. C. ANAWATI)

‘ISĀ, NĀHR, in full NĀHR ‘ISĀ IBN ‘ALĪ, was in the Middle Ages one of the four major canals leading to the general vicinity of Baghdād, the others being Nahr al-Malik, Nahr Šaršar and Nahr al-Šarāt (Muḥaddasī, 124). Watering the district of Firūz Sābūr, Nahr ‘Isā flowed past the villages and domains situated along both banks until it reached the town of al-Muḥawal west of Baghdād, and from there into the Tigris (*Ta'rikh Baghdād*, i, 111-2; *Le Strange, Baghdad*, Map III). A tributary of the Euphrates, it was deep enough to allow large boats coming from al-Rakkā to deliver foodstuffs from Egypt and Syria (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 250). Since the canal emptied into the Tigris, below Kašr ‘Isā, it connected both these major waterways (Ištakhri, 84-5; Ibn Ḥawqāl, 164-5). As a result the city was strategically situated amidst the major inland water routes of the empire, as well as on the great highways leading to the East and the Arabian Peninsula. When the construction of dams along the Šarāt made it impossible for large boats to reach the Tigris, the ‘Isā alone remained open to heavy traffic. The course of Nahr ‘Isā is reported by al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), whose account is identical with that of Suhrāb (*‘Adā’ib*, 123) and is the same as the text published by *The Strange as Ibn Serapion, Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad*, London 1895, 13. The text of Suhrāb can be dated on internal evidence to ca. 925 A.D. He lists nine locations along the canal, all of which are apparently identified by masonry bridges (*kaṅṅara*) spanning the water. The course of the canal is also described by Yākūt (d. 622/1225), whose account is based on that of the Khatīb (*Mu‘djam*, iv, 842). He adds, however, that in his time only Kaṅṅarat al-Zayyātīn and Kaṅṅarat al-Bustān remained standing, the other seven bridges having apparently fallen into disuse. However, the *Marāsid* indicates that these bridges must have been destroyed before then, and that the only bridges standing in the time of Yākūt were Kaṅṅarat al-Yāsiriyya, Kaṅṅarat al-Šhawḳ, and Kaṅṅarat Banī Zurayḳ (iii, 250). See also Yākūt (*op. cit.*, 190, 191, 839). However, Ibn al-Djawlī, writing in the 6th/12th century, reports that Kaṅṅarat Banī Zurayḳ collapsed into Nahr ‘Isā in 433/1042. There is no indication that the bridge was repaired then (*Muntaẓam*, viii, 108). Furthermore, a century earlier (323/935) Kaṅṅarat al-Uṣṣnān and its environs were reported to have been ravaged by fire. According to al-Šūlī it was not rebuilt in his time (*Aḥḥbār*, 68). To what extent the destruction of individual bridges

reflects the decline of the surrounding area bearing the same name is not clear. Nahr ‘Isā in the Middle Ages formed the southern boundary of the suburb of al-Karkh and thus marked the southern limits of Baghdad. No real trace remains of it in modern times.

*Bibliography:* In the text. (J. LASSNER)

‘ISĀ B. ‘ALĪ [see ‘ALĪ B. ‘ISĀ].

‘ISĀ B. DĪNĀR B. WĀFID AL-ḤĀFIKĪ, one of the three major founders of Islamic jurisprudence and theology in Spain, the other two being Yahyā b. Yahyā (d. 234/848) and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852). ‘Isā is considered the most learned and important of the three, and is described as *‘ālim al-Andalus*. He was born in Toledo, most probably around 155/771, because when he arrived at Medina to study with Mālik b. Anas he found he had “recently” died (in 179/795). He went back to Fustāt and made all his studies under ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Kāsim (d. 191/806) who was considered the most eminent disciple of Mālik. He attended also the lectures of the other two distinguished Māliki scholars of Fustāt: ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812) and Aḡhhab b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (d. 204/819). While Yahyā b. Yahyā boasted that he had made some of his studies with Mālik and completed them afterwards at Fustāt, and while the flamboyant ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was always keen to show that he had obtained his knowledge from the four Medinan disciples of Mālik—namely al-Mugh̃ira b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Maḡh̃zūmī (d. 188/804), Abu ‘l-Muḡ‘ab al-Zuhri (d. 242/856), ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Māḡjiḡshūn (d. 212/827) and al-Mutarrif b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 220/835)—‘Isā b. Dīnār proved that better results could be achieved by studying with one good professor if the student possessed superior talent and character. ‘Isā b. Dīnār was nominated, a short time after his return from Egypt, the Mufti [q.v.] of Cordova and stayed in that office until his death in 212/827. Only then could Yahyā, who was older than ‘Isā but lived longer, obtain the post. ‘Isā wrote a large work of Māliki jurisprudence called *al-Hidāya*, in which he collected the knowledge he had got from Ibn al-Kāsim and added his personal points of view. He arranged its material according to the branches of *fiḡh* and dedicated a volume to the questions of each branch. A student of his read the volume about sales (*masā’il al-buyū‘*) to Ibn al-Māḡjiḡshūn, who could not help repeating time and again: “By God! that ‘Isā of yours has indeed made an excellent thing! (*aḡšana wa-‘llāhi ‘Isāka ḡāḡhā!*)” The *Hidāya* was considered superior in quality to the ten Books of Yahyā (*‘aḡharat Yahyā*) and *al-Wāḡiḡa* of Ibn Ḥabīb. While these two were mere manuals of Māliki law, *al-Hidāya* was a substantial contribution to the making of Spanish Māliki doctrine.

Besides his vast knowledge of law and theology, ‘Isā had his own personal views that sometimes contradicted those of the government and the rest of the *fukahā*. He was accused of taking part in the Rebellion of the Suburb of Cordova (*ḡayḡi al-rabaḡ*) in 203/818 and had to escape and hide when the rebellion was suppressed. Al-Ḥakam I pardoned him later, and he regained his post and prestige. Towards the end of his life he grew weary of the rigidity of the Māliki *madḡhab* and the servile manner in which the jurists applied the *Muwaffa*. He decided to abandon both, and go back to the original sources of the faith: the Kur’ān and the *sunna*. The idea had been given to him long before by ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb, when he was studying at Fustāt. Ibn Wahb had always warned against the dangers of regarding the *Muwaffa* as the ultimate source of legal rulings. ‘Isā however did

not live to fulfil his desire. The *Muwaffa* continued to be the unique source of jurisprudence in Muslim Spain until it was successfully challenged by Baḡi b. Maḡhlād (201/816-276/889) and Muḡammad b. Waḡḡāḡ (199/814-287/900) fifty years later. ‘Isā b. Dīnār was moderate in his judgements, especially when they concerned the inflicting of punishment. For instance, while ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb ruled that the *Khāridjīs* and the Mu’tazilis should be sentenced to death without mercy, ‘Isā insisted that they should first be given the opportunity to disavow their doctrines and rejoin the *sunna*. Here ‘Isā b. Dīnār was more consistent than Mālik himself, because this last had said in the treatise called *Bāb al-nahy ‘an al-kadar* that the Mu’tazilis should be accorded the opportunity to disavow *i‘tizāl* before any punishment was inflicted on them; but when he was asked about them in the mosque he shouted: “Heretics, infidels, kill them!”

*Bibliography:* Ibn al-Faraḡi, ‘*Ulamā*’, Madrid 1890-92, 973; Humayḡi, *Djadhwa*, Cairo 1952, 678; Ibn al-Kūṡiyya, *Iftitāḡ*, Madrid 1926, 35; Ḍabbi, *Bughya*, 389; Ṣafadi, *Wāfi* photocopy, Cairo Library, V/3, 615; Ibn Sa‘īd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1956, ii, 24; Ibn Farḡūn, *Dibādī*, Cairo 1932, 177; Maḡḡari *Nafḡ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 215, iv, 161-2; ‘Iyāḡ, *Shifā*, Cairo n.d., ii, 273; idem, *Madārik*, ed. A. Bakir, Beirut 1967-9, index; José López Ortiz, *La recepción de la Escuela Malchī en España*, in *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, vii (1930), 1-169; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 148, ii, 473; M. A. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España Musulmana*, Madrid 1968, Index. (H. MONÉS)

‘ISĀ B. MUHANNĀ, d. 683/1248, appointed *Amir al-‘Arab* by the Mamlūk sultan, was the chief of the Āl Faḡl, a Bedouin clan of Bādiyat al-Ṣha‘m. His genealogy is usually given as ‘Isā b. Muhannā b. Māni‘ b. Ḥadiṡḡa b. ‘Aḡaba (var. ‘Uḡba) b. Faḡl b. Rabī‘a; his *laḡab* was Ṣharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣā‘ī. The Āl Faḡl, connected to the Rabī‘a and hence to the Tayy (for their early history see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-‘Ibar*, Cairo 1284, v, 436 f.; al-Kalkāḡhandī, *Ṣubḡ*, Cairo 1914, iv, 203 f., 206), were very wealthy (see al-‘Umarī, *al-Ta‘rif*, Cairo 1312, 79) and ranged from Ḥimṡ as far as Kal‘at Dja‘bar and Raḡba (*Ṣubḡ*, iv, 204, 231; al-Khālidi, *al-Muḡṡid al-rafi‘*, Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. 4439, 155). ‘Isā himself, with his immediate followers (Āl ‘Isā) dwelt in Bādiyat al-Ṣha‘m, occasionally crossing the Euphrates at Raḡba into ‘Irāḡ.

‘Isā played an important role in the battles between the Mamlūks and the Mongols in the second half of the 7th/13th century. With the other Bedouin, he fought beside Kutuz [q.v.] at the battle of ‘Ayn Djalūt [q.v.] in 658/1260, and he (or his father) was rewarded with the grant of the *ikṡā‘* [q.v.] of Salāmiyya [q.v.]. Although in general he enjoyed good relations with the neighbouring amirs, especially Djalāl al-Dīn al-Kalālī of Irbil (see Kaḡḡi Muḡyi al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Zāḡir, *al-Rawḡ al-zāḡir*, ed. S. F. Sadeque, 1956, 112), he was on bad terms with Baybars [q.v.]; the sultan however, was obliged to appoint him *Amir al-‘Arab* over all the Bedouin in 663/1264, in succession to his cousin ‘Alī b. Hudḡayfa b. Māni‘, whose bloodthirsty tyranny had reduced the region to chaos (*al-Rawḡ*, 123). Contemporary sources report that he did much to restore order, by his good administration and justice (e.g., Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘riḡḡ*, Beirut 1939, viii, 12 f.). ‘Isā led the way in Baybars’s invasion of Asia Minor in 675/1277; and, together with Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī, *nā‘ib* of Aleppo, prevented the

Mongols from infiltrating into Syria (see *Baybars tarihi*, T. tr. Ş. Yalrkaya, Istanbul 1941, 85). Under Kālāwūn, however, he allied himself with Sunkur al-Aṣḥkar, who had rebelled at Damascus taking the title al-Malik al-Kāmil, and entered into contact with ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā’ Malik Djuwaynī, who was governing Baghdād for the Ilkhānid ruler: in 679/1280 he and Sunkur began a correspondence with Abākā, to whom, through the intermediary of Djuwaynī, he sent his son. Abākā presented the son with a *khil’a* and granted to him part of the revenues of Baghdād (D’Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongoles*, iii, 522). This rapprochement did not, however, last long: ‘Isā visited Cairo in 680/1281, was pardoned by Kālāwūn, and, at the battle of Ḥimṣ [q.v.], commanded all the Bedouin levies as leader of the vanguard of the right wing of the Mamlūk army (see Abu ‘l-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-baṣhar*, Istanbul 1286, iv, 15; D’Ohsson, iii, 526). ‘Isā died in Rabi‘ I 683/May 1284, the *ṣalāt al-ghā’ib* being performed for him in the Great Mosque of Damascus on the 9th of the month/26 May (see Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 13). During his twenty years of rule, ‘Isā, in spite of his approaches to the Ilkhānids, followed a sound policy, ensuring internal peace and order in his territories, and he is praised by the sources as a good and pious man (Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 13; al-Yāfi‘i, *Mir’āt al-‘ajinān*, Haydarābād 1338, iv, 199).

His son and successor as leader of Āl ‘Isā, Husām al-Dīn Muhannā, the lord of Tadmūr, pursued his father’s policy; but in 692/1293, the Mamlūk Sultan Khalil had him arrested at Ḥimṣ, together with his brothers Muḥammad and Faql and his son Mūsā, and brought to Cairo, where they were imprisoned in Kal‘at al-Djabal (Abu ‘l-Fidā’, iv, 29; Ibn Khaldūn, v, 438; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 206). Two years later, however, he was restored as Amīr al-‘Arab. He performed the Pilgrimage, with much pomp, in 697/1298 (Wüstenfeld, *Chron. der Stadt Mecca*, ii, 275). Soon afterwards he fell out with al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and in 712/1312, 716/1316, and especially 720/1320, allied himself with the Ilkhānids (Ibn Khaldūn, v, 439). As a result, the Āl ‘Isā were fiercely persecuted by the *na’ib* of Damascus and by one party of Bedouins, and his *ikhṭā’c* were taken away (Abu ‘l-Fidā’, iv, 91-3; al-‘Umarī, 79). Nevertheless, when the Mamlūks and the Ilkhānids made peace in 723/1323, Muhannā returned to Syria. During his emirate the clan was divided into two branches, Bayt Muhannā b. ‘Isā and Bayt Faql b. ‘Isā (al-‘Umarī, 79; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 205, 208; *Muḥṣid*, 155), and a third branch, named the Āl-Muhannā, came into existence under Muhannā’s grandson Nu‘ayr (Muḥammad b. Djabbār b. Muhannā) (for Nu‘ayr, see M. C. Sebheddin Tekindağ, *Barḳūḳ devrinde Mamlūk Sulfāniği*, Istanbul 1961, 59, 65, 72-3, 75, 81-2, 95-6). These families seem to have retained the post of Amīr al-‘Arab until 879/1474.

*Bibliography*: further to references in the text: Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, Cairo 1939, i/3, 725-6; Weil, *Chalifen*, iv, 12 f.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l’époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 186 f.; Ziriklī, *al-‘A‘lām*, v, 296.

(M. C. ŞEHABEDDİN TEKİNDĀÇ)

**‘ISĀ B. MŪSĀ** B. MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĪ B. ‘ABD ALLĀH B. AL-‘ABBĀS. ‘Abbāsīd prince, nephew of the first two caliphs of the dynasty. Governor of al-Kūfa in the reign of al-Saffāh [q.v.], he was then designated as the second heir after Abū Dja‘far, and it was he who, at al-Anbār, administered the oath of allegiance on behalf of al-Manṣūr, who was in Mecca at the time when al-Saffāh died.

‘Isā b. Mūsā kept his post of governor during the reign of al-Manṣūr. He directed military operations against the ‘Alids Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, and then Ibrāhīm, who were in revolt. In Dhū‘l-Ka‘da 145/February 763 he won the victory of Bākhmarā [q.v.] but was obliged to renounce his rights as heir apparent in favour of al-Mahdī in 147/764-65. Again in Muḥarram 160/October-November 776, al-Mahdī, who had become caliph, put pressure on ‘Isā, so that he would renounce his rights in favour of his own son, Mūsā, the future al-Hādī. ‘Isā b. Mūsā died in 167/783-4 at Kūfa aged 85.

It seems he took an active part in the planning of Baghdād (the reason, according to certain sources, for the name of Nahr ‘Isā [q.v.]), and the chroniclers mention a palace which had belonged to him and which became the property of the descendants of the Caliph al-Ma’mūn. Moreover, the foundation of the castle of al-Ukhaydir is generally attributed to him. This castle is situated in the steppe not far from al-Kūfa and has, as has recently been remarked, a strategic importance. Its construction seems to have been related to the repression of the ‘Alid movements in the region.

*Bibliography*: Ṭabari, iii, index; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, index; Ya‘qūbī, index; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; Balādhūrī, *Ansāb*, Ms. Istanbul Aṣīr Ef. 597, fol. 569; L. Caetani, *Cronografia*, Rome 1923, fasc. i, *passim*; Le Strange, 66 and index; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, ii, Oxford 1940; W. Caskel, *al-Uḥaydir*, in *Isl.*, xxxix (1964), 28-37. (D. SOURDEL)

**‘ISĀ B. AL-SHAYKH** B. AL-SALĪL, ABŪ MŪSĀ AL-DHULĪ AL-SHAYBĀNĪ no doubt belonged to the Rabi‘a (Bakr) tribe of the Banū Shaybān of Djazira (for which see al-Kālkashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma‘rifat ansāb al-‘Arab*, Baghdād 1332, 259; idem, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, i, 338; al-Nuwayri, *Nihāya*, ii, 335-6; Ibn Kutayba, *Kitāb al-ma‘ārif*, Cairo 1300, 32-3, ed. Okasha<sup>a</sup> 1969, 97; cf. M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H‘amānīdes*, 134 ff., 141). We do not know the exact name of his father, who was called al-Shaykh or Shaykh, and elsewhere Aḥmad (Ibn Taghribirdī, iii, 46 note, and Defrémery, *Recherches...*) or ‘Abd al-Razzāk (al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 134). ‘Isā’s early history is shrouded in obscurity. He seems to have made his first appearance in 234/848 during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, in the following circumstances. There was a member of a Rabi‘a tribe of Ādḥarbāydiān, Muḥammad b. al-Ba‘īth (or Bu‘āyith), whose father and grandfather had set up for themselves a fief in Marand and around the lake of Urmiya, and who, at certain times as the ally of Bābek and at other times as his adversary, had been imprisoned in Sāmarrā; he had taken flight, and had then returned to Marand and fortified himself there. An army was sent against him, under the command of Bughā al-Sharābī. ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh was a member of this force. Bughā used him to negotiate with the besieged, and since these were for the most part of Rabi‘a like himself, ‘Isā secured the surrender of a certain number of the companions and relations of Ibn al-Ba‘īth. The latter escaped, but was captured and taken to Sāmarrā [see MARAND].

It does not appear to be true that ‘Isā was governor of Damascus in 247/861, as is suggested by Zambaur (*Manuel de chronologie*, 28), who confused him with ‘Isā b. Muḥammad al-Nawshari. Under the year 251/865, two items of information relating to ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh are to be found in al-Ṭabari. The first states that he fought against a Khārijī named al-Muwaffaq and took him prisoner. According to

the second, ‘Isā requested the caliph al-Musta‘in to send him arms and equipment, in order to consolidate his power in the country and to allow him to conduct a campaign against the Byzantines (*al-ghasū*); furthermore, he asked the caliph to give orders to the commandant of the garrison at Tyre (Šūr) to place four armed vessels at his disposal, in addition to those he could already count on. This would suggest that ‘Isā at that time held a command in the Syrian frontier region.

If al-Ya‘kūbi is to be believed, when al-Mu‘tazz ascended the throne on 7 Muḥarram 252/29 January 866 and asked the various governors to recognise him, certain of them did so immediately, but others, among them ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh in Palestine, bided their time. This ‘Isā would have been governor of Palestine as early as 251. It was perhaps as a result of this incident that al-Nawshari, governor of Damascus, marched against ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh, joined battle with him by the Jordan and compelled him to flee, first to Palestine, later to Egypt, while al-Nawshari entered Ramla. An envoy from al-Mu‘tazz came to Egypt and received the oath of loyalty from the governor and his entourage, and also from ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh. It appears that al-Mu‘tazz had not given his consent to the occupation of Ramla by al-Nawshari, since he sent against him into Palestine the Turk Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad who drove out al-Nawshari. ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh left Egypt, and then established himself in a *kaṣr* between Ramla and Ludd. Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad could do nothing against him, and finally both of them returned to ‘Irāk, according to al-Ya‘kūbi.

According to al-Ṭabari, at the end of 252/December 866, ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh was nominated by al-Mu‘tazz as governor of Ramla in Palestine. He was said to have obtained this appointment by paying, or guaranteeing, a sum of 40,000 dinars to Bughā al-Sharābi who, in 252, still possessed considerable influence, since it was not until 254/868 that he was imprisoned and put to death.

According to al-Mas‘ūdī, he was said to have been appointed by al-Mu‘tazz as governor of Palestine because he had come from Egypt to Sāmarrā bearing huge sums of money (perhaps the proceeds of taxes) and bringing with him a group of seventy ‘Alids who had fled from the Ḥijāz as a result of disturbances there.

The occasion of this nomination marks the appearance of a figure who is later to be found at the side of ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh; this is Abu ‘l-Maḡhrā’ ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra, of a family which held an important fief in southern Armenia in the region of Arzanene. It was this man whom ‘Isā sent to represent him as his deputy in Ramla.

From this time onwards, the career of ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh is described in greater detail. The anarchy then prevailing in ‘Irāk allowed him to extend his area of authority by seizing Damascus. The caliph al-Muhtadi, who succeeded at the end of Raġġab 255/July 869, granted an amnesty to all those who had taken part in disturbances or had usurped power, and he wrote in this sense to ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh, ordering him to hand over the money which he was keeping in Egypt and other countries. ‘Isā refused, and kept the proceeds from the taxes for himself, thus making himself financially independent. According to al-Kindī (*The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 214), he embezzled a sum of 750,000 *dīnārs*. No doubt it is to this episode that Ibn al-Mu‘tazz was alluding in his *kaṣīda* (*urđiūza*) in praise of al-Mu‘taḍid, when he states (verse 41 ff.)

that ‘Isā and his son (that is to say Aḥmad, see below) are robbers, that they never give a single coin to the caliph and extort money from their subjects. The caliph al-Mu‘tamid in 256/870 sent emissaries to him, to demand this money. ‘Isā replied that he had used it to pay his troops. He was then offered the governorship of Armenia on condition that he recognised al-Mu‘tamid, which he had not hitherto done. ‘Isā consented, thinking that he would be able to retain Syria while at the same time becoming governor of Armenia. Al-Mu‘tamid did not regard it in the same way, but instead of leaving it to the new ruler of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (from September 868), to expel ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh from Syria, he himself sent an army commanded by the Turk Amāḍīr, who was appointed governor of Damascus. In the battle which he fought outside Damascus, ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh lost his son al-Manšūr who was killed, and he himself was defeated and fled to Armenia by the coast road (256/870, or, according to al-Ya‘kūbi, 257/871).

The governorship of Armenia no doubt also included Diyār Bakr in Ḍjazira and Āḍharbāyḍjān. In Armenia, ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh responded to an appeal from the Arab colonies established in the Lake Van region, the ‘Uḥmānids (U‘manikk’) and the Kayis (Kaisikk’), who were threatened by Ashot Artšruni, prince of Vaspurakan, who was about to besiege Amiwk, a fortress of the ‘Uḥmānids on the east shore of the lake. Thanks to his armed intervention, the siege was raised. An agreement was reached, and ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh went to Āḍharbāyḍjān where he established one of his officers, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Tamimi al-Yamāmi (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 58, 740), whom the Armenian historians call Yamamik or Ememik. In Armenia, which was partitioned between the Bagratuni and the Artšruni and which was in fact independent, the authority of ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh diminished constantly, and all the more when his deputy in Āḍharbāyḍjān revolted against him, thus involving him in a fruitless struggle for a whole year, probably in 877-8; afterwards, he had to return to “Syria” (according to the Armenian historians), that is to say to Āmid in Diyār Bakr. In fact, in 266/879-80 there is no record of his presence anywhere save in that region, although the Armenian historians consider that he remained governor of Armenia until his death in 269/882-3.

In 266, he was involved in hostilities with Ishāk b. Kundādījk (Kündāčik: see Markwart, *Südarmerrien* . . . , 315, n. 4), who was claiming the governorship of the Ḍjazira and some neighbouring territories and who was established in Mosul. Ibn Kundādījk was in conflict with a powerful Khāridji movement, one of whose leaders was Ishāk b. Ayyūb of Nāšibin, supported by the Taghlibī Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (for incidents see M. Canard, *H‘amdānides*, 294 ff.). Ibn Kundādījk won a victory over them, but Ishāk b. Ayyūb sought the help of ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh of Āmid and of Abu ‘l-Maḡhrā’ ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra of Arzan; defeated by this new coalition, Ibn Kundādījk returned to Mosul. There, he received from the caliph the governorship of Mosul, Diyār Rabī‘a and Armenia. In view of this strengthening of their adversary’s forces, ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh and Abu ‘l-Maḡhrā’ determined to seek peace by offering Ibn Kundādījk a tribute of 200,000 *dīnārs*, on the condition that they retained their possessions. After refusing at first, Ibn Kundādījk later accepted, when threatened with a renewal of hostilities. Nevertheless in the following year, 267, a coalition of his various enemies, Khāridjis and others, was once again formed.



A battle took place in Ramaḍān 267/April-May 881: Ibn Kundādījīk was the victor and pursued his foes as far as Āmid, then returned, leaving a contingent outside Āmid to lay siege to ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh. Some indecisive battles were fought.

‘Isā b. al-Shaykh died in 269/882-3, and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, in placing his death at this date, still described him as governor of Armenia and Diyār Bakr, but we do not know what part he played in Armenia between 267 and 269. It is possible that he may have recovered some measure of influence, for Ibn Kundādījīk seems to have had no authority there and in 269 he is described by al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2037) merely as governor of Mosul and Dījazira. Moreover, following the attempted flight of al-Mu‘taḍid which was foiled by Ibn Kundādījīk, the latter went to receive from the regent, al-Muwaffaq, the governorship of Egypt and the Ṭūlūnid lands, and from then onwards all his efforts were aimed at gaining control of the Syrian possessions of the Ṭūlūnids.

Aḥmad b. ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh succeeded his father as ruler of Diyār Bakr where, like him, he was almost independent and was regarded by the historians, like many other princelings of the time, as exercising power *‘alā sabīl al-taḡhallub* (through usurpation). Aḥmad was never officially governor of Armenia, but nevertheless he played a part in the affairs of the country. His ambition, incidentally, was to extend his possessions to the furthest possible limits and even to make himself master of the whole of Armenia. To this end, he seized the fortress of Mārdīn, which dominates the plain of Dījazira, from Muḥammad b. Ishāk b. Kundādījīk, the successor to Ishāk (d. 278/891-2) as ruler of Mosul and Diyār Rabi‘a. In about 890, after taking Abu ‘l-Maḡhrā’ ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra prisoner, he occupied Arzanene in southern Armenia, as far as the Sim Mountain which separates Arzanene from Taron (Ṭarūn; Arm. Tarawn). After treacherously securing the assassination of Gurgēn, the son of the prince of Taron, Ashot the Curopalatine the son of David, Aḥmad b. ‘Isā took possession of the whole territory of Taron, in 895 or early in 896. The king of Armenia, Sembat Bagratuni (890-914), requested Aḥmad b. ‘Isā to restore Taron to its lawful possessor, promising Aḥmad that he would secure for him his nomination by the caliph as governor of Armenia. When Aḥmad refused, Sembat gathered an army, but he was defeated in a battle to the south-west of Lake Van in which Gagik Artsruni, prince of Vaspurakan, who was in league with Aḥmad b. ‘Isā, betrayed Sembat. Thus Aḥmad b. ‘Isā remained in possession of Arzanene and Taron, which were added to Diyār Bakr.

Moreover he endeavoured to win the trust of the caliph. When al-Mu‘taḍid had demonstrated the full extent of his power to the Khāridjīs and rebels, by his expedition in 280/893-4 against the Banū Shaybān and Mosul, Aḥmad b. ‘Isā complied readily with the request made to him by the caliph, on his return to Baghdād, that he should send him all the money he had taken from Ibn Kundādījīk, and indeed he included numerous presents, in addition to the money. At the same time he sent to al-Mu‘taḍid a Khāridjī who had fled to Āmid and whom he had taken prisoner. This submissiveness on the part of Aḥmad is noted in the *kaṣīda* of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz in praise of Al-Mu‘taḍid (verses 177-80). But it seems doubtful whether, to escape death, he contemplated crossing into Byzantine territory and becoming a Christian, as Ibn al-Mu‘tazz claims in the same passage.

Although he was not a governor of Armenia, it was Aḥmad b. ‘Isā who, in the time of al-Mu‘tamīd,

was entrusted in 887 with the task of carrying the royal crown to the new king of Armenia, Ashot I, for it was certainly not his father ‘Isā (d. 882) who was charged with this mission, as might be thought from the account of the Armenian historian John Catholicos who confused the son with the father (see Vasmer, *Chronologie* . . . , 99-100 and Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände* . . . , 125).

Aḥmad b. ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh died in 285/898. His history formed the subject of a detailed account by al-Mas‘ūdi in his lost work *Aḫbār al-zamān* (see *Murādī*, viii, 112).

His successor as ruler of Āmid and the other territories he held, still *‘alā sabīl al-taḡhallub*, was his son Muḥammad who built the minaret of the principal mosque of Mayyāfārikin. With him was to end this minor Shaybāni dynasty of Dījazira. In 286/899, al-Mu‘taḍid decided to have Āmid brought back under his own authority, and for this purpose set out with a large expeditionary force, accompanied by his son the future al-Muktafi. Muḥammad shut himself up in the town which was besieged from April-May until June 899. Siege engines were used on both sides. Finally Muḥammad surrendered, begging for clemency for himself and his men as well as for the inhabitants of Āmid, which was granted. He was treated with consideration by the caliph, who made him a ceremonial gift of clothing, but he was taken away to Baghdād. In al-Mas‘ūdi, viii, 134 ff., will be found a long account for which the source is a person whom al-Mu‘taḍid sent to Muḥammad to ask him to surrender; in this passage, an aunt of the rebel, a talented poetess, advises her nephew to obey the caliph. She herself wrote a letter to al-Mu‘taḍid, in verse. The caliph admired her talent, and this influenced his decision to treat his prisoners generously. Muḥammad was given the Ṭāhirids’ palace as his residence in Baghdād. In Muḥarram 287/January 900, the vizier ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Sulaymān discovered that he was planning to escape. He informed the caliph, who ordered the vizier to have Muḥammad arrested. The historians do not record what became of him after his arrest.

In the 4th/10th century a figure appears named Aḥmad b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Isā b. Shaykh, a worthy if somewhat dull-witted fellow who, during the vizirate of Ibn al-Furāt, was the victim of a practical joke on the part of certain secretaries in the vizirate. They presented him with a diploma (*taḡhīṣ*), conferring on him the right to farm taxes for Āmid and the lands which had been subject to ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh. The vizier’s son, al-Muḥassin, heard a rumour about the incident and reported it to his father, who questioned the man. He seemed to regard the favour which had been granted him as something entirely natural. The vizier let the matter rest, and it went no further. It seems that the man in question was in fact a descendant of ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh (see Hilāl al-Ṣābi, *Wuzarā’*, 146).

As the defender and panegyrist of al-Mu‘taḍid, Ibn al-Mu‘tazz judged ‘Isā and Aḥmad with severity. Basically, in the disturbed period in which these Mesopotamian Arabs lived, they were no worse in their behaviour than the other soldiers of fortune of the ‘Abbāsid regime. In any event, ‘Isā had a certain reputation for magnificence and generosity, as is born out by an anecdote related by Ibn al-Djawzī and recorded by Defrémery in his work on ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh.

*Bibliography*: Ṭabarī, iii, 1382, 1585, 1685, 1841, 1991-2, 2048, 2134, 2137, 2185-7, 2191; Ya‘qūbi, Beirut 1379/1960, ii, 500, 501, 506,

508; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 14, 53, 57, 78-9, 110, 120, 132, 152-3, 162-3; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-aḥab*, vii, 395-6, viii, 134 f.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 7, 46, 116. Modern works: Defrémery, *Recherches sur un personnage appelé Iça fils du Cheikh et sur sa famille*, in *Mémoires d'Histoire Orientale* (1854), i, 1-14; Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten* . . ., in *Abh. der könig. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, xx/3 (1876), 10; Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Aschot I*, in *MSOS*, vii/2 (1904), 118 ff., 124 ff.; idem, *Politische und Kirchengeschichte Armeniens unter Aschot I und Sembat I*, in *MSOS*, viii/2 (1905), 172 ff., 188 ff.; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* . . ., Paris 1919, 223, 233, 273, 329, 347 and *passim*; J. Markwart, *Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 306, 309, 315 ff., 325, 331 ff.; Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter unter den Abbasiden . . . bis zur Krönung Aschots I*, 750-887, Vienna 1931, 98-101, 104; Zaky Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1933, 46-50; R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, Paris 1947, 381 f., 385, 394, 397.—For the allusions contained in the *urđūza* of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, see C. Lang, *Mu'tadid als Prinz und Regent. Ein historisches Heldengedicht von Ibn al-Mu'tazz*, in *ZDMG*, xl (text), 563 ff., xli (trans.) 232 ff., and the different editions of the *Dīwān*, or the separate edition of this work with the *Rasā'il*, Cairo 1946, 80 ff. (M. CANARD)

**ISĀ B. 'UMAR AL-THAKAFĪ AL-BASRĪ**, an early Arabic grammarian, and Kur'ān-reader, d. 149/766. He was a client (*mawlā*) of Khālīd b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī al-Kurashī [*q.v.*], but was called al-Thakafī because at Basra he had settled amongst the Thakīf. He had a brother, Hādījīb, d. 158/774-5 (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 133). Their mother was the daughter of Ziyād, who owned the estate Ziyādān in Basra (Balādhuri, 362); her sister was the mother of Mu'nīs b. 'Imrān, who belonged to the circle of Dja'far b. Yahyā al-Barmakī. 'Isā studied the Kur'ān under 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ishāk [*q.v.*], Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*], al-Djahdari (see Ibn Dīazari, i, 349), and Ibn Muḥaysin (*ibid.* ii, 167, 10). In his own *ikhṭiyār* he did not follow blindly the language of the Bedouins, but criticized their poets and, like Ibn Abī Ishāk, applied the principles of logical reasoning (*kiyās*). Even in ordinary conversation he always applied *irāb*, and his biographers give some specimens of his affected style. Amongst his pupils were al-Aṣma'ī, Khālīl b. Aḥmad, and Sibawayh (who mentions him several times in his *Kitāb*). It is said that he wrote two books on grammar, but they have not come down to us. His readings were objected to and considered exceptional (*shawādh*).

This 'Isā b. 'Umar is not to be confounded with his namesake al-Hamdānī of Kūfa, who died in 156/773 (see *Fihrist*, 31, 1; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 222; Ibn Dīazari, *Chāya*).

*Bibliography*: Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 264, 268; *Fihrist*, 41 f., 51, 22; Ibn Anbārī, *Nuḥa*, 25-9; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 100-3; Ibn Khallikān, No. 523; Ibn Dīazari, *Chāya*, i, 613; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, viii, 223; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 370. See also the indices to Dīmahī, *Ṭabakāt*; Ibn Kutayba, 'Uyūn; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*; Kālī, *Amālī*; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah* and *Muḥtabas*; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, 120; Brockelmann, I, 99; S I, 158; Sezgin, I, 29. (J. W. FÜCK)

**ISĀ BEG** [see ʾSKʾB].

**ISAAC** [see ISĀK].

**ISĀF WĀ-NA'ILA**, a pair of gods worshipped at

Mecca before Islam. Several orientalists of the last century, such as Rudolph Krehl and Francois Lenormant, saw in them, not unreasonably, replicas of Ba'1 and Ba'la. Indeed Isāf and Nā'ila do display the essential characteristics distinguishing this pair of gods from the many avatars known in the various Semitic religions: physical representation by two sacred stones erected close to each other, or by two parallel hills; symbolic representation of the fertility of living beings and of the earth; and the euhemeristic expression of the myth of divine loves such as those of Hippomenes and Atlanta in Greek mythology who dared to embrace in the temple of Demeter and were changed by her into a pair of lions harnessed to her chariot. Certain details of the legend of Isāf and Nā'ila recall the myth of the loves of Adonis and Astarte, avatars of Ba'1 and Ba'la.

These characteristics stand out from the material from which the stories about these idols are composed, although these stories are clearly conceived with an edifying aim. Thanks to this laudable aim this pagan legend had come down to us through the early Islamic sources.

Hīshām al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821), to whom we owe the preservation of numerous traces of pagan Arabia, reporting a saying attributed to Ibn 'Abbās, transmits this legend to us in its most basic form (*K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. and tr. W. Atallah, Paris 1969, 6; cf. Klincks-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch*, Leipzig 1941, 6 and 18): Isāf b. Ya'la and Nā'ila bint Zayd, both of Djurhum (cf. other genealogies in *Aghānī*, xiii, 109), originally from the Yemen, were passionately in love. They came on pilgrimage to Mecca and, finding themselves alone for a moment in the Ka'ba hidden from view, committed fornication there (*faḍjara bihā*); according to another opinion reported in *Aghānī*, *loc. cit.*, they only embraced (*kabbalahā*). They were immediately changed into stones (*famusikha*—a verb usually meaning metamorphosis of a man into an animal, as in the myth of Hippomenes and Atlanta, but the context requires, and the same author further on and other sources add, *hadjarayn*), and were erected there on the spot. They were worshipped by Khuzā'a, Kuraysh, and all the pilgrims.

It seems that originally these two sacred stones were separated: one adjoining (*bi-liṣk*) the Ka'ba, the other on the site (*fī mawḍi'*) of the well of Zamzam. Kuraysh reunited them close to Zamzam and they slaughtered the sacrificial victims nearby. But al-Azrakī (*Aḥkbar Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 49) places them at the foot of al-Safā and al-Marwa, the two parallel hills separated from the Ka'ba by the depression of Mecca.

According to the same author (78), 'Amr b. Luhayy, the Khuzā'ī reformer of idol worship in Arabia, also set up two idols on these two hills: Nahlk Mudjāwid al-Rih on al-Safā and Muṭ'im al-Ṭayr on al-Marwa. These two divine epithets which could have referred to Isāf and Nā'ila and to the Ba'1 and Ba'la which they stood for, applied, according to their significations, the first to a god of the winds and the rain, the second to a goddess of fertility assuring the birds of the valley of their subsistence (cf. details in *Pantheon*, 107). If this hypothesis is correct, the agricultural character of this pair of gods, already suggested by their Yemeni origin, will be confirmed. Their relationship with Zamzam and the meanings suggested for their names would reinforce this confirmation. Indeed the Hebrew *āsaf* (to store up, to gather) and the Aramaic *naw/yā* (to receive gifts) suggest that Isāf and Nā'ila,

positioned at Zamzam where the treasure of the sanctuary was stored, received the offerings and kept guard over them (details in *Panthéon*, 108).

*Bibliography*: T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 103-7, with a fuller bibliography. (T. FAHD)

**ISĀGHŪDĪ**, the *Isagoge* of Porphyry [see FURFŪRIYŪS]. According to Šā'īd al-Andalusī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 49, tr. Blachère, Paris, 1935, 101), it seems that Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q.v.] was the first person to translate this introduction to logic into Arabic. The *Fihrist* (i, 244), on the other hand, maintains that it was Ayyūb b. al-Raḳḳī, who based himself on a Syriac translation. Among the Arabic adaptations of the *Isagoge* we possess that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Biḳā'ī al-Shafī'ī (see Brockelmann, S II, 177), with a commentary by al-Sanūsī (ms. Algiers no. 1362) and that of al-Abbarī, which is the best known and most commented upon; al-Abbarī's adaptation of the *Isāghūdī* was put into verse by al-Akhḍarī [q.v.]. On the translation by Dimashqī and the commentary by Ibn al-Ṭayyib, see FURFŪRIYŪS. (ED.)

**ISAIĀH** [see SHA'YĀ].

**ISAKĀ**, a place in modern Rumania, the origins of which go back to antiquity, known in the Middle Ages as Oblučica. In the time of the Turks it was a fortress of great strategic importance, serving them as a base from which to attack Moldavia and, later, for their campaigns against Poland. As early as 889/1484 Bāyezid II with his troops had crossed the Danube by a bridge near Isakā and conquered Kilia (Kili) and Cetatea Alba (Aḳ Kermān). The Ottoman government gave particular attention to the upkeep of the fortress and the provision of supplies for the garrison. Isakā constituted an important transit centre for cereals and livestock sent from Wallachia and Moldavia to Istanbul, and for merchandise going in the opposite direction.

The centre of a *kaṣā'* in the 11th/17th century, Isakā was not very large, with a population, according to Fwliyyā Ālebi, composed of Wallachians, Moldavians, Greeks, Armenians and Bulgars. The port was the centre of a very active river traffic. The local governors and the State Treasury received considerable revenues from the taxes and port dues. There was also some trading in Isakā; the shops were fairly numerous, but there was no *bezislān*. The whole market, together with the fortress, the inn, the mosque, the *'imāret* and the baths was the *wakf* of the *kapudān* Ḥasan Pasha. In the 11th/17th century it was his heirs who were receiving the revenues.

In the course of the Russo-Turkish wars of the 18th and 19th centuries Isakā was occupied more than once by Russian troops advancing, by way of Dobruḳja, towards the Ottoman territories in the Balkans.

*Bibliography*: Neshrī, *Djihānnümā*, ed. T. Menzel and Fr. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 224; *Cronici turcești privind Țările Române*, Bucharest 1966, 544; Ewliyyā Ālebi, v, 359-61; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812; *Istoria României*, ed. Ac. Republ. Popul. Române, ii, 806, 811, 814, iii, 602, 926; N. Beldiceanu, *La campagne ottomane de 1484; ses préparatifs militaires et sa chronologie*, in *Revue des études roumaines*, v-vi, Paris 1960, 75-7; A. Kuzev, *Prinosi kām istoriyata na sred-novekovnīte kreposti po Dolnija Dunav*. V. *Izvestiya na Narodniya muzei Varna*, vii (1971), 77-87; M. Guboglu, *Turetskiy istochnik 1740 o Vlachiū, Moldavii i Ukraine*. *Vostochnie istochniki po istorii narodov*

*yugo-vostochnoy i tsentral noy Evropi*, Moscow 1964, 147; Bibl. Nat., Sofia, Oriental dept., fonds 176. (B. CVETKOV.)

**'IṢĀMĪ**, *takḥelluṣ* and family surname of a Persian poet who flourished in the 8th/14th century in India and composed in 750-1/1349-50 an epic poem dealing with the exploits of the Muslim conquerors and rulers of India and their military commanders from the Ghaznawids down to the date of composition. Practically nothing is known about 'Iṣāmi, as no biographical work on Indian poets mentions him; the present article is based mainly on the scattered references which he makes about himself in the text of the poem. One of his ancestors, Fakhr al-Mulk 'Iṣāmi, a vizier to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, migrated to India during the reign of Ilutmish [q.v.] and settled at Multan. Later he migrated to Delhi, the capital city. The family enjoyed royal favour and some of its members held high offices of state. 'Iṣāmi himself was born at Delhi in about 711/1310-11 and was brought up by his grandfather 'Izz al-Dīn 'Iṣāmi, a *sipāhsālār* under Balban (664/1266-684/1285). He makes no mention of his father, which suggests that he lost him while still very young. In 726/1326, when Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [q.v.] ordered the transfer *en masse* of the population of Delhi to Dēvgīr (Dawlatābād), 'Iṣāmi also accompanied his 90-year-old grandfather to the Deccan. The latter died on the way, unable to stand the fatigue of the journey, but the young 'Iṣāmi reached Dēvgīr safely: for the next 24 years he remained a little known and neglected man of letters, bitter and frustrated. Still unmarried and disgusted with the manners and morals of his contemporaries, he decided to migrate to the Hijāz. Accordingly, he left for Arabia in 751/1350, soon after the completion of the poem, settled there, and most likely died at Medina. The year of his death is not known.

His fame rests mainly on his only surviving work, the *Futūḥ al-Salāḥīn* (ed. Agra 1938, Madras 1948; Eng. tr. with a commentary by Agha Mahdi Husain, i, Bombay 1967), which he composed under the patronage of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. Composed in about five months, the poem comprises 11,693 verses, written in the metre of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, which he intended to emulate, and narrates historical events in a clear, simple style drawn from all available sources. Although not rated very high as a source for the period it covers, its value as an historical narrative cannot be denied. One of its remarkable features is its regard for factual information and its avoidance of poetic licence or freedom. Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, the author of *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Firishṭa and *Ṭabā'tabā'ī*, the author of *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, a history of the Deccan, as well as Badā'ūnī [q.v.] used his works as one of their sources. A talented poet, gifted with imagination and power of expression, 'Iṣāmi used simple and straight-forward language, devoid of rhetorical flourishes and verbal juggling. He acknowledged his debt to Nizāmī [q.v.] whom he followed as a model, but failed to reach the heights attained by Nizāmī. His work, dedicated to Bahman Shāh, "offers . . . not critical history but historical evidence", for the simple reason that his ambition was to produce an epic poem rather than a work of history.

*Bibliography*: *Futūḥus Salāḥīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948. Editor's preface and a foreword by M. H. Nainar; Ethé, i, 559 (no. 895); *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore xiv/1 (Nov. 1937), 89-90; 'Iṣāmi-nāmah by S. Yūshā', Madras 1937; Šabāḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, in *Ma'ārif* (Urdu monthly)

A‘zamgāth, August 1939, 109 ff., September 1939, 201 ff.; P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, London 1960, 94-110 (the first critical treatment of ‘Iṣāmī and his work in English); *Futūḥu’s Salāfiṅ*, or *Shāh Nāmā-i Hind of ‘Iṣāmī*, (tr. into English by Agha Mahdi Husain), i, Bombay 1967, preface and xiii-xviii, 74-6; S. Moimul Huq, *Barani’s History of the Tughluqs*, Karachi 1959, 114-6; (Agha) Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Calcutta 1963, 50, 72-3, 113, 122-3, 161, 168, 183-4, 199, 202-3, 214, 218-9, 221, 224, 241, 252, 299, 302-3, 307, 358, 502, 570, 572-3, 595-6, 642.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**ISAR-DĀS** (or IṢHWAR-DĀS), one of the two Hindu historians of the reign of Awrangzib [q.v.], was a Nāgarā Brahman of Patan (Nahrawālā or Anhal-wāfā [q.v.] of Muslim historians). Born in 1066/1655 he seems to have received a good education in Persian language and belles-lettres at his native town. Up to 1096/1684 he was employed, most probably, as letter writer and scribe, with the *ḥādī* Shaykh al-Islām b. *ḥādī* ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, who was *Kādī al-lashkar* from 1086/1675 to 1096/1683. On account of certain differences with the Emperor Awrangzib, Shaykh al-Islām resigned his post and went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca in Muḥarram 1095/December 1684. Isar-Dās having thus been thrown out of employment sought service with Shadjā‘at Khān, the governor of Guḍjārāt from 1098/1686-7 to 1113/1701, who employed him as an *amin* (revenue collector) of certain *maḥalls* in the *pargana* of *Djōdhpūr* [q.v.]. It was here that he came to develop friendly relations with the Rāthors, who resented some features of the religious and state policies of the emperor, and ultimately procured the submission of Durgādās Rāthor, the rebel chieftain of *Djōdhpūr*. He successfully performed the diplomatic mission, with which he was entrusted by Shadjā‘at Khān, of recovering the young princess Safiyat al-Nisā‘, a daughter of Awrangzib’s son, Muḥammad Akbar, from the custody of the Rāthors, with whom her father had left her when he fled to Persia in 1099/1687 following his unsuccessful rebellion in 1092/1681. For this service to the imperial household the emperor raised his rank from 200 to 250 horsemen and also awarded him a robe of honour (*khil‘a*). His immediate master Shadjā‘at Khān, too, conferred upon him a *djāgir* [q.v.] in Mērtha, west of *Adjmēr* (not Meerut, near Delhi, as stated by Storey, i/1, 587). Thereafter nothing is known about him, except that he lived at least to the age of 75.

His only claim to fame rests on his Persian work *Futūḥāt-i ‘Ālamgiri* (still in Ms., Rieu, CPM, Additional 23884, Edinburgh 218), completed on 21 Rabi‘ I 1143/4 October 1730, when he was 75 years of age. It is a contemporary account of Awrangzib’s reign beginning with the illness of Shāhḍjahān [q.v.] and ending with the submission to the Imperial Court of Durgādās Rāthor in 1110/1698 and the author’s audience with the emperor for the award of the *khil‘a*. Its value lies in the fact that it is written by a non-Muslim who, during the course of his official duties, came to have access to first-hand sources of information and was himself an eyewitness of many events. Although the author completed it in 1730 it does not go beyond 1698 for reasons still unknown: most probably it was in the latter year that he gave up imperial service, lost touch with events and retired to his *djāgir*. He wrote it as a memorial to himself and for the benefit of his grandson *Kh‘ush-ḥāl Rā‘i*, son of *Bradja Rā‘i*; (it is also, incidentally, a refutation of the allegation that Awrangzib had forbidden the writing of contemporary history).

*Bibliography*: Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, Calcutta and Cambridge 1919, 242-9 (*An old Hindu historian of Awrangzib*); idem, *History of Awrangzib*, ii, 305; idem, *Short history of Awrangzib*<sup>2</sup>, Calcutta 1954, 373; Storey, i/1, 587-8; Rieu, CPM, i, 269 a. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**‘IṢĀWĀ**, ‘IṢĀWIYYA, collective name (sing. ‘*Iṣāwī*) denoting the confraternity or “path” (*ḥarīka*) founded at the beginning of the 10th/16th century by Shaykh Muḥammad b. ‘Iṣā al-Ṣufyāni al-Mukhtārī (other ethnics—al-Miknāsī, al-Fahrī or al-Fahdl), named “the Perfect Master” (*al-Shaykh al-Kāmil*).

The founder.—Stripped of the very abundant growth of hagiographic legend, the biography of Sidi Ibn ‘Iṣā consists merely of a number of well-established facts. Born in 842/1467-8 in Sūs or Ḥarb, probably of a family of Idrisid *sharīfs* (though this connection is disputed by some historians, including al-Salāwī), he applied himself to Qur’ānic studies from a very early age and travelled with his father, a man of great piety and modest circumstances, through the north of Morocco among the Banū Ṣufyān, the Banū Mukhtār (where he married) and the Banū Ḥassān; he stayed in Fās and then in Miknās where he attached himself to an eminent teacher of mysticism, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Hārithī al-Ṣufyāni, a ṣūfī of *Shādhiliyya* [q.v.]-*Djazūliyya* obedience. After the death of this teacher, to complete his education he went to two other continuators of al-Djazūli [q.v.], Sidi ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Tabbā‘ of Marrākush, and Muḥammad al-Ṣaghri al-Shi‘li, of *Khandaq al-Zaytūn* (a suburb of Fās), who taught him the *Dalā‘il al-khayrāt* in detail. Having finally settled at Miknās, he taught in the chief mosque of the town and then, since a constant stream of disciples came to him, attracted by his saintliness, he bought a property which he set up as a *wakf* for use as a cemetery and where he had the *zāwiya* built which still exists. It was there that he was buried after his death, which took place in 930, 932 or 933/1523-7.

Sidi Ibn ‘Iṣā was an accomplished mystic “whose asceticism and devotion were unassailable” (R. Brunel) and whose love of God was combined with constant practice of the virtues and a charity that communicated itself to others. Gifted with an aptitude for penetrating men’s thoughts, he also possessed remarkable powers of healing, and countless miracles are attributed to him. Although he lived at a time of great turmoil—the period which followed the end of the Marinid dynasty (869/1465) and witnessed the reigns of four Waṭṭāsid sultans and the rise of the Sa‘did dynasty—he does not appear to have taken any part personally in the dissensions between local chieftains or to have participated in the struggle against the Christian invaders. Nevertheless, his popularity made him suspect to the authorities, and at one time he was compelled to go into exile from Miknās, with a group of his disciples; it was on this occasion, according to the legend, that he is said to have obtained for his companions the gift of immunity from the poison of scorpions and snakes and from the barbs of cactus. He was then recalled to Miknās in triumph and became the patron saint of the town.

The literary output of Ibn ‘Iṣā is sparse. It consists of several invocations (*awrād*), some litanies (*aḥzāb*), including the very popular *Ḥizb Subḥān al-Dā‘im* which is a compilation of works of al-Djazūli, al-Hārithī and al-Suhayli, some *ḥasidas* which the ‘Iṣāwā sing at their meetings, and a spiritual testament (*waṣīyya*), in which are incorporated numerous teachings of the *Shādhili* authors.

Dissemination and organization of the *ṭarīqa*. Ibn ‘Isā had great numbers of disciples, six hundred of whom were said to have achieved the state of perfection; particularly prominent among them is the figure of his immediate successor, Abu ‘l-Rawā’in. This man belonged to the class of Ṣūfis known as “the reprehensibles” (*malāmātiyya* [q.v.]), who conceal their wisdom beneath an extravagant exterior. He never married and, even today, women avoid approaching his tomb, which is situated alongside that of his master, for fear of a curse. He was given the name *al-Mukadhhib* (the Contester) on account of his anti-conformist behaviour; he used to contrive to sell to some rich or powerful man a town or a whole territory to which he had no claim whatsoever; anyone who refused to pay him this strange tribute found himself struck down with some misfortune; if on the other hand he completed the transaction, God granted him the advantages promised by the Saint, who indeed himself distributed as alms the sums of money thus acquired. Abu ‘l-Rawā’in played an important part in supporting the first Sa’dids in their struggle against the Portuguese, in preparing the way for their proclamation as sultans in Marrākush (951/1544), and later in stirring up the people of Fās against the Waṭṭāsids. After his death (963/1556), control of the *ṭarīqa* reverted to the descendants of Ibn ‘Isā and remained with them by hereditary succession. Thereafter the ‘Isāwā hardly appeared on the political scene.

During the actual lifetime of the founder, several *zāwiyas* were founded outside Miknās, one of them at Figuig (south-eastern Morocco), from which the confraternity spread out towards Algeria and Tunisia. According to various censuses and estimates, the *Ṭarīqa ‘Isāwiyya* at the present day is said to include about 50,000 active members divided as follows:

Morocco: according to Drague (1939), 21, 591 affiliated members, 3,181 of these being in the region of Miknās; but, in the opinion of Brunel (1926), Miknās alone included “more than ten thousand affiliated members of both sexes”; numerous *zāwiyas* in the whole country, particularly in Fās, Tiṭwān, Tangier, in all the towns on the Atlantic seaboard, in Tāza, in the Rif, the Tafilālt, etc.—Algeria: approximately 4,000 members and about a dozen *zāwiyas*, including those at Blida and Uzara (dépt. of Algiers), Remshī and Tlemcen (dépt. of Oran), Bône, Bougie and Constantine.—Tunisia: according to H. R. Idris (*Initiation à la Tunisie*, Paris 1950), 11,290 members and 87 *zāwiyas*.—Other *zāwiyas*, in Libya, Syria, Cairo and Mecca.

The *Ṭarīqa ‘Isāwiyya* possesses a fairly homogeneous though decentralised structure. A superintendent (*mazwār*), chosen from the founder’s descendants and confirmed by the *makhzen*, administers the mother-*zāwiya* of Miknās and divides the income from it between the *shaykh*’s descendants living in Miknās and Fās, but it is in fact the *muḥaddam* of the mother-*zāwiya* who exercises the spiritual authority and the principal temporal functions in Miknās, while the *awlād al-shaykh* perform the same functions in their respective *zāwiyas*. There is consequently a division of authority, and also very pronounced individual features in the practices of the order. Every year, however, a meeting is held in Miknās when the ‘Isāwā of all lands come together at the tomb of their patron saint at the time of the *mawlid*, the anniversary of the Prophet’s birth. It is then that, for three days, one can witness the processions, the ecstatic dances, the blood-stained feasts (*frisa*) and *fakhr*-like performances which have fascinated and often

shocked observers. (A detailed study of the *mawlid* ceremonies has been made by Brunel; a literary but fairly accurate description appears in the novel of H. Ardel, *Colette Bryce au Maroc*, Paris 1937, 91-101).

Doctrine and method.—On the question of the doctrine of union with God and the fundamental methods of attaining spiritual perfection, the *Ṭarīqa ‘Isāwiyya* stands directly in the line of classical orthodox Ṣūfism which takes as its basis the common religious law (*sharī‘a*) and leads the aspirant (*murīd*), thanks to the appropriate training that he undergoes under the direction of his spiritual guide (*murshid*)—a training which constitutes the “path” (*ṭarīqa*), strictly speaking—into direct contact with the divine Reality (*ḥaḳīqa*). The chain of transmission (*silsila*) of the esoteric teachings of Ibn ‘Isā goes back beyond al-Djāzūli and Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Shādhili, to ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [q.v.], Abū Madyan [q.v.], ‘Abd al-Kādir al-Djilāni [see ḲĀDIRIYYA], and al-Djunayd [q.v.], to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the Prophet. Like his predecessors, Ibn ‘Isā exhorted his disciples to detach themselves from worldly desires, passions and individual ambitions in order to attain the state of total dependence or “poverty” in relation to God, *fakhr* (hence the word *fakhr* [q.v.] to denote the adept of the mystical path). Just as the Prophet did in regard to the whole body of the Faithful, Ibn ‘Isā assumed for his disciples the role of model and intercessor: “He who in this world keeps company with me, or watches me, even though only in a dream, goes to paradise at my intercession”, he says, and “My hand is above my initiates, alive or dead, just as the heaven is above the earth”. Hence the importance of *adab*, the norms of conduct which govern relations between master and disciples, and those between the disciples themselves. Ibn ‘Isā places particular emphasis on love (*maḥabba*), in which he sees “the fullest degree of perfection”, and he states explicitly that “There are four kinds of love: love from the intelligence, love from the heart, love from the soul, mysterious love . . . Love from the intelligence or spiritual love is the perpetual love of God; it gives rise to the desire to merge oneself with the object that is loved, to possess it, to pray to it . . . Love from the heart, which is called passion . . . reveals itself through languor, regrets, lamentations, neglect of the world, the desire for God. . . Love from the soul is shown by perplexity, astonishment, regret, sobs, thirst, frenzy, by prostrating oneself within God, . . . by poverty. Secret love consists in enclosing oneself within God, in losing oneself in His praise, through the study of oneself, in abasing oneself in contemplation of the essence of God, in such a way as to allow oneself to be entirely absorbed into the Divine Being” (quoted by Rinn). The initiatory bond (*‘ahd*) is given by a clasping of hands, and women are admitted to the *ṭarīqa* on the same footing as men.

The basic method for the approach to God is the practice of invocation (*dhikr* [q.v.]). This can take different forms:—a) the recital, individually or collectively, of liturgical formulae (*wird*; pl. *awrād*) peculiar to the *ṭarīqa*; three of these exist—the short *wird*, the medium *wird*, and the long *wird*, corresponding to the increasingly exalted stages of initiation.—b) rhythmical intoning of litanies, among them being the *Ḥizb Subḥān al-Dā‘im*, peculiar to the *ṭarīqa*, and the *ahzāb* of al-Djāzāri, al-Djāzūli, Al-Nawāwi, al-Shādhili and Zarrūḳ, common to almost all the confraternities of North Africa, and also prayers on the Prophet, like the *Mashīshīyya*, and poems by Ṣūfi authors.—c) metrical repetition of the *shahāda*, the divine Names and the *ism al-mufrad* (“the supreme

Name", *Allāh*);—d) ecstatic dancing, to which the 'Isāwā give the name of *taḥayyur*, *ḥayra* or *idjdhāb* ("ravishment"). This is accompanied by various instruments—drums (*ṭabl*, *bandīr*) and tambourines (*daff*), reed-flutes (*gəṣba* [*ḥaṣaba*]) or clarinets (*ghayfa*)—and songs. It consists of a rather slow introductory section, the *rabbānī*, during which the dancers, standing in line, hold hands and perform vertical bending movements together with lateral motions; and a more rapid section made up of supple complex movements, the *muḍjarrad* ("denuding"), for which the dancers remove their *djallāba* and form a circle round their *muḥaddam*. The dances often end in displays of fakirism in which the disciples, apparently anaesthetized, walk on glowing coals, take burning brands in their hands and between their lips, swallow fragments of broken bottles or strike themselves with swords.

Particular practices.—The explicitly devotional character of the teaching of Ibn 'Isā and the dynamism of the *ḥadra* 'Isāwiyya (the sessions for invocation and dancing) favoured the spread of the *ṭariḫa* among the common people—artisans in the towns, Berbers in the country, negro slaves brought back from the Sudan by Sultan Aḥmad al-Dḥahabi at the time of the Timbuktoo expedition (1591) and grouped together at Miknās by Mawlāy Ismā'īl after 1672. In the course of this expansion, the confraternity absorbed a certain number of local customs (in particular, borrowings from Berber carnivals) and survivals of ancient pagan or animistic worship which gave it a highly individual aspect. The most characteristic elements of this magico-religious complex are as follows:—a) the horror of black, which is revealed only during festivities and which sometimes incites affiliates to throw themselves on persons wearing clothing of this colour, strip off their garments and tear up the material;—b) the wearing of the *gaffāya*, a kind of mat of plaited hair, which is worn very long and grown only from the top of the cranium, the remainder of the head being shaved;—c) the practice of healing by the recitation of formulae, by trampling the sick man under foot, or by placing the patient in contact with snakes;—d) the association with snakes which are regarded as a friendly race, with whom al-Shaykh al-Kāmil is said to have concluded a pact; this allows a special category of affiliates, the *Ḥnaysḥiyya*, to charm these creatures, to heal the bites they inflict and even to grant to others immunity from their venom;—e) the practices of conjuration and exorcism, for which the *jallā'* uses a flat basket, the *maḍjmā' al-asyād* or "assembly of the Great Masters", on which are placed pebbles, shells, and various other objects representing protective saints and familiar *djinn*s; according to the relative position in which these objects are found, the magician foretells the future or makes a diagnosis; to cure a patient who is nervous or possessed, he can order him to drink the blood of a newly sacrificed animal;—f) representations of animals. In each *ṭā'ifa*, a certain number of *fuḥarā'* embody some animal species whose behaviour they mimic in a very realistic manner, particularly during feasts and at gatherings. The animals thus represented are:—lions and lionesses which, with jackals and panthers, have a part in some ritual feasts (*frisa*), during which they lacerate an animal, a sheep or goat, sacrificed earlier, tear it to pieces, smear themselves with its blood and eat the raw flesh; wild boars (*hallūf*) and dogs which come face to face in ferocious fights; cats, which perform thefts and acrobatic feats; camels, which carry enormous burdens and do not hesitate to

devour cactuses, thistles and barley; lastly, hyenas, gloomy carnivorous creatures which appear more rarely. If the existence of these animal clans seems to derive from negro totemism (Van Gennep, *Religion, Moeurs et Légendes*, Paris 1908), the elements of communal sacrifice have nonetheless been profoundly changed, particularly in a moderating sense, by Islamic influence. It has also been noted (Brunel) that, for the idea of filiation stemming from an animal ancestor, there has been substituted that of a covenant ('*ahd*'), on account of the *baraka* of Sidi Ibn 'Isā: thanks to his domination (*taṣarruf*) over created beings, this master seems to have succeeded in achieving in his *ṭariḫa* a kind of fraternity between men, animals and *djinn*s.—g) Finally, many 'Isāwiyya meetings have their clown, the *aḥḥār* or mock pharmacist, who amuses everyone with his ridiculous stories and behaviour.

The unusual aspects of the *ṭariḫa* 'Isāwiyya have not failed to arouse the indignation of the anti-mystical '*ulamā'* and to stir up lively criticism. An expression of such views is to be found, for instance, in an order which the 'Alawid sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān caused to be read in all mosques in Morocco in 1815 and which stated in particular: "Cast far from you the *mousssem* . . . and these innovations. . . Times have been fixed for these practices and considerable sums are thus spent for love of Satan. The people devoted to these innovations, the Aissaoua, the Jilala and other confraternities attracted to novelty and error, folly and ignorance, hasten to them. . ." (quoted by Drague, 89-91). As for the attitude of an élite among the Ṣūfis, of a gnostic contemplative tendency, this is well illustrated by the case of the Algerian *shaykh* Ibn 'Aliwa [*q.v.*] who was himself an 'Isāwi before becoming an affiliate of the Darḳāwā [*q.v.*]: while recognising the authenticity of the 'Isāwi mystical teaching and the excellence of the masters in the *ṭariḫa*, Ibn 'Aliwa regrets that affiliates should attach so much importance to the search for prodigies and to the practices of fakirism (cf. M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961, 50-1). This opinion is corroborated by the works of orientalist who have made a close study of the 'Isāwā.

*Bibliography*: The fundamental work still remains the monograph of R. Brunel, *Essai sur la Confrérie religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc*, Paris 1926, which takes into account not only all the earlier works, in particular those of Cat, Delphin, de Neveu, Depont and Coppolani, Doutté and above all L. Rinn (whose *Marabouts et Khouans*, Algiers 1884, chap. XXI contains translations of texts not reproduced by Brunel), etc., but also some printed Arabic sources (the *Istiḫṣā'* of Salāwi, the *Salwat al-anfās* of Dja'far al-Kittāni, among others) and several unpublished manuscripts. It is only possible here to refer the reader to the bibliography contained in this work (p. vii-x).

Among the more recent studies, that of E. Dermenghem in *Le Culte des Saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954, 303-18, is of special interest in that it allows some of Brunel's over severe criticisms of the 'Isāwā of Algeria to be rectified; it contains abundant extracts from the liturgical formulae used at meetings and includes interesting musical notations (from Léo-Louis Barbès in *R. Afr.*, 1951). Consult also the following works:—P. J. André, *Contribution à l'étude des Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1956; A. Bernard, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, Paris 1951, *passim*. (J. L. MICHON)

'ISĀWI [see NAŞĀRĀ].

AL-'ISĀWIYYA, a Jewish sect, the followers of Abū 'Isā al-İşfahānī [q.v.], also known as 'Obhadya and 'Obhedel. The sect is also referred to as the İşfahāniyya.

Abū 'Isā was the leader of a Jewish uprising, which occurred either in the reign of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, as is reported by the Ḳaraite author al-Ḳirḳisānī, or in the reign of the last Umayyad caliph as is stated by al-Şahraṣṭānī (followed on grounds of general probability by I. Friedlaender). On the available evidence no definitive solution can be given to this chronological problem.

Abū 'Isā claimed to be a prophet (*nabi*: al-Ḳirḳisānī) and, as al-Şahraṣṭānī puts it, one of the five messengers (*rusul*) of the expected Messiah (*al-masiḥ al-munlaẓar*), charged by God with the deliverance of the Children of Israel. Al-Birūnī too refers to his describing himself as a messenger of the Messiah (*al-Āthār al-Bākiyya*, ed. E. Sachau, 15). Al-Şahraṣṭānī also mentions that Abū 'Isā considered that "the missionary" (*al-dā'i*; it may be legitimate to consider that he referred to himself) could be regarded as, in a sense, identical to the Messiah, a conception reminiscent of the doctrines of certain extremist Shi'i sects. There can be hardly any doubt, however, that Hadassi's statement that he put forward the claim to be the Messiah is due to a misapprehension. In proof of his prophethood, his partisans adduced the fact, that, in spite of being illiterate (*ummi*, a word used by Muḥammad), he produced books and scriptural scrolls (*muṣḥaf*). At the head of his followers he joined battle with soldiers of the Caliphate and was killed (or as his followers reported, vanished in the cleft of a rock). The number of his followers (who were few to begin with) dwindled constantly. In Ḳirḳisānī's time (4th/10th century) there were approximately twenty in Danascus and possible also a few in İşfahān. Those who were personally known to Ibn Ḥazm were probably not members of the sect in the strict sense of the word.

According to Ḳirḳisānī, Yūdghān, who was regarded by his followers the Yūdghāniyya as the Messiah, was reported to have been a disciple of Abū 'Isā.

Abū 'Isā taught (in common with other Jewish sects, for instance, the Muṣḥkāniyya, said to stem from the Yūdghāniyya) that Jesus and Muḥammad were true prophets, each of whom was delegated to bring a distinctive law to a community of his own—in the case of Muḥammad to the Arabs. But in spite of their prophethood, the observance of the Mosaic law continued to be incumbent upon the Jews. (In consequence of this thesis Muslim theologians such as al-Bākillānī and 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baġhdādī discussed the question whether the 'Isāwiyya, who believed in the prophethood of Muḥammad and whose beliefs authorized them, according to al-Baġhdādī, to profess the *şahāda*, could be regarded as Muslims; their answer was negative). Al-Ḳirḳisānī mentions that Abū 'Isā promulgated a prohibition against drinking wine and eating meat and al-Şahraṣṭānī speaks of his forbidding the eating of any animate being. He also prohibited divorce.

Friedlaender finds points of similarity between the 'Isāwiyya and Shi'i sects and to some extent his remarks may be valid (see also above), but they do not account for the strange fact that on the one hand Abū 'Isā showed great regard for the rabbinical interpretation and observance of the law (and in consequence the Rabbanites allowed the members of their community to intermarry with the 'Isāwiyya:

al-Ḳirḳisānī, i, 52) and that, on the other hand, Abū 'Isā acknowledged the prophethood of Jesus and Muḥammad. A possible explanation might be that the 'Isāwiyya stemmed from Jewish Christians, *i.e.*, from a community which believed in the validity of Mosaic law and considered Jesus as a prophet. For some members of such a community the acknowledgement of the prophethood of Muḥammad after the advent of Islam need not have presented insuperable theological difficulties. The existence of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem at the time of Mu'āwiyā is attested by contemporary evidence. Ibn Ḥazm's statement, contradicted by other sources, that the 'Isāwiyya believed that Jesus was a prophet sent to the Children of Israel, would, if accepted as correct, reinforce this hypothesis. This hypothesis could account for Abū 'Isā's prohibition of divorce (which is compared by al-Ḳirḳisānī with the similar Christian ordinance) and for the fact that the Yūdghāniyya, the followers of Yūdghān, who is reported to have been a disciple of Abū 'Isā, appears to be classified by Muṭahhar al-Maḳḍisī as a Christian sect (*al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'riḫh*, ed. Cl. Huart, reprinted Tehran 1942, iv, 42, 46; the reading Yūdghāniyya necessitates a very slight emendation). Abū 'Isā's description of himself as a *rasūl* of the *masiḥ* may be a transposition of the Christian nomenclature referring to Christ and the apostles.

*Bibliography*: al-Ḳirḳisānī, *Kitāb al-anwār wa 'l-marāḳib*, (Code of Ḳaraite Law), New York 1939-1940, i, 12-13, 51-52, ii, 283 ff. (cf. 307). The passages in vol. i are translated by L. Nemoj in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vii, Cincinnati 1930, 328 and 383-384; Hadassi, *Eshkol Hak-kopher*, 1836, 41 b; al-Şahraṣṭānī, *Milal*, Cairo 1948, ii, 23-25; al-Bākillānī, *Tamhid*, Cairo 1942, 131, 147-148; al-Baġhdādī, *Farkh*, Cairo 1948, 141-142, 168; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fişal*, i, 99; al-İsfarā'īnī, *al-Tabṣir fi 'l-din*, Cairo Baghdad 1955, 133; I. Friedlaender, *Jewish Arabic Studies in Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. i (1910-1911), 183-215, N.S. ii (1911-1912), 481-515, iii (1912-1913), 235-300, *passim*; R. Brunschvig, in *Homenaje a Millas-Valerosa*, Barcelona 1954, i, 226-227. (S. PINES)

IŞBA' (A.), also AŞBA', "finger", as a measurement of length the breadth of the middle joint of the middle finger, conventionally one twenty-fourth of the cubit, *dhirā'*. See DHIRĀ', penultimate paragraph and bibliography. (ED.)

In Arab navigational texts *işba'* is unit of measurement of star altitude (*ilm al-ḳiyās*). Latitude on the Ocean was indicated by the altitude of certain stars, usually the Pole Star or one of the Bears, above the horizon at certain times. Complete tables of Pole Star, Little Bear and Great Bear altitudes of ports in the Indian Ocean are given by Arab navigational texts and partial tables of altitudes of the Southern Cross and several other stars. The *işba'* was considered to be the angle subtended by the width of a finger held at arm's length against the horizon. Four fingers, *i.e.*, the measurement of one hand (the thumb could not be used) were one *dhubbān*, a word of unknown origin. The *dhubbān* was the width of the standard measuring instrument, the *khāshabat al-arba'* and a universal standard could be obtained by comparing the stars  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  Aurigae which were 4 *işba'* apart. The *işba'* was divided by the navigators into eighths known as *zām*, which was a "watch" of 3 hours. It is explained in the navigational texts of Ibn Mādjīd and Sulaymān al-Mahrī that a ship sailing one *zām* due north raised the Pole Star  $\frac{1}{8}$  *işba'*, therefore assuming that the average ship sailed one

*işba'* due north in 24 hours. A *tirfa* was the distance sailed on any rhumb to raise the Pole Star's altitude one *işba'* and varied according to the rhumb. A *tirfa* due north or south was 1 *işba'*.

The actual value of the *işba'* in terms of European measurements varied somewhat. Originally it varied with the finger of the navigator, but by the time of the surviving Arab navigational texts (1450-1513) the *işba'* had become standardized. There were however variations, which may have been national or regional, and other variations in the stellar altitude of a particular port may have been due to inaccurate observation. The standard measurement used by the Arabs was 224 *işba'* in 360° (i.e., 1 *işba'* = 1°36') but this was a figure of convenience, for it made 7 between each rhumb of the compass rose and 8 to each lunar mansion. Sulaymān al-Mahri used the fact that the diameter of the circle made by the Pole Star round the Pole was 4 *işba'* (the navigator's usual figure) and showed by astronomical means that this was 6 $\frac{1}{7}$  degrees. Therefore 1 *işba'* was 1 $\frac{1}{7}$  degrees (1°43') or 210 in 360°. However for practical purposes he used the figure of 224 in 360°.

European scholars have followed up the equation given that the Pole Star's polar distance is 2 *işba'* and produced values. Princep, allowing for precession, gave values for the year 1394 of 1°56' and for 1550 of 1°33'. Ferrand working for 1500 produced the figure of 1°45'. The Arabs however never gave an epoch to their figures—most of their figures were probably inherited from previous centuries and not all from the same time, so that it seems fruitless to speculate too much on actual values of the measurement.

*Bibliography:* G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, Paris 1921-8; i and ii contain the texts of Aḥmad ibn Mādjīd and Sulaymān al-Mahri; iii "Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe", contains the theory of L. de Saussure and Ferrand. J. Princep, *Note of the nautical instruments of the Arabs*, in *J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1836, 784-94, attached to Hammer-Purgstall's translation of the work of Sidi Čelebi "Extracts from the Moḥit, that is the Ocean, a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian seas", in *J. As. Soc. Bengal* (1834-39). G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese* (forthcoming).

(G. R. TIBBETTS)

**IŞFAHĀN** (in Arabic *Işbahān*), a town and province in Persia, whose name, according to Hamza al-Işfahānī, means "the armies" (Māfarukhī, *Kitāb Maḥāsīn Işfahān*, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tihri, Tehran n.d., 5-6).

#### I. HISTORY

The province, whose precise boundaries have varied at different times, is bounded on the north-east and east by the central desert. In the south-east by Yazd and Fārs, in the south and south-west by the Baḫtiyārī mountains, with peaks rising to over 11,000 ft., in the north-west by Luristān, Kazzāz, Kamara, and Maḥallāt, and in the north by the districts of Djawshāqān and Natanz, which have an elevation of 5-7,000 ft., with peaks rising considerably higher. Under the Sasanians it was an important province, holding a central position (Cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, 506). Hurmuzān, when consulted by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his plans for further conquest, advised him to march on Işfahān, which he compared to the head whose fall would be followed by that of the two wings, Aḫharbāyḍjān and Fārs (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, Cairo 1957,

ii, 371-2; Abū Nu'aym, *Geschichte Isbahans*, ed. S. Dederling, Leiden 1931, i, 21; Māfarukhī, 6). Bal'amī likened Fārs and Kirmān to the two hands of Işfahān and Aḫharbāyḍjān and Rayy to its two feet (*Tar-ḡuma-i ta'riḫ-i Tabari*, ed. Muḥammad Djavād Maṣḥkūr, Tehran 1959-60, 326).

After the Arab conquest Işfahān formed part of the province of the Djabāl, which corresponded to the earlier Media, and which became known in the 6th/12th century as 'Irāk-i 'Adjam (G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 5, 185). According to Ḥamza, Işfahān extended from Hamadān and Māh Nihāwand to Kirmān, and from Rayy and Ḳumis to Fārs and Khūzistān, and consisted, in pre-Islamic times, of three *ustāns*, 30 *rustāḫs*, 120 *lasūḍi*, 5,000 villages, and 7 cities. Four of these became ruined, the province then comprising two *kūras*, 27 *rustāḫs*, and 3, 313 villages. When the Arabs came, two more cities were ruined, leaving only Djay (Abū Nu'aym, 14). In 189/804-5 Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd separated the *kūra* of Ḳumm, which consisted of four *rustāḫs*, from Işfahān together with what he added to it from the *rustāḫs* of Hamadān and Nihāwand, after which Işfahān consisted of 23 *rustāḫs* (Abū Nu'aym, 14; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ḳummī, *Ta'riḫ-i Ḳumm*, translated by Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Malik Ḳummī, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tihri, Tehran 1935, 24-5, 28 ff., 57, 101). Al-Mu'taṣim made further changes, constituting Karāḍj into a *kūra*, taking four *rustāḫs* from Işfahān and some estates from Nihāwand and Hamadān, after which Işfahān consisted of 19 *rustāḫs*, 1 *kūra*, and 2,500 villages (Abū Nu'aym, 14).

Under the Mongols the province of Işfahān contained three main cities, Işfahān, Fīrūzān in the *bulūk* of Lindjān, and Fārifā'n in Rūdashṭ, and consisted of 8 *bulūks*, and 400 villages, together with many cultivated lands belonging to these villages. The *bulūks* were Djay (which included the town of Işfahān and its environs), with 75 villages, Karāridj with 23 villages, Ḳuhāb with 40, both to the south of the town, Barā'n with 80 villages and Rūdashṭ with 60 to the east, Burkh'ār with 32 to the north, and Mārbin with 58 and Lindjān with 20 to the west (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1919, 48, 50-1). In the 19th century Işfahān formed an extensive province divided into 9 *bulūks*, the ninth being Karvan, north of Lindjān, 8 *maḥall*, namely Rār, Kiyār, Mizdaqj, and Gandumān (which together formed Čahār Maḥall), Simīrum, Djarḳūya, Ardīstān, and Ḳuḥpāya (south of Ardīstān, and east of Işfahān, on both sides of the Zāyanda-rūd river), two *kaṣabas*, Naḍjafābād and Ḳumīṣha (the modern *Shahriḍā*), and 5 *nāḫiyas*, Čadagān, Varzak, Tukh-māklū, Gurḍjī, and Činārūd, which together formed Firaydan (Muḥammad Mihdī b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Işfahānī, *Niṣf-i djaḥān fi ta'rif āl Işfahān*, ed. Manūčīhr Sutūda, Tehran 1962-3, 21-2, 296-336; A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Iraq*, London 1898, 125-9). The number of villages in all the *bulūks* except Karāridj and Barā'n, which had declined, and Rūdashṭ, which was unaltered, had increased by the 19th century (Ḥasan Khān Shayḫh Djabīrī Anṣārī, *Ta'riḫ-i niṣf-i djaḥān va ḥama-i djaḥān*, lith., n.d., 168 ff.). Under Riḍā Shāh Işfahān was reduced to a district or sub-province (*shahristān*) and formed part of the Tenth Ustān, which also included, as separate *shahristāns*, Shahr-i Kurd, *Shahriḍā*, Firaydan, Yazd, Ardīstān, and Nā'in (Ḥasan 'Ābidī, *Işfahān az liḫāz-i idjtimā'i va iktisādī*, Işfahān 1956-7, 6). Its population according to the census of 1319 (A.H.S.)/1941-2 was 240, 598. By 1956-7 the



population of the *shahristân*, which comprised the town of İsfahân, Sidih, Falâvardjân, Nadjafabâd, and Kûhpâya (Kûhpâya), was 880,027 (*ibid.*, 53).

Physically and climatically İsfahân is a varied province ranging from the mountain districts of Firaydan and Čahâr Maħall, with their extensive pastures where transhumance is practised, the plateau in the north and north-west where oasis-farming prevails, the immensely fertile riverain plain of İsfahân, and districts in the east and north-east bordering the *ka-vîr*. Rainfall is heaviest in the mountain districts of Firaydan and Čahâr Maħall, where it is c. 10 inches with heavy snowfalls in winter. In the town of İsfahân the annual rainfall is c. 5 inches and falls mainly from November to April. The prevailing winds are north-west in winter and south-east in summer. Temperature varies with altitude. Extremes of heat and cold occur in August and January. In the mountain districts the cold is intense in winter, but the heat is not very great in summer. In the neighbourhood of the town of İsfahân the seasons are extremely regular. The mean monthly maximum temperature in the town in August is 36.1° C. and the mean monthly minimum temperature in January is -2.2° C. Humidity is low. Outbreaks of plague are recorded in 324/936, 344/955-6, (von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, Vienna 1875, ii, 492), and 423/1031-2, when 4,000 people died (Ibn al-Aħfir, ix, 290), and 810/1407-8 ('Abd al-Razzâk, *Maħla' al-sa'dayn*, ed. Muħammad Šaffî, Lahore 1941, i, 110). The only severe earthquake recorded in İsfahân took place in Rabî' I 239/950, when many people were killed (Houtum-Schindler, 124; Muħammad Mihdî, 96).

Except in Firaydan and Čahâr Maħall, where dry farming is practised, all cultivation is irrigated by river water, *kanâts*, or wells. Water in the İsfahân plain is found at a depth of 12-15 ft. (Muħammad Mihdî, 83). In recent years a large number of machine-operated wells have been sunk, which has been a contributory factor in the lowering of the water-table which has taken place. The Zâyanda-rûd River, or Zanda-rûd (also called by Ibn Rusta, Mâfarrukhî and others the Zarîn-rûd), which rises on the eastern slopes of the Zarda Kûh, receives various tributaries from Firaydan and Čahâr Maħall and then flows south-east through the town of İsfahân and finally disappears in the Gâvkh\*wânî (Gâvkhûnî) marsh to the east of the town. Between Lindjân, where the Zâyanda-rûd enters the İsfahân plain and the Gâvkh\*wânî, it waters the *bulâks* of Lindjân, Mârbîn Djay, Karâridjî, Barâ'an, and Rûdashî, by means of 105 canals, known locally as *mâdîs*. The original distribution of the water was attributed by Ibn Rusta to Ardashîr b. Bâbak (155). The modern division of the water goes back, according to tradition, to Šhâh 'Abbâs. Between Lindjân and the Gâvkh\*wânî the river was crossed by twelve permanent and two temporary bridges. Below the last of these at Varzana there are three dykes or dams for the purpose of raising the water to irrigate the land on either side. One, the Band-i Marwân, was built in Umayyad times (Ibn Ĥawkal, ii, 365-6; Muħammad Mihdî, 16-17, 94-104; Houtum-Schindler, 17-18; Ĥusayn Khân Tahwildâr-i İsfahân, *Djughrâfiyâ-yi İsfahân*, ed. Manûčîhr Sutûda, Tehran 1964-5, 37 ff.; A. K. S. Lambton, *The regulation of the waters of the Zâyanda Rûd* in *BSOAS*, ix/3 (1937-9), 663-73). In 1954 a tunnel connecting the Zâyanda-rûd with the R. Kârûn was opened at Kûhrang, which materially increased the flow of water in the Zâyanda-rûd. This plan was first conceived by Šhâh Tahmâsp. His successor, Šhâh 'Abbâs, began to cut through the

mountains near Kûhrang, but the work was abandoned before completion. New plans were made during the reign of Riđâ Šhâh to tunnel through the Kûhrang in order to join the two rivers ('Ābidî, 74). In 1970 the Šhâh 'Abbâs the Great dam was opened in the Kavand district. This dam enables the flow of water to be regulated throughout the year so that surplus water no longer flows into the Gâvkh\*wânî marsh, which was reported to be drying up.

Many of the early Islamic geographers, Mâfarrukhî, his Persian translator, Ĥusayn b. Muħammad b. Abi 'l-Riđâ Āvi (*Tarđjuma-i Maħâsin-i İsfahân*, ed. 'Abbâs İkbâl, Tehran 1949-50), and numerous other writers speak of the excellent climate, fertility and abundant crops of İsfahân. These included wheat, barley, millet, opium, which became an important export in the 19th century (Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 42; Muħammad Mihdî, 125), rice (in Lindjân and Alindjân), cotton, tobacco, various oilseeds, pulses and legumes, beet, madder, saffron, many kinds of vegetables and herbs, melons, grapes, fruits of various kinds, almonds and nuts (Ibn Ĥawkal, ii, 363-7; Muħaddasi, 386-9; İřtakhrî, 198-200; Ĥusayn Khân Tahwildâr, 43 ff.; Šhaykh Djâbirî Anşârî, 168 ff.; Muħammad Mihdî, 19-20, 113-25). The İsfahân peasant is known for his thrift and good farming (A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian Land Reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969, 145). Animal manure, sewage and pigeon manure collected in pigeon-towers, a characteristic feature of the landscape of the İsfahân plain, noted by many travellers (see Curzon, ii, 19-20), have traditionally been used in agriculture round İsfahân. Ĥamd Allâh Mustawfî mentions excellent pastures in the neighbourhood of İsfahân (*Nuzhat*, 49). In many parts of the province flocks are a supplementary source of livelihood, and in Firaydan and Čahâr Maħall the main source. From these two districts abundant meat supplies also were available to İsfahân. Formerly horse-breeding and mule-breeding were important in Čahâr Maħall (Šhaykh Djâbirî Anşârî, 182-3), and camels were kept in the Ardîstân district (*ibid.*, p. 191). Rugs and carpets are woven in different parts of the province. İsfahân was also noted for its textiles (cf. Olearius, *The voyages and travels of the ambassadors . . .*, London 1669, 225), armour and brass-work. Small mineral deposits were formerly worked in Kûhistân and Taymara (Abû Nu'aym, i, 32; Mâfarrukhî, 18, 39), but had fallen out of use by the second half of the 19th century (Muħammad Mihdî, 20).

The city of İsfahân, situated on longitude 51°35 east and latitude 32°40 north at an altitude of some 5,200 ft. above sea-level, is an old foundation, centred originally on the village of Djay, otherwise called Šhahristân or Šhahristâna, two miles to the west of which was Yahûdiyya, where Jews are supposed to have been settled by Nebuchadnezzar (Schreiber, *Rev. des Études Juives*, xii, 259; Ibn al-Fakîh, 261), or under Yazdigird I at the request of his Jewish wife Šhōshandukht (E. Blochet, *Liste des villes*, para. 54 in *Recueil des travaux*, xvii, 1895; J. Marquart, *Ērânšahr*, 29). Ancient legends, transmitted by Ibn Rusta, attribute the building of the citadel to Kay Kâ'ûs [q.v.]. Yahûdiyya later became the centre of the city while Šhahristân became a suburb.

The province of İsfahân, in view of its central position, has experienced most of the vicissitudes undergone by Persia since the Arab conquest. The population is nevertheless remarkably homogenous, apart from certain well-marked geographical areas, notably Firaydan and Čahâr Maħall, which are inhabited chiefly by Bakhtiyârî tribes [q.v.], and small Jewish

and Christian minorities mainly in the town of İsfahân. For the rest the various settlers brought in by different dynasties which successively ruled the province have been absorbed into the local population (cf. Husayn Khân Tahvildâr, 91-2). Jews, as stated above, have been settled in İsfahân from ancient times. Benjamin of Tudela, writing in the 6th/12th century, states that there were 15,000 Jews in the town (Elkan Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, London 1930, 53). By the 19th century their numbers had fallen. Curzon puts them at only 3,700 (i, 510; see further W. J. Fischel, *İsfahân, the story of a Jewish community in Persia*, in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953, 111 ff.). Under Shâh 'Abbâs Armenians were brought from Djulfâ and settled south of İsfahân in a suburb which came to be known as New Djulfâ. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century their numbers reached 30,000. After the fall of the Şafawids, because of oppression and persecution, their numbers were greatly reduced. In 1889 there were only some 2,000 Armenians in Djulfâ (Curzon, ii, 51-3; L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 484-5). Small settlements of Armenians and Georgians in Firaydan and Çahâr Maḥall are also said to go back to the time of Shâh 'Abbâs (Curzon, ii, 284).

İsfahânîs are noted for their vigour, quickness of intellect, and good craftsmanship. Mâfarrukhî states that the best İsfahânîs were very good but the bad very bad (21). Husayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ridâ Âvi also mentions their intelligence and skill as craftsmen (78; cf. also Muḥammad Mihdî, 126). Al-Ḳazwîni similarly praises their craftsmanship and learning in *fiḥh, adab*, astronomy and medicine (*Âthâr al-bilâd wa-lakḥbâr al-'ibâd*, Beirut 1960, 297). Mâfarrukhî relates that Anūshiravân preferred İsfahânî troops, especially those of Firaydan, over all others (42). The city has produced many scholars, divines, and literary men (for accounts of these see Abū Nu'aym; Mâfarrukhî; Shaykh Djâbirî Anşâri; 'Abd al-Karîm Djâzi, *Ridjâl-i İsfahân ya tadḥkirat al-kubûr*, ed. Muşliḥ al-Dîn Mahdawî, İsfahân 1949 (2nd ed.); and Muşliḥ al-Dîn Mahdawî, *Tadhkira-i Shu'arâ-yi İsfahân*, İsfahân 1966-7).

Factional and sectarian strife between Şhâfi'is and Hanafîs appears to have been a common feature of İsfahânî life in medieval times (cf. the verses by Kamâl al-Dîn İsfahânî quoted by Ḥamd Allâh Mustawfî, *Nuzhat*, 49-50, and others). Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, who visited İsfahân in 727/1326-7, states that the people of İsfahân had fine figures and clear white skins tinged with red, and were brave, pugnacious, and generous, and given to much hospitality, and also to sectarian strife. "The city of İsfahân is one of the largest and fairest of cities, but is now in ruins for the greater part, as the result of the feud there between the Sunnis and Râfiqîs" (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭûṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, Hakluyt, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, ii, 294-5). Ḥamd Allâh Mustawfî also mentions their courage and the prevalence of faction. He states that the majority were Sunnis of the Şhâfi'î rite and that they performed their religious duties very exactly (*Nuzhat*, 56). After the adoption of Şhi'ism under the Şafawids, Şhâfi'î-Hanafî strife disappeared, but a new form of factional strife between Ḥaydarîs and Ni'matîs, popularly supposed to have been started and encouraged by Shâh 'Abbâs, began. It was still strong in the 19th century (Husayn Khân Tahvildâr, 89; Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, additions by the editor, viii, 155-6; *The travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, London 1687, ii, 108 bis.).

Curzon, writing in the late 19th century, gives an unfavourable account of the İsfahânîs. He alleges that they enjoyed an unenviable reputation for cowardice and morals, and were niggardly and close in business matters, and that the *lâfis* of İsfahân were regarded as the biggest blackguards in Persia (ii, 43).

İsfahân in the early Islamic centuries. There are two versions of the capture of İsfahân by the Muslims. According to the Kûfan school, it took place in 19/640. On the order of the caliph 'Umar, 'Abd Allâh b. 'Itbân marched on Djay, which was commanded by one of the four *pâdhospân* of the Persian empire (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber, etc.*, 151, no. 2; cf. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides*, 87), who, after several battles, capitulated on condition that *dizya* was replaced by an annual tribute. Ṭabarî gives the date as 21/641-2 (ed. Leiden, i, 2637 ff.). The Başran school state that in 23/644 Abū Mūsâ al-Ash'arî [q.v.], after Nihâwand, took İsfahân, or that his lieutenant 'Abd Allâh b. Budayl received the capitulation of the town on the usual conditions of the establishment of *kharrâdj* and *dizya* (Balâdhuri, *Futūḥ al-bulâdn*, Cairo 1957, ii, 383-4; on these varying versions see Caetani, *Annali*, v, yr. 23, para. 4-25). Mâfarrukhî states that the *dizya* and *kharrâdj* of İsfahân in the first year of the conquest amounted to 40,000,000 *dirhams* (p. 12).

Under the Patriarchal Caliphs and the Umayyads, İsfahân came under the jurisdiction of the governors of Başra and 'Irâq, who usually appointed the governors of İsfahân. It did not entirely escape the disturbances committed by the Khâridjîs. In 68/687-8 the town was besieged by the Azâriḳa branch, who were defeated by 'Itâb b. Warḳa and fled to Fârs and Kirmân. From 75/694 Ḥadîdjâdjî b. Yûsuf [q.v.], who had become governor of 'Irâq, appointed governors over İsfahân. During his government there appears to have been some settlement by Banū Tamîm in Djay, Banū Ḳays in the *rustâk* of Anâr and Taymara, Banū 'Anaza in Djâpalaḳ and Barkrûd, and Ash'aris in Kumidân, the *rustâk* bordering Rayy and Ḳumîs (*Ta'riḳh-i Ḳumm*, 264). Arab settlement in Ardîstân also traditionally goes back to early Islamic times, and in the late 19th century Ardîstânîs still traced back their genealogies to Arab ancestors (Shaykh Djâbirî Anşâri, [q.v.] 191).

In 127/744-5 'Abd Allâh b. Mu'âwiya, the 'Alid rebel, seized İsfahân and held it for some two years until he was put to flight by 'Âmir b. Dabâra, who recovered İsfahân for the Umayyads. After the 'Abbâsid revolt broke out in 130/747, Ḳaṭṭaba, Abū Muslim's general, defeated an Umayyad force in the neighbourhood of İsfahân and in 131/748-9 a second and larger force under 'Âmir b. Dabâra was defeated near the town. From 132/749-50 'Abbâsid governors were appointed over İsfahân. On the whole, the history of İsfahân under the early 'Abbâsids appears to have been uneventful, apart from its abortive seizure in 138/755-6 by Djumhûr b. al-'Idjîl, who rebelled against al-Manşûr. Under Ḥârîn al-Rashîd, as stated above, Ḳumm was separated from İsfahân in 189/804-5. Its *kharrâdj* after this amounted to some 12,000,000 *dirhams* (*Ta'riḳh-i Ḳumm*, 31). After the civil war, İsfahân became part of the government of Ḥasan b. Sahl. In 200/815-6 and 201/816-17 there was a severe famine. Whether this had anything to do with an apparent decrease in the revenue or not, it had fallen to 10,500,000 *dirhams* in the year 204/237 according to Ḳudâma (von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, 337). In 221-2/836-7 it was still lower, being only 7,000,000 *dirhams* according to Ibn Khurradâdhbih

(*ibid.*, 364). This may, perhaps, have been due in part to the fact that about 218/833 the *Khurramdîni* movement, which had caused dislocation in *Ādhar-bāyjdjān* for many years, spread to Işfahān. An army sent by al-Muʿtaṣim put the disturbances down. According to Yaʿqūbī, the revenue had again risen towards the end of the century to 10,000,000 *dirhams* (*ibid.*, 377) while Ibn Rusta puts it at over 10,300,000 *dirhams* (154).

In 253/867 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf was appointed to the government of Işfahān, which remained in the hands of the Banū Dulaf until 282/895-6 when al-Muʿtaḍid seized Ibn Abī Dulaf's property (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vii, 327). In 260/873-4 Yahyā b. Harṭhama appears to have reassessed Işfahān (*Taʿrīkh-i Kumm*, 185). In the following year, Işfahān passed briefly under the control of the Şaffarid, Yaʿqūb b. Layth. The Banū Dulaf, who had been reinstated, continued, however, to hold the government of the province, as they did also under ʿAmr b. Layth, who succeeded in 265/879. In due course, when al-Muwaffaq felt strong enough to move against ʿAmr, he ordered Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf in 271/884-5 to attack ʿAmr. The latter was defeated and Işfahān once more came under the control of the caliphate. In 284/897-8 ʿAlī b. ʿIsā was sent to the *Djibāl* and ordered to reassess Işfahān and abrogate the assessment (*dastūr*) of Yahyā b. Harṭhama (*Taʿrīkh-i Kumm*, 184-5). Ibn Rusta, who lived in Işfahān and probably wrote his account of the town about 290/903, described *Djaj* as measuring half a league across and covering an area of 2,000 *djaribs* (ca. 600 acres). It had four gates and 100 towers (152).

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī, who had been appointed governor in 290/902-3, rebelled in 295/907-8 with the support of Kurds from the mountain regions to the south-west. He was subdued by a force sent by al-Muḥtadir under Badr al-Ḥammāmī, who became governor of Işfahān (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 9). The latter was succeeded by ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān, the Daylamite, who, when he was appointed governor of Fars in 300/912-3, also became governor of Işfahān. In 301/913, Işfahān passed for a brief period under the nominal rule of the Sāmānids, but in 304/916-17 it was again under an ʿAbbāsīd governor, Aḥmad Şaʿlūk, during whose tenure of office Ḥamīd, the vizier of al-Muḥtadir in 307/919-20, farmed the *kharaḍī* of Işfahān on a *mukāṭaʿa* contract. In 311/923-4 Aḥmad rebelled but was defeated and killed.

The Būyids. A troubled period now began for Işfahān. In 315/927 Mardāwīdī b. Ziyār [*q.v.*] took the city and appointed Aḥmad b. Kayghulugh governor. In 319/931 the Daylamite *Lashkarī* took Işfahān from Aḥmad, who subsequently recovered the city and killed *Lashkarī* (*The eclipse of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphate*, ed., tr. and elucidated by H. F. Amedroz, Oxford 1921, iv, 239-40). Muẓaffar b. Yāqūt, whom al-Muḥtadir had appointed governor of Işfahān in the same year, does not appear to have gone there (*ibid.*, 236). Mardāwīdī meanwhile returned to the city where he billeted large numbers of troops. Some two years later in 321/933 ʿAlī b. Būya ʿImād al-Dawla, who had been appointed by Mardāwīdī over Karāḍī, took Işfahān, but retired when Mardāwīdī sent his brother Wūshmgīr against him. In the same year al-Kāhīr appointed Muḥammad b. Yāqūt governor of Işfahān after he had written to Mardāwīdī bidding him to evacuate the city in return for recognition as ruler of Rayy and the *Djibāl*, and to Wūshmgīr to retire from Işfahān. Al-Kāhīr was deposed shortly afterwards (*ibid.*, 307). Mardāwīdī retained Işfahān and in the following year, after ʿAlī

b. Būya had seized Fārs and his brother Aḥmad had occupied Kirmān, set out again for Işfahān, where he was assassinated by his Turkish troops. ʿAlī b. Būya and his brother Ḥasan Rukn al-Dawla then occupied Işfahān, turning out Wūshmgīr. The latter recovered Işfahān in 327/938-9, but in the following year Ḥasan retook it and continued to rule it until his death in 366/976, though a *Khurāsānī* force under Maṣṣūr b. Qarātegin temporarily took the city in 339/950-1. In 343/954 Işfahān again suffered a *Khurāsānī* incursion, and was plundered by Bū ʿAlī ʿAghānī.

On the death of Rukn al-Dawla Işfahān went to his son Muʿayyid al-Dawla, who, from 367/977, ruled as ʿAḍud al-Dawla's subordinate. He was followed in 372/982-3 by his brother Fakhr al-Dawla. The latter died in 387/997, and was succeeded by his four-year-old son Maḍīd al-Dawla, whose mother became the effective ruler of the kingdom. Maḍīd al-Dawla, resenting his mother's interference, made an abortive attempt in 397/1006 to throw off her control. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Abū *Djafar* Muḥammad b. Duşhīnanzīyār, the maternal uncle of Fakhr al-Dawla's wife, became governor of Işfahān, which he ruled intermittently until his death in 433/1041-2. He was turned out by the Būyid, Ibn Fülād, in 407/1016-17 but regained the city in 411/1020-1. In 418/1027-8 he was besieged for four months by ʿAlī b. ʿUmrān the Ispahbud and Manūcihr b. Kābūs. In 420/1029 he lost Işfahān to Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd the Ghaznavid. Having appointed a governor over the city, Masʿūd went away, but when the Işfahānīs rose and killed the Ghaznavid governor, he returned and massacred a large number of the inhabitants. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla recovered the city, but Anūshīravān b. Kābūs, with the help of Ghaznavid troops, put him to flight. In 423/1032 he returned to Işfahān and in 424/1032-3 Masʿūd gave him the government of Işfahān in return for a sum of money. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was again defeated by a Ghaznavid force. He retired to Firaydan and *Khwānsār*. After collecting reinforcements he retook Işfahān in 427/1035-6.

In spite of repeated disorders in Būyid times, Işfahān became a flourishing and extensive city, especially during the vizirate of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād to Muʿayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla (Māfarukhī, 40). The Ṭabara or Ṭabarak quarter was added by the Būyids, its fortress being built according to tradition by Rukn al-Dawla or Muʿayyid al-Dawla. In 429/1037-8 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla built a wall round the city, for which purpose he laid heavy impositions on the people (Māfarukhī, 81, 113). The city under the Būyids contained splendid private and official residences, stables, baths, gardens, and fine well-stocked bazaars (Māfarukhī, 83 ff.). Ibn Ḥawqāl mentions the wealth and trade of Işfahān and its export of silks and textiles to other provinces. No other city between ʿIrāk and *Khurāsān* except Rayy had more trade. There was a Friday mosque in *Shahristān* and Yahūdiyya, which was more than twice the size of the former and bigger than Hamadān (ii, 362-3; *Işfahān*, 198-9; Le Strange, 203-4; *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1937, 131). Māfarukhī records that formerly nearly 2,000 sheep and goats and 100 head of cattle were slaughtered daily in Işfahān (86-7). If these figures are at all accurate, even allowing, in view of the high prosperity, for a much heavier meat consumption than in later times, the population, on a conservative estimate, would have been over 100,000.

The *Salḍjūqs*. During the reign of Maḥmūd, the Ghuzz [*q.v.*] had begun to move into Persia. They

were active to the north and north-west of Işfahân but do not appear to have penetrated to Işfahân itself, though in 430/1038-9 'Alâ' al-Dawla marched from Işfahân against bodies of Ghuzz who had been operating in the neighbourhood of Dinawar and defeated them (Ibn al-Athîr, ix, 217). It was not until some years after the battle of Dindînkân (431/1040) that the Saldjûks took Işfahân. In 434/1042-3 Tuğhril Beg advanced on the city. Farâmurz, who had succeeded his father 'Alâ' al-Dawla in the previous year, bought him off and agreed to read the *khufba* in his name (Ibn al-Athîr, ix, 349). Farâmurz later allied himself with the Bûyid Abû Kâlidjâr and omitted Tuğhril's name from the *khufba*. In 438/1046-7 Tuğhril once more advanced on Işfahân and on this occasion laid siege to the city. Farâmurz submitted, agreeing to pay an annual tribute and to read the *khufba* in Tuğhril's name, but once Tuğhril left the district he again withdrew his allegiance.

In 442/1050 Tuğhril besieged the city for the second time. It fell after nearly a year, in Muḥarram 443/1051 (Ibn al-Athîr, ix, 385). Tuğhril appointed a young Nişâpûri over the city and ordered that no taxes should be demanded for three years. His conciliatory policy was successful. The city rapidly recovered its prosperity and those who had been scattered abroad during the years of disorders and famine returned. Nâsir-i Khusrav, who came to Işfahân via Khân Lindjân in 444/1052, wrote that the people there were secure and at peace and went about their own business. Speaking of Işfahân, he states that it was the most populous and flourishing city that he had seen in Persian-speaking lands. Describing the thriving condition of the town, he states that it had a large Friday mosque and many bazaars, including one occupied by 200 *sarrâfs*, and caravansarais in which many merchants were to be found. The town had a strong wall with battlements, said to be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *farsakhs* in circumference; the quarters of the town were divided from each other by gates (*Safarnâma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text, 92-3).

Tuğhril Beg is alleged to have been much attached to the city. He moved his capital there from Ray and made it his chief residence for the last twelve years of his reign. He spent over 500,000 *dînârs* on public buildings and improvements in the city and its environs (Mâfarrukhî, 101). It continued throughout the Great Saldjûk period to be one of the main centres of the empire and to be directly administered (whereas much of the empire was alienated from the control of the central government as *iklâ's*). Alp Arslân also treated the people of Işfahân with favour (Mâfarrukhî, 101-2). Malikshâh received the caliph's investiture as *walî al-'ahd* there in 464/1071-2 (Ibn al-Athîr, x, 48). On the death of Alp Arslân, Kâwurd b. Çaghri Beg, in an abortive attempt to assert his claim to the throne, briefly occupied Işfahân. During the reign of Malikshâh, Işfahân reached great heights and became an important Sunni centre (see A. Bausani, *Religion in the Saljuq period*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, v, 283-302). Both he and his vizier Nizâm al-Mulk exerted themselves in its development. Mâfarrukhî relates that it was exempted during the reign of Malikshâh from *kisma* and *taḥsîṭ* and extra-ordinary dues. Announcements to this effect were made in the mosques and tablets put up at the gates and on the walls of the bazaars (103-4). The Gulbâr quarter, in which is situated the square now known as the Maydân-i Kuhna, with government offices and residences was added. New mosques were built and additions made to old ones, notably the old Friday

mosque (see A. Godard, *Historique du Masjid-é Djum'a d'Işfahan*, in *Athâr-i Irân*, i, ii, and iii, 1936-8; A. Gabriel, *Le Masjid-i Djum'a d'Işfahân*, in *Ars Islamica*, ii, 1935). A fortress was made in Diz Kûh (Shâhdiz) where Malikshâh kept his armoury and treasury. Nizâm al-Mulk built a Nizâmiyya in the Dardâsh quarter. The annual revenue of the property which he constituted into *wakf* for it was over 10,000 *dînârs* (Mâfarrukhî, 104-5). According to Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍâ Āvi the *madrasa* was still in existence in 729/1328-9, but its endowments had been usurped (p. 142).

With the death of Malikshâh in 485/1092, Işfahân ceased to prosper, though as the capital of the empire its possession was of importance to those who contended for power. The townspeople were probably not closely engaged in these struggles, but it is likely that the prevailing insecurity and the coming and going of troops dislocated their lives to some extent and engendered discontent. The balance between order and disorder in the city was always delicate, as the following incident which happened about this time shows. A report was spread that a certain blind man, alleged to be a Bâtîni, had lured unsuspecting people to their death. The populace rioted and seized and burnt all who were accused of being Bâtînis (Ibn al-Athîr, x, 214-5). This did not, however, end the activities of the Bâtînis. 'Abd al-Malik 'Atṭâsh, the *dâ'i*, had laid the foundations of the movement carefully during the reign of Malikshâh, and in the disorders following his death the movement spread.

Tâdj al-Mulk and Turkân Khâtûn, Malikshâh's wife, read the *khufba* in Baghdâd, where Malikshâh had died, in the name of her four-year-old son Maḥmûd and hastened to Işfahân. Barkyârûk, the son of Zubaydâ Khâtûn, who had been seized by the supporters of Turkân Khâtûn, but later freed by the Nizâm *mamlûks*, left the city on the approach of Turkân Khâtûn, but subsequently returned and besieged her there (*ibid.*, x, 146-7). In 487/1094, on the sudden death of Turkân Khâtûn, who had meanwhile distributed to her followers all the treasure and stores which had been accumulated in Işfahân, Barkyârûk re-entered the city. He remained in possession for some years, although mainly absent from it dealing with rebellions in other parts of his empire. From about 490/1097, however, when the struggle with his half-brother Muḥammad began, his position in the city was no longer secure. In 492/1098-9, after numbers of his army had deserted to Muḥammad, he was refused entry and forced to retire to Khûzistân (*ibid.*, x, 195). The struggle between the brothers continued for the next five years or so, during which time the Bâtînis greatly increased their power in Işfahân and the neighbourhood. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik 'Atṭâsh, who had succeeded his father as *dâ'i* at Işfahân, obtained entry to the fortress of Shâhdiz (according to one account as schoolmaster to the garrison), won them over and seized the fortress. By 494/1100 the Bâtînis were collecting taxes in its neighbourhood and had also gained possession of the fortress of Khân Lindjân. Barkyârûk, who had been, rightly or wrongly, accused of Bâtîni sympathies, now decided to move against the Bâtînis. The Shâfi'i *kādî*, Abu 'l-Kâsim Khudjandî, roused the populace, and a large number of persons accused of being Bâtînis were rounded up and burnt (*ibid.*, x, 214-5). The Bâtînis, however, remained in possession of Shâhdiz.

In 495/1102, Muḥammad, having been defeated near Ray by Barkyârûk fled to Işfahân, where he was besieged by his brother for some nine months. During this period he was forced twice to ask loans of

the prominent people of the city to satisfy the demands of his troops (*ibid.*, x, 228). When the city finally became short of food, Muḥammad escaped and fled to Āḏharbāyḏjān, where he was pursued by Bark-yāruḳ (*ibid.*, x, 227-8). The struggle continued until 497/1103-4 when peace was made and Barkyāruḳ returned to İsfahān (*ibid.*, x, 253-4). On Barkyāruḳ's death in the following year Muḥammad re-entered the city (*ibid.*, x, 273). One of his first tasks was to reduce the Bāṭinīs in Shāhdiz and the neighbourhood. For some time Aḥmad b. 'Aṭṭāsh negotiated successfully to be allowed to remain as chief of the garrison, and it was not until 500/1107 that a capitulation was agreed to. Some of the garrison accepted a safe conduct, but the remainder fought to the end. Aḥmad was finally captured, paraded through the town and skinned alive (see further M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, and *idem*, *The Ismā'īlī state, in The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 422-82). There does not appear to have been any renewal of Bāṭinī activities after this apart from isolated incidents, such as the burning of the Friday mosque and its library in 515/1121-2, which was attributed to them (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 420).

From 500/1106-7 until Muḥammad's death in 511/1118 İsfahān remained the main centre of the Great Saldjūḳ empire. Thereafter power moved to Kḫurāsān, where Sandjār ruled as the Great Saldjūḳ sultan, while İsfahān and the western provinces were disputed by the Saldjūḳs of 'Irāk and their atabegs. There were renewals of sectarian strife, notably an outbreak in 560/1164-5 between the Kḫudjandī faction and others accompanied by arson, destruction of property and loss of life (*ibid.*, xi, 210). In 590/1194 İsfahān was taken by the Kḫwārazmshāh Tekish, to whom the caliph al-Nāsir had appealed about 588/1192 for help against Tuḡhrīl, the last of the Saldjūḳs of 'Irāk. İsfahān changed hands several times in the subsequent campaigns between the caliph and the Kḫwārazmshāh. In 623/1226 the Mongol armies under Djuvmāghūn reached the neighbourhood of İsfahān and in 625/1228 Djalāl al-Dīn Kḫwārazmshāh defeated them outside the city (J. A. Boyle, *Dynastic and political history of the Il-Khāns*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 330). Although he was unable to sustain his victory, İsfahān did not finally fall until about 638/1240-1, when it was delivered into the hands of the Mongols by treachery within the walls (Mīnhādī al-Dīn al-Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāsiri*, Calcutta 1824, 422-3).

Ilkhāns and Timūrids. In addition to the disorders and extortion which everywhere accompanied Mongol rule, the fact that the centre of the kingdom was moved to Āḏharbāyḏjān was also to the detriment of İsfahān. The İsfahānīs did not easily accept Mongol rule and proved a tough proposition for the conquerors. Bahā' al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Djuwaynī, who was appointed governor of İsfahān and 'Irāk by Abākā, took a strong line because of the reputation of the İsfahānīs for rioting and disorder. He placed heavy impositions upon them and broke them by his severity. Thieves and disturbers of the peace were reduced to obedience and security was established in the city and countryside (Banākātī, *Ta'riḳh*, ed. Dja'far Shī'ar, Tehran 1970-1, 427; Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmi'-i mufīdī*, ed. Irādī Afshār, Tehran 1961, iii, 119-21).

By the 8th/14th century the natural advantages of İsfahān had enabled it to regain some of its former prosperity. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that the price fixed for corn and other grain was always moderate and fruit extremely cheap (*Nuzhat*, 49). In 735/

1335 *dīwānī* taxes levied as *tamghā* [*q.v.*] amounted to 350,000 currency *dīnārs* in İsfahān while 500,000 currency *dīnārs* were levied as *dīwānī* taxes from the surrounding districts. Flrūzān, one of the three main cities of the İsfahān province in his time, paid 134,500 currency *dīnārs* as *dīwānī* taxation (*ḫukūḳ-i dīwānī*, *ibid.*, 50-2). It is difficult to compare these figures with the figures for earlier periods because of the different methods of raising revenue and fluctuations in the value of the coinage. Ḥamd Allāh, however, maintains that there had been a marked decrease in the revenue in Mongol times and that the improvement made under Ghāzān Khān was not sustained. There is no reason to suppose that İsfahān was exempted from this general tendency. Ḥamd Allāh also mentions that there were many *madrāsas*, *khānḳahs*, and *awḳāf* in İsfahān (*ibid.*, 49), though, as stated above, some of them had been usurped. From the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the craft guilds appear to have been in a thriving condition (ii, 295-6), though we have unfortunately little information about the internal and external trade of İsfahān at this time.

With the break-up of the Ilkhān empire, İsfahān fell to the Čubānids [*q.v.*]. In 742/1341-2, Shāh Shayḳh Abū Ishāk the Indjūdī [see INDJŪD] took it from them and later lost it to the Muzaffarids, when Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muzaffar obtained possession of it in 758/1357. The Muzaffarids, although much split by internecine strife, were the most successful of the succession states. Their main centres, however, were in Fārs and Kirmān, and their rule did not restore İsfahān to its central position. The city was besieged several times and frequently changed hands (Mu'ṭin al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīḳh*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 183 ff.). When, during Timūr's second expedition to Persia in 786-9/1384-7, the Muzaffarid Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Shāh Shudjā' refused a summons to join him, Timūr marched on İsfahān, which he reached in 789/1387. The 'ulamā' sued for peace. Timūr sent *muḥaṣṣils* into the town to collect the money which they had promised. A riot ensued in which the *muḥaṣṣils* were killed, together with many soldiers who had entered the town on their own affairs. Timūr in retaliation massacred 70,000 of the inhabitants (Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Zafarnāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937, i, 104-5).

Prosperity did not return to İsfahān under Timūr's successors. Shāhruḳh besieged Mīrzā Iskandar there in 817/1414 from 4 Rabī' I to 2 Djumādā I when the city fell by assault and was looted (*Maṣṣal' al-sa'dayn*, i, 269 ff.). In 856/1452 İsfahān was taken by Djahānshāh of the Black Sheep and in the following year was sacked by him. In due course it passed under the control of the White Sheep, who ruled from Āḏharbāyḏjān. The Venetians, Josapha Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, visited İsfahān when Uzun Ḥasan was there in 879/1474-5, and the former estimated the population to be only 50,000 (*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josapha Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, Hakluyt, 1873, 71-2; cf. G. Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Turin 1865). Even allowing for the roughness of the estimates, it is clear that there had been a big decline in population since Māfarruḳhī wrote.

The Ṣafawids. Shāh Ismā'īl, the founder of the Ṣafawid empire, took İsfahān in 908/1502-3. Both he and Shāh Ṭahmāsp made token gestures of favour to the İsfahānīs. The former in 911/1505-6, according to an inscription in the Friday mosque, forbade the writing of drafts on the districts of İsfahān and their inhabitants (Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i āthār-i*

*ta'rikh-i Işfahân*, Işfahân 1966-7, 76-7), and the latter, also according to inscriptions in the Friday mosque, remitted various taxes on the guilds and certain dues and tolls in 971/1563-4, and *râhdâri* on foodstuffs, except imported sugar (*ibid.*, 153-7, 89-90), and also forbade the quartering of troops in the city (*ibid.*, 75-6). In 955/1548 during the rebellion of Ilkâs Mirzâ, Işfahân was for a brief period taken by the Ottomans, and for some years prior to the accession of Shâh 'Abbâs great disorder appears to have prevailed in the city (Iskandar Beg, 'Alam-ârâ-yi 'Abbâsî, lith., Tehran 1896-7, 265). By the beginning of the 11th/17th century the Şafawid empire extended from Georgia to Afghânistân and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. Işfahân was its natural political, administrative, and commercial centre, as it had been of the Saldjûk empire, and in 1005/1596-7 Shâh 'Abbâs made it his capital. He replanned and largely rebuilt the city. Later additions were made by Shâh 'Abbâs II and Shâh Sulţân Husayn. Here the Şafawid shâhs were visited by embassies from European powers, factors of the great trading corporations, and representatives of the religious orders of Christendom. Many of these foreign visitors resided for long periods in the city, where "a life of gorgeous ceremonial mingled with holiday festivity rendered Isfahan the most famous and romantic city of the East" (Curzon, ii, 22 ff., 546 ff.; see also Lockhart. *The fall of the Şafawî dynasty*, app. III, 473-85).

Chardin, who visited Persia from 1664-70 and 1671-77 calls Işfahân "the greatest and most beautiful town in the whole orient", in which there were to be found inhabitants of all religions, Christians, Jews, Mahomedans, gentiles, and fire-worshippers, and merchants from the whole world (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, viii, 134). He states that there were 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1,802 caravansarais, 273 baths and 12 cemeteries within its walls. The caravansarais were full of Armenians, who traded in cloth (vii, 367), while the place of the *sarrâfs* of earlier times had been taken by *banians*, of whom there were, according to Thévenôt, 1,500 in 1665 (ii, 111; see also Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse 1632-67*, ed. Pascal Pia, Paris 1930, 176 ff.). The city by this time had grown enormously. Estimates of the population varied from 600,000 to 1,100,000. Chardin who records that 2,000 sheep were killed daily in the city, 500 in the suburbs, and 90 in the shah's kitchens (viii, 135), while giving no precise figure for the population, believed Işfahân to be as populous as London. This suggests that its population was between 600,000 and 700,000. Muḥammad Mihdî gives the latter figure for the population by the death of Shâh 'Abbâs and estimates it at 1 million under Shâh Şaffî and still higher under Shâh Sulţân Husayn (176-8; see further Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 476-7).

Administration under Shâh 'Abbâs and his successors was highly centralized. The different departments, with their elaborate procedures, had their offices in Işfahân (see further Mirzâ Raffî'â, *Dastûr al-mulûk*, ed. Muḥammad Taqî Dâniş Pazhûh, *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines*, Univ. of Tehran, xv, 5-6 and xvi, 1-4, which in some respects gives a fuller account of the organization of the state than the *Tadhkirat al-mulûk*, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943). The city and neighbouring districts came under the *khâssa* administration. Most of the land had been converted into *khâlişa* and some into *wakf* (see 'Abd al-Husayn Sipintâ, *Ta'rikh-i awkâf-i Işfahân*, Işfahân

1968-9, 35 ff., 44-5, 51 ff., 64 ff., III-2; *Gandjîna*, 729-30; Muḥammad Takî Dâniş Pazhûh, *Asnâd-i wakf-i Khândâr-i Khalîfa Sulţân*, in *Nâma-i Astân-i Kuds*, ix, 1-2, 97-117; A. A. Salmâsîzâda, *Ta'rikh-i waqf dar Islâm*, Tehran 1964). The vizier of Işfahân arranged for the cultivation of the former and the *wazîr-i mawkûfât* (also called the *wazîr-i fayd âthâr*) for the latter (*Dastûr al-mulûk*, xvi, 3, 319-21), while a special department under the *wazîr-i halâl* administered Shâh Sulţân Husayn's *awkâf* (*ibid.*, xvi, 3, 322).

In addition to land and property taxes, dues and tolls, the people were subject to *ad hoc* levies, while many local officials, such as the *mirâb* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 432), collected dues and fees as the whole or part of their emoluments. Drafts on the revenue were common practice and certain sums, especially for the payment of officials of the central government, were made a charge on different groups of taxpayers. For example 50 *tûmâns* was levied on the Armenians of *Djawlâha* (in *Djulfâ*) on account of the *in'âm-i hamasâla* of the *amîr shikârbâshî* (*ibid.*, xvi, 1-2, 89). These practices were known under previous governments, but were less widespread than under the Şafawids.

The craft guilds were assessed by the *naḳîb al-ash-râf* in a lump sum, which was subsequently allocated among the individual members, subject to the acceptance of the assessment by two-thirds of the members. The *naḳîb al-ash-râf* also appointed the elders (*rîsh-sifidân*) of the dervishes and certain other guilds (*ibid.*, xvi, 5-6, 549). Prices were under the control of the *muhtasib al-mamâlik* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 418). Some of the guilds performed *corvées* for the court and some from time to time were granted exemptions from taxation. (Tavernier, 239; Chardin, iv, 95, vi, 119-20; A. K. S. Lambton, *Islamic society in Persia*, inaugural lecture, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1954, 22 ff.; *Gandjîna*, 434-6, for a firman of Shâh 'Abbâs dated 1038/1629 inscribed in the Shâh mosque in Işfahân forbidding the writing of drafts on the barbers for any kind of due). Public order within the city was under the *dârûghâ* [q.v.], who carried out summary punishment for disorders and acts contrary to the *shari'a* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 428-30). The *ʿasas*, who belonged to the *dârûghâ*'s office, patrolled the city with his men (*ibid.*, xvi, 5-6, 551).

The *kalântar* [q.v.] was the main link between the population and the government, corresponding in part to the earlier *ra'îs*. It was his duty to reconcile the interests of the two parties. He was usually recruited from among the notables of the town. He had general oversight of the *kadhkhudâs* of the districts and the craft guilds. Together with the vizier, he appointed the *kadhkhudâs* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 421-2; see also A. K. S. Lambton, *The office of kalantar under the Şafawids and Afshars*, in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963).

Under Shâh 'Abbâs Işfahân again became an important religious centre, with this difference that orthodoxy was now *Iḥnâ 'Asharî Shî'ism*. *Shî'î* divines were brought to Işfahân from other centres and taught and disputed there, but there is unfortunately little information on the course of the conversion of its inhabitants. By the middle of the 17th century religious festivals such as the *'id-i ḳurbân* (see Thévenôt, ii, 107-8 *bis*) and the Muḥarram ceremonies were performed with passion and vigour. Under Shâh 'Abbâs there was strong supervision of religious affairs as there was over other aspects of the life of the city. The religious classes were organised into corporations under the general oversight of the *şadr* (*Dastûr al-mulûk*, xvi, 1-2, 64). Under Shâh

Sultân Husayn a new office, that of *mullâ-bâshî* was created, and its holder made head of all the religious classes (*ibid.*). The decision of *shar'î* cases was in the hands of the *shaykh al-islâm* and the *kâdî* (*ibid.*, xvi, 1-2, 69). Shâh 'Abbâs and his immediate successors treated other religions with toleration, but persecution began under Shâh Sulaymân and in the time of Shâh Sultân Husayn was directed, not only against other faiths, but also against Sunnis and Şûfis (see further Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 32-5, 70-9).

The wellbeing of Işfahân, as the capital of the empire, was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Safawid dynasty, as it had been earlier with those of the Saldjûk dynasty, whose capital it had also been. The fall of the Safawids, however, proved far more disastrous for Işfahân than that of the Saldjûks. By the reign of Shâh Sultân Husayn, a marked decay in standards of public and private life and administrative competence had taken place (Muhammad Hâshim Âşif Rustam al-Hukamâ', *Rustam al-tawârikh*, ed. Muhammad Mushîrî, Tehran 1969, 82-3, 90 ff., 98-9, 102 ff.; L. Lockhart, *op. cit.*). Security in the town was also at a low ebb. Rustam al-Hukamâ' gives a list of bloodthirsty "toughs" (*paḥ-lavânân va zabardastân va gurdân shabraw va 'ayyâr*), and alleges that the shâh was unable to punish them because the "pillars of the state protected and aided them" (106).

The 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries. Eventually the Afghâns rebelled and invaded central Persia. In 1134/1722 after the Safawid army had been decisively beaten at Gulnâbâd near Işfahân, the city was besieged (see Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 144 ff. for a detailed account of the siege; and also *Rustam al-tawârikh*, 133 ff. on the intrigues and disunity prevailing in Işfahân during the siege). It was reduced to appalling straits and fell after six months. Some 20,000 persons were killed by enemy action and it is estimated that four times as many died from starvation and pestilence. The city was declared to have been conquered by force (*'anwai'*) and orders given for all land to be declared *khâliṣa*. Many of those who had escaped in the siege fled to India and the Ottoman empire (Shaykh Djâbirî Anşârî, 32-3, 113-14). Sunnism once more, for a brief period, became the official religion.

The Safawid restoration which began when Nâdir entered Işfahân in 1141/1729 with Tahmâsp after defeating the Afghans near Murçâkhart was short-lived. Işfahân was only a shadow of its former self. Many of the inhabitants who had survived the siege perished in the subsequent massacres. Heavy impositions were laid upon those who survived to pay the soldiery, by whom they were treated with great cruelty (Lockhart, *Nâdir Shah*, London 1938, 39 ff.). When Nâdir finally assumed the crown in 1148/1736, he moved the capital to Mashhad. Işfahân, like other parts of Nâdir's empire, suffered heavy exactions. More land was confiscated for the state, and orders were given for the resumption of *awkāf*. 'Âdil Shâh on his accession in 1160/1747-8 revoked Nâdir's land decrees, but confusion continued to exist because there had been many cases of falsification of title deeds, destruction of land registers and usurpation (Shaykh Djâbirî Anşârî, 35 ff., 122 ff., A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 131-2).

On Nâdir's death, the people rose against the governor, who took refuge in the fortress of Ṭabarak, where he was besieged. He was eventually killed by one of his own *ghulâms*. Ibrâhîm Shâh then sent a new *beglarbegî* to the city in the person of Abu 'l-Fath

Khân Bakhtiyârî, who on Ibrâhîm Shâh's death shortly afterwards ruled in the name of Abû Turâb Mirzâ, the eight-year old grandson (through the female line) of Shâh Sultân Husayn. An abortive attack on the city was made shortly afterwards by 'Alî Mardân Khân Bakhtiyârî, who retired to Luristân. After collecting reinforcements and allying himself to the Zands, he marched a second time on Işfahân in 1164/1750. Abu 'l-Fath Khân, having failed to raise any money from the townspeople, was unable to muster an army to oppose him. 'Alî Mardân Khân entered the city, which was thereupon looted by his troops, (*Rustam al-tawârikh*, 244 ff.). For a brief period 'Alî Mardân Khân, Karîm Khân Zand and Abu 'l-Fath Khân ruled the city and its neighbourhood jointly. The latter was then killed by 'Alî Mardân Khân who was, in turn, dispossessed in 1165/1751-2 by Karîm Khân, who then appointed his brother Sâdiq Khân as governor. For the next few years Işfahân was fought over by marauding bands of Zands, Afghâns and Kâdjârs. Its miseries were added to by famine in 1170/1756-7, which carried off 40,000 persons. Finally, in 1172/1758-9 Karîm Khân took the city. A period of peace now began and under the government of Muhammad Rinânî, a local man whom Karîm Khân appointed governor in 1173/1759, the city recovered somewhat from the ravages of the previous years (Shaykh Djâbirî Anşârî, 127 ff.; Muhammad Mihdî, 279). Işfahân, however, did not regain its former pre-eminence: Shîrâz became the capital in 1180/1766-7.

On the death of Karîm Khân, anarchy broke out once more. In 1199/1774-5 Işfahân was looted for three days when Bâkir Khân, the *kadhudâ* of Khurâskân, who had made himself governor, lost control on the advance of Dja'far Khân Zand (*Rustam al-tawârikh*, 59; Ibn 'Abd al-Karîm, *Ta'rikh-i Zandiyya*, ed. E. Beer, Leiden 1888, 30). In the following year Âkâ Muhammad Khân Kâdjâr appointed his brother Dja'far Kull Khân governor of Işfahân (Shaykh Djâbirî Anşârî, 126 ff.). Under the Kâdjârs the capital was moved to Tehran. Işfahân for a time remained the chief commercial city of the empire (J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 113), but gave way to Tabriz in the second half of the 19th century (Curzon, ii, 41). The events of the 18th century had taken a heavy toll on Işfahân. Olivier, who visited the city in 1796, describes its ruined condition and states that its population did not exceed 50,000 (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, Paris 1807, iii, 101). Morier in 1811, revising his own earlier estimate, which had been much higher, put the population at probably about 60,000, on the basis of a daily slaughter of 300 sheep (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London 1818, 141-2).

After the death of Âkâ Muhammad Khân, an abortive attempt was made in 1212/1797-8 by Muhammad Khân Zand to seize the city. This was followed by the rebellion of Husayn Kull Khân Kâdjâr, who, however, fled the city in 1216/1801-2 on the approach of Fath 'Alî Shâh. In 1219/1804-5 there was a further setback to the wellbeing of the city in the shape of a severe famine caused by the ravages of locusts. About this time (or possibly earlier) Muhammad Husayn Khân Nâzim al-Dawla was made governor. He was a native of Işfahân, a self-made man who acquired great riches, largely in land, some of which he constituted into *wakf*. Under him and his son, Amîn al-Dawla, who succeeded him when he became *sadr-i a'zam*, Işfahân began once more to prosper (Shaykh

Djâbirî Anşâri, 41 ff., 137 ff.; Muḥammad Mihdî, 281; Sipinta, 398 ff., 408 ff.; Macdonald Kinneir, 113; Morier, *Second Journey*, 132; *Rustam al-tawârikh*, 212-3; Gandjîna, 743-4). On the death of Muḥammad Husayn Khân in 1239/1823-4, Aṣîf al-Dawla, who succeeded him as *şadr-i a'zam*, demanded a large sum in arrears (which was later remitted) from İsfahân and Amîn al-Dawla was dismissed. In 1242/1826-7 he returned to favour and became vizier to Sayf al-Dawla, the new governor of İsfahân. He was made *şadr-i a'zam* in the following year, but fell on the death of Fath 'Ali, which took place in 1250/1834-5 in İsfahân when he was on his way to Fârs. Farmân-Farmâ, governor of the province, made a bid for the throne but was defeated near İsfahân.

Renewed outbreaks of rioting in 1252/1836-7, 1254/1838-9, and 1255/1839-40, during which much damage was done, forced Muḥammad Şâh to come to İsfahân in 1256/1840-1 to deal with the disturbances. About 150 *lûfis* were seized and order restored (Şhaykh Djâbirî Anşâri, 48 f., 143 ff.). Riots broke out again in 1265-6/1848-9 during the reign of Nâşir al-Dîn. After his visit to the city in 1267/1859 conditions began to improve, but severe famine in 1288/1871-2 and 1289/1872-3 once more arrested its growth. The population declined steeply (Husayn Khân Taḥvildâr, 65; Muḥammad Mihdî, 281-2; Şhaykh Djâbirî Anşâri, 158-9). Zill al-Sultân was appointed governor in 1874, and by 1881 had become the virtual ruler of most of southern Persia. His government was severe and autocratic. Disorders were not tolerated. The city again began to flourish and the population to increase. According to a census taken in 1882 it was 73,654. Eleven years later Houtum-Schindler considered it had risen, by natural increase and immigration, to close on 82,000 (119-20; Muḥammad Mihdî and Şhaykh Djâbirî Anşâri, however, give higher estimates). In 1888 when Zill al-Sultân fell from power, he was deprived of all his governments except İsfahân. During the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dîn, who succeeded in 1896, there were various outbreaks of violence in the city, including an attack on the Bâbis in 1903-4 (Şhaykh Djâbirî Anşâri, 182). Winds of change were meanwhile blowing in İsfahân as elsewhere. Discontent with the government and its policies was spreading, and when the Constitutional Revolution came, İsfahân played a prominent part [see DJAM'İYYA].

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: Muḥammad Hasan Khân Marâgha'i Şanî' al-Dawla (I'timâd al-Saltana), *Mir'ât al-buldân*, Tehran 1877-80; Şhaykh Hasan Djâbirî Anşâri, *Ta'rikh-i İsfahân va Rayy*, Tehran 1944; 'Ali Djawâhir Kalâm, *Zanda-rûd yâ Djughrâfiyâ-yi ta'rikhî-i İsfahân va Dzulfâ'*, Tehran 1970-1; *Mudjmal al-tawârikh*, ed. Malik al-Şu'arâ Bahâr, Tehran 1940-1; B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952; Muḥammad 'Ali Hazîn, *Ta'rikh-i Hazîn*, İsfahân 1964-5; idem, *Tadhkira-i Hazîn*, İsfahân 1966-7; *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the xviii and xviii centuries*, 2 vols. London 1939; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908; E. E. Beaudouin, *Ispahan sous les grands chahs, xviiie siècle*, in *Urbanisme*, x, Paris, 1932; A. Godard, *Ispahan*, in *Âthâr-ê-İrân, Annales du Service Archéologique de l'Iran*, Paris 1937, ii, fasc. 1; A. V. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian Art*, Oxford 1938; P. Sykes, *History of Persia*, London 1915, ii; J. Aubin, *Études Safawides I. Şâh Ismâ'il et les notables de l'Iraq persane*, in *JESHO*, li/1 (1959); S. M. Stern, E. Beazley and A. Dobson, *The*

*fortress of Khan Lanjan*, in *Iran* (Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies), ix (1971); Muḥammad Mihryâr, *Şahâdx kuđjâsi*, in *Rev. de la fac. des lettres*, University of İsfahân, i (1965); C. O. Minasian, *Shahâziz of Isma'ili fame its siege and destruction*, London 1971. İsfahân is mentioned in the works of numerous travellers. In addition to those mentioned in the text the following are some of the more important: Cornelius de Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and part of the East Indies*, translated from the original Dutch, 2 vols., London 1737; J. Fryer, *Travels into Persia begun in 1672, finished 1681*, London 1693; Sir Thomas Herbert, *Some years travels*, London 1638; E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum politica physico-medica fasciculi v . . . .*, Lemgo 1712; Raphael du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890; Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1933; J. Struys, *Les voyages de Jean Struys, en Muscovie, en Tartarie, en Perse, aux Indes, et plusieurs etc.*, par M. Glandius, Amsterdam 1681; P. della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, Rome 1650; J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, ii; T. J. Krusiński, *Histoire de la dernière révolution de Perse*, 2 vols., the Hague 1728, tr. anonymously into English under the title *The history of the revolution of Persia taken from the memoirs of Father Krusiński . . . .*, London 1728, Dublin 1729; J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1748; A. Arnold, *Through Persia by caravan*, London 1877, i; R. B. M. Binning, *A journal of two years travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, London 1857, ii; E. L. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, 2 vols.; C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, i; Mme. J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, Paris 1887; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and present*, New York 1906; Ker Porter, *Travels*, London 1821, i; J. Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812; F. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii; *Gazetteer of Persia*, Simla 1918, ii, 239-49. (A. K. S. LAMPTON)

## 2. MONUMENTS

The Islamic monuments of İsfahân today constitute one of the most significant and complete architectural complexes preserved at the heart of a modern city which owes them much of its prestige. Carefully restored, the most important amongst them dominate the developing urban landscape in the midst of which they stand, while the old quarters, both in the built-up area of İsfahân itself and in the many surrounding villages, still harbour numerous modest structures, often partially ruined, which remain insufficiently studied. Some idea of the richness of this complex may be gathered from the fact that more than fifty structures of various kinds figure in the brief archaeological inventory drawn up about forty years ago by André Godard, and that this figure is still minute compared with that of the 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1802 caravanserais, and 273 baths enumerated at the end of the 11th/17th century by that trustworthy traveller and observer, Chardin.

All these various buildings, however, famous and less known alike, on account of their nature and especially their date, bear but incomplete witness to the past of a city which from the 1st/7th century onwards has played an important role in the Islamic history of Iran. Belonging to the most part to the



11th/17th century, which saw the installation at Isfahân of the Şafavid Şhâh 'Abbâs I, and with the oldest parts not going back beyond that 5th/11th (Saldjûk) century in which the imperial vocation of the city was established by Malikshâh and his ministers, they are insufficient to allow us to retrace on the ground with any degree of certainty the stages of the city's development, which began soon after the Arab conquest and for which the literary sources provide most of the evidence. The general outline both of the plan of the twin cities of *Djay* and al-Yahûdiyya, between which from the beginning of the 'Abbâsîd period the population of an already prosperous trading centre was divided, and of the locality used as a residence by the Buwayhid princes, can be seen only in such indications as the permanence of the site of the great mosque and a mud-walled citadel, itself completely rebuilt several times, and the recent discovery of a doorway which probably belonged to the mosque of al-Şâhib ibn 'Abbâd. The evidence is almost as vague regarding the organisation of a Saldjûk capital, in which we can locate with difficulty, apart from the great mosque and citadel already mentioned, the situation of a few sanctuaries still marked by minarets, and the probable site of the great *maydân*, by which, in earlier times, the royal palace and the Niẓâmiyya *madrassa* stood. This situation, so inimical to any methodical approach to the architectural school of Isfahân, can in fact be attributed to the very conditions in which the town has survived, partially ruined more than once, and then rebuilt according to the unchanged techniques of an impermanent method of building in mud- or baked brick, or even in puddled clay, which was traditional in that area, and dictated by geography. Thus either side by side or the one above the other, urban nuclei replaced each other, comparable in their evolution to the large villages also situated in the oasis, which were themselves from time to time the object of intense architectural activity. And similar difficulties of identification, due both to the paucity and the frailty of archaeological landmarks, hinder the study of the older districts of present-day Isfahân, as well as that of the settlements, thriving or half-ruined, around the city, such as Büzûn, Barsyân, Gâr, Sin, Ziyâr, Lindjân/Pir-i Bakrân—or Aštardjân, to mention but a few among the best known, where significant remains dating from the Saldjûk and Ilkhânîd periods survived until recently and in some cases are still preserved.

In the centre as a whole, we must give particular attention to the Great Mosque, which by its antiquity and extent provides us with an archaeological document of exceptional value: the *Masdjîd-i Djum'a* where authentic traces of the period of Malikshâh between 465/1072 and 485/1092 have survived in the midst of later constructions or modifications no less worthy of interest. Here are abundant inscriptions from the 5th/11th century onwards, and noteworthy decorative elements such as the brick ornamentation in the interior of two Saldjûk domed halls, or the stucco *mihrab* of the Mongol ruler Öldjevtü, are preserved there behind the *Iwâns* and façades entirely covered in faience which give the courtyard its Şafavid appearance. But the very variety of the pieces of evidence found together in this venerable yet disparate building, where the necessary sondages and investigations have never been carried out, prevents us from reconstructing its history with any degree of certainty. For this history contradictory hypotheses suggest widely differing interpretations, and there have even been produced more general theories, such as that of the "kiosk-mosque",

resting on assumptions as impossible to prove as to refute.

In effect then it is the Şafavid achievements, either in isolation or taken in conjunction with earlier buildings of secondary importance reworked in the Şafavid period (numerous small more or less disguised Saldjûk or Ilkhân sanctuaries are in this position), which make up the architectural landscape of the monuments in Isfahân today. This landscape, whose uniformity so well conceals the achievements of earlier periods, gives but an inadequate impression of the totality of the grandiose design for an imperial city once conceived by Şhâh 'Abbâs I. However, it retains enough of the earlier features to enable one still to distinguish the overall plan which made the *Maydân-i Şhâh*—the royal square in front of the ruler's palace—into the majestic centre of the city; this centre led on one side to the older thoroughfare linking the Great Mosque both with the Citadel and the Pül-i *Khadjû*, or at least with the bridge which had preceded the present bridge-barrage built by Şhâh 'Abbâs II; it was completed on the other side of the royal palace and gardens by the new *Çahâr Bâgh* avenue which led from these gardens to the Allâhwardî *Khân* bridge, which like the *Çahâr Bâgh* itself dates from the monarch's first series of architectural undertakings in 1006/1598.

The *Maydân-i Şhâh* itself, 510 metres long by 165 metres wide, framed by a wall of blind arcades concealing a trading street full of shops, was a monumental work of art, splendidly complemented by the imposing perspective of the tree-lined *Çahâr Bâgh* bordered with canals of running water over more than one and a half kilometres. But the buildings which surrounded this square towards the end of the reign of Şhâh 'Abbâs I, to the south the majestic royal mosque of *Masdjîd-i Şhâh* (probably begun in 1021/1612-13), to the east the *Masdjîd-i Shaykh Luṭf Allâh* (begun 1012/1603), to the north of the royal bazaar with its monumental gateway (built in 1029/1620), could be seen above all as worthy companions to the 'Ali Kapu palace which had been constructed by Şhâh 'Abbâs I on the basis of a *Timûrid* pavilion, and which gave the monarch a panoramic view of the esplanade and its surroundings from the raised terrace of its talar. This latter place, together with the *Çihil Sutun* palace which was soon erected not far away and inside the same enclosure, and whose construction must also have been started in 1006/1598, thus formed the essential preliminary starting-point in Şhâh 'Abbâs' plan to convert Isfahân above all into a "jewel box city" for his own residence.

Moreover, the importance of this "royal city" situated between the *Maydân-i Şhâh* and the *Çahâr Bâgh* continued to be strengthened under succeeding monarchs by the building of other sumptuous pavilions. But one last Şafavid building for religious purposes from the 12th/18th century remains to be noted with the construction between 1118/1706 and 1126/1714 of the *Mâder-i Şhâh madrasa* and the adjoining caravanserai, which has also survived until today. Mention must be made too of those Armenian churches of the New *Djulfa* district, in which can still be seen the fundamental characteristics of the imperial style dominant at the time when they were founded by an emigré colony.

The various buildings briefly listed here in order to recreate a panorama of Şafavid Isfahân all possess as their prime quality the ability to serve as living testimony to a refined art form which caused the city to be described, as the expression of Gobineau's admiring critical appreciation, as "a triumph of

elegance and model of prettiness", but which in effect makes it above all a museum the size of a city. Travellers and writers to whom it owes its fame have served it well up to now; it is to be hoped that such a complex of Šafavid monuments will henceforth give rise to precise scientific and aesthetic studies which will provide a clearer view of a distinctive historical epoch sharply defined in time and in space.

*Bibliography:* To the accounts of earlier travellers and late 19th century descriptions already mentioned, there must be added, for specifically archaeological or epigraphical interest: P. Ceste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, Paris 1867, 5-36; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischen Baukunst*, Berlin 1901-10, 73 ff.; A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1939, esp. 954-64, 1030-2, 1077-80, 1179-1201, 1235-9, 1404-10; M. B. Smith, *The Minārs of Isfahān*, in *Athar-é Iran*, i (1936), 313-58; A. and Y. Godard, *Notes épigraphiques sur les minarets d'Isfahān*, *ibid.*, 361-5; A. Godard, *Isfahān*, in *Athar-é Iran*, ii (1937), 7-176; idem, *Le Tombeau de Baba Kasem et la Madrasa Imami*, in *Athar-é Iran*, iv (1949), 165-83; G. Wiet, *Inscriptions bouffiques de Perse*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 1940, 127-36; M. Siroux, *La Mosquée Sha'ya et l'Imam-Zadeh Ismael d'Isfahan*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques*, i, 1954, 1-51; D. N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, the Ilkhanid period*, Princeton 1955, esp. 119-24, 138, 141-45, 149-54, 161-72, 179-80, 182-8.—On the Great Mosque see particularly M. van Berchem, *Une Inscription du sultan mongole Uldjaitu*, in *Mélanges Hartwig Dénenbourg*, Paris 1909, 367-78; A. Gabriel, *Le Masjid-i Djum'a d'Isfahān*, in *Ars Islamica*, ii (1935), 7-44; A. Godard, *Historique du Masjid-é Djum'a d'Isfahān*, in *Athar-é Iran*, i (1936), 213-82, ii (1937), 350-51, iii, (1947), 315-26; J. Sauvaget, *Observations sur quelques mosquées seldjoukides*, in *A.I.E.O.*, iv, 1938, 81-120. On the Armenian churches, see J. Carswell, *New Julfa, the Armenian churches and other buildings*, Oxford 1968.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

AL-ISFAHĀNĪ [see ABU 'L-FARĀDĪ; IBN DĀWŪD; 'IMĀD AL-DĪN].

**ISFARĀYĪN**, a district, and in earlier Islamic times a town, in northwestern Khurāsān. It lies on the northern edge of the long plain which extends from Bisfām and Shāhrūd in the west almost to Nishāpūr in the east and whose central section is drained by the Kāl-i Shūr river before it turns southwards into the Dast-i Kawr. In mediaeval Islamic times, the route from Nishāpūr to Gurgān ran across this plain, and the geographers place Isfarāyīn at roughly the midpoint, five stages from Nishāpūr and five from Gurgān.

Though allegedly founded by Isfandiār, little is known of Isfarāyīn's pre-Islamic past except that it was under a *dihkān* (Tha'ālibī, *Ghurur al-siyar*, ed. Zotenberg, 591). A popular etymology, given e.g. by Yāqūt, derives its names from *ispar-āyīn* "shield-like", and this may have influenced the *Hudūd al-'ālam*'s spelling as *Siparāyīn*. It is also said that it used earlier to be called Mihrādīān, a name surviving in later times as a village in the *rustāk* of Isfarāyīn.

The 4th/10th century geographers describe Isfarāyīn as being administratively one of the *rustāks* of Nishāpūr, its town being, according to Muqaddasī, the most prominent of the towns of these *rustāks*. It had five markets and a well-fortified citadel called "the golden castle", *kaḷ'a-yi zar*. The inhabitants were Shāfi'is; Isfarāyīn was one of the remaining pockets in Khurāsān of Shāfi'ism, which was then

retreating under the advance of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. The surrounding district contained 40 or 50 villages, and cereals, rice, grapes and other fruit were grown there. Sam'ānī and Yāqūt name a large number of scholars from Isfarāyīn, of whom the most notable were the theologian and jurist dealt with in the next article and Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 471/1078-9), a protégé of Nizām al-Mulk and author of a Ḳur'ān commentary in Persian, the *Tādj al-tarādjīm*, one of the earliest after the Persian adaptation of Ṭabarī's commentary, cf. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 94-6. Another famous son of Isfarāyīn was Maḥmūd of Ghazna's vizier Abu 'l-'Abbās Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 404/1013-14), to whose exactions in Khurāsān the historian 'Utbi attributes much economic distress (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 287).

During the Mongol invasions of Persia, the commander Sübetei came from Nishāpūr in 617/1220 and sacked Isfarāyīn; but the northwestern region of Khurāsān, including Djuwayn, Djādjarm and Arghiyān, seems to have suffered less than the province in general, and was in 630/1233 placed under the rule of a local *malik* subordinate to the Mongol governor of Khurāsān, Čin-Temür (Djuwayni-Boyle, i, 146, ii, 487). In Mustawfī's time a century later, there was still a flourishing town and agricultural hinterland at Isfarāyīn, with the town itself getting water from an adjacent river and the villages dependent on *kanāts*; we hear, too, of coins being minted there under the Ilkhānids, as later under the Šafavids.

In Šafavid times, Isfarāyīn was only just within the northern frontier of the province of Mashhad, and suffered repeatedly from Ūzbek incursions, with a particularly severe devastation just before 1006/1597; during the 12th/18th century there was a further destruction by the Afghāns. The site of the mediaeval town is probably now represented by the ruins called Shahr-i Bilḳīs (cf. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 378-9). Today, the region of Isfarāyīn is prosperous and fertile, being famed for its fruit; since 1958 it has formed a separate district or *shahristān* in the province of Khurāsān. The main town of the district is Miyānābād.

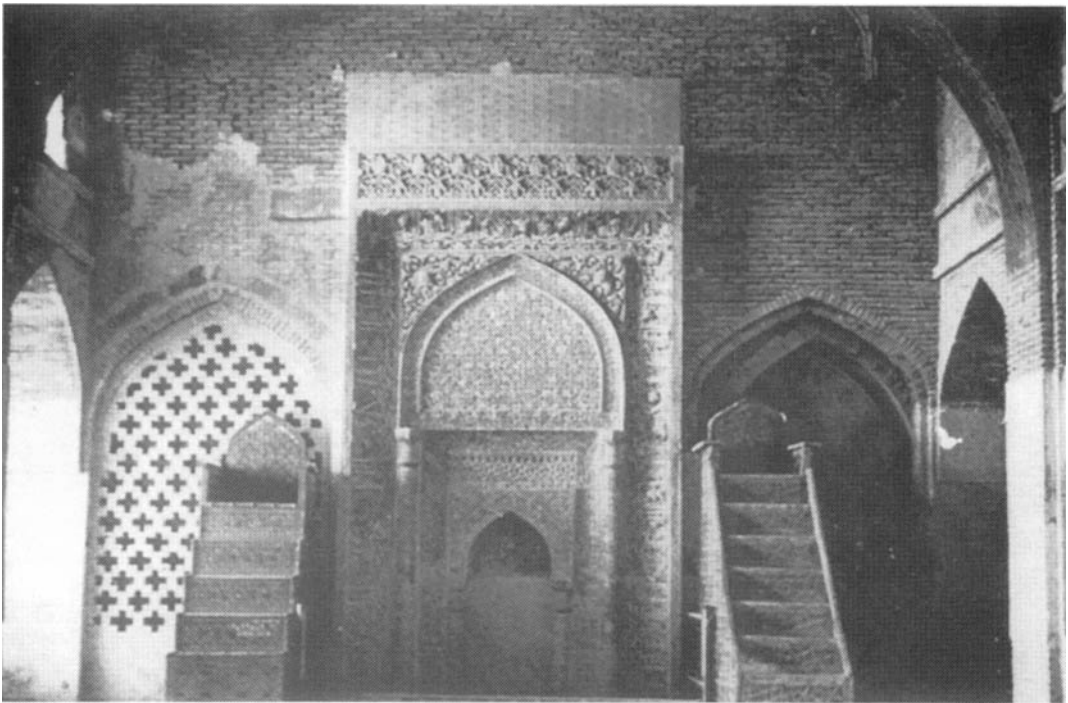
*Bibliography:* Scattered references in the 4th/10th century geographers (Yā'qubī, Ibn Hawḳal, Muqaddasī, *Hudūd al-'ālam*), see indices; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, i, 246; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ff. 33b-34a, 545b; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, tr. 148; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 34-5, 552; C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh 1900, 383 ff.; Le Strange, 393; B. R. Spooner, *Arghiyān. The area of Jājarm in western Khurasān, in Iran*, *J. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, iii (1965), 97-108.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

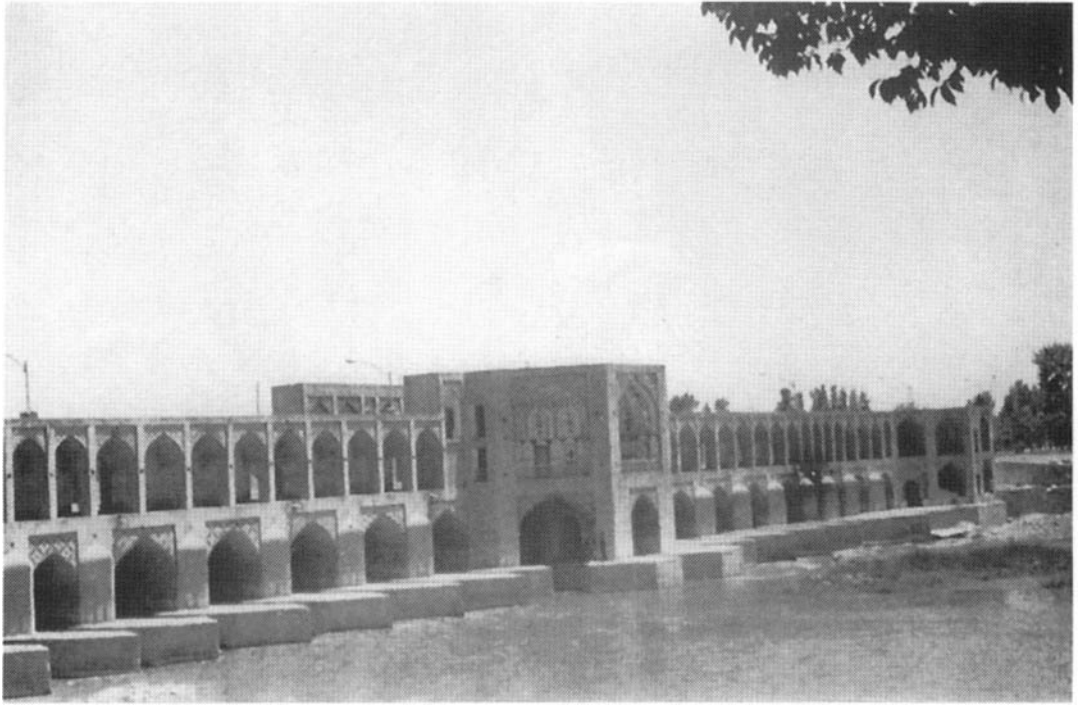
AL-ISFARĀYĪNĪ, ABŪ IŞHĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. MIHRĀN AL-MIHRĀDĪĀNĪ, ASh'arī theologian and Shāfi'ī jurist, was along with Ibn Fūrak [q.v.], the chief propagator of ASh'arī theology in Nishāpūr at the turn of the 5th/11th century. Originating from Isfarāyīn, he studied mainly in Baghdād, where he must have arrived before 351/962. He attended the lectures of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bāhīlī in ASh'arī theology at the same time as al-Bākillānī [q.v.] and Ibn Furāk. After leaving Baghdād, he taught in Isfarāyīn. Later he accepted an invitation to Nishāpūr, where a *madrasa* was built for him. He engaged in disputations with Karrāmī scholars at the court of Maḥmūd



1. Friday-mosque: Interior of northern dome.



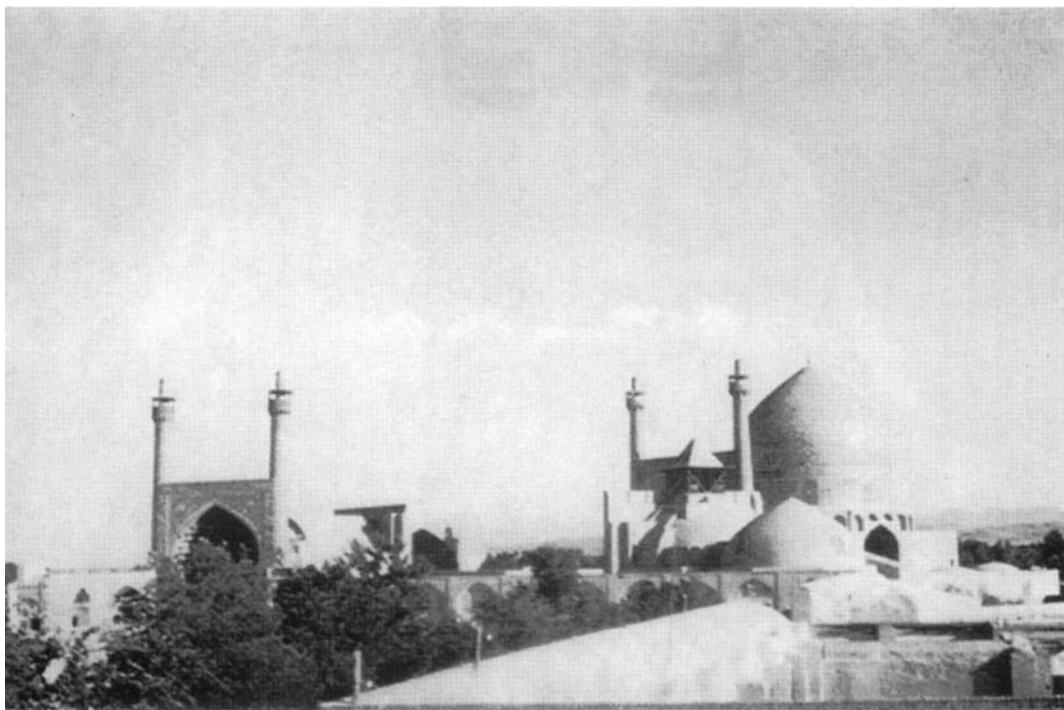
2. Friday-mosque: *mihrâb* of Uldjaytu  
*mihrâb* and *minbars*.



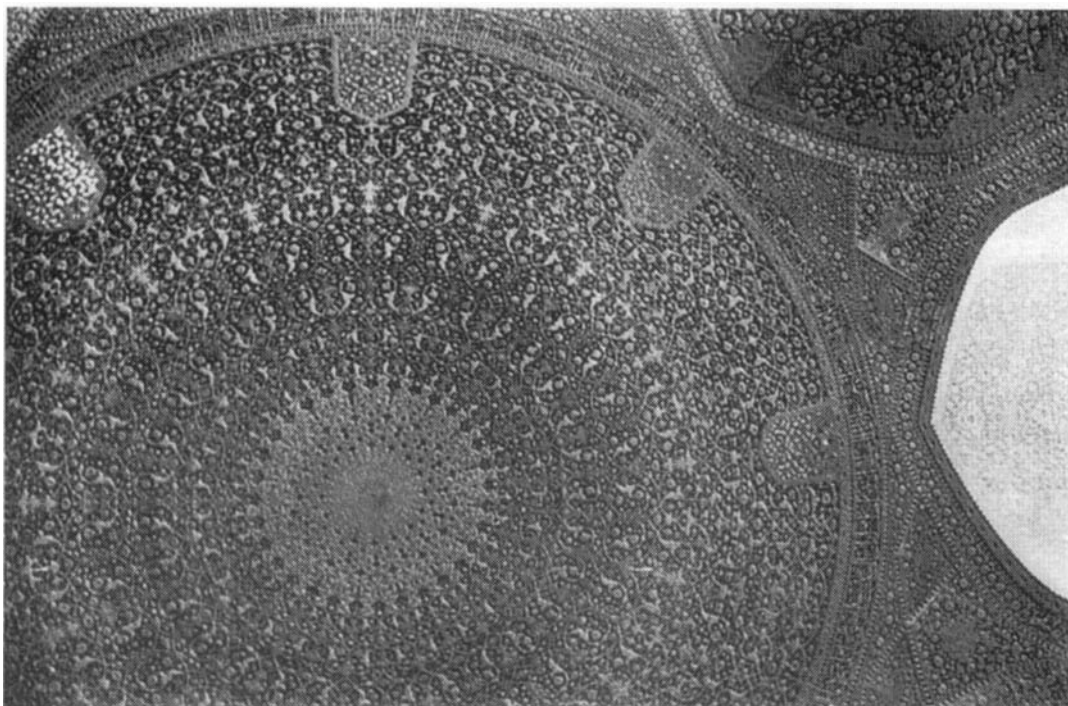
3. Khadjū Bridge: facing upstream.



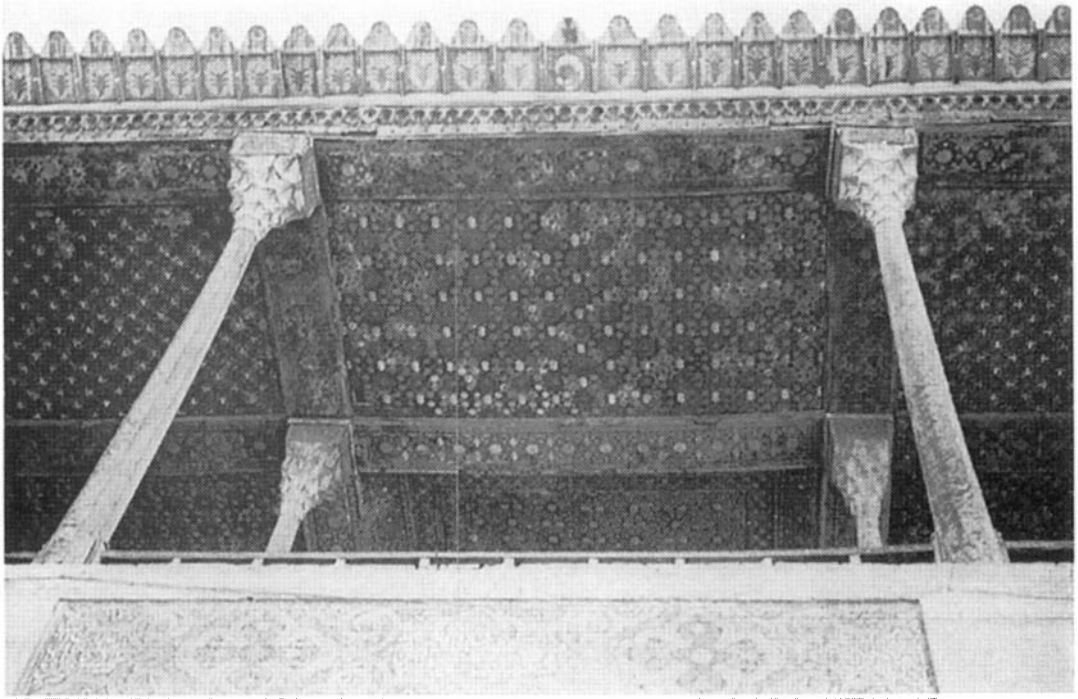
4. Shahristān Bridge: facing downstream.



5. Masdjid-i Shâh: seen from the Kapi palace.



6. Masdjid-i Shâh: dome in front of the *mihrâb*.



7 Ala Kapi palace: reception room,  
1st floor.



8. *Madrasa Mader-i Shāh*: dome  
seen from the inner court.



of Ghazna. From 411/1020 he also held sessions teaching *hadīth* in the congregational mosque of Nīshāpūr. After his death in Muḥarram 418/February 1027, his body was brought to Isfarāyīn. His tomb continued to attract pious visitors in the 6th/12th century.

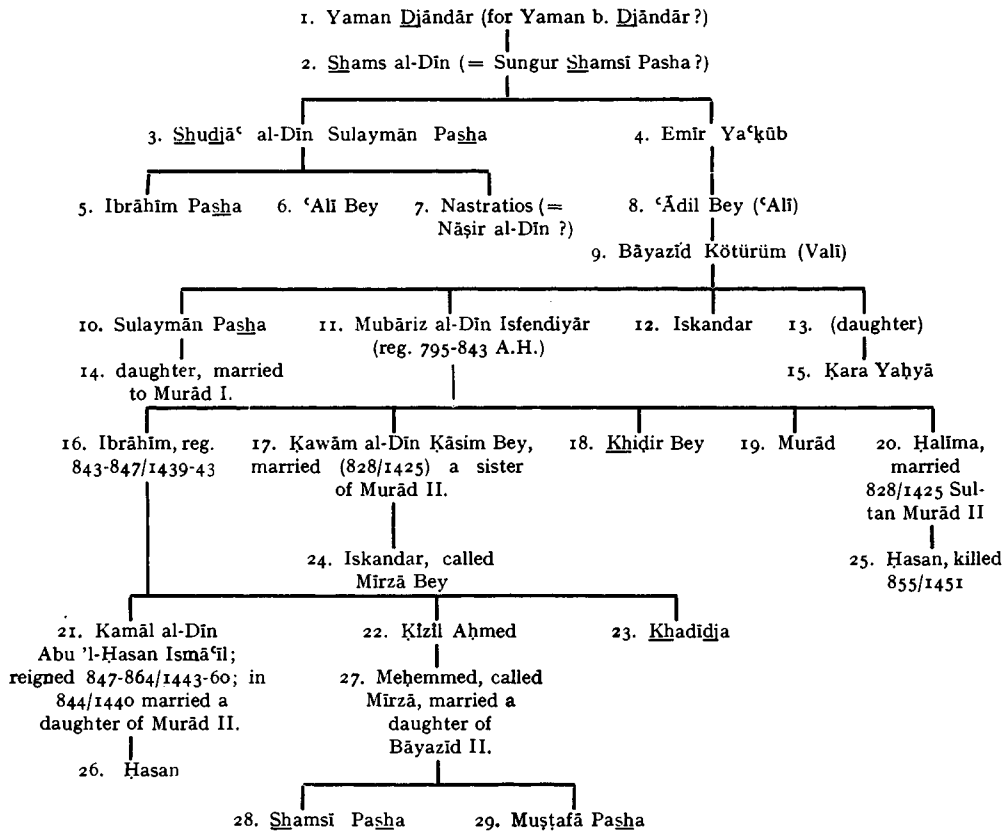
None of his works on Shāfi'ī law, principles of law (*uṣūl al-fikḥ*), and theology is extant, but the numerous references to his doctrine in later works attest their popularity for several generations after his death. He played a leading role in the elaboration of Ash'arī doctrine in his generation, which in several areas covered new ground not touched by the founder of the school. In the struggle against the anthropomorphism of the Karrāmiyya he, like Ibn Fūrak, supported a more abstract view of God closer to Mu'tazilī doctrine as compared with al-Ash'arī, who had been mainly concerned with the defence of the traditionalist view of God against Mu'tazilism. In the theory of knowledge, prophethood, the nature of the Qur'ān, human acts, his views are frequently contrasted in the sources with those of al-Bāqillānī and are often closer to Mu'tazilī doctrine. He ascribed wider immunity [see 'ISMA] from falsehood to the prophets than did al-Bāqillānī and held that the extraordinary acts of saints (*karāmāt*) do not reach the degree of miracles of prophets (*mu'djizāt*). In the words of al-Djuwaynī, he inclined to a position close to the Mu'tazilī rejection of the miracles of saints. In substantial agreement with al-Bāqillānī he distinguished between the eternal speech (*kalām*) of God, which according to his doctrine could not be heard, and the Qur'ān. Against al-Bāqillānī's view that the miraculous inimitability of the Qur'ān resides in its superior composition and rhetorical perfection, he supported the view of the Mu'tazilī al-Nazzām that God prevents man from imitating the Qur'ān. Like al-Bāqillānī he attempted to define the concept of *kasb* referring to human acts, which had been of no significance in the doctrine of al-Ash'arī, which exclusively stressed divine omnipotence. Also in agreement with Mu'tazilī doctrine and against the prevailing Ash'arī view he held that man's first duty was to reach knowledge of God through reason, independently of the mission of prophets, and he opposed the doctrine that God may impose on man obligations which are beyond his power (*taḥlīf mā lā yuṣāḥ*).

*Bibliography:* al-'Abbādī, *K. Tabakāt al-fuḳahā' al-Shāfi'iyya*, ed. G. Vitestam, Leiden 1964, 104; Abu 'l-Muzaffar al-Isfarāyīnī, *al-Tabṣīr fi 'l-dīn*, ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo 1940, 66; Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, *Tabakāt al-fuḳahā'*, Baghdād 1356, 106; Sam'ānī, fol. 33v; al-Ṣarīfīnī, *al-Muntakhab min Kitāb al-Siyāḥ li-ta'rikḥ Nīsābūr*, ed. R. N. Frye, *The Histories of Nishapur*, The Hague 1965, fol. 25 f.; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn kaḥḥib al-mustarī*, ed. al-Ḳudṣī, Damascus 1347, 234 f.; al-Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., iii, 111-4; Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bayāḍī, *Ishārāt al-marām*, ed. Yūsuf 'Abd al-Razzāk, Cairo 1947, 54, 84, 249; Ibn Ḳhallikān, no. 4; Brockelmann, S I, 66. Concerning his doctrine: M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 556 f.; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 184; in addition to the references given there: al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmī*, ed. H. Klopfer, i, Cairo 1961, *passim*; idem, *al-Irshād*, ed. M. Y. Mūsā and A. A. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 316, 333. On his doctrine of knowledge: J. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des 'Aḍadaddīn al-'Icī*, Wiesbaden 1966, index s.v. Isfarā'īnī. (W. MADELUNG)

**ISFENDIYĀR OĖHLU**, the name of a Turkoman dynasty, which founded the independent kingdom of Ḳaṣṭamonu on the decline of the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Ḳonya, at the end of the 7th/13th century, in N.W. Asia Minor, in the ancient Paphlagonia. The name is taken from that of the best known ruler of this dynasty, Isfendiyār Bey; in the 10th/16th century we find the name Ḳızıl Aḥmedlu, from Ḳızıl Aḥmed, the brother of Ismā'īl Bey. The Byzantines called the Isfendiyār OĖhlu "the sons of Amurias" or of Omur. The founder of the dynasty appears to have been Shams al-Dīn b. Taman (Timūr?) Dĵāndār, who held a grant of the district of Affānī; he went to war with Mas'ūd II (681/1282-697/1298), captured the town of Ḳaṣṭamonu and in 690/1291 (Müneḍĵimbāshī) was appointed governor of the districts seized by him by the İlkhān prince Gayḳhātū. He seems to be identical with Sungur Bey Shamsī Pasha, who conquered Bölu according to Ewliyā, ii, 173. His son, Shudĵā' al-Dīn Sulaymān Pasha (700/1301-740/1340), at first acknowledged the suzerainty of the İlkhāns, but afterwards made himself independent and conquered Sinope, which was still in possession of a daughter of Mas'ūd II. He is mentioned in Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii, 343 ff.), Shihāb al-Dīn (*Not. et Extr.*, xiii, 340 and 361 f.) and Abu'l-Fidā' (*Géographie*, ed. Reinaud, ii, 1, p. 35; 2, p. 142, 145); Pachymeres, ii, 345 ff. and 456 f., knows him by the name Σολυμάμαξ. His successors were: his son Ibrāhīm Pasha; 'Ādil Bey, son of the Emīr Ya'kūb and grandson of Shams al-Dīn (about 746/1345); Dĵalāl al-Dīn Bāyazīd, son of 'Ādil Bey, called Kötürüm by the Ottomans, died 787/1385; Sulaymān Bey, son of Bāyazīd, from 787/1385-795/1393; Sultan Bāyazīd I killed him and seized the land (according to *Rev. Hist.*, 389; the Ottoman chronicles make no mention of Sulaymān Bey and make Bāyazīd Kötürüm reign till 795/1393). Mubārīz al-Dīn Isfendiyār, son of Bāyazīd, was restored by Timūr in 805/1402-3. He died on 22 Ramaḍān 843/26 Feb. 1440. About 820/1417 he had to cede the towns of Ṭosya, Çankırı and Ḳal'edĵik and the district of Dĵānik to Mehmed I and later the rich copper mines to Murād II; Ibrāhīm, son of Isfendiyār, 843/1439-857/1443; Ismā'īl, son of Ibrāhīm, was deposed by Sultan Mehmed II at the instigation of his brother Ḳızıl Aḥmed in 864/1460 and died in Philippolis, which was allotted to him as a residence by the sultan. He wrote a widely circulated book, *Huluwiyyāt-i Sultānī*, on the ritual prescripts of Islām. His brother Kızıl Aḥmed fled to Uzun Ḥasan after the confiscation of Ḳaṣṭamonu, returned to Constantinople after the death of Mehmed II, and was honourably received by Bāyazīd II; his son Mīrzā Mehmed married a daughter of the sultan and his grandsons Shamsī and Muṣṭafā Pasha filled high offices under Selīm II and Murād III; Shemsī Pasha in particular had great personal influence as the confidant (*muṣāḥib*) of Murād III. He fabricated a genealogy of the "Ḳızıl Aḥmedlu Isfendiyār-OĖhlu" which went back to Ḳhālīd b. al-Wālīd, and invented the name Ḳızıl Aḥmedlu for the dynasty of Isfendiyār-OĖhlu. Descendants of this family still exist and, when at the beginning of the 11th/17th century it was feared that the Ottoman ruling house might become extinct, the Ḳızıl Aḥmedlu were considered amongst others as possible claimants to the throne on account of their frequent marriages with relatives of the sultans.

On this genealogy cf. that of Ismā'īl Bey, in the *Huluwiyyāt-i Sultānī* in Rieu, *Catal. of Turkish MSS*,

## GENEALOGY OF THE ISFENDİYAR-OĞHLU



in the *British Museum*, II, and that of Shamsi Pasha in PeĶewi, ii, 10 ff.; 4 perhaps the brother of Sulaymān Pasha, called al-Efendi by Ibn Buţţūta; the sons of Sulaymān Pasha, 5-7, in Ibn Baţţūta, ii, 340, 348, Shihāb al-Din, and Pachymeres, ii, 327 ff., 611; 8 according to Mūnedjimbāşhi, son of Sulaymān Pasha; 13 according to Sa'd al-Din, i, 192; another sister of Isfendiyyār and her son is mentioned by Clavijo, 92, but without giving her name; 14 according to *Ta'riĶh-i Şāf*, i, 39 f.; on 17 see Sa'd al-Din, i, 277 f., 318 f., Ķamid Wahbī, 1350 f.; on 18 Sa'd al-Din, i, 287; on 19 Sa'd al-Din, i, 318 f.; 21, the epithet in Feridūn, i, 250; on his marriage with a daughter of Murād II: Dukas 243; Sa'd al-Din, i, 343; on 23 cf. *Rev. Hist.*, 390 f.; on 24 Ķamid Wahbī, 1354; on 26 Sa'd al-Din, i, 474, 476.

*Bibliography*: Mūnedjimbāşhi, *Şahā'if al-AĶhbār*, iii, 29 f.; Ķamid Wahbī, *MeşĶāhir-i Islām*, no. 43 (= p. 1329-1358 of the whole series); *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane*, 382-392 (monograph by AĶmed TewĶid); the Byzantine historians Pachymeres, Dukas, Chalkokondyles, Phrantzes; Clavijo. On the coins of the Isfendiyyār-OĶhlu: Ismā'il Ķhālib, *TaĶwim-i MeşĶūkāt-i Seldjūkiye*, 120-1; AĶmed TewĶid, *MeşĶūkāt-i Ķadime-i Islamiye*, iv, 400 ff.

(J. H. MORDTMANN\*)

**ISFİD DİZ** [see KAL'A-YI SAFİD].

**ISFİDJĀB** [see Supplement].

**İSHĀ'** [see ŞALĀT].

**İŞHĀĶ**, the Biblical Isaac, mentioned in fifteen passages of the *Ķur'ān*. God gives Abraham

"good tidings of Isaac, a prophet, of the righteous", and blesses them both (XXXVII 112 f.). In a fuller description, when messengers concerning Lot come to Abraham; his wife "laughed, and we gave her good tidings of Isaac, and after Isaac of Jacob" (XI, 71/74); and it is explained that this will happen despite their age. Several verses speak of Isaac and Jacob being given to Abraham (VI, 84; XIX, 49/50; XXI 72), and XXIX, 27/26 adds that God "made prophethood and the Book to be among his offspring" (cf. XXXVIII, 45 f.). Ishmael is joined to Isaac in XIV, 39/41, where Abraham praises God for giving him the two although he was old. Elsewhere the name only occurs in lists: Joseph follows the creed of his fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (XII, 38), and speaks of God's favour to them (XII, 6); Jacob's sons serve the God of his fathers, Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac (II, 133/127); and revelations are given Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the Patriarchs (II, 136/130, 140/134; III, 84/78; IV, 163/161). In the account of Abraham's would-be sacrifice of his son (XXXVII, 102/100-107), the name of the son is not mentioned; and there was a fierce controversy among Muslim scholars over the identity of the son. At first most Muslims probably considered the "sacrifice" (*dĶhabih*) was Isaac (cf. Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 79-81). This is explicitly stated of 'Umar and 'Alī by Ķuţb al-Din (Wüstenfeld, *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 37). A story is told of how a convert told 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz that the Jews had substituted Isaac (their ancestor) for Ishmael (the Arabs'). Actually the controversy came to be more concerned with Persian than with



Jewish rivalry for the Arabs (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 144 f., Eng. tr., i, 135), since the Persians claimed descent from Isaac. Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 146 f.) quotes a Persian poet in 290/902 who boasted that his descent from Isaac the *dhābiḥ* was superior to that of the Arabs. Later representatives of the Isaac-party were Ibn Kutayba (*Ma'arif*, 18 f. ed. 'Ukāshā, Cairo 1969, 30 f.) and al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr* on XII, 6 and XXXVII, 107; vol. xii, 86; xxiii, 46-9); they argued that God's perfecting his mercy on Abraham and Isaac (in XII, 6) referred to his making Abraham his friend and saving him from the burning bush and to his rescuing Isaac. The other party held that the promise to Sarah of Isaac followed by Jacob (XI, 71/74) excluded the possibility of a sacrifice of Isaac. Although Ibn Kutayba, for example, had seen Isaac mentioned in the Old Testament, Muslim opinion eventually gave full endorsement to the view that the son in question was Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs (cf. al-Bayḏāwī on XXXVII, 102/101). In the works entitled *Kiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'* by al-Ṭha'labī (Cairo 1312, 48-60) and al-Kisā'ī (Leiden 1922, 150-3) the story of Isaac is elaborated along lines reflecting extra-Biblical Jewish tradition.

*Bibliography*: there are a number of further references in the works of I. Goldziher cited, and also in *ZDMG*, xxxii, 359, n. 5 (*Schriften*, ii, 19); cf. also commentaries on the verses quoted; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 437 (= *ZA*, xxvi, 182).  
(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**ISHĀḲ B. HUNAYN B. ISHĀḲ AL-'IBĀDĪ**, ABŪ YA'ḲŪB, like his father Ḥunayn b. IshāḲ [q.v.] an eminent translator of ancient science and philosophy, well versed in the Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian languages. Some authors, such as Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Maṭrān, assert that his Arabic style is superior to that of his father, and like other well educated persons of his surroundings he even indulged in writing poetry. He followed the medical profession of his father, who dedicated to him some of his translations of Galen. It is interesting to note that these were made into Syriac and not into Arabic. A talk between Ḥunayn and IshāḲ about pre-Socratic philosophy was included in Abū Sulaymān's *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (see F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, N. S. x (1941), 395). IshāḲ served as a physician at the court of the caliphs; al-Bayhaḳī further represents him as a boon companion and astrological adviser of al-Muṭtafi [q.v.] and also as a good Muslim. IshāḲ was on familiar terms with the notorious vizier al-Kāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh, with whom he exchanged witty epigrams (cf. C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia*, Cambridge 1951, 115). After suffering a stroke he died in Baghdād in Rabi' I or II 289/November or December 910 or January 911 (Ibn Khallikān also gives the year 299).

As a translator IshāḲ was less concerned with medicine; he left the numerous works of Galen [see *ḌĀLĪNŪS*] to the other members of his father's school and himself rendered only two of them into Syriac and nine into Arabic, e.g., *De partibus artis medicativae*, where he completed the version which Ḥunayn had left unfinished at his death (cf. M. Lyons, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, Suppl. Orient. ii, Berlin 1969, 8 f.). It was by his many translations of Aristotle [see *ARISTŪTĀLĪS*] that he rendered his greatest services (cf. F. E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968). Other philosophers he was concerned with are Plato [see *AFLĀṬŪN*], pseudo-Plato (see *Mashriq*, ix (1906), 677), Nicolaus of Damascus (*De plantis*, cf. B. Hemmerdinger, in *Philologus*, cxi (1967), 58), Alexander of Aphrodisias

[see *AL-ISKANDAR AL-AFRŪDĪSĪ*], Porphyry [see *FURFŪRĪYŪS*], Themistius, Nemesius of Emesa (see P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, Cairo 1928, no. 1010) and Proclus [see *BURŪḲLŪS*]. Moreover he translated many standard works on mathematics and astronomy, e.g., those of Euclid (cf. G. P. Matvievskaia, *Učenie o čisle na srednevekovom bližnem i srednem vostoce*, Tashkent 1967, 100 f.), Autolyclus of Pitane, Archimedes, Theodosius of Bithynia, Menelaus of Alexandria (cf. Max Krause, in *Abh. G. W. Gött., phil.-hist. Kl., Dritte Folge*, no. 17, 1936, 21, 23) and Ptolemy [see *BAṬLAMĪYŪS*]. Some of these translations were revised by Ṭhābit b. Qurra [q.v.] (cf. M. Bouyges, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, ix (1923-4), 77-81); there exists also a fragment of a letter on astronomical matters sent to him by Ṭhābit (see F. J. Carmody, *The astronomical works of Thabit b. Qurra*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1960, 20, 45 f., 229).

IshāḲ's own writings were mainly on medical and pharmacological subjects. In 290/903 he composed at the request of al-Kāsim (see above) his *Ta'riḫ al-aṭibbā'* (ed. F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 55-80; cf. *JAOS*, lxxxi (1961), 10 f.). This book is the first known attempt to write about the beginnings of medicine in connexion with the history of philosophy and religion.

*Bibliography*: Ḥunayn ibn IshāḲ *über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, ed. G. Bergsträßer, Leipzig 1925, *Abh. K. M.* xvii/2, cf. *Abh. K. M.* xix/2; *Fihrist* (index); Ibn *Ḍjuldjūl*, *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā' wa 'l-ḥukamā'*, ed. F. Sayyid, Cairo 1955, 69; 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Ṣhāfi', Lahore 1935, i, 4 f.; Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Bustān al-aṭibbā' wa-rawḡat al-alibbā'*, Ms. Bethesda, Md, A8, fol. 117<sup>r</sup> f.; Ibn al-Kifī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903 (index); Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 200 f., 203, 218; Ibn Khallikān, no. 87, translation by de Slane, i, 187; M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893 (repr. Graz 1956), 1056 (index); idem, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, repr. Graz 1960, p. (269 f.) (index); Suter, 39; I. Pollak, *Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles in der arabischen Übersetzung des IshāḲ ibn Hunayn*, Leipzig 1913, *Abh. K. M.* xiii/1; L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam*, Beirut 1924, 31; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927; J. Tkatsch, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles*, 2 vols., Vienna and Leipzig 1928, 1932; Brockelmann, I, 277, S I, 369, 956, S III, 1203 f.; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii, Vatican City 1947 (*Studi e testi* 133), 129 f.; Khalil Georr, *Les catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes*, Beirut 1948; Roger Paret, *Notes bibliographiques sur quelques travaux récents consacrés aux premières traductions arabes d'oeuvres grecques*, in *Byzantion*, xxix-xxx (1959-60), 387-446; R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962; W. Kutsch, Khalil al-Ḍjurr (Georr), *Al-Maḥāla al-ūlā min Kitāb al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī li-Arisṭūṭālīs*, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, xxxix (1964), 266-312. (G. STROHMAIER)

**ISHĀḲ B. IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢĪLĪ**, the son of IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢĪLĪ [q.v.], and like him the greatest musician of his time, was born in 150/767 in Rayy and died in Ramaḏān 235/850 in Baghdād. He received an excellent education, studying *Qur'ān*, *ḥadīth*, and *adab* under Huṣḥaym b. Baṣīr, al-Kisā'ī,

al-Farrāʾ, al-Aṣmaʿī, and Abū ʿUbayda. His teachers in music were his father, his brother-in-law Zalzal, and ʿĀtika bint Shuʿba. He had a magnificent voice, and made use of the headvoice (*takhnīth*); he was also an excellent composer. He was highly appreciated by the caliphs from Hārūn to al-Mutawakkil, and especially by al-Wāṭḥik; al-Maʿmūm permitted him to wear the costume of a *fakīh* and placed him among the ʿulamāʾ (see also Kālī, *Amālī*<sup>3</sup>, iii, 90). In the controversy between the modernists, who followed the theories of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [q.v.], and those who adhered to the music of the Ḥijāz, Ishāk was a stout defender of the old style and systematized its musical modes. He showed the same predilection for ancient poetry, following its language, style and topics in his own poems, whilst he criticized modern poets like Abū Tammām and Abū Nuwās. He was a very learned man and took many books with him when travelling; he paid the philologist Ibn al-Aʿrābī an annual stipend. Many of his own works deal with music and musicians. Already his father, together with Ibn Djamīʿ and Fulayḥ b. Abī ʿl-ʿAwraʾ had selected for Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd 100 songs (cf. Agh.<sup>3</sup> i, 4-5, 7). Later on Ishāk, by order of al-Wāṭḥik, made a new edition of the one hundred selected melodies, keeping the finest of them, and replacing those of minor quality by better ones (Aghani<sup>3</sup>, i, 8 ff.). This is the *Ikhṭiyār min al-Aghānī li ʿl-Wāṭḥik* (Fihrist, 141, 4; Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 223, 9). He also composed books on the biographies and compositions either of a single musician or a group of them, e.g., *akḥbār ʿAzza* (Fihrist, 141), *akḥbār al-Hudhalīyyayn* (see *Aghānī*<sup>3</sup>, iv, 152 ff.), *al-Makkiyyin* (see Yāqūt, l.c. ii, 223, 7), *al-Ḳiyān*. These monographs are directly or indirectly sources for the corresponding sections in the *Aghānī*. There existed also a book of songs containing Ishāk's own compositions; but it had been compiled without Ishāk's permission by one of his copyists. Most of our information about Ishāk goes back to his son Ḥammād, who also published the genuine book of Ishāk's songs. A book about Ishāk was written by his pupil ʿAlī b. Yahyā Ibn al-Munadījim (Fihrist, 143, 22), whilst the latter's son Yahyā b. ʿAlī devoted to Ishāk a chapter in his anthology *al-Bāhir* (Fihrist, 143, 27). His death was mourned in many elegies (*Aghānī*<sup>3</sup>, v, 256 and 431-4). Ishāk had many pupils and his fame has lasted up to this day. He is mentioned in the "Assemblies" of al-Ḥarīrī and in the Arabian Nights.

*Bibliography*: in the article; our main source is *Aghānī*<sup>3</sup>, v, 268-435; see also *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* no. 3380; Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 227-32; Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 197-225; Ibn Ḳhallikān, no. 86; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, i, 350-2; consult the indices of *Aghānī*, *Fihrist*; Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*; Kālī, *Amālī*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārīf* and ʿUyūn; *al-Kāmil*; *Yatimat al-dahr*; the works of H. G. Farmer; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hof der frühen Abbasiden*, Frankfurt am Main 1965, 187-9 with a full bibliography; Brockelmann, S I 223; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 371. (J. W. FÜCK)

**ISHĀK B. MURĀD**, Turkish physician who lived in Gerede in Anatolia in the time of Sultan Bāyezid I. Little is known of his life: he practised medicine and also wrote on the subject. His chief work is *Kitāb Edwiye-i müfride*, "The book of simple remedies", which he completed in 792/1390. In the first section he deals with the medicinal plants of his native land (giving the Arabic and Persian names of each beside the Turkish name) and, at the end, gives prescriptions for various illnesses. The second section describes the illnesses in detail. The work,

surviving in various manuscripts in Turkey, is also of linguistic interest, in that it presents many early features of orthography, grammar and vocabulary.

*Bibliography*: Bursalı Mehmed Ṭāhir, *Olh-manlı müʿellifleri*, iii, 203; A. Adnan-Adivar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 6-7; O. Spies, *Das Türkische Drogen- und Medizinbuch des Ishāq b. Murād*, in *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle 1968, 185-92. (O. SPIES)

**ISHĀK B. SULAYMĀN AL-ISRĀʾĪLĪ**, ABŪ YAʿKŪB (ca. 243/855 - ca. 343/955), physician, medical writer and philosopher, was born in Egypt and appointed court physician by ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī after his emigration to Ḳayrawān at about the age of fifty. His high reputation among his fellow-Jews is attested by Saʿīd (Seʿādyā) al-Fayyūmī's letters consulting him on philosophical and scientific matters. His medical works were translated into Latin by Constantine the African (1087) and enjoyed great esteem in the Middle Ages (printed in *Omnia opera Ysaac*, Lyons 1575). Of his philosophical writings the *Kitāb al-Hudūd wa ʿl-rusūm* was popular among the Latin schoolmen, who know it in two versions (edited by J. T. Muckle in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen age*, xii-xiii, Paris 1937-38). Mediaeval Jewish writers were equally familiar with the work. It was twice translated into Hebrew (see A. Altmann, in *JSS*, ii (1957), 232 ff.). The *Kitāb al-Djawāhir* has survived only in fragments discovered by A. Borisov and edited by S. M. Stern (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, vii (1956), 13-29). The most extensive treatise is the *Kitāb al-Uṣṭūḳuṣ-ṣāt*, extant in a Latin version (contained in *Omnia opera Ysaac*) and in two Hebrew ones by Abraham ibn Ḥasday (ed. by S. Fried, 1900) and by Moses ibn Tibbon (?) respectively. The "Chapter on the Elements" preserved in a Hebrew Ms (*Shaʿar hayesodoth*) has been shown by A. Altmann, following a suggestion by Gershom G. Scholem, to be another work of al-Isrāʾīlī's (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, vii (1956), 31-57).

Al-Isrāʾīlī, the father of Jewish Neoplatonism, is largely influenced by al-Kindī and by a pseudo-Aristotelian neoplatonic source which Altmann discovered in the "Chapter on the Elements" and which Stern has identified as underlying also such works as the Long Version of the *Theology of Aristotle* (discovered by Borisov) and Ibn Ḥasday's *Prince and Ascetic* (see *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 58-120).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: J. Guttmann, *Die philosophischen Lehren des Isaak b. Salomon Israeli*, Münster 1911; A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli, a Neoplatonic philosopher of the early tenth century*, Oxford 1958; reviewed by M. Plessner, in *Kiryat Sefer*, xxxv (1960), 457 ff.; J. D. Latham, *Isaac Israeli's Kitāb al-Ḥummayāt and the Latin and Castilian Texts*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 80-95. (A. ALTMANN)

**ISHĀK, ADĪB**, journalist and scholar of Syrian origin and Catholic by religion, but Egyptian by adoption. Born in 1856 at Damascus, where he studied under the Lazarist Fathers, he was, while still very young, obliged to accept a modest post in the Customs office in order to help his family, though he did not cease to pursue his Arabic studies more deeply and to extend his knowledge of French and Turkish, in which he obtained a high degree of proficiency. His family's removal to Beirut gave him the opportunity of forming fruitful contacts with the representatives of the Arab cultural awakening which

was taking place at that time. They were impressed by his lively mind and his remarkable knowledge of classical Arabic, which contributed to his appointment as editor of the periodical *al-Taḥaddum*. From this time on, Adib IshāḲ devoted himself entirely to his work as a writer, poet and essayist; in this field mention should be made of his *Nuzhat al-ahdāk fi maṣāriḥ al-ushshāḳ* and of several articles in *Āḥār al-adhār*, edited by Salīm Djabrāʾil al-Khūrī and Salīm Mikhāʾil Shihāda. In 1876, during the reign of the Khedive Ismāʾil [q.v.], he settled in Alexandria at the suggestion of Salīm al-Naqqāsh [q.v.] from Beirut, the creator of the modern Arabic theatre, who was anxious to escape from the pressure of the Ottoman authorities in the countries of the Middle East, and had come to Egypt in order to pursue his theatrical activity in a more sympathetic political and literary climate. The two compatriots then collaborated in the work of the development of Arabic drama, which was then beginning, and to which Adib IshāḲ had already contributed with his Arabic adaptation of Racine's *Andromaque*, which he had written at the suggestion of the French consul in Beirut, and with the translation from French of an historical play called *Charlemagne*.

But the event which marked the beginning of a new phase in Adib IshāḲ's Egyptian career was his contact with the famous reformer Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q.v.], whose lectures at al-Azhar he attended and who proposed the foundation, in 1877, of the political weekly *Miṣr*, which Adib IshāḲ published at first in Cairo and later in Alexandria. Around this periodical there very soon gathered the best writers and the most able politicians of the time; among them should be mentioned al-Afghānī himself and Muḥammad ʿAbduh, his most famous pupil. But this publication, and also the daily paper *al-Tidjāra*, to which Adib IshāḲ had given a financial and commercial, and later a political character, were suppressed in 1880, and their editor was banished from Egypt because of his extremist revolutionary ideas and his opposition to the government.

Adib IshāḲ then went to Paris, where, in order to continue his patriotic action on behalf of his adopted country and compatriots, he founded the periodical *Miṣr al-Kāhira* (known also as *Miṣr* or *al-Kāhira*), formed contacts with the literary and political circles, and published a series of articles in the Paris press. Nine months later, he returned to Beirut for a year, during which he agreed to resume the editorship of *al-Taḥaddum*, and at the end of 1881, encouraged by the improvement in the political situation, he returned to Egypt, where he was appointed *nāẓir* ("supervisor") in the Editorial and Translation section of the Ministry of Education; he was later made second secretary of the Chamber of Deputies, and at the same time obtained permission to resume the publication of his journal *Miṣr*, which he entrusted to his brother. But, as a result of the revolution of ʿUrābī Paṣha [q.v.] in 1881, he fled to Beirut and did not return to Egypt until after the British occupation in 1882; but being unable to resume his government post, he went back to Beirut, where he accepted for the third time the editorship of *al-Taḥaddum* and published in 1884 the translation of *La belle parisienne, al-Bārisiyya al-ḥasnā* by Comtesse Dash, of which he had produced an Arabic version in his youth. Adib IshāḲ died at al-Ḥadath (Lebanon), after a last stay of some weeks in Cairo and Alexandria, in 1885.

It is stated in *al-Durar* (extracts from his poems, articles, lectures, tracts, Arabic adaptations of plays,

etc., Beirut 1909, collected by his brother, ʿAwnī IshāḲ) that he is also the author of the play entitled *Gharāʾib al-itifāḳ* (which was several times performed in Alexandria), and of the collection of biographies made during his stay in Paris, *Tarāḍīm Miṣr fi ḥādha ʿl-ʿaṣr*, but the first of the two manuscripts was stolen from him and the other is lost.

*Bibliography*: To the references in Brockelmann, II, 759, add Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh, *Aʿlām al-ṣahāfa al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1948, 116-24; M. Y. Naḍīm, *Al-Masraḥiyya fi ʿl-ʿadab al-ʿarabi al-ḥadīth, 1847-1914*, Beirut 1956, 58, 100-1, 215-6; J. M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, 61, 63, 64, 71. H. Pérès has noted the translation of *La belle parisienne*, in *Le roman, le conte et la nouvelle dans la littérature arabe moderne*, in *AIEO Alger*, iii (1937), 294, no. 207. (U. RIZZITANO)

**KHODJA ISHĀḲ EFENDI**, Ottoman mathematician and engineer in Maḥmūd II's reign. He was born at Arta in the province of Janina (Yanya) in 1774 (?), the son of a Jew converted to Islam (Faik Reṣit Unat's thesis in *Baṣhoca IshāḲ Efendi* (Bell., xxviii (1964), 89-115) that Khodja IshāḲ Efendi and Sulṭān-zāde IshāḲ Bey, the favourite of Selīm III, were the same person is far from convincing). After the death of his father he came to Istanbul, where he studied mathematics privately and learned various Oriental and Western languages. Appointed instructor (*khodja*) of mathematics at the Military School of Engineering (*Mühendisḳhāne-i Berri-i Humāyūn*) in 1816, he became interpreter of the *Diwān-i Humāyūn* [q.v.] in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1239/ July 1824, in addition to his position at the *Mühendisḳhāne*. He was dismissed from his post at the *Diwān* in 1245/1828-9 and sent to the Balkans to supervise the construction of fortresses there. It seems that his dismissal was due to Pertev Efendi (later Paṣha) [q.v.], the *reʿis al-küttāb* of the time, who saw in him a potential rival. IshāḲ Efendi continued his teaching at the *Mühendisḳhāne*, where he became Chief Instructor (*Baṣh-khodja*) in Raḍjāb 1246/ December 1830-January 1831. He succeeded in reforming the curriculum and improving the teaching staff at the *Mühendisḳhāne*, but his predecessor in the office, Seyyid ʿAlī Efendi (later Paṣha), was influential enough to have him removed and sent to Medina to supervise the restoration of various sacred buildings. While on his way back to Istanbul, he died at Suez in 1251/1835 and was buried there.

IshāḲ Efendi's main work, entitled *Madjmūʿa-i ʿulūm-i riyādiyye* (4 vols., Istanbul 1247-50/1831-34), consists largely of translations from French books on mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and their applications. Although a school manual of no great scientific value, it is the first work in Turkish on the modern physical and natural sciences (see *Tanzimat I*, Istanbul 1940, 479 f., 492 f., 554 f.). Furthermore the scientific terminology, based on Arabic, which was used in Turkey up to the 1930's and in some Arab countries still later, was mainly IshāḲ Efendi's creation. Through his teaching and publications he contributed much to the introduction of Western sciences to Turkey and the Arab countries.

*Bibliography*: Sāmi, *Kāmus al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1306-16, ii, 899; *Sidill-i ʿOthmāni*, i, 328; Meḥmed Esʿad, *Mirʾāt-i mühendisḳhāne-i berri-i humāyūn*, Istanbul 1312, 34-42, 49, 58-61; Osman Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1939-43, ii, 277 f.; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 196 f.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1968, 86-8; N. Berkes,

*The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964, index. For a contemporary account see [J. de Kay], *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, New York 1833, 138-44. For the list of his publications see *‘Uthmānī Mū‘ellifleri*, iii, 255. See also Ibrahim Alāettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları*, Istanbul 1946, 191; Çağatay Uluçay and Enver Kartekin, *Yüksek Mühendis Okulu*, Istanbul 1958, index. (E. KURAN)

**ISHĀK PASHA** [see Supplement].

**ISHĀK SÜKŪTİ**, a Young Turk leader, was born in 1868, probably of Kurdish extraction. As a student at the Military Medical School in Istanbul, he was in May 1889 one of the original group of founders of the Secret Committee, which eventually developed into the Committee of Union and Progress [see İTTİHĀD WE-TERAKKĪL DİEM‘İYETİ]. Later, in 1895, he was exiled to Rhodes but managed to escape and went to Paris, where he associated with the Young Turk émigrés. In 1897, with others, he founded the anti-government journal *Osmanlı* (*‘Uthmānī*), which was published in Geneva. In 1899, under combined pressure and blandishments from the Sultan, the journal ceased publication and several of its sponsors received official appointments.

Ishāk Sükütî became medical officer to the Ottoman Embassy in Rome. He did not, however, sever his connection with the Young Turks and when a group of them moved to London to continue the publication of *Osmanlı* there, he underwrote the expenses of publication and continued to do so until his death in San Remo in 1903. In 1909, after the revolution in Turkey, his friend Dr. Rıdâ Nūr [q.v.] brought his remains to Istanbul and had them buried in the garden adjoining the tomb of Sultan Mahmūd.

*Bibliography*: E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton N. J. 1957; Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin siyasi fikirleri*, Ankara 1964; Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda inkılâp hareketleri ve millî mücadele*, Istanbul 1956, especially 212 ff. (ED.)

**ISHĀKIYYA** [see KĀZARŪNĪ].

**ISHAKOVIĆ** [see ÜSKŪB].

**ISHĀN**. 3rd pers. plur. of the Persian personal pronoun. The word, which has always had an honorific significance, was formerly used in Central Asia (i.e., what is now Soviet Central Asia and the Sinkiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region of China) in the sense of *shaykh* or *murshid* (teacher or guide) in contrast to *murid* (disciple or pupil). It has still to be established when the term first appeared in this sense. It certainly existed in the middle ages; the celebrated Khwādja Ahrār (died 895/1490 in Samarqand) is always referred to as *ishān* in his biography. The rank of *ishān* was frequently hereditary. An *ishān* lived with his followers in a dervish monastery (*khānkhāh*), and sometimes at the tomb of a saint. Most *ishāns* made journeys from time to time into the Kazakh steppe where they had more adherents and received richer presents than in the settled districts. Greater attention was drawn to the *ishāns* by a revolt started at Andizhan in 1898 by a certain Dukchi Ishān. Literature on the subject is scanty and, since the very existence of *ishāns* is strongly disapproved of by the Soviet and Chinese authorities, the term is now obsolescent, if not obsolete.

*Bibliography*: J. Geijer, *Materiali k izučeniyu bltovikh čert musul'manskogo naseleniya Turkestanskogo kraja. I. Ishānī* (*Sbornik materialov dlya statistiki Sir-Dar'inskoy oblasti*, vol. 1); *Sbornik materialov po musul'manstvu*, St. Petersburg 1899;

Sattar-Chan, *Musul'manskie ishānī* (*Pravoslavnyi Sobesednik*, Sept. 1895, and later N. P. Ostroumov, *Sartī*, izd. 3<sup>e</sup>, Tashkent 1908, 206 f.); Prince V. Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, 355 f.; Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1900, 198.

(W. BARTHOLD—[G. E. WHEELER])

**ISHĀRA** (A.), "gesture, sign, indication", has acquired in rhetoric [see BADI'] the technical meaning of "allusion" but, in its early connotation, a gesture of the hand, a sign of the head, of the elbow, the eyes, the eyebrows etc., is considered by al-Djāhīz (*Bayān*, i, 80; *Hayawān*, i, 33), together with speech, writing, *nuṣba* and computation on the fingers [see HĪSĀB AL-‘AḤD where other gestures to indicate numbers are also dealt with], as one of the five methods by which a man may express his thoughts [see BAYĀN]. Whether combined with words or not, a gesture (*ishāra* and also *imā‘*) allows a man to make his meaning clear without revealing his thoughts entirely (*Bayān*, i, 77 ff.) and may even be necessary in order to explain the meaning of a concrete idea which is unknown to the listener; it is sometimes more expressive than words, and carries further than the voice; a gracious movement of the hand or the head (*ḥusn al-ishāra*) elegantly emphasises the expression of an idea, in spite of those who consider that absolute immobility is necessary for dignity (*ḥilm* [q.v.]). Love poetry often refers to the language of the eyes, which express intimate feelings better, and less dangerously than words; lovers have a complete code, the scope of which is summarised by Ibn Ḥazm (*Tawāḥ*, ch. ix, *bāb al-ishāra bi'l-‘ayn*) thus: [a sign made with the eye] "cuts off and brings together, it promises, it threatens, refuses harshly, fills with contentment, commands and forbids, strikes the servants, warns against the watcher, makes laugh and causes grief, asks and answers, holds back and grants generously" (tr. A. R. Nykl, 44); he describes some of these signs and gives their meaning ("to close the eyelid in a wink signifies consent", etc.), but admits that the majority of them cannot be described, though he implies that everyone should be able to grasp their meaning.

In fact the Arabs considered anyone who did not understand the language of gestures and obliged his interlocutor to express his thoughts in words to be a fool (cf. the proverb: *inna man lā ya‘rif al-waḥy‘ aḥmak*, *waḥy/waḥī* also meaning sign; see al-Maydānī, i, 15; *LA*, s.v. WHY). They had a collection of signs with their own meaning: agreement, refusal, indifference, etc., which were used in everyday life, and according to contemporary witnesses, the Prophet used to accompany his words with gestures whose meaning was not always clear. There existed also ritual or symbolic gestures made when a contract or an alliance was concluded, when an oath of allegiance was sworn or act of allegiance made, etc., [see BAY‘A; HILF AL-FUDŪL; ŞAFAKA; YAMIN; etc.]. With the question of the gesture with the uncovered hand is connected that with a staff, the symbol of authority [see ‘ANAZA] held by orators and preachers; al-Djāhīz devoted in his *Bayān* a long section to the manifold ways of using the baton, which also served, together with the whip or the sword, to express threats.

More research needs to be done on the ritual or symbolic gestures, which with the Arabs go back to remote antiquity, to complete and amplify the observations of I. Goldziher and to verify the opinions he has advanced in a number of publications: *Orient. St. . . Th. Noeldeke*, Giessen 1906, i, 303 ff.; *ZDMG*, i, 495 ff.; *Abhand. zur arab. philologie*, i, 55-7, ii, p. cv

(analysis by G. H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 22-3, viii (1961), 269-72).

The magic value of certain gestures can be detected behind some *ḥadīths*, in particular the prohibition of using the hand to indicate a flash of lightning (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, v, 266) or of greeting a person with one finger only (al-Dhahabī, *Mizān*, ii, 162), in the same way that it survives for example in the gestures to protect against the evil eye [see 'AYN]. As for *hidjā'* [q.v.], I Goldziher points out the imprecatory meaning of the index finger pointing at an enemy, and the importance of this finger in Islamic ritual [see TASHAHHUD] where it has acquired the characteristic names of *sabbāba*, *musabbīḥa*, *muhallīla*, *da'ā'a*; it was thus that the Prophet's habit of extending the index finger during prayer, after having been interpreted as a magic survival, became the symbol of the unity of God [see ṢALĀT]; in the *ḥunūl* [q.v.] the act of raising the hands with the palms turned towards the face was the subject of long discussions by the *fukahā'* whereas, in invocation (*du'ā'* [q.v.]), the palm turned towards the sky may have had originally a magic force [on the North African *fāḥa*, of a different type, see FĀTIHA].

Many other gestures have still to be studied, but it is enough to mention here those given above plus a brief reference to the game of "mora" (see G. Lemoine, *Les anciens procédés de calcul sur les doigts* in *REI*, 1932/I, 4-8); in this game the partners, facing each other, at a given signal open the fist (or fists), raising whatever number of fingers they choose and speaking at the same time the number indicated by the total number of fingers raised (or else saying simply "odd" or "even"), the winner is the one who has guessed correctly. This process can be used to arrange different types of sharing out, which are known by various names: *mukhāra'a*, *mukhāradjā*, *munāhada*, *musāhama* [see MUKHĀRADJĀ]. For *ism al-ishāra* "demonstrative", [see ISM].

*Bibliography*: in the text. (ED.)

The Sūfīs frequently use the word *ishāra* in a very technical sense, but when one attempts to define its meaning exactly, one finds that they give few satisfactory definitions or explanations. "Allusion" or "allusive language" would be a literal translation. But whereas these English words refer to a symbolical language which brings the object to mind by suggestion rather than by direct reference (Mallarmé), the Arabic word does not necessarily have this meaning which the Sūfīs prefer to render by the term *ramz* (pl. *rumūz*) (see *Luma'* of al-Ṭūsī, 338). When the Sūfīs call themselves the *ahl al-ishāra* (the allusionist school) or when they say that their science consists of '*ulūm al-ishāra*, they are attempting to define not only the way in which they express themselves, but also the content of an experience which can only be evoked by this method. *Ishāra* is in this sense the opposite of '*ibāra*, not in the way that symbolical language is opposed to "realistic" language or in the way that a parable cannot be translated into abstract language, but in the way that something incommunicable is opposed to something communicable. All knowledge acquired by natural means falls within the domain of the '*ibāra* in that it can be "expressed" and communicated to others in their language. In mystical experience, however, the bonds of natural knowledge are burst, and man reaches a new world to which his concepts and words cannot be applied. He can only talk about it by "allusion" (*ishāra*), that is to say not symbolically, but by approximation, always aware that his language can only really be understood by those who have experienced that of

which he talks (al-Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf*, Cairo ed., 87-9). And thus it is, that by the very nature of the experience, the language of the *ishāra* tends, on the one hand, to become an *esoteric* language not understood by the uninitiated or deliberately made incomprehensible to them, and on the other hand, tends to destroy itself as inadequate and as a veil between the Sūfī and the object of his experience: God. The novice, remarked Ḍjunayd, must find God at the same time as his allusion, but he who has attained the highest of mystical states (*aḥwāl*) must find God in the abolition of the allusion (*Luma'*, 224). And al-Ḥallādjī: "As long as you attempt an *ishāra*, you are not yet a *muwahhīd*,—not until the moment when God takes over your allusion by annihilating your self-consciousness. Then He leaves neither the subject of the allusion (*mushīr*) nor the allusion itself" (*Essai*, 361, no. 11).

*Ishāra*, which we have just described as the esoteric language of the inexpressible mystical experience, acquired this full and complex meaning about the 3rd/9th century, in the Baghdād and Khurāsān schools. Previous texts use it differently, in a way related to Qur'anic exegesis. Thus when the *Tafsīr* attributed to Ḍja'far al-Ṣādiq (died 148/765) says that the Qur'an is at once expression ('*ibāra*) and allusion (*ishāra*), that the first is for the vulgar believers and the second for the privileged (*khawāṣṣ*), *ishāra* and '*ibāra* refer to the *zāhir* and the *bā'in* of the Book: the vulgar believer stops at the external beauty of the text, while the privileged goes beyond it towards the interiority of the text, towards the allusion which the heart discovers (see P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique*, 167). The definition of *ishāra* given by Ibn 'Arabī should also be noted. Replying to Ḥakīm Tirmidhī's question: "What is revelation (*wahy*)?", he writes: "It is that in which is born the allusion which replaces the expression ('*ibāra*) without expression. In the '*ibāra*, one "passes" from it to the sense which it aims at; and this is why it is called '*ibāra*, passage, while the allusion which is revelation is the very essence of that which is alluded to" (*dhāt al-mushār ilayhi*; *Khāṭm al-awliyā*, ed. O. Yahya, 220). The *ishāra* is thus the language which effects the maximum reduction of the distance between the saying and what is said. This is why al-Shiblī could declare that the true allusion to God is God Himself, and this allusion eludes the mystic (see *Luma'*, 223).

*Bibliography*: In the article. (P. NWYIA)

**ISHBĪLIYA**, the name used by the Arabo-Muslim authors to denote Seville, the ancient Romano-Visigothic Hispalis, situated 97 km. from the coast on the Guadalquivir.

#### 1.—HISTORY

The Muslim geographers locate Ishbiliya at a distance of 60 miles from the sea, and describe it as a *madīna* and capital of the *kūra* which bore the same name or was sometimes known as Ḥims, from the Syrian *ḍiund* established there in 125/742-3. The boundaries of the *kūra* are fixed fairly precisely by al-'Udhri, who said that the dependencies (*aḥwāz*) of Ishbiliya were contiguous 30 miles to the west with the *kūra* of Niebla, 25 miles to the south and south-east with that of Shadhūna, 40 miles to the east with the territories of Córdoba, the capital of which was 90 miles away, and that they extended for 50 miles to the north as far as the *kūra* of Mérida. The richness of its lands was particularly noted by al-'Udhri, Ibn Ghālib, al-Idrīsī and al-Himyari, who call attention to the excellence and fertility of the soil, both for plantations and orchards and also for irrigated land

and pasturages. The name Aljarafe (al-Sharaf) applies to the natural region, both the district and the mountain (*iḥlīm* and *djabal al-Sharaf*), and it recurs constantly in descriptions of Iḥbīliya; bordering on the *iḥlīm* of Shadhūna, it extends in all for 40 miles, according to al-Idrīsī, starting about three miles to the north of Iḥbīliya and including the prosperous, densely inhabited territories situated between Iḥbīliya, Niebla and the sea. The economy of Iḥbīliya was based essentially on vast plantations of olive and fig trees, mainly in Aljarafe, and in particular on the production of oil of high quality, used throughout al-Andalus and also exported to the East. Of similar importance economically was the cultivation of cotton, here again of excellent quality, which was sent to other parts of al-Andalus and to Ifrīkiya. Safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*) was a product that was exported and also widely distributed within the country. Cereals, an abundance of fruit of varied kinds, herds of cattle and horses, game and fish of high quality, sugar cane, honey, medicinal plants and other vegetable produce, especially the *kirmiz* (*Quercus coccifera*), constituted other natural riches of the *kūra* of Iḥbīliya, which included 12 *iḥlīms* or agricultural districts; the names of these are enumerated by al-ʿUdhri and al-Bakrī, who record that the total figure of the *djībāya* at the time of the amir al-Ḥakam b. Hishām amounted to 35,100 *dinārs*.

In the spring of 94/713, after occupying Medina Sidonia, Alcalá de Guadaíra and Carmona, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [q.v.] annexed Iḥbīliya to the other possessions of Islam, entrusting it to the protection and supervision of the Jews and of an Arab detachment. Shortly afterwards, the populace rebelled and had to be put down with severity by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā, who established his residence there as *wālī*; the town was the seat of the Arabo-Muslim government of al-Andalus until the time when the *wālī* al-Ḥurr transferred it to Córdoba in 99/717-8. During the period preceding the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, Iḥbīliya witnessed a modification of its social structure as a result of Arabo-Berber ethnic and religious influence, particularly after the Syrian *djund* of Ḥimṣ had been installed there. The original Visigothic nobility was replaced by an Arab nobility or military caste, mainly Yemenī, which began to dominate the town and countryside and to exploit the indigenous population and the agricultural wealth of the province. In his *Djamhara*, Ibn Ḥazm has left a very clear eye-witness account of the Arab families established in Iḥbīliya and the region (Elias Terés, *Linajes árabes en al-Andalus*, in *al-And.*, xxii (1957), index, 376).

The history of Iḥbīliya under the amirate is characterized by constant rebellions. The chronicles, and above all the account of al-ʿUdhri, make particular reference to all those, whether Arab or *mawālī*, who revolted in the *kūra* of Iḥbīliya. Under the administration of governors nominated by Córdoba, Iḥbīliya had to endure revolts by members of the *djund* and of the "noble" families, which were repressed with severity by the amir's troops. One revolt, which broke out in 149/766 under the leadership of Saʿīd al-Yaḥṣubī al-Maṭarī in the Niebla district and then spread to Iḥbīliya, is noteworthy, as is also the rebellion of the former governor of the town, Abu ʿl-Ṣabbāḥ ibn Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, who had been disgraced. In 154/771 according to al-ʿUdhri, or in 156/773 according to Ibn ʿIdhārī and others, Ḥaywa or Ḥayāt b. Muḥlām al-Ḥaḍramī, aided by the Yemenites of Iḥbīliya and acting in concert or al-

most simultaneously with ʿAbd al-Ḡhaffār al-Ḥimṣī (who started his activities to the north-west of Iḥbīliya and in the neighbourhood of Córdoba), with other rebels overran the south-western districts of al-Andalus, claiming to enjoy complete autonomy in Iḥbīliya and the adjacent territories. It seems that, until the amirate of ʿAbd Allāh, no other serious subversive movement occurred in Iḥbīliya. After the revolts just referred to and those recorded by al-ʿUdhri, Iḥbīliya was to experience several decades of peaceful existence, disturbed only in 230/844 by the invasions of the Vikings (*Madjūs* [q.v.], concerning which new information is provided by the manuscript of the *Muḥtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān utilized by E. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 218-25), and also by al-ʿUdhri, whose statements have been collected by A. A. El-Hajji in his article *The Andalusian diplomatic relations with the Vikings during the Umayyad Period*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, viii (1967), 67-105. During the amirate of ʿAbd Allāh, from the start rebellion proved to be the keynote of the time, both in Iḥbīliya and throughout al-Andalus. Apart from the early rebellions at the time of the nomination of Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, as governor of Iḥbīliya, the disturbances which most gravely threatened the peace of this *kūra* were those provoked by the ambitions of two powerful Arab families, the Banū Ḥaḍḍijādī and the Banū Ḳhaldūn, who owned vast estates between Carmona and Iḥbīliya in and Aljarafe and who were the instigators of the conflict between Arabs and *muladíes*, which for several years brought bloodshed to the south-western territories of al-Andalus. From 276 to 301/889-913, the dynasty of the Banū Ḥaḍḍijādī set up a small independent state in Seville and Carmona, nominally subject to the amir of Córdoba. It is probable that complementary information on Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḍḍijādī is to be found in volume v of the *Muḥtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān, relating to ʿAbd al-Rahmān III (cf. on the contents of this vol. M. ʿA. ʿInān in *RIEI*, xiii (1965-6), 127-38).

Under the caliphate, Iḥbīliya, which had been conquered by ʿAbd al-Rahmān III in 301/913, enjoyed some years of peace and prosperity, broken only in 363/974 by the revolt of a group in which some members of the Banū Ḥaḍḍijādī were implicated and during its course the prison was attacked. Then, at the time of the *fitna*, the nomination of the son of al-Kāsim b. Ḥammūd, Muḥammad, as the personal delegate of the caliph to the government of Iḥbīliya, led the townsfolk, on hearing of the rising of the people of Córdoba against the Ḥammūdīd caliph, to revolt in their turn against Muḥammad and besiege him in the Alcázar.

But the period of greatest prosperity for Iḥbīliya, in the political, economic and cultural spheres alike, was that of the dynasty of the Banū ʿAbbād [see ʿABBĀDĪD] after the rising of the *ḥādī* Abu ʿl-Kāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād in the middle of Shaʿbān 414/early November 1023 (al-ʿUdhri gives some particulars regarding his activities which Lévi-Provençal was unable to utilize in his article on the ʿAbbadids). After the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād in *Djumādā* I 433/January or February 1042, his son ʿAbbād al-Muʿtaḍīd undertook a vigorous policy of expansion which resulted in the annexation of Niebla, Huelva-Saltés, Carmona, Arcos, Ronda and other adjacent territories and in the considerable enlargement of his kingdom. On the death of al-Muʿtaḍīd (461/1068-9), his son Muḥammad al-Muʿtamīd, in face of the mounting military and economic pressure exerted by King Alfonso VI of

Castile, with the onerous system of *parias*, decided to seek the aid and intervention of the Almoravid *amir* Yūsuf b. Tāshfin; the latter finally dispossessed al-Mu'tamid of his kingdom, as a result of the military action of Sir b. Abi Bakr, who captured Ishbiliya by storm on 20 or 22 Rabi'ab 484/7 or 9 September 1091, and remained there as governor until his death in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 507/April-May 1114. Under Almoravid rule for 55 years and four months, Ishbiliya became crowded with new inhabitants who wore the veil—a foreign element in the social context—and the town developed a special atmosphere which is vividly described by Ibn 'Abdūn in his treatise on *ḥisba*. Seville had fourteen governors, perhaps more, who were related to the Tāshfin family, one of whom, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Ḥādīdī, tried to halt the invading force which, in the time of Alfonso VII, sacked the whole Ishbiliya region and killed the Almoravid governor in Rabi'ab 526/May-June 1132. Ishbiliya was a place of assembly for troops arriving from the Maghrib and for Andalusian soldiers recruited by the *fuqahā* and '*ulamā*' of Córdoba and Seville, until the time when Barrāz b. Muḥammad al-Masūfī, acting in the name of 'Abd al-Mu'min, annexed the town to the Almohad empire (13 Sha'bān 541/18 January 1147). The Sevillans sent a delegation headed by the *ḳādī* Ibn al-'Arabī to express their gratitude to 'Abd al-Mu'min. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, who was governor of Ishbiliya from 551 to 558/1156-63, from the time when he became caliph and above all from 567/1171-2, made the town the second capital of his empire and the administrative centre of al-Andalus. He strengthened the city's fortifications and completed many other important undertakings; the population increased considerably, prosperity was enjoyed for several years, and the town took on a new appearance. However, Ishbiliya was destined to suffer various attacks, particularly in 553/1158, by forces from Avila under Ibn Mardānīsh [g.v.] and Ibn Hamuṣḥk. These were a source of anxiety for the Almohad governor of Ishbiliya for two or three years. In the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, the town was subjected to raids by Alfonso Enriques and the Infante Sancho of Portugal, and also by Alfonso VIII of Castile, which caused considerable damage in Aljarafe and in the Vega. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century there were serious floods, an endemic danger from which Ishbiliya suffered frequently, as a result of the Guadalquivir overflowing its banks (Djumādā II 597/February-March 1200), and a great number of houses was destroyed by the inundations. This catastrophe, the pressure from the Christians and the political crisis in the Almohad empire brought about the start of a decline from which Abū 'l-'Ulā' Idris, the son of Yūsuf I, succeeded in temporarily rescuing Ishbiliya in 617/1220-1. The last years of Muslim life in Ishbiliya are full of sad incidents, in particular the attack by forces from Léon in 622/1225, when heavy losses were inflicted on the Sevillans, the siege of the town by al-Bayyāsi, who held the castles of Tajada and Aznalcázar, and the rising of al-Ma'mūn, son of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. All these happenings coincided with the increasing military and economic pressure exerted by Ferdinand III, which compelled al-Ma'mūn to conclude honourable truces, and with the insurrection of Ibn Hūd against the Almohads. On 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥijidjā 626/31 October 1229 the people of Seville renounced their obedience to the Almohad empire and accepted the authority of Ibn Hūd. Ferdinand III harassed Ishbiliya increasingly and kept the town under siege for 17 months, from

Djumādā I 645/September 1247, according to the Almohad *Bayān*, until the moment when it fell into his hands on 1 Sha'bān 646/19 November 1248 or, more probably, according to the *Crónica general*, on 25 November 1248 (for all these events, see J. González, *Las conquistas de Fernando III en Andalucía, in Hispania*, xxv (1946), 98-121). The attempts made by the Marinid sultans to restore Ishbiliya to Islam failed, though their devastations in the region caused much damage, especially in 674/1275, the year of the siege of the town, and in 676/1278, when Aljarafe was pillaged. After this unhappy chapter, Seville remained in Christian hands, never again to be placed in danger or even threatened. It had been in the possession of the Muslims for 535 years.

*Bibliography*: for geography and history until al-Mu'taqid, see in particular 'Udhri, *Fragmentos geográfico-históricos de al-Masālik ilā dīami' al-mamālik* (ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965), 95-109; Bakrī, *The geography of al-Andalus and Europe from the book "al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik"*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Alī al-Ḥādīdī, Beirut 1387/1968, 107-13, 164, containing some interesting and partly new material; Zuhri, *K. al-Djā'rafiyya*, ed. M. Hadj Sadok, in *B.Ét.Or.*, xxi (1968), 219; Idrisī, *Maghrib*, 178 in text, 215 in trans.; Yāqūt, s.v.; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī *al-Rawḍ al-Mi'fār*. In addition to the vol. of Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḥtabis*, ed. M. M. Antuña, Paris 1937, see also the ed. by 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Alī al-Ḥādīdī, Beirut 1965, and the trans. by E. García Gómez, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Ḥakam II, por 'Isā Ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzi*, Madrid 1967, 208, 109; Ibn Idhārī, ii, 14, 15, 23 *passim* (trans. Fagnan, index) iii, index. For the Almoravid and Almohad periods, see the treatise on *ḥisba* of Ibn 'Abdūn published by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Séville au début du XII siècle: Le Traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn*, in *JA*, April-June 1934, 177-299, and tr., *Séville musulmane au début du XII siècle: Le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn*, Paris 1947. For political history, see Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, iv (ed. Iḥṣān 'Abbās, Beirut 1967, trans. A. Huici, as Ibn Idhari, *al-Bayan al-Mugrib. Nuevos fragmentos almorávidas y almohades*, Valencia 1963), index, v, *Bayān almohade* (ed. A. Huici, Muḥ. b. Tāwīt and Muḥ. Ibrāhīm al-Kittānī, Tetuan 1963, trans. A. Huici, vols. ii and iii of *Colección de Crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, Tetuan 1953 and 1954), index; partial translation, for 533/1139—568/1172-3, by A. Huici, *op. cit.* above, Valencia 1963; Ibn al-*Aṭhīr*, with trans. Fagnan, index; Marrākushī, *al-Mu'adḍib* (ed. Dozy, trans. Fagnan, trans. A. Huici, *Colección de Crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, vol. iv, Tetuan 1955), index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 99; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-ḥiṭās*; Ibn Ḳhaldūn-de Slane; Ibn al-Kaṭṭān, *Naṣm al-djumān* (ed. Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī, Tetuan, n.d.), index; Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāt, *al-Mann bi 'l-imāma* (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥādī al-Tāzī, Beirut 1383/1964), index; *al-Ḥulal al-mawṣhiyya* (ed. I. S. Allouche, Rabat 1936, trans. A. Huici Miranda, *Crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, i, Tetuan 1951), index. For the Almohad period, al-Bayḍhaḳ (ed. and trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Docs. inéd. d'hist. almohade*, Paris 1928) and Zarkashī (ed. Muḥammad Māqūr, Tunis 1966, trans. E. Fagnan, Constantine 1895), index, are of less interest, with only brief references to Seville. For historical and literary aspects, see *Mughrib* (ed. Shawaḳī Dayf, Cairo n.d.), index, and biographical dictionaries. In

addition to the *Hist. Mus. d'Esp.*, and to *Notices* and *Recherches*, all works of R. Dozy, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, index; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del Imperio almohade*, 2 vols., Tetuan 1956-7, index; F. García Gómez, *Un eclipse de la poesía en Sevilla. La época almorávide*, in *al-And.*, x (1945), 285-343, and literary sources listed in app. II, 342-3; idem, *Nuevos testimonios sobre "el odio a Sevilla" de los poetas musulmanes*, in *al-And.*, xiv (1949), 143-8. Notices on Seville, and its baths, houses and palaces, in L. Torres Balbás, *Notas sobre Sevilla en la época musulmana*, in *al-And.*, x (1945), 177-96. Some economic and social questions are discussed in J. Ma. Lacarra, *Aspectos económicos de la sumisión de los reinos de taifas (1010-1102)*, in *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, i, Barcelona 1965, 255-77; G. Vajda, *A propos de la situation des Juifs et des Chrétiens à Séville au début du XII siècle*, in *REJ*, xcix (1935), 127-9.

(J. BOSCH VILÁ)

## 2.—HISTORIC BUILDINGS

From its long Muslim history, Seville has retained only a few historic buildings; nevertheless, it was one of the great art cities of al-Andalus. But the prosperity it has enjoyed during the modern period when, from the 16th century, it came to be the great port and commercial centre safeguarding the links between Spain and her empire in the New World, has endowed Seville with new buildings which have replaced those which adorned the city at the time of the Christian reconquest.

1). Fortifications.—a) *The town wall.* For Seville, situated in a plain on the banks of a large navigable river, a fortified enceinte was indispensable. The Arabic texts refer to this at a very early date: after the Norman invasion of 230/844, the wall had to be repaired, at the command of 'Abd al-Rahmān II who appointed one of his Syrian *mawālī*, 'Abd Allāh b. Sinān, to direct the works. On several occasions the waters of the Guadalquivir damaged the south face of this wall, at the edge of the river. Moreover, after the deposition of 'Abd Allāh, the Zirid amir of Granada, al-Mu'tamid had the ramparts strengthened, in view of the imminence of an Almoravid attack.

But this enceinte seems to have been repaired or completely reconstructed under the second Almoravid sultan 'Alī b. Yūsuf. The geographer al-Idrīsī, who was writing between 541 and 548/1147-54 and who had seen Andalusia before the Almohad conquest, said that the town wall of Seville was very strong. It survived the Christian reconquest. After having surrounded the town for seven centuries, it was demolished between 1861 and 1869. It measured six kilometres in circumference and was flanked by 116 towers. One small section of the wall still survives, between Córdoba and the Macarena gates. The lofty curtain wall of solid concrete is constructed in courses 83 cm. high. Seven towers have been preserved, one of which is polygonal, the Torre Blanca, the other six being rectangular. All of them are decorated on their outer faces with bands of brickwork in relief. An outer wall stands 35 m. outside the main ramparts. The gates, in themselves strong and massive constructions, contained angled passages. When built, this Almoravid enceinte represented the latest development of Muslim fortifications in Spain, and it retained its efficacy throughout the Middle Ages. In 647/1239, after a siege, the town surrendered to the king of Castile; it was not taken by storm.

Under the Almohad Abū Ya'qūb, the wall along the bank of the river must have been repaired again.

In 617/1220-1, the governor of the town, the Almohad Abu 'l-'Ulā', built an angled defensive outwork, a *coracha*, which extended from the Alcázar to the river and ended in a strong twelve-sided bastion, the Golden Tower. The two lower storeys of this tower have been preserved, but the upper lantern has been rebuilt. The walls are constructed of rough stone and concrete. Like all the great Almohad bastions, the Golden Tower contains vaulted rooms, in this instance roofed with groined arches, alternately triangular and rectangular in plan and occupying three storeys. The arched windows which give light to these rooms are ornamented on the outer side with blind arcades bordered with ceramics.

The Golden Tower greatly strengthened the defence of the Guadalquivir bank. Between this and another bastion built on the left bank, it was possible to fasten a chain, to bar the river.

b). *The Alcázar.* Like all large towns in al-Andalus, Seville had its citadel, the Alcázar, the residence of the sovereign or governor. Its rectangular towers, ornamented with a double band in relief at the top, led to the belief that this fortification was the work of the Almohads. But recent restoration work of the west face has revealed that, beneath their outer covering, the curtain wall and towers were built of cut stone, following the characteristic technique of the 3rd/9th century. In its oldest form, the Alcázar thus dates back to the construction works ordered by 'Abd al-Rahmān II. In the 4th/10th century, an alteration was made with a gate in this rampart, with a handsome facade of cut stone. The Almohads must have contented themselves with restoring the whole structure and repairing the upper part of the towers.

2). *Palaces.*—Of the Muslim palaces contained in the Alcázar, and particularly the one adorned by the 'Abbāsid, nothing remains from before the 6th/12th century. From the Almohads' buildings there only survive one section of the arches and interlaced lattice-work panels which surrounded the Patio de Yeso, and a ribbed vault in the Patio de Banderas. All the rest of the Alcázar was rebuilt and altered in the Christian period: today, as a whole, it represents a great monument of mudéjar art. However, in the Hall of the Ambassadors, the triple semicircular horseshoe-shaped archway, under a large arch of the same form, may represent an architectural arrangement dating from the caliphal period.

3). *Mosques.*—a). *The first chief mosque.* Although all that survives is a section of the minaret, which now forms the base of the clock-tower in the old collegiate church of S. Salvador, we are fairly well informed regarding the first chief mosque in Seville. The foundation inscription which was carved on a pillar has been discovered; the mosque was built in 244/829 under the direction of the *ḫāḏī* of the town, Ibn 'Adabbās. With a width of 48.5 metres, it contained eleven aisles, at right angles to the wall of the *ḫibla*. Arches of brick-work rested on stone pillars. In 471/1079, the upper part of the minaret was repaired by al-Mu'tamid.

Despite its handsome size, the mosque has become too small. In another quarter of the town, near the Alcázar, the second Almohad caliph, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, had a new sanctuary built. Nevertheless, in 592/1195 his son Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ordered the restoration of the former chief mosque which, at the reconquest, was transferred into a church. In 797/1395, an earthquake undermined the top of the tower. Shortly afterwards, a bell-tower of cut stone



was erected, and this still forms the second section of the present bell-tower. The mosque underwent various alterations and was demolished in 1671.

The base of the minaret—the oldest Muslim building in Spain, after the mosque of 'Abd al-Rahmān I at Córdoba—measures 5.8 m. in width. It is built of rough stone, of large size. In the interior, a spiral staircase mounts round a cylindrical central shaft. This arrangement, unknown in the Muslim East, occurs again in two ancient minarets in Córdoba. This peculiarly Andalusian feature is perhaps of Roman origin.

b). *The Almohad chief mosque.* The Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb wished to endow his favourite town with an immense and beautiful chief mosque. The oratory and the *ṣahn* would appear to have been built during this sovereign's long visit to Andalusia, from 566 to 571/1171-6. It was a large building, measuring approximately 150 m. by 100 m. The prayer court had 17 aisles, in the shape of a T, and probably there were 5 domes in the bay along the wall of the *ḥibla*. In length, there were 14 bays. In its plan, it conformed with the earliest Almohad mosques, though the dimensions were increased.

The *ṣahn*, which extended for a distance of eight bays, has been preserved in part. It was surrounded by lofty arcades of brick-work. Rectangular buttresses occurred at intervals along the outside walls, their summits crowned with toothed merlons, as in the great mosque of Córdoba. Two of the doorways of this *ṣahn* have survived, the Puerta del Perdón, in the main axis of the building, and the Puerta de Oriente, on one side of the courtyard.

Although nothing now survives from one of the most immense prayer courts built by the Muslim West, the minaret of this Almohad chief mosque, now known as the Giralda, still dominates the town. This minaret was started in 551/1156 by the overseer Aḥmad b. Baṣo, who built the foundations and the base of the tower with cut stone which had been used before. The death of the caliph for a time suspended work, which was resumed on the orders of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr by the architect 'Alī of Gomara. The *ḍi'āmūr*, the work of Abū Layth al-Sikillī, was erected in 589/1198.

This great Almohad minaret, second only to the Kutūbiyya of Marrākūsh, measures 16.1 m. in width, while the height of the tower is 50.85 m. It was built of brick; around a central block, occupied by seven rooms placed one above the other, a ramp—not a staircase—mounted at a gentle angle, giving access to the upper part of the tower. The lantern was remodelled and surrounded by a gallery for the bells, between 1520 and 1568. Each of the faces of the tower is divided vertically into three sections. In the centre, panels of blind arcades with floral spandrels frame the twin apertures which give light to the ramp. On each side, the wall, which is left plain at its base, is decorated for two storeys with a mesh design in brick-work. All this ornamentation is of great richness and rare subtlety of design.

Reminders of Marrākūsh, more distant echoes of Córdoba, the natural richness and the light colour of Seville—these were the features that were noted in the Almohad chief mosque. Today, the minaret still bears witness to Seville as a great centre of art, second only to Córdoba.

4). Mudéjar art in Seville. Further testimony, indirect but convincing, is provided by mudéjar art in Seville. The churches erected in the town until the end of the 15th century largely employed Muslim forms and techniques. They were almost always built

of brick; the doorways are in the form of large projecting blocks, often decorated with Muslim motifs, and the naves are roofed with *artesenados*. In design and form, their bell-towers are so close to minarets that it has sometimes been thought that they dated back to the Muslim period. Their panels of blind arcades and their floral decoration reproduce, in a simpler style, the motifs of the Giralda.

The palaces of the Alcazar are almost mudéjar: but with the local traditions is also mingled the influence of the art of Granada. It is in the mudéjar churches and in the Giralda that the richness of the tradition of Seville is best appreciated.

*Bibliography:* H. Terrasse, *L'art hispano mauresque des origines au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1932; L. Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade, arte nazari, arte mudéjar*, in *Ars Hispaniae*, iv, Madrid 1949; idem, *La primitiva mezquita de Sevilla, in al-And.*, 1946, 425-39; idem, *El arte de al-Andalus bajo los Almorávides, in al-And.*, 1952, 403-23; H. Terrasse, *La grande mosquée almohade de Séville, in Mémorial Henri Basset*, 1928, 249-66; L. Torres Balbás, *Reproducciones de la Giralda anteriores a su reforma en el siglo XVI, in al-And.*, 1941, 216-29; idem, *La Torre del Oro en Sevilla, in al-And.*, 1934, 272-3.

(H. TERRASSE)

**ISHIK-ĀKĀSI**, Ṣafawid administrative term = "usher". The *ishik-ākāsīs* were minor court officials who operated in two different branches of the administrative system, namely, the *diwān* [q.v.] and the *ḥaram* [q.v.]. The officers in charge of the two sections were known as *ishik-ākāsi-bāshī-yi diwān-i a'lā*, and *ishik-ākāsi-bāshī-yi ḥaram* respectively. Both officers had categories of officials other than *ishik-ākāsīs* under their command. There was a great difference between the status and power of these two officers:

(1) *ishik-ākāsi-bāshī-yi diwān-i a'lā*. This officer, called by Kaempfer *supremus aulae Mareschallus*, is not listed among the officers of the early Ṣafawid state. The office is first recorded (985/1577-8) during the reign of Isma'īl II (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 163), and from then on is mentioned frequently in the sources. The holder of this office was usually a *qizilbāsh amir*. During the time of 'Abbās I (996/1588—1038/1629), when the composition of the central administration was changed, the *ishik-ākāsi-bāshī-yi diwān-i a'lā* was elevated to be one of the six principal officers of state, and consequently became a member of the supreme council of amirs (*diwān*; *ḍjānki*). Under 'Abbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), he was a powerful official indeed, and, although his position declined thereafter and his duties became largely ceremonial, he is still listed by the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (p. 47), written ca. 1138/1726, among the high-ranking (*'āli-ḍjāh*) amirs.

(2) *ishik-ākāsi-bāshī-yi ḥaram*. An officer of lesser rank, who was in charge of that category of officials known as *muḥarrab al-ḥaḍrat*, that is to say, those officials whose duties lay at the entrance to, or outside the *ḥaram*.

*Bibliography:* *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943, index, s.v., and *passim*. (R. M. SAVORY)

'**ISHK** (A.), love—passion. Although non-ḳur'ānic, this word attained a considerable importance in Arabic literature in the broad sense. In analysing it, we come to recognize the conditions in which Arabic-Islamic sensibility and thought evolved. As al-Daylamī says (*'Aḥf*, §§ 5, 87 ff.), all kinds of minds have their opinions (*maḥālāt*) on love (*maḥab-*

ba) and on ‘*ishk*, which is its most dynamic form. Desert Arabs, men of letters, great intellectuals (*al-fuḍalā*), theologians, sages, mystics, etc., have all made statements on the causes, the manifestations, the degrees and the aims of love. One of the earliest attempts to define ‘*ishk* is the *Risāla fi ‘l-‘ishk* of al-Djāhiz (I *Risāla*, 161-9; *Rasā’il*, ed. Sandūbi, 266-75), and the question so preoccupied men’s minds that a discussion on this theme had already been held in the presence of Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī; thirteen representatives of various religious tendencies, one of them a *mōbadh*, took part, according to al-Mas‘ūdī, who produces their definitions in the *Murūdj* (vi, 368-86), giving in addition quotations from Galen, Hippocrates and others; al-Daylamī repeats some of them.

In its most general acceptation, ‘*ishk* describes the irresistible desire (*shawḥ*, *tashawwuk*) to obtain possession of a loved object or being (*ma-‘shūk*). It betrays, therefore, in one who experiences it (the ‘*ashūk*), a deficiency, a want, which he must supply at any cost in order to reach perfection (*hamāl*). That is why it admits of hierarchical degrees (*marātib*), like the perfections aspired to by the soul and the body. Its apparently multiple motivations, however, all come down to one ideality, or consistency of meaning (*ma-‘nā*), which haunts all beings more or less insistently and clearly: it is the aspiration (*tawakkān*) towards the Beauty (*al-husn*) which God manifested in the world when He created Adam in His own likeness (‘*Aḥf*, §§ 18, 24). Because of this, the eyes and the ears are the noble organs, since they perceive the supports of the beautiful (*al-ḥasan*): a face, a head of hair, a heavenly landscape, melodious sounds, etc. If one adds, as the Greeks taught, that Beauty, Good (*ḥayr*) and Truth (*al-ḥakk*) go back to one indissoluble Unity (*wahda*), all of the complexity of the convergences, interferences, and contaminations arising in the concept of ‘*ishk* will be perceived. In the classical authors, from al-Daylamī to Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, three main lines of development may be discerned. In ascending order, they are: 1) natural love (*maḥabba ṭabi‘iyya*), 2) intellectual (‘*akhiyya*) love, and 3) divine (*ilāhiyya*) love.

All natural beings (*mawdjiūdāt*) are moved by the desire to raise themselves to the degree of existence immediately above them. This dynamism, which runs through the whole of the universe, is the universal ‘*ishk* (Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb*, 64 ff.). Between human beings, affection (*mawadda*) grows into passion-love (‘*ishk*), the most searching and realistic analysis of which is the *Ṭawḥ al-ḥamāma* of Ibn Ḥazm [q.v.]. It gives rise to psycho-physiological states, which are described with the aid of clichés used especially in poetry (cf. *ṣabāba*, ‘*alāḥa*, *kalaf*, *shaghaf*, *sha‘af*, *talayyum*, *tatabbū*, *walāḥ*, *gharām*, *huyām*, *walāḥ*, *tadalluh*, . . .). Purified of all carnal demands, this passion is sublimated into an attitude of adoration which provokes a mental imbalance (*ikhhlilāt*). It is a state of spiritual servitude to an idealised female figure, upon which the “courtly” sentiments of a soul in ebullition (*ghalayān*) crystallize. The literary formalization of these sentiments in ‘Irāqī circles in the 2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries went so far that it is difficult to determine the differing roles, in their development, of social custom, an oppressive ethical system, and the basic impulse towards the beautiful.

With the *falāsifa*, ‘*ishk* became intellectualised. It became the spontaneous, lucid, and methodical stretching out towards supreme happiness (*al-sa‘āda al-ḥuṣwā*), which, for the intellect freed from the illusions of knowledge transmitted through the

senses, takes on the meaning of the pure good (*al-ḥayr al-mahd*). The more the wise man advances in his passionate quest for the one True One (*al-wāhid al-ḥakk*), the more he feels growing within him the ineffable joy (*ibtihādī*), the absolute pleasure (*al-ladhḥa al-muṣṭakā*), which are secured through the contemplation (*mushāhada*) of the perfection and beauty of the necessary Being (*wādīb al-wudjūd*).

With the Sūfīs the amorous ardour of ‘*ishk*, in spite of some resistance, becomes a part of the life of faith as a natural development of the measured affection (*maḥabba*) mentioned in the Kur’ān (III, 31, XX, 39, etc.). The substitution of ‘*ishk* for *maḥabba* to describe the “essential Desire” for God and the love of God as an essential attribute, which fills the heart of the mystic, seems to have been due to al-Ḥallājī (al-Daylamī, ‘*Aḥf*, §§ 163-5). Love is no longer merely an expression of gratitude for the blessings of God; it is no longer content with rigorous asceticism and meticulous ritual observance. It becomes an absolute necessity, entailing neither enjoyment nor alleviation, but intensifying as the reciprocity of perspectives between the lover and the Loved comes into effect. This evolution of the pair ‘*ishk/maḥabba* is not without echoes of that *erōs/agapē*, but in Islam the relationship between the two ideas is complicated by the concurrent development of the “courtly” and mystical tendencies. When contact with Greek texts came to an end, there was a return to a legalistic conception of love in the works of, for example, al-Ghazālī or Ibn Taymiyya, or to the exaltation of a perfect and pure Idea in, for example, al-Suhrawardī or even Ibn ‘Arabī. Whatever the differences of opinion about its content, ‘*ishk* is one of the characteristics of mediaeval self awareness, obsessed with the quest for the eternal, the transcendent and the sacred.

*Bibliography*: Washshā’, *Muwashshā*, 59 ff.; Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Zahra*, ed. Nykl; Daylamī, *Kitāb ‘Aḥf al-alif al-ma’lūf ‘ala ‘l-lām al-ma’tūf*, ed. J. C. Vadet, Cairo 1962; Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-akhhlāk*, ed. C. Zurayk, Beirut 1967. Fr. tr. M. Arkoun, *Traité d’éthique*, Damascus 1969; Ibn Sinā, *Risāla fi ‘l-‘Ishk*, ed. Mehren in *Traité mystiques*, fasc. 3, Leiden 1894; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ṣayd al-Khāṭir*, 105-7; Ibn al-Kayyim al-Djawiyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbin*, ed. Ahmad ‘Ubayd; Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rawḍat al-ta’rīf bi ‘l-ḥubb al-sharif*, ed. Ahmad ‘Atā’, Cairo 1968; L. Massignon, *Interférences philosophiques et perçes métaphysiques dans la mystique hallagienne: notion de l’“essentiel Désir”*, in *Opera minora*, ii, 226-53; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955; J. C. Vadet, *L’esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l’Hégire*, Paris 1968.

(M. ARKOUN)

**ISHKĀSHIM** [see BADAQHSHĀN].

**ISHKODRA** [see Supplement].

**ISHRĀK**, the name given to illuminative Wisdom, advocated by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) who himself indicated its sources (cf. table). By “sources” should be understood not so much the historical origins of his ideas as the springing forth of a Wisdom which, in the field of mysticism, has inspired lines of initiates comparable with the initiatory *isnāds* of the Sūfīs, though without the explicit granting of any “delegation” by the Masters to the disciples. However that may be, one can discern Western, Greek elements, as well as Eastern elements deriving from the traditions of classical Persia and ancient Egypt. As a result of this observation, H. Corbin has been able to resolve a

problem: we know that Ibn Sinā had conceived the project of an "Eastern" philosophy, a very incomplete testimony to which has survived in his book on the "Logic of the Easterners" (*Manṭiḳ al-Mashrikiyyin*), and that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī had written the *Mabāhith al-Mashrikiyya*. Some read this as *mushrik* and thought that it was concerned with an illuminative philosophy. Nallino has criticised this reading and shown that it was necessary to make a distinction between a Western philosophy and an Eastern philosophy. Neoplatonism was already charged with Eastern ideas, in contrast with pure Aristotelianism which was far more attached to rationalism. H. Corbin admits this criticism, but gives it a quite different interpretation. If this philosophy is "Eastern", this is so not merely because it is that of the peoples of the East, but primarily because it regards Being and Knowledge as irradiations of the Pure Light which rises in the East. "One may say that it is a question of a Knowledge which is Eastern because it is to the East of thought". There is thus a close link between illumination (*ishrāk*) and Eastern Wisdom (*Hikma mashrikiyya*). Here is a clear indication of the value of *ishrāk*: it is not reduced to the general notion of illumination which confers upon the spirit a Truth inaccessible to the abstract concepts of reason; it is, more fundamentally, a delight in the source of all light, whence proceed all beings and all authentic knowledge.

It is through Plato that one can best approach this philosophy which, by its nature, eludes any didactical exposition. In the *Republic*, the Good is presented under the symbol of the Sun, without which nothing which is would exist. This source of all being and all thought is ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας beyond the essence, beyond the Ideas themselves. To it, man should turn σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ with his entire soul. It seems that the Wisdom of *ishrāk* is a meditation upon these two propositions. Being, in the sense of existence, is there presented in effect as the source of all reality. If it is not conceptualisable, and if it is not reduced to a purely equivocal denomination, as Aristotle saw clearly, it does not thereby follow that the solution necessarily lies in an analogical theory which would make substance the first analogue of being. To recognise that rational expressions cannot encircle existence, that one cannot define it as a concept, is not to imply that it can be grasped only when it is engaged in relations with the different categories of beings (in an analogy of proportionality), and that it is devoid of a for-self and an in-self. This is to recognise that there is a knowledge superior to reason, set apart from all the activities of definition and reasoning. It is here that the symbol of light comes into the question. On the physical plane, what is more universally present than light? But what is more indefinable, since in light all is clarity, and effulgence, without any shadow to trace recognisable contours upon it? Thus one is led to think of existence as a spiritual light, the Light of Light from which, by irradiation, emanate the *Anwār kāhira*, the "victorious" or "archangelical" lights. This rendering is by H. Corbin, who writes: "By this epiphany, the whole hierarchy of the *Anwār kāhira*, from degree to degree, illumines the presence of each lower degree". Authentic Knowledge too renders its object present while illuminating it, after being itself revealed, when every material veil has fallen away, as a Light-being. There is here an "illumination of presence" (*ishrāk hudūri*) which makes a clear distinction between knowledge by representation of the object (*'ilm sūri*) and unitive knowledge (*illīshālī*) of

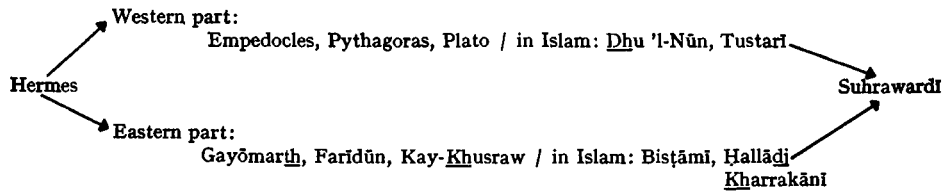
intuitive experiences vision (*shuhūdi*), that is to say *'ilm hudūri*. In this connection, one thinks of the part played by *Existenzzerhellung* in the philosophy of Karl Jaspers, and of the very current ideal of knowledge through engagement experienced not merely by dry reason alone, but by "the entire soul". It is the Spirit (*rūh*), the Angel Gabriel, which illumines while dissipating the insoluble antinomies of reason which Suhrawardī, in his *Hikmat al-ishrāk*, is pleased to develop while criticising the Peripatetics, in a condensed style which recalls the opening of the *Parmenid*. Thus rational knowledge is not a preparation for illuminative knowledge, although negatively it can convey through teaching that the insoluble difficulties which it contains within itself melt away in *ishrāk*: the problems raised by conceptual thought remain ceaselessly and indefinitely (*tasalsul*) without ever finding a solution, or fall hopelessly into a vicious circle (*dawr*). But man cannot by himself emerge from this inextricable situation: he must have a revelation, a call, for "the Spirit proceeds from the Command of my Lord" (*Kur'ān*, XVII, 85).

Such seems to be the fundamental intuition of *ishrāk*. An exposition of the details of this Wisdom would be tantamount to an exposition of the details of Suhrawardī's thinking. The play of Light and shadow, the conception of *barzakh* (screen, separation, which is utter darkness), the modes of procedure, the production of the world, all these together form a whole which can be expounded, as by Suhrawardī himself, in the terminology of the Plotinian or Avicennian philosophy of emanation, Intellects and spheres. But in that there is merely a barren, discursive expression which remains divorced from Reality and which only becomes valid if it is gathered up into a higher unitive vision which makes it "cohere", when the *'akl* is assumed by the Spirit, in which it receives the *sakīna*, "the placing in the direct presence on the threshold of the transcendental Being" (H. Corbin).

(R. ARNALDEZ)

**ISHRĀKIYYŪN**, adepts of illuminative Wisdom. The question arises whether this term can be applied to the representatives of the spiritual family to which Suhrawardī belonged, who preceded him in time. If that were so, the "Hermetists", the "Sethists" who, from the 4th century in Egypt, saw in Seth (*Shīth*) the first *uriya* (from the Hebrew *ur* = light), the sages of Persia, disciples of Zarathustra, and the Manichaeans would already be *ishrākīyyūn*. H. Corbin has recorded a text of Ibn Wahshiyya, relating to Hermes-Thoth of ancient Egypt, in which the word figures. The discovery is interesting, but it must be seen in the context of the author's preoccupation with alchemy. Here is a summary of the whole of this text:—the successors of Hermes form four groups; the first two, direct descendants of Hermes and his brother, have not mixed with any strangers and have preserved the pure secret doctrine so well that no one apart from themselves knows it. The third is that of the sons of the sister of Hermes; they have had contacts with strangers, and certain men are familiar with their *istilāhāt* and can interpret their symbols (*wa-fakka rumūzahum*). Finally, the fourth group is composed of strangers who have mingled with the Harāmisa. To these last two groups, Ibn Wahshiyya gives respectively the names *ishrākīyyūn* (and *ishrākīyya*) and *masha'iyya* (Peripatetics). These are the only ones to have come down to us. It seems that all that can be deduced from this text is that, in alchemical circles in the 4th/10th century, emphasis was placed upon a hermetic

TABLE



tradition whose holders, while not claiming to have a perfect knowledge of the Great Work, had received some illumination which had placed their works above those of the Peripatetics, "worshippers of the astral forms", says the text. It therefore seems doubtful if Suhrawardī can be placed among the *ishrākiyyūn* of Ibn Wahshiyya. Moreover, the *falāsifa* for their part had spoken of the irradiation of light and illumination. But in its technical sense, the term *ishrāki* can be applied with exactness only to the Master of *ishrāk* and his spiritual posterity. However numerous the sources upon which he has drawn materially, his conception of *ishrāk* is so personal that it seems it was first illustrated in him by the fact that he received it directly from that being of light which, for each man, constitutes his "Perfect Nature".

In addition, some thinkers may have undergone Suhrawardian influences, although one cannot properly speaking rank them as *ishrākiyyūn*. Thus, in Ibn 'Arabī, illumination seems to be reduced, as in Plotinus, to the symbol of the mode of procession of the beings forming the *ḥāḥk*, while the theory itself of Being is markedly dialectical. Tūsi was able to take inspiration from Suhrawardī to interpret Ibn Sīnā, though without thereby being *ishrāki*. To sum up, H. Corbin writes very justly: "It remains to discover the influence which the theories of *ishrāk* exerted for example on Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsi, Ibn 'Arabī and the Iranian *Shī'ī* commentators on the last-named writer".

On the other hand, the term *ishrākiyyūn* will be applied without hesitation to all Suhrawardī's Iranian followers, whose numbers were very great until the 18th century and who still exist in Iran today. Two great names are outstanding, Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1243) who, in his History of the Philosophers, gave the biography of his Master, commented on two of his treatises and wrote a personal work, and Mollā Sadrā Shīrāzī (d. 1840) who stated: "I have followed the doctrine of *ishrāk* of Suhrawardī, until God made me see its foundations clearly". It will be understood from these words that his fidelity to the *shaykh* did not prevent him from writing a most original work.

*Bibliography:* Carra de Vaux, *La philosophie illuminative d'après Suhrawardī Maqṭul*, in *J.A.*, xix (1902); M. Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, London 1916; C. A. Nallino, *Filosofia "orientale" od "illuminativa" d'Avicenna*, in *RSO*, x/4 (1925); M. Horten, *Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardī*, Halle 1912; idem, *Das philosophische System von Schīrāzī*, Strasbourg 1913; H. Corbin, *Le bruissement de l'aile de Gabriel*, in *J.A.* 1935; idem, *Les motifs zoroastriens dans la philosophie de Suhrawardī*, Tehran 1946; idem, Ed. of *Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques de Shīhabaddīn Yahya Sohrawardī*, I, *Bibl. Iran.* 2, Tehran-Paris 1952; II, *Bibl. Iran.* 17, Tehran-Paris 1970; idem, Ed. of *Kūāb al-*

*Mashā'ir* (*Le Livre des Pénétrations métaphysiques*) of Mollā Sadrā Shīrāzī, *Bibl. Iran.* 10, Tehran-Paris 1964; idem, *Histoire de la Philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964; Ibn Wahshiyya, *Ancient alphabet and hieroglyphic characters*, ed. J. Hammer, London 1806, 90-101. (R. ARNALDEZ)

**ISHTIB** (ŠTIP), a town situated to the south-east of Skopje, in Macedonia, Yugoslavia. In antiquity, it was an important town in Paonia, on the Roman road from Serdica to the Danube, known as Astibo; by the Byzantines it was called Stipion, by the southern Slavs Štip and by the Turks *Ištip*. In the 14th century it was a fortress and district in the principality of Constantine Dejanovitch (Dragaš), in northern Macedonia (between the Vardar and the Strouma). After the battle of Čirmen (1371), the principality became tributary to the Ottomans. On the death of Constantine in 1394, at the side of the Turks at the battle of Rovine, the principality became a sandjak (Kostand-ili = Küstendil). In the 9th/15th century it was the centre of a *vilāyet*, in the 10th/16th the centre of a *kaḥā*, attached to the *khāṣṣ* of the sanjakbey and administered by his voivoda. In Štip and its environs, Turkish colonization was not very extensive. Some *yürüks* of the "ovče pole" group were established there—81 *odjaks* in the *kaḥā* of Štip in 1566. The population was principally Christian. In 1489-91 the non-Muslim families in the *kaḥā* of Štip and Novkerič numbered 8,434. In the 11th/17th century there were 24 Muslim *mahalles* in the town. Traces of islamization were insignificant.

A centre of commerce and craft-work, the town was famous for the manufacture of penknives and knives. Sheep-rearing was highly developed in the region, while in the town artisans devoted themselves to the preparation of the wool and to dairy and meat products. In the market there were local traders, as well as Jewish merchants and others from Dubrovnik. According to Evlyā Čelebi, there were 450 shops in the *čarshī*. The town's trading and craftwork activity was also served by a *bezestān*, caravanserai and seven inns (*khāns*).

The town had acquired a Muslim appearance owing to the public buildings—the numerous mosques, among them that of Sultan Murād (Fethīyye), the former Christian church of the Archangel Michael, transformed into a mosque, as was the case with the church of St. Elias; two public baths, and, in the 11th/17th century, a palace belonging to a local Turkish dignitary. There were also some Christian churches; Štip formed part of the diocese of the bishopric of Kolassia. In the 19th century the town was attached to the Bulgarian eparchy of Küstendil.

During the war of 1683-99, Austrian troops reached Štip. In the 19th century, Amy Boué found Štip to be a flourishing centre of commerce and craft-work, with 15-20,000 Turks and Bulgarians and a Jewish community. In about 1894 the population of Štip included 10,900 Bulgarians, 8,700 Turks, 800 Jews and 500 gypsies—in all, 20,900.

*Bibliography*: Neshri, *Kitāb-i Cihan-nümā*, ed. Unat and Köymen, ii, Ankara 1949, 267; M. T. Gokbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlād-i Fâtihân*. Istanbul 1957, 81, 266, 329; idem, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası* . . . , Istanbul 1952, 156; idem, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti* . . . in *Bellekten*, xx, 28 (1956), 256; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosnia*, Vienna 1812, 92; Evliyâ Çelebi, vi, 1318, 118-23; Gl. Elezović, *Is carigradskih turskih arhiva*, Belgrade 1950, ii, 67, 1255; I. Ivanov, *Severna Makedonija*, Sofia 1906; A. Boué, *Recueil d'itinéraires*, i, 248; V. Kānfov, *Makedonija, etnografija i statistika*, Sofia 1900, 230; D. Šopova, *Is carigradskih turskih arhiva*, Skopje 1955, i, 25, 43, 55, 56; P. Zavojev, *Grad Štip*, Sofia 1943. Several Ottoman documents in the *Bibl. Nat.*, Sofia, Fonds 137. (BISTRA CVETKOVA)

**ISHTIKĀK**, a technical term in Arabic grammar, translated approximately as "etymology"; *shakka 'l-shay* "he split the thing", *ishtakka 'l-shay* "he took the *shikk*, half of the [split] thing" (Lane, *Lex.*, 1577a): *ishtikāk*, inf. of *ishtakka*, in the technical sense of etymology, derives from the first sense, a word being thought of, so to speak, as split open so that the *mushlak*, the derivative that it contains, may be extracted. *Ishtikāk* in its general sense, in fact, signifies: *nax' lafz min ākhar*, "taking one word from another", under certain defined conditions (al-Djurdjāni, *Ta'rifāt*, 17).

Many ancient authors wrote special studies of *ishtikāk*; al-Suyūfī (*Muzhir*<sup>3</sup>, i, 351, l. 4-6) lists twelve: al-Mufaddāl al-Ḍabbī (d. 170/786), Ḳuṭrub (d. 206/821), al-Aṣma'ī (d. 216/831), al-Akhfash (d. 215/830), Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī (d. 231/846), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), al-Zadīdjādī (d. 310/922), Ibn al-Sarrādī (d. 316/929), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), Ibn al-Nahhās (d. 338/949), Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980), al-Rummānī (d. 384/994). Since all these studies are lost, except that of Ibn Durayd (but which only contains examples of *ishtikāk*), we are obliged to have recourse to the data that are given in passing in various works: a chapter of the *Muzhir*<sup>3</sup> of al-Suyūfī (i, 345-54), quoting Ibn Dihya (d. 633/1236); the preamble of Ibn Djinnī to *al-Munṣif sharḥ Kitāb al-Taṣrif li'l-Māzinī* (i, 3-4), the *Khātima* of the editors (Cairo 1373/1954, iii, 278-9); also the definitions of al-Djurdjāni (*Ta'rifāt*, 17) and the account in the *Dict. of Technical Terms* (i, 766-70).

*Ishtikāk*: "etymology"; it must, however, be understood how the Arab grammarians practised this etymology. According to Ibn Djinnī, *taṣrif* occupies a position intermediate between *luḡha* and *naḥw* (*yataḍjādhābānīh*, "they tear it between them"). There is considerable affinity (*nasab ḥarīb*) and connexion (*ittiṣāl shadīd*) between *ishtikāk* and *taṣrif*, but *ishtikāk* has more to do with *luḡha* (*ak'ad fi 'l-luḡha min al-taṣrif*, *Munṣif*, i, 3, line 17-4, line 10). *Luḡha* is concerned with vocabulary itself; *naḥw* deals with *irāb*: it studies the variations of the *ḥarakāt* at the end of the words of the *luḡha* and the morphological formations of the *taṣrif* (as inacc. of the verb), in terms of the different *awāmil* (things governing) [see 1'RĀB]. *Taṣrif* analyses the great number of forms (called *wazn*, pl. *awzān*, or *binā*<sup>2</sup>, pl. *abniya*, or *ṣiḡha*, pl. *ṣiyagh*) found in the words of the *luḡha* and in the morphological formations mentioned above. *Ishtikāk* deals with the same material as *taṣrif*, but considers it from the point of view of its origin: *uḫhīdha min* . . . "it is taken from . . ." is the information that it gives.

To understand the great affinity and connexion

that Ibn Djinnī saw between *ishtikāk* and *taṣrif*, it is necessary first to be introduced to *taṣrif*. *Taṣrif* was practised in two ways. The first, that of Sibawayhi and the ancients, was concerned only with *masā'il al-tamrīn* "training questions", and its object was *al-riyāda wa'l-tadarrub* "practice and habituation". An imaginary word was formed on the pattern of an existing Arabic word, and the peculiarities of the form (*binā*<sup>2</sup>) of the existing word were exactly reproduced in the imaginary word; see Sibawayhi, title of ch. 511 (ii, 343) and ch. 557 (ii, 436-42). In order to carry out this operation it was necessary to know the morphological data, set out, interspersed with *naḥw*, in the *Kitāb*. The exercises in question were a means of remembering these and making oneself familiar with them.

The second method thought of *taṣrif* as a discipline to be studied in its own right and made an independent science of it; this is done in the *K. al-Taṣrif* of al-Māzinī (d. 247/861). This *taṣrif* takes as its object existing Arabic words and studies their forms. It regroups the necessary data in this way; Ibn Djinnī, in the *Mukhtaṣar al-taṣrif al-mulūkī* (ed. G. Hoberg, 8, l. 9-10), systematizes them according to the following divisions: *ziyāda*, *badal*, *ḥadhf*, *tagh'yir bi-ḥaraka aw sukūn*, *iddiḡhām* [see TAṢRIF].

The affinity and connexion of *ishtikāk* with *taṣrif*. We have seen above that Ibn Djinnī asserts that there is a great affinity and connexion between *ishtikāk* and *taṣrif*. The method that he adopts to demonstrate the functioning of *ishtikāk* with respect to *taṣrif* is instructive here; Ibn Djinnī considers then *taṣrif* as did Sibawayhi and the ancients, working with imaginary words, and he uses for this conception of *ishtikāk* exactly the same examples as for the account of *taṣrif* (see *Munṣif*, editors, iii, 278, l. 15-279). In *taṣrif*, the object of these examples is to demonstrate the accidents that occur to *ḥurūf al-uṣūl* (the radical consonants) in order to constitute the forms: *ziyāda*, *badal*, etc. In *ishtikāk*, the object of these examples is to show how a form is taken from another and they presuppose a knowledge (and a use) of the accidents referred to and the processes of *taṣrif*. In these circumstances, Ibn Djinnī takes as his starting point the *maṣdar*, the origin of the verb, *darb*, and he lists all that can be taken and formed from this *maṣdar*: *mādi* (*daraba*), *mudāri'* (*yaḍribu*), active participle (*dārib*), etc. This is a good illustration of the affinity and the connexion that Ibn Djinnī sees between *ishtikāk* and *taṣrif*. *Ishtikāk*, however, is less general than *taṣrif* (see below).

*Ishtikāk* and *luḡha*. Ibn Djinnī says, besides, that *ishtikāk* is based more than *taṣrif* on *luḡha*. A chapter of the *Mukhtadab* of al-Mubarrad (Cairo 1386, iii, 185) helps us to understand this; al-Mubarrad distinguishes first of all the nouns (*asmā*) that are *ghayr* (non-) *mushlak*, such as *ḥadjar* "stone", *djabal* "mountain". *Ishtikāk* is silent concerning these, for no original form is found from which their form can be taken; they are simply common nouns (*asmā*<sup>2</sup> *al-adjinas*). As far as the *Taṣrif* is concerned, it places them in the form *fa'al*; *taṣrif* is thus seen to be more general than *ishtikāk*, as the Arab grammarians state (e.g., Ibn Dihya, *Muzhir*<sup>3</sup>, i, 351, l. 1); al-Mubarrad then gives the *mushlak* nouns that are *na'* (qualifying); these are adjectives that are connected with a verb where their meaning is found again: *ṣaḡhīr* "small" with *ṣaḡhura*, *djāhil* "ignorant" with *djahila*, *aḥmaḳ* "stupid, foolish" with *ḥamiḳa*; then the *mushlak* nouns that are not used as *na'* (qualifying); the examples given are proper names:

*ḥanīfa*, *muḍar*, 'aylān. Their *ishtikāk* varies according to the semantic links to be found between these nouns and others from the same root; *ḥanīfa* is said simply to come from *ḥanīf* (the word is explained), *muḍar* from *maḍara* 'l-laban "the milk became sour" and 'aylān from 'ayla, the inf. of 'āla "to be poor", form *fa'lān*. Thus *ishtikāk* deals with vocabulary, seeking for the point of departure, the *muḥtāk* *minhu*, while remaining, according to the rule, within one single root and its forms, whereas *taṣrif* does not go beyond the word whose *wazn* it has to determine.—Other examples of *ishtikāk* are to be found in the indices to the *Muktaḍab*, iv, 149-50, in the discussion on the *ishtikāk* of the *ism* and the verb taken from the *maṣdar* (Ibn al-Anbārī *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. Weil, disputed questions 1 and 28). Ibn Durayd devoted his *K. al-ishtikāk* (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854) to the names of the Arab tribes (but without any preliminaries about methodology).

The Arab grammarians practised *ishtikāk* only for Arabic words; see Ibn al-Sarrādjī's warning as reported by al-Djawālīkī (*K. al-Mu'arrab*, ed. Sachau, 3, l. 10-4, l. 3) and al-Suyūfī (*Muzhir*<sup>3</sup>, i, 351, l. 7-9). This Arabic *ishtikāk* introduces no historical perspective into the study of the language. The relations or origin that are detected form merely part of the revealed language and are given with it (cf. *Dict. of Technical Terms*, i, 766, l. 15-6). The explicative value of this *ishtikāk* is meagre; first, depending exclusively as it does on the Arabic grammatical system, it suffers from the deficiencies of this (e.g., the two disputed Questions mentioned above); then, the derivation of one term from another is stated merely when the conditions are satisfied. Thus al-Djurđjānī gives the definition of *ishtikāk*: *naz' laṣ min aḥkar bi-sharḥi munāsabatihimā ma'nān wa-tarkībān wa-muḥāyaratihimā fi 'l-ṣiḡha* (*Ta'rifāt*, 17) "taking one word from another, on condition that they are related in sense and in composition [of the radical consonants] and that they differ in form". There is no concern to demonstrate the linguistic processes that legitimate this derivation; al-Mubarrad says that *ṣaḡhīr* comes from the verb *ṣaḡhura* (see above), but how does this come about? The mind must be continuously alert to notice the cases in which this *ishtikāk* gives acceptable information. It is particularly useful, too, by reason of the studies on vocabulary that it has involved, as in the *K. al-ishtikāk* of Ibn Durayd.

*Ishtikāk* is called: a) *al-ṣaḡhīr* "the small", when, for the *tarkīb* of al-Djurđjānī's fore-going definition, the order of succession of the same radical consonants remains identical in the two terms; this is the normal *ishtikāk*. b) *al-ḥabīr* "the large", when the *ma'nā*, the actual sense of the root, is preserved, but not the order of succession for the *tarkīb*, e.g.: *ḍiabadha* [metathesis of *ḍiadhaha*], taken from the *maṣdar*: *ḍiadhā*. c) *al-akbar* "the largest", when neither the actual sense of the root nor the order of succession are preserved. This *ishtikāk* was invented by Ibn Djinī and set out in the *Khaṣā'is* (Cairo 1371/1952, i, 5-17 and Cairo 1374/1955, ii, 133-9); he considered all the relative positions of the three consonants of a root, e.g., for *ḥ w l*: *ḥ l w*, *w ḥ l*, *w l ḥ*, *l ḥ w*, *l w ḥ*, combinations existing in the language, with their special meanings, and he extracted from them a sense common to all: *al-ḫuṣūf wa-'l-ḥaraka* "haste and movement". The Arab world admired his force and ingenuity of mind but did not follow him in normal studies of the language (see Ibn Dihya, *Muzhir*<sup>3</sup>, i, 347, l. 4-348, l. 2).

Remarks: a) al-Djurđjānī sees *al-ishtikāk al-akbar*

in the case in which the identity of the radical consonants in the two terms is reduced to that of their *maḥradj*, as with *na'aka*, derived from the *maṣdar*: *naḥk* (cf. *Dict. of Techn. T.*, i, 767, l. 6-8). b) For the difference between *al-ishtikāk al-ṣaḡhīr* and *al-'adl*, see *ibid.* 767, 2 ff.

*Bibliography*: in the text. 'Abd Allāh Amīn, *al-Ishtikāk*, Cairo 1376/1956, a personal study, in order to regroup under one concept of *ishtikāk* the three divisions that have been discussed, and also *naḥt*. This study is useful, too, by reason of its full documentation of the denominative verbs and *naḥt*. Fu'ad Ḥannā Ṭarazī, *al-Ishtikāk*, Beirut 1968, application of *ishtikāk* to nouns and verbs, preceded by a criticism of the preceding and of the doctrines of the ancients. (H. FLEISCH)

**ISHTIKĀḲ**, rhetorical term [see **TADJNIS**].

**ISHTIRĀḲ** [see **TAWRIYA**].

**ISHTIRĀKIYYA**, from *ishtirāk*, sharing, the modern Arabic term for socialism. The word seems to have been first used in this sense in 19th century Turkish, in the form *ishtirāk-i emvāl*, literally "sharing of property", whence *ishtirakçī*, a socialist, and *ishtirākī*, socialistic. In Turkish the term fell into disuse, and was replaced by *Sosyalist*. Adopted in Arabic, it soon gained universal currency in the Arab lands. (ED.)

*The Ottoman Empire and Turkey*: Among Turks interest in socialism began toward the end of the 19th century, but it was only after the 1908 revolution that this cause could be openly advocated in the Ottoman Empire. The European, particularly the French, socialist movement served as the inspiration and model for socialist activity in Turkey. Always small-scale and elitist, socialist organizations were not able to play much role in their own right in the turbulent politics of the Young Turk era. The Ottoman Socialist Party (*Ötkmānlı Sosyalist Fırkası*) set up by Hüseyin Hilmī in 1910 was suspended after three months; it re-emerged for a year in mid-1912 during a momentary lull in governmental repression. Its Paris branch under Dr. Refik Nevzāt operated more freely and conducted a virtually independent liaison with the Second International until France entered the First World War.

More important than this organizational activity was the impact of socialist concepts on the Turkish nationalist movement that began to gather impetus after the 1908 revolution. Ziya Gökalp and his "Turkist" followers had connexions with the active multicomunal socialist current in Salonika during the years before 1911. Thereafter in Istanbul Parvus (Alexander Helphand) continued to indoctrinate the "Turkists" with socialist ideas, stressing anti-imperialism. Moreover, an acquaintance with Marxism was relatively common in both civil and military schools during the Young Turk era. Many nationalist leaders, including Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk] himself, showed the influence of socialist doctrine.

Turkey's defeat in the First World War stimulated renewed efforts to organize socialist parties. In 1919 Hilmī revived his old organization under the name of the Turkish Socialist Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Fırkası*), again with a Paris branch. This party was so successful in securing benefits for workers through strikes and demonstrations that in 1921 its membership numbered close to 7,000, including a branch in Eskişehir. But as a result of internal conflicts, the party had all but vanished by the time of Hilmī's murder in November 1922.

More lasting was the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party (*Türkiye İşçi ve Çiftçi Sosyalist*

*Fırkası*) set up in September 1919 as the continuation of a similarly named organization formed by Turkish students in Germany. Initially this party had far more in common with French radical socialism than with Bolshevism, and it drew much of its inspiration from Henri Barbusse's *Clarifé* movement. But with the end of the Allied occupation of Istanbul in 1923, it fell under the direct influence of Moscow. The party published a monthly theoretical journal (until March 1920, *Kürtuluş*; from 1921 to 1925, *Aydınlık*), which soon became the rallying point for elements who were later to play a major role in Turkey's ideological development. Dr. Şeffik Hüsnü [Deymer], a founding member of the Istanbul organization, was the acknowledged leader of the Turkish communist movement until his death in 1959. In 1923 the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party leaders were tried on charges of treason, but were soon acquitted. After the Law for the Maintenance of Order (*Tahrir-i Sükûn*) was enacted in 1925, Atatürk closed *Aydınlık* and prosecuted a number of the party's leaders for carrying on subversive activity.

The Turkish Communist Party (*Türkiye Komünist Partisi*) proper emerged from several diverse sources: the communists clustered around the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party, the emigré movement of Mustafa Şubhî in Russia, and the People's Communist Party of Turkey (*Türkiye Halk İştirakiyyün Fırkası*), organized in Ankara in December 1920 by Nâzım, the deputy for Tokat. Mustafa Şubhî's organization fell apart after his murder in January 1921 during his return to Anatolia. The Ankara communists from the first came into conflict with Atatürk, who had formed his own "Official" Communist Party in October 1920 in an effort to bring the burgeoning communist movement under his control. In February 1921 the People's Communist Party suspended its activity, though as a result of Soviet pressure it was permitted to revive. From March until October 1922 this party published the weekly *Yeñi Hayâl*, a periodical that became increasingly critical of the government. But with victory over the Greeks, Atatürk no longer felt the need to tolerate this opposition, and in October 1922 he suppressed the Ankara party. The remnants of this organization followed Şubhî's supporters in joining the Turkish Communist Party, that was apparently organized clandestinely in Istanbul in the fall of 1920 by Deymer and Şadreddin Djelâl [Antel]. This party was in contact with communists among the non-Turkish communities in Istanbul and sent representatives to gatherings of the Third International in Moscow. It attempted to organize youth groups and trade unions, but without much success. Since its leaders were arrested or forced to flee abroad in 1925, it carried on only underground activity inside Turkey. Deymer convened a party congress in Vienna in 1926; another seems to have been held in 1933 somewhere outside Turkey. The party's main overt activities consist of publishing pronouncements in Soviet and other communist publications and since the mid-1950s in broadcasting its views over "Bizim Radyo" located in Eastern Europe.

From 1932 to 1935 a group of former communists made important contributions to Kemalist ideology through debate in the monthly *Kadro*, which sought to adapt Marxist ideas to serve Turkish nationalism. Even though the government closed *Kadro* in 1935 at the urging of more conservative Turkish nationalists, the ideas espoused by *Kadro* undergirded the famous "Six Arrows" of the Republican People's

Party (*Djumhuriyyet Halk Fırkası* [q.v.]), which were enshrined in the constitution in 1937.

With the relaxation of political restrictions after the Second World War came new efforts to form socialist and communist-oriented parties. The Turkish Socialist Worker and Peasant Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi ve Köylü Partisi*) that Deymer set up in 1946 and the Turkish Socialist Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi*) of Esat Adil Mustacaplıoğlu were closed within the year by the government, however, on charges of promoting communism. In this atmosphere of suspicion, even moderate socialists met a chilly reception; until the end of the *Demokrat Parti* [q.v.] regime in 1960 socialism was generally regarded as virtually illegal by the Turkish élite.

The military revolt in 1960 stimulated ferment that gave socialism and communism new relevance. In the new constitution of 1961 a more favourable climate toward socialism was apparent. Also, for example, central planning by the government was drained as the remedy for the excesses of the *Demokrat Parti* era; labour unions received the right to strike. Under these circumstances, the periodical *Yön*, which began in December 1961, attracted much attention in intellectual circles with its increasingly anti-(Western)imperialist pronouncements in favour of state-directed development. Books and publications on socialism flooded the market and were read especially by students, who were attracted by the emphasis on social justice. A Socialist Cultural Association (*Sosyalist Kültür Derneği*) was formed in Ankara in 1963 to propagate these views.

This activity saw the emergence on the political scene in February 1961 of the Turkish Labour Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) as the culmination of efforts in train even before the 1960 military revolt. When the small group of labour officials who dominated this organization were unable to arouse enough popular support to qualify to take part in the 1961 elections, they sought the co-operation of some prominent leftist intellectuals. In 1962 Mehmet Ali Aybar became President General of the party. By 1965 the Turkish Labour Party was able to run candidates in 51 provinces and received some 276,000 votes, electing 15 deputies to the lower house that year. While the party increased somewhat its percentage of the vote cast in the senatorial elections in 24 provinces in June 1968, it failed to elect a single senator.

The Turkish Labour Party promotes an essentially Marxist line, but seeks to come to power by exclusively parliamentary means. From the first it has been rent by factionalism. At its congress in February 1964 there was dispute over the balance between workers and intellectuals in the ruling organs of the party. This problem was intensified when the party leaders selected a preponderance of intellectuals as deputies in the 1965 elections. Differences within the party led to a revolt against Aybar's leadership at the party congress in November 1968, necessitating an extraordinary conclave at the end of December of the same year. This did not completely heal the rift. Moreover, the party is challenged on the left by individuals advocating a more revolutionary line.

*Bibliography:* Hilmi Özgen, *Türk Sosyalizminin ilkeleri*, Ankara 1962; A. Cerrahoğlu, *İslamîyet ve Osmanlı Sosyalistleri, İslamîyet ve Yön'cü Sosyalistler*, İstanbul 1964; idem, *Türkiye'de Sosyalizm*, İstanbul 1965-1967, vols. i-iii; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de çağdaş düşünce tarihi*, Konva 1966, vols. i-ii; Kemal H. Karpat, *The Turkish Left*, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, i (1966),

169-186; idem, *Socialism and the Labor Party of Turkey*, in *MEJ*, Spring 1967, 157-172; idem, *Political and social thought in the contemporary Middle East*, New York 1968; G. S. Harris, *The origins of communism in Turkey*, Stanford 1967; Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de sol akımlar*, Ankara 1967; Fethi Tevetoğlu, *Türkiye'de Sosyalist ve Komünist Faaliyetler (1910-1960)*, Ankara 1967; Aclan Sayılğan, *Solun 94 yılı (1871-1965)*, Ankara 1967. (G. S. HARRIS)

2. *The Arab lands*: As early as the first decade of this century members of the Egyptian intelligentsia (e.g., Shibli Shumayyil, Salâma Mûsâ and Ismâ'il Maẓhar) discussed aspects of Socialism in its European, and particularly British Fabian and French Continental sense and tradition. They considered it in the context of scientific rationalism, social reform and state welfare doctrines. A Socialist Party of Alexandria Workers was formed in 1920 by Maḥmûd Ḥusnî al-'Arabî, followed by a Communist Party in Alexandria two years later. Several Communist parties also appeared in the Fertile Crescent and the Levant.

In the nineteen-thirties, the success of National Socialism in Europe (Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Spain, Greece and elsewhere) indirectly encouraged the rise of radical national socialist groups, parties and movements in the Arab countries. All of them, to one degree or another, proposed some form of "state socialism". Among these were the Young Egypt Association of Aḥmad Ḥusayn in Egypt, later renamed the Socialist Democratic Party; the *Parti Populaire Syrien* of Anṭun Sa'âda in the Levant; the *Ahâlî* group of Kâmil al-Châdirchî in 'Irâk (many of its adherents or members coming from the Fascist-oriented *al-Muthanna* Club), later renamed the National Democratic Party; the Progressive Socialist Party in Lebanon; and others.

After the Second World War, attention concentrated on what was called Arab Socialism (*al-ishtirâkiyya al-'arabiyya*) the main exponent of which was the Arab *Ba'ṭh* Party, founded by Michel 'Aflâk and Şalâh al-Dîn al-Bîṭâr in 1941-3, which ten years later in 1953 merged with Akram Ḥürânî's Arab Socialist Party. In the periods 1955 to 1961 and 1961 to 1967, Arab Socialism had two major advocates: President 'Abd al-Nâşir (Nasser) of Egypt, and the various *Ba'ṭh* party organisations and regimes in the Fertile Crescent countries, particularly Syria and 'Irâk. In Egypt, under 'Abd al-Nâşir, even the official religious establishment of the Azhar was recruited (massively after the Azhar Reorganisation Law of June 1961) to the task of expounding, explaining and justifying the link between Arab Socialism and Islam. The slogan, "Islam, the religion of justice and equality," was followed by "Muḥammad, the first socialist". The Islamic religion was identified as a "revolution which first laid down the socialist principles of justice and equality". After 1967, new and violent revolutionary groups appeared especially among the Palestinians and South Arabians professing a Marxist-Leninist and Maoist-oriented Arab Socialism.

Algeria after independence in 1962 also adopted Arab Socialism as the political and economic basis of its revolution; so too did the Yemen after the Sallâl coup in September 1962; the new People's Republic of South Yemen under its National Liberation Front rulers; the Sudan after the coup led by Colonel *Djâ'far al-Numayrî* in May 1969; and the new Republic of Libya when the military coup led by Colonel Mu'ammad al-*Qadhâfi* overthrew King Idris in September 1969.

Arab Socialism as expounded by the *Ba'ṭh* Party or other so-called Arab revolutionary leaders and regimes has little in common with European or Marxist Socialism. Its principles are rather linked to those of pre-nationalist and radical nationalist ideologies, and particularly an interpretation of the ethical and moral teachings of Islam. Its emphasis is on social justice in a traditional Islamic sense, and on economic and social reform. It rejects both the materialist philosophy and historical determinism of Marxist Socialism. It is opposed to the class struggle and the dictatorship of the working class or the proletariat. Instead it proclaims the eradication of class divisions with a view to achieving a harmonious "democratic, cooperative society", in which classes cooperate with, not oppose or antagonise, one another. It does not share socialism's opposition to private property, even though it accepts and, in certain cases, practices state ownership of the major means of production and state control of the economy. Because the economies of many of these countries are mainly agricultural their socialists pay greater lip service to the impoverished masses of peasants and less to the urban working classes or proletariat. The latter group on the whole is still a small one in these countries, where industrial development is in its early stages. Finally, Arab Socialism rejects Marxist Socialism because the latter is theoretically opposed to nationalism.

It can be argued that Arab Socialism as articulated by the regime of 'Abd al-Nâşir and that of his successor in Egypt, or by the *Ba'ṭh* in the Fertile Crescent, is a primitive socialism: it is for the confiscation of wealth by its expropriation from the small wealthy landed and old official or governing classes, but not for its abolition. It wishes to eradicate poverty by the nationalisation of capital and other productive wealth and by its redistribution in order to level society; but so far it has only managed to further generalise poverty. Basically it claims that it wishes to share out property, not to abolish it. And as property in most Arab countries implies the ownership of land, there have been several, not very successful, agrarian reform measures in Egypt, 'Irâk, Syria and Algeria.

If one examines the utterances and policies of President 'Abd al-Nâşir of Egypt (the nationalisation decrees of July-November 1961, his National Charter of 1962, and the Expropriation measures of 1963-4), or those of the *Ba'ṭh* (for example, 'Aflâk's writings, and the proceedings and resolutions of the Party Congresses, especially those of the Sixth Congress), one observes that Arab Socialism is the "radical" expression of Arab nationalism. It is also the justification of radical state economic policies, characterised by central planning and greater centralised state control over all aspects of national economic activity and life. Any structural social changes introduced by the so-called socialist measures of Arab rulers have not so far also envisaged changes in the power structure. Nor does the Arab Socialism of these states envisage any uniform regulation of the consumption of material goods on the basis of strict equality.

Arab Socialism is useful when one wishes to indicate and identify the domestic, regional or inter-Arab, and international policies of individual Arab states. In Egypt, for example, Arab Socialism became a term applied to President 'Abd al-Nâşir's domestic economic, Arab and international policies after 1955, and more so after 1961. By 1962, Arab Socialism in Egypt, as well as in other Arab states



which identified or associated their regimes with it, came to be an amalgam of nationalism, of involvement in inter-Arab state conflict, state political control by the military, state ownership and control of the economy, and an orientation in international politics towards the Soviet Union. Beginning as a protest movement against the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a small governing class in *anciens régimes* in Egypt, 'Irāk and Syria for instance, Arab Socialism under military regimes and in the conditions of inter-Arab and international events moved towards an association with the new influential superpower in the Middle East, the Soviet Union. At home, and in practice, it became a bureaucratic, police socialism in the service of the regimes in power, without a firm basis either in a working class proletariat, or its more populist aspiration for a base among the agrarian peasant masses. Socialist parties were proscribed, and local, or native, socialists were persecuted and politically neutralised. Single parties, such as the Arab Socialist Unions in Egypt and 'Irāk or the *Ba'th* parties in Syria and 'Irāk, and the FLN in Algeria were also at variance with socialism properly defined and understood. These single parties never controlled government; rather government controlled the parties which served the security and other purposes of the state.

It is difficult for example to adduce anything about the meaning of Arab Socialism from the voluminous writings of 'Aflāk or the proceedings and resolutions of the *Ba'th* Party Congresses beyond the suggestion that the Party considered economics important and relevant to politics; or that one of the Party's goals is the expansion of the economic opportunities for the lower classes of society and the enhancement of their social status.

Domestically then Arab Socialism has meant the opposition by military regimes and those who aspire to overthrow regimes in their respective countries to the dynastic or other governing and official classes, which are often identified as "feudalist". Arab Socialists link the interests of these classes to those of outside powers (mainly those they refer to as Imperialist, *i.e.*, the Western powers), so that their overthrow and dispossession are justified on the grounds that they are the agents of Imperialism. In the context of inter-Arab politics Arab Socialism also serves as the slogan of so-called radical rulers and regimes in their conflicts with so-called conservative and reactionary rulers and regimes for influence, primacy, prestige or domination in the Arab Middle East. Generally, therefore, on the level of international politics, Arab Socialism has been associated with the opposition of Arab states to what remained of Western influence in their area and with radical Arab nationalism and its manifestation in heightened inter-Arab struggle. This coincided with the entry of the Soviet Union into the Middle East in 1955 and its offers of massive economic and military assistance to several Arab states. Inevitably, the orientation of Arab Socialist regimes towards the Soviet bloc followed, gradually at first (1955-62), and rapidly after 1962.

*Bibliography*: S. A. Hanna and H. Gardner (edd.), *Arab Socialism: A documentary survey*, Leiden 1969; *Djāmāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, National Charter*, Cairo 1962; H. Kerr, *The emergence of a Socialist ideology in Egypt*, in *MEJ*, xvi/2 (Spring 1962), 127-44; Gebran Majdalani, *The Arab Socialist Movement*, in W. Z. Laqueur (ed.), *The Middle East in Transition*, New York 1958, 337-50; G. H. Torrey and J. F. Devlin, *Arab*

*Socialism*, in J. H. Thompson and R. D. Reischauer (edd.), *Modernization of the Arab world*, New York 1966, 178-29; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Islam and the Foreign Policy of Egypt*, in J. Harris Proctor (ed.), *Islam and International Relations*, New York 1965, 120-57; L. Binder, *The ideological revolution in the Middle East*, New York 1964; Hisham B. Sharabi, *Nationalism and revolution in the Arab world*, New York 1966; W. Z. Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East*, London 1956; P. K. O'Brien, *The revolution in Egypt's Economic system*, London 1966; L. Z. Yamak, *The Syrian Social Nationalist Party*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966; Kamel S. Abu Jaber, *The Arab Baath Socialist Party: history, ideology and organization*, Syracuse 1966. (P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

**ISHWAR-DĀS** [see ISAR-DĀS].

**AL-ISKĀFĪ**, ABU 'L-FADL *DJĀ'FAR* B. MAḤMŪD, official in the 'Abbāsīd administration and the first vizier of al-Mu'tazz (251/866); he held this post for only a short time, but the Caliph was obliged to give in to Turkish pressure and reinstate him in 255/869. He kept the post at the beginning of al-Muhtadī's caliphate, but real power was in the hands of Šā'īd b. Maḥlād [*q.v.*]. Though al-Ḥuṣrī (*Zahr*, 873) lets it be understood that al-Iskāfī was friendly with al-Mu'tazz before the latter acceded to the caliphate, *Ḡhars al-Ni'ma (Hafawāt*, 273) maintains that he was imposed on the caliph by the Turks. The *Fakhrī* (333-4, 335) confirms this point of view, adding that al-Mu'tazz did not like him at all, that it was suspected he had *Shī'ī* sympathies, that he was completely uncultured and only attracted sympathy by his generosity. Lines of poetry quoted by al-Djāḥīz (*Rasā'il*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 58) suggest that he occupied important posts long before his accession to the vizirate.

*Bibliography*: Besides the references quoted, Ṭabarī, iii, 1550, 1707, 1709; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, ed. Šāwī, 316, 318, ed. de Goeje, 365 (*Djā'far* b. Muḥammad); idem, *Murūdj*, vii, 365, 366, 370 (*Djā'far* b. Muḥammad); D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index. (ED.)

**AL-ISKĀFĪ**, ABŪ *DJĀ'FAR* MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH, a Mu'tazilī of the Baghdād branch and a native of Samarḳand. The date of his birth is unknown, but he is known to have reached a great age and to have died in 240/854. He began life as a tailor, and his parents prevented him from continuing his studies, but *Djā'far* b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*] took him under his care and initiated him in the *I'tizāl*. Possessing a lively intelligence, knowledge of many subjects, and a lofty moral sense, he enjoyed the esteem and respect of al-Mu'taṣim, who seems to have used him as a propagandist for the Mu'tazilī doctrine. In general, he adhered to the opinions of his master *Djā'far*, departing from these only over some details, but he certainly seems to have been one of the most productive of the Mu'tazilīs. Like the other members of the school, he maintained that the *Qur'ān* was created, but that it existed wherever it was read, written and heard. God existed outside time, and His existence could be deduced from the existence of things. In his view, bodies consisted of a combination of two elements. He established a distinction between the created action and the free action which derived directly from man's free-will. In politics, although he seems to have recognized the legitimacy of 'Uḥmān as caliph and supported the imāmate of the *maḥḍūl*, he declared himself in favour of the superiority of 'Alī to Abū Bakr, and refuted at some length the *Kitāb al-'Uḥmāniyya* of al-Djāḥīz, in a text preserved in part by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*

*Nahđi al-Balāgha*, and reproduced at the end of the refuted work (Cairo 1374/1955, 282-343). This text, which is not expressly referred to by Ibn al-Nadīm, seems to be the only one to have survived; the other works attributed to him are:— *K. al-Laṭīf*; *K. al-Badal*; *K. ‘ala ‘l-Nazzām fi anna ‘l-ṭab‘ayn al-mukhhalisayn yaf‘al bi-himā fa‘l<sup>an</sup> wāhid<sup>an</sup>*; *K. al-Maḥāmāt fi taṣṭūl ‘Alī*; *K. Iḥbāt khalīk al-Kur‘ān*; *K. al-Radd ‘ala ‘l-Muḥabbīha*; *K. al-Maḥlūk*, ‘*ala ‘l-Mudjīra*; *K. Bayān al-muḥkil*, ‘*alā Burghūth*; *K. al-Tamwīh*, *naḥđ K. Ḥaṣṣ*; *K. al-Naḥđ li-K. al-Ḥusayn al-Nađīđār*; *K. al-Radd ‘alā man ankar khalīk al-Kur‘ān*; *K. al-Sharḥ(?) li-aḥwāl al-Mudjīra*; *K. Ibtāl ḥawl man ḥal bi-ta‘dhib al-aṣfāl*; *K. Ḥaml ḥawl ahl al-ḥakḥ*; *K. al-Na‘im*; *K. mā‘khtalafa fi-hi al-Mutakallimūn*; *K. ‘alā Ḥusayn fi ‘l-isti‘ā‘a*; *K. Fađ‘il ‘Alī*; *K. al-Ashribā*; *K. al-Kuṭub(?)*; *K. ‘alā Hishām*; *K. Naḥđ K. Ibn Ḥabīb(?) fi ‘l-wa‘id*.

*Bibliography*: Mas‘ūdī, *Murūđi*, index; Malatī, 27, 30, 33; *Khayyāt*, *Intiṣār*, index; Baghdādī, *Farḥ*, 155; *Ash‘arī*, *Mahālāt*, index; *Khatīb Baghdādī*, v, 416; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, v, 221; Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. Fück, in *Prof. Muḥ. Shafī‘ Presentation Vol.*, Lahore 1955, 66-7; *Tuṣī*, *Fihris*, 254; *Sam‘ānī*, *Ansāb*, 35; Ibn al-Murtađā, *Mu‘tazila*, index; A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Mu‘tazila*, Beirut 1956, index.

His son, ABU ‘L-KĀSĪM DĴA‘FAR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ISKĀFĪ, was also a Mu‘tazilī but he took up an administrative career and was appointed head of a *diwān* by al-Mu‘taṣim. Regarded as a talented scribe, he is the author of a *Kitāb al-Mi‘yār wa ‘l-muwāzana fi ‘l-imāma*. (Not to be confused with the vizier to al-Mu‘tazz; see preceding art.)

*Bibliography*: Ibn al-Nadīm, in *Muḥ. Shafī‘ Pres. Vol.*, 67 (which calls him simply Ibn al-Iskāfī). (Ed.)

AL-ISKĀFĪ, ABŪ IṢḤĀK MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-KARĀRĪTĪ secretary and vizier during the ‘Abbāsīd era. Born in Iskāf on the Nahrawān, in ‘Irāq, he appears for the first time in 320/932 as the secretary of the police chief of Baghdād, Ibn Yākūt; he was arrested at the same time as his master, in *Ījmadā* I 323/April 935, and had to pay a large fine. He was appointed vizier by the Caliph al-Muttaḥī in *Shawwāl* 329/July 941, but was dismissed by the great *amīr* Kūrānkīđi as early as *Dhu‘l-Kā‘da* 329/July-August 941.

Having regained his post under Ibn Rā‘ik after the flight of the *amīr*, he was arrested soon afterwards in *Dhu‘l-Hiđđja* 329/September 941. Al-Iskāfī regained his vizirate when the supreme emirate was entrusted by the caliph to the Ḥamdānī Naṣīr al-Dawla, who, on his arrival in Baghdād in *Shawwāl* 330/June-July 942, found the new vizier already installed. But, after eight months, al-Iskāfī was once more dismissed (*Rađīab* 331/March-April 943) and obliged to pay a fine; he seems to have been the victim of intrigues woven in the *amīr*’s entourage by two Barīđ agents. We know little of the end of his career: it seems he was the secretary of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo in circumstances which have never been explained, and then that he returned to Baghdād in the time of the vizier al-Muḥallabī and died in 357/968.

*Bibliography*: Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, *passim*; Mis-kawayh, *Tađīrīb al-umam*, i, 236, 318-9, ii, 28-9, 38 and n.; M. Canard, *Akhbār ar-Rāđī billāh*, Algiers 1946-50, i, 79 n. 3, ii, 26 n. 1; idem, *Histoire de la dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, Algiers 1951, 429. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-ISKANDAR, Alexander the Great. It is generally agreed both by Muslim commentators and modern occidental scholars that *Dhu ‘l-Karnayn*, “the two-horned”, in *Sūra XVIII*, 83/82-98 is to be identified with Alexander the Great. The story is told in reply to questioners, often said to be Jews. *Dhu ‘l-Karnayn* was given power on earth, and made his way to the furthest west and furthest east; and in response to an appeal from oppressed people built a wall or rampart of iron and brass against the incursions of *Yāđiūđi* and *Māđiūđi* [q.v.]. The origin and precise significance here of the name *Dhu ‘l-Karnayn* has been much discussed (cf. al-Bayḍāwī, *ad loc.*; Nöldeke-Schwally, i, 140, note 5). The name had been previously applied to the *Lakhmid* al-Mundhir al-Akbar (III) ibn Mā‘ al-Samā‘ (cf. *Imru‘ al-Kays*, 60.3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaḥ*, 340; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 111-3, with further references). *Dhu ‘l-Karnayn* was accepted as a believer or Muslim since he spoke to the people of the west about God’s punishment of wrongdoers and his reward for the upright; but it was disputed whether he was a prophet. Al-Wāthīk is said to have sent a man to explore the wall (*BGA*, vi, 162-70; quoted by G. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, 26, note 63).

*Bibliography* (in addition to works cited): commentaries on *Kur‘ān*, XVIII, 83/82 ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbār*, 359, 365, 393; Ibn *Ḥutayba*, *Ma‘ārif*, 26; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūđi*, al-Tha‘labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā‘*, (Cairo, 1310), 226, (Singapore, 1382) 483-99. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ISKANDAR NĀMA, the Alexander Romance. i. Arabic. *Sūra XVIII* (59 ff.) shows that the Arabs have known of the Alexander Romance (pseudo-Callisthenes) from early times, since what is said about *Mūsā* in this *Kur‘ānic* passage is in fact derived from this romance. On the earlier history of the Romance, see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, in *Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Vienna, xxxiii. According to this scholar, the source of the Syriac and Arabic stories is to be found in a primitive Pahlavi version, the author of which, according to Fraenkel (*ZDMG*, xlv, 319), may have been a Syriac Christian who wrote in Persian. The oldest Arabic versions, provided by the *hadīth*, have been collected by Friedländer in *Die Chahīrlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 67 ff. [see AL-KHADĪR]. On more recent versions in Arabic, see Friedländer’s article and also E. García Gómez, *Un texto arabe occidental de la leyenda de Alejandro*, Madrid 1929. (Ed.)

ii. Persian. The “Book of Alexander”, consisting of two parts, the *Sharaf Nāma* and the *Iḳbāl Nāma*, is the fifth poem of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī [q.v.]. It constitutes the fullest synthesis of the image which Muslim Iran conceived and assimilated of the Macedonian conqueror, who at the start was regarded as the most odious of enemies and who, in the last analysis, became the model of the Muslim hero, the Iranian knight, through his own merits worthy of acceding to the rank of prophet of the One God.

The *Sharaf Nāma* (6,896 verses) is the story of the hero, in its main outlines conforming with the traditional accounts going back to the pseudo-Callisthenes, but altered in many of the details and, what is more, assuming a highly original character from the manner in which Nizāmī treats it. The *Iḳbāl Nāma*, where the individual stamp of the author’s genius is even more apparent, is a shorter work, with less embellishment but with a greater wealth of reflection, and in it the image of excellence of the hero is subordinated to that of the wise man, the

model ruler who through the constancy of his meditation deserves to be invested with a true prophetic mission. (For the Arab tradition, Iskandar—Dhu 'l-Karnayn already combines [see above] the characteristics of the warlike hero with those of the prophet of universality).

For Iranian tradition, he is essentially "the wretched Mar, inspired by the Druj (the spirit of discord)", guilty of the destruction of the good religion, its altars and its books (M. Molé, *Culte, Mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1963, 211; cf. Pagliaro, *Letteratura persiana*, Milan 1950, 38, 96). But in islamised Iran the idea, which was fixed by the commentary of al-Ṭabarī on the Qur'ān, XVII, 82 ff. (*Tafsīr*, xvi, 6 ff.) and by the same author's *Annales* (I, 692-702), of a universal mission made manifest through his conquests, is substituted for this pejorative image.

In the *Shahnāma*, Firdawsi already makes Iskandar an exemplary figure, whom the companionship of Aristotle helps to rise still higher, by the path of wisdom and moderation, in the direction of abstinence and contempt for this world. And Firdawsi laid stress on the defeat of Dārā (the Darius of the Greeks) as something desired by "the rotation of the Heavens".

Already, too, for Firdawsi, Alexander bears on his brow the marks of the Kayānids and, thereby, a quality of legitimacy which Nizāmi emphasizes by making him, as his predecessor and as al-Ṭabarī had done, a son of Dārāb and consequently a half-brother of Dārā who is thus able to transmit power over Iran to him, and to see in him the just king, the successor of the Kayānids.

At the time of Nizāmi, however, Islam is from then onwards well established in Iran, and it is the prophetic and ecumenical aspect of his destiny that the poet makes evident in his hero. As a learned Iranian poet, Nizāmi, who demonstrates his eclecticism in the information he gives (he says, "I have taken from everything just what suited me and I have borrowed from recent histories, Christian, Pahlavi and Jewish . . . and of them I have made a whole"), locates the story of his hero principally in Iran. He makes him the image of the Iranian "knight", peace-loving and moderate, courteous and always ready for any noble action. Like all Nizāmi's heroes, he conquers the passions of the flesh, and devotes his attention to his undertakings and his friendships. These features appear in the account, which follows ancient tradition, of his conduct towards the women of the family of Darius, in his brotherly attitude on the death of that ruler, in his behaviour towards queen Nushaba (the Kaydāf of Firdawsi, the Kandake of the pseudo-Callisthenes) whom he defends against the Russians. And if he subdues the king of China, the Khākan, and the Indian king Kayd (Porus), it is to establish a deep and lasting friendship with them.

In the *Sharaf Nāma* particularly, the itineraries of his expeditions are Iranian and Muslim. It is in Egypt that he introduces the rule of justice, after delivering the country from the threat of the Zandj, and it is the religion of the One God of Abraham that, in the *Sharaf Nāma*, he makes it his mission to spread, and for which he was to eliminate from Mecca the family of Khuzā'a, who had distorted the religious tradition of the Ka'ba. And it is through Armenia that he starts his march to the East, on the way founding Tiflis and Bardā', occupying the legendary castle of Dar Band, and finding in the castle of Sakīr the fabulous relics of Kay Khusrāw. He traverses Rayy, Khurāsān and central Asia, to reach India and then China. He was to return to Bardā', in this

same *Ādharbāyjdjān*, the homeland of Nizāmi, to rescue Queen Nushaba when she was attacked by the Russians (there was in fact an invasion in 946-7).

Nizāmi did not fail, afterwards, to crown the *Sharaf Nāma* with the theme of the vain quest for the source of life, in which may be seen a foreshadowing of the nihilist philosophy which was to be that of the *Ikbāl Nāma*.

The *Ikbāl Nāma* is a hymn to wisdom—that of the Greeks, that which Iskandar would have derived from the old Iran—to that also which the hero, dedicated to Prophecy, was to elaborate, before his death in the company of the wise, and in regard to which Nizāmi, after reviewing the final solutions of the old sages, was to recall the primordial role of celestial reason, *Khrat*, already sung by Firdawsi before him.

The encyclopaedic character of the *Iskandar Nāma*, far more than the treatment of the legendary subject, is perhaps what most strikes the reader: the passion for and justification of asceticism, for which on several occasions Iskandar emphasises his respect; the geographical and historical recollections relating particularly to the Byzantines; the pronounced taste for the mysterious sciences, where the episode of Mary the Copt and her authentic conception of speculative alchemy administers a corrective to the episodes where the hero creates a magic mirror or takes pleasure in conversations with the semi-legendary Bālinās (Apollonius).

Study of the *Iskandar Nāma* is not yet wholly complete, and it holds in store rich and important discoveries, not only for historians of literature but also for those engaged in comparative studies, for historians of the history of religious ethics in Iran, and for students of folklore.

*Bibliography*: Bertels, *Selected works: Nizāmi and Fuṭūli*, (in Russian) Moscow 1962 (C. vi, *Iskandar Nāma*, 342-93); Kulliyāt *Diwān-i Hakīm Nizāmi Djandjā'y*, Tehran 1937 (*Sharaf-nāma*, 838-1162, *Ikbāl-nāma*, 1164-1338); Bausani, *Letteratura neopersiana*, Milan 1960, 675-95 (bibliogr. note, 696 and 888); A. Abel, *Dhū'l Qarnayn, prophète de l'Universalité*, Brussels, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Or. et Slaves*, xi (1951), 6-18; idem, *Le Roman d'Alexandre, légendaire médiéval*, Brussels 1955, 82-9; idem, *La figure d'Alexandre en Iran*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Convegno sul tema La Persia e il mondo greco-romano, Rome 1966, 120-34.

(A. ABEL)

iii. In classical Ottoman literature the Alexander legend was used relatively rarely, perhaps (as E. J. W. Gibb suggested, *HOP*, i, 284) because its subject-matter gave little scope for the allegorical treatment of the theme of love. The one famous and very popular poem on the subject is the *Iskendernāme* of Aḥmadī [q.v.] (d. 815/1412-3) (the story as related by Aḥmadī is summarized by Gibb, *HOP*, i, 270-84; for its character, as a kind of encyclopaedia, see Fr. Taeschner, in *Hb. der Orientalistik*, I. Abt., V/1, 1963, 276; for the most up-to-date list of Mss., see B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis der or. Handschriften in Deutschland*, xiii/1, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 36). Some Mss. are half in verse, half in prose (see, e.g., Nihad Sami Banarlı, in *TM*, vi (1936-9), 110). There are also prose versions, some anonymous, some attributed to Aḥmadī's "brother" Ḥamzevi (*HOP*, i, 255; cf. Hādjdjī *Khalifa*, ii, 1327; see also F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı . . . Türkçe yazmalar kat.*, nos. 2744-69, some or all of which are presumably Ḥamzevi's prose version); their connection, if any,

with Ahmedi's poem remains to be investigated.

A certain Fighānī of Karaman (flor. ca. 906/1500) is reported to have composed a verse *Iskendernāme* (Laṭfī, 266-7), but it seems not to have survived. An *Iskendernāme* composed by Ahmed Riḍwān (Sehl, p. 36; Laṭfī, p. 88), i.e., the *defterdār* "Tütünsüz" Ahmed Beg (flor. under Bāyezīd II) and closely following Ahmedi, survives in a single Ms. in Ankara (see Agāh Sırrı Levend, *Ahmed Riḍwān'ın Iskender-nāmesi*, in *Türk Dili*, vol. i, no. 3 (Dec. 1951), 23-31, where (p. 24) the author mentions another verse *Iskendernāme* in his private library, by a certain Ḥayātī). His contemporary Bihīshṭī [q.v.] completed an *Iskendernāme* in 909/1503-4 (Ushaw College MX).

In Çağatay Turkish literature the Alexander-legend provided the theme for the fifth poem in the *Khamsa* [q.v.] of Navā'ī [q.v.], on which see J. Eckmann, in *Philologicae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, 346-8 and (bibliography) 355-7.

*Bibliography*: Th. Seif, *Vom Alexanderroman nach orientalischen Beständen der Nationalbibliothek*, in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Vienna 1926, 745-70; Kenan, *İslāmī edebiyatıta Iskendernāme mesnevisi*, Istanbul Un. Lib., Tez no. 187 (1933-4); E. Bertel's, *Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnye versii na Vostoke*, Moscow and Leningrad 1948; *IA*, art. *Iskender-nāme* (with additions by Orhan Şaik Gökyay); A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*<sup>2</sup>, Milan 1969, index, s.v. Alessandro Magno (Fr. tr., I. Melikoff, Paris 1968). (ED.)

**AL-ISKANDAR AL-AFRŪDISĪ**, Alexander of Aphrodisias (about 200 A.D.), Peripatetic philosopher. In mediaeval Europe and at the time of the Renaissance he was regarded as the most authoritative of the ancient commentators of Aristotle. He had the same influence in Islamic countries. A certain illuminism, his concept of the active intellect coming from outside to the human soul, fitted in with the Neoplatonic trend prevailing in Arabic philosophy. On the other hand his materialistic arguments against the immortality of the human soul gave rise to wide discussions which spread from Islamic to Christian learned circles; the difference between Aristotle and Alexander over this question is a major theme in the correspondence between Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen and the Şūfī Ibn Sab'īn [q.v.] (see *JA*, 7<sup>e</sup> série, xiv (1879), 404-49).

Little being known about Alexander's life, the Arabic biographical tradition considerably exceeds what can be derived from the Greek sources. It calls him al-Iskandar al-Afrūdisī al-Dimashki, thus identifying him with a certain Alexander of Damascus, who quarrelled in Rome with Galen [see *ḤĀLİNŪS*] and was afterwards appointed professor of Peripatetic philosophy at Athens (see Galen xiv, 627-9 and ii, 218, ed. Kühn). Just the same honour was awarded to Alexander of Aphrodisias, and we do not know whether the identification is due to some erroneous reasoning or is based on better information than we nowadays possess. Chronological considerations are of no value here: Alexander of Aphrodisias was called to Athens in or after 198 A. D., and though Galen wrote the chapter of *De anatomicis administrationibus* where the relevant remark on Alexander of Damascus is found before 180 A. D., he may have inserted this statement later, at the end of his life, for he often used to complete his earlier works with new references (cf. K. Bardong, in *Nachrichten von der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1942, 604, 631, 633). Besides Galen's account of his quarrel with Alexander of Damascus, the Greek

sources reveal nothing about any such strife with Alexander of Aphrodisias; the Arab authors, however, even know the nickname "mule's head", which their Iskandar al-Afrūdisī al-Dimashki bestowed on the philosophizing physician (for some literary refutations of Galen as extant in Arabic see below). In this context it is interesting that the Arabic tradition gives Galen the same teacher of Peripatetic philosophy as Alexander of Aphrodisias, viz. Herminus, and this statement can surely be accepted as correct (cf. Heurich Schmidt, *De Hermino Peripatetico*, Phil. Diss. Marburg 1907, 6; F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 69, 79; S. Pines, in *Isis*, lii (1961), 23).

The works of Alexander were made accessible to the Arabs by various translators, such as Ḥunayn b. Ishāk [q.v.], Ishāk b. Ḥunayn [q.v.], Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd al-Dimashki, Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus, Yahyā b. 'Adī, and others. The Arab bibliographers refer to most of his expanded commentaries on the writings of Aristotle, but only some quotations of them are still extant in Arabic translation (cf., e.g., A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica, Abhandlungen der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., Dritte Folge*, no. 66, 1966, 181 f.), the most voluminous being those preserved by Ibn Ruḡhd [q.v.] (see J. Freudenthal, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1884; cf. M. Bouyges, in *Revue du moyen âge latin*, iv (1948), 280). On the other hand over 35 small treatises on various subjects are found in Arabic manuscripts the edition and study of which has begun only in the last decades. About 15 can be identified with the Greek text of the so-called *quaestiones* (ed. Bruns, ii/2) or parts of them (see Dietrich, *Differentia specifica*, 94-9; van Ess, 153; Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 261-4, 274-8). Three other tracts are found in the collection *De Anima Libri Mantissa* (*Fi 'l-ṣaḥl 'alā ra'y Aristūṭālīs*, ed. Finnegan; *Fi kayfa yakūnu 'l-ibṣār 'alā madhhab Aristūṭālīs*, see Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 267-70, 272 f.; *Fi 'l-radd 'alā man yakūlu inna 'l-ibṣār yakūnu bi-'l-shu'-'ā'āl al-ḥāriḍia min al-baṣār*, Ms. Tashkent 2385, lxxxv = Bruns ii/1, 127, 28-130, 12). The titles of these Arabic treatises are certainly not original; they also differ sometimes in the lists of the bibliographers and in the various manuscripts, where they may even be left out, the result being a confusion with the preceding tracts (see Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 261 f.—the same coherent text in Ms. Tashkent 2385, lxxxiv). A number of these secondary headings indicate a polemic against Galen (cf. J. Ch. Bürgel, in *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, I. phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1967, 282 f., 387), but it remains for further investigation to decide whether these refutations are really directed against him in each case.

Sometimes the Arabic version appears to be merely a shortened paraphrase of the Greek with occasional additions. In one case two Arabic tracts on the *differentia specifica* (ed. Dietrich) are so similar, that one of them seems to be the paraphrase of the other (cf. van Ess, 154-9). It is difficult if not impossible to get an idea when all these alterations were introduced, whether by Alexander himself or in which stage of the Greek-(Syriac-) Arabic tradition. A similarly puzzling problem is posed by the second part of the commentary to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, as extant in Greek and commonly regarded as a forgery, and its relation to the quotations made by Ibn Ruḡhd (cf. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, 14-9). It should further be noted, that in the Arabic tradition passages of Proclus's *Elements of theology* [see *BURUKLUS*] appear among Alexander's genuine writings and under his name

(see van Ess, 159-68). The bibliographers give also the titles of two medical tracts ascribed to Alexander (*Fi 'l-māliḥkūliya* and *Fi 'l-'īl allatī taḥdūhu fi jam al-mi'da*); they are quoted, apparently, by al-Rāzī [q.v.] in his *al-Ḥāwī* (cf. Th. Puschmann, *Alexander von Tralles*, i, Vienna 1878, 94 f.).

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist* (index), cf. the German translation by August Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle a. S. 1873, 23 f.; Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, ed. 'A. Badawī, Madrid 1958, 291, German tr. by F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zurich and Stuttgart 1965, 55; al-Shahrastānī, 344 f., German tr. by Th. Haarbrücker, Halle a. S. 1851, ii, 207 f.; Ibn al-Kifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903 (index); Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fi jabakāt al-aḥbā'*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 69-71, 84; al-Shahrastānī, *Rawḍat al-afrāḥ wa-nuḥat al-awāḥ*, Ms. Berlin, Landberg 430, fol. 4v and 33r; M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 7<sup>e</sup> série, xiii, no. 4 (1869); idem, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893 (repr. Graz 1956), 1049 (index); idem, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, repr. Graz 1960, p. (251) (index); *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis praelectio commentaria scripta minora*, ed. I. Bruns, Berlin 1887, 1892 (*Supplementum Aristotelicum* ii); G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, I, Baltimore 1927, 318 f.; P. Kraus, in *MIE*, xlv (1942), 324 f.; P. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise. Exégète de la noétique d'Aristote*, Liège and Paris 1942 (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, xcix), on the authenticity of the quaestiones cf. now Hermes, xcvi (1967), 161; 'A. Badawī, *Arīṣṭū 'ind al-'arab*, pt. 1, Cairo 1947 (*Dirāsāt islāmiyya* v), contains the edition of eleven treatises of Alexander; J. Finnegan, *Texte arabe du περὶ τοῦ d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, xxxiii (1956), 157-202, cf. Roger Paret, in *Byzantion*, xxix-xxx (1959-60), 410-5; H. Ley, *Studie zur Geschichte des Materialismus im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1957; P. Thillet, *Un traité inconnu d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise sur la Providence dans une version arabe inédite*, in *L'homme et son destin d'après les penseurs du Moyen Âge*, Louvain and Paris 1960, 313-24, deals with Ms. Escorial 798, the same text in Ms. Carullah 1279 is examined by S. Pines in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 34<sup>e</sup> année, xxvi (1959), 295-9, for some Greek fragments quoted by Cyril of Alexandria cf. R. M. Grant, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, N. S. xv (1964), 275-9; S. Pines, *A new fragment of Xenocrates and its implications*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N. S. li/2 (1961); idem, *Omne quod movetur necesse est ab aliquo moveri: A refutation of Galen by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the theory of motion*, in *Isis*, lii (1961), 21-54; R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962; Moses Maimonides, *The guide of the perplexed*, transl. S. Pines, Chicago 1963, p. lxiv-lxxv; A. Dietrich, *Die arabische Version einer unbekanntenen Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Differentia specifica*, in *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen*, I. phil.-hist. Kl., 1964, no. 2, see p. 92-100 a list of manuscripts and treatises still extant; J. van Ess, *Über einige neue Fragmente des Alexander von Aphrodisias und des Proklos in arabischer Übersetzung*, in *Isl.*, xlii (1966), 148-68, contains com-

prehensive additions to the list given by Dietrich; H. Gätje, *Zur arabischen Überlieferung des Alexander von Aphrodisias*, in *ZDMG*, cxvi (1966), 255-78, at p. 278 is to be added that the Tashkent Ms. has the full text; idem, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Farbe*, in *Nachrichten des Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen*, I. phil.-hist. Kl., 1967 no. 10; F. E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968; P. Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen*, pt. 1, ii (forthcoming). (G. STROHMAIER)

**ISKANDAR AGHA** B. YA'KŪB B. ABKĀR, an Armenian of Beirut, better known by the name **ABKĀRYUS** (d. 1885). Becoming devoted to the study of Arabic literature, he endeavoured to provide his readers with anthologies based upon works still unpublished and thereby rendered great service to orientalism in the 19th century. His best known work is the *Nihāyat al-arab fi aḥbār al-'Arab* (Marseilles 1852; revised ed. under the title *Tazyin Nihāyat al-arab*, Beirut 1867). In Beirut he also edited (1864, 1881) the *Diwān* of 'Antara (*Munyat al-nafs fi aḥār 'Antar 'Abs*), and published in the same town *Rawḍat al-adab fi jabakāt shu'arā'* al-'Arab (1858), and *Rayḥanat al-afkār*... (1880). His stay in Egypt from 1873 inspired several of his writings, notably a biography of Ibrāhīm Paṣḥa, *al-Manāḥib al-Ibrāhimiyya* (Cairo 1299/1882), and some articles published in *Djinnān* in 1874; it was also in Cairo that he published, in 1883, his *Diwān*, under the title *Nuḥat al-nufūs wa-zinat al-furūs*, in which he gave particular praise to the Khedives Tawfiq and Ismā'īl.

Finally, he is the author of a narrative of the events which marked the history of Lebanon from 1860 to 1869, *Nawādir al-zamān fi waḥā'i' djabal Lubnān*; several Mss. of this work exist (see *D.M.*): the text has been published in 1920 in New Haven, by J. P. Scheltema, under the title: *The Lebanon in turmoil; Syria and the powers in 1860; Book of the marvels of the time concerning the massacres in the Arab country*. His brother Yūḥannā, d. 1889, was also interested in history and literature; his principal works are *Ḳaṣf al-zuhūr fi ta'riḫ al-duḥūr* (Beirut 1883), *Nuḥat al-ḥawāfir* (Beirut 1877), and an English-Arabic dictionary printed several times in Beirut (wrongly attributed to his brother by Brockelmann, in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. **ABKĀRIŪS**).

**Bibliography:** F. Bustānī, in *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif* ii, 258. (ED.)

**ISKANDAR BEG AL-SHAHİR BI-MUNSHĪ**, born ca. 968/1560, died probably ca. 1042/1632, author of the *Tāriḫ-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi*, one of the greatest works of Persian historiography. The *muḥad-dima*, on the origins of the Ṣafawids and the reigns of Ismā'īl I and Ṭahmāsp I, is followed by a detailed history of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I. The bulk of the work (*Ṣaḥīfas* I and II, or, according to another reckoning, *Ṣaḥīfa* I and *Ṣaḥīfa* II, *Maḥṣad* i) was completed in 1025/1616. A later portion, variously termed *Ṣaḥīfa* III, or *Ṣaḥīfa* II, *Maḥṣad* ii, was completed in 1038/1629, the year of Shāh 'Abbās's death. In the same year, Iskandar Beg, at the age of seventy, commenced a history of Shāh Ṣafī, but probably only the first four years of this chronicle are the work of Iskandar Beg. For a discussion on the authorship of this so-called *Dhāyl-i Tāriḫ-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi*, see Storey, i/l, pp. 312-14, and V. Minorsky's observations in *BSOAS*, x (1940-2), 540-1.

Iskandar Beg began his professional career as an accountant, but soon abandoned accountancy for *inshā'*. He obtained an appointment in the royal sec-

retariat, and rose rapidly to the rank of *munshī-yi 'aẓīm*. From 1001/1592-3 onwards, he was an eye-witness of many of the events he describes.

**Bibliography:** Storey, *il*, pp. 309-313; Fr. von Erdmann, *Iskender Munschi und sein Werk*, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 457-501. Printed edition of the *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi*, 2 vols. Tehran, 1334-5 s./1955-6. (R. M. SAVORY)

**ISKANDAR BEG** [see ISKENDER BEG].

**ISKANDAR KHĀN** [see Supplement].

**AL-ISKANDARIYYA**, the name of a great number of towns of which Alexander (al-Iskandar) was the founder, real or legendary, or for which he was chosen as eponymous protector when they were built after his death. The relevant ancient texts are listed in the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa (i, 1377-98 and Suppl., i, 54) and, in less detail, by M. Besnier, *Lexique de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1914, 32-4. These towns are:

1. Alexandria in Egypt [see following article].
2. Alexandria Arion: Harāt (cf. Suhrāb, *Kitāb 'Adi'ib al-aḳālim al-sab'a*, ed. von Mzik, Leipzig 1930, 29).
3. Alexandria in Margiana, in the region of Mraw.
4. Alexandria Eschate: *Khodjand*; in this region, the permanence of the legendary memory of Alexander finds expression also in the name of the town of Iskander, 50 km. north-east of Tashkent (cf. *Times Atlas of the world*, ii, London 1959, map 43).
5. Alexandria of the Paropanisades: *Ghazna* or, more probably, *Begrām*, to the north of *Kābul*.
6. Alexandria Opiane, on the east bank of the Indus (Besnier appears to confuse this with the last-named locality).
7. Alexandria apud Oritas, on the coast of Gedrosia, near *Cocala*: *Sonmiani*, at the mouth of the *Pourali*.
8. Alexandria in *Macarene*, in the *Makrān*, on the river *Mashkil*.
9. Alexandria in *Carmania*: known to the Arab geographers as *Walāsh-djird* (cf. *Yāqūt*, s.v.).
10. Alexandria in *Arachosia*: *Qandahār*.
11. Alexandria in *Susiana* (Alexandria ad *Tigrim*) between the *Tigris* and the *Eulaeus* (*Kārūn*).
12. Alexandria in *Troas*: *Eski Stabul*.
13. An Alexandria in *Assyria* (according to *Pliny*, *Histoire naturelle*, vi, 42).
14. Alexandria in *Syria*: *Alexandretta* [see AL-ISKANDARŪN].
15. An Alexandroskene 16 km. south of *Tyre*. This *Iskandarūna* (*Skandelion*) was in fact built by Alexander Severus, but legend subsequently attributed it to Alexander, who was said to have set up his tent (*skene*) there during the siege of *Tyre* (cf. *Besnier*, 34; *Guide Baedeker Palestine-Syrie*, Leipzig 1893, 274; *Guide bleu Moyen-Orient: Liban, Syrie, Jordanie, Iraq, Iran*, Paris 1965, 160). On the other hand, alexandrine legend does not appear to have annexed the fortress of *Alexandrium*, to the south-east of *Nābulus*, built by Alexander *Jannaeus* (102-76), cf. *Strabo*, xvi, 2, 40, and *Guide bleu*, 480.
16. An Alexandria in *Latmos*, to the south of *Magnesia ad Maeander*.
17. An Alexandria in *Cyprus*.
18. An Alexandria in *Thrace*.
19. An Alexandria in the *Gulf of Saros* (*Melas sinus*, to the north of the *Chersonesus*).
20. An Alexandria in *Armenia*.
21. An *Alexandropolis* in *Thrace*.
22. An *Alexandropolis* in *Parthia* (*Khurāsān*), in the region of the *Nasā* of the Arab geographers.
23. Alexandria *Boukephalos*, on the right bank of the *Hydaspe*, near the modern *Djalālpur*, in the North of the *Pundjāb*.
24. An Alexandria on the *Acesines* (*Cenāb*), near its confluence with the *Indus*.
25. Alexandria of the *Sogdians* (of *India*), to the south of the preceding locality.
26. An Alexandria "para *Sorianois*" (perhaps that of *Diodorus Siculus*, xvii, 102 ?), in *India*.
27. *Alexandri portus*, at the mouth of the northern arm of the In-

28. Alexandria near *Bactra* (*Balkh*).
29. Alexandria *Oxiane* (on the *Oxus*: *Djayhūn*).
30. Alexandria *Eschate* (different from No. 4, on the Upper *Oxus*, in the *Khuttal*; the *Sikandara* of the Arab geographers (cf. *Ibn Ḥawqal-Kramers-Wiet*, 432, 434; *Muḳaddasī*, 291).
- 31 to 35, or 31 to 39, according to the authors, various other Alexandrias in *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*.

The memory of these towns has been preserved in an erratic and uncertain manner: *Ibn Rusta*, for example, claims for his own city, *Iṣfahān*, the honour of having been founded by the hero (*Ibn Rusta-Wiet*, 186; *Ibn Ḥawqal-Kramers-Wiet*, 355; another trace of this onomastic tradition is in the name *Eskandarī*, a locality 110 km. west of *Iṣfahān*). *Kudāma*, for his part, names as towns built by Alexander (*BGA*, vi, 265): *Samarḳand*, *al-Dabūsiyya* (modern *Ziandin* in the region of *Bukhārā*; cf. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 113, 352), *al-Iskandariyya al-Ḳuṣwā* (*Khudjand*), *Bukhārā*, *Marw*, *Harāt*, *Zarandj*, *al-Rayy*, *Iṣfahān* and *Hamadhān*. It is apparent that the Iranian tradition tends to monopolize the memory of the hero. But it is *Ibn al-Faḳīh* who represents the starting-point of the most interesting links. No doubt, apart from the Alexandria in *Egypt*, he knew merely of *Alexandretta* (p. III) and the tradition of the founding of *Marw* by Alexander (71; *al-Muḳaddasī*, 298). But *Yāqūt*, who had at his disposal the complete version of *Ibn al-Faḳīh*'s work, states that in it he found traces of thirteen Alexandrias, out of all those that Alexander founded "almost everywhere" and to which he gave his name, a name "which was later to be changed". In fact, *Yāqūt*'s text enumerates twelve towns mentioned by *Ibn al-Faḳīh*, to which he adds three others. The whole of this information is repeated by *Muḥammad Murtaḍā* (*Tāḍjī al-'arūs*, iii, 276).

These Alexandrias are: - A. An Alexandria "on the bank of the great river" (*TA* defines this—"namely, the *Djayhūn*") = 29. - B. An Alexandria "in the country of *Babylon* (*Bābil*)": this is *Iskandariyya*, a small township 68 km. South of *Baghdād*, according to popular tradition founded by Alexander; the same name is also borne, in the same region, by a canal (cf. *Guide bleu*, 626; *Iraq and the Persian Gulf, September 1944*, Geographical Handbook Series of the Naval Intelligence Division, Oxford 1944, s.v.; *Times Atlas of the world*, map 34). - C. An Alexandria "in the country of *Sogdiana* (*Ṣughd*): this is *Samarḳand*" (*TA*: "in the *Ṣughd* of *Samarḳand*") = 4. - D. An Alexandria which "is called *Marghābulūs*: this is *Marw*" (*TA*: "at *Marw*"). No doubt, in the name *Marghābulūs* we may detect the association of two traces, referring respectively to *Margus* (the river of *Margiana*: *Murghāb*) and *polis* = 3. - E. An Alexandria "called *Kūsh*, and which is *Bactra* (*Balkh*)" (*TA*: "this is the name borne by *Balkh*, for it was Alexander who founded it") = 28. - F. An Alexandria "in the basin of the rivers, in *India*" (*TA* adds: "which are five in number and known by the name *Pundjāb*") = 6, 23 or 24. - G. An Alexandria (*TA* gives the name *al-Iskandara* and adds: "large") "in the country of *India*", with no further details = 6 or 23-27. This onomastic tradition has remained strong in *India* (see the many occurrences of the name *Sikandara* in northern *India*: *Times Atlas of the world*, s.v. and map 30). - H. Alexandria in *Egypt*, known as "the Great". - I. *Alexandretta*, if this is indeed the town denoted by the poor description given by *Yāqūt*, "a small town between *Aleppo* and *Ḥamāt*". *TA*, on the other hand, leaves no

doubt on the subject. - J. An Alexandria, "which is a small town on the Tigris, opposite al-Djāmīda, 15 parasangs from Wāsiṭ", the home of the Shāfi'i Abū Bakr al-Iskandarānī (for whom see Kaḥḥāla, *Muḥḥam al-mu'allifin*, ii, 98) = 11. - K. An Alexandria which is "a small town between Mecca and Medina, mentioned by the ḥāfiṣ Abū 'Abd Allāh b. al-Nadīdīār in his dictionary" (Kaḥḥāla, *op. cit.*, xi, 317).

The *Tādī al-'arūs* adds, without further details, that five other Alexandrias also exist, to make up the total number mentioned at the beginning of the passage, of sixteen towns "commemorating the name of Alexander". In fact, this figure takes into account the mistake made by Yāqūt over the number of cities given by Ibn al-Faḳīh (twelve, not thirteen); the true total is therefore fifteen, the same as that of Yāqūt.

The four towns which figure in Yāqūt, and whose names disappear in *TA*, for the evident reason that they are more difficult to locate, are: - A. A town which Alexander founded *fi Bāurnaḥūs*; at first sight indecipherable, this name may be read as Bārūnaḥūs, a possible corruption of Paro(pa)nisos, the land of the Paropanisades = 5. - B. A town called the Fortified (al-Muḥaṣṣana): cf. 26, where Diodorus says: *ektiṣe polin Alexandriaean* (Latin, *oppidum condidit Alexandriaem*). - C. An Alexandria *fi Djalīḥūs*: the epithet Gallicus may here refer (cf. Propertius, 2, 13, 48) to the Gallus, a river of Phrygia or Galatia, or to the Glaucus, a small river in the North of Armenia or the gulf between Lycia and Caria (Strabo, xiv, 2, 2) = 20 or 16. - D. An Alexandria "in the country of al-Saḥūyāsīs": in this name it is possible to detect a corruption of Satnioeis (Satniols, Saphniois: Strabo, vii, 7, 2, xiii, I, 50 and 3, I), a river which flows to the South of Alexandria of Troas = 12.

*Bibliography*: In the text. (A. MIQUEL)

AL-ISKANDARIYYA (also al-Askandariyya), the principal seaport of Egypt, in Ptolemaic times the second city of the world. One of the few important seaports on the African shore of the Mediterranean, Alexandria enjoys a particularly important position. With a population of about 1,576,234 (in 1960), the city lies at the Western angle of the Delta in latitude 30°11'N. and longitude 29°51'E. It was founded in 332 B.C. by Alexander the Great. When it came into Arab hands, though its glory had diminished, it was still a great and splendid city.

When Alexandria was surrendered to the Arabs in 21/642 a considerable number of Greeks left the city. The new rulers, on taking possession, did not molest the inhabitants. The well-known story of the burning of the great library by order of the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, which is related by a 7th/13th-century Arabic author, cannot be accepted as historical. The Arab newcomers were at first overwhelmed by the city of Alexandria, whose buildings and monuments must have seemed to them the work of a superhuman power. Time and again we are told by the traditions that the city shone so brightly by night that the tailor needed no artificial light to thread his needle. The famous 12th-century Arab geographer, Yāqūt, refuted this same assertion when he declared that the town was as dark as any other during the night. Its houses shone simply because they were coloured white, while the façades and throughfares were built of marble. Accounts by Arab writers of the 3rd/9th to 7th/13th centuries, when pieced together, give only a general description of Alexandria and materials for reconstructing

the plan of the city are quite insufficient. It seems fairly certain, however, that the city retained its overall layout through the Middle Ages and up to the present time. Eight straight streets intersect eight more at right angles, producing a chess-board pattern of direct and continuous throughfares. The riches of antiquity were utilized by the new rulers as when, for example, during a monetary crisis at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, the governor of Egypt allowed a copper statue to be melted down to provide metal with which to strike money. In the reign of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, the government made use of lead from an underground tunnel, which still existed at that time in the city, in building the canal of Alexandria. A remarkable feature of medieval Alexandria, and one that was taken over from ancient times, was that the houses were built on columns, rising above one another in as many as three tiers. In this way, the city made full use of the land while securing its water supply by means of a carefully planned subterranean system of canals, cisterns and wells. In winter Alexandria had and still has a fairly considerable rainfall, while in summer the waters of the Nile were directed and stored there.

The city of Alexandria was well fortified. There is no precise information about the origins of the medieval fortifications. When 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ met with resolute resistance to his siege of the city, after the invasion of Manuel in 25/645, he swore to destroy the city's walls after its reconquest. The authenticity of such reports, however, may well be doubted despite their widespread repetition. A soldier with the circumspection of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ could scarcely, seriously, have wished to leave a frontier city as important strategically as Alexandria without the protection of a wall. We learn, moreover, that the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mutawakkil (234/848-247/861) had Alexandria furnished with a city wall. Since the Arabic word *banā*, in medieval times, meant restore as well as build, we can draw no firm conclusions from this. Similar statements are made about Ibn Ṭūlūn (254/868-270/884), Saladin (567/1172-589/1193), al-Zāhir Baybars (659/1260-674/1277), al-Ashraf Shā'bān (764/1363-778/1376) and others after them. Hence we may well question the assertion that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ left the city walls razed and assume that al-Mutawakkil, Ibn Ṭūlūn and the other rulers gradually added improvements to them. At the same time, the view that the walls were built in pre-Islamic times gains credence. It is particularly important for the history of the city that the new walls, supposedly erected by al-Mutawakkil, included about half the area of those which dated from the Hellenistic-Roman period. About a hundred towers were built along the walls in the Middle Ages and fitted out with suitable equipment including cannon. In addition, the city was protected by a moat in front of the walls.

The medieval seaport of Alexandria consisted of an eastern and a western harbour. The original island of Pharos was flanked by these harbours and joined to the mainland by a causeway seven stadia in length, and hence known as the Heptastadium, which separated the harbours. On the north-eastern point of the island stood the Pharos, the great lighthouse begun in the time of Ptolemy Soter. This famous building, the prototype of all our lighthouses and one of the wonders of the ancient world, survived the Arab conquests by several centuries. The Arab writers call it the *manāra*, *manār* or *fanār* and we are indebted to al-Balawī for a precise

description of it dating from the year 561/1165. When the Pharos was destroyed in the course of various earthquakes, the port came, in the later Middle Ages, to be watched over from a knoll, Kom al-Nadura (*Kawm al-Nāzūra*), where the arrival and departure of the ships was noted. In 882/1447, under Sultan Kā'it Bay [q.v.], a tower was built on the ruins of the Pharos which still bears his name.

It is worth remembering the remark of al-Mas'ūdī that the imperial anchorage on the eastern side of the eastern harbour, renowned in ancient times, was not used in the Middle Ages. For closer supervision of the eastern harbour, a second lighthouse was built. Construction began in the time of Sultan Kālāwūn or in that of his son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kālāwūn, and was completed in 767/1365.

The eastern harbour was strengthened by this addition. The western harbour, on the other hand, was protected by an iron chain. On grounds of security, the eastern harbour was reserved for Christian shipping and that from the *dār al-ḥarb*, while the western harbour was for Muslim vessels. Entering the eastern harbour required particularly careful navigation. To reach the anchorage protected from wind and rough sea, ships had to sail close by the Pharos and hold hard to the western bank of the eastern harbour lest they plunge into the danger zone of submerged rocks. It was impossible to avoid these rocks by sailing around the eastern side because of the shallow water. The harbour authorities had pilots and launches to accompany the great Frankish ships to their anchorage. A wooden landing-stage connected the anchorage to the shore, by means of which the vessels could be loaded and unloaded. Anchoring in the western harbour raised no technical difficulties.

Apart from al-Abdarī's book of travel (7th/13th century), none of the known oriental sources provides a detailed description of the city gates of Alexandria. Impressed by the achievement of the pre-Islamic period, al-Abdarī describes them as follows: "Their uprights and lintels, despite the extraordinary size of the gates, are made of hewn stone of wonderful beauty and solidity. Every door-post is formed of a single stone as is every lintel and step. There is nothing more astonishing than the collection of these stones in view of their immense size. The passage of time has not affected them or left any trace on them; they remain still in all their freshness and beauty. As for the panels of the gates, they are tremendously strong, clad inside and out with iron of the most delicate, most beautiful and most solid workmanship possible."

The city had four main gates: Bāb al-Baḥr led to the Heptastadium and the eastern harbour while Bāb Raṣhīd (the Rosetta gate) was the eastern gate with the road leading to Rosetta and Fuwwa. The southern gate was called Bāb Sidra (also called Ṣadr in the late Middle Ages), known to the western sources as Port du Midi or Meridionale, also as the Gate of Spices, Bāb al-Baḥar, or Gate of St. Mark. The caravans from the Maghrib and the Egyptian hinterland came and went through this gate. The fourth, Bāb al-Akḥdar or Bāb al-Khidr, in the northern section of the wall led to one of the city's three large cemeteries and was opened only once a week for visitors, on Fridays. There were to be found innumerable places of pilgrimage (*mazārāt*) and the graves of scholars and pious men. In the western area of the city lay the royal buildings like the Dār al-Sulṭān (a magnificent complex going back to antiquity), Dār al-'Adl, Dār al-Imāra,

Ḳaṣr al-Silāḥ and Dār al-Ṭirāz. Near the Dār al-Ṭirāz and opposite Bāb al-Baḥr lay the famous Arsenal of Alexandria which, however, by the later Middle Ages, no longer played any important part in the history of warfare. By this time it was used simply as a customs house.

Alexandria was at some distance from the Rosetta branch of the Nile and governments were faced with the difficult problem of linking the city with the river, of securing the supply of Nile water, and of permitting and maintaining traffic with the Nile valley. In 331 B.C. a canal was dug between Alexandria and Schidia (present day al-Naṣḥ al-Baḥrī) and, indeed, by using the Kanope branch of the Nile, joined Alexandria to the next branch of the Nile at the same time. Since the Kanope branch dried up, as a result, and could no longer supply the canal of Alexandria with water, the bolbitine branch took over this function. This means that this development was complete some time before the Arab conquest of Egypt. The mouth of the canal which opened into the Nile became silted up from time to time. The duty of the Muslim administration to keep the canal in good order was fulfilled only to a limited extent, and at times the people of Alexandria had to rely on their cisterns for their water supply as they had done in ancient times. In the 3rd/9th century, the canal was only twice cleaned out. Information about the canal of Alexandria during the Fāṭimid period is very scarce. We are rather better informed about the canal in the period of Ayyūbid rule. In this period too, however, no decisive steps were taken for the utilization of the canal throughout the year for irrigation and transport. The Sultan al-Zāḥir Baybars, and, to a greater extent, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kālāwūn, gave special consideration to the significance of the canal for Alexandria and for state trade as well as for the fertility of the surrounding area. In the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, from 710/1310 until 770/1368, the waters of the Nile flowed to Alexandria all the year round. Sultan al-Aṣḥraf Barsbay, too, took care to keep the canal in good condition and make it navigable throughout the year, partly with an eye to his own policy of trade monopolies. In the second half of the 9th/15th century, however, once again less attention was paid to the upkeep of the canal.

The journey by Nile from Cairo to Alexandria usually took seven days. During the flood season, the Nile boats plied between Alexandria and the other towns of the Nile valley, especially Cairo and Kūṣ-ṭhe assembly points for goods from the Orient.

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Alexandria. When the Arabs invaded the city some 40,000, or, according to other reports, 70,000, Jews were living there. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam puts the number of Greeks living there, after the conquest, at some 600,000 men (women and children not included), although he gave the total number of Greeks, without counting women and children, as 200,000, at the time of the conquest. Both these figures are unreliable. Bishop Arculf, who visited the city some 25 years after the beginning of Arab rule, wrote of the numerous population housed within the city, without giving any estimate as to its size. More reliable figures have come down to us from later times. The Jewish travellers, particularly, show a keen interest in establishing the number of their co-religionists in Alexandria. Benjamin of Tudela (5th/12th century) puts the number of Jewish residents, at this time, at 3,000, while E. Ashtor notes that this figure includes only those



from whom taxes were levied and assumes that the total number of Jews may be estimated at about 9,000. According to the writings of another traveller, dating from 886/1481, their number seems to have diminished to some sixty families. A few years later, another Jewish traveller put the number of the Jewish community at about 25 families (cf. E. Ashtor, *The number of Jews in mediaeval Egypt*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, xix (1968) 8-12).

In the 13th century, the total population of the city was estimated at 65,000, which, however, decreased sharply in the middle of the 8th/14th century. In the years between 748/1347 and 751/1350, on several days people died at the rate of one to two hundred a day and the number rose to seven hundred at the height of the plague. The Dār al-Ṭirāz and Dār al-Wikāla were closed because of the lack of manpower and the absence of commercial traffic. The markets and customs houses, too, ceased to function. The city, however, was able to survive this catastrophe and the population, once more, rapidly increased. Frescobaldi put its number at 60,000 (786/1384), while in the same year Simon Sigoli estimated the population at about 50,000. These figures, despite their variations show that the population was again on the increase. It is important to remember that the growth of the population of Alexandria was dependent, in the first place, on the development of the city's trade and was greater than that of any other city or region of Egypt, with the exception of Cairo where most of the army was stationed. As early as 788/1386, then, Alexandria was returning to prosperity after the plague.

In the medieval city, the central government, whose powers had accumulated in the course of time, was the source of authority. In the earlier Middle Ages, Alexandria had enjoyed a special position, as it had in former times before the Arab invasion. Henceforward, however, its governors were appointed by the central administration. Nevertheless, in these circumstances, the city remained either a polis, a self-contained administrative area, or was included in the western Egyptian coastal area (to which Libya also sometimes belonged). The governor of Egypt soon came to reside, for some of the time at least, in Alexandria. As a polis or provincial centre, Alexandria had a treasury which was usually administered by a Muslim. Not infrequently at this time, however, the financial and civil administration was given over to Copts. From the documents which date from the first century of Arab rule, it is apparent that Copts were also nominated as governors of Alexandria; thus, for example, the Christian Theodosius was appointed to this office by the Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya.

During the governorship of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (from 256/870), Alexandria was "independent". The special position of Alexandria lasted from that time until the 3rd/10th century and Grohmann rightly recognizes in this some reflection of the position in Roman law whereby Alexandria, as a polis, lay outside the *kūra* of Egypt. It is in this light that we must understand the division of the 'Abbāsīd budget for Egypt in 337/958 into Miṣr and Alexandria, as reported by Kuḏāma.

Under the Fātimids, the governor of Alexandria went even further towards taking on the role of the erstwhile Augustalis by extending his authority over the province of Buhayra. On this point, Grohmann's observations are at one with the historical development of the city. His view that the Crusades served so to diminish the importance of the city that an

appointment as governor there should be understood as an indication of royal disfavour, is not, on the other hand, consonant with the facts. Certainly the city continued to lose its independent position after the fall of the Fātimids but from the commercial and strategic point of view it regained its earlier importance. Through the international transit trade the city became a market for East and West.

Some demonstration of all this is provided by the fact that up to about the 3rd/10th century a kind of public meeting was occasionally held in Alexandria concerning the acceptance of government precepts or to choose a Coptic Patriarch. In the first half of the 4th/11th century the Coptic Patriarch had to transfer his seat from Alexandria to Cairo. In the later medieval period it was not unusual for the city to be given as an *ikhfā'* [q.v.]

The governor was a military official while the *kādī* was both a civil official and a judge in the religious sphere. He is sometimes referred to in the chronicles as *ra'īs al-madīna* (town chief) and in times of crisis had sometimes to govern the city himself, though this in no way altered the status of the city. In Mamluk times, the governor of Alexandria had the rank of an *amīr ṭablkhāna*. After the attack of Peter of Lusignan in 766/1365, the Mamluk government paid more attention to the city and established an *amīr mi'a* there; i.e., the governor of Alexandria had the same rank as those of Tripoli, Ṣafad and Hamāt in Syria.

In Alexandria, the Mālikī school was prevalent. This resulted from the proximity to North Africa and the activity of the Maghribīs and Spanish Muslims who settled in Alexandria in the later Middle Ages, driven before the *Reconquista* in Spain and the upheavals in North Africa. In the later Middle Ages, the *kādī 'l-kudāt* was almost always a Mālikī. In a few instances the government choice fell on a Shāfi'ī. Nevertheless, the three schools, Mālikī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī were all represented in the administration of justice. Several sultans saw to it, in addition, that foreign as well as native merchants had legal protection as far as their persons and goods were concerned. Thus, for example, it was said of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn, with regard to the judge of Alexandria, Ibn Miṣkīn, that he supported a Frank in 735/1334 in opposition to his own official. Sometimes the diplomas of appointment for *kādīs* give prominence to these responsibilities in respect of the merchants as well as the usual stipulations about the just treatment of citizens. The *muhtasib* was ranged alongside the governor and *kādī* with responsibility for the supervision of the market and those concerned in it, producers as well as retailers, though his powers were, *de facto*, restricted to the sphere of smaller transactions.

Alexandria was an important source of revenue for the state or rather for those in power. Besides the high duties paid by the Kārimīs and the foreign merchants, the state authorities made money from almost every transaction and every shop in the city. The state profited too from the mint, Dār al-Darb, where native and foreigner alike had their metal coined. Particular groups of participants in trade, such as money-changers, sailors, brokers, interpreters, auctioneers and donkey-drivers made good profits in this city and paid high taxes. Camel-drivers, or rather the leaders of caravans, had to pay their tax, the so-called *Maks al-Manākh*, outside the city where their camels were halted. As we have no statistics regarding this tax, we must be content

with a single example. According to the Kādī al-Fādīl, the annual revenue of the city from duties came to 28,613 *dīnārs*, not an exaggerated claim in view of other reports from the 14th and 15th centuries. The sultan's *dīwān* levied some 50,000 *dīnārs* in tolls, duties, etc. from ships entering Alexandria in 721/1321 and this, according to the text, did not even include all the ships that arrived. Fidenzio of Padua's observation (dating from the 8th/14th century) coincides with the information given by a governor of Alexandria in the 9th/15th, that Alexandria was worth 1,000 *frinti* or *dīnārs* a day to the sultan in the 8th/14th century. This, of course, was during the trading season. Al-Makrīzī writes of a Frankish vessel which paid 40,000 *dīnārs* duty on its cargo, in Alexandria, in 703/1303, an incredible sum when one thinks of the total naval fleet of a single Frankish merchant republic. It seems no exaggeration to estimate the total duties brought to Alexandria, for the state, by the foreign trade, at about 100,000 *dīnārs* a year.

Alexandria was always an important centre for cloth manufacture. Its products reached as far as India. It is believed that much of the fabric donated by the popes to Italian churches in the 8th and 9th centuries was produced by workers in Alexandria. Besides the looms (for linen, silk, wool and cotton), *buyūt al-ghazl*, there were also workshops for raw silk, *buyūt al-kazzāsin*. The city housed a large public workshop for brocade, Dār al-Tīrāz, which produced primarily for the luxury requirements of the court, not least for official gifts such as those to the Mongol Khān or for the annual clothing of the Ka'ba with costly material. In 767/1365, the Dār al-Tīrāz was burnt down in a Crusader raid but was restored again by the government. Private individuals too played an important part in the commercial life of the city by virtue of the fabrics they produced. We have a representative example: an 8th/14th century loom owner, the *faqīh* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, had invested his capital in the production of silk fabrics. Made bankrupt by a fire at his home, he fled to Upper Egypt for fear of his creditors and there was arrested and brought back to Cairo. His creditors met together to come to some arrangement. Al-Damāmīnī later went off to India to find better opportunities for advancement. He died there in 827/1423.

The outstanding achievements of the Alexandrian weavers were widely recognized. When the government of Yemen planned to expand their production of silk they asked for an Alexandrian weaver to be sent there. The authorities in Egypt agreed to this request and in 788/1386 sent a mission to Yemen. According to one report there were some 14,000 looms in Alexandria at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. By 837/1434, in the course of the general decline of the city, the number had fallen to 800. At that time, imports of cheaper fabrics rose, in particular those of cloth from Flanders and England from which the Venetians made considerable profit.

That glass was manufactured in Alexandria cannot yet be established from the medieval Arabic sources. Nevertheless, a page of the famous Atlas compiled by French scholars who accompanied Gen. Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1789, shows that glass was produced in Alexandrian workshops. Excavations at Alexandria, at Kom al-Dikka, prove that besides local products, ceramics were imported from North Africa, Iran and elsewhere. Chinese porcelain too was brought to Alexandria. In contrast to Damietta, the production of Egyptian sugar had no

place in Alexandria, though during the later Middle Ages sugar was exported by way of Alexandria to the West. Not all the wine handled in Alexandria was imported; Egypt's own wine production (namely in Cairo) developed to such an extent that in the 9th/15th century it came to occupy an important place in the state commerce of Alexandria. From Alexandria, the only Egyptian outlet for the substance, the Matdjār al-Sultānī exported about 5,000 *kantars* of alum a year. Ibn Mammātī, in his capacity of inspector of the alum monopoly, sold some 13,000 *kantars*, in 588/1192, to the Christian buyers who had come to Alexandria; a record in the selling of Egyptian alum. There was a state monopoly too on natron (sodium hydroxide), essential for cloth manufacture, which was sold to weavers in Cairo and Alexandria at prices which were kept very high.

Alexandria enjoyed a special place in international trade. While it is still difficult to establish the existence of this international trade with regard to Alexandria before the 5th/12th century, it can be seen quite clearly in this century itself. Natives of various Christian countries were to be found gathered there. Benjamin of Tudela names 28 Christian cities or countries alleged to have commercial representation there. William of Tyre says that Alexandria, in the second half of the 12th century, had become the emporium of East and West. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote that Alexandria was one of the most important ports in the world: "In the whole world I have not seen its equal, save only those of Kaulam and Kālīkūt in India, that of the infidels at Sudāk in the land of the Turks, and the harbour of Zaytūn in China." Neither the establishment of the Crusader states nor that of the Mongol empire affected its position in world trade or detracted from it.

Close supervision was exercised over the three main gates of the city. Ibn Dīubayr could only enter Alexandria after the harbour authorities had taken his name and his goods had been investigated by customs officials. Similarly, the foreign Christians had to be identified by the consul of their country. Their possessions too were examined by the authorities of Alexandria. Once the customs formalities were completed, the oriental merchant made for the *funduḳ* of his countrymen, whenever a particular *funduḳ* was assigned to them; otherwise, he might find accommodation in a private *funduḳ* or *khān*. The western merchant was restricted to the *funduḳ* designated for his country and to which he could bring his merchandise. After the establishment of these *funduḳ*s for foreign states, the trade of Alexandria was no longer simply a commerce of the coast. The foreign merchants enjoyed extraterritorial privileges [see *ḥḥḥḥḥḥ*]. As a result, these *funduḳ*s were administered by officials or consuls of the friendly nations which stood under Egyptian protection. Venice, as the leading commercial power, gained a second *funduḳ* in the course of the 13th century. In addition, the merchants were able to rent shops and storerooms in the vicinity of their *funduḳ*s. Besides Christians from the West, from the Byzantine Empire and from Ethiopia, there came to Alexandria Muslims from Spain, North Africa, Mesopotamia, Syria and the neighbourhood of India.

Al-Nuwayrī, who lived in Alexandria in the 7th/14th century, has left us the longest account of the city that has yet come to light. But he was not as concerned with the trade of this cosmopolitan city as was al-Makrīzī with that of Cairo. The short accounts which have come down to us, however, give us a clear and detailed picture of the markets of

the city. First of all, it must be noted that the customs house with its 30 storerooms was not simply concerned with the imposition of duties and with harbour control but was also used for public auctions. The Dār al-Wikāla, too, served business in a special capacity. Notices of this Dār in Alexandria can be traced back as far as the 4th/11th century. It is the Dār Wikālat Bayt al-Māl which is meant, a public administration which ensured the imposition and collection of taxes for the head of state, supported state trade and took a decisive role as an intermediary, selling only, in principle, imported merchandise to the Muslim entrepreneurs. As in every major Islamic city, in Alexandria each essential trade had its own market. Among the most important markets in the city were the Sūḵ al-ʿAṭṭārīn and al-Bahār, the pepper and spice market, probably the centre of the Kārimī merchants in Alexandria. The Sūḵ al-Murđjāniya, the market of the coral-workshops and of the dealers in coral, was one of the most important coral markets in the whole of the Mediterranean area. The coral was worked in Alexandria: in its home port, a pound of coral cost 5 silver *dīrhams*; after being worked in Alexandria its price rose to three or four times this amount. The chief outlets in the south were Aden and Kāll-kūt. The coral brought from Alexandria found good markets in the Ḥijāz, in Yemen, in India, and, particularly, in the Far East.

The linen trade had its own special *sūḵ*, the Wikālat al-Kittān, where dealers handled large transactions. The slave market of Alexandria was no less important than that of Cairo. The money-changers, fruit-merchants, druggists (perfumers), sellers of sugared almonds or nuts, confectionary, dried fruits etc. always found a ready market. Alexandria had, in addition, like Cairo, a Sūḵ al-Ḳashshāshīn (flea-market = bric à brac bazaar), like the so-called Funduḵ al-Djawkandar and Funduḵ al-Damāminī, which were private *funduḵ* undertakings. The city's requirements of grain were met by imports supplementing home-grown supplies, as can now be shown from the documents. The bazaars of the candle and wax-dealers, like those of the dealers in wood, were especially important. Individual markets and bazaars were designated according to the race or nationality of the merchants. Thus, for example, the Sūḵ al-Aʿādjīm was that of the Iranian merchants concerned, notably, with the import of silk fabrics and costly goods to Alexandria. Alongside these important and specialized markets and *funduḵs*, Alexandria was provided with a number of lesser, more general markets where pedlars with their tables and stalls, their cooking vessels and saucepans, sold their comestibles to the passers-by. Some dealers had old-established businesses on the Pharos peninsula and along the canal of Alexandria, where the ships entered, as well as in the town.

We should not overlook the fact that big business in the city was not completely monopolized by the state, nor confined to men; women too participated in commerce. We know of a woman of such standing among the merchants of Alexandria that she was known, as a result, by the nickname of Sitt al-Tudjār (lady of the merchants). She died of plague in 749/1348.

In Islamic history, political office and participation in business were by no means mutually exclusive. Leading members and high officials of the governments of Egypt were closely involved in big business. The organization of the *Matdjar al-Sullānī* (state trade), supposed to have been founded in the time of the famine which occurred under the reign

of the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustansīr, had in fact already existed and played a particularly important part during the Ayyūbid and Mamluk periods. Besides slaves and wood, the *Matdjar* imported iron and sheet metal, tin, silver and copper (later gold as well), and offered in return monopoly goods such as alum, natron, corn, flax, and later spices, sugar and soap. Egyptian mummies, too, found a ready market in Alexandria. Still, the principal line of business was the pepper trade. Frederic C. Lane has established that, before the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, Venetian vessels loaded, on average, about 1,500,000 pounds of pepper a year.

The merchant always made a good living. No less a person than the renowned *fakīh* and ascetic, al-Ṭurṭūshī, came to Alexandria to preach against the money-lenders. It was not just by chance that the Alexandrian moneychangers were in a position to lend the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn the sum of 10,000 *dīnārs* in the year 737/1337: sufficient proof, in itself, of the profitable nature of the business conducted by these brokers whose operations were not restricted to the changing of money.

Lively trade and flourishing crafts allowed the city to amass wealth. The "guilds", or, more exactly, the social groups involved in trade, did not function as independent entities with certain rights, which would have permitted them to defend their rights against the aggression of the city governor or the central authority. In fact, it was the central government who kept the power of decision and solved their problems while promulgating the laws and the regulations according to the juridical principles of Islam. Although the form of government and religious ideology hemmed in the dynamic development of Alexandria, it was commerce, with its traditions, its methods and its "code of honour", which determined the rhythm of city life. It is possible to construct a picture of attitudes prevalent among foreigner and native in the city and in regard to the city, not simply from the chronicles and treaties but from references in the most belletristic forms of literature like, for example, *The Thousand and One Nights* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and hence to draw inferences as to forms of government, methods of taxation, and the sort of risks involved in business.

In Alexandria the state was the primary ruler and rule was exercised in the interest of the state rather than that of the community. There is no clearer demonstration of this than the revolt of 727/1326 and the events leading up to it. Heavy tax burdens led to a rebellion which was put down with the utmost severity. It is worth noting the penalties which the government inflicted on the Kārimī merchants (among them the sons of al-Kuwaik or al-Kawbak, a respected Kārimī merchant), as well as on the silk dealers and producers. In addition to the fines and confiscations which were exacted, totalling about 260,000 *dinars*, the leaders of the revolt were crucified.

The diminishing power of the ruler and the weakness of the army in the city, nevertheless, came to be felt to the disadvantage of business and the execution of trade for, in troubled times, soldiers and mercenaries had extended their protection, *ḥimā*, to those involved in business, for large sums of money. Alexandria came to concentrate primarily on long-distance trade. Those who conducted this trade, the government officials, the long-distance dealers or big businessmen, were far removed from the retail dealer with his shop in the bazaar supervised by the *muhtasib*.

The early and later Middle Ages formed two clearly distinct periods in the religious and scholarly life of Alexandria. In the early Middle Ages, the Christian and Jewish elements were supreme. After the Arab conquest the Greek Patriarch was forced to leave the city, the Coptic Patriarch entered and the Copts supported the Arabs in their later struggle with the Byzantine Empire and fell in with their plans for expansion. This period prepared the ground in Alexandria for the development of Islamic science—here a centre was established for the translation of the cultural works of antiquity which were of immense value, providing a basis for Islamic culture and its spiritual achievements. In respect of purely Islamic science, which, as al-Sakhāwī maintained, began first with al-Silafī, Alexandria was dependent on Fustāṭ and Cairo. At that time, men journeyed to the capital of Egypt to study the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*. The *wazīr* Ridwān b. al-Walakhshī founded a Sunnī *madrasa* in Alexandria in 531/1137 (before the end of the Fātimid period) in which the *faḥīh* Abū Tāhir b. ʿAwf taught *ḥadīth*. Scarcely fifteen years later al-ʿĀdil b. al-Sallār established a second Sunnī *madrasa* in Alexandria for the famous al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī. As is well known, Saladin himself later studied the *Muwajjaʿ* of the *imām* Mālik with him. It was Saladin too who, after his assumption of power, had a school, a hospital and a hostel built for the Maghribis, where they could find free lodging, teachers of various subjects, medical care and financial support.

The sources refer repeatedly to the names of various *ribāʿs* in the city, while the *faḍāʾil* literature on Alexandria expounds the strategic importance for Islam of this border harbour.

It was not only statesmen and warriors, however, who contributed to Islamic culture, the merchant too played a part. Several wealthy merchants of Alexandria were famous by virtue of their generosity and donations. They built mosques, schools and other religious foundations and encouraged Muslim learning. From the circle of famous Muslim Kārimī merchants of Alexandria we may take as an example ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Ruṣṣayd al-Takrītī (d. 714/1314). He had a mosque and *madrasa* built, called after him Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Takrītīyya, a place of learning for *ḥadīth* and *Shāfiʿī fiqh* (the school is known today as the *Masḥūd Abī ʿAlī*). The contemporary sources write with delight of the Kārimī merchant family of Kuwayk who could provide the cost of building a mosque or school with the profits of a single day's business.

Alexandria can look back on many renowned legal and religious scholars, poets and poetesses, Ṣūfis and *murābitūn* housed within its walls: Ibn Kalāḳīs, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, al-Sakandarī, al-Shāṭibī, Ibn al-Munayyar, Ibn al-Mudjāwir, Ibn al-Sawwāf, Ibn Sulaym, Ibn Kāsim al-Nuwayrī, Abu ʿl-Ḥādījib, al-Kabbar and al-Būṣīrī.

Of the famous mosques of Alexandria, mention should be made of the *Masḥūd al-ʿUmarī* or *Djāmīʿ al-Gharbī* (the former Theonas Church) and the *Masḥūd al-Djuyūshī* or al-ʿAṭṭārīn (formerly the Church of St. Athanasius). Various details are known too about the *ribāʿs* of the city such as the *Ribāʿ al-Wāsiṭī* (d. 672/1274), to the east of the mosque of Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, (outside the city wall on the northern side), now a *zāwiya*, and also the *Ribāʿ Siwār*, where Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Shāṭibī (d. 672/1274), a *mukriʿ* and *zāhid*, had his quarters. Outside the city and in the vicinity of the Rosetta gate the scholar and *mutawallī al-thaḡhr*, Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Hakkārī (d. 683/1284), built a *ribāʿ* which was

called after him. He was also buried nearby. Towards the end of the 7th/13th century the *khānkāh*, *Billik al-Muḥsinī*, was built by the *darwish* order of the city.

*Bibliography:* The materials for a history of medieval Alexandria are widely scattered. Contributions are to be found in almost every one of the principal Arabic histories of Egypt: see the article *MIṢR*. To be noticed particularly are Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey, New Haven 1922; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; *BGA*, i-viii; al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, Leiden 1866; Ibn Djubayr (*GMS*, v); Yāqūt; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Kitāb al-Ifāda wa ʿl-ʿitibār*, Oxford 1800, Cairo 1232, tr. de Sacy, Paris 1810; al-Makrīzī, *Khūṭaṭ*; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duḥūr*; al-Balawī, *Kitāb Alif Bā*, 2 vols., Cairo 1287; al-ʿAbdarī, *Al-Riḥla al-maghribiyya*, ed. Muḥ. al-Fāsi, Rabāt 1968 (see also W. Hoenerbach, *Das nordafrikanische Itinerar des ʿAbdarī*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxv/4 (1940)). The Christian writers Severus Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and al-Makin [qq.v.] supply a few facts not to be found elsewhere. Benjamin of Tudela (many editions) has a brief but important notice. European travellers and accounts in European languages include Arculf (680), Bernard the Wise (870), Ludolf von Suchem (1350), all three in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's Series*; M. Baumgarten (1507) in *Churchill's Travels*; Leo Africanus (1517), *Hakluyt Soc.* 92-4; various articles in *Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. v, relating to the 16th century; Sandy's (1610) *Travels*; Blount (1634) in *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. x; Maillet (1692); Pococke (1737); Volney (1783); and others.

Modern works: *Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, tome ii (2<sup>e</sup> partie), 270 ff., contains a full description of Alexandria in 1800, and, Planches 84-91, map 1:10,000, views and plans, also *Antiquités*, tome ii; T. D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, Paris 1888, with map; A. J. Butler, *Arab conquest of Egypt*, Oxford 1902, 308 ff. contains a careful and full description of Alexandria at the conquest, with remarks on the subsequent period; map of Alexandria by R. Blomfield in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie (BSA)*, viii (1905); ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khūṭaṭ al-djadīda*, section vii; M. Asín Palacios, *Una descripción nueva del Faro de Alejandría*, in *al-Andalus*, ii (1933), 241-92; E. Lévi Provençal, *Une description arabe inédite du Phare d'Alexandrie*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, *Orient Islamique*, Cairo 1940; Et. Combe, *Alexandrie Musulmane: notes de topographie et d'histoire . . .*, Cairo 1933, ii; idem, *Alexandrie au Moyen Age*, Alexandria 1928; idem, *Les sultans mamluks Ashraf Shaʿbān et Ghouri à Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1936); idem, *De la colonne Pompée au Phare d'Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1940); idem, *Notes sur les forts d'Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1940); idem, *Notes de topographie d'Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1940); idem, in *Bulletin du Faculté des Arts, Université d'Alexandrie*, (1943); idem, *Notes de topographie et d'histoire d'Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1946); A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, in *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, lxxvii/2 (1959); W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen age*, Leipzig 1936; S. Labīb, *Taʾrīkh tidjārat al-Iskandariyya fī ʿl-ḳarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar*, (M. A. Thesis, University of Alexandria, 1949); Djāmāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat al-Iskandariyya fī ʿl-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Alexandria 1967. (S. LABIB)

**ISKANDARÜN, ALEXANDRETTA**, a port in the eastern Mediterranean, the ancient Ἀλεξάνδρεια κατὰ Ἴσσον, the Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ μικρά in Malalas (ed. Bonn, 297), known to the Arabs as al-Iskandariyyis or Iskandarūna (diminutive Aramaic form); from this last form came the Ἀλεξανδρών of Skylitzes (ii, 677) which in its turn gave rise to ἡ Ἀλεξανδρός (Michael Attal., 120; Zonaras, iii, 691; Georgius Cyprius and the list of bishops in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, i, 248). The diminutive Romance form Alexandretta was already in use among western pilgrims during the Middle Ages. Iskandarūna (which must not be confused with another place of the same name, situated between Tyre and Saint-John of Acre) formed part of the *djund* of Kinnasrīn; the castle is said to have been built under the caliph al-Wāḥiḥ (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, ii, 2,33). During the wars between the Byzantines and the Arabs, the town was captured by the former on several occasions (Muralt, *Chronogr. Byz.*, a. 1068; Ibn Ḥawḳal, index) and in the time of Abu 'l-Fidā' it was deserted. Later it regained some importance as a port for the then flourishing city of Aleppo, though it was unable to develop on a very large scale. It was the centre of a *kaḳā'* and at the beginning of the 20th century it contained from 10 to 15,000 inhabitants. The population according to the census of 1960 was 62,061.

*Bibliography*: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii (2), 1816 ff.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 201-8; Tomaschek, *Zur histor. Topographie von Kleinasien in Mittelalter*, 71 ff.; Ewliyā Ćelebi, iii, 46 ff.; K'ātib Ćelebi, *Djihānnumā*, 597; Tavernier, *Les six Voyages*, i, 129 ff.; Cornelis de Bruyn, *Reizen*, Delft 1698, 364 (with an engraving); P. Lucas, *Voy. dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure* . . . , i, 248-9; R. Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii, 1, 178; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschr.*, iii, 18-9; Walpole, *Travels in various parts of the East*, 351-2; Ottoman *Sālnāme* of the vilayet of Aleppo; *IA*, s.v. (by Besim Darkot). (J. H. MORDTMANN)

On 27 November 1918, the French military administration in Syria created the "Sandjak of Alexandretta" from occupied territories over which Turkey had to abandon her rights under the Treaty of Lausanne; it included the towns of Alexandretta, Antioch and Kīrīk Khān, and contained over 120,000 inhabitants. It had an autonomous regime providing, in particular, for the use of the Turkish language and the employment of Turkish officials. From 1928, national feeling began to develop among the Turkish community in the Sandjak; in 1928 the *Genç Spor Klübü* (Sports Club for the Young) was founded, its aims being cultural and later political, rather than sporting. In the same year, some young joiners tried to transform the traditional guilds, in accordance with Kemalist ideas. In the spring of 1934, members of the Arab and Turkish communities reciprocally abstained from buying each other's produce; some Turks became bakers and butchers, traditionally trades of the Nuṣayrīs. On 26 March 1934, the visit to Antioch of a senior Turkish official triggered off a series of pro-Kemalist demonstrations—the celebration of Turkish national festivals, the wearing of the Turkish colours, etc. On 7 July 1936, Turkish demonstrators in Antioch clashed with Syrian troops of Nuṣayrī and Armenian origin. The Turkish press asserted that "deturkification" was in progress—restrictions in the teaching and the use of Turkish, in the employment of Turkish officials, etc.

The negotiations leading up to the Franco-Syrian Treaty and then its signature on 9 September 1936, and the statements by M. Hāshim al-Ātāsī (Ankara,

23 September 1936) confirming that Syria, now independent, would uphold the autonomy of the Sandjak, unleashed a vigorous campaign in Turkey; national opinion refused to contemplate the idea that this Turkish community should pass under the exclusive domination of Syria. Negotiations between France and Turkey were then started, and the matter was brought before the Council of the League of Nations; a status for the Sandjak was laid down in the Geneva Agreement of 29 May 1937 and brought into force on 29 November, although the Syrian Chamber had rejected it, and the Turkish flag was hoisted in Alexandretta. After some disturbances, a Turkish notable was elected president of the Sandjak, which from then on took the name Hatay, and new Franco-Turkish negotiations finally led, on 23 June 1939, to the cession of the Hatay to Turkey.

*Bibliography*: Official texts:—Arrêtés du Haut Commissaire de la République française en Syrie et au Liban concernant le Sandjak d'Alexandrette, nos. 330 of 1 September 1920, 403 of 9 October 1920, 987 of 8 August 1921, 1135 of 5 December 1921, 1881 of 4 March 1923, 2980 of 5 December 1924, 3017 of 31 December 1924, 4415 of 14 February 1925, 3112 of 14 May 1930; Accord franco-turc de Genève du janvier 1937 portant l'affaire du Sandjak d'Alexandrette devant la S.D.N. Décision de l'Assemblée Générale de la S.D.N. du 29 mai 1937 dotant le Sandjak d'un statut international spécial et d'une loi fondamentale; Traité franco-turc du 23 juin 1939 portant rattachement du Hatay à la Turquie.—Studies: R. de Gontaut-Biron and L. L. Le Révérend, *D'Angora à Lausanne*, Paris 1924, 39-44, 56-68; R. de Fériet, *L'application d'un mandat, la France puissance mandataire en Syrie et au Liban*, Beirut 1926, 86; R. de Gontaut-Biron, *Sur les routes de Syrie, après neuf ans de mandat*, Paris 1928, 84-90; F. Bazartey, *La pénétration de l'enseignement dans le Sandjak d'Alexandrette*, Beirut 1935; idem, *Enquête sur l'artisanat à Antioche*, Beirut 1936; idem, *La communauté turque dans le Sandjak d'Alexandrette*, Archives du CHEAM, Paris, no. 1835, n.d., 64 p. typescript; A. Alexandre, *Le conflit syro-turc du Sandjak d'Alexandrette, d'octobre 1936 3 juin 1937, vu d'Antioche in Entretiens sur l'évolution des pays de civilisation arabe*, 2nd year, Paris 1938, 104-41; *Journal Officiel de la S.D.N.*, years 1936 to 1939; Irfan Jabry, *La question d'Alexandrette dans le cadre du Mandat syrien*, Lyons 1940; P. du Véou, *Le désastre d'Alexandrette, 1934-1938*, Paris 1938; G. Puaux, *Deux années au Levant, souvenirs de Syrie et du Liban, 1939-1940*, Paris 1952, 49-56; A. K. Sanjian, *The Sandjak of Alexandretta (Hatay), its impact on Turkish-Syrian relations (1939-1956)*, in *Middle East Journal*, 1956, 379-94; R. Massigli, *La Turquie devant la guerre*, Paris 1964. (ED.)

**ISKENDER BEG**, Ottoman name for GEORGE (Gjergj) KASTRIOTA (b. 808/1405, d. 872/1468), in Western sources Scanderbeg, etc., hero of the Albanian "resistance" to the Turks in the mid-9th/15th century.

By the first half of the 9th/15th century the Kastrioti family, with their centre at Matia, had supplanted the Bashas as the most influential power of Northern Albania. They had acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty since 787/1385; Iskender's father John/Ivan (in Ottoman sources Yovan) had been a buffer between the Venetians installed in Scutari (Ishkodra [q.v.]) and the Ottomans, ready to flee to Venetian protection in the event of an Ottoman attack and

dependent upon Venetian goodwill for the crucial import of salt. A document in the archives of Topkapı Sarayı (E 6665) shows that he had attempted to seize Kruje/Croia (T. Akçahişâr) to the south of his territories, which, for a time under Bâyezîd I and continuously since 818/1415, had been the centre of an Ottoman *suba* <sup>shilk</sup>.

The statement of Barletius that his son George Kastriota had been sent to the Ottoman palace as a hostage (at the age of nine) is confirmed by Ottoman historians (Tursun Beg, Idris). During the war with Venice of 826/1423-833/1430 Ottoman pressure was increasingly put upon his father John (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . . , i, 435), who, in Radjab 831/April 1428, informed Venice of his growing anxiety that his Muslim son would be ordered by the sultan to occupy his territory. The son, raised in the palace as an *iç-oghani*, was, by the normal procedure of *çikma* [see *GHULĀM*], granted a *timâr* near to his father's territories of "Yuvan-éli" (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, E 6665), and in 842/1438 he was appointed *Subaşı* of Akçahişâr (H. Inalcik, ed., *Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid, timâr* no. 314). In the same year nine villages of his in Yuvan-éli were made over to Andre Karlo (*ibid.*, no. 335). His father's centre of Mus (Mysja) was made a *zi'âmet*, and Iskender asked for it to be granted to himself (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, E 6665, undated), but a *sandjak-begi* (? of Okhri) objected to the granting of this important district, adjacent to the sea, to John's son. This refusal may have been one of the reasons for Iskender's throwing off his allegiance to the sultan. The extension to areas of Albania of the Ottoman *timâr*-system had induced various prominent seigneurs in the south—Ghin Zenebissi, Andre Thopia and, especially, George Arantii—to revolt (from 835/1431), and Iskender joined them in Şhawwâl 847/December 1444. After Ottoman authority was weakened by the battle of Izladi (Zlaticá) (3 Ramađân 847/25 December 1443), members of the former ruling families were encouraged to attempt to recover their lost lands and independence (Chalcocondyles, ed. Darko, ii, 96; Iorga, *op. cit.*, ii, 145). The story that Iskender, fleeing from the camp of Kâsim, the *beglerbegi* of Rûméli (who had been defeated near Niş), seized Akçahişâr (Gegaj, 45-6) is probably true (cf. *Ghazavâtname-i Sulţân Murâd*); he certainly threw off Islâm and re-embraced Christianity (see especially the contemporary historian Tursun Beg, ed. in *TOEM* p. 136), to be known henceforth to the Ottomans as "*khâ'in* (treacherous) Iskender". On 11 Dhû'l-Ka'ida 847/1 March 1444, under the patronage of Venice, he summoned the Albanian leaders to a meeting at Alessio (a typical *Kuvend* in accordance with Albanian tribal custom, see M. Hasluck, *The unwritten law in Albania*, Cambridge 1954, 148), and was there recognized as the leader of the struggle against the Ottomans. The pope later recognized him as a crusading hero; in the 19th century Albanian nationalists depicted him as a national hero working for the unification and the independence of his homeland; and Venice regarded him as a valuable *condottiero*. In reality, he was a combination of Albanian tribal chief and medieval feudal lord, the other Albanian leaders being bound to him primarily by links of kinship. The importance which he attached to his own family is revealed in the terms of his alliance with the King of Aragon, made with "Georgio Castrioti, Sr<sup>e</sup> dela dita citate de Croya e de soi parenti, baruni in Albania" (Radonić, no. 38). Hence it is not surprising to find other Albanian lords frequently allied with Venice or with the Ottomans

against him. Since 818/1415 the introduction of the Ottoman *timâr*-system and tax-structure had caused widespread discontent among both the feudal families and the mountain tribesfolk; Iskender was merely taking over, in Northern Albania, the leadership of this movement of revolt, favoured, however, unlike his predecessors, by the support of the pope, the King of Naples, and Venice. He was able to muster a following of perhaps 8-10,000 men, his own numbering no more than 2-3,000 (Gegaj, p. 125); he owed his success to guerilla tactics, based on a few fortresses in remote mountain regions (Stelush, Letrella, and especially Kruje, his capital), these fortresses being held for him by troops, trained in the use of firearms, who were provided by his foreign allies, although he could rely on some revenue from his flocks of sheep and the trade in salt.

His long struggle with the Ottomans—maintained over a quarter of a century—falls into several phases.

Until 852/1448, the Ottomans were content to ignore him. In this period he fought against Venice over the possession of Dagno (851/1447), and indeed there are indications that he co-operated with local Ottoman forces (the sultan also claiming this territory) (Iorga, *op. cit.*, ii, 227; Venice, it should be noted, still regarded him as a vassal of the sultan: *op. cit.*, ii, 226). He abandoned his claim to Dagno by the treaty signed on 4 October 1448. In the summer of 852/1448 Murâd II's army took Svetigrad (Kodjadjik Hisâr) ('Ashkpaşahazâde 119 and the chroniclers dependent on him erroneously relate these events to Akçahişâr), and so opened the way into northern Albania. Murâd then laid siege to Kruje, but was obliged to withdraw to Sofya by Hunyadi's invasion of Ottoman territory.

In 853/1449 an attempt by Iskender and Mois Dibra to re-take Kodjadjik was repulsed, and in the following summer Murâd again besieged Kruje. The fortress held out, and Iskender, retreating to the mountains, harried the besieging troops. The abandonment of the 4½ month siege made Iskender the hero of all Christendom, and Pope Nicholas V called on all the Christian powers to assist him. But Kruje was still under blockade (Iorga, iii, 260-1), and Iskender offered to hand it over to Venice. He finally won the effective support of Alfonso V of Naples: by the agreement of 26 March 1451 he acknowledged the suzerainty of the king and agreed to hand Kruje over to his forces, Neapolitan troops occupying Kruje in June. Alfonso was at this time attempting by diplomatic and military measures to establish a front against the Ottomans throughout Albania and Epirus. The Neapolitan troops consisted only of small detachments trained in the use of firearms, the mass of soldiery being composed of Iskender's Albanians (Iskender and other Albanian leaders were also receiving money subsidies from Alfonso, Iskender's share being 1500 ducats). This arrangement weakened Iskender's authority in Albania, and Alfonso's rival Venice and the Ottomans were able to induce some Albanian chieftains to come over to them; thus Pavlo Dukagin, who in 853/1449 had been proclaimed a rebel and deprived of his *timâr*, recovered it in Şafar 855/March 1451 (see *Sûret* . . . *Arvanid*, no. 154), and other members of this family threw in their lot with Venice. Mois Dibra, Gjergj Balsha and Iskender's nephew Hamza went over to the Ottoman side. In 857/1453 Iskender visited Alfonso in Italy. In the summer of 859/1455, assisted by about 1000 Neapolitan troops, Iskender besieged Berat (Belgrade), but a relieving force under Evrenos-oghlu 'Isâ Beg defeated them,

the Neapolitans being killed almost to a man (to *Shā'bān* 859/26 July 1455). Although Iskender's biographers speak of a great victory in the next year (the Ottomans losing 10,000? men), Moïsis Dibra and *Ĥamza* once more went over to the Ottomans and the fortress of Modrić (in the Dibra region) was sold to the Ottomans. This disaffection probably arose from Iskender's attempts to win control of the territory of the other Albanian chieftains and to extend his authority over them. When in 861/1457 a certain 'Isā Beg (probably the son of *Ishāk* Beg of *Ūskūp*) marched against Kruje, Iskender attacked his camp at *Albulena* near Mount *Tumenish* and took *Ĥamza* prisoner; this success was celebrated in Italy as a great victory: the pope proclaimed him the "Captain-General of the Holy See" (Radonić, no. 163) and presented him with 500 ducats.

The death of Alfonso in 862/1458, however, deprived Iskender for a time of foreign support (the new king Ferdinand wanted him to come to Italy to aid him against rebels), so that in 864/1460 he and the other Albanian leaders were obliged to recognize Ottoman suzerainty. By his treaty with the sultan (which he called "treuga per tre anni", see V. Makušev, *Monumenta Hist. Slav. Merid.*, ii, Warsaw 1874, p. 123) he agreed to send troops to join Ottoman campaigns, to pay an annual tribute (in sheep) and to supply lads for the Janissaries (Critoboulos, Eng. tr. by C. T. Riggs, Princeton 1954, p. 147, where the date given is 1459; cf. Neshri, ed. Taeschner, i, 201). In 865/1461 Iskender, as the loyal vassal of Ferdinand, went to aid him against the rebels, returning to Albania on 11 February 1462. His truce with the sultan was renewed on 7 *Shā'bān* 867/27 April 1463 (see Gegaj, p. 132), but that summer, with the outbreak of the Ottoman-Venetian war, Iskender found a new patron and ally (for the text of his pact with Venice, of 20 August 1463, see Radonić, no. 248). The Ottoman sources (Tursun, p. 123; cf. Critoboulos, 147) emphasize Iskender's "breaking of faith" as the reason for the Ottoman operations against him from 868/1464 onwards. By permitting Venetian troops to garrison Kruje he had created a real threat to the Ottoman forces in Albania. In 868/1464 and 869/1465 the neighbouring *sandžakbegis*, and especially the governor of *Okhri*, Balaban, launched swift attacks; Iskender seems to have countered them by guerilla raids launched from the mountains, although the leading Albanian chieftains, including Moïsis Dibra, were taken. Mehemmed II, who since 867/1463 had been intending to march against Iskender (Tursun, p. 123), finally moved in the spring of 871/1466. In the *fethnâme* which he sent to his son Bâyezîd (N. Lugal and A. Erzi, *Münşeat Mecmuası*, Istanbul 1956, 63-4), he announced that the campaign had been undertaken because of the Albanians' "breach of faith", that he had taken six important fortresses and that he had built a fortress (Elbasan) to ensure his hold over the land. In this year Mehemmed did not press the siege of Kruje (defended by a Venetian commander), but left Balaban to continue the blockade. Elbasan [q.v.] was built in 25 days. Seeking help from Italy, Iskender visited Rome (12 December 1466; he received 5000 ducats from the pope) and Naples. On hearing that he was proposing to attack Elbasan, the Sultan wintered at Filibe (Tursun, p. 136). Iskender returned to Albania in early April 1467 and began to raid Balaban's blockading force at Kruje and his supply lines (it was reported in Italy that Balaban had been killed and the Ottoman force dispersed [Radonić, nos. 359, 360], but Balaban was still alive in September [Radonić, no. 379]). Mehem-

med II entered Albania with a great army in June 1467 and, by fierce pursuit in the steep mountain region of Buzurshek south of Elbasan, gained control of the pass. He marched against Durazzo, sending *Maḥmūd Paḡa* against *Ishkodra*, and then advanced on Kruja, but did not undertake a determined siege (end of July). According to Tursun (who was on the campaign), Iskender fled to the coast: he had taken refuge in the Venetian fortress of Alessio, where he died on 21 *Djūmādā* II 872/17 January 1468.

Iskender's name lived on in Albanian folklore as the type of native heroism (see the articles of Q. Haxhihasani and A. Fico in *Studia Albanica*, iv/2 (1967), 135-55, and G. Marlekaj, in *Atti 5. convegno intern. di studi albanesi*, 221-38) and he is a leading character in the national literature of modern times inspired by Barletius's biography.

*Bibliography*: 1. Bibliographical works: G. T. Pétrovitch, *Scanderbeg* (*Georges Castrioti*), *essai de bibliographie raisonnée*, Paris 1881, re-edited by R. Trofenik, Munich 1967; E. Legrand and H. Gûys, *Bibliographie albanaise*, Paris 1902; V. Malaj, *Necessità d'un coordinamento bibliografico Castriotano*, in *Atti V Convegno Internazionale di Studi Albanesi*, Palermo 1959, 19-49.

(2) Collections of documents: L. Thalóczy, C. Jireček and M. Šufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, 2 vols., Vienna 1913-18; J. Radonić, *Djūradj Kastinot Skenderbeg i Arbanija u XV veku*, Belgrade 1942; J. Valentini, *Acta Albania Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, 12 vols. (in progress), Palermo and Munich 1967-71; F. Pall, *I rapporti italo-albanesi intorno alla metà del secolo XV*, in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napolitane*, 3rd ser., iv (Naples 1965, 123-226).

(3) Biographies and chronicles: M. Barletius (Barlezio), *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirolarum principis*, Rome (?) 1510 (for translations see Pétrovitch, *op. cit.* above; for the character of the work see F. Pall, *Marino Barlezio uno storico umanista*, in *Mélanges d'histoire générale*, ii (Cluj 1938), 135-319). References in the Ottoman chronicles are assembled in Selami Pulaha, *Lufta Shqiptaro-Turke ne shekullin XV*, Tirana 1968, which contains also the facsimile of the *tahrir* register of 871/1467 for Dibra and district and two documents concerning Iskender. For references in Byzantine, Italian and Slav chronicles, see Radonić, *op. cit.* above, pp. 219-35.

(4) Studies: F. S. Noli, *George Castrioti Scanderbeg*, New York 1947; A. Gegaj, *L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au XVe siècle*, Louvain et Paris 1937; K. Frasher, *George Kastriote Skanderbeg*, Tirana 1962; C. Marinisco, *Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon et de Naples, et l'Albanie de Scanderbeg*, in *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France*, Paris 1932, 1-135; F. Pall, *Die Geschichte Skanderbegs im Lichte der neuern Forschung*, in *Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Süd-osteuropa*, vi (1942), 85-98; A. Serra, *L'Albania e la Sante Sede ai tempi di G. C. Scanderbeg*, Cosenza 1960. On the 500th anniversary of Iskender's death a series of articles was published in *Studia Albanica*, iv/2 (Tirana 1967); for the congresses held at Tirana and Prishtina, see R. Schwanke, *Ergebnisse der Kongresse in Tirana und Prishtina*, in *Atti V. Conv. Int. di Studi Albanesi*, Palermo 1969, 283-303. See also H. İnalçık, *Arnavutluk'ta Osmanlı hakimiyetinin yerleşmesi ve Iskender Bey isyanının menşei*, in *Fatih ve İstanbul*, i/2 (1953), 153-75. (H. İNALÇIK)

## İŞLÂH (A.), reform, reformism.

## I.—THE ARAB WORLD

In modern Arabic, the term *ışlâh* is used for "reform" (cf.: *RALA*, xxi (1386/1966), 351, no. 15) in the general sense: in contemporary Islamic literature it denotes more specifically orthodox reformism of the type that emerges in the doctrinal teachings of Muḥammad 'Abduh, in the writings of Raṣīd Riḍā, and in the numerous Muslim authors who are influenced by these two masters and, like them, consider themselves disciples of the Salafiyya (see below). *İşlâh* will be examined under the following general headings: A. Historical; B. Fundamental principles; C. The principal doctrinal positions; D. *İşlâh* in the contemporary Arab world.

A.—HISTORICAL.—I.—Background.—The idea of *ışlâh*, so widespread in modern Islamic culture, is also very common in the vocabulary of the Qur'ân, where the radicals *ş-l-ḥ* cover a very wide semantic field. Amongst the derivatives of this root employed in the Qur'ân are: a) The verb *aşlahā* and the corresponding infinitive, *ışlâh*, used sometimes in the sense of "to work towards peace (*şulh*)", "to bring about harmony", "to urge people to be reconciled with one another" and "to agree" (cf. II, 228, IV, 35, 114, XLIX, 9, 10), and at others in the sense of "to perform a pious act (*'amal ṣāliḥ*)", "to perform a virtuous act (*ṣalâh*)", "to behave like a holy man (*ṣāliḥ*, plur. *ṣāliḥūn/ṣāliḥāt*)" (cf. II, 220, IV, 128, VII, 56, 85, 142, XI, 46, 90); b) The substantive *muşliḥ*, plur. *muşliḥūn*: those who perform pious acts, who are saintly in spirit, who preach peace and harmony, who are concerned with the moral perfection of their neighbours, and strive to make men better. It is precisely in this sense that the modern Muslim reformists can be defined, reformists who proudly claim the title of *muşliḥūn*, upon which Revelation confers a certain prestige (cf. Qur'ân, VII, 170, XI, 117, XXVIII, 19) The adherents of *ışlâh* consider themselves in the direct line of the reformer-prophets whose lives are quoted as examples in the Qur'ân (cf. especially *sūras* VII, X, XI, XX); but they claim to be influenced above all by the example of the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad, whom they consider to be the Reformer par excellence (cf. *al-Shihāb*, May 1939, 183: *Muḥammad, al-muşliḥ al-a'ṣam*). Thus *ışlâh* is deeply rooted in the basic soil of Islam, and cannot therefore be viewed solely in relation to the intellectual trends that appeared in the Muslim world at the beginning of the modern period.

2.—The historical continuity of *ışlâh*.—In so far as it is on the one hand an individual or collective effort to define Islam solely in relation to its authentic sources (i.e., the Qur'ân and the *Sunna* [q.v.] of the Prophet) and on the other an attempt to work towards a situation in which the lives of Muslims, in personal and social terms, really would conform to the norms and values of their religion, *ışlâh* is a permanent feature in the religious and cultural history of Islam. This two-fold approach characterizing *ışlâh* is quite justified from a Qur'anic point of view. For a) Islam is simply that which Revelation contains, as it is transmitted and explained by the Prophet (see below: *The return to first principles*). b) To work for the Good, and aspire to improve (*aşlah*), is simply to attempt to restore Islamic values in modern Muslim society. From this point of view, *ışlâh* can be seen as an intellectual, and frequently practical, response to the injunction of "commanding what is good and prohibiting what is evil" (see on this subject the two fundamental

references, Qur'ân III, 104, 110). This canonical obligation (*farḍ, farīḍa*)—a major obligation on the head of the Community (*imām*)—is constantly invoked by the reformers, both as a justification for their action, and as an appeal to the faithful, who are also bound, each according to his social standing and means, to play his part in "commanding the good". (On this important question of Muslim ethics see the classic text of al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* chap.: *Kitāb al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*, trans. L. Bercher, *De l'obligation d'ordonner le Bien et d'interdire le Mal selon al-Ghazālī*, in *IBLA*, 1st and 3rd trim. 1955; the neo-Ḥanbalite doctrine (so illuminating for reformist teaching) in H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines... d'Ibn Taymiyya*, 601-5; the position of Muḥ. 'Abduh in: *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 113 (Fr. trans., 121), and *Tafsīr al-Manār*, ix, 36; a complete account of the question by Raṣīd Riḍā: *ibid.* iv, 25-47 on *sūra* III, 104, and 57-64, on *sūra* III, 110; L. Gardet, *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 445 ff.).

Like all Muslims who cherish an ideal of the pious and virtuous life (*ṣalâh*), the reformists like to refer to the many Qur'anic verses which praise "those who do works of *ışlâh*" (VI, 42, VII, 170, XXVIII, 19) and particularly to XI, 90, which they hold to be the perfect motto of Muslim reformism: "O mon peuple! . . . Mon unique désir est de vous rendre meilleurs" (trans. Savary)—"Je ne veux que réformer" (trans. Blachère)—"I desire only to set things right." (trans. Arberry). These scriptural statements are illustrated by the tradition that the Prophet intimated that Islam would need to be revitalized periodically and that in each century Providence would raise up men capable of accomplishing this necessary mission of moral and religious regeneration. (On this tradition, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 204 b: "At the end. . .").

The Community has never lacked men willing to assume precisely this prophetic mission. In its early stages and also in its later developments, *ışlâh* has been identified with the service of the *Sunna*, which is thought to provide the best model for the Islamic way of life (cf. Qur'ân, XXXIII, 21), as well as supplying the essential elements which lie at the base of the earliest orthodoxy of Islam. The Qur'ân is without doubt the most important point of reference for modern *ışlâh*; yet, in its earliest manifestations, it appears to be above all the expression of a total allegiance to the Prophet's Tradition. This active, sometimes militant, allegiance is best expressed in its defence of the *Sunna* against "blameworthy innovations" (*bida'* [q.v.]) which are judged incompatible with the objective facts of the Book, the unquestionable teachings of the Prophet, and the testimony of the "pious forefathers" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). Upholders of strict primitive orthodoxy were particularly aware of the increase of *bida'*: a) at the dogmatic level: cf. the speculation nurtured by the dawning rationalist theology (*kalām* [q.v.]); Qur'anic exegesis of Bāṭinī tendency; the theses of extremist Shī'ism; and b) in the sphere of worship: asceticism, excessive piety, paraliturgical practices inspired by Sūfism (*ṣawwuf* [q.v.]), all of which they believed indicated a spirit of exaggeration (*ghulū*) contrary to the essence of Islamic spirituality. Such innovations were held to be blameworthy because they were looked upon as sources of error and seeds of heresy; they therefore seemed to constitute a serious threat to the confessional unity and moral and political cohesion of the *Umma*.

The historical development of *ışlâh* must, it seems,



be related to that new spirit which gave rise to *bid'a* throughout the cultural evolution of the Community. The following are a few milestones:—1. The political and moral crisis following the battles of Šiffin (37/657 [q.v.]) and Nahrawan (38/658 [q.v.]) engendered ardent political and religious polemics between the *Khawāridj* [q.v.] and the *Shi'a* [q.v.] on the one hand and the supporters of the established authority on the other. In this climate of schism the doctrinal tendencies which classical Sunnism decried as heretical to a greater or lesser extent began to grow (cf. al-Šahraštāni, *Milal*, i, 27). The period of the Prophet's companions was hardly over (ca. 90/708) when the theologico-philosophical speculations which were to disturb the Muslim conscience for many years began to appear.—2. At the end of the 1st/7th century, the general evolution of the Muslim community was sufficiently advanced for the unity of faith and monolithic convictions of the first decades to be replaced by a diversity of intellectual and religious attitudes towards the *ḵur'ānic* revelation and the problems posed by it (predestination and free will, the problem of evil, the attributes of God, the nature of the *Ḵur'ān*, etc.). Despite its dominant position (at least in theory), official Sunnism was neither dynamic nor homogeneous enough to condition effectively the moral and religious behaviour of the new generations. Many factors (especially socio-cultural and political ones) gradually weakened the religious and cultural impact of the *Sunna*, whose sociological base was anyway being diluted among the diverse populations of the vast empire. It is worth noting in this respect the geographical dispersion and gradual extinction of the main witnesses of primitive Islam, those who were later called the "pious forefathers". These were essentially the Prophet's Companions (*ṣaḥāba*) and the most eminent of their immediate successors (*tābi'ūn*)—3. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (died 110/728 [q.v.]) marks the end of the *Sunna*'s first era, before the spread of the great controversies which were to divide the Muslims (in the field of *ḵur'ānic* exegesis, and as a result of a free philosophical enquiry on the revealed Book). The famous break between al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā (d. 131/748 [q.v.]) prefigures the doctrinal disputes and later conflicts which resulted above all in the creation of a Traditional Party (*ahl al-sunna*), the "pious forefathers" (*tā'ifāt al-salaf*), as a reaction against the new sects and tendencies (*Shi'a*, *Khawāridj*, *Djahmiyya*, *Mu'tazila*, etc.) which were judged more or less heretical (cf. H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 84 ff.).—4. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [q.v.]) represents a strongly entrenched Sunnism ready to fight the new schools of thought which questioned the dogma of the primitive orthodoxy (cf. his *Radd 'ala 'l-xanādīka wa 'l-djahmiyya*).

The desire to refute the errors of their century, to combat those sects believed to have introduced blameworthy innovations into Islam, to bring the faithful back to the purity of primitive faith and worship, and to restore the *Sunna* by the study and imitation of the Prophet's Tradition, these are the aspirations of many reformers who appear periodically in the religious history of Islam from the very beginnings of Sunnism. For Rashīd Riḍā, in each generation men emerge who are firmly committed to the defence of the *Sunna* and the struggle against *bid'a* (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143); each century has produced a "regenerator" (*mudjaddid*) of the faith and the *Sunna*, men like "the *imām* Ibn Ḥazm [q.v.], the *mudjaddid* of the 5th century. . . , the doctor of Islam, Aḥmad b. Taymiyya [q.v.], the *mudjaddid* of the 7th

century. . . , the great traditionist (*hāfiẓ*) Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī [q.v.] in the 9th century. . . , and the famous *imām* Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Šhawkānī (1173/1760-1260/1834), the Yemeni *mudjaddid* in the 12th century." (*Tafsīr*, vii, 144-5). All these men, and each in his own way, were indisputable architects of *işlāḥ*; among the many others who share this honour, al-Ḡhazālī springs to mind. Rashīd Riḍā notes with regret (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143), however, that such exceptional men were generally alone (*ghurabā*) in the world, like Islam itself. (Cf. the *ḥadīth*: "Islam was born alone, and will become alone again, as at its beginning. Happy the solitary men. Those are they who will come to reform that which will be debased after me" [cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 114 A: "Originated"]). Although solitary, because of their opposition to the spirit of their times, and often the butt of authoritarian arrogance, worldly scepticism, and the hostility of conformists: 'ulamā' and sycophants, the reformers nonetheless committed themselves to safeguarding the *Sunna* and, through it, the continuity of the original values of Islam. It is in this spirit, that of the reformers and renovators who animated the religious and cultural evolution of the *Umma*, and in tune with the defenders of the *Sunna* and the community's cohesion, that modern Muslim reformists are attempting to carry out their mission, over and above all ideologies, tendencies, and sectarianism. On the historical continuity of *işlāḥ* from the age of the Salaf to the dawn of the modern era, cf. 'Alī al-Ḥasanī al-Nadawī, *Riḍjāl al-fikr wa 'l-da'wa fi 'l-işlām*, Damascus 1379/1960 (ends with *Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī* 672/1273); 'Abd al-Muta'āl al-Ša'fī, *Al-Mudjaddidūn fi 'l-işlām . . .* (100-1370 H.), Cairo 1382/1962; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman . . .*, 29 ff.; H. Laoust, *Schismes*.

3.—*Işlāḥ* in modern Islam.—Viewed as part of the historico-cultural process outlined above, the modern reformism of the Salafiyya is an exceptionally fruitful period. In the breadth of its first manifestations, the diversity and stature of the talents it employed, the energy of its apostolate, and the relative speed of its diffusion in the Arab world and even far beyond, *işlāḥ* constitutes one of the most remarkable phenomena in the evolution of Islam since the end of the 19th century. It is a result of the cultural movement born of the renaissance (*nahḍa* [q.v.]) which marked the reawakening of the Arab East (along with that of the Muslim world in general) as a consequence of the influence of Western ideas and civilization. This awakening has been interpreted as a direct result of the actions of several forceful Muslim personalities living in the second half of the 19th century. Those most frequently mentioned are *Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī* (1839-97 [q.v.]), Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905 [q.v.]) and Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī (1854?-1902 [q.v.]). However, the awakening of Arabo-Muslim consciousness was preceded by a period of gestation which was encouraged by a combination of internal and external factors; most decisive of these were:

a) *The pressure of Wahhābism* [q.v.], which aimed (initially in Arabia) at restoring Islamic piety and ethics to their original purity and cultivated a sort of idealization of the primitive Islamic social organization, that of the "pious forefathers" *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* (hence the tendency called Salafiyya). Despite their zeal (which sometimes seemed excessive) in defence of their conception of the *Sunna*, their intransigence and their occasionally intolerant strictness, the Wahhābīs never lost sight of the need for a moral and political renewal of modern Islam. While

appealing to their co-religionists to recognize only the authority of the Qurʾān and the Sunna in matters of religion (*dīn*), they urged them to abandon superstitions inherited from the Middle Ages and countered the general tendency to fatalistic resignation, reacting against the spirit of *taḥlīd* [q.v.] which predominated at that time (end of the 18th-beginning of the 20th century). Through these efforts and their attempt to modernize the values of primitive Islam, *djihād* [q.v.], in particular, in the hope of rousing Muslims to a political dynamism equal to their past greatness, the Wahhābīs played an important role in the evolution of modern Islam, thus deserving a place among "the first of those who worked together towards the Arab renaissance" (L. Massignon, in *RMM*, xxxvi (1918-19), 325).

b) *The development of the printed word* through the press and publishing, principally in the Arabic language. In this respect the remarkable role played by the Egyptian printing house at Būlāq [see МАТБА'А] must be stressed. From 1822 onwards, this became one of the most important tools of the Arab intellectual renaissance. The Egyptians and Syro-Lebanese contributed to the growth of a serious and informative press which reflected the political and cultural aspirations of the nationalist and reformist sectors of the population. (Cf. 'Abd al-Lāṭif al-Ṭibāwī, *American interests in Syria 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966, 247-53; Ph. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*<sup>3</sup>, New York 1967, 452-64).

c) *The influence of Western culture*. European penetration of the Arab world in the first decades of the 19th century soon made itself felt, especially at an intellectual level. Cf. H. Pérès, *Les premières manifestations de la renaissance littéraire arabe en Orient au 19e siècle*, in *AIEO Algiers* (1934-5), 233-56; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought* (Bibl.); the succinct statement of the problem by Ḥusayn Mu'nis *La renaissance culturelle arabe*, in *Orient*, nos xli-xlii (1967), 16-27; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An introd. to the hist. of education in modern Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, London 1939, reprinted 1968, 96-287.

d) *The liberal evolution of the Ottoman regime*. This first occurred under the sultan 'Abd al-Maǧīd I [q.v.], who inaugurated a policy of reforms (*tanzīmāt* [q.v.]) with the *Khaff-i šerif* of Nov. 3 1839 which granted his peoples the first imperial charter guaranteeing civil liberties. Despite the opposition of the traditionalists, these Western-inspired reforms were progressively put into effect, particularly after the *Khaff-i hūmāyūn* of Feb. 1 1856, which finally opened the Near East to the ideas and influences of the modern world. Cf. TANZĪMĀT; F. M. Pareja, *Islamologie*, 339 ff., 583.

e) *The structural renovation of the Eastern churches* and their awakening to Western spirituality and ideas. Cf., e.g., on the exemplary case of the Uniate churches, the monograph by Joseph Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens uniates du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1962. As well as the renewal of local Christianity, thanks to a favourable concourse of religious and diplomatic events, the energy of Catholic and (above all) Protestant missions must be taken into account. On these missionary activities on Islamic soil, see the important material in *RMM*, xvi (1911), *La conquête du monde musulman* (1 vol.); Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A hist. of the expansion of Christianity*, vi: *The great century* (1800-1914), London 1944, chap. II (*Northern Africa and the Near East*), 6-64; A. al-Ṭibāwī, *American interests in Syria*, 316-24).

This missionary activity did not simply provoke a defensive reaction in the Muslim world. In the eyes

of many 'ulamā', it was exemplary from two points of view: it was a remarkable example of zeal in the service of a faith, and the actual content of its preaching was of value. Thus, in imitation of the Protestants, the reformists attached paramount importance to the Scriptures, though without ever losing sight of cultural needs and working towards an ethical and spiritual renewal of Islam. At the same time they aimed at the social and intellectual emancipation of the Muslim population by tirelessly advocating the popularization of modern knowledge.

These different factors (which must be placed in the general context of the Eastern question) gave rise to the intellectual ferment which led to the *nahḍa*. After centuries of cultural stagnation, the Arab renaissance provoked a lively intellectual curiosity in the East. From the beginning of the 19th century, the Arab élites began to acquire modern knowledge, some through translations, others by direct contact with European scientific culture and techniques. A decisive role was played by Arab student missions in Europe, by Western schools (religious and secular) in the Near East, and by national institutions organized on the European model. Cf. on this subject: C. Brockelmann, S II, 730 ff.; Djurdji Zaydān *Ta'riḫh ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya*<sup>2</sup>, Cairo 1914, iv 186-217; Jāk Tādjiir, *Ḥarakat al-tarǧama fī mišr khilāl al-karn al-tāsi'* 'ašhar, Cairo [1944]: the important study by J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An introd. to the hist. of education in modern Egypt*; Ph. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, chap. xxxi.

For Arab writers this intellectual activity was accompanied by a historical and sociological enquiry in an attempt to analyse their social and cultural situation in order to determine the exact causes of their backwardness, naturally with a view to remedying it. This is the dominant theme of articles in *al-'Urwa al-wuḥḫā* (1884), then in *Manār* (from 1898 on), especially those by Rašīd Riḍā and Muḥammad 'Abduh (cf. for instance, the series of articles in vol. v (1902), under the general title: *al-Islām wa 'l-Našrāniyya ma'a 'l-'ilm wa 'l-madaniyya* (136 p.). This is also the central topic of *Ummal-kurā*, in which al-Kawākibī attempts a precise diagnosis of the evils and that sort of general indolence (*fuṭūr*) which characterized the Muslim community at the end of the 19th century (cf. the 7th session, 109 ff. *passim*); on the theme of the "backwardness" of the Muslim peoples, see also two accounts: Muḥammad 'Umar (d. 1337/1918), *Ḥādīr al-mišriyyīn wa-sirr ta'akhhkurihim*, Cairo 1320/1902; Šakīb Arslān, *Limādḥā ta'akhhkara 'l-Muslimūn wa-limādḥā taḥaddama ḡayruhum?* (Cairo ed. 1939).

The situation of Islam in the modern world thus became one of the most important themes in reformist writings. After Ernest Renan's famous lecture on *L'Islamisme et la Science* (Sorbonne, March 29 1883) and the subsequent controversy between Renan and Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afḡhānī (cf. on this subject Homa Pakdaman, *Djamāl-Ed-Din*, 81 ff.), one of the major preoccupations of reformist authors was to refute the thesis that Islam is contrary to the scientific spirit and can thus be held responsible for the cultural backwardness of the Muslim peoples. "We wore out our pens and our voices", cries Rašīd Riḍā "through writing and repeating that the misfortunes of Muslims cannot be blamed on their religion, but rather on the innovations that they have introduced into it, and on the fact that they 'wear' Islam like a fur coat turned inside out" (*Manār*. iii (1900), 244). Cf. also the pleas of Muḥammad 'Abduh, *al-Islām wa 'l-Našrāniyya*, and Muḥammad

Farid Wajdi, *Taḥbiḥ al-diyāna al-islāmīyya 'ala 'l-nawāmis al-madaniyya*, Cairo 1316/1898.

Having established their view of the situation, the reformists planned ways to stir up a new spirit in their co-religionists and to arouse in the Community the will to break out of its cultural and social stagnation. For this purpose, they continually referred to the kur'ānic verse: "Allāh altereth not what is in a people until they alter what is in themselves" (cf. *al-'Urwa al-wuthḥā*, no. xvii (Sept. 1884), editorial reproduced by Rashīd Riḍā in his *Tafsīr*, x, 46-52; Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawhīd*, 178 (Fr. trans., 121); Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* x, 41-5, on *sūra* VIII, 54). From this point of view, reformist thought seems to have crystallized around the idea of improvement (*islāḥ*) of the existing situation. To achieve this goal, the adherents of *islāḥ* advocated a struggle against those religious forces (in particular the brotherhoods) and social groups (conservative and traditionalist forces) which they saw as the incarnation of obscurantism. They also supported the reform of archaic teaching methods and courses and the popularization of scientific disciplines and modern techniques. Since they had no training in these last two fields, the reformists could do no more than stress the usefulness of Western sciences and techniques as essential instruments for the material and intellectual progress of the Muslim peoples. However, they devoted the greater and most effective part of their efforts to action in the moral and social fields, where they had more ready access to an adequate vocabulary.

Reformist appeals for social and intellectual evolution (*taḥaddum, tarakkūf*) concentrated on the need to improve, correct, reorganize, renovate and restore: all these infinitives corresponding, *grosso modo*, to the different meanings of the *maṣḍar, islāḥ* (cf. Lane, i/4, 1714: *ṢLḤ*). From then on *islāḥ* became a sort of leitmotif in reformist literature. In the texts of Muḥammad 'Abduh, for example, we frequently find this term used as the mark of an impelling idea even in his earliest writings; cf. his first articles in the paper *al-Ahrām* (1st year, 1876) reproduced by Rashīd Riḍā in *Ta'riḫ al-ustādḥ al-imām*, ii, 20, 22, 34; his articles in the official paper *al-Waḥā'ī' al-miṣriyya*, 1880-1 (*ibid.*, 175-81). *Islāḥ* also appears at every opportunity and in its different meanings in the review *al-Manār* (whose first no. dates from 22 Shawwāl 1315/16 March 1898). We find, for example, the following usages: *al-islāḥ al-dīnī wa 'l-iddīnī* ("religious and social reform", i (1898), 2); *islāḥ kutub al-'ilm wa-tarīḫat al-ta'lim* ("improvement of textbooks and reform of teaching methods", *ibid.*, 11); *islāḥ dākhiliyyāt al-mamlaka* ("reform (or reorganization) of the internal affairs of the Empire", *ibid.*, 736); *islāḥ al-nufūs* ("regeneration of souls", *ibid.*, 737); *islāḥ al-ḥaqāq' asās al-islāḥ* ("law reform, as a basis for general reform", *ibid.*); in the editorial of the 40th no. (1898), Rashīd Riḍā calls for a "renovation from the pulpit eloquence" (*islāḥ al-khiṭāba*); in no. 42, p. 822, he proposes: *muḥāwara fī islāḥ al-Azhar* ("exchange of views on the reform of al-Azhar").

These few references show the variety of uses to which the concept *islāḥ* was put. However, the following areas seem particularly to have attracted the attention of reformist authors: a) *Teaching*. The question of the reorganization of Muslim teaching, especially in institutes of higher education like al-Azhar, occupied an important place in the work of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā (cf. the account of the action carried out in this sphere by *shaykh*

'Abduh in *Ta'riḫ al-ustādḥ al-imām*, i, 425-567). This problem can be linked to that of the reorganization of the mosques and *wakf* possessions. Better management of these would supply the educational system with increased means and new buildings. (Cf. Rashīd Riḍā, *op. cit.*, i, 630-45; *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar, passim*). b) *Law*. The reform of the Muslim legal system was also one of the constant preoccupations of the reformists (see the numerous articles in *Manār* on this subject and the *Report* made by Muḥammad 'Abduh, Mufti of Egypt, *Takrīr muftī al-diyār al-miṣriyya fī islāḥ al-mahākīm al-shar'īyya*, Cairo 1318/1900; cf. on this subject *Ta'riḫ al-ustādḥ al-imām*, i, 605-29). c) *The Religious Brotherhoods*. The reformists never ceased to press for the reform (if not for abolition pure and simple) of the brotherhoods, which they accused of maintaining blame-worthy innovations in religious life, of encouraging the people in superstitious beliefs and practices, and of continuing to use a reactionary system of teaching in their educational establishments (cf. the articles in *Manār*, under the heading: *al-Bida' wa'l-khurāfāt*; Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar, passim*). In their attempt to reform Muslim educational and legal systems and religious practice, the supporters of *islāḥ* were aware that they were attacking the traditional structures of Muslim society, yet they felt it was essentially to renovate these structures so that a new much-needed social and cultural dynamism should be given to the Community. But their task did not stop there. For the *islāḥ* advocated by Muḥammad 'Abduh and his close supporters necessitated a vast movement of renovation which would embrace all sectors of Muslim life. Thus we see them advocating *islāḥ* in purely secular domains (for example, language and literature, the organization of schools, the administration, the military regime, etc.). They believed that the 'ulamā' worthy of the name should devote themselves to an overall reform of Muslim social organization, and not just to a limited religious reformism.

These calls for a general *islāḥ* were fairly well received in Arab and Muslim intellectual circles at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. From the period of *al-'Urwa al-wuthḥā* (1884) on, the combined efforts of al-Afḡhānī and 'Abduh, and other propagandists of the quality of al-Kawāḫibī, succeeded in definitively integrating the idea of *islāḥ* into modern Muslim thinking. From then on, no intellectual in the Arab world could remain indifferent to the reformist phenomenon (cf. *al-Manār*, i, (1899), 949: *al-islāḥ al-islāmī wa 'l-ṣiḥāfa: islāḥ* had become one of the principal and most topical subjects in the Arab and Turkish press; *Umm al-ḥurā*, 3). In literary circles, many profoundly secular writers and poets joined forces with the advocates of *islāḥ*. Their sympathies did not lie with the religious movement, but with the powerful ferment that it then represented for Muslim society and for Arabs in general. For them, *islāḥ* signified an appeal for progress, a breath of renewal and the promise of a better future for the Arab nation. Its fundamental call for religious renovation and moral regeneration was blurred in the eyes of many intellectuals by its social and cultural implications. Gradually *islāḥ* acquired the shape of a sort of myth which attracted all, believers and unbelievers, Muslims or not, who were struggling for the social and cultural emancipation of their people. (The impact of *islāḥ* in non-Muslim circles is apparent in writers like Salāma Mūsā; cf. *Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā*,

Cairo 1944, 52 [Eng. trans. Schuman, *The education of Salâma Mūsâ*, Leiden 1961, 35]). This is why, concurrently with the religious reformists (the Salafiyya), some concerned secular intellectuals took up the cry for *işlâh*, though with a purely social and cultural connotation. The most typical figure of this secular reformist current is the 'Irâkî poet Djamîl Şidkî al-Zahâwî (1863-1936 [q.v.]), who advocated a form of *işlâh* devoid of any religious content (his beliefs are expressed in: *nashariu fi 'l-nâsi arâ'au urîdu bi-hâ'îşlâha dunyâ-humû lâ 'l-fa'na fi 'l-dîni*).

The relative receptivity of Arab intellectual circles (more or less influenced by Western culture) was a determining factor in the diffusion of *işlâh*. The reformists found allies, if not true sympathizers, among publicists and men of letters who were exasperated by the conservatism of the "old turbans", the defenders of clerical and university tradition (of al-Azhar, al-Zaytûna, etc.), by the apathy of the masses, and by the sluggishness of the political and administrative machine. Thus in the East as in the Maghrib, the younger progressive intellectuals drew close to the reformists, who in their eyes represented a dynamic party which, in the face of different forms of foreign domination, proclaimed the right of their peoples to education, progress and national dignity.

But *işlâh* also benefited from a measure of support in liberal Sunni circles. Frightened by the prospect of society drifting away from Islam in the more or less distant future, and by the dynamism of Christian missionary work in Muslim lands, they were happy to witness the birth of a movement which was profoundly attached to the *Sunna*, and firmly committed to the defence of the faith, while at the same time recognizing the need for social evolution and modern scientific and technical development in the Arab world.

Yet, despite the interest that it aroused in the young progressive generation and enlightened Sunnis, *işlâh* encountered some difficulties at the outset. From its inception, the movement was suspect to the powers then ruling the major part of the Arab world (Turkey, England, France), because of its cultural and political orientation (exaltation of Arabism, Panislamism). Its social and political stand brought down on it the hostility of the ruling classes and the administrative authorities of the *status quo* (university, magistrates, religious hierarchy, brotherhoods). By its declarations of war on every sort of *bid'â*, on magical and religious superstitions, on customs "worthy of paganism" (*djâhiliyya*), and by the rigorously monotheist theology (*tawhîd*), which led it to see manifestations of *shirk* in many naive forms of popular piety, *işlâh* distressed conformist circles. For the same reasons it was mistrusted by ordinary people, who were attached to traditions and rites that they regarded as an integral part of religion.

Inevitably, *işlâh* was strongly attacked on several fronts (cf. for example, the long quarrel between supporters of *işlâh* against the defenders of the educational and doctrinal traditions of al-Azhar, in Rashîd Riđâ, *al-Manâr wa 'l-Azhar*). After all, it was a movement vowed to political resistance (anti-imperialist, if not anti-Ottoman) and social change (aimed at the traditional framework of Muslim society), and geared to moral and spiritual reform, attacking in particular certain ecclesiastical structures which were held as sacred (notably the brotherhoods and religious orders) and certain aspects of popular

religiosity. Lacking a single magistrature amongst the *umma* and unable to invoke the moral authority of a reforming Church, the Salafiyya were open to the charge that they were changing and destroying the holy Sunni tradition. They had to wage an unceasing struggle for acceptance of the sincerity of their intentions and what they saw as the eminently Islamic character of their attempts at reform. Nevertheless, neither the traditionalist Sunnis nor the members of the brotherhoods were disposed to recognize the legitimacy of their efforts (cf. *Manâr*, I, 807, 822; Rashîd Riđâ attacked by his adversaries; Rashîd Riđâ, *Ta'rikh al-ustâdh al-imâm, passim*: the difficulties Muḥammad 'Abduh met with when he was Muftî of Egypt; Zâfir al-Kâsimî, *Djamâl al-Dîn al-Kâsimî*, 594; the bad reception given to Rashîd Riđâ by the 'ulâma' of Damascus, 603-4; the lack of success of the Salafiyya in Syria; A. Merad *Le Réformisme musulman* . . . Book I: *the resistance of Algerian Sunnism and brotherhoods to reformist propaganda*). Whether presented as a "road to damnation" (*dalâla*) in the wake of the Wahhâbî "heresy", or hastily assimilated to the progressive trends that were more or less favourable to the secularization of Muslim society, the Salafiyya movement met with strong opposition in Egypt and Syria, as in Algeria and Tunisia. Its adversaries rejected it in the name of the *Sunna*, which, in their eyes, could have no other form than that of classical Sunnism. The real meaning of *işlâh* appears when we examine its fundamental principles and its main doctrinal lines.

B.—FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.—In origin, *işlâh* is a religiously inspired movement. Yet an examination of the roots of the movement reveals that the arguments put forward by its proponents sounded a less profoundly moral and spiritual note than a social and cultural one. In the first reformist manifestos—the articles of Muḥammad 'Abduh (and al-Afghânî) in the paper *al-'Urwa al-wuthqâ* (1884)—social, cultural and even political considerations are more important than religious ones. In his *Umm al-ḥurâ* and in his *Ṭabâ'î' al-istibdâd*, al-Kawâkibî made similar efforts. In the early stages of his review *al-Manâr* (1898), Rashîd Riđâ also paid a great deal of attention to social and cultural questions. Like his masters, he wished to persuade Muslims that the improvement of their moral and material condition depended upon a regeneration of Islam; this was to be accomplished by a "return to first principles", in order to rediscover Islamic teachings and values in all their authenticity and richness. The whole of the later reformist debate hinges on this essential theme.

*The Return to First Principles*.—The theme of the return (*rudjû'*) to first principles is omnipresent in reformist literature. This constant reference to the beginnings of Islam is one of the most striking characteristics of *işlâh*, and the reason why the reformists of the Salafiyya have sometimes been accused of "addiction to the past". The need for a return to first principles is justified, in the doctrine of *işlâh*, by arguments of a canonical and historical nature. The former, drawn from the *Qur'ân*, can be resumed as follows: Islam in its entirety is contained in the Scriptures (*Qur'ân*, V, 3, VI, 38); the teaching of the Prophet—inspired by God (LIII, 3-4)—is the natural complement of revelation. The Religion can be received only from the hands of God and his Messenger (IV, 59), and Muslims must abide by what the Messenger of God has transmitted, in all matters of command and interdiction (LIX, 7). For the reformists, consequently, fidelity to Islam

is essentially defined by faithfulness to the two Sources, Revelation and the Prophet's *Sunna*.

The canonical argument, supported by an argument borrowed from historical tradition, is in fact a maxim attributed to Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [q.v.]): "The later success of this Community will only ensue through those elements which made for its initial success" (*lā yaşluhu ākhīru hādhihi 'l-umma illā bi-mā şaluha bihi awwaluhā*). Now, we are told, the objective basis of the historical success of the Arabs was Islam (that is the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*) authentically received and fully accepted (cf. Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, x, 437, xi, 210 (important) ix, 293; *Shihāb*, March 1939, 58). Like their far-distant predecessors (*Salaf*), Muslims of today could achieve temporal power (*siyāda*) and know the happiness of moral well-being (*sa'āda*), provided that they armed themselves with those moral convictions that constituted the strength and grandeur of the *Salaf*, and that they strove to demonstrate to contemporary Muslim society the values of faith and the general teachings of Islam, in their authentic purity (cf. Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 339-41, x, 210; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 287 ff.). What exactly is this authenticity? The reformist reply is clear and simple: the whole of Islam is contained in the Scriptures and the *Sunna*, with the addition, solely as a guide and not as a canonical source, of the tradition of the *Salaf*. This position is not fundamentally different from that of traditional Sunnism. What distinguishes *işlāh* from the classical doctrine in this respect is the meaning given by the reformists to each of these three basic references.

1.—The reference to the *Qur'ān*.—On this point, *işlāh* has, in principle, the same position as the *Salaf*. This is true of the nature of the *Qur'ān*, its status as a canonical source, and the way of approaching its exegesis.

a) *İşlāh* identifies the *Qur'ān* with the Word of God, uncreated, intangible, unalterable (*Qur'ān*, XLI, 42, XV, 9), and affirms the eternity and universality of its message (XXXIV, 28, VI, 90; *Manār*, i, 1; Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 163, iii, 289). Holding stringently to the dogma of the "uncreated *Qur'ān*" it rejects the harmonizing synthesis of Aṣḥ'arism, since this does not simply reaffirm the stance of the *Salaf* (cf. Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ix, 178). This explains why the *Salafiyya* have never been able to supply the Muslims of their time with an original interpretation of the *Qur'ān*, despite the return to favour of reason in modern Islam (cf. R. Caspar, *Le renouveau du Moufatihsme*, in MIDEO, iv (1957), 141 ff.), and despite the historical investigations and psychological analyses made in the light of the *Sīra* by European orientalis and a few contemporary Muslim authors which have given us a better knowledge of the Prophet's personality. Their doctrine, immobilized by a desire to remain faithful to the past and to the positions—sometimes negative—of the *Salaf*, has prevented them from acquiring a deeper knowledge of the historical, sociological and psychological discoveries which would have given them a truer understanding of the problems of revelation and inspiration. (On the subject of the *waḥy* [q.v.], cf. the decisive statement by Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, xi, 146-94, in which he reaffirms the thesis of the revelation "that came down from God", without attempting to introduce any nuances into the traditional explanation; hence his long rebuttal (*ibid.*, 169-78) of the ideas expressed on this subject by certain authors, notably by E. Dermenghem (in *La Vie de Mahomet*, Paris 1929, chap. xviii) ).

When discussing the nature of the *Qur'ān*, Muḥammad 'Abduh attempted to go further than traditional dogma in the original edition of his *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (Bülāk 1315/1898). The original text (28, l'r. traits., 33, 1.2, to 34, 1.4), expurgated at this point by Rashīd Riḍā (2nd ed., Cairo 1316/1908), is once more available in the ed. of the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* prepared by Maḥmūd Abū Rayya (Cairo 1966, 52-2). Rashīd Riḍā himself vigorously affirmed the divine character of the Book (*Tafsīr*, i, 132-3, 220, vi, 71, viii, 10, 280, 303, ix, 178, xii, 499), wholly discounting any rationalist interpretation. The same stance is clear in the works of Ibn Bādīs, in his *Qur'ānic* commentary on the *Shihāb*: "The *Qur'ān* is the Word of God and His Revelation" (Jan. 1934, 55).

b) *The Qur'ān, primary canonical source*. The *Qur'ān* is "the foundation of the religion" (*asās al-dīn*, *Tafsīr*, i, 369, vii, 139, 198, ix, 326; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Feb. 1936, 95); more than that, it really constitutes religion in all its richness, *bal huwa 'l-dīn kulluhu* (*Tafsīr* vi, 154-67, vii, 139, 198, ix, 326). With the *Qur'ānic* revelation, religion was accomplished, according to the divine proclamation: "Today I have perfected your religion . ." (V, 4). By "religion", explains Rashīd Riḍā (taking up "the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās and the majority of the *Salaf*"), is meant the following: "matters of faith ('*aḳā'id*), legal injunctions (*aḳkām*) and ethical ones (*ādāb*)" (*Tafsīr*, vi, 166, at the foot of the page).

The *Qur'ān* is thus the supreme source of the religion. Moreover, it contains, in prototypal form, everything needed for the historical life of the Community. Paraphrasing XVII, 13, Ibn Bādīs concludes: "All that the servants of God have need of to acquire happiness in the two worlds, that is true beliefs, solid moral virtues, just laws, generous sentiments, all this has been clearly expressed in the *Qur'ān*" (*Shihāb*, Dec. 1929-Jan. 1930, 7). As far as the political organization of Muslim society and the running of its affairs are concerned, the *Qur'ān* only gives general indications, leaving to the lawful rulers of the Community, the *ulu 'l-amr*, the task of making decisions according to circumstances and in the best interest (*maşlahā*) of Muslims (cf. *Manār*, iv (1901), 210; *Tafsīr*, iii, 10-1, 12 (important), iv, 199-205 (important), vi, 123, vii, 140-1, 191, xi, 264). The *Qur'ān* is the supreme authority of Islam, and, as such, the problem of its understanding (and consequently of its exegesis) is of capital importance, for the way in which the Revelation is understood governs the manner in which the message is translated into action.

c) *The exegesis of the Qur'ān*. Linguistically, the content of the *Qur'ān* is presented in two categories (cf. III, 7). Most of the verses have a self-evident meaning (*muḳkam*) and pose no problems of interpretation. Certain other verses can be the cause of some uncertainty (*mutaşhābih*) if their apparent sense is adhered to. In this case, the Believer must accept the revealed fact as it is presented (*imrār*) in its most literal sense, showing a confident belief in the truth it contains, a truth which transcends the immediately perceptible linguistic message (cf. *Tafsīr* viii, 453, x, 141). God being the only one to know the reality of the *mutaşhābih*, the Believer must have the wisdom and humility to commend himself to Him (*tafwīd, taslīm*). In the eyes of Muḥammad 'Abduh this act of faith acquires the value of a canonical obligation (*Tafsīr*, i, 252). This is also the position of Rashīd Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs (cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 167, iv, 256, vii, 472, viii, 453, ix, 513, x, 141, xii, 378; *Shihāb*, Jan. 1934, 6 June 1939, 206).

The reformist doctrine on the subject of *kur'anic* exegesis can be defined in relation to the problems of interpretation, *ta'wil* [q.v.], and commentary, *tafsir* [q.v.].

*İşlâh* severely condemns subjective interpretation (*ta'wil*), which claims to analyse a "hidden" sense beyond the literal sense, and a more or less gratuitous symbolism beyond the apparent images. On the subject of III, 7, Rashîd Riḍâ clearly defines the reformist position (*Tafsir*, iii, 166 ff.). *Ta'wil* is a typical example of *bid'a* (*ibid.*, x, 141), since it cannot be justified either by the *Sunna* or by the tradition of the Salaf, who avoided interpreting uncertain passages (*mutashâbih*) of the Scripture by relying on their own understanding (see also Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risâlat al-tawhîd*, 7 [Fr. trans., 8]). The Salafiyya's distrust of *ta'wil* includes all esoteric and mystical interpretations and those of the supporters of a rational explanation at any cost. Cf. *Tafsir*, i, 252-3, iii, 172-96: an explanation of the reformist doctrine of the subject of the *ta'wil*, with lengthy quotations from Ibn Taymiyya; criticism of the tendentious exegesis of the "men of *bid'a*" (Djahmiyya, Qadariyya, Khawâridj, Bâṭiniyya, Bâbiyya, Bahâ'iyya, etc.), ix, 131-2; the "heretical" exegesis of the Bâṭiniyya and of excessive Sûfism; iv, 191; exegesis which is "orientated" in favour of one sect or another, and which in fact results in giving a purely arbitrary sense to the revealed statement. This is *tahrîf* itself [q.v.], a concept applied in the *Kur'an* to the "Possessors of the Scriptures" (*ahl al-kitâb*) and applied by the modern reformists to stigmatize the use of the *kur'anic* exegesis for partisan ends (cf. *Tafsir*, i, 430, iv, 97, 282, vii, 506; *Shihâb*, Sept. 1935, 344-5). Included in the term *tahrîf* are pseudo-erudite commentaries which embroider the text with "false legends" (*abâṭil wa-ḥurâfât*), in the style of the *isrâ'iliyyât* [q.v.] so frequently denounced by the reformist authors (*Tafsir*, i, 8, 18, 347, ii, 455, 471, iv, 466, vi, 332, 355-6, 449, ix, 190, 414, x, 384, xi, 474; *Shihâb*, July 1939, 254). The same warnings were issued against interpretation of the *kur'anic* passages dealing with the unknowable, *ghayb* [q.v.] (cf. *Tafsir*, i, 252, iii, 166 ff., iv, 254 ff. on III, 173, IX, 513; *Shihâb*, Oct. 1930, 534; Jan. 1934, 1-9).

Reformist exegesis tends to banish *ta'wil* in favour of simple commentary, *tafsir*, and lays down the principle that, apart from a few verses containing a certain mystery (particularly on the subject of divine attributes, *ṣifât*, and the states of future life, *aḥwâl al-âkhirâ*), *kur'anic* revelation can be made just as comprehensible to contemporary Muslims as it was to the Salaf. Thus, the function of *tafsir* is revitalized. Freed from its historico-legendary husk and from commentaries of a largely grammatical and rhetorical nature, *tafsir* becomes a preparation for reading and meditating upon the *Kur'an*. Those commentators whose primary interest was in the didactic aspect of *tafsir* have woven a veritable screen (*hidâb*) between Muslims and their sacred book (*Tafsir*, iii, 302). According to the reformists, the essential aim of *tafsir* is to elucidate the moral values and spiritual "direction" (*hady*) which nourish religious feeling and guide the piety of the faithful (*ibid.*, i, 25); it must not be seen as a demonstrative discipline capable of establishing scientific and verifiable truths and satisfying the modern mind which is avid for rationality. The reformist commentators (and above all Rashîd Riḍâ and Ibn Bâdis) were in no way tempted by scientific exegesis, and, with the odd exception, did not give in to the fashion for

compromise which was widespread in their day (cf. the typical case of a Ṭantâwî Dîjawhari (1862-1940), in *MIDEO*, v (1958), 115-74). Consequently Rashîd Riḍâ criticizes the lack of discernment with which Faḥr al-Din al-Râzî [q.v.] appeals to the scientific culture of his time to pad out his important commentary. He deplores an identical tendency amongst "contemporary commentators [...] who display so much seemingly scientific erudition in their *tafsirs* that they succeed in diverting the reader from the object of the Revelation" (*Tafsir*, i, 75). Moreover, when speaking of the biblically inspired stories recounted in the *Kur'an*, Rashîd Riḍâ, quoting Muḥammad 'Abduh, criticizes those who would like to base the truth of the Book on the veracity of the facts it offers to the meditation of the Believers. "The *Kur'an* is no more a historical work (*ta'rikh*) than a narrative work (*ḥaṣaṣ*): it is only a moral guide and a source of edification" (*Tafsir*, ii, 471). The historicity of the *kur'anic* story is less important than its moral content and its virtue as a source of inspiration. The role of the reformist commentator is above all to bring the *kur'anic* message as close as possible to the minds and hearts of Muslims. In his task, his goal will of course be to establish the meaning of the verses as exactly as human understanding permits. This implies a profound knowledge of all the resources of Arab lexicography and philology. There are some verses whose message is readily apparent; in some cases, what is revealed can be made more explicit with the help of references and parallels found in the *Kur'an* itself (*tafsir al-Kur'an bi'l-Kur'an*); in other cases it is necessary to employ early exegesis by returning to the versions given by the Great Companions and their principal disciples amongst the *tâbi'un*, following the explanations supplied by the Prophet in person as part of the revelation. Any exegesis not based on proofs (*dalâ'il*) taken from the *Sunna* (in the absence of explicit scriptural reference) is suspect and thus unacceptable (Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risâlat al-tawhîd*, 129 [Fr. trans., 137]; *Tafsir*, i, 8, 174-5, iii, 327). Hence the idea of the fundamentally complementary nature of the Scripture and the *Sunna*.

2.—The *Sunna*.—From the standpoint of *işlâh* the *Sunna* must be placed next to Revelation as second canonical source. However, reformist teaching is not in complete agreement on whether it is a constitutive source, like Revelation, or simply an explanation of the latter. The following are the main doctrinal positions:

*The Sunna is of the same essence as the Kur'an.*—This is the point of view of Ibn Bâdis, who affirms the profound unity that links the *Sunna* and the Scriptures. "The expression: 'Revelation of the Lord compassionate', [*Kur'an*, XXXVI, 58] means that the religion is, in its entirety, a revelation from God... for the source of Islam... is the *Kur'an*, which is a divine revelation, and the *Sunna*, which is also a revelation, as these words of the Almighty prove [quotation of LIII, 4]" (*Shihâb*, Feb. 1936, 95). This radical position is similar to that of the Zâhirite Ibn Ḥazm, who also held the *Sunna* to be on a par with Revelation (cf. his *Iḥkâm fî uṣûl al-aḥkâm*, Cairo 1345/1927, i, 121-2. *Hadith* provides an argument in favour of this thesis (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 223 A: "—revealed to Muḥammad by Dîjibrîl just as the *Kur'an* was revealed"). It was only partially shared by Rashîd Riḍâ, but he admits that "revelation is not limited to the *Kur'an*" (*Tafsir*... ii, 139, v, 279, 470). Some of the Prophet's teachings, on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (*al-rûḥ al-qudus*)

have the same importance as the Kurʾān, but their level of expression does not assume the inimitable nature of the latter (*ibid.*, v, 279, § 3).

*The Sunna makes Revelation explicit.*—All the reformist authors agree on this point. The Kurʾān clearly says that the Prophet's mission is to make manifest to men (*li-tubayyina li 'l-nās*) the true meaning of the Scriptures (*Tafsīr* . . . , ii, 30, vi, 159, 472, vii, 139, viii, 255, 309; *Shihāb*, Oct. 1930, 532; Feb. 1932, 73). The *Sunna* is second in importance to the Book, since it is an explanatory instrument (*Tafsīr* . . . , iv, 18, on III, 101); the Kurʾān constitutes the totality of the religion, and the *Sunna* is an integral part of the latter only in the sense that it explains what was revealed (*ibid.*, ix, 326). Herein lies the status of the *Sunna* as the second canonical source.

By *Sunna* is meant only the texts of *Hadīth* the authenticity of which has been duly established (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawhīd*, 129 [Fr. transl., 132]), a very limited number of traditions which refer above all to the dogmas of faith and the forms of worship (e.g. prayer, pilgrimage). Beyond these descriptive traditions of holy acts, the remaining traditions about which there is no doubt (e.g. those with a moral content) "do not number more than a dozen" (*Risālat al-tawhīd*, ed. Rashīd Riḍā 202 note 2; *Tafsīr* . . . , v, 365). A tradition is not necessarily to be believed just because it is attributed to the Prophet, even if it carries the authority of an eminent traditionist or famous teacher. Rashīd Riḍā cites the example of Ghazālī, who gave as authentic traditions which were "insignificant or simply invented" (*Tafsīr*, vii, 31). He was also severely critical of the apocryphal traditions (*ma-wḍūʿ*), attributing their origin to various factors: *xandaḡa* [q.v.], sectarianism, flattery towards rulers, human error, and senile forgetfulness. Moreover, rigorism and puritanism encouraged the traditionists to incorporate into *Hadīth* moral maxims which they considered just as edifying as certain traditions called "weak".

The problem of the authenticity of *Hadīth* is extremely important from the reformist point of view, for the authenticity of a *sunna* is the basis of its authority as a canonical source. All that is transmitted by the Prophet originates from God and must therefore be an article of faith for Believers (Kurʾān, IV, 80: "Whoever obeys the Messenger has obeyed Allāh"). Thus Muslims have every right to reject any normative tradition the authenticity of which is not absolutely beyond doubt, as is the Kurʾān. Hence the necessity of great care in distinguishing between the *Sunna*, which carries the same authority as Scripture, and the traditions whose authenticity has not been completely established, even if they are in harmony with the "spirit" of the Salaf. In fact, the Salafiyya only recognize the normative value of a very small number of *ḥadīths* which are held to be rigorously authentic: *aḥādīth mutawāṭira*, *wa-ḥalīl<sup>m</sup> mā hī* (*Manār*, iii, 572). By stating that Muslims are obliged to follow "the Kurʾān and the *Sunna*, and them alone" (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḥurā*, 73; Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* . . . , *passim*; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Feb. 1936, 95), the reformists based their doctrine on the teachings of the Prophet (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 130 A: "Clinging to Kurʾān and *Sunna* alone"; 223 A: "Confining oneself to Kurʾān and *Sunna*"). But, bearing in mind their very limitative conception of the *Sunna*, they maintain in fact that Islam as a religion (*dīn*) can essentially be reduced to the Kurʾān.

The doctrine of *ishlāḥ* tends to attach a greater importance to the Kurʾān as a source than to *Hadīth* as it has generally been accepted in classical dogmas. This trend is taken to its logical conclusion in the works of recent authors, who reduce the authority of *Hadīth* almost out of existence in favour of the Kurʾān and *idṭihād* [q.v.] (cf. Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, a former disciple of Rashīd Riḍā: *Aḡwā ʿala 'l-sunna al-muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1958; and on present positions on the subject of *Hadīth*: *REI*, 1954, *Abstracta*, 117-23; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature*, Leiden 1969).

Logically, Islam could no doubt be defined exclusively in relation to the Kurʾān, a thesis upheld by another disciple of Rashīd Riḍā, Muḥammad Tawfiḡ Şidkī, in his work *al-Islām huwa 'l-Kurʾān waḥdah* which is a programme in its own right (*Manār* ix (1906), 515-25, 906-25). For this author, the foundations of Islam are the Book of God and Reason. Any doctrinal element imputed to Islam which satisfies neither the criterion of the given facts of the Kurʾān nor the fundamental demands of reason must be declared unacceptable. Elsewhere, M. T. Şidkī demands complete freedom in evaluating the *Sunna*. It must be limited in so far as it is in disagreement with the objective facts of the Book, but where it puts forward principles of wisdom (*ḥikma*) there is nothing to prevent the Believer from referring to it, as he might to any (profane) source. The Salafiyya certainly do not go to quite these lengths. The thesis of Muḥammad Tawfiḡ Şidkī (presented with some reservations by Rashīd Riḍā) was immediately refuted by a defender of the classical doctrine (cf. Ṭāhā al-Biṣhrī, *Uṣūl al-Islām: al-Kurʾān, al-Sunna, al-ḡimāʿ, al-ḥiyās*, in *Manār*, ix, 699-711). In the eyes of the Salafiyya Islam cannot be reduced to matters of faith and canonical obligation (*ibādāt*) which can only be held to be true in so far as they originate from Revelation and the very small number of *ḥadīths* shown to be authentic (*mutawāṭir*). Islam is also a political and social system, a complex of ethical values, a culture. In matters of usage (*ʿādāt*) and human relations (*muʿāmalāt*) determined by a socio-cultural framework which is not ruled by scriptural dispositions (*naṣṣ*), the *Sunna* and the traditions of the Salaf are helpful and instructive; they are indeed exemplary and worthy of the attention of Muslims as an excellent reference for both action and moral life. Beside these two sources, *ishlāḥ* attaches great value to the tradition of the Salaf, which it holds to be eminently representative of the Prophet's tradition and thus indispensable for anybody who wishes to grasp the authentic message of Islam at its source.

3.—The tradition of the Salaf.—To a large extent, *ishlāḥ* appeals to the tradition of the Salaf as an explanatory source for the *Sunna* and an important reference point for understanding the general meaning of Islam. The term *salaf* designates a fact that is both historical and cultural. It implies firstly the idea of anteriority (cf. Kurʾān XLIII, 57), which in classical usage is naturally linked with the idea of authority and exemplariness. The Salaf are precisely the "virtuous forefathers" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*), the predecessors whose perfect orthodoxy, piety, holiness, and religious knowledge make them men worthy of being taken as models and guides. But, in the absence of sure and sufficient biographical references, these are difficult to ascertain. It is not so much their personal qualities, however striking, that make for the authority of the Salaf, but rather their historical experience, their contact with the

Prophet in some cases and with his Companions and Successors in others. Among the innumerable witnesses of primitive Islam, the Salaf are exemplary. They represent a certain form of Islamic orthodoxy at a given period of history. Hence the need to sketch the historical context of the Salaf. The chronological points of reference are inexact and often contradictory. By *salaf* was meant, for example:—a. the “Mother of the Believers”, ‘Ā’ishā, and the Patriarchal Caliphs, as well as Ṭalḥa and Zubayr (Lane, Book iv, 1408 C);—b. the principle *tābi‘ūn* (*ibid.*);—c. the Prophet’s Companions (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Ma‘ārif, i, 93);—d. The Companions and their successors (*tābi‘ūn*, on the one hand in relation to the founders of the four *madhabs* (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who talks of “our pious forefathers”, *salafūna al-sāliḥ*, Wensinck, *Concordances* . . . , i, 505 B); and on the other the latter and their immediate disciples in relation to succeeding generations (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. Khayyāt, iii, 676-7). In the works of modern reformist authors the definition of the Salaf is just as vague. For Rashīd Riḍā they are the most eminent representatives of the primitive Islamic community, *al-sadr al-awwal* (*Tafsīr*, ii, 81, vii, 143, 198), those of the “first epoch”, *al-‘aṣr al-awwal* (*ibid.*, vi, 196, iii, 572), which covers the first three generations, *ḥarn* (this term is not to be taken in the modern sense of “century” but in that of a “generation of men” (*ḍjīl*) who lived during the same period of seventy to eighty years [*ibid.*, xi, 314, xii, 190]). In the works of Rashīd Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs we find the same traditional definition of the three first generations; *i.e.*, that of the Prophet and his Companions (*ṣaḥāba*), that of their Followers (*tābi‘ūn*) and that of the Successors of the latter, *aitā‘ al-tābi‘īn* (*Tafsīr*, viii, 50; *Shibāb*, April 1937, 434), generations “which surpass in excellence (*khayriyya*) all others, as is witnessed by the Impeccable [*i.e.*, Muḥammad]” (*Shihāb*, Feb. 1932, 66, allusion to the *ḥadīth*: “the best of generations is mine, then the following, then that which comes after”, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 48A, lg. 40: “the best. . .”). This is worth comparing with the other *ḥadīth*, quoted by al-Shāfi‘ī, *Risāla*, ed. A. M. Shākir, 474, no. 1315: “Honour my Companions and those who follow them and those who follow these; after which untruth will appear”, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook* 48B “Muḥammad admonishes. . .”).

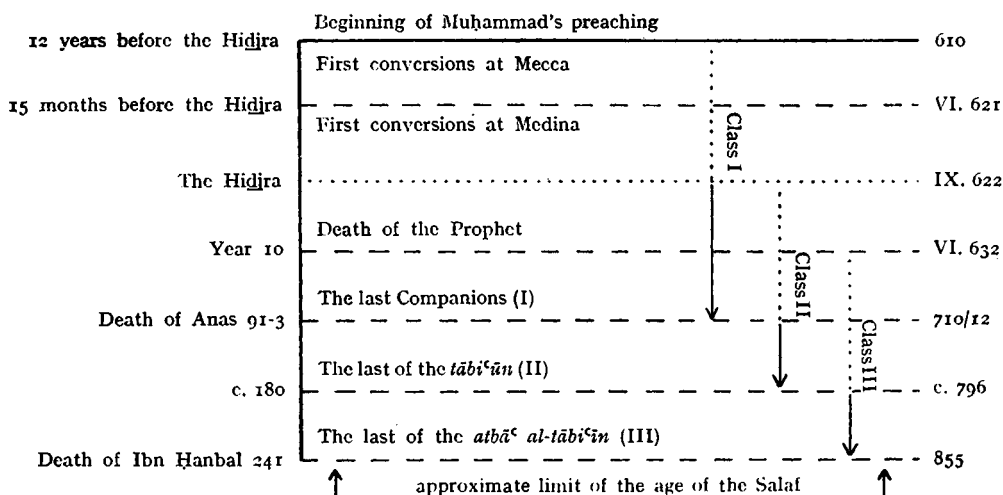
A few chronological points of reference will serve as rough definitions of the three groups which make up the Salaf:—a) The *ṣaḥāba* (or *aṣḥāb*), who date from the first conversions (at Mecca in 610 and Medina in June 621) until the death of Anas b. Mālik (91/710 or 93/712), considered to be the last survivor of the Prophet’s Companions (cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Iṣāba*, i, 138; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 152);—b) The *tābi‘ūn*: a large number of these were contemporaries of the Prophet’s Companions; some might even have been alive during the Prophet’s lifetime but without satisfying the conditions which would have permitted them to be classed among the *ṣaḥāba*. The last of the *tābi‘ūn* died around 180/796 (*e.g.*: Huṣḥaym b. Baṣḥr al-Sulamī, d. 183/799. He transmitted to Mālik and Sufyān al-Thawrī among others).—c) The *aitā‘ al-tābi‘īn*. There are no sufficiently precise criteria enabling us to define exactly this group of men; the reformists refer to them less frequently than to the other two, especially on the important question of *ḥur‘ānīc* exegesis (cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 179, 208). In fact, they are essentially the most eminent disciples of the great *tābi‘ūn*, *ḥibār al-tābi‘īn* (like al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, 101/720; al-Sha‘bī, d. 104/723; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,

d. 110/729; Ibn Sīrīn, d. 110/729). The middle of the 3rd/9th century can be taken as the *terminus ad quem* of this last group of Salaf. Also covered by the term Salaf are “the doctors of the second and third generations” (*Tafsīr*, ii, 82), notably the founders of the four Sunnī *madhabs* and a certain number of their contemporaries, the strongest religious personalities from the early days of Islam, such as al-Awzā‘ī (d. 157/774), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), al-Layṭh b. Sa‘d (d. 175/791) and Iṣḥāq b. Rāḥwayh (d. 238/853, cf. *Tafsīr*, vii, 552, viii, 453). Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) would appear to be one of the last representatives of the age of the Salaf.

In reformist usage, the Salaf are sometimes mentioned in opposition to the *Khalaf* or “later generations”, under whose influence the message of Islam has been obscured, if not distorted, by innovation, the fanaticism of the Schools, and the mushrooming of sects (cf. *Tafsīr* viii, 269). This conception might appear simplistic, implying that reformists should cut themselves off from the cultural current which has never ceased to refresh the body of the *Umma* throughout the centuries. In fact the position of the Salafiyya is more subtle: outside the period of the Salaf defined above, the modern reformists do not refuse to take into consideration the contributions made by the “independent” (*mustakīl*) doctors—independent of the Schools and Parties—who, following the example of the Salaf, were free from all sectarianism and all narrowmindedness, and whose only concern was to safeguard the integrity of the *Sunna* and the unity of the Community. Thus Abū Iṣḥāq al-Shātibī (d. 790/1388) is highly esteemed by Rashīd Riḍā (cf. the eulogistic article that he devoted to him in *K. al-I‘tisām*, Cairo 1332/1914, i, 1-9; *Tafsīr*, vi, 156-63, vii, 193). Moreover, the Salafiyya venerate a number of outstanding Sunnī teachers and mystics such as al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), al-Djuwaynī (d. 438/1047), his son the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085), and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), even though they came later than the Salaf (cf. *Tafsīr*, xi, 378). These they consider as “guides to salvation” (*a‘immat al-hudā*), seeing them as bearers of the light which brought about the periodic revival of Muslim spirituality. In the line of such men who rejuvenated Islam and faithful transmitted the ideas of the Salaf is Muḥammad ‘Abduh; to the supporters of modern reformism he is the master (*al-ustādh al-imām*) the one who really inaugurated the renewal of Islam at the dawn of the 20th century.

Fidelity to the moral and religious tradition of the Salaf is a fundamental demand of *islāh*. Besides the two sources, the reformists proclaim this tradition as their only basic point of reference, justifying their attitude by the following arguments:—a) *The Salaf received the sacred inheritance from the Prophet* (the dogmas of the faith, the form of worship), and transmitted it faithfully, in word and deed, *ḥawli<sup>an</sup> wa-‘amali<sup>an</sup>* (*Tafsīr*, vi, 277). They are the guarantors of the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, ii, 30, 82), and their liturgical tradition must be adhered to as an ideal norm, in the sense that it actualizes the spirituality of the Prophet, and to imitate this must be the highest ambition of every Muslim.—b) *The Salaf best understood and followed the ḥur‘ānīc message*, as it was handed down to them fresh from the Revelation (*ghaḍḍān kamā unsiḥa*). After the Prophet, they are most qualified to interpret the Scriptures (*Tafsīr*, iii, 178, 182, vi, 196; cf. R. Blachère, *Introd. au Coran*, 225 ff.). Their reading and their meditations on the Book are indispensable for a modern understanding of the *Ḥur‘ān*, which must avoid being both too literal or too subjective—and thus arbitrary—





c) *The Salaf are the best source of information we have about the life of the Prophet and about the way he put the Revelation into practice.* On many factual points their unanimous accounts (*iǧmā'*) are irreplaceable, rounding off information given by the two sources. The Salaf thus provide the necessary framework for an understanding of the Revelation and the *Sunna*.

A complement to the *Sunna* and a source of inspiration in Islamic life (in spiritual matters as well as in secular acts), the tradition of the Salaf is more than an object of veneration for the modern reformists. The Salafiyya do not wish to be a group frozen in admiration of an ideal image of Islam reflected by the Salaf. They aspire rather to live Islam within modern society, in a simple and true manner, following the example of the Salaf. Moreover, for the theoreticians of *işlāḥ*, this ideal expresses their desire to rebuild the Muslim personality, not by copying foreign values and cultures but by drawing from the moral and cultural tradition of early Islam. It is this ideal that Ibn Bādīs defended in his column in *Shihāb: Riǧāl al-Salaf wa-nisā'u-h* ("[famous] Men and Women in early Islam"): "Our aim is to make our readers aware of a number of our pious forefathers—men and women—underlining the eminent qualities they owed to Islam and the lofty acts they performed in its service; for their example can strengthen the hearts of Muslims, contribute to their moral improvement, inspire them with great projects, and breathe new life into them. There is no *life* for the generation of today without the *life* of the Salaf, which is nothing but their living history and the everlasting memory of them" (*Shihāb*, Jan. 1934, 14). In like manner, reformist authors tended to exploit systematically the historical and literary facts relating to the Salaf in order to point moral as well as social and political lessons. (Cf. the examples given in *Tafsīr*, iii, 92: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 374: Abū Ṭāḥa Zayd b. Sahl; 375: 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar; 376: 'Abd Allāh b. Dja'far; vii, 21-23: 'Uḥmān b. Maẓ'un and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; viii, 225: Zayd b. 'Alī and his companions, cited as martyrs (*fiḍā'iyyūn*) of religious and political *işlāḥ*; x, 654-5: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf; see also the examples presented in A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 287 ff.; 'Ubāda b. al-Şāmit and his wife Umm Ḥarām, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, al-Nu'mān b. 'Adī al-'Adawī; 325-6: Laylā al-Şifā' bint 'Amr). Biographical literature concerning the

beginnings of Islam (beyond that of the *Sīra* itself) became an inexhaustible mine of historical and moral meditation for the reformists (cf. the column of *Manār: Āḥār al-salaf 'ibra li 'l-khalaf*: that of *Shihāb* (already referred to): *Riǧāl al-salaf wa-nisā'u-h* (from 1934 on); the lyrical and moralizing odes to the glory of the Patriarchal Caliphs like the 'Umarīyya (Feb. 1918, 190 lines) by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (d. 1932) and the 'Alawīyya (Nov. 1919, more than 300 lines) by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 1931); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, *Ma'a 'l-ra'īl al-awwal*<sup>2</sup>, Cairo, 1378/1958).

The historico-cultural importance of the Salaf in the methodology of *işlāḥ* is considerable. Even though the Salafiyya give priority to the two sources, they put forward the principle that the Revelation and the *Sunna* inaugurated a new order in human history, and that that order became a complete living reality in and through the acts of the Salaf. Thus the reformist conception of Islam could be summarized in a statement of the following type: "The constituents of Islam are the ḥur'anic revelation, Muḥammad's *Sunna*, and the tradition of the pious forefathers (*wa-mā kāna 'alayh al-salaf al-şāliḥ*)", viewing this tradition from the aspect of its moral and dogmatic content (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143, 198, ix, 132, xi, 378; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Feb. 1934, 99). Because they felt it was the concrete expression of the ideal "way" of Islam, the reformists continually cite the tradition of the *Salaf* in support of their missionary activity (*da'wa*) and their teaching in matters of ḥur'anic exegesis or social and political ethics. This fidelity to the Salaf governs one of the main doctrinal premises of *işlāḥ*.

C.—THE PRINCIPAL DOCTRINAL POSITIONS.—*Işlāḥ* aims at a total reform of Muslim life.

1.—For the reform of worldly matters, *işlāḥ* employed oral teaching (*wa'z*, *irşād*) in mosques and through cultural circles well-disposed toward the Salafiyya movement. Screened by their educational and scholastic (*al-tarbiya wa 'l-ta'lim*) or charitable (*ḥayriyya*) works, these associations attempted to implement the great aims of the reformists. In addition, *işlāḥ* was diffused by means of many publications and periodicals, some of which, like the *Manār* in the East (1898-1935), run by Raşīd Riḍā, or the *Shihāb* in the Maghrib (1924-39), edited by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs, had a deep and lasting influence.

The general reformist themes propagated among the masses can be summarized as follows: the restora-

tion of worship to its original form (which entailed certain liturgical changes, minor in themselves, but extremely irritating to traditionalist Sunnis); preaching against a host of practices which seemed religious but had no foundation either in the Prophet's *Sunna* or in the tradition of the Salaf (funeral rites such as the public recitation of the Kur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān over the tomb, the celebration of the *mawlid* [q.v.] etc.); and warning against pious beliefs and practices which the Salafiyya felt bore traces of the survival of paganism or the manifestation of *shirk* [q.v.] (cult of the saints, invocation of the dead, etc.). The reformers also exhorted the faithful to unite, to worship in solidarity aside from the divergences of Schools and to overcome the traditional opposition between Sunnism and Shīʿism; and they encouraged the development of a moral censorship designed both to ensure the canonical obligation to obey God and eliminate Evil, and also to cleanse Muslim society of vice, gambling, the use of alcoholic beverages and drugs, etc. The education of Muslim men (and especially women) in elementary hygiene and domestic economy (including the encouragement to save) was important, as was the cultivation of a taste for order and work well done. Other educational aims were the awakening of the Muslims' intellectual curiosity, so that they might study modern science and foreign languages; and the support of projects for youth such as scouting, artistic activities, cultural activity within the many circles (*nādī*) and associations of Young Muslims (*djāmīyyat al-shubbān al-muslimīn*). All this comprised an attempt to hasten the birth of new Muslim men, capable of facing fearlessly—and without the risk of alienation—the problems of the contemporary world.

2.—*For theoretical reform.* It is important to stress that the principal reformist authors were above all men of action who did not have the time to elaborate well-developed doctrinal works. The main religious ideas of Muḥammad ʿAbduh are set out in his *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, in 133 small pages. The rest of his teachings can be found scattered piecemeal through the bulky *Tafsīr* by Raṣḥīd Riḍā, where his work cannot easily be distinguished from his disciples'. Al-Kawākibī (who died prematurely in 1902) produced no more than two essays: *Ṭabāʿīc al-istiḥdād* and *Umm al-kurā*, which contain only a small proportion of theoretical thought. The Algerian reformer, Ibn Bādīs, who, like ʿAbduh, introduced many new ideas throughout his life, left no more than a series of articles of kur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic commentary (that is, about 500 octavo pages), published in the *Shihāb* (cf. A. Merad, *Ibn Bādīs, commentateur du Coran*). There remains the considerable work of Raṣḥīd Riḍā, in particular his *Tafsīr (Tafsīr al-Manār)*, which is the most important source for the study of the dogmatic positions of modern *islāh*. The many secondary reformist authors simply developed the ideas of their masters when they were not simply imitating their writings and teaching.

The efforts of the Salafiyya centered particularly on criticism of the fashionable doctrines of their time, either on the grounds that they were a rigid form of classical doctrine (that of the Sunnī schools), or that they were rash analyses and formulations, the result of a modernism that was dubious in principle and incompatible with the criteria of orthodoxy which *islāh* had set up. At the same time, the reformists attempted to work out "ideal" Islamic positions, bearing in mind the objective facts given in the two sources and the fundamental conceptions of the Salaf; the latter were essentially viewed through the interpretation of Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil Ibn

Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350), whom they considered the soundest authorities on the tradition of the Salaf (cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 253; it is thanks to these two that the author adhered so serenely (*ifma'anna ḫalībī*) to the doctrines attributed to the Salaf). From the critical works and commentaries of the reformists (cf. *Bibliography*) we can distinguish the following doctrinal positions:

1.—*Methodology.*—The dominant Sunnī doctrine based canonical knowledge (*ʿilm*) on four fundamental sources (*uṣūl* [q.v.]): the Kur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, the *Sunna*, the *idjmaʿ* and the *idjtiḥād* (cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 478-9, nos. 1329-2; J. Schacht, UṢŪL, in *ET*<sup>1</sup>; idem, *ḲḲḲ*, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>). Starting from these four sources, juridical and moral rules (*ahkām*) are deduced according to well-defined criteria which are the subject-matter of the science of the *uṣūl*. *İslāh* adheres to the classical theory of the four sources (*Tafsīr* v, 187, 201, xi, 267), without accepting traditional criteria in their entirety (*ibid.*, v, 187, 201, 203, 208, 417). The reformist stance can be summarized under the following headings: the authority of the two Sources; the rejection of *taḫlīd*; a new conception of *idjtiḥād* and *idjmaʿ*; and the necessary distinction between the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt*.

1.—*The two Sources (Kur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān and Sunna)* constitute the basis of the whole legal system in Islam. Their authority frees Muslims from exclusive submission to traditional doctrinal authorities, thus effectively wiping out the divergences (*ikhṭilāf*) between Schools (*madhāhib*), the secular opposition between Sunnīs and Shīʿism, and the hatred nurtured in Sunnī circles for sects felt to be heretical (particularly all *Khāridjism*, in its present form of the *Ibādiyya* [q.v.]). By returning to first principles, Muslims will be able to overcome the divisive effect of the Schools but will still be able to take up all that is best from each of the many contributions (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, March 1936, 654, Nov. 1938, 230). This would permit, for example, the possibility of an eventual unification of Muslim legislation. By preaching tirelessly for a return to first principles, the reformists were led to voice severe criticism of the orthodox Schools and their teachers, the *fukahā*<sup>3</sup> (cf. al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-kurā*, 72 ff.; Muḥ. ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 15, 101, (Fr. trans. 19, 107); Raṣḥīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 258-9, iii, 9-11, iv, 49, 280, vii, 145 and following references). In their eyes, the Schools generally identified themselves with trends hostile to reason and science (*Tafsīr*, ii, 91-3); they hindered the research carried out by *idjtiḥād* and consequently helped to stop the cultural progress of the Community; they in fact gave priority to the study of *fiqh* over knowledge based on the Kur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān and on the Prophet's *Sunna* (*ibid.*, v, 106, 120, ix, 129-30, x, 429); they placed the authority of the "doctors" higher than the authority of the only legitimate and worthwhile *madhāhib*: that of the Salaf (*ibid.*, ix, 133). By encouraging the unconditional submission of the masses to their doctors, the Schools ignored kur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic teaching, which says that Muslims must cling together (*djāmīyya*) to the one and only rope of salvation, the rope of Allāh (*ḫabī Allāh*), which is the Kur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān (cf. the commentary of Raṣḥīd Riḍā on this kur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic ref. (III, 98): *Tafsīr*, v, 20 ff.). The return to the two sources (and to the tradition of the Salaf) would thus be a unifying and reconciling factor for Muslims. Freed of their fanaticism and mutual prejudices, Muslims could reunite in the fundamental unity of their *Umma*, rediscovering their original fraternity, over and above their ethnic and cultural ties. (The theme of the return to first principles was a powerful argument in favour of pan-Islamism, an idea dear to the reformist authors).

Can the return to first principles advocated by the Salafiyya be seen as reactionary? The reformists were not trying to restore to the old symbols (such as *sunna*, *umma*, *djama'a*, *imam*, *dār al-islām*, *idimā'*, *idjitiḥād*) the exact same significance they had had at the time of the Salaf. Rather, such a return expresses their desire to take the two sources as an essential (but not exclusive) basis for their reflection, in order to solve the moral problems that the modern world poses to Muslims. The use to which they put certain symbols found in the Qur'ān or the *Sunna* sometimes corresponds to preoccupations arising from daily life in the modern world. Behind what appears to be a fundamentalist return to the sources of Islam, the Salafiyya are in fact attempting to work towards a moral and doctrinal renewal by searching for subtle concordances between the Scriptures and present-day realities (see, e.g., the concepts of *shūrā* (Qur'ān, II, 233; III, 159) and of *ūlū 'l-amr* (Qur'ān, IV, 59) and their respective interpretations by Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* ii, 414, iv, 199-205, v, 180-190). A logical consequence of the principle of a return to the sources is the rejection of *taklīd* [q.v.] and the search for new ways of practising *idjitiḥād*.

2.—*Taklīd*. The reformists vigorously criticized the spirit of servile dependance upon traditional doctrinal authorities (notably in the orthodox Schools). The concept of *taklīd* obviously does not apply either to the pious imitation of the Prophet, which is held to be a canonical obligation (cf. Qur'ān IV, 59, XXXIII, 21), nor to the trusting acceptance of the tradition of the Salaf, whose moral and doctrinal authority is loudly proclaimed by the reformists (see above). In these cases, the word *ittibā'* (active fidelity) to the traditions of both the Prophet and the Salaf was used instead of *taklīd*. (Cf. in this respect the distinction made by Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, v, 238). Such a fidelity regulates and inspires the general mission of *islāḥ*, which offers the imitation of the Prophet as an "ideal of knowledge and action" (H. Laouist, *Essai*, 226). For Ibn Bādīs, the better the imitation the better is the reformist mission (*da'wa*) accomplished (*Shihāb*, April 1935, 8). *Ittibā'* is the attempt to reach authenticity; it is the opposite of the spirit of speculation and innovation (*ibtidā'*), which is as reprehensible at a religious level as is the passive acceptance of the teachings of authority. In any case, *taklīd* is quite different from the attempt to model one's life on the exemplary lives (*iktidā'*) of people who, because of their piety or holiness, are worthy of imitation (*Tafsīr*, vi, 415). Finally, the considered acceptance of interpretations supplied by the most eminent *mudjtahid* cannot be described as *taklīd*, since they do not claim to be legislators (*shāri'ūn*) independent of God and His Prophet, but only sound guides to a better understanding of the divine Law and the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, v, 238). The same applies to the obedience which is normally due to the *ūlū 'l-amr* (Qur'ān, IV, 59), who work together in explaining the Law, in applying it and, generally, in putting Qur'ānic values into practice at every level of Muslim life. The reformist criticism of *taklīd* is aimed both at mindless conformism and the deliberate support given to social and political structures which prevent progress and personal initiative in the name of a static vision of religion and culture. For the *mukallid*, the reformists feel, religious life is merely the expression of acquired habits and the passive acceptance of the *status quo*; their worship is reduced to verbal formulae which have no profound meaning; and religious rites dwindle to mechanically

repeated acts which have no reforming and sanctifying value. Looked at in this light, *taklīd* is the opposite of the spiritual and ethical demands made by the Qur'ān.

The Qur'ān contains many statements condemning mindless submission to those who went before, to the "fathers" (*ābā'*), a theme much used by reformist writers: *Tafsīr*, i, 425, iv, 63 (the refusal to see *taklīd* as the distinctive mark of Islam); viii, 21, (ref. to *sūra* XC), ix, 570, x, 428 (*taklīd* is condemned by the Qur'ān); i, 425, ii, 83, vii, 143 (it is strongly discouraged by the Salaf and the first great thinkers); v, 296, viii, 30, 144 (it is a source of error); i, 448, iii, 236, v, 296 (it is an obstacle to personal meditation on Revelation); ii, 76, viii, 169, ix, 179, x, 432 (it encourages a new form of idolatry: the excessive veneration of authorities and masters); i, 429, iii, 202, 258, iv, 49, vii, 145 (it leads to sectarianism and fanaticism); ii, 76, 108, viii, 399 (it is a cause of disunion and weakness in the Community). Since it sets greater store on arguments from authority than on personal thought and experience, *taklīd* is contrary to the spirit of Islam, which recognizes in reasoning beings the faculty of taking decisions in all conscience (*ibid.*, xii, 220-1; see also Muḥammad Ikbāl's remarks in *The Reconstruction...*, 125-9 [Fr. trans., 136-41]). The reformist argument makes continual appeals to this sort of objection when denouncing the illegitimate (*buḥlān*) and illicit (*taḥrīm*) nature of *taklīd* and stressing its negative effects on Muslim teaching and ethics. *Taklīd* is also blamed for the cultural stagnation of Islam and the passive submission of the Muslim masses to traditional religious structures (*'ulamā'* and *shaykhs* of the brotherhoods); cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 325-7, x, 425-35, xii, 221; Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Wahda al-islāmiyya*, *ḥassim*; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Nov. 1932, 552-57; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 275-6. In the reformist view, the concept of *taklīd* inevitably brings to mind that of *idjitiḥād*, with which it forms one of the antithetical couples (*tawḥīd/shirk*, *sunna/ibid'a*, *ittibā'/ibtidā'*, *salaf/khālaf*) around which the doctrine of *islāḥ* is firmly articulated.

3.—*Idjitiḥād*. *Islāḥ* affirms the necessity and legitimacy of the use of the *idjitiḥād*, which Rashīd Riḍā sees as "a life-force in religion" (*ḥayāt al-dīn*, *Tafsīr*, ii, 399). The fiction of the "closing of the gate" of *idjitiḥād* (from the 4th/10th century on) is thus abandoned and with it the whole heritage of interdictions and myths which weighed heavily on the Muslim conscience for so long. But the reformists did not regard the opening of the mind to *idjitiḥād* as absolute freedom for the critical spirit to call everything into question. Complete liberty of conscience in religious matters would lead to speculation without end (*ibid.*, viii, 317), which was not what the Salafiyya wanted. Conservative Sunnism nevertheless blamed *islāḥ* for encouraging innovation and favouring doctrinal "anarchy" (*ibid.*, ii, 273, xi, 253). The theme of *taklīd* has been a constant source of misunderstanding between the reformists and their traditionalist adversaries, because neither agreed on the definition of this principle nor on the extent to which it can be applied. The traditionalists, who thought of religion (in its broadest sense) as a divine work which is perfectly complete (Qur'ān, V, 5), were afraid that modern criticism might use *idjitiḥād* to undermine the essential foundations of Islam. But the reformist conception of *idjitiḥād* also had its limiting conditions.

Firstly, *islāḥ* defined an intangible sphere, which included the dogmas of the faith (*'aḥkām*), fundament-

al worship (*'ibādāt*) and canonical prohibitions (*taḥrīm dīnī*), which are all based on the Scriptures, either because of their explicit and formal nature or because of the irrefutable authenticity of their interpretation (*mā huwa ḥaḥḥi 'l-riwāya wa 'l-dalāla: Tafṣīr*, i, 118 (bis), xi, 268, 265; *al-Waḥḍa al-islāmiyya*, 136). In this domain there is no room for *idjtiḥād* (*Tafṣīr*, v, 211, viii, 217, x, 432, xi, 268), for it would be intolerably presumptuous to attempt to question fundamental religious facts, which form "a divine institution, revealed by God" (*ibid.*, ii, 18, x, 432). Apart from these sacred matters, *islāḥ* permits the use of *idjtiḥād*, while placing it on two distinct planes, each with a particular significance.

a)—As an effort to understand the two sources, *idjtiḥād* is part of the right—and duty—of every Muslim to seek to understand by himself Revelation and the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, ii, 399). One of the fundamental ideas of reformist preaching was that Muslims must feel personally concerned with the Word of God and the teaching of the Prophet which illuminates it. Constant meditation on the Scriptures, patient efforts to analyse and understand all the resources that it offers, should permit every Muslim to steep himself in the divine message and draw from it principles of moral and spiritual conduct (*hidāya*). This purely interior form of *idjtiḥād* helps to nourish the Muslim's spirituality and guide his conscience in his moral judgements and practical choices. Its implications are largely personal (cf. *Tafṣīr*, i, 118, : the individual *idjtiḥād* in matters of worship, *'ibādāt shakhsīyya*). *Idjtiḥād* is also very important for the Community, which should employ a constant effort to interpret the two sources to determine the general principles of its "politics" (social, economic, foreign, etc.), in accordance with the fundamental commands of the Qurʾān and the *Sunna*.

b)—In so much as it is a constructive effort with implications both for the Community and in practical affairs, at a legislative rather than dogmatic level, *idjtiḥād* comes under the authority of the *ulū 'l-amr* [q.v.]. These latter are the legitimate holders of authority (Qurʾān, IV, 59) and because of their responsibilities, their religious knowledge, and their particular abilities are in charge of "binding and unbinding" (*ahl al-ḥall wa 'l-ʿaḳd*), that is the right to decide in the name of the Community and in its best interests. (On the definition and role of the *ulū 'l-amr*, cf. H. Laoust, *Essai*, 596, and *Traité de Droit Public d'Ibn Taymiyya* (on the latter's point of view); al-Kawākibi, *Umm al-ḥurā*, 58; Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafṣīr* ii, 492, iii, 11-12, iv, 199-205 (important), v, 180-1 Muhammad 'Abduh's position), 211-2, vii, 140, 198, viii, 102, xi, 164). The acts of the *ulū 'l-amr* should aim to bring about the moral good (*islāḥ*) and material welfare (*maṣāliḥ*) of the Community. Their competence extends to affairs that are normally the responsibility of political leaders, but does not include matters of worship and personal status (*ibid.*, v, 211). In these matters, *idjtiḥād* would constitute a veritable heresy (*ibid.*, xi, 253). Muslims could refuse to recognize the *ulū 'l-amr* (political and religious chiefs) who attempted to use their *idjtiḥād* in the sacred domain (*ibid.*, viii, 308), which is the "right of God" (*ḥaḥḥ Allāh*) over men (*ibid.*, viii, 288). Hence those attempts at *idjtiḥād* suggested by some Arab heads of state in order to reform certain aspects of Muslim personal status which they considered incompatible with the spirit of contemporary civilization were invalid. In all that concerns canonical prescriptions which are authentically founded on the two sources, the role of the *ulū 'l-amr* is essentially

to safeguard orthodoxy, by making sure that the *Sunna*, as it was formulated by the Salaf, is respected in its entirety (*ibid.*, iii, 11-12). This is a natural corollary of the reformist doctrinal principle maintaining that *idjtiḥād* is incompatible with certainty (*yakīn*) emanating from the absolutely evident facts of the Scriptures (*ibid.*, ii, 18, 109). The Salafiyya only allow the use of *idjtiḥād* in the absence of any explicit scriptural reference (*naṣṣ*), prophetic tradition (*sunna*) or general consensus (*idjmāʿ*)—in this case the consensus of the Prophet's Companions—that would resolve a given problem (*ibid.*, viii, 219).

Given this important restriction, we can distinguish two types of problems to which the *idjtiḥād* of the *ulū 'l-amr* is normally applicable. i)—Purely secular business (administrative organization, scientific and technical questions, military and diplomatic affairs, etc.). In these fields, the *ulū 'l-amr* are quite free to choose and decide, in so far as their choices are governed by the overriding interests of the Community, in line with the specific goals of Islam. ii)—On the other hand, in business which has some connection with canonical doctrine, the *idjtiḥād* of the *ulū 'l-amr* could necessitate the interpretation of Qurʾānic texts whose apparent sense is not certain, *ḥanni al-dilāla* (*Tafṣīr* ii, 109). In this case, to be acceptable, the interpretation must lead to conclusions that are in agreement with the two sources in spirit and letter, for it is understood that *idjtiḥād* can only be used in the context of the two sources and can only refer to the textual sources and different indications (*dalāʾil*, *ḥarāʾin*) that they offer. It is a basic principle in *islāḥ* that consideration of the best interests of the *Umma* would never result in solutions incompatible with the spirit, and even more, the objective facts of the Qurʾān and the *Sunna*.

In this light, *idjtiḥād* is not unlike the method of *ḥiyās* [q.v.] as it is defined, for example, in the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī (cf. J. Schacht, *Origins*, 122 ff.). *Islāḥ* denounces the "false *idjtiḥād* and the bad *ḥiyās*" (*Tafṣīr*, iii, 238, v, 203), which would allow the incorporation into religious law (*sharʿ*) of elements based merely on individual opinion (*raʾy* [q.v.]) or on more or less arbitrary preferences (*istiḥsān* [see ἰστίησαν and ἰστίηλαῖ]). In religious matters *raʾy* is held to be a sort of "calamity" (*balīyya*), for it only serves to hide dangerous innovations (*ibid.*, viii, 398). While the reformists are very suspicious of *ḥiyās*, *raʾy* and *istiḥsān* according to the technical use of the *ḥukūmah*, they nevertheless accept these very modes of reasoning and judgement in certain clearly laid-down conditions (e.g., the *raʾy* of the most eminent religious men among the Companions (*ʿulamāʾ al-ṣaḥāba*); explanatory *raʾy* on the subject of Qurʾānic exegesis; the *raʾy* of the members of the *shūrā* (*djamāʿat al-shūrā*), those responsible for the temporal affairs of the Community (*ibid.*, vii, 164)). On the different aspects of this question cf. *Tafṣīr* vii, 164 (on the recommended *raʾy*, *mahmūd*); vii, 190 (on the acceptable *ḥiyās*, *ṣaḥīḥ*); vii, 167 ff. (on the evil of rejecting *ḥiyās* totally [cf. Ibn Hazm, *Iḥkām*, vii, 53 ff., viii, 2 ff.]) or of using it without restriction or intelligence). Throughout this debate, Rashīd Riḍā adopts—*grosso modo*—the neo-Hanbalite point of view, according to Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya (*Iʿlām al-Muwāḥḥiʿīn*). In short, *raʾy* and *ḥiyās* are only particular aspects of *idjtiḥād* and, like the latter, are only acceptable in matters outside worship (*'ibādāt*). When determining rules and legal statutes (*aḥkām*), *idjtiḥād* in all its forms is only to be used when there are no antecedents in either the Qurʾān or the *Sunna* nor in the irrefutable

practice of the Patriarchal Caliphs (*Tafsīr*, vii, 164). Beyond the attempt at personal interpretation of the divine Word, and the desire to be open to the grace (*ḥudā*) which flows from it, reformist doctrine limits *idjīhād* to the type exercised by the *ulū 'l-amr* in public affairs of a secular nature. But so that it should not be a source of quarrel and conflict, the *idjīhād* of the *ulū 'l-amr* must be derived from mutual consultation (*shūrā*) in accordance with the ethical demands of the Qurʾān (XLII, 36). The Community is not bound by the personal and maybe even contradictory opinions of individual *mudj-tahids*. Its acceptance by the *ulū 'l-amr* is a condition *sine qua non* of the validity of their *idjīhād*. Moreover, from the reformist point of view, this represents the most perfect form of *idjīmāʿ* [q.v.], by means of which the *Umma* will be able to solve the innumerable problems of its adaptation to the realities of the modern world.

4.—*Idjīmāʿ*. On this point (as on *idjīhād*), the reformist position is very different from the doctrine of the classical theoreticians of the *uṣūl* (cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 471 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 132-235 (a criticism of Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Shāfiʿī ideas on the subject); H. Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique d'Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo, 1939; idem, *Essai*, 139 ff.; J. Schacht, *Origins*, 82-94; Muḥammad Iḳbāl, *Reconstruction* . . ., 164 ff.; L. Gardet, *Introduction* . . ., 403 ff.; idem, *La Cité Musulmane*, 119-29; see also: *IDJĪMĀʿ*). *Idjīmāʿ* is recognized as third of the fundamental sources of Islam (and not only of the "Law"; cf. al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 104; *Tafsīr*, v, 187, xi, 267); but the reformists do not accept the traditional classification and formulations which arose from it (*Tafsīr*, v, 203-9). For them, classical conceptions of the subject are not justified by the two sources, (*ibid.*, v, 213) even though the idea of *idjīmāʿ* is implicitly contained in the Qurʾān (IV, 115) and the *Sunna* (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 48A; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 132 ff.). This methodological principle must not be defined in terms of the concept of "unanimity" (*idjīmāʿ*) but rather in terms of that of "community" (*djāmāʿa*), the latter being understood as "the legitimate custodians of authority" (*ulū 'l-amr*) instead of in the usual sense of the Muslim community as a whole (*Tafsīr*, v, 213-4). Thus the reformists do not confer on *idjīmāʿ* the status of either a general consensus of the Community (cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 403, no. 1105 and 471 ff.), or that of a unanimous agreement of the *mudj-tahids* of a given period on a given question (*ibid.*, v, 417). Like the doctrinal line of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the neo-Ḥanbalite school, the Salafiyya limit (*ḥasara*) *idjīmāʿ* at a canonical level to that of the Prophet's Companions (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 67, 103; *Tafsīr*, ii, 108, 454, v, 187, 206, vii, 118, viii, 254, 428). Any *idjīmāʿ* later than the era of the Companions is without value, particularly if it ratifies doctrines that contradict the tradition of the latter: *idjīmāʿ al-mukhālīfīn* (*Tafsīr*, v, 206, vii, 198). Just as matters concerning worship (*ʿibādāt*) are to be judged with reference to the consensus of the Companions (including, if need be, that of the *tābiʿūn*), which is the sole criterion of orthodoxy, the agreement of the *ulū 'l-amr* on secular matters is a criterion of legality, for they are the custodians of the Community's legitimacy (*ibid.*, iii, 12: the *ulū 'l-amr* are those whom the *Umma* recognizes as having controlling power over the leaders and their public acts, *tadjiʿ aluḥum musaytirīn ʿalū ḥukkāmihā wa-ahkāmihā*). The obedience due to the *ulū 'l-amr* (by virtue of *sūra* IV, 59, constantly invoked by the

reformists) is justified not by the argument of infallibility (*ʿiṣma* [q.v.]) but by considerations of public interest (*maṣlaḥa*; *ibid.*, v, 208). To summarize reformist thought on the matter, Rashīd Riḍā defines the consensus of the *ulū 'l-amr* as the "true *idjīmāʿ*" that we hold to be one of the bases of our Law (*shariʿa*)" (*ibid.*, v, 190).

In the absence of any consultative system in Islam that would enable the function of the *shūrā* to be exercised at Community level, most reformist authors have felt the need to fill the gap by using *idjīmāʿ*, modernizing its form and content. But the thinking of the Salafiyya on this theme was never sufficiently elaborated for us to be able to define a coherent reformist doctrine on the practical application of *idjīmāʿ* in the contemporary Muslim world. Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1934) expressed the wish that the *idjīmāʿ* should be organized in the form of "a permanent legislative institution" (*Reconstruction* . . ., 164). Rashīd Riḍā (1922) considered the idea of using the *Djāmāʿa*, a consultative body appointed to assist the supreme head (*al-imām al-aʿṣam*) of the Community (cf. H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rashīd Riḍā*, 1938, 21 ff.), but such a notion has meaning only within the perspective of a restoration of the Caliphate. With greater realism, Ibn Bādīs sets aside the problem of the Caliphate ("that vain fancy") and suggests the establishment of a *Djāmāʿat al-Muslimīn*, a sort of permanent assembly composed of men of learning and experience, which would be designed to study specifically Muslim problems in order to find Islamic solutions. This important moral and religious body, acting in the name of the whole Community, would serve no one state and would be of a totally apolitical nature, so that its essential independence and liberty would be guaranteed (cf. A. Merad, *Réformisme*, 376 ff.; idem, *Ibn Bādīs Commentat.*, Chap. IV).

Though they never managed to agree on the practicalities of its establishment, the reformists did tend to see the institutionalization of *idjīmāʿ* as a decisive step in the evolution of the *Umma* in accordance with Islamic principles and the ideals of the Salafiyya. All who wrote on these lines held in common the idea that the *Djāmāʿa* would be the privileged setting of the Community's *idjīmāʿ*. It would play two roles: at a religious level, it would effect regulations by stating the orthodox position on matters that gave rise to serious disagreement (*ikh-tilāf*); in secular affairs, it would be the instigator of action, through applying the principle of *idjīhād* in the vast area within its competence. It would thus work towards preventing any confusion between the respective levels of the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt*, and would contribute to encouraging the free enquiry that the Community requires in the spheres of applied science and material progress.

5.—*The distinction between the ʿibādāt and the ʿādāt*. Following the neo-Ḥanbalī school (cf. AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL; H. Laoust, *Essai*, 247-8, 444), modern *islāḥ* tends to make a clear distinction between the concerns of the *ʿibādāt* [q.v.] and those of the *ʿādāt*. Once again they justify their stand by the principle that in matters of worship everything has been completely and definitely decided by God (Qurʾān) and the Prophet (*Sunna*); for the rest, that is to say everything concerned with the organization of material life, the *ulū 'l-amr* are free to come to their own decisions (see above: *idjīhād*).

a)—The *ʿibādāt* come under commands (or interdictions) originating from the Qurʾān or from formal prescriptions laid down by the Prophet. They cover

all acts (including those of worship) and observances (of *halāl* and *harām* [q.v.]) which constitute the service of God (*ta'abbud*). It is out of the question for anybody to introduce the slightest innovation, either because of an *idjtiḥād* or out of simple religious zeal. The fact of recognizing the inalterable quality of the *'ibādāt*, the very centre of faith, is itself an act of fidelity in what the Believers hold in certainty from God and his Prophet; it is the sign of a sincere and total belief in the latter's *Sunna*.

b)—The *'ādāt* (habits, customs, usage) cover a vast field of "earthly affairs" (*umūr dunyawīyya*) "which are individual or communal, particular or general" (Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, vii, 140), and above all affairs of a political and legal nature (*ibid.*, iii, 327, vii, 140, 200) which vary according to time and place. It is thus not a matter merely of the traditional legal rules (*mu'āmalāt*) or matters of "customary right", as the term *'āda* [q.v.] is understood in the usual classical sense of *fiḥh*. In the domain of the *'ādāt*, the reformists counsel tolerance (*'afw*) and claim for the *ūlu 'l-amr*, if not for private individuals, freedom of decision and the free exercise of *idjtiḥād* (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḥurā*, 67; *Manār*, iv, 210, vii, 959; *Tafsīr*, iii, 327, vii, 140-41, 191).

By virtue of this distinction, the reformists showed a prudent reserve about everything that has not been expressly decided by God or prescribed by the Prophet. For Rashīd Riḍā that which has not been prohibited by God cannot be prohibited by Man; that which God has made licit, Man cannot make illicit (*Tafsīr*, vii, 169); that which God has passed over in silence must be held to be tolerable, *'afw* (*ibid.*, iii, 328, vii, 169). The "wise men" of the religion have no right to make things permitted or forbidden. Their role is simply to put into practice the revealed Law (*sharī'a*): in this function only is obedience due to them. As for the *ḥurānīc* or prophetic references to certain secular matters (the use of food and remedies, etc.), they cannot be taken as binding: they are simply "suggestions" about what is preferable and not canonical prescriptions, *irshād lā tashrīc* (*ibid.*, vii, 201).

The distinction between the *'ibādāt* and the *'ādāt* permitted the Salafiyya to condemn the proliferation of devotional practices and interdictions propagated throughout the centuries in the name of Ṣūfism and eventually adopted by popular religion, even though they are not based on the *Ḥurān* and the *Sunna*. It enabled them, moreover, to point to their pruning of classical judicial and moral doctrine (by means of *fatwās*) and the reduction of traditional observance, in support of their claim to be the apostles of a disciplined and discreet religious temper, which they believed to be closer to the spirit of moderation that had characterized authentic Islam (the "gentle religion", *al-hanīfiyya al-samī'a*), and more in harmony with the modern world. This distinction would also encourage a more tolerant view of local legal and social usage through classifying them as *'ādāt*, and permit the toning down of doctrinal differences (*ikhṭilāf*) between the important currents in the Islamic world; perhaps it would also weaken the religious quarrels inherited from old schisms. Taken to its logical conclusion, this attitude would make it possible to envisage calmly the coexistence—in the bosom of the *Umma*—of different political, socio-economic and ideological systems, provided that the fundamental unity of Muslims in faith and worship was safeguarded and their common attachment to the essential content of Islamic law (*sharī'a*) unimpaired.

However, such a distinction between the *'ibādāt* and *'ādāt* has more of an apologetic value than any real practical implication. The fragmentary (and rather vague) notions on this subject put forward by Rashīd Riḍā and al-Kawākibī do not enable us to make an exact analysis of which aspects of traditional Muslim legislation must be considered fundamental, and thus untouchable, and which can be subsumed under the *'ādāt*. The postulated tolerance in matters of *'ādāt* is itself ambiguous, because of the restrictive conditions—derived from the *Ḥurān*—which were put forward by the Salafiyya each time they were obliged to define their political, economic, social or cultural standpoints (although these are, in theory, the field in which *'ādāt* can be used). In the reformist perspective, indeed, there are few matters that can be envisaged independently of the moral commands and general principles contained in Revelation and the *Sunna*; and whatever creative activity is envisaged, its goal must be examined in the light of the ethical and religious criteria of the two sources. *Islāh* admits of the possibility of adapting Muslim institutions and life to the realities of the modern world, so long as this adaptation does not result in the destruction of the fundamental values contained in the two sources. Thus, on the subject of feminism and the relations between the two sexes, the Salafiyya declare themselves favourable to the emancipation of Muslim women, but not to the extent that the liberalization of their legal status would come into conflict with the legal dispositions established in the *Ḥurān*, or the family and sexual ethics of Islam (cf. on this subject, *Tafsīr*, xi, 283-87: "Islam confers on women all human, religious and civil rights"; Rashīd Riḍā, *Nida' li 'l-ūjūns al-lafīf*, Cairo 1351/1932; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 315-31 ("Les Réformistes et le Féminisme").

Although they claim the necessity of distinguishing between profane and religious matters, between man's relations with God and merely human activities (which are not ruled by scriptural commands), the Salafiyya did not make any decisive contribution to the separation of theology and law. From their point of view, the ambiguity of the relationship *dīn/sharī'a* (which they never really attempted to clarify) makes any systematic criticism of traditional legal and moral doctrine that attempts to establish a clear-cut distinction between purely religious and social matters extremely difficult and *a priori* suspect. (It is worth noting the vigorous reaction of the reformists against the attempts made by 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāzīk (1888-1968), in his *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-hukm*, Cairo 1343-44/1925, to dissociate institutional and political problems from moral and theological ones; cf., Kerr, *Islamic Reform*, 179 ff.). Rashīd Riḍā notes in passing the respective values of the concepts *dīn* and *sharī'a*, which he considers it unjustifiable to confuse (*Tafsīr*, vi, 147), but he does not draw any logical conclusion from the distinction. The distinction *dīn/sharī'a* (which is no less vital than that between the *'ibādāt* and the *'ādāt*) could have had important consequences had it been the point of departure for serious research into the possibilities of rigorously limiting the field of application of "religious law", and thus removing from the "sacred" domain everything that did not have a fundamental link with belief or worship and should therefore come under *idjtiḥād*. It was left to Modernism (*taḍjīd* [q.v.]) to undertake this research (cf., e.g., the essays of Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, in particular his *al-Ḥurān wa-mushkilāt ḥayātīnā al-mu'āsira* (Cairo 1967), in

which he proclaims the legitimacy of "a new interpretation of the fundamental principles of the *shari'a*, in the light of modern experience" (31). Incomplete though it be, the distinction between the *'ibādāt* and the *'ādāt* suggests a need for rationality and a desire to be pragmatic, which served the Salafiyya as an argument against the stubborn conservatism of the traditionalists (*djumūd*) and in support of the broadmindedness of *işlâh* on the subject of progress and the modern world. At the same time it is a reply to those who preach out-and-out modernism, to the detriment of fidelity to authentic Islam (as it was illustrated by the tradition of the Salaf). The reformists see in this modernism a renunciation of the "spirit of compromise" which their apologetics present as the ideal tendency of Islam.

II—Apologetics.—Alongside criticism of the traditional aspects of Islam as they appear in conservative Sunnism, in the magical and superstitious beliefs of popular religion and in the religious systems of the brotherhoods, apologetics form an important part of the principal reformist works. Though centred on internal problems of Muslim society, and often argued with missionary zeal, reformist apologetics are also addressed to the "adversaries" of Islam either directly (cf. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *al-Islām wa 'l-radd 'alā muntaḥidih*, art. of 1900, Cairo 1327/1909 (Fr. trans., *Ṭal'at Harb, L'Europe et l'Islam*, Cairo 1905); idem, *al-Islām wa 'l-Naşrāniyya*, art. of 1901, in *Manār*), or indirectly, in the form of warnings to Muslims against the seductions of Western civilization and ideologies. In both cases, the reformists attempted to demonstrate the excellence of Islam, as a "religion", as an ethical code, and as a legal, social and political system. Such apologetics develop along the following broad lines:

1.—*The liberating message of Islam*.—a. As a spiritual message. Here the argument is confined essentially to the exaltation of *tawḥid* [q.v.] as a principle of human liberation. Moral liberation: the affirmation of divine unity abolishes all worship that is not directed to God (the Unique), and all pretension to infallibility, since the only infallible source is the Revelation and the Prophet, who is inspired by God (this argument is elsewhere used to refute *taḥlīd* [q.v.], to the extent that the latter supposes submission to an authority which is believed, or pretends to be, infallible). On the other hand, the affirmation of divine transcendence condemns any domination based on the principle of intercession (*shafā'a* [q.v.]). Consequently, *tawḥid* denies any legitimacy to intermediary structures between man and God (as in institutional Churches), and destroys any need for the belief in the mediating function of certain categories of men (saints, mystics, etc.). Social Liberation: belief in the omnipotence of God is the basis of men's equality, for all men are equally subject to God and all men participate equally in the eminent dignity of their condition (cf. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawḥid*, 155-6; Fr. trans., 106; Eng. trans., 125); it emancipates minds from all resigned or passive submission, either to arguments based on authority (*taḥlīd*), or to a status of inferiority or slavery imposed by the "great" (cf. *Kur'ān*, XXXIII, 67, XXXIV, 31-4; *alladhīn ustud'ifū*). The form of worship itself (common prayer, pilgrimage, etc.) underlines the egalitarian character of Islam.—b. The liberating message of Islam is also illustrated by the ethics of the *Kur'ān* and the *Sunna* which accept the fundamental unity of mankind and reject all discrimination based on differences of race or social condition (cf. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawḥid*,

172; Fr. trans., 116-7; Eng. trans., 135; *Tafsīr*, 448 ff.; an identical position in Muḥammad Iḳbāl, *Reconstruction* 89; Fr. trans., 103).

2.—*The universal quality of Islam*.—a. As a religion (*dīn*). Reformist apologetics merely take up the traditional theme of the universality of Muḥammad's mission (*'umūm al-ba'tha*). For the Prophet was "elected to guide all nations towards Good (. . .) and call all men to a belief in the One God" (Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawḥid*, 139; Fr. trans., 95; Eng. trans., 114; cf. also, *Tafsīr*, vii, 610, on sūra VI, 90). Like many other Muslim thinkers in our own time, reformist authors believe that Islam is the perfect universal religion, since it incorporates what is essential in previous revelations (and especially Judaism and Christianity) and perfects their message (cf. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawḥid*, 166 ff., Fr. trans., 112 (bottom) ff.; Eng. trans., 132 ff.; *Tafsīr* . . ., x, 448-456).—b. As a social, legal and political system (*shari'a*). The reformists proclaim the excellence, eternal nature and universal character of Islamic law, in opposition to human legislation, which is always imperfect, despite constant revision and correction. The *shari'a*—at least in those parts that are based on the Revelation—draws its essence from divine wisdom; it is thus the legislation best suited to the needs (*maṣāliḥ*) of men (*baṣhar*) in all places and at all times (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Jan. 1934, 57; *Tafsīr*, vi, 146) for it envisages man's well-being from two points of view, those of earthly happiness and of their future salvation (an idea dear to the reformists and developed at great length by Raṣḥid Riḍā, *Manār*, i, (1898), I, v, (1902), 459-65; *Tafsīr*, i, II, ii, 330-41, x, 210, 437; cf. also Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawḥid*, 124, 169; Fr. trans., 84, 115; Eng. trans., 104, 134). This does not mean that the Salafiyya think of Muslim legislation as a closed system, sufficient unto itself in its definitive truth and perfection. Though they believe that certain rulings of the *shari'a* (e.g., the personal status of woman) are ideal norms, which neither the old legislations (of the biblical sort for example), nor modern legislation (inspired by western concepts) are capable of matching, they do not dismiss the idea that Muslims can copy certain doctrines upheld in advanced countries. However, the Salafiyya refuse to admit that all aspects of western progress are good, and that one has to accept *en bloc* the triumphant civilizations of Europe or America, for fear of seeming reactionary (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Jan. 1932, 11). Moreover, the *ūlu 'l-amr* ought to co-operate in the adaptation of Muslim legislation (by means of reciprocal consultation (*shūrā*) and *idjtiḥād*), taking into account new realities, but respecting absolutely the fundamental aspects of the Law and observing the general ethics of Islam. The Salafiyya constantly repeat that in areas of every-day life, Islam gives man entire freedom (*ṣawwāḍ*) to act according to his well-being in the world (*Tafsīr*, ii, 205; ref. to the *ḥādīth*: "You are best placed to judge worldly affairs", vi, 140; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Oct. 1930, 70). From the preceding, the reformists drew arguments to establish the liberal nature of Islam and to justify its ability to adapt (not, of course, as a *dīn*, but as *shari'a*) to all human situations at any time and in any place.

3.—*The liberal spirit of Islam*.—Outside matters of faith and the unalterable elements of the *shari'a* (both of which were expressly laid down in Revelation), Islam assigns no limit to the exercise of reason. This aspect of reformist apologetics, which has been amply dealt with by Muḥammad 'Abduh

(*Risālat al-tawhīd*, *passim*), Rashīd Riḍā (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manār*, chap. III), and Ibn Bādīs (cf. A. Merad, *Ibn Bādīs, Commentat. du Coran*, chap. II, Vth), will not be discussed in detail here. On the problem of faith and reason ('aḳl), the reformist position is that the ḳur'ānic message addresses itself both to the conscience (*wudjān*) and to the mind (*fikr*), and requires not only acceptance by faith but understanding by means of reason. If the Ḳur'ān limits reason, it is only in those areas which are part of the unknowable (*ghayb* [q.v.]), and to prevent man from falling into inevitable errors and attributing to God things which are not part of His Being.

The reformists frequently invoke the argument of reason in order to maintain not only that Islam puts no obstacles in the way of intellectual research and the exercise of 'aḳl, but even that it positively encourages both and incites men to cultivate the gift of intelligence, which is a God-given privilege (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, March 1931, 78 ff., ref. to sūra XVII, 70). 'Aḳl in reformist usage is not exactly the knowing consciousness or reasoning reason, which seeks to reach truth independently of faith and revelation. Orthodox reformist writers understand 'aḳl in opposition to blind passion (*hawā*), which smother the voice of "healthy nature" (*fiṣra* [q.v.]), and doubtless in opposition to the (hyper-) critical mind. The 'aḳil is not a man who can perform speculative exercise with ease and is dedicated exclusively to the cult of reason, but a man capable of judicious balanced thinking, which implies a spirit of moderation, even a certain reluctance to attempt to submit everything to one's judgment, and to explain everything solely by the light of one's intelligence.

The debate on the subject of faith and reason points to one of the contradictions of reformist thought: i.e., its desire to adopt a language, and sometimes even intellectual methods, that are in conformity with the modern mind, while at the same time clinging to principles and positions which they feel are in perfect agreement with the doctrines of the Salaf. It is notable in this respect that the liberal tendencies of certain reformist writers are held back by the fear that reasoning reason will encroach on areas reserved to faith, and the temptations of human passion (*hawā*) will conquer progressively the directing principles (*hudā*) of Revelation (cf. *Tafsīr*, v, 416; opposition *hudā/hawā*).

However, the reformists are not particularly interested in theological and philosophical speculation. Apart from the *Risālat al-tawhīd* by Muḥammad 'Abduh (which describes a fundamental schema rather than a theological totality), and the *Risālat al-shirk* by Mubārak al-Mīlī (which is a refutation of Maraboutic beliefs), no truly elaborated theology can be found in the doctrinal system of the Salafiyya. They were satisfied with massive affirmations, based on texts in the Ḳur'ān, which are, from their point of view, decisive arguments. Thus they never fail to underline everything in the Ḳur'ān which seems to encourage intellectual research and constitutes an incentive for the exploration of nature and its exploitation in the service of man. They underline those parts of the Revelation that encourage men to think, to understand things, to persuade others by means of demonstrative proofs (*burhān*); they make the utmost use of all the resources of the ḳur'ānic vocabulary which deal with knowledge and the activity of the mind (cf., the *Concordantiae* by G. Flügel, in which we can see the richness of the themes formed from the radicals 'br, 'kl, 'lm, 'kkm, 'fkr,

*fkh*); in short they attempt to show that Islam lets human reason play an important role, and that it encourages (in theory, if not in practice) human progress in the domains of knowledge and civilization (cf. the particularly vigorous doctrinal statement by Rashīd Riḍā in *Tafsīr*, 244 ff., under the eloquent title: *al-Islām dīn al-fiṣra al-salīma wa 'l-'aḳl wa 'l-fikr wa 'l-'ilm wa 'l-ḥikma wa 'l-burhān wa 'l-hudūdja*).

The theme of knowledge and civilization plays an important role in reformist propaganda (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manār*, chap. IV; A. Merad, *Ibn Bādīs, commentat. du Coran* chap. IV, IIIrd). Thanks to the intelligence with which God has endowed him, man can rise above erroneous belief and superstition, cultivate the sciences and adopt healthy beliefs: using it, he should also be able to increase his power over nature, to profit by the various resources of Creation, in order to achieve material power ('izz, *kuwwa*) and know a happy moral well-being. Presented in this way by the reformists, Islam appears as a religion which is particularly attentive to the moral and material progress of humanity. It was therefore an effective refutation of arguments of the type put forward by Renan (Islam is contrary to the scientific spirit) and useful in revealing the inadequacy of Marxist-orientated criticism (Islam is a reactionary doctrine). The reformists deplore the judging of Islam by the behaviour and excesses of some of its followers who distort its image through their innovations, by superstitious beliefs born of ignorance, by the imposture of false "scholars", and by the immorality of its politicians (cf. the objections enumerated by Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawhīd*, 195-9; Fr. trans., 132-5; Eng. trans., 151-3). For when traced back to its authentic expression, to the Revelation and the *Sunna*, Islam is a religion compatible with science and civilization (*Tafsīr* . . . , ix, 23); it encourages progress and science (*ibid.*, iii, 26, 34, 106); and exalts science and freedom of research, which are the conditions of man's greatness (*ibid.*, v, 258); Islam is capable of regenerating civilization in the East and saving that of the West (*ibid.*, ix, 22). What is more:

4.—*Islam is the reforming principle of mankind* (*işlāh naw' al-insān*, *Tafsīr*, xi, 206). As a *dīn* and as a *sharī'a*, Islam is a progression beyond previous religions (*ibid.*, 208-88: the enumeration of the various domains in which Islam has been beneficial to mankind). Hence the Muslim duty to reveal the truth of Islam: this is part of the canonical obligation to "invite to God" (Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawhīd*, 171; Fr. trans., 116; Eng. trans., 135; *Tafsīr* iv, 26-46, on sūra III, 104) and to "call to God" (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, April 1935, 6, ref. to sūras XVI, 125 and XII, 108). To call to God, in this case, consists in proclaiming the values of Islam, refuting, through its "proofs", the false ideas ascribed to it, and in making known its "beauties"; all this in order to fortify Muslims in their faith and to enlighten non-Muslims, less perhaps in order to convert them than to dissipate their prejudices and fanaticism. However, the notion of missionary work is not foreign to the reformists (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. Coran. du Manār*, chap. X). Nevertheless, Muḥammad 'Abduh gives priority to the duty of Islamic tolerance over conversion: "Islam is capable, through its own light, of penetrating the hearts of men" (*Risālat al-tawhīd*, 172). In practice, the act of calling to God leads to a certain number of religious, moral and cultural attitudes, towards both Muslims and non-Muslims.



—a. Calling to God consists above all in leading a life that is in perfect agreement with the general commands of Islam. This is the best way to ensure that the influence of the ideals contained in the Qurʾān will grow. On a spiritual as well as a moral level, the Prophet's example, and that of the "pious forefathers", must inspire believers: "the more perfect their imitation, the more perfect their accomplishment of the mission of calling to God" (Ibn Bādis).—b. Preaching the truths contained in the Qurʾān and thus helping to transmit the revealed message (*tabligh al-risāla*) is also "calling to God": since this message has universal implications, each part of it must be made comprehensible to all men. This theme can be related to that of the *djihād* through the Qurʾān (cf. *Shihāb*, April 1932, 204 ff.): for Ibn Bādis, this Qurʾānic expression seems to justify a militant theology and an energetic conception of religious preaching, both to rouse the masses from their inertia and indifference and to denounce the blindness of "bad religious teachers" (*'ulamā' al-sū*) in the face of the spiritual riches of the Revelation and their reluctance to make them manifest to men.—c. Calling to God also implies the attempt to bring back to the Islamic fold those Muslims who, seduced by secular ideologies or intoxicated with modern scientific knowledge, regard Islam as "a worn-out piece of clothing that a man would be ashamed to be seen wearing", and deride its dogmas and precepts (Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawhīd*, 198; Fr. trans., 134-5; Eng. trans., 153).—d. The idea of calling to God also implies a struggle against the corruption (*fasād*) spread in Muslim society in the name of "so-called modernism" (*Tafsīr*, x, 45) and against atheism like that of Kemāl Atatürk (*ibid.*, ix, 322-3); warning against excessive individual freedom, which generates all sorts of abuse (*ibid.*, viii, 530-1) and is more or less directly responsible for the "moral crisis of the West"; enlightening people on the dangers inherent in the separation of science and religion, the cult of science *per se*, and the frantic quest for material goods without any moral goal (*ibid.*, xi, 243).—e. It also means unmasking professional politicians who may not be sincere and practising Muslims, but nevertheless use Islam for demagogic ends, either in subservience to government, or to serve their own personal ambition (*ibid.*, ii, 440). Similar strictures could be passed on recent tendencies to use religious arguments in support of some socio-economic ideology (cf. "Muslim Socialism" to which some theoreticians of "Arab Socialism" refer) or political doctrine (cf. e.g. Khālid Muḥammad Khālid, *La Religion au service du peuple*, in *Orient* xx, (1961), 155-61).—f. In opposition to the type of nationalism encouraged by jingoistic modernists, and beyond particular fatherlands, the call to God gives pride of place to the religious link above ethnic and political ones (*ibid.*, ii, 304). It means stressing the fraternity of Islam (*ibid.*, iv, 21) and persuading Muslims that greatness and pride do not lie in the insistence on particularities of race or nationality—that new form of the age-old clan-spirit (*ʿaṣabiyyat al-djāhiliyya*)—but in belonging to the "Islamic human community" (*ibid.*, xi, 256). This is one aspect of the ideology of panislamism (*al-djāmi'a al-islāmiyya*) which corresponds to the political and cultural doctrine of the Salafiyya. Since Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, reformist authors have unceasingly called for not only the elimination of doctrinal disagreements above all in matters of the interpretation of religious

Law) between orthodox Schools and even between the Sunnī and Shīʿī worlds, but, by reminding Muslims of their duty to confessional solidarity, they have pleaded the cause of a policy of strengthening political ties and interislamic co-operation. Thus would the unity of the *Umma* be recreated, even if only symbolically, through the mediation of a supreme moral assembly that would represent every Muslim country—for example in the form of the permanent assembly (*djāma'at al-muslimin*) which Ibn Bādis suggested (cf. A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 376 ff.). Even this would be second best compared with the organic unity of the Community under the banner of one supreme *Imām*, which had been Rashīd Riḍā's dream (cf. his *Khilāfa*; trans. H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de R.R.*).—g. In reply to those who proclaimed the social and cultural values of the West, the reformists exalted the values specific to Islamic ethics, if need be by referring to the "accounts" (*shahādāt*) of Western thinkers who were sensitive to the virtues of Islam and perturbed by the moral degradation that they perceived in the materialist civilization of the Western world (cf. *Tafsīr*, x, 412, 420; xi, 243).

Reformist apologetics reveal the attitude of the Salafiyya in the face of two realities: on the one hand the material and cultural seduction of Muslim intellectual élites and ruling classes by the West; and on the other the modernists' attempt at a systematic renewal of Muslim society so that it could face, as immediately and effectively as possible, the necessities of modern life. It is thus not simply a defensive reaction against, or even rejection of, certain aspects of western civilization, but a way of replying to Muslims who believed in progress and modernism (*tadjiḍid*) and who wanted to look for a compromise between the fundamental demands of Islam and the necessary adaptation of Muslim life to the realities of the modern world.

The apologetic work of the Salafiyya was not simply episodic, for it demanded that they make an effort to understand their adversaries' point of view and develop a measure of cultural open-mindedness (often, it is true, timid), and sometimes led them to moderate those aspects of their theological and moral doctrine which might have seemed too fundamentalist. But at the same time it revealed the diversity of their temperaments and attitudes in the face of practical problems, especially when they had gone beyond discussing the place of absolute fidelity to the two sources in the liturgical and dogmatic spheres, and to the tradition of the Salaf in the general ethics of Islam. Apart from the more or less favourable historical and cultural conjuncture, the success of *işlāh* in the different parts of the Arab world has been linked, to some extent, to the way in which the Salafiyya have been able to cope with the concrete problems facing Muslim society as a result of its progressive entry into the social, economic, technical and cultural norms of the modern world.

D.—IŞLÂH IN THE CONTEMPORARY ARAB WORLD.—At the end of almost a century of development, we can assess the ground covered by the Salafiyya reformist movement from the time of *al-'Urwa al-wuthqā* (1884) to the present day; at this moment the Arab world is the scene of important debates on the methods of interpreting the Qurʾān and the authenticity of *Ḥadīth* on the one hand, and the function and autonomy of religion on the other. This is particularly true in countries in which research and cultural activity are more or less "orientated" toward—if not "mobilized" in the service of—politic-

al and social objectives that are held to be sacred, and in which national energy is often geared primarily toward social reorganization and economic construction in an attempt to overcome underdevelopment. The development of *ışlâh* in a changing Arab world can be divided into three important stages:

1. — *The heroic stage*, during which Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ‘Abduh and ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī laid the essential foundations of a total reform of Islam (cf. the programme defined in *Umm al-ḥurā*). Reformist action during this period aimed above all at the material and moral improvement of the Community, which had barely emerged from the Middle Ages. The social, political and cultural demands made by the three leaders of modern *ışlâh* had more effect than their doctrinal intervention (with the exception of Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s *Risālat al-tawḥīd* which is a sort of guide for a basic theology). The reformists’ written and oral propaganda thus contributed to the Community’s growing awareness of notions of evolution, progress and creative effort (*idjtiḥād*) on a spiritual and practical plane. It is true that the cultural climate of the period—end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century—was favourable to the adoption of these ideas in Muslim thought, for this was the era of scientism, the optimism brought about by technical progress, and the growth of the idea that efficiency was an essential element of economic prosperity and social success. Yet the function of the Salafiyya was to confer on these notions—and at first the idea of *idjtiḥād*—a legitimacy that would satisfy the *Umma*, by assimilating them to authentic principles of Islam (seen from an ethical and cultural angle). In its initial form the reformist current of contemporary Islam hastened the birth of Arabo-Muslim awareness of the modern world, but also gave rise to aspirations (of a socio-cultural nature etc.) and questions which the succeeding Muslim generation had to face.

2. — *The second stage* (approximately 1905 to 1950).—This period saw the emergence of a doctrinal system in which Raḥīd Riḍā and *shaykh* Ibn Bādīs played a vital part. The example of these two strong personalities inspired writers whose numerous essays (in reviews like *al-Manār*, *al-Shihāb*, *Maḍjālat al-shubbān al-muslimīn*, *al-Risāla*, *al-Madīyalla al-sayūniyya*) enriched the thought of *ışlâh* and consolidated its doctrinal positions. The principal reformist authors during the first half of the 20th century will now be briefly examined.

a) In Syria Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāsimī (1866/7-1914) was a faithful disciple of the neo-Ḥanbali tradition. His compatriot Ṭāhir al-Djazā’irī (1851-1919) put his vast erudition at the disposal of *ışlâh* (notably in the publishing field).—‘Abd al-Kādir al-Maghribī (1867-1956), who in his youth was influenced by direct contact with Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, made a very fruitful contribution to *ışlâh* in Syria.—Shakīb Arslān (1869-1946) a brilliant writer (called *amir al-bayān*, “Prince of Eloquence”) and politician, was a firm believer in Arabism (cf. his monthly revue, *La Nation Arabe*, Geneva 1930-9); a personal acquaintance of the editor of *al-Manār*, he made a greatly appreciated contribution to that review.—Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī (1876-1953), ex-president of the Arab Academy at Damascus (1920-53), although not properly speaking a reformist author, was a firm believer in Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s ideas and can be counted among the literary and political personalities of the Arab world whose moral support of *ışlâh* was greatly valued.

b) In Egypt there were many “spiritual sons”

of Muḥammad ‘Abduh, who were more or less faithful to the original ideas of their master: Muḥammad Farīd Waḡḡdī (1875-1954), the author of a ḡur’ānic commentary with concordist tendencies, was the energetic editor of the review *al-Risāla* (founded in 1933) and a fervent propagandist for Islam.—Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāḡhī (1881-1945) was twice (1928, 1935) principal of al-Azhar, where he contributed to the spread of reformist ideals and struggled to strengthen the links between the orthodox schools; he attempted reforms in the spirit of Muḥammad ‘Abduh, of whom he was a worthy successor.—Maḥmūd Ṣhāltūt (1893-1963): another grand master of al-Azhar (cf. *Djamā’at al-taḡrīb bayn al-madhāhib* and his trimestrial revue *Risālat al-Islām*, Cairo, 1949- ). —Aḥmad Amīn (1886-1954), author of an immense fresco of Islamic culture and history (*Faḍīr*, *Duḡā* and *Zuhr al-Islām*), was one of the principal artisans of the Arab-Islamic cultural renewal to which the promoters of modern *ışlâh* aspired. By his teaching and his writing (cf. his revue *al-Thaḡāfa*, Cairo 1939), he attempted, like Muḥammad ‘Abduh, to guide Muslim thought towards a doctrine that was a sort of neo-Mu’tazilism.

c) In Tunisia the main representatives of orthodox reformist thought were Baṣṣhīr Ṣfar (d. in 1937), the much respected teacher of Ibn Bādīs, the two *shaykhs* Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. ‘Aṣṣhūr (born in 1879)—author of a ḡur’ānic commentary (now being published, i-iii, Tunis 1956-71)—and his son Muḥammad al-Fāḡīl b. ‘Aṣṣhūr (1900-1970) (cf. Muḥammad al-Fāḡīl b. ‘Aṣṣhūr: *al-Ḥaraka al-adabiyya wa’l-fikriyya fi Tūnis*, Cairo 1956).

d) In Algeria, besides Ibn Bādīs, notable reformists were Mubārak al-Mīlī (1890-1945), the theologian of the Algerian reformist school (see *Biblio.*); Ṭayyib al-‘Uḡbī (1888-1962), a supporter of *ışlâh* who was greatly influenced by Wahhābī tendencies (he had spent his childhood in the Ḥīdjāz), and owned a newspaper, *al-İslāh* (Biskra 1927- ) which appeared irregularly; Muḥammad al-Baṣṣhīr al-Ibrāhīmī (1889-1965) [see AL-IBRĀHĪMĪ]; Aḥmad Tawfīḡ al-Madānī (born in 1899), historian and politician, who was very active in the cause of Algerian national culture in the context of the reformist movement.

e) In Morocco, where the orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya was diffused at a relatively late date, few important names and works emerged (cf. J. Berque, *Çà et là dans les débuts du réformisme religieux au Maroc*, in *Études... dédiées à la mémoire d’E. Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 471-94).

Amongst the representative personalities of *ışlâh* in the Sherifian empire, we might mention: Abū Ṣhu‘ayb al-Dukkālī (d. 1937); Ibn al-Muwakkīt (1894-1949), who was more interested in censuring public morality than any real renewal of Islam (cf. the art. by A. Faure on Ibn al-Muwakkīt in *Hesperis*, 1952, 165-95); ‘Allāl al-Fāṣī (born in 1910), a writer and political leader (Independence Party, *ḥizb al-istiḡlāl*) who claims to be a Salafī (cf. his *Autocritique*, *al-Naḡd al-ahḡāṣ*, Cairo 1952).

These various authors would seem to be continuators of the doctrinal and pedagogic work of the first teachers of *ışlâh*. It is nevertheless worth noting that numerous writers and poets, such as Ḥāfiḡ Ibrāhīm (1872-1932), Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924), ‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-Aḡḡād (1889-1964), Muḥammad al-‘Id (born in 1904) etc., indirectly helped to spread *ışlâh* by employing its moral and social themes in their works.

Despite its undeniable fertility (which Brockelmann only partially describes in S III, 310-35, 435-6), the

fifty-year-long work of the reformists brought no solutions which satisfied the problems of all social classes within the Community. Their doctrines—social and political as well as theological and moral—seemed to correspond more closely to the aspirations of the newly emergent urban middle class. As a group, it was relatively enlightened, and sometimes combined a minimum Arab-Islamic culture with a gloss of modern culture in one of the European languages. It wished to demonstrate its allegiance to a particular form of tradition—that of the Salaf as defined above—and at the same time to show a certain interest in things modern. The ideals of this class were expressed in terms of moderation and compromise; in the religious sphere they sought “reasonable” positions that excluded popular traditionalism (which they saw as the sign of ignorance or a reactionary spirit), as well as intransigent fundamentalism (represented by certain Muslim Brothers (*al-ikhwān al-muslimūn* [q.v.])). They also rejected modernism which they judged excessive (such as the advocacy of a completely secular state). The orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya was thus assured of a fairly wide public which believed in order and prudent evolution, which respected the moral authority of the religious leaders, and was convinced that the Community needed “guides” to take it along the road of a progress that would be compatible with reformist faith. But the apparently harmonious development of *islāh* was to suffer from the political upheavals and social and moral changes resulting from the Second World War.

3. — *Recent developments (since the '50s)*.—The post-war period marked the beginning of a complete change in the religious make-up of the Arab world. The make-up of the reformist camp underwent profound qualitative and quantitative changes. The spokesmen of *islāh* were no longer of the calibre of Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) or ‘Abd al-Hāmid b. Bādīs (d. 1940), and at the same time the Muslim Brothers movement came to the forefront. It attracted attention by means of political action and through the doctrinal works of several remarkable personalities, like Ḥasan Ismā‘īl al-Huḍaybī, leading guide and successor of Ḥasan al-Bannā [q.v.]; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, a publicist of Syrian origin, ex-director of al-Maṭba‘a al-Salafiyya (in Cairo); the Syrian Muṣṭafā al-Sibā‘ī (d. 1965); Sayyid Kuṭb (executed in 1966), author of a ḡur‘ānic commentary, *Fī zilāl al-Ḳur‘ān*; Muḥammad al-Ḥazālī, whose apologetic and doctrinal works amount to more than 7,000 pp. (cf. *REI, Abstracta*, 1961, 105-6); and Sa‘īd Ramaḍān, founder and still editor of the revue *al-Muslimūn* (Cairo-Damascus, 1951-; Geneva, 1961-).—b. The reformist movement lost that place in society which was its strength between the wars: the supporters of the main current of *islāh* (in direct line from Rashīd Riḍā, for example) were quickly regarded as inheritors and supporters of a moral and social order already described as “traditional”—c. Paradoxically, the historical success of the reformist movement—in Algeria and, up to a point, in Egypt—contributed to its disintegration and fall. Attracted by power (and some actually absorbed into public office), many missionaries of *islāh* abandoned their former zeal for the triumph of Islamic values and settled for a prudent opportunism. Forced by events to supply “official” religion with structures and a doctrine, they in their turn became a conformist force. The defence of pure Islam, which had been the aim of *islāh* in opposition, was taken up by men who were enemies of any compromise with regimes which they held to be unjust or illegal, the same men whom

their opponents happily called fascist or reactionary.—d. The younger generation, less and less restricted by the ability to speak Arabic only, succeeded in discovering a new vision of social and moral realities around the world (through the cinema, the illustrated press, and foreign literature); new philosophies (cf. the success of Existentialism after the War and the increasing dissemination of Marxism—which followed Communist penetration—in Arab countries); new more or less revolutionary ideologies (anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, Arab Socialism and unity); and a new political ethic inspired by the “Spirit of Bandung” (1955). All these factors made the young generation sceptical about the virtues of *islāh* and doubtful of its fundamental principles, principles which had seemed as satisfying to the mind as they were reassuring to the faith of the preceding generation.—e. The rise to power of new social forces in the newly independent countries (Syria-Lebanon: 1946; Libya: 1952; Sudan: 1955; Morocco and Tunisia: 1956; Algeria: 1962), or those whose monarchies were supplanted by republican regimes (Egypt: 1952; ‘Irāq: 1958; Tunisia: 1957; Libya: 1969), relegated to the background the notables and national bourgeoisie, who had held power in the shadow of the previous regime. In taking over the apparatus of state, the younger generation naturally sought to extend its power to different sectors of public opinion, in order to gain control of the “national orientation”. As a result, religion, wooed to an increasing extent by politics, found itself involved in a struggle—if not in a “revolution”—whose objectives were beyond its scope. Religious leaders (*muftīs*, ‘*ulamā*’) can hardly constitute an independent class, as they did in the past, which formulates doctrines (for example about political ethics) in the name of an ideal Islam and independently of the ideology in power, or of its directives.—f. In those Arab societies engaged in a process of political liberation and social and economic transformation, *islāh* ceased to be a reformist and progressive ideology. Its doctrinal positions on social and economic matters seemed out of date. Its calls for constant meditation of the Ḳur‘ān as a source of inspiration for Muslims, in both their private and their public acts, went unheeded by young people, who were presented by modern states with more important (and in some ways obligatory) terms of reference in the form of programmes, charters, etc. The tradition of the Salaf, which *islāh* attempted to present in an exalted light, was received by the young people without enthusiasm. For them concrete reality with its social, professional and material problems, the collective tasks it imposes, the needs that it creates (for consumer goods, leisure etc.), the amusements it offers (entertainment, sport, travel) was much more important. Reflecting the moral and aesthetic aspirations of their age, young people preferred to seek happiness in this world rather than to aim at the reformist goal of felicity in this world and the next. In its values and in the problems it posed, *islāh* gave the appearance of being out of harmony with the rising generation, who tended to see economic, political and cultural problems as more important than ethical and spiritual ones. The younger generation willingly identified with the principles of liberalism and secularism, seeing them the ideal guiding forces of human relations and life in Muslim society today. If young people considered religion at all, it was as a secondary factor in the political strategy of the regime, especially applicable in questions of the civic and political education of the masses and as a means of sanctifying national unity. *Islāh* was thus often

invoked in support of official ideology, not for the religious values it represented or for its references to Islamic authenticity.

This complex of phenomena which has become apparent throughout the Arab world over the last few decades clearly shows two things: the striking weakening of *islâh* as a "driving force" in Muslim society, and its replacement by politics, which is now becoming the moving spirit on every level of national life. Politics is the most important factor of life today, for, considerably helped by the mass media and propaganda techniques, it seizes public attention, concentrating it on the acts of its rulers; in this way the life of a whole nation hangs on the "historic" speeches and oracular utterances of national leaders, those heroes and demi-gods of modern times. (Thus it is that it is possible to talk of the charisma of such and such an Arab chief of state who has become idolized by the masses). Political language itself has acquired such prominence over other forms of expression (literature, religion, etc.) that it impregnates them with its concepts and its dialectic. (In many cases the religious vocabulary seems to be nothing more than the simple transposition of the political). New powers—the state, the party—have taken over the primary role in the life of the *Umma*, and have directed its social and cultural orientations. Sometimes these powers, armed with totalitarian might, try to force the citizen's duties and beliefs on him. From this moment, religion ceased to be the most important factor in Muslim life and found itself dispossessed of its traditional function as interpreter of symbols and record of the community's conscience.

In this social and cultural context, the voice of *islâh* lost much of its strength and effectiveness. The reformist public itself moved in the direction of modernism and atheism or became reformist groups whose concept of the role of *islâh* in the modern world differed from that held by the Salafiyya. Such tendencies seem to be the logical result of the ideas implicit in the two main strands of reformist thought since the beginning of the 20th century—the liberal trend, which favoured a global realignment of Muslim life to the modern world, and a strictly orthodox current that hoped to preserve the initial message of Islam in its entirety within contemporary civilization, despite all opposition and obstacles.

1.—The liberal tendency was already latent in several authors of the inter-war period. Claiming more or less explicitly to be the heirs to the spirit—if not the religious thinking—of Muḥammad 'Abduh, they had some success after the war, during a period in which the differences between reformism and modernism made themselves felt more and more acutely. The *de facto* separation of political and religious affairs resulting from the institutional and cultural development of many Arab (and Muslim) countries—a development influenced by a certain liberal spirit—led some people to examine Islamic problems and subjects which until then had been taboo. This sort of free inquiry no longer exposed them to the vengeance of the administration or to persecution at the hands of conservative religious and university circles, as had been the case for 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq in 1925, and Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād in 1930. (Some delicate problems like the nature and mode of interpretation of the *Kur'ān* or the authenticity of *Ḥadīth* nevertheless continued to provoke violent arguments between orthodox '*ulamā*' and avant-garde representatives of Muslim thought (cf., for example, J. Jomier, *Quelques positions actuelles de l'exégèse coranique en Egypte . . .* (1947-51), in *MIDEO* (1954), 39-72, on the subject of

a thesis by Muḥammad Aḥmad Kḥalaf Allāh, *Al-Fann al-ḥaṣaṣī fi 'l-Kur'ān al-ḥarīm*, Cairo 1951). The idea of a social and cultural modernism that would respect personal belief was gradually accepted. This liberalism included matters of political organization, but attempted to reform traditional teaching to eliminate those aspects of religion that were holding back the evolution of Muslim society. On the religious plane, this trend supported a more flexible interpretation of the Scriptures, which, while satisfying reason and the scientific spirit, would permit the resolution of difficulties arising between practical life and the principles of the *shari'a*, as they were formulated by traditional orthodoxy and taken over by the Salafiyya. Taken to its logical conclusion, this trend is identical to secular modernism, which had once been combatted vigorously by Rashīd Riḍā, Ibn Bādīs and their respective schools.

2.—At the same time, the partisans of energetic reformism, worried by the success of secular tendencies and by the growth of laxity in Muslim society, reacted in the direction of an Islamic renewal on the part of the individual and the state. By reinvigorating the doctrinal positions of moderate *islâh*, they provided sympathizers and followers for the Muslim Brothers, whose fundamental principles (discounting the political activism of some of them) are very close to the strict orthodoxy professed by the Salafiyya (cf. the brief account of their doctrine by the first supreme guide of the Muslim Brothers, Ḥasan al-Bannā' (1906-1949 [q.v.] in his pamphlet: *Ilā ayy shay' nad'u 'l-nās?*, Cairo, 1939 (?). Because it attempted to restore Islamic values in their original purity, and gave the appearance of deliberately ignoring the new values of modern culture and civilization, this trend did not gain the sympathy of either the modernists—fervent defenders of social and cultural liberalism and freedom of conscience—nor that of the young who were still attached to Islam, but aware of the social and political changes taking place around them. Fully committed to the "logic of history" and hoping to avoid both the ambiguities of a reformism that was not progressive enough for them and the intransigent fundamentalism of the religious movements, which they felt to be reactionary, the young opted for a populist *islâh*, and, taking the part of the mass of the population which previous regimes had for so long ignored, fought for social justice (one of the dominant themes in the politico-religious literature of the post-war years; cf. Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *Al-'adāla al-idjtimā'iyya fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1952; Eng. trans. J. H. Hardie, *Social Justice in Islam*, Washington 1953). They pleaded for the socialization of culture (cf. the Egyptian "Cultural Library", aimed at the popularization of science and making it accessible to the common people). They attempted to establish a new Arabo-Islamic humanism, based on a socialist state which would put an end to exploitation and oppression, without itself employing terror (cf. in this respect the principles set down by one of the theorists of Arab Socialism (*Ba'ṭh*), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bayṭār, *Al-Siyāsa al-'arabiyya bayn al-mabda' wa 'l-taḥbīk*, Beirut 1960; Fr. trans. by Marcel Colombe, in *Orient*, xl (1966), 173 ff.). Finally the reformist writers of this avant-garde group refused to adhere not only to social and political forms that they considered to be decisively condemned by History, but also to collective representations and ideas that they felt were the product of a medieval mentality. On the other hand, to the extent that they express, in the language of our day, something that is essential to the *ḳur'ānic*

message, they attempted to integrate with Muslim thought the leading concepts of contemporary culture (notably in relation to the Third World), even in the case of ideas that are the product of nominally atheistic ideologies such as socialism (*işhtirâkiyya* [q.v.]) and the revolution (*thawra* [q.v.]).

In conclusion, even though *işlâh* no longer appears to be a religious and cultural current with the force, homogeneity and unity of tone that it had had in the inter-war period, it continues to evolve different forms, some vehement, others more moderate. Whether we consider the liberal *işlâh* of the moderate intellectuals who claimed for Islam tolerance and freedom of investigation, preached the emancipation of peoples through education and instruction, and based their optimistic vision of human evolution of the triumph of Reason and Science; or the militant *işlâh* of the Muslim Brothers, with their mystique of fidelity to the Muḥammadian mission and their desire to give Islam an effective presence in the world; or the *işlâh* of the idealistic youth, expressed in "left-wing" terms and motivated by a desire for social justice and political morality; each of these trends represents one of the fundamental options preached by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, and carried on by their faithful followers in the East and in the Maghrib.

At a time when cultures interact more rapidly than ever before, when the spirit of oecumenism is developing not merely in a Christian context, Muslim reformism could no longer remain enclosed within the static universe of the Salafiyya. By the very diversity of its current trends *işlâh* can escape from the rigid dogmatism which always haunts monolithic movements. In this way *işlâh* becomes the meeting-ground where many thinkers and university teachers who feel personally concerned with the future of Islam in the modern world can attempt to give Islamic culture a "new start". This has given rise to a proliferation of essays and critical works, claiming to be inspired by *işlâh*, everywhere in the Arab world (Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia etc.), and even in Pakistan, where the ideas of Muḥammad İqbāl, for example, continue to be a fertile source of inspiration.

**Bibliography:** 1. Background: C. Brockelmann, S III, 310-55; F. M. Pareja et al., *Islamologie*, Beirut 1957-63, 724-43; H. Laoust, *Le Réformisme orthodoxe des "Salafiyya" et les caractères généraux de son orientation actuelle*, in *REI*, 1932, 175-224; Ch. C. Adam, *Islam and modernism in Egypt*, London 1933, (reprinted American University at Cairo, 1968); H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947 (on reformist and modernist trends); A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the Liberal Age—1798-1939*, Oxford 1962; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, Paris 1954, 3 1969 (especially *Annexe III*); Muḥammad İqbāl, *The Reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*, Oxford 1934.

2. Historical account of modern *işlâh*: a) The neo-Ḥanbalī influence: basic ref. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḫī-D-Dīn Ahmad b. Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 541-75.—b) The Wahhābī antecedents: H. Laoust, *Essai* . . ., 506-40; 615-30, Bibliogr. 648-51; L. Massignon, *Les vraies origines dogmatiques du Wahhabisme* . . ., in *RMM*, xxxvi (1918-19), 320 ff.; WAHHĀBIYA, in *EI*<sup>1</sup>; İBN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>.

3. The main representatives of the modern reformist trend: a vast quantity of literature treats the subject from a general point of view. Cf.: Aḥmad Amin, *Zu'amā' al-İslāh fi 'l-Asr*

*al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1368/1949 (on ten reformist personalities of the Arab world and the Indian sub-continent). Special studies: a) Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897): *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; Brockelmann, S III, 311-5; Aḥ. Amin, *Zu'amā' al-İslāh* . . ., 59-120; Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn "al-Afghānī": a political biography*, Los Angeles 1972; E. Kedourie, *Afghani and 'Abduh*, London 1966; Homa Pakdaman, *Djamāl ed-Dīn Assad Abadī dit Afghani*, Paris 1960, Bibliogr. . . 369-82 (tends to demystify the character by underlining the weakness in the man). Complementary study: A. Albert Kudsī-Zadeh, *Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. An annotated Bibliography*, Leiden 1970.—b) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1854?-1902): Brockelmann, S III, 380; R. Riḍā, *Muṣāb'azim* . . . (*In memoriam*), in *al-Manār*, v (1902), 237-40, 276-80; Aḥ. Amin, *Zu'amā' al-İslāh* . . ., 249-79; Muḥ. Aḥ. Khalaf Allāh, *Al-K., ḥayātuh wa-âtharuh*, Cairo 1962; Khaldūn S. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Three Reformers*, Beirut 1966, 55-112.—c) Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905): *EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v.; Brockelmann, S III, 315-21; the basic ref. still remains: R. Riḍā, *Ta'riḫ al-ustādḥ al-imām al-shaykh M. 'A.*, 3 vols. Cairo, i, 1350/1931 (essentially biographical, with autobiographical notes by Muḥ. 'Abduh, 20-5), ii, 1344/1925 (list of works and diverse writings), iii, 1324/1906 (funerary orations; obituary notices); H. Laoust, *Essai* . . ., 542 ff.; Aḥ. Amin, *Zu'amā' al-İslāh* . . ., 281-338; J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manār*, chap. I. The personality of Muḥ. 'Abduh has been the object of numerous studies, unequal in interest and often in the nature of an apologia (cf. 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aḳḳād, *'Abḫarī al-İslāh wa 'l-ta'lim al-ustādḥ al-imām Muḥ. 'Abduh*, Cairo u.d.). A general bibliogr. on the life, work and thought of Muḥ. 'Abduh still remains to be compiled.—d) Muḥammad Raḥīd Riḍā (1865-1935): Brockelmann, S III, 321-3; autobiographical notes in his *al-Manār wa 'l-azhar*, 129-200; Şhakīb Arslān, *al-Sayyid R.R. aw ikhā' arba'in sana*, Damascus 1356/1937; H. Laoust, *Essai* . . ., 557 ff.; J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manār*, chap. I.—e) 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs (1889-1940). *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940*, 79-86 and *Index*; idem, *Ibn Bādīs, Commentateur du Coran*, Paris 1971.—f) On secondary characters whose names are still linked to the history of the reformist trend in contemporary history, see above (D).

4. Works on doctrine. We will restrict ourselves here to the major works. For the rest, see the refs. mentioned in the article. a) Afghānī and Muḥ. 'Abduh, *al-'Urwa al-wuthqā*, Beirut 1328/1910, (new ed., Cairo 1958); Fr. trans. Marcel Colombe, *Pages choisies de Dj. al-D. al-A.*, in *Orient*, xxi-xxiv (1962), and xxv (1963).—b) Afghānī, *Ḥaḳīkat-i madḥhab-i naysḫarī wa-bayān-i ḥāl-i naysḫariyān* (directed against Aḥmad Khān [q.v.]), Ḥaydarābād 1298/1880 (Arabic trans. by the author, same date and place); another Arabic version, based on the original Persian, by Muḥ. 'Abduh: *Risālat al-radd 'ala 'l-dahriyyin*, Beirut 1303/1886, then Cairo 1321/1903 (Fr. trans. based on the Arabic text): A. M. Goichon, *Réfraction des Matérialistes*, Paris 1944; (Eng. trans. based on the original Persian): Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism—Polit. and Relig. Writings of Sayyid J. al-D. "al-Afghānī"*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1968.—c) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḫurā*, [Cairo 1899], fragments in *al-Manār*, v (1902), Cairo 1350/1931, Aleppo

1959: this little work gives a summarized form of all the main themes of reformist propaganda to be developed by R. Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs.—d) Idem, *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād*, Cairo 1318/1900, enlarged ed., Aleppo 1957. This essay was to have less impact in reformist circles than the preceding work.—e) Muḥ. ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo, 1315/1897; new ed. (expurgated as far as the question of the "created Qurʾān" is concerned), with notes, by R. Riḍā, Cairo 1326/1908. This ed. was considered as definitive for more than half a century (17th. reprint 1379/1960). A new ed. by Maḥmūd Abū Rayya uses the text of the original ed. revised and corrected by the author, Cairo, Maʿārif, 1966). Fr. trans. based on the 1st. ed. by B. Michel and Moustapha Abdel Razik, *Rissalat al-Tawhid—Exposé de la religion musulmane*, Paris 1925; Eng. trans.: [Ishāq] Musaʿad and K. Cragg, *The Theology of Unity*, London 1966.—f) Idem, *Hāshiya ʿalā sharḥ al-Dawānī li ʿl-ʿaḳāʾid al-ʿaḳudiyya*, Cairo 1292/1875; re-ed. in Sulaymān Dunyā, *Al-shaykh, M. ʿA. bayn al-falāsiḥa wa ʿl-kalāmiyyīn*, Cairo 1377/1958, 2 vols. In the Introduction (64 pp.) the ed. situates the thought of M. ʿA. in relation to the problems of faith and reason, and criticizes the "excessive" rationalism of ʿAbduh. For the same sort of approach note his *Risālat al-wāridāt* (written in 1294/1877), 1st ed., Cairo 1299/1882. According to R. Riḍā the author reconsidered, towards the end of his life, a large part of his youthful work (which deals with *kalām*, Ḥufism and the *falsafa*).—g) Idem, *Al-Islām wa ʿl-Naṣrāniyya maʿa ʿl-ʿilm wa ʿl-madaniyya*, Cairo 1320/1902 (replies and apologetic refutations).—h) Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān al-ḥakīm al-shāhīr bi-Tafsīr al-Manār*, in 12 vols., Cairo 1346-53/1927-34 (this commentary stops at verse 52, sūrah XII, and thus only covers 2/5 of the Qurʾānic text).—i) Idem, *Taʾrīkh al-ustādḥ al-imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh* (see above, 3, c).—j) Idem, *Al-Khilāfa aw al-imāma al-ʿuzmā*, Cairo 1341/1922-23 (Fr. trans. H. Laoust, *Le califat dans la doctrine de R.R.*, Beirut 1938.—k) Idem, *al-Manār wa ʿl-ashar*, Cairo 1353/1934 (polemics with the conservative circles at *al-Ashar*). Many pamphlets which gather together the art. extracted from *Manār*, above all: 1) *Al-Wahda al-islāmiyya wa ʿl-ukhuwwa al-diniyya*, Cairo 1346/1928 (on the themes of *taḳlīd* and *idjtiḥād*).—m) ʿAbd al-Ḥamid b. Bādīs, *Madjālis al-tadhkīr min kalām al-ḥakīm al-khābir*, part. published with *Introd.* by M. B. Ibrāhīmī, by Ahmed Bouchemāl, Constantine 1948, 96 pp.; complete, but not critical ed., by Muḥ. Šāliḥ Ramaḍān and ʿAbd Allāh Šāhīn, Cairo 1384/1964, 496 pp.—n) Mubārak al-Mīlī, *Risālat al-shīrk wa-maḥāhirih*, Constantine 1356/1937 (a theologico-moral work strongly influenced by Wahhābī doctrine).—o) M. al-Baṣḥīr al-Ibrāhīmī, *ʿUyūn al-Baṣāʾir*, Cairo 1963 (editorials from the paper *al-Baṣāʾir*, Algiers 1947-56, on questions of relig., soc., polit., and culture, in pure reformist tradition.—p) Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *al-Islām ʿaḳīda wa-sharīʿa*, Cairo n.d. [1959].—q) Principal reformist papers and revues: *al-Manār* (monthly, Cairo, 1898-1935; ed. Rashīd Riḍā); *al-Faṭḥ* (weekly, Cairo, founded in 1926; ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb); *Madjallat al-shubbān al-muslimīn* (monthly, Cairo, founded in 1928; organ of the *Society of Young Muslims*); *al-Shihāb* (Constantine, 1925-39; monthly from 1927 on; ed. Ibn Bādīs); *al-Baṣāʾir* (weekly, Algiers 1936-9; ed. Ṭayyib al-ʿUḳbī; new series. 1947-56; ed. Baṣḥīr Ibrāhīmī).

5. Analytical and critical studies: Besides the names of Muḥ. Iḳbāl, H. Laoust, H. A. R. Gibb, L. Gardet, J. Jomier, quoted above, cf.: I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, repr. 1970 (Arab trans. ʿAbd al-Ḥallīm al-Nadjdjār, *Madhāhib al-tafsīr al-islāmī*, Cairo 1374/1955; *The Introduction to the Fr. trans. of Risālat al-tawḥīd* (p. IX-LXXXV); Osman Amin, Muḥ. ʿAbduh: *Essai sur ses idées philos. et relig.*, Cairo 1944 (Eng. trans., Ch. Wendell, *Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, Washington 1953. Cf. the corrections made to this trans. by Fr. Rosenthal in *JAOS*, lxxiv (1954), 101-2); idem, *Rāʾid al-fikr al-miṣri*, M. ʿA., Cairo 1955 (enlarged version of preceding title); R. Caspar, *Le Renouveau du Moʿtazilisme*, in *MIDEO*, iv (1957), 141-202 (very thorough study, indispensable ref. on the question); P. Rondot, *L'Islam et les Musulmans d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, i (1968), ii (1960) (work of popularization based on personal experience); J. Berque, J.-P. Charnay and others, *Normes et valeurs de l'Islam contemporain*, Paris 1966 (some interesting judgements on reformist currents of Muslim thought in the 20th C.); M. Kerr, *Islamic Reform (The Polit. and Legal Theories of Muḥ. ʿAbduh and R. Riḍā)*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1966 (underlines certain contradictions in reformist thought); A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940* (Book II, p. 211-432, is an examination of the doctrine); idem, *Ibn Bādīs, Commentateur du Coran* (thematic analysis of the Qurʾānic commentary of the *Shihāb*).

6. Periodicals which frequently deal with the problems of reformism in an Arab context: *L'Afrique et l'Asie; Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain; IBLA; Islamic Culture; JAOS; MIDEO; Orient; OM*; the old *Revue du Monde Musulman*; the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* and its *Abstracta*, etc. (A. MERAD)

#### ii.—IRAN

Islamic thought and expression bearing a distinctively modern stamp has been of less quantity and importance in Iran than either the Arab lands or the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. No figure has emerged comparable in influence or literary output to, for example, Sayyid Kuṭb or Muḥammad Iḳbāl [q.v.]. This may be attributed in part to the relative isolation of Iran from intellectual currents in other parts of the Muslim world by virtue of its profession of Shīʿism, and in part, too, to the very nature of Shīʿism, which being in its essence an esoterism, is less susceptible to those storms of historical change that have provoked modernist reaction elsewhere. Traditional learning and institutions have, moreover, been unusually well preserved in Iran, and while Islamic modernism in other lands has frequently arisen from "lay" impatience with ʿulamāʾ attitudes to the faith and a desire to expound and implement its dictates independently of them, the Iranian ʿulamāʾ have, by contrast, maintained a high degree of influence and prestige. There have nonetheless been certain currents of modernist expression in Iran, elicited in large part by the western impact and tending to the presentation of Islam above all in terms of social and political reform and compatibility with modern science and rationality.

The beginnings of such expression are to be traced to the reign of Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834), when the crown prince ʿAbbās Mirzā invoked Qurʾānic sanction for the introduction of certain military reforms of western provenance. The depiction of social and

political reform as deriving from religious precept and duty thereafter became a commonplace of reformist thought. It received little systematic exposition, however, and was frequently voiced by persons themselves lacking in substantial religious belief and concerned above all with the forging of a tactical device for gaining 'ulama' and mass support for reform and westernization. Most prominent and influential among this class was the Perso-Armenian Mirzâ Malkum Khân (1834-1908). On the basis of his private statements (particularly to his friend and confidant, Akhundzâda), it may be concluded that he was a free-thinker; yet he belongs to the history of Islamic modernism in Iran by virtue of his expedient and influential exposition of the Islamic acceptability, even necessity, of reform. This theme he put forward in a number of treatises, especially *Kitâbla-yi Ghaybi*, and above all in the celebrated journal *Kânûn*, published in London from 1890 to 1898.

In the identification of religious duty with the need to reform, the question of law played a crucial part: whether the law of a regenerated state was to be the *shari'a* or a code of western inspiration. The problem was solved — if only in the most immediate sense — by the equation of both on the basis of allegedly shared fundamentals: the just and orderly functioning of society for the increase of prosperity. This equation, implicit in the very title of Malkum's journal, was set forth more clearly (and probably with a greater degree of inward conviction) by Mirzâ Yûsuf Khân Mustashâr al-Dawla in his treatise entitled *Yak Kalima* (1870). The "one word" of the title is law, which constitutes the sufficient solution to all of Iran's problems, and the law in question consists of the French legal codes, which Mirzâ Yûsuf Khân attempts to prove compatible with Islam by means of quotation from the Qur'ân and *Hadith*. He wrote another work in similar vein, *Rûh-i Islâm*, in which he stated: "I have found proofs and evidences from the Glorious Qur'ân and reliable traditions for all the means of progress and civilization, so that none shall henceforth say, 'such-and-such a matter is against the principles of Islam,' or, 'the principles of Islam are an obstacle to progress and civilization'."

The influence of Sayyid Djamâl al-Dîn Asadâbâdi (Afghânî) [q.v.] in Iran tended in a similar direction of westernizing reform, although the religious tone and content of his thought was far more considerable than in the case of either Malkum or Mirzâ Yûsuf Khân. It is now fully established that he was of Iranian birth; yet his impact upon his homeland was almost certainly of less importance than his role in other parts of the Muslim world. His major work in "defence" of religion, *Hakikat-i madhhab-i nay'iri*, was written and first published in Haydarâbâd (1881), largely in response to certain local Indian conditions, and the Arabic version of the work, *al-Radd 'ala 'l-dahriyyin*, was probably more widely read than the Persian original. Nonetheless, during Djamâl al-Dîn's two trips to Iran in 1886-1887 and 1889-1891, he came into contact with a variety of persons upon whom he appears to have made a considerable impression. Among these may be mentioned Sayyid Şadiq Tabâtabâ'î, father of Sayyid Muḥammad Tabâtabâ'î, one of the most prominent *muḥtahihs* active in support of the constitutional revolution, and Mirzâ Naşr Allâh İsfahânî Malik al-Mutakallimîn, the celebrated constitutionalist preacher. While taking refuge at the shrine of Şhâh 'Abd al-'Azîm to the south of Tehran in 1890, he also met many lesser persons, and he may in general be presumed to have strengthened the current of Iranian modernism, although to a de-

gree inferior to that claimed by posthumous legend.

Foremost among the themes traditionally associated with the influence of Sayyid Djamâl al-Dîn was Pan-Islamism [q.v.], which did indeed come to occupy a certain place in Islamic modernism in Iran, despite the separateness resulting from Şhi'ism. It was felt that both the Ottoman Empire and Iran were exposed to the same danger of extinction at the hands of western imperialism, and that union under the Ottoman ruler, as sultan thought not caliph, was a desirable measure of defence. While in Istanbul in 1892, Sayyid Djamâl al-Dîn formed a circle of Iranian exiles—Azalis for the most part, strangely enough—to conduct propaganda with a view to strengthening such feelings. Letters were sent to the Şhi'î 'ulamâ' both in Iran and at the shrine cities of 'Irâq which elicited a favourable response. Contacts between Istanbul and the Şhi'î 'ulamâ' survived Djamâl al-Dîn's death and played a role of some importance in the affairs of Iran for a number of years, particularly from 1900 to 1903. The only substantial treatment of Pan-Islamism in Persian was the tract entitled *Ittihâd-i Islâm* by the Qadjar prince Mirzâ Abu 'l-Kâsim Şhaykh al-Ra'îs (published at Bombay in 1894). In recent years aspirations towards Islamic solidarity have received renewed expression in Iran, but with Sunni-Şhi'î rapprochement as their aim rather than political union or federation.

Certain modernist themes, in particular the religious desirability of social and educational reform and the duty of acquiring modern scientific learning, were adumbrated in works not primarily religious in tone and intention: *Kitâb-i Aḥmad* (1896) and *Masâlik-i Muḥsinin* (1905) of the Âḥarbaydjânî Fâlibov, and the *Siyâhatnâme-yi Ibrâhîm Big* (3 vols., 1903-1909) of his compatriot Zayn al-'Âbidîn Marâgha'î.

None of the works or tendencies indicated so far emanated from the 'ulamâ', although they may have been influenced by some among them to various degrees. It is not until the years of the constitutional revolution (1905-1911) that we find a coherent and serious statement on questions of political and social reform, inspired by genuine concern and expressed in scholarly terms, issuing from the 'ulamâ' class. The work in question is a treatise on constitutional government from the viewpoint of Şhi'î Islam, entitled *Tanbih al-umma wa tanziḥ al-milla dar asâs wa usûl-i mashrûtiyyat* (first published 1909, reprinted with an introduction by Sayyid Maḥmûd Fâlikânî in 1955). The author was Şhaykh Muḥammad Husayn Nâ'îni (1860-1936), a *muḥtahihs* resident in Naḍjaf who had been a pupil of the celebrated Mirzâ Ḥasan Şhîrâzi, author of the *fatwâ* so effective in the tobacco boycott of 1891-1892, and who enjoyed the close friendship of the great constitutionalist divines, Mullâ Kâzîm Khurâsânî and Mullâ 'Abd Allâh Mâzandarânî. The participation of a large and significant number of the Iranian 'ulamâ' in the constitutional revolution has often been regarded as a result of confusion and circumstantial pressure, as the continuation of traditional 'ulamâ' hostility to the state in a situation the novelty of which they failed to recognize. Nâ'îni's book delineates the positive doctrinal reasons for their support of constitutionalism, firmly grounded in the Qur'ân and *Sunna*. He defines the functions of the state as the establishment of equilibrium within society and its defence from external attack. The power enjoyed by the state should be limited to that necessary for fulfilling these functions; any excess tends inevitably in the direction of tyranny, which in turn tempts the ruler to usurp the divine attribute of sovereignty, and thus to commit the cardinal sin of *shirk*.

Such perversion can be fully prevented only by the *'işma* of the ruler, his freedom from sin and error, and it was for this reason that legitimate rule belonged to the Imāms during their lifetime. After the occultation of the twelfth Imām, legitimacy has withdrawn from the earthly plane, and a degree of usurpativeness is bound to haunt all existing regimes. It is nonetheless both possible and desirable to reduce that degree to a minimum by limiting the power of the ruler and instituting an assembly (*madjlis*) of representatives which shall implement the consultative principle enunciated in the *Ḳur'ān*. Such an assembly may act as a legislature only with regard to matters not already covered by the *shari'a*, or by giving specific implementation to items legislated for in general manner by *Ḳur'ān* and *Sunna*. The functioning of the assembly is to be regulated by a constitution, and objections that the constitution somehow vies with the *shari'a* as a new, comprehensive code are ill-informed or mischievous. There results from conceding to the assembly a limited legislative power a duality of religious and secular law; but the innocuity of secular law will be guaranteed by the presence in the *madjlis* of a number of *muđjtahids*, and in any event, perfect implementation of the *shari'a*, with all aspects of life integrated according to its ordinances, will be possible only with the return of the Imām to the plane of manifestation. Nā'īn's statement of the desirability of constitutional rule in *Shi'i* terms indicates not only how the *'ulamā'* were able, in later decades, to refer to both the *Ḳur'ān* and the constitution as sources of authority for political life, but also how it was possible for them to ally themselves with secular elements in the pursuit of common political objectives.

Modernist thought and expression, in Islamic terms, remained dormant throughout the reign of Riđā Şhāh (1926-1941), under whose auspices a nationalist ideology with secularist and anti-Islamic tendencies was fostered, although not as energetically as in neighbouring Turkey. After his deposition and the succession to the throne of Muḥammad Riđā Şhāh, a certain freedom of expression came into being of which use was made by various religious circles, and although the possibilities of uninhibited expression have since suffered a sharp decline, Islamic modernism in Iran has continually developed in the post-war period. During the last decade in particular, a large body of religious literature has made its appearance, modern in its tone of thought and its preoccupation with socio-economic problems, the interrelations of science and religion, and the task of restating Islam in a manner comprehensible to secularly educated youth.

In the period between the accession of Muḥammad Riđā Şhāh and the overthrow of prime minister Muḥammad Muşaddik in July 1953, the resurgence of Islam as a visible factor in public affairs was marked by an extreme degree of political activism, largely unaccompanied by intellectual or literary activity. This observation applies both to the organization of the *Fidā'iyān-i Islām* [q.v.], under the leadership of Nawwāb Şafavī, and to the figure of Āyat Allāh Abu 'l-Kāsim Kāshānī. The *Fidā'iyān* never evolved a consistent ideology or any serious programme for reshaping the life of state and society in Islamic terms. Their organ, *Zilzila*, consisted largely of commentaries on questions of the day, with more permanent questions receiving only fragmentary treatment. Kāshānī, although temporarily co-operating with the *Fidā'iyān*, represented the tradition of the constitutionalist *muđjtahids* of the early part of the century and had indeed been one of the foremost

pupils of Mullā Kāzīm *Khurāsānī* in Nadjaf. In his speeches and correspondence, Kāshānī reflected the thinking of this earlier generation of *'ulamā'*, accepting, like Nā'īnī, the *Ḳur'ān* and the constitution as dual sources of political authority. His expression of the theme had an abrasive polemical edge that reflected the extreme tensions of the period.

At this time, the dominant figure in the religious life of Iran was not Kāshānī, but Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn Burūđjirdī (1875-1962), a figure universally acknowledged to have exceeded Kāshānī in piety and learning, while quietist—and even occasionally loyalist—in his political attitudes. Burūđjirdī cannot, in any important sense, be called a modernist, for he did not concern himself to any remarkable degree with political or social problems. Nonetheless, during the one-and-a-half decades that he functioned as sole *mardja'-i taklid* [q.v.] of the *Ithnā 'ashari Shi'i* community, he initiated a process of renewal and self-criticism within the religious institution which has gathered momentum after his death and largely contributed to the contemporary spate of religious concern and thought in Iran. Burūđjirdī established a network of communication reaching out from *Ḳum* to all regions of the country to regularize the collection of *sahm-i imām*, a measure that later proved useful for the dissemination of religious guidance and directives. In the field of pure scholarship, he revived the independent study of *hadīth* and instigated a critical revision of the fundamental *Shi'i* manual, Muḥammad b. Kāsan al-Ḥurr al-Āmulī's *Waşā'il al-shi'a ilā takhḳik masā'il al-shari'a*. He demonstrated a serious concern for a *Sunni-Shi'i* rapprochement, and to this end entered into correspondence with successive rectors of the Azhar. With their co-operation, there was established in Cairo, with a branch in *Ḳum*, an institution called *Dār al-takrīb bayna'l-madhāhib al-islāmīyya*, issuing an organ under the title of *Risālat al-Islām*. This concern of Burūđjirdī has survived his death, and while the absence of diplomatic relations between Tehran and Cairo for a number of years made it difficult to pursue contacts with the Azhar, this obstacle was removed in September 1970, and the rector of the Azhar, Muḥammad al-Fahhām, paid an extended visit to Iran in the summer of 1971 in the course of which he met a number of leading *muđjtahids*, including Āyat Allāh Muḥammad Ḥādī Milānī in *Mashhad*. Another initiative of Burūđjirdī which has continued to bear fruit was the dispatch of *Shi'i* emissaries to western Europe, both to cater to needs of Iranians abroad and to propagate *Shi'i* Islam among interested Europeans.

The death of Burūđjirdī deprived the *Shi'i* community of its sole *mardja'*, and the problem of leadership and direction posed itself in an unusually acute manner. It was widely felt that the traditional process whereby one or more of the *muđjtahids*, qualified by piety and pre-eminence in religious learning, had emerged to be sources of guidance, was defective and incapable of answering the true needs of the community. For all the deep respect that Burūđjirdī had enjoyed, his failure to provide authoritative guidance during the events that had convulsed Iran in the Muşaddik period was felt to be a defect from which his successors should ideally be free. It was recognized, moreover, that the mastery of the traditional religious disciplines was by itself no longer an adequate training for the effective guidance of society and the application of Islamic solutions to contemporary problems. On the other hand, acquisition of the various branches of specialized knowledge that seemed necessary for the task was clearly beyond the capacities



of a single individual. Some therefore concluded that a collective *marǧ'a* was desirable. Many of these considerations, together with suggested solutions, were adumbrated in a collective volume entitled *Bahǧhī dar bāra-yi marǧ'a'iyyat wa rūhāniyyat*, first published in 1963 and since reprinted with supplementary material. This book, the work of seven authors, including both 'ulamā and lay writers, was probably the most influential and substantial piece of religious writing to appear in Persian since Nā'ini's discussion of constitutional government. It concluded a brief and clear exposition of certain fundamental concepts such as *taǧlīd*, *idǧtīhād* and *walāyat* (treated by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'i and Murtaǧā Muṭaḥharī), and of the proper social function of the religious classes in general and the *marǧ'a* in particular (discussed by Mahdī Bāzargān and Sayyid Muḥammad Bihīshī). Possibly the most important sections were those in which Muṭaḥharī discussed the need to provide an independent financial basis for the religious institution, thus freeing it of subservience to either state or populace, and those in which Bāzargān and Sayyid Murtaǧā Ḍjazā'irī proposed the replacement of an individual by a collective *marǧ'a* (termed by the latter *shaurā-yi fatwā*).

In addition to such discussion of problems peculiar to Shī'ism in the present age, the postwar religious scene in Iran has also witnessed the translation into Persian of modernist works produced elsewhere in the Islamic world. Some of the authors most frequently translated are Sayyid Kuṭb, Muḥammad Kuṭb, Yūsuf al-Qarǧāwī and others associated with the *Ikhwān al-Musulmīn* [q.v.], and Mawlānā Abu 'l-A'ḷā Mawdūdī, leader of the Pakistani Ḍhamā'at-i Islāmī. Among the more influential of the works translated, special mention may be made of Sayyid Kuṭb's *al-Adāla al-idǧtīmā'iyya fi 'l-Islām*. The translations are occasionally supplied with footnotes to indicate Shī'ī divergent opinions when deemed necessary.

The most prolific and influential writer of original modernist literature in Iran today is Mahdī Bāzargān, one of the contributors to the collective volume already mentioned. His work is characterized by the clear influence of certain Sunnī modernists, a concern with demonstrating the confluence of scientific fact with religious truth, and a fluent and persuasive style. His first book was *Muṭaḥhirāt dar Islām* (1943; later reprinted), a detailed demonstration of the biological and hygienic utility inherent in the Islamic prescriptions for ritual purity. Of his later production, totalling some twenty titles to date, mention may be made of *Ishǧ wa parastīsh* (1963), a work subtitled "the thermodynamics of man"; *Du'ā* (1964), discussing the psychological benefits of prayer; and *Dars-i Dīndāri* (1965), stressing the continuing need of man and society in the modern world for religion. Bāzargān has also been politically active as one of the moving spirits behind the Niḡdat-i Āzādī, a religiously orientated component of the proscribed oppositional National Front. One of his associates in this venture has been Sayyid Maḡmūd Ṭāliǧkānī, author of a number of works including the significant treatise *Dǧihād wa Shahādāt* (1965).

Most of the works of Bāzargān and Ṭāliǧkānī have been published by a Tehran house known as *Shirkat-i Intīshār*, which continues to put out an ever-increasing volume of modernist religious literature. A few specimens may be cited by way of example: 'Alī Ḍhaffūrī's *Islām wa i'lāmīyya-yi dǧahāni-yi huǧuk-i bashar* (1964), aiming to show how Islam has prefigured the notion of universal human rights; Muḥammad Taǧī Shārī'atī's *Tafsīr-i Nuwīn* (1967), a commentary

on the last *ǧuz'* of the Qur'ān, markedly rationalist in tendency; and Muḥammad Muǧtāhid Shābistārī's *Dǧāmi'a-yi insāni-yi Islām* (1969), a work stressing the universalist and fraternal aspects of Islam.

There are too certain special classes of religious literature worthy of note. One is the popular religious biography, of which the chief exponent is Zayn al-'Ābidīn Rahnamā. His immensely successful biography of the Prophet, *Payāambar*, first published in 1937, has gone through more than fifteen editions and been translated into French (Paris 1957). Rahnamā's work is characterized by skilful narrative technique and a free use of invented dialogue. A two-volume *Zindagāni-yi Imām Husayn* (new edition 1966) has enjoyed similar popularity. Also deserving of mention in the same genre is the Persian translation of C. V. Gheorghiu's French biography of the Prophet under the title of *Muḥammad, payǧambari ki az nau bāyad shīnākhī* (1964).

Polemical literature forms another notable division of contemporary religious writing. Numerous works have been written stressing the unique identity of the Shī'a, partly as an adjunct to and partly in contradiction of, moves towards a Sunnī-Shī'ī rapprochement. Probably the best work in this category is Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'i's *Shī'a dar Islām* (1969). The vast work in Arabic on the supposed appointment of 'Alī as successor to the Prophet at the pool of *Khum*, *Shaykh* 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Amīnī's *al-ǧhadīr*, has been partially translated into Persian. A more popular treatment of the same subject is the anonymous and collective work *Ḥassāstarīn farāz-i tārikh ya dāstān-i ḡhadīr* (1969). Other works are aimed at refuting the attacks made on Shī'ī Islam by the radical anti-clerical Aḡmad Kasravī in his frequently reprinted *Shī'agari*. In this category mention may be made of Ḥāǧǧī Sirāǧī Anṣārī's *Shī'a chi miǧūyād* (third edition, 1966), and Muḥammad Taǧī Shārī'atī's *Fā'ida wa luzūm-i dīn* (1965). Finally, there exists an extensive literature in refutation of Bahā'ism, chiefly in pamphlet form.

In addition to the printed word, the broadcast lecture on religious subjects has played a part of importance in the diffusion of contemporary Islamic thought, particularly in an era of decreasing mosque attendance. The names of Muḥammad Taǧī Falsafī and Ḥusayn Rāshīd stand out among the especially celebrated preachers; the texts of their lectures have been collected and published in book form.

Another innovation of the postwar period has consisted of societies and organizations devoted to *tablīgh*, to the propagation of the faith by means of the printed and spoken word. The earliest of these was the *Anǧuman-i Tablīghāt-i Islāmī*, founded in 1943 by Dr. 'Aṭā Allāh Shīhābūr with headquarters in Tehran and branches in a number of provincial cities. It published a number of booklets on the fundamentals of religion, as well as a magazine entitled *Nūr-i dāniṣh* and a yearbook bearing the same name. The activities of the organization seem to have faded out in the late 1950s.

In 1965 there was established in Ḍum an institution called the *Dār al-Tablīgh al-Islāmī*, the fulfilment of the wishes of the late Burūǧīrdī and under the auspices of another *muǧtāhid*, Āyat Allāh Muḥammad Kāzīm Shārī'atmadārī. The institution trains students in the religious science, not, like the traditional *madrāsas*, for the sake of pure knowledge, but with a view to the effective propagation of religion among the masses. English is among the subjects taught, and it is intended to institute missionary activity abroad. On the occasion of the fourth anniversary

of the institution, a lavish volume entitled *Sîmâ-yi Islâm* was published, containing contributions by leading contemporary religious writers. Closely associated with the activities of the Dâr al-Tablîgh is an author by the name of Sayyid Hâdî Khusrâushâhî, a figure well-known in international Islamic circles and editor of the popular religious magazine *Maktab-i Islâm* (appearing since 1958).

More recently still, there has been founded in Tehran the institution known as Husayniya-yi Irshâd, a centre where well-attended lectures on religious subjects are given by prominent figures both from the 'ulamâ' and the world of learning. It too has publications to its credit, the most notable being a two-volume collection of papers entitled *Muhammad, khâtam-i payghambarân* (1969). During the *hadîdî* season, the Husayniya establishes a temporary branch at Minâ, where Iranian pilgrims go to receive guidance and hear lectures on the significance of the pilgrimage.

*Bibliography:* Firidûn Âdamiyat, *Fikr-i âzâdî wa muhaddima-yi nihâd-i mashrûfiyat-i Iran*, Tehran 1334 solar/1961; Hamid Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906: The role of the ulama in the Qajar period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969; idem, *Mirzâ Malkum Khân: A biographical study in the history of Qajar Iran*, (forthcoming); idem, *The oppositional role of the Ulama in twentieth century Iran, in Sufis, saints and scholars*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie (forthcoming); Yahya Armajani, *Islamic literature in post-war Iran*, in *The World of Islam*, London 1960, 271-282; R. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, Pittsburgh 1964; Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic response to imperialism: Political and religious writings of Sayyid Jamâl al-Dîn "al-Afghânî"*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968; idem, *Religion and irreligion in early Iranian nationalism*, in *Comparative studies in society and history*, iv/3 (April 1962), 265-295; Âyat Allâh Rûh Allâh Khumaynî, *Hukûmat-i Islâmî ya valâyat-i Fakih*, Nadjaf 1389/1969; A. K. S. Lambton, *A reconsideration of the position of the Marja' Al-Taqlid and the religious institution*, in *Studia Islamica*, xx (1964), 115-135. (HAMID ALGAR)

### iii.—TURKEY

Within the Ottoman-Turkish context *ışlâh* seldom meant modernism in religion. The word has more often been associated with political reform which, in turn, meant at first (during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries) the restoration of the old political order, and later (approximately after 1800), a reconstitution of the political system on the basis of principles more and more remote from those of sultanate and caliphate. There is no word consistently used to denote the idea of religious modernism, as distinct from the modernization of religious institutions such as the *madrasas*, where again the term used was *ışlâh*. There is no major movement of religious modernism comparable with those found elsewhere in the Islamic world.

The absence of a concept and movement of religious modernism seems to be a result of the characteristic Ottoman fusion of religion and state, symbolized by the frequent use of the term *din-u-devlet* by Ottoman writers. In an institutional or in a theological sense, very little scope was left for the rise of a religious modernism independent of political reform movements. The Ottoman polity had succeeded more than any other in maintaining Islam and its representatives, the 'ulamâ', within the framework

of the state organization. The religious institution, which represented no spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, was merely a segment of the ruling institution, and was organized into an order or *odjak* [*q.v.*]. Its role lay mainly in the cultivation of jurisprudence (*fikh*), the giving of opinions on legal matters (*iftâ*), and the execution of the *shari'a* law and the *kânûn* (*kaqâ*). The *madrasa* was not primarily a school of theology, but was chiefly a training centre of jurisprudence. Through its judiciary, the state had adopted Sunnî orthodoxy, with an emphasis on Mâturidî theology and the Hanafî school of jurisprudence, and thus limited the possibilities for theological controversies.

However, besides the orthodox religious institution, with its educational and judicial regimentation and hierarchy, scope was also given to another stream of religious institutionalization which came closer to what might be regarded as an autonomous spiritual institution. These were the mystic orders or *tarikhas*, of which there was a rich variety as a result of their tendency to split and multiply. Most of them, however, adhered, at least ostensibly to one or other of the main conservative, moderate, and extremist trends in terms of their attitudes toward the world and the state. It was only when a clash took place within the accepted limits of discrepancy between the 'ulamâ' and Sûfî orders that there was the possibility of some kind of religious controversy. When such a clash extended to the basic tenets of orthodoxy, the 'ulamâ' tended to view it more in political than religious terms and treated the exponents of such views as heretical. In all such cases the 'ulamâ' easily obtained the support of the political power. The majority of the *tarikhas*, however, avoided open antinomianism and maintained their position within the framework of the Ottoman polity. They adopted quietism or indifference on theological-political matters and were inclined more and more to ritualism and incantation or to poetry and art. This tendency not only safeguarded their existence, but also added prestige and enhanced their popularity among various classes of society, particularly among the artisans, the military, and the bureaucracy. The *tarikha* thus represented another example of the union between religion and state, attracting the participation not only of the 'ulamâ' but also of high ranking statesmen, often even of the rulers themselves. Furthermore, the Ottoman state succeeded, in the later period, in making the *tarikhas* a semi-official pillar of the state by recognizing the *mashâyikh* alongside the 'ulamâ' in various ceremonial affairs.

After a fairly long period of partnership between the state, the 'ulamâ', and the *tarikhas*, religious and spiritual controversies arose when in the 11th/17th century all of them faced the earliest challenges of the modern world. The objects of their controversies, such as coffee-drinking, smoking, intoxication, the use of silk or jewellery, emotional extravagance in daily life or in religious observance, belief in powers above or beyond the state and God may seem unimportant, but they were innovations partly introduced by the material affluence of the ruling class and the monetary and fiscal crises caused by the advent of an inflated economy and the concomitant disruption of the traditional orders of the Ottoman polity, accompanied by the impoverishment of the masses. The confluence of these factors made the problem of innovation (*bid'a*) the central theme of religious controversies. The 'ulamâ' and the *mashâyikh* accused each other of such innovations while the state, perhaps the real culprit, took the occasion to tighten its grip upon both.

However, no basic change in the traditional outlook of the 'ulamā' and Şūfī orders took place before the challenge of the modern world, although one should not conclude that the 'ulamā' always took a negative attitude toward innovations. Because of their vested interest in the maintenance of the Ottoman system, their attitude to change was dictated by their principle of *maşlahā*, political expediency. Only in a few cases did the 'ulamā' openly oppose government policies and attempts at reform. In periods of tension the 'ulamā' turned against the Şūfīs rather than against the state, and under their attacks, the *ḫarīkas* became more docile. This was an important stage on the road towards their later decline and discredit. The 'ulamā' as a whole stood firmly on the side of the state, although with a relative degree of elasticity, but they survived the first phase of the crisis only with a tangible loss of religious vitality and initiative. Both of these religious institutions were thus in decline, long before 1800. Already in the middle of the 11th/17th century Koçi Beg [q.v.], in his *Risāla*, had described the corruption of the corps of 'ulamā', and later Hādīdī K̄halifa (Kātib Çelebi [q.v.]) in his *Mizān al-ḫaḳḳ fi iḫtiyār al-aḫaḳḳ* (English translation by G. L. Lewis, *The balance of truth*, London 1957) ridiculed the nonsensical controversies raging between the 'ulamā' and the *shaykḥs* and deplored the depth of ignorance in rational and religious sciences in the *madrasas*. While the 'ulamā' had become thoroughly worldly, the *ḫarīkas* tended to become more removed from reality.

The reign of Selīm III (1789-1807), as the first period of serious attempt at comprehensive reforms, found the 'ulamā' more active in worldly affairs than interested in religious reform. Among the reform projects submitted to this ruler the best one was prepared by 'Abd Allāh Molla, a high ranking member of the 'ulamā'. None of his recommendations for the reforming of the religious institution, however, had any effect upon the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the head of the 'ulamā', nor upon his colleagues, and produced nothing tangible which could be called modernism in religion. The *ḫarīkas* fell into further disrepute and, at least one of them, the Bektāshīyya, received a deadly blow from the 'ulamā'-supported destruction of the Janissaries under Mahmūd II in 1826, because of the alleged association between the two. Since then, the *ḫarīkas* have never recovered, with the exception of two intervals, the first during the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) and the second from the 1940s on.

The earliest sign of a fundamental change in the position of the religious institution only appeared when some of the provisions of the *Tanzimat* charter were implemented. At first, the 'ulamā' managed to ignore the implications of the *Tanzimat* reforms for religious modernism. While the *Tanzimat* proved to be a new step in further involving the religious institution in politics, at the same time it marked the first split between religion and state. For example, while the *Shaykh al-Islām*, as the head of the religious institution, was given a permanent and prominent position in the cabinet, half of the judiciary was reserved for the new Ministry of Justice, the regulation of all pious foundations was assigned to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of *Awḫāf*, and all newly formed schools were put under the Ministry of Education [see **BAŞ-İ MASHḲHAT**].

Despite this trend of laicization of the institutions which were traditionally under the control of the religious institution, the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the 'ulamā'

and the *madrasas* continued to play conspicuous roles in worldly affairs. That these activities varied from combating the laicized institutions, or sabotaging the codification of the *Međjelle*, to backing the state against the interference of the European Powers aimed at further secularizing reforms and participating in secret conspiracies for the deposition of rulers, is an indication of the fact that the 'ulamā' had lost their internal unity, and their association with the state had become tenuous.

During the *Tanzimat*, as well as the constitutional movement of the young Ottomans, the 'ulamā' produced no prominent religious thinker. The only outstanding figure who came from the 'ulamā' class was Aḫmad D̄jewdet Paşa (1822-1895 [q.v.]), but he became prominent only after he left the religious institution and became a secular statesman. D̄jewdet was perhaps the greatest reformer of the period, but as a legal reformer and not as a religious thinker. He succeeded in curbing the tendency of the *Tanzimat* statesmen toward a wholesale adoption of new codes from France on the one hand, and, on the other, recognized the inability of the 'ulamā', as the spokesmen of the *shari'a*, to fulfil the requirements of a modern legal system. The *Međjelle* [q.v.] (1870-77) and the *Kānūn-u-Erāđi* (1858) were the major products of his attempts at the modernization and codification of Islamic law. His enlightened modernism, however, did not extend to constitutionalism. While he received the acclaim of the Young Ottomans as a modernist on matters of *fiḳḥ*, he sided with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II against the constitutionalists, although it was the very same ruler who interrupted D̄jewdet's work in codification under pressure of the famous reactionary *Shaykh al-Islām*, Hasan Fehmī [q.v.].

The reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [q.v.]) was a period of total eclipse for any type of religious reform. It became instead a period of resurgence for the *ḫarīkas*, particularly for those which had no historic position in the Ottoman empire but were imported, mostly from North Africa, and which 'Abd al-Ḥamīd seems to have encouraged in order to renew Ottoman influence in Arab countries. These *ḫarīkas* became centres of obscurantism, and the attempt to use them for political purposes sealed the fate of these once vigorous foci of popular religiosity. It is to be noted that during the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, who espoused pan-Islamism, no trace of the modernist ideas of men like Muḫammad 'Abduḥ [q.v.] is discernible, although there was an abundance of the literature of the "Refutation of the Materialists" type inspired by D̄jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q.v.].

Some influence of Muḫammad Abuh's modernism was found, on the other hand, in pre-1908 writings of the secular intelligentsia who were at war with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Dr. 'Abd Allāh D̄jewdet, who is regarded as one of the most extreme atheists among the Young Turks, was the first to give space to Muḫammad 'Abduḥ's ideas in his review *Id̄tishād*, published in exile. After the restoration of the constitutional regime in 1908, the first modernist review, *Sirat-ı Mustakim* (later *Sebil ul-Reşad*), appeared as the organ of the younger 'ulamā', who no longer constituted a clerical order in the Old Ottoman sense. The leading figures of this modernist review, however, were handicapped by the complications created by the impending clash between the Pan-Ottomanism of the Young Turks and the Islamic-Arab nationalism of the Egyptian modernists. The review appeared to be more in the footsteps of Rashīd Riđā than Muḫammad 'Abduḥ. In reality, very little space was given to 'Abduḥ in *Sirat-ı Mustakim*; only two arti-

cles were published about him, both being translations. What was believed to be modernism in Arab countries thus appeared in Turkey to be a religious reaction against the Ottoman caliphate. The secular Westernists also denounced these modernists as reactionaries. A controversy between the two poets of the two camps, Tewfik Fikret and Mehmet 'Âkif [Ersoy], has remained ever since as the model of the conflicting views of the secularists and the modernists.

While the modernists of the *Sirat-ı Mustakim* steadily turned conservative in *Sebil ul-Reşad* as they were challenged by Westernists and nationalists, the cause of religious modernism was taken up more strongly by the secularist intelligentsia. 'Abh Allâh Djewdet [see DJEWDET] and Kılıçzâde Hakkî, both writing in *İdârihâd*, launched attacks against the traditional 'ulamâ' as well as the modernists. The most prominent and influential figure, however, appeared from among the ranks of the Turkist nationalists. This was Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924 [see GÖKALP]). Unlike his contemporary Mûsâ Djar Allâh or Bigief (1875-1949), the theologian and reformer of the Turkish Muslims of the Russian Empire, Gökalp was neither a theologian nor a religious thinker. As a romantic populist and nationalist sociologist he developed a three-principled ideology, in which Islam was significant only within the limitations of westernizing modernism and of the cultural revival of the Turkish nationality. In the scattered writings of Gökalp (ed. and trans. by N. Berkes) we find his views on Islamic modernism inseparable from his ideas of the secular state and national culture.

The religious modernism of Gökalp paved the way for the more radical secularism of the Kemalist era (1923-1938). Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) was even more remote from the tradition of the "Islamic sciences", the 'ulamâ', the *madrasas* and the *tarikâs*, which he always associated with backwardness, ignorance, superstition and conspiracy, and he saw no place for them in the increasingly laicized political and social institutions. The most spectacular of his revolutionary changes were the abolition of sultanate, caliphate, and Islamic law. The 'ulamâ' organization, the *madrasas*, and *zâwiyas* of the *tarikâs* were closed and their properties transferred to the *wakf* administration, which had already become a department of government.

It would be misleading to regard the Kemalist reforms as a total eradication of Islam in Turkey. What was really eradicated was Islam in its entanglements with the Ottoman pattern of state and religion. To the extent to which Islam had been institutionalized within this historic polity, within which it had always suffered from formalism and sterility, it inevitably suffered from the disestablishment of that polity. Islam was now made dependent upon the voluntary adherence of the believer; the places of worship were kept open and their administration put under a department of religious affairs financed by the state, but deprived of any prerogative of theological or dogmatic authority. While the recognized religions (Islam, Christianity, and Judaism) were taken under the protection of the law, any political formation in association with any of these religions was banned, and the establishment of any new sect or *tarikâ* was prohibited. The decline, stagnation, and corruption of the old religious institutions, which were nothing but aspects of the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire, made the Kemalist reforms easier and more acceptable than we are some times led to believe.

It was only after the cooling of the national fervour (which had greatly facilitated the implementation and

acceptance of the Kemalist religious reforms) after World War II that a new interest in Islam re-appeared. Here again we see no sign of *ışlâh* in the sense of modernism, as was always the case in the Turkish tradition. Four lines of development may be distinguished. (1) Scholarly interest in Islam. Works of a historical nature, editions or translations of texts, and some sociological studies. (2) A growing interest of the rising bourgeoisie in religion, mainly expressed in raising funds for repairing old religious buildings or for the construction of new mosques, and in various manifestations of religiosity such as the observance of religious holidays, recitals of the Qur'an or *Mawlid* poetry, alms-giving, pilgrimage, and fasting (3). The rise of new illegal *tarikâs*, mostly of non-traditional types, as sectarian protest groups, favoured on the whole by artisans, small shopkeepers and traders. (4) Anti-secular ideological tendencies clamouring for the restoration of the *shari'a* and even of an Islamic state. This decidedly anti-Kemalist trend is mostly favoured by dissatisfied groups of Westernized intelligentsia and a faction of the nationalist youth. The fact that all of these were given a free hand, partly because of the rise of the multi-party system in opposition to single party rule, and partly because of the relative consolidation of democratic freedoms, has led those who took them as signs of a religious modernism and those who believed that they are the signs of a reactionary return to the past to attach an exaggerated importance to them as representing a stage going beyond the Kemalist conception of religious reform. That all appear to have class, occupation, region, and party motivations and alignments indicates that the Kemalist reforms succeeded in changing the Ottoman polity into one in which religion can become a point of political conflict as it is in all modern democracies.

*Bibliography:* Z. Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*, ed. and tr. N. Berkes, 1959; G. Jäschke, *Nationalismus und Religion im türkischen Befreiungskriege, in WI*, xviii (1936), 54-69; idem, *Zur Krisis des Islams in der Türkei*, in *Beiträge zur Arabistik. Semiotik und Islamwissenschaft*, (1944), 514-30; *Der Islam in der neuen Türkei*, in *WI*, n.s., i (1951); J. K. Birge, *Bektashi order of dervishes*, 1937; S. Yalpkaya, *Tanzimatın Evvel ve Sonra Medreseler*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 463-7; H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern trends in Islam*, London 1945; idem and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i (2), London 1957; Ebul'ulâ Mardinî, *Ahmet Cevdet Paşa*, Istanbul 1946; U. Heyd, *The Ottoman 'ulemâ and westernization in the time of Selim III and Mahmud II*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix (1961), 63-96; idem, *Islam in modern Turkey*, *R. C. As. J.*, (1947), 299-308; idem, *Foundations of Turkish nationalism*, 1950; E. Erisirgil, *Bir Fikir Adamının Romansı, Ziya Gökalp*, Istanbul 1951; idem, *Mehmet Âkif: İslâm'ın bir şairin romansı*, Ankara 1956; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Interaction of Islamic and Western thought in Turkey*, in *Near Eastern Culture and Society*, ed. T. Cuyler Young, 1951; B. Lewis, *Islamic revival in Turkey*, in *International Affairs*, xxviii (1952), 38-48; idem, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1968; L. V. Thomas, *Recent developments in Turkish Islam*, in *MEJ*, vi (1952), 22-40; E. Marmorstein, *Religious opposition to nationalism in the Middle East*, in *International Affairs*, xxviii (1952), 344-59; H. J. Kissling, *The social and educational role of the dervish orders in the Ottoman Empire*, in *Studies in Islamic cultural history*, ed. G. E. von Grune-

baum, 1954; H. Reed, *Revival of Islam in secular Turkey*, in *MEJ*, vi (1954), 267-82; A. D. Rustow, *Politics and Islam in Turkey*, in *Islam and the West*, ed. R. Frye, 1957; W. C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton 1957; T. Z. Tunaya, *İslâmcılık Cereyanı*, Istanbul 1962; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmîye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire*, 1966; Ş. Mardin, *Din ve İdeoloji*, Ankara 1969; N. Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964. (N. BERKES)

#### IV.—INDIA-PAKISTAN

Indian Muslims were among the first Muslim peoples to come in contact with Western civilization; but it was only after the establishment of the rule of the British East India Company in the wake of the Battle of Plassey (1757) that the direct impact of western institutions came to effect their lives and minds. The reform of the civil and criminal, but not the personal branches of the *shari'ah* law into the form of Anglo-Muhammedan law, which developed in the last decades of the 18th century [see *SHARI'AH*], was the first major injection of reformism affecting the legal and social life of the Indian Muslims. But in the formulation and development of this reformism they played no part.

The direct impact of Europe was felt by some Indo-Muslim travellers during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These included I'tişâm al-Dîn, Yûsuf Khân Kammalpûsh, and Mirzâ Abû Fâlib Khân. Of these the last [q.v.] was by far the most receptive and analytical. The influence, if any, of these travellers on the formation of opinion among the Indo-Muslim elite was insignificant.

The apologetic formulation of modernism is traced usually to Sayyid Ahmad Khân [q.v.], whose writings are, no doubt, the foundation of its subsequent development; but the actual pattern of this apologetic was formulated a decade or so earlier by Karamat 'Alî Djawupûri (d. 1873) in his *Ma'âkhiḍh al-'ulamâ* (Eng. tr. 'Ubaydî and Amîr 'Alî, Calcutta 1967). He presents the later quite familiar apologetic thesis that modern scientific discoveries not merely coincide with, but have actually resulted from the inspiration of the Qur'ân, transmitted to Europe through Spain; and that in absorbing the discoveries of modern Western sciences, Muslims would really be reverting to the truth implicit in their own religion.

The towering figure of Sayyid Ahmad Khân dominates the entire edifice of Indo-Muslim modernism. He equates the implied and interpreted truth of Qur'anic revelation with his understanding of two 19th-century criteria of judgement, "reason" and "nature". Revelation is the word of God, and "nature" the work of God; between the two there can be no contradiction. Of the four traditional sources of Islamic law, he rejects *idjma'* (consensus) [q.v.]; substitutes *hiyâs* (analogy [q.v.]) by *idjtiḥād* (use of individual reasoning) [q.v.], which he considers to be the right of every educated and intelligent Muslim; doubts the authenticity, and therefore the validity, of much of the corpus of *ḥadīth* [q.v.]; and concentrates almost exclusively on a re-interpretation of the Qur'ân. In his Qur'anic exegesis he denies the validity of *naskḥ* (abrogation) [q.v.], considering it relevant only to the historical sequence of Jewish, Christian and Muslim scriptures, the later scriptures abrogating the earlier ones. His eschatology, angelology and demonology is non-material and based on rationalizations. In his interpretation of the social structure of Islam he argues against the permissibility

of either slavery or polygamy. On the other hand, he justifies interest on capital and property, equating the forbidden *ribâ* (usury) with compound interest.

Sayyid Ahmad Khân's work was supplemented by that of his associates, of whom Cîrâgh 'Alî, who wrote extensively of the possibilities of reform in a modern Muslim state and on *djihad* [q.v.], was more radical. Mahdî 'Alî Khân Muḥsin al-Mulk, who was also Sayyid Ahmad Khân's successor in implementing his educational and political policies, was comparatively more moderate in his religious views. The apologetics of Sayyid Ahmad Khân and his colleagues were only partly accepted by the Indo-Muslim upper middle class élite; they were rejected in various details, but on the whole broadened the horizon and liberalized the concept of religious faith. They were totally repudiated by the '*ulamâ*'.

Amîr 'Alî [q.v.], who wrote exclusively in English, with a mixed Muslim and western readership in mind, did not belong to Sayyid Ahmad Khân's Aligarh movement, but was very considerably influenced by it, and propagated its apologetic and reformist formulations.

Whereas Sayyid Ahmad Khân was opposed to revivalism as backward-looking, it became a recurrent theme in the drama of modernization with the *Musaddas* and other poems of his associate Hâli [q.v.]; this element reached its zenith in the pan-Islamic verse of Iḳbâl [q.v.].

Muḥammad Iḳbâl (1875?-1938) is the most outstanding figure of 20th-century Indo-Muslim modernism; but compared to Sayyid Ahmad Khân his modernist orientation and analysis is more subtle, vague, less easy to grasp in its totality and at times even contradictory. His appeal is primarily poetic, to some extent intellectual, but not effectively theological.

The set of values which Iḳbâl more or less arbitrarily selects as necessary for the development of the individual self and the community are not directly derived from the Qur'ân, but traced to it apologetically. These values are movement, power and freedom, which form the recurring leitmotifs of his poetic work and of much of his sustained writing. In his religious thought intuition is a basic concept and defined as a higher form of intellect; at certain stages it is equated with prophethood; and it plays an important role in Iḳbâl's Bergsonian view of evolution, which is basically moral despite its reliance on the value of power. In law Iḳbâl also places a great deal of emphasis on *idjtiḥād*; but unlike Sayyid Ahmad Khân he accepts the validity and broadens the concept of *idjma'* equating it with democracy or a parliamentary system of government; at the same time making some concessions to the view that the '*ulamâ*' have also a role to play in any movement aimed at reformism in order to balance it—a view which to a great extent has influenced the pattern of constitution-making in Pakistan. For Indian Islam he proposes a role of conservatism which may counter-balance the secularism adopted by Turkey.

His contemporary Abu'l-Kalâm Āzād (1888-1958) is not exactly a modernist; but he liberalizes and humanizes Islamic belief, in his exegesis of the Qur'ân, by stressing the attributes of God as the Nourisher, the Provider, the Merciful One and the Beautiful One. Whereas Iḳbâl had placed man at the centre of the universe as God's viceregent with limitless potentialities, Āzād again restores God to the supremely authoritative position in the scheme of the universe, and leaves man little choice but to admire, obey, worship and follow Him.

Both Iḳbâl and Āzād influenced the thought of

Ghulām Aḥmad Parwīz (Parwez) whose modernism is, on the whole, this-worldly and pragmatic, but based on an untenable extravagant and far-fetched interpretation of the ḡurʿānic terminology. Because of his exegetical extravagance his influence on the modernist élite has been minimal.

These landmarks of the intellectual history of modern Islam in India had some effect on the social modernization of the Muslim upper classes up to 1947. Only after that date did the great debate between westernization and orthodoxy begin in Pakistan, and it still continues. In terms of social reform the one precarious gain so far made by modernism in Pakistan has been confined to the revision of Muslim family law, which has made polygamy a little more difficult and divorce a little less easy. The élite which created Pakistan and which has been ruling it subsequently is, on the whole, modernist and westernized in social outlook as well as in the processes of administrative decision-making; but in politics and in constitution-making modernism is heavily under the pressure of orthodoxy, especially of the fundamentalist movement of Abu 'l-A'ḡā Mawḡūdī.

*Bibliography:* For Abū Talib Khān, Storey i/2, 878-9; Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Khuḡbāt-i Aḥmadiyya*, Agra 1870; idem, *Tafsīr al-Kurʿān*, Lahore 1880-1895; idem, *Izālat al-ghayn ʿan Dhul-Karnayn*, Agra 1890; idem, *Tarḡīm fī ḡiḡḡa Aḡḡāb al-Kaḡf wa 'l-Raḡīm*, Agra 1890; idem, *Lekhārs* (Lectures), Sadhora 1892; idem, *al-Tahrīr fī uḡūl al-tafsīr*, Agra 1892; idem, *Ibtāl-i ḡhulāmī*, Agra 1893; idem, *Taḡānīf-i Aḥmadiyya*, Agra 1903; idem, *Maḡālāt* (collected works), Lahore 1962; idem, (ed.), *Tahḡḡīb al-aḡḡlāḡ* (collected reprint), Lahore n.d.; Ćirāḡḡ 'Alī, *Rasā'il*, Hyderabad 1918-1919; idem (Cheragh Ali), *The proposed political, legal and social reforms in the Ottoman Empire and other Mohammedan states*, Bombay 1883; idem; *A critical exposition of popular jihad*, Calcutta 1885; Amīr 'Alī (Ameer Ali), *The ethics of Islam*, Calcutta 1893; idem, *The spirit of Islam*, London 1922; Alḡāf ḡusayn ḡāli, *Musaddas Maadd-u ḡiazr-i Islām*, Delhi 1879; Muḡammad Iḡbāl (see bibliography s.v. IḡBĀL); Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, *Tarḡjumān al-Kurʿān*, Lahore 1961; idem, *Baḡiyāt-i Tarḡjumān al-Kurʿān*, Lahore 1961; idem, *Urūḡī-u zawāl ḡā Kurʿānī dastūr*, Lahore 1964; Ghulām Aḥmad Parwīz (Parwez), *Mi'radj-i insāniyat*, Karachi 1949; idem, *Islāmī Nizām*, Karachi 1942; idem, *Salīm ḡē nām*, Karachi 1953; idem, *Nizām-i Rubūbiyyat*, Karachi 1954; idem, *Taḡdīr-i umam*, Karachi 1957; idem, *Lughāt al-Kurʿān*, Lahore 1960-61; idem, *Islam: a challenge to religion*, Lahore 1968; idem. A. A. A. Fyzee, *A modern approach to Islam*, Bombay 1963.

Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London 1964; Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1964*, London 1967; Freeland Abbott, *Islam in Pakistan*, Ithaca 1968; Aziz Ahmad and G. E. von Grunebaum, *Muslim self-statement in India and Pakistan, 1857-1968*, Wiesbaden 1970; L. Binder, *Religion and politics in Pakistan*, Berkeley 1961; S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the birth of Pakistan*, Lahore 1965; J. M. S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran interpretation, 1880-1960*, Leiden 1961; idem, *The reforms and religious ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Leiden 1949; Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Religious thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Lahore 1957; ḡḡḡḡ ḡusayn Razzāḡī, *Sir Sayyid awr Iḡlāḡ-i mu'āshara*, Lahore 1963; ḡāli, *ḡayāt-i Dīawīd*, Kanpur 1901; K. K. Aziz, *Ameer Ali:*

*his life and work*, Lahore 1968; S. M. Ikram, *Mawḡī-i Kawḡḡar*, Lahore 1958; J. N. Farḡuḡar, *Modern religious movements in India*, London 1924. (AZIZ AHMAD)

#### V.—CENTRAL ASIA [see Supplement]

**IŞLĀM**, submission, total surrender (to God) — *maḡdar* of the IVth form of the root *S L M*.

#### I. DEFINITION AND THEORIES OF MEANING.

1.—Ḳurʿānic references.—The “one who submits to God” is the *Muslim*, of which the plural *Muslimūn* occurs very often throughout the sūras. *Islām*, on the other hand, occurs only eight times there; but the word must be considered in conjunction with the fairly common use of the verb *aslama* in the two meanings which merge into one another, “surrender to God” (an inner action) and “profession of *Islām*”, that is to say adherence to the message of the Prophet. The eight occurrences of *Islām* are as follows:—

a). Three verses stress its quality of interiority: “Whosoever God desires to guide, He expands his breast to Islam” (VI, 125); *Islām* is a “call” from God, which must prohibit falsehood (LXI, 7) and which places whoever receives it “in a light from his Lord” (XXXIX, 22).

b). Three other texts, constantly quoted through the centuries, stress the connection between *islām* and *dīn* [q.v.]. It is certainly appropriate in this context to translate *dīn* as “religion”, though without forgetting the idea of debt owed to God which it connotes. “Today, I have perfected your religion (*dīn*) for you; I have completed My blessing upon you; I have approved *islām* for your religion” (V, 3), and “the religion, in the eyes of God, is *islām*” (II, 19). The surrender of the whole Self to God can alone render to Him the worship which is His due; whosoever should seek for another religion, his search would not be approved (cf. III, 85).

c). The action which operates *islām* supposes a “return” to God, *taḡba*, a conversion. The Ḳurʿān speaks of “conversion to *islām*”—to condemn the unbelief (*kuḡr*) of those who had nevertheless made a profession of faith (IX, 74). Similarly it condemns the complacency of the Bedouins who boast of their *islām* “as if it were a favour on their part” (XLIX, 17). In addition: “Say: ‘Do not count your *islām* as a favour to me; nay, but rather God confers a favour upon you, in that He has guided you to belief, if it be that you are truthful’ (*ibīd.*). A little earlier, the very important verse XLIX, 14 had made a clear distinction between *islām* and *īmān*: “The Bedouins say: ‘we believe’. Say: you do not believe; rather say, ‘We surrender’ (*aslamnā*). Faith has not yet entered into your heart”.

It would therefore be an exaggeration to state, with A. J. Wensinck (*The Muslim Creed*), Cambridge 1922, 22), that “in the Ḳurʿān the terms *islām* and *īmān* are synonymous”. It is true that to recognize oneself as a Muslim and to be a believer are two existential realities which together take possession of a man’s whole being to ensure his salvation (*ibīd.*). But the Ḳurʿān (XLIX, 14 and 17, and still more IX, 74) evokes an explicit profession of *islām* which is in no way a guarantee against the sin of *kuḡr*, and has no saving value unless it is the expression of faith. On comparing these verses with III, 19 and V, 3 (insistence on the idea of *dīn*), we see that the ḡurʿānic statements themselves urge men to make *islām* not merely a (general) act of submission and surrender to God, and not merely obedience to God’s commandments, but also an affirmation which grants

admission to the *ummat al-nabī*, the "people of the Prophet", whatever their inner dispositions. These diverse connotations were to recur throughout the ages, as a result of the self-awareness brought about by the *umma*.

2. — Some *ḥadīths*. — In the collections of *ḥadīths* the emphasis, in defining *islām*, will be placed upon submission to God, expressed by deeds: above all, the prescribed acts of worship, including adoration of the One God, but also the *ḥayrāt*, "good works". Thus, by way of example: in al-Bukhārī, ii, 37 (*ḥadīth* of Gabriel), after defining *imān* by its content ("to believe in God, in His angels, in the future life, in the prophets, in the resurrection"), the Prophet, in reply to the question "What is *islām*?", replies: "*islām* is to adore God without associating anything with Him, to observe the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), to pay *zakaat*, to fast during the month of *Ramaḍān*" (similar text in Muslim). But it is also "to give food (to the hungry) and to give the greeting of peace (*salām*) to those one knows, just as to those one does not know" (al-Bukhārī, ii, 5). And the best *islām* will be that of the *Muslim* of whom one has to "fear neither the hand nor the tongue" (*ibid.*, 4).

The *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (iii, 134; cf. A. J. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 23) states: "*islām* is external, faith belongs to the heart". The act of "surrender to God" is therefore expressed by holding fast to the ritual observances and social behaviour prescribed by the religious Law. God alone judges men's hearts, and hence the reality of faith; the judgement of men may concern itself with *islām*. The "science of *fiqh*" has been called *maḥām al-islām* by the Ṣūfis.

3. — The relations between *islām* and *imān*. — The essential question of a theological order, which was discussed at a very early time and upon which the schools of *fiqh* and *kalām* were divided, was that of the distinction or non-distinction between *islām* and faith, and of their connection. The answers will depend upon the view taken of each of these concepts. We shall not go again into the question of the various definitions of *imān* [*q.v.*]. Here, very briefly, are the principal positions adopted.

a). The Mu'tazilī schools, who identify faith and prescribed works, similarly identify faith with *islām*: it being clearly understood that the right intention, the *niyya*, is necessary for the validity of the deed — "actions are valid only through the intentions," says the *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, ii, 41). Whoever commits a grave transgression of the prescriptions of the Law loses the status of *mu'min* and *Muslim*, and reverts to the status of *kufir* according to the *Khārijīs*, to an "intermediate status" (between faith and unbelief) according to the Mu'tazilīs.

b). Many Ḥanafīs (Ḥanafī-Māturīdīs) similarly consider *islām* and *imān* to be synonymous, but define each of them essentially as verbal confession (*ikrār*), sometimes linking this with intimate adherence, or at other times, following the Murjī'īs, with knowledge of the heart, or both of these. The Ḥanafī-Māturīdī texts of the *Fiqh Akbar I* (doubtless 2nd/8th century) and of the *Waṣīyyat Abi Ḥanīfa* (3rd/9th century) ignore the question. Towards the end of the 4th/10th century, however, the *Fiqh Akbar II* was to draw an at least nominal distinction. It was to state (a. 18) that current language distinguishes between *imān* and *islām*, and that *islām* is defined as "total surrender (*taslīm*) and total obedience (*inkīyād*) to the divine commandments". The text adds: "there is no faith whatever without *islām*, and *islām* could not exist without faith; the one and the other are like the outside and the inside ["back and belly"], in

the literal translation of A. J. Wensinck]; and religion (*dīn*) is a name which covers both of them, and all the commandments of the Law". Here then *imān* is as it were the inner, hidden reality of *islām*, from which it could not be separated.

c). In its definition of faith, the Ḥanbalī line insists upon affirmation by the tongue (*ḥawl*) and by deeds (*a'māl*), either with or without the addition, according to the texts, of adherence of the heart (*taṣdīk*). So much so that al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941) was to say, according to the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*: "We cannot testify to the reality of the faith in a man so long as he does not carry out the totality of the laws of *islām*" (quoted by H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 82, n. 1). *Islām* in the sense of observance becomes the guarantee of faith. The Ḥanbalīs however were to remain faithful to the text of the *Musnad* cited above, and to the *Aḥḍā VI* of Ibn Ḥanbal, who affirms the distinction between *islām* and *imān*. Accordingly, in the 4th/10th century, Ibn Baṭṭa returns to the Qur'ān, XLIX, 14 and affirms: "The term *islām* does not have the same meaning as the term *imān*. *Islām* is a word which denotes the community of religion (*milla*), and *imān* is a word which expresses an adherence of faith (*taṣdīk*)" (from the translation of H. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 50/82). The choice of *milla*, and not *dīn*, in this text is characteristic: *islām* is "religion", no longer solely in the sense of a debt due to God, but in the sense of a "religious community" attached and connected to a prophet (cf. below). Thus, in the 4th/10th century, we find the use of *islām* to denote the Muslim religion as an organized and differentiated religion. A century later, Ibn 'Aqīl in the same way was to make *islām* obedience to the commandments of God. But he who commits a great transgression "does not lose his status of *mu'min* to become merely *Muslim*, for *islām* forms part of *imān*" (G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Damascus 1963, 527).

d). The Aṣḥ'arīs and the Shāfi'ī jurists also made a distinction between *islām* and *imān*. After defining faith as words and deeds, and then by its content according to the "ḥadīth of Gabriel", al-Aṣḥ'arī, in the *credo* of the *Maḥalāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 322, identifies *islām* with the two constituent parts of the *shahāda*, in other words with the verbal testimony which grants admission to the Community of the Prophet, and concludes: "*islām* is different from *imān*". The *credo* of the *Ibāna* (ed. Cairo 1348, 10), without defining *islām*, states that it is "wider than faith" and specifies "that all *islām* is not faith". If we compare these views with the text of the *Luma'* which above all regards faith as inner adherence (*huwa taṣdīk bi-llāh*; cf. R. J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash'arī*, Beirut 1953, 75/104), we understand that the later Aṣḥ'arīs were able to claim that *islām*, the observance of the prescriptions ordained by the Law, and above all the explicit profession of the *shahāda*, can be "practised" without faith, and that faith (inner *taṣdīk*) can exist without *islām* (here contradicting the Ḥanbalī line, for whom every believer is a Muslim). But *islām* without faith is the way of hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn*), consigned to God's chastisement; faith without *islām* need not be culpable, in the event of some invincible external obstacle; it would become so if the testimony to *islām* was not given through cowardice, weakness or half-heartedness. It would then be a fault not of unbelief (*kufir*) but of grave prevarication (*fisḳ*). — When he summarizes the Shāfi'ī theses (which he contrasts with the identification made by the Ḥanafīs),

al-Djurdjāni says that "islām is the verbal profession of faith without the agreement of the heart, while faith is the agreement of the heart and the tongue" (*Taʿrifāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 23).—This thesis was later to be generally accepted.

Whatever definition of faith might be proposed, it remains true however, for the Ḥanbalis and the Aṣḥʿarīs alike, that *imān* and *islām*, without becoming identical, imply one another. *Islām*, says H. Laoust in summarizing the philosophy of Ibn Taymiyya (*Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de (...) Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 74, n. 3), is the "external and so to speak social application of the Law", and *imān* in the "interiorization of *islām*". (Thus once again, despite the difference of the conceptions involved, we come across "the outside" and "the inside", *ẓāhir* and *baṭn*, of the *Fikḥ Akbar II*).—An outline of the most usual teaching is provided in the 19th century by the Aṣḥʿarī al-Bādjūrī (*Hāshiyā ... ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 28-9), who says: "*Imān* and *islām* are different in their significance but not in truth, that is to say in the subjects (who profess them) ... But it is a question here of faith which assures salvation, and of *islām* also, otherwise there would be no reciprocal connection". The same nuances occur in the 20th century, for example in the *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* of Muḥammad Husayn Haykal (Cairo 1358/1939, 506).—It should be noted finally that only certain Aṣḥʿarīs and Ṣhāfīs applied the term *muʾmin*, but not *Muslim*, to the man who has faith in his heart and who dies without having been able to profess *islām*. In general, it was considered preferable to call him *Muslim*, not before men but in the eyes of God.

4. — The "world of *islām*".—In this way, therefore, *islām* is "to give oneself unconditionally to God" (G. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 324); so much so that, as the Ḥanbalīs were to take pleasure in saying, "the religion of all the prophets is *islām*". Abraham, Moses and Jesus are true *muslimūn*. But it is the "seal of the prophecy", manifested in the Qurʾān, which was to "perfect the religion". According to the first part of a much quoted *ḥadīth*, "the best of all things is *islām*"; the foundation of *islām* is the ritual prayer" and, with the *ṣalāt*, all the other obligations (*ʿibādāt*) prescribed by the Law. Now, it is the observance of the Law, its "external and so to speak social application" (H. Laoust), which is the binding force of the Community of the Prophet. And so wherever the Qurʾānic prescriptions are observed communally, there *islām* will be; such will be "the lands of *islām* (*bilād al-islām*)", "the world, the house, of *islām*" (*dār al-islām*).

Such expressions are traditional. It was in this way that, at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, al-Māwardī examined the various categories into which the *bilād al-islām* are divided (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, beginning of chap. xiv, ed. Cairo. n.d., 151 ff.). The implication remains that *islām*, practised in this way, is the testimony, rendered socially, to faith in the One God and to free adherence to the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. The Ḥanafī Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1256) in his *Mirʾāt al-zamān* mentioned the "purchased" conversions of Jews and Christians, which the Aṣḥʿarīs sought to make in Baghdād in the 5th/11th century, and he repeats the protests of the supporters of the ṣharīf Abū Djaʿfar, a Ḥanbalī: "This is the *islām* of gifts, not the *islām* of conviction" (quoted by G. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 356). Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī was similarly to question the degree of validity of a forced conversion to *islām*.

"There is no compulsion in religion" (Qurʾān, II,

256), and "religion, in the eyes of God, is in truth *islām*" (III, 19). Even in the writings of those who distinguish most sharply between *imān* and *islām*, at no time will this reference to inner conviction be found absent. But the point of first importance, for the jurist who is studying and formulating the statutes and laws of the *bilād al-islām*, is not so much the degree of individual interiorization of the *muḥābal* of reciprocal relationship *islām-imān*, as the communal observance of those prescriptions which make *islām*, those *ṣhaʿāʾir al-islām* "the blazon of Islam" (L. Massignon), which are symbolized by the banners of the *imāms*, the guides of the Community.

This is so true that a synonym of *dār al-islām* was to be *dār al-ʿadl* "the world of justice", in which "the rights of God and of men", ordained by the Qurʾān are observed and protected. On the other hand there was to be the *dār al-kufr* "world of unbelief", which is the *dār al-ḥarb* "world of war". The jurists analyse the circumstances in which it can become "obligatory" to abandon the *dār al-kufr* in order to enter the *dār al-islām* or at least the *dār al-ṣulḥ*, which has concluded a treaty of "reconciliation" with the *dār al-islām*.—Anyone who describes himself as a *Muslim* means to affirm thereby not so much his care for the practice and personal observances (although certainly not neglecting such matters) as for adherence to a Community of those who acknowledge the Qurʾān and Muḥammad. It is here perhaps, far more than in any "sacral" conception of the political organization, that this specific spiritual-temporal fusion of the Muslim City has its root.

5. — From *islām* to Islam.—In European languages, it has become customary to speak of Islam to denote the whole body of Muslim peoples, countries, and states, in their socio-cultural or political as well as in their religious sphere. And it is in a similar sense that modern Arabic often uses *al-islām*. What connection does this very general meaning retain or not retain with the etymological significance of the word, and its evocation of "surrender to God"?

This question, an important one if we wish to avoid misconceptions and misunderstandings, has been discussed recently in a well-documented and apposite manner by Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith in *The Meaning and End of Religion* (New York 1964, chap. iv "The special case of Islam", 75-108). As the author indicates, it is only recently (19th-20th centuries) that Islam has incontestably become the chosen term to signify both a religion and a politico-social area (fortunately replacing "Mohammedanism" "Islamism" and other such terms). Religious and cultural history thereby adopts the very name by which the *bilād al-islām* designate themselves, as with a title of honour. And it is merely since the beginning of the 19th century, probably under the influence of Western ideas, that writers in Arabic have employed it in an equivalent way.

W. Cantwell Smith emphasises, by reference to Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, that this term *islām*, though comparatively rare in the Qurʾān, with the passage of time appears more and more frequently in the titles of works in Arabic. In the classical period (the Western Middle Ages) it was already used more commonly than *imān*, and often in correlation with *niṣṣām*, system, organization; in the 19th century, the relative figures for *imān* and *islām* are 7% and 93% respectively. It is this that Prof. Cantwell Smith calls "reification in Islam". The emphasis thus appears to be placed on Islam as the organization and self-defence of the Community which is its expression, and much less on the inner



personal values which the etymology of the word connotes. It appears however that our present brief examination of the use of *islām* according to Muslim formulations and usage itself may suggest a few remarks here, which do not invalidate, but which limit and qualify the slightly different perspective of Prof. Cantwell Smith.

a). If it is true that *islām* signifies primarily the action and state of the man who surrenders himself totally (to God), nevertheless it would be erroneous to regard it, in this etymological sense, as a kind of synonym for *tawakkul bi-llāh*, the (interiorized) "abandoning" of oneself entirely into the hands of God. As the *Qurʾān* understands the word, *islām* is indeed, as the *Fiqh Akbar II* says, a surrender (*taslīm*) to the divine Will as expressed by the *Qurʾānic* teaching, and an obedience (*inkiyād*) to His commandments; and, by this very means, admission to the Community, "the best to have arisen among men" (*Qurʾān*, III, 110). Quite soon, admission to the Community was to be the aspect preferred. If the requisite inner attitude does not correspond to it, there is some grave individual failing (*fiṣḥ*), there is no abandonment of *islām*.

b). Prof. Cantwell Smith observes that, in the classical age, the diversity of religious beliefs was to express itself by *milal* rather than by *adyān*. But we have already noted that the Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa, in the 4th century, defined *islām* as a *milla*, hence a community, the Community of Muḥammad. The difference between *dīn* and *milla*, al-Djurdjānī said (*Taʾrīfāt*, iii), is that "*dīn* relates to God, and *milla* to the Prophet".

c). The *Qurʾān* however defines *islām* as religion, *dīn* (III, 19; V, 3); but not as a religion, Prof. Cantwell Smith justly notes. The plural of *dīn*, *adyān*, he further notes, does not occur in the *Qurʾān*. But if the religion, *al-dīn*, which renders to God that which is due to Him, is indeed *islām*, it is, through that very fact, *millat al-nabī* and *ummat al-nabī*. For the Muslim, Islam is not one religion among others, it is the religion, and the other religions (*al-adyān*) are such only in so far as they participate in Islam. Each prophet sent from God has his *milla*; but the *dīn* is unique, accomplished by surrender to God and obedience—the very definition of *islām*—already lived by the prophets that preceded it, and expressed accordingly to all its needs by the "seal" of the revelation, the *Qurʾān*.

We do not think that these various connotations are absent from the Muslim works of the contemporary period. To take one example only, we find them in the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh. "The religion of Islam, or Islam", says ʿAbduh, "is the religion brought by Muḥammad" (Cairo 1353, 152). And the whole final section of the *Risāla* constantly speaks in this sense of Islam, its principles, its spirit and its extension in the world (*ibid.*, 152-206, French trans., Paris 1925, 104-40). As soon as the *ummat al-nabī* began to expand in space and time in the face of other religious communities, what Prof. Cantwell Smith calls "reification" was found to be inscribed in the original fundamental data. Historical realities on the one hand, and the progress of the phenomenology of religions on the other, have not ceased to confront Muslim thought with this twofold fact: the existence of non-Muslim religions, established in their faith and their ritual observances, and, moreover, the uncertain faith and the failure to "practise" by certain men who none the less continue to invoke the help of the *umma*. Hence the anxiety to defend Islam as a religion and a community, while nevertheless the old Ḥanbalī and Ashʿarī dis-

tinction between *imān* and *islām* is repeated and emphasized.

But this distinction, however generally admitted it may be, is in no way intended to justify the proclamation of *islām* by one who denies *imān* or who even does not bother to appreciate the true values of faith. Those who are Muslims simply through having heard the call of Islam, or because they were born of Muslim parents, but who do not have faith in their hearts, then, according to what Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal more or less says (*loc. cit.*), their *islām* is feeble and sickly. Only those who seek for a sincere faith (*imān ṣādiq*) hear the call to *Islām* with regard to God alone.

At the present time there are three meanings of the word *islām* says Prof. Cantwell Smith (*op. cit.*, 107): 1) the immediate existential meaning of personal surrender of oneself entirely to God; 2) the empirical reality of the "world of Islam", as it exists sociologically; 3) the ideal Muslim community—"a concrete historical ideal" we would gladly say—as it must tend towards its realization. These three meanings in fact remain closely bound together in Muslim thought, today as in the past, and no study of Islam, no analysis of the Muslim Community or of the world of Islam should separate them.

*Bibliography*: in the article. (L. GARDET)

## ii.—DIFFUSION OF ISLAM

In our present state of knowledge, the diffusion of Islam can only be studied in broad outline. In the first place, with regard to numbers, we often have to be content with approximations; nor should it be forgotten that, with the world population increasing at an accelerated pace, even the most accurate statistics prove to be out of date within a few years. Moreover it sometimes happens that in certain countries Muslims and non-Muslims adopt different sets of figures, particularly when these figures serve as the basis for political claims or considerations of honour. In the second place, such figures do not reflect the qualitative aspect of this diffusion. It is possible for conversions on a massive scale to be produced within the space of a few years (as in the case of the Galla tribes in Ethiopia, to the west of Harar, in about 1930-50). But it must not be forgotten that, for these conversions, the way had sometimes been prepared over a long period, by a whole process of maturing and by favourable circumstances which, in themselves, cannot be statistically expressed.

A. — General Survey. The diffusion of Islam has been the consequence of a certain number of factors which are more or less easily discernable; over and above the particular attraction this religious movement has exerted upon men, the personality of its first leaders and the economic circumstances of Arabia at the time, among other things, there is a further point which requires to be examined—the part played by wars. Even if, in the vast majority of cases, the conquered remained free not to change their religion, the introduction by force of arms of a Muslim régime which took upon itself the administration of their country represented the first stage of a process which was bound to end in their gradual conversion.

The conquest itself was not brought about suddenly. It was often achieved in waves, with ebb and flow, but it was governed by a tide which, save in Europe, proved to be rising ever higher. Thus Damascus, reached as early as 13/634 by reconnaissance units, was attacked and conquered much later; recaptured by the Byzantines, it finally fell into the Arabs' hands

in 636. Similarly Tunisia, where a first raid in 26/647 was followed by a respite of more than twenty years before the final conquest and the founding of *Kayrawān* (50/670). So too Transoxiana to which, after an initial invasion in 52-4/672-4, the Arabs returned at the beginning of the following century; or Chinese Turkestan, reached in 93/713, and to which they returned in 133/751. *Kābūl* in Afghānistān was reached by the end of the 1st/7th century, without being occupied, and two centuries were to pass before the Muslims came back in strength to stay. Muslim warfare had been a war of movement, a war of wide spaces, steppes or deserts.

The first period of expansion extends from the death of Muḥammad to the end of the Umayyad caliphate of Damascus. One century was enough for the Muslims to achieve an extraordinary epic feat. The dynamism of the new community combined with favourable circumstances to allow their success. The weakness of the Persians and the Byzantines after decades of war between them, their exhaustion, which caused them to underestimate the newcomers' strength, the internal conditions within the Roman empire of Byzantium which was then in difficulties, with its territory being engulfed by the barbarian invasions, the resentment of the various peoples ruled by Byzantium, the divisions among the Christians, all these considerations worked in favour of the Muslims. But the new fact, as compared with the multiple barbarian invasions of the time, is that the barbarians were assimilated by the countries they conquered, whereas Islam on the contrary imposed itself upon the old civilizations. The most remarkable point about the diffusion of Islam is not so much the fact of the conquests as that of their permanence. When Islam became the religion of a territory, it never thereafter ceased to be so, except in Europe (and even then under armed pressure), and except in the centre and south of India, where many of the Hindu sultanates were revived after the first Muslim conquests.

In this way, we can trace the conquests of Syria-Palestine (13/634-19/640), Egypt 18/639-22/642), the Maghrib (49/699-85/705), Spain and Narbonne Gaul 92/711-85/705), and, in the east, of 'Irāk (15/636-20/641), Armenia and then Iran (21/642), as far as Transoxiana and Chinese Turkestan. The river Indus was reached in 91-4/710-3, but these advanced positions were afterwards abandoned.

In the direction of Byzantium, which was besieged without success, the Muslim advance was blocked in Asia Minor where a state of flux for long prevailed.

In East Africa, colonies of Muslim merchants are recorded at a very early date at trading depots on the shores of the Indian Ocean.

Under the 'Abbāsids, these conquests were rounded off with the capture of Mediterranean islands such as the Balearics and Sicily. But, most important, Muslim culture was gradually taking shape, increasing the spread of Islam, and the populations, while left free to retain their faith, little by little adhered to the new religion, the religion of the ruling class and of the new society. In Spain, however, Islam was confronted by the Reconquest, which started early and eventually culminated in the fall of Granada in 1492.

Everywhere else, however, expansion continued, sometimes by force of arms, sometimes by peaceful proselytism. Towards the year 1000, the first stage in the conquest of India began: finally the whole Ganges valley was conquered in about 488/1192-606/1209. Various raids during the 8th/14th century

succeeded in bringing almost the whole peninsula under the domination of the Muslims. They were however obliged to withdraw from many regions, especially in the centre and south. Islam came to Indonesia by way of a Muslim centre situated in the north-west of Sumatra, at the end of the 7th/13th century; in the 8th/14th century, Java was governed by Muslim rulers.

In sub-Saharan West Africa, it was shortly after the year 1000 that Islam was established. There is mention of a Muslim prince at the head of the Sonraïs at Gao on the Niger as early as 400/1009-10. Islamic rulers are found at Kanem (north of Lake Chad) in about 473/1081-90/1097. Little by little, Muslim kingdoms appeared (in particular Mali, in the 7th/13th century); but their Islam was still a religion of the court of the warlike or literate aristocracies, which had no contact with the masses. It was later, with the military activities (especially of the Fulanis) and the activities of the brotherhoods that the islamization of the masses was brought about, during the 18th and 19th centuries. Under colonial rule the process of conversion was extended still further.

In East Africa, Islam began to spread from Zayla<sup>c</sup> (a port situated opposite Aden) a centre of islamization even in the 6th/12th century. Climbing up to assail the high Ethiopian plateaux, where they never succeeded in gaining a real foothold, the Muslims established themselves firmly in the less elevated regions to the east and south (especially in Harar).

In the Nile valley, the Christian kingdoms of Nubia held out until the 8th/9th-14th/16th centuries, when they disappeared. The islamization of Nilotic Sudan was followed by that of the minor kingdoms situated between the Nile and Chad. In the 18th century, Islam came to predominance to the south of the Sahara, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, except only in the Ethiopian Highlands.

Along the Gulf of Guinea, the impenetrable equatorial forest—even when not infested with tsetse flies—for a long time halted the shepherds who were the Muslim conquerors of the territory. But with the modern age the situation has changed. With the conversion of a section of the Yorubas (near Lagos) and penetration into other tribes hitherto reputed to be impossible to convert, with the movements of populations characteristic of countries today, this forest no longer forms a boundary, and many Muslims intermingle with the inhabitants of the coastal towns.

The commercial centres on the African coast of the Indian Ocean, which remained isolated in their world of business transactions, gradually became stronger (especially in the 4th/10th century). But it was in the 19th and 20th centuries that they became centres of islamization; the suppression of slavery and the opening of the hinterland had swept away the barriers that confined them to their trading-ports. Consequently there has been a considerable, though recent, advance by Islam in these zones during the last half-century (Kenya, Tanzania and even to the eastern Congo).

In all these conquered lands in Asia or Africa, or in all the sultanates ruled by Muslims, a special world was created, the Muslim world, where life, art and thought were marked by Islam, even though many traces of the past still survived. The simple imposition of a foreign political framework was very quickly followed by the adoption inwardly of Muslim values.

Finally, to conclude this general survey, it should be noted that the attack launched by the Ottoman Turks finally, in 1453, swept away the barrier of

Constantinople. Europe was invaded as far as Vienna which was twice besieged, in 1529 and 1683, though without success. The ebb then followed, particularly in the 19th century and at the start of the 20th.

B. — Present characteristics. If we attempt to trace on a modern map the distribution of Muslims throughout the world, it becomes apparent that Islām is a religion which is almost confined to Asia and Africa. The only exceptions to this rule are some millions of Muslims in Turkey in Europe and in the Balkans, migrant and transient workers in western Europe, and immigrants in North and South America.

In the countries where Christian minorities remain, as well as in pagan countries, Islam is making progress, above all because, in order to be truly integrated into Muslim society, it is necessary to be a Muslim. Since this integration alone permits certain marriages, the proportion of the conversions to Islam undertaken on the occasion of marriages is very high. This integration also facilitates the finding of employment and advancement to higher posts. In certain countries, questions of social castes sometimes enter, since conversions take place particularly in certain strata of the population. But however that may be, in view of the simplicity of the Muslim dogma which places man face to face with God the Creator and Providence, and in view too of the aspect of fraternity which Islam presents to the newcomer (especially when he is received into a brotherhood), man's fundamental religious sense is satisfied. Thus the step to be taken does not deter anyone who is no longer greatly attached to his old religion.

Tolerance for ancient customs has also played a part in many countries, since Islam requires merely a profession of faith for a convert to be able to enter the community. Then, little by little, islamization has been effected in depth. Moreover, Muslim society, which gave the new member the satisfaction of belonging to a vast community covering the entire world, with its own military, cultural, religious and political renown, has always exerted effective control over him. While leaving those who served it very free, from the moment they made their profession of faith, it has always been at pains to protect its members from any possible proselytism and, above all, to prevent them from leaving Islam once they have adopted it. Until recently, the apostate was put to death; even now, proselytism is still strongly disapproved, and the man who deserts Islam cuts himself off from his own people, save in exceptional cases, even though modern jurists no longer authorize the death penalty for apostasy.

Paradoxically, among the features which have favoured the expansion of Islam during these last decades must be included colonial occupation. In many cases the occupying powers relied on Muslim elements possessing a higher degree of civilization than the pagans, in the countries where these still survived. Alternatively, it placed without discrimination under the same legal system inspired by Islam, both Muslims and those who were neither Muslim nor Christian. In the same way, by destroying the tribal framework of African paganism, colonialism created the great numbers of rootless people who have found in Islam a justification for social existence. All the more since Islam has presented itself as a native religion, not as a colonial importation, while the difference in the standard of living, so obvious in the case of Christians newly arrived from Europe, did not arise between Muslims and pagans, who all sprang from the same soil. Peace too has assisted the movement

of preachers or merchants belonging to brotherhoods.

In Black Africa, the *ḡurʿānic* schools have been centres of Muslim expansion, both through the scope they have given for zeal to have effect, and also through the number of future propagators of Islam who have been formed there. The poverty of the material equipment in the great majority of these establishments, like that of the curricula, must not be misinterpreted. Thanks to these, the values which the children there have learnt to respect, above all the sense of dedication and pride in belonging to the Muslim community, have profoundly marked whole regions. The story of David and Goliath is repeated in these schools in the triumph of poor resources. At the present time, incidentally, in many Muslim countries the official school has replaced the *ḡurʿānic* school.

The conditions affecting the expansion of Islam are extremely variable, according to the countries concerned, and we should not make any attempt to systematize them. There are large organizations working through pamphlets (like the *Aḡmadiyya* in Pakistan); there is the sending out of teachers and preachers; there is a whole system of instruction by radio. But the Muslim missionary apparatus is infinitely less cumbersome than that of the Christians. It is the natives of the country concerned who open schools, after having been sometimes (though not always) educated at centres abroad. It is the Muslims themselves, especially the merchants, who bear the chief responsibility for the missions. Finally, the brotherhoods have played a very great part in this movement. But whatever the differences, it is striking to observe wherever Islam is established, the same pride in the community, with as a consequence a certain number of common basic attitudes, affecting the manner of life and thought. This pride and its consequences, by favouring a certain impermeability to foreign influences, have been powerful weapons in resistance to colonialism.

For some thirty years, the Muslim world has been evolving very rapidly. Universities have been founded [see *دِيَالِمِي'أ*]. The instability of the world economy has made itself felt everywhere. Travels and contacts have multiplied. Socialism has changed the face of many societies. But, above all, Islam has adopted modern methods of communication—pamphlets, radio, television, etc. The number of people who listen on their transistors to sermons in *Ramaḡān* is now vast.

C. — Statistical outline. Basing themselves on the figures for world population valid in about 1960, some good authors privately estimated that there might be 435 million Muslims in the world. At the present time, with the increase in population, they now exceed 500 millions.

The figures which follow will indicate a total based upon the statistics for the populations of individual countries (in 1966), as contained in the *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook* (1967). After that, the article will provide details, so far as it is possible to do so, of the proportion of Muslims within the different countries. Figures given without further details signify the number in terms of *thousands*.

1.—AFRICA (perhaps 130 million Muslims out of 318 million inhabitants).

a) *Arabic speaking Africa* (perhaps 70 million Muslims)

— Morocco 13,451 (Muslims only)

— Mauritania 1,070

— Algeria 12,102 (total population)

— Tunisia 4,458 (id.)

— Libya 1,676 (id.)

- E.A.R. (Egypt) 30,083, two million of whom are Christian
- Sudan (Khartoum) 13,940, 70% of whom are Muslim
- b) *Africa south of the Sahara*, excluding the Sudan (perhaps 60 million Muslims)
  - Somalia 2,580, of whom 99% are Muslim
  - Nigeria 58,600 (?), of whom 43% are Muslim
  - Ethiopia 23,000 (?), of whom 40 to 50% are Muslim
  - Senegal 3,490, of whom 75% are Muslim
  - Niger 3,433, of whom 72% are Muslim
  - Mali 4,654, of whom 65% are Muslim
  - Guinea 3,608, of whom 62% are Muslim
  - Chad 3,361, of whom 55% are Muslim
  - Upper Volta 4,955, of whom 26% are Muslim
  - Tanzania 10,717, of whom 23% are Muslim
  - Ghana 7,945, of whom 20% are Muslim
  - Cameroon 5,350, of whom 20% are Muslim
  - Kenya 9,643, of whom 10% are Muslim

Smaller numbers of Muslims are found in the following countries, in which they represent respectively the proportion of the population as indicated: — Sierra Leone 33%, Gambia 73%, Portuguese Guinea 26%, Ivory Coast 25%, Dahomey 15%, Liberia 15%, Mozambique 11%, Malawi 7%, Botswana 5%, Togo 5%. Elsewhere the proportion is still smaller.

N.B. A better knowledge of the countries to the south of the Sahara made it possible, in about 1945, to assert the existence of numerous isolated pagan communities in regions thought to be wholly islamized (certain zones of Chad, North Cameroon, North Nigeria). Since then, a movement has been started among these pagans for conversion to Islam; in north-western Nigeria, this was vigorously supported by the political authorities, in the years preceding the disturbances of 1965.

For Nigeria, the reader will note a very clearly marked break in the rate of growth of population. As, until 1952, this was following a regular increasing curve, the figures given since that date correspond with an acceleration which requires to be explained before it can be accepted.

For Ethiopia, to which Eritrea has since been added, the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 1954, accepts only half the figure officially given (cf. p. 389).

#### 2.—ASIA (perhaps 390 million Muslims out of 1,868 million inhabitants)

a) *Arab countries of Asia* (perhaps 29 million Muslims), the principal centres being:

- Saudi Arabia 6,870
- Yemen 5,000
- Irak 8,338, of whom 95% are Muslim
- Syria 5,450, of whom 88% are Muslim
- Lebanon 2,460, of whom 50% are Muslim
- Jordan 2,040, of whom 92% are Muslim
- b) *Islam in the USSR*, 30 million (?) Muslims
- c) *Islam in the Middle East* (perhaps 72 million Muslims), in
  - Turkey 31,880, of whom 99% are Muslim
  - Iran 25,781, of whom 98% are Muslim
  - Afghanistan 15,960 (almost all Muslim).

d) *Islam in Pakistan, India, Ceylon and Burma* (perhaps 145 million Muslims), the two major groups being

- Pakistan 105,044, of whom 86% are Muslim
- India 498,680, of whom perhaps 11% are Muslim

e) *Islam in China*, 15 million (?) Muslims

f) *Islam in South East Asia* (perhaps 100 million Muslims), chiefly located in

- Indonesia 107,000, of whom 87% are Muslim

— Malaysia and Singapore 10,212, of whom 44% are Muslim

— Philippines 33,477, of whom 5% are Muslim.

#### 3.—EUROPE.

A little less than 5 million Muslims in the Balkans, to whom must be added the Muslim workers in western Europe, so far as they have not been included in the figures for their respective countries of origin.

To conclude this survey, the figure of 525 million Muslims might be suggested for the year 1966, a year during which the total world population has been estimated at 3,356 million inhabitants. The Muslims would represent about one-sixth of all human beings, or slightly less.

*Bibliography:* Since the list of books concerning this subject is too long to be given in full, the reader is referred to the bibliographies relating to the different countries dealt with above. A general survey of the expansion of Islam will be found in some historical atlases, such as the *Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples*, Djambatan-Amsterdam 1957. See also: L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, Paris 1955; U.N.E.S.C.O., *Statistical Yearbook*, 1967 (giving the figures for 1966). Some statistics are published by a number of countries: *Religion in the Middle East*, ii, London 1969; *Bilan du Monde 1960, Encyclopédie du Monde Chrétien*, ed. Casterman, ii, 1964; J. Ducruet and M. Martin, *Statistiques Chrétiennes d'Égypte*, in *Travaux et Jours*, Beirut no. 24 (July-Sept. 1967), 65-75.

(J. JOMIER)

#### ISLĀM, ENCYCLOPAEDIAS OF [see MAWSŪ'Ā].

ISLĀMĀBĀD, the name given by the emperor Awrangzib [q.v.] to several towns in India, for reasons not precisely known. All these towns were already included in the Mughal territories and were not freshly conquered from the Hindus to provide an excuse for their rechristening. Of these Čittāgong [q.v.], now in E. Pakistan, at the head of the Bay of Bengal, is still known occasionally in religious circles as Islāmābād, the official name remaining the original Čittāgong. Mathurā, on the river Yamunā, known for its numerous temples and Hindu shrines, was given the name Islāmābād after a serious insurrection by Gokalā Dīāj, a leading zamindar of the area, had been suppressed by the imperial forces under Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, in 1080/1669-70. The name never became popular and the town continued to be known as Mathurā, although coins of gold, silver and copper were struck there with the mint name of Islāmābād from the time of Awrangzib till the reign of Šāh 'Ālam II (reg. 1173/1759-1221/1806). Amantnāg in the Kashmir valley, situated at 33° 44' N. and 75° 12' E. about a mile from the Nilāb (Jhelum), also received the name Islāmābād and is still known to the Muslims of the area by this name. Known for its shawls, spas and springs, it is not known when this new name was given to Amantnāg or why. The fort of Čākana, near Poona, one of the strongholds of Sīvādīī, the Mahratta chief, was named Islāmābād after it had been taken by Awrangzib's general Šhā'ista Khān in 1073/1662-3, after bitter fighting.

*Bibliography:* Jadunath Sarkar, *A short history of Awrangzib*, Calcutta 1954, 152; *Imperial gazeteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii 371.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ISLĀMĀBĀD, the new capital of Pakistan [q.v.], was set up in 1960 on the recommendation of a special commission, headed by General Yaḥyā Khān, then (1971) president of Pakistan. Situated between 33° 19' and 33° 50' N. and 72° 34' and 72° 23' E.,

some 8 miles from Rawalpindi, the general headquarters of the Pakistan army, the site elected "answers all questions relating to climate, landscape, communication, defence...". Off the road to Murree, a nearby hill station, and spreading over an area of 351 sq. miles, consisting mostly of natural terraces, rising from 1700 to 2000 ft. above sea level, it is divided into 40 sectors, each measuring 800 acres, reserved for residential purposes. The climate is extreme, the temperature reaching 115° F in summer and dropping down to 27° F in winter. Rainfall is plentiful, but the area around is mostly arid and the town depends on supplies of fruit and vegetables from the plains. Construction work, started in 1961 under the Capital Development Authority, a statutory body, still continues and will take many more years to complete. In early 1970, 8,000 houses of various types had been constructed, accommodating more than 60,000 people, mostly government officials and their families. Schools and colleges, markets and shopping centres, hospitals and dispensaries, post and telegraph offices, cinemas, hotels and restaurants, public parks and other civic amenities have been provided. The Islāmābād University, meant for advanced post-graduate studies in science and technology, has started functioning. A grand mosque, designed by a Turkish architect, will be built at the foot of the Margalla hills, the backdrop of Islāmābād, out of the funds provided by Saudi Arabia. The court-yard and the pyramidal sanctuary roofed by tilted flat slabs, supported on double beams, will accommodate 100,000 persons.

The plan of the town is based on the principle of "dynapolis", i.e., allowing for growth in scale and size. Practically all the government offices and ministries, including diplomatic missions, are now housed in Islāmābād. The president of Pakistan, however, still lives in Rawalpindi.

A fast expanding town, the population is expected to reach the half million mark by 1980. Besides the President's House and the National Assembly building, two major landmarks, provision has been made for setting up a national library, archaeological and war museums, national archives etc. Over a million trees have been planted all along the 125 miles of roads and boulevards to give colour to the landscape.

*Bibliography: Pakistan Year Book 1969*, Karachi 1969, 271, 274, 358, 361, 369, 371, 412, 464, 467, 483; *20 Years of Pakistan—1947-67*, Karachi 1968, 534-35. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**ISLĀM GIRĀY**, the name of three *khāns* of the Crimea.

**ISLĀM GIRĀY I** (938/1532) was the son of Mengli Girāy [q.v.]. As the leader of the party wishing to follow an independent policy, he embarked on a struggle with his brother, the *khān* Sa'ādet Girāy, the appointee of the Ottoman sultan, enjoying the support of the Crimean tribal aristocracy, who wished to wage unrelenting war on the Russians. With this following, in 933/1527 he ravaged the region of Ryazan and threatened Moscow. In 938/1532, Sa'ādet Girāy, assisted by the Ottoman governors of Kefe and Azak, brought him to battle but was defeated and fled to Istanbul (May). Islām Girāy did not dare, however, to defy the sultan, and so consented to serve as *kalghay* [q.v.] to the new *khān* sent from Istanbul, Şāhib Girāy. As such, he made overtures of friendship to Moscow. Two months later he rebelled against the *khān* and withdrew into the steppe region of Or-Kapl. Defeated by Şāhib Girāy, he asked for pardon and was allowed to settle at Or-aghzi. Soon afterwards he was killed in a raid by one of the *mirzās*, Bāki Beg.

**ISLĀM GIRĀY II** (992/1584-996/1588). Having lived as a hostage in Istanbul under Süleymān I and Selim II, he fell from favour upon the accession of Murād III and withdrew to Konya, where he devoted himself to Mevlevi mysticism, but after the rebellion of Mehmed Girāy he was appointed *khān*, being escorted to the Crimea by an Ottoman squadron under the Kapudan Paşa. The *mirzās* acknowledged him as *khān*, and Mehmed Girāy, while attempting to take refuge with the Nogāys of the steppe, was taken and executed (Dihū 'l-Ka'da 992/end of 1584). But Mehmed's son Sa'ādet Girāy, with his Nogāy followers, defeated him, and he took refuge, wounded, in Kefe. With Ottoman support he defeated his rival (battle of Andāl, 992/1584) and entered Baghçesarāy. A second uprising having failed, Sa'ādet Girāy finally fled to the Volga region. His brother Murād, however, had gone to Moscow and returned, with Nogāy and Cossack followers, planning to attack the Crimea. The Ottoman sultan warned the czar against intervening and preparations were made for a campaign against Astrakhan, where Murād's force was gathered; but Murād unexpectedly died. Thenceforward Islām Girāy made repeated raids into Russian territory (Krapivna taken, 995/1587). During Islām Girāy's reign Ottoman suzerainty over the Crimea was strengthened, and the practice began of mentioning the sultan's name before the *khān*'s in the *khūḫba*. He died in Şafar 997/December 1588, and was buried by the Ulu Dījami' at Akkermān.

**ISLĀM GIRĀY III** (1054/1644-1064/1654), the eldest son of Selāmet Girāy, was, as a young man, taken prisoner by the Poles during a raid. Released after seven years, he settled at Yanbolu. In 1045/1635 Bahādr Girāy made him *kalghay*; and with this office he helped to preserve the *khānante*'s influence over the Manşūr tribe. When, on the death of Bahādr Girāy, Mehmed Girāy was appointed *khān*, Islām Girāy lost the office of *kalghay*, and was banished, first to Kal'a-i Sulṭāniyye and then to Rhodes. Finally, thanks to the backing of Dīndji Khodja, [see HUSAYN DINDJI], he procured the *khānate* in Rabi' II 1054/June 1644. He applied himself first to restoring control over the Circassians by eliminating Hakşumak, the *beg* of the Zhana. He came into conflict with the *ulugh-aghā* (i.e., vizier) Sefer Ghāzi, who had helped procure his elevation to the *khānate*, and the *mirzās*, who wished to engage in a policy of raids into Russian and Polish territory. In the first trial of strength (Radjab 1055/August 1645) they were defeated, but not crushed; and in 1057/1647 they succeeded in procuring Sefer Aghā's re-appointment as *ulugh-aghā*.

Successful raids made in 1055-6/1645-6 forced the czar to sign a treaty by which he undertook to send the annual "tribute" of *ulugh-khazine* and *böleks* and to put an end to Cossack raids on Azak and other Ottoman territory (text in V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersburg 1864, no. 104). A raid led by the *beg* of the Şhīrin tribe into Russian territory in 1057/1647 was a failure, and there ensued a long period of peace between Russia and the Crimean *Khānate*.

As for Poland, a critical situation arose when the Cossacks of Zaporozh under Boghdan Khmelnitsky rebelled against the King of Poland and sought Crimean protection. In spite of protests from the Ottoman authorities, who wished to maintain the state of peace with Poland, Islām Girāy could not let this opportunity slip: he granted Khmelnitsky the rank of *hetman* and put at his disposal a Crimean force of 4000 men under the Ur-begi Tughay.

These Cossack and Tatar troops won several victories over the Poles in Rabī' II 1058/May 1648, and the mediation of the *khān* enabled the Cossacks to conclude a very favourable treaty with the King of Poland (Treaty of Zborov, 1059/1649). Under pressure from the *khān*, Lupul, the *voivoda* of Boghdān (Moldavia) concluded an alliance with *Khmelnitsky* (1060/1650), and in the following year the Ottoman sultan took him overtly under his protection; but in that year *Khmelnitsky* and a Tatar army commanded in person by the *khān* were defeated by the Poles (there is no justification for attributing the defeat to treachery by the *khān*: *Cambridge History of Poland*, Cambridge 1950, 514). The Cossack-Tatar alliance was maintained until the conclusion of peace between Poland and the *khānate* on 24 Muḥarram 1064/15 December 1653: in 1064/1653 *Khmelnitsky*, while negotiating with the Ottoman sultan (who sent him a horsetail and standard, see Na'īmā, v. 278), was also seeking the protection of the czar.

Islām Girāy died in *Shā'bān* 1064/June 1654.

*Bibliography*: See, for the dynasty in general, the bibliography to the article GIRĀY, and for details the articles *Islām-Giray I, II, III*, in *IA*, fasc. 52, pp. 1104-8. (HALIL İNALCIK)

**ISLAMBOL** [see ISTANBUL].

**ISLAND** [see DJAZIRA].

**ISLY**, a river on the Algero-Moroccan borders, a sub-tributary on the left bank of the Tafna. Of little importance in itself, this river was the scene of several battles, since it constitutes an obstacle on the East-West route between Algeria and Morocco. Battles occurred here between the Marīnids and the 'Abd al-Wādīds in 648/1250 and 670/1271, and above all there was the battle between the French troops under Marshal Bugeaud and the Moroccan troops commanded by Mawlāy Muḥammad, the son of Sultan Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

Bugeaud's army consisted of some ten thousand men, the Moroccan army of about 30,000, more than two-thirds of whom were tribal cavalry. The vital part of the battle was fought during the morning of 14 August 1844 on the right bank of the river. The tactics and discipline of the French troops soon triumphed over the spirited but disorderly attacks of the Moroccan cavalry. The Moroccan camp fell almost entirely into the hands of the French. This victory earned for Bugeaud the title of Duke of Isly.

*Bibliography*: In Arabic: al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, *Isṭiḳṣā*, ed. Cairo, iv, 196-8 (tr. in *AM*, x, 167-471). Eye-witness accounts: Léon Roche, *Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam*, Paris 1885, ii, 396-407; Général du Barail, *Mes souvenirs*, Paris 1894, i, 236-55; Marshal de Castellane, *Campagnes d'Afrique*, Paris 1898, 371-5.

Studies: Ph. de Cossé-Brissac, *Les rapports de la France et du Maroc pendant la conquête de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine*, Paris 1964, i, 198-9.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

**ISM** (أ.), name. In Arabic-Islamic usage the full name of a person is usually made up of the following elements: 1) *kunya*; 2) *ism*; 3) *nasab*; 4) *nisba*. A certain number of persons are also known by a nickname (*laḳab*) or a pejorative sobriquet (*nabaz*) which, when the name is stated in full, comes after the *nisba*. From the end of the 3rd/9th century, the use of an honorific before or after the *kunya* became more and more frequent with persons of some importance.

1) The *kunya* [q.v.], usually a name compound with *Abū* ("father of") or *Umm* ("mother of"): *Abū 'l-Faḍl*, *Umm al-Ḥasan*.

2) The *ism*, also called '*alam*, *ism 'alam*, is the name properly speaking. It can be of several types: a) Ancient Arab names, mostly of pre-Islamic origin, and in the form of adjectives, elatives, substantives, participles or verbs of uncompleted action: e.g., (al-) Ḥasan, Aḥmad, Asad, Muḥammad, Yazīd. Some are normally used with the article (e.g., al-Namir), others sometimes without (e.g., 'Abbās/ al-'Abbās), but the majority are without it. It is not always easy to know a priori whether they are diptotes or triptotes (e.g., 'Umar<sup>u</sup> and 'Amr<sup>u</sup>); a proper name being by its nature definite, the tendency has always been to treat them as diptotes, and in present usage the case-ending itself tends to be suppressed. Furthermore, the usual indication of the feminine is not necessarily taken as such, and Tazīd, for example, or *Djāriya* are men's names. In general only the names of the Prophet (Muḥammad, al-Muṣṭafā etc.) or of some of the figures of the early Islamic period ('Umar, 'Alī, 'Uṭmān, etc.) have survived from among these ancient names, specimens of which will be found in Caskel, *Ḡamharat an-nasab des Ibn Kalbi*, Leiden 1966. b) Biblical names in their *ḳur'ānic* forms: Ibrāhīm = Abraham; Iṣḥāq = Isaac; Mūsā = Moses; Ismā'īl = Ishmael. c) Compound names in two main patterns: i. 'Abd (slave [of]) followed by Allāh or one of the divine names [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ]; the ancient theophorous names made up of 'Abd and the name of a pagan divinity ('Abd Manāt etc.) have disappeared with Islam. ii. Allāh preceded by a construct substantive (e.g., Hibat Allāh "gift of God"). d) Persian names drawn from old Iranian history and legend (e.g., *Khusrāw*, *Djāmshīd*, *Rustam*). e) Turkish names (Arslān, *Tuḡhrul*, *Timur*). These were common in the period of the first Turkish migration into the Middle East and regularly appear (though much distorted in the orthography) as the names of military commanders in the medieval Arabic chronicles of Syria and Egypt. Thereafter they fell into disuse, but they were revived in modern Turkey under the influence of nationalist movements. They frequently consist of, or comprise, names of predatory animals and birds: *Babur*, (Bay)bars, (Alp)arslan, Laçın, *Sonkur*, (Er)toḡhrul. They sometimes express the parents' wishes: *Yeter* ("enough"—after a succession of girls), *Ṭursun* ("may he survive"—after a series of stillborn babies; the same root probably appears in *Ṭur-'Alī*, *Ṭur-Ḥasan*), *Satllmīsh* ("he has been sold"—by a hitherto barren mother through a vow to a saint). f) Names of diverse origins, especially Berber (e.g. *Yidder* "he lives"). g) Names based on abstract nouns, sometimes with the suffix *ī* (*Tawfiḳ*, *Ḥikmet*, *Fikrī*). These became common in Ottoman times. h) Names based on honorific titles (see *laḳab*, below).

3) The *nasab* or pedigree, a list of ancestors, each name being introduced by the word *ibn* [q.v.], "son of". The second name of the series is preceded by *bint*, "daughter of", if the first name is that of a woman. Muslim historians quote as many generations as they feel to be necessary and some times go back a very long way when dealing with an important person or in order to avoid confusion, but the usual practice is to limit the *nasab* to one or two ancestors. It is not uncommon for one or more of the ancestors in the list to be mentioned by a name other than his *ism* (e.g., 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib). If, in the genealogical series, two persons bearing the same *ism* are known in history, the elatives *al-akbar* and *al-aṣḡhar* are sometimes used: *Marwān al-aṣḡhar* b. *Abi 'l-Djanūb Yahyā* b. *Marwān al-akbar* b. *Abi Ḥafṣa*. Converts whose natural fathers had not embraced Islam were conventionally given, especially in the Ottoman

period, the *nasab* Ibn 'Abd Allāh (or 'Abd and one of the divine names); but such a *nasab*, known to be fictitious, was employed only when custom demanded the use of one, e.g., in a legal attestation or epitaph.

In Persian the word *ibn* is usually omitted and replaced by the genitive particle *-i*: e.g., Hasan-i Şabbāh. In the Muslim lands generally, with the exception of Arabia and the Maghrib, *ibn* is no longer used, and the name and father's name are simply juxtaposed: Aḥmad 'Alī=Aḥmad, son of 'Alī. The Persians, followed by the Turks, often use *zāde* (son), added as a suffix to the father's name, nickname or title, which is placed before the *ism*: e.g., Kāḏizāde = "son of the judge"; Şhāriḥ al-Manār-zāde = "son of the commentator on *al-Manār*"; Piripashazāde = "son of Pirī Paşa". The Turkish word *oghlu* is also used in the same way, but usually for noble or ruling families, rather than 'ulamā': e.g., Mikhaloghlu = "son of Mikhal". Many of these names in *zāde* and *oghlu* have become surnames of a sort, borne by whole families and referring to a common ancestor rather than to an immediate progenitor: e.g., Köprülüzāde, a name borne by a family claiming descent from the famous Ottoman viziers. In the same way the Arabic *ibn* may sometimes refer to an ancestor rather than a parent, and be used as a kind of a surname: e.g., Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn Sinā, Ibn Kemāl (also Kemālpashazāde).

4) The *nisba* is an adjective ending in *i*, formed originally from the name of the individual's tribe or clan, then from his place of birth, origin or residence, sometimes from a *madhhab* or sect, and occasionally from a trade or profession. A man may thus have several *nisbas* which are normally given progressing from the general to the particular and in chronological order of residence: e.g., al-Ḳuraṣhī al-Hāshimī al-Baghḏādī *thumma* al-Mawṣilī al-Sayrafī = "of the tribe of Ḳuraish, of the clan of Hāshim, of the city of Baghḏād and then Mosul, the moneychanger". The speciality is often indicated at the end without the suffix *i*: al-Hāfiẓ. In Arabic the *nisba* is always preceded by the definite article (*al-*) which in Persian disappears. Among the Turks the place-*nisba*, with the ending *li* (or *lu*), is normally placed at the beginning of a name; e.g., Izmirli 'Alī Riḏā, "the Smyrniot Ali Riza". The *nisba* may be arbitrarily handed down from father to son, though its original relevance is lost.

These are the elements which normally make up a name. The *laḡab*, an honorific or descriptive epithet which is usually placed after the *nisba* and sometimes represents a nickname, often a title, might be added. In its original and simplest form it is a descriptive nickname usually referring to a physical characteristic: e.g., al-Ṭawīl, "the tall", al-A'war "the one-eyed", al-Aṭraṣh "the deaf". It follows the *ism*. These nicknames are felt to be less pejorative than the sobriquets (*nabaz*) such as al-Ḥimār "the ass" (= Marwān I).

*Laḡabs* of a different sort were adopted as regnal names by the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs of Baghḏād (see B. Lewis, *The regnal titles of the first Abbasid, Caliphs*, in *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation volume*, New Delhi 1968, 13-22), and after them by most other Muslim rulers: e.g., al-Raṣhīd "the rightly guided", al-Mutawakkil 'ala 'llāh "who entrusts himself to God". At a later date Persian and Turkish *laḡabs* are encountered, as well as Arabic: e.g., Djahāngīr "world seizer", Yildīrm "thunderbolt".

Independently of the names of the Kings of the Yemen, consisting of *Dhū* followed by a substantive [see AL-ADHWĀ<sup>3</sup>], early on there appeared in Arabic

nicknames composed of *Dhū* (fem. *Dhāt*) and a noun in the dual commemorating a notable trait or deed: e.g., *Dhāt* al-Niḡāḡayn "the woman with the two waistbands" (= Asmā' bint Abī Bakr); *Dhū* 'l-Hiḏratayn "the man who has been made the two *hiḏras*" (= Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib); *Dhū* 'l-Yaminayn "the ambidextrous" (= Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn). Under the 'Abbāsīds honorifics of the same type were given to high personages: e.g., *Dhū* 'l-Ḳalamayn "the man of the two pens", *Dhū* 'l-Wizāratayn "the man of two vizierates".

From the end of the 3rd/9th century and especially from the 4th/10th *laḡabs* of honour were bestowed by the Caliphs upon princes, statesmen, generals and high officers of state. These were usually compounds with *Dawla* ("State"), *Dīn* ("Faith") or both: e.g., Badr al-Dīn "full moon of the Faith"; Nāṣir al-Dawla "Defender of the State". Similar compounds may be formed with *Mulk* "Kingdom" (Niẓām al-Mulk "Order of the Kingdom"), with *Islām* (Sayf al-Islām "Sword of Islam") etc. Many persons are known principally by their *laḡabs*, e.g., Saladin (= Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn).

In the course of time many of these *laḡabs* ceased to be titles borne only by ruling princes and their officers, and became little more than personal names. In the Ottoman period the members of the 'ulamā' were usually known by a combination of *laḡab* and *ism*, with a tendency for each *ism* to be linked with a specific *laḡab*: e.g., Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf, Muḡyī al-Dīn Muḡammad (see F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi). The carefully graded honorifics employed in Islamic chanceries in addressing members of the "religious" and "secular" institutions and foreign rulers and ambassadors, corresponding to the *inscriptio* of European diplomatic practice, were known by the plural of *laḡab*, *alḡāb* (Turkish *elḡāb*). These, understandably, became progressively more elaborate, so that manuals drawn up for the guidance of chancery clerks usually contain a section devoted to them (e.g., Ferīdūn, *Munsh'āt al-Salāḡin*<sup>3</sup>, i, 2-13) (see DIPLOMATIC).

The use of nicknames of various types was encouraged in the Ottoman Empire by the fact that so many prominent personages—not to speak of the whole corps of Janissaries, etc., for whom payrolls had to be kept—were of non-Muslim origin, so that a dozen men with the same *ism* could not be distinguished, as could the Muslim-born, by their *nasabs*. By Turkish syntax, a nickname usually precedes the *ism*, while a title, arising from the individual's actual rank or employment—Paşa, Aḡa, Mütefferiḡa, Re'īs (for sea-captains), Čawuṣh, etc.—usually follows it. The apparent exceptions are Sulṭān, which invariably precedes the name of the ruler (but follows the name of a princess or of a few conspicuous saints), and Şehzāde, "prince"; but here too the word when preceding may be in origin a nickname and when following a "title of honour".

Nicknames may be *nisbas*, either referring in the strict sense to a town (Filibeli, Edirneli, etc.) or family (Sokollu) or vaguely "ethnic" (Arnavud, Ungurus, Čerkes, 'Arab [which in Turkish usually means "negro"]); they may refer, sometimes, unkindly, to personal characteristics: Uzun ("tall"), Sarl ("fair"), Tabanī-yassī ("flat-footed"); they may be bestowed posthumously by chroniclers: Maḡtūl ("the executed"), Khā'in ("the traitor"), Hezārpāre ("hacked to pieces"); they may refer to the individual's position or employment: Nishāndīl, Mi'mār, Dāmād, and frequently (and somewhat confusingly) may survive from a former employment, for example in the

Palace service: Lala ("tutor [to a prince]"), Silihdār ("sword-bearer" [to the sultan, while a page]); they may be a religious appellation Hādjdī, Akhī, Şofu, Gâvur, etc.

Even the sultans are usually distinguished by nicknames rather than regnal number: "Fâtih" Mehemmed [II], "Genç" 'Othmân [II], "Avdîl" Mehemmed [IV]. When the nickname follows the *ism*, contrary to the usual rule in Turkish, we probably have a suppressed Persian *izâfet*: Mehemmed [-i] Fâtih, Bâyezîd [-i] Welî [II].

In the late 10th/16th century there was a transitory fashion, especially in the chancery, for the adoption of "Iranian" names (2d, above) (thus the famous Ferîdûn is called in his *wakfiye* "Aḥmed Agha... al-shahîr bi-Ferîdûn Agha"), and also for the use of just one letter of the personal name, e.g., Dâl Efendi, for Dâl-i Mehmed, cf. 'Ayn-i 'Alî, Lâm-i 'Alî (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, Oxford 1960, 16 and note).

A Turkish custom is the *göbek adı*, "navel name". This is a name given to a new-born child by the midwife as she cuts the umbilical cord; it is invariably a good "Muslim" name, such as Mehmed or 'Alî for boys, Fâtma or 'Ayshe for girls. The explanation for it may be that since it is considered unlucky to choose a name before the birth this provisional name is given at the very inception of the infant's independent existence in order to ensure that if it does not live it will have died a Muslim. The *göbek adı* is in practice not used, being superseded by the *ezan* (< *adhân*) *adı*, the regular *ism*, which, having been chosen at leisure by the family, is bestowed, with a recitation of the *adhân*, a few days later (usually after three days, but avoiding the inauspicious Tuesday). Another Turkish custom is to change a baby's name if it does not thrive or is fractious. In Turkey, and particularly in the country districts, regular Islamic names may take on barely recognizable hypocoristic forms: Muştafâ > Mıstfk, Fâtîma > Fadik, Mehmed > Memo or Memi, Süleymân > Sülü, İbrâhîm > İbish, etc.

Among other onomastic elements the most important is the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name adopted by a poet or writer, e.g., Firdawsî "the Paradisiac".

A person may be mentioned by one or more of these components, or by several of them at the same time; there are no fixed rules, and only usage seems to decide, although there is not always unanimity upon a single appellation. Thus the poet usually called Abū Nuwās is sometimes referred to by the name al-Ḥasan b. Hānî' or by the *nisba*, al-Ḥakamî. In the biographical works the authors class persons according to their *ism* in order to avoid confusion, and indicate the *kunya*, the *nisba*, and the *laqab* after the *nasab*, specifying at the same time the name most commonly used. Thus the biography of Ibn al-Kālānîsî, the author of the Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, whose full name is Abū Ya'lā Ḥamza b. Asad b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad al-Tamîmî al-Dimashqî al-'Amîd ibn al-Kālānîsî (the father of Ya'lā, Ḥamza the son of Asad the son of 'Alî the son of Muḥammad, of the tribe of Tamim, of the city of Damascus, the Chief (of the Chancery), the son of the latter), will be found under Ḥamza b. Asad.

None of these components strictly speaking amounts to a surname, though in practice the *laqab* or *nisba* or *ma'rifa* (as in the case of Ibn al-Kālānîsî [see 18N]) is sometimes so used.

In the contemporary Orient the custom is to use two names the first of which is a sort of personal name, the second being usually the father's name.

It may, however, be equally the name of a grandparent or remoter ancestor, or a second personal name adopted by choice or given in the family, at school, in the army, etc., or one of the above mentioned categories. The use of surnames is spreading among the upper classes, and the introduction of compulsory registration in several Islamic countries will accelerate their adoption. In Turkey (1934) and Persia the adoption of a surname was imposed by law. (ED.)

**ISM** (A.), "name", is the technical term used in Arabic grammar to signify the noun. *Ism* is a biliteral and, as such, belongs to a very ancient linguistic stock (see H. Fleisch, *Traité de la philologie arabe*, i, § 52 b) it has been given a *w* as a third radical consonant so that it may be included in the scheme of morphological formations: broken pl. *asmā'*, denominative verb: *samā', yasmū'*, more frequently *sammā', yusammī'*, "to call, name". Of the Arab grammarians, the Kūfians derive *ism* from *wasm* "sign" ( $\sqrt{w s m}$ ). The Başrans from *sumuwu* "elevation" ( $\sqrt{s m w}$ ) (see their discussions, Ibn al-Anbārî, *K. al-Insāf*, ed. G. Weil, first question discussed).

*Ism* is the first term of the great tripartite division: *ism*, *fi'l*, *ḥarf*, which begins the *Kitāb* of Sibawayhi: on its origin, [see 11'1 and in E.I. 1' ism].

Sibawayhi gives no definition of *ism*; he merely gives examples: *radjul* "man", *faras* "horse", *ḥā'if* "wall". Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) records (*al-Ṣāhib*, 82-3, ed. Beirut 1382/1963) the definitions suggested by the masters who followed: al-Akhfash (disciple of Sibawayhi), al-Kisā'î (d. 189/865), al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), Hīshām al-Ḍarîr (d. 209/824), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), al-Zadjidjādî (d. 310/922). None satisfies Ibn Fāris. In fact, these masters, except the last, do not give a true definition, but a description of the noun in its grammatical relationships; thus al-Farrā' says: "the noun (*ism*) is that which admits the *tanwîn*, the *idāfa* (construct) or *alif* and *lām* (the article)". Ibn al-Anbārî also records another definition of al-Mubarrad (op. cit., 2, 1. 10) and the definition of Thā'lab (d. 291/904) (*ibid.*, 1. 4). As Ibn al-Anbārî himself says (*ibid.*, ll. 10-11), concerning al-Mubarrad, their dicta might serve for an etymology (*ishihāḥ*) but not for a definition. With al-Zadjidjādî (d. 310/922), on the contrary, we find a true definition of the noun, but here it is under the influence of Greek logic.

Aristotle, in the *Organon*, in the *Peri Hermēneias* (the *De Interpretatione*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello, Oxford 1966), gives the two following definitions: for the noun (16a, 19-20): *onoma* (a noun) *esti* (is) *phōnē* (a sound) *sēmantikē* (with meaning) *kata sunthēkēn* (by agreement) *aneu khronou* (without time), and he adds: "no part of which has meaning in isolation"; for the verb (16b, 6-9): *rhēma* (a verb) *esti* (is) *to prossēmatnon* (that which indicates also) *khronon* (a time) [*i.e.*: that which, in addition to its proper meaning, contains the indication of a time], and he adds the same remark as for the noun.

The Aristotelian definition of the noun is found in that of al-Zadjidjādî: *sawt mukatta' mafhūm dāll 'alā ma'nā, ḡhayr dāll 'alā zamān wa-lā makān: phōnē*, here *sawt*, is qualified by *mukatta'* "cut off [from others]", *mafhūm* "understood", *dāll 'alā ma'nā = sēmantikē*; for *aneu khronou*, the exclusion of place is added to that of time; *kata sunthēkēn* is omitted; it refers to the large question of the origin of language, whether by institution (*tawāḍu' wa-ṣpīlāh*) or by revelation (*wahy wa-tawḥīf*).

The Arab definition that, with some variants, subsequently became the general one is given by al-



Sirāfi (d. 368/978) in the *Sharḥ* of the *Kiṭāb* (Ms Cairo<sup>2</sup>, ii, 134): *kullshay' dalla lafsuh 'alā ma'nā ghayr muḥtarin bi-zamān muḥaṣṣal min muḍiyy aw ghayrih fa-huwa ism* (1st part, 7 end), "everything the expression of which indicates a meaning unconnected with a specific time, past or otherwise, is a noun".

This definiton qualifies the preceding one by indicating a *zamān muḥaṣṣal* "a specific time", but that is not enough to satisfy Ibn Fāris's objection, (*al-Ṣāhibī*, 84, l. 13-15), that al-Zaḍīdjādī's definition of the noun is equally valid for the *ḥarf*. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) omits the qualification *muḥaṣṣal* (*Mufaṣṣal*, ed. J. P. Broch, § 2) [see F1'L], but adds *fi nafsih* "in itself": *al-ism mā dalla 'alā ma'nā fi nafsih dalālatan muḍjarradatān 'an al-iktirān*. Al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413) (*Ta'riḥ*, 15) explains simply what is to be understood by this absence of *iktirān*: *al-ism mā dalla 'alā ma'nā fi nafsih ghayr muḥtarin bi-aḥad al-azminat al-thalātha*.

Remarks: the philosopher al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), in the *Sharḥ Aristūṭālīs fi 'l-'ibāra* (the *Peri Hermēneias*) (ed. W. Kutsch and S. Marrow, Beirut 1960), 29, ll. 25-6, prescribes, concerning *aneu khronou* (translated: *muḍjarrada min al-zamān*, "deprived of time"), the addition of *bi-ghāṭih wa-bi-shaklih* "by itself and its form", if it is necessary because of the fear of *maṭā'in al-mughāliḥin*, "attacks of the 'Sophists'"; if not, it should be omitted. But, in the definition of al-Zamakhsharī, *fi nafsih* was introduced in order to separate *ism* from *ḥarf*.

It is, incidentally, strange to note that grammarians such as Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) and Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), who must have been aware of al-Sirāfi's *Sharḥ* to the *Kiṭāb*, adhered, as far as the noun (and the verb) were concerned, to definitions of the type of those of al-Zaḍīdjādī's predecessors: Abū 'Alī *Iḍāḥ* (Ms Cairo<sup>2</sup>, ii, 81) 3; Ibn Djinnī, *Luma'* (Ms Berlin 6466) 2.

The definitions of the noun and verb that became general in the Arab grammarians appear to derive from Greek logic. It has, besides, been adequately shown under F1'L how unjustified the tense-system (introduced following Aristotle) is in Arabic. These definitions were difficult to establish. Long discussions about them have taken place in modern linguistics (see H. Fleisch, *Trailé*, i, § 53 a and add. p. 525-6; BSLP, liv/i, XXVII-XXVIII). The *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique* by J. Marouzeau, 3rd ed., gives a definition of the verb (236), but not of the noun (156).

Because of the great tripartite division referred to above, Arab grammarians included under the *ism* first the noun proper: *ism al-dīns* "common noun", *al-ism al-'alam* or *ism al-'alam* "proper noun" [see 'ALAM], *ism al-'ayn* "concrete noun", *ism al-ma'nā* "abstract noun", then *ism al-fā'il* "nomen agentis (active participle)" and *ism al-maf'ūl* "nomen patientis (passive participle)". These two are, strictly speaking, *ṣifa* [see ṢIFA]; the adjective (*ṣifa mushabbaha*) is assigned to the *ṣifa*; the *ṣifa* and its extensions are called *na't*, in its use as epithet. Then *al-maṣdar* "infinitive", and all the nomino-verbal derivatives: *ism al-zamān wa-'l-makān* "noun of time and place", etc. Then the pronouns: the personal pronouns: *al-muḍmarāt* [see MUḌMAR], the demonstrative pronoun: *ism al-ishāra*, the relative pronoun: *al-ism al-mawṣūl*, collectively called *al-mubhamāt*. Then the numerals, the noun of number: *ism al-'adad*. All these categories will be found in the *Tables* of the *Mufaṣṣal* referred to above (212-3), with references to the text and a still further devel-

oped nomenclature in Wright's Ar. Gr.<sup>3</sup> (i, 104-10).—The Arab grammarians found an *ism* in the interrogatives: *kayfa* "how?", *ayna* "where?", *kam* "how much?", *matā* "when?", in *idh*, *idhā* (generally conjunctions), in *haythu* "where" (Ibn Fāris, *ibid.*; for *kam*, Sibawayhi, i, 250, l. 13, ed. Paris; for *matā*, Ibn Hiṣhām, *Mughni 'l-labīb*, s.v.). Finally, they included in the *asmā' al-af'āl* "verbal nouns" expressions that would seem to us to be interjections or exclamatory locutions, or even onomatopoea, when they perceived in them some verbal action, particularly an imperative sense, see §§ 187-99 of the *Mufaṣṣal*.

*Bibliography* in the text; in addition: *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, i, 710, l. 24-715, l. 18; the *K. al-masā'il al-khilāfiyya fi 'l-nahw* of Abū 'l-Bakā<sup>3</sup> 'Abd Allāh al-'Ukbarī (d. 616/1219) (Ms Cairo<sup>2</sup>, ii, 158) contains a discussion of the definition of *ism* (2nd question) and of the etymology (*ishtihāk*) of *ism* (4th question); in the latter, like the Baṣrans, he derived *ism* from *sumuwu*, in the former, he attributes to Ibn al-Sarrāḍī (d. 316/929), a contemporary of al-Zaḍīdjādī (d. 310/922), a definition of *ism* so sophisticated that it appears improbable: *huwa kull lafz dalla 'alā ma'nā fi nafsih, ghayr muḥtarin bi-zamān muḥaṣṣal* (93 r, lines 4-5). As a matter of fact, in *al-Mūzaḍī fi 'l-nahw*, Beirut 1385/1965, 27, Ibn al-Sarrāḍī simply gives a definition of *ism* of the type of those of al-Zaḍīdjādī's predecessors. (H. FLEISCH)

'IṢMA, as a theological term meaning immunity from error and sin, is attributed by Sunnis to the prophets and by Shī'is also to the imāms. In early Islam moral failures and errors of Muḥammad were freely mentioned, although there was an inconsistent tendency to minimize the shortcomings of the Prophet and in particular to deny that he had ever participated in the worship of idols. The term and the concept of 'isma do not occur in the Qur'ān or in canonical Sunnī *Ḥadīth*. They were first used by the Imāmī Shī'is, who at least since the first half of the 2nd/8th century maintained that the imām as the divinely appointed and guided leader and teacher of the community must be immune (*ma'ṣum*) from error and sin. This doctrine has always remained a cardinal dogma of Imāmism. While the early Imāmī theologian Hiṣhām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795-6) restricted this impeccability to the imāms, holding that prophets might disobey the commands of God and then would be criticized by a revelation, later Imāmī doctrine always ascribed it equally to prophets and imāms. The extent of the immunity was gradually expanded. Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991), representing the view of the traditionalist scholars of Kumm, affirmed that prophets and imāms, though fully immune from major (*kabā'ir*) and minor (*ṣaḡhā'ir*) sins, were liable to inadvertence (*sahw*), which God might induce in them in order to demonstrate to mankind that they were merely human. His opinion was refuted by Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), who held that prophets and imāms after their vocation were immune from inadvertence and forgetfulness (*nisyān*), while admitting that they (except for the Prophet Muḥammad) might have committed minor, not disgraceful (*ghayr mustakḥaffa*) sins before their vocation. Al-Mufīd's disciple al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), who wrote a book on the impeccability of the prophets and imāms, held that they were fully immune both before and after their vocation. This has become the accepted Imāmī doctrine, later expressly including immunity from inadvertence. It is, however, admitted that imāms may chose the less com-

mendable alternative or neglect commendable supererogatory acts. ‘*Iṣma* is commonly defined as a kindness (*luḥf*) bestowed by God and, as in Sunni doctrine, is not a natural quality of prophets and imāms. It does not cause incapacity to commit acts of disobedience and thus does not invalidate the right of prophets and imāms to reward.

The Imāmi doctrine of the ‘*iṣma* of imāms and prophets is shared by the Ismā‘īliyya. The Zaydiyya do not consider ‘*iṣma* a qualification of the imām, though some later Zaydī authorities have attributed it to ‘Alī, al-Hasan and al-Husayn specifically.

Outside Shī‘ism the ‘*iṣma* of the prophets was first and most consistently upheld by the Mu‘tazila. Already al-Nazzām in the late 2nd/8th century taught the impeccability of the prophets, and by the time of al-Ash‘arī immunity from unbelief and from major sins both before and after the prophetic mission was considered the unanimous doctrine of the Mu‘tazila. There was some dispute as to whether prophets might commit minor sins consciously or not. While al-Nazzām held that the sins of prophets reported in the Qur‘ān could arise only from inadvertence or erroneous interpretation (*ta‘wīl*) of God’s commands, al-Djābīz maintained that they must have been committed knowingly, since unconscious infraction of the divine law in his view was not sinful. In the classical doctrine since the two al-Djubbā‘īs the extent of the immunity was defined as including all major sins and minor sins “causing aversion” (*munaffira*). This definition resulted from the premise that prophecy was an act of kindness incumbent on God for the guidance of mankind and must be protected by Him from any impediments to its effectiveness. Abū ‘Alī al-Djubbā‘ī (d. 303/915-6) asserted that even minor acts of disobedience, if intentional, must be considered as causing aversion and admitted only sins by inadvertency or erroneous interpretation. Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933) and the majority of later scholars held that intentional minor sins were not necessarily “causing aversion”. The immunity applied equally to the time before and after the mission, though Abū ‘Alī al-Djubbā‘ī was not quite consistent in rejecting major sins before it.

Ash‘arī doctrine on the ‘*iṣma* of the prophets varied, generally moving from a negative attitude toward wider affirmation. Scholars with traditionalist leanings were more reserved in affirming the sinlessness of the prophets, since this conflicted with a literal acceptance of passages in the Qur‘ān and *Ḥadīth*. The view later ascribed to al-Ash‘arī, that prophets were immune from error and sin after, but not before, their mission is probably not authentic. It reflects, however, the later common Ash‘arī doctrine, which restricted the immunity to the time after the mission, admitting both major and minor sins, though not unbelief, before it. Concerning the extent of immunity after the mission the views differed. Al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1012), against the Mu‘tazilī doctrine, denied any rational basis for the claim of ‘*iṣma* of the prophets beyond immunity from intentional lying in the transmission of the divine message, admitting the possibility of errors by inadvertency or forgetfulness. The latter admission was rejected by his contemporary Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāyīnī and the later school doctrine. Al-Bāqillānī’s denial of a rational basis of the claim of immunity from sin was commonly accepted by later doctrine, though major sins were excluded on the basis of revealed texts (*ṣaḥīḥ*) or consensus. Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015) held that prophets may commit minor sins intentionally, but not major sins. It is thus evident that ‘Abd al-Kābir

al-Baḡhdādī (d. 429/1037) expresses his wish rather than the fact in claiming an Ash‘arī consensus affirming the immunity of prophets from all sins after their mission. After him al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) stated as his personal view that prophets commit minor sins, and al-Djuwaynī’s disciple al-Ghazālī affirmed that prophets commit sins and are obliged to ask God for forgiveness. Even Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), who argued at length for the ‘*iṣma* of prophets on rational grounds, admitted unintentional minor sins after, and major sins before, their mission. Against the Ash‘arī school tradition, full immunity of the prophets was upheld by the Kādī ‘Iyād (d. 544/1149) and al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), the former expressly including the time before the mission.

Māturīdī doctrine generally was more positive in claiming sinlessness for the prophets. Although some Māturīdī scholars admitted minor sins in prophets, others, especially those of Samarkand, strictly denied all sins including “slips” (*zallāt*). No difference was made between the time before and after the mission. The importance given to the doctrine of ‘*iṣma* is reflected by the fact that it is usually included in Māturīdī creeds in contrast to Ash‘arī and Hanbalī creeds. Under the Saldjūqs the charge of imputing sins to the prophets figured among the accusations against Ash‘arism which were used to justify its suppression in favour of Māturīdī Hanafism.

The doctrine of the sinlessness of the prophets was opposed by traditionalists upholding the literal meaning of the passages in the Qur‘ān and *Ḥadīth* mentioning their failures. Ibn Karrām (d. 255/840), the founder of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*], expressly affirmed that prophets may commit sins, without qualifying their nature. Later Karrāmi doctrine excluded sins requiring legal punishment (*ḥadd*) or impairing probity. The Hanbalīs did not adopt the doctrine of impeccability of the prophets. Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997) in his profession of faith emphasizes that the prophets have committed sins, citing relevant passages of the Qur‘ān. Later Hanbalī scholars like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350) stressed the ‘*iṣma* of the prophets in respect to their transmission of the revelation, but did not include immunity from sins.

Particular views on ‘*iṣma* were developed in Sūfī circles in connection with their doctrine of mystical sainthood. Some Sūfīs from al-Djunayd (d. 298/910) to Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240) have attributed virtually complete impeccability, far beyond the common Sunni doctrine, to Muḥammad as the ideal Sūfī saint.

‘*Iṣma* was also often, against some dissent, attributed by Sunni, Mu‘tazilī, and Shī‘ī theologians to the angels.

*Bibliography:* al-Ash‘arī, *Maḳālāt al-Is-lāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, 44 f., 226 f.; al-Muḥīd, *Awā‘il al-maḳālāt*, Tabriz 1371, 29 f., 35, 111; idem, *Taṣḥīḥ al-‘iṭīḳād*, Tabriz 1371, 60-2; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīḥ al-anbiyā‘*, al-Nadjaḥ n.d.; W. M. Miller (trans.), *Al-Bābu ‘l-Hādī ‘Ashar... by... Ibnu ‘l-Muṭahhar al-Hillī*, London 1928, 64-8; al-Madjlīsī, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tabriz 1303-5, vi, 268-99, vii, 228-33, 265; al-Khayyāt, *al-Intisār*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, Cairo 1925, 93-6; ‘Abd al-Djabbār al-Asadābādī, *al-Mughnī*, xvi, ed. M. al-Khūdayrī and M. M. Kāsim, Cairo 1965, 279-316; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fi ‘l-mīlāl wa ‘l-niḥāl*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 1-35; Baḡhdādī, *Fark*, 210; idem, *Usūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 167-9; al-Djuwaynī, *al-Irshād*, ed. M. Y. Mūsā and ‘A. ‘A. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1950, 356 f.; al-Kādī

'İyād, *al-Shifā'* bi-ta'rif ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣtafā, Cairo 1329, ii, 79-157; al-Rāzī, *al-Arba'in fi uṣūl al-dīn*, Hyderabad 1353, 329-68; al-Subkī, *Tabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., ii, 268; al-Idjī, *al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Th. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, 218-38; al-Bazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. H. P. Linss, Cairo 1963, 167-72; Ibn Baṭṭa, *al-Sharḥ wa 'l-ibāna 'alā uṣūl al-sunna wa 'l-diyāna*, ed. H. Laoust, Damascus 1958, 63, trans. 120; al-Kalābādhi, *al-Ta'arruf li-madḥih ahl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1933, 43 f.; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 220-5; idem, *Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-dīn al-Rāzī*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 238-45; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, 124-74; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933, 320-38; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Ahmad b. Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 186-94. (W. MADELUNG)

'İsma denotes also infallibility, in "the total knowledge of the meaning of the revelation and its prescriptions" and, consequently, in absolute authority for instruction. In Shi'ism, it is recognized in the imāms, in whom it is innate. It is recognized in Sunnism also, but in respect of the community ('*isemat al-ajamā'a*') in its general consensus or *iqjma'*—infallibility in the interpretation of the law, and even in the establishment of new juridical solutions. In both meanings, 'isma was carried to its most extreme limits in the Shi'i (*ghulāt*) doctrines from the time when they deified the imāms, in varying degrees.

*Bibliography:* Add to the references given in the preceding section: Goldziher, in *Der Islam*, iii, 238-45; *Manār*, v, 12-21, 87-93; *Shahraṣṭānī*, in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, i, 151; G. Hourani, *The basis of authority of consensus in sunnite Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, xxi (1954), 43 f., 49 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddīma*, Beirut 1900, 196, 452 f.; E. Tyan, *Institutions du dr. publ. mus.*, ii, Paris 1957, 393 f. (E. TYAN)

ISMÄ'İL, the biblical Ishmael, is already mentioned in four places in the Qur'ān which date from before the Hidjra, in a list of holy men of antiquity: in Sūra XIX, 54 f. it is said of him: "He was one who spoke the promise truly, and he was a messenger and a prophet. He enjoined upon his people the prayer and the almsgiving, and was in his Lord's eyes approved"; in Sūra XXXVIII, 48 he is mentioned together with Elisha (al-Yasa') and Dhu 'l-Kifl as "one of the good"; in Sūra XXI, 85 f. together with Idrīs and Dhu 'l-Kifl as "one of the patiently enduring and the righteous, whom God caused to enter into his mercy"; in Sūra VI, 86 it is said of Ismā'īl, Elisha (al-Yasa'), Jonas and Lot, that "God gave each one preference above the worlds". These references to Ismā'īl and others are, in each case, part of a larger context in which more holy men of antiquity are mentioned. Each time, at either a lesser or greater distance before Ismā'īl, Abraham (Ibrāhīm) is also praised as one of the earlier holy men. Nowhere, however, is a direct link established between Abraham and Ismā'īl, so that it must be assumed that originally Muḥammad was not well informed about the family relationship between Abraham and Ishmael, as at that time he seems to have counted Jacob, not Ismā'īl as another son of Abraham together with Isaac (Sūra XIX, 49; XXI, 72; XXIX, 27; VI, 84; XI, 71).

In other places, which, on the whole, are to be attributed to the Medinan period, the isolation of Ismā'īl has given way to an intimate connexion with Abraham. At this period Ismā'īl stands alongside his father in the attempt to build up the Ka'ba in Mecca

as a centre of pilgrimage and make it a place of the pure monotheistic faith (Sūra II, 127-9). In so far as Isaac is also named, Ismā'īl is given precedence as Abraham's son (Sūra XIV, 39; II, 132 f.; II, 136 = III, 84; II, 140; IV, 163). In the interpretation of the relevant passages, chronological difficulties indeed arise. Sūra XIV, 35-41, in which Abraham champions the security of the holy territory of Mecca and (verse 39) praises God for having given him Ismā'īl and Isaac in spite of his great age, is usually attributed to the third Meccan period. And in Sūra XXXVII, which is even attributed to the second Meccan period, the birth of Isaac is first mentioned in verses 112 f., so that it must be assumed that the preceding verses 100-7, which also deal with a son of Abraham and with his (intended) sacrifice, refer to Ismā'īl. Consequently there would already be evidence for the connexion between Ismā'īl and Abraham from the period before the Hidjra in two passages. Edmund Beck, however, who has critically examined the problem, takes Sūra XIV, 39 to be a Medinan interpolation and he supposes that even in the two verses II, 125 and 127, which are no doubt Medinan, the name of Ismā'īl is a later addition. Thus he concludes that Ismā'īl was first connected with Abraham in the Medinan period (*Le Muson*, lxxv (1952), 80-3). Beck does not commit himself concerning Sūra XXXVII (see above); Richard Bell, however, does: he considers the section which deals with the sacrifice of Abraham's son (verses 102-7) as a later Medinan addition, and further concludes that verse 101 ("So we felicitated him with a mild-tempered youth") "probably referred to Isaac, but when Ishmael began to assume importance to Mohammed, it was taken as referring to him, and verses 112 and 113 (Annunciation of Isaac) added". However these explanatory attempts by Beck and Bell may now be regarded, Ismā'īl in any case takes a subordinate part in the Qur'ānic legend concerning the foundation and purification of the cult of the Ka'ba. It is true that he is numbered among the patriarchs who have been given revelations (Sūra II, 136 = III, 84; IV, 163), but the leading part remains reserved for Abraham; for these matters, therefore, see IBRĀHĪM. Remarkably enough, there is in the Qur'ān—if we disregard the brief hint in Sūra XIV, 37—still no reference to the genealogical role which, according to Genesis XVI and XXV (and later also according to Arabic-Islamic tradition), fell to Ismā'īl as a connecting link between the Israelites (Jews) and the Arabs. He is considered only as the son of Abraham, and in Sūra II, 133 is mentioned together with Abraham and Isaac as one of the "Fathers" of Jacob.

The commentaries on the Qur'ān, the "stories of the prophets" (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*), and the universal histories give various details concerning the part played by Ismā'īl in the building of the Ka'ba and the introduction of the pilgrimage ceremonies (here Ismā'īl plays the same subordinate role as in the Qur'ān). The story of the sacrifice of Abraham's son also is further elaborated, whereby the question of whether this son is to be identified with Ismā'īl or Isaac remains open. The information on a few episodes from Ismā'īl's early youth and married life is more detailed. The expulsion of Hagar and her child Ismā'īl is described in accordance with Jewish tradition (which for its part goes back to Genesis XXI). According to Islamic tradition, Abraham does not simply send them both into the desert, but accompanies them himself as far as Mecca. There of course, he leaves them to their fate, since he has to go back to his wife Sarah. Hagar, full of pity for the

thirsty child, runs back and forth between the two hills al-Şafā and al-Marwa—the origin of the later pilgrimage ceremony of the Sa'y [q.v.]. Meanwhile, however, the little Ismā'īl scratches the sand and thus helps the spring of Zamzam to break through. Thereupon the Arab tribe of Djurhum settles in the neighbourhood with the permission of Hagar, and, after Ismā'īl has grown up, he takes a girl of the Djurhum as his wife. Abraham, who with Sarah's permission shortly comes on a visit, meets her while her husband is away, is treated inhospitably, and leaves behind for his son the order, cryptically expressed, that he should divorce her. On a later visit, Abraham meets, again in the absence of Ismā'īl, the latter's second wife, is hospitably welcomed by her, and leaves behind for his son the request, similarly coded, that he should maintain the marriage with her. On a third visit Abraham calls on Ismā'īl to help him in the building of the Ka'ba (see above). After his death Ismā'īl is buried near his mother Hagar in al-Hidjir inside the Haram.

By the post-kur'ānic tradition Ismā'īl becomes linked with Mecca and the Arab world even more closely than by the Kur'ān. He is said to have learned Arabic (from the Djurhum). In the genealogical trees which the Arab genealogists have drawn up, he is counted as the ancestor of the northern Arabs and in consequence of the (subsequently) Arabized tribes. These are, without exception, traced back to 'Adnān, but the connecting links between 'Adnān and Ismā'īl are—partly in accordance with Genesis XXV—variously related.

*Bibliography:* Ismā'īl in the Kur'ān: Abraham Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig 1902, 128 f., 131-5 (Eng. tr. *Judaism and Islam*, Madras 1898, 104 ff., repr. New York 1970); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880 (= *Verspr. Geschr.*, i, 1-124); Edmund Beck, *Die Gestalt des Abraham am Wendepunkt der Entwicklung Mohammeds*, in *Le Muston*, lxxv (1952), 73-94, esp. 80-3; Y. Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran*, Paris 1958; Michel Hayek, *Le Mystère d'Ismaël*, Paris 1964; Rudi Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran*<sup>3</sup>, Stuttgart 1966, 108-10; *EI*<sup>3</sup>, article IBRAHIM; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 91 f.; H. Speyer, *Der biblischen Erzählungen in Qoran*, Gräfenheinen n.d. (reprint Hildesheim 1961), 158-62, 164-6, 171.—Ismā'īl in post-kur'ānic tradition: Bukhārī, *An-biyā'*, b. 9: Tabarī, i, 270, 274-309, 351 f., 1112-23; idem, *Tafsīr*, esp. to Sūra XXXVII, 107-10; Ibn al-Athīr, 73-80, 88 f.; Ya'qūbī, 22-6, 252 f.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Historia Antei Islamica*, Leipzig 1831, 22-6, 190-2; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 85-7, 119 f., iii, 91-9, iv, 424-6; Tha'labī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1339, 57-62, 64-6, 70; Kisā'ī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922, 142-5; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfurt 1845, 82-96; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iv, Leipzig 1861, 4-10; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 101-15; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les Vies des Prophètes*, Paris 1933, 50-3; W. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, i, 39; A. J. Wensinck, *EI*<sup>1</sup>, article ISMĀ'IL.

(RUDI PARET)

**ISMĀ'IL** (IZMAIL), an Ottoman fortress town situated in the Budjak [q.v.] region of Bessarabia, on the left bank of the Kilya arm of the river Danube. Ewliyā Çelebi states that a certain *kapudān* named Ismā'īl brought this area under Ottoman domination

in 889/1484 at the time when Sultan Bāyazīd II took Kilya and Aḳ-Kermān from Moldavia. Evidence dating from 997/1588-9 (cf. Uzunçarşılı, IV/i, 576, note 1) indicates that a small fort (palanka) was built at Ismā'īl in that year, craftsmen from Wallachia and Moldavia being summoned to share in the work of construction. In 1003/1595, during the long war of 1001/1593-1015/1606 between the Ottoman Empire and Austria, Ismā'īl fell to a mixed force of Transylvanians, Moldavians and Wallachians under the command of "Andrea Barzai" (cf. Hurmuzaki, III/ii, 95). A few years later Georgius Dousa was to describe the town as noted for its trade in fish—*Smieli uberrima est optimorum piscium captura, atque ex eo vilitas*. Ismā'īl suffered from Cossack raids in 1010-1011/1602 and in 1033-1034/1624. Ewliyā Çelebi, recounting his travels in the year 1067/1657, gives some details of interest about Ismā'īl. He notes that it had a superintendent of customs (*gümrük emini*), but no fortress commandant, since there was no fort there (*kal'e olmadığından dizdārī yokdur*). The town contained two thousand houses (*kāhāne*), with a population of Muslims (located in three distinct areas—*uç islām mahallesī*), Greeks, Armenians and Jews. Tatars inhabited the regions adjacent to the town. Ismā'īl conducted a flourishing trade in such products as butter, cheese, salt from Wallachia (*eflāk tuzu*), grain, sturgeon and caviar. Some two thousand waggon loads of fish pickled in brine (*ballık salamurastı*) went each year, through Ismā'īl, to Poland and to the territories of Moscow. State-owned fisheries existed along the banks of the Danube. Ismā'īl had also a market where white slaves of either sex might be found for sale. A little more than a hundred years later de Tott, passing through the Budjak in 1182-1183/1769, observed that Ismā'īl was an *entrepôt pour la traite des grains par le Danube* and also a centre for the manufacture of *chagrins de Turquie*, i.e., of shagreen. Ismā'īl, standing at the intersection of routes from Galatz, Khotin (Chocim), Bender and Kilya, became a fortress of importance during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries as a result of the confrontation between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in the lands bordering the Black Sea. Russian troops took Ismā'īl in 1184/1770. The town was restored, however, to the Ottomans at the Peace of Küçük Kaynarḍja in 1188/1774. Employing the services of foreign experts, the Turks now fortified Ismā'īl anew, transforming it into an *ordu kal'esi*—a stronghold designed to function as a base controlling large forces. The Russians, under the command of Suvorov and in the face of a desperate resistance, stormed Ismā'īl in Rabī' II 1205/December 1790, an event which was celebrated in the verse of Byron and Deržavin. At the Peace of Iaşi (Jassy) in 1206/1792 Ismā'īl was handed back to the Ottomans, who soon began to repair its defences. The town, in 1224/1809, came once more into the hands of the Russians. General Tučkov, in the following year established near Ismā'īl a settlement named after himself, but destined, in the course of time, to be merged into Ismā'īl. The Peace of Bucharest concluded in 1227/1812 gave Ismā'īl to Russia. In 1272/1856, at the Peace of Paris, which brought the Crimean War to an end, southern Bessarabia, with Ismā'īl (its fortifications now demolished), was transferred from Russia to Moldavia. Russian forces re-occupied Ismā'īl in 1294/1877, the town being ceded to Russia at the Congress of Berlin in 1295/1878. It came under Rumanian control at the close of World War I and under Soviet rule at the end of World War II. Ismā'īl is included now in the Ukrain-

ian Republic of the U.S.S.R. The town, with a population, in 1956, of some 43,000 inhabitants, amongst them Rumanians, Ukrainians, Turks, Bulgarians, Russians and Jews, functions as a river port and commercial centre dealing above all in grain, timber and hides.

*Bibliography*: Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, v, Istanbul A.H. 1315, 106-7; Aḥmed Dījewdet, *Ta'riḫh*<sup>8</sup>, Istanbul A.H. 1309, iv, 326, v, 94; Georgii Dousae de itinere suo Constantinopolitano epistola, Lugduno Batavae 1599, 17-18; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, Amsterdam 1785, ii, 151-152; F. von Smitt, *Der Sturm von Ismail*, Vilna 1830; A. Zašhčuk, *Bessarabskaya Oblast*, in *Materiali dlya geografii i statistiki Rossii*, St. Petersburg 1862; A. Nakko, *Istoria Bessarabii s drevneishikh vremeny*, Odessa 1873; N. Orlov, *Shturm Ismaila Suvorovym y 1790 godu*, St. Petersburg 1890; P. N. Batyushkov, *Bessarabia. Istoričeskoye opisaniye*, St. Petersburg 1892; *Statističeskoye opisaniye Bessarabii ... ili Bugjaka ... s 1822 po 1828 g. Izdaniye Akhermanskago zemstva*, Akkerman 1899; Mogilyanskiy, *Materialy dlya geografii i statistiki Bessarabii*, Kishinev 1913; N. M. Korobkov, *Vz'yatiye Ismaila (1790)*, in *Voenno-Istoričeskii Zhurnal* (1941), 24 ff.; Y. Yefimova, *Shturm turetskoy kreposti Ismaila v 1790 g. Neopublik. report A. V. Suvorova*, in *Voenno-Istoričeskii Zhurnal* (1941), 126 ff.; I. S. Pročko, *Russkaya artilleriya v shturme Ismaila v 1790 godu*, in *Artilleriyskiy Zhurnal* (1950), 42 ff.; I. Rusztukov, *Shturm Ismaila*, in *Voenno-Istoričeskii Zhurnal* (1965), 112 ff.; A. V. Suvorov, *Dokumenty*, ed. G. P. Meshčeryakov, Moscow 1949-1953, ii, *passim*; E. de Hurmuzaki *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, III/i (Bucharest 1880), 232, III/ii (Bucharest 1888), 95 and Supplement I/ii (Bucharest 1885), 232 and 813 (index); also *Documente privind Istoria României. Colectia Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki* (Academia Republicii Populare Române—Institutul de Istorie), Serie Novă, I (Raportul Consulare Ruse 1770-1796), Bucharest 1962, 805 (index); J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1840-1863, v, 941, vi, 880, vii, 655; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1908-1913, v, 96; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Türk Kurumu Yayınlarından XIII. Seri, no. 16), IV/i, Ankara 1956, 576, note I; J. Pohler, *Bibliotheca Historico-Militaris*, Kassel 1887-1899, ii, 103 ff. and 235 ff.; von Schafenort, *Quellenkunde der Kriegswissenschaften für den Zeitraum 1740-1910*, Berlin 1910, 593; IA, s.v. ISMAIL (Aurel Decei).

(T. MENZEL—[V. J. PARRY])

**ISMĀ'IL I** (ABU' L-MUZAFFAR), born 25 Radjab 892/17 July 1487, died 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524, shah of Persia (907/1501-930/1524) and founder of the Šafawid dynasty [see ŠAFAWIDS].

1. *Biographical and historical*: Under Ismā'īl, Iran became a national state for the first time since the Arab conquest in the 1st/7th century. An important factor in this process was the proclamation by Ismā'īl of the Iḥnā 'Aḫḫārī (Djā'farī) form of Shi'ism as the official religion of the Šafawid state. By this action, Ismā'īl decisively differentiated his dominions from those of the Ottomans, who were threatening to absorb Iran into their empire, and imparted a sense of unity among his subjects in the face of their arch-enemies, the Ottomans in the west and the Özbegs in the east.

Although Ismā'īl was related, through both his mother and his grandmother, to the Aḳ Koyunlu

rulers, the Šafawid-Aḳ Koyunlu alliance had broken down during the lifetime of his father Ḥaydar [q.v.], and Ismā'īl, while still an infant, was arrested with his elder brothers 'Alī and Ibrāhīm, and imprisoned for 4½ years in the fortress of Iṣṭāḫr in Fārs (end of Rabi' II 894/March 1489—end of Šhawwāl 898/August 1493). Civil war broke out between rival Aḳ Koyunlu princes, and one of them, Rustam, made use of Šafawid support to defeat one of his rivals (Šhawwāl 898/August 1493). In 899/1494 Rustam, realizing that rising popular support for the Šafawids constituted a threat to his own position, had 'Alī killed. Ismā'īl fled to Ardabīl and thence to Gīlān.

For nearly five years (899/1494-905/1499), Ismā'īl remained in hiding at Lāhīdījān, where he had been given sanctuary by the local ruler. During this time he maintained close contact with his *murīds* in Rūm, Karādīja-dāgh, Ādharbāyđjān and elsewhere. Since these *murīds*, also known as *ḫizilbāsh* [q.v.], were mainly Turcoman tribesmen, Ismā'īl in order to make the Šafawid *da'wa* more effective, addressed to them simple verses in their own Turkish dialect, using the *takhalluṣ* of *Khata'i* [see below]. In 905/1499 Ismā'īl emerged from Gīlān to make his bid for power, and the following year some 7,000 Šūfīs of the Šafawid *tarīqa* assembled at Erzindjān. After a campaign in Šhīrwān in which Ismā'īl avenged the deaths of his father and grandfather (see DJUNAYD; ḤAYDAR), he defeated a large Aḳ Koyunlu army under Alwand at the decisive battle of Šharūr. This victory gave Ismā'īl control of Ādharbāyđjān, and in 907/1501 he was crowned at Tabrīz.

Ismā'īl spent the next decade extending the Šafawid empire: Fārs and 'Irāk-i 'Adjam were conquered in 908-9/1503; Māzandarān and Gurgān, and Yazd, in 909/1504; Diyār Bakr in 911/1505-913/1507; Baghdād and 'Irāk-i 'Arab in 914/1508 (the local rulers of *Khūzistān*, *Luristān* and *Kurdistān* acknowledged his suzerainty); Šhīrwān in 915/1509-10. Finally, on 30 Šha'abān 916/2 December 1510, Ismā'īl routed the Šhibānī Özbegs in a great battle at Marw. A few days later, Ismā'īl entered Harāt, and proceeded to consolidate his conquest of *Khurāsān*.

The following year, 917/1511, Šafawid troops penetrated as far eastwards as Samarkand, in support of the Timūrid prince Bābur, who was hoping, with their aid, to recover his Transoxanian dominions. Any idea Ismā'īl may have entertained of annexing Transoxania to the Šafawid empire was dashed in 918/1512, when a powerful Özbek army swept the Šafawid expeditionary force back across the Oxus. This was followed by an uneasy truce with the Özbegs which lasted some eight years, but Ismā'īl proved himself unable to arrive at a permanent solution to the problem of the defence of the north-east frontier.

By 916/1510, therefore, the whole of Persia was in Ismā'īl's hands, but the establishment of a militant Shi'ite state on the Ottoman border constituted a challenge which Sultan Selīm could not afford to ignore, and in 920/1514 he invaded Persia and inflicted a crushing, but not decisive, defeat on Ismā'īl at the battle of Čaldīrān [q.v.]. His aura of invincibility dispelled, Ismā'īl never again led his troops in battle. During the last ten years of his life, he took a less and less active part in political affairs, and gave his viziers virtually a free hand in administrative matters.

After his defeat at Čaldīrān, Ismā'īl became more interested in exploring the possibilities of an alliance with European powers, in order to attack the Ottomans on two fronts. In 921-2/1516 he received an

envoy from Louis II, King of Hungary, in the person of a Maronite monk named Fr. Peter, and an ambassador from Charles V of Germany also reached him about the same time. In *Shawwāl* 929/August-September 1523, Ismā'īl sent a letter to Charles, expressing his astonishment that the Christian powers, instead of devoting all their energies to fighting the Turks, were squabbling among themselves (details from unpublished material made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. L. Lockhart). The Ṣafawids thus carried on the series of diplomatic exchanges with the West, which had begun in Ak Koyunlu times, and which had as their chimerical objective the organizing of joint military operations against the common foe, the Ottomans.

Ismā'īl's achievements have been overshadowed, perhaps unfairly, by those of his illustrious descendant, 'Abbās I [q.v.]. Ismā'īl possessed the charismatic appeal, the powers of leadership, and the personal valour, to bring to a successful conclusion more than half a century of active revolutionary endeavour. In addition, he displayed a high degree of political acumen and statecraft. On his accession, he was faced by complex problems of great urgency. There was the problem of how to incorporate the Sūfī organization of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīka*, of which Ismā'īl was the *murshid-i kāmil*, in the newly established Ṣafawid state, of which he was the *pādīshāh*. There was the problem of how to reconcile the "men of the sword", the Turcoman military élite which had brought him to power, with the "men of the pen", the Persian bureaucrats on whom he depended for the efficient functioning of his empire. There was the problem of imposing doctrinal uniformity as rapidly as possible, while at the same time maintaining political control of the religious institution, in order to prevent the 'ulamā' from assuming a dominant position in the state (the undue growth of the power of the *muḍjīdahids* was later to become one of the principal causes of Ṣafawid decline). The fact that Ismā'īl's policies, original and ingenious though they frequently were, ultimately failed to solve these problems, indicates not so much the inadequacy of his policies as the insolubility of the problems.

On his death in 930/1524, Shāh Ismā'īl was buried in the Ṣafawid family mausoleum at Ardabīl. He had four sons: Tahmāsp [q.v.], who succeeded him; Sām; Alkāš [q.v.], and Bahrām; and five daughters.

*Bibliography*: *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia*, Hakluyt Society, London 1873; H. Braun, *Eine unerschlossene Darstellung des Lebens des Ersten Ṣafawidenschahs*, unpublished dissertation, Göttingen 1946; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936; Gh. Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī*, Aligarh 1939 (useful for checking facts); R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ismā'īl I (907-930/1501-1524)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 91-105; idem, *The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Timūr*, in *Isl.*, xl (1964), 35-65; idem, *The consolidation of Ṣafawid power in Persia*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 71-94; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (translated and explained by V. Minorovsky), London 1943. Persian sources: The principal chronicles for the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl are: *Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, Habīb al-siyar*, Tehran (particularly detailed on events in *Khurāsān*); *A chronicle of the early Ṣafawīs, being the Ahsanū't-Tawārikh of Hasan-i Rūmlū*, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931; *Khwurshāh b. Kubād al-Husaynī, Tārīkh-i Ilḡī-yi Nizāmshāh*, British Museum Ms. Add. 23, 513;

British Museum Ms. Or. 3248 (an anonymous history of Shāh Ismā'īl); *Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī, Sharafnāma* (ed. Véliaminof-Zernof), St. Petersburg 1860-2; Budāk Munshī Ḳazwīnī, *Djawāhir al-Akhhār*, Leningrad Ms. Dorn 288. See now also the anonymous chronicle on the reign of Ismā'īl, recently discovered in Iran, entitled '*Ālam-ārā-yi Ṣafawī*', edited by Vad Allāh Shukrī, Tehran 1971. (R. M. SAVORY)

2. *His Poetry*: The founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty was also a poet who wrote under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of *Khata'ī*. His poems, with few exceptions, are in the Turkish language of *Ādharbāy-djān*, or *Ḳizilbashī* (a term used in the indigenous sources, as distinct from *Çağatā'ī* and *Rūmī*). *Khata'ī*'s poetical output consists of: (a) The *Diwān*, the oldest and most authentic Ms. of which was completed in 948/1541, eighteen years after Shāh Ismā'īl's death. This *Diwān* contains 254 *ḳasīda-ghazals*, three *mathnawīs*, one *murabba'* and one *musaddas*. The first twenty-four religious and didactic poems are, however, not in alphabetical order. Some of the poems of this Ms. contain outspoken utterances such as "I am the absolute Truth", and "I am God's eye (or God himself)", etc. These poems and a number of technically imperfect poems together with a poem in syllabic metre are omitted in the later Mss., which have apparently undergone a process of "expurgation". The great part of the content of *Khata'ī*'s *Diwān* consists of the lyrical poems. (b) The *Dah-nāma*, which was composed in 911/1506 in the *mathnawī* form, and in the *ḳarāḳī* metre. The subject of this poem is the exchange of ten letters between the lover and the beloved, which ultimately leads to their union. It includes a number of *ghazals* in the same metre. This *Dah-nāma* belongs to a literary genre which was very popular in the Persian and Turkish literatures of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. (See T. Gandjei; *The Genesis and Definition of a literary composition: The Dah-nāma* ("Ten love-letters"), in *Der Islam*, xvii (1971), 59-66).

A collection of poems in syllabic metre, which bear the *takhalluṣ* *Khata'ī*, and exist, not in the Mss. of the *Diwān*, but in various miscellaneous Mss., can with confidence be ascribed to poets of 'Alawī-Bektaşhī circles, in which the royal poet was venerated (see T. Gandjei; *Pseudo-Khata'ī*, in *Iran and Islam*, Edinburgh 1971, 263-266). The songs called *καταί ~ catai* in praise of Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp, which Michele Membré mentions (*Relazione di Persia* (1542), Naples 1969, 48), were most probably the syllabic poems bearing the pseudonym of *Khata'ī*.

*Khata'ī* was greatly influenced in his poems by the work of the Hurūfī poet, Nesīmī [q.v.]. *Khata'ī*'s poetry, besides its literary merit, which is far from negligible, is important, in that it contains data concerning the true nature of early Ṣafawid Shī'ism. Although the poets who composed Turkish poems in Ṣafawid Persia were for the most part influenced by Nawā'ī and Fuḍūllī, there is evidence of a certain influence by *Khata'ī* on some poets of this period, such as Amānī, Zafar and Ṣā'ib. But it was in 'Alawī circles that the poems and the person of *Khata'ī* exercised a lasting influence. His poems were recited for centuries in 'Alawī-Bektaşhī circles of Anatolia. In his native *Ādharbāy-djān*, the Ahl-i Haḳḳ, who incorporated him in the syncretic pantheon of their sect, considered him to be the *ṣṭr* of Turkestān (i.e., *Ādharbāy-djān* and the neighbouring Turkish-speaking lands), in whose person God spoke in Turkish, *Khata'ī de türki dedi*, and finally the adepts of the extremist *Shabak* sect in 'Irāk included the poems

ascribed to Khāṭā'ī in their sacred book, the *Buyruḡ*.

*Bibliography*: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: Sām Mirzā, *Tuḡfa-i Sāmī*, ed. Waḥid Dastgirdī, Tehran 1314 s, 6-9; Fakḥrī Harawī, *Rawḡat al-Salāṭīn*, ed. Khayyāmpūr, Tabriz 1435 s, 67-70; Luṭfī-ʿAlī Beg Ādḥar, *Ātashkada*, ed. Ḥasān Sādāt-i Naṣīrī, Tehran 1336, 57-8; Riḍā Kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Maḍjmaʿ al-fuṣṣahā*, Tehran 1284-95, 22-3; Muḥannad ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dāniṣḥmandān-i Ādḥarbāyḍjān*, Tehran 1314, 136-7; Sadeddin Nūzhet Ergun, *Ḥalāyī Divānī, Šah Ismāʿil-i Safevī, Ḥayāt ve Nefesleri*, Istanbul 1946; V. Minorsky, *The Poetry of Šah Ismāʿil I*, in BSOS, x (1938-42), 1006a-1053a; *Deh-name*, ed. H. Araslı, Baku 1948; *Il Canzoniere di Šah Ismāʿil Ḥaṭāʿī*, ed. T. Gandjei, Naples 1959; Shah Ismayil Khetai, *Eserleri*, I, ed. H. Araslı-Ezizaga Memmedov, Baku 1966; Aḥmad Ḥamid al-Šarrāf, *al-Šabak min farāḡ al-ghulāt fi ʿIrāk*, Bagdad 1954; Abdūlbakī Gölpinarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Ḥatayi, Kul Himmet*, Istanbul 1962; V. Minorsky, *The Sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ*, in *Iranica*, London 1964, 307-16. (T. GANDJEI)

**ISMĀ'IL II**, born 940/1533-4 (this is conjectured from the available evidence; no chronicle gives his date of birth), died 13 Ramaḍān 985/24 November 1577, second son of Šhāh Ṭahmāsp [q.v.], shah of Persia (984-5/1576-7) of the Šafawid dynasty.

After the rebellion of his uncle Alḡāš [q.v.], Ismāʿil was appointed governor of Šhīrwān (954/1547), and conducted several successful campaigns against the Ottomans in the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia. In 962/1555 he married a daughter of the marriage between a sister of Ṭahmāsp and Šhāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī [q.v.]. The following year, in Šah bān 963/June 1556, he was appointed governor of Khurāsān.

After only a few months at Harāt, Ismāʿil was suddenly arrested (Šafar 964/December 1556), and taken to the fortress of Kaḡḡaha in Ādḥarbāyḍjān, where he remained a prisoner for nearly twenty years. Various reasons are put forward to account for Ṭahmāsp's action. Some sources point out that Ismāʿil's arrest followed closely upon the signature of the Treaty of Amasya (962/1555), which ushered in more than thirty years of peace with the Ottomans, and that Ṭahmāsp feared that Ismāʿil's bellicose nature might endanger this peace; but the transference of Ismāʿil, from Šhīrwān, adjacent to the Ottoman frontier, to Harāt, would seem designed to obviate just such a danger. Other sources declare that the puritanical Ṭahmāsp could no longer tolerate Ismāʿil's dissolute way of life. The real reason for Ismāʿil's sudden fall from favour, however, seems to have been Ṭahmāsp's fear that Ismāʿil might be nursing an ambition to supplant him, a fear which was assiduously played upon by the powerful *wakil* Maʿsūm Beg Šafawī, who was a bitter enemy of Ismāʿil. Ismāʿil's high-handed behaviour on his arrival at Harāt gave colour to Ṭahmāsp's suspicions, and moved Ṭahmāsp, for whom the defection of his own brothers Alḡāš and Sām was a recent and vivid memory, to take action against him. This situation may, then, be reflected by what at first sight appears the vague statement in *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (i, 125), that Ismāʿil was imprisoned "in the best interests of the state, and because of various improper acts which displeased the shah".

On the death of Šhāh Ṭahmāsp (984/1576), 30,000 *ḡizilbāsh* assembled at Kaḡḡaha and swore fealty to Ismāʿil, who was enthroned as Šhāh Ismāʿil II at the capital, Ķazwīn, on 27 Djumādā I 984/22 August 1576.

Ismāʿil's mind, however, had been unhinged by his long imprisonment, and, on attaining power, his sole idea was to maintain his position at all costs. To this end, he carried out a widespread purge of *ḡizilbāsh* officers of the Ustādjlū tribe, which had supported an abortive coup in favour of his brother Ḥaydar. He then began systematically to murder, or blind, any prince of the blood royal who might conceivably become the centre of a conspiracy against him. Five of his brothers and four other Šafawid princes perished in this way. When Ismāʿil began to put to death officers whose only crime was that of having held important positions under his father, the *ḡizilbāsh* regretted that they had placed him on the throne, and conspired to assassinate him. Ismāʿil is alleged to have been a less than enthusiastic Twelver Shīʿite. This gave the *ḡizilbāsh* both an added incentive to remove him, and also a plausible excuse for their action. Ismāʿil's addiction to narcotics made it easy for the *ḡizilbāsh* both to carry out the murder and to give it the air of death by misadventure. With the connivance of Ismāʿil's sister, Parī Khān Khānuin, the conspirators placed poison in an electuary containing opium, which was consumed by Ismāʿil and one of his boon-companions. Ismāʿil was succeeded by his elder brother Muḥammad Khudābānda [q.v.].

*Bibliography*: W. Hinz, *Šah Esmāʿil II, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Šafawiden*, in MSOS, xxxvi (1933), 19-100, with full details of the European and Persian sources at pp. 20-24.

(R. M. SAVORY)

**ISMĀ'IL, MAWLĀY** [see ʿALAWIDS and MAWLĀY ISMĀ'IL].

**ISMĀ'IL B. ʿABBĀD** [see IBN ʿABBĀD].

**ISMĀ'IL B. AḤMAD**, ABŪ IBRĀHĪM, called al-Amīr al-Māḡlī or al-Amīr al-ʿĀdil, the first member of the Sāmānid family effectively to rule all Transoxania and Fargḡāna as an independent sovereign. Born in 234/849, he spent 20 years as governor of Buḡḡārā on behalf of his brother Našr, who himself resided at Samarḡand (260/874-279/892). The unsettled conditions in Khurāsān during the years between the fall of the Tāhirids and the final establishment there of ʿAnūr b. al-Layṡh [q.v.] were reflected in Transoxania also. Ismāʿil had in Buḡḡārā to fight off an invading army from Khʿārazm under one Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭāʿī (who was not necessarily, *pace* Barthold, a member of the Tāhirid family, cf. Vasmer in *Num. Zeitschr.*, lxiii (1930), 148), and to maintain relations with his mistrustful brother Našr, who twice sent armies against Buḡḡārā.

When Našr died in 279/892, Ismāʿil became master of all Transoxania, transferring the capital to Buḡḡārā, where it was to remain till the end of the dynasty, and securing recognition from the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph. In the following year he led an expedition into the Turkish steppes against the camp of the Ḳarluḡ Ḳaḡḡan at Talas (modern Djambul), capturing an immense booty of slaves and beasts and converting the principal church of Talas into a mosque; he also subdued the local Iranian dynasty of rulers of Ušḡrūsana in the Syr Daryā valley. In view of the claim of the Šaffārids [q.v.] to be successors in the east of the Tāhirids, ʿAmr b. al-Layṡh's attempt to assert his suzerainty over Khʿārazm and Transoxania was predictable. Šaffārid might in Persia was such that in 285/898 the caliph al-Muʿtaḡidil was forced to issue a decree deposing Ismāʿil and awarding an investiture diploma to ʿAnūr for Transoxania and Balḡḡ. ʿAnūr marched

northwards to take possession of his new territories, and summoned Ismā'il, the Abū Dā'ūdids of Ṭukhārīstān and the Farīghūnids of Gūzgān to allegiance. There was considerable fighting south of the Oxus between the Sāmānids and Šaffārids, until in 287/900 'Amr was defeated near Balkh and captured. Although Ismā'il was technically in rebellion against the 'Abbāsids, the caliph was overjoyed at the removal of so dangerous a rival as 'Amr. Ismā'il's victory gave the Sāmānids the preponderance in Khurāsān, and they held the province all through the 4th/10th century until it passed to Maḥmūd of Ghazna.

In the last years of his life, Ismā'il halted a Turkish invasion from the steppes (291/904), and was busy extending Sāmānid power into northern Persia and the Caspian region. The Shī'ī ruler of Ṭabaristān, Muḥammad b. Zayd, was repulsed from Khurāsān, and an offensive launched against Ṭabaristān itself. By 287/902 the Sāmānids held territory as far west as Rayy and Qazwīn, although Ismā'il's successors were unable to hold this in face of the resurgence of Daylamī peoples. Ismā'il died in 295/907. The historical and anecdotal sources unanimously praise him for his moderation and justice; influenced by his victory over the Šaffārids, they commend his faithfulness to the Caliphs and his Sunnī piety. His tomb is still shown in Bukhārā (cf. Schroeder in *Survey of Persian art*, iii, 946-9), but the mausoleum seems in fact to belong to the later Sāmānid period.

*Bibliography*: See the long section on Ismā'il in Narshakhi, tr. R. N. Frye, 77-94, to be supplemented by such historical sources as Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr; amongst *adab* works, those of Niẓām al-Mulk and 'Awfi; Barthold, *Turkestan*<sup>2</sup>, 222-6; R. N. Frye, *Bukhara, the medieval achievement*, Norman, Okla., 1965, 38-49.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**ISMĀ'IL B. BULBUL**, ABŪ'L-ŠAKR, vizier of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mu'tamid [q.v.]. Of Persian or Mesopotamian origin, he was born in 230/844-5 and claimed to belong to the Arab tribe of the Shaybān. Abū'l-Šakr, who had been a secretary and had been in charge of the dīwān of the Royal Domains, appeared on the political scene in 265/878, when the regent al-Muwaffaq had him appointed vizier, a post which he had to abandon shortly afterwards only to regain it at the end of the year. But Ismā'il played a minor role while the regent had Šā'id b. Maḥlad [q.v.] as his personal secretary, and it was only from the year 272/885-6 that he really exercised the functions of vizier. Though not responsible for military affairs, he ran the administration and was in charge of the appointments to the various state offices. It was then that he appointed the Banu'l-Furāt brothers to the financial offices. These brothers, whose Shī'ī convictions he shared, helped him in his attempt to face the difficulties that beset him at the time. But he came up against the hostility of al-Muwaffaq's son, the future al-Mu'taqid, whom his father had prevented from going off on an expedition against the Ṭūlūnids and whom Ismā'il himself attempted to eliminate from public affairs first during his absence and then during the regent's illness. After the death of the latter, in Šafar 278/May 892, al-Mu'taqid, who had become regent, hastened to arrest Ismā'il who died shortly afterwards, a victim of his attachment to the Caliph, but also of the support he had lent the Shī'īs and perhaps of his unorthodox opinions.

*Bibliography*: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī*, Beirut, 1967, 157-66.

(D. SOURDEL)

**ISMĀ'IL B. AL-KĀSİM** [see ABU 'L-'ATĀHIYA].

**ISMĀ'IL B. NŪḤ**, ABŪ IBRĀHĪM AL-MUNTAŠIR, the last of the Sāmānids of Trausoxania and Khurāsān. When in 389/999 the Qarakhānid Iliq Khān Naṣr occupied the Sāmānid capital Bukhārā, Ismā'il and other members of the family were carried off to Uzkend. He contrived, however, to escape to Khwārazm, and for the next four years kept up a series of attacks on the Ghaznavids in northern Khurāsān and the Qarakhānids in Bukhārā. In 393/1003 he obtained the help of the Oghuz, traditional allies of the Sāmānids, and according to Gardīzi, it was at this point that the leader of the Saljūqs became a Muslim. Ismā'il's attempts to restore his dynasty's power all ended in failure; he took refuge in the Kara Kum desert, where he was killed in Rabi' I or Rabi' II 395/Dec.-Jan. 1004-5 or Jan.-Feb. 1005 by a group of Arabs of the Banū 'Idīl. According to 'Awfi, Ismā'il was the most gifted of his dynasty in regard to poetry and its transmission, and his short-lived courts at Bukhārā attracted many literary figures.

*Bibliography*: 'Utbi-Manīnī, i, 320-46; Gardīzi, ed. Nāzīm, 63-5; 'Awfi, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1333/1954, 23-4; Barthold, *Turkestan*<sup>2</sup>, 269-70; Nāzīm, *Sullān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 45-6.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**ISMĀ'IL B. SEBŪKTIGIN**, Ghaznavid amīr, third son of the founder of the Ghaznavid empire and last of the family to recognize the suzerainty of the Sāmānids. When Sebūktigin died in Sha'bān 387/August 997, he left the provinces of Ghazna and Balkh to Ismā'il, and command of the army in Khurāsān to his eldest son Maḥmūd; this allocation of Ghazna to Ismā'il was probably influenced by the fact that he was Sebūktigin's son by a daughter of Alptigin [see ALP-TAKIN], the original commander of the Turks in Ghazna. Maḥmūd refused to accept these arrangements, and demanded recognition as supreme overlord in the Ghaznavid dominions. He obtained the help of his brother Naṣr, governor of Bust, and of his uncle Bughraçuk, governor of Harāt, and in a battle outside Ghazna defeated Ismā'il (Rabi' I 388/March 998). Thus after a reign of only seven months, Ismā'il was deposed and imprisoned for the rest of his life in Gūzgān.

*Bibliography*: M. Nāzīm, *The life and times of Sullān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 38-41, 179; C. E. Bosworth, *A Turco-Mongol practice amongst the early Ghaznavids?*, in *Central Asiatic Jnl.*, vii (1962), 237-8; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 44-5.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**ISMĀ'IL B. YASĀR** AL-NISĀ'Ī, Medinan poet, who died at a very advanced age some years before the end of the Umayyad dynasty (132/750). The descendant of an Ādharbaydjāni prisoner, he was a *mawlā* of the Taym b. Murra of Quraysh and it is said that he owed his *nisba* to the fact that his father prepared meals—or sold carpets—for weddings, but this interpretation should be treated with caution. At Medina, where he lived, he had become a supporter of the Zubayrids, but his friendly relations with 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr [q.v.] (in whose company he went to the court of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān after the fall of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (73/692)) gained him access to the caliph, to whom he addressed a panegyric; in spite of his secret hatred of the Marwānids, he later wrote in praise of several Umayyad caliphs and princes, up to al-Walīd b. Yazīd (125/743). To judge from the notice in the *Aghānī*, Ismā'il



b. Yasâr's poetical work contained hardly any satires but consisted of panegyrics, *marthiyas* (notably of his brother Muḥammad and of a son of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr) and *ghazals*, which were set to music. However, the most striking feature of his poetry seems to be a clearly expressed desire to disparage the Arabs and to glorify the 'Adjam; one verse refers to the *wa'd* of new-born girls, others to the poet's own illustrious origin; it is said that he was even bold enough to recite before Hiṣhām b. 'Abd al-Malik, at al-Ruṣāfa, a poem in which he omitted to praise the caliph but held forth at length on his own glorious ancestors; he was punished for this audacity by being thrown fully-clothed into a pond and then banished to the Hiḍjāz. In this respect, Ismâ'il b. Yasâr al-Nisâ'î may be considered as one of the first *Shu'ûbis*; his son Ibrâhîm followed him in this, according to the *Aghāni*, which however devotes to him only a few lines. His brothers Muḥammad and Mûsâ, known as *Shahawât*, were also poets [see MÛSÂ *SHAHAWÂT*].

*Bibliography*: Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 366 = 559; Ibn Sallâm al-Djumaḥî, 345-6; *Aghāni*, iv, 119-27 (Beirut ed., iv, 409-26); Baghdādî, *Khisāna*, i, 144 (Cairo ed., i, 271); Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *al-Adab al-djāhili*, 176; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 160; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 186-8; Nallino, *Letteratura*, 139-40 (Fr. tr., 214-5); Brockelmann, S I, 95.

(CH. PELLAT)

**ISMÂ'İL RUSÛKH AL-DÛN ISMÂ'İL B. AḤMAD AL-ANKARAWÎ**, (?-1041/1631-2), a commentator of the *Mathnawî* of Djālâl al-Dîn Rûmî. His date of birth is unknown, but it is known that he was born in Ankara, received a good education, was active in trade and entered the *Khalwatiyya* order of dervishes (cf. *Sharh-i Mathnawî*, i, II, introduction). Having contracted an eye disease, Ismâ'il went to Konya where he became a follower of the Mawlawî *shaykh* Bostân Çelebi (d. 1040/1630), who named him *khalifa*. Ismâ'il then went to Istanbul, where he became *shaykh* of the Mawlawî-*khâne* (Mevlevî dervish house) of Galata, a position which he kept until his death. He lies buried in the *turba* in the courtyard of his Mawlawî-*khâne*.

Ismâ'il was proficient in both Arabic and Persian, and became known for his commentaries on works written especially in these two languages (cf. M. Ṭâhir, *'Othmânî Mu'ellifleri*, i, 24 ff.; *Kh'âdja-zâde Aḥmad Hilmî, Ziyâret-i Evliyâ*, Istanbul 1325 A.H., 71). His main works are:

1. *Fâtih al-abyât*, a commentary on the first 18 couplets of the *Mathnawî*, and of certain difficult terms.

2. *Djâmi' al-âyât*, a commentary on the *kur'ânîc* verses, *hadîth*s and Arabic verses in the *Mathnawî*.

3. *Sharh-i Mathnawî*, written after the two preceding works. This commentary, on which Ismâ'il's fame rests, and which until recent times was the most popular work explaining the *Mathnawî*, is largely inspired by the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabî (d. 638/1240). It dwells on the mystical rather than the grammatical significance of Rûmî's couplets. It was, nonetheless, criticized by the Mawlawis because it included a commentary on an apocryphal seventh volume of the *Mathnawî* (see A. Gölpinarî, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, Istanbul 1953, 143). Ismâ'il's seven-volume commentary was printed in Istanbul in 1289/1872-3. It was also translated into Arabic, in a somewhat abridged form, under the title *al-Minhâdj al-kawî sharh al-Mathnawî*, by Djangî Yûsuf Dede of Tripoli (d. 1080/1669), and published in Cairo in 1289/1872-3. Ismâ'il's work also forms the

basis of R. A. Nicholson's *Commentary on the Mathnawî of Jalaluddin Rumi*, London 1937. It was finally translated into Persian by Dr. 'Iṣmat Sattâr-zâde (*Sharh-i Kabîr-i Anḥarawî dar Mathnawî-yi Ma'nawî-yi Mawlawî*, Vol. i, Tehran 1348 solar).

4. *Zubdat al-fuḥûṣ fi naḥṣ al-fuṣûṣ*, a commentary consisting of an abridgment of Ibn al-'Arabî's *Fuṣûṣ al-ḥikam*.

5. *Sharh hayâkîl al-nûr* (or *Idâh al-ḥikam*), a commentary on the work of that name by *Shihâb al-Dîn Suhrawardî al-Maḳtûl* (d. 587/1191).

6. *Sharh ḥaşida-i tâ'iyya*, a commentary on Ibn al-Fârid's famous *ḥaşida* of that name.

In addition to these commentaries, Ismâ'il composed independent treatises (for full list see M. Ṭâhir and Aḥmad Hilmî, *op. cit.*), the best known being:

1. *Miftâh al-balâgha wa miṣbâh al-faṣâḥa*, written in Turkish, but based on Arabic and Persian manuals of rhetoric. It was printed in Istanbul in 1284/1867-8.

2. *Minhâdj al-fuḥarâ*, an explanation of Şûfî terminology, based largely on the *Manâzil al-sâ'irin* of 'Abd Allâh Anṣârî (d. 481/1088-9). It was published in Istanbul in 1286/1869-70.

3. *Hudûdîyat al-samâ*, a brief treatise in defence of the *samâ'* dance of the Mawlawî Whirling Dervishes. This has been published both separately and also together with the preceding work.

Finally, Ismâ'il's poetry was collected in a *Diwân* (see catalogue of *Diwân*s). He himself was the subject of a eulogistic *ḥaşida* by the poet *Shaykh Ghâlib*, a proof of the wide respect in which he was held for his religious and mystical knowledge (see Aḥmad Hilmî, *op. cit.*, 73-6).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works cited, Şâkib Dede, *Safina-i Hafisa-i Mawlawiyyân*, Cairo 1283/1866-7, ii, 37-44, which corresponds to *Sharh-i Mathnawî*, i, I-II, introduction; Esrâr Dede, *Tadhkirâ-i Shu'arâ-i Mawlawiyya*, Ist. Univ. Lib., TY 89, 125-7; 'Alî Anwar, *Samâ'khâna-i Adab*, Istanbul 1309/1891-2, 80-83. (TAHSİN YAZICI)

**ISMÂ'İL AŞİM EFENDİ** [see ÇELEBİ-ZÂDE].

**ISMÂ'İL GASPRINSKI** [see GASPRALÎ].

**ISMÂ'İL GHÂLIB**, (1848-1895), noted Turkish historian and numismatist. Son of the grand vizier Ibrâhîm Edhem Paṣha [q.v.], brother of Ḥamdî Bey [see 'UṬHMÂN ḤAMDÎ], director of the Imperial Museum, and of the historian *Khalîl Edhem* [see ELDĒM], he was born in Istanbul, entered government service at an early age, became a member of the Council of State and in 1894 was appointed a special assistant to the governor of Crete. Taken seriously ill there, he returned to Istanbul and died the following year. His grave is in the cemetery of the *Iskele Djâmi'a* in Uskûdar. Ismâ'il Ghâlib's lasting reputation as a scholar rests on his accomplishments in the field of Islamic numismatics. During and after Ḥamdî Bey's administration he was responsible for putting in order and expanding the museum's great collection of Islamic coins. His private collection was bought after his death by the Imperial Mint. His principal works, models of meticulous cataloguing and description, were: *Takwîmî meskûkâtî 'othmâniye* (1307/1890), *Takwîmî meskûkâtî seldjûkiye* (1309/1892), *Meskûkâtî türkmâniye katâlôghî*, also in a French edition (1311/1894), *Essai de numismatique turcomane* (his private collection) (1311/1894), *Meskûkâtî kadîme-yi islâmiye katâlôghî* (1312). For several monographs and articles by him see L. A. Mayer. *Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics*, 2nd ed., and Halil Ethem, *Islâmî Nümismatik için bir bibliografi tecrübesi* (Ankara 1933).

*Bibliography:* J. H. Mordtmann in *EL*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. GHÂLIB (Turkish translation in *IA*, s.v. GÂLIB); İbrahim Alaeddin Gövsa, *Meşhûr Adamlar Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul 1933-1935). (G. C. MILES)

**ISMÂ'İL HAKKÎ 'ALİSHÂN** (also 'ALİSHÂN-ZÂDE ISMÂ'İL HAKKÎ, in modern Turkish ISMAIL HAKKI ELDEM), 1871-1944, Turkish writer and diplomat. Educated in the Imperial School of Political Science (*Mülkiye*), he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served as director of Consular Service and as consul general in Marseilles, Zurich and Munich. Soon after his retirement in 1923, he joined the staff of 'Abd Allâh Djewdet's *İdîtihâd* [see DJEWDET] to which he contributed literary, social and economic articles regularly until 1932. He had married 'Azîze Hanım, a grand-daughter of the former grand vizier İbrâhîm Edhem Paşa (1818-1893 q.v.). İsmâ'il Hakkî began his career as writer when still a student and published a number of books and pamphlets and many articles, mainly literary biographies, monographs on literary topics and translations from French literature. In the 1890s he began to publish two series of literary biographies under the general titles *On dördün-düjü 'aşır Türk muharrirleri* and *'Othmânî meshâhîr-i üdebâsi*. Only five booklets of about hundred pages each were published: *Ahmed Midhat Efendi* (1308/1892), *Djewdet Paşa* (1308/1892), *Redjâ 'izâde Ekrem Bey* (1308/1892), *Mu'allim Nâdî Efendi* (1311/1895), *Shems ed-Din Sâmî Bey* (1311/1895). These biographies are early examples of modern Turkish literary criticism which remained almost unnoticed as the author did not belong to any active literary grouping of the period. His *Müntakhabât-ı terâdim-i meshâhîr* (1307-1891) is an anthology of French literature in translation made by various Turkish writers. Among his many translations from the French (André Maurois, Pierre Benoit, etc.), his prose rendering of Charles Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal*, *Elem çiçekleri* (İstanbul 1927), helped to make the French symbolist poet a favourite of Turkish poets of the 1930s.

*Bibliography:* F. E. Karatay, *İstanbul üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe basmalar alfabe Kataloğu*, İstanbul 1956, I, 183-84; *İdîtihâd, pasım*; *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. (S. H. Eldem); written communication of his son Sadi Eldem, Turkish ambassador in Madrid (1971).

(FAHİR İZ)

**ISMÂ'İL HAKKÎ, SHAYKH** ISMÂ'İL HAKKÎ AL-BRÛSÂWÎ OR AL-USKUDÂRÎ (1063/1652-1137/1725), Turkish scholar, mystic and poet, born at Aydos near Edirne, where his family had moved after a fire destroyed their house in İstanbul. His *Kitâb al-Silsila* (Ms Beyazid Library No. 3384), the ultimate source for all subsequent biographies, gives his grandfather's name as Bayram Çawush, the son of Shâh Khudâ-bende, and his father's name as Muşafâ. He lost his mother at an early age and, on the suggestion of Shaykh 'Othmân Fađlı, was sent to Edirne for his education, where a scholar named 'Abd al-Bâkî, relative of the Shaykh, guided his training in grammar, syntax, rhetoric, logic, *fikh*, theology, *tafsîr* and *hadîth*. In the meantime he had acquired a substantial library with the money left to him by his mother. Completing his studies in 1084/1673, he went to İstanbul to attend the lectures of 'Othmân Fađlı who, after fifteen years' teaching in Filibe, had settled in the capital. 'Othmân Fađlı initiated the young İsmâ'il Hakkî in the order of the *Djilwatiyya*, of which he was the head. İsmâ'il Hakkî also attended the lectures of many other scholars in İstanbul; he learnt Persian and studied the great

masters of Persian literature, particularly 'Aftâr, Rûmî, Hâfîz and Djâmî. He also studied calligraphy and music and set to music many hymns of the 11th/17th century mystic Hudâyi [q.v.]. In 1086/1675 'Othmân Fađlı sent him to Üsküb (Skopje) to preach, where he founded a convent of the *Djilwatiyya* order and married the daughter of Shaykh Muşafâ 'Ushshâkî. There he fought the intolerance and bigotry of ignorant inâms and "apparent" shaykhs for six years. Constantly encouraged by his master's letters, he wrote there his most brilliant sermons (for a good Ms copy of his sermons see: Bayezid library-Veliyeddin No. 1901). İsmâ'il Hakkî preached also in Köprülü and Usturumca (Stroumitza); when 'Othmân Fađlı's representative in Bursa died in 1097/1685, the Master asked him to go there and to become the head of the *Djilwatiyya* convent. His first years in Bursa coincided with the difficult period after the disastrous Austrian campaign of 1095/1683 and İsmâ'il Hakkî had to sell his books to survive. He made occasional journeys to Mecca for the Pilgrimage and to Famagusta in Cyprus to visit his master 'Othmân Fađlı (who had been exiled there because of his insistent criticism of Ottoman foreign policy) and participated in various campaigns; he resided for a few years in Damascus, and later in Uskudar, to settle eventually in Bursa (whence his surname Brûsawî). On the death of his master in 1103/1691 he succeeded him as the head of the order. He built a mosque and a convent in Bursa and founded a library to which he left all his books. He died in Bursa in 1137/July 1725 where he is buried in his convent near Tuzpazarı.

İsmâ'il Hakkî was one of the most prolific Ottoman scholars. Of his 106 books and pamphlets, 60 are in Turkish, the rest in Arabic. The autograph copies of most of his works are kept in the İsmâ'il Hakkî Library in Bursa. He wrote on the whole in comparatively simple Turkish and avoided the flowery style of many contemporaries.

He is the author of the following main works: (1) *Rûh al-bayân*, in 4 volumes, Bülâk 1276, a Qur'ân commentary with, at times, original mystic interpretations; (2) *Rûh al-Mathnawî*, 2 volumes, İstanbul 1287-89, a commentary on the introductory part of Djâlâl al-Dîn Rûmî's *Mathnawî* on traditional lines; (3) *Farah al-Rûh*, a commentary on Yazdijloğlu Mehmed's *Muhammadiyya*, Bülâk 1252; (4) *Sharh-i Pand-i 'Aftâr*, a translation with grammatical notes and commentary of Farid al-Dîn 'Aftâr's *Pand-nâma*, İstanbul 1250; (5) *Silsila-i farîkat-i Djilwatiyya*, a treatise on the order, with biographies of the leading shaykhs including his own, İstanbul 1291; (6) *Diwân* followed by *Maqûlât* in the same volume, Bülâk 1257, İstanbul 1288; (7) *Kanz-i Makhfi*, where he expounds his approach to pantheistic Şûfism, İstanbul 1290; (8) *Tuhfa-i Khaliliyya*, a collection of moral admonitions, İstanbul 1256; (9) *Mi'râdîyya*, a verse narrative of Muḥammad's ascent to Heaven, İstanbul 1269; (10) *Kitâb al-natîdja*, his last work, written in 1136/1724, not printed (for a good Ms see Atif Efendi Library, No. 1483). His short commentaries to various poems by Yûnus Emre, Hâdîdî Bayram and Niyâzi-i Mîşrî are to be found in many *medîmû'as* containing his various treatises. See bibliography.

*Bibliography:* Brockelmann, II, 440 and S II, 652; Bursalı Tâhir, *Mewlânâ Shaykh İsmâ'il Hakkî al-Djilwatî*, biographical note with complete bibliography of the author's published and unpublished works, İstanbul 1320; idem, *'Othmânî Mü'ellifleri*, I, 28-32; Mehmed 'Alî 'Aynî, *İsmâ'il Hakkî Bursawî hakkında bir tedkik*, İstanbul 1928;

idem, *Ismâil Hakki, Philosophe mystique*, Paris 1933; I. A. s.v.; Rühnevaz Deringör, *Ismâil Hakki Bursavi: Hayatı ve Türkçe eserleri*, unpublished thesis, Türkiyat Library, Istanbul, No. 475; Mahir İz, *Tasavvuf*, Istanbul 1969, 197-9.

(GÜNAY KUT)

**ISMÂ'İL HAKKI, MANASTIRLI** [see Supplement].

**ISMÂ'İL PASHA**, khedive of Egypt, 1863-79, second son of İbrâhîm Paşa [q.v.] and grandson of Muḥammad 'Alî [q.v.], was born in Cairo on 31 December 1830. He received his early education in the private palace school founded by his grandfather for his family, where he studied Arabic, Persian and Turkish. At fourteen, he spent some time in Vienna, where he was sent for treatment of an eye complaint. Two years later, in 1846, he was sent to Paris to join one of the Egyptian educational missions under the preceptorship of the Armenian İstifân Bey. There he studied French, some of the modern sciences and certain aspects of engineering. He returned to Egypt in 1848.

Upon the death of İbrâhîm Paşa in 1848, İsmâ'il's cousin, 'Abbâs Hilmi I [q.v.] (son of Fûsun Paşa) succeeded to the paşhalik. After the death of his grandfather, Muḥammad 'Alî, the following year, 'Abbâs I reportedly distrusted his uncle Sa'îd Paşa and his cousins, with all of whom he disputed the disposition of Muḥammad 'Alî's inheritance. Consequently, İsmâ'il, along with other princes of the House, went to live for a time in Istanbul and to solicit the assistance of the sultan against 'Abbâs I. Sultan 'Abd al-Madîd appointed İsmâ'il a member of the State Judicial Council. A few years later, upon the accession of his uncle Sa'îd Paşa to the viceregal throne in 1854, İsmâ'il returned to Egypt, and was appointed president of the State Judicial Council. The following year (1855), he was entrusted with a mission to the court of Napoleon III in Paris in connection with Sa'îd Paşa's policy of seeking greater independence from the Porte, for this purpose taking advantage of Egypt's participation in the Crimean War (1854-6). He also headed another diplomatic mission on behalf of Sa'îd Paşa to the Vatican. In 1861, Sa'îd appointed him sirdar (commander in chief) of the army at a time when the tribes in the Sudan had been rebellious.

By the time İsmâ'il became viceroy of Egypt on 18 January 1863, he had thus had relatively wide experience in the administrative, diplomatic and military affairs of the country. Moreover he had first-hand experience of Europe and of the politics and administration of the Porte in Istanbul.

In contrast to the relatively unimaginative and uneventful rule of his two predecessors, 'Abbâs Hilmi I (1848-54) and Sa'îd Paşa (1854-63), İsmâ'il's reign brought Egypt material prosperity, and economic, social and cultural advancement. But it also brought financial bankruptcy and domestic and international difficulties. As ambitious as his illustrious grandfather, the founder of the dynasty, yet operating in changed circumstances and without his grandfather's military resources or force of personality and character, İsmâ'il attempted to accomplish too many things too quickly. His policy, disastrous though it turned out to be for himself and Egypt, had three major objectives. One of these was to secure greater autonomy, and ultimately complete independence, for Egypt from the Ottoman sultan. The second was to accelerate the commercial, military and cultural modernization of the country. The third was to acquire an African empire. All three objectives entailed

complex and hazardous relations with ambitious European powers (Britain and France for example); a risky confrontation with the Ottoman suzerain of the country; and a huge—and in the end ruinous—financial outlay. Domestically, this policy of vast, radical and rapid Europeanization involved grave dangers to the ruler, because it sowed the seeds of economic, social and cultural dilution. This policy, directed against the Ottoman sultan, was dependent on European powers for money and political support and thus led inevitably to foreign intervention in the affairs of Egypt and eventually to its occupation by British forces. These consequences, in turn, aroused the resentment and opposition of the Egyptians to Europe and to their own rulers, who were associated with the coming of European control, that is, with the forfeiture of the autonomy Egypt enjoyed before 1875.

In seeking to achieve the first objective of his policy, that of greater independence, İsmâ'il purchased from the sultan the firman of 27 May 1866, by which the order of succession was changed to one of primogeniture in his own line. He also secured the right to increase the size of his army, coin his own money and confer titles. Another firman of 8 June 1867 granted him the title of khedive, autonomy in the conduct of his internal and financial affairs, the authority to conclude treaties with other sovereign states regarding customs, ports, trade transit and the regulation of foreign community affairs. A brief interlude of strained relations with the Porte, arising out of the Egyptian involvement in the Cretan uprising of 1866 and İsmâ'il's financial extravagance over the opening of the Suez Canal, as well as his intrigues with foreign powers, led the sultan to issue a firman on 29 November 1869 practically rescinding İsmâ'il's gains from that of 1867. However, İsmâ'il's visit to Istanbul and lavish bribery of Turkish officials secured him two more firmans: one of 10 September 1872, abrogating and superseding that of 1869, restored to him the right to borrow from and raise loans in Europe; another of 8 June 1873 ratified and recognized its conditions.

At home and in Europe İsmâ'il affected the trappings of a modern ruler. The participation of Egypt in the Paris Exhibition of 1867 was followed by the gala opening of the Suez Canal two years later. Despite the fact that the American Civil War (1861-5) had produced a great boom in the export of Egyptian cotton, İsmâ'il's pursuit of an African empire involved expensive military campaigns in the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda. In the meantime his expensive extraction of firmans from the sultan coincided with the decline of French influence in Egypt after the fall of Napoleon III in 1871. İsmâ'il began to look towards England for financial and other assistance.

Added to these ventures were the vicissitudes of his domestic policies. İsmâ'il reorganized the army and navy as well as army education. He also built new schools and allowed more Europeans to found their own in the country; subsidized newspapers and journals; expanded and improved the government press at Bülâk [q.v.]. He founded a national library (later, Dâr al-Kutub), a geographical society and a museum under the direction of the French archaeologist Mariette Paşa. He signed a convention outlawing the slave trade in his dominions, and organized the first state postal service in Egypt. His organization of the country into fourteen provinces, or districts, became the basis of the administration of Egypt for the next one hundred years.

During İsmâ'il's reign the country's exports doubled

in a decade, and the annual revenue of the state rose from £ 5,000,000 in 1864 to £ 145,000,000 in 1875.

The telegraph and railway networks were extended in Egypt and the Sudan. The town of Ismā'iliyya was built, and the new major irrigation canals of Ibrāhīmiyya in Upper Egypt and Ismā'iliyya between Suez and Cairo were constructed. Ismā'īl developed further the sugar refining and textile industries. Moreover, the municipal edification of Cairo and other major towns attracted foreign investment and commerce, while some Egyptian companies and banks were also founded.

By 1870, however, Ismā'īl was in great financial difficulties. At home, he tried to raise money through the notorious *Mukābala* Law of 1871, by which the government invited landowners to pay six times the annual land tax in advance in return for a perpetual reduction of one half of the tax. His borrowing in Europe had raised the Egyptian public debt to nearly £ 90,000,000. In 1875, he was forced to sell his 176,602 shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British government for an immediate cash payment of £ 4,000,000.

Ismā'īl's financial difficulties led to the setting up of a European Control Commission over Egyptian finances, the institution in 1876 of a *Caisse de la Dette Publique* with representatives from European creditor states. The previous year, 1875, the Mixed Tribunals, empowered to adjudicate disputes between Egyptians and foreigners, as well as between foreigners resident in Egypt, were established, further diluting Egyptian autonomy and eroding the authority of the khedive and his government.

Inevitably, the financial crisis of the years 1875-9 had repercussions within Egypt, and particularly in the relations between Ismā'īl and his ministers, landed notables, religious leaders and army officers. Attempts to associate all of these with his policy of independence and Europeanization began with his experiments in representative institutions. A Consultative Assembly of Deputies was instituted in 1866. A diluted and weak form of cabinet government was tried in 1878-9, shortly before Ismā'īl's deposition, by making the khedive's government responsible to the Assembly. But all of these measures were of no avail in salvaging the deteriorating financial condition of the country, or in saving Ismā'īl's own position. Instead, sedition in the army was accompanied by mounting pressure from his foreign creditors who suspected his insolvency. His desperate attempts to use a national Egyptian base against the European control of his finances failed. Moreover, his expensive promotion and subvention of an incipient native press served to undermine his position further. Nor did his participation in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 on the side of his Ottoman suzerain prevent the latter from deposing him at the insistence of the European powers on 25 June 1875. The next day, Ismā'īl left Egypt for Europe. He died in Istanbul on 6 March 1895.

Even though the social and economic changes which occurred during Ismā'īl's reign came to constitute the foundations of the further development and modernization of the country, the khedive's impatient Europeanization programme was politically a superficial one. Together with the financial problems and their international repercussions, it is fair to suggest that the reign of Ismā'īl generated complex problems for Egypt, with which its inexperienced leaders and emerging élite of modern administrators could not adequately cope. These led to the occupation of the country by Britain and the subsequent

political difficulties which this event generated for the next seventy-five years.

Nonetheless, by his ambition and financial recklessness, Ismā'īl forcefully stimulated and induced the emergence of modern Egypt, and outlined its future development. To this extent, he cannot be viewed facetiously as the disastrous khedive of Egypt, but as one of the country's creative rulers.

*Bibliography:* E. de Leon, *Egypt under its Khedives*, London 1882; J. McCoau, *Egypt under Ismail*, London 1889; P. Crabitès, *Ismail, the maligned Khedive*, London 1933; D. Landes, *Bankers and Pashas*, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958; A. Colvin, *The making of modern Egypt*, London 1906; J. Landau, *Parliaments and parties in Egypt* Tel-Aviv 1953; P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, London 1966; A. Abel-Malek, *Idéologie et renaissance nationale, L'Égypte moderne*, Paris 1969; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969. (P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

**ISMĀ'IL PASHA, BAGHDĀDLĪ** [see Supplement].

**ISMĀ'IL PASHA, NISHĀNDJĪ**, Ottoman grand vizier, came from the township of *Ayash*, now in the *il* of Ankara. Since he was over 70 at the time of his death in 1101/1690, he was born towards 1030/1620. Nothing is known of his family or his antecedents. He was somehow introduced into the Palace and brought up in the Enderûn-i humâyûn. On 13 Rabi' I 1078/3 September 1667, at Edirne, he was promoted from *Khâss-oda eskisi* to *Kiler ketkhudasi*, and soon afterwards became *Çokhâdar*. On 13 *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* 1079/25 May 1668 he was retired to the Kapucrtasî with the status (*pāye*) of Rumeli and a daily stipend of 250 *aḳḳes*. On 20 Muḥarram 1089/15 March 1678 he was made *nishāndjī*, holding this post for years. From 20 *Shahbān* 1089/8 October 1678 he acted as temporary *kāyimakām* in Istanbul with the rank of vizier, until Köprülü-zade Fāḳil Muḥṣafā Pasha, promoted from *muḥāfiḳ* of the Straits to the post of *kāyimakām*, could come to the capital. During this period he was instructed to arrest the former grand vizier Süleymān Pasha and Firārī Kāyimakām Redjeb Pasha. A week later he resumed the post of *nishāndjī*, with the rank of vizier of two *lughs*. On 2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687 he entered the Diwān as fifth vizier. As a result of further disturbances in Istanbul at the end of February 1688 caused by the execution of the notorious rebel leader Bash-čavush Hüseyin Akha (known as *setwādjī*), he was appointed *kāyimakām* by Süleymān II (27 Rabi' II 1099/1 March 1688). As such he had to deal with further disturbances: the killing of the grand vizier Siyāvush Pasha (son-in-law of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha) and the sacking of his mansion, the summoning of the townsfolk under the Holy Banner by a certain Yaghllkāl Emir to put down the rebel citizenry, and the massing of crowds at the Imperial Palace. At a meeting of the Diwān at which Ismā'īl Pasha was present, the townsfolk protested to the sultan against the excesses of the rebels. The rebels were sending threatening messages to the Palace and demanding that (since there was no grand vizier at the time), Ismā'īl Pasha and the Kapu Aghasî should prevent the Holy Banner from being brought out. Finally, as representatives of the townsfolk gathered under the Holy Banner in front of Orta Kapu, Seyyid 'Othmān Efendi entered the sultan's presence and urged that a new grand vizier be appointed immediately (instead of the *muḥājtz* of Ōzi, who had not yet assumed office). The Kapu Aghasî Hādīdjī Mehmed Agha's proposal that Ismā'īl Pasha be appointed was

supported by the Diwân and accepted by the sultan. But the grand vizier's seal was in the hands of the *Şaykh* al-Islâm Faql Allâh Efendi, who was supporting the rebels. The rebel leaders were placated by being granted various offices: Faql-Allâh came to the Palace and handed the seal to the sultan; and Ismâ'il Paşa was finally officially installed. Thereupon all the high-ranking members of the 'ulemâ' (including the *Şaykh* al-Islâm and the *kâdî* of Istanbul) were dismissed. The crowds at the Palace approved the new appointees and dispersed, so that on 26 Rabî' II 1099/2 March 1688 Ismâ'il Paşa embarked on office with his authority unquestioned. The rebel leaders and their supporters were apprehended and immediately put to death, and numerous changes were made in Palace posts and in provincial governorates. But these measures led only to new friction between the townsfolk and the Kapkulları and between the 'ulemâ' and the grand vizier. Furthermore the loss of various strong points in the Eğri-Kırka region and the fortress of Kanin increased the tension at the capital. The grand vizier now made the capital error of appointing Yeğen 'Othmân Paşa, governor of Rumeli and one of the rebels, as *Serdâr*, on the Austrian front with the rank of vizier. 'Othmân Paşa rallied to his side some of the dissidents who had managed to escape from Istanbul and the Sarıdjas and Segbâns of Rumeli, and demanded the Grand Vizierate, obliging Ismâ'il Paşa to proclaim a call to arms (*nefir-i 'âmm* [see *NAFİR*]) in Rumeli and Anatolia against his supporters. The hostility which the *Şaykh* al-Islâm Debbâgh-zâde Mehmed Efendi had felt from the first towards Ismâ'il Paşa now spread to all the 'ulemâ'. On the ground that they had accepted bribes, Ismâ'il Paşa wished to dismiss the sultan's *Khodja* 'Arab-zâde 'Abd al-Wahhâb Efendi and the Dâr al-Sa'ada Aghasî Muştafâ Agha, who made common cause with the 'ulemâ' and began making secret complaints to the sultan. The sultan, persuaded by his intimate Muştafâ Agha, finally dismissed Ismâ'il Paşa on 28 Djumâda II 1099/30 April 1688.

Ismâ'il Paşa was ordered to stay in seclusion in his *yalı* at Anadoluhisâr and then, on 10 Radjab 1099/11 May 1688 was banished to Kavala. When in August the Venetian fleet besieged Eğriboz, Ismâ'il was removed to Rhodes, where, during the Grand Vizierate of Köprülü-zâde Fâdil Muştafâ Paşa, he was executed (*Şah'bân* 1101/May 1690). The main reasons for his death were his differences with Fâdil Muştafâ and other members of the Köprülü family; the complaints of the sons of Zaun al-'Âbidîn Paşa, who had allegedly been unjustly executed during his Grand Vizierate; and the allegation that he had extorted money from the heirs of Siyâvüş Paşa. His head was sent to Istanbul and his body was buried in Rhodes. He is described as a covetous and irritable man, who, though intelligent, often took rasher measures than he really meant to.

*Bibliography*: Archive documents: two firmans of Radjab 1101/April 1690 ordering him to pay 400 purses to the treasury (from his exile in Rhodes) Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme* register No. 99, pp. 155, 159; order for his execution, etc. same register, pp. 162, 163, 173; firman ordering the searching of his house and the recovery of moneys wrongly appropriated, *Mühimme* register No. 100, p. 35.

Chronicles etc. *Defterdâr Hâdîdîl Mehmed Paşa, Zubdat al-tawârikh*, Ist. Un. Lib. Ms T 2389, ff. 89a-93a, 98a, and Ms T 5, 124a-129b; 'Abd al-Rahmân 'Abdî Paşa, Ms of *Türk Tarih*

*Kurumu* (photocopy in *Türkiyat Enstitüsü, Istanbul*), ff. 132, 137, 208; *Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha, Silâhdâr ta'rihi*, Istanbul, 1928, i, 388, 473, 671, 728-9, 762, ii, 240, 283-4, 287, 295-8, 303, 325, 330-70, 396, 402, 478, 509, 575, Râshid, *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 345, 526, ii, 36-7, 119; *Şeykhî Mehmed Ef., Wakâ'i-i fuḍalâ'*, Ist. Un., Lib., Ms T 2489, fol. 35b; 'Othmân-zâde Tâ'ib, *Hadiikat al-wuzarâ'*, Istanbul 1271, 113-4; Tayyâr-zâde Ahmed 'Atâ', *Ta'rikh-i 'Atâ'*, Istanbul 1293, ii, 72; Ferâ'îdî-zâde Seyyid Mehmed Sa'îd, *Ta'rik-i Gülşen-i ma'ârif*, Istanbul 1252, ii, 967-78; De La Croix, *Abrégé chron. de l'hist. ott.*, Paris 1768, ii, 60c-2; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 247-57, 308-9; *Sidjill-i 'Othmâni*, i, 354-5; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 427-9; I. H. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iii, 465-6, 517; IA, art. *Mehmed IV* (M. Cavid Baysun).

(MÜNİR AKTEPE)

**ISMÂ'IL ŞABRÎ**, an Egyptian poet (1886-1953), distinguished by his *kunya* of Abū Unayma from another and better known Ismâ'il Şabrî. His earliest poetic works date from 1910, and his writings as a whole were collected and published after his death. His "love songs" (*Ghazal al-aghâni*, p. 183-258 of the *diwân*) deserve especial attention for the technique of his prosody and a certain purity of language and style; some of these songs, of remarkable lyrical inspiration, have been set to music and are a worthy addition to the legacy of the most romantic and pathetic sentimental songs of the period. While it is of no great importance that, in the writings of his maturity, Ismâ'il Şabrî succeeded in redeeming the intellectual inconsistency of some of his youthful *ḥaşidas*, it should be emphasized that this author, who possessed a very good knowledge of an admiration for classical Arabic poetry, sometimes yielded to the temptation to insert in his own poems hemistichs from al-Buhturî, al-Mutanabbî and other celebrated 'Abbâsîd poets; where this has happened, the editors of the *diwân* have indicated this idiosyncrasy with a note.

The two poems entitled respectively *al-Nūniyya al-kubrâ* and *al-Hamziyya al-kubrâ* (p. 27-75 and 76-104 of the *diwân*) contain compositions of various lengths, in which the poet has expressed in verse his meditations on certain hymnological, apologetical and eschatological subjects of frequent occurrence in the historical and religious tradition of Islam. But along with glorification of God, exaltation of Muḥammad and celebration of the prophets, regarding whom the Qur'ân provided more or less legendary information, we find, here and there, sententious and parenetic themes, also perhaps deriving from the Qur'ân. In this work few descriptive passages occur, but on the other hand there is more occasional verse, inspired by purely contingent social events, a feature which the author shares with other more celebrated contemporary poets such as Aḥmad Şhawķî [q.v.] and Ḥâfiẓ İbrâhîm [q.v.]. Ismâ'il Şabrî was also the author of works for the theatre, "school hymns", and translations, some extracts from which are contained in the last section of the *diwân*.

*Bibliography*: The edition of the *diwân*, which contains little information regarding the author's life and professional activities, is the work of Aḥmad Kamâl Zakî, 'Âmir Muḥammad Buḥayrî and Muḥammad al-Ḳaşşâs; it was published in Cairo (n.d.) by the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance. (U. RIZZITANO)

**ISMÂ'IL ŞABRÎ PASHA**, Egyptian poet and statesman, was one of those who contributed

to the awakening of national consciousness in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century. Born in Cairo on 16 February 1854, Ismâ'il Şabrî benefitted from the influence of two cultures, classical Arabic and French, with which he came into direct contact when he was sent away to Aix-en-Provence in order to complete his legal studies. On his return to Egypt in 1878 after obtaining a degree in law, he turned first to the magistracy, taking a post at al-Manşûra, then became governor of Alexandria (1896-9) and later under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Justice. He died on 16 March 1923.

Ismâ'il Şabrî's poetic talent manifested itself early in life, as can be seen from the youthful compositions which he published in the review *Rawḍ al-Madâris al-Miṣriyya* at the age of sixteen. These admittedly simple exercises in poetry nevertheless already displayed that admiration for classical models of the 'Abbâsîd period which the poet was to retain even in his mature years. However, the beneficial contact with modern French poetry as it evolved at that time not only helped to enrich his mind, but especially to make keener his perception in regard both to the contingent social and political problems of his country, and the reflections of a more general nature and meditations on the destiny of humanity.

Opposed to the occasional poetry to which many of the writers of his time applied their talents, Ismâ'il Şabrî was a patriot of exemplary rectitude, incapable of lending himself to easy compromises with the two powers who at time controlled the policies of Egypt, Turkey and England. His *diwân* contains no *ḥaşîda* dedicated to the sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, nor to other dignitaries in his services. Love, death, and the fatherland were the themes of his poetry, the brilliance of which is due to the loftiness of style and profundity of thought expressed in unlaboured imagery. His poetic works are not numerous, especially when compared with the production of his contemporaries, probably because he wrote to please himself, refusing all demands other than those of inspiration.

*Bibliography:* The *Diwân* was published fifteen years after the poet's death by Aḥmad al-Zayn, Cairo 1938; the preface to the work by Ṭâhâ Ḥusayn is interesting from the critical standpoint. Abundant source material can be found (in essays and articles published in reviews) in the works of Dj. A. Dâghir, *Maṣâdir al-dirâsa al-adabiyya*, ii/1: *al-Râḥilûn 1800-1955*, Beirut 1956, 534-6, and 'Umar Riḍâ Kaḥḥâla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifîn*, Damascus 1376/1957, 272-3; Muḥ. 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafâdjî, *Kiṣṣat al-adab fi Miṣr*, v, Cairo 1956, 138-47; 'Umar al-Dasûkî, *Fi'l-adab al-hadîth*, ii, Cairo 1950, 117-25; some differences concerning certain events of his life in Brockelmann, S III, 18-21. It should also be added that Aḥmad Şhawķî dedicated a long elegy to him (*al-Shawķiyyât*, iii, Cairo 1936, 113-8). (U. RIZZITANO)

**ISMÂ'İL ŞAFÂ** (1867-1901), Turkish poet of the transition period between the Tanẓimât and the *Therwet-i Fünûn* schools. Born in Mecca where his father, Mehmed Behdjet, a native of Trabzon and a minor poet of the old school (see Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul, 1930, i, 177-178), was chief secretary (*mektûbdju*) of the Hedîâz province, he lost his mother Sâmiye 'Â'îshe at the age of seven. On his father's death in 1880, Ismâ'il Şafâ and his two brothers moved to Istanbul. His happy life in Arabia and the desert left a strong impression on his memory which is reflected in many of his early poems. In Mecca his father had taught

him Arabic and Persian. In Istanbul he passed, with his two brothers, the entrance examination, as a boarder, to the Dâr al-Şafaqa, a well known high school for gifted orphans. On his graduation in 1890 he served for a short time in the Telegraph Office and later taught literature in various secondary schools. He married very young but lost his wife and contracted tuberculosis himself. After a short stay in the island of Midilli (Mytilene), where he went in the hope of a recovery, he returned to Istanbul. Because of his liberal ideas, which he did not care to hide (see below), he was marked down as a suspect by the Hamidian secret police. His house in Gedik Pasha, where he and his progressive friends frequently met, was constantly watched. At the suggestion of Ismâ'il Kemâl (a deputy for Berât in Albania after the 1908 constitution), a group of prominent intellectuals, including Ismâ'il Şafâ and the leading *Therwet-i Fünûn* poet, Tewfik Fikret, went to the British Embassy to congratulate Britain on her victory over the Boers. Unaware of the contradiction with their own professed ideals, they claimed later that they did this as a gesture against the sultan. This was used as a pretext to round them up and to send them into provincial exile. Ismâ'il Şafâ was banished to Sivas where he succumbed to the harsh climate a year later (1901).

Ismâ'il Şafâ published his first poems in Nâdjî's *Memâjû'a-i Mu'allim* and later in the periodical *Mirşâd*. At the age of twenty he was a well known poet in literary circles. Verses poured from his pen with such ease and spontaneity that Nâdjî "the Master" (*Mu'allim*), whose influence on these early poems is obvious, gave him the nickname of *Şâ'ir-i Mâderâad* ('the born poet'). He soon became leader-writer of the *Mirşâd* until it was closed by the censor. Gradually Nâdjî's literary influence was replaced by those of Redjâ'i-zâde Ekrem, 'Abd ül-Ḥakḥ Ḥamîd and particularly Tewfik Fikret with whom he had become close friends and regularly contributed to his *Therwet-i Fünûn*. Critics of both old and new schools were unanimous in recognizing his unusual poetical gift. Owing to his early poems, which are mostly sentimental reminiscences of his childhood, Ismâ'il Şafâ is generally accepted as a fine sensitive poet who wrote, with a spontaneous style, simple melancholic poems of nostalgic, lyric and religious inspiration. This early and incomplete judgment of his work strongly influenced later criticism, but leaves out most of his posthumously published work, which reveals him as a poet with unusual gifts of humour and social and political satire. In particular his poem *Tazallum* ('Complaint of injustice'), first published in Aḥmed Riḍâ's Young Turk organ *Meşveret* in Paris (supplement to No. 9, 1893) and reproduced with minor variants and omissions in 'Abd Allâh Djewdet's *İdîtiḥâd* (No. 105, 8 May 1330), is a true forerunner of the political satire of the later Eşref and Fikret tradition: "You gathered around you a few vile individuals and tyrannized people on their advice.. You gave power to the corrupt, ignorant and unpatriotic, you ennobled informing into a profession, you made great men suffer in banishment, you insisted on the execution of a very great man (*i.e.*, Midḥat Paşa), tell, o Khalîfa, are you any different from an executioner? They informed you of unjust acts, you ignored it; your slaves harmed people, you ignored it; foreigners made profit out of the country, you ignored it; friends warned you about everything, you ignored it. You preferred delator's reports (*jurnals*) to guiding sermons... The treasure of the state is in the hands of a few thieves... The country is in ruin, the

people hungry... The day of your fall will be a feast day for the people..." In the circle of close friends Ismā'il Şafā used further to expound his naive projects of plots to overthrow 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, İstanbul 1936, iv, 79).

Another important poem which seems to have passed almost unnoticed is his *takhmīs* of the Dāmād Maḥmūd Paşa's *ḥaşida*, an ironical eulogy of Hasan Paşa, the Minister of the Navy during the Greco-Turkish war of 1897. It is a biting satire, full of pungent wit, inspired by Ziya (Ḍiya) Paşa's famous *Zafer-nâme* against 'Abd al-Ḥamīd who had kept the Turkish fleet perpetually at anchor in the Golden Horn, during his reign, thus causing its utter decline. Ismā'il Şafā describes, with vivid images, the sorry plight of the decaying ships, and expresses in vitriolic terms the indifference of the irresponsible and corrupt minister and his staff.

Ismā'il Şafā is the author of the following published works: (1) *Khudh mā şafā*, İstanbul 1308 (includes his father's unpublished poems); (2) *Maghdüre-i Sevda*, İstanbul 1308 (a verse narrative); (3) *Sünühât*, İstanbul 1308; (4) *Mensiyât*, İstanbul 1312; (5) *Mevlid-i Pederi ziyâret* (a short poem about his first visit to his father's native town, Trabzon), İstanbul 1312; (6) *Intâk-i Haḳḳ'ın Takhmîsi*, İstanbul 1328; (7) *Hissiyât* (with an important introduction by his brother 'Alī Kâmi (Akyüz), İstanbul 1328.

*Bibliography*: Ismail Hikmet, *Ismail Safa*, İstanbul 1933; Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil *Kırk Yıl*, İstanbul 1936, iv, 79 ff.; Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın, *Edebt Hatıralar*, İstanbul 1933, *passim*; see also most monographs on Tewfik Fikret [q.v.] where there are frequent references to Ismā'il Şafā.

(FAHİR İZ)

**ISMĀ'IL SHAHĪD**, MUḤAMMAD, the only son of Şhāh 'Abd al-Ḡhānī, youngest son of Şhāh Wali Allāh al-Dihlawī [q.v.], was born at Phulat (dist. Muẓaffarnagar, India) on 12 Rabī' II 1193/29 April 1779. His father having died in Raddjāb 1203/April 1789, when he was only ten years old, he was adopted by his uncle Şhāh 'Abd al-Kādir [q.v.], the first Urdu translator of the *Qur'ān*, who had no male issue and who later married his grand-daughter Kulḥūm to him. Educated by 'Abd al-Kādir, he also drew upon the vast learning of his uncles Şhāh Raffī' al-Dīn, another Urdu translator of the *Qur'ān*, and the celebrated Şhāh 'Abd al-'Azīz. A child prodigy, he completed his education in both rational and traditional sciences at the age of 16. He often surprised his contemporaries by answering even the most abstruse problems of *fiqh* and logic without referring to books. He began his career as a preacher in the Ḍjāmi' Masḡid at Delhi, and soon established himself as a forceful orator. He preached mainly against vices like saint- and grave-worship, innovations and other heretical and idolatrous practices which were common among the Muslims of India of those days. For almost a quarter of a century he continued to preach in the Ḍjāmi' Masḡid. His preaching aroused bitter controversy, and he was once officially silenced by the city *kōlwāl*, at the instance of Faḏl-i Haḳḳ [q.v.], court reader to the British Resident at Delhi, who did not see eye to eye with him. In 1235/1819 he came into contact with Sayyid Ahmad of Rāe Bareilly [q.v.], who had received his religious and spiritual instruction from his uncle Şhāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and soon afterwards became his disciple, along with his kinsman 'Abd al-Ḥayy, a son-in-law of Şhāh 'Abd al-'Azīz. The three were destined to play an important role in the religious history of Indian Muslims. In 1236/1820 he went on the pilgrimage to

Mecca along with Sayyid Aḥmad and a large number of his followers. On their journey from Delhi to Calcutta they were accorded a very warm reception at the numerous places where they stopped. Collecting money and gifts en route in the name of Islamic revival, the party reached Ḍjidda in 1237/1821. They returned to India in 1239/1823 after an absence of fourteen months, having performed the ḥadīj, visited the holy places in the Ḥiḏjāz and met there scholars from İstanbul, Egypt, Syria and Bulgaria.

Fresh from his visit to the Ḥiḏjāz, he openly began to preach *ḏjihād* in the congregational mosque at Delhi. This must have been only against the Sikhs who were oppressing their Muslim subjects, and not against the British as Ḡhulām Rasūl Mihr (cf. *Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd*, Lahore 1952, i, 250 ff.) and others have unsuccessfully tried to establish. The British, being politically influential at Delhi, could not watch with complacency such an open incitement to insurrection and also later allow money and material to be collected within their sphere of influence and sent to the *muḏjāhidīn*, as the followers of Sayyid Aḥmad later came to be commonly known, in their strongholds in the northern parts of the country. In 1241/1824-25 he left, along with his leader Sayyid Aḥmad, for Yāghistān via Sind. Passing through Bahāwalpūr [q.v.], Ḥaydarābād [q.v.] and Şhikārpūr (Sind), this voluntary force, which had considerably swelled on the way, reached Kābul from Ḳandahār, from where the volunteers slipped into Peshāwar. Making it their general headquarters they launched a holy war against the Sikhs, fighting the first battle at Akōra, near Nowshera, on 20 Ḍjumāda II 1242/21 December 1826 and defeating the enemy with considerable losses. A number of other engagements followed bringing victory after victory to the *muḏjāhidīn*. Flushed with their success they set up their own government in the areas under their occupation with Peshāwar as the seat of administration. Certain reforms introduced by them in the social sphere conforming to the laws of the *Şhari'a*, for instance the remarriage of widows and the collection of *'ushr*, resulted in the disaffection of the local population, who, at the instigation of the tribal chieftains, deposed and dispossessed by Sayyid Aḥmad, rose against the *muḏjāhidīn* and in a secret night-attack killed all the tax-collectors and sub-administrators appointed by the Sayyid. This massacre was a serious set-back to the movement, and practically the whole of the territory around Peshāwar slipped out of the control of the *muḏjāhidīn*. The Sikh ruler of the Panḏjāb, Randījt Singh, a shrewd politician and skilled statesman, took full advantage of the situation and inflicted a series of reverses on the rapidly dwindling forces of the Sayyid, who now also faced financial difficulties, for practically all the routes through which money came had been cut off either by the invading Sikhs or the hostile Pathan tribes—mainly the Yūsufzā'īs.

The *muḏjāhidīn*, now led by Ismā'il, were driven out of Peshāwar, which they had occupied in 1246/1830 by ousting Sultan Muḥammad Khān, a brother of the amīr of Afghanistan, who ruled Peshāwar as the tributary of the Sikh chieftain Randījt Singh. Considering it a challenge to his sovereignty, Randījt Singh marched in person and with the help of his European mercenaries, Generals Ventura and Avitabile, re-occupied the city, entrusting subsequent operations to his son Şhēr Singh. Better equipped, better trained and numerically superior, the forces of Şhēr Singh inflicted the final defeat on the *muḏjāhidīn* at the battle of Balakote (24 Ḍhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1246/6 May 1831), in which Ismā'il and his leader Sayyid

Aḥmad lost their lives. He was buried on the edge of the battlefield where his tomb still exists. No attention was paid to his grave during the Sikh or the British rule. It has now been renovated and the government of Pakistan has paid due attention to its upkeep and maintenance.

In spite of his pre-occupation with *djihād*, travelling and delivering sermons, Shāh Ismā'īl yet found time for writing books and small tracts. His writings include: (1) *Taḳwīyat al-īmān* (ed. Cawnpore 1343/1924), deals mainly with the unity of God and deprecates idolatrous practices such as the invocation of saints, angels etc. Its supplement *Tazkīr al-Iḥwān* was composed by Muḥammad Sulṭān in 1250/1834. English trans. by Shahamat Ali in *JRAS*, xiii, 316 ff.; (2) *Manṣab-i imāmat* (in Persian), deals with the concept of *imāma* in Islam and its various kinds (ed. Karachi<sup>2</sup> 1962, Urdu trans. Lahore 1949); (3) *Risāla Uṣūl al-fīkh* (in Arabic, ed. Delhi 1311/1893), a short treatise of 36 pp. on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence; (4) *Tanwīr al-ʿaynayn fi iḥbāt rafʿ al-yadayn*, (in Arabic, ed. Lahore n.d.) in support of raising the hands in prayers as practised by the Hanbals; (5) *Risāla Yak Rūza* (still in Ms.) composed as a rejoinder to the criticism offered by Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ [q.v.] of *Khayrābād* on the *Taḳwīyat al-īmān*; (6) *Idāh al-ḥaḳḳ al-sarīh fi aḥkām al-mayyit wa 'l-ḍarīh* (in Persian, on the burial of the dead), denouncing many of the funerary innovations current among the Muslims of the sub-continent; (7) *ʿAbaḳāt* (in Arabic, ed. Karachi 1380/1960, Urdu trans. by Manāzīr Aḥsan Gēlānī, Hyderabad n.d.) deals mainly with abstruse problems of *taṣawwuf*; the aim was to reform the Ṣūfīs of the day who wielded exceptionally strong influence with the illiterate and simple masses of Indian Muslims, mainly residing in backward rural areas; (8) *Al-Sīrāt al-Mustaḳīm* (in Persian, Meerut 1285/1868, Delhi 1322/1904), of which only the first part was composed by Ismā'īl; it comprises the *dicta* of his spiritual guide Sayyid Aḥmad and helps understand his teachings and the tenets professed by him; an exposition of what he and his followers stood for (for its contents see *JASB*, i (1832), 479 ff.); (9) *Radd al-iṣhrāḳ* (in Arabic, Asafiyya; 666; (10) *Irshād al-ʿibād ilā sabīl al-rashād*, (Br. Mus. Ms. Arabic); (11) *Madjīmūʿat al-Khutab* (Br. Mus. Ms. Arabic); His minor works include a short treatise on logic, a lengthy letter in Arabic addressed to one Mullā Baghdādī (ed. Cawnpore 1343/1924), and another letter in Persian addressed to Nawāb Wazīr al-Dawla of Tonk, formerly a princely state in India, exhorting the ruler to help the *mudjāhidīn* in every possible way in their struggle against the Sikhs. He also tried his hand at poetry but this is not of a high order.

*Bibliography*: Dīaʿfar ʿAlī Naḳwī, *Manzūrat al-suʿadāʿ fi aḥwāl al-ghurāt wa 'l-shuḥadāʿ*, (in Urdu, still in Ms.); written in 1272/1855 it is the firsthand account of the movement (Naḳwī was on the personal staff of Shāh Ismā'īl); *Waḳāʿi-i Aḥmadi* (in Urdu, still in Ms.), dictated by various persons who were witnesses of the events at the instance of Nawāb Wazīr al-Dawla, ruler of Tonk; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Maḳẓan-i Aḥmadi*, (Ms. in the Punjab University Lib.); Muḥammad Nuʿmān, *Sīrat-i ʿalamiyya wa taḥkīrat al-abrār* (Ms.); ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Kitāb al-ʿIbrat* (Ms.); ʿAtāʾ Muḥammud Khān Shīkārpūrī, *Rūznāmā* (in Persian, Ms. in the private collection of Ḥusāmuddīn Rāshidī, Karachi); Amar Nāth, *Zafar-nāma-i Randjīt Singh*, ed. Sītā Rām Kohli, Lahore 1928; Muḥammad Dīaʿfar Thānēsārī, *Tawārīkh-i ʿadība* or *Sawānīh-i Aḥmadi*, Sādhavra 1914; Mirzā Ḥayāt

Dihlawī, *Ḥayāt-i ṣayyiba*<sup>2</sup>, Lahore, n.d.; Šiddīk Ḥasan Khān, *Tiḳṣār djuyyūd al-ahrār min tidḥkār dhunūd al-abrār*, Bhopal 1295/1878; idem, *Tardj-umān-i Wahhābiyya*, (not seen); idem, *Iḥāf al-nubalāʿ al-mutaḳīn*, Cawnpore 1289/1872, 416; Ghulām Rasūl Mīhr, *Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd*, Lahore n.d., extensive bibliography and pp. 13-26 for a critical appraisal of the original sources; Abdullah Butt (ed.), *Shah Isma'īl Shaheed*, Lahore 1943; W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*<sup>4</sup>, Calcutta 1945; *Gazetteer of the Hazara District*, London 1908; S. M. Ikram, *Rūd-i Kawthar*, Lahore n.d.; *al-Furḳān* (Bareilly, Urdu mouthly), *Shāh Ismā'īl number*, 1355 A. H. Shaban; *JASB*, i (1832), 479 ff.; *JRAS*, xiii, 310 ff. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**ISMĀ'IL ŠIDQĪ**, Egyptian politician and statesman, was born in 1875 into a family of Egyptian notables. Both his father and maternal grandfather enjoyed high positions in the official hierarchy of khedivial administration. Like most of his contemporaries who aspired for a political career, he studied law and took part in the anti-British student agitation encouraged by the khedive. Upon completing his studies in 1894, he was appointed a minor official in the Ministry of Justice. He rose quickly, partly through his own effort and initiative but mainly through the wide circle of friends his family had, to be come the permanent under-secretary at the Ministry of Interior in 1908. In 1914 Šidqī had his first cabinet appointment in the government of Rushdī Paṣḥa, from which he resigned soon after.

When the First World War ended in 1918, Šidqī joined the Waḍf movement and was exiled with Saʿd Zaghlūl to Malta in 1919, but when the Waḍf was allowed to proceed to the Peace Congress he was among its members. In Paris differences arose among the delegates and Šidqī, foreseeing the futility of Waḍfist demands, left for Cairo. His departure from the Waḍf marked a turning point in his career, for he became the moving spirit of the anti-Waḍfist element in Egyptian politics. He played a leading role in the drafting and implementation of the Declaration of 1922 which granted Egypt her independence, as well as the Constitution of 1923, both documents abhorrent to the Waḍfists. Henceforward and until his retirement in 1946, Šidqī was tireless in his confrontation with Waḍfist policies in the conduct of Egypt's public affairs. He did not hesitate to employ armed force, including the use of British troops, to suppress Waḍfist opposition and silence their publications. It was this that earned him the doubtful distinction of being the strong man of Egyptian politics. His reputation as a financial expert, however, was justly deserved.

Ismā'īl Šidqī became prime minister of Egypt twice, in 1930 and 1946, each time in the wake of nationalist ferment and public disturbances caused by the Waḍfist failure to reach agreement with Britain on her position in Egypt and the Sudan. In 1931 Šidqī amended the Constitution, restricting suffrage, and he formed the People's Party to give him support in Parliament. Šidqī's terms of office were unhappy and unpopular. He failed to obtain sufficient concessions from Britain to normalize the relationship between the two countries, and he did not succeed in marshalling the support of Egyptian moderates to contain the extremism of the Waḍf. In 1946 an agreement was initialled in London between Šidqī and Ernest Bevin, British foreign secretary at the time, but once more Waḍfist opposition made ratification impossible. Upon his return from Eng-



land, a sick and broken man, he retired from public life. Ismā'il Şidkī died in 1948.

*Bibliography:* Ismā'il Şidkī, *Mudhakkirātī*, Cairo 1950; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'ī, *Thawrat sanat 1919*, Cairo 1946; idem, *Fī a'kāb al-thawra al-miṣriyya*, 3 vols., Cairo 1947-51; Mahmud Y. Zayid, *Egypt's Struggle for Independence*, Beirut 1965; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The Modern History of Egypt*, London 1969.

(A. KELIDAR)

**ISMĀ'ILĪYYA**, a major branch of the *Shi'a* with numerous subdivisions. It branched off from the *Imāmiyya* [see *İHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA*] by tracing the *imāmate* through *Imām Dja'far al-Şādiq's* son *Ismā'il*, after whom it is named.

*History:* Pre-Fātimid and Fātimid times. After the death of *Dja'far al-Şādiq* in 148/765 a group of his followers held fast to the *imāmate* of his son *Ismā'il*, who had been named by him as his successor but had predeceased him. Some of them maintained that *Ismā'il* had not died and would reappear as the *Kā'im* or *Mahdī*. Others recognized *Ismā'il's* son *Muḥammad* as their *imām*. Nothing is known about the history of the *Ismā'ili* movement developing out of this nucleus until after the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when it appeared as a secret revolutionary organization carrying on intensive missionary efforts in many regions of the Muslim world. In the area of al-Kūfa its propaganda was spread from about the year 264/877-8 by *Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ* [q.v.], who was later aided by his brother-in-law 'Abdān [q.v.]. *Ḥamdān's* followers were named after him *Ḳarmaṭī*, a name which came to be applied derogatorily also to other sections of the movement. In the area of al-Rayy the mission was started about the same time by *Khalaf*, whose followers became known as the *Khalafīyya*. In Fārs a brother of 'Abdān was active. In *Khurāsān* *Niṣhāpūr* and later *Marw* al-Rūḍh became centres of *Ismā'ili* activity (see S. M. Stern, *The early Ismā'ili missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 56-90). A convert of al-Nasafi [q.v.], one of the *dā'īs* of *Khurāsān* and *Transoxania*, was the first to carry the propaganda to *Sijjīstān*, probably in the early decades of the 4th/10th century. Presumably in the first half of the 4th/10th century, the *Kuṭīf* tribe in *Kirmān* was converted by *dā'īs* from *Khurāsān*. In the Yemen two missionaries, 'Alī b. al-Faḍl and *Ibn Ḥawshab*, known as *Manṣūr al-Yaman* [q.v.], in 268/881 established themselves in the area of the *Djabal Maswar* and succeeded in gaining strong tribal support. In 270/883 *Ibn Ḥawshab* sent his nephew *al-Haytham* as a missionary to *Sind*. Later he sent *Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī* [q.v.] to the *Maghrib*, where he arrived in 280/893 and won the support of the *Kutāma* Berber tribe in western Algeria, thus laying the foundation for *Fātimid* rule. In 286/899 *Abū Sa'īd al-Djannābī* [q.v.], a follower of *Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ* and 'Abdān, founded a *Ḳarmaṭī* state in al-Baḥrayn, from where he later conquered al-*Ḳaṭīf*, *Umān* and al-Yamāma. The whole movement was centrally directed, at first probably from al-Ahwāz and al-Baṣra and later from *Salamiyya* in Syria. *Muḥammad b. Ismā'il* was acknowledged as the *imām*, who had disappeared and was about to reappear as the *Kā'im* and to rule the world. The leaders of the movement in the absence of the *imām* claimed the rank of *ḥudūdīyas* [q.v.].

In the year 286/899, after the succession of the future *Fātimid* Caliph 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī to the leadership in *Salamiyya*, a schism split the movement, provoked by the claim of 'Ubayd Allāh to the

*imāmate* for himself and his ancestors. *Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ* and 'Abdān, who may have previously drifted slightly away from the doctrine propagated by the leadership, broke off their support. 'Abdān consequently was murdered by a subordinate *dā'ī*, *Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh* [q.v.], who at first pretended to be loyal to the leadership. *Zikrawayh* and his sons organized the "Ḳarmaṭī" revolts among Syrian bedouin tribes from the year 289/902 until his capture and execution in 294/907. Doubts concerning *Zikrawayh's* loyalty, which soon turned out to be justified, induced 'Ubayd Allāh to leave *Salamiyya* for the journey which ended with his establishment as caliph in *Raḳkāda* in 297/910.

Though information concerning the attitude of the various *Ismā'ili* groups following the split of the movement is scanty, the results can be summarized with some degree of probability as follows: The community in the Yemen at first remained faithful to 'Ubayd Allāh. 'Alī b. al-Faḍl, however, in 299/913 renounced his allegiance to him and made war on *Ibn Ḥawshab*, who remained loyal. After 'Alī's death in 303/915 his party disintegrated rapidly. The *dā'īs* in the *Maghrib* and probably in *Sind*, having been sent by *Ibn Ḥawshab*, also remained loyal. There are indications that the *dā'wa* in *Khurāsān* generally maintained its allegiance to 'Ubayd Allāh, who was able to appoint some *dā'īs* there, but there were probably also counter-currents. The communities in 'Irāk, al-Baḥrayn, and western Persia refused to recognize the *Fātimid* claim to the *imāmate*. Among the *Ḳarmaṭīs* of 'Irāk 'Isā b. Mūsā, a nephew of 'Abdān, continued the latter's work propagating the *imāmate* of *Muḥammad b. Ismā'il*, who would return as the *Kā'im*. After 320/932 he was active in *Baghdād*. He and other *dā'īs* in 'Irāk ascribed their writings to 'Abdān, thus stressing the doctrinal continuity. The *dā'īs* of al-Rayy were in close contact with those in 'Irāk and with the *Ḳarmaṭīs* of al-Baḥrayn and like them were expecting the reappearance of the *Mahdī-imām* for the year 316/928. At least in the twenties of the 4th century (1030-9) they controlled the missions in *Mosul* and *Baghdād*. They worked successfully among the *Daylamīs* and won at least the temporary allegiance of *Daylamī* leaders like *Asfār*, *Mardāwīdj* and later of some rulers of the *Musāfirid* dynasty. The *Ḳarmaṭīs* of al-Baḥrayn, led by *Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī*, were predicting the appearance of the *Mahdī-imām* for the year 316/928. In 319/931 they accepted a Persian prisoner of war as the *Expected One*, and *Abū Ṭāhir* turned the rule over to him. The early disastrous end of the affair weakened the ideological vigour of the *Ḳarmaṭīs* of al-Baḥrayn and their influence among the *dā'īs* in 'Irāk and Persia, but did not generally lead to an expansion of *Fātimid* influence. Soon afterwards the great revolt of the *Khāridjī* *Abū Yazīd* [q.v.] under the *Fātimid* Caliphs al-Kā'im and al-Manṣūr stifled any *Fātimid* activity among the eastern *Ismā'ili* communities. Only the fourth *Fātimid*, al-Mu'izz (341/953-365/975), was in a position to lead an intensive campaign to regain the allegiance of the schismatic *Ismā'ilis*. His efforts were partially successful, but failed in regard to the *Ḳarmaṭīs* of al-Baḥrayn, whose hostility erupted, after the *Fātimid* conquest of Egypt in 358/969, in open warfare against the *Fātimid* armies. After concluding a peace with the *Fātimid* al-'Azīz in 369/979-80 and a severe defeat by a bedouin tribe in 378/988, the *Ḳarmaṭīs* of al-Baḥrayn were reduced to a local power unable to exert any ideological influence beyond its boundaries. The movement still supporting the doctrine of the return of *Muḥammad*

b. Ismā'īl rapidly disintegrated about the same time. The Ḳarṣaṭī state in al-Baḥrayn survived until 470/1077-8. (See M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden 1886; idem, *La fin de l'empire des Carmathes*, in *JA* 9th ser. v (1895), 5-30; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Bahraïnqarmaten*, in *Isl.* xxxiv (1959), 34-88; S. M. Stern, *Ismā'īlis and Qarmaṭians*, in *L'Élaboration de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 99-108).

In the time of al-Mu'izz a Fāṭimid vassal state was established in Multān in Sind. The Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* there succeeded before 348/959 in converting a local ruler. Multān became an Isnā'īlī stronghold where the *ḥuḍba* was read in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. This success probably strengthened the Fāṭimid cause also in the neighbouring regions, for in Mukrān the *ḥuḍba* was also read for the Fāṭimids about the year 378/988. The *dā'ī* Abū Ya'qūb al-Sidjīstānī [q.v.], who supported the Fāṭimid doctrine at least from the time of al-Mu'izz on, probably was active in Sidjīstān before his death in the second half of the 4th/10th century. In *Djiruft* in Kirrān a Fāṭimid *dā'ī* was residing toward the end of the 4th/10th century. The Ismā'īlī state in Multān lasted until 401/1010-1, when Maḥmūd of Ḡhazna annexed the town, took its ruler prisoner and massacred many Ismā'īlīs (see S. M. Stern, *Ismā'īlī propaganda and Fāṭimid rule in Sind*, in *IC*, xxiii (1949), 298-307).

During the last years of the reign of al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021) extremist Ismā'īlīs in Cairo began to proclaim the divinity of this Fāṭimid caliph. Their leadership soon passed to Ḥamza b. 'Alī [q.v.], who became the founder of the Druze religious doctrine. The official Fāṭimid *da'wa* organization remained adamantly opposed to this movement, although al-Ḥākim at times showed it favour. After al-Ḥākim's death it was persecuted by the Fāṭimid government and wiped out in Cairo, but succeeded in solidifying its hold over the mountainous regions in Syria which, with some modifications, became the permanent home of the Druze community. The Druze religion [see *DURŪZ*], though derived from Ismā'īlī doctrine, transformed its basic ideas to such a degree as to be usually considered as falling outside the range of Ismā'īlism.

In Ifrīkiya the Ismā'īlī communities were practically exterminated by popular riots after the accession of al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, Zīrid vassal of the Fāṭimids, in 407/1016. The missionary efforts of the Fāṭimids during their residence in Ifrīkiyya had achieved the conversion of only small groups of the urban population, while the masses, led by the Mālikī 'ulamā', were solidly opposed to Fāṭimid rule and *Shī'ism*. Large numbers of Kutāma tribesmen, who traditionally furnished the main body of the Fāṭimid army, left for Egypt with the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz. Most of the leading *dā'īs* also departed at that time. The Ṣanhādīja tribe, which supported Zīrid rule, only superficially adhered to Isnā'īlism. During the year 407/1016-7 the Ismā'īlīs in al-Ḳayrawān, al-Manṣūriyya, al-Mahdiyya, Tūnis, Tripoli, and other towns were attacked and massacred by the populace with the countenance of the government. Sporadic massacres took place also during the following years. The Ismā'īlī communities were thus extinguished long before al-Mu'izz in 440/1049 renounced his allegiance to the Fāṭimids and recognized 'Abbāsīd suzerainty (see H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, 143-9).

During the reign of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir (427/1036-487/1094) the Ismā'īlī cause achieved new successes in the Yemen and India. In the Yemen the

*da'wa* after the death of Ibn Ḥawshab had suffered major setbacks and survived only precariously, though in the period 379/989-387/997 it had gained the allegiance and support of the Ya'furid amīr 'Abd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān, ruler of Ṣan'ā' and conqueror of Zabīd from the Ziyādids. In 429/1038 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, Fāṭimid *dā'ī* and founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, rose in Masār in the Ḥarāz region. Through the activity of the Ṣulayḥids [q.v.] Fāṭimid sovereignty came to extend over all of the Yemen and temporarily over other parts of Arabia like 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn (see H. F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo 1955). The Ṣulayḥids also furthered renewed efforts at spreading Ismā'īlism on the Indian subcontinent. Although parts of the Ismā'īlī community in Sind evidently had survived the persecution under Maḥmūd of Ḡhazna and Ismā'īlism seems to have been espoused by the Sūmra dynasty of local Hindu origin (see A. H. al-Hamdānī, *The Beginnings of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa in Northern India*, Cairo 1956), contacts with the Fāṭimid *da'wa* faded. The Ismā'īlīs in Sind may have drifted partially back to Hindu practices and beliefs. A new Ismā'īlī community was now founded by Yemenite *dā'īs* in the area of Cambay, Guḍjarāt, which had close commercial ties with the Yemen. According to the traditional account an Arab *dā'ī*, 'Abd Allāh, arrived with two Indian assistants in Guḍjarāt in 460/1068, sent by the Yemenite chief *dā'ī* Lamak b. Mālik. Less than a decade later the existence of a flourishing Ismā'īlī community is confirmed by official letters of the Fāṭimid chancery. This new Ismā'īlī community remained closely tied to, and controlled by, the Yemenite *da'wa* and was the nucleus of the modern Bohorā [q.v.] community.

After the middle of the 5th/11th century the Persian poet and philosopher Nāṣir-i Ḳhusraw [q.v.] was active as a Fāṭimid *dā'ī* in Yumgān in the Upper Oxus area for over 15 years. Expelled from Balkh because of Ismā'īlī activity, he came to Yumgān before 453/1061 and remained there until his death. Several of his extant philosophical and religious works were composed there. He became the founder and patron-saint of the Ismā'īlī community of Badakhshān in the wider sense, though it may have been changed in composition by later Ismā'īlī refugees (see W. Ivanov, *Problems in Nasir-i Khosraw's Biography*, Bombay 1956; A. E. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, Moscow 1959).

In the last years of the reign of al-Mustanṣir the Ismā'īlī cause in Persia was reinvigorated by the activity of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [q.v.]. After travelling widely and carrying on propaganda in various regions of the country, he seized the fortress of Alamūt [q.v.] in the mountains of Daylam in 483/1090, thus opening a new phase in the Ismā'īlī activity in Persia. The clandestine missionary work to which the *da'wa* in Persia had mostly been restricted was replaced by a policy of open revolt which, in the face of the overwhelming military strength of the Salḍūḳ government, was based on the seizure of impregnable mountain fortresses and spectacular political murder aimed at intimidating the enemy's leadership. In the following years other rock fortresses were occupied in the Elburz range. In 484 or 485/1091-2 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ sent the *dā'ī* Ḥusayn Ḳā'inī to Ḳuhistān to raise the revolt there. In short order the Ismā'īlīs seized control of several towns in eastern Ḳuhistān, Ṭabas, Ḳā'in, Zūzan, Tūn, and others. Another *dā'ī*, Abū Ḥamza, captured two castles near Arradījan in the border region between Fārs and Ḳhūzistān. After the death of al-Mus-

tanšir in 487/1094, a major split occurred in the Ismā'li movement concerning the succession to the imāmate. Al-Mustanšir had originally designated his eldest son, Nizār [q.v.], as his heir. Later his youngest son, Aḥmad, found the support of the vizier al-Afḍal [q.v.], who after the death of al-Mustanšir placed him on the throne with the title al-Musta'li [q.v.]. Nizār fled to Alexandria, where he rose in revolt, was defeated, seized and immured. Hasan-i Šabbāh and the Persian Ismā'lis upheld the right of Nizār to the succession and refused to recognize al-Musta'li. In the absence of the imām, Ḥasan-i Šabbāh became the supreme chief claiming the rank of *ḥudūdīa*. After his death the leadership continued with the rulers of Alamūt. Beginning with the fourth ruler, Ḥasan 'alā *dhikrihi 'l-salām* (557/1162-561/1166), they came to be recognized as imāns. Against numerous Saljūq attacks the Nizāris were able to hold and expand their territories in the Elburz mountains and Kūhistan. The fortress Shāhdiz near Iṣfahān, which they seized about the year 494/1100, was lost again in 500/1107. Some time afterwards the Nizāri fortresses near Arradīān were overcome. Among the Ismā'lis in Egypt and Syria there were also partisans of Nizār. In Egypt they were gradually suppressed. In Syria, which fell largely outside the Fātimid territory, they were soon organized by emissaries from Alamūt and seriously rivalled the supporters of the Fātimid caliphate, especially in Damascus and Aleppo. The Djabal al-Sumināḡ and surrounding area north of Ḥamāt soon became a stronghold of the Nizāris. As in Persia they aimed at acquiring fortresses, but failed in their first attempts, and practised political murder. In 520/1126 Tuḡtagīn, ruler of Damascus, ceded to them the fortress of Bānyās on the frontier with the Franks and gave them official recognition in Damascus. His son Būri in 523/1139 encouraged anti-Ismā'li rioting in Damascus in which the Nizāri community was virtually wiped out. The fortress of Bānyās was consequently surrendered by the Nizāris to the Franks. Soon afterwards they achieved lasting success in the Djabal Bahrā' area west of Ḥamāt. In 527/1132-3 they acquired the fortress of Kaḍmūs, and other fortresses came into their possession during the following decade. Mašyāf, the most important stronghold, was seized in 535/1140-1. The Syrian Nizāris continued to be ruled by agents sent by the lords of Alamūt. The most famous one, Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān [q.v.] (557/1162-588/1192), showed signs of independence, and there are reports that agents were repeatedly sent from Alamūt to kill him. A complete break was avoided.

The imāmate of al-Musta'li was recognized by most Ismā'lis in Egypt, many in Syria, and by the whole community in the Yemen and that in India dependent on it. A new schism developed, however, among the Musta'lian Ismā'lis after the assassination of al-Musta'li's son and successor al-Āmir [q.v.] in 524/1130. Eight months before al-Āmir's death a son, al-Ṭayyib, had been born to him and had immediately been proclaimed as his heir. After al-Āmir's death his cousin 'Abd al-Maḍjīd was put on the throne in Cairo as regent, officially in expectation of the delivery of a pregnant wife of the late caliph. Mention of the infant al-Ṭayyib was suppressed, and nothing is known about his fate. Four days later 'Abd al-Maḍjīd was overthrown and imprisoned by al-Afḍal Kutayfāt [q.v.], who declared the Fātimid dynasty deposed and proclaimed the sovereignty of the Twelfth Imām of the Imāmiyya. Kutayfāt was overthrown and killed in Muḥ. 526/Dec. 1131, and 'Abd al-Maḍjīd returned to the throne as regent. In Rabī' II

526/Feb. 1132 he was proclaimed imām with the caliphal title al-Ḥāfiẓ [q.v.]. The succession of al-Ḥāfiẓ, though in violation of the accepted rule that the imāmate could be inherited only by a direct descendant, was supported by the official *da'wa* organization in Egypt and accepted by the majority of the Musta'lian Ismā'lis in Egypt and Syria. They were known as the Ḥāfiẓiyya or Maḍjīdiyya. There were, however, some Musta'lian communities in Egypt and Syria which continued to support the rights of al-Ṭayyib and were known as Āmiriyya. In the Yemen most of the leaders of the established *da'wa* organization upheld the rights of al-Ṭayyib. Encouraged by the Ṣulayhid queen al-Sayyida they founded the independent Ṭayyibi *da'wa* in the Yemen headed by a *dā'ī muḥlaḡ*. The first of these was al-Ḍhu'ayb b. Mūsā, who was succeeded in 546/1151 by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [q.v.]. The Ṭayyibi *dā'īs* worked successfully despite the fact that after the death of the Ṣulayhid queen in 532/1138 they did not have the support of any of the rulers in the Yemen. The Ḥāfiẓī *da'wa* was supported by the Zuray'ids of 'Adan, who, beginning with Muḥammad b. Saba', were officially appointed Fātimid *dā'īs* in the Yemen, and by at least some of the Hamdānid rulers of Ṣan'ā' (see S. M. Stern, *The succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir, the claims of the later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the rise of Ṭayyibi Ismailism*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 193-255). There are no reports as to whether the Ḥāfiẓī *da'wa* ever had adherents in India. In any case the community in India, which continued to be closely tied to the Yemenite *da'wa*, soon was solidly Ṭayyibi.

The post-Fātimid period. Ḥāfiẓiyya: After the overthrow of the Fātimid caliphate in 567/1171 the Ḥāfiẓiyya, no longer enjoying official support, gradually disintegrated. Al-'Āqid, the last Fātimid caliph, had appointed his son Dā'ūd as his successor with the title al-Ḥāmid li'llāh. Dā'ūd was generally recognized by the Ḥāfiẓīs as the imām after al-'Āqid. He and all other members of the Fātimid family were permanently detained as prisoners by the Ayyūbids. As a result of a pro-Fātimid conspiracy in Cairo in 568/1172-3 many of the supporters of the deposed dynasty were exiled to Upper Egypt, which became a hotbed of pro-Fātimid activity. In 572/1176-7 a pretender claiming to be Dā'ūd found wide support in Kiṭf. When the real Dā'ūd died as a prisoner in Cairo in 604/1207-8, the Ḥāfiẓīs asked the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil for permission to mourn him in public. Al-Kāmil granted them permission, but used the occasion to arrest their *dā'īs* and confiscate their property. After Dā'ūd his son Sulaymān mostly seems to have been recognized as the imām. Sulaymān died without child as a prisoner in 645/1248, but some of his partisans claimed that he had a son who was hidden (see P. Casanova, *Les derniers Fātimides*, in *MIFAO*, vi (1897), 415-45). In 697/1298 a pretender appeared in Upper Egypt who claimed to be Dā'ūd b. Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd. Still later, about the year 723/1324, Ismā'lis are mentioned in 'Uṣfūn in Upper Egypt. In Syria a Ḥāfiẓī community is mentioned at the same time in the Baḡī'a mountains near Ṣafad. In the Yemen the Ḥāfiẓī cause also lost all official backing with the Ayyūbid conquest. The Ṭayyibi *dā'ī muḥlaḡ* 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd (d. 612/1215) still composed polemical treatises and poems against the "Maḍjīdiyya", but they were already becoming a rare minority.

Ṭayyibiyya [q.v.]: The insignificant Ṭayyibi communities in Egypt and Syria, known as Āmiriyya, are only rarely mentioned in the sources. Toward the end of the 6th/12th century there is a vague reference

to the presence of Āmiriyya in Egypt. In Syria a community of Āmiriyya is still mentioned about the year 723/1324 in the Bakī'a and Zābūd mountains near Šafad. These isolated communities probably did not survive much longer. Only in the Yemen and India could the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*, under the undisputed leadership of the *dā'i muflak*, establish itself permanently. After Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī the position of *dā'i muflak* remained among his descendants until 605/1209, when it passed to 'Alī b. Muḥammad of the Banu 'l-Walīd al-Anf family, which was named after his ancestor Ibrāhīm al-Anf, who was a prominent supporter of the Ṣalayhīds and a descendant of the Umayyad al-Walīd b. 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān. It remained in this family, with only two interruptions in the 7th/13th century, until 946/1539. The traditional stronghold of the Ismā'īlī *da'wa* in the Yemen was in the Ḥarāz [q.v.] mountains, though there were scattered communities in other parts of the country. The *dā'is* generally enjoyed the support, or at least protection, of the Hamdānīds [q.v.], who permitted them to reside in Ṣan'ā' and later, in the 8th/14th century, in the fortress of Dhū Marmar. Their relations with the Ayyūbīds and the Rasūlīds were fair, but the Zaydī imāms were mostly hostile. The Zaydī pretender al-Manšūr 'Alī b. Ṣalāh al-Dīn expelled them from Dhū Marmar in 829/1426 after a prolonged siege, and they established their residence in the Ḥarāz mountains. The Zaydī Imām al-Muṭahhar b. Ṣharaf al-Dīn in the 10th/16th century relentlessly persecuted the Banu 'l-Anf and seems to have practically extirpated the family. The relations with the *da'wa* in India remained close. There the Ṭayyibī community grew mostly undisturbed, though in the first half of the 9th/15th century persecution under the Sultanate of Guḍjarāt resulted in mass conversions to Sunnism. In 946/1539 the position of *dā'i muflak* passed to an Indian, and after his death in 947/1567 the headquarters were transferred to Guḍjarāt in India.

After the death of Dā'ūd b. 'Adjabshāh, the 26th *dā'i muflak*, in 999/1591, the succession was disputed. While in India Dā'ūd Burhān al-Dīn was established, Dā'ūd b. 'Adjabshāh's representative in the Yemen, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan al-Hindī, claimed to have been designated successor by the deceased *dā'i muflak*. The dispute was not resolved and led to the permanent schism between the Dā'ūdī and Sulaymānī factions which accepted separate lines of *dā'is*. Among the Sulaymānīs, whose cause had only few adherents in India, the position of *dā'i muflak* in 1050/1640 passed to the Yemenite Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Fahd of the Makramī [q.v.] family, in which it has remained since with few interruptions. The Makramī *dā'is* established themselves in Naḍīrān [q.v.], where they were supported by the Banū Yām [q.v.]. Before 1131/1719 they conquered the Ḥarāz region in the Yemen and held it against all attempts of the Zaydī imāms to expel them. The Dā'f al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1189/1775) conquered Ḥaḍramawt and unsuccessfully fought the rising Su'ūdī dynasty in Central Arabia. From Ḥarāz the Makramīs were expelled in 1289/1872 by the Ottoman general Aḥmad Mukhtār Paṣha, who took their fortress 'Attāra and treacherously killed the Dā'f al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl 'Alī Ṣhibām al-Makramī. The present *dā'i muflak* of the Sulaymānīs is Djamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Makramī, who succeeded his father in 1939 (see A. A. A. Fyze, *Three Sulaymānī Dā'is: 1936-1939*, in *JBBRAS*, xvi (1940), 101-4). Besides the Banū Yām in Naḍīrān, the people of the Djabal Maghāriba in Ḥarāz are Sulaymā-

nīs. In India the Sulaymānī *dā'is* are represented by *manšūbs* residing in Baroda. Sulaymānīs live mainly in Bombay, Boroda, and Ḥaydarābād, Dekkan.

The Dā'ūdī *dā'is* after the split continued to reside in India, where the great majority of their followers live. The *da'wa* generally was able to develop freely, though there was another wave of persecution under Awrangzīb (1044/1635-1118/1707). Since 1200/1785 the headquarters of the *dā'is* have been in Sūrat. The present *dā'i muflak* is Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, who succeeded his father Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn in 1966. Dā'ūdī Ismā'īlīs live chiefly in Guḍjarāt, Bombay, and Central India. In Yemen there are Dā'ūdīs in the Ḥarāz region. (For minor secessions from the Dā'ūdīs [see BOHORĀS]).

Nizāriyya [q.v.]: The imāmate of the Nizārīs remained vested in the lords of Alamūt until the surrender of the fortress to the Mongol conqueror Hulāgū in 654/1256 and the consequent execution of the imām Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh. Practically nothing is known about the imāms following him. Later lists of the imāms differ widely concerning their names, number, and sequence. The list now considered official in the Āghā Khānī branch has come to be generally accepted only since the later 19th century. There are vague indications that the imāms after the fall of Alamūt resided in Ādharbāyḍjān. A split occurred in the line of imāms after Muḥammad Ṣhams al-Dīn, usually considered the son of Khurshāh, or his son Mu'min-Ṣhāh, who is omitted in some lists. One line continues with Kāsim-Ṣhāh, the other with Muḥammad-Ṣhāh. The Kāsim-Ṣhāhī imāms in the latter part of the 9th/15th century resided in Anḍjudān, a village near Maḥallāt, where the tombs of some of them are preserved. From this time until the 19th century the imāms were usually affiliated to the Ni'mat Allāhī Ṣūfī order. After a lapse of nearly one and a half centuries there are further tombs of imāms in Anḍjudān dating from 1043/1634 to 1090/1680. It is unknown where the family lived in the intervening period. Imām Ṣhāh Nizār, who died in 1134/1722 is buried in Kahak, a village near Anḍjudān (see W. Ivanow, *Tombs of some Persian Ismā'īlī Imams*, in *JBBRAS*, xiv (1938), 49-62). In the time of Nādir Ṣhāh (1148/1736-1160/1747) Imām Ṣayyid Ḥasan Beg moved to Ṣahr-i Bābak and acquired a winter residence in Kirmān. The imāms now rose from their previous obscurity to involvement in political life. Imām Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṣhāh was governor of Kirmān from 1169/1756 until his death in 1206/1791-2. His son Ṣhāh Khalīl Allāh, who enjoyed the favour of the Kādjār Fath 'Alī Ṣhāh, returned to Kahak and later moved to Yazd, where he was killed by a mob in 1232/1817. Khalīl Allāh's son, Ḥasan 'Alī Ṣhāh Maḥallātī, was granted by Fath 'Alī Ṣhāh the title Āghā Khān [q.v.], which has remained hereditary among his successors. After a vain attempt at gaining independent rule of Kirmān, Ḥasan 'Alī Ṣhāh moved to India in 1259/1843 (see H. Algar, *The Revolt of Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the Transference of the Ismā'īlī Imamate to India*, in *SI*, xxix (1969), 55-81). Bombay became the permanent seat of the imāmate. The present (1971) Āghā Khān, Karīm Khān, succeeded his grandfather, Sulṭān Muḥammad Ṣhāh, in 1957.

The branch of Muḥammad-Ṣhāh apparently was closely associated with the Nizārī community in Daylām. In 776/1374-5 Khudāwānd Muḥammad, who may be identical with Muḥammad-Ṣhāh, gained possession of the fortress of Alamūt with the support of the local Nizārīs. He was consequently expelled and sought refuge with Tīmūr, who sent him

to confinement in Sulṭāniyya. The family continued to live in Sulṭāniyya until after 894/1489. Members of it, however, were repeatedly active among the Nizārīs in Daylam until the middle of the 9th/15th century. The most famous imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, Shāh Ṭāhir Ḥusaynī Dakkānī, because of his religious following aroused the suspicion of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl, was exiled to Kāshān and later forced to leave Persia. In 928/1522 he came to Aḥmadnagar in the Dekkan, where he was instrumental in bringing about the proclamation of Shī'ism as the official religion by the ruler Burhān Nizām Shāh. Shāh Ṭāhir probably died in 956/1549. His descendants lived in Aḥmadnagar and later in Awrangābād (see W. Ivanow, *A forgotten branch of the Ismailis*, in *JRAS*, 1938, 57-79). The last imām of this branch, so far as is known, was Amīr Muḥammad Bākīr, whose last contact with his Syrian followers was in 1210/1796. As well as in Daylam, the Muḥammad-Shāhī line had supporters in Badakhshān and the Kabūl area in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, though by the beginning of the 13th/19th century the Ismā'īlīs there seem to have generally adhered to the Kāsim-Shāhī line. The community in Syria generally recognized the Muḥammad-Shāhī line. In a period of troubles contact with the Imām Muḥammad Bākīr was lost after the year 1210/1796. In 1304/1887, after a vain search for descendants of Muḥammad Bākīr, a section of the Syrian community recognized the Āghā Khānī line. In 1957 about 30,000 Syrian Nizārīs, living in Salamiyya and the villages of al-Khawābī, adhered to the Āghā Khānī line. About 15,000, known as Dīa'fariyya and living in Qadmūs, Mašyāf, and some villages near Salamiyya, continued to adhere to the Muḥammad-Shāhī line (see 'A. Tāmīr, *Furūṣ al-shādījara al-Ismā'īliyya al-Imāmiyya*, in *al-Mashriq*, II (1957), 581-612).

The Nizārī communities, widely dispersed territorially and partially separated by language barriers, developed largely independently of each other, especially after the fall of Alamūt. They were led by local leaders, *shaykhs* or *pīrs*, who alone could claim access to the hidden imāms. The Syrian Nizārīs during the later Alamūt period continued to be ruled by Persian agents sent by the imāms. After the fall of Alamūt they at first preserved their political independence and joined the Muslim efforts to expel the Mongol invaders in 658/1260 from Syria, but later were gradually subdued by the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars I. By the end of the year 671/1273 Baybars controlled all their fortresses. The Ismā'īlīs remained subjects of the Mamlūks and later of the Ottomans, paying a special tax. During the late 18th and the 19th centuries they were frequently involved in clashes with their neighbours, especially with the numerically stronger Nuṣayrīs, who repeatedly occupied their fortresses. About the middle of the 19th century the Ismā'īlīs restored the town of Salamiyya [q.v.] and settled the surrounding area east of Ḥamāt, where now approximately two thirds of the community live. The last Nuṣayrī attack and occupation of Qadmūs took place in 1920, causing much damage to property and manuscripts (see N. N. Lewis, *The Ismā'īlīs of Syria today*, in *Royal Central Asian Studies Journal*, (1952), 69-77).

In Persia the Ismā'īlī communities were decimated by massacres but survived after the surrender of Alamūt and the other fortresses in Daylam and Kuhistān. Alamūt was briefly reoccupied in 674/1275, but lost again in the next year. In the second half of the 8th/14th and the first half of the 9th/15th centuries it was repeatedly, though only for short

spans of time, in Nizārī hands. The Nizārī community in Daylam was still a force in the local power struggle in this period, though it was usually on the defensive, especially against the Zaydī rulers of Lāhījān. After this time it gradually disappeared. In Kuhistan small Ismā'īlī communities have survived in the area of Kā'in and Bīrdjānd. Other Nizārī communities are found in the area of Nishāpūr in Khurāsān, around Kirmān, in Sīrdjān and the Djabal Bāriz, and in the area of Maḥallāt and Yazd.

The Ismā'īlīs of the Upper Oxus region seem to have accepted the Nizārī imāmate before the end of the Alamūt period, though the exact date and circumstances are unknown. Local tradition in Shughnān [q.v.] mentions two *dā'īs*, Sayyid Shāh Māling and Shāh Khāmūsh, who were set by the imām and became the founders of the dynasties of *pīrs* and *mīrs* ruling Shughnān. In 913/1507-8 Shāh Raḍīyy al-Dīn, who is perhaps to be identified with the imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line of that name, the father of Shāh Ṭāhir Dakkānī, came from Sīstān to Badakhshān and with the support of the local Ismā'īlīs established his rule over large parts of the region. In consequence of quarrels among his supporters he was killed in spring 1509. In the 11th/17th century another imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, Khudaybakhsh, seems to have taken up residence in Badakhshān and died there in 1074/1663-4. The Ismā'īlī communities continued to be guided by local dynasties of *pīrs*. There are Nizārī communities recognizing the Āghā Khāns also in the area of Ghazna, in Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, where they are known as Mawlā'īs, and in the area of Yārkaud and Kāshghar.

The date and circumstances of the introduction of Nizārī Ismā'īlism in India are obscure. A continuity of Ismā'īlī activity in Sind, especially the Multān area, ever since the early *da'wa* there, is attested by sparse notices in the sources. In the first half of the 7th/13th century this activity extended to Dihli. It may at this time well have been inspired by emissaries of the imāms of Alamūt, but definite evidence is lacking. The first *pīrs* mentioned in the religious literature of the Indian Nizārīs cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. The shrine of the earliest one, Satgur Nūr, is in Nawsari in Guḍjarāt, where the religious texts place his activity. The presence of non-Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlīs in Guḍjarāt is vaguely attested for the first half of the 7th/13th century. Pīr Shams al-Dīn according to the texts came from Persia to Sind and became the founder of the dynasty of *pīrs* there. If the traditional pedigree of *pīrs* is reliable, he may have lived in the first half of the 8th/14th century, as some sources suggest. Other sources date him one or two centuries earlier. His mausoleum is in Multān. Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn of the 9th/15th century are buried near Uch, south of Multān. Ṣadr al-Dīn is traditionally considered the founder and organizer of the Khodja [q.v.] community, which consists mostly of converts of the Hindu Lohana caste. Kabīr al-Dīn's son Imām Shāh after about the year 875/1470-1 was active in Guḍjarāt where he converted numerous Hindus.

Imām Shāh died in 926/1520 and is buried in Pīrāna near Aḥmadābād. His son and successor Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad-Shāh (d.940/1533-4) repudiated the recognition of the imām in Persia and claimed the imāmate for himself, thus founding a separate sect whose adherents are known as Imām-Shāhīs or Satpanthīs. The sect later split further around different lines of *pīrs*. It has tended to revert toward Hinduism. Its followers, who are to be found chiefly in Guḍjarāt

and Khandesh, consider themselves mostly as Imāmi Shī'is or Sunnis rather than Ismā'īlis, though they recognize the Ismā'īli imāms before the split (see W. Ivanow, *The sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat*, in *JBRAS*, xxii (1936), 19-70). Other Nizāris in Gujārāt remained faithful to the imāms in Persia. The great majority of Nizāris on the Indian subcontinent belong to the Khodja community. There are, however, other Nizāri groups, such as the Shamsis, followers of Pīr Shams al-Dīn in Pandjāb and others. The Khodjas live chiefly in lower Sind, Cutch, Gujārāt, Bombay, and in diaspora in East and South Africa, Ceylon, and Burma.

**Doctrine.** Pre-Fātimid and Fātimid times: Nothing definite is known about the doctrine of the early supporters of the imānate of Ismā'īl and his son Muḥammad. Imāmi sources maintain that the Khaṭṭābiyya [q.v.], the followers of the extremist Shī'ī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [q.v.], constituted the bulk of the early Ismā'īliyya. Later Ismā'īli doctrine, however, generally condemns Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and does not appear to be substantially influenced by the heresies ascribed to him and his followers (see W. Ivanow, *Ibn al-Qaddāh*, Bombay 1957). The *Umm al-kitāb* preserved by the Ismā'īlis of Badakhshān, in which Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb appears as a saintly disciple of Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir and his sons are called the founders of Ismā'īlism, is a syncretistic compilation written not earlier than the beginning of the 4th/10th century and perhaps as late as the early Alamūt period. The ideas of the Shī'ī *ghulāt* [q.v.] represented in it are for the most part not specifically Ismā'īli and evidently not derived from Ismā'īli sources. The work thus must not be considered "proto-Ismā'īli".

The doctrine propagated by the pre-Fātimid Ismā'īli revolutionary movement of the second half of the 3rd/9th century can be derived in its outlines from later Ismā'īli works and reports of anti-Ismā'īli authors. It embodied already the basic framework of the later Ismā'īli religious system, though it was consequently modified in some important respects. Fundamental was the distinction between the *zāhir* exterior or exoteric, and the *bāṭin* [see BĀṬINIYYA], inward or esoteric, aspects of religion. The *zāhir* consists in the apparent, generally accepted meaning of the revealed scriptures and in the religious law laid down in them. It changes with each prophet. The *bāṭin* consists in the truths (*ḥaḳā'iq*) concealed in the scriptures and laws, which are unchangeable and are made apparent from them by the *ta'wil* [q.v.], interpretation, which is often of a cabalistic nature relying on the mystical significance of letters and numbers. These truths form a gnostic system comprising a cosmology and a cyclical hierohistory. At the basis of the pre-Fātimid cosmology was a myth, only imperfectly reflected in the later sources, according to which the divine imperative *kun*, consisting of the letters *kāf* and *nūn*, through duplication formed the two original principles *kūni ḳadar*. *Kūni* was the female and *ḳadar* the male principle. The seven letters of *kūni ḳadar* were known as the seven higher letters (*al-ḥurūf al-'ulwiyya*), which are the archetypes of the seven messenger prophets and their revealed messages. From the two first principles proceeded three spiritual powers, *ḳiadd*, *faiḳ*, and *ḳhayāl*, identified with the three archangels *Djibrā'īl*, *Mikā'īl*, and *Isrā'īl*, which mediate between the spiritual world and man in the physical world (on this triad see H. Corbin, *Le livre réunissant les deux sagesse*, Tehran-Paris 1953, *Étude préliminaire*, 91-112). The cyclical history progresses through seven eras, each inaugurated by an enunciator (*nāṭiq*) prophet bringing a

revealed message. Each of the first six *nāṭiqs*, Ādam, Nūh, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Isā, and Muḥammad, was followed by a fundamental (*asās*) or silent one (*ṣāmī*), who revealed the *bāṭin* of the message, and by seven imāms. The seventh imām in each era rises in rank and becomes the *nāṭiq* of the following era, abrogating the law of the previous *nāṭiq* and bringing a new one. In the era of Muḥammad, 'Alī was the *asās* and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl the seventh imām. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl on his reappearance in the near future will become the seventh *nāṭiq*, the *Ḳā'im* or *Mahdī* [q.v.], and will abrogate the law of Islam. His message will, however, consist in the full revelation of the *bāṭin* truths without any *zāhir* law. He will rule the world and then end the physical world, sitting in judgment over humanity. During his absence he is represented by twelve *ḥudūdjas* residing in the twelve regions (*djāsā'ir*) of the earth. The cyclical history was sometimes coupled with astrological speculations, and astrological predictions were made specifically concerning the date of the coming of the *Ḳā'im*.

Before the coming of the *Ḳā'im* the *bāṭin* must be kept secret and can be revealed to the neophyte only on swearing an oath of initiation with a vow of secrecy and on payment of a due. The initiation, known as *balāgh*, was no doubt gradual, but there is no evidence of a strictly fixed sequence of grades generally followed as described by anti-Ismā'īli sources. Beneath the imām and the *ḥudūdjas* a hierarchy of *dā'īs* was in charge of the initiation and instruction (*da'wa* [q.v.]). Little is known about the actual organization of the *da'wa* in the pre-Fātimid and Fātimid age. The widely differing enumerations of the grades (*ḥudūd*) of the hierarchy given in Ismā'īli religious texts serve mostly ideal functions and cannot be taken as corresponding closely to the actual organization (see W. Ivanow, *The organization of the Fātimid propaganda*, in *JBRAS*, xv (1939), 1-35).

From about the beginning of the 4th/10th century onwards the early cosmology was superseded and partially replaced by a cosmology of Neoplatonic origin, apparently first propounded by the *dā'ī* al-Nasafī [q.v.]. In this cosmology God is described as absolutely beyond comprehension, beyond any attribute or name, beyond being and non-being. Through his divine Order or Volition (*Amr*) he originated (*abda'*) the Intellect (*'Aql*). The *'Aql* is the First Originated Being (*al-Mubda' al-Awwal*), since the *Amr* is united with it in existence. From the Intellect the Soul (*Nafs*) proceeds through emanation. From the Soul proceed the seven spheres with their stars and move with its movement. Through the revolution of the spheres the single elements (*al-mufradāt*) or natures, humidity, dryness, cold, and warmth, are mingled to form the composites (*al-murakkabāt*), earth, water, air, and ether. As the composites mingle, the plants with the vegetative (*nāmiyya*) soul develop. From them the animals with the sensitive (*ḥissiyya*) soul develop, and from the latter, man with the rational (*nāṭiqā*) soul. Al-Nasafī's cosmology was generally adopted in its essentials, though refined and elaborated by the later authors. Some minor points aroused controversy among them. The principles of the spiritual world in this cosmology were identified with terms of the religious sphere. Thus the Intellect in religious terminology was equated with the Pen (*Ḳalam*) and the Throne (*'Arsh*), and the Soul was identified with the Tablet (*Lawh*) and the Footstool (*Kursī*) etc. Much stressed were the analogies between the spiritual, astral, and physical worlds and between man as the

microcosm and the physical world as the macrocosm. The official Fāṭimid *da'wa* apparently did not accept this cosmology until the time of the Caliph al-Mu'izz.

A somewhat different cosmological system was propounded by the *dā'i* Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī [q.v.] (d. about 411/1021). Instead of the duality of the Intellect and the Soul his system comprises ten intellects in the spiritual world. The Soul is replaced by the Second Intellect or First Emanation (*al-Munba'ith al-Awwal*), proceeding from the higher relation (*al-nisba al-ashraf*) of the First Intellect. The Third Intellect or Second Emanation and First Potential Being, proceeding from the lower relation (*al-nisba al-adwan*) of the First Intellect, is equated with matter and form (*al-hayūlā wa 'l-šūra*). From the First and Second Intellects proceed seven further intellects. The tenth one is the Active Intellect (*al-ʿAkl al-Fa'āl*) or demiurge governing the physical world. The structure of the astral and the physical worlds and of the religious hierarchy were similarly modified by al-Kirmānī in close analogy to the spiritual world. The system of al-Kirmānī was not adopted by the Fāṭimid *da'wa*. Only among the Ṭayyibīs in the Yemen did it replace the earlier traditional system.

Fāṭimid doctrine, because of the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate, was forced to modify the early doctrine concerning the role of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as the final imām and Mahdī and the restriction of the number of imāms to seven. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī at first radically broke with this earlier doctrine by asserting that the imām after Dja'far al-Šādiq had been his son ʿAbd Allāh rather than Ismā'īl and that the imāmate continued to be handed down among his descendants without restriction in number. Soon, however, attempts were made to accommodate the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate with the earlier theory. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was again recognized as imām and as ancestor of the Fāṭimids. His return as the Kā'im was sometimes interpreted spiritually, as being realized in the rise of the Fāṭimids, who would gradually fulfil the predictions concerning the Kā'im. A second heptad of imāms, often called the deputies (*khulafā'*) of the Kā'im, was admitted in the era of Muḥammad as a special privilege of the latter. The eschatological expectations in respect to the Kā'im were to be fulfilled after the expiration of the second heptade of imāms. This theory also had to be abandoned as the Fāṭimid caliphate continued, though even then the eschatological events generally were expected in the near future (see W. Madelung, *Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 43-135).

Fāṭimid doctrine, in contrast to the pre-Fāṭimid attitude which tended to depreciate the *ẓāhir*, invariably insisted on the equal importance of the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* and made every effort to suppress antinomian trends, which, however, often came to the surface among more radical Ismā'īlī groups. The Ismā'īlī *fiḥh* was elaborated chiefly by the Kāḍī al-Nu'mān [q.v.] (d. 363/974), whose work *Da'ā'im al-Islām* became the most authoritative exposition of it. Ismā'īlī law agrees in general with Imāmī law, but does not permit the *mul'a* [q.v.] temporary marriage and nullifies bequests to a legal heir except with the consent of the other heirs (see A. A. A. Fyze, *Compendium of Fatimid Law*, Simla 1969). In the ritual, Ismā'īlī *fiḥh* also agrees generally with Imāmī doctrine (see R. Strothmann, *Recht der Ismailiten*, in *Isl.*, xxxi (1954), 131-46). It gives, however, full authority to the imām for determining the beginning

of a new month rather than requiring the sight of the new moon. In practice the beginning of the month was fixed by astronomical calculation. Thus it fell often one or two days earlier than for the other Muslims. This often led to friction in particular in respect to the beginning and end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān.

Post-Fāṭimid times. Ṭayyibī doctrine: The Ṭayyibī community in the Yemen and India preserved a large part of the Fāṭimid religious literature and retained the interest in the gnostic cosmology and cyclical history of the Fāṭimid age. Ṭayyibī doctrine, however, from the beginning adopted the cosmological system of al-Kirmānī in place of the traditional Fāṭimid system, and modified it by introducing a mythical "drama in heaven", first described by the second *dā'i muflak* Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [q.v.], which profoundly shaped the Ṭayyibī gnosis. According to this myth, the two emanations from the First Intellect, the Second and Third Intellects, were rivals for the second rank after the First Intellect. As the Second Intellect reached this position by his superior efforts, the Third Intellect refused to recognize his superiority in rank. In punishment for this failure he fell from the third rank behind the following seven intellects and, after repenting, became stabilized as the Tenth Intellect and demiurge (*mudabbir*). The physical world was produced out of the spiritual forms (*suwar*) which together with the Tenth Intellect refused to recognize the superiority of the Second Intellect and out of the darkness generated by this sin. The Tenth Intellect, also called the Spiritual Ādam (*Ādam al-Rūḥānī*), tries to regain his original rank by calling the fallen spiritual forms to repentance. The first representative of his *da'wa* on earth was the First and Universal Ādam (*Ādam al-Awwal al-Kullī*), owner of the body of the *ibda'* world (*al-djuṭṭha al-ibda'iyya*), who opened the first cycle of manifestation (*dawr al-kashf*) and is distinguished from the Partial Ādam (*Ādam al-Djuz'ī*), who opened the present age of concealment (*dawr al-satr*). After his passing he rose to the horizon of the Tenth (Intellect) and took his place, while the Tenth rose in rank. Similarly the Kā'im of each cycle after his passing rises and takes the place of the Tenth, who thus gradually rises until he will join the Second Intellect. Countless cycles of manifestation and concealment succeed each other until the Great Resurrection (*Ḳiyāmat al-Ḳiyāmāt*) which consummates the megacycle (*al-kawr al-a'zam*), sometimes specified to last 360,000 times 360,000 years.

The soul of each believer on his initiation is joined by a point of light, which grows as he advances in knowledge. On his passing it rises to join the soul of the holder of the rank (*ḥadd*) above him in the hierarchy. It continues to rise from *ḥadd* to *ḥadd* until it is gathered together with the souls of all other believers in the light temple (*ḥaykal nūrānī*) in the shape of a human being which constitutes the form of the Kā'im (*šūra Kā'imīyya*) of his cycle, which then rises to the horizon of the Tenth. The souls of the unbelievers remain with their bodies, which are dissolved into anorganic matter which is consequently transformed into various harmful creatures and substances in descending order. Depending on the gravity of their sins they may eventually rise again through the ascending forms of life and as human beings may accept the *da'wa* or end up in *Siddījn* in torment lasting as long as the megacycle.

Continuing the Fāṭimid tradition Ṭayyibī doctrine

maintained the equal validity of the *zāhir* and the *bāḥin* and repudiated antinomian trends. Kāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Da'ā'im al-Islām* remained the authoritative work of *fiḵh*.

Nizārī doctrine: Owing to the upheavals in the political history of the Nizārī communities, their wide dispersal, the language barriers between them, and the repeated loss of large parts of their religious literature, Nizārī doctrine is marked by major shifts in time and nearly completely independent local traditions.

Doctrine of Alamūt: The vigorous activism of the movement led by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ even before its break with the Fāṭimid caliphate was associated with a new preaching (*da'wa djadida*), most eloquently formulated, though perhaps not originated, by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ himself. The new preaching entailed an apologetic reformulation of the old Shī'ī doctrine of *ta'lim*, i.e., the authoritative teaching in religion, which could be carried out only by a divinely chosen imām in every age after the Prophet. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ reaffirmed the need for such a teacher as a dictate of reason and went on to prove that only the Ismā'īlī imām fulfilled this need. In his argumentation he seems to have stressed the autonomous authority of each imām, independent of his predecessors, thus unwittingly authorizing the later shifts of doctrine. The doctrine of *ta'lim* had a strong impact in the Sunnī world, as is reflected by its elaborate refutation by al-Ghazālī [q.v.] and others.

A religious revolution took place under the fourth lord of Alamūt, Ḥasan 'alā *dhikrihi al-salām* (557/1162-561/1166), who on 17 Ramaḍān 559/8 Aug. 1164 solemnly proclaimed the resurrection (*kiyāma*) in the name of the imām, whose *ḥudūdja* or deputy (*khalifa*) he declared himself to be. In consonance with the Ismā'īlī expectations concerning the *kiyāma* he announced the abrogation of the *shari'a*, which so far had been strictly enforced by the lords of Alamūt. The resurrection was interpreted spiritually as the manifestation of the unveiled Truth in the imām which actualized Paradise for the believers who could grasp it, while it condemned the non-Ismā'īlī opponents to spiritual non-being, i.e., Hell. After the murder of Ḥasan by a brother-in-law opposed to the abolition of the *shari'a*, the doctrine of the *kiyāma* was further elaborated by his son and successor Muḥammad (561/1166-607/1210). Ḥasan before his death seems to have hinted that he himself was the imām at least spiritually. Muḥammad now maintained that his father had been the imām also by physical descent, apparently alleging that he was the son of a descendant of Imām Nizār who had secretly found refuge in Alamūt. The line of imāms thus continued through Ḥasan and Muḥammad in the lords of Alamūt. Muḥammad put the imām, and specifically the present imām, at the centre of the doctrine of the *kiyāma*. The resurrection consisted in viewing God in the spiritual reality of the imām. This doctrine entailed the exaltation of the imām over the prophet, which became characteristic of Nizārī thought. At the same time a new figure, the imām-kā'im, was introduced in the cyclical history. The imām-kā'im in the various eras was identified as Melchizedek (Malik al-Salām), Dhu 'l-Karnayn, Khidr, Ma'add, and, in the era of Muḥammad, as 'Alī. He was recognized by the prophets in each era as the locus of the divinity. In the *kiyāma* the imām-kā'im, i.e., the present imām, who is identical with 'Alī, appears openly in his spiritual reality to the believer, who in his spiritual relationship to the imām is identical with Salmān [q.v.]. The ranks of

the teaching hierarchy intervening between the imām and the believer have, also in agreement with the Ismā'īlī expectations concerning the *kiyāma*, faded away. There are only three categories of men left: the opponents (*ahl al-taqādd*) of the imām who adhere to the *shari'a*, the ordinary followers of the imām or people of gradation (*ahl al-tarattub*), who have gone beyond the *shari'a* to the *bāḥin* and have found partial truth, and the people of union (*ahl al-wahda*), who see the imām in his true nature discarding all appearances and have reached the realm of full truth. The *kiyāma* doctrine was clearly influenced by Ṣūfī ideas and terminology and prepared the way for the close relationship between later Nizārī Ismā'īlism and Ṣūfism.

The *kiyāma* doctrine was repudiated by Muḥammad's son and successor Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (607/1210-618/1221), who proclaimed his adherence to Sunnī Islam, publicly cursed his predecessors, and imposed the Sunnī *shari'a* on his followers, inviting Sunnī scholars to instruct him. As he continued to be considered by them as the imām, his orders were accepted without opposition. There is evidence that at least before his death he acted towards his followers again in the fashion of an Ismā'īlī imām. Under his son 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (618/1221-653/1255) the enforcement of the *shari'a* was relaxed, though it was not officially abolished. The adjusted doctrine which now was developed to explain the new religious situation is expounded in the contemporary Ismā'īlī works of Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [q.v.]. The reimposition of the *shari'a* by Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was interpreted as a return to precautionary dissimulation (*taḥiyya*) and a new period of concealment (*saṭr*), when the truth is hidden in the *bāḥin*, in contrast to the preceding period of *kiyāma*, when the unveiled truth was apparent and available to all. The *kiyāma* proclaimed by Ḥasan 'alā *dhikrihi 'l-salām*, coming at about the middle of the millenium of the era of the Prophet Muḥammad, was merely anticipatory of the final *kiyāma* at the end of it. In the era of Muḥammad periods of *saṭr* and *kiyāma* may alternate according to the decision of each imām, since every imām is a potential imām-kā'im. The state of spiritual union (*wahda*) in the time of *saṭr* is restricted to the *ḥudūdja* of the imām, who partakes of the divine Support (*ta'yīd*) and possesses the truth of the imām, with whom he is consubstantial. The *ahl al-tarattub* are divided into the strong (*akwiyā'*) and the weak (*du'afā'*) according to their closeness to the truth.

Conditions in the post-Alamūt period favoured the adoption of Ṣūfī ways of life by the imāms and their followers also externally. Ismā'īlī ideas were often camouflaged in Ṣūfī forms of expression, especially in poetry. Doctrinal works were written again from the 9th/16th century on, at a time when the victory of Shī'ism in Persia permitted the Nizārīs and their imāms to act somewhat more openly. The doctrine of the late Alamūt period as expressed by Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was essentially retained. Works of the Fāṭimid age, which still influenced al-Ṭūsī, were no longer available. Interest in the Ismā'īlī cosmology and cyclical history waned. The role of the *ḥudūdja* as the revealer of the spiritual truth and only access to the essence of the imām, already stressed by al-Ṭūsī, was further elaborated.

A special literary tradition within Nizārī Ismā'īlism in Persia was retained by the community of Badakhshān. Although many works of the Alamūt and post-Alamūt period found their way there, the community remained particularly attached to the works genuine and spurious, of Naṣir-i Khusrāw.



Fātimid doctrine in the adaptation of Nāṣir, including the Fātimid cosmology, thus maintained their influence. The community of Badaḫshān also transmitted and revered the *Umm al-kitāb* representing largely non-Isimā'īlī thought.

Syrian Nizārī literature, written in Arabic, developed independently of the Persian literature, even during the Alamūt period. Persian works were not translated into Arabic or vice-versa. The Syrian community preserved a substantial selection of Fātimid religious literature, partially different from those preserved by the Ṭayyibīs. Even though the *ḫiyāma* was proclaimed, apparently with some delay, in Syria, the *ḫiyāma* doctrine had practically no impact there. The scholarly doctrine continued mostly in the Fātimid tradition. Syrian doctrinal works, while concentrating on the traditional cosmology and cyclical history, virtually ignore the current imām, the central figure in the Persian Alamūt and post-Alamūt doctrine. In religious literature of a popular type Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān is extolled as a saintly hero and his cosmic rank is described in terms appropriate to the imām. Much of the Syrian Isimā'īlī literature was destroyed later during the feuds with neighbouring communities.

Among the Ḳhoḍjas Isimā'īlī literature, both Persian and Arabic, has been virtually unknown. Only a single Persian work, the *Pandīyāt-i Djavānmarāḍī* containing a collection of religious and moral admonitions of the Nizārī Imām al-Mustanṣir (end of the 9th/15th century), was accepted as a sacred book, perhaps a century after his death. The traditional religious literature of the Ḳhoḍjas and the Imām Shāhīs is known as Satpanth [q.v.] literature, Sat Panth, i.e., True Path, designating the religion preached in it. It consists of numerous writings in verse form, called *gnans*, written in, or translated into, several Indian languages. Most of them are ascribed to the medieval *pīrs*, but cannot be dated exactly and probably have undergone changes in the transmission. They contain hymns, moral and religious instruction, legendary histories of the *pīrs*, and descriptions of their miracles, but no formulated creed or theology. Their religious content is a mixture of Islamic and Hindu, especially popular Tantric, elements. While idol worship is condemned, Hindu mythology is accepted. 'Alī is described as the Tenth Avatar or incarnation of the deity, and the imāms are identical with him. The Ḳur'ān is considered the last of the Vedas, which are viewed as holy scriptures whose true interpretation is known to the *pīrs*. The religious role of the *pīr* or *guru* is extolled. Acceptance of the true religion will free the believer from further rebirths and open Paradise for him, which is described in Islamic terms, while those failing to recognize the imāms must pass through another cycle of rebirths. The traditional Isimā'īlī cosmology, cyclical history, and hierarchy are unknown (see W. Ivanow, *Satpanth*, in *Collectanea* I (The Ismaili Society), Leiden 1948, 1-54).

*Bibliography* in addition to the works cited in the article: Major aspects of early Isimā'īlī history and doctrine are examined in: B. Lewis, *The origins of Isimā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940; W. Ivanow, *Ismailī tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942; idem, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*<sup>1</sup>, Bombay 1955; S. M. Stern, *Heterodox Ismailism in the time of al-Mu'izz*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 10-30. On Nizārī history and doctrine in the Alamūt period: M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, (fundamental); idem, *The Isimā'īlī state*, in *The Cambridge*

*History of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 422-82; B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967. On the Syrian Nizārīs in the time of the crusades: B. Lewis, *The Isimā'īlis and the Assassins*, in K. M. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, 99-132. On the history, doctrine, and present state of the Bohorās and Ḳhoḍjas: J. N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, London 1953. Analysis of Isimā'īlī gnostic doctrine: H. Corbin, *De la gnose antique à la gnose ismaélienne*, in *Convengo di scienze morali storiche e filologiche* 1956, Rome 1957, 105-46; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, Paris 1964, 110-51. Analytical bibliography of published and unpublished Isimā'īlī works: W. Ivanow, *Ismailī Literature*, Tehran 1963. General, but unequal surveys of Isimā'īlī history and doctrine have been given by W. Ivanow, *Brief survey of the evolution of Ismailism*, Leiden 1952; M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Tā'rifat al-Isimā'īliyya*, Cairo 1959.

(W. MADELUNG)

**ISMĀ'ILĪYYA**, town in Egypt on the western bank of the Suez Canal and on the northern shore of Lake Timsāḥ. The town originated from huts of workers and engineers engaged in excavating the Suez Canal. Its foundations were laid by the Inspector General of the Suez Canal Company on 27 April 1862. After the succession of the Khedive Isimā'īl to the throne on 18 January 1863 it was called Isimā'īliyya. In 1864 a network of streets and quarters, a central square (*maydān*), a government building (*sarāy*) and a pump for water-supply were established, and in 1868 the town was connected to the Egyptian railway network. When the digging of the Canal was completed, most of the personnel engaged on it moved to Port Sa'īd, and from 1870 onwards the number of Isimā'īliyya's inhabitants was unchanged (about 3,000) for almost two decades. From the 1890s the town grew steadily to more than 15,000 inhabitants after World War I and more than 50,000 after World War II. From World War I until the final evacuation of British troops in the 1950s, a large British army and airforce base was situated near Isimā'īliyya, and many foreign residents dwelt in the town. In 1928 Ḥasan al-Bannā' [q.v.] founded in Isimā'īliyya the movement of al-Iḳhwān al-Muslimūn [q.v.]. After the unilateral abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 in October 1951, Isimā'īliyya became the scene of frequent clashes between British troops and Egyptian police, culminating in a six-hour battle on 25 January 1952. This resulted, one day later, in the Cairo riots known as "black Saturday".

Until 1960 Isimā'īliyya formed part of the Canal Governorate, but in that year it became the centre of a separate province (*muhāfaẓa*) which included al-Ḳanṭara to the north and al-Tall al-Kabīr to the west. In 1966 the number of inhabitants of Isimā'īliyya province amounted to 344,789, of whom 162,370 dwelt in rural settlements (*rīf*) and 182,419 in urban ones (*ḥaḍar*). After the war of June 1967 most of Isimā'īliyya's inhabitants left the city or were evacuated.

*Bibliography*: 'Alī Mubārak, *al-Ḳhiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, viii, Cairo 1305, 59; H. de Vaujany, *Alexandrie et la Basse-Égypte*, Paris 1885, 245; Population censuses of Egypt, 1897-1966; *al-Ahrām*, October 1951-January 1952, and 26 July 1965. (G. BAER)

**ISNA**, Arabic name of a town in Upper Egypt (Egyptian Te-snet, Coptic Sne; Greek Latopolis, from the fish Latos worshipped there; in European accounts Esne, Esnèh), lying on the left bank of

the Nile halfway between Luxor and Edfu. It was for a time the capital of a *mudiriyya*, and is now a *markaz* in the *mudiriyya* of Kinā' [q.v.], with over 20,000 inhabitants. It is celebrated for the ruins of the temple of the god Chnum, which dates from the Ptolemaic period, in which a number of Roman emperors are depicted in the garb of the Pharaohs. In the Muslim period Isna was a flourishing provincial town. According to Edfūwī quoted by Maḳrīzī the town had 10,000 houses, and produced annually 40,000 *irdabb* of dates and 10,000 *irdabb* of *zabīb*. At the present time blue cotton fabric used throughout Egypt is woven there.

*Bibliography:* Yāḳūt, i, 265 f.; Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭat*, i, 237; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, 172; A. Boinet Bey, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1899, 183. The most detailed account, which also takes account of economic conditions, is 'Alī Mubārak, *Khīṭat Dīadida*, viii, 59. See also Baedeker, *Egypte*; Guide Bleu, *Égypte*, 1956, 439-40. (H. RITTER)

**ISNĀD**, chain of authorities, an essential part of the transmission of a tradition. Little need of this was realized in the earliest times, but as the first century of Islam advanced, the need for stating one's authority developed. The collections of traditions which were compiled mainly in the 3rd/9th century onwards give complete *isnāds*.

See AL-DJĀRĪ WA 'L-TA'DĪL and ḤADĪTH. Add to the Bibliographies Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, London 1966, chap. 3 *passim* and Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri II, Qur'anic commentary and tradition*, Chicago 1967, see Index. (J. ROBSON)

**ISPAHBADH**, Persian, "army chief", the Islamic form of a military title used in the pre-Islamic Persian empires and surviving in the Caspian provinces of Persia down to the Mongol invasions.

In Achaemenid times the *spādhapati* was the commander-in-chief of the army. In the Arsacid period, the office of *spāhpat* was apparently hereditary in one of the great Parthian families; the Armenian geographer Moses of Choren (8th century A. D.) says that when Kōsh̄m or Komsh̄, daughter of King Arsh̄navir (sc. Phraates IV) married the commander-in-chief of the Parthian army, their descendants acquired the name of Aspahapet Pahlav (see Marquart in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), 635-9; idem, *Ērānshahr*, 71-2; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 104). The term was in fact twice borrowed into Armenian: once in Arsacid times from the Old Persian, giving (*a*)*sparapet*, and again in early Sāsānid times from the Middle Persian form, giving *aspahapet* (which in the Armenian version of the Book of Genesis translates the Greek ἀρχιστρατήγος "supreme commander") (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 22-3, 240). In the Byzantine historians of the Persian wars, M. Pers. *spāhpat* is rendered as ἀσπαβέδης. The military title even travelled as far as Eastern Turkestan, and comes into the Saka language of *Khotan* as *spāta*, later form *spā* (H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian studies. Khotanese texts iv*, Cambridge 1961, 7, 55); it does not, however, appear to be attested in Soghdian.

In the early Sāsānid period there was a supreme military overlord and war minister, the *Ērān-spāhpat* "commander-in-chief of all the realm"; but one also finds *spāhpat*s appointed for specific regions, e.g. for the Sawād of Mesopotamia (Christensen, *op. cit.*, 130). After the Emperor Kawād̄h was forced to humble his over-mighty subject, the *Ērān-spāhpat* Zarmīhr or Sūkh̄rā, his son and successor *Khusrāw* Anūshīrvān introduced certain military reforms,

whereby instead of one all-powerful commander, there were to be four *spāhpat*s, one for each of the quarters of the empire, north, east, south and west. In the table of precedence in the Sāsānid empire given by Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 202, the *Spāhpat* comes after the chief minister (*Buzurg-framād̄hār*), the *Mōbadhān-Mōbadh*, the *Herbadhān-Herbadh* and the chief secretary (*Dībherbadh*); this seems to reflect the pre-reform position. The list in Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 156, on the other hand, places the four *spāhpat*s after the ministers of state and the *Mōbadhān-Mōbadh*; although Mas'ūdī says that this was the position under Ardāshīr, it obviously reflects that under Anūshīrvān and afterwards (see Nöldeke-Tabarī, 139, 155-6, 444; Marquart, in *ZDMG* (1895), *loc. cit.*; Christensen, 336, 370-1). In the Armenian kingdom, the *Sparapet* or commander-in-chief occupied a similar high rank, and his office, the (*a*)*sparapet'iun*, was hereditary in the Mamikonian family (see Hübschmann, 240; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 165-7).

At the time of the Arab invasion of Persia, the Sāsānid *Spāhpat* of the East established himself in the Caspian fastnesses of Ṭabaristān, where he invited the fugitive Emperor Yazdīgird III to take refuge (Christensen, 507). We now have the New Persian form *ispahbadh*, defined in the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 420, as "Amīr" or "Amīr-Sipāhsālār". In Arabic this becomes *īsbahbadh* (cf. *Djāwāllī*, *al-Mu'arrab*, ed. Sachau, 99; *Lisān al-'arab*, v, 8; in *Tādī al-'arūs*, ii, 569, we have *īsbahbadhān*, said to occur in a verse of *Djārīr*), or, more rarely, *īsbāhbād̄h* (cf. *Bīrūnī*, *al-Āthār al-bākiya*, 101, tr. 109, following Marquart's correction of *anābadh*, the alleged title of the princes of Gurgān).

The *Ispahbadhs* of Gilān are early mentioned in the Arabic accounts of the conquests. Thus in 22/643 Suwayd b. Muḳarrin wrote to al-Farruḳhān "the *īsbahbadh* of *Khurāsān* over Ṭabaristān and the *Djīl-i Djīlān*" (Ṭabarī, i, 2659). Later in the century, the references become more frequent, e.g. in the story of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a's revolt (Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 329, years 78-9/697-9), and in that of 'Umar b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt's revolt in Ray (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 395-6, year 83/702). Coins of these *Ispahbadhs*, with Pahlavi legends, appear shortly after this (see A. D. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii (1879), 110-12; R. Vasmer, *EI*, art. *Māzandarān*, appendix on coins). These *Ispahbadhs* are those of the Dābūyid family (40-141/660-758), a parallel line of which formed the long-lived Pād̄hūspānid dynasty of Rūyān and western Ṭabaristān (see DĀBŪYA and BĀDŪSBĀNĪDS).

Another local line in the mountains of Ṭabaristān which used *Ispahbadh* as the title of its chiefs was that of the *Ķārinwand* or *Sūkh̄rāniyyān* (572 to 225/839-40), who latterly recognized the Bāwandids (see below) as overlords. The last ruler of this line was the celebrated Māzyār b. *Ķārin* [q.v.], who was executed during the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim for plotting a Zoroastrian revolt, and who claimed to be "Djīl-i Djīlān, *īsbahbadh* *Khurāsān*, al-Māzyār, Muḥammad b. *Ķārin*, Muwālī (*sic*, not Mawlā) Anūr al-Mu'minīn" (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 277, tr. 81, cf. idem, *Historiae*, ii, 582, and Ṭabarī, iii, 1298).

Lastly amongst these Caspian dynasties, the Bāwandids of Ṭabaristān used the title of *Ispahbadh*. This family can be traced from the time of the Arab invasions till well after the Mongol conquests; the second of the three lines of the dynasty (466-606/1074-1210) is specifically known as that of the *Ispahbadhiyya* [see BĀWAND]. As well as being thus used as a regnal title by the Bāwandids of the early 7th/13th century, we find *īsbahbadh* used in this region

as a common noun meaning "local chieftain"; cf. Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Iqbāl, ii, 171, tr. Browne, 255, where Ṣhams al-Mulūk Rustamī II b. Ardashīr is greeted on his accession in 602/1206 by "the *isfahbadān*, the Bāwandān, the military leaders and the town notables".

However, the title was also known amongst the Daylamīs of the south-western corner of the Caspian, as well as in the south-eastern one; in the time of the Ziyārid Wuṣṭmagīr (mid-4th/10th century) there was an Ispahbadh of Mūghān, named as *pisar-i D. lūla* (A. Kasravi, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, i, 57-8). During the first two centuries or so of Islam, the title also persisted to the east of the Caspian, on the northern and eastern marches of Khurāsān. The Ispahbadh of Balkh was amongst the local princes of Bādghīs and Ṭukhārīstān who were persuaded by the Hephthalite Ṭarkhān Nizak [see HAYĀṬĪLA] to throw off allegiance to Ḳutayba b. Muslim's Arabs in 90/709 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1206, 1218, cf. also 1300); and shortly afterwards, in 119/737, an Ispahbadh of Nasā, named as al-Ishkand (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 142), acted as commander of the Khākān of the Western Turks' army against the Arabs (Ṭabarī, ii, 1597-8). An interesting usage of the term is in an inscription on the Ka'ba dating from 200/815-16 in al-Ma'mūn's Caliphate. This commemorates the forwarding to Mecca from Khurāsān of the captured throne of "the Ispahbadh Kābul-Shāh" (Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 158; *Répertoire*, i, 92-3, No. 116); but the usage of this title by the Kābul-Shāhs is not attested elsewhere. It also appears as the personal name of a Turkish slave commander of the Saljūqs: in 487/1094 or 488/1095 the Amīr Ispahbadh b. Sāwtigīn al-Turkumānī expelled the 'Alid governor of Mecca and held the city for a while (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 163; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Dhawl ta'rikh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, 130, cf. also 158).

Finally, one may note that in Georgian texts of the 6th/12th century, the loanword *spaspeli* "commander-in-chief" < *isfahbadh* is used as a synonym for *amir spaslari* (see the Georgian Academy of Sciences' *Dictionary of Georgian*, ed. A. S. Chikobava, Tbilisi 1950, vi, col. 1134; M. Andronikashvili, *Studies in Iranian-Georgian linguistic contacts*, Tbilisi 1966, 371-2; and also ISPAHSĀLĀR).

*Bibliography* (in addition to references given in the article): T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 139, 155-6, 437-8, 444; H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 22-3, 239-40; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 306; J. Marquart, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān*, in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), 635-9; idem, *Erānshahr*, 68, 71-2, 131, 165-7; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, 99, 104, 130-1, 138, 336, 370-1, 518-21; Spuler, *Iran*, index; H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *L'histoire du Māsāndarān*, in *JA*, ccxlv (1943-5), 216-21; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Akhbār al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1958, 139; W. Eilers, *Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon: über einige Berufsamen und Titel*, in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, v (1962), 215.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**ISPAHSĀLĀR, SIPAHSĀLĀR**, Persian, "army commander", Arabized form *isfahsalār*, *isbahsalār*: the title given to commanders-in-chief and general officers in the armies of many states of the central and eastern mediaeval Islamic world. On the component *sālār* and its Middle Persian origins, see SĀLĀR. The compound *spāhsālār* is already attested in Pāzand (i.e. Middle Persian transcribed from Pahlavi into Avestan script), e.g. in the 9th century

*Shkand-gumānik vicār* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 235).

#### i. THE ISLAMIC WORLD EXCEPTING INDIA

The Ispahsālār as a military leader appears to be the Islamic counterpart of the Sāsānid *Spāhpat* "commander-in-chief", the New Persian derivative *Ispahbadh* having in Islamic times a restricted application as the regnal title of certain Iranian families in the Caspian provinces and in certain localities of Khurāsān [see ISPAHBADH].

The use of the term *Ispahsālār* became widespread during the 4th/10th century as a concomitant of the political and military upsurge of Daylamī and other Iranian peoples. Amongst the Būyids, the Arabic sources normally use Arabic expressions like *Hādhib al-Hudjdjāb*, *al-Hādhib al-Kabīr* or *Shāhib al-Djays* for the supreme commander of the Būyid army [see HĀDIB. iii. Eastern dynasties], but *Ispahsālār* was also used and carried with it an especial honour. Thus in 360/971, 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār conciliated the Turkish slave general Sebūktigīn al-Mu'izzī by ordering, amongst other things, that he should be addressed as "Ispahsālār"; after this commander's death, Bakhtiyār in 364/974-5 offered the title to the general Alptigīn, leader of his rebellious Turkish troops (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 258, 293, tr. v, 273, 314; Ibrāhīm b. Hīlāl al-Shābi, *Rasā'il*, Beirut 1899, 263; see also instances in Rūdhrawārī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 81, 107, tr. vi, 82, 111). But as disorder grew in the Būyid provinces under 'Aḍud al-Dawla's weaker successors, the title became debased, and as appears from several citations in the sources it came merely to mean "commander" or even just "officer" as distinct from the rank-and-file; cf. Ibn al-Djāwzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, viii, 72: *djāmā'a min al-kuwwād wa'l-isbahsālāriyya*, and on the whole topic of Būyid usage, M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, 137-9.

Amongst other dynasties of the east, however, the title usually retained its original, more exalted meaning. It is attested in this sense for the Šaffārid army of Khālaf b. Aḥmad's time (reigned 352/963-393/1003), and is distinguished in the sources from the *Hādhib al-Hudjdjāb*, who may have been the commander of the slave troops only (C. E. Bosworth, *The armies of the Šaffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 547 n. 52). The Turkish dynasties who established themselves in the eastern and central lands of the Caliphate from the end of the 4th/10th century onwards adopted the existing Arabic and Persian military terminology just as they adopted much of the existing administrative practice. In Ghaznavid usage, *Sipahsālār* alternates with Arabic equivalents for "supreme commander" like *Hādhib al-Hudjdjāb* and *al-Hādhib al-kabīr* and with the Turkish one *Sūbāshī*, and these are used, for example, to denote the commanders-in-chief of the armies in Khurāsān or India; the simple term *sālār* or *hādhib* apparently denoted a step lower, that of "commander" or "general officer". Yet the compound and simple terms are both used for the commanders of special component divisions of the army as a whole; we hear of the commander of the Indian troops, the *Sipahsālār-i Hindūyān*, and the *Sālār* of the *ghāsīs* or volunteer fighters on the frontiers, this latter officer being normally stationed at Lahore, convenient for raiding into India (C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 44).

Great Saljūq military terminology frequently employed such expressions as *Ispahsālār-i Buzurg* or *Amīr-i Ispahsālār* for the commander-in-chief of the

whole Salḡjūk forces (cf. İ. Kafesoğlu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1953, 158), or else for the commander of the army in an important region like *Khurāsān* (cf. Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nusra*, 56). These phrases were further used as general terms for "commander, general officer", alternating with such expressions as *Amir al-umarā'*, *Amir-i amirān*, *Amir-sālār*, *Muḡaddam al-ḡjaysh*, *Sūbāshī*, etc.; this diversity of nomenclature was handed on to the Salḡjūks of Rūm in the 7th/13th century (cf. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 59-60). The *Amir-i Ispah-sālār* often appears in official letters and investiture diplomas emanating from both the Great Salḡjūks and their eastern neighbours and initial vassals, the *Kh̲wārazm-Shāhs*. This title was usually conferred on a newly-appointed *Shihna* [q.v.], military governor or commander of the police. One document in Muntadjab al-Dīn ḡuwaynī's *Atabat al-kalaba*, ed. Kazwīnī and İqbāl, Tehran 1329/1950, 74 ff., emanating from Sanḡār's chancery, describes how both the deceased amir's İmād al-Dīn Ḳamaç and his son 'Alā' al-Dīn Abū Bakr were amirs of *Khurāsān* with the title of *Amir-i Isfahsālār*; this designation and the governorship of the *Balkh* region are now conferred on Abū Bakr's son 'İmād al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḡh. Especially interesting is the detailing of the insignia of a *Sipahsālār* and *Şāhib-ḡaraf* (i.e. the governor of a strategically-situated frontier province): distinctive official robes; a horse with special saddle and accoutrements; a jewelled collar; a shield and sword-belt; the right to a salute of kettledrums in the military encampments; a standard; a tent of regal dimensions; etc. (see also H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselügen und Hörazmsāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 116).

A peculiar expression found in the military titlature of the *Kh̲wārazm-Shāhs* is that of *Ḳīr Isfahsālār*, apparently meaning "commander of a *ḡaḡhr* or frontier region" (*ḡīr*, Turkish "frontier region", roughly synonymous with *uç*, see *Kāshgharī, Diwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 324-5: *ḡīr* "uncultivated, vacant land"). In 594/1198 at Hamadḡān, the *Kh̲wārazm-Shāh Tekiḡh* made his general Mayaçuḡ or Mayançuḡ governor of 'Irāk 'Adjamī, and amongst his titles were those of "Ulugh Ḥādīb, Ḡhāzī, Ḳīr Isfahsālār" (Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-ḡudūr*, 396-7). Amongst the line of Atabegs of Yazd founded by Rukn al-Dīn Sām (d. 590/1194), we find *Isfahsālār* as the personal name of the fourth of the family to rule, Ḳuḡb al-Dīn Abū Manşūr Isfahsālār (ḡja'far b. Muḡammad ḡja'farī, *Ta'riḡh-i Yazd*, ed. İ. Afshār, Tehran 1338/1960, 23 ff.).

Use of the title was in the Mongol period somewhat eclipsed by the popularity of Mongol and Turkish military terminology, but it never went entirely out of use. In particular, we find it very much alive during the Mongol and Il-*Khānīd* periods in the Caspian provinces, which were conservative in their usages and often pursued a path divergent from that of the major part of Persia. Many references to the title in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, and to the office of *sipahsālārī*, can be found in such local histories of Gilān and Daylam as *Zāhir al-Dīn Mar'ashī's Ta'riḡh-i Gilān u Daylamistān*, 'Alī Lābīḡī's *Ta'riḡh-i Khānī* and 'Abd al-Fattāḡ Fūmānī's *Ta'riḡh-i Gilān*. The title persisted, too, into Şafawid times, although the question of the position and powers of the *Sipahsālār* becomes extremely complex and confused at this time. It does not appear in the earliest Şafawid period at all, when it was the *Amir al-Umarā'* who was commander-in-

chief of the *Ḳīzīlbāsh* forces. It seems to have been revived during the reign of *Shāh 'Abbās I* (996/1588-1038/1629), when we find a Georgian convert, *Ḳarçaghāy Khān*, as *Sipahsālār-i Irān* in 1032/1622-3 and then finally becoming *Sipahsālār-i kull-i laḡḡhar-i Irān*, implying that the *Sipahsālār* was then superior to the *Ḳūrçībāshī* or commander of the remainder of the *Ḳīzīlbāsh* troops (Iskandar Munshī, *Ta'riḡh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, iii, 1039-40). Under 'Abbās's successor *Shāh Şafī I*, there was the famous *Sipahsālār* *Rustam Khān*, governor of *Tabrīz* and *Beglerbegi* of *Āḡharbāyḡiān*, executed in 'Abbās II's reign. When the latter ruler dismissed his *Sipahsālār* 'Alī Ḳulī Beg, 'Alī Ḳulī's office was divided into that of the *Sardār* and the *Ḳūrçībāshī*. This fact supports Chardin's observation that the post of *Sipahsālār*, till then usually held by the *beglerbegi* or governor of *Āḡharbāyḡiān*, was in his time (sc. 1664-77) abolished, and a *sardār* appointed *ad hoc* in times of war (cited in Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, introd., 36). Under the *Ḳāḡjārs*, *Sipahsālār-i A'ḡam* appears as an honorific title granted to two high ministers during the second half of the 19th century. *Mirzā Muḡammad Khān Ḳāḡjār* was appointed minister of war, with the title of *Sipahsālār-i A'ḡam*, in 1275/1858 (Muḡammad ḡasan *Khān Marāḡhī, al-Ma'āthīr wa'l-āthār*, Tehran 1306-7/1889, 16, 29). The same honour was conferred on the *Mushīr al-Dawla* *Mirzā ḡusayn Khān Kazwīnī* when he in turn became minister of war in 1288/1871; it was he who built the *Sipahsālār* mosque in *Tehran*, next to the present *Maḡlis* building, which was indeed originally his house. In present-day *Iran* the title is not in normal usage, H.I.H. the *Shah* being denoted, in his rôle as commander-in-chief of the *Iranian Army*, by such titles as *Farmāndeh-i Kull*.

Usage of the title was in the mediaeval period by no means confined to the *Iranian world*, or even to the *Dār al-Islām*. It was probably *Salḡjūk* influence which brought it into the *Armenian* vocabulary, where (*a*)*spasalar* "commander" occurs in the 12th-century historian *Matthew of Edessa* (*Hübschmann, Armenische Grammatik*, 239). *Salḡjūk* example certainly explains how the term *Amir Spasalari* found its way into 12th- and 13th-century *Christian Georgia*; under *Queen Tamara* (1184-1212), this officer ranked as one of the four great ministers of state (cf. W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, London 1932, 253, 260 ff.; the *Georgian Academy of Sciences' Dictionary of Georgian*, ed. A. S. Chikobava, Tbilisi 1950, i, col. 311: "minister of war, commander-in-chief"; M. Andronikashvili, *Studies in Iranian-Georgian linguistic contacts*, Tbilisi 1966, 371-2).

The prestige and military might of *Iranian powers* like the *Būyids* and *Turkish-Iranian* ones like the *Great Salḡjūks* favoured the westwards spread of *Persian military terminology*. *Ḳalkaşhandī* quotes *Ibn al-ḡuways* as an authority on *Fāḡimid administrative and military practice*, that under the *Fāḡimid Caliphs* the commander-in-chief of the forces or *Isfahsālār* (a term which *Ḳalkaşhandī* glosses as *Muḡaddam al-'askar*) was equal in status to the *Şāhib al-Bāb* or *Wazīr al-Şaḡhīr*, the *Head Chamberlain* [q.v.]; all questions of military organization came to these two officials (*Subḡ al-a'ḡhā*, iii, 483, vi, 7). Historical and epigraphical sources demonstrate that amongst the *Atabeg dynasties* of 6th/12th century *Syria* and 'Irāk, and then subsequently amongst the *Ayyūbids*, the title *Isfahsālār* and the abstract *isfahsālārīyya* "chief command" were extremely common. The *Atabegs* themselves used the title, and it was

further given to the commanders of provincial armies or town garrisons, especially when these were formed of mercenary troops (*ʿaskariyya*). Van Berchem's examination of Bōrid inscriptions indicated that the titles *al-Amīr al-Isfahsālār al-Adjāl al-Sayyid al-Kabīr* were a set formula in the designation of these Atabegs of Damascus, from Ḥāhīr al-Dīn Tuḡtiḡīn onwards; an interesting point is that though the lesser titles might be borne by subordinate members of the family, e.g. the Atabeg's *walī al-ʿahd* or heir, the exalted titles *al-Atabak* and *al-Isfahsālār* were reserved for the Atabeg himself. As examples of other leading figures of the period using the titles *al-Amīr al-Isfahsālār*, one may cite Aḡ Sonḡor al-Bursuḡī of Mosul; *Shīrkūh* when he was in the service of Nūr al-Dīn al-Zangī; the commander of *Shīrkūh* and Ṣalāh al-Dīn, *Ḳara Ḳuṣh*; Ṣalāh al-Dīn's commander *Ḳaraḡja*; Ṣalāh al-Dīn himself as addressed in letters from Nūr al-Dīn; and by al-Malik al-Muʿazzam *Shāraf al-Dīn ʿIsā's Ustādūh al-Dār* when he was governor of Ṣalkhat in the Ḥawrān, *ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak* (M. van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Atabeks de Damas, in Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, Paris 1909, 32-9; idem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum. i. Égypte*, Paris 1903, 638-42, No. 458; idem, *Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlande*, in *ZDPV*, xvi (1893), 85-6, corrected in *Matériaux*, i, 640-1; Ibn al-Ḳalānīsī, ed. Amedroz, 167, 193, 197, 327 and *passim*; Abū *Shāma, Kitāb al-Rawḡatalayn*, Cairo 1287-8/1870-1, i, 161; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Atkāb al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, 156-7).

The title *Isfahsālār* and the *nisba* of *al-Isfahsālārī* both survived into the 7th/13th century and beyond amongst the Mamlūks of Syria and Egypt, the former term being found as a component in the titles of the great amīrs and the second term in their designations on objets d'art and in inscriptions (e.g. the inscription on the *madrasa* and mausoleum built in 715/1315 by the Amīr Sonḡor al-Saʿdī, see *Matériaux*, i, 733, No. 529). According to Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, cited in *Ṣubḡ al-a-ṣhā*, vi, 7-8, the honorific *al-Isfahsālārī* was specially reserved for the *umarāʾ al-ṭablaḡkhānāh*, but he goes on to say that its use had been abandoned in his own time (sc. the last decades of the 8th/14th century), perhaps because of the term's debasement, the common people were using the term *Isbahsālār* for all the guards around the sultan's circle.

Nevertheless, we still meet *Isfahsālār* in use as one of the titles of the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn *Yashbak*, the *Dawādār* and commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, carved on his palace in 880/1475-6 (*Matériaux*, i, 452, No. 305).

This seems to be the end of its usage in the central lands of Islam. Although *sipahsālār* appears as a common noun in Ottoman sources, it was not a specific rank; in the Ottoman Empire the usual title of the commander-in-chief was *Serdār* or *Serʿasker* [qq.v.] (C. E. BOSWORTH)

## ii. MUSLIM INDIA

From Ḡhaznavid usage (see above), the term passed to the Ḡhūrīds and thence to the Dihlī sultans in Muslim India. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries we can discern two or probably three usages of *Isfahsālār*. Firstly, it denotes the commander-in-chief of the Ḡhūrīd army; in his inscription on the *Ḳuwat al-Islām* mosque in Dihlī (587/1191), *Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak* describes himself as *Amīr-i Isfahsālār-i Adjāl-i Kabīr* (J. Horowitz, *The inscriptions of Muḡammad Ibn Sām*, in *Épigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta 1911-12, 13). Secondly, it denotes in the 7th/13th

century an officer who in theory commanded 100 cavalry, that officer below the rank of amīr (see the description of the decimal chain of command in Baranī's *Taʾrīkh-i Firūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862, 145); but in the 8th/14th century under the Tuḡluḡīds, the *isfahsālār* had probably sunk to the command of 10 men only, the equivalent of a *sarkhayl* of the century before (Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-absār*, Indian section ed. and tr. into Urdu by K. A. Fariḡ, Delhi 1961, 24, 26; *Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḡ al-a-ṣhā*, v, 91-2). Finally, it seems to be a general term denoting "commander of high rank, general officer"; the historian ʿIṣāmī refers to his grandfather ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, who was *ʿArid* or chief of military affairs and *Wakīl-i Dar* under Balban (later 7th/13th century), as *Sipahsālār* (*Futūḡ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948, 447-8). By a curious coincidence, the maternal grandfather of the historian Baranī also held the office of *Wakīl-i Dar* [and] *Bārbak* in the same reign, and is called the *Sipahsālār Ḥusām al-Dīn* (Baranī, op. cit., 41). The title [*Sipah*] *Sālār* is given already in the early 8th/14th century to the warrior-saint *Masʿūd Ḡhāzī* of Bahrāiḡ, who allegedly flourished in early Ḡhaznavid times; this title is probably meant in a general sense, unless it is a reminiscence of the Ḡhaznavid title *Sālār* given to the commander of the Indian *ghāzīs* (see above, and also *ḠHĀZĪ MĪYĀN*). Under the Lodī sultans of Dihlī in the 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, *Sipahsālār* was possibly used in the sense of "general officer" (*ʿAbbas Ḳhān Sarwānī, Taʾrīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, ed. S. M. Imām al-Dīn, Dacca 1964, i, 6).

In Mughal usage, the term *Sipahsālār* is sometimes applied to the *Khānkhānān*, being especially applicable when that officer took the field in the absence of his sovereign (see *Nizām al-Dīn Aḡmad, Ṭabaḡāt-i Akbarī*, ed. B. De, Calcutta 1931, ii, 425-6, and *Kāmgār Husaynī, Maʾāthīr-i Dīhāngīrī*, B. M. Ms. Or. 171, ff. 117b, 120a). Similarly in the Deccan, the historian *Fariṣṡta* appears to use *Sipahsālār* as a synonym for *Amīr al-umarāʾ* (see *Taʾrīkh-i Farīṣṡta*, Kānpūr 1290/1874, 279). In the Sultanate of Bengal during the 9th/15th century, *Sipahsālār* was evidently used for "supreme commander". The Chinese interpreter *Mahuan*, who visited Bengal with a Chinese embassy in about 811/1408-9, remarks that "they have a standing army which is paid in kind, the commander-in-chief of which is called *Pa-szu-la-urh*" (G. Phillips, *Mahuan's account of the kingdom of Bengala*, in *JRAS* (1895), 532, also in N. K. Bhattasali, *Coinage and chronology of the early independent Sultans of Bengal*, Cambridge 1922, 171). (S. DIGBY)

**ISPARTA**, town in south-west Turkey (Pisidia), situated at an altitude of 1025 m., in a fertile plain between Burdur and Egridir, the Apollonia-Sozopolis of antiquity. The modern name preserves that of the Byzantine fortress *Saporda* (not *Baris* Pisidia, see E. Honigmann in *Byzantion*, xiv (1939), 655); in Muslim sources of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries it appears as *Sabarta*. After its capture by the *Saldjūks* in 600-1/1203-4 it belonged to the Western frontier-province of their dominions. With the break-up of the *Saldjūk* empire, the *Ḥamīd-oghullar* [q.v.], whose base was Egridir, incorporated Isparta in their principality. In 783/1381 the Ottoman ruler *Murād I* persuaded the *Ḥamīd-oghlu Ḥüseyn Beg* to cede most of his territory, Isparta included, in return for a cash payment, so that the town now belonged to the Ottoman *Sandjak* of *Ḥamīd-ili*, later becoming its *chef-lieu*. It was the native town of the

reformer **Khalil Hämîd Pasha** (d. 1785) who erected there several public buildings and a library. As the seat of the Metropolitan of Pisidia (from the middle of the 8th/14th century) Isparta had several churches and a considerable number of Christian inhabitants, who were removed during the exchange of populations after the First World War. In earlier days its chief products were textiles and attar of roses; the carpet industry has become increasingly important since the end of the 19th century.

The town, which in later Ottoman times was called **Hamîdâbâd**, is now the capital of the *vilâyet* of Isparta, which comprises the *kazas* of Isparta, Eğridir, Uluborlu, Yalvaç, Sarkî Karağaç and Sütcüler. The population of the town in 1960 was 35,981.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 266; Kätib Çelebi, *Diḥānunnâme*, 639-40; Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, ix, 283; P. Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce* . . . i, 246 f.; V. J. Arundell, *A visit to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, London 1828, 118-32; idem, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834, i, 346 f., ii, 1-22; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i, London 1842, 483; F. Sarre, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, 167-8; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890, i, 850 f.; Illustration in de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 106; *IA*, s.v. (by Besim Darkot), with fuller bibliography.

(B. FLEMMING)

**ISPENĐJE**, Ottoman name of an 'örfi ('urfi) tax levied on adult non-Muslim subjects, and amounting usually to 25 *aḳḳes* a year. Neither of the explanations advanced for its etymology (*pendjik* [q.v.], Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 213; *spenza*: C. Truhelka, in *THIM*, i, 63) is convincing; in texts of the first half of the 9th/15th century (e.g. H. İnalçık (ed.), *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, p. 130) it is spelled *ispence*. The oldest reference to this tax belong to the reign of Bâyezid I (*Arvanid*, p. 103). According to this register (of 835/1431; see its introduction, p. xxxiii), *ispence* of 25 *aḳḳes* was collected from married males, whilst 6 *aḳḳes*, under the name *bive resmi*, was collected from widows. According to the *kânunnâme* of Mehemmed II (*MOG*, i, 28-9) every married non-Muslim was to pay 25 *aḳḳes* to his *sipâhi*, and if he had an adult son living at home he was to pay *ispence* for him too. The same amount usually is prescribed in *kânûns* of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, index); occasionally it is less (20 *aḳḳes*: Kerkük) or more (30 *aḳḳes*: Cyprus). A non-Muslim who embraced Islam became liable instead to *bennâk resmi* [q.v.].

The Ottomans regarded this tax as a poll-tax paid to the timariot or as the counterpart of *çift-resmi* [q.v.]. It is in origin very probably a poll-tax paid in the empire of Stefan Dušan and maintained under the Ottomans; the old *kapu-resmi* of Hungary was treated as *ispence* by the Ottomans. The *ispence* was introduced in Anatolia only in the 10th/16th century as a characteristic Ottoman tax. Christian troops who ranked as 'askeri (*voynuk*, *doghandit*, *eslâk*, etc.) were exempt from *ispence*, while peasantry serving mines or guarding passes were either totally exempt or paid only 6 or 12 *aḳḳes*. Although usually belonging to the timariot's revenue, it was occasionally payable to the Imperial Treasury.

*Bibliography*: H. İnalçık, *Osmanlılar'da raiyyet rûsûmu*, in *Belleten*, xxiii (1959), 602-8, with full references.

(H. İNALCIK)

**ISRĀ'** [see **MI'RĀḌĪ**].

**ISRĀFĪL**, the name of an archangel, which is probably to be traced to the Hebrew *Serāfîm* as is

indicated by the variants *Sarāfîl* and *Sarāfîn* (*Tâdj al-'Arūs*, vii, 375). The change of liquids is not unusual in such endings. His size is astounding; while his feet are under the seventh earth, his head reaches up to the pillars of the divine throne. He has four wings: one in the west, one in the east, one with which he covers his body and one as a protection against the majesty of God. He is covered with hair, mouths and tongues. He is considered to be the angel who reads out the divine decisions from the well-kept Tablet and transmits them to the Archangel to whose department they belong. Three times by day and three times by night he looks down into Hell and is convulsed with grief and weeps so violently that the earth might be inundated by his tears.

For three years he was the companion of the Prophet, whom he initiated into the work of a prophet. Gabriel then took over his task and began the communication of the *Qur'ân*.

Alexander is said to have met him before his arrival in the land of darkness; there he stood upon a hill and blew the trumpet, tears in his eyes. If he is called Lord of the Trumpet, it is mainly because he continually holds the trumpet to his mouth in order to be able to blow at once as soon as God gives the order for the blast which is to arouse men from their graves. It is however also said that *Isrāfîl* will be first aroused on the day of the Resurrection. He will then take his stand upon the holy rock in Jerusalem and give the signal which will bring the dead back to life.

In Egypt, in Lane's time, it was said that his music would refresh the inhabitants of Paradise.

*Bibliography*: Kisā'î, *'Adjā'ib al-Malakūt*, Ms. Leiden, 538 Warner, fol. 4f.; Kaẓwîni, *Adjā'ib al-maḳhḳūkūt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 56-7; Tabarî, *Annales*, i, 1248 f., 1255; Pseudo-Ġhazālî, *al-Durra al-fāḳhira*, ed. Gautier, 42; M. Wolff, *Muhammed. Eschatologie*, 9, 49; Sale, *The Koran, Preliminary Discourse*, 94; Friedländer, *Die Chahirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 171, 208; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, 80.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

**ISRAEL** [see **BANŪ ISRĀ'ĪL**, **FILASTĪN**, **YA'KŪB**]. **ISRĀ'ILĪYYĀT**, an Arabic term covering three kinds of narratives, which are found in the commentators on the *Qur'ân*, the mystics, the compilers of edifying histories and writers on various levels.

1. Narratives regarded as historical, which served to complement the often summary information provided by the revealed Book in respect of the personages in the Bible (*Tawrât* and *Indjîl*), particularly the prophets (*Kiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*).

2. Edifying narratives placed within the chronological (but entirely undefined) framework of "the period of the (ancient) Israelites" (*'ahd Banî Isrā'îl*).

3. Fables belonging to folklore, allegedly (but sometimes actually) borrowed from Jewish sources. The line of demarcation between this class and the preceding one is difficult to establish.

The prophetic legends appeared very early in Muslim literature, although few if any traces still survive which in fact go back, in the form in which we have them, to the first century of the *Hidjra*.

The earliest sources of information were either converted Jews or, perhaps, Arabs who had had contacts, before their conversion to Islam, with the Jews and Christians of the Arabian peninsula and the neighbouring regions. Mention may be made of 'Abîd/ 'Ubayd b. *Sharya al-Djirhumî* [see **IBN SHARYA**], whose narrations concerning the ancient history of the kings of the Arabs and Persians and biblical

history (the confusion of languages, the dispersal of mankind) were said to have been recorded in writing by order of Mu'āwīya, 'Abd Allāh b. Salām [q.v.], Ka'b al-Ahbār [q.v.] and, later, Wahb b. Munabbih [q.v.]; the last-named is believed to have written a *K. al-Mubtada'*, entitled also *Isrā'iliyyāt*; there is no reason to question the authenticity of this belief, and it may be accepted that authors like Ibn Hiṣhām (d. 218/833) made extracts from it which in turn were passed on to later authors; however, the particular compilations which claim to relate certain traditions of these personages do not offer the smallest guarantee of their authenticity or antiquity, or of their earlier date in relation to the great compositions of *ta'riḫh*, *tafsīr* and *ḫiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'* produced from the 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th centuries.

Narratives of the second category were perhaps already utilized by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q.v.], d. 110/728, and thus contemporary of Wahb; they certainly formed part of the stock of edifying parenthesis, at least from the time of Mālik b. Dīnār [q.v.], d. about 131/748; it may therefore be thought that this genre made its first appearance in devotional literature during the period of the *tābi'ūn*. Al-Muḥāsibī [q.v.] did not hesitate to have recourse to it (*Ri'āya*, ed. M. Smith, 234, l. 11-12, 242 f.); Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [q.v.] used it freely, and, of the later and very popular authors, besides Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (*Ḥilyat al-awliyyā'*), Ḥazāllī (*Iḫyā'*) and Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (*K. al-Tawwābīn*, ed. G. Makdisi, Damascus 1962).

The practice of introducing folklore themes (such as the motif of the "three wishes") into narratives set in the time of the Banū Isrā'īl is one which the moralists and men of letters readily adopted.

It was the works of pure imagination of this kind, and also the extravagant flights of fancy of the *ḫuṣṣāṣ* in their over-loaded, embellished versions of the histories of the prophets which have caused the *Isrā'īlīyyāt* to be condemned by strict scholars such as Ibn Kaṭhīr (cf. H. Laoust, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 75, where the reference should be *Bidāya*, i, 6), a condemnation repeated in more specific terms by al-Sakhāwī (*I'ān*, trans. apud Fr. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*,<sup>2</sup> Leiden 1968, 335); however, the feeling of distrust and the warnings sounded on this subject go back to a very much earlier date; they are to be found in Ibn Ḳutayba [q.v.], in his *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (see G. Lecomte, *Le Traité des divergences du ḥadīth d'Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1962, 310-16), and they have left traces in the classical collections of *ḥadīth* (cf. G. Vajda, in *JA*, 1937, 115-20).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references given in the text and the accounts of Brockelmann, S I, 101 and Sezgin, I, 305-7, see also M. Lidzbarski, *De prophetis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893; I. Goldziher, *Isrā'iliyyāt*, in *REJ* xlv (1902), 63-5; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, l. 8 f., Heidelberg 1906; L. Cheikho, *Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 33-56; B. Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Ka'b al-Ahbār*, in *REJ*, lxxix (1919), 86-107, lxx (1920), 37-43; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924-7 (cf. B. Heller, *Récits et personnages bibliques dans la légende mahométane*, in *REJ*, lxxxv (1928), 113-36; idem, *La légende biblique dans l'Islam*, *ibid.*, xcvi (1934), 1-18; idem, *The Relation of the Aggada to Islamic Legends*, in *MW*, xxiv (1934), 281-6; J. Horowitz, in *IC*, i (1927), 553-7; S. D. Goitein, *Isrā'iliyyāt* (in Hebrew), in *Tarbiz*, vi

(1934-5), 89-101, 510-22; G. Vajda, in *REJ*, ci (1937), 94-6; J. Finkel, *An Arabic story of Abraham*, in *HUCA*, xii-xiii (1937-8), 387-409; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 95 f., 305, 356, 430, 567; 'A. 'A. Duri, *'Ilm al-ta'riḫh*, Beirut 1960, 103-17; N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, Chicago 1957, 36 (cf. A. Dietrich, in *Isl.*, 1959, 202); G. Vajda, *La description du Temple de Jérusalem d'après le K. al-masālik wal-mamālik d'al-Muḥallabi*, in *JA* 1959, 193-202; H. Schützinger, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der arabischen Abraham-Nimrod Legende*, Bonn 1961; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature*, Leiden 1969, 121-38. See further BANŪ ISRĀ'ĪL. (G. VAJDA)

**İSSİK-KUL** (Turkish "warm lake"), the most important mountain lake in Turkistan and one of the largest fresh water lakes in the world, situated in between 42° 11' and 42° 59' N. Lat. and between 76° 15' and 78° 30' E. Long., 1605 m. (5,116 feet) above sea level; the length of the lake is about 115 miles, the breadth up to 37 miles, the depth up to 702 m. (1,381 feet), and the area 6,205 sq. km. (2,400 sq. miles). From the two chains of the T'ien-Shan, the Kungey-Alatau (in the north) and the Terskey-Alatau (in the south), about 80 large and small mountain streams pour into the İssik-Kul, of which the most important, Tüp and Djergalan, flow into it from the east. Of the others there may be mentioned: on the south bank, the Karakol, Kälil-Su, Djuka (or Zauka), Barskoun and Ton, on the north bank, the two Ak-Su and three Koi-Su. On the origin of the depression Kutemaldi, which now connects the Ču with the İssik-Kul [see Ču], views differ. It is said that the Koçkar, now the upper course of the Ču, previously flowed into the İssik-Kul and the latter had an exit in the Ču. At present the Koçkar sends an arm to the İssik-Kul through the Kutemaldi only when it is flooded; at other times there are only a few ditches there filled with water, without any definite current. The question is only of importance for geology and physical geography; in the historical period the İssik-Kul has, as all accounts show, always been a lake without an exit.

The oldest of these descriptions we owe to the Chinese writer Hsuan-Cuang (7th century A.D.); the Chinese name (*Ze-Hai* = warm sea; the lake never freezes) corresponds exactly to the Turkish name. The latter first appears in the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* (372/982-3, ed. Minorsky, 54, 62, 71); Kāshgharī, ed. K. Rifat (Brockelmann, 244) has Isik Kōl; in Ḳudāma (ed. de Goeje, 262) the lake is only mentioned, but not named. The Ms. of the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* has İskük or İskül; the form was probably the same in the *Mudjīmīl al-Tawārīḫh* (the Ms. has S-kük, cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* i, 19; ed. by M. Sh. Bahār, Tehran 1318 h.s., 100, l. 1); Gardīzī, *Kitāb Zayn al-Aḥbār*, ed. Muhammad Nāzim, Berlin 1928, writes Isigh-Kül; Djayhānī quotes İskül from al-Kharaḳī in Nallino, *al-Battānī*, 175, but with *tashād* over the *k*. In the history of Timūr's campaigns, in Sharaf al-Dīn (*Zafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed., i, 494, ii, 634), as well as in Ibn 'Arabshāh (Egyptian ed., 136) the form is Isī Kūl, in the *Ta'riḫh-i Rashīdī* (cf. the text in Barthold, *Otcet* etc., 50 note 1), Isigh Kūl.

In the oldest Chinese accounts (from the 2nd century A.D.) the land appears in the possession of the nomadic people of the Wu-sun. But from the 7th century A.D. on, permanent settlements and even towns are mentioned. One of the trade routes from China to Western Asia at that time led through the Badal pass to the south bank of the İssik-Kul and from there

into the valley of the Çu. The most important market on the İssik-Kul was Barskhān, the name of which is probably identical with the modern name of the river Barskoun. Gardizi gives a legend due to a popular etymology about Alexander the Great and Persians left behind him on the İssik-Kul; this popular etymology makes certain the reading Barskhān against the form Nushdīān given by Yāqūt, iv, 823. According to Gardizi, Barskhān could put 6,000 men in the field; according to Kudāma, the principal place on the shore of the lake could itself raise 20,000 men (Barskhān, according to Kuoāma, consisted of nine towns, four of some size and five small ones; cf. *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, ed. Minorsky, 292 ff.; W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 94; *Mappae Arabicae* ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1926-9, Band IV = Arab II, 87, 89, 143, 145, 148 (al-Kāshghari)). Three days journey west of Barskhān lay Tūnk, the name of which obviously corresponds to the name of the river Ton. Between Barskhān and Tūnk there were only to be seen tents of the nomad Djikil. Twelve farsakhs west of Tūnk was the town of Yār, which could raise 3,000 men. In *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, 90, there is further mentioned "a prosperous place, visited by merchants", the town of Sikūl, on the border between the settlements of two nomad peoples, the Djikil and the Khallukh (Karluk); the town probably bore the name of the lake. A town "Yssicol" on the north shore of the lake of the name is still given in Carta Catalana of the year 1375 A.D. There was said to be an Armenian monastery with relics of the Apostle Matthew (*Notices et Extraits*, xiv/2, 132 f.).

Of this civilization, which was probably destroyed about the same time (8th/14th century) and under the influence of the same causes as the civilization on the Çu [cf. ii, 66 f.], only a few walls and mounds of brick, and some cemeteries have survived, including a Muslim cemetery on the Küngey-Aksu with inscriptions of the 6th/12th century (*Protokolli Turk. Kruška Ljub. arkh.*, xi, 5 f.) and a Nestorian cemetery discovered in 1907 on the Djuka with inscriptions in Syriac and Turkish; one of these inscriptions (of 1330 A.D.) was published by P. Kokovtsov (*Bulletin de l'Académie*, etc. 1909, 774 f. 788 f.; cf. B. Spuler, *Die Morgenländischen Kirchen*, Leiden 1964, 155 [37] with note.).

The Turkish and Mongol nomads liked to use the shores of the İssik-Kul as a winter resort on account of the favourable weather conditions (the snow here rarely lies to any considerable depth), so that the İssik-Kul is several times mentioned in the military history of Central Asia. A fortress was built by Tīmūr "in the middle of the lake", i.e., on an island, to which, amongst others, the Tatars deported from Asia Minor were banished. It is probably the same fortress as is called Koi-ssu by Ḥaydar Mīrzā [q.v.], *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Ross, 78. A Mongol amūr is said to have sent his family there in the 9th/15th century, to put them in safety from the inroads of the Kalmucks. At the present day there are no islands in the lake; the disappearance of the island mentioned, with the fortress upon it was probably caused by an earthquake. Connected with this perhaps is the fact that pieces of bricks and other fragments are frequently washed up on the shores of the İssik-Kul. On the İssik-Kul itself it is said that a great town here was overwhelmed by the waves of the lake and its walls and buildings can be seen in clear weather; but this story has so far not been confirmed and is probably based on folklore about sunken cities (which is to be found in the most diverse countries). The catastrophe, if there was one, can only have happened compara-

tively recently. Ḥaydar Mīrzā, to whom we owe the latest and fullest account of the İssik-Kul in Muslim literature (*Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, 366 f.), knows neither of the disappearance of an island nor of rubble being washed up, nor of any sunken town. What Ḥaydar Mīrzā has to say about the İssik-Kul corresponds in general to the facts, but there are a few peculiar assertions. He says for example that on account of the great proportion of salt in it the water is unsuitable for washing in; in reality the proportion of salt is very slight.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the shores of the lake were under the rule of Buddhist Kalmucks; Tibetan inscriptions in the country south-east of the lake still recall this period. The Mongol name of the İssik-Kul was Temurtu-Nor, "iron lake": many of the mountain streams flowing into the İssik-Kul carry ferriferous sand; small knives, etc. are made from this iron by the Kırgız. Even in the Kalmuck period the Kırgız [q.v.] had grazing grounds here. The land remained in their possession after conquest of the Kalmuck kingdom by the Chinese; Chinese rule was never firmly established here in spite of several attempts. About the middle of the 19th century the Russians advanced across the Ili. The İssik-Kul was reached in 1856 by Colonel Khomentovskiy. A part of the Kırgız was forced to submit to Russian rule as early as 1855 and the remainder in 1860. The Russians founded the town of Karakol, called Prževal'sk since 1888, so far the only town in the country round the İssik-Kul (according to the census of 1897, 7,987 inhabitants, now about 15,000), and several villages. All these settlements are in the eastern part of the İssik-Kul valley: the western part has been reached by the railway to Rİbač'e since May 1948. There is steamer traffic on the lake. The settlements are still, as in the Middle Ages, called after the rivers on which they lie. The official Russian names are rarely used, even by the Russians; even the Russian peasant always says "Tüp" for "Preobraženskaya" and "Kızıl-su" (which is corrupted to "Kozeltzi") for "Pokrovskaya". Thanks to the fertility of the soil, the villages are in a flourishing condition, in spite of the frequent earthquakes.

*Bibliography*: L. Berg, *Ozero İssik-Kul in Zemlevēdenie*, Nov. 1904; N. A. Keiser, *Materiali dlya istorii, morfologii i gidrografii o t. İssik-kul* ("Materials for the history, morphology and hydrography of Lake İssik kul"), Tashkent 1928 (Acta Univ. Asiae Mediae, ser. xila: Geographia, fasc. 1); L. A. Molčanov, *Ozēra Sredney Azii* ("The Lakes of Central Asia"), Tashkent 1929, 53-56, no. 909 (Acta Univ. Asiae Mediae, ser. xii a, fasc. 3); W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, Fr. tr. *Histoire des turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (see text); W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 118 f., 425; Th. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, 366, 371-7; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Ėntsiklopediya*. Maps, *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, 279, 299; Shabad, *loc. cit.*; *Ėntsiklopediya*, *loc. cit.*

(W. BARTHOLD- [B. SPULER])

**İŞTABL** and İTABL (A.; pl. *ıştablāi* and rarely *aşābil*, according to L.A., s.v.), etymologically *stable*, that is to say the building in which mounts and baggage animals (equidae and camelidae) are kept tethered and, by metonymy, the actual stock of such animals belonging to one single owner. *İştabl* is the arabization of the low-Greek *στάβλον/σταβλον/σταυλον* (see Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyons 1688, s.v.), which



in turn derives from the Latin *stabulum*. This is one of the so-called terms "of civilization" which have been disseminated most widely, since it is to be found with the same meaning in all the western languages; well before Islam, Arabic had adopted it through the medium of the Ḡhassānīds [q.v.] in Syria.

(i) The central Islamic lands: The practice of keeping horses under cover is peculiar to sedentary peoples, that is to say the idea of a stable was unknown to the nomadic Arabs, whose steeds were merely given the shade of a tent or bush to which they tethered them (*marḥaf*, *marḥif*); incidentally this custom was to be perpetuated even within the towns, in caravanserais (*funduk*, *khān* [qq.v.]) where the shelter of a roof was reserved for men and merchandise, while the animals remained tethered in the vast central courtyard. In the same way, the Muslim cavalry in their encampments *extra muros* (*mu'askar*) provided their horses with nothing more than some sort of light shelter (*mizalla*) made of palm-leaves, which gave adequate protection from sun and rain and allowed the cavalry to move off rapidly, since they had to remain constantly on the alert. Thus, the term *ištābl* applied only to permanent constructions of solid materials, such as only rulers and high dignitaries who owned many horses were able to have built near their palaces. Even so, such buildings were rather rare, and the pre-Islamic Arabs had almost no opportunity of seeing them, except at Hira of the Lakhmids [q.v.] or at Damascus, in the Byzantine period; but the presence of the imposing ruins left from vanished civilizations, both in Mesopotamia and all along the eastern Mediterranean, gave credence to the legend of sumptuous ancient stables such as those of King Solomon which, in the light of recent archaeological discoveries, have proved to be merely vast granaries. The same is true, in an instance very much closer to us, of the stables of the sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismā'īl (see below), which seemed to Fr. Busnot "the finest part of the palace, with their two lines of arcades extending for three-quarters of a league and the canal which provided them with water. The horses, tethered by all four legs to two rings by means of a hair cord, were tended by Muslim grooms and Christian stable-boys" (Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 504; Eng. tr., London 1970, 260). The missionary's account gives a perfect idea of the plan and arrangement of stables as conceived in Antiquity and as adopted by the Muslim world in the Middle Ages. These cloister-like galleries of arcades (*riwāk*) housed the stalls (low Latin *stallum* from *stabulum*, Ar. *shikka* pl. *shikak*), separated from one another by low partitions of wood or netting; the animals were tethered in these by three legs (not four), by means of a flexible halter (*shikāl* pl. *shukul*) passing through two rings fastened to the wall to a wooden cross-bar in the corner (*ākhīyya* pl. *akhāwī*, *akhāyū* and *iry*, *ariy* pl. *awāri*). Their heads being left free, they were given their feed of barley in nose-bags, while hay (*ʿalaf*), mixed with straw, was provided as litter; there seems to have been no knowledge of the fixed manger or the wall-rack, upon which so much stress is laid in the entirely theoretical descriptions of the model stables to be found in various Arabic treatises on hippiatrics and hippology (such as that of Ibn Hudhayl [q.v.], see L. Mercier, *Parure* . . . , 365-6), which merely repeat the remarks of the Greeks on the subject (cf. Xenophon, *On equitation*, chap. iv).

The historians and chroniclers who wrote in Arabic in fact provided only the most scanty information regarding the stable buildings of the caliphs, sultans

and high dignitaries of Islam. Among the very scattered and often laconic particulars that may be gleaned on this subject there is one description of the highest importance, relating to the stables in Baghdād belonging to the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph al-Muqtadir bi-llāh, which is contained in the *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa'l-tuḥaf* (Kuwayt 1959), attributed to al-Kāḍī al-Muḥadḍhab (d. middle of the 5th/11th century), and of which al-Makrizī made use for his *Khīṭaṭ*. It deals with the visit of an embassy from the emperor Constantine VII to the caliph, in 305/917, and the following passage occurs (*Arabica*, vii/3 (1960), 295, from the translation by M. Hamidullah who discovered and edited the manuscript): "... The envoys from the Tāghīya (the emperor of Byzantium) took horse, with their interpreter Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, on the Thursday, the sixth day before the end of Muḥarram (that is to say, the 24th of the month) and entered by the corridor of the great public gate (of the palace), to make their way into the building known as the Stables (*khān al-khayl*). The greater part of this building consisted of colonnades with marble pillars. On the one side were 500 horses, with an equivalent number of saddles (*markab*) of silver and gold, of different kinds, and without cloths. On the other side there were 500 horses, all with trappings of patterned silk and veils. Each horse was held by a man of the *shākiriyya* class (regular soldiers)". The reader will note the similarity of this description with that left by Fr. Busnot, mentioned above, despite the interval of eight centuries separating them and their location at opposite ends of the Islamic world; here is confirmation of the conservatism, referred to earlier, in architectural practices relating to stables. Whether privately owned or the property of the state, such buildings required large areas of land since, in addition to the actual quarters for the stabling of hundreds of animals, they also called for smithies, stores for harness and saddles, hay-barns, places for manure and paddocks for the daily exercise and rolling in the sand (*tamriḡh*) of the regular stock; in the absence of a paddock, resort was made to the hippodrome (*maydān*). When to all these is added the housing needed to lodge the various classes of employees, it is no exaggeration to regard such stables as a small city within the city. As such, it is obvious that one of their prime requirements was an abundant water-supply; for this reason, the locality selected was close to some water-course, from which a canal was excavated to bring water to it.

In the case of Damascus [see DIMASHK], it is still very difficult to locate the stables of the Umayyad caliphs since, according even to the testimony of al-Muḥaddasī (4th/10th century), "... their buildings were only of wood (*khashab*) and pisé (*ḥin*) . . ." (ed. De Goeje, 156; tr. Miquel, 165). In the toponymy of Damascus, however, the reader will note the *Dār al-khayl*, the inn reserved for ambassadors, situated alongside the former Ḡhassānīd residence which became the residence (*al-Khadrāʾ*) of the first Muslims, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān and his brother Muʿāwiya, and later of the caliphs. From this denomination, which is certainly Arab, it is very reasonable to suppose that the building replaced the old Byzantine stables whose name was translated, perhaps under the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65/685-86/705). As for the fortified residences which were built on the edge of the desert, on the orders of several Umayyad sovereigns, insufficient archaeological study has as yet been made to determine in what manner the stables were laid out.

When Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr, the second ʿAbbāsīd

caliph, founded his "Round Town" of Baghdād [q.v.] in 146/763, there was no provision for including stables for the ruler or his dependents, perhaps owing to lack of space, and these had to be erected on the outskirts: "... Another quarter extended from the Khurāsān gate, on the one side as far as the bridge of boats over the Tigris, and on the other to the point opposite the Khuld (palace). It is in the last-mentioned place that the royal stables were situated, and also the parade ground and a palace looking out on the Tigris: Abū Dja'far always lived there, and al-Mahdī also, until he moved to his palace of Ruṣāfa, on the east bank of the Tigris" (al-Ya'qūbī/Wiet, *Les Pays*, 31). Further to the south, facing the square opposite the Kūfa gate "... was located the concession granted to Yāsin, the head of the dromedary staff, the dromedaries' stables being alongside it. On this side of these stables were the freedmen's stables" (*ibid.*, 20).

Once caliph, and having by then settled in Ruṣāfa, al-Mahdī organized a general removal of the administrative departments from the other side of the river; the stables also were transferred, and we then find them established in the Mukharrim quarter, under the direction of the *mawlā* Nāzī (*ibid.*, 40), and containing horses, dromedaries and elephants. From the last of these the *Dār al-fil* was to take its name, and it was succeeded by the zoological park (*hayr al-wuhūsh*). These State stables remained in the Mukharrim quarter until, apparently, it fell into ruin; al-Ṣūlī mentions them in his chronicle (*Akhhār ar-Rāḍī*, tr. M. Canard, 30 and n. 6) of the caliphate of al-Muttaḥī (329/940-333/944), in connection with the Daylamites' assault on Baghdād, under the leadership of Kūrānkīdī, their aim being to dislodge Ibn Rā'ik, and it was in the stables that, in the end, the assailants and their leader were massacred, on 25 Dhū'l-Hijja 329/20 September 941. It appears that, in due course, the buildings were demolished in 448/1056 by the Salḍiūk Tuḡhril Beg, in order to make way for the rampart surrounding Mukharrim and the *Dār al-fil*, one part of which became a cemetery.

When al-Mu'tasim, an excellent horseman (see Kūshādīm, *Maṣāyid* . . ., Baghdād 1954, 5 and trans. F. Viré, *Art de volerie*, in *Arabica*, xii/2, 119), left Baghdād for Sāmarrā in 223/838, he was careful to take with him his own stables and those of his household. Thanks to al-Ya'qūbī (*op. cit.*, 52), we know that these were established along the main avenue of Sarīdja, the *decumanus* of the city: "... It was also in this avenue that the concessions of the Khurāsān officers were located . . ., that of Hizām ibn Ghālib. Behind Hizām's concession were the stables for the caliph's horses, his own private horses and those for the government departments, the management of which was entrusted to Hizām and his brother Ya'qūb" (It is appropriate to call attention here to an error in the reading of the manuscript of al-Ya'qūbī, since it is in fact a question of one single personage, named Akhī Khazzām, whose functions were continued by his son Ya'qūb, as will be shown later; the misunderstanding is due to the "knightly" title of akhī [q.v.], already borne by the Turk Khazzām as "constable" (*comes stabuli*) to the caliph). These great stables were to survive until Sāmarrā was abandoned by the Caliph al-Mu'tamid (256/870-279/892). Besides the caliph's stables, Baghdād possessed many others, varying in size according to the rank of their owners. They were to be found particularly in the residential quarter and belonged to the luxurious dwellings which, following the example of al-Mahdī, the high dignitaries caused to be built along

the east bank of the Tigris. In the 5th/11th century, Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 463/1071) left (in *Manāḥib Baghdād* of Ibn al-Djawzī, Baghdād 1342/1923) a description of this wealthy quarter, with its boulevard running from al-Tāḥ to the banks of the river: "... As for its streets, there is one that closely follows the Tigris. On one of its sides, it has palaces overlooking the river, and disposed in such fashion as to spread all the way from the Bridge to the beginning of the Zāhir Garden. . . . On the other side of the street are the mosques of the owners of these palaces and the dwellings of their soldiers, in between which they have their stables." (G. Makdisi, *The topography of eleventh century Baghdād*, in *Arabica*, vi/2, (1959), 186). The size of these stables may be judged when he notes specifically (*idem*, 187): "... and the castle of al-Wāfi, whose horses every day consume about a thousand rations of forage". Now, in the same period, the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-hāwī*, an actual record made for the use of taxation officials, evaluates the monthly consumption for one horse at 40 *ḥafiz* [q.v.] of forage (see Cl. Cahen, *Problèmes économiques de l'Iraq buyide*, in *AIEO Alger*, x (1952), 337).

In Cairo, the stables of the Fāṭimid sovereigns were in no way inferior to those of the Baghdād rulers, and an idea of their extent is given in the description which Ibn al-Tuwayr (*Nuḥat al-muklatayn fi akhhār al-dawlatayn* . . .), a source common to al-Makrīzī (*Khīṭat*, i, 416), Ibn Taghribirdī (*Nudjūm*, iv, 79) and al-Kalkāshandī (*Subh*, iii, 503), gave of the review of his own private horses held by the caliph, in the courtyards of the palace, on the eve of the procession at the New Year or that at the Ending of the Fast (see M. Canard, *La procession* . . ., in *AIEO Alger*, x (1952), 376 f.); here too it was a matter of a thousand horses and more, which were made to parade before their sovereign. While we must allow for exaggeration, the fact remains that the stock of horses in these stables was considerable, and the same was true under the Ayyūbid and Salḍiūkid régimes. Often there was insufficient space to house so many animals, and the owners did not hesitate to tear down ancient palaces in order to build stables in their place (*Khīṭat apud* De Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, ii, 44).

Besides these great stables in the cities, there were also *iştablāt* in all the posting-houses (*sikka*), which came under the department of Posts and Information (*barid* [q.v.]), all along the main routes in the Muslim empire; this department, active under the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, suffered a decline under the Ayyūbids, but it was thoroughly reorganized by the Sultan Baybars [q.v.] who rebuilt its stables (see J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941). Moreover, all the fortresses or citadels (*ḥiṣn*, *ḥal'a*) marking out the frontiers of Islam, and those in Syria which resisted the inroads of the Crusaders, contained their own stables of war-horses and pack animals (see Usāma b. Munqidh, *I'tibār*, 46, 60).

It will readily be seen that all these establishments called for a numerous personnel divided into a hierarchy based on competence. At the bottom of the ladder was the stable-boy or lad (*ghulām*), whose duty it was to keep the stalls clean and remove the dung; above him was the groom (*sa'is* pl. *suwawās*, *sāsa*, *siyās* and *rāwī* pl. *ruwāī*), who was responsible for the grooming (*ḥass*) of one or more animals; the daily outings to the paddock and to the water were, it seems, the special province of the harnessman (*shad-dād*) who in addition prepared the mount when the

master wished to make use of it. The general responsibility for the working of this domestic system fell upon the "constable" or master of the stables (*ṣāhib al-iştablāt* and, according to the regions and periods involved, *ḥayyim*-, *mudabbir*-, *mutawallī*-, *ustādḥ*-, *mushrif al-iştablāt*), a high office which required its holder to possess a perfect knowledge of the study of the horse in all its aspects, besides skill as an administrator and controller in supervising purchases of provender, in regard to both quality and quantity, and also its correct distribution, since fraud and waste are vices common to all generations. If he was not himself qualified, the master of stables was assisted by a veterinarian (*bayṭār* [q.v.]) who must have been kept very busy with treating the various ailments from which horses suffer, the urgent surgical operations and the foaling of the mares. Every stable of importance in fact included a stud-farm, to ensure the continuance of the line of thoroughbreds [see *FARAS*] and the replenishing of the stock; the Muslim ethic did not permit the gelding of stallions, since the Prophet was formally opposed to the practice, according to certain traditions (see L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 41 and note).

Management of the stables was a delicate and difficult task; for this reason, it could be entrusted only to specialists, some of whom succeeded in allowing their sons to benefit from their own experience, as in the case of the *Khuttalīs* (from the village of *Khuttal*, near *Baghdād*). The first of these to hold office, *Aḫḫī Khazzām* b. *Ghālib* was constable to *al-Muṭaṣim*, and in the same position we later find his son *Abū Yūsuf Yaḥyā*, and then his two grandsons *Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad* and *Aḫmad*, down to the caliphate of *al-Muṭaʿid* (279/892-289/902). These members of one single family have left, as collective works, several remarkable treatises on the equestrian art, farriery and the handling of arms on horseback, which deserve to be collated and published (see *Brockelmann*, I, 243-4 and S I, 432-3, which needs to be amended: L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, xii-xiii, 433-6). Better known, since it has been published and translated, is the treatise of the *Mamlūk Ibn al-Mundḥir* [q.v.], known as *al-Bayṭār al-Nāṣirī*, who controlled the stables and stud-farms of the sultan of Egypt *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad* b. *Kalāʿūn* (693/1294-741/1341).

The upkeep of these princely stables entailed the investment of enormous sums of money, both in wages for the staff and also to meet the costs of equipment, supplies, upkeep and purchases of animals from nomadic breeders; numerous local and private craftsmen profited from the lucrative source of business offered by the stables, with their constant and varying needs. For the financing of their private stables, the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs generally drew upon their own personal treasuries which, under *al-Manṣūr*, *al-Mahdī* and *al-Hādī*, were supplied from the *bayt māl al-maṣālim*. *Al-Raṣhīd* and his successors had recourse to the *diwān* [q.v.] *al-nafahāt al-ḫāṣṣa* (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 595-6), while the staff was paid by the *diwān al-aḫṣām* of the sovereign (see *al-Yaḥyā* [q.v.] *Wiet*, 15), and, later, under *al-Mutawakkil*, by the *diwān al-mawālī waʾl-ghilmān*.

The state stables, for their part, were dependent upon the *diwān al-barīd* and their provisioning was charged to the budget of the *diwān al-aḥrāʾ*. The *Buwayhid* period [q.v.] saw almost no far-reaching changes in this organization. In Egypt, under the *Fāṭimīds*, we find almost the same budgetary division, though with different terminology; the caliph's private expenses were covered by the *diwān al-*

*madjilis* and the upkeep of the State stables was dependent on a special department, this time the *diwān al-iştablāt*, the 13th of the 14 departments of the financial administration (*diwān al-amwāl*). With the *Ayyūbid* emirates [q.v.] the question of control remained somewhat imprecise, and it appears that the stables, as a whole, were given to the *diwān biʾl-bāb*. Finally, the strongly militarized *Mamlūk* administration included the sultan's private stables within the competence of the *diwān al-ḫāṣṣ*, while the State stables were the responsibility of the *barīd*, which was remodelled by *Baybars* (659/1261) for political and strategic reasons and placed under the control of the privy secretary (*kātib al-sirr*); this political organization then perished with the invasion of *Timur* (803/1400).

The leading part played by the horse and the dromedary in the eventful history of Islam seems, if not to have escaped attention, at least to have been neglected by all who have written on this subject, and thus one cannot be surprised at the poverty of information regarding Muslim stables during the Middle Ages, although they then flourished actively; the survival of the term *iştabl* and its present-day use in Arabic speech in the Near East and in Egypt is a manifest proof of this fact (see *Cl. Denizeau, Dictionnaire . . .*, Paris 1960, s.v.).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the references given in the text, a few other scraps of information may be gleaned from encyclopaedic works and the main historical chronicles. (F. VIRÉ)

(ii) Spain and the Maghrib

The term *iştabl* seems not to have survived in the vocabulary of present-day Arabic speech in North Africa; but it must have been current in the Spanish dialect. Indeed, the *Vocabulista in arabico*, edited by *C. Schiaparelli* (Florence 1871), which is based on the dialect of the kingdom of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, translates the Latin *stabulum* not merely by the classical *iştabl*, but also by an alleged dialectal variant, *şabal*, plur. *şubūl*. Maltese has the word *stabal*, but this may be a direct borrowing from a romance vernacular.

As the equivalent of *iştabl*, the same *Vocabulista* gives *riwā*, plur. *arwiyah*, with the gloss *domus magna stabuli*. As regards the Arabic spoken in Granada at the end of the 9th/15th century, *P. de Alcalá* recognizes only this last word, pronounced with the Granadine *imāla* [q.v.], *riwī*, plur. *arwiya* (ed. *De Lagarde*, 145, 245).

In the form *rwa* and with various plurals (*rwīya*, *rwāyāt*), this word is still employed in present-day Arabic dialects in the Maghrib, from Morocco to Tunisia; in these countries it always denotes a covered place, intended to provide shelter for valuable mounts, whether horses or mules.

For Spain under the *Umayyads* in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, we possess some details about the royal stables intended for saddle horses and beasts of burden (*al-iştablāt liʾl-ṣahr waʾl-kirāʾ*). *Al-Hakam* I had two stables built near his palace at Cordoba, each of which housed a thousand war-horses. Their riders were divided into squadrons of a hundred men, commanded by an officer with the title of ʿarif. The cavalry as a whole were under the command of the *ḫāʾid al-ḫayl*, known also as the *ḫāʾid al-aʿinna*. The famous *al-Manṣūr*, the "mayor of the palace" of the "roi fainéant" *Hiṣhām* II, had 12,000 regular cavalrymen under his command.

The general controller of the stables or master of stables was called *ṣāhib al-ḫayl*. Another official (ʿarif) was responsible for the beasts of burden,

mules and pack-horses (*zawāmil*, *khayl al-humlān*). A different official dealt with camels used for transport.

Stud-farms existed on the grassy islands in the Guadalquivir, above Seville. Horses were also imported from North Africa (*khayl 'idwiyya*), the famous *jinetes* which derive their name from that of the Berber tribe of the Zanāta [q.v.].

For Granada in the Naşrid period, P. Alcalá (*op. cit.*, 245) gives the title *kāyid ar-rwā*. On the famous stables built by Mawlāy Ismā'īl for his horses and mules in about 1089/1678 at Meknès, see above.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, in Morocco, the outside staff of the palace included a special corps, known as the *muwālīn ar-rwā* "people of the stable", who were responsible for looking after the sovereign's horses and mules. Working with the grooms (sing. *ruwwāy*) were stable-men whose duty it was to clean out the stables (*kennās*) or to wash the animals in deep water (*'awwām*). Certain stable-men (*sāis* or *siyyās*) concerned themselves particularly with dressage. Throughout Morocco, the sovereign owned many vast stretches of pastureland, known as *'adhīrs*, where his horses were put out to grass after operations against rebel tribes; some of these lands were used as stud-farms.

With the corps of grooms properly speaking there were combined: — 1. the corps of muleteers (*ham-māra*, sic), with responsibility for the transport of baggage; 2. the corps of cameleers (*jammāla*); 3. servants with the special duty of dealing with ceremonial carriages (*kōdshī*, from the Spanish *coche*, or *'araba*) and travelling litters (*mħaffa*), used by the sovereign and the women of the harem who accompanied him.

*Bibliography*: For Spain under the Umayyads — E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 55, 133, 141, 145; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'mal al-A'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 1934, 70, 115-9. For the stables at Meknès, Ahmad al-Nāşirī, *K. l-Istiṣā*, Cairo 1312, iv, 25; idem, trans. Fumey, i, 72; Busnot, *Histoire du règne de Mouley Ismaël*, Rouen 1714, 56-9; *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, 2<sup>e</sup> série*, France, iv, 189, 689; Windus, *A journey to Mequinez*, London, 1725, 174. — For Morocco in modern times, E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, 198, 200; *Archives Marocaines*, v/6, 308; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 314; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 209. (G. S. COLIN)

(iii) The Ottomans [see *MIR ĀKHÜR*].

(iv) Persia. The autonomous and latterly independent states which arose in Persia during the period of the disintegration of the caliphate generally endeavoured to imitate 'Abbāsīd palace administration as far as was suitable in the circumstances. Hence it is probable that dynasties like the Būyids [q.v.] in southern and western Persia and the Sāmānids [q.v.] in Transoxania and Khurāsān had royal stables attached to the court, although little specific is known about this. The institution of royal stables came into being for several reasons. Mounts had to be on hand for games like polo and for hunting, which last was not only a sport and a para-military activity, but also a significant means of adding to the court's commissariat (hence we hear of the *Amīr-Shikār*, Commander of the Hunt, under the Kh̄arazm-Shāhs, in charge of hunting animals and falcons, and in Šafavid times the *Amīr-Shikār-Bāshī* was a high-ranking commander who might combine his office with a provincial governorship, in one instance, that of Astarābād, see H. Horst, *Die*

*Staatsverwaltung der Grosseilgügen und Ĥbrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 19, 102; K. M. Rohrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 27; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. Minorsky, ch. xiii = tr. 51). The royal stables were further used as a source of mounts for the ruler's personal bodyguard which was, of course, normally made up of his own military slaves or *ghulāms* [q.v.]. Finally, a reserve of horses had always to be on hand, for fine horses (and in the case of some eastern Iranian dynasties, elephants) were often amongst the presents forwarded to other potentates or presented to governors, along with robes of honour, a standard, etc., as the insignia of office (see *НИВА*). The officer in charge of the sultan's stables under the Ghaznavids [q.v.], the *Ākhur-Sālār* or *Amīr-i Ākhur*, was usually a general of the palace *ghulāms*. Elephants were used extensively for military purposes by the Ghaznavids (see *ИТ*. As beasts of war.), and as well as stables for horses, there was at Ghazna a *pīl-khāna* with accommodation for 1000 elephants and a staff of Hindus to attend them (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, 994-1040*, 112, 113, 117). Officials from the royal stables were also to be found in the provinces of the empire, where horses were bred or sent out for pasture, for instance, in the horses-rearing regions along the upper Oxus in Khuttal and Tukhārīstān, cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 392.

The Great Saldjūk sultans had such towns as Ray, Işfahān and Marw as fixed centres of government even though the *dargāh* or court accompanied the sultan in his progresses through the provinces and on his campaigns (cf. Lambton, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 222-3). Sandjār, and presumably other sultans, seems personally to have had extensive herds of horses (*ibid.*, 226). The royal stables were doubtless located in these centres of government; certainly, Nizām al-Mulūk says that oversight of the stables was one of the duties of the *Wakīl-i Khāss*, Intendant of the Royal Household, although he complains that the office had fallen into desuetude in his time (*Siyāsāt-nāma*, ch. xvi = text ed. Darke, 112, tr. 92). The Master of the Royal Horse in Saldjūk times, usually designated *Amīr-i Ākhur*, *Ākhur-Beg*, etc., was frequently a *ghulām* commander of the sultan, e.g., the *Ākhur-Sālār* Kīzell, *Shīhna* or military governor of Baġhdād in 536/1141-2 and a former *ghulām* of Sultan Mahmūd b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi, 89; Šadr al-Dīn al-Ĥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūkiyya*, 117).

It is uncertain whether a Turkish dynasty like the Karakhānids of Transoxania (see *ИЛЕК-КАНАНС*), whose khāns seem to have led a semi-nomadic existence during the summer months at least, had a permanent royal stable. One khān, Šhams al-Mulūk Naşr b. Ibrāhīm Tamġhaç Khān (460/1068-472/1080), built a palace complex at Šhamsābād outside Bukhārā, and a continuator of Narshakhī mentions that adjacent to this was a walled enclosure (*ghuruk*, see Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 558-9) for the royal horses and other beasts (*Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 29). Such royal preserves, *ghuruks* or *koruks* (cf. the old Arabian institution of the *himā*) were established later by the Mongol khāns, and the royal stables as a fixed building probably only re-appears after the Mongol interlude in Persian history.

The institution of the royal stables is certainly well-attested for Šafavid times, both by European travellers like Chardin and Kaempfer, and by the late Šafavid administrative manual, the *Tadhkirat al-*

*Mulūk*. This latter source (chs. xv, xvi, xc, xci = tr. 52, 87, commentary 120-1) distinguishes between two Masters of the Stables, the *Mir-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi D̄jilaw* and the *Mir-Ākhūr-Bāshī Şahrā'*, the first official being the higher paid. The *Mir-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi D̄jilaw* (*d̄jilaw* = Mongol "rein, halter", see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. i Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 296-7; hence *d̄jilaw-dār*, the groom who rides ahead of his master and holds his bridle) was in charge of the royal stables in the capital. Chardin says that there were three such stables in Işfahān, with a very numerous staff; these comprised the subordinate marshals (*mir-akhūrān*), grooms, watercarriers, farriers, saddlers, veterinary specialists, etc. Since the royal stables were an integral part of the court, appointments made by the *Mir-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi D̄jilaw* had to be confirmed by the *Nāzir Buyūtāt*, the Chief Intendant of the Royal Household or *Khāṣṣa*. The second Master of the Horse, the *Mir-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Şahrā'*, was in charge of equestrian establishments out in the countryside, the *şahrā'*, i.e., the royal stud farms. An important part of his duties was to make an annual inspection, in company with the *Nāzir-i Dawābb* or Overseer of the Animals, of the studs (the 'arḍ-i ilkhā'), and also to keep an eye on affairs in the royal reservations (*khurūkhān*). Also mentioned in *ibid.*, chs. cxliii, clx = tr. 97, 100, are a *Şāhib-Djām'* (i.e., head of one of the *buyūtāt*, departments or workshops, of the royal household) of the saddlery (*zin-khāna*), and one of the stables (*iştabl*).

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

(v) Muslim India: the term *iştabl* is rather uncommon in Indo-Persian literature but is attested for the royal stables of the Indian Mughals (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i Akbarī*, i, 48-54) and for those of the 9th/15th-century sultans of Mālwa (Farīḡhī, *Tārīkh*, Bombay 1832, ii, 474). In India stables are more usually designated by the Persian word *pāygāh*, which is also used for non-royal establishments: e.g., the stables of a *khānakhāh* where the travellers' horses are lodged (Siḡḡī, *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, ed. M. L. Malik, Lahore 1966, 344: cf. Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz-shāhī*, 554).

The nomenclature and organization of royal stables in Muslim India reflect the eastern Persian tradition transmitted through the Ghaznavids (see section (iv) above), though Indo-Muslim stables also inherited a body of veterinary lore and knowledge of certain breeds of horses — e.g., the *ʿangan* from the north east of the sub-continent — from the large and diversified stables of earlier Hindu rulers (for those of the 1st/7th-century ruler Harṣa, see Bana, *Harṣacarita*, tr. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London 1897, 50, 201). The main purposes for which royal stables were maintained were similar to those which prevailed in Persia — to mount the sultan and his dependants, including considerable numbers of royal *ghulāms* or *ḥelās*, to supply a service of postal couriers and to provide horses for distribution as largesse or despatch as gifts. The main body of cavalry at all times consisted of troopers who maintained their mounts independently of the royal stables (for the sultanate of Dihlī, see Baranī, 303, 313; 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūzshāhī*, 220-1, 301; for the Mughal period, W. Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, 47-51; see also ISIRĀD).

In the sultanate of Dihlī [q.v.] the *pāygāh* was an important department of state (*kārkhāna*: 'Afīf, 339-40) presided over by the *mir ākhūr* (Djūzdjānī, *Taba-*

*kāt-i Nāsirī*, 232, 242), *Shahna-yi Ākhūr* (Djūzdjānī, 252) or *ākhūr beg* (Baranī, 174, 241, 424, 537); at times this office was divided between an *ākhūr beg-i maysara* and an *ākhūr beg-i maymana* (of the left and right wings: Baranī, 24, 454). The term *pāygāh* embraced both the stables and the royal horses and might be said to accompany the sultan when he left the capital (Sihriḡī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārakhshāhī*, 109). 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khilḡī (695/1296-715/1316) is said to have had 70,000 horses in his *pāygāh* (Baranī, 262). Circa 1340 A.D. the sultan of Dihlī (sc. Muḥammad b. Tughluḡ) is said to have distributed 10,000 Arab horses annually to his retinue and given away countless others (al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. K. A. Fāriḡ, Dehli 1961, 28). Horses were presented by the sultan to visiting Mongol chieftains (Baranī, 462) and to foreign potentates: e.g., 100 horses were despatched by Muḥammad b. Tughluḡ to the emperor of China (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, Paris 1853-7, iv, 2); 500 *Turkī* and *Tāzī* horses were bestowed by Firūz Shāh Tughluḡ on Sultan Sikandar of Bengal in 761/1360 ('Afīf, 159). Subject chieftains and provincial officers who were close to import routes despatched horses to the sultan ('Ayn-i Māhrū, *Inshā'-yi Māhrū*, ed. S. A. Rashīd, Lahore 1965, 111). In some cases money was paid from one of the *dīwāns* for horses sent to the *pāygāh* (Māhrū, 204, 207). In other instances horses were to be sent as an annual tribute. When in 778/1376 Shams Dāmghānī took over the farming of the revenues of Guḡjārāt (Sihriḡī, 132) he undertook to send 200 horses annually. The Djāms of Thattha, Sind, agreed to provide each year 50 horses worth 100,000 *ʿankas* (Māhrū, 187).

In the later 8th/14th century the *pāygāh* was divided into five physically separated establishments. The "large" *pāygāh* and one other were probably more than 100 miles away from Dihlī in the east Panḡjāb. The third *pāygāh* was within the palace precinct of the capital (*pāygāh-i mahall-i khāṣṣ*); the fourth, with 1,200 horses, was attached to the royal falconry or department of the hunt (*pāygāh-i shikarakhāna-yi khāṣṣ*; while the fifth provided mounts for royal slaves and dependants (*pāygāh-i bārgirdārān-i bandaḡān-i khāṣṣ*: 'Afīf, 318, 340). A modern reference to the breeding of horses in the Dihlī *pāygāh* in this period (I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, Karachi 1958, 70) is not substantiated, but it is suggestive that in the east Panḡjāb where the great *pāygāh* was now situated non-Muslim tribes had earlier been engaged in horsebreeding for the military needs of the Dihlī sultanate (Baranī, 52-3; S. Digby, *War-horse and elephant in the Dehli sultanate*, Oxford 1971, 27-8). As in later Indo-Muslim states, the *pīlkhāna* (elephant stable) was a different department from the *pāygāh*. It was headed by another great officer, the *shahna-yi fil* ("with an *iktā'* the size of a great clime like 'Irāḡ" according to al-'Umarī, 51-2; see FIL, PĪLKĪĀNA). In the decade before Timur's invasion of 801/1398, possession of the *pāygāh* and *pīlkhāna* in the capital city were important assets in the struggle for power (S. Digby, 75-80).

Information regarding royal stables in the 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries is scarce. In 810/1407-8 a *Farasnāma* which adapted a Sanskrit work on farriery into Persian was dedicated to Aḡmad Shāh (I) Walī Bahmanī of the Deccan (r. 825/1422-839/1436), as was a similar work to Shams al-Dīn Muḡzaffar (II) of Guḡjārāt (r. 917/1511-932/1525) in 926/1520 (for these works and their textual tradition see M. Z. Huda in *JASP*, xiv, 2 (1969), 144-65). In the sultanate of Kashmīr, control of the royal stables

gave an advantage in power struggles on at least two occasions (Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the sultāns*, Calcutta 1959, 201). The sultanate of Mālwa provides a possibly unique instance of a Muslim ruler turning horsedealer. Around 825/1422 Sultan Hūshang (r. 808/1405-838/1435) led a valuable string of horses across the difficult terrain of central India to trade them for war-elephants with the Rāy of Jājūnagar (evidently Bhānuçandra IV of the Eastern Gangā dynasty of Orissa: Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, iii, 295-6; Farīshṭa, *Ta'rikh*, Bombay 1832, ii, 466), but there may be mythical elements in this story. When Sultan Hūshang of Mālwa was on his deathbed, his son Ghaznīn Khān sent a demand for 50 horses from the *iştabl*; this was refused by the *mīr ākhur* and the demand gave offence to his dying father (Farīshṭa, ii, 474). We have no information regarding the stables of the Sayyid and Lodī sultans of Dihlī and of the sultans of Dījawnpūr and Bengal. Kālā Lodī, father of Sultan Buhlūl Lodī (r. 855/1451-894/1489), first rose to political power as a horsedealer importing from the hills of the north-west frontier (Muḥammad Kabīr, *Fisāna-yi shāhān-i Hind*, B. M. Add. Ms. 24, 409, fols. 7-9).

From the end of the 10th/16th century we possess a detailed description of the regulation of the *iştabl* of the Mughal emperor Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar [see AKBAR] (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i Akbarī*, i, 140-6, tr. H. Blochmann and D. C. Phillott, Calcutta 1927 (1939), i, 140-50). As in the earlier period the most valued horses were imported, mainly from central Asia, Iran and the Persian Gulf. The *iştabl* was divided into a number of *favīla*, literally "strings", but probably lodged in separate stables. There were 12,000 horses in all, but this number probably does not include the Indian countrybreds, of which the better varieties were also collected. Accommodation was provided for horsedealers under an *amin-i kharāvān-sarāy*. There were six *favīlas* of *khāṣṣa* horses ridden by the emperor himself, as well as *favīlas* of the royal princes and a *favīla* of central Asian post-horses (? *rahwān-i turkī nizhād*). Inferior horses were also grouped in *favīlas* according to their value. The allowance of fodder was closely regulated (for the identification of foodstuffs see D. C. Phillott's notes to tr., i, 142-3). Annual sums were assigned for the maintenance of harness and saddlery, for shoeing and for stabling and grooming equipment. The department (*kārkhāna*) of the *iştabl* was in the charge of the *atbegi* (also called *ākhtabegi* in 17th-century sources). The office was filled by grandees of the highest ranks: e.g., 'Abd al-Rahīm Khānkhānān, at that time premier noble of Akbar's court. The staff of a *favīla* was headed by a *dārūgha* (overseer), *mushrif* (accountant) and *didavar* (inspector). Other employees were the *āghlāci* (responsible for the harness), *čabuksuvār* (who tested and reported the speed of the horses), *Hād'ā* (a Rājipūt horsetrainer), *mīr dāha* (in charge of ten grooms), *baytār* (horse-doctor) and *nakīb*. There was one *sā'is* (groom) for every two horses. The other classes of servant employed in the *favīla* were *jilavdār* (see section (iv) above), *na'iband* (farriers), *zindār* (saddlers), *ābkaš* (water-carriers), *farrāsh*, *sipāndsūz* (burners of wild rue) and *khākrūb* (sweepers).

Mounts from the *iştabl* were issued to *bārgīr-suvārān* (inferior cavalry without their own horses) on the production of written orders to the effect. The horses were branded to prevent fraudulent exchange. Employees of the *favīla* paid graduated fines if a horse in their charge died, was stolen or was injured through negligence. A rota of horses from the

*favīlas* was kept in readiness for the emperor and imperial couriers to mount. The *shuturkhāna* (camel stables), *gāvkhāna* (ox byres) and *astarkhāna* (mule-stables) were subject to similar though less copious regulation (*A'in-i Akbarī*, i, 146-53). The regulation of the *fīlkhāna* took precedence even over that of the *iştabl*, but the *kārkhāna* lacked a head of corresponding rank to the *atbegi* (cf. the *Shāhna-yi pīl* of the Dihlī sultanate); this may reflect the idea that the command of elephants was an attribute of sovereignty (*A'in-i Akbarī*, i, 127-40).

Two developments in Muslim principalities established in the Deccan during the 12th/18th century deserve further research. In the Āsafjāhī state of Haydarābād [q.v.], the amirs of the *pāyghāh* became a leading faction of the nobility which survived till recently. In the new Muslim state of Maysūr (Mysore), under its rulers Ḥaydar 'Alī (r. 1174/1761-1197/1782) and Tipū Sulṭān (1197/1782-1213/1799) a large portion of the cavalry were mounted by the royal stable. This variety of *bārgīr* horse (troopers who do not provide their own mounts) is referred to in Tipū Sulṭān's terminology as *suwār 'askar* and by British sources of the period as "stable horse" and "regular cavalry" (M. H. Gopal, *Tipu Sultan's Mysore*, Bombay 1971, 28-62; W. Kirkpatrick, *Select letters of Tipu Sultan*, London 1811; W. Miles, *A history of Hyder Naik*, London 1842, 173).

*Bibliography*: Given in the article. References to texts, where no date or place of publication is given, are to those in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. (S. DİGBV)

**IŞTAKHR**, a town in Fārs. The real name was probably *Stakhr*, as it is written in Pahlavi; the Armenian form *Stahr* and the abbreviation S T on Sāsānian coins point in the same direction. The form with prosthetic vowel is modern Persian; it is usually pronounced *Istakhar* or *Ištahar*, also with inserted vowel *Sitakhar*, *Sitakhar*, *Sitarkh*; cf. Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, i, 94<sup>a</sup>, 97<sup>a</sup>, ii, 223, and Nöldeke in *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii, 192. The Syriac form is *Ištahr* (rarely *Ištahr*), in the Talmud probably *Istahr* (𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤀, *Megilla* 13<sup>a</sup>, middle). According to the statements of Persian authors, the town received its name from the lakes or swamps there. Perhaps, however, it is better to be derived with Spiegel (*Erānische Altertumskunde*, i, 94, note I) and Justi (*Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii, 448) from the Avestan *stakhya* "strong, firm"; for the latter word cf. Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, p. 1591.

*Iştakhr* lies in 29° 50' N. Lat. and about 53° E. Long., a short hour's journey north of Persepolis, in the narrow valley of the Pulwar or Murghāb (also called Siwand-Rūd). It may be assumed with certainty that its foundation took place very soon after the decline of the Achaemenid capital Persepolis, which was caused by Alexander the Great. The ruins of the latter in any case formed a quarry which was much used for the building of the new town. *Iştakhr* was at first merely the chief town of the district of Fārs, the centre of which had probably always been in this neighbourhood. A few decades before the collapse of the Arsakid kingdom, it figures as the residence of local chiefs. The Sāsānians came from the region of *Iştakhr*. Sāsān, grandfather of Ardashīr I, was superintendent of the fire-temple of the goddess Anāhīd in the town of *Iştakhr* (Tabarī, i, 814), the fire of which is said to have suddenly been ominously extinguished in the night of the birth of Muḥammad. After the foundation of the Sāsānian kingdom this town was also considered its religious centre and

Işakhr was henceforth considered the official capital of the New Persian monarchy.

The inhabitants of Işakhr in particular opposed a stubborn resistance to the advance of the Muslims. The first attempt to take the city, undertaken in 19/640 by al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, governor of Baḥrayn, with insufficient forces and against 'Umar's express orders, failed completely and it was not till 23/643 that Işakhr had to capitulate to an Arab army commanded by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Othmān b. al-'Āṣ. But its citizens afterwards rebelled and slew the Arab governor set over them. The governor of Baṣra, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmr [q.v.], whom the caliph sent against the rebels, was only able to take the town after severe fighting. In the suppression of the revolution many Persians met their death. This second capture of Işakhr probably took place in 29/649 (cf. on this question J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi (1899), III f. For other details of the Arab expeditions against Işakhr see: Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 389, f., Ṭabarī, i, 2546 f., 2549, 2696 f., 2830; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii, 420 f., iii, 30 f., 77 f.; *Chronique de Ṭabarī* (Pers. vers., by Bel'ami), trans. Zotenberg, iii, 452-3; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 86-7, 163, and thereon A. D. Mordtmann in *ZDMG*, vi, 455-6; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv, 151 f., v, 19-27, vii, 219-20, 248-56).

Işakhr remained a fairly important place during the early centuries of Islam. However it gradually sank to be merely the chief town of a province and was the capital of the *kūra* bearing its name, the largest of the five districts into which the province of Fārs was divided, comprising its northern and north eastern parts. The heaviest blow suffered by the erstwhile Sāsānian capital was the foundation in 64/684 of Šīrāz (a day's journey south of Işakhr), which soon became the capital of the province of Fārs and attained great prosperity, particularly from the 3rd/9th century. Henceforth Işakhr declined visibly. From the description of the geographer al-Işakhrī, a native of the town, it was about the middle of the 4th/10th century a town of medium size of the area of an Arab (= Roman) mile; the wall around it was in ruins. Al-Muḥaddasī, writing about thirty years later (985), praises the splendid bridge over the river in Işakhr and the fine park. Concerning the chief mosque, situated in the bazaars, he mentions the remarkable pillars with "bull"-capitals. This probably refers not to an original Achaemenid building, but to a Sāsānian — al-Muḥaddasī mentions that the mosque was thought to have been previously a fire-temple — in the building of which pieces of carving from Persepolis had been used. Only a few years after the date of al-Muḥaddasī's account, a fatal catastrophe overwhelmed the town, brought upon it by the rebellious attitude of its citizens to their suzerain Šamsām al-Dawla, a son of 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q.v.]. The latter sent against it an army under the amīr Kutulmišh, who laid it in ruins. This sealed the ruin of Işakhr. In a description of the province of Fārs dating from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, in the Persian *Fārs-Nāma*, it is described as a modest village with barely a hundred inhabitants.

As to the mint of Işakhr, coins struck here in the Sāsānian period bear the abbreviation ST (𐭮𐭮) in Pahlavi characters: this certainly means Işakhr. Numerous specimens of these coins exist from the reign of Yezdejjird II (from 438 A.D.) to the end of the dynasty. In the Islamic period also the Pahlavi legend with the above abbreviation was retained for a considerable time. Such coins struck in the name of the caliph or of governors are known down to the

year 78/697-8, cf. J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins (A Catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum)*, London 1941, cxxix-cxxx, 116. Coins of post-reform type were struck at Işakhr during the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd periods (see G. C. Miles, *Excavation coins from the Persepolis region, Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 143, New York 1959 and J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umayyad coins*, London 1956, 112-4).

The present system of ruins at Işakhr has been excavated in 1935 and 1937 by a team from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (see: E. F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis* (Oriental Institute Communications, No. 21, Chicago 1939), 105-21; idem, *Flights over ancient cities of Iran* (Oriental Institute, Chicago 1940), plates 8-10; and G. C. Miles, *op. cit.*). The remains of the town are mainly recognizable in the mounds of earth of varying height. Here and there parts of the surrounding walls still exist. The most remarkable seems to be a place lying towards the village of Hādīdīl-ābāḍh — called Ḥarīm-i Djamshīd (= "Djamshīd's Harem" (cf. below) by the travellers J. Morier and Ker Porter — where a column stands erect in the midst of an area covered with fragments of pillars. Its capital, composed of bodies of bulls, at once shows it to have been removed from Persepolis. The most detailed account of the ruins of Işakhr, aside from that of Schmidt, is that of Flandin and Coste, who spent two months in the neighbourhood about the end of 1840; cf. the pictures in the great volume of plates, *Voyage en Perse*, ii (Paris, 1843 f.), Pl. 58-62, and the archaeological text accompanying it, p. 69-72, and also Flandin's *Relation du Voyage*, ii, (1852), 137.

In the vicinity of Işakhr there are several other sites remarkable for their monuments of history. For example, about 700 yards north of the village of Hādīdīl-ābāḍh, there are natural caves, one of which contains an inscription of historical importance of Sapor I (241-272 A.D.); it is usually called Šaykh 'Alī by the Persians, as a pious ascetic of this name is said to have ended his days in it; at the same time one hears it called Zindān-i Djamshīd, "Djamshīd's prison". Prominent buildings and monuments of antiquity are frequently attributed to Djamshīd, a mythical ruler of ancient Iran whom the Muslim Persians identified with the Salomon of legend.

Another place of historical importance is the Naḳsh-i Raḍjāb, "Sculpture of Raḍjāb" (a legendary personage), about ½ mile S.W. of Işakhr. This is a ravine-like split in the wall of rock on the south bank of the Pulwar, which is adorned with three Sāsānian reliefs.

On account of their considerable remains from the ancient and mediaeval Persian periods, the best known sites are Takht-i Djamshīd and Naḳsh-i Rustam, the former a short hour's journey south of Işakhr on the south bank of the Pulwar, the latter on the north bank of this stream about 1½ miles from Işakhr.

Takht-i Djamshīd is the most usual name among Orientals for the complex of Achaemenid palaces of Persepolis. Besides Takht-i Djamshīd one also hears the older name Čihil, or abbreviated, Čil Minār (also Menāre), "the 40 pillars", which is found as early as the Persian historians of the 14th century. This name is taken from the most noteworthy parts of the whole site, the colonnade of King Xerxes I with its pillars, originally 72, now only 13 in number. The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages from about the 3rd/9th century know the ruins of the Persepolitan

terrace by the name Mal'ab Sulaymān, "Sulaymān's playing-ground", with which we may compare the name Kursī Sulaimān, "Solomon's stool (throne)", found in the Persian history *Mudjūmil-i Tawārikh* (beginning of the 5th/11th century), which in its turn may have been the model for the present synonymous name Takht-i Djamshīd.

The "Bench" or "Throne" of Djamshīd (Salomon) is an artificial stone terrace of polygonal, almost rectangular shape, which lies at the foot of a steep, dark grey mountain of rock. The latter, according to the reports of modern travellers, now bears the name Kūh-i Raḥmat, "hill of mercy", but this is not to be found in literature; it apparently dates only from the post-mediaeval period (first mentioned by Sir Thomas Herbert in the beginning of the 17th century). The name still heard by Ouseley, Shāh Kūh, "royal hill", might be older; it coincides with the βασιλικὸν ὄρος of Diodoros (xvii, 71). At the same time, according to the same authority, the inhabitants also use the name Kūh-i Takht, "hill of the throne (of Djamshīd)". The section of the Kūh-i Raḥmat which forms the back wall of the platform contains three tombs of Achaemenid kings. The people know these by the names of the "mosque", the "bath" and the "mill of Djamshīd", according to Stolze (*Verhandl. der Gesellschaft. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x., 1883, p. 273).

Iranian tradition varies regarding the founder of Persepolis-Iştakhr; sometimes it is Kayūmarth, the mythical ancestor of the Persians, sometimes the builders or extenders are legendary rulers of the past like Kayūmarth's descendants Hoşhang (Ūsh-handj), Tahmūrah, Djamshīd, Kai Khusraw. Solomon also is named, for whom the spirits (*djinn*) subject to him carried out marvellous works. A legendary princess, Humāy, who plays the role of Semiramis as a builder in Iran, is also mentioned. Persian tradition transfers to Persepolis-Iştakhr the residence of the old Iranian kings and makes them be buried there also. According to Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, the town was the residence of the reigning dynasty from the time of Kai Kūbād. Muslim writers connect the origin of Persepolis with Solomon; the name given by them, Mal'ab Sulaymān, has been mentioned above. According to their legend, this king dwelled alternately here and in Syria and was rapidly carried by the *djinn* from one place to the other. Separate buildings on the terrace of Takht-i Djamshīd bear in Arabic writings the names "mosque" and "bath of Solomon" (cf. with these the above mentioned names of two royal tombs of Kūh-i Raḥmat). Solomon — so the story goes — shut the wind up in a room there; Persian sources of the 13th and 14th centuries still speak of a "prison of the wind" here (Zindān-i Bād) (cf. the reports in Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 381, 387).

Unfortunately the Arab accounts of the monuments of Persepolis are rather defective and moreover in parts distorted into fairy tales; cf. especially the accounts of the geographers al-Iştakhrī, al-Muḥaddasī and al-Ḳazwīnī (see Schwarz, *Iran*); various not uninteresting information is given by Persian historians of the later Middle Ages, especially Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (see Ouseley, ii, 380 f., 387 f.). According to these two, the pillars of the ruins there were celebrated as a source of zinc oxide (*tū-tiyā*) important for medical purposes. The vandal disfigurement of the heads of the figures on the bas-relief of Takht-i Djamshīd (and still more so in Naḳsh-i Rustam) is primarily due to the fanaticism of the Muslims with its objection to the representation of human faces.

The caliph al-Manşūr (754-775) wished to use the ruins of Persepolis, like those of al-Madā'in-Ctesiphon, as a quarry, but was persuaded against it by the advice of his vizier Khālid al-Barmakī, who said that Persepolis was used as place of prayer by 'Alī; see *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), p. 256.

Various Muslim rulers have perpetuated their visits to the ruins of Persepolis by having inscriptions incised. Here are to be seen three Arabic inscriptions in Kufic characters by members of the Būyid dynasties (4th/10th century), three inscriptions, two Persian and one Arabic, of Abu 'l-Faḥ Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Timūr (9th/15th century), also three inscriptions (2 Arabic and 1 Persian) of 'Alī b. Khalīl, a grandson of Uzūn Ḥasan (9th/15th century). These inscriptions were thoroughly discussed by de Sacy in his *Mém. sur diverses antiquités de la Perse* (Paris 1793), p. 139 ff. Some emendations thereon were given by Nöldeke in Stolze, *Persepolis*, ii, 6. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, 188, also mentions an inscription of the Muẓaffarid Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Manşūr (d. 765/1363). See also V. Minorsky, *Later Islamic Inscriptions at Persepolis*, in *BSOS* (1939), 177-8. The various verses scratched on the walls show the high respect in which Persepolis has always been held among the Persians; their modern poets often make allusions to the ancient capital of the country.

As to Naḳsh-i Rustam, its primary significance is only the steep south wall of the long, high mass of rock, Ḥusayn Kūh, which has in niches four Achaemenid royal tombs and Sāsānian reliefs. But the name is often extended to the whole of Ḥusayn Kūh. The name Naḳsh-i Rustam is due to the popular idea that the sculptured figures there represent the Iranian national hero Rustam. Before the wall of the tombs there rises a remarkable towerlike building, now called Ka'ba-i Zardusht, "the Ka'ba of Zoroaster". Probably it has something to do with a former fire temple. Two other small buildings are perhaps to be similarly regarded, not far from the Ka'ba-i Zardusht on the summit of a rock called Sang-i Sulaymān, "the stone of Sulaymān", cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 300. We may also mention that the Sāsānian sculptures of Berme Delek 5 miles E.S.E. of Shīrāz are also called Naḳsh-i Rustam. (But see now, E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III, The Royal Tombs and other monuments* (Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1970), 122 ff.; W. B. Henning, *The Great Inscription of Sāpūr I*, in *BSOAS* IX (1937-39); M. Sprengling, *Third-Century Iran. Sapor and Kartir* (Oriental Institute, Chicago 1953); E. Honigman & A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis (Mémoires, Acad. Royale de Belgique*, xlvii, Brussels, 1953).

A stone platform in two layers on the south bank of the Pulwar (about 500 yards W. of Naḳsh-i Rādjab) is called by the inhabitants of the district, Takht-i Rustam, "the throne of Rustam". The latter, in view of its limited dimension, can only have served as the pedestal of a sepulchral monument or of a fire temple. Cf. Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii, 72-73 (and Pl. 63). Instead of Takht-i Rustam, the name Takht-i Ṭā'ūs, "peacock-throne", is also used. The name Takht-i Rustam is found elsewhere in Irān also: cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 522.

At a somewhat greater distance from Iştakhr, about 3-4 hours journey N.W., on rocky peaks stand three forts within 1½ to 2 miles of each other. All three, which lie practically in a straight line, are frequently comprised under the name Ḳal'a or Kūh-i Iştakhr, "the citadel" or "the mountain of Iştakhr", also Kūh-i Rāmdjird, from a district of



this name on the left bank of the Kur (into which the above mentioned Pulwar flows). Firdawsī in a distich speaks of the Sih Diz-i Gumbadān-i Iştaḵhr, "the three fortresses of Iştaḵhr" (cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 386). At the same time the separate castles have each their own names, which have however changed frequently in course of time according to the reports of the older historians and travellers. The most important of the three, the Ḳal'a-i Iştaḵhr in the narrower sense, is also called Miyān Ḳal'a, "the central fort" from its position between the other two. Flandin and Coste head it called Ḳal'a-i Sarw, "the cypress castle", from a single cypress tree standing there. For the two other citadels Persian authors, for example, give the names Ḳal'a-i Şhikastah, "the broken (ruined) castle", and Aşhḳunawān (Sakunawān and similar names).

In the Muslim history of Fārs, especially in that of Iştaḵhr, these inaccessible fortresses played an important part. They were regarded as most essential military points d'appui for the holding of the surrounding country. The most prominent is the "citadel of Iştaḵhr" proper, the origin of which Persian legend places in mythical times by assuming it was built by King Djamshīd. The old Iranian ruler Guşhtāsp is said to have deposited the *Avesta*, written on cowhides with golden ink, in the castle of Iştaḵhr, after his conversion to the doctrine of Zoroaster; the citadel is therefore also called Diz-i Nibişht (Castle of the writing) or Kūh-i Nibişht (Hill of the writing; so in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī); cf. Ṭabarī, i, 676; and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, i, 182, 9, as well as the Persian reports in Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 344, 364, 370-1, 375, 384. Under the caliphate the governor of the province of Fārs very frequently resided in this stronghold, which was easily defended by its natural situation. Thus the governor Ziyād b. Abīhi was able to hold out up here against Mu'āwiya for a considerable time after Alī's death; cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, etc. (Berlin 1902), 76. The Būyids, who not infrequently stayed in the region of Iştaḵhr (cf. the inscriptions dating from their time mentioned above, at Takht-i Djamshīd; 'Imād al-Dawla [q.v.] was buried in Iştaḵhr), paid particular attention to the citadel of Iştaḵhr. 'Aḳud al-Dawla [q.v.] in the 4th/10th century built on it a great system of cisterns, taking advantage of a natural pond already there, which could provide water for several thousand persons for a whole year and which aroused the admiration of contemporaries and of later generations. In 467/1074 the rebel Faḳlūya, who had seized the government of Fārs, was besieged by the troops of Niẓām al-Mulk in the sultanate of Malik Şhāh in the citadel of Iştaḵhr. An earthquake which suddenly caused the cisterns to overflow forced the besieged to a premature capitulation. Faḳlūya was then kept a prisoner in the fortress and put to death next year after an unsuccessful attempt to escape. The castle was later much used as a state prison for high officials and princes. About 1590 the citadel was still in good condition and inhabited. Some time afterwards a rebel general of Fārs took refuge in it and it was besieged by Şhāh 'Abbās I, stormed and destroyed. Pietro delle Valle, who stayed here in 1621, therefore found it in ruins.

The citadel of Iştaḵhr has so far been only rarely visited by European travellers, e.g., by Morier, Flandin (and Coste), and Vambéry. According to the account by Flandin and Coste, to whom we also owe drawings and plans of the citadel, it stands on a plateau 300 yards round, about 1300 feet above the plain. Of the old defences there have survived the powerful

ramparts solidly built of stone; the great system of cisterns of the Būyids, among which a well hewn deep into the rock is specially remarkable, is still to be seen. All the ruins that survive seem only to date from the Muslim period. Cf. on the castles of Iştaḵhr the accounts from Persian sources in Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 371, 376, 385 f., 389, 395-7, 399, 405-5, 407, 531; Ritter, viii, 863-5, 868, 877; Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii, 71-72; *Flandin's Relation du Voyage*, ii, (1852), 140-2; Vambéry, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, Pest 1867, 250; Cl. Huart in *Revue sémitique*, i, (1893), 259 f., 337 f. and in *Hist. de Bagdad* (Paris 1901), 28, 31; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 276; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 114-5 (Pl. xvi. and Fig. 45).

*Bibliography*: BGA, ed. de Goeje, *passim*; Yāḳūt, *Mu'ḍjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 299 f.; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii, 99; Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *passim* (s. Ind.); Hādīdjī Ḳhalīfa, *Djīhānumā* (vers. lat. by Norberg, Lund 1878), i, 284-6; P. Schwarz, *Irān im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographien*, i (1896), 13-16 (13-30 on the Province Iştaḵhr); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 275-6, 294-5. Full accounts of Iştaḵhr-Persepolis are given from Oriental, mainly Persian, sources by Ouseley, *Travels of various countries of the East*, ii, London 1821, 339-441. — C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschr. nach Arabien* etc., Copenhagen 1778, 120-165; Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 187-191, 224-420; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 858-941; A. J. Rich, *Collected Memoirs*, London 1839, 231-261; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii, (Paris 1843 f.), Pl. 57-112, and the accompanying Vol. of text, 68-155; Flandin's *Relation du voyage*, ii (1852), 88-214; F. Stolze, *Persepolis*, Berlin 1882, 2 Vol.; idem, in *Verhandl. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x (1883), 251-276, Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur pers. Geschichte*, Leipzig 1887, 134-146; Geiger in *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii (1896 f.), 390 f.; Justi, *ibid.*, ii, 447-456; A. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York 1906, 294-320; E. Herzfeld in *Klio*, viii (1907), 1-68 (*passim*); Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910 (on Iştaḵhr: see especially p. 100-2). — Of the old Persian inscriptions of Persepolis and Naḳsh-i Rustam the best accounts are given in E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I, Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, Oriental Institute, Chicago 1953, who includes earlier references. — On Sāsānid monuments and inscriptions see Schmidt, *op. cit.* — The best maps of Iştaḵhr-Persepolis and its immediate neighbourhood are given by Schmidt, *Persepolis*, i and iii, and *Flights*.

(M. STRECK [G. C. MILES])

AL-IŞTAKHRI, ABŪ IŞHĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-FĀRISĪ AL-KARKHĪ, one of the first and most important representatives of the new trends adopted by Arabo-Muslim geography in the 4th/10th century.

His biography is unknown, or almost so. If the various forms of his *nisba* are to be believed, he was a native of Fārs and, more precisely, of Iştaḵhr. Following Yāḳūt, orientalism has in fact accepted the *nisba* al-Iştaḵhri, but others, in particular Ibn Ḥawḳal, his direct continuator, designate him by the *nisba* al-Fārisī. Al-Muḳaddasī, who does the same, also adds the *nisba* al-Karkhī (ed. De Goeje, 475; compare with *ibid.*, 5, n. a), from which it might be supposed that, at some period in his life, the writer settled in Ḳhūzistān or in 'Irāḳ, and perhaps, to be more precise, in the quarter of Baghdād of that name (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.).

One certain element at least in the life of al-Iṣṭakhri is his meeting with Ibn Ḥawḳal. It is of little positive importance whether this took place in Sind, the description of which in Ibn Ḥawḳal (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 322) leads to the recalling of this meeting, though without any further details as to the place, or in Baghdād, bearing in mind that this would be the most probable place for a meeting between the old master who had retired there and the young geographer who stayed there (*ibid.*, 336), completed his training and decided to set out on his travels (*ibid.*, 3, 322).

The work of al-Iṣṭakhri, the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (another work, a *Risāla*, probably on Fārs, is recorded in connection with the description of that country: cf. ed. al-Ḥīnī, 67), at all events may be placed between that of al-Balkhī, by which it was inspired, and that of Ibn Ḥawḳal, which continues it: as Kramers writes very justly (*Analecta*, 196), "the manuscripts of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawḳal represent one single standard original text, which was revised and corrected several times." Written towards the end of the first half of the 4th/10th century, the *Kitāb* repeats, while it also develops, the "atlas of Islam" introduced by al-Balkhī. As in al-Balkhī, the *iklīm* [q.v.] is no longer the "climate" of Ptolemean geography but, in the Iranian tradition of the *heshvars*, is a geographical entity, a "country". As with al-Balkhī, in the Persian "national" spirit prevailing in Sāmānid Khurāsān where the original work made its appearance, Iran holds a favoured position, by length of the passages devoted to it. Lastly, as with al-Balkhī, the spirit and methods of the cartography are very close to Persian models; far closer, in any event, than Ibn Ḥawḳal was to be. This Iranism explains how it is that al-Iṣṭakhri's work, unlike that of Ibn Ḥawḳal (and of al-Muḳaddasī who represents the last link in the chain) was the subject of Persian translations (and also Turkish: cf. V. Minorsky, *A false Jayhānī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949-50), 156-9).

A further relationship exists: so far as one can judge, the cartographical representation, which for al-Balkhī was the essential feature, in the eyes of his successor remained the fundamental element of the geographical work, even if the commentary on the map was expanded considerably. This fact explains the reservations expressed by al-Muḳaddasī who described the *Kitāb* as "a book with very carefully prepared maps, but confused in many places and superficial in its commentaries, and it does not divide the provinces into districts (*wa-lā kawwara 'l-aḳālīm*")" (ed. De Goeje, 5, n. a).

Al-Muḳaddasī's severity towards his precursors is well-known. In essence, even if his basic principle is justified, it conceals the degree of progress between al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhri. Thanks to the commentary, not only does one pass gradually, as has been suggested, from the atlas to the descriptive atlas; in addition the scientific method is refined by the exercise of a critical judgement and by the desire to pass on information from oral or written sources, selected by personal observation (*'iyān*). These two principles are so closely interwoven in the work, and the author's modesty is so great in respect of the journeys he had had to undertake, that the map of al-Iṣṭakhri's travels is difficult to reconstruct; in the case of Sind, for example, is the validity of the information provided due to the reliability of the informants or to travel notes? In any event, it is almost certain that al-Iṣṭakhri visited Arabia (at least as far as Mecca), 'Irāq, Khūzistān, Daylam and Transoxiana.

Al-Iṣṭakhri's successors were not deceived as to the value of the work or the originality of his methods. Despite his criticism, al-Muḳaddasī did not fail to make use of it, as did the anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* and Yāqūt. Even more than these writers, however, it is Ibn Ḥawḳal who appears as the privileged successor of al-Iṣṭakhri, even as his designated heir: "I have met Abū Ishāq al-Fārisī", wrote Ibn Ḥawḳal (trans. Wiet, 322); "this man had drawn this map of Sind, but he had made some mistakes, and he had also drawn Fārs, which he had done extremely well. For my part, I had drawn the map of Adh̄arbaydjān, which occurs on the following page and of which he approved, as well as that of Upper Mesopotamia, which he considered excellent. My map of Egypt however he condemned as wholly bad, and that of the Maghrib as for the most part inaccurate. He then told me: 'I have made a careful study of your birth and have drawn up your horoscope. I ask you to make corrections in my work wherever you find any mistakes'. I made some alterations in more than one place, and wanted to publish them under his name. But I thought it good to leave my own name only on the edition of this work."

Ibn Ḥawḳal's decided views, and often his lack of constraint with regard to al-Iṣṭakhri, have played in his favour; in reading him, one slightly forgets what the pupil owes to the master. But, whatever the just merits of the work of Ibn Ḥawḳal [q.v.], a careful study makes evident, on more than one page and far more than Ibn Ḥawḳal would have us to believe, how much he owes to his precursor (see an example in A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, 367-90). Thus the greatest prudence is called for when one starts to read a work which, in the final analysis, is a collective one, and in which the merits of al-Balkhī, al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawḳal cannot be dissociated from one another.

The text of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* has been edited in part by J. H. Moeller (*Liber climatum*, Gotha 1839; trans. A. D. Mordtmann, *Das Buch der Länder*, Hamburg 1845); a partial translation (on Sidjistān) has been made by A. Madini (Milan 1842). Later came the edition of De Goeje (*BGA*, i, Leiden 1870 and 1927), and then that of M. G. 'Abd al-'Alī al-Ḥīnī (Cairo 1381/1961).

*Bibliography*: Ibn Ḥawḳal — Kramers-Wiet, X, XIII, XIV, XVI, 13, 31, 318 (n. 545), 322; Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, xvii-xix, 21-2; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, trans. W. Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'djam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 10; Kaḥhāla, 104; M. Reinaud, *Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux (Géographie d'Aboulféda)*, I, Paris 1848, lxxxii f.; the same author, *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris 1849, 22; De Goeje, *Die Istakhri-Balkhi Frage*, in *ZDMG*, xxv, 42 f.; Brockelmann, S. I, 408; J. H. Kramers, *L'influence de la tradition iranienne dans la géographie arabe*, in *Analecta orientalia*, i, Leiden 1954, 148-56; idem, *La littérature géographique classique des Musulmans*, *ibid.*, 195 f.; Blachère-Darmann, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du moyen âge*, Paris 1957, 112-3, 134-5; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geograficheskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 196-8 (Arabic trans. [chap. I-XVI so far published] by Ṣ. D. 'Uṯmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 199-200); A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, Paris-The Hague 1967, index. (A. MIQUEL) ISTĀN [see USTĀN].

**ISTANBUL**, the capital of the Ottoman Empire from 20 D̄jumādā I 857/29 May 1453 to 3 Rabi' II 1342/13 October 1923. In strict Ottoman usage the name is confined to the area bounded by the Golden Horn, the Marmara coast and the Wall of Theodosius, the districts of Ğhalaṭa, Üsküdār and Eyyüb being separate townships, each with its own *kādi*; occasionally however the name is applied to this whole area.

NAME. In the period of the Salđjūk sultanate of Anatolia (see Kamāl al-Dīn Aḡsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-aḡhbār*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1944, index at p. 344) and under the early Ottomans (*Die altosm. anon. Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, Breslau 1922, 8, 28, 33, etc.) the spelling استنبول ("Istinbol", "Istanbol" or "Istanbul") was used; the pronunciation "Istimboli" is attested by J. Schiltberger (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Constantinopolis Oberhummer) for the end of the 8th/14th century (cf., for the 6th/12th century, the Armenian form Stampol: H. Dj. Siruni, in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, iii (1960), 164). The spelling استنبول ("S(i)tinbol", "S(i)tanbol") occurs in Ottoman poetry (Laṭīfī [q.v.], *Evşāf-i Istanbul* in Ms.).

Al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, 136) mentions, as early as the 4th/10th century, that the Greeks called the city "Būlin" and "Stanbūlin"; towards the end of the 10th/16th century F. Moryson (*An itinerary* . . . , ii, 97) notes that the Greek inhabitants called the city "Stimboli", but the Turks "Stambol". It is no longer in question that the Turkish forms (Stinbol/Stanbol > Istin(m)bol/Istan(m)bol > Istan(m)bul) derive from the Greek εἰς τὴν πόλιν (for the arguments against the derivation Constantiupolis > Constantinopol see Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*; D. J. Georgacas, *The name of Constantinople, in American Philological Association: Transactions*, lxxviii (1947), 347-67).

The punning name Islām-bol ("where Islam abounds") was, according to a contemporary Armenian source (see Siruni, *op. cit.*, 173), given to the city by its conqueror Meḡemmed II (for similar "meaningful" names invented by him, cf. Boghaz-Kesen, Elbasan, Bögür-delen); it is found in documents of the 9th/15th century (e.g., Ayasofya Evkaf Defteri, Maliye no. 19; *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/7, 37); in the 11th/17th century the educated classes regarded it as the "Ottoman" name of the city (Evliyā Çelebi, i, 55-6); and a firman of 1174/1760 decreed that it should be substituted for the mint name Kostantiniyye on coins (text in A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı*, 1100-1200, p. 185). In popular usage however the forms Istanbul or İstanbul prevailed. The present-day official spelling is İstanbul.

From 330 A.D. onwards, the official name in the Eastern Roman Empire was Constantinopolis (for the various forms, see Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*). Adopted by the Arabs and the Persians as Ku(n)stantīniyya in official and literary usage, this name continued to be used in Ottoman educated circles and in the Ottoman chancery, and appears in firmans and *wakfiyyas* and upon coins (cf. too *Die alt. anon. Chr.*, ed. Giese, 28, 74, 78, etc.).

The original name Byzantion, of Thracian origin (Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*), is occasionally mentioned in Ottoman texts as the former name of the city, in various Arabic and Armenian forms: Byzantia, Byzandia, Buzantiye, Puzanta, Buzantis (see *EI*<sup>1</sup>, i, 889; Evliyā Çelebi, i, 55; Siruni, *op. cit.*, 164).

The names *Rūmiyya al-kubrā*, *Takht-i Rūm* (cf. Μεγαλόπολις) and *Ğhulghule-i Rūm* found in Muslim literary works (Evliyā Çelebi, *loc. cit.*) derive from the early Byzantine names (Nova) Roma, (Néa) Rhōme.

In Islamic chancery usage, cities, like human dignitaries, were accorded particular epithets and benedictory formulae (*du'ā*, *salutatio*). Those used for Istanbul by the Ottomans reflect old Iranian and Muslim concepts of centralized authority: Pāytakht-i Salṭanat, Takhtgāh-i Salṭanat, Maḡarr-i Salṭanat, Dār al-Salṭana, Dār al-Khilāfa; also, Dār al-Naṣr, Madīnat al-Muwaḡhidīn (cf. Islām-bol). In continuation of the traditional notions that the ruler's authority and "fortune" are interlinked (cf. in Old Turkish titulare *Kut*, *Kulluĝ*) and that justice is dispensed at the gate or threshold of the palace, Istanbul is often indicated by such names as Der-i Sa'ādet (Der-saadet) Āsitāne. The usual benedictory formula Istanbul is *al-maḡmiyya* or *al-maḡrūsa*, i.e., "the Well-Protected" (by God, against disaster; and also by the sultan, against injustice). A typical reference to Istanbul in chancery usage is: Dār al-Khilāfa al-'aliyya ve maḡarr-i salṭanat-i seniyyem olan maḡmiyye-i Kostantiniyye" (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

The ḡur'ānic phrase بلدة طيبة (XXXIV, 14/15), a chronogram for the date of the Ottoman conquest (857/1453), and the phrase *ḡasrat al-mulūk* (Evliyā Çelebi, i, 33, 55) are used for Istanbul only as literary conceits. As in Greek, so in Ottoman usage Istanbul was frequently referred to simply as "The City" ("*shehir*") (see, e.g., İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, no. 727).

The following sections deal only with the Ottoman city. For Muslim attacks on the city before 1453, Muslim travellers' accounts of Constantinople, etc., see KOSTANTİNİYYA. For the Bosphorus, see BOĞAZIÇ İÇİ. For the townships closely associated with Istanbul, see EYYÜB (in Supplement), ĞHALAṬA (in Supplement) and ÜSKÜDAR.

#### I. RESULTS OF THE CONQUEST; EVENTS UP TO 861/1457

The future development of the city was determined by the circumstances of the Ottoman conquest. When Meḡemmed II proclaimed the assault and promised his troops a three-day sack, he announced: "The stones and the land of the city and the city's appurtenances belong to me; all other goods and property, prisoners and foodstuffs are booty for the troops" (see H. İnalçık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii-xxiv (1969-70), 232-5). The result was that the city was denuded of its former inhabitants and the character which it had possessed in the Byzantine period was radically changed. The Ottoman troops entered the city through the breach opened in the walls at dawu, on 20 D̄jumādā I 857/29 May 1453, and fought their way towards Hagia Sophia (Aya Sofya), but some defenders continued to resist (the Cretan sailors in the towers of Alexius held out until after midday, see Sphrantzes, tr. Ivanka, 80; cf. Braun-Schneider, *Bericht*, 32) and the fighting ended only towards the middle of the afternoon. Practically all the survivors were made prisoner and taken to the ships or to the Ottoman camp outside the walls (Tursun, 55; Critoboulos, tr. Riggs, 76; Tādji-Beğ-zāde, 21). The sultan, wishing to prevent the further destruction of the city which he intended to be henceforth his capital, proclaimed that afternoon that the fighting was to cease and made a brief tour of the city (Ducas, ed. Grecu, 375; Sphrantzes records that the sack lasted for three days, but it is clear that from 30 May onwards there was no serious plundering or enslavement). On 30 May the sultan made his ceremonial entry (Tādji-Beğ-zāde, 22); he

toured the city to inspect its buildings and visited the harbour district. Entering Aya Sofya, he proclaimed that it should be the Great Mosque (*ḍjāmi'ī kabīr*) (Tādji-Beg-zāde, 23; Tursun, 56-7), and announced that henceforwards Istanbul should be his capital (*takht*) (İnalçık, *op. cit.*, 233). His first and principal concern was to encourage the repopulation of the city, so that on the third day after the conquest he proclaimed *amān*: any fugitive who returned within a specified time should freely re-occupy his home and practise his religion, and the Greeks were invited to elect a Patriarch as religious head of their community (Sphrantzes, tr. Ivanka, 85; cf. Zorzo Dolfin, ch. xviii).

Before returning to Edirne on 13 *Ḍjumādā* II/21 June, the sultan appointed Karīḥdīran Süleyḡmān Beg as *subāshī* (military prefect) of the city, with a garrison of 1500 Janissaries, and Khīdr-beg Čelebi as *kādī*, and ordered the repair of the walls, the building of a citadel (Yedi Kule) by the Golden Gate, and the construction of a palace for himself at the Forum Tauri in the centre of the city (later known as Eski Sarāy). To commence the repopulation of the city, he settled the fifth of the prisoners falling to him as ruler, with their families, "along the shores of the city harbour", *i.e.*, along the Golden Horn. He gave them houses and "freed them from taxes for a specified time". Immediately after the conquest he had considered appointing the Megadux Lucas Notaras as city-prefect and entrusting him with the task of repopulation, but his viziers dissuaded him; Notaras and the other Byzantine notables were executed (İnalçık, *op. cit.*, 240). He permitted enslaved prisoners who had paid ransom or who undertook to pay ransom within a specified time to settle in the city, granting them houses and a temporary exemption from taxation; he encouraged such slaves to earn their ransoms by working on building projects (Critoboulos, 83, 93; Sphrantzes, *loc. cit.*; N. Barbaro, Eng. tr., New York 1969, 72). Before the siege began, many inhabitants had fled the city (Sphrantzes, 47); others had managed to conceal themselves during the sack or had fled to *Ḡhalaṭa*. These, with the ransomed prisoners, formed the first Greek population of the city; that they were numerically few is shown by the census (*tahrīr*) of 860/1455 (for which, see below), which further confirms the tradition that some of these Greeks embraced Islam. (A great many of the prisoners had been sold, at Edirne, Bursa and Gelibolu.) The *amān* did not cover any Venetians: the *bailo* Girolamo Minotto and his son were executed; 29 other Venetian nobles were ransomed, but their male children were drafted into the corps of *ʿAdjēmi oḡhlans* [*q.v.*]. The Venetians received permission to settle and engage in commerce only after the conclusion of the capitulations of 19 Rabi' II 858/18 April 1454.

The most effective measure taken to repopulate the city was certainly that of *sürgün* [*q.v.*], the compulsory re-settlement of people from various parts of the empire. Before leaving Istanbul, Meḡemmed II issued firmans ordering the sending of Muslim, Christian and Jewish families from Rümeli and Anatolia (Critoboulos, 93; Ducas, ed. Grecu, 393; 5000 families from September; a document published by Jorga (*Notes et extraits*, iv, 67) speaks of 4000 families from Anatolia and 4000 from Rümeli). In the autumn of 1453, the sultan returned to Istanbul; finding that the repopulation was proceeding only slowly because of opposition to the deportations, he moved to Bursa and set severe measures in hand (İnalçık, *op. cit.*, 237). It was at this time that he appointed George

Scholarius patriarch (6 January 1454) (İnalçık, *op. cit.*, 236; Runciman, *Fall*, 155). In autumn 859/1455, when he again visited Istanbul, he was pleased to find the walls repaired and Yedi-Kule and the palace completed; but upon learning that Muslim settlers had left the city, he sent orders to Anatolia and Rümeli that *sürgün*-families should again be sent without delay.

A fragment of a *tahrīr defteri* for Istanbul and *Ḡhalaṭa*, dated Muḡarram 860/December 1455, has survived, the extant leaves covering the Fātiḡ district, part of Akserāy, and the areas along the land walls and the Marmara shore (see *Bibl.*). In the 22 *maḡalles*, 918 *khāne* (here: "houses") are listed, and 291 of them are noted as "empty" or "ruinous". The houses are distinguished as one-storeyed (*sūflī*), two-storeyed (*ʿulvī*) and "large", "the sumptuous (*mūkellef*) houses called by the Greeks *drapes*". Some houses are noted as being split into three or four, or as inhabited by more than one family. One- or two-storeyed *čardaks* are noted, especially in the courtyards of monasteries (for such habitations within monasteries, see the plans of Buondelmonte and Vavassore; Oberhammer, *Konst. unter Sultan Suleiman*, pp. 19, 22; F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten* . . ., 1959, p. 4). Of 26 monasteries listed, only one is still occupied by Greeks; the others are deserted or inhabited by Muslim immigrants. 42 churches are listed, many of them situated in monasteries. Only two still belong to the Greeks, but the Greeks of the *maḡalle* of Alt-Mermer use a big house there as a church. Five churches are inhabited by Muslim immigrants, one has been converted to a mosque, most of the others, having no congregations, are ruinous.

The first Great Mosque of Istanbul was Aya Sofya and the first stages in the development of Istanbul as an Ottoman city are revealed by the study of its *wakfs*. These include, besides the mosque and *medrese* of Aya Sofya, other Byzantine religious buildings now converted to Muslim use: the Zeyrek *Ḍjāmi'ī* and its *medrese* (Pantocrator) (see S. Eyice, *Istanbul*, 57), the *Ḡhalaṭa Ḍjāmi'ī*/*Arab Ḍjāmi'ī* (St. Dominic) (see Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, Istanbul 1944, pp. 25, 28), the mosque in the citadel at Silivri, the Eski *ʿImāret Mesḡjidi* (St. Saviour Pantepoptes) (see Eyice, 68), the Mevlevi convent *Kalenderkhāne* (Schneider, *Byzanz*, 51; Eyice, 54; under Bāyezīd II it was made a *medrese* and then a mosque). Meḡemmed II's Great Mosque ("Fātiḡ") was completed only in 875/1471. The mosques constructed up to that date (Rümeli-*Hişārī*; the Yeḡni Kerbānsarāy/*Čukḡhadḡl Khānī* mosque; the *Debbāḡhlar Mesḡjidi* at Yedi-Kule; Yeḡniḡe *Kal'ē*/*Anadolu Hişārī*) were all attached to the *wakfs* of Aya Sofya.

In 861/1457 Meḡemmed II made over to the *wakfs* of Aya Sofya the Byzantine buildings still standing in the city; these are noted in the documents as "*sullāni*" and "*mukāṭa'at*". In 898/1492 the total of these *mukāṭa'at* houses was 1428 (Aya Sofya *Evkafı Tahrir Defteri*, Maliye 19). (By this time many houses had of course fallen into ruin.) Since a survey of 895/1489 notes 1093 *mukāṭa'at* houses in Istanbul and *Ḡhalaṭa* "apart from the Byzantine houses occupied by *kuls* of the *Paḡishāh*", these latter must have numbered 335; it was the practice that *mukāṭa'a* (in effect "rent") should not be levied on a house held by a *kul*, so long as the *kul* actually resided there. Similarly, in the reign of Bāyezīd II the attempt to levy *mukāṭa'a* on Byzantine houses granted as *mūlk* ("freehold") before the *wakfiyya* for Aya Sofya was drawn up (*i.e.*, before 861/1457) was finally abandoned; but under Meḡemmed II it had been imposed and

removed more than once (İnalçık, *op. cit.*, 241). The 502 such houses in Istanbul itself were located in the *mahalles* of Aya Sofya, Sırt Hanımaml (near the Bedestân), Hâdjîdî 'Abdî, Hekim Ya'kûb, Şahin Üskûbî (between Unkâpân and Djibali), Edirne-Kaplı, Üstâd Ayâs (at Sarrâdjkhâne), Arslanlı Makhzen, and Top-Yıkıgı (Topkapu), a distribution which gives an indication of the pre-Ottoman centres of habitation.

Apart from these Byzantine buildings, Mehemmed II donated to the *wakfs* of Aya Sofya other revenue-producing establishments which would at the same time meet the economic and social needs of the population and encourage settlement, namely: the Bedestân, with the Büyük Çarşı built round it (see below); the Bodrum Kerbânsarayl; the Eski Kerbânsarayl and Yemiş Kapanl Kerbânsarayl at Takhta-ka'le; the Yeni/Beg Kerbânsarayl near the Bedestân; the Un-Kapanl, Yemiş Kapanl, Tuz Anbârî, Mümkhâne, Sâbûnkhâne, Djenderekhâne, Debbâghkhâne, Sellâkhhâne, Boyakhâne, and Müy-tâbân Kârkhanesi. There were furthermore two baths, 46 butchers' shops, 41 cookshops, 28 *boza-khânes*, and bakeries, and, in various parts of the city, some 2000 shops. Many of these shops were built in rectangular blocks or in facing rows (see the miniature in *IA*, art. *Istanbul*, facing p. 1214), each devoted to a single craft or industry.

## II. THE PRINCIPLES OBSERVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OTTOMAN CAPITAL

The fundamental principle observed in the development of Ottoman Istanbul was that it should receive the character of a Muslim city, so that the Muslim community should be able to live in accordance with the prescriptions of their religion and enjoy the traditional facilities of Muslim city life. This principle was the continuance of the ancient Middle East tradition by which the city was created around a place of worship and the urban functions were harmonized with the religious obligations. Aya Sofya was the Great Mosque *par excellence*, where the ruler and the Muslim community met together at an accession and at every Friday prayer, where the ruler received petitions, and where the great religious ceremonies were held; and the social and economic institutions and establishments which fostered the life of the city and the well-being of its inhabitants came into existence first as *wakfs* of this Great Mosque (cf. *Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. I. M. Lapidus, Berkeley 1969).

This "Islamic" character is demonstrated by the city's topographic development: its first *nâhiye* is the *nâhiye* of Aya Sofya. The other *nâhiyes* grew up around the mosques (*djami*) built later by sultans and viziers, whilst the smaller units, the *mahalles*, constituting the *nâhiye* each grew up around a local mosque (*mesdjid*). From the very first, also, attempts were made to give Istanbul the status of a sacred city of Islam. Immediately after the conquest, the holy region of Eyyûb (Eyüp) received its character with the building of the *türbe* of the Companion Abû Ayyûb al-Anşârî (M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes* . . ., 70; its *wakfiyya* in *Fatih Mehmet II. Vakfiyeleri*, Ankara 1938, 283-340. See also S. Ünver, *Istanbul'da Sahâbe Kabirleri*, Istanbul-Ankara 1953; P. Wittek, *Ayvan-saray*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. orientales et slaves*, xi (Brussels 1951), 505-26). The profound Ottoman devotion to mystics and to dervish *sheykh*s led to the establishment of many *mahalles* in the name of a saint or around his *zâviye* or tomb (already under Mehemmed II: *Sheykh* Ebu'l-Vefâ; *Sheykh* Ak Şemseddîn; *Sheykh* Sevindük Kihalvetî, known as

Kovadîl Dede; *Sheykh* Maḥmûd Resmî; etc.). A further indication of the desire to "Islamize" the city is the occasional use, already under Mehemmed II, of the name "İslâm-bol" (the city "full of Muslims") in official records (İnalçık, *op. cit.*, 246). Sporadically, under Mehemmed II and later sultans, Muslim fanaticism was aroused and pressure would be brought on the authorities to close the churches and synagogues on the grounds that the city had been taken "by force", so that the *Sheykh* al-İslâm himself would cast round for "evidence" to protect the *dhimmi* status of the non-Muslim inhabitants (İnalçık, *op. cit.*, p. 233, n. 11). For security reasons, Mehemmed II's policy here, as in other conquered cities, seems to have been to ensure that the Muslims remained in the majority.

The Islamic ideal, as reflected in the tolerant outlook of Ottoman society, was easily reconciled with social and economic reality, so that from the very beginning Muslims and non-Muslims worked side by side in the commercial districts and even (at first) lived intermingled in residential areas; non-Muslims, in commercial dealings among themselves, would resort to the *hâdî*, and a feeling of "fellow-citizenship" of the cosmopolitan capital transcended distinctions of religion and origin.

The "Ottoman" character of Istanbul sprang not only from the Muslim ideal but also from the traditional Middle Eastern view of state and society, a way of life characterized by the existence of a thriving class of merchants and craftsmen under the governance of a class of military administrators (see H. İnalçık, *Capital formation* . . ., in *J. Ec. Hist.*, xxix (1969), 98-140). Thus the same patterns, based on the institution of the *wakf*, which had been evident in all the cities of the Middle East began to appear in Istanbul. This tradition demanded the construction for the merchant class of a *bezzâristân* (Ottoman: *bedestân*), near which were the caravansarais (*khân*) where the merchants lodged. The members of the principal crafts were gathered in the shops which constituted the great *çarşı* around the *bedestân*, each craft being concentrated systematically in one *sûk* or *çarşı* (as was easily ensured when blocks of shops were built together as *wakf*). Various central "markets" for basic commodities were established, in order to ensure the authorities' control of the importation and distribution of the raw materials needed by the craftsmen and of the foodstuffs to provision the inhabitants, and in order to facilitate the collection of the tolls and taxes due to the state. These "markets" were called *kapan* (< Ar. *ḥabbân*, a public balance, a steelyard): the *yagh kapanl*, *un kapanl*, *bal kapanl*, *yemiş kapanl* (for oil, flour, honey, fruit), etc., and in Istanbul these were situated in the harbour area (elsewhere, by the city gates). For goods imported by sea, there was in the harbour a customs' post called Gümrük-kapanl (later called, after the *gümrük emini*, Emîn-önü), while goods imported overland paid duty at the Kara-Gümrüğü near Edirne-Kaplı. The tannery and the slaughterhouse were outside the walls, while dye-works, fulling-mills, oil-presses, etc. were built near the appropriate craft centres; all these were set up as *wakf* by members of the "ruling class". Other provisions, usually also set up as *wakf* or forming part of elaborate *wakf*-complexes (see below), had in view the welfare of the populace in general—water-supply, paving of roads, public security, hospitals, street-cleaning, the shelter and feeding of the poor and of travellers.

The interpretation that Istanbul's development as an oriental city can be viewed as originating from a

single nucleus (*Stadtkern*), consisting of the market-area, from which the main streets radiated and with the *mahalles* stretching out in concentric circles (R. Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul*, Vienna 1943, pp. 9, 20, 254) is true not of the city as a whole but only of each individual *nāhiye* growing up around a "foundation". For in the Ottoman period, as in Byzantine days, the city's development was controlled by the special characteristics of certain districts and by its geographical features. The two basic features of the Ottoman city (as in Bursa, Edirne, etc.) were a Great Mosque and a central market-district, and these features appear in Istanbul at first with Aya Sofya and the Bedestân; later however come the Fâtiḥ complex, with the Sultân Pazarı and Sarrâdikhâne nearby; and thereafter the city was to develop as a series of such "foundation complexes" created by sultans and by leading statesmen; whilst less prominent individuals brought into existence smaller complexes of the *mesâjid* with its school which was to serve as the centre of a new *maḥalle*. There was thus, as it were, a hierarchical gradation of complexes.

Nevertheless, whilst these complexes tended to make Istanbul a series of semi-independent communities, two features preserved its organic unity: (1) the harbour area on the Golden Horn, and (2) the main thoroughfare, the Divân-yolu, along which armies and caravans passed; it was along this thoroughfare that the principal complexes were built, and the great commercial buildings and the main market area were situated between this thoroughfare and the harbour. It is evident that the location of the principal complexes did not arise from any plan drawn up in advance; hence, with the exception of the few main thoroughfares, the network of streets grew up haphazard, as a jumble of crooked alleys and culs-de-sac (this confusion was not the result of fires, as is sometimes suggested, but had existed from the beginning).

### iii. — THE FORMATION OF THE PRINCIPAL URBAN INSTALLATIONS

Before the building of the Fâtiḥ complex and the Sultân Pazarı, the two commercial centres of Istanbul were (A) the Bedestân and Büyük Çarşı, and (B) Takhtağaç and the harbour area.

(A). As early as 1456 it had been decided that a *bedestân* should be built in the *maḥalle* of Çakır Ağa (a *subaşı* of Istanbul) (Critoboulos, 104). A *bedestân*, where valuable imported wares were sold and which was the centre for financial transactions, was the centre of a city's economic life as being the place of business of the leading merchants (termed at this period *khwādja*). The Büyük Bedestân of Istanbul (*bezzâsiyân*, *dâr al-bazzâziyya*; later Djewâhir-Bedestân or İc-Bedestân) with its 15 domes, constructed with the strength of a fortress to protect merchants' wares and wealthy citizens' fortunes against theft, plunder and fire, is a supreme example of a genre of Ottoman architecture which had flourished since the building of the *bedestân* of Bursa at the end of the 8th/14th century (see E. H. Ayverdi, *Fâtiḥ devri mimarisî*, 404-7; S. Eyice in *IA*, art. *Istanbul*, p. 1214/1114; idem, *Les "Bedensten" s. . .*, in *II Congresso Int. di Arte turca*, Venice 1963, 35-9). Neither its design nor the references to it in the sources give any hint to connect it with a Byzantine construction. In the Muslim world, as in the Byzantine, such a solid building for the storing and selling of valuable wares was a normal feature of the city (in the Byzantine Empire *basilike*, see Janin, *Const. byz.*, 97, 99, 157; in

the Arab lands *ḥaysariyya*, see Lapidus, *Muslim cities*, 59-60). In the flourishing period of Constantinople's history, this area, between the Forum Constantinianum and the Forum Tauri, had been a thriving commercial district with a *basilike* and the *artopoleia* of the bakers' guild; it was the central site of the city, the meeting place of the roads leading in from the city gates and the roads leading up from the commercial quays of the harbour (between Neorion/Bağçe-kapı and Porta Droungariou/Zindân-kapı). The main road leading from here down to the Basilike quay in Byzantine times (probably the Vasiliko Kapısı frequently mentioned in Meḥemmed II's *wakfiyya*, later Zindân kapı), the Markos Embolos Maurianon, was in the Ottoman period, with the name Uzun Çarşı, to be the busiest commercial district of the city.

The most detailed information on the Bedestân, the Kapalı Çarşı, and the tradespeople working there is to be found in the registers of the *wakfs* of Aya Sofya. In the Bedestân there were originally 126 *şandük* (in 893/1488: 140; a *şandük* is a shop with a store-room behind it and having a safe for valuables, cf. C. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, i, 174: "strong fire-proof boxes sunken in a wall of masonry under the floor") and 14 "*köshe*" shops (the rent for the first was 20 *akçe* per month, for the second, 3, 5 or 15 *akçe*). In 898/1493 ten of the merchants in the Bedestân were Armenians, five Jews, three Greeks, and the rest Muslims. (For the Bedestân in the 16th/17th century, see Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 241; Dernschwam, 93, 113; Schweigger, 129-30; in the 11th/17th century, Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 613-18; Mantran, 465-6; an excellent description for 1844 in White, i, 3-34).

Some time later, but before 878/1473 (Evliyâ, i, 617; the *wakfiyya* ed. O. Ergin, in *Fâtiḥ İmaratı*, Istanbul 1945, 6), Meḥemmed II built, at the south-east corner of the Büyük Çarşı a "new" *bedestân* (*dâr al-bazzâziyya al-âjadida*) for silks, later called the Sandal Bedestân (now the auction hall), which was to remain the largest *bedestân* of the Empire; it contained 124 *şandük* and there were 72 shops outside it, occupied by various craftsmen.

As in Ottoman cities created before the conquest of Constantinople (see *La ville balkanique*, in *Studia Balcanica*, iii, Sofia 1970; D. Kuban, *Anadolu Türk şehri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vii (1968), 53-74), on each side of the four main roads (*şâhrâh*) leading away from the four gates of the Bedestân and of the streets parallel to them, rows of shops were built in a checker-board pattern for merchants and craftsmen. In the 641 shops (*dükkan*) there were, according to the *wakf*-register of 894/1489, 33 shoemakers, 33 slipper-makers, 44 cap-makers, 50 workers in felt and tailors, 76 jewellers and other craftsmen (for the description of a *dükkan*, see Dernschwam, 93-4; White, i, 174). Shops of Muslims, Armenians, Jews and Greeks were not in separate streets but mixed up together; the majority however, not only of the craftsmen but of the jewellers and bankers (*şarrâf*), were Muslim Turks.

This Çarşı was repeatedly extended, so that finally it contained about a thousand shops; it was roofed over, to become the "Kapalı" Çarşı, with 12 large and 20 small gates, and since the Bedestân regulations were enforced here too, it became in effect an extension of the Bedestân (S. Eyice, in *IA*, art. *Istanbul*, pp. 1214/114-5; S. Tekiner, *The Great Bazar of Istanbul, Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, no. 92).

The second great *çarşı* in this region was the block of shops known as *Mahmud Pasha Dükkanları*,

constructed near the 'imaret of Maḥmūd Paṣha and containing, with the shops around and behind it, 265 shops. It was annexed by Meḥemmed II to the *wakfs* of Aya Sofya but returned by Bāyezīd II to the *wakfs* of Maḥmūd Paṣha's foundation (Aya Sofya register for 894/1489).

**Khāns.** The *khān*, which served as a lodging for the merchant engaged in trade between different regions and provided him with safe storage for his goods in the upper rooms or in the store rooms on the ground floor, and where also bulk sales of merchandise were made, was an essential element in Ottoman commercial centres (for *khāns*, see Mayer, *op. cit.*, 112-17; M. Erksan, *İstanbul hanları*, İst. Un. Edebiyat Fak., thesis, 1956). Meḥemmed II promoted the construction of four *khāns*, two in the commercial quarter of Takhtakaḷe, two near the Bedestān. The oldest is probably the so-called Bodrum Kerbānsarāyī near the Bedestān. With two storeys and 31 rooms, it had in its front wall 15 shops and 9 "hüdüre" (i.e., a largish room used as a workshop or lodging) (for its situation, see S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, pl. 3). The annual income from the *khān* was 15,500 *akçe* and from the shops and "rooms" 3108 *akçe*. The dealers engaged in the sale of cotton- and linen-cloths imported into Istanbul used this *khān* (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, İstanbul 1940, doc. 77).

The *khān* called Süleymān Paṣha Odaları (after the *beglerbegi* of Rümeli, Khādīm Süleymān) became in 894/1489 the *Kerbānsarāy-i üserā'*, commonly known as Eṣīr Pazarı. It contained 52 rooms on two floors, with an 8-room annex, a bath, and a large stable; it brought in an annual income of 19,500 *akçe* (about 400 gold ducats) (on the *Suyolu haritası* it is marked on Divān-yolu, by the 'Atiḳ 'Alī Paṣha mosque; a good description in White, ii, 280).

The Beg Kerbānsarāyī east of the Büyükcārshī (called in the *wakfiyya* a *khān*, later Çukhadīl Khān) was constructed before 878/1473 (see the *wakfiyya*, ed. O. Ergin, p. 6). It is a typical Ottoman *khān* with 98 rooms on two storeys around a rectangular courtyard. There are 42 shops (in the *wakfiyya*: 44) against its wall, formerly occupied by druggists. The income was 40,000 *akçe* from the *khān* and 19,548 from the shops.

Before the creation of Meḥemmed II's foundation, the leather-workers were congregated in this district, at the Eski At pazarı, whilst near the Eski Sarāy were the arrow- and bow-makers and the mint for silver *akçes*.

(B). The second region where Meḥemmed II's earliest constructions were built was Takhtakaḷe, the harbour area on the Golden Horn. Before the Ottoman conquest, this area, between Porta Perama/Balk Pāzārı Kaplı and Porta Droungariou/Odun Kaplı, was controlled by Latin colonists, in the last years the Venetians (Janin, *Const. byzantin*, 235-44); harbour activity extended even to the Neorion/Baghçe Kaplı. In the negotiations following the Ottoman conquest, Venice endeavoured to recover the old palace of the *bailo*, the *lobia* where Venetian goods were stored, and the two Latin churches. By the capitulations of 858/1454 the new *bailo* Bartholomeo Marcello was apparently permitted to occupy the church and residence of the Anconans (Thiriet, iii, pp. 195, 207); the Aya Sofya register of 898 speaks of the "former" church of the Venetians (*al-kanisa al-mansūba ila 'l-Vanadikiyyin kadıman*) and the *bailo*'s palace, whilst the Arabic *wakfiyya* (p. 60) mentions a "Venedik Lonđiasl Mahallesi" and the "Arslanlu Ev/Arslanlu Makhzen Mahallesi" (see the text, ed. T. Öz, p. 70; *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, ed. Ayverdi-Barkan, no. 570).

The quay at the Perama/Balk Pāzārı gate continued to be the principal embarkation point for crossing to Ghalata, but later further landing-stages for transit were used (Yemiş, Liman, Balat, etc.). All early views and plans of Istanbul show masses of shipping in this area (see M. Lorichs, Tafel VII-IX; Le Bruyn, p. 39; F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten*. . .). The slopes between this harbour area and the Bedestān were rapidly covered with commercial installations: Meḥemmed II built here, as *wakf*-property for Aya Sofya, two *khāns*, a *gümürük kapanı*, a *yemiş kapanı*, a salt-depot, a *müm-khāne*, three *boza-khānes*, 7 warehouses and 422 shops. The Khān-i Sulṭānı was a square, roofed building, with 361 shops around it, the whole constituting an important *çarshī*. The synagogue (M. Lorichs, Tafel VIII) and the *khān* of Murād Paṣha were nearby. East of it was the Yemiş Kapanı (later Bal Kapanı) *khān*, with 11 store-rooms below and 16 rooms above (S. Eyice, in *IA*, art. *İstanbul*, 1214/115; T. Bertelé, *Il palazzo degli Ambasciatori di Venezia a Const.*, Bologna 1932; R. E. Koçu, in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, iv, 2053-6; its lower floor is probably Byzantine).

The principal *kapans* of Istanbul were located here—for wax, salt, and soap—and the customs' house (M. Lorichs, Tafel VII; cf. also Grelot, p. 283). Firewood and timber were brought to the Aghaç-Pāzārı at Baghçe-kaplı (*wakfiyya* publ. by Vakıflar Um. Müd., p. 249; this landing-place was still so used in the 19th century: M. Ziya, *İstanbul*, 319). The city prison was at Vasiliko Kaplı/Zindān Kaplı (*wakfiyya*, ed. O. Ergin, p. 83); it was later known as Baba Dja'fer Zindān.

The Aya Sofya register of 898/1493 records, in Istanbul and Ghalata, 2350 shops, 4 *khāns*, 2 baths, 21 *boza-khāne*, 22 *bash-khāne* and 987 *mukāta'at* houses, with an annual revenue of 718,421 *akçe* (some 14,000 ducats; in 894/1489 the revenue had been nearly a million *akçe*: Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xxiii, 344).

Elsewhere in the city, local *çarshīs* were built: that of Aya Sofya (39 shops); the "Yeñi Dükkānlar" at Kemer (17 shops: *wakfiyyas*, ed. Ergin, 43; Vakıflar Um. Müd., 84; T. Öz, 25); that of Dikilü Tash/Çenberli Tash on Divān-yolu (77 shops, with the mint for copper coins nearby) and of Khwādja Piri Mesdjidī (26 shops; these two are perhaps rather extensions of the Bedestān area); at Tavuk-pazarı, 24 shops of dyers (*wakf* of Maḥmūd Paṣha). The first Janissary barracks ("Eski Odalar") were on the present Şehzadebaşı Caddesi (S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, no. 3; Uzuncarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, 238-42), with a *çarshī* of ten shops nearby (Tahsin Öz, 24); west of this were a *çarshī* of 35 shops in Ustād Ayās Mahallesi, the Kādī'asker Dolabı Çarshısı of 19 shops, and, by the Church of the Holy Apostles, the Karaman Pāzārı.

Another important commercial district occupied the area outside the wall between the modern Unkapı and Cibali (the Byzantine Plateia). Meḥemmed II built here the Un-Kapalı (M. Lorichs, Tafel IX) and a *çarshī* of 31 shops. Further up the Golden Horn were the city's first slaughterhouse and tannery, with the Debbāğlar Mahallesi (O. Ergin, pp. 12, 34). Further still, towards the Kynegion (Kinikoz) Gate, were fishermen's houses and imperial gardens (O. Ergin, 12; M. Lorichs, Tafel XII-XVII; Le Bruyn, p. 39).

The year 863/1459 was important in the city's development, for according to Critoboulos (tr. Riggs, 140), Meḥemmed II called his notables together and commanded them each to choose an area which should be called after him, anywhere in the city (cf. Vakı-

flar Um. Müd., p. 34), and build there a mosque, a *khān*, a bath and a market; he himself, selecting the site for the New Palace on Sarayburnu, also picked the finest area in the middle of the city for building a mosque "which should surpass Aya Sofya". Work on the mosque began only in the winter of 867/1462-3, the area (around the Church of the Holy Apostles) already having a large Muslim population. This construction encouraged the expansion of the city north-westwards towards the walls and north-east to the Golden Horn.

(C). The mosque and *imāret* of Fâtîh and its district (875/1470).

The mosque itself, begun in Djumādā II 867/February 1463, was completed in Rajab 875/January 1471 (inscription over the main door: Ayverdi, *Fâtîh devri mimarisî*, 143). The ancillary buildings were of two types: (1) *Khayrât* around the mosque (*medrese*, hospital, *imāret* (hospice), school, library, etc.), and (2) buildings of public utility to provide the income for the upkeep of the foundation. Such complexes had formed the nuclei of all Ottoman cities since Orkhān's foundations at Bursa (see O. Nuri, *Imaret sistemi*, Istanbul 1939; Ö. L. Barkan, *Quelques observations sur l'organisation économique et sociale des villes ottomanes*, in *Recueil Soc. Jean Bodin*, vii (1955), 289-311; Emel Esin sees their origin in Central Asia: *IV. Int. Congress of Turkish Art*, Aix-en-Provence 1970).

An area of about 100,000 m<sup>2</sup> is occupied by the following *khayrât*: the mosque, with an extensive outer courtyard entered by eight gates; on two sides of it, 8 large and 8 small *medreses* (the *Themāniyye* and the *Tetimme*); to the east, in a separate court, a *tābhkhāne*, a hospice and a *khān* (later *Deve Khān*); and in a further court, a hospital. Between the two front entrances to the mosque-court were two smaller buildings, a children's school (*dār al-ta'lim*) and a book-store (A. S. Ülgen and B. Kunter, *Fâtîh camii ve Bizans sarmacı*, Istanbul 1939; Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, 125-71). There were also residences for the *'ulemā'* employed in the *medreses*. The buildings of the second category were, principally, a great *čarshî* (Sultān Pāzār), the *Sarrādjkhāne*, and a bath (*Çukur Hāmām* or *Irgatlar Hāmān*) north of the mosque. The Sultān Pāzār, between the mosque and *Sarrādj Khāne*, on the site of the *Djān-allāj* Church comprised 280 shops (so the register of 898/1493; in the *wakfiyye* published by T. Öz: 286), and the *Khidr-beg Celebi Odalar* 32 workrooms and 4 storerooms. (On Vavassore's plan, the Sultān Pāzār is shown surrounded by walls; in the registers it is called "*buğ'a*".) *Sarrādjkhāne* (also a "*buğ'a*") comprised 110 shops within a wall (S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, Pl. 1); against its west and south wall were 35 shops and 19 "rooms", referred to as *Beglik dükkānlar ve odalar*. The register of 898/1493 lists 142 saddlers, all Muslims (some of them Janissaries), working here. The saddlers formerly working near the *Bedestān* were all brought here, henceforward the sole centre for that trade (*berāt* of 879/1475 publ. by Ç. Uluçay in *Tarih Dergisi*, iii/5-6 (1951-2), 151-2; renewal of 1119/1707 in A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 41). To the north were the horse-market and stables; round about were concentrated ancillary crafts—stirrup-makers, furriers, etc. In time of war this district was thronged with troops equipping their horses. (Schweigger, p. 129, comments that the Turks surpassed all nations in leatherwork.) Only in the 19th century, with the growing importation of European products, did this commercial centre decline (White, iii, 255 ff.).

South of *Sarrādjkhāne*, towards Aksaray, Mehem-

med II built new barracks for the Janissaries, the *Yeñi Odalar* in the *Et Meydān* (replacing the *Eski Odalar* built probably in 864/1460); these, though often rebuilt after fires, remained the Janissary barracks until the destruction of the corps in 1826 (see also İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, 241-3).

The following summary, for the Fâtîh complex, illustrates the financial position of such a foundation (after Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xxiii, 306-41). The income in 894/1489 and 895/1490 was about 1½ million *akçe* (30,000 ducats, far exceeding the income of the Aya Sofya *wakfs*), arising from 12 baths in Istanbul and *Ghalaṭa*, the *djizya* of these two cities, the tax-income from over fifty villages in Thrace and various rents. The expenses for the *khayrât* were:

stipends	869,280 <i>akçe</i>
food for the hospice	461,417
expenses of the hospital	72,000
repairs, etc.	18,522
	1,421,219

The personnel of the mosque numbered 102 in all, of the *medreses* 168, of the hospice 45, of the hospital 30. There were further agents and clerks to collect the revenues (21), and builders and workmen (17). Besides these 383 persons, regular payments were made to indigent *'ulemā'* and their children and to disabled soldiers; these charities amounted to 202, 291 *akçe* per year. 3300 loaves were distributed at the hospice each day and at least 1117 persons received two meals. Besides being a religious and educational centre, therefore, this complex—drawing some half of its revenue from outside Istanbul—was a nucleus for the economic and social prosperity of this area of the city.

#### IV. THE FORMATION OF NAHIYES AND MAHALLES IN THE 9TH/15TH CENTURY

In accordance with Mehemmed II's orders issued in 863/1459, the *pašhas* constructed complexes of their own in the various quarters of the city, each of which served to encourage settlement and prosperity, so that within seventy years of the conquest 13 *nāhiyes* had come into existence and the Ottoman city had taken its shape. The whole city constituted one *kaḍā'*; each *nāhiye* comprised a number of *mahalles* (represented by the *imām* of its local mosque). The establishment of a *djāmi'* or a *mesdjid*, with its appurtenances, in a sparsely populated area served to encourage settlement and the creation of a *mahalle* (the process termed *shenlendirme*). The *mesdjids*, like the *djāmi'*s, were supported by *wakfs*. The following table (after Ayverdi-Barkan, *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970) shows the number of *wakfs* recorded for each *nāhiye*:

<i>nāhiye</i>	number of <i>mahalles</i>	<i>wakfs</i> in 953/1546	<i>wakfs</i> in 1005/1596
1. Aya Sofya	17	191	345
2. Maḥmūd Paṣha	9	96	115
3. 'Alī Paṣha	5	44	76
4. İbrāhīm Paṣha	10	106	129
5. Sultān Bāyezīd	23	198	319
6. Ebu 'l-Vefā	12	165	306
7. Sultān Mehemmed	41	372	681
8. Sultān Selīm	7	33	90
9. Murād Paṣha	23	119	330
10. Dāvūd Paṣha	13	84	264
11. Muṣṭafā Paṣha	30	65	227
12. Topkapı	7	13	39
13. 'Alī Paṣha	22	108	259
Totals:	219	1594	3180



(These registers do not record *maḥalles* of non-Muslims: the total was probably between 250 and 300, see below).

The first of these *nāhiyēs* to be established were presumably nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, and 12. Of the *maḥalles* within the walls in the 10th/16th century, some 30 % were established under Meḥemmed II, some 50 % under Bāyezid II, and some 15 % between 1512 and 1546. This does not imply, however, that the population increase slackened in the 10th/16th century, for *maḥalles* founded earlier became more densely populated, as is apparent from 15th and 16th century plans: Vavassore's plan, derived ultimately from a plan of the period of Meḥemmed II (see Babinger), *Drei Stadtsichten* . . ., 5), shows the densest occupation east of a line drawn from the eastern side of the Langa Bostānları to Unkapanı (and along the southern shore of the Golden Horn); and by Ayverdi's map (*Istanbul mahalleleri*, Ankara 1958), the area east of the line contains 92 *maḥalles*, and that to the west—twice as extensive—98. But in plans of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (that of Veli-djān in the *Hünernāme*; of Piri Re'īs, Oberhummer, Tafel XXII), the area within the walls is all inhabited, with the exception of a strip within the land-walls by Yedi-Küle, Bayram Paşa Deresi, the Yeñi Bağhçe area and the Langa Bostānları. An increase in population density is to be deduced also from the increase in the number of *wakfs*, as under:

between:	<i>wakfs</i> established:
857 and 927/1521	1163
927 and 953/1546-7	1268
953 and 986/1578-9	1193
986 and 1005/1596-7	407

In 1005/1596-7 3180 *wakfs* were in existence (some having been extinguished). The first seventy years after the conquest saw the establishment of 1163 *wakfs*, the next 78 years (927-1005) 2858 (Ayverdi-Barkan, *op. cit.*, table 1); but most of these later *wakfs* are concerned not with the establishment of new *mesdjids* and *maḥalles*, but with supplements to existing *mesdjids*, the provision of prayers for founders, etc.

Maḥmūd Paşa Nāhiyēsī (II on the plan). Maḥmūd Paşa [*q.v.*] chose for his complex a very suitable site, on the road linking the Bedestān to Takhtaḳal'e and the quays of Bağhçe Kaplı. The *khayrāt* are the mosque (inscription dated 867/1462), the *medrese* (only the *derskhāne* survives), a hospice (beside his *khān*), a school (no longer extant) and his own *türbe* (inscription dated 878/1473). Most of the buildings supporting these are on the busy road to the harbour: a *čarshī* of 265 shops (see above); a *khān* (later the Kürkücü *Khān*l, still standing); a *hammām* (with a men's and a woman's side; inscription dated 871/1466); 14 dyers' shops at Tavuk-pazarı; in various districts 139 shops, 67 houses, 47 "rooms" and 2 gardens. Outside Istanbul were: a *bedestān* at Ankara for the sale of mohair (now the Hittite Museum) with a *khān* beside it; a *khān* (Fidan *Khān*l) and shops at Bursa; *hammāms* at *Khāşşköy* and *Gügerdjinlik*; and 14 villages in Rümeli (the *wakfs* were all consolidated in a single *wakfiyye* dated 878/1473, see Ayverdi-Barkan, pp. 42-5). The total revenue was 606,513 *akçe* (over 13,000 ducats). The area where the *khayrāt* were built remained the most important commercial district until the 19th century. Maḥmūd Paşa also built here two *mesdjids*, leading to the establishment of two *maḥalles*.

Murād Paşa Nāhiyēsī (IX on the plan). This consisted of 23 *maḥalles* around the mosque of *Khāşş Murād Paşa* (the Palaeologue), d. 878/1473 [*q.v.*].

The complex comprised the mosque at Aksaray (inscription dated 876/1471), a *medrese* and a hospice, supported by 45 shops, 2 *bozakhāne*, a *bashkhāne*, and a bath at Aksaray, a *khān* and a *bashkhāne* at Takhtaḳal'e, and 9 shops at Yeñibaghçe. This *nāhiye*, which now covers the modern Aksaray, Läleli, Cerrāh Paşa, Langa and Yeni Kapı, was at first sparsely populated, but under Bāyezid II eleven further *maḥalles* were formed.

Ebu 'l-Vefā Nāhiyēsī (VI on the plan). Even in early days thickly populated, it was situated between the Eski Sarāy and Unkapanı Caddesi, extending to the Golden Horn. A mosque and *zāviye* were built by Meḥemmed II for *Sheykh* Abu 'l-Wafā (d. Ramaḍān 896/July 1491). It was a residential area, with *mesdjids* built especially by the 'ulemā' of the day (Mollā *Khusev*, the first *Kāḍī* of Istanbul *Khidr* Beğ, Mollā *Gürānī*, etc.), but also by wealthy merchants. Under Bāyezid II many members of the 'askerī class established rich *wakfs* (among them Bāyezid's daughter 'Ayshe Sultān and her husband Sinān Paşa).

The reign of Bāyezid II saw much economic expansion, and the establishment of six further *nāhiyēs* (nos. 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 and 13 in the list above). The areas of habitation stretched out from Fātiḥ and Aksaray towards the landwalls, so that several Byzantine churches and monasteries in this region were now converted to mosques (see Plan).

Sultān Bāyezid Nāhiyēsī (V on the plan). The mosque, on the Forum Tauri south of the Eski Sarāy, was built between 906/1501 and 911/1505; there was also a *medrese*, a school, and a hospice, together with a *hammām* and a *khān* in the same area (Vavassore's plan shows the area before this building work was undertaken). This complex was the centre of a *nāhiye* embracing 23 *maḥalles* and extending from the modern Bayezid Meydanı to Kum-Kapı on the Marmara (the complex of *Nishāndijl* Mehmed Paşa, nearer the sea had previously been a second nucleus in this area) and along *Divān-yolu* from the *Büyük Čarshī* to *Sarrādjikhāne*. In the reign of Meḥemmed II, Bayezid Meydanı had been surrounded by the *mesdjid/maḥalle* foundations of *Čakır Agha* (*wakfiyye* dated 864/1459), *Divāne 'Alī Beğ* (866/1461) and *Balaban Agha* (888/1483), while to the south of the modern road to Läleli were the *maḥalles* of *Emīn Beğ* (868/1463), *Segbān-bashī Ya'kūb* and *Mī'mār Kemāl*. Many new *maḥalles* were established under Bāyezid, mostly by members of the 'askerī class but some by craftsmen. The Eski Odalar (see above) were in this *nāhiye*, as was the shipyard for galleys (*Kadırga Tersānesi*); the Byzantine port of *Sophia* was used as a naval base immediately after the conquest (for its use as a galley harbour in the days of the Palaeologues, see Janin, *Const. Byzantine*, 223-4), and between 1459-61 Meḥemmed II made a shipyard here (*Critoboulos*, 140, 177). The *tahrir* register of 860/1455 shows that 'azeb[s] [*q.v.*] were living between Yeñi-kapı and Kum-kapı, a district originally called 'Azebler Maḥallesi. The shipyard, with its great gate, built around the enclosed harbour is clearly shown in the plans of Vavassore and of Veli-djān. Later, probably in the 18th cent., the harbour silted up to become the modern *Cünci Meydanı* and *Kadırga Bostanı*.

A very important building, of the Conqueror's time, in this *nāhiye* was the mint [see *DAR AL-DARB*, pp. 117], in the *maḥalle* of *Segbān-bashī Ya'kūb*, the principal mint for silver and gold coins (later known as the *Sırmakesh/Sımkesh Khān*l); a small *čarshī* of 8 shops was built near it.

'Alī Paşa Nāhiyēsī (III on the plan). *Khādīm*

(‘Atfık) ‘Ali Paşa [q.v.], twice Grand Vizier and killed in 917/1511, founded on Dīvān Yolu in part of the Forum Constantinii a mosque (902/1496), a *medrese*, a school, a hospice and a *khānkāh*, with a *khān* and shops. The *nāhiye* (no. 3 above) contained 5 *mahalles* (see S. Eyice, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xiv/19 (1964), 99-114; R. E. Koçu, in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 1281).

The same ‘Ali Paşa constructed a mosque (later Zindjirli-kuyu Džāmi‘i) near the Edirne Kapısı and converted the *Khora* monastery church into a mosque (Kilise Camii/Kariye Camii) (see S. Eyice, *op. cit.*). This *nāhiye* (no. 13 above, VIII on the plan) embraced an extensive and sparsely populated area of 22 *mahalles*. These *khayrāt* were supported by a large *khān* and a “*kōshk*” near his hospice at Çenberli Taş (see S. Eyice, *Elçi Hami*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24 (1970), 93-130; in the early 10th/16th century this *khān* brought in a revenue of 13,000 *akçe* per year); a bath at Yeñi-bağççe; 178 shops, 246 “rooms”, one bakehouse and one breadstore in the commercial districts of Istanbul; 44 villages, 4 baths, 7 mills and various shops in Anatolia and Rümeli; and a *bedestān* at Yanbolu. The annual revenue (mostly from outside Istanbul) was 471,998 *akçes* (over 8000 ducats) in 915/1509. Most of the *mahalles* (15) in this *nāhiye* were established under Bāyezīd II in the Balat-Edirne Kapı-Bayram Paşa Deresi area.

Ibrāhīm Paşa Nāhiyesi (IV on the plan). Çandarlı Ibrāhīm Paşa (*kādī’asker* in 890/1485, Grand Vizier for one year from 904/1498) built at Uzun Çarşı a mosque (the roofed building shown in Lorichs, Tafel IX), a *medrese* and a school, supported by a bath, a slaughterhouse of 14 shops at Eyyüb, 5 shops, 28 houses and 40 “rooms” (together with 3 villages and 3 mills in Rümeli and Anatolia, a *bedestān* at Serez, etc.). Although the foundation was relatively poor (annual revenue 135,880 *akçe*), the *nāhiye* included the busy commercial district between the Büyük Çarşı and the harbour, and some of its *mahalles* had been established by wealthy merchants in the reign of Mehemmed II.

Dāvūd Paşa Nāhiyesi (X on the plan). “Kodja” Dāvūd Paşa (Grand Vizier from 887/1482 to 902/1497) built a mosque, a hospice, a *medrese*, a school and a public fountain (inscription dated 890/1485) near the Forum Arcadii, with an extensive *çarşı* of 108 shops and 11 “rooms” around the mosque. He also brought into occupation the area now named after him on the Marmara coast (west of the former Port of Eleutherios), building there a palace, a bath, a *bozakhāne*, 11 shops and a landing-stage (Ayverdi-Barkan, p. 345). Six baths, in Istanbul and elsewhere, a *bedestān* at Manastır, shops at Üsküb and Bursa, and the revenue of 12 villages brought in an annual income of 378,886 *akçe* (ca. 7,500 ducats). Although some *mahalles* had existed here before, it was particularly this foundation which promoted the growth of the area, 8 *mahalles* being set up under Bāyezīd II.

Kodja Muştafā Paşa Nāhiyesi (XI on the plan). It is evident that towards the end of Bāyezīd II’s reign the Muslim population was increasing in the region towards Silivri Kapısı, and here, in 895/1489 (inscription), the later Grand Vizier Muştafā Paşa converted the church of St. Andrew in Krisi into a mosque. According to the *wakfiyya*, the complex comprised also a hospice, a *medrese*, a *khānkāh*, a school, and houses for the *imām*, etc. (for his *khayrāt* at Eyyüb and elsewhere, see Ayverdi-Barkan, pp. 366-9), supported by a large *hammām* (annual income 65,000 *akçe*) and 81 shops near the

complex, by numerous shops and two *khāns* in various parts of Istanbul, and by 27 villages in Rümeli (details in Ayverdi-Barkan, 365-7). The annual income was over half a million *akçes*. No fewer than 17 *mahalles* were formed under Bāyezīd II.

The *mahalles* in the four *nāhiyes* bounded by the landwalls—Muştafā Paşa, Dāvūd Paşa, ‘Ali Paşa and Topkapı—were relatively large but their *wakfs* were few, an indication that the population was sparse; and many of the *mesdjid*s had to be supported from the sultan’s treasury. Most of the new *mahalles* established under Süleymān were in this region—four in Topkapı and three in ‘Ali Paşa. The foundation in 973/1565 of the complex by Mihrumāh Sultān at Edirne-Kapı (mosque, *medrese*, school and fountain, supported by a *khān* and a *çarşı*) promoted the settlement of the area (see below). The establishment of the mosques of Kara Ahmed Paşa at Topkapı (ca. 961/1554) and *Khādim* Ibrāhīm Paşa al Silivri Kapısı (958/1551) suggest a concentration of settlement near the city gates.

Nearly 90 % of the *mahalles* were named after the founder of the local mosque. The local people would make new endowments to ensure the repair of the mosque and the support of the mosque officials and teachers, but there are few cases where the local people clubbed together to build a mosque. Among the individuals who founded more than one *mesdjid* in the years after the conquest are the *subaşı* Çakır Agha, the *Kādī’asker* Mollā *Khusev*, and some merchants (Elvān-zāde *Khwādja* Sinān, Üsküblü *Hādijī* Ibrāhīm, *Khwādja* Üveys, *Khwādja* *Khāfil*). According to the *wakf* register of 953/1546, 65 % of the founders of mosques belonged to the “ruling” *askeri* class (palace officials, army officers, *‘ulemā* and “bureaucrats”). The distribution is as follows:

<i>‘ulemā</i> and <i>shaykhs</i>	46
merchants and bankers	32
tradesfolk	28
<i>aghas</i> of the Palace	18
<i>begs</i>	16
<i>pashas</i>	14
officers of the Kapı-Kulu	12
“bureaucrats”	8
architects	6
others	39
Total	219

High-ranking members of the *askeri* class were, in fact, far richer than merchants and craftsmen, and were more inclined to found *wakfs*, partly perhaps for reasons of social and political prestige, but also as a means of retaining within the family’s control capital derived originally as income from the Public Treasury (see İnalcık, *Capital formation . . .*, 133-40).

V. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE  
10TH/16TH CENTURY

The 10th/16th century sees a rapid increase in the population dwelling within the walls, so that old *mahalles* become more densely populated, some *mesdjid*s are replaced by *džāmi’*s, new *mesdjid*s are built, and new complexes are erected and new *mahalles* are created in formerly deserted areas, especially towards the landwalls, along the Bayram Paşa Deresi (the Lycus) and even outside the walls; whilst around *Ghalaṭa* the inhabited area extends up the Golden Horn and down the slopes to Topkhāne, and the new districts of Flndkhil, Dhihāngir and Kāsım Paşa come into being. The demand for new buildings which this increase in population produced led to a period of great activity by the Palace department of *Khāssa mi‘mārleri*, already directed by the great

architect Sinân [q.v.] (in 932/1525 the department had 13 architects, all Muslim; in 1013/1604 there were 23 Muslims and 16 Christians; for its organization see Ş. Turan, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i/1 (Ankara 1963), 157-202), so that the finest monuments of Ottoman architecture and art belong to these years. The mosque of Rüstem Paşa [q.v.], twice Grand Vizier, was erected over warehouses and shops on the site of the *mesjid* of Hâdjî Kâhalil (see A. S. Ülgen, *Rüstem Paşa heyeti*, in *Mimarlık Dergisi*, ix (1942), 23-8). Pîri Mehmed Paşa (Grand Vizier 923/1517-929/1523) established an extensive *wakf* with a mosque and *medrese* in the Zeyrek district, a mosque at Merdîân, a mosque and a *khankâh* at Mollâ Gürâni, and a complex of mosque, *medrese* and hospice at Silivri, supported by the annual income of 6000 ducats from a *khân* near the Bedestân, another *khân* in Çhalağa and shops at Takhtağale and Ballk-Pâzârî, while his garden north of the Golden Horn was the origin of the later quarter of Pîri Pasa (Evlîyâ, i, 411).

In 946/1539 the sultan, Süleymân, built in the name of his wife Khurrem a complex of mosque, *medrese*, hospital, hospice and school at 'Avret-Pâzârî (the "women's market") in Aksaray, which was becoming an important market area (for this market, round the Column of Arcadius, and its prosperity at this period, see C. de Villanon, 306, and cf. Sanderson, 77); a *khân*, a *hammâm*, a wood-store, a slaughterhouse, and various shops and warehouses in different areas of Istanbul brought in an annual income of half a million *akçe* (8,400 ducats). In memory of his son Mehmed, the sultan built on Divân-yolu, between Vefâ and Sarrâdjkhâne, a truly imperial (Evlîyâ, i, 162) complex (951/1544-955/1548; mosque, *medrese*, hospice, school, *türbe*; also a *kerbânsaray*); whilst for his son Djihângir he built at Fındıklı the mosque and school which gave its name to the Djihângir district (Evlîyâ, i, 442).

Finally, exploiting an area cleared by a fire in the centre of the city, Süleymân entrusted to Sinân the construction, on a hill overlooking the harbour, of the most elaborate building-complex of the capital. This, the Süleymâniyye (mosque begun Djumâdâ II 957/July 1550 and completed Dhû'l-Hidjja 964/October 1557; for the inscription see C. Çulpan, in *Kanunî Armağanı*, Ankara 1970, 293), is composed of no fewer than 18 elements (S. Eyice, *Istanbul*, pp. 49-52, bibliography). Within the court are the mosque, the tombs of Süleymân and of Khurrem Sultân and the house of the *türbedâr*; outside, on two sides of the mosque are four *medreses* and the *dâr al-hadîth*, the highest institutes of learning of the Empire; the other large buildings are a hospital, a *dâr al-diyyâfa* and a *tâbkhâne*; smaller buildings are a college for *mülâzims* (students preparing to enter a *medrese*), a library, a pharmacy, and a children's school. The complex is completed by several houses near the mosque for teachers and mosque-servants, a *khân*, and shops in front of the *medreses*, which constitute a *çarshî*. According to Evlîyâ Çelebi (i, 157) the Palace of the Agha of the Janissaries (later the office of the *Şeykh* al-Islâm) belonged also to this complex. (For the Süleymâniyye and the Agha's palace, see M. Lorichs, Tafel X).

The registers of expenses for these constructions are valuable evidence for the procedures followed in such a major enterprise (see Ö. L. Barkan, *L'organisation du travail dans la chantier d'une grande mosquée à Istanbul au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, xvii (1962), 1093-1106; for similar registers relating to the Mosque of Ahmed

I, see T. Öz, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i (1938), 26; cf. also *Ta'rih-i Djâmî-i Sherif-i Nûr-i Othmâni*, *ilâve* to *TOEM*, no. 49). Materials and craftsmen were gathered from Istanbul and from other parts of the Empire, the workmen being kept under strict discipline. Of the craftsmen receiving pay over the whole period of 5 years and 7 months, 29 % were from Istanbul, 14 % from Rümeli and the Islands, 13 % from Anatolia (with no indication for 44 %). 51 % of the 3,523 craftsmen were Christians, 49 % Muslims. The builders of walls, the ironworkers and the sewermen were mainly Christian, the stone-carvers, carpenters, painters, glassworkers and leadworkers were mainly Muslim. Of the total workforce 55 % were free men receiving a wage, 40 % were *ademi oghlans* and 5 % were galley-slaves.

All the *wakfs* of Süleymân (besides the foundations already mentioned, the *medrese* of Sultan Selim and the *zaviye* in the *mahalle* of Fil-daml) were consolidated in one *wakfiyya* (ed. K. E. Kürkcüoğlu, Ankara 1962). According to a *tahrir* made in the reign of Murâd III (Ayverdi-Barkan, *op. cit.*, xvii, n. 31), the annual income was then 5,277,759 *akçe* (88,000 ducats); it may be noted that 81 % of this income arose from the taxes of 230 villages in Rümeli. The whole complex had a staff of 748, whose stipends amounted to nearly one million *akçe* a year.

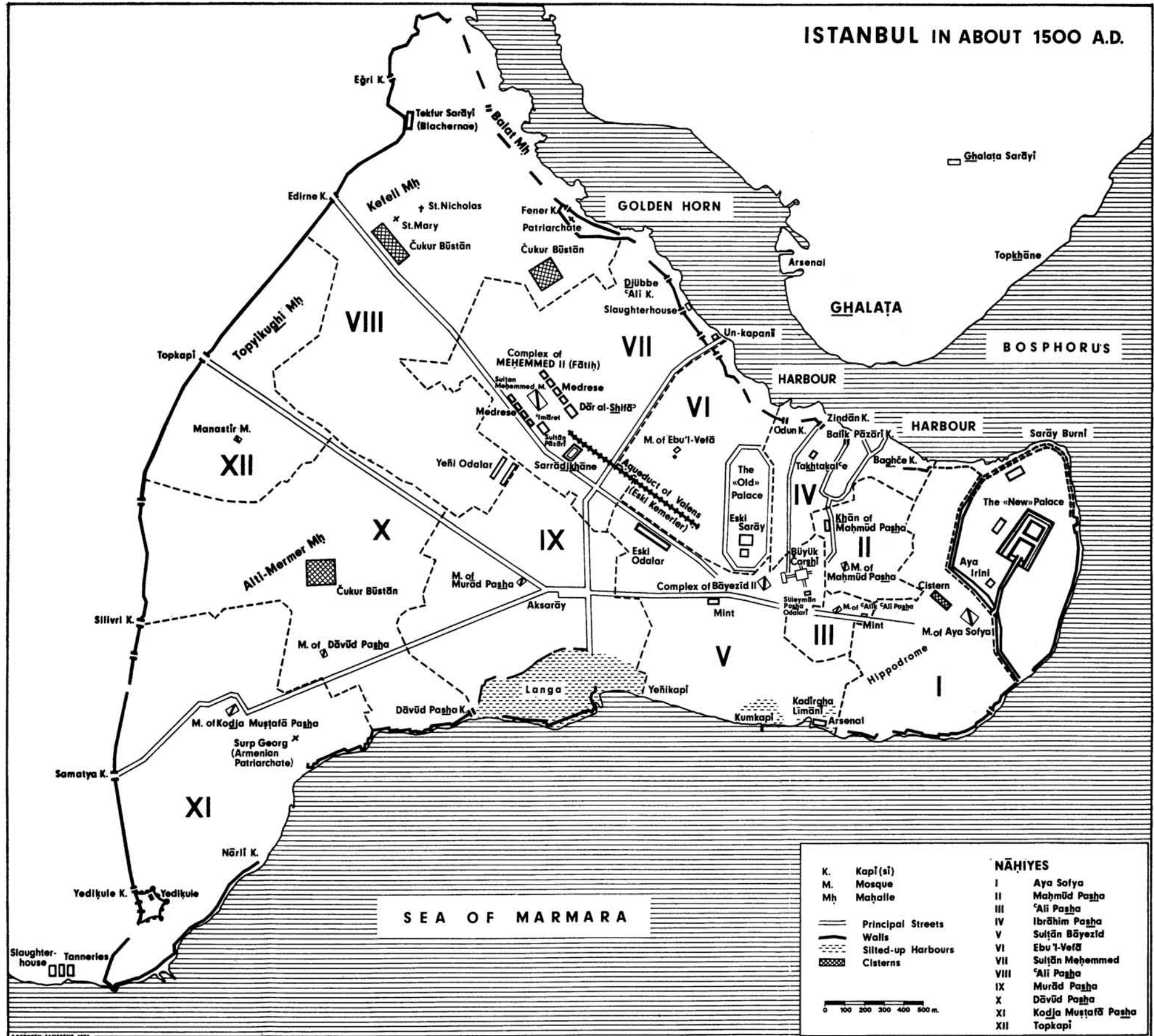
Foundations made during this century near the landwall gates and in the Lycus valley testify to an increase of population in these areas. In the region of Edirne-Kaplı, besides the Mihrumâh foundation (see above), there were the mosque-complex of Mesîh Paşa between this gate and Fatih (inscription: 994/1586; see T. Bozkurt, *Mesîh Paşa Külliyesi*, İst. Ün. Ed. Fak. thesis, 1964); the mosque of the dragoman Yünus Beg at Balat (948/1541); the mosque of Feruğh Ketkhudâ (970/1562); and the mosque of Kâdî Sa'îd.

At Topkapı the Kara Ahmed Paşa complex, the work of Sinân (962/1554; mosque, *medrese*, *dâr-alkurrâ*?, school, fountain; see Ş. Yaltkaya and Ali Saim Ülgen, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 83-97 and 169-71), was an important factor in promoting the district's prosperity. The Arpa Emini (Defterdâr) Muştafâ mosque should also be mentioned.

The district of Yeñibaghçe was evidently favoured by the ruling class, to judge from the foundation of the mosque and *medrese* of Sultân Selim; the mosque of the Kâdî'asker 'Abdurrahmân Çelebi; the mosque of Khurrem Çavuş; the mosque and *medrese* of the Kapudan Paşa Sinân Paşa; the mosque of Mî'mâr (Kodja) Sinân; the Yeñiçeri Kâtibi mosque; the mosque of the Grand Vizier (944/1537-947/1540) Luţfi Paşa, together with the palace, fountain, bath and tomb of his wife Şâh-i Khübân. The Palace of Mahmûd Agha was also here.

The Silivri Kaplı district received the stimulus of the foundation of Khâdim İbrâhîm Paşa, which comprised a mosque (958/1551), a *medrese*, a school, 3 *hammâms*, 4 large residences and 7 houses (see A. Erdoğan, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i (1938), 29-33). The mosque and *hammâm* of Hâdjî Evhad (by Sinân) were also founded near the walls, by Yedikule.

Along the Marmara walls and the Golden Horn walls too, new foundations appeared: at Akhur Kaplı, the mosque of Mahmûd Agha; at Kum Kaplı, the mosque of İbrâhîm Paşa's wife; at Langa, the mosques of Bâzîrgânzâde and Şeykh Ferhâd; at Kadîrga, the mosque, *medrese* and *zaviye* of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa/Esmâ Khâtûn (see S. Eyice, in *IA*, art. *Istanbul*, p. 1214/68); at Un-Kapanı, the mosques of Süleymân Subaşî and of the Tüfenkkhâne are listed among the



works of Sinân (see R. M. Meriç, *Mimar Sinân*, Ankara 1965).

Indeed the period from 947/1540 to 996/1588 may justly be called the "period of Sinân", for he and his subordinates constructed in Istanbul, for the sultans and notables, 43 *djâmi's*, 52 *mesdjid's*, 49 *medreses*, 7 *dâr al-kurrâ*, 40 *hammâms*, 28 palaces and *küşks*, 3 hospices, 3 hospitals, and 6 *khâns*. Other important constructions attributed to Sinân in the outlying districts are: at Eyyüb, the mosque of Zâl-oghli Mahmûd Paşa (fountain dated 958/1551), the mosque of Defterdâr Mahmûd Çelebi (948/1541) and the mosque of Şâh-Sultân; at Topkhâne, the mosque of Kılıç 'Alî Paşa (988/1580), and the mosque of Muhyeddîn Çelebi; at Fındıklı, the mosque of Dîjhângir, and the mosque, school and *hammâm* of the Kâdî'asker Mehmed Vuşlî (Mollâ Çelebi) (973/1565); at Beshiktash, the mosque of Sinân Paşa (963/1555); at Sütlüde, the Çavuş-başı mosque; at Üsküdar, the mosque of Mihrumâh Sultân (954/1548), the mosque of Şhemsî Ahmed Paşa (988/1580) and the Eski Vâlîde (Nûrbânû) Sultân mosque (991/1583); at Kâsım Paşa, the Kâsım Paşa complex of mosque and *medrese* (the value of the *wakf* being 2,630,000 *akçes* in cash and 117,000 *akçes* in real estate); and towards Okmeydanı the Piyâle Paşa complex of mosque, *medrese*, school, *tehke*, fountain and *hammâm* (*wakfiyya* dated 981/1573).

The quarter of slaughterhouses and tanneries outside Yedikule grew considerably: originally consisting of 27 shops of tanners, 32 of butchers, and 5 of catgut-makers (*wakfiyyas* of Mehemmed II and the Aya Sofya register of 898/1493), it was in the middle of the following century, according to Evliyâ Çelebi (i, 391), a "flourishing township" with one *djâmi'*, seven *mesdjid's*, 300 tanners' shops, 50 glue shops and 70 catgut-makers. These tanners claimed the right to buy the hides of all animals slaughtered in Istanbul (see 'O. Nûri, *Medjelle-i umûr-i Belediye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 830-2; for a list of the Istanbul slaughterhouses in 1016/1607: A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, Istanbul 1931, pp. 30-1).

In the second half of the 10th/16th century and the first half of the 11th/17th, the inhabited areas extended outside the landwalls towards Eyyüb (*mahalles* of Otakçılar, Nişbândîl Paşa and Cömlekciler, described by Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 391-6). In the same period settlements grew up around mosques and convents built outside the principal gates: at Topkapı, the mosque of Takyedji İbrâhîm Agha (d. 1004/1595-6: M. Ziyâ, *Istanbul*, p. 128; foundation inscription dated 1000/1591) gave rise to the Takyedji *mahalles*; whilst at Yeñi-Kapı the mosque and *zâviye* of Merkez Efendi (d. 959/1551; see T. Yazıcı, in *İst. Enst. Dergisi*, ii (1956), 104-13) and the great Mevlevîkhâne founded by the Yeñiçeriler Kâtibi Malkoç Mehmed Efendi in 1006/1597 (later much enlarged, see M. Ziyâ, *Yeñi-Kapı Mevlevîkhânesi*, Istanbul 1329; idem, *Istanbul*, 115-8) both fostered a growth in population (see Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 392).

The last great mosque-complexes to be constituted in the classical tradition of Ottoman architecture are those of Ahmed I on the Hippodrome and the Vâlîde Djâmi'i (Yeñi Djâmi') at Emin-özü.

The former, built between 1018/1609 and 1026/1617 at a cost of one million and a half gold pieces, comprised a mosque, a *medrese*, a hospital, a food-kitchen, a *dâr al-şâyfa*, lodgings (*misâfirkhâne*), a school, a public fountain, and an *ârâsta*-type *çarshî* (see Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 216-19; Tahsin Öz, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i, 25-8; S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. 'Istanbul', p.

1214/59). The *djizya* of the inhabitants of Ghalata was made over as *wakf* for this mosque.

The Yeñi Djâmi' was begun in 1006/1597 by Şafiyye Sultân [q.v.], but the work was suspended for many years and completed only in the years 1071/1660-1074/1663 by Türkân Sultân [q.v.], to comprise the mosque, a *dâr al-kurrâ*, a school, fountains, the tomb of Türkân, and a market (*mişr çarshisi*) and shops (see S. Ülgen in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 387, and S. Eyice, p. 1214/60; detailed engraving of the area in Grelot, p. 283).

The 12th/18th century saw the construction of the Nûr-i Othmâniyye complex beside the Büyük Çarshî (1161/1748-1169/1756); mosque, *medrese*, library, public water-point (*sebil-khâne*); (see *Ta'rikh-i Djâmi'-i Sherif-i Nûr-i Othmâniyye*, supplement to *TOEM*, Istanbul 1337; Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, Istanbul 1954) and of the Lâleli complex (1174/1760-1177/1764; mosque, *medrese*, fountain): these are in a hybrid style influenced by European baroque, and no longer belong to the classical Ottoman tradition.

It is not without significance that in this period of decline hospices and hospitals, requiring a substantial annual expenditure, tend to be replaced as elements of a complex by libraries and fountains. This tendency is evident in the foundations of the Grand Viziers. Three viziers of the Köprülü family built complexes along Divân-Yolu (Mehmed Paşa: tomb, *medrese*, library; Kara Mustafâ Paşa, 1101/1690: mosque, *medrese*, school, fountain; 'Amdjâzâde Hüseyin Paşa, 1112/1700: mosque, *medrese*, library, fountains). Here too were the foundations of Çorlulu 'Alî Paşa (1120/1708: mosque, *medrese*), of Dâniş İbrâhîm Paşa (1132/1720: *dâr al-hadîth*, fountain), and of Seyyid Hasan Paşa (1158/1745: *medrese*, school, fountain, shops, bakehouse; see 'O. Nûri, *Medjelle* . . . , i, 1054-5). Another characteristic of this period is the foundation of new complexes, on the model of the old, in sparsely populated areas of the city (e.g., that of Hekim-oghlu 'Alî Paşa in the *nâhiye* of Kodja Mustafâ Paşa, of 1146/1733-1147/1735) or in newly settled districts at Üsküdar and along the Bosphorus.

The most important of such foundations are those of Kösem Vâlîde Sultân [q.v.] (mosque, *medrese*, hospice, bath, *khân*; for the *wakfiyya* see W. Caskel, in *Documenta islamica inedita*, Berlin 1952, 251-62) and of Gülnûsh Sultân ("Yeñi Vâlîde", of 1120/1708-1122/1710: mosque, fountains; see A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 42) in Üsküdar, the mosque of 'Abd al-Hamid I (1192/1778, with other properties in Istanbul at Baghçekapı) at Beğlerbeği, and the complex of Mihrîşâh Sultân (1210/1795: hospice, fountain, school) at Eyyüb.

By and large, until the 17th century practically all the expansion of Istanbul took place within the walls. This area, of 17.2 km.<sup>2</sup>, was not all built over even at the height of the Byzantine period (see e.g., Schneider, Mayer, Jacoby). In 950/1543, in the middle of the reign of Süleymân I, there were numerous and extensive uninhabited tracts (Mayer, 63: M. Lorichs shows the area between the Süleymâniyye and the Golden Horn as an open space). Although in the course of that century complexes and palaces of notables were built along the Lycus Valley and near the land gates, these sections of the city continued to be sparsely populated, with numerous pleasure-gardens and market-gardens: in the 11th/17th century, for example, Yeñi-baghçe (S.W. of Edirne Kapısı) is described as a vast meadow with ten thousand horses out at grass (Hezârfenn, *Talkhîş al-*

*bayân*). So too (note the names) there were wide open spaces at Agha-çayırı (between Silivri Kapısı and Yedi-Kule), in the extreme southern corner of the city around Yedi-Kule, at Böstân-yeri on the Marmara shore between Samatya and Dâvud-Pasha-Kapısı, and further east the Langa Böstânları, the Kadirğa Bostânları, and the Dîjüdü Meydânı. Near the landwalls were the enormous Byzantine open reservoirs (all called "Çukur Bostân") at Altı-Mermer, Edirne Kapısı and Sulţân Selim. Even in the thickly-populated areas of the city the courts and gardens of the Old Palace and of the New Palace (0.67 km.<sup>2</sup>), and the courtyards of the Great Mosques remained unoccupied (it was estimated that 100,000 people could be accommodated in the mosques: *Medical and surgical history of the British army*, London 1858).

These open spaces were not wasted. The mosque courtyards, with their attractive views and their shady trees, were favourite places of recreation (Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 48r), and were sometimes used for markets (e.g., Bâyezîd). Conversely, shops and houses progressively intruded on the *fora* of the Byzantine city, to the extent that some of them entirely disappeared (forum Constantini = Çenberli Taşh meydanı, or Tavukpâzârı Dikili-Taşh meydanı; forum Tauri = Bâyezîd meydanı; forum Arcadii = 'Avret-Pâzârı; Forum Bovis = Aksaray) (Mayer, 16-20; Le Bruyn, 48). The Hippodrome (At Meydânı), however, though reduced in area, remained the most extensive and important public space of Istanbul (fine engraving in Grelot, 271); besides being a place of recreation, it was also a market and the scene of equestrian exercises. The 'Avret-Pâzârı (restricted, like similar markets in other Ottoman cities, to women only) gradually disappeared (descriptions: Dernschwam, 98; Sanderson, 77; Le Bruyn, 47). Equestrianism and archery were practised not only in the Hippodrome but in Langa Meydânı and Dîjüdü Meydânı (*TOEM*, ii, 547), which were also places of recreation (Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 48r), where the building of houses or the laying out of gardens was forbidden (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 112).

#### VI. STRUCTURE OF THE *Mahalle*; HIGHWAYS; BUILDING REGULATIONS; DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE; FIRES; EARTHQUAKES

##### (a). The *mahalle*.

By the end of the reign of Mehennied II, Istanbul was reckoned to be composed of 182 *mahalles* (E. H. Ayverdi, *Istanbul mahalleri* . . ., Ankara 1958, 84), a figure which had risen to 219 by 953/1546 (*Istanbul vakıfları defteri*, ed. Ayverdi-Barkan, Istanbul 1970, p. 425) (non-Muslim *mahalles* being excluded). In 1044/1634 there was a total of 292 *mahalles* and also 12 *djemâ'at* ("communities") (M. Aktepe, in *Istanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, iii, 114). By 1083/1672 there had been a decline to 253 Muslim and 24 non-Muslim *mahalles*. In 1288/1871 the area within the walls contained 284 Muslim, 24 Greek, 14 Armenian and 9 Jewish *mahalles*, with a further 256 *mahalles* outside the walls, along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, in Üsküdar and in Kâdıköy (A. Djevâd, *Ma'lûmât al-kişâya*, Istanbul 1289, 111).

The *mahalle* was an organic unity, a community with its own identity, settled around a mosque, a church or a synagogue. The individuals of this community were linked not only by a common origin (in many cases), a common religion and a common culture, but also by external factors making for social solidarity. The meeting-place of the community and the symbol of its unity was the place of worship, the

repair of which and the maintenance of whose staff were the joint responsibility of the inhabitants, and after which the *mahalle* was named. Practically every *mahalle* had also its own school and fountain, and the wealthier inhabitants aided these foundations by *wakf*-endowments (see, e.g., *Istanbul vakıfları defteri*, *passim*).

Similarly too the authorities treated the *mahalle* as a unity having joint responsibility for the maintenance of order, the payment of taxes, and other obligations to the state. The 'awâriid [q.v.] tax demonstrates this clearly, being collected from each *mahalle* according to the pre-determined number of its 'awâriid *kâhâneleri*; many *mahalles* had a joint "'awâriid fund", supported by *wakfs*, from which the 'awâriid of the poor or of absconders were paid and from which loans, at a light interest, were made to applicants from the *mahalle* (O. N. Ergin, *Türkiyede şehirciliğin inkişafı*, Istanbul 1938, 27). Again, the *ketkhudâs* of guilds and the *mütevelli*s of *wakfs* were, like the *imâm* of the mosque, officially recognized as intermediaries between the government on the one hand and the artisans and *wakf* staff on the other.

Finally, the inhabitants of a *mahalle* bore a joint responsibility for the maintenance of order. It was not easy for an outsider to be recognized as belonging to a *mahalle*: the usual view was that four years' uninterrupted residence was necessary (Taşh-Köprülüzâde, *Mawdû'ât al-'ulüm*, ii, 654); the period for Istanbul was fixed at five years (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayâtı*, 1553-1591, 145). In 987/1579 the inhabitants of each *mahalle* were declared to be *kefils* (sureties) for one another, with the intention of preventing criminals of unknown antecedents from finding refuge from the law; for the same reason, in 986/1578 the idea of erecting gates between the *mahalles* was considered (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayâtı*, 1553-1591, 144). Each *mahalle* had its night-watchman, the inhabitants performing the duty in rotation in the 10th/16th century, while later a salaried night-watchman (*pâsbân*) was paid by the inhabitants. By a decree of 1107/1695, each *mahalle* was to support two watchmen, guaranteed by sureties, who were to patrol the *mahalle* with lanterns in their hands and to arrest any strangers found there after the bed-time prayer (*Medjelle*, i, 965). The "bekçi", so important in the life of the *mahalle*, became a characteristic figure in the folklore of Istanbul. Similarly too each *mahalle* was obliged to pay two or three street-cleaners (firman of 1131/1718, in *Medjelle*, i, 965). In 1285/1868 certain *mahalles* were obliged to maintain fire-fighting equipment and some of the young men of each *mahalle* were appointed as *fulumbadji* to create a new "type" in the life of Istanbul, the colourful "*fulumbadji*" (*Medjelle*, i, 1188, 1195-1204).

The *imâm* of its mosque was the representative of the *mahalle* in all dealings with the authorities. The sultan's decrees were passed on to the *imâms* in the *kâdî*'s court or proclaimed by criers (*münâdî*) in the streets, and the *imâm* was responsible for seeing that the *mahalle* fulfilled all its obligations to the government: he could appeal to the authorities, particularly to the *kâdî*, for assistance in dealing with refractory members of the community. The election of a *mukhtâr* for each *mahalle* in 1242/1826 was the first step towards the "secularization" of the local authorities.

As time went on, the tendency increased for co-religionists and co-sectarians to settle together in separate *mahalles*, and for these *mahalles* to form distinct districts (for clashes between Muslims and Christians in a "mixed" *mahalle*, see A. Refik, *Istan-*

bul hayati, 1000-1100, doc. 100; idem, *İstanbul hayati, 1553-1591* 53; for the formation of distinct Greek, Armenian and Jewish districts, see below). This tendency was encouraged by government action. Thus when the Church of the Pammakaristos was converted into a mosque in 999/1591, attempts were made to create a Muslim *mahalle* around it, by selling the vacant site in lots, each sufficient for building a house, exclusively to Muslims (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayati, 1000-1100* 14; cf. also Stolpe's plan).

The tendency for each district to have its own traditions, occupation, even style of pronunciation, is reflected for the 11th/17th century by Evliyâ Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi (see *Bibl.*), and in the 19th century by such novelists as A. Midhat, Mehmed Tewfik and Hüseyin Rahmî; see M. Kaplan, in *IA*, s.v. Istanbul, 1214/157-68.

(b) Streets.

Vavassore's plan shows quite broad streets leading to each region of the city, but these have disappeared in plans of the next (10th/16th) century (*Hünernâme*) (the street plan is shown clearly only in the map by the dragoman Konstantin of 1228/1813: Topkapı Sarayı no. 1858). Indeed in the 19th century, *Divân yolu*, the most important street of the city, was only 3.5-5.5 metres wide (*Medjelle*, i, 1067).

The streets of Istanbul were typically those of a mediaeval Eastern city (Mayer, *op. cit.*, 4-32), twisting and full of blind alleys, so that the delimitation of the *mahalles*, far from being planned in advance, was a matter of pure chance (Mayer, 9-24, 104, 254). A study of the detailed city map of 1293/1876 (Ayverdi, *19. asırda İstanbul haritası*, Istanbul 1958) shows that streets still preserve the alignment they had had under Mehmed II, for the *mi'mâr-başı*, during rebuilding operations after fires, would try to preserve the old street-plan (*Medjelle*, i, 1066, 978). Occupants of property on a street, however, persistently attempted to incorporate areas of the highway into their properties and would, by erecting upper storeys projecting far over the street, cut down the light and air at ground-level. These difficulties of communication in the narrow streets meant that goods were usually transported by sea, from the various gates and landing-places on the Golden Horn.

Documents of the 10th/16th century attest that streets were paved (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayati, 1553-1591*, 67), and Evliyâ Çelebi claims (i, 446) that the streets of Istanbul, Eyyüb, Topkhâne and Kâslm Paşa were all completely paved in the middle of the 11th/17th century. The construction and repair of the paving was carried out by contract with the *ketkhudâ* of the guild of paviours (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 66), the work being supervised by the *shehr-emîni*, the *mi'mâr-başı* or the *su-yolu nazîri*. For main roads the cost was met by the government, for side roads by the householders, shop-keepers and *mütevelli*s whose properties benefited (a document of 1087/1676 in *Medjelle*, i, 1147; A. Refik, *İstanbul hayati, 1100-1200*, 30).

The cleaning of the principal squares and streets was carried out by the *'adîmî oğlanları* and other military units under the authority of the Yenîçeri *aghası*, while each property-owner in a side-street was responsible for keeping the area in front of his property clean; street-sweepers (*süprüntüdü*) were later employed in the *mahalles*. The removal of rubbish was the responsibility of the *çöplük subaşı* (also termed *fâhir subaşı*), who let out the work on contract to a group known as *araylıđı* ("searchers", 500 in number; Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 514). These would

collect rubbish in baskets and throw it into the sea, after sifting through it for anything worth keeping; the usual arca for the disposal of rubbish and rubble was Langa, or, on the Takhtağa'e side, at the place near Odun Kapısı known as Bokluk (see Oberhammer, Tafel XXII). Firmans repeatedly forbade the throwing of filth into the streets, the breaking-up of paving and the building of steps or stairways in front of houses (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayati, 1000-1100*, docs. 25-38).

Except during Ramađân, everybody had to be within doors after the bed-time prayer (Dernschwain, 70; *Medjelle*, i, 964). There were no arrangements for lighting the streets, and anyone obliged to be out had to carry a lantern (*Medjelle*, i, 965-7; White, iii, 250). The first street to be lit by gas was Beyođlu Džâdesi in 1273/1856, the main streets of Istanbul being lit by gas in 1879 (*Medjelle*, i, 971).

Inhabitants of Istanbul and foreign observers unite in reporting the neglected and dirty state of the streets in spite of the stringent decrees periodically issued. In 1839, for the first time, various plans were drawn up for modernizing the city by (*e.g.*) opening up blind-alleys and creating broad interesting streets and squares, but such measures began to be carried out only after the great "Khodja Paşa" fire of 1865 (details in *Medjelle*, i, 987-991).

(c). Building regulations.

Regulations issued to control building-styles, the streets, and the city's cleanliness had their effect on the appearance and plan of Ottoman Istanbul. Such regulations were issued by the *shehr-emîni* [*q.v.*] and his subordinates the *khâssa mi'mâr-başı* and the *su-yolu nazîri*, and put into effect through the *kâđı* and the *subaşı*. In 1831 these duties passed to the *ebniye-i khâssa Müdürlüğü* (*Medjelle*, i, 981-3).

In the first place, all building was under the control of the state. Before building could begin, the right to the site had to be acquired by an approach either to the public treasury (*mîri*) or to the appropriate *wakf* and by the payment of the *idjäre-i mü'edjile*. If the freehold was held by a *wakf*, the consent of the state authorities was necessary. The *mi'mâr-başı* would grant permission for construction of the building according to the current regulations and the permitted dimensions, and check that these were observed (for an example of an *istidjäre* made when a *wakf* was being established, see S. Eyice, *Elci Hanı, TD*, no. 24, plate 1 opposite p. 130; *Medjelle*, i, 1044-8). In 1196/1782 it was decreed that builders who erected buildings for non-Muslims without obtaining a firman of permission should be put to death (*Medjelle, loc. cit.*).

The government intervened in these matters for various reasons: to regulate land-tenure, to prevent fires, to avert water-shortage, and to protect the walls, mosques, and other public buildings. According to building regulations of 966/1559 (the time of Sinân), houses were not to be more than two storeys high, the upper storey was not to project over the street, and balconies and eaves were not to be made (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayati, 1553-1591* 58-9). That these prohibitions had to be repeated so often (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 66; *Medjelle*, i, 1052-4) shows clearly that they were not observed. After great fires it was ordered that houses, especially those adjacent to public buildings and *khâns*, should be constructed of stone or brick (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayati, 1100-1200*, doc. 34) (yet after earthquakes construction in wood was decreed). Thanks to its cheapness, most of the houses of Istanbul were always built of wood. To limit the danger of fire and to facilitate approach to the city's gates and



landing-stages, orders were issued in 966/1558 to demolish all houses and shops abutting on the walls (an order later re-issued, see *Istanbul hayati*, 1100-1200, 67), leaving a clear space of 4 *dhirā'* (in 1131/1718, five *dhirā'*, i.e., 3.25 m.; see Oberhammer, Tafel XXII). To conserve water, the construction of new palaces and baths needed the sultan's permission; sometimes indeed the building of baths was forbidden. To prevent overcrowding, the building of "bachelors' quarters" (*bekār odaları*) (see below) where newcomers would stay was strictly controlled and sometimes forbidden (*Medjelle*, i, 1052).

These regulations were rarely followed. The increase in population from the second half of the 10th/16th century meant an increased demand for housing, so that palaces with extensive gardens were pulled down to be built over with contiguous wooden houses and shanties (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayati*, 1100-1200, 67-8).

Non-Muslims were subject to severer regulations: they could not build or occupy houses near a Muslim place of worship (*Medjelle*, i, 1071); their houses were not to be more than nine *dhirā'* high or built of free-stone, and they could not construct baths (*Medjelle*, i, 1056, 1090); it was forbidden to Muslims to sell houses or building-sites to *dhimmi*s or to non-Muslim foreign residents (*Medjelle*, i, 1072-4) (but a legal device (*hila*) could usually be found to circumvent this). By the code of regulations of 1233/1817, the permitted height of houses for non-Muslims was increased to 12 *dhirā'*, and for Muslims to 14 (in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. the maximum height permitted in Constantinople had been about 33 m.: Mayer, 81). The old ban on building more than two "storeys" led to the construction of all sorts of "extensions" upwards—*çardak*, *bälâkhâne*, *takhtapüşh*, *djihännümâ*, *çatt-ara* (see the views in M. Lorichs). After the Tanzimât, the height limitations were abolished, for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

It is very probable that these building restrictions—together with fear of plague—were the principal cause for the settlement of non-Muslims outside the walls, on the northern side of the Golden Horn and along the Bosphorus: as their houses grew in number, in 1160/1747 it was forbidden that non-Muslims should build on empty sites in these areas (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayati*, 1100-1200 213).

(d). Domestic architecture.

The types of houses in Istanbul can be considered under five heads: (1) "Rooms" (*oda*, *hüdjira*). Houses of one room only were built either detached, in rows, around a court (*muhawwafa*), or in the style of a *khân*; they were often built over a shop. Such houses were usually built by a *wakf*, to be rented out, and since they were generally occupied by unmarried men who had come to Istanbul in search of employment they were termed *bekār odaları*. Such "bachelors' quarters" were not encouraged in a *mahalle*, where only married households were permitted (firman of 1044/1634 in *Medjelle*, i, 1053). Unmarried workmen frequently used a single room in a *khân* or a caravan-serai both as a workshop and as living-quarters, a *khân* occupied only by such residents being called *müdjirredler khāni*. In 950/1543 a "room" brought in an annual rent of about 100 *akçes*. In 1083/1672 there were reckoned to be 12,000 *bekār odaları* in Istanbul (Hezârfenn, *Talkhîş*, Paris Ms., f. 13b; for the areas concerned see Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 326).

(2). *Mahalle* houses. Poor craftsmen and people in humble circumstances usually occupied primitive one- or two-storeyed houses of wood or mud-bricks (Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 239; Derschwan, 63; Schweigger, 105; Alberi, iii/I, 393: "Le case delle

città sono per la maggior parte di legno e terra"). In less densely populated areas the typical house, as in the towns of Anatolia, was a small wood and brick building, with a courtyard and garden shut off by a wall from the street (see Mayer, 106-12 and bibliography, 381-4; S. Eldem, *Türk evi plân tipleri*, Istanbul 1955); such a house covered about 400 square *arşîn* (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayati*, 1000-1100, 14) and in the middle of the 10th/16th century cost about 100 gold pieces (*Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, no. 1346).

(3). Houses with gardens, walled about. The court of some of such houses was divided into two, an inner and an outer court; the residence comprised one house, or more than one, and also perhaps a "room" or more than one; there might also be a belvedere, a privy, a stable, a bakehouse, a bath, a shed, an arbour, a storehouse, a "cool room" (*serdâb*), a mill, quarters for servants or slaves, a hen-coop, a pleasure garden, a well, a fountain, and a *çerâğlık* (a fire kept constantly burning); most houses had at least a garden, a stable, a bakehouse, a well and a privy (see, as examples, in *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, nos. 732, 780, 1037, 1111, 1237, 1648). Larger houses known as *khâne-i kebîr* (*ibid.* no. 132) are less common: an example is the house of Mî'mâr Sinân (I. H. Konyalı, *Mîmar Koca Sinan*, İstanbul 1948, 53; description of a 19th-century *konak* in White, iii, 176).

(4). Palaces and villas (*kaşr*). The palaces of statesmen and rich merchants consisted of a large mansion in an extensive court with numerous subsidiary buildings; they are therefore merely a grander version of type (3) above. They usually had two courts, the whole site being surrounded by a high wall (Schweigger, 106) (Sinân Paşa bought up and demolished 300 houses to build his palace; see C. de Villalón, *Viaje de Turquía*, 74). The mansion, divided into *harem* and *selâmlık*, was usually built of wood and contained numerous rooms (there were 300 rooms in the famous palace of Siyāvush Paşa, cf. *Ta'rikk-i Ghilmāni*, 66).

In the courts of such palaces there would be, beside kitchens, bakehouses, baths and stables, also a school for the dignitary's *il oğlanları* (see GHULAM, p. 1090), workshops for the craftsmen employed to supply the numerous household, and even shops (Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 322-4) (for the organization of Kara Ahmed Paşa's palace at Topkapı see *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 88). The villas (*köşk*, *kaşr*) in such a palace's gardens were monumental specimens of architecture (S. Eldem, *Köşkler*, İstanbul 1969; K. Altan, *Siyavuş Paşa Kasrı*, in *Arkitekti*, v, 268). Palaces built by viziers usually passed on death into the ownership of the sultan, who would present them to princesses or to other dignitaries. It was estimated in the middle of the 11th/17th century that the palaces of members of the royal house and of viziers numbered about 120 (*Ta'rikk-i Ghilmāni*, 66, 69) and those of other notables and of merchants about 1000 (Hezârfenn, *loc. cit.*; Evliyâ Çelebi, i, 322-4). The greatest and most famous palaces were built under Süleymân in the Ayasofya and Süleymâniyye districts (listed in Evliyâ, *loc. cit.*).

(5). The villas and *yalls* of sultans and dignitaries, built outside the land walls of Istanbul (at Khalkalı, Florya, Dāvūd Paşa), on the northern side of the Golden Horn (at Kara aghaç, Pîri Paşa, Kâsım Paşa, Kâghidkhâne), along the Bosphorus and at Üsküdâr, situated in extensive and well-tended gardens and woods, became very numerous, and later formed the nuclei of select residential *mahalles*. They served for recreation, as hunting-lodges, and as summer residences, and also as alternative accommo-



dation after a fire or during an epidemic (details in the registers of the *bostāndī-i-baḡhī*, see R. E. Koçu, in *Istanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, iv, 39-90; Fatih Libr., Ms Ali Emîri 1033; for the royal palaces and gardens, the *Khāṣṣa Baġhçeler Maḡṣilāt defterleri* in the archives of Topkapı and of the Başvekālet. See further Evliyā Çelebi, i, 391-486; Eremya Çelebi, 34-58; P. Inciyan, *Istanbul*, tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1956, 95-113; Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de C.*, Paris 1819; J. von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus*, ii, Pest 1822; M. Rā'if, *Mir'āt-i Istanbul*, Istanbul 1314; T. Gökbilgin, in *IA*, art. "Boğaz-ıçı"; series of articles by H. Şeşsuvaroġlu in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, 1947-9). In the 12th/18th century, sultans created new *mahalles* by giving or selling sections of their gardens and woods as building sites (e.g., Muṣṭafā III, at İhsāniyye and Beġlerbeġi).

(e). Fires.

The frequent conflagrations in this thickly populated city, with its narrow streets of houses mostly built of wood, had as great an effect on social and economic life as they did on the physical configuration (for fires in the Byzantine period, see F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinische Kunstgeschichte*, i, Vienna 1879, 74 ff.; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 102). The number of fires was indeed abnormally high: Ergin calculated that in the 53 years between 1853 and 1906 there were 229 fires, with the destruction of 36,000 houses (*Medjelle*, i, 1333). The dates of the greatest fires are: Radjab 977/1569, 27 Şafar 1043/2 September 1633, 16 Dhu 'l-Ka'de 1070/24 July 1660, 3 Şahwāl 1104/7 June 1693, 18 Şah'bān 1130/17 July 1718, 13 Ramaḡān 1196/22 August 1782, 27 Dhu 'l-Hidiġja 1241/2 September 1826, 14 Rabī' II 1249/31 August 1833, 27 Rabī' II 1282/19 September 1865 and 1 Ramaḡān 1336/10 June 1918. (See A. M. Schneider, *Brände in Konstantinopel*, in *BZ*, xli (1941), 382-403; *Medjelle*, i, 1254-1356; M. Cezar, *Istanbul Yangınları*, in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları ve İncelemeleri*, i (1963), 327-414).

Many of the worst fires began in the *Djibali* (*Djübbe* 'Ali) district, burning the whole centre of the city and reaching to the Marmara coast at Kumkapı, Yeñikapı or Langa. *Djibali* was particularly prone to the risk of fire because of the trades—such as caulking—carried out there, the exposure of the *Djibali*-Unkapanı valley to the north-east wind and the density of the housing on the slopes up to Fātiḡ (see the views in Lorichs and Le Bruyn). Fires starting here often swept in two lines, via Fātiḡ and Aksarāy to Langa, and via Vefā, *Şehzāde-baḡhī* and Lāleli to Yeñikapı. Fires breaking out in the Jewish quarter (*Çufut Kapı*s) on the Golden Horn and liable, for the same reasons, to spread would extend in one direction to the walls of the palace and, in another, over *Djaghaloghlu*, destroying all the houses on the slope up to the *Büyük Çarṣhī*. Other districts frequently burnt down are *Takhtakal'e*, the *Büyük Çarṣhī* area, and the Fener-Balat region.

Although the reports of the damage caused are frequently exaggerated, yet they do indicate that there was very substantial damage. It was said that 20,000 houses were destroyed in the fire of 1043/1633 (both Kātib Çelebi in his *Fedhlike* and Knolles (*Generall historie*, London 1631, 47) speak of "a third of the city"); two thirds of the city in 1070/1660, with 4,000 deaths; 18 *djāmi*'s, 19 *mesājid*'s, 2547 houses and 1146 shops in 1104/1693 (Cezar, 344); one eighth of the city in 1142/1729 (Cezar, 353-5); two-thirds of the city in 1169/1756 (Mayer, 102); 20,000 houses in 1196/1782; and half the city in 1249/1833. More reliable figures are available for the

second half of the 19th century: in the 30 odd years between 1854 and 1885 fires—minor as well as major—destroyed 27,000 houses and the single Fātiḡ fire of 1918 destroyed 7,500.

In the fires at *Takhtakal'e* and round the *Çarṣhī* stock and goods of great value were often lost. It was estimated that the goods lost in the *Mıṣr Çarṣhī*s alone in the fire of 1102/1690 were worth three million *ghuru sh* (c. 2 million gold pieces); after a fire in the *Bedestān* in 922/1516 many merchants went bankrupt.

Fires caused various political, social and economic crises in the life of Istanbul. Many fires were deliberately started by dissident Janissaries and '*adjiemi-oghlanlar*', abetted by the riffraff of the city. In palace circles fires caused considerable anxiety as being a sign of unrest in the soldiery and in the lower classes (*Djewdet*, xi, 4), and might be a factor in the dismissal of leading government figures. It was often reported that the Janissaries, among whose duties was fire-fighting, had in fact encouraged the spread of fires (e.g., in 977/1569: 'Ali, *Künh al-akhbār*, Ms.; *Silāhdār*, ii, 349); and the Grand Vizier, the agha of the Janissaries, the *bostāndī-i-baḡhī* and the *djebedjī-i-baḡhī* would in person direct operations in fighting a large fire, while the sultan often felt it necessary to put in an appearance in order to sustain discipline and morale. Looting by troops and the mob could not be prevented (for looters who enriched themselves, see Cezar, 330, n. 6). Those made homeless would take refuge, with the goods they had managed to save, in mosque-courtyards, *medreses*, and open spaces such as Langa *Bostān*, but even here sometimes they could not escape. After a fire there would be shortages both of food and of building materials, with consequent rises in prices, compelling numbers of people to move away to neighbouring towns (e.g., after the fire of 1196/1782, to Çorlu, Edirne, Izmid, etc.; see Cezar, 365). Even buildings of stone, though not destroyed, would be made uninhabitable, involving the government in heavy expenditure and obliging *wakfs* to draw on their reserve funds. A sultan would often instruct notables and wealthy individuals to undertake the repair of public buildings. In the period of decline, the poor could not be prevented from erecting shanties on the site of a fire, which thus was never restored to its former order; this, and the principle of *wakfs* with "two rents" (*idjāratayn*: see *WAKF*), which led to the erection of tumble-down booths around a *wakf*, meant that in the 19th century Istanbul looked more ramshackle and neglected than it had ever done.

Fire-fighting was the responsibility of the Janissaries, the *Bostāndjīs*, the *Djebedjīs*, and also, in return for exemption from certain taxes, the city's water-carriers and the guild of *balladjīs*. After 1130/1718, fire-engines with pumps, introduced by a French convert named David, were recognized to be of great value (*Rāṣhid*, v, 306; *Küçük-çelebi-zāde* 'Aṣim, 255), and "fire-brigades" were formed: a unit of *tulumbadjīs* attached to the Janissaries in 1132/1719, *tulumbadjīs* for each *mahalle* in 1285/1868, and a regular fire-brigade in 1290/1873; fire-insurance began only in 1890 (*Medjelle*, i, 1170-1219).

(f). Earthquakes too had their effect on the city's general appearance (Mayer, 98-101; Istanbul is one of the cities most subject to earthquake in the world, suffering 66 shocks between 1711 and 1894). Besides the great earthquakes of 1099/1688, 1180/1766 and 1894 (Cezar, 380-92), there was the major disaster beginning on 6 *Djumādā* I 915/22 August 1509, called by the chroniclers "Küçük Kıyāmet", when the shocks continued for weeks. The walls were seriously

damaged, all the minarets collapsed, and 109 mosques and 1070 houses were destroyed; estimates of the killed range from 5000 to 13,000. Many Byzantine buildings (e.g., 'Isâ Kapsî) were badly damaged. The authorities took emergency action to carry out the re-building, one person and a 'awârîd [q.v.] of 22 akçe being levied from each household in Istanbul, and workmen being conscripted from outside (37,000 from Anadolu and 29,000 from Rûmeli), so that the work was quickly completed (Cezar, 383).

vii. — THE INHABITANTS: RE-POPULATION;  
RELIGIOUS MINORITIES; THE MILITARY;  
EPIDEMICS; POPULATION STATISTICS.

(a) Re-population.

Throughout his reign, one of Mehemmed II's main preoccupations was to re-populate Istanbul. Various methods were employed, particularly and especially in the early years, the deportation [see SÜRGÜN] of households from every part of his dominions; later, the useful elements of newly-conquered cities—the nobility, craftsmen and merchants—were transferred to Istanbul; and, always, immigrants of whatever religion or race were encouraged to come from anywhere in the world (see H. İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii-xxiv, 237-49).

The census of 860/1455 shows that many of the Muslim immigrants brought from Kodja-eli, Sarukhan, Aydın, Ballkesir, etc. had fled *en masse*, to be replaced (e.g.) in the *mahalles* of Kir Nikola and Kir Martas by immigrants from Tekirdagh and Çorlu. One of the reasons for this "flight", besides the general difficulty of making a living in a ruined city, is certainly the sultan's attempt to levy *mukâta'a* on the immigrants' houses, as related by 'Ashîkpaşazâde (H. İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 242-3). In about 860/1455 a numerous group of Jewish deportees from Rûmeli was settled in the city: 42 families from Izdin (Lamia) in houses at Samatya abandoned by Muslims from Ballkesir; 38 families from Filibe in houses in the *mahalle* of Top Yikughl abandoned by immigrants from Paphlagonia and Tekirdagh; others came from Edirne, Niğbolu, Trikkala, etc.

Among the Muslim immigrants there were tradesfolk (tailors, blacksmiths, etc.) and many men of religion, including adherents of dervish-orders. Soldiers (Janissaries, Doghandjis, etc.) often became householders in various *mahalles*; the 'azebs of the navy settled together in 'Azebler *mahallesi*. Groups of immigrants usually settled together in one *mahallesi* or monastery (though occasionally Greeks, Jews and Muslims are found living in the same building; and in 860/1455 there were at Samatya 42 Jewish, 14 Greek, and 13 Muslim families). The register shows that at this date the *mahalles* which it covers were sparsely populated, with only a few shops, the churches and monasteries deserted, and the houses empty and ruined. Soon afterwards, it seems, the sultan took up permanent residence in the now-completed palace and began the active promotion of building activity, of economic prosperity, and of new settlement. In 863/1459 he commanded all the Greeks who had left the city before or after the conquest to return (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237-8). It was in these years too that, with the aim of making his capital the centre of a world-wide empire, he appointed an Orthodox patriarch (6 January 1454), an Armenian patriarch (865/1461) and a chief rabbi (see below); and in line with old Islamic tradition he encouraged the settlement of craftsmen and merchants.

Enslaved peasants were settled, as the sultan's

serfs (*khâşş, kul, ortaklı kul*), in the villages round about in order to restore their prosperity. In the 10th/16th century, by now being ordinary *ra'âyâ'*, they would form an important element of the population of the so-called *khâşş-köys* (for which see Ö. L. Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, i (1940), 29 ff.). In 904/1498 of the 163 villages in the *Kadâ'* of Eyyüb (which was known as *Khâşşlar Kadâsi*), 110 contained about 2000 adult *khâşş kul* (the rest of the inhabitants being ordinary *ra'âyâ'* or *sürgün*). The *khâşş köys* covered the area from the two Çekmedjes and Bakır-köy to the Black Sea coast and to the Bosphorus and Beşiktaşh (but there were no *khâşş kuls* actually in Istanbul).

The deportations from conquered cities are shown in the following list (see A. M. Schneider, in *Belleter*, xvi/61, 41-3; İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237-8; Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucharest 1972, 48-62):

863/1459	Armenian and Greek merchants from the two Foças and Amasra
864/1460	Greeks from the Morea, Thasos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace
865/1461	Greeks from Trebizond
866/1462	Greeks from Mytilene
867/1463	Greeks from Argos
873/1468-879/1474	Muslims, Greeks and Armenians from Konya, Larenda, Aksaray, Ereğli
875/1470	Greeks from Euboea
880/1475	Armenians, Greeks and Latins from Kaffa.

The 1542 Greek households whose *djizya* was made over by Mehemmed II to his *wakfs* (Başvekelet arşivi, Tapu defteri 240) are listed in "*djemâ'ats*" (of "people from Foça", "from Midilli", etc.), the most numerous of these being *djemâ'at-i Rûmiyân-i Midillüyân*. By the middle of the 10th/16th century these *djemâ'ats* were scattered over the various Greek *mahalles* of Istanbul and Ghalata. The same register shows 777 households of Armenians in 24 *djemâ'ats* (from Larende, Konya, Sivas, Akşehir, etc.) and 1490 Jewish households (from Lamia, Salonica, Euboea, etc.).

*Wakfiyyas* of Mehemmed II show the Bağçekaplı-Eminönü region almost exclusively inhabited by Jews, the *mahalle* of Fil-damî inhabited by Greeks, Jews and Muslims, and *mahalles* along the harbour (Khalil Paşa Burghosi, 'Adjemoghlu, Hâdjđji Khalil) mainly inhabited by Jews. They give also the names of Muslim immigrants from Karaman, Ankara, İznik, etc., and of Greeks from Trebizond and Mytilene.

Intense voluntary settlement in Istanbul began later, when the first measures of recovery had been taken and the city started to prosper. In spite of the deaths by plague in 871/1466, a census of 882/1477 (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, D 9524) shows that Istanbul was already then as populous as any other Mediterranean city:

i. Istanbul		
	households	= %
Muslims	8951	60
Greek Orthodox	3151	21.5
Jews	1647	11
Kaffans	267	2
Armenians of Istanbul	372	2.6
Armenians and Greeks from Karaman	384	2.7
Gypsies	31	.2
	14,803	

ii. <u>Ghalaṭa</u>		
	households	= %
Muslims	535	35
Greek Orthodox	592	39
Europeans	332	22
Armenians	62	4
	1521	

Grand total: 16,324.

This total does not include soldiers, *medrese*-students, or slaves. Barkan, estimating these to amount to one-fifth of the population and taking five persons to the household, considers the total population to have numbered about 100,000 (*JESHO*, i/I, 21; Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 44, estimates 60-70,000; Ayverdi's estimate, *Istanbul mahalleleri*, p. 82, is 167-175,000.

Later sultans continued the policy of settling deportees from newly conquered regions. Bāyezid II settled 500 households from Akkerman at Silivri Kaplısı (Schneider, p. 44; the *djizya*-registers of 894/1489 show the settlers from Akkerman as 670 households, see Barkan, in *Belgeler*, i/I, 38, table 2). The Ottomans' readiness to welcome Jews expelled from Spain, Portugal and Southern Italy in 1492 and the following years led to an increase in the Jewish population of the city (estimated at 36,000 by von Harff, p. 244). Selim I brought 200 households of merchants and craftsmen from Tabriz (Luṭfi Paṣha, *Ta'rikh*, 237) and 500 from Cairo (some of whom were permitted to return by Süleymān). After his capture of Belgrade, Süleymān settled Christians and Jews near Samatya Kaplısı (later Belgrad Kaplısı) to form the Belgrad *mahallesi* (Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 14; Uzunçarşılı, *Osm. Tarihi*, ii/2, 312; see also U. Heyd in *Oriens*, vi, 306). One other immigration deserving notice is that of the Moriscos from Spain after 978/1570 (referred to in Ottoman records as *Endülüslü* or *Müdedjidel* (read *müdedjiden*; see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. and MUDEJARES) 'Arablari' (see A. Hess, *The Moriscos*, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, lxxxiv/1); these settled together in Ghalaṭa around the Church of S. Paolo and S. Domenico (later called 'Arab Djami'i'; see, for the date, Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, Paris 1894, 217); they stirred up much anti-Christian feeling in Istanbul (Charrière, iii, 787; Hasluck, ii, 727).

The Ottoman authorities seem to have taken little account of the damage suffered by the cities subjected to deportations; the importance attached to centralization, and the conscious determination to make Istanbul the principal city not merely of the empire but of the world and the centre of world commerce overrode other considerations (see T. Stoianovich, *The conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant*, in *JEH*, xx, at p. 239).

The deportees enjoyed a special status. They were exempt from *'awāriḍ* for a certain period, but could not leave the city without the permission of the *Subaşı*. For some time after their arrival—either because of their own inclinations or because of their special status—each group was treated as a distinct *djemā'at*, living together and named after their native region. Hence in the various censuses of the city new arrivals are separately listed as *djemā'ats*, not included in the residents of *mahalles*. Thus the immigrants from Kaffa and Karaman are *djemā'ats* in the census of 882/1477, but have been absorbed in the general Christian population by 1489/894; in that year only the immigrants from Akkerman are listed as a *djemā'at*. In the 11th/17th century there are listed

besides 292 *mahalles*, 12 Muslim *djemā'ats*, referred to as "of Tokat, of Ankara, of Bursa", who are presumably arrivals from those places (M. Aktepe, in *Istanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, xi, 116-24). The *djemā'at* is either absorbed into *mahalles* of its co-religionists or forms a new *mahalle* under a different name (usually that of the founder of the *mahalle*'s mosque). This process of assimilation worked most quickly on the Muslims, and most slowly on the Jews (U. Heyd, in *Oriens*, vi, 305-14).

In the first half of the 10th/16th century the population increased considerably, mainly for economic reasons. Registers of *wakfs* show that many merchants and craftsmen immigrated from Edirne, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo and even (though they were not numerous) from Persia; but the chief increase was caused by the immigration of young men or of whole peasant families (termed *ev-göçü*) from the poorer regions of the empire who had left their holdings to work in the city. Coming from central and eastern Anatolia, and from Rümeli (especially Albania), they worked as porters, water-carriers, boatmen, bath-attendants, hawkers and labourers. Some returned home after saving a little money, but the majority stayed on.

In the 16th century the population of Ottoman cities in general increased by 80% (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 25-31), and Istanbul probably showed a still higher percentage. The authorities began to be aware of the problem of over-population in the middle of the century (yet as late as 935/1528 the laws encouraging immigration and granting exemptions to Christian settlers were still in force; see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 24). The reasons they found for the movement from the countryside into Istanbul were these (see A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı, 1553-1591*, 145; idem, *Istanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 110, 131, 199; Rāshid, iv, 120; *Medjelle*, i, 355; M. Aktepe, in *TD*, ix/13, 1-30) (1) the better facilities for making a living; (2) the absence of *ra'yyet* taxes [see ÇİFT RESMİ]; and (3) freedom from exposure to the illegal *tekalif-i şāhka* and other exactions levied at all periods by soldiers and officials and in later times by a'yān and *derebeğis* (see İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4). These peasant immigrants built houses for themselves in the outlying areas of the city (chiefly Kâsım Paṣha and Eyyüb; see A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı, 1553-91*, 140) or lodged within the city in *bekâr odaları* or *bekâr khânları* (see above). When the provinces were suffering abnormal dearth or disorder, the extent of the movement into Istanbul seriously alarmed the authorities. During the *Djelâli* disturbances of 1005/1596-1019/1610 many thousands of families fled to Istanbul (40,000 (?) families of Armenians alone, see *Polanyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnâmesi*, tr. H. Andreaşyan, Istanbul 1964, p. 4; most or many of these were later sent back to their homes).

Not only was life more secure in Istanbul, no-one need starve. The religious foundations naturally attracted immigrants, and thousands lived on doles of food from a hospice (the hospice of Fâtiḥ alone fed a thousand people a day) or on a minute income from a *wakf* as a *medrese* student or as a "bedesman" in a mosque or at a tomb (see Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 240; Barkan, in *IFM*, xxiii, 281). A foreign visitor observed that if it were not for the hospices the inhabitants would be eating one another (Dernschwam, 67). When in 1026/1617, as a result of the disturbances created by *medrese* students (*sukhte*) in Anatolia, it was decreed that *medrese* education should cease except in a few principal cities and the provincial hospices were closed (Ç. Uluçay, *Saruhandâ*

*eşkiyalık*, 24), the students flocked to Istanbul, where they offered a fertile soil for the incitements of bigoted preachers (the number of these students ranged at different times from 5-8,000). Beggars and dervishes were always a problem: particularly in Ramaçân thousands of them came to Istanbul to throng the streets (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı*, 1553-91, 139); and under Süleymân measures of control were taken at Alexandria and Damietta to prevent Egyptian beggars from travelling to Istanbul (Mühürne Defteri, no. 16, p. 193).

Among the floating population of the city were, for example, *‘azab* troops coming from the provinces to serve in the fleet, deputations from various districts come to carry out local business, to lodge complaints about their local authorities or to appeal against taxes, and bodies of workmen brought in to build ships or do construction work for the state (Barkan, in *Annales*, xvii (1962), 1098, 1105).

The authorities considered that this over-population caused three principal problems: (1) the water-supply was becoming inadequate, it was more difficult to ensure the supply of food, and the cost of living was rising (Selânikî, 3; *Medjelle*, i, 1052); (2) security was breaking down, with an increase in robbery and murder (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı*, 1553-91, 145), and frequent fires and lootings; (3) as the number of unemployed vagrants increased in Istanbul, tax revenue from the provinces declined. From time to time therefore, and especially after the crisis of a riot, a fire or a food-shortage, the authorities would take such measures as these: (1) Since unmarried labourers were the chief cause of the troubles, all those who had come to Istanbul within a prescribed period (five years, ten years) were rounded up and expelled; similarly beggars were occasionally rounded up and set to work in nearby towns (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 145; idem, *Istanbul hayatı*, 1100-1200, 110, 131, 194, 199). Since Albanian vagrants had played a main part in the rebellion of Patrona Kâhil in 1143/1730, stringent repressive measures were taken against them (A. Refik, 1100-1200, 110-12). In 1829, during a food-shortage, it was decided to expel unmarried men who had come to the city within the past ten years, and 4000 were removed (Luçfi, ii, 63). (2) Anyone proposing to come to Istanbul for a court case had to receive first a certificate of permission from his local *kâdî*, and deputations were not to be too numerous. (3) Check points on immigrants, particularly on the *ev-göçü*, were set up on the roads and at the entrances to the city (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 80-105). (4) The inhabitants of a *mahalle* were ordered to stand surety for one another (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 145) and *imâms* were instructed to keep strangers out (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 139-40). (5) No one was admitted to a *hân* or to a *bekâr odası* unless he had a surety. (6) The construction of new "bachelors' quarters" was forbidden.

But it was all in vain, as effective control was impossible; and in later years the defeats and losses of territory in Europe brought new waves of refugees to Istanbul (see A. Refik, 1100-1200, 80-105), the last being the great migration of 1912 during the Balkan Wars.

#### (b) Non-Muslims.

The non-Muslims of Istanbul were in 1001/1592 classified in six groups: Greeks (*Rûm*), Armenians, Jews, Karamânîl, Franks of *Ğhalaça* and Greeks of *Ğhalaça* (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı*, 1000-1100, 4). Only the Orthodox and the Armenian churches and the Jewish rabbinate were officially recognized.

The only Roman Catholic group within the walls

were those families brought from Kaffa in 880/1475 (numbering, with the Armenians, 267), who were granted the churches of St. Nicholas and St. Mary at Edirne Kapısı. Over the years they dispersed or moved to *Ğhalaça*, and the churches were converted to mosques, to be called Kefeli *Diğâmi'î* (in 1038/1629) and Odalar *Diğâmi'î* (in 1050/1640) respectively (Belin, *op. cit.*, 112-19). Thereafter Catholic churches were found only in *Ğhalaça*, protected by the Capitulations, and "Frauks" were permitted to live only in *Ğhalaça*: when some of them set up in business as doctors and drapers at Baghçe Kapı and on *Divân Yolu* in the early 19th century, the sultan ordered their premises to be closed (*Medjelle*, i, 649).

The areas particularly inhabited by Greeks and Armenians were the Marmara coast of the city, the Fener-Balat district, and the *Rûmeli* side of the Bosphorus. Non-Muslims usually formed distinct *mahalles*, each with its own church or synagogue; Muslims were reluctant to allow non-Muslims to settle among them, finding it repugnant to have to observe their practices (see A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı*, 1553-1591, 46, 48, 50, 52; 1000-1100, 29; 1100-1200, 10, 88).

Occasionally popular feeling among the Muslim populace would show that it wanted Istanbul to be an exclusively Muslim city, and the sultans were obliged to re-proclaim and to enforce the various regulations and restrictions imposed on *dhimmis* (distinctive dress: see *Diğwedet*, vii, 277; *Medjelle*, i, 502; A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı*, 1593-91 47, 51; 1000-1100, 20, 52; 1100-1299, 182; not to ride horses or employ slaves: idem, 1553-91, 43, 50; demolition of churches improperly built: idem, 1553-91, 44, 45; 1100-1200, 81, 139; not to sell wine: idem, 900-1000, 49). Mistrust of and hostility to non-Muslims was brought to the surface by various incidents: the question of the occupation of *miri* houses under Mehmed II (İnalçık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 240-9), fear of an attack by a Christian fleet (in 944/1537, 979/1571, 1066/1655), Austrian and Russian attacks after 1094/1683, and the Greek revolt of 1821. Such tensions, together with fires and the building of mosques near non-Muslim *mahalles*, encouraged non-Muslims to move away and settle in the outlying *mahalles* along the Marmara Coast and the Golden Horn and near the walls (A. Refik, 1000-1100, 53-4).

On the other hand, Muslims and non-Muslim tradesmen and artisans, whose activities were controlled by the same *hisba* regulations, worked side by side in the bazaars; protection of non-Muslims was in the financial interest of the treasury and of the state dignitaries; and above all, the authorities appreciated their obligation to observe the tolerance prescribed by Islam. The government would therefore intervene to prevent attacks on non-Muslims by *medrese*-students, *‘adîmi-oghlanları* or the mob (Dernschwam, 116; Charrière, iii, 262; A. Refik, *Râfiğîlik*, in *Edeb. Fak. Medjîm.*, ix/2, doc. 11). The non-Muslims, particularly the Armenians from Anatolia, were strongly influenced by Turkish culture. Although each community used its own language, the common language of Istanbul was Turkish, and for motives of political or social prestige non-Muslims would try to live and dress like Turks. Conversely, however, the Turkish of Istanbul and its folklore were influenced by the minorities (see W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929; M. Halit Bayrı, *Istanbul Folklore*, repr. Istanbul 1972; idem, *Halk âdetleri ve inanmaları*, Istanbul 1940; R. E. Koçu, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, *passim*).

The Greek Orthodox, the Armenians and the Jews

were regarded as separate *millet*s or *hā'ifes*, under the authority of the Greek patriarch, the Armenian patriarch and the chief rabbi respectively, and enjoyed autonomy in their internal affairs [see MILLET; PATRIK]. The Greek patriarch and the *Rūm milleti ru'esāsī* took precedence over the two other groups of dignitaries (A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 28). The three religious leaders were elected by their communities but their authority derived from their *berāts* (which had to be obtained, by payment of a "*pīshkesh*") granted by the sultan. The community could petition the sultan to dismiss its leader (C. Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, Istanbul 1970, 161) and the leader could ask the sultan to give effect to his commands (for the Greek patriarchate, see S. Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity*, Cambridge 1968; *Rūm Patrikliği nizāmāi*, in *Düstūr*, i, 902-38).

Until the 12th/18th century there were some 40 Greek churches in Istanbul, only three of which had existed before the conquest (listed in Schneider, *Byzanz*, 38-49). When the question was raised how it was possible for these churches to exist in a city taken by force, the fiction of a willing surrender was accepted to legalize the situation (see İnalçık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 233; Runciman, 153, 157, 199, 204; for the Jews, see A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 13).

The patriarchate was obliged to make itself responsible for various civil matters relating to the Greeks of the city, and its duties increased as the treasury resorted more and more to the collection of taxes from the community *en bloc* (*maḥfū*). The patriarchate's bureaucracy therefore became increasingly influential (for the influence of the Logothete, see A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 13).

Economically the Greeks were far better off than they had been in the last decades of the Byzantine Empire (Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, repr. Bucharest 1971; T. Stoianovich, *op. cit.*; *The Greek Merchant Marine, 1453-1850*, ed. S. A. Papadopoulos, Athens 1972; A. E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation, 1970-72*; İnalçık, in *Isl.*, xliii, 153-5), and were satisfied with their lot (Runciman, pp. 180, 394). They held an important share of *iltizām* state contracts, they had supplanted the Italians in maritime trade in the Black Sea and the Aegean, and they controlled a large part of the city's food trade. In Fener, the new seat of the patriarchate, there grew up a genuine Greek aristocracy of eleven families made rich by trade and by *iltizām*-contracts, who claimed descent from the great families of the Byzantine Empire; they increased their power and influence by supplying the sultans with personal physicians and commercial agents and by filling the posts of Chief Interpreter of the Dīvān and of the Fleet in the 11th/17th century; and from them later the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were chosen (Jorga, *op. cit.*, 226-47; J. Gottwald, *Phanariotische Studien*, in *Leipziger Vierteljahrschr. Südosteuropa*, v (1941), 1-58). In the census of 1833 the *Rūm millet* numbered 50,343 males in Greater Istanbul.

A group of Orthodox Christians deported from Karaman, Turkish-speaking and ignorant of Greek (Deruschwam, 52), were under the authority of the Greek patriarch but preserved the character of a separate *djemā'at*. In the middle of the 10th/16th century they were settled near Yedikule, but a century or more later Eremya Çelebi reported them as living at Narlıkapı, inside and outside the city wall. They were skilled goldsmiths and embroiderers, and were rich (N. de Nicolay, *Navigations . . . Anvers 1577*, 239).

The Armenians first elected a patriarch, on the

sultan's orders, in 1461. He made his residence the Church of Surp Kevork (Sulumanastır; F. Babinger, *Ein Besitzstreit um Sulu Manastır . . .*, in *Festschrift für Jan Rypka*, Prague 1956, 29-37) at Samatya, where the most important Armenian community then dwelt (and where later Eremya Çelebi (p. 3) mentions over a thousand Armenian families living alongside Greeks). In the 11th/17th century the Armenians were most numerous at Kuinkapı, and in 1051/1641 the seat of the patriarchate was transferred here, to the Church of Surp Asduadzadzin (H. Andreasyan, notes to Eremya Çelebi, pp. 87-90). The Armenians were concentrated particularly at Yeñikapı, Kumkapı, Balat and Topkapı. Many of the Armenian families of Qhalata had been settled there since Genoese times. There were Armenians living among Jews at Beshiktash, Kuruçeşme and Ortaköy (Eremya Çelebi, 43-52). In the 11th/17th century the Armenians controlled the silk trade between Persia, Turkey and Italy [see HARİR, 214], and many of them made fortunes from *iltizām*-contracts and banking (Y. Çark, *Türk Devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler*, Istanbul 1953). From the early 19th century they ran the mint and came to control the state finances (see Djewdet, xi, 28; White, iii, 188, 287). Attempts by the banking families to control the patriarchate and the Armenian tradesfolk led to dissensions in the community (H. G. O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, London 1854, 131-2). Earlier, the activity of Catholic missionaries had aroused dissensions, which prompted vigorous action by the Porte after 1696/1108 (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 21, 32, 35, 160; Djewdet, ii, 93; xi, 8, 34); yet later a Catholic (Uniate) community was established composed particularly of the wealthier and educated Armenians: according to the census of 1826 (Luḥfi, 275) they numbered about a thousand (L. Arpee, *The Armenian awakening . . . 1820-1860*, Chicago 1909). In the census of 1833 the Armenian *millet* in Greater Istanbul numbered 48,099 males.

The Jews of Istanbul, numbering 1647 households at the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II (see above), consisted of the following main groups: those that had survived the conquest; Karaites brought from Edirne and settled in the harbour area; Rabbanite and Karaite communities later brought, usually by force, from various towns of Anatolia and Rümeli where they had been living, known as Romaniots, since Byzantine times (see Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, New York 1959, 140); the *djizya* registers for the *wakfs* of Meḥemmed II (Başvekalet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 240 and no. 210) give the numbers and original homes of each. It seems that Meḥemmed II granted *amān* to the Jews living in Istanbul at the conquest (see Ankori, *op. cit.*, 59-64) and left them in their homes (for an alleged agreement, see Schneider, in *Belleleten*, xvi/61, 40; Heyd, p. 305; A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 11). A *djizya*-register (Tapu defteri no. 240, 10) notes them as numbering 116 families. As a result of Rabbi Isaac Sarfati's letter urging the Jews of Europe to settle in Ottoman territory, some families migrated from Germany, Austria and Hungary (H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, Leipzig 1881, viii, 214; Heyd, 306); but the register just cited notes the *djemā'at-i Eskinas-i Alaman* as numbering only 26 families. By 894/1489 the number of Jewish households had risen to a total of 2027.

Jews settling in Istanbul were organized in *djemā'ats*, each with its own synagogue, as a spiritual and administrative unit (A. Galanté, i, 75, 99-101). In the middle of the 10th/16th century there were 40-44 synagogues and *djemā'ats* (Heyd, 303;

Dernschwam, 107-11 [42 schools, and further important details; total Jewish population, 15,035]. In 959/1552 the Marranos settled in Istanbul under the sultan's protection, and the Marrano banking family of Mendés acquired a dominating position in the state finances and in commerce with Europe (see Inalcik, *Capital formation*, *JEH*, xxix, 121-3; S. Schwarzfuchs, *Annales*, xii, 1957, 112-18). Jews from Spain and Italy brought various new techniques with them (Ramberti, 241; Villalón, 116; Dernschwam, 111).

The Romaniot, Sephardic and Karaite communities retained their separate identities until the 11th/17th century; but as a result of the changes of residence caused by the fires of 1043/1633 and 1071/1660 the communities became mixed (Heyd, 313) and finally there was only a single community; the Sephardim, being economically much the strongest, assumed responsibility first for the Ashkenazim and then for the Romaniots. Already in 990/1582 the three communities made a joint application to the sultan to open a new cemetery at *Khâşşköy* (A. Refik, 53). The Jews of *Khâşşköy* became very numerous (Evlîyâ Çelebi, i, 413). In 1044/1634 there were in Istanbul 1255 Jewish *'awârið-khânesi* (Aktepe, 110) and at the end of that century 5000 Jews paying *dîziya* (for their *maħalles*, see Heyd, 309-12).

When construction of the Vâlide *Djâmi'i* was begun (1006/1597), the Jews of Eminönü (about 100 houses, see Eremya Çelebi, p. 164) were transferred to *Khâşşköy* (Evlîyâ Çelebi, i, 413-4). In 1139/1727 Jews living outside the Ballk pázarl gate near the mosque were ordered to sell their properties to Muslims and move to other Jewish *maħalles* (A. Refik, 1100-1200 88-9). *Khâşşköy* became hereafter the main residential centre for the Jews of Istanbul (Galanté, 54). In the 19th century the Jews were estimated to number 39,000, in 12,000 households (White, ii, 230; official figures in 1833, 1,413 males; cf. L. A. Frankl, *Nach Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1858-60, 194-5, whose estimates are supported by the 1927 census figure of 39,199).

Individual conversions to Islam were frequent, new converts being particularly zealous to promote conversion (Villalón, 72; Dernschwam, 111). The Divân supplied funds (*nev-müslim akcası*) to provide the convert with new clothes, and he was paraded on horseback through the streets. But the principle of abstaining from forced conversion was carefully observed, and the authorities appear to have taken little interest in promoting conversions. One example of a mass conversion is that of the Armenian gypsies at Topkapl (Eremya Çelebi, 23). Muslim men often married non-Muslim wives (this was regarded as commendable), and this led to much conversion. Slaves usually embraced Islam. Not only were there, as a result of the *ghulâm* [q.v.] system, numerous slaves in the palace and in the houses of great men; anyone of any means owned one or several slaves for various domestic duties. To own slaves was a profitable investment: slaves or freedmen (*âzâdlu*, *'atîk*, *mu'tak*) were used also as commercial agents or as an industrial work-force, and were often hired out. The principle of *mukâtaba* [q.v.] was common (for the treatment of slaves see esp. Villalón, 56 f.; Dernschwam, 111, 121, 129, 140-2, 161).

(c) The *'askeri* class.

Since they paid no taxes, the personnel of the palace and the *kapl-ku* troops do not figure in the various registers providing statistics for the population of Istanbul; but in numbers and in view of their duties, they played an important part in the life of the city.

Date	Palace personnel	Ƙapl Ƙulu troops	Fleet and arsenal	Total
880/1475 <sup>(1)</sup>		12,800	?	12,800
920/1514 <sup>(2)</sup>	3,742	16,643	?	20,385
933/1526 <sup>(3)</sup>	11,457	12,689	?	24,146
1018/1609 <sup>(4)</sup>	12,971	77,523	2,364	92,858
1080/1669 <sup>(5)</sup>	c. 19,000	c. 80,000	1,003	c. 100,000

(Sources: (1) Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis, ed. Babinger, Munich 1957, 48; (2) Barkan, *IFM*, xv, 312; (3) Barkan, *IFM*, xv, 300; (4) 'Aynî 'Alî, *Risâle*, Istanbul 1280, 82-98; (5) Barkan, *IFM* xvii, 216, 227).

The above figures show that the number of *kapl-ku* increased in the century after 920/1514 by about five times: this increase was mainly in the members of the Janissaries, and occurred particularly between 1001/1593 and 1015/1606 with the demand for infantrymen (see *CH Isl.*, i, 344-50); only 15,000 Janissaries took part in the campaign of 1006/1597, but there were 37,000 Janissaries by 1018/1609. Some of the Janissaries lived in Istanbul, some were stationed in provincial towns and on the frontiers, of 49,500 Janissaries, 20,468 were in Istanbul in 1076/1665 and 37,094 in 1080/1669 (*IFM*, xvii, 216). The *Köprülüs* attempted to reduce their number, so that in 1083/1672 the Janissaries numbered only 18,150 and the total *kapl-ku* force only 34,825 (*Silâhdâr*, i, 499, 580). In the 12th/18th century, the Janissaries numbered 40,000, but it was estimated that throughout the empire 160,000 men were, or claimed to be, Janissaries (the distinction must be borne in mind, for many individuals who entered the corps to obtain its privileges were not effective troops). Conversely, as early as the reign of Mehemmed II some Janissaries had been absorbed in the general population as tradesmen and artisans, and the numbers of these increased, for with depreciation a Janissary's daily pay, never more than eight *akles*, became practically worthless, so that more and more of them became *esnâf*. At the end of the 10th/16th century the authorities had great difficulty in mobilizing these "trading" Janissaries for service (*Selânikî*, *passim*; Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, docs. 15, 19). In the 11th/17th century we encounter in Istanbul (as elsewhere) many individuals called "Janissary" (*râdîlî*, *beshe*) or "*sipâhî*" (*djündî*) who are in fact very wealthy and influential. The penetration of Janissaries and other *kapl-ku* into the economic life of the city was to have important effects, especially since they regarded themselves as outside the *hisba* jurisdiction.

Janissaries were widely used to supply the "police" forces of the city, with the duties of maintaining order and of providing guards in the markets, at the quays and in other public places, and this authority enabled them to impose various illegal exactions and even sometimes attempt to corner a commodity; the lives and property of non-Muslims were in effect at their mercy. During the ever more frequent Janissary mutinies after 1600 the city was in complete anarchy with the populace terrified, the shops shut, and the ever-present fear of fires and looting (see Hammer-Purgstall, x, index s.v. *Janitscharen-Aufuhr*). With so many nominal Janissaries engaged in trade, some of these disturbances may be regarded as popular risings against the state authorities (see Porter, *Observations*, p. xxviii).

The *'adîemî-oghlanları* [q.v.] also had a significant place in Istanbul social life. Those in the Istanbul barracks numbered at first 3000 (*Uzunçarşılı*, *Kapl-ku ocakları*, i, 79), 7000 in 1555 (Dernschwam, 65).

They were an important labour force, employed in public works (Barkan, *L'organisation du travail* . . ., *Annales*, xvii, 1094; A. Refik, in *Edeb. Fak. Medjim.*, v/1, 6-10, 12) and in the sultan's gardens (Dernschwani, 64-5). Their daily pay was very small (1/2-2 *akça* in 1555). Since they enjoyed the immunities of the sultan's slaves, they were a turbulent element in the population, over-bearing and always ready to make trouble.

Practically the whole palace and *kaþıkulu* establishment accompanied the sultan on campaign. At such a time, the life of the markets was completely disorganized: prices rose, commodities were cornered and shortages appeared (Seläniki, Ms.). Janissaries engaged in trade were obliged to close their businesses; a proportion of the members of various guilds were conscripted to accompany the army as *ordudju* (*Medjelle*, i, 619-36); so that a fair proportion of the townsfolk too left the city. This, of course, occurred practically every year until the reign of Selim II; and the consequent disruption was one of the reasons why the statesmen became reluctant that the sultan should campaign in person (cf., for 1570, Hill, iii, 892; for 1596, Seläniki, Ms.).

(d) Epidemics.

Just as fires repeatedly destroyed habitations, so too great numbers of the inhabitants were frequently carried off by epidemics —of plague, cholera and smallpox. In the plague of 871/1466, 600 people died each day, and many fled the city for good: "the City was emptied of its inhabitants" (Critoboulos, tr. Riggs, 220-2), and four years later plague again put a halt to trade (W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, 341). Later serious epidemics occurred in 917/1511, 932/1526, 969/1561, 992/1584, 994/1586 (see *The Fugger Newsletters*, ed. V. von Klarwill, London 1928, 104), 998/1590, 1000/1592 (Seläniki, MS.), 1008/1599, 1034/1625, 1047/1637, 1058/1648 (Chalkokondyles, *Histoire de la decadence* . . . tr. B. de Vigenère, Rouen 1660, 1013), 1063/1653, 1084/1673 (Galland, ii, 178), 1179/1765 (H. Grenville, *Observations*, ed. S. Ehrenkretz, Ann Arbor 1965, 72, 74, 106), 1207/1792 (*Djewdet*, x, 94), 1812 (Andréossy, 178-84), 1837 (*Memoire of Mrs. Elisabeth S. Dwight* . . ., New York 1840), 1845-7 (M. P. Verrolet, *Du Choléra-morbus en 1845, 1846 et 1847*, Constantinople 1848), and 1865 (H. Leach, *Brief notes* . . ., London 1866). These outbreaks lasted for months and sometimes, becoming endemic, for years, giving rise to thousands of deaths:

1000 a day in 1592 and 1648, 3000 a day in 1792. The total deaths in the 1812 outbreak are recorded as 150,000 (Andréossy, 180)—and in another account (*Lettres écrites des missions étrangères*, Lyon 1819, p. 2) even 200-300,000. In 1837, according to von Moltke (letter 26) a twentieth of the population (25,000 people) perished. The principle of quarantine was adopted in 1838 (with a *Karantina Nâzirliǧhi* set up in 1839), but with little effect (S. Ünver, *Osmanlı tababeti ve Tanzimat*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 947-50; B. Şehsüvaroǧlu, *Türkiye Karantine tarihine bir bakış*, Istanbul 1958). The plague helped in the decline of Istanbul's commerce, English quarantine regulations having the effect of diverting an important proportion of its trade to Leghorn in the 18th century (Porter; Grenville, p. 64).

(e) Population.

The most reliable sources for estimates of the city's total population at different periods are certainly the various Ottoman registers, but even these, being compiled for taxation purposes, do not cover all the inhabitants (women and children, the *askeri* class, students and others exempt from taxes do not appear), and the unit they employ is often the *khâne*, "household"; the *djizya* registers list only the adult males, and the *awârið* taxes are levied on the basis of another, fictitious, "*khâne*" comprising several households [see 'AWÂRIÐ]. Nineteenth-century figures (see below) indicate that a household rarely numbered more than 3-4 persons on average (in Byzantine times, 2.6-5.2, see Jacoby, p. 102), and this figure is probably valid for earlier times, in a city where many of the inhabitants lived in miserable conditions of nutrition and hygiene, where the average expectation of life was only 25 years, and where unmarried men were so numerous (45,000 in 1856: workmen and *medrese*-students).

In the present state of research, the figures below must be taken as the basis for comparison.

Thus the 1477 population (*Çhalaða* included) of 16,326 *khânes* had increased nearly five times by about 1535. In about 1550 C. de Villalón (*Viaje de Turquia*, p. 306) estimated the population of Istanbul and its environs at about 120,000 households, which would represent an increase of 50% over 15 years. In fact Barkan (*JESHO*, i/1, p. 28) has shown that there was an increase of over 80% in Ottoman cities generally in the 10th/16th century. Modern authors estimate the total population in the 16th century at about

Year	Unit	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Total
882/1477 <sup>(1)</sup>	<i>khâne</i>	9,517	5,162	1,647	16,326
894/1489 <sup>(2)</sup>	<i>khâne</i>	[ ]	5,462	2,491	
c. 942/1535 <sup>(3)</sup>	<i>khâne</i>	46,635	25,295	8,070	80,000
1044/1634	<i>awârið</i>	1,525	[ ]	1,255	
	<i>khânesi</i>				
1102/1690 <sup>(4)</sup>	<i>khâne</i>	[ ]	14,231	9,642	
1102/1690 <sup>(5)</sup>	poll-tax payers	[ ]	45,112	8,236	
1242/1826 <sup>(6)</sup>	males	45,000	50,000	[ ]	
1245/1829 <sup>(7)</sup>	individuals				359,890
1249/1833 <sup>(8)</sup>	males	73,496	102,649	11,413	
1273/1856	<i>khâne</i> individuals	29,383	19,015		
1918 <sup>(9)</sup>		73,093	62,383		
1927 <sup>(10)</sup>	individuals	447,851	243,060		700,000 690,911

(Notes: (1) See above, p. 238; (2) Barkan, Belgeler, i, 39; 447 mixed Jewish and Christian *khânes* are included in the total for Christians; (3) Barkan's estimate in *JESHO*, i/1, 20; (4) Topkapı Sarayı Archives no. 4007, suburbs included; (5) Mantran,

*Istanbul*, 46-7: a further 14,653 persons are exempt; Mantran estimates 62,000 *khâne* in all; (6) Luþfi, i, 279; (7) Luþfi, ii, 62; (8) Topkapı Sarayı Archives no. 750; (9) *Istanbul rehberi*, 1934, 163, foreigners excluded; (10) the first census.)

700,000 (Lybyer, *Constantinople as capital...*, see Bibliography., 377; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 272 Mantran's estimate for the next century (*Istanbul*, 44-7) is 650-750,000, or 700-800,000 with the suburbs included. Other estimates tend to bear out these figures: Sanderson, 1,231,000; G. Moro (Alberi, ser. 3, iii, 334), 800,000 (but the bailo Garzoni (Alberi, 389) says only "piu di trecento mila persone").

However, these figures for Ottoman Istanbul *intra muros* seem to be exaggerated. The population of Istanbul and *Ġhalaṭa* together never exceeded 400,000 in the Byzantine period (see Jacoby, in *Byzantion*, xxxi (1961), 82-109). The reliable figures of the last fifty years are:

1927	245,000
1940	272,000
1950	350,000
1960	433,000
1965	482,000

and it is difficult to accept that the total for pre-19th-century Istanbul was higher than these (given that most houses consisted of a single storey, and there were such wide areas of garden and open space; building upwards, with several storeys, began slowly after the Crimean War). The 1927 figures (covering 17.2 km.<sup>2</sup>) give a density of 145 persons per hectare (the pre-15th century density for European cities being under 200, see Jacoby, 105). Garzoni's estimate of over 300,000 for 1573 and the 1829 count of 360,000 seem more probable. (Other estimates for Istanbul *intra muros*: J. E. Dekay (1833): 250,000; Hoffman: 380,000; Visquenel (1848): 321,000; Verrolot (1848): 360,000; for all these see V. Michoff, *La population...*, i-iv). The relative proportions for the population of Istanbul *intra* and *extra muros* can be seen approximately from these figures for bakeries:

	1083/1672	1169/1755	1182/1768
Istanbul	84	141	297
<i>Ġhalaṭa</i>	25	61	116
Üsküdar	14	22	65
Eyyüb	11	7	28

and for chandlers' premises (1083/1672):

Istanbul	24	
<i>Ġhalaṭa</i>	5	
Üsküdar	4	
Eyyüb	9	(high, in view of the slaughterhouses at Yedikule).

Of imported groceries, in 1018/1609 three-fifths went to Istanbul and only two-fifths to the three "townships", who consequently complained (see A. Refik, 1000-1100, doc. 74) One eighth of imported fruit went to *Ġhalaṭa* at the end of the 9th/15th century (*ihṭisâb* regulation in *TV*, i/5, 339). Although the population increase was greater in *Ġhalaṭa* in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Topkḥâne, Beyoġlu and Kâsım Paṣha expanded greatly, yet up to about 1840 "Istanbul" meant Istanbul *intra muros*.

Until 1945, the distribution of population between Istanbul *intra muros* and "Greater" Istanbul was similar to the 19th-century distribution. Since that date there has been some redistribution, as is shown by these figures:

Year	Population of Turkey	Istanbul <i>intra muros</i>	"Greater" Istanbul (including Beyoġlu, Beşiktaş, Şişli, Kadıköy and Eyüp)
1927	13,648,000	245,982	694,292
1940	17,821,000	266,272	841,611
1950	20,947,000	349,909	1,035,202
1960	27,755,000	433,629	1,466,435
1965	31,391,000	482,451	1,541,695

While therefore the increase in the population of Greater Istanbul is proportional to that in the whole country, the increase for Istanbul *intra muros* is relatively less.

*Bibliography*: A. Ottoman Documents. (i) Documents relating to *wakfs*. 1. *Wakfiyyas*. Published: facsimile of the original *wakfiyya* for Eyyüb, dated 861/1457, in *Fâtih Mehmed II vakfiyeleri*, publ. by Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara 1938, 336-40; for Kalenderkhâne (Church of Akataleptos), in *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmet II. Fatih*, ed. T. Öz, Istanbul 1935, 1\*-15\*. Individual *wakfiyyas* such as these were all combined in a single *wakfiyya* after the completion of the mosque and complex of Mehemmed II. The oldest copy of this, in Arabic, originally preserved in the *ürbe* of Mehemmed II, is now in the Türk-İslâm Eserleri Müzesi (old no. 1872, new no. 667); it belongs to 877/1472 or 878/1473, and has been published in (poor) facsimile in O. N. Ergin, *Fâtih İmareti vakfiyesi*, Istanbul 1945, 1-68. Later in the reign a new comprehensive *wakfiyya* was drawn up, and an official copy (*tughrâ* of Bâyezid II) has survived; facsimile in *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden...*, pp. 1-149. In the mid 10th/16th century (see Ergin, *op. cit.*, 29-34) this *wakfiyya* was translated into Turkish (with some rearrangement and stylistic expansion), facsimile in *Fâtih Mehmet II vakfiyeleri*, 14-198.—Süleyman I (facsimile): K. E. Kürkcüoġlu, *Süleymaniye vakfiyesi*, Ankara 1962.—Published in *Vakıflar Dergisi*: Kara Aḥmed Paṣha, in i, 83-168 (Ş. Yaltıkaya); Kaymak Muṣtafa Paṣha, in viii, 15-35 (M. Aktepe).—Most of the *wakfiyyas* relating to Istanbul which are preserved in the archives of the Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü at Ankara are accessible in register copies in the *Istanbul* series.

2. Registers of inspection (*teftiş*) and rents (*djibâyet*). These registers, drawn up to record the income of *wakfs* and to be used by rent-collectors (*djibâbi*), are of great importance as detailing the properties that supported a *wakf*. The oldest known is the *Djibâyet* register for Ayasofya of 895/1489 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver no. 19, 56 ff., Arabic; some of the leaves out of order; drawn up by the *kâdî* Yüfus b. *Khallil*); a similar register had existed, drawn up in 874/1469. A similar detailed register was drawn up by Mehmed b. 'Alî al-Fenârî, *kâdî* of Edirne, in 926/1519 (Belediye Libr., Ms Cevdet O 64, 444 ff.). Registers for all the *wakfs* of Mehemmed II in Istanbul: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 210 (947/1540) and no. 240 (952/1545).

Other similar registers refer to the *wakfs* of ordinary citizens. The most important of these (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 251) has been published: *Istanbul vakıfları Tahrir defteri*, 953 (1546) *tarihli*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul 1970. Two similar, unpublished, registers are: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri 670, drawn up by Ḥasan b. Yüfus between 986/1578 and 988/1580, and Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Eski Kayıtlar nos. 542 and 543, drawn up after 1005/1596.

Registers of annual accounts also survive. The summary balances (*idjâmâl*) for the mosques of Fâtih and Ayasofya for the years 894/1489-896/1491 have been published by Ö. L. Barkan (*İFM*, xxiii (1962-3), 342-79); see also, idem, *Süleymaniye Camii ve imareti tesislerine ait yıllık bir muhasebe bilançosu*, 993/994, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ix, 109-62. (ii) Documents relating to *hisba* (*ihṭisâb*). These



are of three main types: 1. regulations, lists of fixed prices; 2. registers of *rûsûm-i ihtisâbiyye*; 3. registers of guildsmen made for various purposes. 1. Regulations dated 907/1501, published by Ö. L. Barkan in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/5 (1942), 329-40; Fr. tr. by R. Mantran, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 14 (1956), 213-41. Very similar provisions are found in later codes (Âtif Ef. Libr. Ms. 1734; Bayezid Libr., Ms. Veliyüddin 1070; University Libr., Ms. T. 734; Sarajevo, Orientalni Institut, Ms. 1054). Firms relating to *ihtisâb* are preserved in records of daily business (see (iii) below) and price regulations (*narkh*) in *kâdîs'* registers; for examples of the latter, see O. Nûri Ergin, *Medjelle-i Umûr-i Belediyeye*, Istanbul 1922. 2. These registers list the tradespeople of Istanbul in 15 sectors, giving for each the location of his business, his trade, the owner's name and the amount of tax payable. They give similar information regarding the ships importing provisions are found in later codes (Âtif Ef. Libr., det B 2 (of 1092/1681), B 10 and B 23; Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver nos. 514 and 526. Partial publication of such a document by R. Mantran, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957, iii, 127-49; see also Nihat Göl, *1763 tarihli esnaf tahrir defterine göre.*, Istanbul University, Edebiyat Fakültesi, tez 1971. 3. Register of the watermen (*kayıkçî*): Belediye Libr., Ms. Cevdet B 8; of the bakers: Topkapı Arşivi, D 9580.

(iii) Numerous documents relating to Istanbul are to be found dispersed in various collections in the Ottoman archives. As examples only, the following may be cited: 1. Mühimme Defteri. Many documents in this series have been published by Ahmed Refik [Altınay], in the series *Hidîri Onundju aşırda İstanbul hayâtı*, 961-1000, Istanbul 1333 (2nd ed., Istanbul 1935); ... 1100-1200, Istanbul 1931; ... 1100-1200, Istanbul 1930; ... 1200-1255, Istanbul 1932. Many documents from the Mühimme registers are given in Ergin's *Medjelle*, i.

2. *Maliye ahkâm defterleri*. Nos. 2775 and 9824 in the *Maliyeden müdevver* series are especially important for Istanbul.

3. *Kuyûd-i ahkâm al-shikâiyât* series. Registers relating to Istanbul start from 1155/1742. Much information on the tradespeople.

4. Registers of the *kâdîs*. Most of the registers of the *kâdîs* of Istanbul, *Ghalağa* and *Üsküddâr* are lost, but some important examples survive in the archives of the Istanbul Müftülüğü and of Topkapı Sarayı. Some docs. published by Ergin, in *Medjelle*, i.

5. *Mukâta'a* registers (recording the income of the State Treasury). For an important example from the reign of Mehemmed II, see *JESHO*, iii (1960), 132. Customs registers: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliye no. 312 (of 992/1585), no. 5227 (of 1098/1687), no. 3129 (of 1102/1690), no. 918 (of 1108/1696), no. 6164 (of 1138/1725); no. 2996 (of 1206/1791); also Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi nos. 4241-4368, 5207-66.

6. The *Muhâsebe idjmal defterleri* (the oldest is Belediye Libr., Ms. Cevdet O 91) record the expenses for official institutions in Istanbul.

7. The affairs of Istanbul fell within the purview of the *Şhkk-İ Sânl Defterdârı*, so that documents emanating from his various offices, especially the *İstanbul mukâta'ast kalemi*, are of importance.

8. The most important assemblage of individual documents is that made by Cevdet, under the heads

Belediye, İktisat, Sıhhiyye, Saray, Zaptiye and Maarif (see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, Istanbul 1955, p. 71).

Further sources for the later history of Istanbul are the official yearbooks (*sâlnâme*) and various publications of the municipal authorities (*Belediyeye*), e.g., *Sâlnâme* series, 1847-1918 (see *IA*, art. *Sâlnâme*); *İstanbul Belediyeyi ihsâ'iyyât medjümü'astı*, 1328-1335; *I. B. Medjümü'astı*, 1930-7; *İstanbul Şehri istatistik yıllığı*, 1930-3; *Belediye yıllığı*, Ankara 1949 (pp. 341-69 relating to Istanbul).

B. Ottoman narrative and descriptive sources. Kuṭb al-Din al-Makkî, ed. E. Kâmil, in *Tarih Semineri Dergisi*, i-ii (1937), 5; Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, i, Istanbul 1314 (Eng. tr., J. von Hammer, *Narrative of travels.*, London 1846); A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatında şehrengizler ve şehrengizlerde İstanbul*, Istanbul 1958; Latîfî [q.v.], *Evsâf-i İstanbul*; Yahyâ, *Şehrengiz-i İstanbul*, see *TDED*, xvii (1969), 73-108; H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Huseyn b. Ga'fer*, Freiburg 1971; Âsaf Hâlet Çelebi, *Divan siirinde İstanbul*, Istanbul 1953; *Hey'et-i sâbika-i Kostantiniyye*, Istanbul University Libr., Ms. Yıldız 612.

— C. General works. — K. M. Bazili, *Očerki Konstantinoplia*, St. Petersburg 1835, E. A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople* 2 vols., London 1895; E. Oberhummer, *Constantinopolis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc. des Class. Altertums*, vii (Stuttgart 1900), 963-1013 (important); W. Kubitschek, *Byzantion*, in Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1115-58; Djelal Essad, *Constantinople, de Byzance à Stamboul*, Paris 1909; Robert Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinopolis, Istanbul, eine genetische Stadtgeographie* (important); Akad. der Wis. in Wien, phil.-hist. Kl., *Denkschriften* 71 Bd., 3 Abhandlung, Vienna and Leipzig 1942 (Bibliography 267-90); A. H. Lybyer, *Constantinople as capital of the Ottoman Empire*, in *Annual Report of the American Hist. Assoc.*, 1916; B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1963, 1972; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII siècle*, Paris 1962 (Bibliography 639-90); idem, *La vie quotidienne à Constantinople*, Paris 1965; N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, new ed. Bucharest 1971; Besim Darkot, *İstanbul Coğrafyası*, Istanbul 1938; A. S. Soyar, *Istanbul, Geschichte und Entwicklung der Stadt*, in *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Kurt Albrecht*, ed. K. Bachteler, Ludwigsburg 1967; J. Jastrow, *Die Weltstellung Konstantinopels in ihrer historischen Entwicklung*, in *Orientbücherei*, Heft 4, 1915; Muhlis Ethem, *Der Hafen von Stambul und seine Organization*, Leipzig 1929; E. Oberhummer, *Aufgaben der Stadtgeographie von Istanbul*, in *Festschrift A. Ischirkhoff*, Sofia 1933; R. Busch-Zantner, *Zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, in *Geographische Zeitschrift*, No. 38, 1932, 1-13; Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul'un tarihi yapısı*, in *Mimarlık*, 70/5, 1970; Mehmed Ziyâ, *İstanbul ve Boghaziçi*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1336; Mehmed Râ'if, *Mir'ât-i İstanbul*, Istanbul 1314 (unpublished second volume in Turkish Hist. Soc., Ankara, especially important for inscriptions); O. N. Ergin, *İstanbul'da imar ve iskân hareketleri*, Istanbul 1938; idem, *Medjelle-i umûr-i Belediyeye*, Istanbul 1922; idem, *Cumhuriyet ve İstanbul Mahallî İdaresi*, Istanbul 1938; idem, *Türk şehirlerinde imâret sistemi*, Istanbul 1939; idem, *Türkiye'de şehirçiliğin tarihi inkişafı*, Istanbul 1936; Refik Ahmed [Sevengül], *İstanbul nasıl eğleniyordu?*, Istanbul

1927; Musâhipzâde Celâl, *Eski İstanbul yaşayışı*, İstanbul 1946; A. M. Schneider, *Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels in XV. Jahrh.*, in *Nachr. Akad. d. W. Göttingen, Ph.-H. Kl. 1949*; E. H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mahalleleri: Şehrin İskânı ve Nüfusu*, Ankara 1958.

— D. Byzantine Period: *topography and monuments*. F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna 1878; A. D. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople*, Lille 1892; A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Const., the walls of the city and adjoining historical sites*, London 1899; A. M. Schneider, *Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn*, Göttingen 1950; idem, *Regionen und Quartiere in C.*, in *Kleinasiens und Byzanz*, Ist. Forsch., Bd. xvii, 149-58; idem, *Byzanz, Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt*, Berlin 1936; idem, *Konstantinopel*, Mainz 1956; idem, *Brände in Konstantinopel*, in *BZ*, xli (1941), 382-403; idem, *Die Blachernen*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 180 ff.; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine, développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris 1950; idem, *Du Forum Bovis au Forum Tauri, étude topographique*, in *Rev. des Et. Byz.*, iii (1955), 85-108; idem, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, Part 1, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, Paris 1969; C. Dietrich, *Die Byz. Stadt im 6. Jahrh.*, Munich 1964; S. Eyice, *Son devir Bizans mimarisi*, İstanbul 1963; F. Dirimtekin, *Fetihten önce Halic surları*, İstanbul 1956; M. Ziyâ, *Kariye Djâmi'i-i Sherifi*, İstanbul 1326 H.; A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols., New York 1966; R. Guillard, *Études sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, xxi-1 (1958), 26-72, xxiii-2 (1962), 203-29; idem, *Les hippodromes de Byzance*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, xxii-1, 30-34; L. de Beylic, *L'Habitation byzantine, Supplément*, Grenoble-Paris 1903; E. Fenster, *Die Stellung Konstantinopels im Denken der Byzantiner*, Dissertation, 1968, Inst. für Byz. und Neugriech.; V. Hrochova, *Buzantska Města ve 13-15 Století*, Univ. Karlova, Prague 1967.

— E. Ottoman Period: *topography and monuments*. Hüseyin Ayyansaraylı, *Hadikat al-djâwâmi'*, İstanbul 1281; Tahsin Öz, *İstanbul Câmîleri*, 2 vols., Ankara 1962-5; A. Gabriel, *Les mosquées de Constantinople*, in *Syria*, vii (1926), 353-419; H. Edhem (Eldem), *Nos mosquées de Stamboul*, İstanbul 1934; idem, *Yedi-kule Hisari*, İstanbul 1932; S. Eyice, *İstanbul'da Yayla Camileri*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, x, 31-42; idem, *Atik Ali Paşa Camii...*, *ibid.*, xiv, 99-114; Zâviyeler ve Zâviyeli Câmîler, in *İst. Üniv. İktisat Fak. Mecmuası*, xxiii (1962-3), 1-80; idem, *İstanbul Minareleri*, in *Türk Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, i, 1963, 31-132; Nisâhî 'Osman Beg, *Medîmû'a-i djâwâmi'*, İstanbul 1304; E. H. Ayverdi, *Fâtih Devri Mimarisi*, İstanbul 1953; Edhem Pacha, *L'architecture ottomane*, Constantinople 1873; C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, 2 vols., Berlin 1908-12; H. Glück, *Die Kunst der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1922; Ali Saim Ülgen, *İstanbul ve Eski Eserleri*, İstanbul 1933; idem, *Fatih devrinde İstanbul*, Ankara 1939; H. Glück, *Die Baeder Konstantinopels*, Vienna 1921; H. Högg, *Türkenburgen an Bosphoros und Hellespont*, Dresden 1932; A. Gabriel, *Chateaux turcs du Bosphore*, Paris 1943; A. Münib, *Medîmû'a-i Tekâyâ*, İstanbul 1307; K. O. Dalman and Paul Wittek, *Der Valens Aquädukt in Konstantinopel*, Ist. Forschungen Bd. 3, Bamberg 1933; I. H. Konyalı, *İstanbul Âbideleri*, İstanbul 1941; idem, *Mimar Koca Sinan'ın Eserleri*,

İstanbul 1950; idem, *İstanbul Sarayları*, İstanbul 1942; E. Egli, *Sinan der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, Zürich 1954; R. M. Meriç, *Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatı ve Eserleri*, Ankara 1965; U. Vogt-Göknül, *Living Architecture: Ottoman*, London 1966; S. Ünver, *Fâtih Külliyesi ve zamanı ilim hayatı*, İstanbul 1946; S. Eyice, *İstanbul'da mahalle ve semt adları hakkında bir deneme*, in *Türkiyat Mec.*, xiv; idem, *Elçi Ham*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24, 93-130; H. İnalcık, *The Policy of Mehmed II towards the Greek population of Istanbul and the Byzantine buildings of the city*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. xxiii-xxiv, 231-49; I. H. Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, 2 vols., İstanbul 1943-5; I. Kumbaracılar, *İstanbul Sebilleri*, İstanbul 1938; M. Erdoğan, *İstanbul Baruthaneleri*, in *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, ii, 115-38; W. Beneschewitsch, *Die türkischen Namen der Tore von Konstantinopel*, in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, xxiii (1914-19); S. N. Nirven, *İstanbul Suları*, İstanbul 1946; Aygen Bilge, *Fatih zamanında Topkapı Sarayı*, in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, ii (1960), 214-22; Sadı Abaç, *Kasımpaşanın Tarihçesi*, İstanbul 1935; C. Orhonlu, *Fındıklı Scminin Tarihi Hakkında bir Araştırma*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, viii, no. 11-12, 51-70; Fethi İstendiyaroğlu, *Galatasaray Tarihi*, İstanbul 1952; Mehmed Es'ad, *Mir'ât-i Mekteb-i Harbiyye*, İstanbul 1310; F. Akozan, *Türk Han ve Kervansarayları*, in *Türk Sanatı Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, i (1963), 133-7; G. Özdes, *Türk Carşuları*, İstanbul 1952; M. Erdoğan, *Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iv (1958), 149-82; S. Ünver, *Türkiye'de kahve ve kahvehâneler*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, v (1962), 39-84; O. Bolak, *Has-tahanelerimiz*, İstanbul 1950; O. N. Ergin, *İstanbul müessesât-i khayriyye-i şihhiyyesi*, İstanbul 1912; Zihni Bilge, *İstanbul Rihimlerinin Tarihçesi*, İstanbul 1949; S. Nüzhet Ergun, *İstanbul meşâhîrine ait Mezar kitabeleri*, İstanbul 1932; the Türk Tarih Kurumu Library at Ankara has an unpublished collection of texts of the Ottoman inscriptions of İstanbul.

— F. Maps and Plans: albums of views; guides to the city: *İstanbul harita ve planlar sergisi*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları, no. 11, İstanbul 1961; E. Oberhummer, *Constantinopolis*, Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1013; a list of plans of İstanbul in the Bibl. Nationale, Paris, in Ali Saim Ülgen, *Fatih Devrinde İstanbul*, p. 45; *Ansichten und Pläne von Konst.*, in Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, pp. 387-9; Caedicius (A. Mordtmann), *Ancien plan de Constantinople imprimé entre 1566 et 1574*, Constantinople 1889; for the plan issued by Zuan Andrea Vavassore (Valvasore), see Oberhummer, *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Süleyman*, Munich 1902, 21, and F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten*, Vienna 1959, 5; on the oldest plan, by J. B. Homann, see Oberhummer, *Constantinopolis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, 1011; for F. Kauffer's plan of 1776, see Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque...*, ii, 115, and J.-B. Lechevalier, *Voyage* (plan); for the plans of H. von Moltke and C. Stolpe, see Mayer, 388; Oberhummer, 1012; for the plan of İstanbul by Nasîh al-Matrafi (in İstanbul University Library, Ms. T 5964), see A. Gabriel, *Les étapes d'une campagne dans les deux Iraks (1537-1538)*, in *Syria*, ix (1928), 328-49; the plan of İstanbul in the *Hüner-nâme* (Ms. Hazine 1523) of about 988/1580 is reproduced in colour in *Hünername minyatürleri ve sanatçıları*, İstanbul 1969, 37; 18th century plan in Hâdîdjî Khalifa, *Djihännümâ*, ed. İbrâhîm

Müteferrika, Istanbul 1145; for the plan of Istanbul in some Mss. of Piri Re'is's *Kitâb-i Bahriyye*, see Oberhummer, *Suleiman*, Tafel xxii.

Plans of the aqueduct and water-installations are found in: Chester Beatty Library Ms. 414 (*Süleymânâme*), fols. 22b-23a; Topkapı Sarayı Library, Mss. Hazine 1016, 1815 and 1816; K. O. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt*, Tafel 15-17; Fatih Library, Ms. Ali Emîri 1282. See also S. Öner, *Fâtih'in oğlu Bâyezid'in su-yolu haritası dolayısıyla 140 sene önce İstanbul*, İstanbul 1945.

Maps of Istanbul (and the Bosphorus): İstanbul University Library Nos. 92760-1 (1:2000, of 1261/1845); Library of the Archaeological Museum, İstanbul, 3031/23/7 (of 1312/1896); E. H. Ayverdi (ed.), *19 asırda İstanbul haritası*, İstanbul 1958 (1:2000, ca. 1293/1876; important). For official maps see *Harita ve plânlar sergisi*, Nos. 51-7. Further: *Plan général de Constantinople*, İstanbul 1922 (1:10,000); *İstanbul Belediye hududu*, İstanbul 1931 (1:50,000); *İstanbul şehir rehberi*, İstanbul 1931 (1:6000; important); *İstanbul plânı*, Harita Genel Müdürlüğü, 1947 (1:15,000).

Views etc.; *İstanbul manzaraları sergisi*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi yayınları No. 9, İstanbul 1959; A. D. Mordtmann, *Historische Bilder vom Bosphoros*, Constantinople 1907; A. Poppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris 1911; G. Gerola, *Le vedute di Constantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, in *Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, iii, Rome 1931; in French, *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Chris. Buondelmonti*, tr. E. Legrand, i, Paris 1897; Eugen Oberhummer (ed.), *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleiman dem Grossen, aufgenommen im Jahre 1559 durch Melchior Lorichs*, Munich 1902; idem, *Ein neuer Plan von Konstantinopel*, in *Mitteil. der Geogr. Gesell. in Wien*, lxi (1918), 527-30; W. S. Maxwell (ed.), *The Turks in MDXXXIII, a Series of Drawings by Peter Coeck of Aelst*, London-Edinburgh 1873; *Vedute di Constantinopoli*, Museo Correr, Venice, i, 1284; Fr. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten von Konstantinopel-Galata ("Pera") und Skutari aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrh.*, Vienna 1959; G. Rodenwaldt, *Stackelbergs Panorama von C.*, in *Kleinasien und Byzanz*, Ist. Forsch., Bd. xvii (1950), 132-6; Fr. Taeschner, *All Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben, ein türkisches Miniaturealbum aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, Hanover 1925; *Album*, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna Cod. 8615, dated 1586; *Album*, ibid., Cod. 8626, ca. 1590; H. Gache (ed.), *La Turquie, dessinée et litogr. par C. Rogier*, Paris-London-Constantinople n.d.; J. F. Lewis, *Lewis's illustrations of Constantinople during a residence in that city in the years 1835-6*, London; *The Graphic*, an illustrated weekly, vols. 13-16 (1876-8), London; *L'Univers Illustré*, vols. 1876-8.

Guide books: J. Murray, *A handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia including Constantinople*, London 1845, 1878, 1893 and 1900; E. Mamboury, *Constantinople, guide touristique*, İstanbul 1925; S. Eyice, *İstanbul, petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs*, İstanbul 1955.

— G. Travellers' Accounts. J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant*, Paris 1918; W. Hasluck, *Notes on Mss. in the British Museum relating to Levantine geography and travel*, in *British School of Athens*, vol. xii, 1905-6, 196 ff., supplementary notes vol. xiii, 1906-7, 339 ff.; Carl Göllner, *Turcica, Die Türkendrucke des XVI. Jh.*, 2 vols., Bucharest 1961-8; A. Leval, *Voyages en Levant pendant les XVI<sup>e</sup>, XVII<sup>e</sup> et*

XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, in *Revue d'Orient et de Hongrie*, Budapest 1897; N. Iorga, *Les voyageurs français dans l'Orient européen*, Paris 1928; idem, *Une vingtaine de voyageurs dans l'Orient européen*, in *Rev. Hist. du Sud-Est Européen*, v (1928), 288-354; Nicolas V. Michoff, *Sources Bibliographiques sur l'histoire de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*, 4 vols., Sofia 1914-34; idem, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles, recherches bibliographiques avec les données statistiques et ethnographiques*, 4 vols., Sofia 1915-67; A. M. Mansel, *Türkiye'nin arkeoloji, epigrafi ve tarihi coğrafyası için bibliyografya*, Ankara 1948; H. T. Dağlıoğlu, *İstanbul Bibliyografyası*, in *Yeni Türk*, 1937; B. Moran, *Türklerle ilgili İngilizce yayınlar Bibliyografyası*, İstanbul 1964; H. Bowen, *British contributions to Turkish studies*, London-New York-Toronto 1945; A. von Harff, *The pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, Hakklyt Society, London 1946; Jörg von Nürnberg, *Ayn Tractat von den Türck*, Memmingen 1482 (Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Inc. Fa. 901<sup>m</sup>); C. T. Forster and F. H. B. Daniel (eds.), *Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, 2 vols., London 1881; Jean Chesneau, *Le voyage de M. d'Aramon*, (1547-49), ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887; H. Derschmann, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, ed. Fr. Babinger, Munich-Leipzig 1923; R. Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen*, . . . 1573-1589, ed. W. Sahn, 2 vols., Königsberg 1912-30; W. Dillich, *Eigenliche kurze Beschreibung und Abriss der weitberühmten Kaiserl. Stadt Constantinopel*, Cassel 1616; Fr. Arnaud, *Voyages à Athènes, Constantinople et Jérusalem*, ed. M. H. Omont, Paris 1909; Moses Almosino, *Extremos y Grandezas de Constantinopla*, Madrid 1638; Thomas Roe, *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his embassy to the Ottoman-Porte from the year 1621 to 1628*, London 1740; P. Gyllius (Gilles), *De Topographia Constantinopolis et de illius antiquitatibus*, Lyon 1561; tr. J. Ball, *Antiquities of Constantinople*, London 1729; Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt on Main 1674; L. Dorez (ed.), *Itinéraire de Jérôme Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople*, Paris 1901; Fr. Babinger, *Ludwig von Rauter und sein verschollenes Reisebuch (1567-71)*, in *Vorderasiatische Studien*, Festschrift für V. Christian, Vienna 1956, 4-11; N. de Nicolay, *Les navigations, pérégrinations et voyages faits en la Turquie*, Anvers 1576; Ph. Canaye, *Le voyage du Levant, 1551-1610*, ed. H. Hauser, Paris 1897; V. Vratislav, *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz in the year of Our Lord 1599*, London 1862; A. Mordtmann, *Eine deutsche Botschaft in Konstantinopel*, Berne 1895; Johann Wild, *Reysbeschreibung eines gefangenen Christen anno 1604*, ed. G. A. Narciss, Stuttgart 1964; S. Schweigger, *Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, ed. R. Neck, Graz 1964; John Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602*, London 1931; Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, 3 vols., Rome 1650; Fr. tr. *Voyages*, 4 vols., Paris 1661-4; Cornelius Le Bruyn (Brun), *Voyage au Levant*, Rouen-Paris 1728; K. Tuchelt, *Türkische Gewänder und osmanische Gesellschaft*, Graz 1966; P. Bruno, *Ambassadeurs de France et Capucins français à Constantinople au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le journal du P. Thomas*, Études Franciscaines, vols. xxix, xxxi, 1913-4; A. Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople, 1672-1673*, ed. Ch. Schefer, 2 vols., Paris 1881; L. Gédoyen, *Journal et Correspondance*, ed. A. Poppe, Paris 1909; Du Loir, *Les Voyages*, Paris 1654; J. de Thévenot,

*Relation d'un voyage fait en Levant*, Paris 1664; L. L. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ed. J. B. Labot, 6 vols., Paris 1735; R. C. Temple (ed.), *The travels of Peter Mundy, 1608-1667*, 3 vols., Cambridge 1907; T. Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks*, London 1678; Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage à Constantinople*, Paris 1680; Fr. de la Croix, *Mémoires*, Paris 1684; M. Fabvre, *Etat présent de la Turquie*, Paris 1675; N. Mussi, *Relazione della città di Constantinopoli*, Bologna-Bassano 1675; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de J.-B. Tavernier en Turquie en Perse et aux Indes*, Paris 1677; idem, *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du sérail du G. Seigneur*, Cologne 1675; J. Covell, *Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell*, ed. J. T. Bent, London 1893; J. P. Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717; R. Pococke, *A description of the East and some other countries*, 2 vols., London 1743; T. Thornton, *The present state of Turkey*, 2 vols., London 1809; H. C. von Reimers, *Reise... im Jahr 1793*, 3 vols., St. Petersburg 1803; Fr. Sevin, *Lettres sur Constantinople*, Paris 1802; J. Dallaway, *Constantinople, ancient and modern*, London 1797; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople...*, 3 vols., Paris 1805; Ch. Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, Paris 1815; Eremya Çelebi Kömürçüyan, *Istanbul Tarihi*, Turkish tr. by Hrand D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1952; Le Hay, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*, 2 vols., Paris 1714-5; J.-B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin*, 2 vols., Paris 1800; M. G. F. A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, 2 vols., Paris 1822; G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire ottoman*, 6 vols., Paris 1798; P. G. Ingigian, *Description du Bosphore*, tr. T. Martin, Paris 1813; Turk. tr. H. Andreasyan, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, Istanbul 1956; D. Sestini, *Viaggio da Constantinopoli a Bassora*, *Accademico Etrusco* 1786; C. Comidas de Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Constantinopoli*, Bassano 1794; [Ch. Salaberry], *Voyage à Constantinople*, Paris 1799; Fr. Murhard, *Gemälde von Konstantinopel*, 2 vols., Penig. 1805; C. Hobhouse, *A journey through Albania... to Constantinople*, London 1812; A. F. Andréossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les années 1812, 1813, et 1814 et pendant l'année 1826*, Paris 1828; L. von Stürmer, *Skizzen einer Reise nach Konstantinopel in den letzten Monaten des Jahres 1816*, Pest 1821; Mme. de la Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore*, Paris 1821; M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, 7 vols., Paris 1787-1824; C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, London 1829; A. Slade, *Records of travel in Turkey and Greece, 1829-1831*, London 1833; J. Brewer, *A Residence at Constantinople in the year 1827*, New Haven 1830; D. Porter, *Constantinople and its environs*, 2 vols., New York 1835; R. Walsh, *A residence at Constantinople*, 2 vols., London 1836; C. C. Frankland, *Travels to and from Constantinople in the years 1827-8*, London 1829; J. Pardoe, *The beauties of the Bosphorus*, London 1839; eadem, *The city of the sultan and the domestic manners of the Turks in 1836*, London 1837; J. F. Michaud and J. J. Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient, 1830-1831*, 7 vols., Paris 1833; A. Brayer, *Neuf Années à Constantinople*, Paris 1836; Alb. Circourt, *Constantinople en 1829*, Paris 1837; Th. Allom and R. Walsh, *Constantinople and the scenery of the*

*Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, 2 vols., London 1838; J. E. De Kay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, New York 1833; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835-39*, Berlin 1841; W. Colton, *Visit to Constantinople and Athens*, New York 1836; Th. Allom, *Constantinople ancienne et moderne*, 3 vols., Paris 1840; Patriarc Constantios, *Constantiniade ou description de Constantinople ancienne et moderne*, Constantinople 1846; C. White, *Three years in Constantinople, or domestic manners of the Turks*, 3 vols., London 1845; I. Hahn-Hahn, *Orientalische Briefe*, 3 vols., Berlin 1844; C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 2 vols., London 1865; Ed. Thouvenel, *Constantinople sous Abdul-Medjid*, in *Revue de deux Mondes*, 4th ser., No. 21, 1840, 68-89; C. Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, New York 1878; Edmund Hornby, *In and around Stamboul*, Philadelphia, n.d.; J. H. A. Ubicini, *Lettere sulla Turchia*, Milan 1853, Eng. tr., *Letters on Turkey*, tr. Lady Easthope, London 1856; F. Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople*, Leipzig 1893; E. de Amicis, *Constantinopoli*, Milan 1878; Eng. tr. M. H. Landsdale, Philadelphia 1896; E. Pears, *Forty years in Constantinople: recollections 1873-1915*, New York 1916. (H. İNALCIK)

ISTANBUL-MONUMENTS [see SUPPLEMENT]

ISTANKÖY [see ON İKI ADA].

ISTĀR (ιστάρ), a weight in the apothecary's or troy system, taken over from the Greeks and usually estimated according to two different scales. On the one hand we find the equations: 1 *istār* = 6 *dirham* and 2 *dānaḥ* = 4 *mithkāl* (an apothecary's stater); on the other, we have 1 *istār* = 6½ *dirham* = 4½ *mithkāl* (commercial *istār* in the East). The first equation will only be correct if the coined *dirham* and the *mithkāl maiyāl* are taken

$$\frac{(2.97 \times 2 \times 2.97)}{6} = 18.81 = 4.72 \times 4 = 18.88.$$

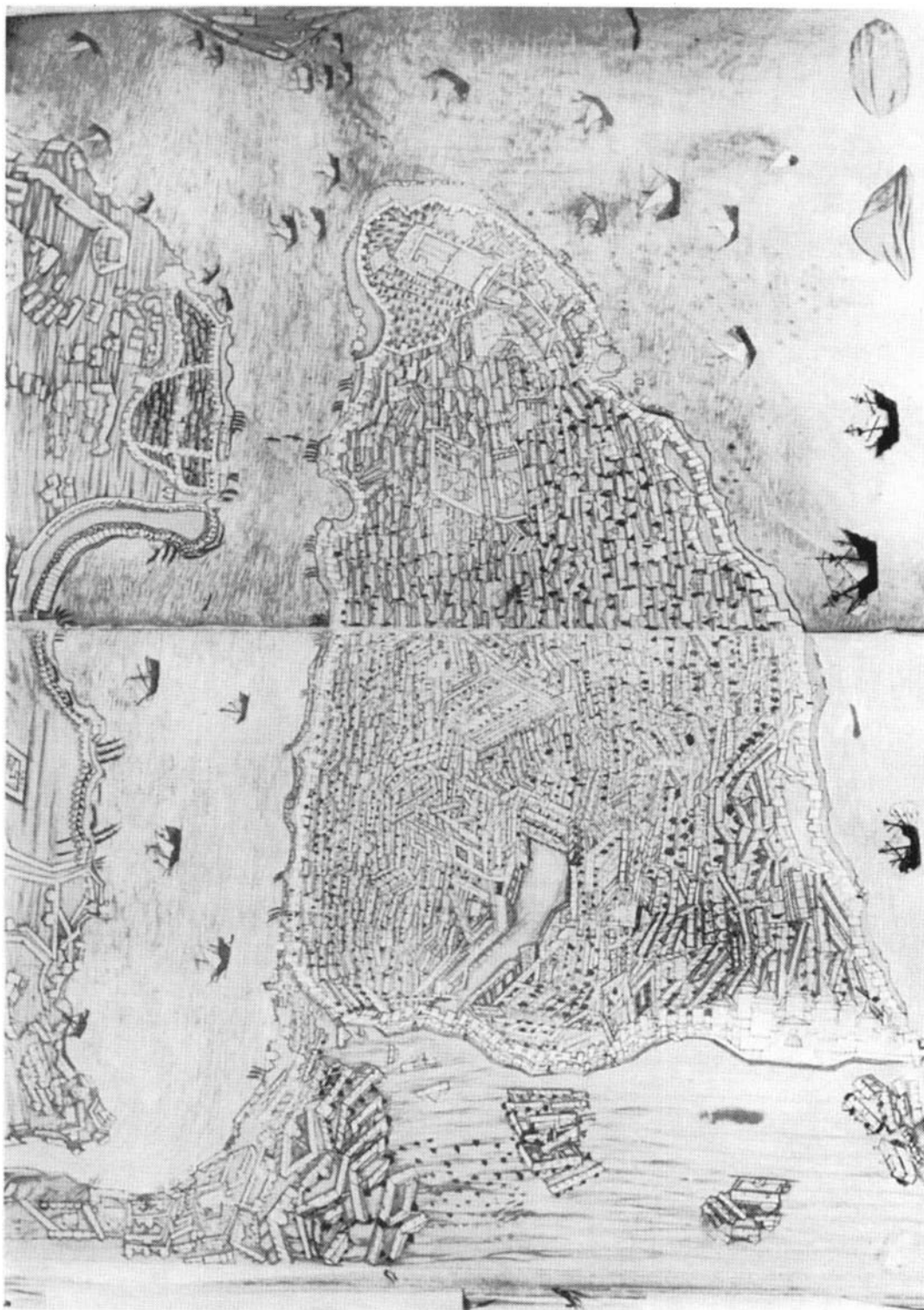
The second equation is approximately correct only if we take the coined *dirham* and the old *mithkāl* (gold *dinār*) ( $2.97 \times 6.5 = 19.3 = 4.24 \times 4.5 = 19.125$ ). In both cases the result is a much larger amount than that of the usual Greek stater. The further ratio that 20 *istār* go to the *raṭl* (pound) is only true of the *istār* of 6½ *dirham* and the Baghdād *raṭl* of 130 *dirham*.

*Bibliography*: H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, s.v.; Don Vasquez Queipo, *Essai sur les Systèmes métriques*, i.

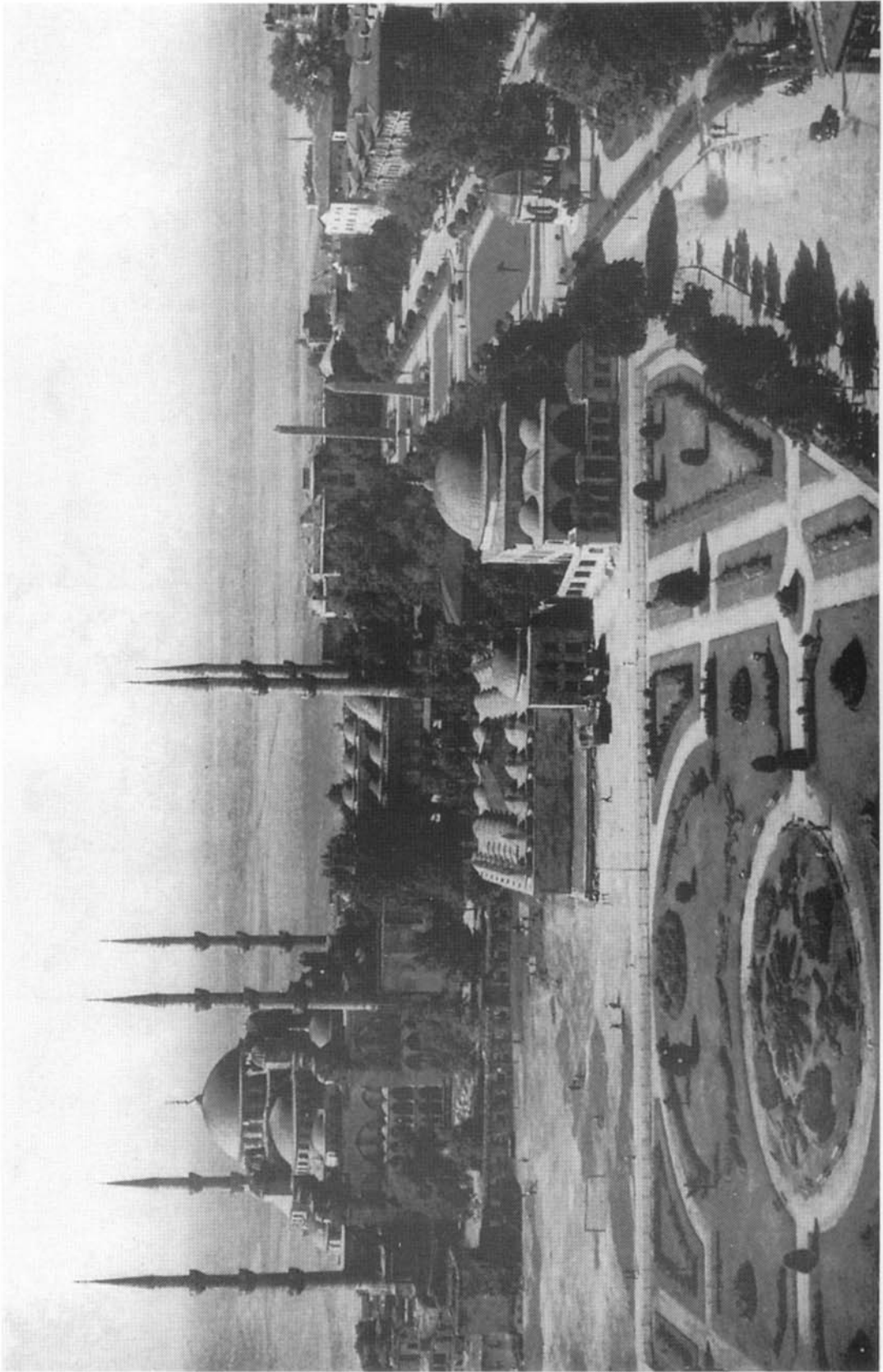
(E. V. ZAMBAUR)

ISTI'ĀRA, term in rhetoric commonly used in the sense of metaphor. This term is among those most frequently discussed by authors of all periods and it is impossible to give a complete account of all definitions, systems of classification, and technical terms, many of which are found in texts that do not specifically deal with rhetoric. The following is an attempt to outline the views of some representative authors.

In the early period the term *isti'āra* is used occasionally in the sense of "borrowing of a theme by one author from another" (see, for instance, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-fārid*, Cairo 1359/1940, v, 338-40) and the metaphor may be indicated by the term *mathal*, "figurative expression" (see, for instance, *al-Mufaddaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, Oxford 1921, 173, l. 4; Sukkarī, *Sharḥ Ash'ār al-Huḍhalīyyīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Ahmad Farrāḍī, Cairo 1383/1965, iii, 1200; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, ed. Ahmad Şakr, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 109; and cf. Bonebakker, *Notes on the Kitāb Naḍrat al-Ighriḍ*, Istanbul 1968, 37) or simply *badīʿ*, "ornate style" (see *Djāhīz, al-Bayān*, ed. 'Abd al-



Plan of Istanbul, circa 1580, attributed to Velican (*Hünername*, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, N° 1523, ff. 158b-159a).



Mosque of Sultan Ahmed and Hippodrome.

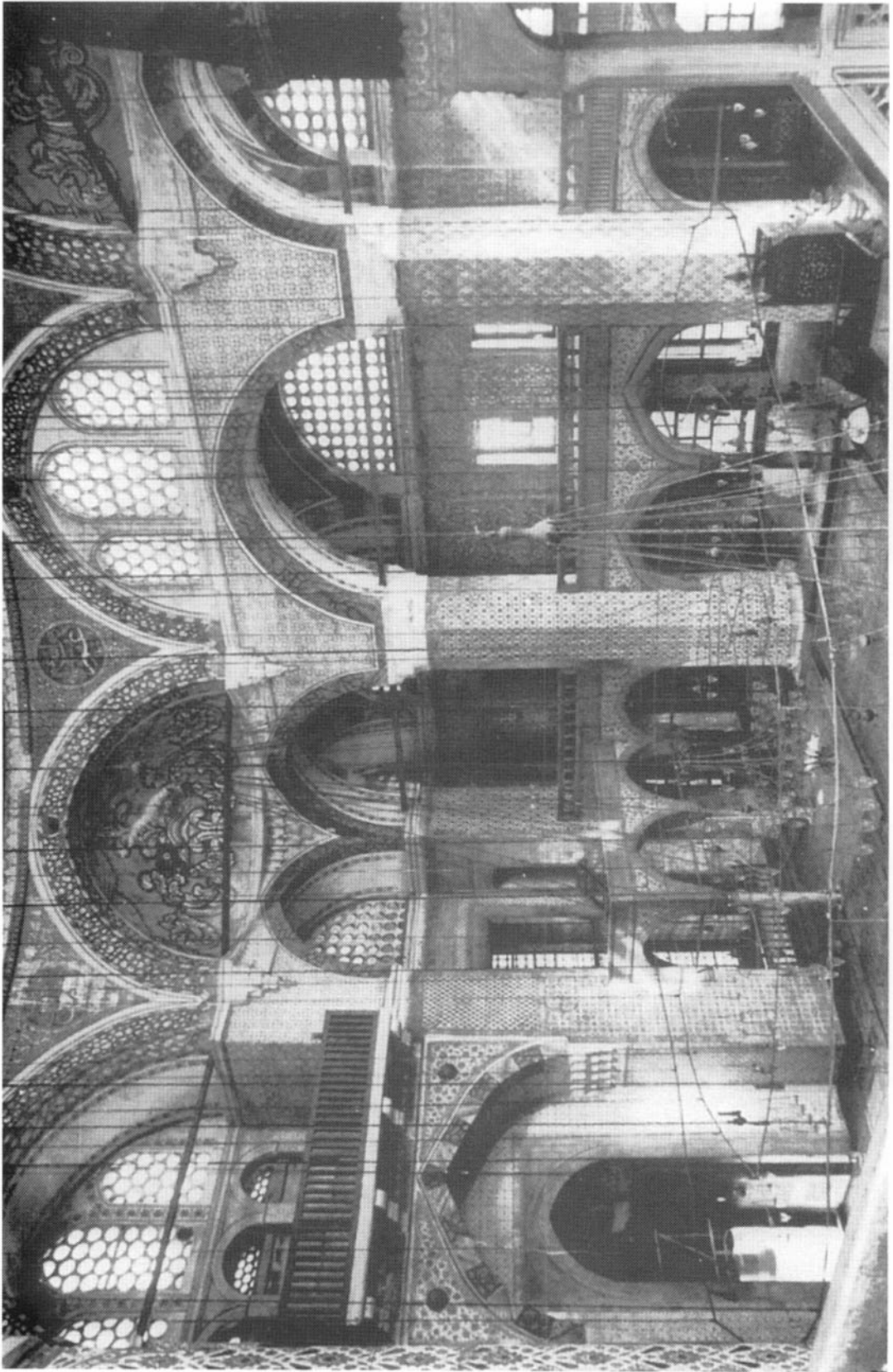




Süleymāniyye mosque with the *medreses*.



View of Rumeli Hisarı on the Bosphorus.



Interior of the mosque of Rüstem Paşa. (Photographs by courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Press)



Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948, iv, 55 [but cf. i, 153]; idem, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 58-9; and the saying by 'Attābī [d. beginning of third/ninth cent.] reported in Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, Cairo 1343/1923, 271). In the sense of "metaphor" it is reported to have been common already with such early philologists as Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. around 154/770) (see Ḥātimī, *Hilyat al-muḥādara*, Ms Fez, Karawiyīn 2934, f. 4b; Bākillānī, *I'djāz*, ed. Şaqr, Cairo 1374/1954, 108 [= G. E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth century document* . . ., Chicago 1950, 7]; Ibn Raṣḥīk, *al-'Umda*, Cairo 1353/1954, i, 239), Ḥammād (d. 155/772 or 156/773), Abū 'Ubayda (d. 209/824-5), and Aṣma'ī (d. 213/808) (see *I'djāz*, 108), but since Aṣma'ī is also said to have used the term *mathal* in speaking of the metaphor (see *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 855, l. 13) it may be suggested that the term *isti'āra* was substituted in later versions of these reports for some other expression. However that may be, it appears already in what is probably the first systematic treatise on poetics in Arabic, the *Kawā'id al-shi'r* (ed. Ramaḍān 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1966, 57-60) of Ṭha'lab (Ṭha'lab lived from 200/815 till 291/904; the date of composition of the treatise is unknown and there is some question about Ṭha'lab's authorship) and is there defined as "to borrow for something the name of something else or [to attribute to it] a characteristic that is not its own" (*an yusta'āra li-l-shay'i ismu ḡhayrihī aw ma'nān siwāhu*). The definitions offered by Ibn Kūṭayba (d. 276/889) in his *Ta'wīl mushkil al-Kur'ān* (ed. Aḥmad Şaqr, Cairo 1373/1954, 102) and by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (wrote 274/887) in his *K. al-Badī'* (ed. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 2) are hardly more precise. In fact the two last authors quote examples which later critics would have qualified as "trope" (*maḍjāz*), "simile" (*tashbih*), or "metonymy" (*kināya*), though the majority of the examples would also be *isti'āras* according to later definitions of the term and are often repeated in later handbooks. The same is true of Kudāma b. Dja'far (d. after 320/932) who, moreover, in his *Naḥd al-Shi'r* (ed. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956) gives examples of the metaphor under the headings *tamthil* (pp. 90-2) and *isti'āra* (pp. 104-5) without making sufficiently clear how the two figures are related. He sees the acceptable *isti'āra* as essentially a simile and the *tamthil* as the use of a figurative expression (*mathal*) to convey the idea the poet has in mind (see also the definitions and examples in the *Djawāhir al-alfāz*, Cairo 1351/1932, 5, 7-8, attributed to Kudāma). The often quoted example from the poetry of Imru'ū'l Kayṣ: *ḡayd al-awābid*, "shackles upon the legs of wild animals", for a horse that overtakes wild animals in chase is quoted (p. 88) in Kudāma's chapter on the "metonymy" (*irdāf*). The same confusion exists between the chapters on *isti'āra* and *mumāthala* (= *tamthil*) in the *K. al-Şinā'atayn*, (Cairo 1371/1952, 268-306, 353-6) of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. after 395/1004). Abū Hilāl, however, offers a more detailed explanation of the mechanism of the metaphor pointing out frequently, especially in examples taken from the Qur'ān, how the tropical expression is related to the concept the author wishes to put into words and why the metaphor is more effective than the conventional expression. His discussion of Qur'ānic metaphors closely resembles that of his contemporary, Rummānī (d. 384/994), in his *K. al-Nukat fi i'djāz al-Kur'ān* (ed. Muḥ. Khalaf Allāh and Muḥ. Zaghūl Salām in *Ṭhalāth Rasā'il*, Cairo n.d. 79-87), though Rummānī's formulations are somewhat more accurate. Both authors also indicate that the metaphor makes it possible to illustrate abstract concepts with concrete

analogies and insist that a metaphor is acceptable only if it is more striking than the conventional expression. This last question is also the subject of a discussion by Hātimī (d. 388/998) who in his *al-Risāla al-muḍāhā fi dhikr sarikāt Abi 'l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī* . . . (ed. Muḥ. Yūsuf Naḍīm, Beirut 1385/1965, 69-73, 90-4) distinguishes three types of *isti'āra*: The first type conforms to the above standard and consists of metaphors that can be justified. He calls this type the "elegant metaphor" (*isti'āra mustahsana*). The second is characterized by the use of terms applicable to animals instead of the corresponding terms used in speaking of human beings, e.g., *ḡāfir*, "hoof", for "foot", *mishḡar*, "camels' lip" for *ḡafsa*, "lip [of a human]", etc. He calls this the "ungainly metaphor" (*isti'āra mustahdjana*). The third type which he considers less ugly than the second consists of using terms applicable to human beings instead of terms specifically used for animals (cf. the discussion of examples belonging to the second type in Ibn Kūṭayba, *Ta'wīl mushkil al-Kur'ān*, 116-7; the discussion of the term *mu'āzala* in Kudāma, *Naḥd*, 103; Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, Ḥaydarābād 1344/1925, iii, 489b-9ra; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, i, 43-4; Abū Hilāl, *K. al-Şinā'atayn*, 301; and 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī's views on this type of expression below). In what appears to be a fourth category he mentions cases (like "my thoughts stumble [while reflecting] on your glory") where the metaphor is "obscure and far fetched" (*ḡhāfiya ba'ida*).

Probably the first to distinguish carefully between the *tashbih* and the *isti'āra* and to formulate a closer definition of the figure is 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1001). In a passage in his *al-Wasāfa* (Cairo 1370/1951, 41) he makes clear that the line by Abū Nuwās: "Love is a mount and you are its rider; turn its bridle and it will obey you" is not an *isti'āra*, but a simile (*tashbih*) or a proverbial saying (*darb mathal*). In a proper *isti'āra* the borrowed term (*al-ism al-musta'ār*) completely replaces the proper term (*al-aṣl*). The *isti'āra*, according to him, is "based on establishing a close similarity, on [the existence of] an affinity between the proper and the borrowed expression, on the blending of the [new] term with the concept [to which it is applied]", etc. (*mu-milākuhā takribu 'l-shabahi wa-munasabatū 'l-musta'āri laḡū li-l-musta'āri minhu wa-'mizādju 'l-laḡi bi-l-ma'nā*, etc.; a different reading and interpretation in Ritter's translation of 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī's *Asrār*, 429; cf. also *al-'Umda*, i, 240). He condemns (pp. 429-33) the anthropomorphism in an *isti'āra* by Mutanabbī: "Many schemes are found together in his mind, though one of these would be [large enough to] occupy the mind of [this] time" and compares this with an *isti'āra* by Ibn Aḡmar where the wind is characterized as "having no constancy in its mind" (*laysa li-lubbihā zabrū*). In the second example the *isti'āra* is based on the similarity between the wind blowing from different directions and the erratic behaviour of a person of unstable character. In the case of the first example no such similarity suggests itself to the hearer. The only way to make such *isti'āras* to some degree acceptable is to think of the frequent occurrence of personifications of time or fate, or to assume an ellipse ("this time" for "the people living in this time"), though by expecting his audience to do so the poet goes beyond what is aesthetically or grammatically acceptable (the lacunae in the text should be completed from the quotations in *Khafādji*, *Sirr*, 144 ff.; *Khafādji* does not agree with 'Alī al-Djurdjānī's qualified acceptance of these and similar examples).

Ibn Rashīk (d. 456/1063-4 or 463/1070-1) in his *K. al-'Umda* (Cairo 1353/1934, i, 239-50) shows himself familiar with the definition of 'Alī al-Djurdjānī, but nevertheless draws no clear distinction between simile and metaphor in his examples, and, like his predecessors, fails to explain the exact relation between this last figure and the *tamthīl*, though he classifies *tamthīl* as a type of *isti'āra* (p. 247; cf. however p. 245, l. 4-5, and on pp. 247 bottom and 249, l. 15 his observations on the absence of the comparative particle in both *tamthīl* and *isti'āra*). He prefers metaphors that can be easily understood, like "Daybreak carried away the Pleiades in its yellow (or white) cloak" for "Daybreak made the Pleiades fade away" in which, he says, the metaphor is based on a simile (the poet's comparison of the bright cloak with the light of daybreak), to metaphors that are less easy to understand, like "The reins of the morning had come into the hands of the north wind" for "The north wind held sway over the morning" where the poet gives to the morning and to the north wind each an attribute that cannot be associated with it (*mā laysa minhu wa-lā ilayhi*). He does not accept the view of some "radical" (?) (*muta'akkib*) theorists who prefer the second type of metaphor (which is based on personification and analogy) and consider the first type inferior because it is based on an [easily understandable] simile. He further illustrates this principle, but fails to analyse it properly, and also points out that the same kind of metaphor may be fitting in one context and ugly in another.

Khafādī (d. 466/1073-4) in his *Sirr al-Faṣāha* (Cairo 1372/1953, 134-69) bases his discussion of the *isti'āra* on Rummānī and 'Alī al-Djurdjānī. He does not, however, accept as *isti'āras* sentences like "She dropped pearls from narcissi", etc. which he classifies as *tashbih*. He does not offer an explanation. What he has in mind is perhaps that because *asbalat*, "she dropped", in this context only allows us to take "pearls" and "narcissi" as standing for "tears" and "eyes" a simile is forced upon the hearer and it becomes impossible to argue that the two words are not to be understood in their proper sense (but cf. Ibn al-Aḥḥār, *al-Maṭhal*, i, 359). In "And the head is ablaze with hoariness" (Qur'an, XIX, 3) "hoariness" as the notion to which the metaphor is applied (*al-musta'ār lahū*) is compared to "fire" as the notion from which it is derived (*al-musta'ār minhu*), but the fire is not mentioned, only one of its attributes, and there is good reason to qualify "to be ablaze" (*al-musta'ār*) as a term used in an improper way (*Sirr*, 134-6). He prefers *isti'āras* that are immediately apparent to the hearer to those that cannot be justified as based on intelligible similarities or are derived from expressions that are themselves metaphors. One may speak of "the eye of a flower" since there is an obvious similarity, but not of "the eye of faith that finds consolation", since there is nothing in faith that could be compared to an eye. The metaphor in "the saddle feeds on (= takes away) the fat of the hump of the camel" is more obvious than that in "the horses and riding animals of passion have become unharnessed", since the latter example derives from another, more common, metaphor: "He rode his passion and ran on its race track". As usual the distinction between *isti'āra* and *tamthīl* is not clearly defined (see the examples on pp. 166 below and 167 above repeated as *tamthīl* on p. 325).

The most important discussion of the *isti'āra* is found in the *Asrār al-balāgha* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954; German translation H. Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse*

*der Wortkunst des 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānī*, Wiesbaden 1959) of 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). In his *Dalā'il al-I'djāz* (Cairo 1367/1947-8, 331-46) which, according to Ritter (see the Intro. to this ed. of the *Asrār*, 6) was probably written earlier than the *Asrār*, 'Abd al-Kāhir takes his predecessors to task for defining the *isti'āra* as a transfer (*naḥl*) of terms. He argues that the *isti'āra* is a claim (*iddi'ā'*) that something is identical to something else. The very effect of the figure depends on this claim and consequently there is a transfer of a concept before there is a transfer of a term. In the *Asrār*, however, he describes the *isti'āra* as generally speaking (*fi 'l-djumla*) the incidental use (*naḥl ghayr lāzim*) of a term in a sense different from its original sense (i.e. the well-known sense supported by literary evidence), so that it appears like a loan (*'ariya*) (p. 29 = tr. p. 46; cf. p. 379-81 = tr. p. 441-3) and recognizes that his concept of the figure is essentially that of his predecessors among whom he mentions Āmidī (d. 370/980) and 'Alī al-Djurdjānī (p. 298 = tr. p. 348, p. 368 = tr. p. 429, p. 370-1 = tr. p. 431-2). They differ from him in that they did not offer a detailed analysis of simile (*tashbih*), analogy (*tamthīl*), and metaphor (*isti'āra*), and were content to offer a few examples of these figures without a proper definition. (p. 26-8 = tr. p. 43-5). For 'Abd al-Kāhir the *isti'āra* is one of various types of trope (*madjāz*) inasmuch as there is always an association (*mulāḥaḥa*) with the normal sense of the term (p. 325-6 = tr. p. 378-80, p. 365 = tr. 425-6). However, in the case of the *isti'āra* there must exist some property common to the object to which the term is normally applied and the object to which it is applied metaphorically. He draws attention to the etymology of the term *isti'āra* as derived from *'ariya*, "borrowed good", "loan". The owner's claim to his property does not cease to exist, but the borrowed goods perform in the hands of the borrower the same function as in the hands of the owner (p. 372-3 = tr. pp. 432-4; cf. pp. 300-2 = tr. pp. 350-2). If one says: "I see a lion", meaning a courageous man, what one has in his mind is to attribute to the man the most striking property of the lion, its courage; but if one uses the word *yad*, "hand", in the sense of "favour" in "I owe him a favour" (*lahū 'indī yadun*), one has no intention to describe a property of the hand. It becomes possible to argue that "favour" and not "hand" is the original meaning of the word *yad*, though upon closer examination one finds that there exists a reference to an activity originally involving the hand (cf. also p. 326 ff. = tr. p. 380 ff.). 'Abd al-Kāhir makes a further distinction by pointing out that the *isti'āra* is more striking than the conventional expression (and as such has an aesthetic function): When a poet uses the term *shafa*, "lip" in speaking of the lip of a horse (*djāḥsal*) or the lip of a camel (*mishfar*) there is only a free use of near synonyms or the use of a general instead of a specific term (p. 30-1 = tr. p. 48-9, p. 373-4 = tr. p. 434-5), but when he uses "horse's lip" or "camel's lip" in speaking of a human being one already has a borderline case, since one can easily imagine that what the poet is trying to say is that the man's lips are thick or that he is as miserable as an animal (p. 34 ff. = tr. p. 52 ff.). 'Abd al-Kāhir distinguishes three types of metaphors:

(a) metaphors based on a comparison of notions that show a close affinity and in any case belong to the same category: "flying" for "running".

(b) metaphors based on a comparison of objects that share certain qualities: "sun" for "beautiful face".

(c) metaphors based on a similarity that can only be understood intellectually, the metaphor consisting of (1) things sensually perceived for intellectual concepts: "light" for "convincing argument", (2) things sensually perceived for other things sensually perceived though the similarity remains a matter of the intellect: "green plants on a dung-hill" for "beautiful women of evil character", and (3) intellectual concepts for other intellectual concepts: "death" for "ignorance", "meeting death" for "facing a serious crisis". For metaphors based on abstract similarity, as well as for the various types of explicit similes that would correspond to them, he uses the term *tamthīl*. The similarity can only be established by analysis (*ta'awwul*), since the metaphor or simile is not based on a common property (as in the comparison of a rose with a cheek), but on something conditioned by a property (it is as difficult to deny the existence of the sun as to deny the truth of a convincing argument). In some cases there is "a similarity between two groups of objects in each of which there exists an inner relation between, not only a simple coordination of, various elements, a relation which can only be expressed in the form of a sentence" [or its equivalent] (*Asrār*, Introd., 14), and the *tamthīl* is therefore closely related to the proverbial sentence (*maṭhal*): "The bow is in the hands of the bow-cutter" for "The matter has been entrusted to a competent person" (p. 94 = tr. p. 120). According to 'Abd al-Kāhīr such sentences owe their peculiar effect to the fact that the mind accepts a not so familiar concept more readily if the author can illustrate it with a situation with which it is thoroughly familiar, such as when one uses an old friend to introduce a newcomer (*Asrār*, Introd., 15). In such sentences the terms themselves are, of course, used in their proper meaning, and hence it becomes possible to explain apparent anthropomorphisms in the Qur'ān like "The whole earth is in the grip of his hand on the Day of Resurrection" (Qur'ān XXXIX, 67) as analogies for intellectual concepts (p. 331-2 = tr. p. 386-7; Intro., 11), though he warns against arbitrary explanations (p. 363-4 = tr. p. 422-4).

'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī also examines the use of metaphors to create fantastic aetiologies such as are common in post-classical Arabic and Persian poetry. In "Be not surprised that his shirt is torn: He buttoned it in moonlight" the poet assumes that the common metaphor, "moon" for "beautiful face", is accepted as a reality and then alludes to the common belief that moonlight wears out linen (*Asrār*, Introd., 21-2).

An essential difference between 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī and some of his predecessors and followers is that he does not accept as metaphors sentences like *zaydun asadun* or *zayduni 'l-asadu*, "Zayd is a lion", where a simile is expressed without the help of a specific particle or a verb (cf. however p. 304-5 = tr. p. 354-5). Nor does he consider as such *taḍjīrīd* expressions like *lakūtu bihī asadan*, *ra'aytu minhu layṭhan*, "I met/I saw in him a lion" (p. 310-11 = tr. p. 361-2). He hesitates however in cases like "[He is] a full moon that spreads its light over the earth from east and west, but leaves the place of my camel's saddle in the black darkness", since one cannot compare somebody to the moon and then ascribe to him a property that the moon does not have. Such sentences are based on the assumption that the hearer has already accepted that the subject of the poem is a special kind of moon, so that the poet can attribute to this moon some unusual qualities (p. 305 ff. = tr. p. 355 ff.; for a more detailed discussion of 'Abd al-

Kāhīr's theories see *Asrār*, Introduction, from which some of the above definitions and translations have been taken).

The compendiums based on 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī, beginning with the *Nihāyat al-idjāz fī dirāyat al-i'djāz* (Cairo 1317/1899) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī ([q.v.] d. 606/1209) and the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* (Cairo 1356/1937) of Sakkākī ([q.v.] d. 626/1228-9), together with the numerous commentaries on these compendiums, almost completely superseded the *Dalā'il al-i'djāz* and the *Asrār al-balāgha*. In the *Nihāya*, which contains a useful summary of Djurdjānī's ideas, Fakhr al-Dīn attempts to clarify the two opposing viewpoints expressed by Djurdjānī on the character of the *isti'āra*. After offering interesting arguments in favour of the theory outlined in the *Dalā'il* he declares himself in favour of Djurdjānī's later theory as presented in the *Asrār*: By calling a man a "lion" one attributes to him the lion's courage, not his physical qualities, which means that the word *asad* is used in a more restricted sense (p. 84-5; cf. *Asrār*, 379-81 = tr. 441-3). Hence the metaphor has to be considered a "trope of the language" (*maḍjāz lughawī*; cf. however Djurdjānī's observations on the *maḍjāz akli*, the "trope of the intellect" in the relation between a verb and its agent in *Asrār*, 342-5 = tr. 399-402, 376 ff. = tr. 437 ff. and Intro., 23-4). Among the works based on the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*: the *Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ* (a digest of the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*) of ʿIjālāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī [q.v.], also known as the *Khāṭib Dimashk* (d. 739/1338); *al-Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar* of Taftāzānī (d. between 791/1389 and 797/1395); and the *ʿUkūd al-djumān* of Suyūṭī ([q.v.] d. 911/1505) have been summarized in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Copenhagen/Vienna 1853). The question whether the *isti'āra* constitutes a claim that something is identical with something else (and is therefore a figure depending solely on the intellect, 'akli) or an improper use of a term (and therefore a semantic phenomenon, *lughawī*) is resolved in favour of the last point of view by postulating that in claiming for a man the characteristics of a lion (*asadiyya*) one claims that there are two possible types of lion covered by the term, one generally known (*muta-ʿāraf*) and possessing all the psychical and physical characteristics of the animal, and one not generally known and possessing the psychical, but not the physical characteristics. The context (*karīna*) indicates that not the generally known meaning is intended and distinguishes the *isti'āra* from a false claim where it would be essential for the author not to include anything in the context that would disprove this claim (*Miftāḥ*, 175-6). Though the author's intention to use a word metaphorically would thus be clear from the context, this context may still contain elements that support its common meaning, as in "Those are they who have purchased error with right direction, and their trade was not profitable" (Qur'ān, II, 15) where the common meaning of "purchasing" in the sense of "purchasing goods in the market" is supported by "their trade was not profitable". In this case we speak of an *isti'āra murashshaha* or "prepared *isti'āra*". In case no such elements exist we have an *isti'āra mudjarrada*, or "bare *isti'āra*", as in "I attacked a lion groaning under [the burden of] his armour" (to be distinguished from the *isti'āra muflaka* or "absolute *isti'āra*" in 'indī *asadun*, "with me is a lion" i.e., a courageous man, where there are no elements in the context supporting "lion" in its proper or in its metaphorical sense; various interpretations of this type of *isti'āra* in *Shurūḥ al-Talkhīs*, Cairo 1937, iv, 127-8). Following Djurdjānī's discus-

sion of the "substratum" (*dhāt*) of the *isti'āra* (*Asrār*, 42-7 = tr. 63-8), these authors furthermore distinguish an *isti'āra takhyīliyya* or "fantastic *isti'āra*", as in the famous line by Abū Dhū'ayb al-Huḡḡhalī: "When fate plunges its talons in its prey, you find that no amulet will help", where the attribution of talons to fate suggests that fate is a wild animal. Since "fate" is here still indicated by its proper term, the *isti'āra* is achieved "metonymically" (*bi-l-kināya*; Sakkākī's point of view as expressed in the *Miftāḥ*, 178, l. 6-15 differs from that of Kaẓwīnī, *al-Idāḥ*, v, 165 ff. and Suyūṭī, *Uḡūd al-djumān*, 99-100). These as well as other terms and definitions adopted by the followers of 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī, though they help to present 'Abd al-Kāhīr's ideas in a well-ordered form, do not seem to offer an essentially new approach to his theory of the figure (for further details see Mehren, 31-40, 75-91), but numerous works by authors belonging to this school still remain to be investigated.

Ibn al-Aḡhīr (d. 637/1239) in his *al-Maḡhal al-sā'ir* (Cairo 1358/1939, i, 57-64, 355-88) sees the metaphor as a shortened simile (*tashbīḥ maḡdhūf*). He considers it essential that the original notion and the notion substituted for it should share a common characteristic that is obvious and therefore easily recognizable and analogous to the acquaintance (*ma'rifa*) that exists between lender and borrower in a loan transaction. He therefore does not consider as *isti'āras* examples like the line by Abū Nuwās: "Hoarse is the voice of property (*buhḡa ṣawtu 'l-māli*) from complaining against you and raising its voice [against its being spent too liberally]", apparently because he sees no good reason for comparing property to a human being with a voice (cf. Ibn Rashīk, *al-'Umda*, i, 240). He considers this and similar examples as no more than a trope (*maḡāzāz*) resulting from an extension of usage (*lawassu' fi 'l-kalām*) and closely resembling the simile by virtue of the annexation in the genitive (pp. 356, 361-2). Nor does he consider as *isti'āras* anthropomorphisms like "And neither the heaven nor the earth wept over them" (Kur'an XLIV, 28) and the Prophet's description of Uḡud: "This is a mountain we love and that loves us", though the absence of the annexation in the genitive makes these expressions acceptable. Though he offers interesting discussions of the views of some of his predecessors, Ibn al-Aḡhīr's own definitions of the *isti'āra* are obscure and his choice of examples shows inconsistencies.

Similar inconsistencies exist in the *K. al-Ṭirāz* (Cairo 1332/1914, i, 197-260) of Yaḡyā b. Ḥamza al-'Alawī (d. 747/1346), though otherwise this book offers a useful summary of the views of some early as well as some later authors (Ibn al-Aḡhīr and the followers of 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī). The author inclines towards considering expressions like *zaydun asadun* as metaphors, but *zayduni 'l-asadu*, as well as expressions that make use of particles of comparison, as similes (pp. 202-9), a question much debated by 'Abd al-Kāhīr. His substitution of the term *isti'āra muwashshaha*, "ornamented *isti'āra*", for *isti'āra murashshaha* is no doubt the result of a misreading.

Chapters on the *isti'āra* in later handbooks likewise offer no more than summaries of earlier definitions and repeat or elaborate the essential elements of the theories of 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī and his school along with some refinements, such as the observation that in "Those are they who have purchased error with right direction, and their trade was not profitable" we have an *isti'āra murashshaha* in which two *isti'āras*, "buying" and "profitable trade" support each other (Ibn Ḥidjīdja, *Khisāna*, Cairo 1304/1886,

49). They sometimes offer copious examples of *isti'āras* in the work of post-classical poets.

On Abū Biḡhr's (d. 328/939) translation of the Poetics of Aristotle and the resulting misconceptions on the metaphor in the digest of the Poetics by Avicenna and Averroes see F. Gabrieli in *RSO* xii (1929-30), 293, 301 n. 3, 304, 318, 321; Kuḏāma, *Nakā*, Intro., 42 (but cf. S. Afan, *The commentary of Avicenna on Aristotle's Poetics* in *JRAS* (1947), 188; W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und Griechische Poetik*, Beirut 1969, 156).

*Bibliography*: in addition to the fundamental works mentioned in the text: Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 245-64; Ibn Abī 'l-Isba', *Tahrīr al-taḡbīr*, Cairo 1383/1963, 97-101; idem, *Badī' al-ḡur'an*, Cairo 1377/1957, 17-27; Ṣhams al-Dīn Muḡ. b. Kaẓs al-Rāzī, *al-Mu'djam fi ma'āyīr ash'ār al-'adjam*, ed. Mirzā Muḡ. al-Kazwīnī, Leiden 1909, 336-40; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Kazwīnī, *al-Idāḥ fi 'ulūm al-balāgha*, Cairo 1368/1949, v, 43-183 (detailed notes on the theories of authors belonging to the school of 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī); Taftāzānī, *al-Sharḡ al-muḡawwal*, Istanbul 1330/1911, 354-405; Suyūṭī, *Uḡūd al-djumān*, Cairo 1358/1939, 92-100; 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid al-tanṣīḡ*, Cairo 1367-1947, ii, 132-72; Ibn Ma'sūm, *Anwār al-rabī' fi anwā' al-badī'*, Naḡīaf 1388/1968, i, 243-97; H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Niḡāmis*, Berlin 1927; T. Sabbagh, *La métaphore dans le Coran*, Paris 1943 (uncritical); M. Khalafallah, *Naḡariyyāt 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī*, in *Farouk I University Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, ii (1944), 14-48. A useful discussion of contemporary western definitions of the metaphor raising some questions that were also familiar to the mediaeval Arab critics is *Die Metapher* (Bochumer Diskussion) in *Poetica, Zeitschr. für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, ii (1968), 100-30. See also articles KINĀYA, MAḌJĀZ, TAKHVI'L, TAMTHIL, TASHBĪH in *EI*<sup>8</sup>.

(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

#### ISTIBDĀD [see ZULM].

**ISTIBRĀ'**, the period of sexual abstinence imposed on an unmarried female slave whenever she changed hands or her master set her free or gave her in marriage. Literally, *istibrā'* means to make sure of the "freedom", that is the "emptiness", of the womb. In fact, this period of abstinence was imposed to avoid confusion over paternity since—as there is hardly need to mention—female slaves, especially young ones, were nearly always the concubines of their masters. Nevertheless, the majority of *fukahā'* often lost sight of the point of this institution and imposed *istibrā'* in hypothetical cases where, by the very nature of things, there was no danger of confusion over paternity.

1) When a female slave passed from the ownership of one person to another, for whatever reason—sale, gift, cancellation of sale, exchange, succession, division of spoils or legacy—she had to observe *istibrā'*. In theory, all female slaves came under this obligation, not only those who, by reason of their age, were able to bear children but also pre-pubertal girls, even the very young, and post-menopausal women, excepting only, in Mālikī law, girls who were so young that any sexual relationship with them was impossible (Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, ii, 125).

*Istibrā'* was imposed even on a female slave who was virgin at the time of transfer of ownership, though in such a case there was no possibility of confusion over paternity if she became pregnant later. It is surprising to observe the unanimity of the schools on this point; only the Ṣāhīrīs gave virgins dispensation

from *istibrā'* (Ibn Hazm, *Muḥallā*, x, 315). A classical example is a good illustration of the irrational demands of *fiḥh* in this matter. Suppose that a female slave had been sold by a woman or a eunuch (in such cases *istibrā'* was "recommended" but not obligatory), the sale having been rescinded by mutual consent (*iḥāla*), she returned to the woman or the eunuch. In this case there could be no possible doubt at all about the origin of a possible pregnancy, yet this female slave had to observe *istibrā'* after the dissolution of the sale, even though this took place before the buyer had taken possession of her. Only the Hanafis avoided such an absurdity by waiving *istibrā'* except when the dissolution of the sale, by common consent, took place after the buyer had taken possession.

2) Every female slave had to observe *istibrā'* at the time of her manumission, including an *umm walad* [see 'ABD] at the death of her master. Here too the Hanafis deviated from the solution common to the three other schools by demanding in the case of the *umm walad* not an *istibrā'* of one menstruation but an 'idda of three inter-menstrual periods, as for a free woman, whether the manumission occurred during the lifetime of the master or was a consequence of his death (al-Zayla'ī, *Tabyīn*, iii, 30).

3) Finally, a slave whose master gave her in marriage to a free man or to another slave had to observe *istibrā'*, as it is defined below, except in Hanafī law where the position on this point seems, moreover, curious.

In spite of their tendency to insist on *istibrā'* on the occasion of any change in the juridical status of a female slave, the *fukahā'* avoided carrying their system to absurd lengths. Thus exemption was granted to the slave who had had intercourse with her master and was then freed when he married her after manumission. In this case *istibrā'* would in fact have had no purpose. Such a hypothetical case should not be confused with one where a man buys a female slave whom he frees on the spot and seeks to marry without *istibrā'*. In this case, and with good reason, the Mālikī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī schools insist that there must be an *istibrā'*. Their scholars explain that if Hanafī law says otherwise this is because Abū Yūsuf, wishing to oblige Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who was impatient to possess a slave he was going to buy, had advised him to set her free and then marry her. This was certainly an instance of word-play (Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī*, vii, 507-8).

Duration of *istibrā'*. The waiting period which constitutes *istibrā'*, during which the female slave was forbidden to have any sexual intercourse, lasts until her accouchement in the case of a slave who is pregnant at the time of her sale, manumission or marriage. For women who are menstruating, the time must embrace one complete menstruation (*ḥayd*), that is, the menstruation which proves the emptiness of the womb must begin during the period of "purity" (*ḥuhr*), prior to which the transfer of property, manumission or marriage has taken place. Pre-pubertal or post-menopausal slaves observe a period of retreat of one lunar month. The waiting period is the same whatever the reason for the *istibrā'*, with the sole exception, mentioned above, of the *umm walad*, which, in Hanafī law, entails the observation of an abstinence of three *ḥurū'*, that is, according to the Hanafī definition of the word, of three menstruations. Note-worthy in this respect is a curious rule of Ḥanbalī law which lays down that when a female slave is sold by two co-owners, both of whom have had sexual relations with her, two *istibrā'* must be observed (Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī*, vii, 509). These intervals belong to

the *istibrā'* proper, that is the period of abstinence applying to an unmarried slave. When a slave is married and her marriage is dissolved by repudiation or by the death of her husband, it is no longer a matter of *istibrā'* but of a genuine 'idda [q.v.]. Because of the unquestioned rule of Muslim law that a slave's legal obligations are half those of a free man, this would last for two months and five days if the marriage was dissolved by death and two *ḥurū'* if the woman had been repudiated. Remembering the different interpretation of the word *ḥurū'* by the various schools, this could mean two inter-menstrual periods (the majority of schools) or two menstruations (Ḥanafī school).

*Istibrā'* in the case of termination of slavery. In all cases when a female slave changes master, it is incumbent on the man who acquires her (by sale, gift, inheritance etc.) to see that the said slave fulfils her obligation; in other words he must abstain from sexual intercourse with her until the time of *istibrā'* has expired. The four schools are unanimous on this point and, apart from a few isolated jurists, only the Ḥābirīs imposed this obligation on the vendor (Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, x, 315). Mālikī law worked out an ingenious system that enabled all the pertinent regulations of *fiḥh* to be both effective and easily workable. It entailed giving the slave who should observe *istibrā'* into the hands of a trustworthy person, preferably a woman, who forbade the new owner to come near her until the period of abstinence had elapsed. This system was known as the *muwāda'a*, from *wadi'a*, a trust.

Sanctions for default in *istibrā'*. The man who acquires a new female slave and has sexual relations with her without respecting the waiting period of *istibrā'* commits a grave sin (*iḥm*); although purely religious, this sanction was somewhat awkward for a man who was a believer but also impatient. For his benefit, Ḥanafī jurists invented a *ḥīla* [q.v.], or legal expedient, which permitted the law to be evaded but not infringed. This *ḥīla* consisted of marrying the newly acquired slave to a man of straw, often the dealer himself, who repudiated her then and there, that is before consummating the marriage. In this way she was released from the 'idda and since she had been married *istibrā'* did not apply to her. The schools who condemned *ḥīyal* in principle, such as the Ḥanbalīs and Mālikīs, rejected this expedient without hesitation. (Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī*, vii, 513; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, ii, 123).

Yet the acquirer who had not respected *istibrā'* could suffer indirectly the consequences of his negligence. Supposing, for example, that the slave gave birth to a child less than six months after she had been bought; this was proof that she had been pregnant by her previous master and therefore an *umm walad*; since this meant that she should have been neither sold nor given away, the act of acquisition by her new master was automatically annulled and the slave returned to her former master.

All possible combinations of *istibrā'* with the 'iddas of freed slaves (identical with those of free women) and the 'iddas of married slaves have been the object of lengthy discussions in works of *fiḥh*, to which reference should be made.

*Bibliography*: The works on *fiḥh*, generally in the chapter on the 'idda, especially Marghinānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1936, iv, 65 ff.; Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-Muhtādī* (Shāfi'ī), Cairo 1938, vii, 154-62; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, ii, 123-8; Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī* Cairo 1367, vii, 500 ff. For a comparison between the schools see Dimashqī, *Raḥmat al-*

*umma* on the margin of Sha'rānī's *Mizan*, ed. Ḥalabī, ii, 88-9; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, Rome 1925, i, 252-3. See also 'ABD, 'IDDA and UMM WALAD.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

**ISTIBŞĀR** (KITĀB AL-), an anonymous geo-graphico-historical work of which the full title is *K. al-Istibşār fi 'adjab 'ib al-amşār*. The text does not provide any precise information about the author, who is most probably a Moroccan living in the second half of the 6th/12th century. Indeed it seems likely that the original text is the work of a writer referred to as *mu'allif* or *wādi'*, and that it was subsequently revised and brought up to date by a *nāzir*, who states (p. 226) his intention of writing a history of the Maghrib together with a composition which he had offered to the sovereign in 580/1184-5 (probably Ya'qūb al-Manşūr, 580/95/1184-99). Although the author states that he was writing in Ramaḍān 587/September-October 1191, events occurring after this date are also related, which suggests that the "reviser" restricted his activity to making additions without deleting conflicting facts. The work is dedicated to a certain Abū 'Imrān ibn Abī Yaḥyā b. Waḳtīn, who is otherwise unknown.

The *K. al-Istibşār* is divided into three parts, which contain respectively a detailed description of Mecca and Medina, some more or less legendary information on the history and geography of Egypt, and finally a description of North Africa and of the Bilād al-Sūdān interspersed with historical information; the work is of very uneven value, fantastic stories being related side by side with contemporary documents of undeniable interest.

It was the subject of a partial edition by A. von Kremer, *Description de l'Afrique par un géographe arabe anonyme du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire*, Vienna 1852; thanks to the Mss. Algiers 1560 and Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2225, E. Fagnan was able to fill in some gaps in the rather incomplete text of von Kremer and to give a French translation of it, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère*, in *Recueil de notices et mém. de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine*, xxxiii (1899), Constantine 1900; finally, Saad Zaghloul Abdel-Hamid published the complete text, based on the Mss. Bibl. Nat. 2225 and Algiers 1560 and 3216, together with a translation into French of the section relevant to the Holy Places and to Egypt, under the title *Kitāb al-Istibşār*, etc., Alexandria 1958. Two manuscripts, identical to those used by von Kremer and Fagnan respectively, are in the Bibl. Gén. of Rabat, nos. 415 and 415 bis. It is probable that the manuscripts so far used still contain gaps, because the one author who quotes from the work, Ibn Abī Zar' (*Kirfās*, 24), reproduces a passage which is not in the text as it has been preserved.

*Bibliography*: In the article. (CH. PELLAT)

**ISTIDLĀ**, ECİJA, a town in the centre of Andalusia, to the south-west of Cordova, which today contains 50,000 inhabitants; it is situated on the banks of the river Genil, which was formerly navigable as far as its confluence with the Guadalquivir. Of Iberian origin and colonized by the Greeks, the town was occupied by the Carthaginians, who have left no trace of their stay there, and then was fortified and embellished by the Romans who, at the time of Augustus, made it a *conventus*, the juridical centre of the district. Nothing is known of it under the Visigoths. The town surrendered to the Arabs after the defeat of Don Rodrigo at Lago de la Janda, and the whole surrounding region submitted to the victors without resistance. In the reign of the amir al-Ḥakām I, a dispute over the succession broke

out between the ruler and his two uncles, Sulaymān and 'Abd Allāh, sons of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I; Sulaymān attempted to seize Cordova, and continued to struggle for two years before being defeated in the neighbourhood of Ecija and in the valleys of the Genil and the Guadalquivir; he was finally overcome, captured and put to death, while his brother 'Abd Allāh went to Aix-la-Chapelle to seek support from Charlemagne.

Ecija remained comparatively peaceful until the time when the rebellion of 'Umar b. Ḥafşūn incited the inhabitants, who for the most part were Mozarab, to rise against the government of Cordova, an action which caused Ecija to be regarded as a cursed city inhabited solely by enemies of the Umayyad regime. The amir 'Abd Allāh attacked it, and his successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, on coming to the throne and launching his decisive campaigns against Ibn Ḥafşūn, sent against Ecija his *ḥādīb* Badr with an army which dismantled the town and destroyed its bridge (later rebuilt by al-Manşūr Ibn Abī 'Amīr).

On the fall of the caliphate, Ecija was for a time ruled by the Ḍiḥawārīs of Cordova, but it then passed under the domination of the Banū Birzāl who had made themselves independent in Carmona; but al-Mu'taḍid of Seville, who had seized all the small Berber states, from Morón to Ronda, mercilessly attacked the territories subject to the petty ruler of Carmona, and this town, together with Ecija, Osuna and Almodovar, came under the rule of Seville. Later, at the beginning of the siege of Cordova by Ferdinand III, al-Mutawakkil Ibn Hūd attempted to oppose the besieging army; he took his troops as far as Ecija, but did not dare to engage in battle; he withdrew to Almeria, and the Cordovans, running short of supplies, surrendered on 22 Shawwāl 633/29 June 1236. The Muslims who wished to remain did not leave the town until 681/1282, when they were expelled and replaced by Christians. From then onwards, Ecija formed one of the bases from which the reconquest of the kingdom of Granada was organized.

*Bibliography*: Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār*, ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, 14-5 of the text, 20-1 of the tr.; Ibn 'Iḍḥārī, *Bayān*, ii, 164-5 of the text, 264-5 of the tr.; R. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, ii, 59-99, 287-90; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 152, ii, 6-22; Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico*, vii, 438; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, 77. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

**ISTIDLĀL** [see MANTIḲ].

**ISTIFĀ'** [see MUSTAWFĪ].

**IŞTIFAN B. BASİL** (STEPHANOS), the first translator of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides. Ibn Abī Uşaybi'a speaks of him in two passages in his book: in the first he is cited along with Mūsā b. Ḳhālīd as one of the experienced scribes (*kuttāw nahārīr*), skilled in the art of translating, whom the caliph al-Mutawakkil placed at the disposal of Ḥunayn b. Işḥāk [*q.v.*], who was responsible for checking (*yataşaffah*) their work; the second and more important reference to him is derived from information provided by Ibn Ḍjuldjūl in his lost book on the *Explanation of the names of simples according to the treatise of Dioscorides*. The translation of the *Materia medica* from Greek into Arabic, he says, was made in Baghdād in the time of al-Mutawakkil by Işṭifan b. Basīl (*al-turḍjūmān*), under the supervision of Ḥunayn b. Işḥāk (*al-mutarḍjīm*) who authorized it (*ad-jāzahu*). Işṭifan gave the Arabic equivalents for the Greek names of the drugs with which he was familiar in his day. Those names for which he knew of no Arabic equivalents he left in Greek, "trusting that God would later send someone who would know

them". It should be noted that this first translation was made directly from the Greek, without any intermediate Syriac version.

*Bibliography*: M. Steinschneider, *Die griechischen Aerzte in arabischen Uebersetzungen*, in *Virchows Archiv*, cxxiv (1891), 480-3; Max Meyerhof, *Die Materia medica des Dioskurides bei den Arabern, in Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft und der Medizin*, iii/4 (Berlin 1933). (R. ARNALDEZ)

**ISTIFĀN AL-DUWAYHĪ**, Maronite cleric and historian, born in Ihdin, in the northern Lebanon, in 1629. He studied at the Maronite College in Rome from 1641 until his graduation in 1655, then returned as a priest and missionary to serve his community in Mount Lebanon and Aleppo. In 1668 he was promoted to the rank of bishop and appointed to the diocese of Cyprus; two years later, on 20 May 1670, he was elected to succeed as Maronite patriarch.

As head of the Maronite church, Duwayhī proved an efficient reformer and reorganizer. His administration was notable, among other things, for the establishment of the Maronite order of the Antonines in 1695, and the confirmation of its rules in 1700. He died at Kānnūbīn, the seat of the Maronite patriarchate, on 3 May 1704.

While certainly remembered as a great patriarch, Duwayhī is even better remembered as a historian of the Maronite church and community and of Syria, his three principal historical works being a history of the Maronites (*Ta'rikh al-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya*) which argues for their perpetual orthodoxy (the Maronites are known to have been originally Monothelites), a chronology of the Maronite patriarchs (*Silsilat baḡārikat al-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya*), and a chronicle of the history of Syria from the First Crusade until 1699 (*Ta'rikh al-azmina*) which is valuable particularly for the period following the Ottoman conquest in 1516, and for its references to the history of the Maronites and the northern Lebanon in the earlier centuries. In general, the historical work of Duwayhī reflects his own exceptional intelligence and his careful Roman training, and even the polemics in his history of the Maronite church, which clearly stand out for what they are, do not detract from the scholarly quality of his work.

*Bibliography*: K. S. Salibi, *Maronite historians of mediaeval Lebanon*, Beirut 1959; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. Vatican City 1944-53. (K. S. SALIBI)

**ISTIFĪHĀM** (A.), inf. of the verb *istafhama* "to interrogate", a technical term in Arabic grammar signifying interrogation.

Interrogation can be indicated simply by the intonation of the sentence, particularly in prose that is close to the spoken language. Arabic generally uses two interrogative particles: *a-* (negative *a-lā*, *a-mā*, *a-lam*), *hal*. The second (*hal*) is more energetic than the first (*a-*), but is of more restricted use (Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 19, 10). Sibawayhi (i, 434, line 19-435, lines 1-2) represents the difference between *a-* and *hal* thus: "if you say: *hal taḡribu Zayd*?" "do you hit Zayd?", you are not implying that the act of hitting Zayd is a reality in your mind; you can say: *a-taḡribu Zayd*?", and then you are implying that the act of hitting is a reality". This amounts to saying: *a-* for interrogation concerning a reality, *hal* concerning an act or a possibility, without the implication of any opinion about their realization (cf. Reckendorf, *loc. cit.*, 35 n. 2). W. H. Worrell (in *ZA*, xxi, 126) sees the essential difference as being one of emphasizing the interrogation in the case of

the use of *hal*, that is to say that an emotional element is introduced. It is then of use to consider the usages of *a-*, *hal* and *am* found by G. Bergsträsser, at least in the Qur'ān, in *Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln und Verwandtes im Qur'ān (Leipziger semitische Studien*, v/4 (1914), §§ 68-9). Besides, *a-* can be followed by *-wa-* or *-fa-* (stronger expressions): *a-wa-taḡribu?*, *a-fa-taḡribu?* *a-* can be followed by the inversion of the direct object complement: *a-Zayd*?" *taḡribu?* All these constructions are prohibited with *hal*.

Disjunctive interrogation: the 'arabiyya of the desert used: *a- . . . am* (called *al-multaḡila* "the joined up"), or *aw: a-Zayd*?" *indaka am 'Amr*?" or *aw 'Amr*?" "is it Zayd or 'Amr that is with you?"; *a-Zayd*?" *laḡita am Bishr*?" or *aw Bishr*?" "did you meet Zayd or Bishr?". "In the course of its development, the language did not preserve this lack of distinction and reserved *aw* for non-interrogative sentences and *am* for interrogative sentences" (M. Gaudfroy-Demombynes and R. Blachere, *Gr. Ar.*<sup>3</sup>, 470, lines 1-4). The Arab grammarians make a subtle distinction between *aw* in interrogative sentences and *am*: see Sibawayhi, ch. 281; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaḡḡal*, § 542 and Ibn Ya'īsh, 1153-4; this doctrine was reported by Wright, *Ar. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, 308 B and Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 311, lines 16 f. This distinction is a subtlety invented *a posteriori* to bring order to a lack of distinction, as Gaudfroy-Demombynes and Blachere state (*loc. cit.*, 470, n. 1).

On the use of *hal . . . aw* or *hal . . . am*, more frequently *bal am*, see Sibawayhi, ch. 280, Wright, ii, § 167, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 311; *am* "but rather" is then called *al-munḡati'a* "the separated" by the Arab grammarians. This *am al-munḡati'a* is also found in *am* of: *a- . . . am* (see Bergsträsser, *loc. cit.*, §§ 73-4).

Remarks: a) For a negative answer to one of the two terms of a disjunctive interrogation, see Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, § 160 c.

b) *a-lā* is very frequently an exclamatory particle: "well, now! come on! look here!" *a-mā* is also found in this sense. See examples: Wright, ii, § 168; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 39.

*allā* (*alā* = *a-lā*, less strong than the preceding one), *hal-lā*, are used as exclamatory particles exhorting someone to do something (with the imperative), or reproaching someone for not having done something (with the perfective); see Wright, ii, § 169, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 39.

c) For rhetorical questions, see Reckendorf, *ibid.*, § 21.

d) In dialect *ha-* is found for *a-*: *ha-mā* for *a-mā*, and *vice-versa*: *al* for *hal*, *allā* for *hallā* (Wright, i, 284 C and 288 A).

*Bibliography*: in the text; in addition, Arab authors: Sibawayhi, i, ch. 28-9, 46 (for indirect interrogation that has no other peculiarity than that of being dependent), 277-81, 283-4, ed. Paris; Zamakhsharī, *Mufaḡḡal*, §§ 541-2, 581-4, 2 ed. Broch and *Sharḡ* of Ibn Ya'īsh, 1151-4, 1201-4, ed. G. Jahn; Ibn Hishām al-Anḡārī, *Mughni 'l-labīb*, i, 13-16, ii, 349-53, ed. Muhyi 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Hamīd; Raḡī 'l-Dīn al-Astarābādī, *Sharḡ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 361-2, ed. Istanbul 1275. For a critique of the Arab sources (in particular *Mughni 'l-labīb*), see: W. H. Worrell, *The Interrogative Particle hal in Arabic, according to Native Sources and the Qur'ān*, in *ZA*, xxi (1908), 116-50. (H. FLEISCH)

**ISTIḤDĀR** [see **ISTINZĀL**].

**ISTIḤSĀN** and **ISTIŞLĀĦ**, two methods of reasoning much discussed in the books on the-

*Uşûl al-Fiĥh* [q.v.] in connection with the doctrine of *ĥiyās* [q.v.]. The two conceptions as a result of their close relationship are sometimes confused (cf. *Shāṭibi*, iv, 116-118; Ibn Taymiyya, v, 22). But no one ever seems to have reached a clear and lucid definition of their mutual relationship.

I. The authorities for *istihsân* which the followers of this method quote from the Qur'an (XXXIX, 18, 55), *hadīth* (*mā ra'āhu 'l-muslimūn ḥasanan fa-ḥuwa 'inda 'llāhi ḥasanan*) and *idjmā'* (going to the bath without previous arrangement about payment etc.), are easily deprived of weight by the opposition and therefore need not be further discussed. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that *istihsân* already leaves its literary impress in *hadīth*, thus going back to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (see Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, 59). For example we already find in Bukhārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 8) the expression *istaḥsana* in the meaning of "to make a decision for a particular interpretation of the law as a result of one's own deliberation". Half a century later, Mālik (d. 179/795) uses the expression in connection with legal decisions for which he cannot find authority in tradition (*Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, xvi, 217; similarly xiv, 134: "This is a matter on which I have received no instruction from my predecessors. It is rather something that we have decided according to opinion" [*wa-inmamā huwa ṣhay'unn istaḥsannāhu*]). About the same time Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798, Ḥanafī) says: *al-ḥiyās kāna an . . . illā anni istaḥsantu . . .* ("according to the *ḥiyās* this and that would be prescribed but I have decided according to my opinion" [*Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Būlak 1302, 117]). *Istihsân* is thus contrasted even more distinctly with the usual method of deducing legislation (*ḥiyās*). The term, in later centuries also, means a method of finding the law which for any reason is contradictory to the usual *ḥiyās*.

It is noteworthy that *Shāfi'ī* (d. 820), the founder of the science of the *Uşûl al-Fiĥh*, fundamentally rejected *istihsân*, because he feared that in this way by going beyond the methodically secure and generally recognized principles of legal interpretation a loophole would be made for arbitrary decision. "God has not permitted any man since his Messenger to present views (*ḥawl*) unless from knowledge that was complete before him" (*Risāla*, 70). If any one in spite of this uses *istihsân* he is bungling the work of God, the highest legislator (*man istaḥsana fa-ḥad ṣhara'a* [quoted in Ghazālī, i, 274 and pass.]). Ghazālī (d. 504/1111) and Bayḍāwī (681/1282 or later, also a *Shāfi'ī*) resumed and developed the discussion initiated by *Shāfi'ī* in a more comprehensive and systematic fashion. *Istihsân* in their view can only be approved in so far as it can be traced to the principle of *takḥṣiṣ* (the preference of a particular to a general prescription). But as *takḥṣiṣ* is already contained in the doctrine of *ḥiyās*, *istihsân* has really no special part to play. Later *Shāfi'ī* authorities like Subkī (d. 1370) and Maḥallī (864/1460) express similar views.

The supporters of the doctrine of *istihsân*—they belong for the most part to the Ḥanafī *madhhab* (Pazdawī [d. 482/1089], Sarāḫsī [d. 483/1090], Nasafī [709/1310] etc. down to Baḥr al-'Ulūm [1225/1810])—make every effort to deprive these objections of their force. To the assertion that the arbitrary opinion of the individual legist is given too much scope, they reply by defining and systematizing *istihsân* more accurately. Their principle of diverging in certain cases from *ḥiyās* and using *istihsân* is—they say—not decided by personal inclinations or by a lack of methodical thinking but

on the contrary by purely material considerations provided for in the law. It is a "concealed *ḥiyās*" (*ḥiyās ḥafī*), a divergence from an externally obvious *ḥiyās* to an inner and self-conditioned decision. The reason for the preference of *istihsân* might be given in the Qur'an, in the Sunna, in the *idjmā'* or in the principle of *darūra*, but in any case it is sanctioned by generally recognized methods of proof. Nor it is true that *istihsân* can be traced back to the principle of *takḥṣiṣ* and thus be brought within the sphere of *ḥiyās* proper. It really lies outside of this narrow sphere and must therefore be recognized as a special form of deduction. For the rest, if we investigate more carefully, we can assert that the form of *istihsân* represented by the Ḥanafīs is also used by representatives of other *madhhab*s. It is in practice the common property of all legists.

If we consider the very minute work of systematization which the later Ḥanafīs (e.g., Ibn al-Humām [d. 861/1457]—Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādīdī [879/1474] and Bihārī [1120/1708]—Baḥr al-'Ulūm [1225/1810]) have done on *istihsân*, we may actually agree with this last deduction. This method of reasoning, which originally aroused such misgiving because it was undefined, is given a place in the casuistic stepladder of the *'ilm uşûl al-fiĥh*, and its possibility of application thus limited to a few accurately definable cases. If nevertheless discussion continued on whether it is justified or not this can only be explained by the fact that the followers of the *Shāfi'ī* school felt themselves bound from a certain traditional principle not to drop the polemic against *istihsân* which had long ago been originated by their master—under different conditions and with more justice.

II. *Istişlāḥ* is, as regards its negative side, closely connected with *istihsân*; here we have again a question of principle by which the otherwise usual method of deduction is to be excluded in the preparation of legal decisions. The difference from *istihsân* is seen only when we enquire into the guiding idea which forms the positive foundation for this principle which is negative in its effects. We then see that *istişlāḥ* is more limited and more closely defined in content than *istihsân* in so far as it replaces the, in itself only formal, "finding-good" of the latter by the material principle of *maşlaha*. It argues with the demands of human welfare in the widest sense. It might therefore be contrasted with the more comprehensive and more indefinite general conception of *istihsân* as a more exactly defined or subordinated species, as indeed al-Işhbilī (Mālikī, d. 546/1151) already pointed out (*Shāṭibi*, p. 117). It is just through this greater definiteness that *istişlāḥ* gains in force compared with *istihsân*. For it is evident that such a plausible idea as that of anxiety for human welfare carries much more conviction in the derivation of legal decisions and can be more readily established than the formal and empty criterion of *istihsân*. In this way it is probably to be explained why the principle of *istişlāḥ* was on the whole not so strongly disputed as that of *istihsân* and why it occasionally, going beyond the denial of the usual *ḥiyās*, even questioned the validity of legal principles emanating directly from the Qur'an, Sunna and *idjmā'* (see below).

Relying on the *hadīth lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra fi 'l-islām* (in Islām there is no injury or malicious damage) and on other testimony from the Qur'an, Sunna and *idjmā'*, later representatives of the *'ilm uşûl al-fiĥh* championed the principle that the whole *Shari'a* furthers or is intended to further the welfare of man (*ri'āyat al-maşāliḥ*). This however does not



yet admit the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* but only a basis for it. *Istiṣlāḥ* is not yet found in operation in the normal deduction of the thesis of *ri'āyat al-maṣāliḥ*, but first occurs in the exceptional case only, namely when the legal principles of the *Shari'ā* afford no direct basis for it. It is therefore called more accurately the principle of *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala*, i.e., of those cases of the *ri'āyat al-maṣāliḥ* in which the chain of deduction does not run smoothly and free from gaps back to the starting point of legislation (cf. the use of the expression *mursal* in the science of Tradition). *Istiṣlāḥ*, like *istiḥsān*, is therefore as a kind of *ḥiyās khafi* (see above) always in contrast to the more obvious method of deducing legal decisions. It is intended to eliminate or at least to correct deductions which take no note of the idea of *maṣlaḥa* in the sense of the latter. If for example—to take a frequently quoted example—the enemies of Islam attack the Muslims and to protect themselves drive Muslim prisoners in front of them, the Muslim ought properly not to shoot at them in view of the prohibition to kill innocent co-religionists. If nevertheless it is decided to do so and this latter prohibition is disobeyed, this is done with the support of *istiṣlāḥ*: it is believed to be more in keeping with the spirit of the law if a few Muslims are sacrificed than if the whole community is handed over to destruction.

The history of the origin and development of *istiṣlāḥ* cannot be traced so far back as that of *istiḥsān*. It is true that it is asserted by different authorities that Mālik (d. 179/795) was the first to use *istiṣlāḥ*, and indeed there is some ground for this, as for example when he declares it permitted in special cases to sell fresh dates not yet picked for ripened dates—against the usual regulation that fresh fruits cannot be sold for dried (*Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, x, 90 ff.: *Kitāb al-'Arāyā*). But in the first place it is not quite certain whether this opinion goes back to Mālik (see p. 94), and secondly a justification of this decision comparable to *istiṣlāḥ* (*li-mā yukhāf min idārikhāl al-maḍarra 'alā sāhib al-'arāyā*: p. 93 f., cf. p. 95) quite obviously comes not from him but—according to Sahnūn (d. 854)—from the circle of his pupils. It should further be remembered that the term *maṣlaḥa* or *istiṣlāḥ* is not mentioned at all in this connection; and finally it should also be noted that *Shāfi'i* (d. 820) in his famous *Risāla* confines the discussion to *istiḥsān*. From this it is probably safe to deduce that the problem of *istiṣlāḥ* was not yet ripe for discussion in his time—unless it was then still regarded as a subdivision of *istiḥsān* and therefore not particularly emphasised. The assertion that Mālik was the first to use *istiṣlāḥ* is therefore in all probability a later ante-dating of the fact that the Māliks made the most frequent use of this principle.

Nor in the period following Mālik and his generation is it possible yet to demonstrate clearly the development of *istiṣlāḥ*. The names which are quoted as authorities in the later works in discussion of the principle—apart from Mālik and *Shāfi'i* (!)—belong at earliest to the 11th century. Perhaps the gap could be filled to some extent if the old and still unpublished *uṣūl* works were systematically studied. In any case the fact that the principle of *istiṣlāḥ*, according to the present state of our knowledge of the sources, is first found at a comparatively late date, does not yet allow us to deduce with certainty an outside influence (e.g., of the *ratio utilitatis* in Roman law). It is equally unjustifiable, in view of the lack of the necessary preliminary work, to assert the quite nat-

ural hypothesis that *istiṣlāḥ* is ultimately to be derived from the Mu'tazilī principle of 'adl.

Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085, *Shāfi'i*) is the first of those who are mentioned as followers of the principle of *istiṣlāḥ*. Unfortunately he does not discuss it in his brief *uṣūl* work *al-Warāḥāt* (but see the quotation from his *Mughīth al-Khālḥ* in Goldziher, in *WZKM*, i, 229, note 5). On the other hand, we possess authentic expressions of opinion by the imām Ḡhazālī (d. 1111), also quoted as an authority, which take us into the heart of the discussion (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 284-315). Ḡhazālī defines the legal term *maṣlaḥa* as "consideration for what is aimed at for mankind in the law" (*al-muḥāfaẓa 'alā maḥṣūd al-shar' . . . min al-khālḥ*: p. 286 f.). By this he means five things: maintenance of religion, of life, of reason, of descendants and property. The consideration of *maṣlaḥa* and its counterpart, the averting of corruption (*daf' al-mafsada*), is, according to Ḡhazālī, generally given by the legal text and therefore coincides with the usual *ḥiyās*. In the cases in which it cannot be deduced by the usual process (*maṣlaḥa mursala*) it is only decisive when there are cogent and unequivocally defined considerations affecting the whole community (*darūri, ḥaf'i, kullī*), for example in the case of defence against an attack made upon the community of Muslims under cover of Muslim prisoners (see above). Otherwise it is not allowed to use *istiṣlāḥ*. If nevertheless a man uses it, he is bungling the work of the divine legislator (p. 311: *wa-man šāra ilayhā fa-ḥad šhara'a*, with reference to *Shāfi'i*'s above-quoted remark on *istiḥsān*). For the rest Ḡhazālī refuses to include *istiṣlāḥ*, which he recognises in this limited form, as a special "root" with the other *uṣūl al-fihh*, as in his view it depends on a combination of proofs from the *Qur'an*, *ḥadīth* etc. and therefore does not constitute an integral base.

After Ḡhazālī, other *Shāfi'i* legal theorists express themselves on the problem of *istiṣlāḥ*, e.g., Bayḍāwī (d. 1282 or later)—Isnawī (772/1370) and Subkī (771/1370)—Maḥallī (864/1460)—Bannānī (1198/1784). They discuss at considerable length the views of their predecessors, especially Ḡhazālī, but contribute very little that is new. On the other hand, the tendency to systematization of the different cases of *istiṣlāḥ* increases. This tendency to systematization however only reaches its height in the later Ḥanafī works on *uṣūl* by Ṣadr al-*Shari'ā* Maḥbūbī (d. 747/1346)—al-Taftāzānī (792/1390 or later)—al-Fanarī (c. 905/1500) and especially Ibn al-Humām (861/1457)—Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādīdī (879/1474) and al-Bihārī (1120/1708)—Baḥr al-'Ulūm (1225/1810). Here we cannot go into the details of their explanations, which are often difficult to follow.

Among the pronounced opponents of *istiṣlāḥ* are mentioned al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233, originally Ḥanbalī, later *Shāfi'i*) and Ibn al-Ḥādīb (646/1249, Mālikī) (Bayḍāwī-Isnawī, iii, 135). At a somewhat later period we may probably include under this heading the celebrated Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). In one of his epistles he gives his views on *maṣāliḥ mursala*. His exposition is rather obscure but it is at least clear that the whole question caused him much misgiving. He laments that many rulers and also ordinary mortals have used the principle of *maṣāliḥ* contrary to the law or in ignorance of it and so—just as with *istiḥsān*—have acted illegally as law-makers. The *Shari'ā*—he thinks—has not neglected *maṣlaḥa*. If the human understanding thinks it may assume a *maṣlaḥa* which is not represented in the law they are only two possibilities: either the law has already indicated it

without his knowledge or it is a question only of an imaginary and not a real *maṣlaḥa*.

In the foregoing it has already been mentioned that the Mālikīs are regarded as the principal champions of *istiṣlāḥ*. But too much stress should not be laid on this general opinion. It is of course true that Mālikī legal theorists like Ṣhāṭibī (d. 590/1194) and Ḳarāfi (684/1285) took up the discussion of *maṣāliḥ mursala* and carried it further. But on the other hand Ibn al-Ḥādījib who was also a Mālikī is reckoned one of the opponents of the principle (see above). On the contrary, the circle of those who recognise the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* in practice extends far beyond the limits of the Mālikī school. Ḳarāfi even points out that "if one looks carefully, it is in general use in the *madhhabs*" (p. 170). Ṣhāfi'is and Ḥanafīs—although with certain limitations and in part under other names—have adopted it and developed it further. The most radical upholder of *istiṣlāḥ* is however a certain Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfi (d. 716/1316). He is considered a Ḥanbalī but in reality may be claimed as an independent student of law (*muḍjīḥid*)—precisely on account of his attitude to the question of *istiṣlāḥ*.

Ṭawfi in his *Risāla fi 'l-maṣāliḥ al-mursala* (extracted from *Ḍjamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī* from his commentary on Nawawī's *Arba'ūna ḥadīṭhan*) puts the ticklish question: What is to be done if the text of the law (*naṣṣ*) and *idīmā'* cannot be reconciled with regard for the general welfare (*ri'āyat al-maṣlaḥa*)? His answer is unambiguous: The *ri'āyat al-maṣlaḥa* is decisive, in so far as the legal aspects of everyday life (*mu'āmalāt*) are in question (the sphere of duties relating to worship, *'ibādāt*, is not affected thereby as they relate to something fundamentally different from the preservation of the welfare of humanity). *Naṣṣ* and *idīmā'* are however not simply to be excluded. They are rather to be reconciled subsequently with the demands of the *maṣlaḥa* by the help of exegesis (*bayān*) or specification (*takḥṣīs*, i.e., by separating a subdivision from the general and the principles applicable to it). In any case however, the *ri'āyat al-maṣlaḥa* represents the highest court of appeal.

In order to strengthen the principle of *ri'āyat al-maṣlaḥa* and justify placing it above *naṣṣ* and *idīmā'* Ṭawfi quotes evidence from Ḳur'ān, Sunna, *idīmā'* and *naṣṣ* (reasoning), of course giving first place to the saying attributed to Muḥammad: "there is no injury or malicious damage" (*lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra*). He further points out that the legal texts are of different kinds and contradictory while the idea of *maṣlaḥa* is an integral base, and thus gives a better clue to the solution of legal problems (reference to Ḳur'ān III, 103: "Hold fast together to the cord of Allāh and do not split into parties!"). He takes this opportunity to combat the assertion that the variety of legal interpretation is a special advantage of the Muslim religion (cf. the *ḥadīth*: *ikhṭilāf ummati rahma'*). The disadvantages which result are greater than the advantages: simply because there are such different interpretations, it is sometimes possible to find a lax interpretation to suit one's own wishes and to neglect the more rigorous injunctions. Besides, many non-Muslims, who would readily adopt Islam, are prevented from taking the final step by the multitude of opinions held by jurists and the resulting lack of uniformity in the legal system of Islam.

The author is well aware that his views go beyond the *istiṣlāḥ* of the Mālikīs (p. 60 f.). He is reproached with abandoning by his thesis the path that has been taken by the bulk of the Muslim community

(*al-sawād al-a'zam*) and attention is called to the words of the Prophet: "Follow the majority! He who takes his own way will go his own way to Hell also" (*ittabi'ū al-sawād al-a'zam fa-inna man ṣhadhdha ṣhadhdha fi 'l-nār*). But this would mean reducing every new view and every new method *ad absurdum*. The majority which has to be followed according to the words of Muḥammad is rather the path of clear demonstration. And the latter condition is fulfilled in his (Ṭawfi's) method of *ri'āyat al-maṣlaḥa*.

Ibn Taymiyya in his already mentioned *Risāla* points out emphatically that the mind of man easily makes mistakes in using *maṣlaḥa*, especially if the text of the law does not agree with it. Ṭawfi, his contemporary and for a time pupil, on the other hand, concludes his *Risāla fi 'l-maṣāliḥ al-mursala* with the following words: "As to *maṣlaḥa* with regard to the legal relationships of man to man, it is known to those whom these legal relationships concern by reason of custom and intelligence. If we now see that the deduction given by the law does not comply with it (the *maṣlaḥa*), we know that to obtain it we must let it speak for itself (*fa-'idhū ra'aynā dalīl al-ṣharḥ mutakā'idan 'an ifādatiḥā 'alimnā annā uḥilnā fi taḥṣīliḥā 'alā ri'āyatiḥā*) . . . And God knows best what is correct".

Ṭawfi lived at a time when the systematization of Islamic law had already been achieved. As a champion of the principle of *ri'āyat al-maṣlaḥa* he was, and still is, an outsider. His *Risāla*, it is true, appeared in print in 1906 in a collection of treatises on *uṣūl al-fikh* and again in the periodical *al-Manār*. It seems, however, to have had no immediate effect upon those circles which, in Egypt and elsewhere, have been agitating for a reform of Islamic Law in recent times. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that its radicalism provoked contradiction, it did provide the impulse for a scientific discussion of the theoretical legal importance of *maṣlaḥa*.

*Bibliography*: I. *Istiḥsān*: Ṣhāfi', *Risāla* (at the beginning of *Kitāb al-Umm*, Būlāk 1321), 69 f.; *Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, Būlāk 1325, 270-7; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī al-Mu'tazili, *Kitāb al-Mu'tamad fi uṣūl al-fikh*, ii, Damascus 1385/1965, 838-40; Ghazālī, *al-Mustasfā*, 2 vols., Cairo 1356/1937, i, 137-9; Bay-ḍāwī, *Minḥādīj al-wuṣūl*, with commentary *Nihāyat al-su'ūl* by Ḍjamāl al-Dīn al-Isnawī (on the margin of *al-Taḥrīr wa 'l-taḥbīr* by Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādījī), 3 vols., Būlāk 1316-1317, iii, 140-147; Ṭādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ḍjam' al-ḍjawāmi'*, with the commentary of Ḍjalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and glosses by Bannānī, 2 vols., Cairo 1297, ii, 288; Pazdawī, *Kanz al-wuṣūl*, with commentary (*Kaṣf al-asrār*) by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Buḫārī, 4 vols., Istanbul 1307-1308, iv, 2-14, 40, 83; Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūt*, x, Cairo 1324, 145; Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī, *Kaṣf al-asrār* (*Sharḥ Manār al-anwār*), with commentary by Mullā Ḍīlwan and glosses by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Luknawī, 2 vols., Būlāk 1316, ii, 164-8; Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Maḥbūbī, *Sharḥ al-tawḍīḥ 'alā 'l-Tanḫīḥ*, with commentary (*al-Tawḥīḥ*) by Taftāzānī and glosses by Fanarī and Mullā Ḳhusraw, 3 vols., Cairo 1322, iii, 2-10; Ibn al-Humām, *al-Taḥrīr*, with commentary (*al-Taḥrīr wa 'l-taḥbīr*) by Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādījī, 3 vols., Būlāk 1316-1317, iii, 221-238; [Mullā Ḳhusraw], *Mirkāt al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl*, Istanbul 1307, 23 f.; Muḥibb Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ṣhakūr (Bihārī), *Musallam al-thubūt*, with commentary (*Fawātiḥ al-rahāmūt*) by Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Alī Nizām al-Dīn (Baḥr al-'Ulūm), printed along with Ghazālī's *al-Mustasfā*, 2 vols.,

Būlāk 1322-1324, ii, 230-4; Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmi'at al-rasā'il wa 'l-masā'il*, 5 vols., Cairo 1341-1349, v, 22 f.; George Makdisi, *Ibn Taimiyya's Autograph Manuscript on Istiḥsān: Materials for the Study of Islamic Legal Thought*, in: *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 446-479 (edition of the deficiently written text); Shāṭibi, *al-Muwāfaqāt*, 4 vols., Cairo 1341, iv, 116-8; *al-I'tisām*, ii, Cairo 1332, 316-356; al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khidrī Bey, *Uṣūl al-fikh*<sup>2</sup>, Cairo 1352/1933, 413-6; 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, *I Principi della Giurisprudenza Musulmana*, tr. Guido Cimino, Rome 1922, 181-4; Şubḥi Maḥmaşānī, *Falsafat al-taṣhrī' fi 'l-Islām*<sup>3</sup>, Beirut 1380/1961, 172-5 (tr. Farhat J. Ziadeh, Leiden 1961, 85-87); Muḥammad Sa'īd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī, *Dawābiṭ al-maṣlaḥa fi 'l-sharī'a al-islāmiyya*, Damascus 1966-1967, 236-47, 377, 380-3; I. Goldziher, *WZKM* i (1887), 228 f.; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto Musulmano Malichita*, i, Rome 1926, 56 f.,<sup>2</sup> 1938, 71-3; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam (Studia Islamica* x (1959), 79-109), esp. 84-96; Malcolm H. Kerr, *Islamic reform*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966, 89 f.

II. *Istiṣlāh*: Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, i, 139-144; Bayḍāwī-Isnawī, *op. cit.*, iii, 134-139; Subkī-Mahallī-Bannānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 229-234; Maḥbūbī-Taftāzānī-Fanarī, *op. cit.*, ii, 374 ff., esp. 391-6; Ibn al-Humām-Ibn Amīr al-Hādīdj, *op. cit.*, iii, 141-167, esp. 150 ff.; Bihārī-Baḥr al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, ii, 260 ff., esp. 266 f. and 301; Ibn Taymiyya, *op. cit.*, v, 22 ff.; Shāṭibi, *al-Muwāfaqāt*, iv, 110 ff., esp. 116-8; *al-I'tisām*, ii, 307-316, 324; Karāfī, *Sharḥ Tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl*, Cairo 1306, 170 f.; Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī, *Risāla fi 'l-maṣāliḥ al-mursala (Madjmi'at rasā'il fi uṣūl al-fikh*, Beirut 1324, 37-70); the same work published in Raṣḥīd Riḍā's periodical *al-Manār*, ix (1324), 745-70; Muḥammad al-Khidrī, *op. cit.*, 381-92; 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, *op. cit.*, 173, 184; Maḥmaşānī, *op. cit.*, 175-8, 215 f. (tr. Ziadeh, p. 87-89, 116 f.); Muṣṭafā Zayd, *al-Maṣlaḥa fi 'l-taṣhrī' al-islāmī wa-Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī*, Cairo 1374/1954; Muḥammad Sa'īd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī, *Dawābiṭ al-maṣlaḥa fi 'l-sharī'a al-islāmiyya*, Damascus 1966-1967; Muḥammad Taḳī al-Hakīm (Shī'ite), *al-Uṣūl al-'amma li'l-fikh al-mukāran*, Beirut n.d., 380-404; al-Sayyid 'Alī Naḳf al-Ḥaydarī (Shī'ite), *Uṣūl al-istinbāḥ*, Kumm 1379-80 (1959/60), 279-281; I. Goldziher, *WZKM*, i (1887), 229 f.; Santillana, *op. cit.*, i, Rome 1926, 55 f.,<sup>2</sup> 1938, 70 f.; E. Tyan, *op. cit.*, esp. 96-101; Malcolm Kerr, *Raṣḥīd Riḍā and Islamic legal reform*, in *MW*, i (1960), 99-108, 170-181; idem, *Islamic reform*, 55 f., 75 f., 80-102, 187-97, 207.

(R. PARET)

**ISTIḲBĀL** in astronomy means the opposition of Sun and Moon, that is, the situation wherein their elongation from each other amounts to 180°. The word can refer to either a mean or a "true" opposition. The opposite of *istiḳbāl* is *idjtimā'*, the conjunction (again mean or "true") of the two luminaries. The practical importance of these two concepts is twofold. Eclipses can occur only at the two syzygies, lunar eclipses at opposition and solar eclipses at conjunction. Further, only when the time of the conjunction is known can the time of the first sighting of the New Moon be computed. For these two reasons every *ziḍī* contains tables for computing *istiḳbālāt* and *idjtimā'āt*.

These two terms are sometimes employed in astrology to refer to the diametric aspect and the conjunction of the planets, though generally astrologers prefer the terms *mukābala* and *kirān*. In

turn, the latter two terms are sometimes used by astronomers in place of *istiḳbāl* and *idjtimā'*. Other astrological aspects are sextile (*tasḍīs*), quartile (*tarbī'*) and trine (*tathlīṭh*) at elongations (variously computed) of 60°, 90°, and 120° respectively.

*Bibliography*: For the astronomical usage see C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī*, ii, 29-32, 205-9, and 306-7. For the astrological usage the most convenient reference is al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-taḥfīm*, s.v. (DAVID PINGREE)

**ISTIKHĀRA** (A.), deriving from a root *kh-y-r* which expresses the idea of option or choice, consists of entrusting God with the choice between two or more possible options, either through piety and submission to His will, or else through inability to decide oneself, on account of not knowing which choice is the most advantageous one. To the first category belong the *akhyār* or "chosen", who regulate their lives according to the model inspired by God in the Qur'ān and the Law; to the second belong the *mustakḥirūn*, those who seek to escape from indecision with the help of divine inspiration. The divine voice expresses itself either by means of a *ru'yā* [q.v.] or dream, or else by *kur'a* [q.v.] or rhapsodomancy.

As a result of its affinities with the ancient practice of incubation, used especially in hiatomancy or medical divination and in necromancy, *istikḥāra* is abhorred by Muslim orthodoxy (cf. A. Fischer, in *ZDMG*, lviii (1914), 325), but it is fairly widespread in popular circles, where it is sometimes found in conjunction with the casting of spells and, in effect, the use of ordeals (cf. L. Massignon, in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 41<sup>e</sup> année, 1940-1, 86). To prevent the return to pagan customs, Islam fixed the rules under which the rite of *istikḥāra* might be practised. A tradition of Djābir relates that the Prophet taught his disciples *istikḥāra* in all things, as though he were teaching them a *sūra* of the Qur'ān. The practice followed by the Prophet consisted in two *rah'as*, followed by a prayer, emphasising the omniscience and omnipotence of God and including a reference to the subject of the consultation (cf. al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṣār*, quoted by Muḥammad 'Abduh, *al-'Ibādāt fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo n.d., 180). Neither time nor place is fixed for a consultation of this kind. The inspiration revealing the decision to be taken is immediately perceived, or, if the response be insufficiently clear in the consultant's mind, he has recourse to a drawing of lots from the various possible solutions, written separately on pieces of paper (cf. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 413 f.).

This orthodox practice is generally interpreted in a sense which makes it comparable with incubation. After the invocation, the formulae for which are of different kinds and varying in length (cf. al-Bukḥārī, *Tawḥīd*, no. 10, and *Da'awāt*, no. 48, ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv, 202 and 450; al-Tirmidhī, ed. Būlāk 1292, ii, 266; al-Nawawī, *Ḥilyat al-abrār*, ed. Cairo 1300, 56), the devotee goes to sleep, and it is in a dream that the revelation is made to him. This procedure is observed universally, especially in North-Africa, although it is considered to go beyond the letter of the Law (cf. Ibn al-Hādīdj, *al-Madkhal*, Cairo 1320, iii, 54).

A further step in the direction of incubation is taken by those who insist that the efficacy of this rite is dependent upon its being performed in a mosque. According to al-'Awfī, *Lubāb*, i, 210, l. 12, one goes into the mosque to perform the *namāz-i istikḥāra*. The practice of sleeping in the sanctuary is sufficiently well attested before Islam, just as in the time of the

Prophet. It was by the Ka'ba, where he slept that night, that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have had the dream concerning Zamzam (cf. *Divination*, 262 f.); again, it was by the Ka'ba, where Muḥammad slept, that for the second time (?) there apparently took place the rite for the purification of the heart and entrails (*ṣḥāḥ al-baṭn* and *fath al-ṣadr*), performed for him by the two angels (cf. al-Tabarī, i, 1157); it is even said, on this occasion, that "the Qurayshites were accustomed to sleep beside the Ka'ba" (cf. *ibid.* and al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 306). The *isrā'* is also said to have taken place when the Prophet slept in the court (*ḥidīr*) of the Ka'ba (cf. *Divination*, 358). This custom does not appear to be limited to the Ka'ba (for its permanence, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 16, n. 3 and 139); the attendant of al-Djalsad, an oracular divinity, slept in the sanctuary (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 53 ff.; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968 [*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, lxxviii], 84-7).

Orthodoxy is opposed to this practice, apparently out of regard for ritual purity (cf. Ibn al-Hāǧǧī, *Madkhal*, Cairo 1348, ii, 215, 241); but a short work in manuscript of Muḥammad al-Shawā'ī al-Shāfi'ī al-Khaṭīb (d. 954/1644), entitled *Risālat al-aḥyār fi-man mana'a 'l-naḥm fi 'l-masā'id min al-aṣṣār*, which we have consulted in Bursa (Ulucami 3496, fol. 1-20), refutes the arguments put forward in support of the prohibition of this custom (cf. details in *Divination*, 365 ff.).

In North Africa, where *istikhāra* is very close to the ancient incubation (cf. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 414), and more especially in Morocco, people go and sleep in the grottoes, the refuge of the spirits, or beside ancient tombs, or, what is more usual today, in the sanctuary of a marabout, in order to elicit a response to the prayer of *istikhāra* (*ibid.*, 411 ff.). There even exists magic recipes to ensure the success of this rite (cf. al-Būnl, *Shams al-ma'ārif*, ii, 8). One of these, for example, is utilized in the search for a thief; a magic formula is written on one's hand, and one then goes to sleep, with this hand placed under the right cheek; the thief is then revealed in a dream (Doutté, *op. cit.*, 357). But the most characteristic is that of *ḥālūmat al-ṭibā' al-tamm*, mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddīma*, i, 190, when referring to the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* of the Pseudo-Madīrī (cf. ed. Ritter and Plessner, Leipzig 1933, 187 ff.; German trans. by the same authors, London 1962, 199 f., in which the term *ḥālūma* does not occur), and which is a technique consisting of obtaining, in a dream of "perfect nature", a response to a question posed at the time of lying down to sleep, after purifying one's conscience, concentrating one's intention, pronouncing the following gibberish words: *Tamāghīs baghdīsawād, waḡhdās, nufānāghadīs*, and formulating one's wish. During sleep, the answer to the question is given. Ibn Khaldūn states that he had tried this himself and obtained good results (cf. *Divination*, 364 f.).

The *istikhāra* procedure seems to have been followed by some mystics, such as Ruzbahān Baḳīlī, Ibn 'Arabī and Tīpū, sultān of Mysore. Their progress along the mystical path of perfection is marked by dreams, recording the passage from one stage to the next (cf. L. Massignon, *Thèmes archétypiques en onirocritique musulmane*, in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, xii (1945), 242). Some authors claim, in their introductions, to have written their works after an *istikhāra* (e.g., *apud* al-Nawawī, *Taḥḥīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 237). In literary texts, however, the term *istikhāra* is

merely a pious formula for a request to God for aid and advice, with no ritual character (cf. for example *Aḡḥānī*, xviii, 72, xix, 92).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the sources named in the text, see: T. Fahd, *Divination*, 363-7; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 410-4. According to Nawawī, *Taḥḥīb*, 744, l. 3, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī (F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, i, 495) is said to have written a *K. al-Istikhāra wa 'l-istikhāra*. (T. FAHD)

**ISTIKHDĀM** [see TAWRIYYA]

**ISTIKLĀL**, an Arabic verbal noun, from the tenth form of the root *k-l-l*. In Classical and Middle Arabic this form is used with a variety of meanings (see Dozy and other dictionaries), and especially to convey the notion of separate, detached, unrestricted, not shared, or sometimes even arbitrary. It occurs occasionally in a political context—e.g., of a dynasty, a region, a people or a city quarter not effectively subject to some higher authority. Such occurrences are, however, rare, and the word was in no sense a political technical term. In Ottoman official usage, it acquired the meaning of unlimited powers, e.g., in the terms of appointment of a provincial governor or military commander. It seems to have retained something like this meaning in the early 19th century. Thus, in the Turkish translation of Botta's *Storia d'Italia (Italia ta'rīkhī)*, Cairo 1249/1834, 4, 8, 9 etc.), it is used to contrast unbridled aristocratic rule (*ber wedīh-i istiklāl*) with free government (*ber wedīh-i serbestī*), and is commonly linked with *ruḥḥṣat* to denote the arbitrary authority of a ruler.

It was in this sense, the independence of the holder of power from restraints by either subjects or suzerain, that *istiklāl* is commonly used in both Turkish and Arabic in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. During the same period, under the influence of European political thought and practice, it began to acquire the modern meaning of political sovereignty for a country or nation (for examples, see the Turkish texts of the treaty of Küçük Kaynardīja of 1774 concerning the "independence" of the Crimean Tatars (cit. above s.v. HURRIYYA ii) and of the London Protocol of 1830 on the independence of Greece (*istiklāl-i kāmīl*; text in Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 15); A. L. Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901*, London 1961, 147-8, citing a British consular despatch of 1858).

The following article deals with political movements for independence in the Arab countries.

(Ed.)

**ISTIKLĀL**. In Arabic *istiklāl* is a fairly recent addition to the political vocabulary. Despite its use in common parlance, viz., *anā mustakill* ("I am independent", that is, free or unfettered), or sometimes to refer to economic independence, that is, autarky (*istiklāl iktisādī*), it is primarily associated with the national independence movements among the Arabs of this century. It is with these movements that this article is concerned.

After World War I, the peace settlement regarding the Ottoman dominions imposed by the Allied Powers in 1919-20 gave Britain and France wider control over the Arab territories in the Fertile Crescent, in addition to the existing arrangements in Egypt, North Africa, South Arabia and the Gulf. Without these developments and the consequences of the Arab Revolt, 1916-18, the term *istiklāl* might have had only a limited use, or probably remained obscure, for in the period immediately preceding World War I, Arab political agitation against the Ottoman state was centred upon the attainment of autonomy within

the framework of the political arrangement of decentralization, *al-lāmarkasiyya*. In fact, *istiḥlāl* had no meaning or import in Islamic political thought and vocabulary. It is strictly a modern, imported political notion, which became common and acquired significance with the establishment of European control, or tutelage, over much of the Arab Middle East and North Africa.

Fayṣal's short-lived Arab Kingdom in Damascus in 1918-20 marked the appearance of two variants, or strands, of *istiḥlāl* in Arab political thinking and agitation. One, which originally centred around the Fayṣal, or Arab Revolt, establishment and, after 1920, was represented in Syria, Transjordan, Palestine and 'Irāk by the *Istiḥlālists*, or Istiḥlāl party, tended towards a pan-Arab orientation. It deplored the destruction of Fayṣal's kingdom in Damascus and opposed the mandates in the Fertile Crescent. The other comprised the several, separate independence movements against British or French mandatory and other control in such countries as Egypt, 'Irāk, Syria, Lebanon, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, as well as Transjordan and the Sudan, though movements in the latter two areas were less tumultuous. Palestine was a special case. In that country the Palestinian Arab movement for independence failed, and instead Zionism succeeded in founding Israel as the successor state to the British Mandate. After 1922, therefore, *istiḥlāl* referred specifically to the aspiration of ending the mandatory or other tutelary relationship between the newly established Arab political territories, or entities, and Britain or France.

Rather differently in the case of Egypt, *al-istiḥlāl al-tāmm* (complete independence) became the political slogan of at least two parties: the National (*Waḡāni*) party and the Waḡd. It referred to the movement for greater independence than had been achieved under the unilateral British Declaration of February, 1922 with its Four Reserved Points. It became the slogan of practically every political party and the avowed priority, if not foremost policy, of every government in Egypt. At the outset, it aimed specifically at changing the terms of the particular relationship with Britain. Later it sought to sever that relationship altogether. The first objective was attained by the Waḡd with the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty on 26 August 1936. The second, which became a bitterly contested area of Egyptian politics from 1936 to 1952, was not achieved until the signing of the Evacuation of British Forces from the Suez Canal Area Agreement on 19 October 1954 and, more dramatically, in 1956.

*Istiḥlāl* was never associated with notions of freedom and civil liberty in Arab states, nor has this situation changed [see ḤURRIYYA]. It refers exclusively to independence from foreign political control, even in certain circumstances from any treaty relationship. To a great extent, this narrow interpretation of *istiḥlāl* derives partly from the present weak economic, social, cultural and political condition of the Arab states generally; so that any relationship with foreign powers is inevitably viewed as one between an inferior and a superior partner.

Those kingdoms and *shaykhdoms* in the Arabian peninsula and the Gulf—patriarchal, religious-tribal and dynastic states—were not involved in the independence movement, so that *istiḥlāl* was hardly part of their political vocabulary. Saudi Arabia, carved out by Ibn Su'ūd and his Wahhabi warriors, formally became a kingdom in 1932. His dominion was established by victory in battle over other tribal claimants, e.g., the Āl Rashīd in Nadīd and the Sharīf of Mecca

in the Ḥijāz. The Zaydī Imamate of the Yemen had been an independent, and under the Ottomans autonomous, theocracy since Islamic times, and the petty *shaykhdoms* of the Gulf (until December 1971 the Trucial States under British protection) were autonomous, desert, tribal family enclaves. Under a similar though later protection treaty with Britain in 1899, oil-rich Kuwait, at the northern end of the Gulf, ruled by the Āl Ṣabbāḥ, became independent in June 1961. With the radicalization of inter-Arab politics in more recent times, particularly under the leadership of 'Abd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) and the Ba'ṯh party in the 1950s and 60s and the withdrawal of Britain from Aden and South Arabia, the establishment of the South Yemen Republic on 27 November 1967 and the elevation of the Federation of Arabian Emirates, formed on 30 March 1968 and comprising the Trucial States in the Gulf, to sovereign independent status in December 1971, this easternmost part of the Arab world has been brought into the mainstream of the Arab ideology of *istiḥlāl*. Bahrain, following its insular instinct and distinctiveness from the rest of the Federation of Arabian Emirates, opted for its own independence in September 1971.

*Istiḥlāl* as a political conception and movement must therefore be more appropriately associated with the recent political history of the Fertile Crescent and North African states. Thus the British Mandate over 'Irāk came to an end in October 1932 when that country was admitted to the League of Nations. Yet the independence attained by virtue of the Anglo-'Irāk Treaty of Preferential Alliance of 30 June 1930 was circumscribed by Britain's control of the conduct of 'Irākī foreign relations and retention of her air bases at Shu'ayba (Baṣra) and Ḥabbāniyya (Baḡhdād). Efforts at further *istiḥlāl* which led to the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty on 15 January 1948 were nullified by violent protests against its terms, which led to its rejection by the 'Irākīs. The accession of Britain to the Baḡhdād Pact in 1955 led to a rearrangement of the basis of relations between the two countries. However, the secession of 'Irāk from the Pact under President Kāsim may be considered the final act in the severance of the forty-year-old relationship with Britain and, psychologically at least, the attainment of *istiḥlāl tāmm*.

Syria and Lebanon too in the interwar period sought to move from limited autonomy under French tutelage to independence. *Istiḥlāl* became the slogan and political umbrella for the activities of practically all political groups and parties in those two countries. In fact, it became the contentious issue between rival groups. An uncompromising stand for its attainment became the mark of patriotism and political respectability. In any event, both Syria and Lebanon existed as autonomous republics under French Mandate from the mid-1920s. The November 1936 Treaty between Lebanon and France constituted a step towards independence within three years. Earlier in the year, the Syrians had rejected a similar treaty with France. These treaties provided a special relationship with the ex-mandatory power in return for assistance towards and recognition of independent status. The outbreak of World War II in 1939 intervened, and it was not until 1941 that the Free French declared publicly their intention of granting their two wards independence: thus the Free French General Catroux's proclamations regarding Syria and Lebanon in September and November 1941 respectively. Difficulties and disturbances over the transfer of power continued until 1945. The last French forces departed both countries by the end of

1946, at which time they became fully independent.

As a semi-independent emirate under 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn, after World War I Transjordan remained ultimately under the control of the British High Commissioner in Jerusalem. By an agreement in 1923, Britain recognized it as an autonomous constitutional state under Amīr 'Abd Allāh with British tutelage. The activities of the Istiḳlālists with their Arab nationalist demands for complete freedom from British control indirectly helped 'Abd Allāh to secure greater legislative and administrative autonomy for his fledgling state in a treaty concluded with Britain in 1928. In 1934, he was permitted to establish consular representation abroad, and in 1939 his Legislative Council was transformed into a cabinet. The Treaty of London, concluded with Britain on 22 March 1946, recognized the independent Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and 'Abd Allāh was proclaimed its first king. The treaty, which was followed by another in 1948, was modelled on the 1936 Egyptian treaty in the sense that Jordanian independence was circumscribed by a special relationship with Britain. This last vestige of dependence was severed on 13 March 1957.

As far as the decades of the 20s, 30s and 40s are concerned, *istiḳlāl* belonged to Egypt and the Fertile Crescent. With the waning of British power overseas generally and the consequent withdrawal of its presence or influence, heralded by the voluntary dissolution of the Indian Empire in 1947, *istiḳlāl* movements erupted elsewhere in the Arab East. Similarly, the winding up of the French Empire after World War II, first in Indochina and later in Africa, undermined the French position in the Maghrib. In the 50s *istiḳlāl* reached Libya, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco. Kuwait in the east and Algeria in the west followed suit in 1961 and 1962 respectively. Unlike all the other Arab countries, Algeria only attained independence after seven years of bitter war against the French armed forces.

Despite the long historical connection between Egypt and the Sudan, after 1924 the latter was governed in practice solely by Britain, thus ending the Anglo-Egyptian condominium devised in 1899. Greater Sudanization of the country's local administration followed. The 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty led to the rapid evolution of Sudanese nationalism and a movement for an independent Sudan, especially after World War II, not without British encouragement. It proved a much stronger current than the Egyptian plan, backed by Egypt's political protégés in Sudan, for an independent united Nile Valley comprising Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian crown or, after 1952, under the Egyptian Republic. As part of the Anglo-Egyptian settlement of 1953-4 for the British evacuation of the Canal, the Sudan, after a three-year transition period, became independent on 1 January 1956.

Paradoxically, Libya, the least developed North African country, was the first to attain *istiḳlāl* on 24 December 1951. Any independence movement during the Italian occupation (1911-42) was no more than the desire of the Sanūsī brotherhood under Idrīs to rid itself of Italian rule. It was also largely a Cyrenaican affair, closely linked in the 30s and 40s with Egypt, where Idrīs, together with his main political lieutenants, had taken refuge. This is not to say that Tripolitarians were not involved in the struggle for independence, but they were more oriented towards the Maghrib and, in the Arab East, towards Syria. It was the British, however, who restored Idrīs to power in Libya in 1949-50. As they were abandoning their

positions in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, the British introduced the old pattern of special arrangements with Libya, which they had helped to independence: this time with a bases agreement concluded in 1952-3. Like other Arab states before it, however, by 1964 Libya demanded the removal of foreign (British and American) bases from its territory in the name of *al-istiḳlāl al-tāmm*, and in response to pressures generated by inter-Arab states conflict as well as a more radical Arab nationalist movement. An army coup d'état on 1 September 1969 overthrew the Sanūsī monarchy, proclaimed a republic and pressed for the immediate removal of all vestiges and semblances of foreign encumbrances on *istiḳlāl*: bases, foreign enterprises and other interests, as well as the large Italian community.

Tunisia and Morocco became independent in 1956. *Istiḳlāl* in Tunisia was led by a combined Western—that is French—educated, secular, bourgeois élite in the Destour party and a more conservative Muslim Arab leadership whose antecedents went back to the constitutional reform movement of Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī [q.v.]. There being no specific term for independence in Arabic, the expression *istiḳlāl dākhilī* (internal) was used to describe an intermediate stage which would have provided the substance of independence. Unlike Tunisia, where the Beys of Tunis were not associated with the modern independence movement, in Morocco the Sherifian Alawite sultan Muḥammad V was recognized as the leader of the struggle against the French protectorate. Yet the battle for *istiḳlāl* fought by both Morocco and Tunisia differed from that of Algeria because although France controlled them by earlier protectorate arrangements, they retained a measure of local autonomy. Indigenous Islamic authority and its institutions survived in both countries under French tutelage. Algeria, however, was made an integral part of metropolitan France by legislation, so that the separatist, *istiḳlāl* movement eventually developed into a bitter and bloody war. While the 'Alawite monarchy survived after independence in Morocco, the hereditary dynasty of the Bey of Tunis did not. The last Bey, Muḥammad al-Amīn, was deposed when the Constituent Assembly abolished his office on 25 July 1957 and proclaimed Tunisia a republic.

On the whole, over the past 50 years, the several Arab movements for national-state independence often co-existed and contended with the desire of some to expand the connotation of *istiḳlāl* to encompass a projected wider entity, that of the Arab nation, cutting across existing state boundaries. The rôle played by this wider conception of *istiḳlāl* in the radicalization of inter-Arab politics became apparent under the Ba'ṯh party's central aspiration towards Arab unity in the 1950s. In individual Arab states, political parties wishing to advance a more pan-Arab and anti-Western national policy often adopted the name of *istiḳlāl*, as for example, the Istiḳlāl party of 'Irāq led by Muḥammad Mahdī Kubba, Ṣiddīk Shanshal and Fā'īk al-Sāmarrā'i, or that of Morocco led by 'Allāl al-Fāsi.

It is interesting to note that during a particularly intense period of inter-Arab state conflict in the years 1957 to 1967, *istiḳlāl* acquired further ideological dimensions. In that period, the Arab states were polarized into a revolutionary Arab socialist, or radical nationalist, camp on one side, and a conservative or reactionary one on the other. The first camp, which identified with Nasser's leadership and in other respects with Ba'ṯh ideology, comprised mainly those Arab states in which military coups d'état had over-

thrown previous regimes invariably associated with an earlier link with one or another of the European powers. By the late 50s many of these were veering in their foreign policy orientation towards the Soviet Union. Such was the case of Egypt, Syria, 'Irāk, Algeria and the Yemen after 1962. The second camp comprised mainly the traditional monarchies, some of them oil-rich, such as Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Kuwait and Jordan. The revolutionary camp argued that there was no genuine *istiqlāl* in the adversary or rival Arab camp because the regimes within it were reactionary and still maintained commercial, economic and political links with Western European and/or American powers. In these circumstances they were considered "agents of imperialism and neo-colonialism" and therefore not "truly independent". Much of this "cold war" between the states in the Arab East and Arab West subsided after the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967. The realization dawned upon most of the Arab states that even with *istiqlāl* the economic, political and strategic facts of their environment and the requirements of their own survival forced them to maintain a client relationship with a foreign power.

**Bibliography:** General: G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, London 1938; S. Haim, *Arab Nationalism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962; E. Kedourie, *England and the Middle East: the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-21*, London 1956; B. Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, London 1954; H. Sharabi, *Governments and Politics of the Middle East in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton, N.J. 1962; H. Sharabi, *Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab world*, Princeton, N. J. 1966; Z. N. Zeine, *The Struggle for Arab independence*, Beirut 1960. The Fertile Crescent: A. Abidi, *Jordan: a political study*, London 1965; A. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon, a political essay*, London 1954; P. Ireland, *Iraq: a study in political development*, London 1938; M. Khadduri, *Independent Iraq*, London 1960; K. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, London 1965. Egypt, the Sudan and North Africa: J. Berque, *Egypt, imperialism and revolution*, London 1972; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The Modern history of Egypt*, London 1969; P. M. Holt, *A Modern history of the Sudan*, London 1961; C. Julien, *L'Afrique du Nord en Marche: Nationalismes Musulmans et Souveraineté Française*, Paris 1952; N. Barbour, *A Survey of North West Africa*, London 1962; R. Le Tournieu, *Evolution politique de l'Afrique du nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962. (P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

**ISTIKSĀM** (A.), 10th form of the root *k-s-m* which embraces two groups of meanings, the one of a magical nature and the other divinatory. The first is applied to formulae and methods for conjuring up demons, for adjuration and exorcism; this latter is the meaning acquired by the 2nd and 4th forms, *ḥassama* and *aksama*, particularly in the Christian Arab world, clearly influenced by the Hebrew *ḥesem* (e.g., Deut. xxiii, 23), which has the same meaning. This usage is late, colloquial, and most frequently found among Christian Arabs, who also employ *ḥisām*, "adjuration, exorcism formula, priestly ordination", *taḥsīm*, "conjuration", and *uskuf ḥāsīm*, "ordinant bishop" (cf. Dozy, *Supp.*, ii, 345 ff.; Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, 142). Such a usage does not appear in Classical Arabic, or at least is confined to the action of "having someone swear an oath" (*istaḥsamahu*) or "swearing by something" (*istaḥsama bihi*) in the sense of *aksama* (cf. T. A., ed. Bülāḳ, ix, 26; W. R. Smith in *Journal of*

*Philology*, xiii (1885), 278; T. W. Davies, *Magic divination and demonology among the Hebrews and their neighbours*, London 1899, 44-7).

The second group of meanings was applied everywhere to the whole spectrum of cleromantic methods, understood as the essence of divination, in the sense of the Syriac *ḫṣam*, "to practise divination", from which *ḫṣūmō*, "soothsayer", was derived (cf. ref. in *Semítica*, viii (1958), 73, n. 4). Initially, *istikṣām* designated belomancy only (*al-istikṣām bi'l-azlām*), condemned in the *Kur'ān* (V, 3) along with *maysir* (V, 90), another type of belomancy. Because this condemnation was extended to all similar divinatory practices which were based on chance (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*<sup>1</sup>, ii, 201, l. 3 ff.), *istikṣām* and *maysir*, roughly representing respectively the religious and profane aspects of belomancy, as I have attempted to establish in *Divination* (180 ff., 204 ff.), became the symbols of pagan divination.

This article deals with *istikṣām* in the strict sense of sacred belomancy only, as it was practised in association with certain Arab divinities. For other cleromantic methods, the reader should consult the following articles: **DJAMRA** (plur. *djīmār*), for lapidation, an article which, as far as the divinatory aspect is concerned, should be augmented by the section dealing with this practice in *Divination* (188-95); **RAML** for geomancy and lithomancy, originally grouped together under the word *ḫarḳ* (for the time being, reference can be made to *Divination*, 195-204); **MAYSIR** for profane belomancy and games of chance (*al-ḫarḳ bi 'l-ki'āb*; cf. *ibid.*, 204-14); **KUR'Ā** for rhapsodomancy (*ibid.*, 214-19); **DJAFR**, **MALĀḤIM**, **HURŪF**, **AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ** (as far as divination is concerned, the latter should be supplemented by *Divination*, 234-41), **ḲHAWĀṢṢ AL-ḲUR'ĀN** and **ZĀ'IRIYA** for onomatomantic methods (for all these systems, in addition to the articles already completed the sections devoted to them in *Divination*, 219-45, should be consulted).

The ancient Arabs practised three types of belomancy (more suitably termed rhabdomancy, since *zalām*, plur. *azlām*, like *ḫidh*, plur. *ḫidāḫ*, designates a dart without point or feather: cf. *Divination*, 181 ff.). The first, that of the nomads, employed two darts tossed in a little goatskin (*ḫirāba*) or a leather bucket (*mudāra*). They made use of it in disputes; the arbitrator must have been the *kāhin* [q.v.] of the tribe and the darts must have been part of the cultic equipment in his charge, somewhat in the manner of the Urim and Thummim of the nomadic Hebrews.

The second type was that practised at the sanctuary of al-*Ḳhalaṣa*. Three darts responded to the questions of visitors; these darts bore names: al-*Āmir* (the Commanding), al-*Nāhī* (the Forbidding) and al-*Mutarabbiṣ* (the Awaiting). It was the *sādin* or guardian of the sanctuary who tossed the darts. The last occasion they were consulted is supposed to have been by the poet Imru' al-*Ḳays* (*Aḡḫānī*<sup>1</sup>, viii, 70), who is said to have broken them for forbidding him to avenge his father.

The third and best-known type was that practised in front of Hubal [q.v.] at the Ka'ba. Seven darts were used in this consultation, set in motion by the *sādin* in return for a gratuity and an offering to the god. These arrows bore the following designations: *al-ʿaql* (blood-price), used to determine who should pay for any bloodshed: *naʿam* (yes) and *lā* (no), used to find out if action or abstinence were appropriate; *minḳum* (yours), *min ḡayyrikum* (not yours) and *mulṣaḳ* (the attached), used to decide an individual's tribal affiliation, the first dart replying in the af-



firmative, the second in the negative, and the third with doubt; *al-miyāh* (water), used to ascertain the presence of water in a specified place (cf. Ibn Hishām, 97 f.).

The people of Mecca consulted the opinion of the darts of Hubal, tossed by the *sādin* in the quiver (*kināna*) of the god, in return for a hundred *dirhams* or one camel, every time a serious dispute arose among them. The *Sīra* recounts the story of two belomantic consultations made by the Prophet's grandfather, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, at two important moments of his life: the first to decide to whom to return the precious finds he had made when clearing out the well of Zamzam (Ibn Hishām, 94); the second to discover which of his ten sons should be sacrificed at the Ka'ba in fulfilment of a vow he had made to sacrifice one of his sons should their number reach ten (*ibid.*, 97-100).

Pilgrims too could not have refrained from the practice and belomantic consultation must have been one of the many attractions of the great metropolis of Arab paganism. Numerous texts indicate that the practice of consulting the throw of darts was very widespread. Alongside those attached to the sanctuary, there were others, manipulated either by the *kāhins*, the elders or the notables (see the examples in *Divination*, 189 f.). Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 112 f., supplies a longer and more diversified list of darts that were used outside the sanctuary, tossed in a *madāra* (a skin stitched into a bucket) by a *kāhin* wherever there was one to be found or by any other person who held some rank in the tribe or city. To the *na'am*, *lā* and *muṣaḥ* known to Ibn Ishāq and his abridger, Ibn Hishām, al-Nuwayrī adds ten other darts with the following names: *if'al* (do!), *lā-taf'al* (don't!), *khayr* (good), *sharr* (evil), *baṣī'* (slow), *sari'* (fast), *ḥaḍar* (presence), *saḥar* (journey), and *ṣarīḥ* (equivalent to Ibn Hishām's *minkum*). Finally, white darts (*kidāh bayḍā'*) were prepared that could bear more precise and detailed inscriptions or equivalent meanings inscribed by explicit agreement between the *kāhin* and the man consulting him. In this way the field of consultation was enlarged and belomancy adapted to the demands of any sphere in which it was practised.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the sources cited in the article, Azrakī, *Aḥbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 73-4; Ṭabarī, i, 1074-8; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii, 2-4; T. Fahd, *Une pratique clérômantique à la Ka'ba préislamique*, in *Semítica*, viii (1958), 54-79; in spite of its many defects of form, this monograph will give the reader the basic information about belomancy. It should be supplemented by T. Fahd, *Divination*, 180-8. (T. FAHD)

#### ISTIMṬĀR [see ISTIḤSĀL]

ISTINĀF, from *ista'nafa* (to recommence, to renew), means in modern Arabic appeal, because the case is examined again from the beginning when brought before the court of appeal. In classical *fiqh* the word is used with this sense of recommencement with regard to the *'ibādāt*, the religious duties, especially prayer.

*Isti'nāf* (the Mālikīs call it *ibtidā'*) occurs when the entire prayer, which has been interrupted by the occurrence of a ritual impurity, *ḥadath* [q.v.], has to be begun again.

In certain circumstances the *ṣuḥabā'* decided that the continuation (*binā'*) of the prayer from the moment when it was interrupted by a fact independent of the believer's will, and which does not, strictly speaking, constitute a ritual impurity, e.g., a serious nose-bleed, is preferable to complete *isti'nāf*. The

schools, and scholars within the same school, do not always agree upon the circumstances which give rise to *isti'nāf* or, on the contrary, to *binā'*.

*Bibliography*: Marghinānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1937, i, 39-40; Zayla'ī, *Tabyin*, Cairo 1313, i, 145; Khallīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, i, 46-7; Dardīr-Dasūki's commentary on it, *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, Cairo, ed. Halabī, i, 204 ff. See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347, iii, 202-3 and iv, 153, 177. (Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

#### ISTINBĀṬ [see MĀ' and RIVĀFA].

ISTINDJĀ', purification incumbent upon the Believer after the fulfilment of his natural needs. This practice, which is described in detail, is obligatory (recommended only according to Abū Ḥanīfa) and must be carried out either immediately, or before performing the *ṣalāt* or any other act which requires a state of ritual purity.

*Bibliography*: All the works of *fiqh*, *ihktilāf*, etc. deal with this subject in the chapter on *ṭahāra*; similarly Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, in the same chapter (iii = 22 of Bousquet's analysis). (Ed.)

ISTINSHĀK, the inhaling of water through the nostrils at the time of the *wuḍū'* and *ghuṣl*. This practice is recommended by the various rites (obligatory according to Ibn Ḥanbal). In practice this is not really important since the Believer always performs it during his ablutions.

*Bibliography*: See ISTINDJĀ'. (Ed.)

ISTINZĀL, a term denoting hydromancy, according to Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers 1909), 389; but in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddīma*, iii, 137 ff., *istinzāl rūḥāniyyāt al-aflāk* is a technique belonging to *ṣimya'* [q.v.], natural or phantasmagoric magic (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination*, 49, n. 1). The Pseudo-Madīrī prefers to use *istidjilāb* (cf. *Sources Orientales*, vii (1966), 170 ff.). Elsewhere, in al-Būnī and Ibn al-Muwaḥḥī, *istinzāl al-arwāḥ wa-'stihdārūhā fī ḥawālib al-aṣḥbāḥ* denotes the techniques of spiritism, although these are generally denoted by the name *'ilm al-istihdār*.

According to Ḥādīdjī Khalīfa, this art consists in invoking the presence of *djinn*s or angels and making them perceptible to the senses; only the prophets can achieve this result with the celestial angels; with regard to terrestrial angels, the question is in dispute. It is distinguished from *'ilm al-ṣasā'im*, the talismanic art, by the fact that the latter calls upon *djinn*s and angels for the performance of some project, without the need for incarnation, whereas their incarnation is the principal aim of *istihdār* [see ṢḤR].

*Bibliography*: Ḥādīdjī Khalīfa, i, 275 f.: definition with reference to the encyclopaedia of the sciences of Ṭāshkōprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*. Among the works devoted to this art, he mentions K. *ḥāt ad-dawā'ir wa-'l-ṣuwar*, "illustrated book on the invocation of *djinn*s and their subjection (to man), according to Ḥāfī b. Berekhyā, vizier to Solomon . . .; this is no doubt a falsehood" (i, 276, and iii, 324); *Iḥām al-Fattāḥ bi-hikmat inzāl al-arwāḥ wa-baḥthihā fī 'l-aṣḥbāḥ* of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Wafā', known under the name Ibn al-Muwaḥḥī, d. 1162/1748-9 (i, 423; cf. Brockelmann, S II, 981; *al-Bustān li-'stihdār arwāḥ al-djinn wa-'l-shayāṭin fī 'ilm al-siḥr 'alā ḥarīkat al-Kif wa-'l-'Arab*, anonymous (ii, 50); *Tanzīl al-arwāḥ fī ḥawālib al-aṣḥbāḥ* of Aḥmad al-Būnī, d. 622/1225 (ii, 440). We have not succeeded in seeing any of these writings, which have not yet come to light among any of the manuscript collections which we have at present been able to consult. The *'ilm al-istihdār* cannot be properly



studied until these specialised writings have been discovered. On magic, pending the appearance of the article *شجر*, see a sketch and brief bibliography in *Le Monde du sorcier*: T. Fahd, *Le Monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources Orientales* (vii), 1966, 155-204. For angelology and demonology in Islam, see *Génies, anges et démons*: T. Fahd, *Anges, démons et djinns en Islam*, in *Sources Orientales*, viii (1971), 155-214. (T. FAHD)

**ISTI'RĀD, 'ARD**, the mustering, passing in review and inspection of troops, the official charged with his duty being known as the 'arīd, pl. 'urrād. The institution of the 'arḍ was from the start closely bound up with the *Diwān al-Djāysh* or that department of the bureaucracy concerned with military affairs, and these duties of recruitment, mustering and inspection comprised one of the *diwān's* main spheres of activity, the other sphere being that concerned with pensions and salaries [see *DĪWĀN* and *DJĀYSH*]. The *Shāhib Diwān al-Djāysh* of the early 'Abbāsīd Caliphate or 'Arīd al-Djāysh of its successor states (and especially of those in the central and eastern regions of the caliphate) thus fulfilled the duties of a modern war minister, paymaster-general and quartermaster-general, together with those of a muster-master of former times. Given the strongly military bias of the early caliphate and its epigoni, his office was necessarily of high importance and was not frequently a stepping-stone to the highest of offices, such as the vizierate; thus 'Alī b. al-Furāt [see *IBN AL-FURĀT*] was head of the Department of the Army towards the end of al-Muktafi's reign, just before becoming vizier, and the Saldjūk official and historian Anūshirwān b. Khālid [q.v.] acted as 'Arīd al-Djāysh for Sultans Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh and Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, and eventually acted as vizier on various occasions to both the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the Saldjūks.

The idea of holding reviews of the army, often with the sovereign as inspecting officer, is rooted in the pre-Islamic past of the Near East. The functions of the Islamic 'Arīd were in the Byzantine Empire exercised by the department of the *Logothetes tou Stratiotikou*. In the Sāsānid Empire, evidence for the existence of a distinct department of military affairs is not explicit, although Christensen believed it probable that there was such a department under the emperors (cf. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>1</sup>, 213-14). We certainly possess a detailed account of a Sasanid 'arḍ recounted by both Dīnawārī and Ṭabarī. According to this, Khusrāw Anūshirwān (531-79) appointed one of his high-born secretaries, Bābak, over his *Diwān al-Mukātīla*. For the actual review, a wooden platform was set up for the inspecting official. Even the emperor himself was required to present himself, with the cavalryman's equipment of mailed coat, breastplate and leg armour; sword, lance, shield and mace; axe or club, and quiver with the bows already strung and thirty arrows, at his waistbelt; and two spare bowstrings. Nöldeke considered this account too anecdotal to be relied upon, but he was probably unduly sceptical here; we may reasonably assume that some review procedure existed in pre-Islamic Persia (Dīnawārī, 74-5; Ṭabarī, i, 963-5 = Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 247-9; cf. the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārikh*, 74, where it is said that the Mōbadh or Zoroastrian chief priest acted as 'Arīd under Anūshirwān).

The early 'Abbāsīd period saw the operations of the *Diwān al-Djāysh*, which had developed from the *Diwān al-Mukātīla* or *Diwān al-Djund* of Mu'āwīya's time, increase in complexity, so that the *Shāhib*

*Diwān al-Djāysh* become an influential figure. (It should be noted, however, that the function of 'arḍ, which was one of the duties of the vizier in his rôle as private secretary to the caliph, refers to the term's further meaning of "presentation of petitions, requests", i.e., 'arḍ al-ma'ālīb, and not to any military duty; cf. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāsīde*, ii, 622-3. Similarly, the *Mir-'Arḍ* in the Mughal Empire in India was the official responsible for conveying petitions to the sovereign.) The concerns of the *Diwān al-Djāysh* included, *inter alia*, the recruitment and registration of soldiers; and the keeping of up-to-date registers of the troops' fighting qualities, their weapons and their mounts, could only be ensured through regular reviews. A careful recording of the physical features of soldiers (the *ḥulā al-riḍjāl*) and the brands or marks of mounts (*simāt*) was necessary to prevent intruders or substitutes entering the ranks or good horses being switched round or removed from the stables. Such malpractices led to the *Diwān* being cheated over unmerited pay issues, and there was also a fear lest enemy spies insinuate themselves into the ranks. So it is natural that writers like Ḳudāma, Hilāl al-Šābi', Miskawayh and Māwardī should stress the prime importance of these identificatory procedures, cf. W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der 'Abbāsiden: Diwān al-ḡaiš*, in *Isl.*, xxix (1949-50), 268 ff. These reviews and inspections were also normally the occasions for pay issues, when the financial aspect of the *Diwān* was displayed.

Hilāl al-Šābi' gives the detailed analysis of a caliphal budget from the reign of al-Mu'taqid (probably to be dated to Muharram 280/March-April 893), and in the course of this he describes the 'arḍ procedure under that ruler. Al-Mu'taqid made the whole army muster before him personally in the "Lesser Square" in Baghdād, whilst he sat overlooking it from the galleries of the Ḥasanī Palace. Below him were positioned the secretaries responsible for pay arrangements (*kuttāb al-'aḡā'*). The commanders and their *ghulāms* [q.v.] or military slave troops were drawn up before the caliph. The review now began, with the individual officers presenting registers of the names and pay entitlements of the men under them. The vizier 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb summoned each man separately, and he was tested for his proficiency at the game of *birdjās*, in which the contestant had to get his lance-point through a metal ring fixed to the top of a wooden column, thus revealing his skill or otherwise in controlling his horse and aiming his weapon (four or five centuries later, tilting at the *birdjās* was a prominent feature of the *furūsiyya* [q.v.] exercises and training of the Mamlūk cavalrymen). According to the man's performance, al-Mu'taqid graded him in the register (*djārida*) by a *djīm* (= *djāyyid*, excellent), a *fā'* (= *mutawassiḥ*, moderate) or a *dāl* (= *dūn*, inferior). After this part of the 'arḍ, the secretaries responsible for practical military matters (*kuttāb al-djāysh*) came forward and examined the physical features of the men to check that they corresponded with the details set down in the registers; they were thus able to detect and eject intruders and substitutes (*dukkhalā'*, *budalā'*). The registers with the caliph's marks were handed back to the vizier, and the secretaries then prepared a fresh series of registers on the basis of the threefold proficiency grading. The *djāyyid* soldiers were formed into the caliph's "Personal Army", *'ashar al-khāṣṣa*, with a pay-period (*razḡa*) of 90 days. The *mutawassiḥ* soldiers were placed under the command of the *Shāhib al-Shurṭa* or Police Commandant of Baghdād, Badr, and used for garrisoning strategic points on

the routes from Baghdād to Lower 'Irāk and western Persia; these were called the "Army of Service", *'askar al-khidma*, with a pay-period of 120 days. The troops considered as *dūn* were sent out to the provinces to help with the tax-collecting, were employed for horsebreaking and stable duties, or were attached to the police commandants of Baghdād, Wāsiṭ and Kūfa (Hilāl, *Wusarā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farājī, Cairo 1958, 17-19, tr. H. Busse, *Das Hofbudget des Chalifen al-Mu'taḍid billāh (279/892-289/902)*, in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 17-20, cf. Hoenerbach, *loc. cit.*). Al-Mu'taḍid was also particularly concerned with overseeing of the royal stables, and excepting the "Personal, Stable", which was part of the palace proper and continuously under his eyes, he used to conduct an 'arḍ each month of all the stables in the *Dār al-'Amma*, the complex of ancillary buildings and workshops attached to the palace, thus ensuring that standards of care and attendance were maintained (Hilāl, *op. cit.*, 22-3, tr. Busse, 24-5; see also IṢṬĀBL).

The dynasties which from the later 3rd/9th century onwards arose in the outlying provinces of the caliphate generally modelled their administrative institutions on those of the 'Abbāsids in Baghdād. Amongst the Fātimids of Egypt and Syria, Kaḷka-ṣhandī speaks of the *Diwān al-Djāyṣh* as one of three divisions of a general *Diwān al-Djāyṣh wa'l-Marātib*, the other divisions of which were concerned with keeping the registers of the troops and with the allocation of *ikhṭā's*. The *Ṣāhib Diwān al-Djāyṣh* and his assistant *hādīb* had the duty of holding 'arḍs of the troops, in which the physical features of the troops and the marks of their mounts were scrutinised, and he was kept informed of the state of the military personnel by a staff of representatives attached to the army commanders (*Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, iii, 492-3).

In the Iranian lands, the designation of 'Ariḍ for the head of the military affairs department gradually supplanted the more general 'Abbāsīd ones like *Ṣāhib Diwān al-Djāyṣh*. The Ṣaffārid brothers Ya'kūb and 'Amr b. Layṭ built up a vast if transient empire which stretched from eastern Afghanistan to the fringes of 'Irāk; and a *Diwān al-'Arḍ* must have grown up inevitably to control and pay the Ṣaffārid forces. The 'Ariḍ or *Ra'īs-i Lashkar* held periodic 'arḍs for issuing pay and before important battles; Ibn Khallikān, in his long and important article on the two brothers, describes how 'Amr was the first warrior to appear before the 'Ariḍ, when his physical appearance, arms and mount were inspected before he was given his pay allotment, and the author explicitly compares this procedure with that at the Sāsānid 'arḍ of Khusrāw Anūshirwān described above (see Bosworth, *The armies of the Ṣaffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 548-51).

The establishment of the Daylamī Būyids in western Persia and 'Irāk saw, amongst other things, a perceptible increase in the amount of territory given as grants (*ikhṭā's* [q.v.]) for the upkeep of civilian officials and the military. Hence the Būyid *Diwān al-Djāyṣh* expanded greatly in its scope of operations, both military and financial, and grew to dwarf other government departments (see Cahen, *L'Évolution de l'Iqta' du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, viii (1953), 36-7). Mu'izz al-Dawla laid out a new palace at Baghdād along the Tigris banks and outside the Ṣhāmmāsiyya Gate, which included a *maydān* or open space for polo (a polo game being frequently part of an 'arḍ; cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān*, tr. Browne, 249, where the Bāwandīd Ṣhāh Ghāzī Rustam plays a stroke of polo at his final 'arḍ at Sārī just before his

death in 558/1163) and for reviews of his troops (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥādāra*, ed. and tr. Margoliouth, *The table-talk of a Mesopotamian judge*, text 70-1, tr. 75-7). Under 'Aḍud al-Dawla an increased staff of secretaries and clerks was taken on in the 'Ariḍ's department to expedite the punctual payment of salaries and thus keep the turbulent soldiery peaceful (Rūdhrawārī, in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, iii, 43, tr. vi, 40). When the Būyids were at the summit of their power, under monarchs like 'Aḍud al-Dawla and his son Bahā' al-Dawla, there were two separate 'Ariḍs, one for the Daylamīs and one for the Turks, Kurds and Arabs, reflecting ethnic divisions within the forces which could at times prove a source of weakness. Since there seems to have been amongst the Būyids a certain care for purity of Daylamī or Dīllī blood, the expulsion of intruders from the ranks was an especial feature of the Būyid 'arḍs, when experts on tribal genealogies were employed to assist the 'Ariḍ in his work. The 'arḍs were also occasions when the allocation of *ikhṭā's* was reviewed or these grants converted into cash payments, but the amir had to be able to act from a position of strength. It is not infrequently recorded, amongst the Būyids and amongst other dynasties, that the threat to hold an 'arḍ (at which financial and territorial privileges would be reviewed and possibly cancelled) provoked a mutiny of the troops. See for the whole topic of the Būyid 'arḍ and the 'Ariḍ's functions, Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 143-67, esp. 162 ff., and also Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut 1969, 314-15, 340-1.

Little is known about the formal constitution of the military department under the Sāmānids of Transoxania and Khurāsān, although a *Diwān Ṣāhib al-Shuraf*, sc. for the Commandant of the Guard, existed in Bukhārā during the time of Naṣr b. Aḥmad (early 4th/10th century), cf. Narshakhī, *The history of Bukhara*, tr. Frye, 26; and Khwārizmī mentions a special "black register" (*al-djārīda al-sawdā'*) in which the names and duties of the troops were recorded (*Mafāṭīḥ al-'ulūm*, 56, 64; see DAFTAR). Hence the institution of the 'arḍ very probably existed for the Sāmānid army (on which see Bosworth, *An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amir Naṣr b. Aḥmad: a contribution to Sāmānid military history*, in *Yād-nāme-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 17-29), for the Sāmānid administration was the immediate model for that of their successors, the Ghaznavids, and the administration of the latter certainly included a *Diwān-i 'Arḍ* as one of the five great departments of state.

The Ghaznavid 'Ariḍ's duties comprised the usual range of financial and military ones, and the office was accounted second only in importance to that of the vizier. 'Arḍs of the whole army, cavalry, infantry and elephants, were held annually on the plain of the Ṣhābahār outside Ghazna, and Gardizī states that at the 'arḍ of 414/1023 54,000 cavalry and 1,300 elephants were reviewed; on occasions like this, the names of the troops were checked against the muster-roll or *djārīda-yi 'arḍ*, the troops received their pay and the whole proceedings often ended in a magnificent feast for all present given by the sultan. Subordinate 'Ariḍs were attached to each of the Ghaznavid armies stationed in the provinces, and these officials held local reviews of the troops and paid them with funds drawn from the provincial treasuries. As was the case all through the Islamic lands at this time, the office of 'Ariḍ was invariably

held by a member of the civilian bureaucracy, Arab or Persian, and not by one of the Turkish soldiery, administrative expertise rather than prowess in the field being the desideratum. See on all these questions, M. Nāzim, *The life and times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 137 ff.; Bosworth, *Ghaznavid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 68 ff.; andidem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 122 ff.

A particularly interesting account of how an 'ard should be conducted is contained in the treatise on kingship and military practice by the 7th/13th century Ghūrīd author Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh, the *Ādāb al-mulūk wa-kifāyat al-mamlūk* or *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa'l-shadīqā* (bāb 18 of the more complete India Office Ms 647, bāb 12 of the B.M. Ms Rieu, ii, 487-8 = 267-8 of the printed text by A. S. Khwānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967). There is clearly some factual basis for this account, however much it has been idealised, and it presumably reflects the institution as it developed on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world under such dynasties as the Ghaznavids and Ghūrīds, and probably in northern India under the Ghūrīds' slave commanders. According to Fakhr-i Mudabbir's account, the 'Arīd—described as "the mainstay, the very mother and father of the army, upon whom the strength and reliance of the troops rests"—was accompanied for the 'ard by his deputy and by the Naḳīb, and they stood on an eminence and inspected the left wing, centre and right wing of the army, in that order. Within this framework of review, the heavy cavalry, the light cavalry, the regularly-salaried infantry and the auxiliary infantry were successively inspected, and the lists given to the Naḳīb so that he could arrange these troops on the day of battle. The commanders themselves were all reviewed, and each ordinary cavalryman was written down under his superior officer. The 'Arīd is cautioned not to demand that horses and weapons be produced during a pre-battle 'ard, but he should encourage the troops with promises of rewards and promotions, so that they will be stimulated to feats of heroism. At the end of the 'ard, the 'Arīd brings the troops' leaders before the ruler and praises their soldiers. The fear of enemy spies was omnipresent; the 'Arīd should, accordingly, make his report to the ruler discreetly, and if cavalymen already reviewed slip back and mingle with the unreviewed, the spies will become confused and acquire an exaggerated idea of the army's strength. From this passage of the *Ādāb al-mulūk*, there emerge two vital and practical reasons for holding an 'ard: firstly, it provided a check on the feudal cavalymen who of course provided their own arms, equipment and mounts, for the ruler could only be expected to supply these for his household guard at the most; and secondly, the marshal of the army (here to be equated with the Naḳīb) utilised knowledge gained from the 'ard concerning the exact condition and composition of the troops to set them out in their battle stations when they reached the field.

Under the Great Salḡjūks, the *Diwān al-Djāysh* or *Diwān-i 'Arḡ* was part of the *Diwān-i A'lā* or Great *Diwān*, and, as under the preceding dynasty of the Būyids, it was as much a financial as a military organ of government, with the responsibility, for instance, of overseeing *ikhṭā*'s and reallocating them when they fell vacant. Till the death of Malik-Shāh, the 'Arīd al-Djāysh or Sāhib-i *Diwān-i 'Arḡ* was usually a civilian official, but thereafter, the office was occasionally held by a Turkish amir (Lambton, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 233, 259-60). As well as

the central military department, provincial offices doubtless existed. This last fact may be inferred from the text of an investiture diploma for an 'Arīd given in the second part of the collection of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt's letters, the *Wasā'il al-rasā'il wa-dalā'il al-faḡā'il* compiled for the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn's brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pirshāh or Shīrshāh; it thus reflects the common Salḡjūk and Khwārizmshāhī tradition. In it, the appointee is described as 'Arīd dar *djumla-yi mamālik*, and his duties characterised as firstly, a care for the correct pay entitlements of the soldiers, and secondly, the proper conduct of 'arḡs, with due inspection of equipment and weapons (H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosseḡgūgen und Hōrazmshāhs 1038-1231*, Wiesbaden 1964, 39-41, 109-10). 'Arḡs were held at such usual times as the opening of campaigns (e.g., before the expedition of Alp Arslan to Anatolia which culminated in the victory of Mantzikert); but 'arḡs could still give rise to disaffection, for the 7,000 troops whom Malik-Shāh dismissed from his army after an 'ard at Ray in 473/1081 joined his brother Tekīsh in eastern Khurāsān, and the latter used them to rebel (Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 90).

Although the Great Salḡjūk empire disintegrated, the military traditions associated with the maintenance of a standing, professional army lived on beyond the cataclysm of the Mongol invasions and were passed on to the later Salḡjūks of Rūm in Anatolia and to the various Mongol and Türkmen dynasties which came to dominate the whole region from Syria to Afghanistan. Under the Il-Khānids, we find the office of 'Arīd or Amīr-i 'Arīd still flourishing; his duties included oversight of the army's *ikhṭā*'s and, probably, assistance to the khān at army reviews (cf. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 257). The 'Arḡ-nāma or account of a review written by Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. 908/1502) [q.v.] shows the institution of the 'ard in common use amongst the Turkmen Aḡ Koyunlu under their greatest ruler, Uzun Hasan. In this document there is described an 'ard held by Uzun Hasan's son Sultān Khallīl, governor of Fārs, at Band-i Amīr near Persepolis, which lasted for three days. Some 23,000 troops, comprising the provincial army of Fārs, presented themselves for inspection in the tripartite formation characteristic of Turkish armies, of left wing, right wing and centre. Members of the royal family headed the list; these were followed by the officers, including the elite group of the *tawadjiis*; and then successive detachments (*ḡoshuns*) of the rank-and-file, the *nokars*, comprising armoured troops and archers, and the servants, the *kullughchīs* (Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, x (1940-2), 141-78; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 304-12).

Amongst the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, the traditional occasions for army reviews figure, as one would expect, in the chronicles; thus when in 832/1428-9 al-Ashraf Barsbāy prepared his expedition against the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh, the *ḡalka* [q.v.] was reviewed in the Royal Square (*al-ḡawsh al-sultānī*), and even the very young, the aged and the blind were required to go on the venture (D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamlūk army. II*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 455). The civilian head of the military department was the Nāzir al-Djāysh, but the official whose duties corresponded in many ways with those of the earlier 'Arīd as overseer of reviews was the military official called the Naḳīb al-Djuyūsh (also found with various other titles like *Muḡaddam al-Djuyūsh*,

*Amir al-Djuyūsh, Naḥīb Nuḥabā' al-Djuyūsh* and *Atūbak al-'Asākīr*), whose office in Cairo had two branches, one for Egypt and one for Syria. He exercised military police functions, being therefore something like a Provost-Marshal. It was he who announced to the army that it should get ready and parade for inspection before an expedition, and for this he sent round his subordinate officials, the *nuḥabā' adjīnād al-ḥalka*, to Cairo and district, and despatched messengers of the *Barīd* or postal service [q.v.] to other regions of Egypt (cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, lxii; Uzunçarşılı, *Medhal*, 383; and Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 64 ff.).

In the early Ottoman empire, many administrative and military traditions stemmed from the Ottomans' predecessors, the Rūm Saldjūks. The terms 'arḍ and 'arīḍ were not generally used, but a similar institution of military reviews existed under the designation of *yoḫlama*, the officials charged with organising these inspections and recording the results being known as *yoḫlamadīllar*. This institution was certainly flourishing by the time of Süleymān the Magnificent. The *yoḫlama* can best be documented from the journals of campaigns, such as those found in Ferīdūn Beg's *Münshē'at-ī selāfin*. When a campaign was set on foot, the troops arrived from the provinces and were reviewed in the army camp in front of the sultan's tent; the state of the musters was then recorded in special registers or muster-rolls, *yoḫlama defterleri*, and these were then presented to the sultan or commander-in-chief. The *yoḫlama* was particularly important as a means of checking on absentees from the forces, since absenteeism became an increasing problem as a disinclination from the fighting grew after the 10th/16th century. Documents giving orders for the holding of *yoḫlamas* are frequently couched in minatory language. In one document regarding the Janissary cavalry and sent to the *ḫādīs* of the *sandjak* of Bursa before departure on an expedition in 980/1572-3, threats of all sorts of dire punishment (*enwā'-i 'ilāb we-'ikāb*) are made against those not present at the *yoḫlama*. When Murād IV prepared for his Erivān expedition of 1044/1634-5, even retired soldiers and local defence troops were summoned to the colours, with the death penalty threatened as the ultimate deterrent for absence; the Janissaries were reviewed near the frontiers of eastern Anatolia, and the officers reprehended over absentees from their units (texts in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943-4, i, 368, ii, 244). It should be noted, however, that our information relates only to reviews held before or during specific campaigns, and not to regular peace-time reviews such as are attested for earlier Islamic times.

It is probable, although it is difficult precisely to document the process, that the institution of the 'arḍ was transferred to the Indian Muslim armies via such epigoni of the Ghaznavids and Ghūrīds as the Slave Kings of Delhi. The 8th/14th century historian Baranī, writing under the Delhi sultans, recommends that the 'arḍ should be held twice yearly and that it should include tests in equestrian skill, and inspection of weapons and arrows and of horses' brands, and a recording of the *ḫulā*, physical characteristics of the troops (*Fatāwā-yi dīhānādāri*, tr. M. Habib and A. U. S. Khan, Allahabad n.d., 25; *Ta'riḫh-i Firūzshāhi*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862, 319, 328). The main musters were held in the capital Delhi itself, possibly inside a great walled enclosure, which was called *alang*, a term also applied to the review itself;

the 8th/14th century tower still extant in Delhi called the *Bid'āy mandal* "viewing area" seems to have been designed as a viewing platform for the 'arḍ. The sultans' *Diwān-i 'Arḍ* was headed by an official called in the mid-7th/13th century the *Rāwat-i 'Arḍ* (*rāwat* = Hindi "warrior") or the *'Arīḍ al-Ḥaṣham*, and there were subordinate officials called *nā'ibān-i 'Arḍ-i mulūk*. One duty of these deputy 'Arīḍs seems to have been that of accompanying military expeditions when there was a chance of plunder, and of then transmitting the sultan's share of the booty back to Delhi. The founder of the *Khaldjī* dynasty, Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz (689-95/1290-6) held the office of 'Arīḍ-i *Mamālik* when he seized power (Baranī, *Ta'riḫh-i Firūzshāhi*, 114, 116, 197, 326, 450).

Almost nothing is known of the 'arḍ in Muslim India in the immediate post-800/1398 period, although it seems likely that the traditional processes of muster and review were preserved in the Indian sultanates rather than re-introduced *de novo* by the Mughals. The recording of the *ḫulā al-rīdājāl* is said to have been revived by Shīr Shāh Sūr of Delhi (945-52/1538-45); a *Diwān-i 'Arḍ-i Mamālik* existed in Mālwa in the 9th/15th century; and the functions of the 'Arīḍ may have been performed in the Bengal sultanate of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries by the official known as the *Wazīr-i Lashkar* or *Lashkar-Wazīr*.

In Mughal India, many of the functions of the classical 'Arīḍ devolved on the *Mīr-Bakhshī* or *Bakhshī al-Mamālik* (*bakhshī*, originally "writer, secretary", a term stemming from Mongol administrative usage), assisted by a number of other *Bakhshīs*, which grew from one to three between the late 10th/16th century and the 12th/18th century; in addition, a *Bakhshī-yi Lashkar* was sometimes temporarily appointed to accompany a specific expedition. The chief *Bakhshī*'s duties were broadly those of an Adjutant-General and a Muster-Master; he was concerned with recruitment, keeping lists of the *manṣabdārs* or officers, arranging a duty roster for the palace guards, issuing grants of pay (*tankhwāh*), and keeping registers of deserters and absentees from reviews. The Mughal army, like other Islamic forces, suffered from the evils of false musters and absenteeism. The Emperor Akbar revived the practice of the Delhi sultans in strictly enforcing a system of descriptive rolls for men and horses and of brands for the animals. The soldiers' rolls were called *ḥīra*, literally "face", because as well as recording the genealogical and ethnic affiliations of the warrior in question, physical details were also noted; the rolls of the horses were likewise called *ḥīra-yi aspān*. Horses had normally to be branded by the *Bakhshī*'s subordinate, the *Dārūghā* [q.v.], the procedure being known as *dāgh u taṣṭīḥa* "branding and verification". Only commanders of 5,000 and above were exempt from the branding requirements, according to a late 11th/17th century administrative manual, one of those with the title *Dastūr al-'amal* (B.M. Ms 6599, second work in the Ms), but they had to parade their horses for inspection when required (it is, however, known from other sources that high officers had their personal brand marks). It thus appears that the general process of *taṣṭīḥa*, requirement of the troops' appearing on parade and the checking of their equipment, is a direct descendant of the classical 'arḍ, and that it was carried out in peacetime at regular intervals, the precise period of time depending on the nature and rate of pay. Thus a *manṣabdār* whose men were paid in *djāgīr* or personal grants (see under *īḳṭā'*) had to parade them for review once a year, whereas those paid in cash had to appear at rather

more frequent intervals. During a military expedition, the *Mir-Bakhshī* or *Bakhshī* accompanying the army was expected to lay before the emperor or commander-in-chief a detailed muster-roll on the morning of battle. It was also he who, like the ideal 'Ariḍ in Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Ādīb al-mulūk*, deployed the troops in the positions which had often been assigned to them before the actual campaign. In the absence of the emperor, the *Bakhshī* was not infrequently appointed commander of the force, and on many other occasions he commanded a division of it; but even the *Mir-Bakhshī* might serve beneath an ordinary amir as commander. See W. Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls: its organization and administration*, London 1903, 36-56, also in *JRAS* (1896), 539-55; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Moghul empire*, Karachi 1966, 77-9, 125.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article. There are no special studies devoted to the topic, but see Bosworth, *Muster, recruitment and review in mediaeval Islamic armies*, in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London, forthcoming.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**ISTI'RĀD** (A), technical term of the *Khawāridj* [*q.v.*], used, in a general sense, of religious murder, the putting to death in particular by the *Azārika* [*q.v.*] of Muslims and pagans who objected to their still rudimentary doctrine. However this meaning seems to be the result of a semantic evolution (even an involution), the verb *ista'raḍa* (tenth form) meaning "to ask someone to display his possessions" and, thence, "to give an account of his opinions"; the *isti'rāḍ* is thus the interrogation to which the enemies of these sectarians were subjected on falling into their hands. There seems also to have occurred an overlapping with the eighth form *i'taraḍa*, which means "to examine one by one, to pass under review", but also "to attack someone" and "to strike in all directions, indiscriminately" (cf. al-Kāli, *Amālī*, i, 119). In al-Ṭabarī (i, 3368, line 1) there is found, concerning Mis'ar b. Fadakī, the phrase *akbala ya'tariḍu 'l-nās* which Mme. Vecchia Vaglieri (*Il constitto 'Alī-Mu'āwiya*, in *AIUON*, iv (1952), 63) translates "presero a far subire interrogatori alla gente", perhaps while fighting, since the verb could well have here the meaning of "attack"; another attestation appears more certain: al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 616; Cairo ed., 1041; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahḍī al-balāgha*, i, 382) says in fact of Nāfi' that at al-Ahwāz *ya'tariḍu 'l-nās* (i.e., he made them undergo an interrogation) and killed the children (*wa-yaktul al-aḡ-fāl*) but it is quite clear that the interrogation was followed, in most cases, by the victim's being put to death, and this act is obviously implied in the verb *ya'tariḍu*. *I'taraḍa* and *ista'raḍa* seem therefore to mean about the same thing. Concerning *isti'rāḍ*, when al-Dinawarī (*Ṭiwāl*, 221) refers to the *isti'rāḍ al-nās*, he is certainly referring to the inquisition, since he adds *yaktulūnahum*; al-Ṭabarī does the same (i, 3380, line 11-2) when he reports the wording of an invitation to rally to the banner of 'Alī *man lam yaktul wa (-lam) yasta'riḍ*. However, when, concerning Kaṭarī [*q.v.*], al-Djābirī says (*Bayān*, iii, 264) that he "professed (*yadīn*) the *isti'rāḍ*, the bringing (of the women) into captivity (*sibā'*) and the murdering of children", the term certainly implies a doctrine involving not only the subjecting to an interrogation but also the putting to death of any recalcitrants (or the proving the sincerity of those who had rallied to the cause by giving them the task of slaughtering a prisoner; cf. H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 45); *isti'rāḍ* is used in the same sense in a saying attributed to Abū Bayhas

(al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 616; Cairo ed., 1041) which justifies this form of terrorism. Hence, *isti'rāḍ* came to imply less inquisition than the execution, by the extremist groups of *Khāridjīs*, of enemies who were reluctant to join the cause wholeheartedly.

*Bibliography*: In the article. (CH. PELLAT)

**ISTISHĀB**, evokes, etymologically, the idea of an implied connection between a present situation and a previous one. In the vocabulary of the *fuḡahā'*, it designated the principle by which a given judicial situation that had existed previously was held to continue to exist as long as it could not be proved that it had ceased to exist or had been modified. In general, the institution has not been well understood; it has been regarded as the *Shāfi'i* equivalent of *istiḥsān* and *istiḥlāḥ* [*q.v.*]. But *istiḥḥāb* is not a source of objective law and besides, to the extent that it is a means of preserving rights that have already been established, it is accepted by the *Ḥanafīs* and *Mālikīs* as well as by the *Shāfi'īs* and *Imāmīs*. The presumption of continuity embodied in *istiḥḥāb* explains, for example, why the wife of a missing man cannot remarry, why his heirs cannot benefit from his estate until his death has been established; and why, when someone has set out poverty-stricken on a journey and nothing further has been heard of him, he is considered a pauper for the entire duration of his absence.

The *Shāfi'īs* gave *istiḥḥāb* a much weightier significance than did the *Ḥanafīs*, which explains why this method of juridical reasoning has been generally, though erroneously, associated with *Shāfi'i* teaching. The word *istiḥḥāb* does not even appear in the *Umm* of the *Imām al-Shāfi'i* and he had recourse to the concept on one occasion only, without naming it (Schacht, *Origins*, 126). However, it is true that later *Shāfi'i* scholars considerably expanded the area of its application by deciding that it was possible, through using this measure, not only to preserve already established rights (as did the other schools) but also to permit the acquisition of new rights. Thus in this school a missing man whose death cannot be established may inherit, which is impossible under *Ḥanafī* law; in the same way, in *Shāfi'i* law a pre-emptor may avail himself of *istiḥḥāb* in order to prove that he is a co-proprietor, which the *Ḥanafīs* do not allow (al-Kāsānī, *Badā'i'*, v, 14). Examples of *istiḥḥāb* which might be used for the acquisition of new rights abound in *Shāfi'i* works. It should be noted that Zufar, among the *Ḥanafīs*, upheld ideas which were very close to those of the *Shāfi'īs* on this point.

*Bibliography*: The works on *uṣūl al-fīḡh*, including *Ghazālī*, *Mustasfā*, *Būlāḡ* 1322, i, 217; *Āmidī*, *Iḡkām*, ed. Dār al-Ma'ārif, iv, 166 ff.; *Shawkānī*, *Irḡḡād al-fuḡḡūl*, Cairo 1327, 228 ff.; *Ibn Ḥazm*, *Iḡkām*, ed. al-Sa'āda, v, 2 ff.; *Karāfī*, *Tanbīḡ al-fuṣūl*, Cairo 1306, 198 ff. Among modern authors, 'Alī al-Khāfi, *al-Istiḥḥāb*, in the review *al-Kānūn wa'l-iḡtiṣād*, nos. 3-4, (Cairo 1951), 229-45 of the Arabic section; Goldziher, *Istiḥḥāb*, in *WZKM*, i (1887), 228 ff. (Fr. tr. by G. H. Bousquet, in *Études islamologiques d'I. Goldziher*, Leiden 1962, 12 ff.); Santillana, *Istituzioni*, ii, 621-3; especially Lapanne-Joinville, *Istiḥḥāb*, in *Travaux Sem. Int. de Droit musulman*, Paris 1952, 80-100; N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh 1964, 92-3.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

**ISTISHRĀḲ** [see *MUSTASHRIḲŪN*]

**ISTISKĀ'**, a rogatory rite still practised at the present day (notably in Jordan and Morocco) and dating back to the earliest Arab times ('Ādite ac-

according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, i, 61; Abrahamic according to Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 22) which is a supplication for rain during periods of great drought. The rite must have been both astral and magical in nature. Obligated to retain it because of its great popularity, primitive Islam tried to remove these features. A precise ritual was established—as in the case of *istikhāra* [q.v.], another custom deriving from pagan cultic practices—so that the faithful would not succumb to the temptation of returning to the ways of the *Ḍjāhiliyya*. With this end in view, *istiskā'* in the pagan manner, that is through the intermediary of the planets (*al-istiškā' bi 'l-kawākib*) is condemned in a *ḥadīth*, where it features alongside *hidjā'*, insult by reference to genealogy, which was thought of as an action with magical results, and *niyāha*, the use of hired mourners (al-Ṭabari, iii, 2424; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Usd*, i, 299; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, II, n. 2).

Pagan *istiskā'*, or rather *istimfār*, required the use of fire; *nār al-istiškā'* was one of the numerous sacred fires of ancient Arabia (cf. *Panthéon*, 9-18). It consisted of driving, onto a hilltop that was difficult to reach, oxen with branches of wild grape (*sala'*) and mudar plant (*'ushar*) attached to their tails and hocks. When they reached the top, these branches were fired. The bellowing of the beasts and the cries and supplication of the men rose clamorously towards the astral divinities, imploring them to send down rain (cf. al-Ḍjāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 466-8; id., *Tarbi'*, index s.v. *istimfār*; Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, ii, 252 ff., 418, iv, 434; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, i, 109). The fire had two functions: it symbolised the devastating drought and caused the bellowing of the bulls so that the gods would hear their dreadful cries.

The magical nature of *istiškā'* is also revealed in the manner in which it was practised by Ibn al-Hayyabān, a very pious Palestinian Jew who arrived in Yathrib a few years before the advent of Islam. He lived among the Banū Kurayza, who applied to him every time a drought had lasted too long. He demanded that those who came to him place at their doors a *ṣadaka* consisting of one measure of dates or two measures of barley per person. A procession was formed behind him; clouds rolled over and the rain fell as soon as the procession crossed the dried-up stream (Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 104 f.; *Panthéon*, 13; *Sources orientales*, vii (1966), 187 f.).

This magical symbolism even appears in the *istiškā'* rite as it seems to have been performed by the Prophet. In fact, according to al-Ṣhawkānī (d. 1250/1834), *Nayl al-awfār* (a commentary on the *al-Muntakā min akhbār al-Muṣṭafā* of Ibn Taymiyya, d. 652/1254), citing a narrative placed in the mouth of 'Ā'ishā, the Prophet stood on the top of a *minbar* erected for him in an oratory (*muṣallā*) and recited a short doxology which closed with a plea for rain; he then raised his arms to the sky, so high that the whiteness of his armpits could be seen; then he turned his back on the people and turned his cloak inside out while still holding his arms aloft. Turning towards the faithful once more, he came down from the *minbar* and performed two *rak'as*. Then God sent forth a cloud which brought thunder, lightning and rain (quoted by Muḥammad 'Abduh, *'Ibādāt*, 179).

While still a small boy, Muḥammad is said to have played a part in the rogations celebrated at Mecca as a result of a dream that the mother of Makḥrama b. Nawfal al-Zuhārī had: she had heard a voice announcing the imminent appearance of a prophet and describing to her a man, who proved to be 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose intervention would bring about the

rain. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib convened the members of his family, including his grandson Muḥammad, and one representative from each of the families of Mecca. They made their way in procession to Mount Abū Ḳubays. After a prayer uttered by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, rain swelled the streams. Recounting this story, Ibn Sa'd concludes (i/1, 54): "and they were refreshed because of the Messenger of God".

Even after his death the Prophet is said to have demonstrated his attachment to this custom: he appeared in a dream to a chief of the Muzayna, during a long drought, to command him to go and see the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ask why he delayed in uttering the *istiškā'* prayer. At once 'Umar assembled the people and recited a brief orison and two short prayers. Then he invoked God in these words: "O God, our watercourses have dried up; our strength is exhausted; our souls are weary! There is no strength nor power but Thine, O God; send us water and revive the creatures and the earth" (al-Ṭabari, i, 2575-6; cf. *Divination*, 265; *Panthéon*, 11 f.).

Among the nomads, the prerogative of *istiškā'* was allied to possession of the *bayt* or betel and the *ḳubba* or sacred tent; in the temples some divinities were famed in this role [see HUBAL]. In Mecca the leader of the city held this prerogative, which had been transmitted by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to Muḥammad and thence to the caliphs (cf. H. Lammens, *Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites*, in *BIFAO* (1919-20), 86). The Prophet's entire family inherited this prerogative (cf. ref. *apud* I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 308 ff.). 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb himself once officiated at the *istiškā'* prayer by holding the hand of al-'Abbas, the Prophet's uncle (Ibn Sa'd, iv/1, 19). Some of the martyrs of primitive Islam also enjoyed this privilege; because of this, the tomb of Abū Ayyūb, who died at the gates of Constantinople during the rule of Mu'āwiya and was buried in a spot that took his name (Eyyūb, at the base of the Golden Horn), was considered by the Byzantines as a propitious place to pray for rain (according to Ibn Sa'd, iii/2, 50).

In later folklore the power to make rain fall was conferred on certain *walīs*; an opening in the dome of their tombs symbolised this power. Their prestige among the people was so great that everyone wanted to number a "rainmaker" among his ancestors (cf. ref. *apud* I. Goldziher, *loc. cit.*). This phenomenon was particularly pronounced in the Maghrib, where, moreover, pagan rites dating from very early times survive among the Berbers (see Bibliography). For the *ṣalāt al-istiškā'*, see *ṢALĀT*.

*Bibliography*: T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 10-14; I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 308-12; idem, in *RHR*, lii (1905), 225-9; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 582-96; idem, *Marrakech*, 383-90; A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de secheresse chez les musulmans maghrébains*, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes par les professeurs de l'École supérieure des lettres et des Médresas*, Algiers 1905, 49-98; Narbeshuber, *Aus dem Leben der arabischen Bevölkerung in Sfax*, Leipzig 1907, 26-9; most notably E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 202-47; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes en pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 2nd ed. 1948 (*Études Bibliques*), 323-30; Muḥammad 'Abduh, *al-'Ibādāt fi 'l-islām*, 1st ed. Cairo n.d., 179 f. (T. FAHD)

*Rain-making ceremonies among the Turks.*

The magico-religious practices most generally employed in Turkey to produce rain are (with some regional variations) the following:

(1) Appropriate formulae are recited over a large number of pebbles, which are then put in a bag and sunk in a stream; care must be taken that not a single pebble falls loose in the water, for this would produce a torrential rainfall. When sufficient rain has fallen, the bag is withdrawn from the water.

(2) Collective prayer is offered led by a *khodja*, preferably by a sacred site upon an eminence. During the prayer, the suppliants turn their clothes inside out and stretch their half-open hands in gestures simulating the fall of rain. In some areas it is the custom to make babies cry and lambs bleat by separating them from their mothers. There exist in manuscript anthologies of popular poetry some *ilāhīs* in Turkish composed to be sung during these collective prayers.

(3) Besides prayers addressed to God, attempts to procure the intervention of a saint and rites of sympathetic magic, there are found also collective meals provided for the poor of the community, with the same object of appeasing the Divine wrath by works of charity (drought being regarded as a punishment from heaven).

(4) Another group of ceremonies is found in the traditions of the children, which similarly belong to the domain of sympathetic magic. These are ceremonies with the character of games, when children go from door to door to collect money, singing appropriate words and carrying a doll usually representing a woman dressed in fantastic style. This doll is called by different names in different areas: *Çömçe-gelin* "ladle-bride", *Kepe-kadın* "strainer-woman", *Yağmur-gelini* "rain-bride". The children eat, all together, a meal bought with the proceeds of the collection. In some regions (Samsun, Sinop) this ceremony is called *Göde-göde* ("frog-frog"); money is collected by children taking from door to door a bucket of water with a frog in it. The common feature of these "children's collections" is that the doll or the children themselves are sprinkled with water by the housewives as they pass in procession in front of the houses.

Some less common ceremonies, such as the immersion in water of a horse's skull, on which prayer formulas have been written, are probably survivals from ancient practices of sacrifice.

The use of stones which after a magico-religious ceremony acquire the power to induce rainfall is the most widespread method of all, and is probably the Anatolian form taken by the very old Turco-Mongol practice of inducing rain by the "yada-stone". For the data on this subject found in Chinese and Arabic sources, see the communication by Köprülüzade M. Fu'ād in *Actes du Congrès International d'histoire des religions*, held in Paris, 1923, vol. 2.

*Bibliography:* For the subject in general, and especially for Anatolian Turkish practices, see the addendum by P. N. Boratav to the article *Istışkâ* in *IA*. See also *Söz Derleme Dergisi*, supp. ii: *Folklor Sözleri*, s.vv. *Çömçe-gelin* and *Göde-göde*. For data collected since 1949, see the abstracts of *Türk folklor araştırmaları* by P. N. Boratav in *Oriens*, headings XI and XIV. (P. N. BORATAV)

**İSTİŞLĀH** [see İSTİŞĀN]

**İSTİTĀ**, capacity, power to act, *maşdar* of the tenth form of *istā*, to obey. If the term itself is not *kur'ānic*, the verb *istatā* is used frequently in the text. Like its *maşdar*, it was to become a technical

term of the *uṣūl al-āin* and the *'ilm al-kalām*. The translation "capacity" is generally used (for example Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947, 68 and n. 2). Wensinck prefers "faculty", others "power" (*pouvoir*). In this last sense, the *'ilm al-kalām* readily considers *kuḍra* and *istitā'a* to be identical (see remarks of 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uṭmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 393). As quasi-synonyms for *istitā'a*, al-Djurdjānī was to suggest (*Ta'rifāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 18) the terms *kuḍra* (power), *kuwwa* (faculty, in the sense of potentiality), *was'* (faculty, in the sense of power) and *tāka* (faculty, power).

The idea in question dominates the analysis of the act of free choice (*ikhtiyār*). It was to be discussed, from the earliest elaborations of the science of *kalām*, under extremely diverse meanings, or nuances of meanings. In his *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, al-Ash'arī summarises at length the opinions of his forerunners. — A detailed analysis of the various theses here brought together will be found ap. R. Brunschvig, *Devoir et Pouvoir*, in *St. Isl.*, xx, 1-46. We shall restrict ourselves to certain references:

1) Ḡhaylān and the Murdjī'īs made almost no distinction between *istitā'a* and *kuḍra*, or even *kuwwa*. And for them, the capacity of a man in regard to his acts depends above all upon his physical aptitude to accomplish them.

2) Among the Mu'tazilīs, the Baghdād school was likewise to see in *istitā'a* the physical integrity which renders the act possible. For Abu 'l-Hudhayl and other Baṣrians, however, it is an accident which is superimposed upon this integrity (cf. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 14). For the Mu'tazilīs in general, in any case it precedes the act, it does not compel action, and it ceases when the act is performed. Once the act is created by man, the notion of "capacity to act" no longer enters into the question. An exposé of the subject, from the Mu'tazilī point of view, will be found in 'Abd al-Djabbār, *op. cit.*, 390 ff. (see p. 390, the note of 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uṭmān; cf. also al-Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg and trans. Nader, Beirut 1954, 62-72). — But for Ḍirār, the capacity which precedes the act continues to exist during its performance.

3) The group known as *Mudjibira*, to whom al-Ash'arī, regarding them to some extent as his precursors, was to give the name *Ahl al-ithbāt*, defined *istitā'a* as the whole body of elements which join together in the performance of the act. — The Rāfiḍī Shī'ī Hishām b. al-Ḥakam enumerates five of these: health and integrity (physical); favourable circumstances; the desired time; instruments; motive (*sabab*). The act is produced, and it cannot be not produced, when all these elements are present (cf. al-Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 110-2; and W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination*, London 1948, 116-7). With these tendencies may be linked the opinion of al-Nadīdjār, already very close to the Ash'arī line: "the capacity" does not last, it does not exist before the act, it is created by God for the act and at the instant of the act whose accomplishment it governs.

4) Al-Ash'arī deals with *istitā'a* from his own point of view in the *Ibāna* (ed. Cairo n.d., 53-5), and devotes to it a chapter of the *Luma'* (ed. and English trans. R. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, 54-9, 76-96). The "capacity" is created directly by God "with the act and for the act". It does not pre-exist it, a point of difference from the Mu'tazilī thesis. A man who does not have the requisite physical integrity is stricken with powerlessness (*'adjiz*); he would certainly be incapable



of performing the act, but that is not the true conception of *istiṭā'ā*. If, on the contrary, the power (*kuḍra*) to act fails him, and whatever his physical integrity may be, the power to act fails the man, it is because God has not created in him the corresponding "capacity"; in this way He has not attributed to him the *kasb* or *iktisāb* which permits the subject to "acquire" the act, and which is the source of moral qualification. It is in this sense that one can say that God is "the creator of human acts", of any act whatever, whether good or bad. Must it thereby be concluded that man is "constrained"? On this point copious *Ash'ārī* discussions are to be found on the "acquisition" of acts. Al-Bākillānī for example, who treats at length of *istiṭā'ā* in his *Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy Beirut 1957, 286-95), is at great pains to distinguish it from "constraint" (*idṭirār* [q.v.]); the trembling of the hand of the paralytic man is "constrained"; on the contrary, thanks to *istiṭā'ā* created by God, man chooses and likes the act which he elicits. One could not therefore call him "constrained", *muḍṭarr* (*ibid.*, 393). In his *Irshād*, al-Djuyaynī does no more than mention *istiṭā'ā* (ed. and French trans. Luciani, Paris 1938, 122/196, 125/201) as a quasi-synonym for the "power" which guarantees the *kasb*. And this power seems indeed to be in accord with the integrity of the means and instruments. The fact remains that, like every accident, it is directly created by God and that, like every accident, it does not "last". Therefore, it does not precede the act, as the Mu'tazilis would have it, but is concomitant with it (*ibid.*, 125/201). Throughout the *Ash'ārī* treatises there are repeated affirmations, similar in their basis but with nuances peculiar to each author. Al-Djurdjānī condenses these in his *Ta'rifāt* (18-19), defining "capacity" as "the accident created by God in animate beings who, thanks to it, perform acts of free choice". He specifies that "real" capacity (*ḥakīkiyya*) is the perfection of the "power" which obligatorily determines the beginning of the act and is concomitant with it. To put it briefly, let us say that the notion of *istiṭā'ā* is at the very root of the *Ash'ārī* notion of *kasb*, the relationship or linking together of the effect produced and the agent.

5) Unlike al-*Ash'ārī*, al-Māturīdī in his *Kitāb al-Tawhīd* (see analyses and ref. ap. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 25-6) was to introduce, as two successive periods of time: a) the integrity of the physical means, which is a gift of God and which precedes the act—thus giving the name "capacity" to what al-*Ash'ārī* called the absence of 'adīr; b) a qualification (*ma'nā*) which causes the act to be performed, which relates it to recompense or punishment, and gives it moral value. This "qualification" which defines *istiṭā'ā* is as it were the counterpart of the Māturīdī notion of *kasb*; it is a "quality" corresponding to human "contingent power".

6) We find a fairly closely related distinction in Ibn Ḥazm, but with different presuppositions: a) health and physical integrity, prior to the act; b) an accident directly and instantaneously created by God for the fulfilment of the act; it is, and is no more than, concomitant with this last. This second sense, says Ibn Ḥazm, is "the perfection of capacity". From this it ensues that the unbeliever has "the capacity to believe" according to the first meaning; but no longer so according to the second (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-mīlāl*, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 21-6, 31).—It may be added that similar theses were maintained by some jurists or theologians whose line of thought was far removed from Zāhirism, for example the Ḥanafī al-Taḥāwī and the Ināmī al-Kulaynī. Moreover, a comparison

may be made with the thinking of Ibn Taymiyya. It is true that he no longer referred to *istiṭā'ā*, but spoke rather of a *kuḍra* preceding the act, which conditions it without necessitating it, and of a *kuḍra* concomitant with the act and rendering it necessary (cf. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 41).—Doubtless it is to the "antecedent" *istiṭā'ā*, accepted by al-Māturīdī and Ibn Ḥazm, that al-Djurdjānī refers (*Ta'rifāt*, 19) when he adds to the *Ash'ārī* definitions quoted above that the capacity is "healthy" if impediments such as sickness and other similar things disappear.

A multiplicity of further references could be given. These would emphasise that the notion of *istiṭā'ā* as a technical term varies with the different schools, and sometimes with the writers; and that it is always closely dependent upon theses founded on the intrinsic reality or non-reality of human freedom of choice.

*Bibliography*: In the article. (L. GARDET)

**ISTITHNĀ'** (A.), inf. of the verb *istathnā* "to except", a technical term in Arabic grammar signifying "exception". This assumes, first of all, a complete sentence; then (when the proposition has been stated) one or more beings are excepted from the functions exercised in the sentence. In English, *except* is used, e.g.: *Everyone came except Zayd*. Arabic uses means of expression of various origins (Sibawayhi, i, ch. 185): *ghayra* (a noun signifying "difference"); *siwā*, *suwā* (more rarely *sawā'a*, *siwā'a*) (also a noun); *illā* (= \**in-lā* "if not") "except"; the verbs *ḫalā*, 'adā (invariable 3rd pers. masc. sing.); *ḫāshā* (> *hāshā*) (an ancient verbal noun, used exclamatorily, transferred from its original sense, see Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, 405); very much more rarely, as a substitute for *illā*: *lā yakūnu*, *laysa*, followed by the accusative.

*Ghayra*, *siwā*, *ḫāshā*, as nouns, are the first term of an annexation and the second goes into the genitive; the English sentence above is rendered: *djā'a 'l-ḥawmu ghayra*, or *siwā* or *ḫāshā*, *Zayd*<sup>an</sup>; al-Farrā' and al-Mubarrad also accept the accusative after *ḫāshā* (see the account of Ibn Ya'qūsh, 269, lines 2-19).

*Illā*, *ḫalā*, 'adā, are followed by the accusative: *djā'a 'l-ḥawmu illā*, or *ḫalā* or 'adā, *Zayd*<sup>an</sup>. Ibn Mālik (*Alfiyya*, verse 329) also accepts the genitive after *ḫalā* and 'adā, as did al-Aḫḫfash al-Awsa' (for *ḫalā*, see also al-Zamakhshari, *Mufaṣṣal*, 31, line 7 and Ibn Ya'qūsh, 261, lines 16-20).

*Illā* is regarded as being added to a complete affirmative sentence; if this sentence is negative (or interrogative with a negative sense) the accusative can be used, or, preferably, the case of the preceding general term (Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, verses 316-7 and Ibn 'Aqīl, i, 507): *mā djā'a 'l-ḥawmu illā Zayd*<sup>an</sup> (or *Zayd*<sup>an</sup>) (see Wright, ii, 336). If the thing excepted is different in kind from that from which it is excepted, the *Hidjāz* uses only the accusative after *illā*, and the *Tamīm* the accusative or the case of the preceding general term; thus, following the pattern sentence: *mā djā'a 'l-ḥawm illā ḥimār*<sup>an</sup> (*Hidjāz*), *illā ḥimār*<sup>an</sup> (*Tamīm*) "the people did not come, only a donkey" (Ibn Ya'qūsh, 264, lines 8-17). Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik*, § 37) gives still further variations in the construction of *illā*.

In our opinion, if one wishes to account for the different constructions of *illā*, one should start with *ghayr*. This was a noun and the important word in the construction: *ghayra Zayd*<sup>an</sup>, literally: "with the difference of Zayd" (*ghayra*, in the acc., as indicating the state (the *ḥāl*) of the subject, or if one wishes, as complement of manner). *Illā* was a simple particle; by analogy, in view of the similarity of sense, the



construction of *ghayra* in the accusative was transferred to the noun following *illā* "except". It is thus a simple analogical construction. The non-observance of this analogy leaves scope for variations in construction, e.g., *mā diā'a 'l-ḥawmu illā Zayd*<sup>an</sup> (analogical construction), *illā Zayd*<sup>an</sup> (construction merely *ad sensum*).

Remarks: a) The Arab grammarians (cf. Sibawayhi, i, 314, line 17; Ibn Ya'qūsh, 260, line 17) see in *illā* the *ḥarf* proper of the *istithnā'*; but *ghayra* is frequently used, and *siwā* is not uncommon in the texts; *khalā*, *'adā* and particularly *hāshā* are found less often. Detailed investigations by numerical analysis of texts, however, have not yet given us the respective frequencies. In fact, differences of distribution must have occurred in the Arab tribes.

b) Fleischer (*Kleinere Schriften*, 734) sees in *ghayr* "difference" an ancient infinitive of a 1st form verb *ghāra* (i), now disappeared, which served as the basis of *ghayyara* "to change". Reckendorf (*Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse*, 146, *Anm.* 1) finds the etymology of *ghayr* obscure. Comparative Semitics gives no satisfactory explanation, so Fleischer may perhaps be right.—For the etymology of *siwā*, see Fleischer, *loc. cit.*, 735, lines 13 f.

c) Annexation accounts for the construction of *ghayr*, *siwā*, *hāshā* with the genitive; but it is quite certain that frequency of use tended to obscure the origin of these words and to reduce them to mere grammatical tools. *Ghayra* retains its nominal character because of other constructions. For the Baḡrans, *siwā*, *sawā'a* were merely *ḥarf*; for the Kūfans, they were *ism* and *ḥarf* (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, Discussion 39). In *hāshā* the Kūfans saw a verb (*ibid.*, Discussion 37).

*Bibliography*: Apart from the references in the text: W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, ii, 335-43; M. Gauderoy-Demombynes and R. Blachère, *Gr. Ar. Classique*<sup>5</sup>, §§ 386-7; J.-B. Belot, *Gr. Ar.*<sup>5</sup>, a résumé: 293-5; Lane, *Lexicon*, the articles on the words concerned; Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, § 262. Arab authors: Sibawayhi, i, ch. 185-202 (ed. Paris), particularly: ch. 185-7, 190, 193, 199, 201-2; Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 2nd ed. Broch, §§ 88-96, particularly: §§ 88-90 and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Ya'qūsh, 258-82, particularly: 258-75, ed. G. Jahn; Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, verses 316-31 and *Sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aqil, i, 505-27, ed. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd; Radī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiyya*, i, 205-28, ed. Istanbul 1275, to be consulted last, interesting, but more difficult to follow in its discussions. (H. FLEISCH)

**ISTIWĀ'** (KHATT AL-), the line of equality, of equilibrium, that is to say the equator, which divides the earth into two hemispheres, the northern and the southern, and joins together all those points of the globe where day and night are equal. The particulars relating to the equator and to the division of the earth are furnished by the *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, which is of Greek, Indian or Persian inspiration, and revised and corrected through the observations of scholars of the time of al-Ma'mūn [cf. *DIUGHRAFIVĀ*].

The equator is the largest circle of the earth; as such, it corresponds to the circle of the zodiac, which is the largest of all the circles of the celestial sphere. Its circumference is estimated at 360 degrees, or generally at 9,000 parasangs (equivalent to about 54,000 km.), and its distance from each of the two poles is 90 degrees. Other estimates fix the equatorial circumference at 24,000 miles (1 mile = one third of a parasang), corresponding to a diameter of 7,636 miles, approximately 48,000 and 15,000 km. respectively;

Al-Mas'ūdī himself gives very variable figures: 13,500 miles for half the circumference, or 20,160 miles for the total circumference, corresponding to a diameter of 6,414.5 miles, or again, still for the total circumference, 6,600 parasangs (= 19,800 miles) corresponding to a diameter of 2,100 parasangs (= 6,300 miles), or lastly 24,000 miles for a diameter of 7,667 miles. Yāqūt for his part gives figures that range from 6,800 to 27,000 parasangs.

The division of the earth into two hemispheres is not the only function of the equator. It also marks the limit of inhabited lands in their furthest longitudinal extent, from East to West, from the extremities of China to the Fortunate or Eternal Islands (*al-Djazā'ir al-khālidiāt* [q.v.]). Mid-way, according to a conception inherited from India, an island is situated, at the same distance from the North and the South as from the East and the West: this is the dome of the earth (Arin, Uzayn, Udjdjayn [q.v.]).

Finally, the equator plays an essential part in the division of climates (*aḳālim*, sing. *iklim* [q.v.]), and, through these, in the distinction between inhabited and uninhabited lands, this time in the North-South direction. Just as in the North, towards Thule, at a latitude of about 60°, life ceases to be possible on account of the intense cold, so in the South, at a latitude generally estimated at from 21° to 24°, life disappears on account of the excessive heat. On the whole from North to South, life extends merely over a latitude of approximately 80 degrees. Although certain authors attribute to the southern hemisphere seven climates corresponding to those of the northern hemisphere, it remains true that a parallel situation does not hold good in respect of life, which is thus limited to only one quarter of the globe—from 0 to 180 degrees from East to West and from —20 to +60 degrees in the South-North direction. In general, if, in the architecture of the world, it was perceived to be a line of equilibrium, in the description of inhabited lands the equator was always regarded more or less as a limit, with the risks which its crossing imply: reflecting this state of mind and this latent mistrust, the Arab geographical texts, even when describing the countries of the South, have nothing to say on the theme of "crossing the line", so dear to modern explorers.

*Bibliography*: Kh'wārizmī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. von Mzik, Leipzig 1926 (reprod. in colour 1963), *passim*; Ibn Khuradādhbih, 4-5, 157-8; Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, 3 vols., Milan 1899-1907, *passim*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 4-5; Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 16; Suhrāb, *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-aḳālim al-sab'a*, ed. von Mzik, Leipzig 1930, 6-8; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, § 187, 189, 194, and *Tanbih*, trans. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1897, 37-45; Iṣṭaḳhrī, ed. M. Dī. 'Abd al-Āl al-Ḥinī, Cairo 1961, 16; *Hudūd al-Ālam*, 50-1; Ibn Hawḳāl-Kramers-Wiet, 501; Muḳaddasī, 58-9; Bīrūnī, *al-Kānūn al-mas'ūdī*, 3 vols., Haydarābād 1373-5/1954-6, i, 377 f., 502 f., ii, 532 f., 547-9 and *passim*; Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 2-3; Zuhri (following Fazārī), *Kitāb al-Djā'irāfiyya*, ed. M. Hadj-Sadok, in *B. Et. Or.*, xxi, Damascus 1968, 301-2; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, intro. (trans. W. Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 22 f.); Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld, *Kosmographie*, ii), Göttingen 1848, 7-9; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 6-7; see also the bibl. to *ṢURAT AL-ARḌ* which will supplement the present bibl. (A. MIQUEL)

**ISTOLNĪ (ISTŌNĪ) BELGHRĀD** (also Ustōlū, Ustōnī Belgḥrād)—cf. Serbian: Stolni Belgrad; German: Stuhlweissenburg; Latin: Alba Regia; Hun-

garian: Székesfehérvár—a fortress town to the south-west of Buda. Here, during the 10th-16th centuries, was held the coronation of the Hungarian kings in the Church of St. Stephen—a church which was also their burial place. Istolni Belghräd (*beyāz iskemle bal'esi*, to use the words of Ewliyā Ćelebi, vii, 55) was located where the stream Sarvisius (Isthvanfius, 267—cf. Nehr-i Şharwiz in Ewliyā Ćelebi, vii, 63), flowing from Lake Balaton, spread outward to form reed-filled marshes. Reinforced with bastions controlling the approaches across the fens and also protected by a wall and a ditch (cf. Giovio, *Historiae*, ii, 308 r), the fortress was difficult to attack. It fell nonetheless to the Ottoman Turks in 950/1543. Thereafter Istolni Belghräd became the centre of a large Ottoman *sandjak* embracing in 995/1586-7 (cf. Fekete, *Siyāqat-Schrift*, i, 442) a number of important places, amongst them Pesperim (Vezprém), Pöläta (Palota), and Yanik (Györ). The Christians besieged and took the fortress in 1010/1601, only to lose it again to the Ottomans in 1011/1602. Istolni Belghräd remained under Turkish rule until the War of the Sacra Liga (1684-99) when, reduced to narrow straits (*ultimā esurie confracta*: Wagner, ii, 43) by a strict blockade, it surrendered to the Christians in 1099/1688, thereby coming definitively and finally into their possession.

*Bibliography*: Pečewi, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul A.H. 1283, i, 257 ff. and ii, 236 ff., 242 ff.; Şolāqzāde, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul A.H. 1298, 503, 665 ff.; Na'īmā, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul A.H. 1281-1283, i, 244 ff., 285 ff.; Hādjidjī Khallīfā, *Fedhlike*, Istanbul A.H. 1286-7, i, 178 ff.; Rāshid, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul A.H. 1282, i, 493; Silāhdār, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 317 ff.; Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Seyāhat-nāme*, vii (Istanbul 1928), 55 ff.; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955, i, 144, 244, 280 ff., 442 ff., 873 (index) and ii, Plates 26-27, 48-50; Paolo Giovio, *Historiae sui temporis*, Paris 1558-60, ii, 308 r ff. (= Paolo Giovio, *Dell' Istorie di Suo Tempo*, tr. L. Domenichi, Venice 1560, ii, 702 ff.); I. M. Stella, *De Turcarum in Regno Hungariae anni M.D. XLIII et XLIII Successibus*, in P. Lonicerus, *Chronicorum Turcicorum . . . Liber Primus -[Secundus]*, Frankfurt a. M. 1584, ii, 177 ff.; *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Minores Hactenus Inediti*, ed. M. G. Kovachich, Buda 1798, i, 77 ff. (*Deditio Albae Regalis*); N. de Montreux, *Histoire universelle des guerres du Turc, depuis l'an 1565, jusques à la trefve faite en l'année 1606*, Paris 1608, 737 ff., 750 ff., 787 ff., 839 ff.; Hieronymus Ortelius, *Chronologia oder historische Beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen und Belagerungen . . . in ober und under Ungern auch Sibenbürgen mit dem Türcken von A° 1395 biss auf gegenwürtige Zeit denckwürtig geschehen*, Nuremberg 1620-22, i, 503 ff., 552 ff.; *Nicolai Isthvanfi Pannonii Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1622, 9 ff., 267 ff., 777 ff., 787 ff.; F. Wagner, *Historia Leopoldi Magni Caesaris Augusti*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1719-31, ii, 43 ff.; A. Stauffer, *Hermann Christoph Graf von Russworm*, Munich 1884, 73 ff.; G. Heile, *Der Feldzug gegen die Türken und die Eroberung Stuhlweissenburgs unter Erzherzog Matthias 1601*, Rostock 1902; K. Horvat, *Vojne Ekspedicije Klementa VIII u Ugarski u Hrvatsku*, Zagreb 1910, 181 ff.; L. A. Maggiorotti, *L'Opera del Genio Italiano al Estero* (Ser. iv, 3 vols., Rome 1932-39), ii (*Gli Architelli Militari*), 259-65, 465 (index) also Plate lvii; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tr. J.-J. Hellert, v (Paris 1836), 373 ff., viii (Paris 1837), 8, 17; J. W. Zinkeisen,

*Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii (Gotha 1854), 850 ff., iii (Gotha 1855), 610 ff.; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii (Gotha 1910), 24 ff., 329, 334 ff., iv (Gotha 1911), 229; A. Huber, *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, iv (Gotha 1892), 407 ff.; F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und Ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, 77 ff., 102 ff.

(V. J. PARRY)

İTĀ'Ā [see TĀ'Ā].

İTĀ' [see 'ARŪD, KĀFIYA]

İTĀĶ [see 'ABD]

İTALIYA, Italy, a name which seldom occurs in the classical Arab authors and which al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] uses only once in his *Nuzhat al-mushṭāk* (cf. M. Amari, *BAS*, 15); in the Arab works on history and geography, together with less common expressions like *arḍ İfrānđī* [see İFRANĐJ] and *al-arḍ al-kabīra* (which sometimes denotes Calabria alone), one finds the terms الأندرية, أنكرية, which more specifically denote the regions in the centre and south of Italy under the domination of the Lombard principalities, although, in the *Mu'djam al-buldān* of Yāqūt, the territory denoted by the term الأندرية (strangely transliterated as al-Ankaburda) extends from Provence to Calabria.

The particulars furnished by Arab geographers and travellers in regard to Italy, both the peninsula and the islands, are not all equally complete and trustworthy. It need hardly be emphasised that, in their writings, Sicily (as will be made clear in the article ŞIKILLIYYA) was given a place of particular importance, in view of the fact that, for almost two and a half centuries, the island formed part of the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*]. Among the remarkable output of Arab geographical writings, one work outstanding for the wealth and detail of the information it contains is the *Nuzhat al-mushṭāk*, four sections of which are devoted to Italy—three to its mainland territory (3rd section of the IVth climate, 2nd and 3rd sections of the Vth) and one to its island territory (2nd section of the IVth climate).

Although it should sometimes be treated with reserve, the information given by al-Idrīsī is only rarely the fruit of pure imagination: a typical and perhaps unique example is the fanciful, legendary description of the city of Rome. As regards the topicality of the particulars given, it should be borne in mind that they sometimes reflected the political and ethnic situation of certain cities in the 12th century (the *Nuzhat al-mushṭāk* was completed in Şhawwāl 548/January 1154), but at other times they derived from out-of-date sources, and show that the compiler or his informants found it impossible to bring the material up to date (on this question, cf. G. Furlani, *La Giulia e la Dalmazia nel "Libro di Ruggero" di al-Idrīsī*, in *Aegyptus*, vi, Milan 1925, 60 ff.).

The fullest, but also the least trustworthy, descriptions offered by geographers and travellers from the 3rd/9th to the 9th/15th centuries relate to the city of Rome (transcribed *Rūma*, *Rūmiya* and *Rūmiyya*); other much less comprehensive descriptions refer to various towns such as Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Naples and, further to the south, Reggio, Taranto, Otranto and Brindisi; an allusion to Lucera (the transcription of which varies from *Lūshīra* to *Lūdjāra*), where the emperor Frederick II consigned the last nucleus of Muslims from Sicily, is found in the writings of certain geographers who lived at least until the middle of the 7th/13th century, such as al-Ĥimyarī (cf. U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel "Kitāb arrawḍ*

*al-mi'fār fi khabar al-aḫlār*" di Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, in *Madjallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb*, University of Cairo, xviii (1956), 174), Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalūsī (in *BAS*, 136), Abu 'l-Fidā' (*ibid.*, 149, 421), Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*, 491) and some others.

At a later period Italy was visited, and sometimes even partially described, though in a superficial way, by a number of Arab travellers whose works were listed in H. Pérès, *Voyageurs musulmans en Europe aux XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, *Notes bibliographiques*, in *Mélanges Maspero* (Mémoires de l'Institut français du Caire, lxviii (1935), 185-95).

The earliest information provided by the Arab chroniclers about the Saracen attacks on continental Italy concerns the defeat of the Venetian fleet off Taranto (in 225/840 according to certain Arab historians, in the following year if the Latin sources are to be believed) and the accompanying attacks on Bari which were the prelude to the establishment in that town of an emirate which survived for a quarter of a century; it was on the occasion of these first incursions onto the mainland that the Muslims made their entrance into the complex and treacherous political intrigues of the Lombard principalities; indeed, the support of the Saracen forces, a step to which one or other of the Lombard rulers resorted, often exerted such influence on the economy of the civil wars which racked southern Italy from the middle of the 3rd/9th century that these troops rapidly became the masters of the situation, while such men as Radelgise, prince of Benevento, and Siconolfo, prince of Salerno and Capua, vied with each other in seeking to make an alliance with their daring commanders. Among these were two adventurers, Massar and Apolaffar (probably corruptions of the Arabic *kunyas* Abū Ma'shar and Abū Dja'far), who are worthy of note and who commanded respectively the Saracen troops of Benevento and Taranto; on the subject of these two men the Latin sources give merely a few details, while their exploits are passed over in complete silence by the Arabic historians who, here as elsewhere, had little inclination to give prominence to the achievements of men who, at best, were soldiers of fortune, often in revolt against established authority in Sicily or Ifrikiya.

In the same way, the two events which caused Christendom to experience, firstly its most tragic hour and then, three years later, the joy of exultant victory, were not of a kind to arouse the interest of the Arab chroniclers; in *Dhu 'l-Hijjā* 231/August 846, Saracen contingents reached the walls of Rome and sacked the basilica of St. Peter, and in 234/849 a large Muslim fleet was defeated at Ostia, whence it would probably have attempted to open up a way to the Eternal City, if the outcome of the battle had not been a decisive victory for the Christians.

On the question of the earliest Saracen moves against Bari (بَارِي in the texts, which must be read as *Bāru*, representing the Latin forms *Barum* and *Varum*), and especially regarding the emirate which was set up there in about 232/847, we possess only a number of details, collected by al-Balāḫūrī (in *BAS*, appendix i, 2) and reproduced by Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*ibid.*, 239, 260). From the various particulars furnished by these two historians it emerges that, in this minute state based on the Adriatic town, there were three successive amīrs—Khalfūn, a Berber of the Rabī'a tribe, who ruled the principality for about five years; al-Mufarraḡ b. Sallām, who built a mosque there and tried, though without success, to legitimize his situation in relation to the caliph of Baghdād; and

lastly Sawdān, also a Berber, who came to power in 243/857 and, more fortunate than his predecessor, after various mishaps (described by al-Balāḫūrī who was himself a contemporary), succeeded in securing from Baghdād an official investiture with his fief, the end of which came about in Rabī' I 257/February 871.

Another city in Apulia, Taranto, was the scene of Muslim occupation for more than thirty years (approximately 231/846-266/880), but in Ibn al-Aṭhīr we find only a brief allusion, repeated by Ibn Khaldūn with some omissions (*ibid.*, 470). The Arab chroniclers give no information about the numerous Saracen exploits in southern Italy, and particularly those which took place in the Garigliano valley, where a fortress, built in 269/883, enabled activities on a formidable scale to be maintained until 302/915; it may be supposed that the Saracen adventurers, operating in this sector as elsewhere, were encouraged by the news of the landing in Calabria in Shawwāl 289/September 902, under the Aghlabid amīr Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad (261/875-289/902); references to this renewal of Muslim expansionist activity in southern Italy may be found, particularly in Ibn al-Aṭhīr (in *BAS*, 242), al-Nuwayrī (*ibid.*, 453), Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (3rd chapter of *A'māl al-a'lām*, ed. al-'Abbādi and al-Kattāni, under the title *al-Maghrib al-'arabi fi 'l-'aṣr al-wasīf* Casablanca 1964, 120), Ibn Khaldūn (*BAS*, 475-6) and some other sources of less importance.

From the beginning of 298/end of 910 and until 336/948 the Fāṭimids, who had at first come up against a legitimist body of opinion, supported principally by the pro-Aghlabid Ibn Ḳurhub, succeeded the Aghlabids in Sicily; for this period the Arab historical sources gave prominence not only to the Saracens' constant offensives in Calabria and Apulia but also to the campaign led by Šābir, a *ghulam* of al-Mahdī's court, who in 316/928 attacked the Lombard principalities on the Tyrrhenian coast and occupied several fortified places whose identity it is not easy to establish on account of uncertain toponymy of the Arab texts (*BAS*, 170, 368). The Fāṭimid imām al-Ḳā'im (322/934-334/946 [q.v.]) planned a daring invasion of the Ligurian coast, under the leadership of Ya'qūb b. Ishāk who, in 322/934, made an attack on Genoa, which he conquered in the following year (*BAS*, 170, 254, 368, 437, 459, 478; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii, 267; in the *A'māl al-a'lām* (53) we read that the expedition was entrusted to Djawhar [q.v.], the famous freedman of the Fāṭimid imām al-Mu'izz).

From the middle of the 4th/10th century until about the middle of the following century, Sicily was governed by amīrs of the dynasty of the Kalbids [q.v.], and no acts of war of any particular importance took place, apart from the usual raids, noted by certain Arab chroniclers, in southern Italy and especially in Apulia and Calabria [see *KILLAWRIYA*]; for the invasion of Sardinia by Muḏāhid b. 'Abd Allāh in 405/1015 see *SARDANIYA*.

After the conquest of Sicily by the Normans, which began in 453/1061 and ended with the surrender of Palermo in 464/1072, the interest felt in a territory now finally lost to Islam diminished considerably, and the Arabic historians restricted their references to Italy to the limited sphere of the relations of that country with the rulers of the Mashriḡ and the Maghrib.

*Bibliography*: M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*<sup>2</sup>, Catania 1933-39, *passim*; idem, *Condizioni degli Stati cristiani dell'Occidente se-*

condo una relazione di Domenichino Doria da Genova, in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali*, Serie III, vol. xi, Rome 1883, 67-103, 306-8; G. Schiaparelli, *Notizie d'Italia estratte dall'opera di Shāh ad-dīn al-'Umarī, intitolata Masālik al-abāshir* . . ., in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali*, Serie IV, vol. iv, Rome 1888, 304-16; I. Guidi, *La descrizione di Roma nei geografi arabi*, in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, i (1878), 173-218; M. Nallino, *Venezia in antichi scrittori arabi*, in *Annali di Ca'Foscari*, Venice 1963; idem, *Un' inedita descrizione araba di Roma*, in *Annali* (of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples), new series, xiv (1964), 295-309; idem, "Mirabilia" di Roma negli antichi geografi arabi, in *Miscellanea di Studi in onore del prof. Italo Siciliano*, Florence 1966; U. Rizzitano, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto Medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo, XII), Spoleto 1965, 93-114; G. Musca, *L'Emirato di Bari (847-871)*, Bari 1967; M. Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide 184-296/800-909*, Paris 1966, 380-536, *passim*; F. Gabrieli, *Il Salento e l'Oriente islamico*, in *L'Islam nella storia*, Bari 1966, 117-33; E. Ashtor, *Che cosa sapevano i geografi arabi dell' Europa occidentale?*, in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, lxxxix (Naples 1969), 453-79 *passim*.  
(U. RIZZITANO)

**ITĀWĀ** (from *atā*, apparently a doublet of 'atā) literally "gift", a general term met with, especially in pre- and proto-Islamic times, meaning a vague tribute or lump payment made, for example, to or by a tribe or other group; later the words describes, sometimes in a denigrating way, a tip or bribe.

*Bibliography*: F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, index, s.v.  
(CL. CAHEN)

**ITĀWĀ** (إتآوا), a district in the south-west of Uttar Pradesh, India, lying between 26° 21' and 27° 1' N., 78° 45' E.; and also the principal town of that district, 26° 46' N., 79° 1' E., on the river *Djāmnā* [q.v.]. The common spelling of the name is Etawa; other forms are Etaya (Elphinstone), Itay (de Laet), and sometimes Infāwa in the Muslim chronicles. Popular etymology connects the name with *im' āwā*, "brick kiln".

The region of Ifāwā was probably within the kingdom of Kanawḍī [q.v.] at the time of the raid on that kingdom by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 409/1018, and again at the capture of Kanawḍī by Kuṭb al-Dīn Ayyub for Muḥammad b. Sām in 589/1193. Many Rāḍīpūt chieftains seem to have brought their clans to settle in this region in the early 7th/13th century, and gathered round them the more turbulent of the disaffected Hindū population. Their intransigence persisted, and many expeditions to enforce the payment of revenues were launched by successive Dihli sultans; thus Firūz Shāh (Tughluq) was compelled to put down a rebellion of *samindārs* there in 779/1377 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi*, ed. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1931, 133-4; tr. K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932, 141; Firūz, Lucknow lith., i, 148); the refractory chieftains Sumer Sāh, Bir Singh and Rāwat Uddharan—these names are much distorted in the Muslim chronicles and their translations—were in 794/1391-2 defeated by the sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (Tughluq) in person, who is said (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 152, tr. 161) to have destroyed the fort, although references to a fort abound in later years. Maḥmūd Tughluq's governor,

the Khwādīa-i Djahān Malik Sarwar [q.v.; see also SHARKIDS], began his governorship by leading a force against the rebels of Ifāwā and Kanawḍī in Rāḍīab 796/May 1394 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 156, tr. 164). After this time the Ifāwā region, lying between the spheres of influence of the Djawnpur sultans and the factions contending for power at Dihli, was frequently invaded from both sides; thus by Mallū Khān Lōdī [q.v.] in 803/1400-1 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 169 ff., tr. 175 ff.) and again in 807/1404-5, when after a four months' siege the rebels offered tribute and a gift of elephants. In 817/1414, shortly after his accession, the Dihli sultan Khidr Khān the Sayyid sent out a large force under Tādī al-Mulk who, having received homage from Sumer and others, punished the infidels of Ifāwā (*kuffār-i iāwā rā gūshmal dāda*; *ibid.*, 185); he led further expeditions there in 821/1418 and 823/1420 when the village of Dihuli (Deoli, Duhli, even Delhi in translations!) was destroyed and Sumer besieged in Ifāwā. It would thus appear that the annual revenues of the district could be collected only by armed force, and only in 825/1422, when the son of Sumer had temporarily joined the forces of Mubārak Shāh, was no foray made against this region.

After the conclusion of a further expedition in 831/1427 the region was invaded by the army of the Djawnpur sultan Ibrāhīm under his brother Mukhtaṣṣ Khān, and the Dihli army had to return to meet the danger; not for two years, however, could an army be spared to bring Ifāwā again under subjection, but Sayyid power was declining and the fragmentation of the old Dihli sultanate left the district little disturbed thereafter. In the division of the lower Dō'āb territories between the first Lōdī sultan, Bahlūl, and Maḥmūd Shāh Shārkī in 855/1451, Ifāwā passed to Djawnpur. A series of inconclusive disputes followed between Bahlūl and the three successive Djawnpur sultans Maḥmūd, Muḥammad and Ḥusayn, the last of whom seems to have made Ifāwā his temporary headquarters ("Bībī Rāḍī" the queen mother died here in 891/1486), and in 892/1487 Ḥusayn's attack on Bahlūl was repulsed and Ifāwā taken for the Lōdī kingdom. It remained in Lōdī hands until 934/1528 when, on Bābur's invasion of the district, it was surrendered to him.

After the defeat of Humāyūn in 952/1545 the region passed to Shēr Shāh, who effected the partial pacification of the district by bringing in a force of 12,000 horsemen and by his efforts in opening up the country through a road-building programme. Neither he nor Akbar seems to have found its absorption into the state administration easy, although it retained some prestige when Akbar made the town of Ifāwā the chief town of a *pargana*; the town is mentioned in the *A'im-i Akbarī* as possessing a brick fort, and some reference is occasionally made to Ifāwā as a banking centre. It seems never to have been settled by Muslims to the same extent as other towns of the Dō'āb, and after the decline of the Mughal power fell into Marāḥā or Djāf hands, with Awadh sometimes powerful enough to gain control over it. Even after the district became part of the lands ceded by Awadh to the East India Company in 1801, many local chiefs retained a considerable measure of independence; the town had some prominence in the struggles of 1857.

Ifāwā town has an interesting *Dīāmi*<sup>c</sup> *masjid*, built out of Hindū temple spoil, the western *liwān* of which has a massive central propylon-type arch similar to those of the Djawnpur [q.v.] mosques; it has not been adequately studied, the only account

being C. Horne, *Notes on the Jumma Masjid of Etawah*, in *JASB*, xxxvi/1 (1867), 74-5. The central square of Ifāwā is called "Humeganj", the name commemorating A. O. Hume, the Scots collector of the district who played a prominent part in the foundation of the Indian Congress Party.

*Bibliography*: in the article.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

**ITBĀ'** [see MUZĀWADJĀ]

**ITHBĀT**, verbal noun of the fourth form of the root *th-b-t*, has the general meaning of to witness, to show, to point to, to demonstrate, to prove, to establish, to verify and to establish the truth, to establish (the existence of something).

For the Sūfīs, *itḥbāt* is the opposite of *maḥw*. This latter word means literally to efface. In the mystical vocabulary, it denotes the effacement of the "qualities of habit" (*awṣāf al-'āda*) while *itḥbāt* is the fact of performing one's religious obligations. It comprises three ways: to efface the degradation of appearances (*dhillat al-zawāhir*), to efface the negligences of the conscience, to efface all the deficiencies of the heart (according to al-Tahānawī, 1356, who quotes the commentary of 'Abd al-Latif on the *Mathnawī*). Other definitions are given: *maḥw* consists of getting rid of the attributes of the carnal soul and *itḥbāt* is the strengthening of the attributes of the heart so that he who casts away the bad and replaces them by the good is called *ṣāḥib maḥw wa-itḥbāt*. A further definition is given: *maḥw* consists in putting aside the "vestiges" (*rusūm*) of actions by looking with an annihilating look at the carnal soul and all its emanations. On the other hand, *itḥbāt* consists in maintaining the vestiges but in affirming that it is God who is their source; the Sūfī is thus established in God and not in himself.

The origin of these two words is ḳur'ānic: "God effaces (*yamḥū*) and confirms (*yuthbit*) what He will" (XIII, 39); *i.e.*, according to the Sūfī commentary, God effaces from the hearts of the initiated all inattentiveness towards Him and all mention of deities other than Himself, and He confirms on the lips of the beginners the mention of God. Above *maḥw*, there is *maḥk*: while the first leaves a trace, the second leaves none.

*Bibliography*: Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 172 and 1356.

(G. C. ANAWATI)

**ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA**, the name of that branch of Shī'ī Islam [see SHĪ'Ā] that believes in twelve *Imāms* (*itḥnā 'aṣḥar* meaning "twelve" in Arabic) beginning with 'Alī and ending with Muḥammad al-Mahdī.

Within the whole body of Shī'ism the *Itḥnā 'aṣḥarī* school is both the most numerous in terms of adherents and theologically the most balanced between the exoteric and esoteric elements of Islam. Other branches like the five-*imāmī* school of the Zaydīs [*q.v.*] and the seven-*imāmī* school, known as *Ismā'īliyya* [*q.v.*], are also of significance and continue to have adherents, while those believing in other numbers of *Imāms* or different interpretations of their functions have also existed during Islamic history but have been extremely small in number and have died out within a short period of their birth.

The religious history of *Itḥnā 'aṣḥarī* Shī'ism can be divided into four periods:

1.) *The period of the twelve Imāms*: This period extends from the time of 'Alī to the major occultation [see GHAYBA] of the twelfth *Imām* in 329/940. The twelve *Imāms* are as follows:

1. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661)
2. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (d. 49/669)

3. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 61/680)
4. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (Zayn al-'Ābidīn) (d. 95/714)
5. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir (d. 115/733)
6. Dja'far al-Šādiḳ (d. 148/765)
7. Mūsā al-Kāzim (d. 183/799)
8. 'Alī al-Riḳā (d. 203/818)
9. Muḥammad Dja'wād al-Taḳī (d. 220/835)
10. 'Alī al-Naḳī (d. 254/868)
11. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 260/874)
12. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (al-Kā'im and al-Ḥudjja) (entered major occultation in 329/940).

This period was unique in that it was one in which the *Imāms* lived among their followers and instructed them directly. They left behind not only a large number of disciples but sayings which were collected by their followers and became the basis of later Shī'ī intellectual life. In Shī'ism the *ḥadīth* literature includes the sayings of the *Imāms* in addition to those of the Prophet. Moreover, two major works survive which are ascribed to the *Imāms* themselves, the *Nahdī al-balāgha* to 'Alī and the *Šahīfa saḍīdīyā* to Zayn al-'Ābidīn. The *Nahdī al-balāgha*, compiled from the sermons and orations of 'Alī by Sayyid Šarīf al-Raḍī, remains to this day the most venerated book among the Shī'īs after the Ḳur'ān and prophetic *ḥadīth*, while the *Šahīfa* contains prayers of such beauty that it has been called the "Psalm of the Household of the Prophet" (*Zabūr-i āl-i Muḥammad*).

Some of the followers of the *Imāms* like Hishām b. al-Hakam [*q.v.*], the disciple of the sixth *Imām*, and Abū Dja'far al-Ḳummī, friend of the eleventh *Imām*, themselves became famous Shī'ī authorities, while the instruction of the *Imāms* reached even the Sunnī segment of the Islamic community especially with *Imām* Dja'far, who had many Sunnī students. This period terminated with the minor occultation (*al-ghayba al-sughrā*) and the major occultation (*al-ghayba al-kubrā*) of the Mahdī. During the minor occultation the Mahdī spoke to his community through his deputies or "gates" (*bāb* [*q.v.*]). The major occultation began when the last "gate" through whom the Mahdī spoke to the community, 'Alī al-Sāmarrī, died.

2.) *The period extending from the beginning of the major occultation to the Mongol invasion and Khwāzja Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*. This was the period of the compilation of the major collections of Shī'ī *ḥadīth* and the formulation of Shī'ī law. This elaboration of Shī'ism began with Muḥammad ibn Ya'ḳūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940), author of the monumental *Uṣūl al-ḳāfi*, to be followed by such figures as Ibn Bābūyah, also called Šhayḳh al-Šadūḳ (d. 381/991), Šhayḳh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and Šhayḳh al-Ṭā'ifa, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) with whom the principal doctrinal works of Shī'ī theology and religious sciences became established. This was also the period of other renowned Shī'ī scholars such as Sayyid Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015), who assembled the sayings of 'Alī, his brother Sayyid Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā (d. 436/1044), Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153 or 552/1157), known for his monumental ḳur'ānic commentary, Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Ṭā'ūs (d. 664/1266), at once theologian and gnostic, and finally Naṣir al-Dīn (d. 632/1273), whose *Tadhīr* marks the beginning of systematic Shī'ī theology.

3.) *The period between Naṣir al-Dīn and the Safavid revival*. During this rich period Shī'ī theology continued to develop in the hands of such men as Naṣir al-Dīn's student 'Allāma Hillī (d. 726/1326) while a convergence took place between the Sūfism of Ibn 'Arabī and Shī'ī theology and theosophy producing

such men as Radja b. Bursī (d. around 774/1372), Šā'in al-Dīn b. Turka (d. 830/1427), Ibn Abī Dījumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. around 901/1495) and, perhaps the foremost Shī'ī thinker of the period, Sayyid Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (d. after 787/1385), author of the monumental *Djāmi' al-asrār*. This period marks also the beginning of that wedding between Avicennan philosophy, the Illuminationist theosophy of Suhrawardī (see *ISHRĀK*), the Šūfism of Ibn 'Arabī and Shī'ī theology which gave birth to the great theosophical and gnostic figures of the Šafavid period.

4.) *From the Šafavid period to the present.* During this period Iran itself witnessed a remarkable revival of intellectual activity especially in the religious and philosophical sciences, while Shī'ism was spreading in the sub-continent and the influence of the Šafavid thinkers of the "School of Iṣfahān" was felt ever more deeply among the Indian Muslims and even among some Hindus. This period began with such figures as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631) and Mullā Šadrā (d. 1050/1640), masters of metaphysics with whom Islamic philosophy reached a new peak, Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmilī, at once a Shī'ī theologian and a mathematician, and Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī and 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhīdī, foremost among later theologians of Shī'ism. It also produced the two Maḍjlīsīs, the second, Muḥammad Bākīr, being the author of the most voluminous compendium of the Shī'ī sciences, the *Bihār al-anwār*.

During the Kāḍjār period while the *uṣūlī* and *akḥ-bārī* debates—between those who believed in the exercise of reason within the confines of religious scripture and those who relied solely on the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*—continued, major contributions were made to the science of the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fikḥ*), which in fact reached its perfection in the hands of Waḥīd Bihbihānī (d. 1205/1790-1) and Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864-5). During this period Shī'ism was also witness to the establishment of the Shaykhī movement by Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsā'ī, which continues to this day, and by the Bābī movement, which prepared the ground for the Bahā'ī [q.v.] movement.

Religious Practices: Ithnā 'aṣḥarī religious practice does not differ in any essential way from that of the Sunnīs. The fasting and the pilgrimage are the same while in the daily prayers two phrases are added to the call to prayer. There are also minor differences in other parts of the canonical prayers (*ṣalāt*) but not much more than those between the different Sunnī rites. The Shī'ites, however, place a great deal of emphasis upon the pilgrimage to the tombs of the *Imāms* and saints [see *IMĀMZĀDA*] so that Naḍjaf, Karbalā', Maṣḥhad, Qum and other sanctuaries have gained a remarkable prominence in religious life. As for other questions of the Šharī'a, the Shī'a differ from the Sunnīs in demanding the "one fifth" tax, called *khums*, in addition to *zakāt*, and in permitting temporary marriage or *mut'a* [q.v.]. They also condone hiding one's faith (*taḳīyya* [q.v.]) when its manifestation would endanger one's person.

As far as the sources of law are concerned they are nearly the same as the Sunnī, namely, Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, *ijmā'* and *ḳiyās*, except that *ijmā'* is connected with the view of the *Imām* and more freedom is given to *ḳiyās* than in Sunnī Islam. In Shī'ism the gate of *ijtihād* is always open and in the absence of the Mahdī every Shī'ī must follow a living *mudjtahid* who in every generation re-interprets the Šharī'a in the light of its immutable principles and the situation in which the community finds itself [see *MARDJA'I TAḲLID*]. The *mudjtahids* thus perform as representa-

tives of the *Imām* a task which in reality belongs to the *Imām* himself.

Doctrine: The "principles of religion" (*uṣūl al-dīn*) as taught in Shī'ism include unity (*tawḥīd*), justice ('*adl*), prophecy (*nubuwwa*), imamate and resurrection (*ma'ād*). Unity, prophecy and resurrection are common to Shī'ism and Sunnism. Shī'ism considers the quality of justice as an intrinsic aspect of the divinity rather than an extrinsic one and its perspective is based more on intelligence than on will. As for the imamate, it is the cardinal doctrine which separates Shī'ism from Sunnism. According to Shī'ism revelation has an exoteric (*zāhir*) and an esoteric (*bāḥin*) aspect, both possessed in their fullness by the Prophet, who is at once *nabī* and *walī*, the *nubuwwa* being connected with his exoteric function of bringing a divine law and the *walāya* with his esoteric function of revealing the inner meaning of religion.

With the death of the Prophet the "cycle of prophecy" (*dā'irat al-nubuwwa*) came to an end but the "cycle of initiation" (*dā'irat al-walāya*) continues in the person of the *Imām*. The word *imām* itself means etymologically he who stands before, therefore, he who is a guide and leader. In its specifically Shī'ī meaning it signifies he who possesses the function of *walāya*. According to Shī'ism the *Imām* has three functions: to rule over the Islamic community, to explain the religious sciences and the law, and to be a spiritual guide to lead men to an understanding of the inner meaning of things. Because of this triple function he cannot possibly be elected. A spiritual guide can receive his authority only from on high. Therefore, each *Imām* is appointed through the designation (*naṣṣ*) of the previous *Imām* by Divine command. Moreover, the *Imām* must be inerrant (*ma'sūm*) in order to be able to guarantee the survival and purity of the religious tradition. Seen in this light his function is clearly one that is concerned at once with the daily word of men as well as the spiritual and unmanifested world ('*alam al-ghayb*). His function is at once human and cosmic.

This view of the *Imām* can be seen clearly in the Shī'ī concept of the hidden *Imām*, the *Mahdī*. He is alive yet not seen by the majority of men. He is like the *axis mundi* around whom the spheres of existence rotate and he is the guarantee of the preservation and continuation of the Šharī'a. Finally he is the supreme spiritual guide (*ḳutb* [q.v.]), literally "pole" and in Shī'ī Šūfī orders the master is inwardly connected to the *Mahdī* as the supreme pole. Yet, the *Mahdī* remains hidden from the external eye and will appear to the outside world only in an eschatological event through which the inward will once again dominate over the outward and the outward is prepared for its absorption in the inward. The Hidden *Imām* is for the Shī'īs the continuation of the personality and *baraka* of the Prophet and the means whereby the Qur'ān is preserved and its true meaning based upon unity (*tawḥīd*) revealed to men. Without the *Imām* men would cease to understand the inner levels of meaning of the revelation. Also without him all temporal rule is marked by imperfection and only his reappearance can establish that ideal state based on divine justice which Islam envisages in its teachings.

*Bibliography:* Al-Hillī, *al-Bāb al-hādī 'aṣḥar*, (Eng. tr. W. M. Miller, *A treatise on the principles of Shi'ite theology*, London 1928); Ibn Bābawayh (Eng. tr. A. A. Fyzee), *A Shi'ite creed*, London 1952; Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Shī'a dar islām*, ed. S. H. Naṣr, Tehran 1348 sh.; H. Corbin, *L'Imām caché et la rénovation de l'homme en théologie shi'ite*, in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, xxviii (1959); idem, *Pour une morphologie de la*

*spiritualité shi'ite*, *ibid.*, xxix (1960); *idem*, *Le Combat spirituel du shi'isme*, *ibid.*, xxx (1961); *idem*, *Au "pays" de l'Imām caché*, *ibid.*, xxxii (1963); *idem* (in collaboration with S. H. Nasr and O. Yahya), *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, I, Paris 1964; *idem*, *En Islam iranien*, 4 vols., Paris 1971-2; D. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933; L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémises spirituelles de l'islam iranien*, Paris 1934; J. N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, London 1953; F. Schuon, *Understanding Islam*, London 1963; S. H. Nasr, *Ideals and realities of Islam*, London 1966; M. M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-6; T. Fahd (ed.), *Le shi'isme imāmīte*, Paris 1970. (S. H. NASR)

**I'TIBĀR KHĀN**, a *Kh'wādja-sarā'i* (eunuch) who ultimately rose to the high office of a provincial governor under the emperor *Djahāngīr* [q.v.]. Originally in the service of a grandee of Akbar's court, on his death he joined the service of the Great Mogul who appointed him *nāzīr* (comptroller) of the household of Prince Salīm (later *Djahāngīr*) on his birth in 977/1569. He served the prince well and soon after his accession to the throne Salīm rewarded him by assigning to him the district of *Gwāliyār* as his *djāgīr* in 1025/1607. Thereafter he received one promotion after another both in rank and status rising to that of 6000 men and 5000 horse. In 1031/1622 he was appointed governor of *Āgra*, the capital of the empire, was honoured with the title of *Mumtāz Khān* in recognition of his distinguished services, and the fort and the imperial treasury were placed in his charge. Having faithfully served *Djahāngīr*, who pays him a generous tribute (cf. *Tūzūk*, Eng. tr. ii, 285), for a long period of 56 years he died, over 80 years of age, in 1033/1623-24.

*Bibliography*: *Tūzūk-i Djahāngīri*, Eng. tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, London 1914, i, 113, 282, 319, 372, ii, 94, 231, 257-8; *Shāhnawāz Khān*, *Ma'āthīr al-Umarā'*, Bib. Ind. i, 133-4; *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. by Blochmann, 433; *Shaykh Farid Bhakkari*, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, still in Ms. ii. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**I'TIḲĀD**, the act of adhering firmly to something, hence a firmly established act of faith. In its technical sense, the term denotes firm adherence to the Word of God. It may be translated in European languages by the words "croyance", "belief", "Glauben", with the proviso that this "belief" is not a simple "opinion" or "thinking" (*pensée*), but is the result of a deep conviction. As the root 'k-d indicates, the idea of a "knot", a bond established by contract, persists. The VIIIth verbal form combines with this a greater measure of firmness and coherence.

*I'tiḳād* recurs many times in chapters or works which treat of faith [see *IMĀN*, § I]. It may be compared with and distinguished from two other technical words, *taṣdīk* and *'akīda*.

At first glance, as D. B. Macdonald has pointed out (*EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. *I'tiḳād*), *i'tiḳād* seems to be synonymous with *taṣdīk*: both terms denote inner adherence to the fundamentals of faith. It must however be said that *taṣdīk* is the act of judging and *i'tiḳād* the act of adhering. *Taṣdīk* is then seen as an inner judgment of veridicity which affirms the reality and authenticity of the divine Word, a judgment which cannot fail to resolve itself in adherence. Let us say there could be no authentic *taṣdīk* without *i'tiḳād*. It will then be understood that these two terms, each with the connotations belonging to itself, are sometimes interchangeable in definitions of *imān*, in particular those of the *Ash'arī* school, which make inner

adherence the "pillar" of faith. The majority of authors however prefer to explain faith by means of *taṣdīk*. Al-Djurdjānī states specifically (*Ta'rifāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 41) that faith, *taṣdīk* of the heart from the lexicographical point of view, becomes from the point of view of the Religious Law (*shar'*) *i'tiḳād* of the heart.

In the *Ihyā'*, to define faith, al-Ḡhazālī makes use of the term *'akīd* in the sense of adherence, and in his *Ihtisād* he uses the term *taṣdīk*. But in the actual title of the latter work, *i'tiḳād* becomes religious belief *in globo*, and therefore signifies not only the inner act which adheres but also the content of the faith. This meaning is common, both in *Shi'ī* literature and also in Sunnism.

In this connection, *i'tiḳād* is associated with another word from the same root, *'akīda* [q.v.], pl. *'akā'id*, articles of faith. Credo's will be called *'akīda* or *'akā'id*. But the kur'ānic prescriptions which directly involve faith will alone be defined, in the ordinary way, as pertaining to *i'tiḳād* (cf. al-Nasafi, *'Aḳā'id*, ed. Cairo 1321, 7). According to the comments of D. B. Macdonald (*art. cit.*), they will be called "fundamental" (*'aṣliyya*) or again *i'tiḳādiyya*; and distinguished from "derived" prescriptions concerning the action (*'amaliyya*), for example in the later manuals of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, al-Baḍjūrī, etc. Hence it will follow that the singular noun *i'tiḳāda* and the plural *i'tiḳādāt* will be used in the sense of *'akīda* and *'akā'id*. Finally, in some cases, *i'tiḳādāt* may have the meaning of "convictions rationally acquired". It is used in this way in the work of the Jewish theologian Sa'adyā Gaon, *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa'l-i'tiḳādāt*.

It remains to state that the inner act denoted by *i'tiḳād* connotes above all the idea of firmness in adherence. If some doubt should be felt, this would not be on account of the actual weakness of the act of adherence. It is, rather, that the motives upon which it relies are insufficiently elaborated, or are compounded with lack of knowledge not recognized as such. When on the other hand they are based on science or certain knowledge (*'ilm*), they lead to an *i'tiḳād* which can assume the quality of unassailable certainty (*yaḳīn*). Here, on the question of inner adherence, we once more find an equivalent to the problem of the degrees of faith—faith of pure tradition, faith based upon science, faith of certainty (see *IMĀN*, IV, 2).

*Bibliography*: In the article. (L. GARDET)

**I'TIḲĀD KHĀN**, a *Kashmīrī* of obscure origin, whose name was Muḥammad Murād, was originally in the service of Bahādur Shāh I (*reg.* 1119/1707-1124/1712), enjoying a rank of 1,000 and the title of *Wakālat Khān*. On the accession to the throne of the ill-starred *Farrukhsiyar* [q.v.] in 1125/1713 his name was included among those listed for execution but on the intercession of the (Bārha) Sayyid brothers, 'Abd Allāh Khān and Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, known as king-makers (*Bādshāh-gar*), he was spared, promoted to a high office, appointed as *basāwal* (harbinger) of the army, and given the title of *Murād Khān*. Acting as a spy on the leading nobles, he soon won the confidence of the emperor who conferred on him the rank of 7,000 men and 10,000 horse and the grandiloquent title of *Rukn al-Dawla Khān Bahādur Farrukhsāhī*. Later he became closely involved in the political machinations and intrigues which were going on to depose *Farrukhsiyar*. He was responsible for the clash between the emperor and the Sayyid brothers which resulted first in the emperor's being blinded and later in his cold-blooded

murder in 1131/1719. On the deposition of his patron, he was disgraced and thrown into prison, his house and property confiscated and his accumulated wealth and jewels seized. Subsequently he was released, his rank restored and he was given a financial grant; but all this fell short of his expectations. He died during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (reg. 1131/1719-1161/1748).

*Bibliography:* Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, (Bib. Ind.), Urdu tr., Lahore 1968, i, 333-41; Khwāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, (Bib. Ind.), ii, 790 ff.; Ghulām Husayn Khān Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Siyar al-Muta'akkhkhirīn* (Eng. tr. Calcutta 1789), i, 123 ff.; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* . . ., vii, 469-73, 476-79; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *The History of India*, Allahabad 1966, 607; William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i, 340-5, 381, 401, 406. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**ITIKĀF**, a particularly commended pious practice consisting of a period of retreat in a mosque, the vow for which stipulates a certain number of days in accordance with the believer's own wish. He must not leave it, save for the performance of his natural functions and his ablutions. He will there practise fasting, ritual prayer and recitation of the Qur'ān; with regard to other activities, for example the instruction given in the mosque, the schools are not in agreement. There is a divergence between the theory of *fiḥh* and sociological reality in that retreat is very seldom practised. *Itikāf* can be undertaken at any time, but in particular during the last ten days of the month of Ramaḍān, when the *Laylat al-Qadr* [see RAMAḌĀN] is presumed to have taken place. According to tradition, it was at that time that Muḥammad is said to have engaged in it. It is therefore dealt with in books of *fiḥh*, etc. immediately after the ritual fast. Popular traditions have widely exploited the theme of the wonderful occurrences which characterize this mysterious Night of Destiny, but this has no connection with *itikāf*: pardon for sins, the bowing down of everything found on the surface of the earth including trees and mountains, the determining of each man's destiny for the coming year, direct entry into Paradise for anyone who dies on that night, wishes fulfilled, and so on.

*Bibliography:* The books of *fiḥh* and *ikhṭilāf*, even though only of a general nature, deal with this question. Also Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, book vi (analysis by Bousquet, § 36). (G. H. BOUSQUET)

**ITIL** (Etil, Idil), the river Volga, called Itil by Kāshgharī, i, 30, line 17, and 70, line 6 (= Brockelmann 244), Atil by the Volga-Bulgars, Idel by the Volga-Tatars, Rau by the Mordve, Iul by the Čeremiss and Adel by the Čuwašh. (List of Turkish forms of the name in Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Z. V. Togan, § 50 d and in D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton N.J. 1954, 91, n. 8). The largest river in Europe, the Volga is some 3,694 km. long but has a descent, in all, of only some 229.5 m.: it rises at the village of Volgino Verkhov'e in the Valday mountain range and flows into the Caspian Sea 28 m. below sea level south of Astrakhān. The Itil was called Ὠρεος or Πᾶ by the ancient Greeks (cf. Pauly-Wissowa vol. xvii, 1937, col. 1680 f.); Herodotus confused it with the Aras [see AL-RASS] while Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela took the Don and the Itil for two branches of the same river.

The Volga-Bulgars and the Khazars [q.v.] came to its banks in the course of the Turkish tribal migrations of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. Their capital city Itil or Atil [q.v.] was situated on both sides of the river, at its mouth, the site of the later

Astrakhān [q.v.]. In the early Middle Ages, and to some extent up to the present time, Finnish peoples, predominantly Mordve (Burtās [q.v.]), lived on the upper reaches of the river; here and there, Slav settlements reached it even then.

The Volga-Bulgars were the first to be touched by (Sunni) Islam in the form of an embassy of 310/922-23, described in detail by Ibn Faḍlān. About 349/960, the Itil is mentioned as the western frontier of the Turks who went over to Islam, at that time, as a result of intensive propaganda from the regions of the Sāmānids (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix, 355 ff.). The Byzantine sources, too, mention the river as the Atil (Ἀτῆλ, Ἀτέλ) cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, Berlin 1958, ii, 78 ff.).

The Muslim geographers thought of the Kama as the upper course of the Itil and hence increased its length still further (W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen zur Geschichte Mittelasien*, Berlin 1935, 112 ff.; Ibn Ḥawqal, ii, 387, 389; Ibn Rusta, (B.G.A. vii), 141; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, (B.G.A. viii), 62; *Mappae Arabicae*, ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1926/29, i/3, 79, ii, 153-6, v, 118, 142, 145 (Kāshgharī), vi, Map No. XVI = Pl. 46-8).

Sunni Islam was further strengthened by the advance of the Mongols in the 13th century and the establishment of the Empire of the Golden Horde (Altūn Orda [q.v.]), whose capital cities of Old and New Saray were situated on the lower reaches of the river, and by the consequent increase in the number of Turks on its banks. In the 14th century, at the latest, they became assimilated with the Mongols and peoples already established there, such as the Volga-Bulgars and Volga-Finns, and also Slavs—particularly through the harem—the Turkish speaking, Muslim Volga-Tatars. The 13th-century travellers who got as far as the Itil give it various names: William of Rubruck talks of the Itil, John of Plano Carpini of the Volga; the Austrian envoy Siegmund Freiherr of Herberstein (1486-1566) sometimes calls it this and sometimes the Rha.

Meanwhile, the town of Kazan' on the middle course of the Itil emerged as the centre of the later Tatar region. As early as 618/1221, the town of Nižniy-Nóvgorod had been established at the mouth of the Oká, to be overtaken by Kazan', in the course of time, as the central market of the middle-river region. With the Muslim merchants acting as intermediaries, Kazan' remained the centre for trade with central Asia until the 19th century. On the lower Itil, Astrakhān took over the role of the Khazar capital of Atil as the centre for trade. The gradual advance of the rulers of Moscow at the expense of the Tatars brought with it the establishment of Russian fortresses and strongholds in the Volga region. Thus, under Vasili III (1505-33) Vasil'sursk was built at the mouth of the Sura for protection from the Tatars.

With the fall of Kazan' (1552) and Astrakhān (completed by 1557) into Russian hands, the Slav settlement expanded by force into the Volga basin with the river acting as line of advance. Many of the towns on its banks with Turkish names (Kazan': Cauldron; Saratov = Sarl Tau: Pale Mountain; Kamyshin: reed bank; Tsaritsyn (now Volgograd); Astrakhān) became Russian towns in which Tatars or other Turks were and still are only a small minority. The Russians took over many villages deserted by the Tatars and drove the Tatars completely away from the fertile river meadows and into the sandy and forested regions far from the water. In addition, new Slav villages and towns were established: as early as 1551, Sviyazsk, later Čeboksar' (now the principal town



of the Čuwash lands and called in their language *Shupashkar*) was founded. The state consciously encouraged the Slav settlement and gave land over to the vassals of the tsar (*služilnye lyudi*) and the clergy. Henceforward, indeed, the peasants remained in the control of the regime and found it oppressive in many ways. Very many tried to settle in more remote areas where they could remain unmolested. This too led to the expansion of the lands of the Slav peoples and the displacement of the Muslim Tatars, or those who were still pagan, by the Finns and Čuwash who were, at least nominally, Christian. Samara (officially Kuybyshev since 1935) was founded in 1586 to protect the area, as later was Ufa to ward off the Nogay [q.v.] particularly. Alongside other smaller settlements, Simbirsk (after 1924 Ul'yanovsk) was built in 1648, and Słzran' in 1683.

The Muslims of the banks of the Itil were by no means happy with these developments. As early as 1569, a Turkish force from the Crimea tried to hinder the movement and make a way through for the Turkish fleet by means of a canal between the Don and the Volga at the point where there was least distance between them, at Tsaritsyn (Ewliya Celebi, vii, 841 ff.; cf. bibliography for specialist literature). But the project had to be abandoned because of the season and the alliance of the tsar with the shah. Later the Tatars, though Sunnis, turned to the Shi'i shah 'Abbās the Great (1587-1629) for aid. On the Russian side, the first Ukrainian settlements (*Slobodl*) were founded in the 17th century. At the same time, the Orthodox mission won over part of the Muslim population including the Kreshčane around Kazan', as well as various noble families, so that the strength of the Muslim population along the Itil declined still further. The river became a route for traffic from central Russia to the south; the boatmen (*Burlaki*) became famous with their songs. The unrest on the Volga in the 17th and 18th centuries was an internal Slav problem, but, in 1667-71, Sten'ka Razin sailed over the Caspian Sea with his fleet and inflicted great damage on the Persian population on its southern shore. The revolt of Emilian Pugačev in 1773-4 found a positive response among the Tatars. The slavization of the banks of the river regions was completed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus the attempt of the Muslims of the area between the Volga and the Urals to build up an "Idel-Ural" state in 1917/18 came to nothing. In view of the overwhelming preponderance of the Russo-Ukrainian population in the area by this time, the project found no support among the majority of the inhabitants along the banks of the river. The Itil, as a result of all this, has no longer any special significance for Muslims.

**Bibliography:** General: Brockhaus-Efron, *Ėntsiklopediya*, vii/13, St. Petersburg 1892, 1-31; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Ėntsiklopediya*<sup>8</sup>, viii (1952), 602-12: (both with a map of the river region); I. I. Föderenko, *Volga*, Moscow 1947; S. S. Bal-sak, V. F. Vasyutin, Y. G. Feygin, *Wirtschafts-geographie der UdSSR, Teil II*, translated by E. O. Kossmann and H. Laakmann, vi, *Das Wolgaland*, Berlin 1942. General history: N. Nikol'skiy, *Sbornik istoričeskikh materialov o narodnostyakh Povolž'ya* (A collection of historical material concerning the peoples of the Volga area), Kazan' 1919; idem, *Konspekt po istorii narodnostey Povolž'ya* (A review of the history of the tribes of the Volga region), Kazan' 1919; G. A. Trofimova, *Etnogenez tatar Povolž'ya v svete dannikh antropologii* (The ethnogenesis of the Tatars of the Volga

region in the light of anthropological facts), Moscow 1949; Bertold Spuler, *Idel-Ural, Völker und Staaten zwischen Wolga und Ural*, Berlin 1942; idem, *Die Wolgatalaren und Baschkiren unter russischer Herrschaft*, in *Isl.*, xxix/2 (1949), 142-216. Trade: P. Lyubomirov, *Torgovle suyazi drevney Rusi s vostokom v VIII-XI vv.* (Commercial relations between Old Russia and the East from the 8th to the 11th century), in *Učenie Zapiski Gos. Saratovskogo Universiteta*, i/3 (1923), 5-38. Missionary activities: C. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, *Les missions orthodoxes en pays musulmans de Moyenne et Basse Volga 1552-1865*, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, viii/3 (1967), 368-403; B. A. Evreynov, *Bor'ba Moskv s vostočnimi inorodtsami v bassejne Volgi i Kama* (The struggle between Moscow and the other peoples in the Volga and Kama basin) in *Zapiski Russk. Ist. Ob-va v Pragě*, i (1927), 57-79. The Slav settlement: N. A. Firsov, *Inorodčeskoe naselenie prežnyago Kazanskogo Tsarstva v Novoy Rossii do 1762 g. i kolonizatsiya zakamskikh zemel' v eto vremya* (The foreign population of the early Khanate of Kazan' up to 1762 and the settlement of the region on either side of the Kama in all periods), Kazan' 1869; G. I. Peretyatkovič, *Povolž'e v XV i XVI vėkahh. Očerki iz istorii kolonizatsii kraja* (The Volga region in the 15th and the 16th centuries. Sketches from the history of the settlement of the region), 1877; idem, *Povolž'e v XVII i načale XVIII vėka* (The Volga region in the 17th and up to the beginning of the 18th century), Odessa 1882 (with a map of the Russian settlement); D. I. Bagalėy, *Materiall dlya istorii kolonizatsii i bita stepnoy okraini Moskovskago Gosudarstva* (Collection of material for a history of the settlement and of life in the steppe lands of the Muscovite Empire—of the government of Kharkov and to some extent Kursk and Voronež—in the 17th and 18th centuries), 2 vols., Kharkov 1886-7; G. A. Gubaydullin, *Učastie tatar v Pugačevshčine* (The role of the Tatars in the Pugačev revolt) in *Novyy Vostok*, vii (1925), 262-8. The events of 1569: (see text) H. Inalcik, *Osmanlı-rus rekabetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü*, in *Bellelen*, xii (1948), 349-402; A. N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil Boyu. 1569 Astarhan seferi, Ten-İdil kanalı ve XVII yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus münasebetleri*, Ankara 1966 (AÜ DTCFY 151); A. Bennigsen, *L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569 d'après les Registres des "Affaires Importantes" des Archives Ottomans*, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, viii/3 (1967), 427-46; Zdenka Veselá-Přenosilova, in *Fontes Orientales ad historiam populorum Europae meridie-orientalis atque Centralis pertinentia*, ed. A. S. Tveritinova, vol. ii (Moscow 1969), 98-139. Cf. also bibl. of the articles mentioned in the text.

(B. SPULER)

**I'TIMĀD AL-DAWLA**, literally: "trusty support of the state", a title of Persian *wazirs* during the Šafawid period and subsequently.

The title *i'timād al-dawla* does not occur during the reign of Isma'īl I (907-30/1501-24), and first appears towards the end of the reign of Tahmāsp I, ca. 976/1568-9 (see *Tārikh-i İlāi-yi Nisāmshāh*, B. M. Ms. Add. 23,513, fol. 480a). The introduction of this title reflected the growing importance of the bureaucracy in an increasingly centralized administration, and marked a significant increase in the power of the *wazir* at the expense of the *wakil* [q.v.]. Under the Kādjārs, the title *i'timād al-dawla*

was rarely used, that of *ṣadr-i a'zam* [q.v.] being preferred.

For a discussion of the function and powers of the *i'timād al-dawla*, see WAZĪR.

**Bibliography:** V. Minorsky (ed. and trans.), *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, London 1943, index, s.v. (R. M. SAVORY)

**I'TIMĀD AL-DAWLA**, title of Mirzā Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Teherānī, commonly known as Ghīyāth Bēg, son of Khwādja Muḥammad Sharif, one-time minister to the Ṣafawid Shah Ṭahmāsp [q.v.], father of Nūr Dījhān, wife of Dījhāngīr [q.v.]. Both his father and an uncle Khwādja Aḥmad, father of the historian Amīn-i Rāzī, author of *Haft Ikhlīm*, held high offices of state under Ṭahmāsp. After the death of his father in 984/1576-7 he, for reasons not precisely known, left for India to seek his fortune. It is, however, clear that he was in straitened circumstances when he undertook this journey for on his way to Akbar's new capital, Fathpūr Sikrī, near Āgra, he had to content himself with only two mounts for a party of five persons including two women. His youngest daughter, Mihr al-Nisā<sup>2</sup>, better known to history as Nūr Dījhān, was born during this journey. Of noble birth, he was welcomed by Akbar [q.v.] in whose service he gradually rose to the personal rank of 1,000 and the office of Diwān-i Buyūtāt (Minister for stores and royal factories). On accession to the throne in 1014/1605 Dījhāngīr appointed him joint vizier of his empire and conferred upon him the title of I'timād al-Dawla with the rank of 1,500 (cf. *Tūzūk*, Eng. tr. ii, 22). He was also assigned the *dīwānī* (collection of revenue) of the Pandjāb. In 1015/1606 Dījhāngīr, before leaving the capital on his punitive campaign against his rebel son Khusrāw, put the fort of Āgra in his charge. In 1016/1607-8 his son Muḥammad Sharif was executed by the orders of the emperor for his complicity in the plot, devised by Khusrāw, to assassinate Dījhāngīr. He himself was placed under arrest and had to pay two lacs of rupees to purchase his freedom. As Dījhāngīr was contemplating marrying Nūr Dījhān, who after the death of her husband, Shīr Afgān, was then living in the royal palace, as a preliminary he honoured his prospective father-in-law in 1020/1611 with the rank of 2,000 men and 500 horse and also gave him 5,000 rupees as gift. The same year Dījhāngīr married Nūr Dījhān and as a mark of respect honoured her father with the *wakāla* (chief ministership) of the empire although Dījhāngīr describes this as a reward for I'timād al-Dawla's "previous service, great sincerity and ability" (cf. *Tūzūk*, Eng. tr. ii, 200). In view of the execution of I'timād al-Dawla's son Muḥammad Sharif and his own confinement this statement sounds rather implausible. The *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* (Bib. Ind. i, 129) is quite clear on the subject and attributes the rapid promotion of I'timād al-Dawla to his daughter's marriage. In addition to the office of Wakīl-i Kull (Prime Minister), I'timād al-Dawla was awarded in 1024/1615 the rank of 6,000 men and 2,000 horse as well as kettle-drums and a standard, a very high mark of distinction in Moghul nobility. He moreover enjoyed the special privilege of beating his drums in the emperor's presence. In 1026/1617 Dījhāngīr conferred upon him the highest honour that a grandee of the empire could ever enjoy, of placing his own turban on his head thus confirming his close relationship with the royal family. He died in 1031/1622 near Kāngṭa, on the way to Kashmir in the entourage of Dījhāngīr. His dead body was brought to Āgra where he was buried on the bank of the

Yamuna in a beautiful garden laid out by him. Later a white marble tomb (completed in 1038/1628) with extremely fine lattice work was built over his grave. (For a description of his tomb see S. M. Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta 1896, 182-4; Gavin Hambly, *The cities of Mughal India*, London 1968, 41, 73-4, 83-4; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Bombay n.d., 109).

A man of genial disposition, he was a popular figure in court circles and Dījhāngīr describes his company as far better than "a thousand strong tonics". He had the unique distinction of writing a few pages of Dījhāngīr's *Tūzūk* at the command of the emperor, who could not do so for emotional reasons (cf. *Tūzūk*, Eng. tr. ii, 326-8), which incidentally establishes his command over the Persian language and his skill in penmanship. A man of learning and culture, an accomplished letter-writer, a brilliant conversationalist, he was noted for his self-control. Greedy and avaricious, he had no scruples in freely accepting bribes.

**Bibliography:** *Tūzūk-i Dījhāngīrī*, Eng. tr. by Rogers and Bacon, London 1914, i, 22, 57, 122, 199, 249, 260, 280-1, 318, 326, 378; ii, 2, 23, 80, 117, 216, 222-3; Samsām al-Dawla Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, Bib. Ind., i, 127-34, Eng. tr. by Bains Parsad, Calcutta 1952, ii, 1072-9; Beni Parsad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad 1940, 148-9, 160-1, 277-8 and index; S. M. Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta 1896, 182-4; T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, New York 1965, 185-6; Abu'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. by H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927, 572-6; Shaykh Farīd Bhakkārī, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, (still in MS) ii; Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhah al-Lubāb*, Bib. Ind., i, 264-5; Amīn-i Rāzī, *Haft Ikhlīm*, Bib. Ind., (preface by 'Abd al-Muḥtadīr Khān); Mu'tamad Khān, *Ikhlānāma-i Dījhāngīrī*, Bib. Ind., index; Sa'īd Aḥmad Mārahawī, *Muraḥḥa'-i Akbarābād*, Āgra 1931, 83-7; Yūsuf Mirak, *Maḥzar-i Shāhādīhānī*, Karachi 1962 (for a detailed genealogical table of I'timād al-Dawla, see editor's preface); S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939, 618-9. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

'ITK [see 'ABD].

'ITKNĀME, *'itknāme*, also *'itknāme*, an Ottoman term for a certificate of manumission, given to a liberated slave [see 'ABD]. The document normally gives the name and physical description, often also the religion and ethnic origin of the slave, together with the date and circumstances of his manumission, and is dated, signed, witnessed, and registered. The issue of such certificates goes back to early Islamic times (for examples see A. Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian library*, i, Cairo 1934, 61-4; idem, *Arabische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, in *Isl.*, xxii (1935), 19-30). A collection of 18th-century Ottoman certificates was edited by K. Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1702-1776)*, Naples 1963. Other and earlier examples are cited in Jahn's introduction. (ED.)

'ITR [see 'ANBAR, MISK, etc.].

ITTIHĀD, verbal noun of the VIIIth form of the root *w-h-d*. The first form *wahīda* and *wahūda* means to be alone, unique; the VIIIth *ittihāda*, means to be united, associated, joined together.

Muslim theologians understand the word in five different ways; three of these are metaphorical (*'alā sabīl al-isti'āra*), the two others are real (*'alā sabīl al-hakīka*).

1. — The real sense of *ittihād* is that a thing be-

comes another while remaining itself. This is called real because it is the first meaning that comes to mind when the word is used in its absolute sense. This real sense comprises two categories: 1) Where two objects unite together in such a way that it can be said that one is the other and reciprocally. In this case, there are, before their association, two distinct objects and after it only one of the two continues to exist. 2) Where there is one object which, while remaining the same, becomes something other than it was before. In this real sense *ittihâd* is considered necessarily impossible. From this comes the principle: *al-ithnân lâ yattahidân*.

2. — In the second sense, the metaphorical sense, there are three meanings, depending on whether it means: -a) that an object changes into another suddenly or gradually. Thus, for example, water becomes air: a substantial form is replaced by another; or black becomes white (in which case one attribute of an object disappears and is replaced by another). -b) that an object becomes another by composition so that it gives birth to a third; thus earth joined to water becomes clay. -c) when a being becomes another, as for example when an angel takes on human form. All three sorts of metaphorical *ittihâd* can be found in reality.

In the history of Muslim doctrines, the word *ittihâd* evokes two problems above all: that of the Incarnation of the Word in the person of Jesus (*ittihâd al-lâhût bi'l-nâsûl*) and that of the "mystic union" of the soul with God.

Muslim apologists have always vigorously rejected the idea of the Christian incarnation. *Ittihâd* and *hulûl* are here generally taken as synonymous, and the concept of a "union" of divinity with humanity is rejected as contradictory. (Cf., for example, al-Bâkîlânî who, in his *Tamhîd*, enumerates the different Christian opinions concerning what he calls "*al-ittihâd*" without further qualification, *ittihâd* considered as *hulûl*, or as *ihkîlâj* and *imtizâdj* or as dwelling in a temple or as the appearance of the image of man in a mirror (ed. McCarthy, 75-103; A. Abel, *Le chapitre sur le christianisme dans le "Tamhîd" d'al-Baqillani (mort en 1013)*, in *Etudes Lévi-Provençal*, I, Paris, 1962, 1-11). Christian apologists, in turn, strove to show that by distinguishing between "nature" (*tabî'a*) and "person" (*uḡnûm*), one could formulate, without contradiction, the doctrine of the Incarnation (and of the Trinity). (Cf., for example, Théodore Abû Kurrâ, *Mayâmîr*, ed. Bacha, 1904, *passim*; Paul Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, Evêque melkite de Sidon (XII<sup>e</sup>s.)*, Beirut 1964, above all page 81 and notes 12 and 13).

From the point of view of Muslim mysticism, three theories of divine union were advanced in the 3rd/9th century. Union is considered as: a) either a union (*ittisâl* or *wisâl*) which excludes the idea of an identity of the soul and God; b) or as an identification (*ittihâd*) which itself has two meanings which are quite different: the first, which is synonymous with the preceding, and the second which refers to a union of nature; c) or as an inhabitation (*hulûl*); God's Spirit lives, without losing its identity, in the purified soul of the mystic. Orthodox Muslim scholars only accept the idea of union in the sense of *ittisâl* (or its equivalent, the first meaning of *ittihâd*), but reject vehemently any idea of *hulûl* in which they see, wrongly, a sort of equivalent of the Christian idea of Incarnation. The charge of *hulûl* was one of the most serious raised against al-Hallâdj [q.v.].

Sometimes the expression *ittihâd* comes to designate the experience of *tawhîd* or of *wahdat al-wudjûd* (the

monism of being): things have no consistency of their own, they are only one with God. As M. Gardet so pertinently remarks, the great Şûfî exponents of the oneness of being always hesitated to admit the idea of an intentional union of love, in which the "two" become "one" in spirit while remaining "two" in being. Normally everything is considered at an ontological level. Consequently, in order to maintain the idea of divine transcendence, the term substitution is used in preference to union (cf. Anawati-Gardet, *Mystique musulmane*, 182). The personality of the Şûfî is, so to speak, possessed and volatilised by God (cf. the characteristic examples in the *Tâ'iyya kubrâ* of Ibn al-Fârîd, *ibid.*, 118-9).

According to 'Alî b. Wafâ (quoted by al-Sha'rânî in *al-Yawâkîf wa'l Djawâhir*, Bülâk 1277, 80, l. 18-9), *ittihâd* means, in Şûfî terminology, the evanescence of the will of the creature in the divine will.

*Bibliography*: In addition to that given above and in the article *ḡULÛL*, see: Tahânawî, *Kashshâf*, 1468; Djurdjânî, *Ta'rifât*, ed. Flugel, 6; Hudjîwirî, *Kashf al-Mahdîjûb*, tr. Nicholson, 254; Maḡmûd Shabistarî, *Gulshân-i Râz*, ed. Whinfield, I, 452-5; Tholuck, *Sufismus*, 141 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, 258; R. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, esp. 218-25, cf. also index III, 279, s.v. *ittihâd*.

(R. NICHOLSON/G. C. ANAWATI)

**ITTIHÂD-I MUHAMMEDİ DJEM'İYYETİ**, generally translated as the "Muhammadan Union", was a politico-religious organization which acquired notoriety as the instigator of the insurrection in Istanbul on 13 April 1909. Its formation was announced publicly on 5 April 1909 (= 23 Mart 1325, by the Turkish "financial" calendar), though Hâfîz Dervîsh Waḡdetî, its leading spirit and editor of the daily newspaper *Volkan* ("Volcano"), claimed that the Muhammadan Union had in fact been founded on 6 February 1909 (= 24 Kânûn II 1324) (see T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasi Partiler 1854-1952*, Istanbul 1952, 261 ff.). It seems to have been a paper entity made up of members drawn from the religious orders around the country. It had no representation in parliament, although many deputies sympathized with its stand against the modernizing policies of the Ittihâd we Terakki Djem'iyeti [q.v.], usually known as the Committee of Union and Progress or (in works in English) C.U.P. Thus the activities of the Muhammadan Union were virtually restricted to the inflammatory articles in *Volkan* and other opposition papers such as *Şadâ-yî Millet*, *Serbestî* and the British Embassy financed *Levant Herald*.

The doctrines and programme of action of the Muhammadan Union were explicitly clerical, and therefore hostile to modernization and reform. Its professed aim was non-political, namely to reform public morals and to bring them within the prescriptions of the Şharî'a. Its members were strictly forbidden to participate in politics. Yet the writings in *Volkan* seemed to suggest that the Muhammadan Union's only commitment was to the destruction of the C.U.P. This commitment was shared by the Liberal opposition.

The founding of the Muhammadan Union coincided with a mounting campaign launched by the opposition against the C.U.P. This campaign began immediately after the fall of Grand Vizier Kâmil Paşa [q.v.], on 13 February 1909. On 18 February *Volkan* announced that it was "the propagator of the views of the Muhammadan Union" (*Ittihâd-i Muhammedî Fırkasının murewidj-i efkârî*) (Tunaya, 265) and

thereafter became the most virulent critic of the C.U.P. It called the constitutional régime the "régime of devils" (*şeytânlar dewri*) (Tunaya, 264), and by exploiting religious prejudice succeeded in mobilizing opinion against the C.U.P.

This propaganda became so alarming that the government decided to take precautionary measures. Press Laws and Laws of Associations were introduced in parliament, and on 6 April the *Şhaykh* al-Islâm issued a manifesto to counteract *Volkan's* charges that the policy of the cabinet was anti-religious. Since *Wahdeti's* propaganda was making alarming headway in the army, on 10 April *Maḥmūd Mukhtâr Paşa*, the commander of the Istanbul garrison, issued a proclamation forbidding his troops to have any dealings with the religious *khodjas* and *softas*. *Kâmil Paşa's* exposé of C.U.P. politics, published on 3 and 4 April, and the murder and funeral of *Hasan Fehmî [q.v.]*, editor of *Scrbesti*, on 7 and 8 April, inflamed passions and prepared the ground for the insurrection which broke out on the night of 12-13 April 1909. It was crushed by the Third Army from Salonika (*Hareket Ordusu [q.v.]*), and the *İttihâd-i Muhammedî* was proscribed, while some of its adherents, including *Dervîsh Wahdeti*, were arrested and hanged. On account of the religious overtones of the insurrection, the Muhammadan Union has been held mainly responsible for it; but closer scrutiny of this organization as well as of events suggests that many other forces were at work. This group only provided a religious cover for the activities of all those elements which were determined to destroy the Committee of Union and Progress.

*Bibliography:* T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasî Partiler 1859-1952*, Istanbul 1952, is the best starting point for a study of the *İttihâd-i Muhammedî*, especially for the notes and bibliography. The press of the period—*Volkan*, *Serbisti*, *Şadâ-yî Millet*, *İkdam* (opposition) and *Tanin* (C.U.P.)—to give only a selection, is invaluable. There are also accounts by contemporary observers: *Yunus Nadi*, *İkhtilâl ve İnkilâb-ı 'Othmânî*, Istanbul 1325 A. H., extracts from which appeared in *Cumhuriyet*, March-April 1959; A. F. Türkgeldi, *Görüş İhtikâlim*, Ankara 1951; *Ali Cevat*, *İkinci Mesrutiyyetin İlmî ve Otuzbir Mart Hadisesi*, ed. F. R. Unat, Ankara 1960; *Abdülhamid*, *İkinci Abdülhamid'in Hatıra Defteri*, Istanbul 1960; *I. H. Danişmend*, *31 Mart Vak'ası*, Istanbul 1961 (this work is based on the Grand Vizier *Tewfik Paşa's* official and private papers); *P. Farkas*, *Staatsstreich und Gegenrevolution in der Türkei*, Berlin 1909; *F. McCullagh*, *The fall of Abd-ul-Hamid*, London 1910; *Ismail Kemal*, *The memoirs of Ismail Kemal*, ed. Somerville Story, London 1920; *Halide Edib*, *Memoirs*, London 1926; *P. P. Graves*, *Briton and Turk*, London 1941. See also *Y. H. Bayur*, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*<sup>2</sup>, i/2, Ankara 1964; *B. Lewis*, *The emergence of Modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968; and *Feroz Ahmad*, *The Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969.

**İTTİHÂD WE TERAĞKI DJEM'İYYETİ**, better known in Europe as the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.), was the political movement responsible for the destinies of the Ottoman Empire from the revolution of 1908 to its destruction in 1918. The Committee had its immediate origins in a group called the "Ottoman Freedom Society" (*'Othmânîl Hürriyet Djem'iyyeti*), founded in Salonika in August-September 1906. Spiritually, however, its antecedents

went back to the conspiratorial activities of the Young Ottomans and their successors, both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire. (See T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasî partiler 1859-1952*, Istanbul 1952; E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton 1957; and *Bernard Lewis*, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968).

The Ottoman Freedom Society began as a group of ten, numbered one to ten according to age, the eldest member, *Bursalî Fâhir*, being designated number one. A central committee (*hey'et-i 'âlîye*, later *merkez-i 'umûmî*) of four—*Meḥmed Tal'at*, *Rahmî [Evranos]*, *Mîdhat Şhükrü [Bleda]*, and *Ismâ'il Dîjânbulât*—was chosen from amongst the ten. (See *Ziya Şakir*, "İttihat ve Terakki nasıl doğdu? nasıl yaşadı? nasıl öldü?" in *Son Posta*, 8 and 9 February 1933 and *passim*). Seven of the ten had some connexion with the military though in the central committee only *Ismâ'il Dîjânbulât* was a soldier. While it is true that initially soldiers were numerically dominant in the C.U.P., the civilians were aware of the political threat this posed and therefore always tried to keep it under control. In the constitutional period the military-civilian rivalry became a constant political theme. In the organizational phase soldiers, and to a lesser extent administrators, played a vital role since they alone were mobile and had communications with virtually every part of the empire. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Rumelian branches of the Ottoman Freedom Society were set up in *Monastir*, *Ohri*, *Kıracova*, *Vodina*, *İşkodra*, *Serez*, *Drama* and *Edirne*, junior officers like *Enver [q.v.]*, *Meḥmed Şâdlık*, *Eyyüb Şabrî* and *Djemâl [q.v.]*, to mention but a few, were instrumental in this.

In 1907 the Salonika group made contact with exiled Young Turks in Europe. Later in the year *Dr. Nâzım*, a prominent member of *Aḥmed Rîdâ's* group in Paris, returned to Salonika and in September the two groups agreed to merge and adopt the older and more established name *İttihâd we Terakki* (Ramsaur, *Young Turks*, 121 ff.). This move had no practical significance because both groups remained autonomous and did not collaborate, since the centre of activity had shifted to the Ottoman Empire. However, in the minds of the exiles the merger created the illusion that they had a right to share the political power acquired by the C.U.P. as a result of the 1908 revolution. The Committee had no intention of allowing this and it soon destroyed the illusions of one such exile who returned to Salonika to be told: "Doctor . . ., this Committee of ours is not the one you worked with abroad. This Committee is the product of *Monastir* and *Salonika* . . ." (*Ibrahim Temo*, *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyetinin teşekkülü ve hidematı vataniye ve inkilâbî millîye dair hatıratım*, *Mecidiye* 1939, 215).

If the Committee was unwilling to share power, it was not equipped, in terms of either organization or ideology, to exercise it alone. Its professed aim had been to restore the constitutional régime. Having achieved this in July 1908 the Committee had lost its *raison d'être* and many who had supported it in the struggle against the Palace were no longer committed to its policies. The extent of its power and organization was uncertain. There were no accepted or recognized leaders. Only the central committee exercised a collective leadership, in theory controlling the entire political machine, arbitrating, recommending and issuing directives which were binding on all Unionist branches at various levels, from the *wilâyet* to the *nâhiye*. Furthermore, as representa-

tives of the newly emerging middle class, the Unionists lacked the social status to assume power in a traditional society which they were unwilling to overthrow by force. They therefore permitted the bureaucracy of the Sublime Porte to rule while they acted as guardians of the constitutional régime, hoping to subvert their society through established institutions.

The C.U.P. remained a secret organization with its headquarters in Salonika. It exercised its political influence through small deputations of two or three prominent Unionists like Ʀal'at, Raĥmî, Dĵawid [q.v.], Dr. Nâzım, Bahâeddin Şĥâkir and Aĥmed Rlĵâ. These deputations visited the sultan, the grand vizier or foreign embassies and made known to them Unionist policies. This method was impossible to reconcile with the principles of constitutional government. It drew from the opposition the charge that the secret Committee was exercising power without responsibility and creating an *imperium in imperio*. At the C.U.P. Congress of 1908 held in secret sessions in Salonika, the Committee did nothing to meet the opposition charges. Decisions relating to the internal organization were kept secret. It was announced that Unionists returned to parliament would work together under the name of the Party of Union and Progress (*İttihâd we Terakĥî Fırkası*). A central committee of eight, elected by the Congress, was to continue to run the affairs of the C.U.P.

The Committee intended to maintain control through its parliamentary majority. But the independent behaviour of the deputies frustrated this scheme. After the parliament's abject surrender to the counter-revolutionaries on 13 April 1909, the Committee decided on active participation in government by having Unionist deputies appointed under-secretaries. When this measure was defeated in the parliament (May 1909) the C.U.P. had two of its members—Dĵawid and Ʀal'at—appointed Ministers of Finance and the Interior respectively. (See F. Ahmad, *The Young Turks: the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish politics, 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969, 50-53 and *passim*). Internal dissension and conflict with the senior officers who had assumed control after crushing the counter-revolution continued to undermine the Committee's position. The dissidents failed to be appeased and organized another opposition (see HIZB, ii and HURRIYET WE İTLÂF FİRKAĞI). The Unionists responded to the new threat by having the Chamber dissolved (15 January 1912) and in the new elections, which they manipulated unscrupulously, they won an overwhelming victory. The opposition adopted extra-parliamentary methods and a group of officers intervened, bringing about the downfall of the Committee-backed cabinet of Sa'îd Pařha in July 1912. The Unionists made a comeback by staging a successful *coup* in January 1913 and by June they had suppressed the opposition and consolidated power.

The period from July 1908 to June 1913 was a period of intense political activity. In these five years the Unionists had learned from bitter experience that neither the country nor their Committee could be run along inflexible and centralized lines. At the 1913 Congress the Committee tried to rectify this. The programme of modernizing the entire political, socio-economic and administrative structure of the empire would henceforth be applied to a quasi-federalist, multi-national framework.

New regulations defined the powers and functions of the Committee's hierarchical structure, from the general assembly at the top to the local clubs at the

bottom. Once again the Committee declared itself a political party which its headquarters in Istanbul, Salonika having been lost to Greece the previous year. The C.U.P. was organized as a general assembly (*medĵlis-i 'Umûmî*) consisting of about twenty members and chaired by the president (*re'îs-i 'umûmî*), a central committee (*merkez-i 'umûmî*) of about a dozen members under the general secretary (*kâtib-i 'umûmî*), and a general secretariat (*kalem-i 'umûmî*) of about six members headed by the vice president (*vekil-i 'umûmî*). The function of the general assembly was to co-ordinate the work of the central committee, which dealt with all Unionist organizations outside the parliament, and the general secretariat, which handled Unionist deputies in the parliament. Thus the power to make decisions was no longer restricted to a single body which could be monopolized by a clique. Decisions were now made in the *medĵlis-i 'umûmî*, where all shades of opinion could be represented. The *merkez-i 'umûmî* remained the most powerful single body; the new regulations merely restricted its freedom of action.

After Turkey's entry into the first world war the C.U.P. formed an exclusively Unionist cabinet and thereafter Turkey became a one-party state. The influence of a small group like the *merkez-i 'umûmî* was further eroded and during the war the organization of the C.U.P. became more decentralized. During the years 1915-18 it is possible to talk in terms of the prevalence of consensus politics. Policy was now discussed at four different levels—the cabinet, the central committee, the general assembly and the parliamentary party (*fırka*). Factions in the capital, led by figures like Enver Pařha, Ʀal'at or Kara Kemâl, also exercised an influence, while provincial administrations under powerful governors like Raĥmî (Aydn) or Dĵemâl (Syria) were virtually autonomous. The *fırka* became the substitute for parliamentary opinion since the parliament met only infrequently. For day-to-day business the general assembly, made up of members from all the other groups, replaced the central committee as the most important single body.

The war proved disastrous for Turkey and the C.U.P. By the middle of 1918 Unionists were considering establishing a political party not tarred with their brush, which could negotiate a peace treaty with the Entente Powers. The situation developed too rapidly for such calculated action. The 1918 Congress, scheduled to meet on October 1, was postponed on account of the new situation created by the Bulgarian armistice (*Tanin*, 30 September 1918). The Congress opened on November 1, after the signing of the Armistice of Mudros. Talât Pařha presided over the morning session and during the afternoon session he and the central committee withdrew from the Congress, escaping to Europe soon after. Ismâ'îl Dĵânbulât, one of the founder members of the Ottoman Freedom Society, was left formally to dismantle the *İttihâd we Terakĥî Djem'ıyyeti* and to reconstitute it under a new name, the *Tedĵeddüd Fırkası* (Renewal Party).

*Bibliography:* Works by Tunaya, Ramsaur, Lewis and Ahmad cited in the text give extensive bibliographies. For the constitutional period it is essential to consult the contemporary press, especially newspapers like *Tanin*, *Şĥurâ-i Ummet*, *İkdam*, *Şabâh*, *Taşvir-i Efkâr* and *Âti* to mention only a few. See also, Aĥmed Niyâzi, *Kĥâfirât-i Niyâzi*, Istanbul 1326, Leskovikli Muhammad Ra'ûf, *İttihâd we Terakĥî ne idi?*, Istanbul 1327; Albert Fua, *Le comité d'union et progrès contre la*

constitution, Paris 1912; 'X', *Doctrines et programmes des partis politiques ottomans*, in *RMM*, xxii (1913), 151-64; Rıdâ Nür, *Hürriyet ve İtilâf naslı doġdu, naslı öldü?*, İstanbul 1334; *Diemâl Paşa, Khâhîrâ, 1913-1922*, İstanbul 1922, English trans. *Memories of a Turkish statesman, 1913-1919*, London 1922 (edited and abridged); modern Turkish ed. Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, İstanbul 1959; *Harp kabinelelerinin isticvabı*, (first serialized in the İstanbul daily *Vakit* and published by Vakıf Matbaası, İstanbul 1933); Husrev Sami Kızıdoġan, *Vatan ve Hürriyet = İttihat ve Terakki*, in *Bell.*, i (1937), 619-25; Mehmet Cavit, *Meşrutiyet devrine ait Cavit beyin hatıraları*, in *Tanın*, 3 August 1943-22 December 1946; Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Talât Paşa*, İstanbul 1943; idem, *Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın'ın 50 yıllık siyaset hatıraları*, in *Halkçı (Yeni Ulus)*, 13 June-31 December, 1954; Talât Paşa, *Talât Paşa'nın hatıraları*, ed. H. C. Yalçın, İstanbul 1946; A. B. Kuran, *İnkılâp tarihimiz ve Jön Türkler*, İstanbul 1945; idem, *İnkılâp tarihimiz ve İttihad ve Terakki*, İstanbul 1948; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *1908 yılında ikinci meşrutiyetin ne suretle ilan edildiğine dair vesikalar*, in *Bell.*, xx/77 (1956), 103-74; and Kâzım Nami Duru, *İttihat ve Terakki hatıralarım*, İstanbul 1957. (FEROZ AHMAD)

İTTİŞÂL [see İTTİHÂD].

IVORY [see 'ADL].

'İWAÐ, exchange value, compensation, that which is given in exchange for something. In a very broad and generally accepted sense, the word is used in works of *fiqh* to denote the counterpart of the obligation of each of the contracting parties in onerous contracts which are called "commutative" (*mu'âwadaî*, from the same root as 'iwað); that is, contracts which necessarily give rise to obligations incumbent upon both parties. Thus in a sale, the price (*thaman*) and the thing sold are each the 'iwað of the other. Understood in this sense, compensation must be exactly determined and, in theory, equal in value to the thing of which it is the counterpart. Should it be lacking, then unjust enrichment (*faql mâl bilâ 'iwað*) will follow. Should the balance between the two dues be merely uneven then there is an illicit profit (*ribâ*) gained by the man who receives more than he has given.

In unilateral contracts, the word 'iwað (*baðal* and *thawâb* are also used) is employed in a more restricted sense; it is applied to the compensation offered by one of the two parties who is not absolutely obliged to give any. Two examples of this kind of 'iwað are the onerous gift and the *khul'* (agreed repudiation). In theory the donee is under no obligation whatsoever, but if he offers compensation ('iwað) to the donor this need not have the same value as the thing given; it can even be purely symbolic, or, conversely, be worth far more; in Mâliki law it is even permitted to be undetermined. A husband has the right to repudiate his wife unilaterally and, of course, without demanding anything from her; if he makes the statement of repudiation dependent on payment of an 'iwað, compensation paid by the woman, the repudiation becomes *khul'*, but the 'iwað that the woman agrees to pay can have no more than an absurdly low value and be undetermined both in its total amount and even in its existence, all of which is quite impossible when the 'iwað constitutes an obligation corresponding to another obligation in a *mu'âwada* contract.

*Bibliography*: J. Schacht, *Introduction*, Oxford 1964, 145, 152; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, Rome

1938, ii, 109; Concerning compensation in the *khul'*, see Ibn Qudâma's exposition of comparative Muslim law. *Mughnî*, Cairo 1367, vii, 61-4. For 'iwað in the gift, Kâsânî, *Badâ'i'*, Cairo 1910, vi, 130; Shîrâzî, *Muḥadḍḥab*, ed. Ḥalabî, i, 446-7; Khalîl, *Mukhtaṣar*, trans. Bousquet, iii, 153.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

'İWAÐ WADJİH, a leading scholar and theologian, originally from Akhsîkat near Samarkand [g.v.], was considered peerless in his day in both rational and traditional sciences. He received his education at Balkh in the "dars" of his namesake Mîr 'İwað Tâshkentî. After completing his education he returned to his native village where he began teaching. Later he moved to Balkh and was still teaching when that town fell to the Mughal army under Awrangzîb. He came to India in 1056/1646; he entered the imperial service and was appointed *muftî* of the army. In 1069/1659, soon after his accession to the throne, Awrangzîb appointed him censor of the imperial troops, with an annual salary of 15,000 rupees paid against the rank of 1,000 men and 100 horse. He could not, however, hold this office for long and by his over-strictness earned the displeasure of the emperor who, while returning from a visit to Kaşhmîr, replaced him by Khwâdjâ Kâdir (on whom see extract from *Mir'âl al-'Ālam*, ed. Muḥammad Shafî', Lahore 1953, 75), in 1073/1662 at Lahore. A year later he succeeded in regaining the favour of the Emperor, though not his office. He was appointed tutor to prince Muḥammad A'zam and his rank was restored. On the termination of this assignment he was appointed a teacher at the royal *madrasa* in Delhi, which post he held till his death. Held in high esteem, he was asked to act as a witness at the marriage of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭân, Awrangzîb's son, to Düstdâr Bânü Begum in 1082/1672 along with Chief Kâdî 'Abd al-Wahhâb. He again seems to have lost his rank, for the *Ma'âlîhir-i 'Ālamgîrî* (cf. Eng. tr. 92) speaks of his restoration in 1086/1676 while he was living as a hermit. He spent the greater part of his life in teaching, "being highly honoured by the nobility".

A fanatical Sunnî, he insisted on the execution of one Muḥammad Ṭâhir, a Shî'î who had slandered the first three orthodox caliphs, in 1082/1672. The criticism which his action aroused and the memory of his fall from grace twice during his life perhaps made him adopt the life of a hermit. No other work by him is known to exist except a gloss on *Akhâ'id-i Nasafî* which was preserved in the Berlin Library (cf. Brockelmann, *GAL S I*, 760). Brockelmann incidentally transliterates the second part of his name as al-Wadîh which indicates that it most likely was his sobriquet. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that *'Ālamgîr-nâma*, the official history of the first ten years of Awrangzîb's reign, at places describes him as "Mullâ 'İwað" only. *Farḥat al-Nâzîrîn*, a Persian history of the times of Awrangzîb (only partially published; see bibliography), follows this practice.

His younger brother Muḥammad Ṭâhir was also a noted scholar. He was sent on a diplomatic mission to the court of Awrangzîb by Subḥân Ḳulî Khân, ruler of Balkh, in 1086/1675 only a year prior to the death of his elder brother. He was well-received at the court and presented with robes of honour, 21,000 rupees, a *pâlkî*, an elephant and a jewelled stick before his return to his native land (cf. *Ma'âlîhir*, Eng. tr., 92, 96). He died in 1088/1677, apparently at an advanced age, and was buried in Delhi.

*Bibliography*: Muḥammad Kâzîm, *'Ālamgîr-*

*nāma*, Calcutta 1868, 232, 392, 428, 840, 858; Muḥammad Sāḳi Mustafīd *Khān*, *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgiri*, Eng. tr. by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta 1947, 14, 74, 77, 92, 96 (indexed under Auz Wajih); *Kh*wāfi *Khān*, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bib. Ind., ii, 80, 555; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kaṣbū, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, Calcutta 1939, iii, 391-2; Bakhtāwar *Khān*, *Mir'āt-al-'Ālam*, still in Ms., partially published by Muḥammad Shafi' in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Supplement, Aug.-Nov. 1953, 74-5 (this notice differs at places from that contained in the Asafiyya Ms. of which a transcript has been obtained by me); Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī b. Muḥammad Ḥafiz Anṣārī Pasruri, *Farḥat al-Nāziri*, still in Ms., partially published by Muḥammad Shafi' in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, iv/4 Aug. 1928, 77 (almost a verbatim copy of the notice in Asafiyya Ms. with a few omissions); 'Abd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṣir*, Ḥaydarābād (India), 1375/1955, v, 294 (a very useful notice in Arabic). (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**IWĀN**, also **EYVĀN** and at times in spoken Arabic **LĪWĀN**, a Persian word adopted by the Turkish and Arabic languages and then by western travellers, archaeologists and art historians to refer to certain characteristic features of Near Eastern and especially Islamic architecture. Since there are notable differences in the meanings given to this term in mediaeval texts and in modern scholarship, the two must be clearly separated.

It has been suggested that the word itself derives from Old Persian *apadana* (E. Herzfeld, *Mythos und Geschichte*, in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vi (1936), 88, n. 1; W. B. Henning in *Handbuch der Orientalistik: Iranistik*, Leiden 1958, 71, n. 6). This derivation, which has often been taken for granted, may not be as secure as has been believed but its investigation is not pertinent to Islamic times.

Four meanings can be given to the term when it appears in mediaeval texts; these meanings are probably all connected historically and typologically in ways which still require study. A first meaning is that of a chamber or of a hall which is open to the outside at one end, either directly or through a portico; it is similar in this sense to one of the meanings of *ṣuffa* and it is curious to note that the architectural units known to art historians as *iwāns* (cf. below) are at times called *ṣuffas* in texts, as in L Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i Aḥār ta'rīkh-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1344, 86 ff.; Lane's *Lexicon* s.v. *iwān*. A second meaning is that of an estrade or of a raised part of a floor; such a higher part could have been singled out because of its formal importance as a place of honour in an architectural composition or because of some purely functional need as in the case of the part of a bath in which one undressed (E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Everyman edition, London 1954, 344-5 (note existence of an attendant called a *liwāndjī*) and 12 for other meanings of the word). A third meaning is that of a palace or at least of some sort of very formal and official building; in this sense it appears to refer to a complete architectural entity rather than to part of a complex as in the instance of the first two meanings of the word. Thus a Muẓaffarid prince built in Yazd gardens with a pool and an *iwān* with four storeys; Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *Ta'rīkh dīadīd-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afshar, Tehran 1345, 86 ff. It is probably in this sense of palace that the term should be understood when it was used so commonly to refer to the celebrated Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon; for instance,

Ṭabari, ii, 1056, comments on *iwān kisrawī* (E. Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Alep*, Cairo 1956, 391). In many texts dealing with the Ctesiphon monument it would appear that *iwān* and *ḥāḳ* are synonymous or almost (cf. Max van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *JA*, 8th ser., xix (1892), 399 ff.) but in reality they are quite distinct since one refers to a form and the other to a function. *Iwān* in this sense is synonymous with *ḥaṣr*, as for instance in the case of the Fāṭimid palace in Cairo which could be called either *al-ḥaṣr al-kabīr* or *al-iwān al-kabīr*. Also in the *Shāh-nāma* most instances of the word's use appear to refer to palaces and not to some precise architectural form (N. V. Diakonova and O. I. Smirnova, *K voprosu ob istolkovanii pendjikenskoy rospisi*, in *Sbornik v česti I. A. Orbeli*, Leningrad 1960). Finally a fourth meaning has been given to the word, mostly in contemporary interpretations of Mamluk descriptions of Cairo or of Damascus (Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Le Caire*, Cairo 1903, 95, n. 2). The *iwān* would be any one of the halls in a religious building, a *madrasa* or a mosque, which opens on a courtyard; it would be used most commonly for large units of the type implied by our first definition but by extension could be used also for other architectural forms such as the hypostyle. The *iwān kibli* would be the one such hall which is located in the direction of Mecca. While this particular meaning is (or was) certainly found in colloquial usage, there is some uncertainty as to whether the term is ever correctly used for the columnar wings of a mosque; none of the several meanings which can be given to the word *iwān* in the many instances of its occurrence in texts such as the description of Damascus translated by H. Sauvaire seems to apply to a hypostyle building (H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA*, 9th ser., iii-vii (1894-6), index by E. Oucéhek, Damascus 1954, esp. vol. vi, 260 as opposed to vol. v, 301 or 392).

Altogether then the word has clearly two formal meanings and one functional meaning with a second functional meaning somewhat less obviously ascertained. It is possible that the functional meaning of palace was the original one and that, through the Ctesiphon ruins which played such an important role in the formation of mediaeval architectural concepts and terminology, the references to forms developed more slowly, but this question requires a systematic chronological analysis of texts, which has never been done.

Art historians and archaeologists have given the term *iwān* a technically precise meaning, that of a single large vaulted hall walled on three sides and opening directly to the outside on the fourth. The formation of the form has been the subject of many discussions and theories; cf. F. Oelmann, *Hilani und Liwanhaus*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft cxxvii (1922); G. Gullini, *Architettura Iranica*, Turin 1964, 326 ff.; J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947, 163 ff. These discussions and theories are fortunately not pertinent to the Islamic period, for it can easily be established that Sasanian architecture had consistently utilized such a unit of planning and construction as the main feature of its palaces in 'Irāk and in western Iran. Although some nuances may have to be introduced into this statement after further excavations and interpretative studies, this particular hall was the main audience and reception hall of Sasanian princes (as at Ctesiphon). But no evidence exists that it was actually called an *iwān* nor is it certain that an official function

was the only one associated with the form. On a number of occasions a domed room was just behind the *iwān* and in one instance (Ḳal'a-i Dukhātār near Firūzābād), *iwān* and dome formed the only unit of a royal building.

This secular function of the *iwān* was carried together with the form into early Islamic secular architecture. It occurs in the Umayyad palace at Kūfa, was transferred to the western part of the Fertile Crescent at Mshatta, and defines the main official parts of the great 'Abbāsīd palaces at Ukhayḍir and at Sāmarrā; in this last place it also occurs in simple house architecture; see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford 1932 and 1940; O. Grabar, *Al-Mushatta, Baghdād, and Wāsiṭ*, in *The World of Islam*, ed. J. Kritzek and R. B. Winder, London 1959; B. Fransi and Muḥammad 'Alī, *Jāmi' Abī Dulaf, in Sumer*, iii (1947). Even minor modifications which may appear to have been of western origin such as the transformation of the *iwān* into a tripartite hall through colonnades have a background in the architectural vocabulary of Sasanian Iran. In the often quoted and discussed texts describing the palaces of Wāsiṭ and Baghdād, the use of the word does not necessarily mean that this particular form was used—as had automatically been assumed by Creswell and Grabar in the works quoted above—but it is likely that it was, for the *iwān* became established quite early as the main form of palace and house architecture from Afghanistan to Egypt. In details of course there were many differences from one part of the Muslim world to another and from one period to another and it is not certain that the function of the form was always the official one of an audience hall. Secular architecture unfortunately has not been sufficiently well preserved or studied to allow for definitive conclusions and, since most of the sources for it are literary, the difficulty of interpreting correctly a mediaeval architectural vocabulary occurs constantly.

The appearance of the *iwān* in religious architecture is equally problematic, even though it is in religious architecture that the most celebrated examples of the form are found. The situation can be summarized in the following manner. With the exception of the rather peculiar mosque in Nīrīz, it is not until the early 6th/12th century that a group of some twelve mosques in western Iran acquire what became the typical shape of a courtyard on which open four *iwāns*; for a summary of the history of this form, for a list of examples and for bibliographies see O. Grabar in *Cambridge History of Iran*, iv (forthcoming) and v (Cambridge 1968). The four-*iwān* mosque became then the standard form for almost all buildings of religious inspiration in Iran until today and the changes which do occur are mostly stylistic, as the form reflected the modifications in taste which occurred over the centuries. The puzzling questions are those of the origins of the plan and of the reasons for its formation. On the first point, evidence exists to show that both 'Irāk and Central Asia used the form of four *iwāns* around a courtyard in house and probably monumental architecture before the 6th/12th century (cf. *Sumer*, iii (quoted above) and, among others, G. A. Pugačenkova, *Iskusstvo Turkménistana*, Moscow 1967, 102; also A. Godard in *Ars Islamica*, xvi (1951)). Since the main direction of cultural and artistic influences in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries was an east-west one, a north-eastern Iranian or Central Asian background for the form seems likely. It would then be from the example of the western Iranian mosques

of the 6th/12th century that the type spread over the whole of Iran.

As to the reasons for the adoption of the plan, the main existing theory (Godard's, modifying Max van Berchem, but see critique by K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, ii, Oxford 1959, 132-3) is that it was connected with the spread of the *madrasa* as an official building from north-eastern Iran westward. The theory is far from being convincing and for a variety of reasons it may be easier to confess either that the question is unresolved or that a form hitherto used primarily for secular purposes was adapted to the mosque as part of the imposition of a new Saldjūk taste all over Iran.

West of Iran the *iwān*, either singly or in a pattern of four, was rarely used for mosques but became the characteristic architectural feature of *madrasas*, *ribāṭs*, hospitals, and of most of the numerous functions which were either introduced in Zangid and Ayyūbid times or acquired a new monumentality. The earliest use of an *iwān* in a *madrasa* seems to occur in the 530/1136 *madrasa* in Bosra (Creswell, *Egypt*, ii, 107) but the rather primitive construction and planning of this building makes it a rather doubtful witness. Without searching for an (anyway) accidentally "first" example, it may be simpler to conclude that, while the *iwān* as such was already fairly common in house architecture (as for instance in the private houses of Fustāt), its use in monumental official architecture was a result of the general impact of Iran following the Saldjūk reconquest. In the Arab Near East, however, it never became the unique architectural feature it was in Iran, although in the monuments of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus (N. Elisséeff *Les Monuments de Nūr al-Dīn*, in *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, xiii (1949-51) or much later in the superb *madrasa* of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo (among others L. Hauteceur & G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, 103 ff.), we have superb examples of the ways in which a form originally developed in lands of brick architecture was turned into stone.

Several attempts have been made in the past, especially by Max van Berchem and by E. Herzfeld (see for instance his *Damascus, Studies in Architecture*, in *Ars Islamica*, vols. ix ff. (1942 ff.)), to suggest that the spread and development of the *iwān*-based plan, especially in *madrasas*, is to be related to precise functional requirements (teaching for instance) and even to symbolic ones as in the Sunnī oecumenism of a building like the Mustansiriyya in Baghdād. Suggestive and interesting though they may be, these arguments do not seem to be entirely acceptable and it may be preferable to consider the *iwān* as one of the several ways in which the mediaeval Muslim world sought solutions to the problem of architectural space without attributing to it concrete or symbolic meanings permanently attached to the form itself. Like the domed hall or the tower it was a form which could be used for a variety of purposes determined by the needs and tastes of society at any one time; cf. as an example of unique use of known forms, L. Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah*, Toronto 1969.

One last aspect of the *iwān* as it appears to the art historian may deserve attention. It is that, regardless of the functions which were given to it, it has a very precise aesthetic value. It is a strong, dominating feature which serves as the main axis of an architectural composition both in plan and in elevation. As a result it is generally the shape and the proportions of the *iwān* which determined the rhythm



and the relations between parts found in most later Iranian facades and in most interior compositions of Iranian architecture. While not as richly inventive nor as exuberant as the Islamic dome, the *iwān* served as a major vehicle for the growth and development of one of the world's most impressive vaulting traditions and its walls were covered with all the various types of decorative techniques and ornamental designs known in the Muslim world.

*Bibliography:* Most of the immediately appropriate bibliography will be found in the text. Additional examples and discussions of individual monuments can be found in standard books on Islamic and especially Iranian and Central Asian architecture. For textual information on the uses of the *iwān*, see D. Sourdel, *Questions de Cérémonial Abbasside*, in *REI*, 1960. For the development of the religious building with four *iwāns* in Iran recent investigations and discoveries have made the traditional interpretation far less certain; see, for instance, O. Grabar, *Notes on the Great Mosque of Isfahan*, in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute in Memory of A. U. Pope* (Shiraz, 1972).

(O. GRABAR)

**IYĀD**, an ancient Arab tribe whose ancestor Iyād is according to the genealogists the son of Nizār b. Ma'add and the brother of Rabi'a, Anmār, and Muḍar. They dwelt first in the Tihāma. The Meccan tradition (see Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, ii, 137 ff.) tells that they drove the *Dj*urhum from Mecca and made themselves masters of the Ka'ba, but were turned out after a quarrel with the *Khuzā'a*. They went to Bahrayn, where they formed with other tribes the confederation al-Tanūkh [q.v.]. Then they moved into 'Irāk where the Sawād, the fertile region between the desert and the Euphrates, offered them grazing grounds and 'Ayn Ubāgh a perennial waterplace; this happened about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. if the statement is correct that they clashed with the ruler of al-Ḥīra, *Dj*adhīma b. Malik al-Azdī, who was a contemporary of Zenobia of Palmyra. Some Iyād settled at al-Ḥīra and became urbanized and christianized, if they had not been converted earlier; some were employed by the Sāsānids: Laḳīṭ b. Ya'fūr [q.v.], (for his father's name see al-Shammākh, *Diwān*, 1302 h., p. 29, 2) was secretary in the department of Arab affairs; the poet Abū Duwād [q.v.] was in charge of the horses of al-Mundhir III b. Mā' al-Samā' (reigned 505-54 A. D.). Others remained Bedouins wandering about the desert, often harassing the peasants. In the reign of *Kh*usraw I (r. 531-79) they even kidnapped a Persian lady and defeated the Persian cavalry sent against them at Dayr al-Djamādjīm [q.v.]; but being heedless of the warnings given them by Laḳīṭ in his famous poems they were crushed by the Persians; the survivors fled, some into the desert, others into Syria and even into Byzantine territory to a place called Anḳara (mentioned by al-Aswad b. Ya'fūr an-Nahshālī, *Mufaḍḍalīyyāt*, No. 44 = A'shā Nahshal, No. 17 Geyer) at the exit of the Euphrates from the mountains, whilst a third group went to Kūfa, the *Dj*azīra, and Takrīt; from Takrīt they were driven out by the Persians but later came back, for in 16/637 the Iyād secretly supported the garrison of Takrīt against the Muslims. Those who remained in 'Irāk had to join the Persian forces; they were sent against the Bakr b. Wā'il in the battle of *Dh*ū Ḳār [q.v.], c. 604 A. D., but went over to the Bakr; so the Persians were defeated for the first time by Bedouins.

The rise of Islam had no immediate influence upon

the Iyād; the story (*Aghānī*, xiv, 41 f.; Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 55) that they sent a deputation to Mecca in 8/629 belongs to the legends about *Ḳ*uss b. Sā'ida [q.v.]. Some Iyād joined the pseudo-prophetess of the Tamīm Saḳjāh [q.v.]. We find Iyādis, who were doubtless Muslims, in Kūfa (*Ṭ*abarī, i, 2482, 2495), freedmen (Ibn Sa'd, vi, 270, 277) as well as landowners (*Balādhuri*, 283, 5). When in 12/633 *Kh*hālīd b. al-Walīd conquered 'Irāk the Iyād together with other tribes and with Persian troops opposed him e.g. at 'Ayn al-Tamr (*Ṭ*abarī, i, 2062) and *Ṣ*andawdā' (*Balādhuri*, 310; Yāḳūt, ii, 420); the statement (*Ṭ*abarī, i, 2074) that the Iyād, *Ta*ghlib and Namir together with Byzantines and Persians were defeated by *Kh*hālīd at the fords (*al-firād*) of the Euphrates in 12/634 is dubious. About the same time, 13/634, the conquest of Palestine by the Muslims began. Towards the end of the same year Ḥimṣ was taken. Here in the northern parts of Syria lived Bedouins and amongst them Tanūkh, established there for centuries, often in separate settlements (*hādīr*). In 17/638 many Iyādis and other Bedouins of 'Irāk joined the Byzantine army which tried to regain Syria, but when the Muslims conquered Mesopotamia the Iyād went over and became Muslims, whilst the Byzantines were defeated and fled to Cilicia. 'Umar b. al-*Kh*aṭṭāb demanded from Heraclius their extradition and the emperor was forced to send them back (*Bakrī*, 49). They settled in Syria and Mesopotamia. In later times Iyādis are seldom mentioned. The best known of them are the *ḳ*ādī of al-Ma'mūn, Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [q.v.], whose claim to this descent was, however, contested by his enemies. Also Iyādis were Ibn Abī 'l-Layṭh, *ḳ*ādī of Egypt, d. 250/864 (*Kh*aṭṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdadā*, ii, 292), and Zāfir b. Sulaymān, *ḳ*ādī of Sijīstān (*ibid.*, viii, 494); see further *ibid.*, iii, 65 no. 1020; iii, 106 no. 1104; iv, 325 no. 2135; xii, 97 no. 6525). There were Iyādis in Spain (*Maḳḳārī*, i, 186, 15), amongst them the famous family of Ibn Zuhr [q.v.], in Seville.

The Banū Iyād b. Sūd were a clan of the Āzād.

*Bibliography:* in the article; see also al-Bakrī, *Mu'dīam* (Wüstenfeld), 44-51 and *passim*; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 97; Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭīkāk* (Wüstenfeld), 104 f.; Hamdānī (gives on pages 178<sup>1</sup>-179<sup>15</sup> a list of their settlements); see further the indices to *Ṭ*abarī, Yāḳūbī, Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iḳd* (indices by Muḥammad *Sh*affī'), Mas'ūdī, *Aghānī*, *Fihrist*, Ibn al-*Aṭh*īr, Yāḳūt, *Mu'dīam* and also W. Caskel, *Ḡamharat al-nasab des Ibn al-Kalbī*, i, 174; ii, 359 f. (J. W. Föck)

**'IYĀD B. MŪSĀ** B. 'IYĀD B. 'AMRŪN AL-YAḤṢUBI AL-SABTĪ AL-ḲĀDĪ (476/1088-544/1149) was one of the most celebrated figures of Mālikism in the Muslim West. His existence coincided almost exactly with that of the Almoravid dynasty to whom throughout his life he remained inflexibly attached.

His family, of Yemeni origin through the Yaḥṣub, emigrated to the West very early and finally settled at Ceuta, after residing in Basta [q.v.], in Muslim Spain, in Fez, and also in Ḳayrawān at some indeterminate date. His great grandfather 'Amrūn was the first of the family to win fame, by reason of his perfect knowledge of the *Ḳur'ān*, and above all by his service under the celebrated al-Manṣūr ibn Abī 'Amīr [q.v.]. It was he who left Fez with his entire fortune—probably acquired in the service of al-Manṣūr—to settle in Ceuta, where he died in 397/1007 and where his descendants enjoyed a high rank among the notables of the town.

Of all these, 'Iyād was the most famous. On completing his studies in his native town, he went in

507/1113, to perfect his knowledge, not to the East—which he never visited, not even for the pilgrimage—but to Spain. In the *Šiḫā* of Ibn Baṣṣḫuwā, (i, 446, no. 972, reproduced by al-Nawāwiri, *Simṭ* Ms. B. N. Tunis no. 11,396, p. 10), the expression *bi'l-Maṣṣḫrik*, which occurs in connection with the studies he made under the direction of Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadāfi, denotes the east of Spain and not the Orient, as is made clear in the *Mu‘djam* which Ibn al-Abbār had dedicated to the disciples of the last-mentioned master. The traditional travelling for study (*riḥla*) lasted about one year: in all ‘Iyāḍ had about a hundred masters, to whom he dedicated his *Ghumya* (still in ms.). These include Ibn Ḥamdīn (439/1047-508/1115), the most virulent opponent of the *Iḥyā’* of al-Ḡhazālī; Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī (468/1075-543/1149), who had met al-Ḡhazālī in the East and had probably introduced his *Iḥyā’* to Morocco and Spain in 493/1100; and also the celebrated traditionist Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadāfi (d. 514/1120-1).

On returning to Ceuta, ‘Iyāḍ was raised to the rank of *shūra* [q.v.] and then, in 515/1121-2, to that of *ḫādī* of the city of his ancestors. On 1 Ṣafar 531/29 Oct. 1136, he was entrusted with the office of *ḫādī* of Granada. He was already a great personage, and his new place of residence gave him a triumphal welcome. The triumph was ephemeral. Being regarded as too censorious, ‘Iyāḍ was discharged after some months at the request of Tāshfīn, then governor of the city. Tāshfīn’s death (26 Ramaḍān 539/23 March 1145) won back for him the favour of the now tottering Almoravids. Towards the end of 539/1145, he was again nominated by the short-lived Ibrāhīm b. Tāshfīn as *ḫādī* of Ceuta, where he was to play a political role of the first importance, in regard to which his biographers, unlike the historians, prefer to remain very reticent.

A convinced and militant Mālikī, ‘Iyāḍ in effect constituted the centre of resistance to the Almohads in Ceuta. After the final triumph of the latter, he was at first exiled to Tadla, among the nomadic tribes, and then, together with other notables from the suspect city, was sent to forced residence in Marrākush where he died, dejected and exhausted, on 7 Djumādā II 544/13 Oct. 1149. Legend, echoing the hostility which he incurred under the Almohads, attributed his sudden death while in the baths (*ḥammām*) to the invocations of al-Ḡhazālī, or else, with the accusation of secretly practising Judaism, alleges that he was put to death by the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart.

‘Iyāḍ was not without literary talent, but he was pre-eminently a traditionist and *faḫīh*. He was a truly typical *faḫīh* of the Almoravid period, strictly orthodox, and for whom there existed only one single unique truth, that which had been taught by Mālik and his school. He wrote more than twenty works, not all of which have survived. His best-known published works are: *al-Šhiḫā’ bi-ta’rif ḫuḫūḫ al-Mustafā’*, which enjoyed an enormous success and which still continues to play an important part in popular piety; *Mashārik al-anwār ‘alā ṣiḫāḫ al-āthār*; *Tartīb al-madārik wa-takrīb al-masālik bi-ma’rifat a’lām madhhab Mālik*, which constitutes the best defence for and illustration of the Mālikī school.

*Bibliography*: This will be found in Brockelmann, I, 455-6, and S I, 630-2, and in M. Talbi, *Biographies aghlabides extraites des Madārik du Cadi ‘Iyāḍ*, Tunis 1968, 51-8. In addition: Murtaḍā, *Ithāf al-sādāt al-muttakīn bi-ṣarḥ Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*, ed. Büllāḫ, n.d., i, 27; Muḥammad Ḳuwaysim b. ‘Alī al-Nawāwiri, *Simṭ al-la’ālī*, ms. B. N. Tunis no. 11396, i, 10-14; M. A. Enan, *Aṣr al-*

*Murābiḫīn wa-l-Muwahḫidīn*, Cairo 1964, i, 41-4; A. Merad, *‘Abd al-Mu’min à la conquête de l’Afrique du Nord (1130-1163)*, in *AIEO (Alger)*, xv (1957), 126-8; *al-‘Ilām bi-ḫudūd ḫawā’id al-Islām*, ed. al-Ṭandjī, Rabat 1964; *al-‘Ilmā’ ilā ma’rifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taḫyīd al-samā’*, ed. A. Ṣafar, Cairo-Tunis 1970. See also AL-MAḲḲARĪ. (M. TALBI)

‘IYĀFA (A.), as opposed to *fa’l* [q.v.] which denotes human omens (cleidonomism), is applied in a general sense to animal omens (zoomancy) and, in the strict sense, to ornithomancy, that is to say the art of divining omens in the names of birds, their cries, their flight and their posture (*TA*, vi, 207, l. 24 ff.). With certain names of birds a fatal quality is associated, though why this is so is not always known; in general, black and greenish plumage and down constitute the only justification. This is the case with the crow, the roller, the jay, and with any animal or bird with a coat or plumage of dark colour interspersed with white, such as a she-camel, a she-wolf or a dove (for animals regarded by the Arabs as a subject of divination, cf. *Divination*, 498-519).

Even more than with regard to the nature of birds (that is to say, their consecration to some particular divinity of either a propitious or an ill-fated character) and their categories (that is to say, those whose flight and cries are the basis for divination), the rich ornithomantic and zoomantic documentation gathered from ancient Arab literature makes it possible to give a precise statement of the principles and rules of mantic interpretation of the flight and cries of birds, as well as of their posture, and of the movements of certain quadrupeds.

For the flight of birds, two techniques originally existed, *fira* and *zādīr*.

*Fira* is the observation and mantic interpretation of the spontaneous flight of birds. This was progressively extended, particularly with sedentarization, to include all kinds of manifestations of animate or inanimate beings, and especially to domestic divinatory techniques which a man based upon the gestures and utterances of his wife, the inhabitants of the house, the utensils, or the animals in his service. Originally, it included divination of both good and ill; but Islam condemned it as a pagan practice, consigning favourable omens to *fa’l*, which is permitted, whilst it prohibited *fira* as an act of faith in the blind forces and the gods who represented these forces.

*Zādīr* too lost its primitive meaning in assuming a wider significance, in the same way as *fira*, with which it is generally confused. Originally, *zādīr* consisted in causing a bird to take flight by throwing a stone in order that its flight might be interpreted; if the bird flew to the *zādīr*’s right, it constituted a good omen for him, if to the left it was a bad omen (cf. *Divination*, 438). But Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *Muḫaddīma*, i, 195, already defined it as though it were a question only of *fira*. This also is a consequence of the change from nomadic to sedentary conditions.

*Fira* and *zādīr*, the two techniques of ‘*iyāfa*, consist essentially in the interpretation of the direction of birds’ flights and their cries. The technical terminology used in this field derives from hunting and is applied to all zoomantic divination. It is not possible here to expatiate on these terms, which have been studied in *Divination*, 440-6; it will suffice to mention the two most commonly used terms, namely *al-sāniḥ*, “that which comes from your right, proceeding towards your left”, and *al-bāriḥ*, which is its antonym. These are their present meanings but they are sometimes found in the reverse sense, according to whether they are used in connection with ornitho-

mancy or hunting (cf. details in *Divination*, 440 ff.). In general, *al-sāniḥ* is favourable and *al-bāriḥ* is unfavourable; but here also there are numerous divergencies. According to Ibn Barri (quoted in *TA*, ii, 170, 24 f.), this depends upon regional customs: "The inhabitants of Naǧdī," he says, "regard *al-sāniḥ* as favourable, but it can happen that a Naǧdī may use the vocabulary of the Ḥiǧǧāzi". We believe, on the contrary, that these divergencies bear witness to a very ancient state of affairs, where the right side did not necessarily signify "favourable" and the left "unfavourable", as was the case in Assyro-Babylonian divination.

The interpretation of the cries of birds is widely attested in respect of the crow (cf. texts and translations in *Arabica*, viii (1961), 34 ff. and 49 f.); but the Arab also deduced omens from the cooing of pigeons, from the call of a bird, from the crowing of the cock, from the braying of donkeys, from the bleating of sheep, from the cry of the camel, from the barking of a dog, etc. (cf. details in *Divination*, 446-9).

For the Arab, the posture and behaviour of a bird provided material for divination. That a crow croaked on a withered tree, on a leafy tree or on a recently constructed wall would modify the meaning of the divination. That the bird shook itself, stretched its wings, pecked the ground, grubbed in the soil, wiped its beak—all these things are taken into consideration in the interpretation of the divination (cf. *Divination*, 449 f., and *Arabica*, loc. cit.).

For the relations between *jaʿl*, *ḥira* and *zādīr*, see FA<sup>2</sup>L.

*Bibliography*: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 431-50 and 498-519, where the reader will find the basic texts and their analysis; idem, *Les présages par le corbeau. Etude d'un texte attribué à Ġāhiz*, in *Arabica*, viii (1961), 30-58, where texts of Arab divinations are compared with texts of Assyro-Babylonian and Iranian divinations. (T. FAHD)

İYĀR [see SIKKA].

İYĀLA [see EYĀLET].

İYĀS B. MUʿĀWIYA B. QURRA AL-MUZANĪ, Abū Wāḥila, was appointed *kādī* of Baṣra during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 99/718 (the date 95/714 given by Wakiʿ is incorrect, for ʿUmar did not succeed to the caliphate until 99, and also it was ʿAdī b. Arṭāt, governor of the town from 99-101, who chose İyās for the post on the caliph's orders); he did not accept this post very enthusiastically (see especially an anecdote related by Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, i, 62, which shows incidentally that parallel jurisdictions were still in existence), and in fact gave it up in 101 or 102/720-1; he died in 121/739 or the following year, aged 76.

İyās, who is considered to be one of the leading lights of Muḍar (for his genealogy see Ibn Kalbi-Caskel, *Djamhara*, tab. 88), became proverbial for his perspicacity, to such an extent that one said *azḥan min İyās* (see Freytag, *Prov. Arab.*, i, 593; al-Maydānī, i, 338). His ability to extract precise information from hints unnoticed by others and his shrewdness are often praised (cf. especially a verse of Abū Tamām, ii, 249, in which his *dhakā* is compared to the *hilm* of al-Aḥnaf [q.v.]).

*Adab* literature presents him as a kind of Solomon, and he is the hero of a large number of anecdotes, probably originally borrowed from al-Madāʿinī, who had composed a *Kitāb Akhbār İyās b. Muʿāwiya* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 152). However, he is criticized for his tendency to gossip, his pride and the confidence he placed in dubious traditions.

*Bibliography*: Dǧāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 98-101 and index; idem, *Hayawān*, i, 149-51 and index; Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, 467; Wakiʿ, *Akḥbār al-kuḍāt*, Cairo 1947, i, 312 ff. (see D. Sourdel, in *Arabica*, ii/1 (1955), 112); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii/2, 4-5; Ṭabari, ii, 1347; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 157-8; Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilya*, iii, 123-5, no. 227; *Sharīḥī*, *Sharḥ*, i, 113; Ibn Khallikān, i, 382; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s.v.; Ibn Ḥaǧjar, *Iṣāba* no. 576; idem, *Tahḏīb*, i, 39; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾriḥ Dimashq*, iii, 175-85; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ*, 141-6, 231; R. Basset, in *Revue des trad. pop.*, vi, 67. (CH. PELLAT)

İZMAIL [see İSMĀʿİL].

İZMİD [see Supplement].

İZMİR [see Supplement].

İZNİK, the ancient and Byzantine Nicaea (*Niḳiya* in Ibn Kḥuradādhbih and al-Idrīsī) was besieged in vain by the Arabs in their first campaigns against Byzantium in 99/717 and 107/725 (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i, 397 and 405 ff.) and fell at the beginning of 1081 (middle of 473) into the hands of the Saldǧūk Sulaymān, son of Kutlumush, who made his residence there. The first Crusaders under Walter Sans-Avoir were severely defeated before Nicaea in 489/1096 by Alp Arslān, son and successor of Sulaymān; next year, however, the town could not withstand the onslaught of the Crusaders, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, and surrendered on 5-6 Raǧab 490/19-20 June 1097 to the Byzantines in alliance with the Crusaders, in whose possession it remained till the Ottoman invasion. Sultan ʿOḥmān I is said to have attacked Nicaea, but it was not till the time of Orḳhān that it was taken after a prolonged siege in 731/1331; he moved his capital thither for a time (ʿĀshikpaṣhazāde and Leunclavius, *Hist.*, 195; cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, iii, 508 f.). In 804/1402 the town was taken and devastated by a raiding body of Timūr's troops (Ducas, 72; *Sharaf al-Din*, *Zafar-nāma*, ii, 454), but it soon recovered from this blow, and it is described as flourishing and prosperous at the time of the rebellion of Prince Muṣṭafā (Leunclavius, *Hist.*, 525, l. 46). Bāyazīd II is said to have intended after the death of his father Muḥammad II, to renounce the throne and retire to Nicaea.

The decline of the town began about the middle of the 11th/17th century; the population, then estimated at 10,000 (Grelot), had sunk to about 1,500 by the end of the 19th century; in 1960 it was 6,290. Administratively İznik is now the centre of an *ilce* belonging to the *il (vilāyet)* of Bursa. The present town occupies a relatively small part of the area enclosed within the ancient city walls. The best preserved of the ancient buildings are the Roman and Byzantine walls consisting of a double rampart (best described by Prokesch and Texier; cf. thereon Körte, *Mitt. des Deutsch. Arch. Instituts*, Athens xxiv, 398-409) with their monumental gateways and 238 towers (Texier). The Byzantine part of these defences dates from the time of Leo III the Isaurian, who had them built after the Arab invasion of 726 (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, n° 8864); Michael III in 858, and later Theodore Lascaris (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, nos. 8745-8747) completed and improved them.

The town is very rich in Islamic monuments, some of which date from early Ottoman times. Sultan Orḳhān, soon after the conquest of İznik converted the Aya Sofya church into a mosque. It was redecorated in the early 11th/17th century, when its *kibla* wall was covered with faience tiles (Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische İznik*, Berlin 1941, 9-13, abb. 1-3, Tables 2-3). Orḳhān also built a *medrese* next

to this mosque, which was the first *medrese* in the Ottoman Empire (Dorn, *op. cit.*, p. 10). Another building erected by Orkhān is a small mosque, bearing his name, outside the city walls some 400 m. from the Yenisehir Gate. Previously it was believed that it dated from before the occupation of the town, but excavations there in 1963 and 1964 revealed an inscription giving its date as 735/1334 (Oktay Aslanapa, *Iznik'te Sultan Orhan İmaret Camii Kazısı*, . . ., 16-31; also Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in early Ottoman architecture*, 78-9, figs. 77-78). Another mosque dating from the reign of Sultan Orkhān is the Hādjīdīl Özbek Dīāmi'ī (also known as the Čarshī Mesdīdī). This is the earliest Ottoman mosque where the original dating inscription has been preserved, giving the date of construction as 734/1333. (Otto-Dorn, 15-18, *abb.* 5-6, Tables 4-5; Kuran, 34-5, figs. 6-8). The mosque and *türbe* complex of Hādjīdīl Hamza Beg were erected in 746/1345 and 750/1349 respectively (Otto-Dorn, 18-20, *abb.* 6, Tables 5/3, 6/1-2). It is interesting to note that none of these early mosques had minarets. Later mosques, like the Yeshil Dīāmi'ī (780/1378-794/1391), the Kuṭb al-Dīn Dīāmi'ī (c. 821/1418), the Maḥmūd Čelebi Dīāmi'ī (846/1442) and the Eshrefzāde-i Rūmī Dīāmi'ī (874/1469) have minarets built in the Salḡūk style. Of these perhaps the Yeshil Dīāmi'ī, which has faience tile decoration inside and on the minaret, is the most significant. The *mīhrāb* is built of marble and is richly carved, the earliest of its kind in Ottoman mosque architecture (Otto-Dorn, 20-33, *abb.* 7-11, Tables, 6/3-17; Kuran, 61-33, figs. 52-7). It was erected by Khayr al-Dīn (see *DIANDARLI*). The dating inscription gives the name of the architect as a certain Hādjīdīl Mūsā. The Kuṭb al-Dīn Dīāmi'ī has no date, but Otto-Dorn reasonably dates it to 821/1418, the year when Kuṭb al-Dīn died (Otto-Dorn, 33-5, *abb.* 12, Tables 19-20). The Maḥmūd Čelebi Dīāmi'ī is well preserved and its minaret has glazed blue and green faience tiles (Otto-Dorn, 35-9, *abb.* 13-15, Tables 21-2). The Eshrefzāde-i Rūmī Dīāmi'ī is actually part of a complex, which included a *türbe* and a *tekke* (monastery). It was erected for Eshrefzāde, a holy man who lived for 120 years (779/1377-899/1493). It is very much ruined and only its minaret, parts of the walls and the *kibla* wall survive with the *mīhrāb* (Otto-Dorn, 39-48, *abb.* 16-18, Table 23). Out of the few secular buildings that have survived in Iznik the Hādjīdīl Hamza *hammām* should be mentioned, dating from the late 8th/14th or early 9th/15th century (Otto-Dorn, 89-95, *abb.* 39-40, Tafeln 34-5).

Iznik was once a flourishing pottery centre. Excavations there between 1963 and 1966 have established that the so-called "Miletus ware" was manufactured in Iznik. This ware had a red clay body and the designs were painted in blue, turquoise-green and purple (Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien*, 29-32, *abb.* 4-58, Tables 1231, in colour). This red ware was suddenly replaced, obviously under outside influence, by a sophisticated white-bodied faience which resembled porcelain. The classification of Iznik faience was first attempted by Arthur Lane, who divided it into three groups (*Later Islamic Pottery*, London 1957, 40-60; idem *The Ottoman pottery of Iznik*, in *Ars Orientalis* ii (1957), 254-81). Chinese influence is clearly visible on the earliest group, which can be dated to the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries. At a later stage purple and green colours were added (Lane's second group), while around the middle of the 10th/16th century, a lively red colour appears

on them (third group). The Iznik excavations revealed shards, kiln-wasters and pottery kilns as well, attesting that all these groups were manufactured locally (Oktay Aslanapa, *Pottery and kilns from the Iznik excavations*, 140-6). Manufacture of tiles and pottery still continued at Iznik in 1736 (Otter, *Voyage en Turquie*, i, 44), but it soon came to an end and was forgotten. It seems that potters moved to Kütahya, where they tried to revive the old Iznik traditions in pottery making.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Khurradādhbih, 17; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Paris, ii, 323-5; Eng. tr. ii, 452-4; Busbecq, *Epistolae*, ed. Plantin 1585, fol. 31r; Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un Voyage à Constantinople*, 45-7; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, iii, 7-10; Kātib Čelebi, *Dīhānnumā*, 662 f.; Paul Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure etc.*, Amsterdam 1714, i, 65-72; Pococke, *Description of the East*, ii, 2, 121-3; Sestini, *Voyage dans la Grèce asiatique*, Paris 1789, 213-20; v. Hammer, *Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinopel nach Brussa*, Pest 1818, 99-125; id., *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, i, 101-8; Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, 23-31; Mehemmed Edib, *Manāsik al-Hādīdī*, Istanbul 1232, 26-7; Prokesch von Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, iii, 105-23; Leon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, 36-44; Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, i, 30-58; *Ausland* 1855, p. 686 f.; *Sālnāme-i Khudāwendīgār*, xii, 414-6; v. d. Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge*, 406-45; Oktay Aslanapa, *Iznik'te Sultan Orhan İmaret Camii Kazısı*, in *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, Istanbul 1964, 16-31; idem, *Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien*, Istanbul, 1965; idem, *Pottery and kilns from the Iznik excavations*, in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens in Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, Istanbul 1970, 140-146; Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago and London 1968; Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische Iznik*, Berlin 1941. Views and plans in Pococke, de Laborde and Texier. On the Greek Church: Oskar Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicaea und ihre Mosaiken*, Strassburg 1903; also: 'Από Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς Νίκαιαν ὑπὸ Θ. Καβαλιέρου Μαρκουλίτζου, Constantinople 1909.

(J. H. MORDTMANN-[G. FEHÉRVÁRI])

'IZRĀ'IL (in European literature one also finds 'Azrā'il), the name of the angel of death, one of the four archangels (next to Dījbrīl, Mīkhā'il, Isrā'īl). Like Isrā'īl, whose office of trumpet-blower at the last judgment is sometimes given to him, he is of cosmic magnitude; if the water of all the seas and rivers were poured on his head, not a drop would reach the earth. He has a seat (*sarīr*) of light in the fourth or seventh heaven, on which one of his feet rests; the other stands on the bridge between paradise and hell. He is however also said to have 70,000 feet.

The description of his appearance agrees almost exactly with that in Jewish literature: he has 4,000 wings and his whole body consists of eyes and tongues, the number of which corresponds with that of the living. He, however, is also said to have four faces.

At first he was an angel like the others. When Allāh wanted to create man, he ordered Dījbrīl to snatch from the earth for this purpose a handful of its main constituents. The earth, however, stirred up by Iblīs, offered resistance, so that neither Dījbrīl, nor Mīkhā'il nor Isrā'īl could carry out the commission. But 'Izrā'il managed to do it. Because of his pitilessness (*kīllat al-raḥma*) Allāh then appointed him angel of death.

Because of his strength he is also master of death. When Allāh had created Death, he summoned the angels to look at him. When they saw his astonishing strength, they fell down unconscious and remained lying for a thousand years. Then they awakened and said "Death is the most powerful of creatures". But Allāh said: "I have appointed 'Izrā'il to be lord over him".

Several angels of death are mentioned, as in Jewish literature; and it is said that 'Izrā'il deals with the souls of the prophets while the souls of ordinary men are under his *khaliṣa*. Special stress is laid on the beginning of Sūra LXXIX, as authority for a number of angels of death: "By those who tear forth and by those who draw forth" etc. The former are said to be those angels who drag the souls of the unbelievers by force from their bodies, while by the latter are meant those who have to separate the souls of the believers from their bodies. The explanation of the verse however is not certain. In Sūra XXXII, 11 mention is made of the angel of death (in the singular).

'Izrā'il keeps a roll of mankind. But he does not know the date of death of the individuals. Whether one belongs to the blessed or the damned he sees from the fact that the names in the first category are surrounded by a bright and those in the second by a dark circle.

When the day of a man's death approaches, Allāh causes to fall from the tree below His throne the leaf on which the man's name is written. 'Izrā'il reads the name and has to separate the person's soul from his body after 40 days.

But there are some people who strive against the separation, and object that the angel of death is acting arbitrarily. The latter then goes back to Allāh and tells him his experience. Allāh then gives him as credential an apple from paradise on which the *basma* [q.v.] is written; when the man sees this, he yields.

Man also has other means of making it difficult for the angel of death to carry out his task. If the latter wants to creep into his throat to fetch out his spirit, the dying man recites a *dhikr* [q.v.] and thus closes the entrance. The angel then returns to Allāh, who advises him to try to take the dying man's hand. If the latter however is just making a *ṣadaka* [q.v.] the angel's entrance is again impossible. Finally, however, 'Izrā'il writes the name of God on the man's hand. Then the bitter feeling of separation disappears and the angel can enter to fetch the spirit. It is also said that he pierces men with a poisoned lance. Another account is as follows: When a believer is on his deathbed, the angel of death stands at his head and draws his soul out as gently as water runs out of a skin. He hands it to his assistants, who carry it through the seven heavens up to the highest and then place it with the body in the grave (the soul's journey to heaven; cf. Bousset in *Archiv. f. d. Religionswissenschaft*, iv).

If an unbeliever dies, the angel of death tears the soul out of his body in the roughest fashion. The gate of heaven closes before the soul as it is carried up, and it is thrown down to earth again.

Characters like Idris, Ilyās, 'Isā and al-Khaḍir [q.v.], as is well known, were not subject to death. As regards Moses the same thing could not be asserted; but the Bible throws a veil over his death. Muslim tradition accordingly says that Moses defended himself against the angel of death, who came with the fatal message to him, and bruised his eye. Allāh said to the angel when he came back: "If he places

his hand on a cow, as many years are to be granted him as his hand covers hairs". "And then?" asked Moses. "Death", said Allāh. It is also related that the angel of death came to Moses with an apple from paradise; when he had smelled this, he died.

On an experience of Solomon's with the angel of death, see al-Bayḍāwī on Sūra XXXI, 34; on his visit to Idris, see that article.

*Bibliography*: The Commentaries on Sūra II, 28; XXXII, 11 and LXXIX, 1; M. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, 11 ff.; al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-Fākhira*, ed. L. Gautier, 7 ff.; al-Kisā'ī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-Malakūt*, Leiden Ms. 538 Warn., f. 26 f.; al-Ṭabarī (ed. Leiden), i, 87; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), i, 51; Ibn al-Aḥḥār (ed. Tornberg), i, 20; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Khamis*, Cairo 1283, i, 36; al-Tha'labī, *Kiṣṣa al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, 23, 216 f.; Muḍjir al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *K. al-Uns al-djālī*, Cairo 1283, i, 16 f.; al-Bukhārī, *Djānā'is*, bāb 69; (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳḍisī), *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rikh*, ed. Huart, i, 175, ii, 214; *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, tr. by A. N. Matthews, i, 365 ff.; Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, iii, 93; J. Macdonald, *Islamic Eschatology i-iv*, in *Islamic Studies*, iii (1964), 285-308, 485-519, iv (1965), 55-102, 137-79. (A. J. WENSINCK\*)

'IZZ AL-DAWLA, an honorary title (*laḳab* [q.v.], pl. *alḳāb*) of the kind which came into being at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, conferred by caliphs and later also by other sovereigns. The first person to receive an honorary title composed with *dawla* was the vizier of the caliph al-Muktafi (902-8), al-Kāsim; in 289/902 he was entitled Wall al-Dawla (Friend of the Dynasty). Originally *dawla* [q.v.] signified: turn, reversal (especially in battle), then it became the designation of the old Maḥdī propaganda, and from the middle of the 3rd/9th century attained the meaning still in force today: "dynasty, state". With this meaning *dawla* became an element of those honorary titles which began to be granted shortly before the middle of the 4th/10th century, became customary at the time of the Būyids [q.v.], and are a marked characteristic of this period.

According to their meanings, concepts and words (*muqāḳāt*) linked with *dawla* can be divided into six groups: 1) verbal forms which describe an activity of the bearer in connection with the dynasty, e.g., Mu'īn (helper) al-Dawla, Naṣir, Mu'izz, Muḥarrir, etc.; 2) metaphors, mostly weapons or parts of the body, e.g., Sayf, Ḥusām, 'Aḍud (and developed from these: Yamīn, 'Ayn) etc.; 3) concepts from the cosmos, e.g., Nūr, Diyā', Bahā, and Ṣhams al-Dawla, Samā' al-Dawla (borne in this sequence by father and son, so that the development and intensification becomes especially clear); 4) concepts from architecture, e.g., 'Amīd, 'Imād, Rukn, Sanad, 'Umda, Ḳawām, etc.; 5) insignia and titles of sovereigns, e.g., Ṭādj (crown), and Sultān (a title which until then belonged only to the caliph), also Za'im; 6) the concepts fame, glory, honour: Fakhr, Djalāl, Maḍjīd, Sharaf, 'Alā', 'Izz.

In 348/959-60, while still crown prince, Baḳhtiyār [q.v.], the son of the Būyid chief amir Mu'izz al-Dawla, was granted the title 'Izz al-Dawla, clearly as a modification of the *laḳab* of his father. This tradition was continued when Baḳhtiyār named his son al-Marzubān, governor of Baṣra, as his successor, and the caliph bestowed upon him the honorary title of I'zāz al-Dawla. When 'Aḍud al-Dawla appeared in Baghdād, decisively wiped out the Būyids of Baghdād in 977 and Baḳhtiyār met with an inglorious end,

the tradition of the *dawla* title derived from ‘Izz and others also came to an end, at least among the Būyids. The later Būyids in *Shirāz* and *Baghdād*, without exception descendants of ‘Aḡud al-Dawla, chose other *alkāb* from the six groups listed above.

Besides the Būyids, almost all contemporary rulers who acknowledged the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate were recipients of *alkāb* in the form discussed here: the Marwānids, Mazyādids, Mirdāsids, Ghaznawids etc. In addition, the Sāmānids, who for a time did not acknowledge the caliph of *Baghdād* appointed by the Būyids, adopted the practice, bestowing such *alkāb* on their own authority upon the governors of *Khurāsān* in order to bind them closer to themselves. In Fātimid Egypt, on the other hand, *alkāb* were chosen on a different principle. In North Africa and Spain *dawla* titles appear only occasionally. There, clearly by deliberate intent, only rare resort was made to this ‘Abbāsīd practice.

The honorary title ‘Izz al-Dawla was evidently so compromised by the inglorious memory of the Būyid *Bakhtiyār* that it reappeared only later, and indeed principally in Persia. In particular the following holders of the title can be taken as examples: 1) the Ghaznawid ‘Abd al-Rashīd (1050-3); 2) the Baduspānids Hazārās b. Nāmwar (470/1077-510/1117 in *Māzandarān*) and *Qubād* b. *Shāh Ghāzī* (780/1378-801/1399); 3) the *Ustādhdār* of the *Artuqids*, *Abū Naṣr* b. al-Ḥasan in *Diyārbakr* 551/1156-565/1170).

Later *alkāb* with *dawla* are still found, though only occasionally; from *Saldjūks* times they were displaced by *alkāb* with *dīn* as an element. In the time of the *Ṣafawids* the *dawla* title was revived to some extent in Persia. The grand vizier took *ex officio* the title *I’timād al-Dawla* [q.v.]. Under the *Qādījars* they deliberately continued the Būyid (and *Ṣafawid*) traditions, and again made frequent use of *alkāb* in the form outlined here. All the compounds classified in groups 1) to 6) can be found, with the addition of several new formations. However, the title ‘Izz al-Dawla is infrequent. Under the *Qādījār* princes only ‘Abd al-Ṣamad *Mirzā*, a son of *Muḥammad Shāh* (1250/1834-1264/1848), held this title. It seems that the eulogizing ‘*azza wa-djalla*’ (only used in association with the name of God) hindered the use of *alkāb* of similar form; *Djalāl al-Dawla* also appears very infrequently among the *Qādījars*, who preferred *alkāb* with *Amīn*, *I’timād*, *Mu’ayyid*, *Mu’tamad*, and *Nizām*.

*Bibliography*: given at the end of the article ‘IZZ AL-DĪN. (H. BUSSE)

‘IZZ AL-DAWLA [see *BAKHTIYĀR*].

‘IZZ AL-DĪN. This *lakāb* originated within the same historical context as *alkāb* constructed with *dawla*. The *muḏāfāt* are for the most part identical with those mentioned under ‘IZZ AL-DAWLA, and can be classified according to their meaning in the same groups, at least in earlier times. In the light of this nomenclature, it is very doubtful if the *lakāb* on a coin from *Wāṣit* of the year 256/869-70 should indeed read ‘*Alī al-Dīn*. The first indubitable *lakāb* with *dīn* mentioned in the narrative sources was granted to the Kurdish *Barzikānī* amīr *Badr* b. *Ḥasan-wayh* in 388/998, almost a hundred years later than the first *dawla* title. The close connection with the *dawla* title can be seen very clearly in the combination *Nāṣir al-Dīn* wa ‘*l-Dawla*. The Kurdish amīr insisted on such a title, and could refer to his numerous merits in relation to the *dīn* (especially his ardent encouragement of the pilgrimage to Mecca). Ambition and the special political and religious circumstances of the Būyid period led the Būyids themselves and other

local princes to request a *dīn* title also as an adjunct to their *dawla* title granted by the caliph. Alongside the conventional *muḏāfāt* with *dawla* there appears the *lakāb* *Muḥyī al-Dīn* (Restorer of Religion), conferred upon *Abū Kālīdjār* (415/1020-440/1048), which is surprising for a *Shī‘ī* Būyid. As with the Kurdish prince *Badr*, the granting of a *dīn* title was then generally connected with services on behalf of orthodoxy. When in the year 403/1012-13 the Ghaznawid *Maḥmūd* (389/998-421/1030) refused a robe of honour from the Fātimid caliph, the ‘Abbāsīd caliph bestowed on him the *lakāb* *Nizām al-Dīn* wa-*Nāṣir al-Ḥaḡḡ* (Order of Religion and Helper of the Right). The *lakāb* ‘Izz al-Dīn does not appear in the Būyid period and is also relatively rare at later times, for the same reasons as those mentioned at the end of the article ‘IZZ AL-DAWLA.

With the arrival of the *Saldjūks* the *dīn* titles displaced the *dawla* titles. Unlike the Būyids, who on political and religious grounds insisted on the expression of a personal link with the caliphate, the *Saldjūks* preferred to stress their link with the abstract idea *dīn*, which expressed their view of themselves as restorers and protectors of orthodoxy. While *Tuḡhrīl Beg* still retained the combined *lakāb* *Rukn al-Dunyā* wa ‘*l-Dīn* (*dawla* is here replaced by *dunyā*!), his successors held to *alkāb* with *dīn* only. The same is true of the *Saldjūks* of *Rūm*, the *Ṣaffārids* from 496/1103, the *Artuqids* from 538/1144, the *Zengids* of *Aleppo*, the *Dānīshmendids* in *Anatolia*, the *Salḡurids* in *Fārs*, the *Ghūrīds* in east *Iran* and *India*, the *Shāhs* of *Khwārizm*, and the *Ismā‘īlis* of *Persia* from 564/1166.

The *lakāb* ‘Izz al-Dīn, amongst others, appeared several times under the *Zengids* of *Aleppo* and the *Rūm Saldjūks* of *Konya*. In the course of the 7th/13th century, however, the *lakāb* lost its status as an honour granted by the caliph or a local prince, and became simply a name which a man assumed himself or which was attributed to deserving people by contemporaries without any official procedure. *Ibn al-Fūwaṭī* (d. 723/1323-4) enumerates in his work *Madīma‘ al-ādāb fi mu‘djam al-alkāb* (ed. *Muṣṭafā Djawād*, *Damascus* 1962) more than five hundred bearers of the *lakāb* ‘Izz al-Dīn, covering all classes of the population: the sultan and the courtiers, officials in the capital, in the provinces and in the administration, holders of religious offices (judges, witnesses, professors at *madrasas*), theologians and jurists without official positions, and members of secular professions (poets, druggists, doctors, merchants, etc.). The earliest datable bearers of the title belong to the first years of the 6th/12th century (e.g., a *fakīh*, no. 231). By the end of the *Saldjūk* period, at the latest after the arrival of the *Mongols*, who were first converted to Islam with *Ghāzān Khān* (694/1295-703/1304), the *lakāb* must have lost the character of an officially bestowed honour. *Qalqashandī* (d. 821/1418) in the *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā‘*, vi, 38 ff., mentions in the list of *alkāb* under ‘Izz only the *lakāb* ‘Izz al-Islām as the title “of some *mulūk*”.

Like the *dawla* titles, the *dīn* titles remained confined to the eastern Islamic world. In the East *Bīrūnī* had already criticized the *alkāb*, but on political and practical grounds: they were a sign of the decadence of the caliphate, an expression of vanity, and moreover too long for practical use. The Egyptian *Ibn Taghribirdī* mocked the *Persians*, amongst whom all things were connected with *dīn*. The *Maghribī* ‘*Alī* b. *Maymūn* (c. 900/1495) designated the *alkāb* simply as “diabolical innovation” (*bid‘a shayfāniyya*).

After *Ibn al-Fūwaṭī* and *al-Kalkashandī*, from the

beginning of the 10th/16th century at the latest, *din* titles were no longer considered as *alkāb* in the true sense, being reduced to mere proper names. In the Ottoman empire, there developed a predilection for double names composed of a *laḡab* with *din* and a proper name, as F. Babinger has noted. Quite apart from absurd combinations which go as far as ‘Umar al-Din (see J. H. Kramers), in more recent times a downward trend in the choice of names with *din* may be observed; in the biographical dictionary *Türk Meşhurları*, ‘Izzeddin appears only rarely. In Egypt names originally ending in *din* are habitually shortened to the *mudāfa*, Kamāl, Djamāl, etc. The Turkish name ‘Izzet may perhaps have arisen in the same way (but cf. Hikmet, Fikret etc.; see also ISM).

*Bibliography:* Ibn al-Fūwaṭī and al-Ḳal-kashandī (referred to in the article); G. Flügel, *Husam ed-Din*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Section II, Part 12, s.v.; F. Babinger, *Scheich Beḍr ed-Din, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 20, n. 3.; J. H. Kramers, *Les noms musulmans composés avec Din*, in *AO*, v (1926/27), 53-67; Hasan al-Bāshā, *al-alkāb al-islāmiyya fi ‘l-ta’rikh wa ‘l-wathā’iq wa ‘l-āthār*, Cairo 1957; A. Dietrich, *Die mit ad-din zusammengesetzten Personennamen*, in *ZDMG*, cx (1961), 43-54 (with valuable supplements to the lists drawn up by Flügel and Kramers); H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969 (*Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Vol. 6), (with chronological lists of the *dawla* and *din* titles until about 446/1055, pp. 167-73). (H. BUSSE)

‘IZZ AL-DĪN KAYKĀWŪS II [see KAYKĀWŪS].

‘ARAB ‘IZZET [see Supplement].

‘IZZET MOLLA, KEĀDE II-ZĀDE (1200/1785-1245/1829) Turkish poet, born in Istanbul, the son of the *ḡādi’asker* Mehmed Şāliḥ. His family originated from Konya and took their surname from Süleymān Efendi, the *imām* of the Toprak Sokak mosque who made his living as a felt-maker (*kecedji*). His son Muṣṭafā (d. 1181/1767) went to Istanbul for his education and became a *ḡādi* and trained his son Mehmed Şāliḥ (the poet's father) for the same profession. ‘Izzet was only fourteen when Şāliḥ Efendi died and his two brothers-in-law, the *ḡādi’asker* Hāmid and the poet Es‘ād, took care of his upbringing, and trained him for the ‘ulemā profession. But under the influence of the latter's too free and easy life, ‘Izzet soon took to drink, squandering what little he had been left by his father, and his enemies got his name struck off the register of the profession. This ignominy, coupled with being in straitened circumstances, brought him to the verge of despair and he decided to commit suicide. The strange circumstances in which this act was being carried out and how he was dissuaded from it and was eventually introduced to Hālet Efendi [q.v.], the powerful confidant of Mahmūd II, are told in detail in a biographical article by Reṣḡād Fu‘ād, a great-grandson of his and with some variants by Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal (Inal) (see bibliography).

Hālet Efendi presented him with a house, secured his livelihood and introduced him to the sultan (for a discussion of this relationship see: A. H. Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*?, Istanbul 1956, page 56, n. 1). Again thanks to Hālet, he was appointed *ḡādi* of Galata in 1236/1820. When Hālet fell into disgrace and was banished to Konya and later executed there (1238/1822), ‘Izzet, his favourite confidant, was the only one of his entourage who

escaped the purge. But he did not resist the temptation of praising his benefactor and denouncing his enemies in private conversation. An indecent couplet, (reproduced in *Djewdet*, *Ta’rikh*, xii, 67), composed to this effect, seems to have been the last straw. He soon found himself banished to Keṣḡan near Tekirdağ (Rodosto) in Thrace, where he stayed about a year (1238-9/1823-4) and where he wrote his masterpiece, *Mihnet-Keshān*. It was the new grand-vizier Ghālib Paṣḡa, who, although a former arch-enemy of Hālet, mediated to obtain his pardon from the sultan when ‘Izzet sent to him a *ḡaṣida* in submission. ‘Izzet had no difficulty in regaining the favours of Mahmūd II. He was successively appointed *ḡādi* of Mecca (124/1825) then of Istanbul (1242/1826) and Inspector of the Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina). But his prosperity did not last long. In a War Council, which met in the spring of 1243/1828 in the office of the Shaykh al-Islām, to decide whether or not to declare war on Russia, which had invaded Turkey, following the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino a few months earlier, ‘Izzet joined, half-heartedly and reluctantly, the majority which favoured war. But immediately afterwards, he composed, together with ‘Ömer Rāsim Efendi, the treasurer of the *Defterdār*, a memorial (*lāyiha*) which he submitted to the sultan through the Silāhdār Agha. In it ‘Izzet expressed in detail what he did not dare to say publicly; he enumerated the reasons why it was not advisable to wage war. Mahmūd II, who was highly angered, had his memorial rejected by a countermemorial (*reddiyye*) and ordered that ‘Izzet be banished to Cyprus and Rāsim to Rhodes; ‘Izzet's place of exile was later changed to Sivas. Nine months later, upon the disastrous outcome of the Russian campaign of 1243/1828, ‘Izzet, who proved to be right, was pardoned, but the ailing poet died a few hours before the sultan's *fermān* reached Sivas. It was attached to his breast at the burial (Şafar 1245/August 1829). He was forty-four years old. In 1916 his remains were brought to Istanbul and buried in the family tomb.

‘Izzet Molla married Hibet Allāh Khanım, the daughter of Ismā‘il Makkī Beg (and not of Ḳara Muṣṭafā Paṣḡa as asserted by Fevziye Abdullah in *IA* s.v.), a descendant of Ḳara Muṣṭafā Paṣḡa (executed in 1095/1683). The eldest of his four sons was the famous 19th-century statesman Fu‘ād Paṣḡa [q.v.].

‘Izzet Molla is the last great representative of *Diwān* poetry. During the closing stages of the old school, when many of his contemporaries repeated themselves with interminable *clichés* and hackneyed similes, he showed comparative originality thanks to his strong sense of humour, his penchant for satire and repartee, allied with his unusual power of observation. Unlike many traditional poets, he did not shut himself in a world of allegory, but reflected, in most of his works, the real world around him.

Except for the short biography of his father, where he gives an example of the lofty ornate style (*inshā’*), his prose, particularly his memorial on reforms (*lāyiha*), is simple, fluent and to the point. ‘Izzet Molla is the author of the following works: (1) *Diwān* I, compiled in 1241/1825 under the title of *Bahār-i Efkār*, contains most of his verse outside his *mathnawīs* (Bülāḡ 1255). His many chronograms have unusual documentary value; (2) *Diwān* II, compiled under the title of *Khazān-i Āthār*, contains his few later poems (Istanbul 1257); (3) *Gülshen-i ‘Ashk*, compiled in 1227, a short allegorical *mathnawī* on mystic love, on the lines of Ghālib Dede's *Husn* u ‘*Ashk* and, like it, inspired by Djalāl al-Dīn

Rûmî's Şûfî theories. 'Izzet, who was a member of the *Mawlawî* order, appears himself as a leading character in the work. For a synopsis see Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 306-308 (lithograph ed. Istanbul 1265); (4) *Mihnet-Keshân* ("The Sufferers" with a pun on *Keshân*, as the title could also be read *Mihnet-i Keshân* "The Suffering at *Keshân*"), his most important work, which immediately secured his reputation and which distinguishes him from many contemporary *divân* poets. It is a narrative poem in *mutakârib* and in *mathnawî* form of about seven thousand couplets, interspersed with many *hasîdas*, *ghazals*, *murabba'* and chronograms, which relate in great detail and with pungent humour mixed with vital realism, the circumstances of his arrest in a public bath, this adventurous journey to *Keshân*, the colourful life in this little provincial township, the many local characters he meets and all his experiences there. Many reminiscences of his earlier life and people he knew in Istanbul are added with the same joyful humour to this lively and very spontaneous narrative, which make it a unique documentary work for the last period of Ottoman society before the great reforms of the 19th century. 'Izzet wrote most of the *Mihnet-Keshân* in *Keshân* and completed it on his return to Istanbul in *Djümâda II* 1239/February 1824. But the work was in the form of hurried notes on scattered pages. It was later arranged and copied out by two of his friends. (Lithographic edition, Istanbul 1269); (5) *Dawhat al-mahâmîd fî tarâjimat al-wâlîd*, a short biography of his father, Mehmed Şâlih Efendi, written in a flowery style of the best *inshâ'* tradition, published in 1916 (*TOEM*, No. 41, December 1332); (6) *Lâyiha*, a reform memorial on the line of many *lâyihâs* submitted to Selim III, written in 1243/1827 by order of Mahmûd II. It has not been edited (two Mss. are in the libraries of the Turkish Historical Society and of the University of Istanbul, Ibnülemin Collection). The text of his other *lâyihâ*, the famous anti-war memorial which he composed with 'Ömer Râsim Efendi and its "rejection" (*reddiyye*) prepared by 'Âkif and Pertev Efindis (later *pashas*), are given in 'Atâ, *Ta'rikkh*, iii, 267-275.

*Bibliography*: Faḫr, *Tedhkir*, s.v.; Bursal Mehmed Tahîr, *'Othmânî Mü'ellifleri*, ii, 320; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 304 ff.; 'A. Şherif, *Ta'rikkh Musâhabeleri*, Istanbul 1339, 39 ff.; Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 1937, s.v.; Fevziye Abdullâh, in *IA* s.v.; A. H. Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Istanbul 1956, 54 ff. (FAHR İZ)

**'IZZET PASHA** (Ahmed 'Izzet Furgaç 1864-1937) Ottoman soldier and statesman. Ahmed 'Izzet was born in the Macedonian hamlet of Nasliç, near Görîdje (today Korçë in southeastern Albania) in the *wilâyet* of Manastır (today Bitola in southern Yugoslavia). The family were Ottoman-Muslim notables of the region; there is some dispute whether they were of Turkish or Albanian origin (see İnal, p. 2020, quoting General 'Ali Fu'âd [Erdem], and Klinghardt, p. 12). Under the Turkish "Family Name Law" of 1934 he took the name of Furgaç.

'Izzet's father, Ḥaydar, had entered the Ottoman civil service, in which he rose to *mutasarrıf*, and 'Izzet first grew up with his grandfather, Timut, in Nasliç, and then followed his father to assignments in Macedonia, Anatolia and Istanbul. He entered the military secondary schools in Istanbul at 13, and continued (1881-87) at the Ḥarbiye [q.v.], where he graduated from both the regular and the advanced general staff course (finishing the latter ninth in a class of 14). He rose, rapidly at first, in military

rank: captain (1887), *kolaghasî* (1889), major (1894), lieutenant-colonel (1898), colonel (1901), brigadier-general (1905), lieutenant-general (*ferîk*, 1907), general (*birindji ferîk*, 1908), marshal (1918). In 1913 he was made the sultan's aide-de-camp (*yâwer-i ekrem*) for life; from 1912 onward he also was a member of the senate (*a'yân*).

Upon graduation from the Ḥarbiye, 'Izzet stayed as instructor in military geography and aide to Colmar Baron von der Goltz-Pasha, inspector-general of Ottoman military schools. After advanced training in Germany (1891-94) and a brief assignment at al-Lâdhikiyya in Syria, he became military aide in the Ottoman high commission in Sofia (1895-96). When a court favourite became the next commissioner, he asked for a transfer. With the outbreak of the Greek-Turkish War, 'Izzet was appointed to the general staff of the army mobilized on the Thessalian front and to the office of war operations. His energetic stand against corruption and inefficiency led to his interrogation at the palace and, eventually, a punitive transfer to the reserve division at Damascus (1897). There he proved his military and diplomatic talents in pacifying the rebellious Djabal Durüz (1902), and his administrative skills in supervising work on the Hîdjâz railway near 'Aḳaba. From 1903-08 he served in Yemen, first as chief of staff to 'Ali Rîzâ Pasha, the later grand vizier, whose forces were dispatched against the rising of the Zaydî sect under Imâm Yaḥyâ, then as commander of the division in Ḥudayda (1907). The Young Turk Revolution interrupted his summer leave in Lebanon, and 'Izzet returned to Istanbul.

'Izzet's reputation as one of von der Goltz's star disciples, his field experience in Yemen, and his rare courage in standing up against the abuses of the Ḥamidîan regime led to his appointment, following the 1908 revolution, as chief of the Ottoman general staff. For two and a half years he worked, often in conjunction with von der Goltz and Mahmûd Şewket Pasha, to reform the system of training for officers and non-commissioned officers, to create a reserve officer corps, to introduce new model regiments, to arrange manoeuvres, and on transportation and mobilization schemes for the defence of the European parts of the empire. During the April 1909 Counter-Revolution, 'Izzet helped to establish order within the capital as the *Hareket Ordusu* approached Istanbul. Differences with Mahmûd Pasha, the minister of war, and his old teacher von der Goltz contributed to 'Izzet's desire for reassignment. 'Izzet disagreed with Şewket's method of handling unrest in Albania, and resented what he thought to be encroachment by the minister of war in matters of manoeuvres and personnel management. Meanwhile, Imâm Yaḥyâ had resumed his revolt and laid siege to the Yemeni capital of Şan'a'. Upon the death of 'Abd Allâh Pasha, commander-in-chief in Yemen, 'Izzet was dispatched to take his place (February 1911-December 1912), while officially on leave from his post as chief of staff. He succeeded in relieving the besieged Yemeni capital of Şan'a' and in concluding a compromise peace at Da'ân whereby Imâm Yaḥyâ was recognized as temporal and spiritual head of the Zaydî sect, with the prerogative of appointing local officials on the sultan's behalf. In return, Yaḥya acknowledged the sultan's suzerainty and joined an alliance with Ottoman forces against the rebellious Sayyid Idrîs to the north.

While in Yemen, 'Izzet was dismayed to learn that upon the outbreak of the First Balkan War, the new war minister, Nâzım Pasha, had acted in com-



plete disregard of İzzet's careful strategic plans by proceeding to the offensive before preparations were complete. Because of transportation difficulties, İzzet managed to return only as Turkish forces were withdrawing to Catalca, outside the gates of the capital. When members of the Committee of Union and Progress seized power in the *coup d'état* of 23 January 1913, İzzet was offered the post of generalissimo under the new cabinet of Mahmūd Şevket. At first he declined, having opposed the Unionist plot and being profoundly shocked at the death of Nâzım Paşa, who was shot during the *coup*. He subsequently reconsidered in view of the danger of renewed war on the Balkans and of the prospect that Enver [q.v.], whom İzzet considered impetuous, political, and less than competent, might obtain the post. Accordingly, İzzet on 30 January 1913 was named to the post of deputy commander-in-chief (*bâşkumandan vekili*—the sultan himself being the nominal *bâşkumandan*) and, following Mahmūd Şevket's assassination by anti-Unionist conspirators in June, that of minister of war in the cabinet of Sa'îd Hâlim Paşa. As generalissimo İzzet was in charge of the campaign resulting in the recapture of Edirne in the Second Balkan War (July 1913). Since he gave priority to his post as supreme commander, the minister of marine, Çürüksulu Mahmūd Paşa, frequently acted as interim minister of war, e.g., in concluding the agreement in the autumn of 1913 by which the German military mission under General Otto Liman von Sanders was brought to Turkey.

İzzet had some reservations about the far-reaching powers of that mission which, he believed, threatened the integrity of the Ottoman command structure. Subsequently, the purge of the incompetent officers after the Balkan Wars proved, for İzzet's taste, too sweeping in scope and too political in the details of its implementation, and these differences with the dominant Unionist partly led to his resignation both as minister of war and deputy commander-in-chief around the end of 1913. He was succeeded in both posts by Enver Paşa.

According to İzzet's own account (İnal, 1979; Klinghardt, 231 f.), the Ottoman government about this time favoured making İzzet prince of Albania. Although the plan received some backing among Albanian leaders both in Istanbul and in Albania itself, İzzet rejected it out of fear that "Albania might suffer harm on my account" (*yüzümden Arnavudluğa fenalık geleceği*).

İzzet spent two years in semi-retirement, but early in 1916 took command of the front against Russia with headquarters at Diyarbakır. The disastrous defeat at Sarıkamış, under Enver's personal command, had all but destroyed the Eastern front the year before. The best İzzet could do with his decimated and ill-supplied troops was to slow down the Russian advance through the Armenian and Kurdish mountains. When the revolution of February 1917 led to the collapse of the Russian armies, İzzet asked to be relieved of what was no longer an actual front command. He subsequently served as Ottoman military delegate to the peace conferences at Brest Litovsk, with Russia, and at Bucharest, with Roumania (December 1917-May 1918).

Following the collapse of the Palestinian-Syrian front, the resignation of the Tal'at-Enver cabinet, and Ahmed Tewfik Paşa's fruitless attempt to form a government, the task was assigned to İzzet Paşa. He served as grand vizier (*sadr a'zam*), from 14 October to 11 November 1918, at the head of a gov-

ernment that included a few moderate Unionists, notably Dîjâwid [q.v.] at the Ministry of Finance; the parliamentary leader of the Unionist anti-war faction that had formed early in 1918, 'Ali Fethî [Okyar]; and various non-political figures, such as the naval hero Hüseyin Ra'ûf [Orbay] and the imperial historiographer 'Abd al-Rahmân Şeref. The most urgent task was the conclusion of an armistice, and İzzet tried to make contact with the Allied powers through a variety of channels. The successful one proved to be the dispatch of the British General Charles Townshend, captured at Kut in 1916, to the headquarters of Vice-Admiral Sir Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe in the harbour of Mudros on the Aegean island of Lemnos. The Ottoman delegation that went to Mudros soon after was headed by Hüseyin Ra'ûf and Reşhâd Hikmet, under-secretary of foreign affairs. On the grand vizier's instructions, the delegates insisted on obtaining safe-conduct for the German and Austrian military personnel stationed in Turkey; but they yielded on such points as the Allies' right to occupy key cities, harbours, and railway junctions throughout what remained of the Ottoman Empire. Determined not to jeopardize relations with the Allies through disputes over the interpretation of the armistice, İzzet ordered that no resistance be offered when British troops moved substantially beyond the lines attained when the armistice took effect on October 31, occupying the cities of Mosul and Iskenderun. (This decision led to a spirited exchange of telegrams with Muştafâ Kemâl Paşa, then commander of the Syrian front, which Kemâl published in 1926).

When it became known that Enver, Tal'at, Dîjemâl, and other leading Unionists had fled Istanbul on 2 November 1918, thereby evading any criminal or political responsibility for their war policies, İzzet's political authority was seriously undermined. He had had no advance knowledge of the escape and indeed tried to get German and Austrian authorities to return the fugitives from Odessa (the co-operation he received probably being less than sincere). In view of the political pressures against him, İzzet resigned on November 8, and three days later the sultan replaced his middle-of-the-road government with a clearly anti-Unionist one under Ahmed Tewfik.

In May 1919 İzzet briefly entered the second Dâmâd Ferid [q.v.] government as minister without portfolio as part of a show of national unity in view of the Greek landings at Izmir. In July he refused to enter Ferid's next cabinet which undertook to mount a military campaign against the Kemâlist "rebels". In October 1920 he accepted the ministry of the interior in a cabinet under Ahmed Tewfik that took a more conciliatory line. İzzet and Şâlih Khulûşî [Kezrak] Paşa were dispatched to Bilecik (midway to Ankara) in December to negotiate some arrangement with Muştafâ Kemâl Paşa and his Grand National Assembly. But Kemâl refused to recognize the delegation as representing any kind of government in Istanbul or to let his guests return to their capital. Instead Kemâl detained them in Ankara, hoping that Kemâlist successes against irregular forces (under Çerkes Edhem [q.v.]) and against the Greek armies would sufficiently impress them to join his side. Upon their steadfast refusal, İzzet and his colleagues were at last allowed to return to Istanbul, in March 1921, on promise of resigning their government offices there. When in June İzzet Paşa re-entered the next cabinet under Ahmed Tewfik Paşa as foreign minister, he

received a reproachful telegram from Muştafâ Kemâl; in reply he did not repudiate his earlier promise as having been extorted but rather pleaded patriotic duty and his manifest lack of personal ambition. He continued in his post until the dissolution of the sultan's government in November 1922.

'Izzet Paşa was a soldier of outstanding talent and high-minded patriotism. Pomiankowski (p. 38), as Austrian military plenipotentiary one of the most reliable observers of the late Ottoman military and political scene, refers to him on the occasion of his resignation in early 1914 as "in the best years of his many powers, an enlightened and experienced soldier, and at the time respected as the only competent and energetic Turkish military commander" (*damals als der einzige tüchtige türkische Heeresführer angesehen*). His administrative and diplomatic gifts became evident at various junctures, but he retained a life-long distaste for factionalism and political manoeuvring. It was his misfortune to have risen to the top of the military profession at a time when military and political questions were inextricably intertwined, both through domestic instability and through the empire's decline and eventual collapse under foreign pressure. His devotion to duty rarely allowed him to refuse a responsible assignment; his probity rarely allowed him to keep it for long. Thus he repeatedly saw others dissipate the fruits of his labours—only to find himself called back to retrieve or liquidate their mistakes. His political moderation and lack of party ambition typically kept him in the middle—between Unionists and anti-Unionists, or Kemâlists and anti-Kemâlists. A loyal servant of the Ottoman Empire until the very end, he lived under the Turkish Republic in quiet retirement in his home in Istanbul until his death.

*Bibliography: Denkwürdigkeiten des Marschalls Izzet Pascha*, tr. and ed. Karl Klinghardt, Leipzig 1927; İbnülemin M. K. İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-1953, fasc. 13, 1973-2028, consisting largely (to p. 2001) of 'Izzet's autobiographical sketch undertaken at İnal's request; *Müşîr Ahmed 'Izzet Paşanın Khâtrâtı*, in *Akşam* (Istanbul), April 1928 to June 1928; interview with 'Izzet Paşa's son, Professor Haydar Furgaç, Istanbul, April 1965.

Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks . . . 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969; W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, Cambridge 1953; [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk], *Büyük Ghâsinin khâtralardan sahifeler*, first published in the newspapers *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* (Ankara) and *Milliyet* (Istanbul), 13 March-12 April 1926, also French tr. by Jean Deny (*Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1927) and various Turkish editions by Falih Rifki Atay; *idem*, *Nuûk*, 1927 (1934 ed., ii, 53-124 *passim*); Tevfik Biyıklıoğlu et al., *Türk istiklâl harbi I: Mondros mütarekesi ve tatbikatı*, Ankara 1962 (an official history published by Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Harb Tarihi Dairesi); *idem*, *Atatürk Anadolu'da 1919-1921*, i, Ankara 1959; R. H. Davison, *Turkish diplomacy from Mudros to Lausanne*, in G. Craig and F. Gilbert (edd.), *The Diplomats 1919-1939*, Princeton 1953, 172-209; Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Berlin 1929, 170, 312f.; J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, Princeton 1956, ii, 36 f. (for text of the Mudros armistice); İsmet İnönü, *İnönü'nün Hatıraları*, ed. Sabahattin Selek, Istanbul 1969, I, 87 ff.; Muharrem Mazlum [İskora], *Erkânharbiye mektebi (harp akademisi) tarihi*, Istanbul 1930, 209; G. Jäschke, *Beiträge zur*

*Geschichte des Kampfes der Türkei um ihre Unabhängigkeit*, in *WI*, n.s., v (1957), 1-64; *idem*, *Türk Kurtuluş savaşı ile ilgili İngiliz belgeleri*, Ankara 1971; M. Larcher, *La guerre turque dans la guerre mondiale*, Paris 1926; Josef Pomiankowski, *Der Zusammenbruch des ottomanischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1928; D. A. Rustow, *The Army and the founding of the Turkish Republic*, in *World Politics*, xi (1959), 513-52; Glen W. Swanson, *Mahmud Şehvet Paşa and the German Military Mission to Turkey*, in *War, Technology, and Society in the Middle East*, ed. M. Yapp (London 1973); Charles V. F. Townshend, *My campaign in Mesopotamia*, London 1920, ch. xx; Âli Türk geldi, *Mondros ve Mudanya mütarekeleri*, Ankara 1948; Ulrich Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918*, Princeton 1968; Ali Fuad Türk geldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*?, Ankara 1951; Manfred W. Wenner, *Modern Yemen, 1918-1966*, Baltimore 1967, 46 ff.

(D. A. RUSTOW and G. W. SWANSON)

'IZZ AL-DİN B. AL-SULĀM AL-SULĀMĪ [see AL-SULĀMĪ].

'IZZĪ (SÜLEYMĀN EFENDĪ), d. 1168/1755, Ottoman official historiographer (*waḳ'a-nüvis* [q.v.]), was the son of a certain Khalil Agha, the *ketkhudā* of the Baltadil guard of Meḥmed IV's daughter Khadije Sulṭān. Educated by his father and private tutors, he also learned calligraphy (Mustakimzāde, *Tuhfe-i Khaffāfin*, Istanbul 1928, 212). His father's connexions with the court procured him a series of secretarial posts, so that he rose to be *Mektûbi-i ketkhudā-i şadr-i 'ālî* in 1152/1739. As such he was present at the operations round Belgrade, and the recovery of the city inspired him to make a copy of the *Süleymān-nâme* of Karaçelebizāde [q.v.] and append a short memoir of his own on this second conquest (autograph Ms: Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi 1395 = Karatay, No. 684). On 1 Raddjāb 1158/30 July 1745, on the recommendation of the Re'īs al-Küttāb, he was appointed *waḳ'a-nüvis* in succession to Şubḥî [q.v.]. In 1160/1747, without resigning as *waḳ'a-nüvis*, he was appointed "master of ceremonies" (*teşhîrîfâtî*). He died in Djumādā II 1168/March-April 1755, and was buried near Edirne Kapısı, beside Şeykh Murādzāde who had initiated him into the Nakşibendî order.

His official history covers the years 1157-65 (1744-52), and was printed in Istanbul in 1199/1785. Manuscripts are numerous (see Babinger, 288; *Ist. küt. türkçe tarih ve coğ. yazmaları kat.*, i/2, no. 82; Karatay, nos. 930-9, no. 937 being the "presentation copy" to the sultan; etc.). In a preamble he describes the value of history as a guide to conduct and policy, so that the historian's duty is to write honestly and frankly. He gives very full details on appointments and changes in the *Divān-i hümayūn*, so that the work is a valuable source for the biographies of statesmen; it occasionally incorporates the accounts of eye-witnesses which he commissioned. The work is written in the most elaborate and ornate style of *inshā'*, and abounds in chronograms. He composed a *diwān*, but won little fame as a poet. In the field of mysticism, he translated from Persian the *Anis al-talibin* of Şalāh al-Dīn b. Mubārak al-Bukhārī.

*Bibliography: Sâlim, Tedhkire*, 474 f.; Hammer-Purgstall, index, s.v. Isi; *idem*, *GOD*, iv, 173, 284; *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iii, 467; Djemâleddin, *'Othmānlî ta'rih ve müverrikkhleri*, Istanbul 1314, 49 f.; Bursalı Mehmed Fâhir, *'Othmānlî mü'ellifleri*, iii, 101 f.; Babinger, 287 f.; Necib Suyol-

cuzade, *Devhatül-küttâb* (sic), Istanbul 1942, 95.  
This is an abridgement of the article in *IA*,

fasc. 54, 1267-9, which has further references to sources still in manuscript.

(İSMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU)

## J

**JACOB** [see YA‘KŪB, ISRĀ‘ĪL].

**JAĒN** [see DJAYYĀN].

**JAFFA** [see YĀFĀ].

**JAIN** [see DJAYN].

**JANISSARIES** [see DEVŞIRME, YEŇİ-ĀERİ].

**JAPHET** [see YĀFITH].

**JASMINE** [see YĀSAMĪN].

**JAWNPUR** [see DJAWNPUR].

**JAVA** [see INDONESIA].

**JEREMIAH** [see IRMIYĀ].

**JERUSALEM** [see AL-ĶUDS].

**JESUS** [see ‘ISĀ].

**JINNAH** [see DJINĀH]. The name, commonly believed to be from Arabic *djanāh*, is in fact from *jheepā*, Gujerati for “thin”. (ED.)

**JOHN THE BAPTIST** [see YAĤYĀ].

**JONAH** [see YŪNUS].

**JORDAN** [see URDUNN].

**JOSEPH** [see YŪSUF].

**JOSHUA** [see YŪSHA‘].

**JUDAEO-ARABIC**, the usual name for the spoken—or in some cases the written—language of the Jews in the Arabic-speaking countries.

### i. JUDAEO-ARABIC DIALECTS.

The traditional term “Judaean-Arabic” has certainly less justification when used in connection with the spoken usage than with the written usage defined above. It suggests the erroneous idea of a form of speech common to all Arabic-speaking Jews, and offering characteristics linked in some way to religious or ethnic facts. Now though it cannot be denied that the religious factor has influenced the Arabic spoken by the Jews, that influence is limited to what is least central to the language, to the cultural and particularly the cultic vocabulary, where forms of Hebrew or Aramaic origin abound. The actual structures of Arabic remain in all particulars untouched and do not reflect those of the religious language. In other respects there is no one form of Arabic common to all Arabic-speaking Jews, but dialectal usages as varied as those characteristic of the different groups of Muslims. There is thus properly speaking no such thing as Judaean-Arabic. But it is possible, nevertheless, to bring out, at numerous points within the Arab domain, particular characteristics which within a certain locality serve to distinguish the usage of the Jews from that of their Muslim neighbours.

These particularities may be few in number. Thus in Cairo the Jewish community (today virtually extinct) seems in its latter days to have been differentiated linguistically from the Muslim community merely by a few characteristics of which the only relatively important ones were, in the field of phonetics, the virtual disappearance of “emphasis”, and in the field of morphology the use of the prefix *n-* to mark the 1st pers. sing. of the imperfect. But the Coptic language also displays a weakening of the “emphatic” pharyngalization and the *n-* form is in general use in Alexandria. In Jerusalem, apart from the religious vocabulary, only minor, sporadic, un-

stable differences were to be noted, affecting above all the intonation of phrases, occasionally the production of vocalic variants or the frequency of certain adaptations of adjacent phonemes. Insofar as the few clear data at our disposal permit us to gain a comprehensive idea of this phenomenon, it appears that in the greater part of the Arab East (Arabian peninsula, northern ‘Irāk, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan), the facts may be compared to the situation in Jerusalem; but different circumstances prevailed in southern ‘Irāk on the one hand and the Maghrib on the other.

As far as the East is concerned, it is in Baghdād that the speech patterns of the various communities diverged most clearly. That of the Jews (J) before their emigration presented certain analogies with the dialect used by the Christians and on the other hand differed from that of the Muslims (M) in various essential points. On the plane of phonology the following correspondances between the speech of the Muslims (M), that of the Jews (J), and classical Arabic (C) may be observed: (C) *ḥāf*: (M) *g*: (J) *ḥ*; (C) *kāf*: (M) *tsh* (in certain defined situations): (J) *k*; (C, M) *r*: (J) *gh* (for a large number of people); to (C) *l* there often corresponds when a velar is present (M) *l* but (J) *l*. (C) *ū* and *i* merge in (J) *ə*: M keeps a distinction between the two sounds but with a distribution different from that of (C): (M) occasionally equates *ū* or *ə* to (C, J) *a*; more often than (M), (J) has *-ā* corresponding to (C) *-ā*; equally, (J) demonstrates the *imāla* [*g.v.*] of *ā* that is unknown in (M); some differences in syllabic structure and accentuation may be illustrated by the following forms: (M) *ṣāḥbi* “my friend, *gubti* “my room”: (J) *ṣāḥbi*, *ḡabbti*. On the plane of morphology, the most outstanding items concerned conjugation. For the perfect the suffixes were: (M) sing. 1. -t, 3.f. -at; plur. 2. -tu, 3. -aw: (J) -tu, -at, -tam, -u; for the unattached pronouns, compare (M) sing. 1. *āni*, 3.m. *huwwa*, plur. 1. *əhna*, 2. *ənu*, 3. *humma*: (J) *āna*, *huwwi*, *nəhna*, *əntəm*, *hummi*; suffix pronouns: (M) sing. 1. -i/-ya, 2. f. *tsh*, 3. m. <sup>4</sup>, -a, f. -ha: (J) -i/-yi, -k(i), -(n)u, -(h)a, -(h)əm. The feminine ending was (M) -a/-at but, frequently, (J)-i; to obtain the *nomen unitatis* the suffix -a/-at was added in Baghdād (M), -āyi in Baghdād (J). Lastly we must note the difference in value of the verbal prefix *da-* which constituted the mark of the jussive and the progressive present for (M), but only the jussive for (J). (J) utilised for the present the verbal prefix *ka(d)-*, (M) had also, less frequently, a form *gārd* for this purpose). On the lexical plane the following are particularly noteworthy: (M) *batṣḥar* “tomorrow”: (J) *ghada*; (M) *hwaya* “much” (J) *ktigh*; (M) *hnā* “here”: (J) *hōni*.

In the Maghrib, although the phenomenon is not universal, Jewish speech forms which differ markedly from those of neighbouring Muslims were frequently encountered. At Fez for example, distinguishing features were numerous and important. The following, in particular, are noteworthy: the pronunciation <sup>2</sup> of *kāf* (M *k*), *z*, *s* (*z*, *s* in association with an “em-

phatic") of *ḏīm* and *shin* respectively; the form of the 3rd pers. fem. sing. of the perfect in CCVC-*t* (*ktəbt*) identical to the 1st and 2nd pers. (M CVCCV*t* *ktəbt*), the conjugation of an "unvoiced" verb in the perfect without the element *-i-* before the flexional ending (M *ḥabbīt*, J *ḥabbət*); the pattern -CVCC- of the imperfect (*idakhl* "he is entering"); for the personal pronouns, the forms of the 1st pers. *yāna* (after a vowel) and the alternating forms in *n-* for the 3rd pers.: *nōwa* and *hōwa*, *nīya* and *hīya*, *nōma* and *hōma*; the running together, in the form *nīn*, of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. and fem. pronouns; as far as lexicography is concerned, the use of *rā* "to see" (M *shāf*). It must be added that the Jewish speech form used, in current speech, derived verbal patterns with the prefix *n-* to express the passive, and acknowledged a form with the prefix *t-itt-* with lengthening of the theme vowel: *ittā-māl*.

Information about the speech forms of Jews in other Moroccan cities is rare, but one might note at Marrakesh the same assimilation of the prepalatal fricatives to the corresponding sibilants, i.e., *s* for *shin*, *z* for *ḏīm*, and the same treatment of the singular forms of the perfect: *ḏrabi* "I have, thou hast, she has hit". In other areas, for example at Tinghir, one noted once more the assimilation of sibilants and palatal fricatives, but this time, as in some Tunisian towns, to the advantage of the latter; *sin* > *sh*, *zāy* > *j*, except in conjunction with "emphatics" which compelled the pronunciation *ʃ* and *ʒ*. The speech of the Debdū Jews was characterized by a tendency to lose the "emphatic" articulation, the pronunciation *k* for *kāf*, and above all by the conjugation of the perfect, which gave in the sing. a 1st and 2nd pers. masc. with the form *kōttat*, and a 3rd pers. fem. with the form *ktāt*.

At Tlemcen a bringing forward of the point of articulation of velars and palatals made *k* and *tsh* correspond respectively to *k̄* and *k̄* among the Muslims. Apart from this, *h* was often reduced to nil, the diphthongs to long vowels homophonic with the semi-consonant. We must note also that the Muslim preposition *m'ā* "with" (in constructions including a suffix pronoun) was replaced by *mā* (before a vowel)/*mā* (before a consonant) amongst the Jews. Beside this the latter were differentiated by the use of the forms *dāba* for "now" (M *dərwoḥ*), *līyāsh* "why?" (M *līyāh*), *ashē*, *ashən-hūra/hīya* "what?" (M *āsh*).

In Algiers one noticed as differentiating characteristics of the speech of the Jews—which is now used only by a few elderly people who live outside Algeria—the extreme weakness of the "emphatics", often reduced to the corresponding simple consonants; the non-affrication of the unvoiced dental (J *t*: M *ts*), the tendency in certain cases to the affrication of *d* (M. *d*: J *dz*), the tendency to make the prepalatals into sibilants (often *s* for *sh*, *dz* for *ḏj*), the bringing forward of the point of articulation of *kh* and *gh*, the transfer from *k* to *ʔ*, the frequent dropping of *h*, the reduction of the series of short vowels to a single phoneme of neutral sound (with variants tending one way or the other according to neighbouring sounds), and a very pronounced *imāla* on the end syllable. As for morphology, particular note must be taken of the form of the masculine suffix pronoun after a vowel: *u* for Muslim *-a*. Furthermore J utilised *mā* "with" (M *m'ā*), *innā* "here" (M *hna*), *dābā* "now" (M *dərwoḥ*), *lbarah* "yesterday" (M *yāmās*).

The differences between various usages amongst Jews and Muslims respectively were also very pronounced in Tunis. The two phonological systems di-

verged widely over whole sectors. The two series of M dentals, occlusive and spirant, were replaced by a single occlusive series in J. J had brought together *s* and *sh* on the one hand, *z* and *j* on the other. The sounds produced were, generally, *sh* and *j*, with *s* and *z* constituting conditioned variants before non-emphatic *r*; in association with emphatics, *sh* and *j* resulted respectively in *ʃ* and *ʒ*. J had no laryngeally articulated phonemes. To M *h* corresponded, according to context, either nothing or a lengthening of the adjacent phoneme. The voicing of J had reduced the former *ā* and *ī* to a single phoneme *ə*; moreover *ū* remained distinct only within narrow limits. M had only partially operated this reduction, so that very frequently the vowel sounds for the same word were not identical in the two forms of speech. On the other hand, in most cases, J had kept the diphthongs *aw* and *ay* which have become *ū* and *ī* in M. The morphology also displayed fairly clear-cut differences. For example in detached personal pronouns plural were (M) *aḥna*, *əntūma*, *hūma*: (J) *əhna*, *əntumān*, *ūmān*; the masc. sing. attached pronoun for the 3rd pers., after a vowel, was (M) *-h*: (J) *-u*; for verbs with the 3rd radical *-y*, the 3rd pers. plur. in (M) *nəmsḥū*: (J) *nəmsḥūy*; the verbs which formerly had a 1st radical hamza were of the type (M) *āmər*: (J) *amər(r)*; the intensive pattern of verbs with a 2nd radical simple vowel was (M) *zawwəz*, *ʃeyyir*: (J) *juwwəjjjuwəjj*, *ʃiyyar/ʃiyar*; to the copula of being (M) *ʿād*, *ma ʿāsh* "there is (still), there is no longer" corresponded (J) *bha*, *ma bhāsh*, etc. Reasonably similar situations might be discerned in other Tunisian cities, and particularly in Sousse.

The speech patterns of Jews in Libya have not been sufficiently studied before the displacement of their communities. For Tripoli itself we can only mention a few characteristics, though these are significant. Thus the Jews of this town pronounced as an unvoiced back velar *k̄* the sound pronounced by their fellow citizens *g*. Also notable are (M) *t*: (J) *tsh* before *i* and *e*, and on the morphological plane (M) *mōlā-i* "my master": (J) *mōlā-ya*; (M) *iḥūf* "he sees": (J) *yāra*.

The essential problem was that of the meaning of this phenomenon of differentiation. It must be stressed that this phenomenon was not solely nor even particularly characteristic of the Jewish minorities in the domain of Arab Islam. To remain within this domain, which nonetheless is not the only one where such observations can be made, one may call to mind that where groups of Christians exist, for example, linguistic differences may also mark them out. So it is in southern *ʿIrāk* and in *Baghdād* itself where a speech pattern similar but not identical to that of the Jews clearly distinguishes Christians from Muslims. In the West where the only Arabic-speaking Christians are of Maltese origin, their own dialect has withstood several centuries of contact, and right up to the present day distinguishes them linguistically from other groups. We are speaking, in fact, of the normal consequence of the situations of relative isolation in which minorities may have lived. The development has taken place in a partly autonomous fashion in proportion as socio-historical conditions may have differed.

a) The retention in Jewish usage of characteristics which had disappeared or been transformed in neighbouring Muslim speech patterns was often due to the greater resistance of the Jews to certain socio-cultural pressures. Thus in numerous places where nomads had become part of the sedentary population,

their linguistic influence had operated with much greater force on the Muslims than on the Jews. The clearest example is that of 'Irāk, where Muslim speech is of the Bedouin type, closely related to that of the nomads in lower 'Irāk, whereas Jewish speech was clearly allied to that of the ancient cities of upper 'Irāk, free from Bedouin characteristics. In some Maghribī towns also, the unvoiced articulation of *kāf* distinguished the speech of the Jews from that of the Muslims who pronounce it *g* like the nomads. This is so in Tripoli, Oran, Sidi Bel Abbes, etc.

b) Developments particular to Jewish speech forms may, on the other hand, have been provoked or precipitated by cultural contacts alien to or less intense for the Muslims. Doubtless there are particular contacts, maintained with more or less facility according to the period, between Arabic-speaking Jewish communities of nearby or relatively distant regions: the links between the Jews of Algiers and Tlemcen can perhaps explain the use by Jews from Algiers of the form *dāba* "now", a western form not used by the Algerian Muslims. But the most decisive contacts, in known cases, seem to have been with non-Arabic speaking groups. Thus in the Maghrib the influence of Spanish-speaking immigrants operated, more strongly in the west than in the east, and was responsible notably for lexical modification, but perhaps also at least partially for certain phonetic phenomena such as the treatment of sibilants. Furthermore the influence of foreign colonies in Arab cities has often been more decisive for the Jewish community. Thus in North Africa French, which moreover finally supplanted Arabic almost entirely in some strata of the Jewish population, to a greater or lesser extent according to the country, had contributed in numerous instances to the changing of the Jewish speech forms, not only by the addition of a large new vocabulary, but also by the model it provided for new syntax patterns. On the phonetic plane, for example, a weakening of the "emphatics" or even their replacement by the corresponding simple consonants, as well as the back pronunciation of *r*, was common amongst the bilingual French-Arabic speakers.

c) One must also take into account the original heterogeneity of the population of a certain number of cities. The various ethnic groups, often taking up residence at different periods, may come from separate regions with linguistic habits already differentiated. An obvious example is that of the Christian population of Baghdād which seems to be made up largely of relatively recent immigrants from Mosul. This fact is reflected in their speech pattern which is of the sedentary type, similar to but not identical with that of the Jews whose arrival in Baghdād took place at a very much earlier date, but very analogous precisely to that of Mosul. (As has been pointed out above the speech of the Muslims is of the "Bedouin" type.) In this regard, the case of Tunisian speech patterns is also striking. All those of the Jews displayed the assimilation of the interdental to their corresponding dentals, whereas the distinction is maintained in all speech patterns of Muslims, except at Mahdiya. This last type doubtless represented the old *koine* of Kayrawān. Now it certainly appears that the Kayrawān area was the centre from which numerous colonies of Jews were dispersed to the Tunisian cities. It is interesting to note also from this same point of view, that the speech of the Jews of Tlemcen and Oran seems to have been of the same type as that of the Msirda and Trara hill Muslims, whereas that of

the old sedentary Muslims of Tlemcen belongs to a different type.

These linguistic particularities of certain groups of Arabic-speaking Jews have, in general, no common underlying features, except that of being speech patterns related to old urban dialects in contact with dialects which have occasionally been "Bedouinised", and which have evolved in relatively autonomous fashion. The traits which were most commonly cited as being characteristic, at least for the Maghrib: change from *k* to *ʿ* or velarized *k*, palatalization of *k* (*k* > *tsh*), apart from the fact that they are sporadic were in no way specifically Jewish; they arose from phenomena spread over vast areas, where they concerned Muslims equally. (See art. 'ARABIYYA: the Maghribī dialects). In the same way the pronunciation *gh* of *r* and the weakness of *h* are frequent amongst the oldest settled peoples. More characteristic, however, is the deterioration of the sibilants which has often been noticed in the speech of Maghribī Jews, Berber speakers, incidentally, as well as Arabic speakers. This deterioration is not everywhere, as is frequently stated, a lisp, the reduction of palatal to alveolar fricatives. Certainly this is the case in the speech of Fez or Marrakesh, and a tendency in this direction had been noted at Algiers. But it is the opposite, the change from alveolar to palatal fricatives, in the absence of complicating factors, which has been ascertained among other Moroccan Jews (Toghda) or those of certain Tunisian cities (Tunis or Sousse for example). What is in question, therefore, is the tendency to assimilation of the two series which is produced according to different patterns in the various speech forms concerned. It is possible that there may be here a characteristic of a particular group of Jews which was dispersed across the Maghrib. It seems, however, more realistic to see a sort of Spanishness which the Spanish-speaking immigrants introduced, as people with prestige, in the course of their Arabization.

*Private language.* A form of slang used by Jewish traders and artisans was spread across the whole area. It was normally called *lāshōn*, from the Hebrew word meaning "tongue, language", occasionally *ishūrūni* from *yeshurun* which in the Bible is applied to the people of Israel. This slang was based on the utilisation of a basically Hebrew vocabulary in accordance with completely Arabic morphology and syntax.

*Written language.* The majority of the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities used Arabic as a written language (by means of Hebrew characters provided where necessary with diacritical marks). This use, which often depended upon a linguistic level superior to that of the spoken language, is not to be confused with the variety of Middle Arabic called Judaeo-Arabic (see below under ii). At least in the few cases which it has been possible to study, in the absence of a more complete record, it was a question of using the local dialects, often purified of what was most strictly characteristic of them, taking as a general norm the Muslim speech of the large cities. For instance, in the Maghrib the confusions between *sin*, *zāy* on the one hand, and *shīn*, *ḍīm* on the other, and again between *kāf* and *hamsa*, were avoided because these confusions are particular to certain forms of speech and, moreover, felt to be more or less ridiculous changes for the worse. In the same way an effort to restore *h* could be noted everywhere, leading at times to hyper-correction. On the other hand the dentals were rarely distinguished from the interdental, since few urban speech forms, Jewish or Muslim, had retained this distinc-

tion. Often these kinds of *koine* had their own characteristics, absent from all or most Jewish speech patterns, and appeared as archaisms; thus to take as an example a *koine* current at least throughout the eastern Maghrib, one could see in it the distinction, relatively rare in the Jewish speech forms of this region, between the second persons masculine and feminine singular of the perfect, the formation of feminine plurals for adjectives in *-at*, the use of the relative *'lady* (read as *'aldī*), of the adverb *hākda*, "thus, like that", of the conjunction *'n* (read as *ən*), at times *'yn* (read as *in*), "if", of the preposition *mil* (*mall*), "as", etc.

*Bibliography*: An attempt at a general characterisation of Arabic speech in Jewish groups is found in H. Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge Mass. 1964, 12-16 and *passim*, which has provided the points mentioned here concerning Jerusalem and Baghdād. See also J. Mansour, *The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Baghdad . . .*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, viii (1957), 187-98. The general tendencies of M. Mišes, *Die Entstehungsursache der jüdischen Dialekte*, Vienna 1915, are doubtful.—See scattered information in D. Cohen, *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, Paris 1970, 105-25.—On the Yemen, information is to be found in S. D. Goitein, *Jemenische Geschichten*, in *ZS*, viii (1932), 162-81, ix (1933), 19-43; *Jemenica, Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Central-Jemen*, Leipzig 1933. D. Tomiche in *Encyclopédie de la Pleiade* (Vol. *Le Langage*), Paris 1968, 1179-80, deals rapidly with the Arabic dialects of the Egyptian Jews.—For the Maghrib W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe de Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, *passim*; M. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912; G. Millon, *Les parlers de la région d'Alger*, in *RA*, lxxxii (1937), 345-51; J. Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du département d'Alger*, in *RA*, lxxxiv (1940), 220-31; Ph. Marçais in *Initiation à l'Algérie*, Paris 1957, 215-37 and *EI<sup>1</sup>* article ALGERIA; G. S. Colin, *EI<sup>1</sup>*, article MOROCCO; L. Brunet, *Notes sur le parler arabe des Juifs de Fès*, in *Hesperis*, xxii (1936), 1-32; L. Brunet and E. Malka, *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*, Rabat 1939; *Glossaire judéo-arabe de Fès*, Rabat 1940; Ch. Pellat, *Abraham et Nemrod dans le parler arabe des Juifs de Debdou*, in *Hesperis*, xxxix (1952), 121-45; H. Zafrani, *Les langues juives du Maroc*, in *Revue de la Méditerranée et de l'Occident musulman*, iv (1967); *Pédagogie juive en terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969 (Moroccan texts, pp. 145-58); D. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, Textes et documents*, Paris 1964, 1-17; *Grammaire* (in press); *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, Paris 1970, 150-71.—For Tripoli: E. Cesàro, *L'arabo parlato a Tripoli*, Milan 1939, 24, 46, 224n. On the literature, see above all E. Vassel, *La littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, Paris 1906-7. (D. COHEN)

## ii. MEDIAEVAL JUDAEO-ARABIC.

Judaeo-Arabic (= JA) as used by mediaeval Arabic-speaking Jews in their writings, mainly in those written by Jews for Jews, especially in the first half of the second millennium A.D. is one of the main branches of Middle Arabic (= MA; see 'ARABYYA (3)). Since Jews, like Christians, were less inclined to use the Classical language in their writings than their Muslim contemporaries, their writings are especially apt for the investigation of MA. Like MA texts in general, JA writings are not written in genuine MA vernacular, but in what may be

styled "MA Literary Standard", exhibiting a whole range of styles with infinitely varied mixtures of classical and MA elements. Accordingly, the phenomena characteristic of (MA in general and) JA (in particular) have to be collected from deviations from classical features. Yet even among these deviations one has to distinguish carefully between genuine MA and pseudo-correct (including hyper-correct) features. The latter are original MA forms which were "corrected" because of the author's desire to write classical Arabic. As a result of these "corrections", however, non-existent forms came into being; these corrected forms were, as a matter of fact, neither classical (because the author, lacking sufficient knowledge of classical Arabic, did not succeed in forming the intended classical feature) nor living vernacular (because the author had "corrected" them).

As to the linguistic character of (MA in general and) JA (in particular), it already clearly exhibits all the structural peculiarities that characterize modern Arabic dialects. Perhaps the most important event in the field of phonetics was the change in the nature of vowels, partly, at least, caused by the accent becoming strongly centralized: they became weakened, becoming liable to change and elimination. Final short vowels have disappeared (this being one, but not the only, reason for the disappearance of cases and moods). In the sphere of the consonants the most conspicuous change is the weakening and disappearance of the glottal stop. As to the linguistic structure, so far as such different and intricate features may be reduced to a common denominator, the most conspicuous deviation from classical Arabic was that MA detached itself from the synthetic type and instead approached the analytic type, which generally indicates one concept by one word. The most striking outward sign of this phenomenon is the disappearance of the mood and case endings. The status constructus has been somewhat reduced. The dual is often replaced by the plural, and the relative pronoun *alladhī* has become invariable (in many cases apparently being a classical spelling for vernacular *illī*, which is very rare in MA texts). The differences between relative clauses after determinate and indeterminate antecedents, strictly maintained in classical Arabic, are blurred. Asyndetic clauses occur in every syntactic environment, both in coordination, especially after verbs indicating movement, and in subordination, particularly in object clauses. Indirect questions often take the form of conditional clauses. The most frequent negation is *mā*. The feminine plural is widely replaced by the masculine, and the passive, formed in classical Arabic by internal vowel change, by reflexive verbal forms. The most far-reaching changes have affected the numerals. Moreover, the fixed and accurate style of classical Arabic is largely replaced by an inconstant and careless language.

Despite the basic linguistic similarity of JA and other branches of MA, there were important differences between them, though mostly not linguistic distinctions proper: Jews, as a rule, wrote Arabic in Hebrew characters, dealt almost exclusively with Jewish topics and made use of Hebrew (and aramaic) phrases, thus making their literature virtually unintelligible to gentiles. One has the feeling that Jews themselves regarded JA as distinct from other forms of MA, as one may infer from special literary traditions in JA literature.

*Bibliography*: The general background of JA and its main linguistic trends are dealt with in

J. Blau, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*, Oxford 1965, its language in J. Blau, *A Grammar of Mediaeval JA*, Jerusalem 1961 (in Hebrew). For additional bibliography, see *Scripta Hierosolymitana IX*, 1961, 208-9, J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic I*, Louvain 1966, 39-41. (J. BLAU)

### iii. JUDAEO-ARABIC LITERATURE.

While the presence of organized Jewish groups in both the north and south of the Arabian Peninsula antedates the birth of Islam, there is no definite evidence that Arabic was employed as a means of written expression adapted to the needs peculiar to the cultural and religious order of this minority, although it was widely used in everyday life. The Jewish Arabic-speaking poets, such as al-Samaw'al b. 'Ādiyā [q.v.] differ very little from their contemporaries, the *djāhiliyya* Arabs of the original stock. Not is there any genuine proof of the existence of Arabic versions of the Bible at this period which were initiated by Jews: the biblical elements found in the *Qur'ān*, from almost literal borrowing to vague allusions, doubtless arise from oral communication, part of which is incontestably of Christian origin. (On the problem of Christian-Arabic versions of the Bible, see A. Baumstark, *Islamica*, iv (1931), 562-75; on the subject of biblical echoes in the *Qur'ān*, consult the article by G. Graf, *GCAL*, i, 41-3 and J. Haddā, *al-Qur'ān wa'l-Kitāb*, Beirut (1961-2).) After the foundation and consolidation of the Muslim Empire, the Arabic language and the related culture were only slowly diffused among the Jewish population of the *dār al-Islām*; it is not to be seen before the second half of the 3rd century of the *Hijra*, and only became of real importance in their civilization from the 4th/10th centuries onwards.

One general observation must be made at the outset. There was always a measure of guilt in the Jewish intellectuals' use of Arabic in their writings in place of Hebrew, which was still in literary usage in Palestine long after the Muslim conquest, or of Aramaic in its Palestinian and Mesopotamian ("Babylonian") dialects, and, more rarely, of the language of the academies derived from the Babylonian Talmud, which to this day is reserved for juridical-casuistic and ritual works. (Whenever Arabic literary, scientific, theological and medical texts were copied for a Jewish public they were frequently reproduced in Hebrew characters, irrespective of the faith of the author). The writers excused their use of Arabic on the grounds of the loss of a large part of the Ancient Hebrew vocabulary, hence the inadequacy of what remained for expressing the new ideas put into circulation by Arabic civilization, in which, willy nilly, they had become participants and dependants. One of the indications of this ambiguous attitude towards the use of Arabic as the medium for treating subjects relating to Jewish teaching is the existence in two editions, Arabic and Hebrew, of several works in this field. (On this question see A. S. Halkin, *The Medieval Jewish Attitude towards Hebrew, in Biblical and other Studies*, ed. A. Altman, Cambridge, Mass. 1963, 233-48). It must also be emphasised that the use of Arabic in poetry, profane as well as religious, remains the exception during the Middle Ages. (Cf. on this point S. M. Stern, *Arabic Poems by Spanish-Hebrew Poets*, in *Romanica et Occidentalia*, Jerusalem 1963, 254 ff., and *Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies*, i, London 1964, 186 ff.; *Hagut Ivrit be'Eyropa*, Jerusalem 1969, 91-103).

The written language used by the Arabic-speaking Jews during the first centuries of their incorporation into Muslim civilization is that designated "Middle Arabic". [Cf. 'ARABIYYA, and JUDAEO-ARABIC (LANGUAGE)]; at its various stylistic levels, this idiom does not constitute a deliberate and systematic break with the rules of "Classical" Arabic; free recourse to the dialectal is very rarely encountered among the Judaeo-Arabic writers of the Middle Ages. Later, the rift between the Jewish minority and Muslim culture, which was accentuated from the 9th/15th century onwards, resulted, especially in the *Maghrib*, in the loss of the ability to understand the oldest texts in written Judaeo-Arabic. Some continuity of the literary tradition is barely affirmed only in the Yemen, a Muslim environment with a geographical area more impervious to external influences than the rest of the *dār al-Islām*, and where there was never any sizeable settlement by Jews expelled from Spain. This continuity was no doubt due to the relatively small divergence between "Middle Arabic" and the spoken language and the conservatism and integration of the group concerned, bearing in mind the limits set by the irreducible differences of belief and the social repercussions resulting from them.

The rift between the Islamic literary culture and the Arabic-speaking Jewish minorities did not put an end to the latter's use of Arabic as a means of literary expression. However, the literary output in Judaeo-Arabic in the course of the last five centuries differs, except to some extent in the Yemen for the reasons indicated above, from that of the early period (4th/10th-9th/15th centuries) in two respects, giving it a radically new character in relation to the former situation. On the one hand, the language used has a dialectal base, although it is too conventional to reflect faithfully the living speech in use in the many different areas of Arabic-speaking Jewish diaspora. On the other hand, this literature was produced solely in answer to the needs of the less educated strata of the population, whether the work in question is liturgical or paraliturgical poetry (epithalamia, ballads etc.), religious instruction, edification, or, more recently, entertainment and general information (in the case of poetry there is a need for study of its formal relationship with vernacular poetry by Arabic-speaking Muslims; nothing significant has been done in this field). Henceforward the culture of the scholars was entirely in Hebrew; in this respect, it can be said that Judaeo-Arabic dialectal literature is essentially "popular", even in the case of a version, based on a mediaeval Hebrew translation, of a "classical" work, originally written in Arabic, such as the "Duties of the Heart" by Bahya Ibn Pakūdā. In short, despite its relative poverty and insignificance, this Judaeo-Arabic "popular literature" reveals some characteristics in common with the Judaeo-Spanish and Judaeo-German literatures, richer, more abundant and of a cultural importance far above that of their poor relation though they are. The whole spectrum of Judaeo-Arabic writing of the earlier period, however, though of greater cultural range, but most of the time lacking in aesthetic preoccupations, cannot be classified as literature in the strict sense of "belles lettres".

Given these conditions it is difficult to speak of "the history of Judaeo-Arabic literature". Therefore the present summary will be limited to recording succinctly, albeit with many omissions, the works composed in the Judaeo-Arabic literary language, mainly theological and philosophical, as well as devoting some space to the other disciplines: exegesis

and biblical philology, ritual legislation and casuistry. The most important editions of texts will be indicated. References to works dealing with the popular literature in dialect will be included in the selected bibliography. For convenience and very schematically, even at times arbitrarily, the writings mentioned will be grouped under four headings: theology and philosophy; Hebrew philology and biblical exegesis; law and rites; miscellaneous. On the subject of the authors and the works cited general reference should be made to the paragraphs of M. Steinschneider's old, but still fundamental and indispensable repertory, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* (ALJ), Frankfurt 1902 (republished Hildesheim 1964); to lighten the bibliography, reference will rarely be made (with the exception of the publication of texts) to information given in this work and in G. Vajda's *Jüdische Philosophie* (*Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie*, 19) Berne 1950 (JP, the figures referring to the corresponding issues).

A. *Theology and Philosophy*.—The oldest theological treatise in Judaeo-Arabic which has come down to us, with considerable lacunae in the text, is the *Išrūn Maḳālāt* of David b. Marwān al-Raḳḳī, called al-Muḳammīš (?), from the second half of the 3rd/9th century: ALJ, § 25; PJ 7. 11; cf. G. Vajda, *Oriens*, xv (1962), 61-85, and in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Harvard 1967, 49-73. An important part of the abundant work of Sa'adyā b. Yosēf al-Fayyūmī (b. 882, d. Gaon of Baghdad in 942) comes under this heading, in particular his theological treatise *K. al-Amānāt wa-l-i'tihādāt*, ed. S. Landauer, Leiden 1880, and his commentary on the *Sēfer Yeširāh* ("Book of Creation"), ed. M. Lambert, Paris 1891; and J. Kāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1970 (see ALJ, § 31); JP 6. 11-62; G. Vajda, *Sa'adya, Commentateur du Livre de la Création*, in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences religieuses*, 1958-9, 3-35; H. A. Wolfson, *Saadia on the Trinity and Incarnation*, in *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*, Philadelphia 1962, 547-68; H. Davidson, *Saadia's List of the Theories of the Soul*, in *Jew. Med. and Ren. St.*, 75-94; for criticism, in Judaeo-Arabic, of some of his doctrinal positions by a younger contemporary see: *A Critique against the Writings of R. Saadya Gaon* by R. Mubashshir Halevi, edition with commentary (in Hebrew) by M. Zucker, New York 1955 (remainder, Sh. Abramson, *Sinai*, lvii (1964-5), 15-17; S. M. Stern, *REJ*, cxxvi (1967) 113-117).

The Arabic originals of the philosophical writing of Isaac Israeli (died in Ifriḳiya around 349/950 [see 15ḤĀḲ AL-ISRĀ'ĪL]) are for the most part lost: ALJ, § 28; PJ, 8, 11-15, 21-22; A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, Oxford 1958. The same applies to the commentary on the "Book of Creation" by his disciple, Abū Sahl Dūnash b. Tāmīm: ALJ, § 36; PJ, 8. 23 (cont. *REJ*, cx (1949/50); cxii (1953); the fragments in Arabic, *ibid.*, cxii (1954), 37-61; cxxii (1963) 149-162). In Spain, where the Arabic language served as a means of expression for a good number of Jewish philosophers and theologians until the middle of the 8th/14th century, not only in the territories under Muslim domination but also at Toledo, reconquered by 1085, the list of authors of books in these disciplines is headed by Salomon Ibn Gabirol [see 15N GABIROL] (J. Schlanger, *La philosophie de Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, Leiden 1968), but of the original Arabic of his "Source of Life" only tiny fragments are extant; edition of his short manual of ethics ("*Išlāḥ al-akhḫlāk*") by S. Wise, New York 1901. On

the other hand the original Arabic of the treatise on spiritually *al-Hidāya ilā farā'id al-ḫulūb* by Bahyē (Bahya) b. Yōsēf Ibn Paḳūdā (last quarter of the 5th/11th century) has been preserved; it has been edited by A. S. Yahuda, Leiden 1912: ALJ, § 86; PJ 11. 11-14, 21-24; C. Ramos Gil, *Bahya Ibn Paquda, El Puro Amor Divino*, in *Miscellanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, Granada 1952, 85-148. The works of religious philosophy by Joseph Ibn Šaddīḳ of Cordova (d. 1149): ALJ, § 102; PJ 12. 15, 22, 28, and of Abraham Ibn Dāwud of Toledo (d. 1180): ALJ, § 104; PJ 15. 01-2, have only been preserved in their Hebrew versions; the treatise in anti-philosophical vein by Judah Halevi (d. after 1140), *al-Hudūdīya wa'l-dalīl fī naṣr al-dīn al-ḥalīl*, commonly called *Kuzari*, has, on the other hand, been preserved almost in its entirety (ed. H. Hirschfeld, Leipzig 1887, also, N. Allony, *Kirjath Sepher*, xxxviii (1962/3), 113-121); ALJ, § 103; PJ 13. 11-15, 21-23; S. Pines, *Notes sur la doctrine de la prophétie et la réhabilitation de la matière dans le Kuzari*, in *Mélanges de Philosophie et de Littérature Juives*, i-ii (1956/7), 253-60.

Two other works—one certainly composed in the East and the other more than probably so—bear the imprint of Arabic Neoplatonism to a more pronounced extent than in the philosophical compositions of Isaac Israeli and his school: the *K. Ma'ānī al-naṣf*, by an unknown author, wrongly attributed to Bahyē Ibn Paḳūdā, ed. I. Goldziher, Berlin 1907; PJ, 12, 11, 23; A. Borisov, in *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.*, Humanities School, 1929, 786; M. Plessner, *NGW* Gött., Ph. Hist. Kl., 1971, 5; and *Bustān al-ūḫūl*, by Nathanael Fayyumi probably in the Yemen around 545/1150; this treatise reveals the influence of Ismā'īlī metaphysical speculation; ed. D. Levine, New York 1908, reissued and improved by Yosēf Kāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1954; S. Pines, *Nathanael ben Al-Fayyumi et la théologie ismaélienne*, in *Revue d'Histoire Juive en Egypte*, i (single instalment), 1947, 5-22.

The zenith of philosophical and theological activity among Arabic-speaking Jewry was the work of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), who was born and brought up in Andalusia: *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn*, "Guide of the Perplexed", ed. S. Munk, Paris 1856-1866, and with some additions, I. Joel, Jerusalem 1931; an edition transcribed and, when necessary, translated into Arabic by Hüseyin Atay is in the press in Ankara (1972); the complete text of his short treatise on logic, *Maḳāla fī šinā'at al-manḫiḥ* (greatly influenced, as is all his philosophical thought, by al-Fārābī), which was discovered a short time ago by Mübahat Türker-Küye, has recently been re-edited by J. Efros in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, xxxiv (1966); corrections by L. V. Berman, in *JAOS*, lxxxviii (1968), 340-2; see also the same author, *ibid.*, lxxxix (1969), 106-11; a fragmentary, and probably apocryphal, treatise, ed. H. S. Davidowitz and D. H. Baneth, *De Beatitudine Capita Duo R. Mosi b. Maimon adscripta*, Jerusalem 1939; cf. the article 15N MAYMŪN, *supra*; G. Vajda, *La pensée religieuse de Moïse Maimonide: unité ou dualité?*, in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, ix (1966), 29-49. His contemporary, Yosēf Ibn 'Aḳnīn, who almost certainly never left the Maghrib (he should not be confused with Joseph Judah, a disciple of Maimonides, cf. D. Z. Baneth, *Tesoro de los Judios Sefardies*, vii (1964), 11-20), also left important works, still not fully investigated: ALJ, § 3. 170; on his ethical treatise *Ṭibb al-nufūs*, see A. S. Halkin, *Classical and Arabic material in Ibn 'Aknin's Hygiene of the Soul*,



in *Proceedings* . . . , xiv (1944), 27-167; idem, in *Harry A. Wolfson Jubilee Volume III*, 93-111 (in Hebrew), and cf. B. below. The Judaeo-Arabic work of Abraham (1237), the son of Moses Maimonides, is also considerable: *ALJ*, § 159: the remnants of his work which is at the same time both ritual and theological-spiritual (in sympathy with Šūfism), *Kifāyat al-‘ābidān*, have been edited by S. Rosenblatt, *The High Ways to Perfection of Abraham Maimonides*, New York 1927 and Baltimore 1938; cf. B and C and S. D. Goitein, *Abraham Maimonides and his Pietist Circle*, in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 145-64; Gerson D. Cohen, *The Soteriology of R. Abraham Maimuni*, in *Proceedings* . . . , xxxv (1967), 79-98 and xxxvi (1968), 33-56. On a short treatise on spirituality composed by “Obadyah, son of Abraham” (*ALJ*, § 161), see G. Vajda, *The Mystical Doctrine of Rabbi “Obadyah, Grandson of Moses Maimonides”*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vi (1955), 213-25. Dwelling no further on other texts, little known and studied, of more or less Šūfi and Neoplatonic inspiration (cf. F. Rosenthal, *A Judaeo-Arabic Work under Sufic Influence*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xv (1940), 433-84), we will mention only three authors from Spain and a fourth from Morocco, from the second half of the 7th/13th and the first two-thirds of the 8th/14th century: Moses ben Joseph Halevi, cf. G. Vajda, *Un champion de l’avicennisme*, in *Revue Thomiste*, 1948, 480-508; Moses Ibn Crispin: *ALJ*, § 127, and G. Vajda, *A propos de l’averroïsme juif*, in *Seferad*, xii (1952), 3-21; Joseph ben Abraham Ibn Waḳār of Toledo, author of an important treatise on the harmony of philosophy, astrology and the Kabbalah: *ALJ*, § 130 and G. Vajda, *Recherches sur la philosophie et la Kabbale dans la pensée juive du moyen âge*, Paris 1962, 116-297; Judah ben Nissim Ibn Malka, a Moroccan who expounded his ideas in the form of commentaries on the “Book of Creation” and the “Midrash of Rabbi Eliezer”, which was believed to be very ancient: *ALJ*, § 134; G. Vajda, *Juda ben Nissim Ibn Malka*, Paris 1954 (cf. idem, in *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa*, ii, Barcelona 1956, 483-500). The philosopher Ibn Kammūna [q.v.], although he remained a Jew, belongs more to the history of Islamic philosophy.

The Karaite branch of Judaism in its turn produced theological treatises in Arabic in which the influence of Mu‘tazilite *kalām* [q.v.] prevails. The principal author is Yōsēf (Yūsuf) ben Abraham al-Baṣīr (first third of the 5th/11th century): *ALJ*, § 50; *PJ*, 7. 15, 21, 22, 25; Z. Ankori, *Ibn al-Hiti and the Chronology of Joseph al-Baṣīr the Karaite*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, viii (1957), 71-81; G. Vajda, *La démonstration de l’unité divine d’après Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to Gershom G. Scholem*, Jerusalem 1967, 285-315; idem, *L’universalité de la loi morale selon Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, in *REJ*, 1969, 132-201. Of the work of his disciple, Joshua ben Judah, little has been preserved in Arabic (these fragments, moreover, pose unresolved questions of authenticity); the bulk of it has come down only in a Hebrew version: *ALJ*, § 51; *PJ*, 7. 22. Cf. also B and C.

B. *Philology and Biblical Exegesis*. The all-too-short outline given here may be amplified from H. Hirschfeld’s concise manual, *Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers*, Oxford 1926 and above all with the help of the introductions to the scholarly editions cited below. One of the first of the Judaeo-Arabic authors who wrote on these disciplines is Judah Ibn Quraysh of Tahert, around 900; his *Risāla*

to the Jews of Fez, in which he compares Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, has been edited by J. I. L. Bargès and D. B. Goldberg, Paris 1857: *ALJ*, § 35; G. Vajda, *La Chronologie de Juda Ibn Quraysh*, in *Sefarad*, xiv (1954), 385-7. Sa‘adyā (*supra*, A) produced an immense oeuvre, which has been published in part only and even more incompletely studied, in his translations of the Hebrew Bible (his versions influenced those of the Arabic-speaking Christians and Samaritans) and commentaries on it, and as the founder of the systematic grammar and lexicology of Hebrew; for the bibliography prior to 1920 consult H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon, His Life and Works*, Philadelphia, 1921 (repr. 1969); an important step in research is marked by M. Zucker’s work in Hebrew, with a summary in English, *Rav Saadya Gaon’s Translation of the Torah*, New York 1959. A complete if not critical edition of his annotated translation of the Psalms was produced by Yōsēf Kāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1966. As Sa‘adyā’s contributions to the grammar and lexicography of Hebrew were eclipsed by the work of the Judaeo-Arabic philologists in Spain, they were only fragmentarily preserved; this aspect of his work has been principally studied for about forty years by S. L. Skoss (d. 1953) and N. Allony; here we will cite only S. L. Skoss, *Saadia Gaon, The Earliest Hebrew Grammarian*, in *Proceedings* . . . , xxi (1952), 75-100 and xxii (1953), 65-90; N. Allony, *Ha’Egrot, Kitāb uṣūl al-ṣi‘r al-‘ibrānī*, Jerusalem 1969. Samuel ben Hofni (d 1034), head of the academy in Baghdād, wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch: *ALJ*, § 65, 15.

The contribution of the 4th/10th century Karaites [q.v.] to Hebrew Lexicography and biblical exegesis occupies an important place in the scholarly output in Judaeo-Arabic. In lexicography, the *Djāmi‘ al-alfāz*, compiled by David ben Abraham al-Fāsi (who seems to have lived mainly in Palestine), has been edited in exemplary fashion (unfortunately not in its most extensive redaction) by S. L. Skoss, 2 vols., New Haven 1936 and 1945. Strongly marked by polemics against all doctrinal adversaries of the Karaite sect, the exegetic work of Salmōn ben Yerūḥīm and Yefet ben ‘Eli (second and last third of the 4th/10th century respectively, but they had some precursors, both identifiable and anonymous, which lack of space makes it impossible to mention here) embraced a large part if not the whole of the Hebrew Bible; the edited texts and, with greater reason, the parts satisfactorily studied, cover only a small portion of the fairly plentiful material which has been preserved: *ALJ*, § 40, 44, which may be extended by the notes in G. Vajda, *Deux Commentaires Karaites sur l’Ecclésiaste*, Leiden 1970. Of the Arabic-speaking Karaite exegetes of later centuries, we will mention only ‘Eli (‘Alī) ibn Sulaymān (10th/12th century), who does little more than abridge his precursors; his commentary on Genesis was edited by S. L. Skoss, Philadelphia 1928.

The application to Hebrew grammar of the theory of triliteral roots, borrowed from Arabic grammarians, opened up a new period in the history of Hebrew philology; the Arabic-speaking authors who brought renown to the discipline between the end of the 4th/10th and the middle of the 6th/12th century were almost all Jews from Spain; most important are: Judah ben David (Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā) Ḥayyūdj: *ALJ*, § 75; Jonah (Abu ‘l-Walīd Marwān) Ibn Djanāḥ [q.v.]: *ALJ*, § 81; Isaac Ibn Bārūn, *ALJ*, § 97; P. Wechter, *Ibn Bārūn’s Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography*, Philadelphia 1964; Sa‘dyā Ibn Danān (d. Granada 1485) one of the last

to write in Judaeo-Arabic in the West, also made a contribution to lexicography: *ALJ*, § 139.

What remains of the exegetic works of the brilliant Arabic school in Spain is quantitatively of less importance. Here we will mention Isaac b. Judah Ibn Ghīyāth (Ḡhayyāth), whose commentary on Ecclesiastes, published under the name of Sa'adyā by Y. Kāfiḥ (Ḥāmeṣh Megillōt, Jerusalem 1962, 161-296), is above all philosophical in character: *ALJ*, § 90<sup>a</sup>; S. Pines, *Tarbiz*, xxxiii (1963/4), 212-3; G. Vajda, *Quelques observations en marge du commentaire d'Isaac Ibn Ghīyath sur l'Ecclesiaste*, in *The Seventy Fifth Anniversary Volume of the Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia 1967, 518-27; Moses Ibn Gīkaṭīllia (Chiquitilla), likewise a grammarian: *ALJ*, § 91; Judah (Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā) Ibn Bal'ām: *ALJ*, § 92; S. Poznanski, *Arabischer Kommentar zum Buche Richter von . . . Ibn Bal'ām*, Frankfurt 1909; idem, *The Arabic Commentary of Ibn Bal'ām on the twelve Minor Prophets*, 1924. In the Maghrib, Joseph Ibn 'Aknīn, already mentioned above (A), wrote a predominantly philosophical commentary on the Song of Songs, published under the title of *Divulgatio Mysteriorum Luminumque Apparentia*, by A. S. Halkin, Jerusalem 1964. In the East, Abū 'l-Barakāt [q.v.] Hibat Allāh composed a philosophical commentary on Ecclesiastes before his conversion to Islam, which S. Pines intends to edit: cf. *ALJ*, § 148, and *Nouvelles Etudes sur Awhād al-Zamān Abū l-Barakāt . . .*, Paris 1955. Abraham Maimonides wrote a full commentary, for the most part preserved, on Genesis and Exodus, edited by E. Wiesenberg, Letchworth 1959. Finally let us mention the exegetic and lexicographic work of Tanḥūm ben Yōsef ha-Yerushalmī (second half of the 7th/13th century): *ALJ*, § 174; the first part of his *al-Murshīd al-Kāfi*, a dictionary of the Mishnah and of Moses Maimonides' Hebrew "code", was published by B. Toledano, Tel Aviv 1961, an edition continued by H. Shay (Shay), *Lešōnenū*, xxxiii (1968/9), 196-207, 280-6.

C. *Laws and Ritual*. — The need to give Arabic-speaking Jews access to the rules and instructions concerning the observances prescribed by religion and the conduct of everyday life, including the rules of law applicable by the courts of scholars within the limits of internal autonomy allowed to the *ahl al-dhimma*, frequently led spiritual leaders, Rabbinate and Karaite alike, to employ Judaeo-Arabic in a field which is exclusive to Judaism, liturgical directives, commentaries on the Talmud, more or less elementary manuals concerning the various aspects of Jewish law, contractual, matrimonial and successional rights, rituals for celebrating the feasts, food regulations, and finally the "consultations" (*She'elot u-teshūbot*, "Responsa"; cf. the *fatwā* in Islam). We shall mention only a small number of these texts (in addition to *ALJ* there are fuller notes, already no longer entirely up to date, in S. W. Baron's *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vi (1958), 356-61).

Sa'adyā found it expedient to accompany his recension of the Jewish liturgy with instructions in Arabic (*Siddūr*, ed. I. Davidson S. Assaf and I. Joel, Jerusalem 1941); what remains of his treatise on the laws of inheritance, *K. al-Mawārīth*, has been published by J. Müller, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. IX. Hēfeṣ ben Yašīaḥ, a native of Kayrawān it seems, compiled his *Kitāb al-Sharā'īṣ*, an account of the pentateuchal precepts, towards the end of the 4th/10th century: *ALJ*, § 62, edition of the fragments preserved by B. Halper, *Book of Precepts*, Philadelphia 1915; an important complement in the paper of M. Zucker,

*Proceedings . . .*, xxix (1960/61), Hebrew section, 1-68. Arabic fragments of works on casuistry and the Talmud by Nissim of Kayrawān (mid 5th/11th century: *ALJ*, § 59) are published and studied in the Hebrew work of Sh. Abramson, *R. Nissim Gaon, Libelli quinque*, Jerusalem 1965. The preserved fragment of a commentary, probably from the 6th/12th century, by a Moroccan rabbi on the talmudic "précis" by Isaac Ibn al-Fāsi (d. 1103; very little remains in the original text of what al-Fāsi himself wrote in Arabic: *ALJ*, § 95), has been published in facsimile by J. Leveen, *Zekaryah b. Judah al-Agmati, A Digest of Commentaries on the . . . Babylonian Talmud*, London 1961. The most comprehensive and probably the most important work in this field is that of Moses Maimonides, who also composed a "Book of Precepts" (ed. M. Bloch, Paris 1880), a commentary on the *Mishnah* (published in complete form by Yōsef Kāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1963-68), just as he drafted his letters and responsa in Arabic when they were destined for Arabic-speaking correspondents; the most complete and recent edition of the responsa is that of Y. Blau, *R. Moses b. Maimon Responsa*, Jerusalem 1957-61; the responsa of his son Abraham, also for the most part drafted in Arabic, were published 20 years earlier by A. H. Freimann and S. D. Goitein, *Abraham Maimuni, Responsa*, Jerusalem 1937.

From the corresponding and highly developed Karaite branch of this genre, most noteworthy is the great code of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Kirkisānī (mid-4th/10th century), which is also an outstanding theological treatise; entitled *K. al-Anwār wa'l-marākīb*, it has been largely preserved, and edited by L. Nemoy, New York 1939-43: *ALJ*, § 43, *PJ*, 7. 12-14 (add. G. Vajda, in *REJ*, cxx (1961), 211-57 and cxxii (1963), 7-74). The ritual code of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (*K. al-Istibṣār*), as well as his *Masā'il*, of which sizeable portions are extant, have remained unpublished and unstudied. A small part only of a much more recent treatise has been published: *al-Murshīd* by Samuel ben Moses al-Maghribī, completed in Cairo in 1434: *ALJ*, § 199; F. Kaufmann, *Traktat über die Neulichtbeobachtung . . .*, Leipzig 1903.

D. *Miscellaneous*. — As was observed at the beginning of this outline, the Arabic-speaking Jews made little use of their "vernacular", which to a greater or lesser degree was in line with the written language, for those genres which are covered by the term "literature" in the narrow sense, for prose and poetry; moreover, they hardly ever used it in compiling historical works, a genre with little popularity which was relatively neglected by the Jews of the Middle Ages. The exceptions are few and without much difficulty can be attributed to theological preoccupations, even if those are blurred or to some extent have been lost sight of. Thus it was with a view to reaffirming belief in divine justice as much as to divert the Jewish public from reading Muslim books that Nissim b. Jacob of Kayrawān (said to be Ibn Shāhīn, cf. *supra* C) composed a treatise on consolations, made up of edifying narratives, probably in imitation of Arabic works on the theme of *al-sarādī ba'ā al-shidda*, but composed of material borrowed from the Jewish Aggada and from universal folklore. As well as a language which deviates appreciably from the norms of the literary idiom, this composition presents difficult problems: in the absence of more detailed research, Sh. Abramson's discovery of versions that differ from a manuscript long considered to be unique has confused rather than clarified these. The Leningrad manuscript forms the subject matter of a valuable if not definitive edition by J. Obermann:

*The Arabic Original of Ibn Shahin's Book of Comfort known as the Hibbur Yaphè of R. Nissim b. Ya'aqob*, New Haven 1944; the new fragments appear in R. Nissim Gaon *Libelli quinque*, 363-526.

Moses Ibn Ezra, one of the most brilliant Hebrew poets of Spain (around 1070-1140), composed two works in Arabic: *al-Muhāḍara wa 'l-mudhākara*, in type a book of *adab* but with Hebrew poetry as its subject, and *al-Ḥadiqa fi ma'na 'l-maḡiāz wa 'l-ḥa-ḥiqa*, which is reminiscent of 'ilm *al-bayān*; it is likely that the author's aim in these works was to enable biblical exegesis and national poetry in Hebrew to benefit from the attainments of Arab rhetoric and poetics as much if not more than to amuse the reader while instructing him; neither of these works has yet been published in entirety, although they have been the subject of several scholarly studies: *ALJ*, § 101; A. Diez Macho, *Mošè Ibn 'Ezra como poeta y preceptista*, Madrid-Barcelona 1953.

The exhortation to study written by Mūsā Ibn Ṭūḇl of Seville (first half of the 8th/14th century?) in highly popular language, is a rhymed composition of 70 lines, hence the title *al-Sab'iniyya*; in spite of its date, it is already in the line of the work of the versifiers which continues to be produced in the Maghrib to this day: *ALJ*, § 131; ed. H. Hirschfeld, *Program of Montefiore College*, 1893-94.

*Bibliography*: To the information in the body of the article should be added the notes and corrections to *ALJ* by S. Poznanski, *Zur jüdisch-arabischen Literatur*, in *OLZ*, vii (1904), 257-74, 304-15, 345-59. An outline of the whole, *Judaeo-Arabic Literature*, was written by A. S. Halkin for the collective work: *The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion*, ed. Louis Finkelstein, New York 1960<sup>3</sup>, 1116-47. The collection of pieces in the original language, H. Hirschfeld, *Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters*, must be used with care because of its many inexactitudes. References may also be made to the encyclopaedia articles (especially *JE* and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*) concerning the authors mentioned above. Of the fairly numerous scholarly works touching more or less on the early Judaeo-Arabic literature, we shall cite here only S. Poznanski, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadia Gaon*, London 1908 (extract from *JQR* 18-20, 1905-8, repr. *Karaite Studies*, New York 1971, 131-223); J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, i, Cincinnati 1931, ii, Philadelphia 1935, repr. 1972. For popular literature in the various Judaeo-Arabic forms of speech, we shall limit ourselves to some references only: W. Bacher, *Die hebräische und arabische Poesie der Juden Jemens*, Budapest 1910; idem, *Zur neuesten arabischen Litteratur der Juden*, in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, years 1903, 1908, 1911; S. D. Goitein, *Jemenica*, Leipzig 1934; idem, *Travels in Yemen* (ed. of the account written in Judaeo-Arabic of the journey of Joseph Halevy to the Yemen, by his guide Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh), Jerusalem 1941; the bibliographic essay in Hebrew by Y. Ratzaby, "The literature of the Jews in Yemen", in *Kirjath Sepher*, xxviii (1952/3), 255-78, 394-409, and cf. *ibid.*, xxxiii (1957/8), 111-7, xxxiv (1958/9), 109-16; Eus. Vassel, *La littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, Paris 1904-7; R. Attal, *Aperçu sur la littérature populaire des Juifs Tunisiens*, in *Ben Zvi Institute Studies and Reports*, iii, Jerusalem 1960, 50-4; David Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, Paris 1964; L. Brunot—E. Malka, *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*, Paris 1939; H. Za-

frani, *Pédagogie juive en terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969; finally, there is a fair amount of bibliographic data in *Abstracta Islamica* (appendix to *REI*) under the heading *Judaeo-Arabica* from 1936 onwards. (G. VAJDA)

**JUDAEO-BERBER.** The Berber-speaking Jews of the Shleuḇ and Tamazight regions had their own living dialects, and a folklore that was in no way inferior to that of their Muslim neighbours [see *BERBERS*], as well as an oral traditional and religious literature of which unfortunately only a few vestiges remain. These have been collected recently by the author of the present article. Living in the valleys of the Atlas, in the Sous and on the borders of the Sahara (and in all likelihood in certain parts of Algeria and Tunisia), they formed small communities grouped in *mellahs* and had been established there for centuries, or even one or two millenia. Today there is scarcely a trace of them. After Moroccan independence they emigrated to Israel en bloc. Setting aside the problem of the origin of these communities and the very controversial hypothesis concerning the "Judaization of the Berbers" (H. Z. Hirschberg, *History of the Jews of North Africa*, Jerusalem, 1965, two volumes in Hebrew, reviewed in the *Journal of African History*, viii/3 (1966)), it is important to note that until recent years Berber was one of the vernacular languages of the Jewish communities living in the mountains of Morocco and the south of the country. Most of these communities were bilingual (Berber and Arabic speaking); others seem to have been strictly Berber speaking, as at Tifnut; of the latter category several isolated individuals, who had emigrated to Israel, have been discovered in Ashkelon (on the geographic distribution of the Jewish communities in Morocco, notably in the Atlas and the Moroccan south, and on the internal migrations of their populations, see H. Zafrani, *Vie intellectuelle juive au Maroc, Pensée juridique et Droit appliqué dans leur rapports avec les structures socio-économiques et la vie religieuse*, doctoral thesis, typed, 210-14; on the Jews of the Dadès and the other Berber speaking communities, see *ibid.*, 171 ff., and by the same author, *Pédagogie juive en Terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969, 33-38). In the valley of the Todgha (Tinghir), in the regions of Tiznit (Wijjan, Asaka), of Warzazat (Imini), at Ufran in the Anti-Atlas, at Illigh and elsewhere, Berber was used by the Jews not only as a means of communication in the family, social and economic milieus and in contacts with the other ethnic and religious communities, but it also constituted, alongside Hebrew, the language of culture and traditional instruction used in the elucidation and translation of sacred texts, as had been the case of Judaeo-Arabic or old Castilian in Arabic-speaking Jewish communities or those of Spanish origin. Certain prayers, benedictions of the Torah among others, were said solely in Berber; this usage, as we shall see below, is attested in the Passover liturgy. Written and oral documentation has been collected of the folklore and the intellectual life of these Berber-speaking communities: some biblical texts in their Hebrew and Berber versions, liturgical cantos, festive songs which mark the peaks of Jewish life (circumcision, *bar-miṣwā*, marriage, etc.) and especially the Passover Haggada, the most important and precious piece in the collection. The latter is of the greatest interest for the understanding of the linguistic and cultural traditions of a world that was too little explored when there was still time, a world belonging to a diaspora which had long been ignored and has now disappeared. (A

list of these documents was published by H. Zafrani, *Compte-rendu d'enquête*, in *JA*, cclii/1 (1964); others were collected later in Israel itself). This Haggada is the integral Berber version of the liturgical composition which the Jews recite on the eve of Passover, the basic theme of which is the story of the exodus from Egypt, accompanied by the *hallel* (a group of Psalms from CXIII to CXVIII which are a part of the liturgy for the high holy days and some other festivals). Like those in Judaeo-Arabic or old Castilian, it is a traditional translation of the Hebrew text, but it presents nevertheless some variants and nuances of interpretation. The text was transcribed recently (around 1959) in vocalized square Hebrew characters at Tinghir in the valley of the Todgha (there is no other known manuscript of a Berber text in Hebrew characters). Some morpho-syntactic ambiguities and oddities which sometimes make understanding difficult are consequences of the usual procedure of literal translation, being Berber calques of the Hebrew text; the Berber recitation coincides with the Hebrew original and follows the same rhythm and melody. The language of this Haggada is akin to Tamazight, a group of Berber vernaculars (here we should note the connection which South Moroccan Jews make between Berber and "the language of the Philistines"; the Hebrew *plishtim* of the biblical texts is always rendered as *brāber* in Moroccan Judaeo-Arabic translations; see H. Zafrani, *Pédagogie juive en Terre d'Islam*, 153, n. 31); it is nevertheless characterized by composite traits which make it difficult to assign it a specified location; it presupposes the existence of a literary language which is not the speech of a given group or a specific period (see P. Galand-Pernet and H. Zafrani, *Une version berbère de la Haggadah de Pesah, Texte de Tinghir du Todgha (Maroc)*, Paris 1970, *Supplément au tome XII des Comptes Rendus du G.L.E.C.S.*).

*Bibliographie*: Apart from the references given in the text, H. Zafrani, *Les langues juives du Maroc, in Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, iv (1967), 175-88. (H. ZAFRANI)

**JUDAEO-PERSIAN**, New-Persian written in Hebrew characters.

#### i. — LITERATURE

If we define as Judaeo-Persian literature strictly "literary" works composed by Jews in the Persian language but in Hebrew characters, then the first fruits of such literary endeavours could have emerged only when the Persian language had penetrated deeply enough into the life of Persian Jews to become a vehicle for their literary expression. This condition for the birth and growth of a genuine Judaeo-Persian literature seemed to have been fulfilled only during the rule of the *Īl-Khān* dynasty over Persia, from the end of the 7th/13th century on.

##### 1. *Early Judaeo-Persian Documents.*

Long before this period, however, evidence of the infiltration and penetration of the Persian language — always in Hebrew characters — among Persian-speaking Jews is available. There have come to light in widely scattered regions of the Eastern lands of the Caliphate inscriptional sources, business letters, and tombstone inscriptions such as the three stones from Tang-i Azao about 200 kilometers east of Herāt with Judaeo-Persian inscriptions, incised in the year A.D. 752-3; (according to Henning, though Rapp disagrees); a fragment of a Persian business letter of the eighth century found by Sir Aurel Stein at Dandān-Uyllk, near Khotan, in Chinese Turkestan (Sin-Kiang), containing thirty-seven lines in Persian,

written in Hebrew characters by a Jewish merchant; and those four signatures in Persian with Hebrew characters by Jewish witnesses on a copper plate referring to a grant for a Christian church on the coast of Malabar, in the early ninth century, known as the Quilon Copper Plate. A further proof of the use of Judaeo-Persian as a vehicle of correspondence is supplied by a Judaeo-Persian Law report found near Hormshir, the modern Ahvāz in *Khūzistān*, written in the year 1020-21, as well as a Judaeo-Persian document dealing with the sale of some land, found in the region of Khotan, ascribed to the year 1107. There is also a fragment of apologetics in the British Museum (Ms. Or. 8659) going back to the same period.

To the category of early Judaeo-Persian inscriptions belong also those fifty-four Judaeo-Persian tombstone inscriptions, accidentally discovered in the mountainous region of *Chūristān*, east of Herāt near the former capital of *Firūzkūh*. Those Judaeo-Persian inscriptions with texts ranging from one line to eight and covering the period from about 1189 A.D. to 1216 A.D. contain, along with Hebrew and Aramaic, many Persian names and terms. Fragments of Persian letters in Hebrew characters sent by the heads (Geonim) of the Jewish academies in *Baghdād* in the 12th century to scholars in *Hamadān*, then the seat of a rabbinical college, testify to the ever-increasing use of the Persian language in Jewish circles.

All these inscriptions and other literary records can, however, hardly be classified as literature. It was only from the 13th century on that Jews began to create Jewish literary values through the medium of the Persian language in their own Hebrew script.

This Judaeo-Persian literature, which was developed in many Jewish communities in the Persian speaking diaspora, encompassed three major fields: the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Judaeo-Persian and lexicographical treatises connected with it; the composition of original Judaeo-Persian poetry; and the transliteration of classical Persian poetry into Hebrew characters.

##### 2. *Judaeo-Persian Bible translations.*

There can be no doubt that Persian Jews were steadily engaged in the study and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. Fragments of biblical books written or copied as early as the ninth century in Hebrew — not in Judaeo-Persian — among them a manuscript of the later prophets in Hebrew with Massoretic notes from Yazd, and a commentary on Ezekiel preserved in Leningrad with a Middle-Persian form of a passive and a Judaeo-Persian Daniel text attest to this.

The first Judaeo-Persian translation of the Pentateuch in Hebrew characters became known as late as 1556 and is attributed to Jacob b. Joseph Tavus, a Jewish scholar from Persia, who apparently functioned as a teacher at the Jewish Academy in Istanbul, established by Moses Hamon (*q.v.* 1490-1576). It was published in Istanbul as part of the Jewish Polyglot Bible by Solomon b. Moses Mazal Tov, together with the Hebrew original, the Targum and the Arabic *Tafsir* of Sa'adyā Gaon.

This Judaeo-Persian product, the first printed book in modern Persian of any sort, remained relatively unnoticed at the time and failed to attract the attention of scholarly circles. Only when, over a century later, in 1657, the Tavus Pentateuch version was transliterated from its Hebrew characters into Persian characters by Thomas Hyde and incorporated into the famous London Polyglot Bible of Bishop

Bryan Walton was an interest aroused in this new branch of Jewish-Persian literature.

It was long believed that until then this Judaeo-Persian Pentateuch translation was not only the oldest, but also the sole literary achievement produced by Persian Jews. It became evident, however, that this Tavus Pentateuch translation actually represents the culmination of Judaeo-Persian Bible studies which had been going on for many centuries long before Tavus completed his own translation.

This assumption has been corroborated by early Judaeo-Persian Bible manuscripts, the oldest of which is a Pentateuch version of 1319 A.D., now in the British Museum, and by the systematic collection of Jewish-Persian Bible manuscripts at the beginning of the 17th century by the Florentine scholar Giambattista Vecchietti. The manuscripts he had recovered in the Jewish communities of Hamadān, Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, Lār and Yazd represented Judaeo-Persian versions of the Pentateuch and the Psalms and of all other biblical books, as well as books of the Apocrypha, all belonging to the early 14th century.

Despite the different origins of these Judaeo-Persian translations, they show a certain uniformity in style, which leads to the assumption that they were the work of the same school of translators who flourished in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The authors of Judaeo-Persian Bible translations and lexicographical treatises such as *Sefer ha-Meliṣa* or *Agron* and dictionaries show an astounding degree of familiarity with leading biblical and rabbinical authorities of the West, and, following faithfully the traditional method of Bible interpretation, utilized not only Targum Onkelos, Talmud, Midrash, Sa'adyā Gaon and Hai Gaon, but also Western commentators such as Rashi, Redaḳ, Abraham b. Ezra and others.

### 3. Judaeo-Persian Poetry.

The literary abilities of the Persian Jews found their most characteristic manifestation in the field of original Judaeo-Persian poetry. This new branch was opened up by the 14th century Jewish poet Mawlānā Shāhīn of Shīrāz, who dedicated his talents to the writing of Bible-centred poetry and who can be regarded as the first Judaeo-Persian poet. Under the influence of classical Persian poetry, inspired by a keen desire to promote a deeper knowledge of the Jewish past and imbued with a profound Jewish consciousness and loyal adherence to his religious heritage, Shāhīn began to make the biblical narrative the topic of his writings.

His life work represents a poetical paraphrase, a reinterpretation of the Pentateuch, using the traditional epic style of the classical Persian poets. It is known as *Sefer Sharḥ Shāhīn 'al ha-Torah*, written in Persian with Hebrew characters.

Four distinct works of Shāhīn can be discerned: a Moses-nāma, a commentary to Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy (completed about 1327); an Ardāshīr-nāma (completed about 1332) consisting of the story of Esther and Mordecai and the story of Shero and Mahzad, a typical Iranian love story; an Ezra-nāma, dealing mainly with the ascension and rule of King Cyrus the Great and the building of the Temple of Jerusalem; and a Genesis-nāma (completed about 1358), which includes the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā.

In all his poetical writings, Shāhīn has taken over the typical features of the Persian poetic art and applied the patterns, forms, technique, metre and language of Persian classical poetry, particularly that of Firdawsī and Niẓāmī, to his presentation of Is-

rael's religious heroes and events as told in the biblical narrative.

By selecting Jewish themes as the subject of his poetry and by celebrating the heroes of the Bible in a way typical of Persian classical poetry, Shāhīn has indeed produced the most typical literary monument of the centuries-long association of Jews with Iran. In the memory of Persian-speaking Jews all over the Eastern diaspora, Shāhīn is admired as "Our Master Shāhīn of Shīrāz" (Mawlānā Shāhīn Shīrāzi), and hailed as the founder of Judaeo-Persian poetry.

By writing his poetry in the Hebrew script, however, Shāhīn prevented his work from becoming known in Muslim-Persian literary circles and thus never gained admittance to the annals of Persian literature.

Two centuries later another Judaeo-Persian poet appeared in Shīrāz, the birthplace of Shāhīn, in the person of 'Imrānī. Inspired by Shāhīn's poetical epic of the Jewish past, 'Imrānī made the post-Mosaic period, the historical books of the Bible including Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings up to the time of David and Solomon, the subject of his poetical presentation. His major work, *Faṭḥ-nāma* (The Book of the Conquest), was composed around 1523; followed by *Gandī-nāma* (The Book of the Treasures), a free poetical paraphrase and commentary of the first four chapters of the Mishna treatise *Pirḳē Abōth* (Sayings of the Fathers).

That type of Judaeo-Persian poetry was continued by Yahuda Lāri, of the city of Lār; only a small part of his verses has been preserved, including *Makḥzan al-Pand* (The Treasure House of Exhortation).

### 4. Classical Persian Poetry in Hebrew Transliteration.

Persian Jews, far from living in a cultural vacuum in isolation, took also a keen interest in the literary and poetical works of their Muslim neighbours and shared with them the admiration for the classical Persian poetry of a Firdawsī, a Niẓāmī, Rūmī, Sa'dī, Ḥāfiz, Djāmī and others. In order to introduce selections of these literary products into the Jewish community they transliterated the Persian texts into the Hebrew script while retaining the language, metre and rhyme of the original Persian poetry. Through this remarkable process a new branch of Judaeo-Persian literature came into being.

Among the various types of Persian classical poetry, the romantic, the lyrical and the didactic, there have been preserved: *Khusraw* and *Shīrīn* and *Haft Paykar* (The Seven Images) by Niẓāmī (d. 1201); some poems of the *Makḥnavī* by Djālāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273); some parts of the *Gulistān* by Sa'dī (d. 1291); the *Diwān* of Ḥāfiz (d. 1390); *Yūsuf and Zulaykhā* of Djāmī (d. 1414); portions of the *Diwān* of Šā'ib of Iṣfahān (d. 1678) [q.v.] and some others, all of which were made accessible in Hebrew transliteration and are preserved in various libraries in Europe, America and in Jerusalem.

Persian Jews evinced a lively interest also in the pictorial art and miniatures of their neighbours. In some of the Shāhīn and 'Imrānī manuscripts and in those of the classical poetry in Hebrew transliteration, large coloured miniatures and illuminations of exceptional beauty have been incorporated. They could well be regarded as typical Persian pictorial art were it not for the Hebrew lines on each miniature, which lends it a distinct Jewish character. Whether this pictorial art was cultivated by Jewish artists, or whether the Hebrew written explanations alone were the work of Jews, cannot be established. Nor can it

yet be ascertained whether and if so where there existed a school of such Jewish artists.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, under the impact of the persecution of the Jews and the policies of the Šafawid rulers, the literary productivity of Persian Jews was of a different genre. The literary output of that period mirrors the tragedy of Jewish existence. The torch of literary activity was carried on by a certain Bābā'ī b. Luṭf of Kāshān and Bābā'ī b. Farhād, who wrote *Kitāb-i Anūsī: The Book of the Events of the Forced Conversions of Persian Jewry to Islam*, a chronicle composed in Persian but written in Hebrew characters, which deals in poetic form with the martyrdom of the Jews in the time of Shāh 'Abbās I and Shāh 'Abbās II and his successors.

##### 5. *Literary Activities of the Jews of Bukhārā.*

In Bukhārā, where the Jews were not subjected to the persecution their brethren endured in Šafavid Persia, there appeared Jewish poets and translators who began to create Jewish literature and poetry in their own Tādjiki dialect. The most outstanding was Yūsuf Yahūdī (d. 1755), an exponent of biblical narrative. He wrote *Mukhammas*, an ode in praise and glory of Moses; *Haft Bivāderān* (The Seven Brothers), based on the Midrash of the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother; and bilingual and trilingual hymns honouring biblical heroes. He wrote also a commentary (*tafsīr*) to *Megillat Antiochus* and translated many of the *Zemirōth* of Israel Najāra into the dialect of Bukhāran Jews, incorporated into the Judaeo-Persian song-books used until today.

Inspired by him, a school of Jewish poets in Bukhārā emerged, among them Benjamin b. Mishal, known also as Amina, who published *Megillat Esther* in Judaeo-Persian translation, in metric form and translated some poems of Ibn Gabirol [*q.v.*], such as *Asharōth* and *Yigdal*, into Judaeo-Persian.

One of the finest poetical products in the Bukhāran Jewish dialect of the end of the 18th century we owe to the Jewish poet Mollā Ibrāhīm b. Abū'l Khayr. In his *Khodāādād* he narrated the tragic story of a Jewish merchant by the name of Nathaniel (Khodāydād) who, refusing to become a Muslim despite all the promises and temptations of the ruler and his neighbours, died a martyr. In making this event the subject of his poem, the author gives an interesting picture of the religious and political conditions in which the Jews of Bukhārā lived in the second part of the 18th century under the rule of Emīr Ma'šūm (1788). This poetical work furnished at the same time a most authentic documentation of the linguistic peculiarities of Bukhāran Jews.

##### 6. *Revival of Judaeo-Persian literature in Jerusalem.*

Judaeo-Persian literature experienced an unforeseen development in the second half of the 19th century, not in Persia but in Jerusalem. This was precipitated by a wave of immigration into Palestine of Persian speaking Jews from Bukhārā, Turkestan, Afghanistan and Persia, who initiated the establishment in Jerusalem of a publishing centre, a printing press for Judaeo-Persian literature, intended to meet the literary and liturgical needs of the Persian Jews in Jerusalem and in the Diaspora. Though Jerusalem was not the first place of Judaeo-Persian printing activities, and some Judaeo-Persian books had been previously published by European scholars as well as by Bukhāran Jews (particularly in Vienna and Vilna by the latter)—not to mention the first Judaeo-Persian print of any time in Istanbul in 1546—Jerusalem became the exclusive centre of Judaeo-Persian printing activities. From then on, all the liturgical and literary needs of Persian-speaking

Jews were satisfied from Jerusalem and its Judaeo-Persian press.

It can hardly be attempted, nor is it intended here, even to enumerate the results of these printing and publishing activities in Jerusalem; their extent and quantity would preclude such a survey. Almost everything that was thought fit to strengthen the religious and literary interests of Persian-speaking Jews was printed and published. Every field of Jewish literature, Bible, Bible commentaries, prayer books for every occasion, rabbinical writings, Mishna and *Zohar*, religious philosophy, medieval Jewish poetry, *Piyyūṭim*, *Seliḥōth*, *Pizmonim*, *Midrashim*, historical narratives, anthologies of songs and stories—all these were translated into Judaeo-Persian, printed and distributed. Even secular literature from other than Jewish sources, such as parts of the Arabian Nights, and a part of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, which appealed greatly to the imagination of the Oriental Jew, found its way to the translators and printers. It is of great significance that these Judaeo-Persian publishing activities represented a collective effort, a co-operative endeavour of all the various groups of Persian-speaking Jewry; Jews of Bukhārā joined hands with the Jews of Persia and Afghanistan and participated in the greatest common cultural enterprise in the history of Oriental Jewry.

Among the many outstanding figures who participated in this collective enterprise, mention ought to be made of Solomon Babadiān b. Pinchasof of Samarkand, an editor, author, translator and publisher, and of Simon Hākhām of Bukhārā.

One of the most outstanding Bukhāran Jewish scholars in the last centuries who can be credited with a major share in the promotion of Judaeo-Persian literature was Simon Hākhām, who, born in Bukhārā in 1843, moved in 1890 to Jerusalem, joining the rapidly-increasing colony of Bukhāran Jews, and it was there that he began his activities as author, translator, editor, and publisher of Judaeo-Persian works. The crown and glory of his many impressive literary accomplishments was his translation of the Bible into the Judaeo-Persian dialect of the Bukhāran Jews, into Tādjik.

With this monumental achievement, Simon Hākhām entered the ranks of the great Jewish Bible translators. What Sa'adyā Gaon accomplished for the Arabic-speaking Jews, what Moses Mendelssohn did for the German-speaking Jews, and what Joseph b. Tavus did for the Persian-speaking Jews, Simon Hākhām created for the Tādjiki-speaking Jews of Bukhārā and Central Asia.

The interest in Judaeo-Persian literature led in the early decades of this century to the establishment of a Hebrew printing press also in Tehran, which produced many Judaeo-Persian works aiming at a revival of the religious and cultural life of Persian Jews.

##### 7. *The European investigation of Judaeo-Persian literature.*

The ever-increasing number of Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which in the last century had reached European libraries (Parma, the Vatican, Paris, London, Oxford, Copenhagen, Jerusalem, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Berlin and others) aroused the interest of Western scholars and led to important publications and investigations. An unexpected development in the field of Judaeo-Persian studies took place when the London scholar, Elkan N. Adler, brought back from his journeys to Bukhārā and Persia in 1896-8 hitherto unknown Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which

opened up entirely new vistas. The more than one-hundred Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which he recovered changed fundamentally the prevailing conceptions as to the genre, scope and quality of the literary productivity of Persian-speaking Jews. While most of the manuscripts in European libraries were translations of books of the Bible or of the Apocrypha, creating thus the impression that their works were mostly of a religious character, Adler's collection revealed an all-embracing literature, not only translations, but also original works, not only religious literature, but literature of a secular character, poetry and prose, stories and philology. This collection showed that no sphere of literary endeavour had been neglected by Persian Jews in their own language. In 1923 Elkan Adler's manuscript collection was acquired by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York.

The most decisive contribution to the investigation of Judaeo-Persian literature was made by the Hungarian scholar, Wilhelm Bacher (d. 1913) who, stimulated by the literary treasures long dormant in the European libraries and above all E. N. Adler's collection, turned his attention to this field; and through a continuous flow of studies and monographs he became the undisputed authority.

In the early 20th century, Tehran emerged as a centre of Judaeo-Persian printing activities, supplementing the Judaeo-Persian publications issued in Jerusalem. It is a sign of the cultural assimilation of the Persian-speaking Jews to their surroundings that they began to express their literary compositions no longer through the Hebrew script but through Persian characters, thus terminating, probably forever, the once flourishing Judaeo-Persian creativity.

The importance of Judaeo-Persian literature has most recently been summed up by J. Rypka (*History of Iranian Literature*, 1968, p. 740), in these words: "Judaeo-Persian literature may be regarded as lying near the periphery yet within the circumference of Persian literature. Nevertheless it is of extreme importance in its national and religious aspects for the Jewish colonies in the regions concerned, and linguistically for Iranian studies as a whole. The larger the collections of Judaeo-Persian manuscripts become, and the more minutely they are subjected to expert investigation, the greater will be their value for Iranistic scholars. A great deal has already been achieved in both these aspects, but it is still far too little. It is quite possible that the ancient Judaeo-Persian transliterations will prove valuable in the preparation of critical editions of many a Persian text."

*Bibliography:* 1. General. Indispensable for further references on all topics of Judaeo-Persian language and literature are the many publications by W. Bacher; see his bibliography by L. Blau, Budapest 1910, and D. Friedman, Budapest 1928. For an up-to-date survey see: W. J. Fischel, *The Bible in Persian translation: a contribution to the history of Bible translations in Persia and India*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge 1952, 3-45; idem, *Israel in Iran: a survey of Judaeo-Persian literature*, in *The Jews, their history, culture and religion*, ed. L. Finkelstein, New York 1960, 3rd revised ed., 1149-1190; W. J. Fischel, *Ha-morasha ha-sifrutit shel yehudey dovey parsith*, in *Maasaf l'Hokhmat Israel*, Jerusalem 1972; J. P. Asmussen, *Jewish-Persian texts, Introduction, selection, and glossary*, Wiesbaden 1968; J. P. Asmussen, *Studier i Jødisk-Persisk Litteratur*,

Copenhagen 1970; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 737-740.

2. Judaeo-Persian Manuscript Collections: E. N. Adler, *GINZE PARAS U-MADAY... The Persian Jews, their books and ritual*, London 1899. See the catalogues of manuscripts in the libraries of Paris (Zotenberg, Blochet); Parma (G. B. de Rossi); St. Petersburg (Harkavy and Strack, C. Saleman, A. Freimann, W. Ivanow); British Museum (J. Darmesteter, H. Derenbourg, G. Margoliouth, M. Seligsohn, and S. Rosenwasser 1966); Oxford (Neubauer and Cowley); Copenhagen; Jerusalem (Ben Zvi Institute, Hebrew University Library); the Vatican (E. Rossi, Levi Della Vida) and D. S. Sassoon Catalogue *Ohel David*. For collections in the U.S.A., see Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, (Adler Collection) and E. Spicehandler, *A descriptive list of Judaeo-Persian Manuscripts at the Klau Library of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati*, in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati 1968, 114-36.

3. On Printed Works in Judaeo-Persian: L. Zunz, *Die persischen Bibelversionen der Juden*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin 1876, iii, 135-6; W. Bacher, *Judaeo-Persian Literature*, in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York and London 1905, vii, 317-24; M. Steinschneider, *Allgemeine Einleitung in die Jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters*, Jerusalem 1938; B. Friedberg, ed. *Bêt Eqed Sefarim. Bibliogr. lexicon of the whole Hebrew and Jewish-German lit. incl. of the Arab, Greek, French-Provençal, Italian, Latin, Persian, Samaritan, Spanish, Portuguese and Tartarian works*, Antwerp 1928 ff. and 2nd ed., i-iv, Tel-Aviv 1954; T. H. Darlow and F. H. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, iv, London 1911, 1201-1209; W. J. Fischel, *Zur jüdisch-persischen Literatur der jüngsten Zeit*, in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Breslau 1933, 113-127.

4. On Early J. P. Documents and Language: W. Geiger, *Bemerkungen über das Judäo-persisch*, in *G. Ir. Ph.*, i, 408-12; Th. Noeldeke, *Judaeo-Persica nach St. Petersburger Hss. mitgeteilt von Karl Salemann*, in *ZDMG*, li (1897), 548-53 and 669-76; C. Salemann, *Zum mittelpersischen Passiv*, in *Bull. Ac. Imp. des Sc. de St. Petersburg*, 52 série, xiii (1900), 269-76; idem, *Judaeo-Persica*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. II; R. Abrahamian, *Dialectes des Israélites de Hamadan et d'Ispahan et dialecte de Baba Tahir*, Paris 1936; D. S. Margoliouth, *A Jewish-Persian Law Report*, in *JQR*, xi (1899), 671-5; idem, *An early Judaeo-Persian document from Khotan in the Stein Collection, with other early Persian documents*, in *JRAS*, 1903, 735-60; V. Minorsky, *Early Hebrew Persian documents*, in *JRAS*, 1942, 181-94; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Une inscription hébraïque d'Afghanistan*, *Ac. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres, Comptes-Rendus*, Paris 1946, 252-7; W. J. Fischel, *Encore un mot à propos de l'inscription hébraïque d'Afghanistan*, in *JA*, n.s. ccxxxvii (1949), 299-300; S. M. Stern, *A propos de l'inscription juive d'Afghanistan*, in *JA*, n.s. ccxxxvii (1949), 47-9; W. B. Henning, *The inscription of Tang-i-Azao*, in *BSOAS*, Bulletin School of Oriental and African Studies, xx (1957), 335-42; idem, *Mitteliranisch*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler, Abt. 1, Bd. 4, Abschn. 1. *Iranistik*, Leiden and

Cologne 1958, 79-81; B. Utas, *The Jewish-Persian Fragment from Dandān-Uiliq*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, Uppsala, vol. xvii, 123-36; Sh. Shaked, *Judaeo-Persian Notes*, in *Israel Oriental Studies I*, Tel Aviv 1971, 178-82.

For the latest studies on Judaeo-Persian documents, see: G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963; G. Gnoli, *Le Iscrizioni Giudeo-Persiane del Gūr (Afghanistan)*, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. xxx, Rome 1964; J. P. Asmussen, *Judaeo-Persica II: the Jewish-Persian Law Report from Ahwāz, A. D. 1020*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxix (1965), 49-60; W. J. Fischel, *The rediscovery of the Medieval Jewish Community at Firūzkāh in Central Afghanistan*, in *JAOS*, 1965, 148-53; E. L. Rapp, *Die Jüdisch-Persisch-Hebräischen Inschriften aus Afghanistan*, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Munich 1965; idem, *The date of the Judaeo-Persian Inscription of Tang-i Azao in Central Afghanistan*, in *East and West*, xvii (Rome 1967), 51-8; E. L. Rapp, *Die Persisch-Hebräischen Inschriften Afghanestans, aus dem 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, in *Jahrbuch der Vereinigung Freunde der Universität Mainz*, 1971, 1-53; G. Lazard, *La Dialectologie du Judeo-Persian*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati 1968, 77-98; D. N. MacKenzie, *Judaeo-Persica*, in *JRAS*, 1966, 68 (see also vol. 31, 1968, pp. 249-269); W. Sundermann, *Zum Judenpersisch des Mas'at Binyāmīn*, in *Mitt. für Orientforschung*, xi/2, 1965, 273-98;

5. On J. P. Bible translations:

K. D. Hassler, *Nachricht von einer bisher noch unbekanntenen unmittelbaren persischen Uebersetzung der salomonischen Schriften, "Song of Songs"*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, ii, 1829, 469-80; Salomon Munk, *Notice sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon et sa Version Arabe*, Paris 1838; H. Zotenberg, *Geschichte Daniels*, in *Archiv für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments (Merk Archiv)*, i (1870), 385-427; A. Kohut, *Kritische Beleuchtung der persischen Pentateuchübersetzung des Jacob b. Joseph Tavus*, Leipzig 1871; P. Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, Göttingen 1884; H. Ethe, *Die Psalmen in hebräischen Text mit persischer Übersetzung*, Vienna 1883, in *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, Hrsg. von E. Kuhn, i, Leipzig 1883-1884, 186-94; I. Guidi, *Di una versione persiana del Pentateuco*, in *Rend. Linc.*, Rome 1885; P. Horn, *Zu den jüdisch-persischen Bibelübersetzungen*, in *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, ii (1893), 132-43; W. Bacher, *Ein hebräisch-persisches Wörterbuch aus dem XV. Jahrhundert*, in *Z.A.W.*, xvi (1896), 201-47; W. Bacher, *Ein Hebräisch-Persisches Wörterbuch aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert*, Strassburg 1899-1900; K. V. Zetterstéen, *Über die jüdisch-persische Übersetzung der Sprüche von Benjamin Ben Jochanan aus Buchara*, in *ZDMG*, liv (1900), 555-9; M. Schwab, *Une version persane de la Bible*, in *REJ*, lvi (1909), 303-6; R. Levy, *Daniel-Nama: Judaeo-Persian Apocalypse*, in *Jewish Studies in memory of G. A. Kohut*, New York 1935, 423-8; E. Z. Melamed, *Tafstr-Tehillim be Farsī*, in *Sefunoth*, ix (Jerusalem 1964), 295-319; idem, *Tafstr of the Psalms in J.P.*, Jerusalem 1968; H. Paper, *The Vatican Judaeo-Persian Pentateuch. Genesis*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxviii/3-4, 1965, 263-340; idem, *Judaeo-Persian Bible Translations, some sample texts*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati 1968, 99-113; J. P. Asmussen, *Judaeo-Persica IV, Einige Bemerkungen zu Baba ben Nuriel's Psalmübersetzung*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxx, 1966, 15-24; idem, *Vier ungewöhnliche Woerter... des jp Vatican Pentateuch*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxix (1966), 247-51; idem, *Den gammeltestamentliche litteratur pa jodisk-persisk*, Copenhagen, *Dansk. Teol. Tidsskr.*, 1965, 1-13; A. Netzer, *Dāniyāl-Nāme: an exposition of Judaeo-Persian*, in *Islam and its cultural divergence*, ed. G. L. Tikku, Urbana, Illinois 1971, 145-64.

6. On J. P. Poetry (Shāhin, 'Imrānī etc.) W. Bacher, *Zwei jüdisch-persische Dichter, Schahin und Imrānī*, Strassburg 1908; W. J. Fischel, *A new J. P. manuscript on Samuel by 'Imrānī*, in *Qiryat Sefer*, ix, 522-4; N. Mulloqandow and M. Rahimi (eds.), *Dostoni Ardashir wa Ester*, in *Šarqi surkh*, 1958, Nr. 3, 86-106, Nr. 4, 105-128; W. J. Fischel, *The Beginnings of Judaeo-Persian Literature*, in *Mélanges d'Orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 141-150; M. Rahimi, *Šohini Serozi*, in *Madanijoti Toğkiston*, 1958, Nr. 8, 12-17, cont. in *Šarqi surkh*, 1964, Nr. 2, 101-13; J. P. Asmussen, *Judaeo-Persica I. Šāhin-i Širāzi's Ardashir-nāma*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxviii, 1965, 245-61; D. Blieske, *Šāhin-e Širāzi's Ardashir-Buch*, Tübingen 1966; H. Striedl, *Die Miniaturen in einer Handschrift des jüdisch-persischen Ardashir-buches von Šāhin*, in *Forschungsberichte Marburger Kolloquium 1965*, Wiesbaden 1966, 119-33.

7. On J. P. Transliteration of Classical Poetry: S. J. A. Churchill, *A note on Judaeo-Persian Literature*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xvii (1888), 115; J. P. Asmussen, *Classical New Persian Literature in Jewish-Persian Version*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, viii, Cincinnati 1968, 44-53; J. Gutmann, *Judaeo-Persian Miniatures*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati 1968, 54-76.

8. On the Persian elements of the liturgy of the Chinese Jews of K'ai-feng, see D. Leslie, *The Judaeo-Persian Colophons to the Pentateuch of the K'ai-feng Jews*, in *Abr Nahrain*, University of Melbourne Annual, Leiden 1969, 1-35.

9. J. P. Literature in Šafawid times: M. Seligsohn, *Quatre poésies judéo-persanes sur les Persécutions des Juifs d'Ispahan*, in *REJ*, xlii (1902), 87-103, 244-259, and *REJ*, xlvii (1903), 262-82; W. Bacher, *Les Juifs de Perse au XVII et au XVIII siècles d'après les chroniques poétiques de Babai b. Louf et de Babai b. Farhad*, in *REJ*, li-liiii (1906); W. J. Fischel, *The Jews under the Safavid Dynasty in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, in *Zion*, ii (Jerusalem 1937), 273-93; J. P. Asmussen, *Babai b. Luf's J. P. Elija Lied*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1968, 131-5; Habib Levy, *Tārikh Yahūd-e Irān*, Tehran 1956, vol. iii; Hanina Misrahi, *The history of the Persian Jews and their poets*, Jerusalem 1966.

10. J. P. Literature of Bukhāran Jews: A. Ya'ari, *Sifre Yehudē Bukhāra*, Jerusalem 1942, where all the relevant studies by W. Bacher and other monographs on Bukhāran J. P. Literature are listed. C. Salemann, *Judaeo-Persica nach St. Petersburger Hss. I. Chudaiddat. Ein Juedisch-bucharisches Gedicht*, in *Mem. de l'Ac. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 7<sup>e</sup> série, xlii, no. 14, 1897; W. J. Fischel, *The leaders of the Jews of Bokhara*, in *Jewish Leaders (1750-1940)*, ed. L. Jung, New York 1953, 535-47; W. J. Fischel, *The Contribution of the Persian Jews to Iranian Culture and Literature*, in the forthcoming volume of the International Congress of Iranian Studies held in Shiraz, October 1971. (W. J. FISCHEL)



## ii — LANGUAGE

A number of Judaeo-Persian writings display linguistic characteristics which are not found in Persian texts in Arabic script. Amongst these one must distinguish between on the one hand stylistic peculiarities common to the translation of Scripture (word for word rendering of the Semitic text, use of certain rare or archaic forms), and on the other dialectal traits which reflect local varieties of spoken Persian. In all probability, these local dialects of New Persian were not peculiar to the Jews, but they have left scarcely any trace in literature written in Arabic script, where the classical language predominates to the virtual exclusion of other forms; however a considerable proportion of the Judaeo-Persian writings, notably all the earliest ones, are written in a language close to that of everyday speech. They are therefore of great interest for the light they throw on the historical dialectology of Persian.

Judaeo-Persian literature is not linguistically homogeneous. Several dialectical variations may be perceived, and with systematic exploration still others will probably be discovered.

1) The Dandān-Uyllk letter is noteworthy for certain archaisms (use of the *iḏāfa* particle to denote the relative (as in Middle-Persian), paucity of Arabic words) and by the presence of some Sogdian words.

2) In spite of differences of detail, the fragment in the British Museum, the commentary on Ezekiel, and the Story of Daniel, mentioned above, a translation of the Pentateuch preserved in the Vatican, and a few other texts, are a reflection of a single dialectal group, which can probably be situated in the south of Iran (Fārs and Khūzistān). In these texts various morphological characteristics (optative particle *ky*, preposition 'i, the form *tys* "thing" = classical *čiz*) are found, along with a fairly large number of words which are otherwise unknown in Persian but appear in Middle-Persian. Rather than being archaisms peculiar to this form of Judaeo-Persian, these traits must have been characteristic of spoken Persian around the 5th/11th-8th/14th centuries in the south of Iran, which had remained much closer to Middle-Persian than the classical language.

3) Writings which can be classified as literature, especially poetry from the 8th/14th-12th/18th centuries, are generally free from dialectal characteristics. Imitations of the great classical works, they are usually couched in the same idiom.

4) The literary and exegetic texts composed at Bukhārā from the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries bear the marks of their origin, all the more clearly when the style does not reach a particularly high standard. Their language, which might properly be called "Judaeo-Tādjik", is very close to the present day literary language of the Soviet Republic of Tādjikistān.

Judaeo-Iranian dialects. — Unlike Judaeo-Persian in the true sense, the unwritten dialects still in current use among certain communities in Persia, at Kāshān, Hamadān, Iṣfahān, Kirmān, and Shīrāz, are not varieties of Persian, but are related to the local dialects of these regions. The Judaeo-Tāt of the Caucasus (Soviet Dagestān and Ādharbāyjdān) is a variation of the Tāt dialect, in use among the Muslim population also: Tāt was raised to the status of a written language during the Soviet period. All these dialects could be designated "Judaeo-Iranian".

A curious language reported in 1924 among the Jews at Herāt appears to be merely a jargon based on Persian.

*Bibliography:* State of the question and bibliography: G. Lazard, *La dialectologie du judéo-persan*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, viii (a special issue on Judaeo-Persian studies), Cincinnati 1968, 77-98. See also: D. N. MacKenzie, *An early Jewish-Persian argument*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 249-69 (publication of the ms. Br. Mus. Or. 8659); E. L. Rapp, *The date of the Judaeo-Persian inscriptions at Tang-i Asao in Central Afghanistan*, in *East and West*, xvii (1967), 51-8. (G. LAZARD)

JUDGE [see קָאָפּ].

JUDGMENT [see הַחֲקֵם].

JURISPRUDENCE [see פִּיקְחָ].

JUSTICE [see 'אֲדָל].

For other words generally written in English with J, see Dj.

## K

KA'ĀNĪ, ḤABĪB ALLĀH (1808-54) was the greatest Persian poet of the Kādjar period. He was born at Shīrāz, lost his father, the poet Gulshān, at the age of eleven and found a patron in the governor of Shīrāz, Ḥasan 'Alī Mirzā Shudjā' al-Saltāna, who gave him the pen-name of Kā'ānī. As a court panegyrist he was granted by Muḥammad Shāh the title of *Ḥassān al-'Adjām*. He settled in Tehran shortly before 1848 and was favoured by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh with the title of *Malik al-Shu'arā'*. Kā'ānī was a man of erudition, and the first Persian poet to master French. His *diwān* contains 23,000 verses mostly of panegyric character. His critical attitude towards society is reflected in his *Kitāb-i Parīshān*, conceived on the model of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. As a poet Kā'ānī was a past master in the classical *ḥaṣīda* of the Khurāsānī style; however, apart from stylistic virtuosity his poetry contains little serious content.

*Bibliography:* Mirzā Tāhir, *Gandj-i Shāyagān*,

lith. Tehran 1855; Hidāyat, *Maḏjma' al-Fuṣṣahā'*, lith. Tehran 1877; Browne, iv, 326-35; J. L. Bertel's *Autobiografii, Doklady AN SSSR 1927*, 13n; V. Kubičková, *Qā'ānī, Poète persan du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Prague 1954; Bahār, *Sabk-shīnāsi*, iii, 333; M. Dj. Maḥdǔb, *Diwān-i Kā'ānī*, Tehran 1957; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 329-31; A. Pagliaro-A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 510-22. (M. SHAKI)

KAARTA, a region of Mali with an area of around 54,000 square km. It is bounded on the north by Mauritanian Hōdh, on the south by Beledugu and Fuladugu, and on the west by the River Senegal from the western branch of the River Kulu as far as the Baoulé junction. The rivers of this vast schistose plateau tilting to the south east flow into Senegal. The climate is that of the Saharan zone: a brief season of abundant rain followed by a very long dry season. The vegetation is wooded or shrubbed

savannah. The land on the river banks often produces two harvests. The main crops are millet, maize, rice, peanuts, cotton and indigo. In the villages gardens are cultivated around the wells. Stock-farming is relatively well developed. The districts of Kaarta are Diafunu (Tambaraka) and Diomboko (Koniakari), Guidioumé (Niogomera) to the north of Diafunu; Tomora (Dida), Baghé and Kaarta Biné to the north of Fuladugu; Dianghaté to the east, and Kingui (Nioro). The main peoples are the Bambara and the Soninke, but the population also includes Khassonke, Fulani and Maures. The Bambara Massassi have a secret religious association known as the *Bouri*. Missionary activity for Islam is considerable.

Kaarta was visited by the British explorers Houghton and Mungo Park in 1795 and described by Duranton in 1828, Raffanel in 1864, Mage and Quintin in 1863 and Lenz in 1880.

Previously part of the empire of Ghāna [q.v.] and then that of Mali, Kaarta was divided between a number of principalities after the Mali uprising. At the end of the 17th century, a Bambara chief, Niangolo, settled in Sunsana, near Murdia, and created the Bambara kingdom on the left bank of the Niger. His son Sunsa married a girl named Keita, and it was their son Massa who gave his name to the Bambara Massassi. A notable farmer as well as progenitor, he had such good-looking children that their profitable marriages added to the extent of the kingdom.

Benefali enlarged the country still more, but his brother Fulekoro was defeated by Biton Kulubali, who united the two kingdoms (1754). Fulekoro's successors, Sey Bamana and Deniba-Bo, were little more than chiefs of a band of brigands who conducted raids. Sira-Bo (1761-80) took up residence in Guémao and extended his kingdom. Desse Kulubali (1788-99) took advantage of the dissension between the Bambara princes of Segu, sons of Ngolo Diara. He supported Namiankoro, but the latter was defeated by Da Manson, who then invaded Kaarta and captured the capital, Guemu (1796). Succeeding his brother, Mussa Kurabo (1799-1808) waged a campaign against 'Abd al-Kādir, *almamy* of Futa Toro. N'tin Koro (1808-11) and Sakhaba (1811-15) preceded Bodian Moriba (1815-32), who joined combat with Diawara and Khassohke. After Garan (1832-43), Mamady Kahdian (1843-54) left Yelimane and settled first in Kadie and then in Nioro (1847); the Diawara were driven back towards the desert before being defeated by the Tukulors of al-Hādīdjī 'Umar (1854).

The latter installed a viceroy; in 1874 this position was held by Mutaga, brother of Ahmadu. When besieged in Nioro, Mutaga blew up his establishment. Meanwhile the Massassi who had been defeated by al-Hādīdjī 'Umar took refuge in Bangassi (Fuladugu) under Mori, commander of Diringa, who died in 1870. Under his successor, Bussei, the Massassi split into two factions: one settled in Guemu-Kura (Kaarta-Bine) while the other moved to Diani (Gadiaga). The Bambara Massassi were reunited by Archinard, leader of Kaarta in 1891, after the capture of Nioro. Kaarta was divided once again between the provinces of Nioro, Kita and Kays in former French Sudan. No striking changes in local political structure have resulted from Mali independence in 1960.

*Bibliography:* D. Diallo, *La chasse (région du Fouladougou et du Kaarta)*, in *Education africaine*, xciii (1934), 93-110; R. Furon, *Le Kaarta*, in *Bull. Mus. Histoire Nat.*, xl (1930), 470-3, 2 maps; idem, *Les gisements préhistoriques du Kaarta*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1930, 31-5; Godin de Lepinay, *Note sur les chances de possibilité d'une réunion du*

*Niger et du Sénégal par le Kaarta*, in *Bull. Soc. Et. Coloniales et maritimes*, xvi (1891), 287-9; Edt. de Lartigue, *Notice historique sur la région de Sahel*, in *BCAF*, 1898, 69-101; J. Lemoine, *Mission hydrogéologique au Soudan*, in *BURGEAP*, 1957; E. Mage, *Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental (1863-1870)*, Paris 1868; Ch. Monteil, *Les Bambara de Ségou et du Kaarta*, Paris 1924; A. Raffanel, *Nouveau Voyage au pays des nègres*, Paris 1856; P. Soleillet, *Voyage à Ségou*, Paris 1887; Lt. Sugols, *La justice au Soudan Français*, in *BCHSAOF*, 1897, 113-29; L. Tauxier, *Histoire des Bambara*, Paris 1942. (R. CORNEVIN)

**BANŪ KA'ĀB**, an Arab tribe which occupies, at present, parts of Khūzistān in South Western Iran. The Banū Ka'āb comprise several clans, and they are therefore known to the inhabitants of eastern Arabia and southern 'Irāk as *al-Ku'ūb* (in 18th century European sources *Chaub*). Arab authors and genealogists do not speak of them in detail but usually list them under Ka'āb b. Rabī'a. They are said to belong to Kays 'Aylān, a major central and eastern Arabian tribe. They do not seem to have emigrated from there to southern 'Irāk and south western Iran before the 17th century. By the time of the Danish traveller Niebuhr (1765), they seem to have gained some notoriety among the inhabitants of that area. The Turks, the Persians and the British were among their victims, and each of these powers failed to subdue Shaykh Salmān, the Ka'āb chief, during the second half of the 18th century. Qubbān, Dawraq and Fallāhiyya are mentioned among their fortified towns. Their second prominent ruler after Salmān was his great grandson Thāmir (1837-40).

Like other Arab tribes inhabiting Iran, they mingled with the non-Arab population and are slowly losing their Arab identity. The main divisions of the tribe are: the Drīs, the Muqaddam, the Khanāfira and the Ḥazbih.

The Banū Ka'āb cannot be described as completely settled, nor on the other hand is any considerable portion of them truly Bedouin. The bulk of the tribe is now semi-nomadic. At the zenith of their power shortly after 1775, the jurisdiction of their chief seems to have extended from the neighbourhood of Baṣra to the confines of Bihbahān; but their influence declined as that of the Muḥaysin of Muḥammara rose, and the chiefs of the Banū Ka'āb, stripped of political power, sank into undistinguished vassals of the Shaykh of Muḥammara, who early in the 20th century became, in turn, a vassal of the Iranian monarchs.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishṭikāḥ*, ed. Cairo 1958, 295; Ibn Rasūl, *Turfat al-aṣḥāb fī ma'rifat al-ansāb*, Damascus 1949, 15, 28; Yāqūt, i, 773, iii, 908; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Cairo 1954, ii, 338; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam Kabā'il al-'arab*, Damascus 1949, iii, 984-87; C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1780, ii, 160 ff.; East India Company, *Factory Records-Persia and the Persian Gulf*, India Office Library, London, Vols. 16 and 17; Baron C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, 111-19; A. H. Layard, *A Description of the Province of Khuzistan in J.R.G.S.*, xvi (1846), 36-45; W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susania*, London 1857, 279-86; W. F. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1888, 205-18; G. W. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 231-38; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908, ii, 947-63. (A. M. ABU-HAKIMA)

**KA' B. AL-ASHRAF**, opponent of Muḥammad at Medina, reckoned to belong to his mother's clan al-Naḍīr, though his father was an Arab of the Nabḥān section of Ṭayyī'. He presumably followed the Jewish custom of taking his religion from his mother, but it is doubtful if he was a scholar, as the words in a poem *sayyid al-ahbār* (Ibn Hishām, 659, 12) would imply, if the poem were genuine. Aroused by the deaths of many leading Meccans at Badr, he went to Mecca and used his considerable poetic gifts (he is called *fahl faṣīḥ* in *K. al-Aghānī*) to incite Quraysh to fight the Muslims. On his return to Medina he composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about Muslim women. When Muḥammad asked for someone to rid him of this man, Muḥammad b. Maslama offered. He collected four others, including Ka'b's foster-brother Abū Nā'ila b. Salāma. By pretending to have turned against Muḥammad they enticed Ka'b out of his *uḥum* (fort, castle) on a moonlight night and killed him in spite of his vigorous resistance. The date is given by al-Wāqidī as 14 Rabī' I 3/4 Sept. 624, but this conflicts with the date he gives for Muḥammad's expedition to Dhū Amarr (12-22 Rabī' I/2-12 Sept.), since Muḥammad was present in Medina at the time of the killing. In view of this, and of the report of al-Ḥalabī that, when Banu 'l-Naḍīr were attacked in Rabī' I 4/Aug. 625, they were mourning for Ka'b, it has been suggested that Ka'b's death was shortly before this attack (cf. Ibn Hishām, 658.18; 659.12). The alleged ruins of Ka'b's *uḥum* are still extant at Medina (M. Hamīdullah, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking 1953; reprinted from *The Islamic Review*, 1952, 1953).

*Bibliography*: Ibn Hishām, 548-51, 657-9; al-Wāqidī, ed. Marsden Jones, 121 f., 184-92; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1368-72; al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'Uyūn*, Cairo 1308, iii, 176-9; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tamhīh*, 243; *Aghānī*, xix, 106 f.; L. Caetani, *Annali*, i, 534-7; A. J. Wesinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 152-5; R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Muhammads*, Berlin 1910, 66-9; Fr. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, 250 f.; W. M. Watt, *Muhammed at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 210 f.; M. J. Kister, *The market of the Prophet*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 272-6.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**KA' B. DJU'AYL AL-TAGHLABĪ**, a minor Arab poet of the 1st/7th century whom Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḥāt*, 485-9) places in the 3rd rank of Islamic poets. His genealogy varies with the different authors (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Tab.* 165, no doubt provides the most accurate one), and very little is known of his life. Probably born during the earliest years of the *Hidjra*, he made his appearance at the time of the battle of Šiffin (37/657) as an intimate of Mu'āwiya, of whom, like most of the *Taghlib* [*q.v.*], he was a passionate supporter. The conflict with 'Alī inspired him to write a number of poems, in particular a verse which Mu'āwiya considered worthy of appending to a letter addressed to his adversary and to which al-Nadījāshī made a reply (al-Dinawarī, *Ṭi-wāl*, 170; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 281-2), and later some elegies on the death of 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Khaṭṭāb, killed in the battle (Ibn Sallām, 488-9; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3315; *Nasab Quraysh*, 355-6; Yāqūt, s.v. Šiffin; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳ'at Šiffin*, 336, 410; *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, i, 498-9; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 265), and a poem in praise of Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (Ibn Sallām, 486-7; al-Marzubānī, *Mu'djam*, 344; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 632; Yāqūt, s.v. Aḏhrub). Among the surviving fragments of his writings (about

80 verses) there also exist some panegyrics of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kḥālīd b. al-Walīd (*Nasab Quraysh*, 325-6), a *hidjā'* of al-Mughīra b. Šu'ba (d. 50/670; *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, ii, 182) and some verses composed between 50 and 59/670-9 in Medina, where he was to be found in the company of the governor, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ (Ibn Sallām, 255, 271; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2838, cf. ii, 107), enjoying the poetry of al-Farazdaq.

According to tradition, it was to Ka'b b. Dju'ayl that his young fellow-tribesman al-Akḥṭal [*q.v.*] owed his soubriquet (Ibn Sallām, 250, 396; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, viii, 280-1); according to a frequently quoted *khabar* (al-Djāhīz, *Bayān*, i, 63, 172; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 456, 631-2; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 153; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xv, 83), he is said to have suggested to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya who, prior to 60/680, had ordered him to write some poems attacking 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Ṭḥābit, that he should entrust al-Akḥṭal with this mission, since he himself refused to attack the Anṣār. On the basis of certain variants which are to be found in the reply made by Ka'b (and which incidentally are far from conclusive), L. Cheikho (*Shu'arā' al-Naṣrāniyya ba'd al-Islām*, 204) tries to show that the poet was then still a Christian, but all the evidence leads to the assumption that he had been converted to Islam.

He appears again (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, v, 13), at some uncertain date, on the Mirbad of Baṣra, in the company of several poets, in particular al-Nābiḡha al-Dī'ādī (on the relations between the two men, see M. Nallino, in *RSO*, xiv (1934), 404-5 and *Le poesie di an-Nabigah*, Rome 1953, 120). If al-Balādhurī (*An-sāb*, xi, 212) is correct, he lived long enough to write a panegyric of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65/685-86/705); the lines which he quotes appear however in a long *ḥasīda* of al-Ḳuṭāmī (ed. J. Barthe, Leiden 1902, 88, lines 89-90).

Ibn Sallām describes Ka'b b. Dju'ayl as a *muflīḥ* poet, but his *diwān* does not appear to have been collected, although his poems have enjoyed a certain reputation since Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*] set some of his lines to music (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iii, 275). Finally, the anthologists have been guilty of some errors in attributing to him verses by the pre-Islamic poet 'Umayra/'Amīra b. Dju'ayl/Dju'al (Cheikho, *Shu'arā' al-N. ḥabī al-Islām*, 195-6) or in regarding this poet as his brother (Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 631-2; al-Baḡh-dādī, *Kḥizāna*, Būlāk, i, 458 = Cairo, iii, 44). The passage quoted by Ibn Sallām (486-7) and other authors affords evidence of these misunderstandings.

*Bibliography*: The only account of any length is that of L. Cheikho, *Shu'arā' al-Naṣrāniyya ba'd al-Islām*, 203-12. In addition to the sources mentioned in the art., see: Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 345; Dinawarī, *Ṭi-wāl*, 192; Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 84; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, ix, 72; Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭikāk*, 203; Sharīshī, *Sharḥ*, ii, 86; *Nahā'id*, 619; Yāqūt, s.v. al-Ḥīra; Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 79-80; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, index; R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 65-6 and bibl. under reference. (CH. PELLAT)

**KA' B. MĀLIK**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH OR ABŪ 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, one of the poets supporting Muḥammad, was an Anṣārī of the clan of Salīma of the tribe of al-Kḥazraḍī [see AL-ANṢĀR]. He must have been born before 600 A.D., since he is said to have taken part in the internal fighting in Medina before the *Hidjra*, and to have been present at the second 'Aḳaba [*q.v.*], when allegiance was sworn to Muḥammad. He was not present at Badr, but took part in most of the subsequent expeditions led by Muḥammad. At Uḥud he received several wounds and was the first to recognize Muḥammad after the rumour

that he had been killed. Some reports say that it was he who was charged with collecting the *ṣadaqa* from the tribes of Aslam and Ḡhifār. For a reason which is not clear he remained in Medina during the expedition to Tabūk in autumn 9/630, and afterwards, with two others, was "sent to Coventry" until reprieved by the revelation of Sūra IX, 117/18 f. He seems to have had some links with Ḡhassān, and this may have had something to do with his avoidance of the expedition. When the Emigrants first came to Medina, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh was assigned to him as "brother", and some association continued between the two. He was later known as a partisan of 'Uṭhmān ('Uṭhmānī), supporting him as caliph and composing an elegy after his death. In accordance with this attitude he refused to pay homage to 'Alī. He later became blind and died in 50/670 or 53/673.

Many members of his family were noted for poetical gifts. Muḥammad realised the importance of poets in forming public opinion, and, following Sūra XXVI, 227 (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*), regarded Ka'b as one of his poets along with Ḡhassān b. Ṭhābit [q.v.] and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawḥa [q.v.]. Much of Ka'b's poetry is found in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām. Its authenticity has been disputed but most appears to be genuine. The sentiments are nobler than those of Ḡhassān and there is genuine enthusiasm for Islam. The poems deal with Badr, Uḥud, Bi'r Ma'ūna, Banū 'l-Naḍīr, the *Khandaq*, *Khaybar*, Mu'ta and other expeditions. Stories about Ka'b seem to have been preserved in his family, and his sons 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān and other descendants are mentioned as sources by Ibn Hishām and al-Wākidī.

*Bibliography*: *Diwān*, ed. Samī M. Al-Anī, Baghdād 1966; Ibn Hishām, 290, 294-301, 310, 345, 574 f., 896, 908-13, 520-871 passim (poems); al-Ṭabarī, i, 1217-25, 1406, 1695, 1705, 2937, 3049, 3062, 3070; al-Wākidī (ed. Marsden Jones), 235 f., 249, 251, 260 f., 293, 335, 389, 447, 646, 802, 973, 996 f., 1049-56, 1073, 1075; *Aḡḡānī*, xv, 26-33; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 295-7; Ibn Rusta, 224; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Uṣd al-Ḡhāba*, iv, 247 f.; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 66; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Rifa'i, *Ka'b b. Mālik al-Ṣaḡābī al-adīb*, Riyāḍ 1971.

(W. MONGOMERY WATT)

**KA' B. ZUHAYR**, an Arab poet and contemporary of the Prophet. A son of Zubayr b. Abī Sulmā [q.v.], he seems to have given proof of his poetic talent at an early age; although belonging to the Muzayna, he lived with the *Dhubyān* and was involved in the wars of his tribe against the Ṭayyi', the *Quraysh* and the *Khazrajī*. His brother *Budjāy* was converted shortly before year 7 of the *Hidjra*, but he refused vehemently to follow suit and wrote some satirical verses attacking Muḥammad. The latter officially sanctioned his murder. From that day, "the earth became too confined" for Ka'b, who resolved to make his submission. He presented himself without warning, in the year 9, in a mosque in Medina where Muḥammad was present and recited to him his famous piece known by the name of *Bānat Su'ād* (Su'ād has disappeared). Transported with admiration on hearing the praises of himself and of the *Qurayshites*, the Prophet threw onto the poet's shoulders his own striped mantle from the Yemen, his *burda*, from which came the name *al-Burda*, applied also to this *ḡaṣida* (the same title was to be adopted by al-Būṣīrī [q.v.]).

The *Bānat Su'ād* has none of the characteristics of a religious poem; it takes its inspiration from the sentiments of pagan poetry, and it begins with a commonplace observation so frequently employed that

Ḥammād al-Rawīya [q.v.] boasted of knowing 700 other poems with the same opening. Nevertheless it is the most authentic example in existence of the eulogistic poetry of the period; "the extended themes, the repeated clichés, the style and the vocabulary can serve for comparison with the traditional writings; in this work, the essential elements of the laudatory genre are defined for the first quarter of the 1st/7th century" (R. Blachère). It has frequently been reproduced, in the form of *tashjūr* and *takḡmīs*. Commentators on it are numerous: the most celebrated are Ṭhā'lab, Ibn Durayd, al-Tibrīzī (ed. F. Krenkow, in *ZDMG*, lxx, 241-79), Ibn Hishām (ed. Guidī, Leipzig 1871), Ibn Ḥiḡdīja, al-Suyūṭī, and al-Bādjūrī (v. Brockelmann, I, 38-9, S I, 68-9). It was published for the first time by Lette (Leiden 1748), and was later produced in several editions, in particular by G. Freytag (with Latin translation, 1823) and T. Nöldeke (*Delectus*, Berlin 1890, 110-4). R. Basset brought out (Algiers 1910) an edition accompanied by a French translation and two unpublished commentaries. Finally, it appears in the *Diwān* of Ka'b published by T. Kowalski (Cracow 1950), containing 33 poems and fragments.

The date of Ka'b's death is not known, but he appears to have lived to a ripe old age.

*Bibliography*: R. Basset, *La Bānat So'ād*, 14-82, and the authors mentioned 9-13; R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 270-1 and bibl. (R. BASSET\*)

**KA' B AL-AḤBĀR**, ABŪ IṢḤĀK B. MĀṬI' B. HAYSU'/HAYNŪ', a Yemenite Jew who became a convert to Islam, probably in 17/638 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2514), and is considered the oldest authority on Judaeo-Islamic traditions. *Hibr/ḡabr*, from the Hebrew *ḡāber*, the scholarly title immediately below *rabbī* current among Babylonian Jewish scholars, is presumed to be equivalent to the Arabic 'ālim (al-*Khawārizmī*, *Mafātīḡ*, 35); in Ka'b al-Aḡbār the plural is a determinative complement, while in the less frequent Ka'b al-ḡabr the latter element is in apposition to Ka'b.

Lidzbarski (*De prophetis... legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893, 34-5) assumes that Ka'b was originally called 'Aḡībā or Ya'ḡōb, but very little is known of this man who, according to tradition, came to Medina during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-*Khattāb*, accompanied the latter to Jerusalem in 15/636 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2408) and after his conversion was on intimate terms with the caliph, whose death he predicted three days before it took place (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2722). He was a vigorous champion of 'Uṭhmān, which led on one occasion to his corporal chastisement by the pious Abū *Dharr* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2946-7). Subsequently, Mu'āwiya tried to attract him to Damascus to become his counsellor, but it seems most likely that he withdrew to Ḥimṡ, where he died in 32/652-3, in 34 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2474-5) or in 35 (Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadḡarāt*, i, 40). According to al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, 9/20-1) his burial place and *makām* are in this town, but Yāḡūt (ii, 595) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 222; tr. Gibb, i, 139) locate his vault in Damascus (where a grave-stone bearing his name is still extant; Gibb, *loc. cit.*). Ibn *Djubayr* (55) and al-Maḡrizī (ed. Wiet, iv, 6) consider that it is situated in al-*Djīza* in Egypt, while al-Harawī (14/35) reports that some people believe him to be buried in Medina and states (39/94) that the tomb of one of his sons is at *Djīza*.

Though his true figure is difficult to discern, so wrapped is he in legendary trappings, Ka'b is considered to have possessed a profound knowledge of the Bible and southern Arabian tradition, as well as a personal wisdom attested by the numerous state-

ments attributed to him without argument because he inspired so much confidence (al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 523); he is also the originator of traditions concerning 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb which are considered authentic; al-Djāhīz (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 202-3) believes him to be trustworthy and would appear to be coming to his defence by implying that, in discussing the external data of the Pentateuch, Ka'ab did not say, "It is written in the Torah" but, "We find it in the books of the prophets". Sometimes he is accused of introducing Jewish elements into Islam, e.g. in a story, preserved by Ṭabari (i, 2408-9), in which 'Umar charges Ka'ab with Judaizing when he treats the temple mount in Jerusalem as a holy place. See further ISRĀ'ILĪYYĀT.

Posterity sought to add lustre to his name by crediting him with a great variety of traditions, particularly those relating to the prophets, such as the *Ḥadīth Dhi 'l-Kiṣf* printed at Bülāḳ in 1283 (Broekelmann, S I, 101) or the legend of Joseph [see YŪSUF] in Aljamiado [see ALJAMĪA], edited in a Latin transcription by F. Guillen (*Legendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno*, Saragossa 1888) and studied by M. Schmidt (*Über das altspanische Poema de José, in Roman. Forschungen*, xi (1901), 321), which is in fact a borrowing from al-Tha'labī's *Kiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*. Al-Kisā'ī cites Ka'ab in his story of Joseph and he is also mentioned as an authority in Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u-Zalikhā* (ed. H. Ethé in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, vii, Oxford 1908, 258, verse 2599).

*Bibliography*: Apart from references within the text: Ibn Sa'ad, vii/2, 156; Ṭabari, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, index; *Fihrist*, 32; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 121; Ibn Ḥadījar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7496; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 438-40; *Aghānī*, ii, 50; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, index; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musulmänner*, 10; M. Grünbaum in *ZDMG*, xlii, 458, 477; Lidzbarski, 31-40; H. Hirschfeld in *Jewish Encycl.*, vii, 400; B. Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Ka'ab al-Aḥbar*, in *REJ*, lxi, 86 ff., lxx, 37 ff.; M. Perlmann, *A legendary story of Ka'ab al-Aḥbar's conversion to Islam*, in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953; idem, *Another Ka'ab al-Aḥbar story*, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, xlv (1954), 48-58.

(M. SCHMITZ\*)

**KA'BA**, the most famous sanctuary of Islam, called the temple or house of God (*Bayt Allāh*). It is situated almost in the centre of the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims throughout the whole world direct their prayers to this sanctuary, where every year hundreds of thousands of pilgrims make the greater (*ḥajj*) or lesser (*'umra*) pilgrimage. Around it they gather and make their ritual circuits; around the Ka'ba the young Muslim community spent the early years of Islam. For the Muslim community the Ka'ba holds a place analogous to that of the temple in Jerusalem for ancient Jewry.

I. The Ka'ba and its immediate vicinity.

The name Ka'ba is connected with the cube-like appearance of the building; formerly the word was also used to designate other similarly shaped sanctuaries. The structure is 50 ft. high, with a flat roof sloping gently to the north west corner, where is the water spout (*miṣāb*); the shorter walls are about 35 ft. long and the façade is 40 ft. long.

The façade, which contains the door (at about 7 ft. above ground level), faces north east and the Black Stone (*al-ḥadjar al-aswad*) is built into its eastern corner. Beyond the northern corner is the beginning of the *Ḥiḍjr*. In front of the façade are the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, the arch-shaped gate known as that of Banū Shayba, and the Zamzam well. Also in front

of the façade, but outside the mosque enclosure, is the ritual walk from Ṣafā (south east) to Marwa (north). Photographs showing the Ka'ba in the foreground with the Maḳām Ibrāhīm in the middle ground (and consequently with the *Ḥiḍjr* to the left of the Ka'ba) reveal in the background, outside the mosque, the ritual walk from Ṣafā to Marwa, an area which cannot be seen on photographs where the Ka'ba stands out in front of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm and the Banū Shayba gate.

The Ka'ba is built of layers of the grey-blue stone produced by the hills surrounding Mecca. It stands on a marble base (*shādhawān*) 10 inches high, projecting about a foot. The four corners (*rukn*, pl. *arkān*) roughly face the four points of the compass. At the east is the Black Stone corner (*al-rukn al-aswad*): perhaps an astral orientation towards the Levant in pre-Islamic times? At the north is *al-rukn al-'irāqī* (the 'Irāqī); at the west *al-rukn al-shāmī* (Syrian); and at the south *al-rukn al-yamani* (Yemenite).

The four walls of the Ka'ba are covered with a curtain (*kiswa*), which in Egypt is called *al-burku'* (the veil). In front of the door is a special curtain, embroidered in gold and silver, with numerous inscriptions. Since Mamluk times (mid 7th/13th century) this *kiswa* has been traditionally provided by Egypt except during periods of political tension (e.g., 1926-36 and after 1962). At one period the black *kiswa* was replaced by a white one between the 25th (or 28th) *Dhu 'l-Ka'da* and the end of the pilgrimage (cf. al-Batanūnī). Witnesses affirm that this practice has been discontinued. The curtains are occasionally fixed to the ground by rings and cords, or the base is raised by cords placed out of reach of human hands. The *kiswa* is usually of black brocade, with the *shahāda* outlined in the weave of the fabric. About two-thirds of the way up runs a gold embroidered band (*ḥizam*) covered with ḳur'ānic texts. (Numerous photographs can be found in Ibrāhīm Rif'at, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaram*, i, Cairo 1925). Each year, when the curtains are replaced, the Banū Shayba divide the old ones into small pieces which are distributed and sold as relics.

In the north-east wall, about 7 feet from the ground, is the door, parts of which have mountings of silver-gilt. When the Ka'ba is opened, a wooden staircase (*darādī*, *madradī*) running on wheels is pushed up to the door; when not in use, it is kept between the Zamzam and the Gate of the Banū Shayba (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilderatlas zu Mekka*, no. ii; for a picture of the staircase, see Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 80).

In the interior of the Ka'ba are three wooden pillars, which support the roof, to which a ladder leads up. The only furnishings are the numerous hanging golden and silver lamps. On the inner walls there are many building inscriptions. The floor is covered with slabs of marble.

On the outside of the Ka'ba, in the eastern corner, about 5 feet above ground, not far from the door, the Black Stone is built into the wall; formerly broken into three pieces and several small fragments, it is now held together by a ring of stone mounted in a silver band. The stone is sometimes described as lava and sometimes as basalt; its real nature is difficult to determine, because its visible surface is worn smooth by hand touching and kissing. The surface is hollowed out irregularly, as can be seen in sketches and photographs. Its diameter is around 12 inches. The colour is reddish black with red and yellow particles.

The part of the wall between the Black Stone and the door is called *al-mulṭazam*, because the visitors press their breasts against it while praying fervently.

In the east corner too, about five feet above the ground, another stone (*al-ḥaḍjar al-as'ad*, the "lucky"), is built into wall. It is only touched and not kissed during the perambulation.

Outside the building there is still to be mentioned the gilt water-spout (*mizāb*), which juts out below the top of the north-west wall, and has an appendage which is called the "beard of the *mizāb*". The spout is called *mizāb al-rahma*, "spout of mercy" (on it cf. Ben Chérif, *Aux Villes Saintes de l'Islam*, p. 75); the part between it and the west corner is the exact *ḫiḍba* [q.v.]. The rain-water falls through the spout on to the pavement below, which here is inlaid with designs in mosaic. The ground all round the Ka'ba is covered with marble slabs.

Opposite the north-west wall, but not connected with it, is a semi-circular wall (*al-ḥaḍīm*) of white marble. It is three feet high and about five feet thick; its ends are almost six feet from the north and west corners of the Ka'ba. The semi-circular space between the *ḥaḍīm* and the Ka'ba enjoys an especial consideration, because for a time it belonged to the Ka'ba; in the perambulation therefore it is not entered; the *ṭawāf* goes as close as possible along the outer side of the *ḥaḍīm*. The space bears the name *al-ḥiḍr* or *ḥiḍr Ismā'il*. Here are said to be the graves of the patriarch and his mother Hagar. The pavement on which the *ṭawāf* is performed is called *maṭāf*; a depression in it just opposite the door has still to be mentioned; it is called *al-mi'ḍjan* "the trough"; according to legend, Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il [q.v.] here mixed the mortar used in building the Ka'ba.

The *maṭāf* and the buildings around it have not always remained the same throughout the ages. Only the arch-shaped gate, the Banū Ḥayba (once also called the *bāb al-Salām*), still marks the traditional entrance to the *maṭāf*. Between this archway and the façade (N.E.) is a little building with a small dome, the *maḥām Ibrāhīm*. In it is kept a stone bearing the prints of two human feet. The patriarch Ibrāhīm, father of Ismā'il, is said to have stood on this stone when building the Ka'ba and the marks of his feet were miraculously preserved. Beside the *maḥām Ibrāhīm*, slightly to the north, is the pulpit (*minbar*); at the beginning of this century it was made of white marble in the classical *minbar* shape. The dimensions of the *maḥām Ibrāhīm* were considerably reduced during the recent reconstruction. The relic is now closely surrounded by glass and bars set into a polygonal base, the whole structure, capped by a much narrower kind of "helmet", being about three yards above ground level.

The pavement which is used for the *ṭawāf* was relaid during the important work on the mosque which began in 1956. On old photographs the slender columns which surrounded the *maṭāf*, clearly demarcating it, can be seen. They were used to hold the lamps which lighted pilgrims at night. Today a new electric lighting system has been installed. On Ali Bey's plan of the mosque there were two further buildings, at the edge of the outer pavement and to the north east of the Zamzam building; these were called *al-ḫubbatalayn*; by Snouck Hurgronje's day they had disappeared. For many years the Zamzam well was covered by a building or *ḫubba*. A description of this well can be found in the *Rapport quarantenaire* of 1905 by Dr. Soliman Bey (p. 13; published in Egypt; a résumé of the text is given by J. Jomier in

*Le Mahmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mekke*, Cairo 1953, 154-6), but the situation nowadays is completely different. There are no buildings on the surface and pilgrims can take advantage of this extra space. A staircase leads to a sort of underground hall divided into two sections, one for men and one for women, with water distributed by means of a system of taps.

The three little buildings previously situated on the exterior of the *maṭāf* also vanished during the course of the recent works, not only to provide some open space but also because, to an increasing extent, the diversification of rules has become of secondary importance to many Muslims. Such buildings housed the *imāms* of the four main schools during the prayers. The largest building (*maḥām* or *muṣallā hanafī*) was north west of the Ka'ba in front of the *Ḥiḍr*; the Ḥanbalī was to the south east and the Mālikī to the south west. The Ḥaḍīfīs used the Zamzam well building.

Finally we must mention the work begun in 1956 which has transformed the promenade from Ṣafā to Marwa into a spacious covered passage with a lofty ceiling. A group of huge galleries, with a floor overlooking the courtyard of the mosque, has been built on the outside of the old arcades of the *iwān*, which have been allowed to remain.

## II. The history of the Ka'ba.

Aside from Muslim traditions, practically nothing is known of the history of the Ka'ba. The sole reason for presuming that the Ka'ba was already in existence in the 2nd century A.D. is the mention of Mecca, under the name of Macoraba, by the geographer Ptolemy (*Geography*, vi, 7). Glaser (*Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii, 235) believes that this name may have signified the same as the south Arabian or Ethiopian *mikrab*, i.e., a temple. The accounts of the campaign of Abrahā [q.v.], which have been elaborated with legendary features, also suggest the existence and worship of the Ka'ba in the sixth century but tell us nothing of its appearance or equipment. The Tubba' As'ad Abū Karib al-Ḥimyari, who came to Mecca, is said to have for the first time provided the building with a *ḫiswa* and with a door with a lock. The information available regarding the distribution of the offices [see below iii.] among the sons of Ḳuṣayy shows that the worship of the sanctuary had developed into a carefully regulated cult several generations before Muḥammad.

In matters pertaining to the history of the building of the Ka'ba, modern Muslims tend to hold fast to the letter of the Ḳur'ān and discount, to an increasing extent, other accounts. It is in fact in the Ḳur'ān, and in the Medinan *sūras*, that Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il are said to have laid the foundations of the Ka'ba (Ḳur'ān, II, 121/127). The *maḥām Ibrāhīm* is indicated as a suitable place for the *ṣalāt* (II, 119/125). At God's command, Ibrāhīm ordained the pilgrimage (XXII, 28/27). The Ka'ba was the first sanctuary to be established on earth, and was now named the sacred house (V, 98/97), the ancient house (XXII, 30, 34/29, 33). We can only speculate about the milieu in which these tales circulated in pre-Islamic times. Were these stories similar to the Coptic traditions concerning the Holy Family's flight to Egypt which the Judaized milieu of Arabia transposed to Abraham's journeys to Mecca? We will never know. For Muslims, these accounts are grounded on the authority of the Ḳur'ān and the Ḳur'ān alone. Whether or not in pre-Islamic days Ḳuṣayy demolished and rebuilt the edifice, as historians say, is impossible to determine.

The historical references only begin with Muḥammad. When Muḥammad had reached man's estate, the fire of a woman censuring the Ka'ba is said to have caught the building and laid it waste. It happened that a Byzantine ship was thrown ashore at Djudda [q.v.] and the Meccans brought its wood hither and used it for the new building. In connection with this the name of a man Bākūm (it is given in various forms) is always mentioned, sometimes as the captain of the ship, sometimes as the carpenter whose advice was taken; he is said to have been a Coptic Christian.

The old Ka'ba is said to have been only of the height of a man and to have had no roof. The threshold is said to have been on the level of the ground so that the water had an easy entrance in the frequent floods (*sayl*). The Ka'ba was then built of alternate layers of stone and wood, its height was doubled and a roof covered it. The door was placed above the level of the ground so that whoever wished to enter had to use a ladder. Unwelcome visitors were tumbled down from the high threshold. When the Black Stone was to be put in its place, the Meccans quarrelled among themselves as to who should have the honour. They had just decided that the first comer should be given the task when Muḥammad (who had been engaged in helping to carry the stones) came past. With grave authority he is said to have placed the precious object in a cloak—or in his cloak—and to have ordered the heads of tribes each to take an end. He himself then took out the stone and placed it in position.

At the conquest of Mecca in 8/629, Muḥammad left the Ka'ba as a building unaltered. But according to tradition, he later said that only the very recent conversion of the Meccans prevented him from instituting all kinds of innovations. These real or alleged intentions of Muḥammad were brought to realization in 64/683 by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.]. As anti-caliph he was besieged by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr [q.v.] in Mecca. Catapults were erected on the hills round Mecca, which hurled a hail of stones on the town and sanctuary and so damaged the house of Allāh that it finally looked "like the torn bosoms of mourning women". 'Abd Allāh and his helpers pitched their tents beside the sanctuary (he henceforth called himself *al-ʿĀ'idh bi 'l-Bayt*, "he who took refuge at the temple") and again a conflagration threatened to complete the destruction. In the fire the Black Stone was split in three pieces.

When the Umayyad army was withdrawn, 'Abd Allāh discussed with the Meccan authorities the demolition and rebuilding of the Ka'ba. When he had made his decision and the ruins had to be cleared away, no one dared to begin the work. The bulk of the populace, with Ibn 'Abbās at their head, had left the town because they feared a punishment from heaven. But 'Abd Allāh climbed up himself, axe in hand, and began the grim task. When his people saw that he remained unharmed, they took courage and assisted.

During the building a covered scaffolding was left on the spot to mark the *ḥibla* and the *maṭāf* at least. The masons are said to have worked behind the covering. 'Abd Allāh guarded the Black Stone, wrapped in a piece of brocade, in the council hall (*dār al-naḍwa*). When put back into its place it, or rather the three pieces into which it was broken, was bound with a band of silver.

The Ka'ba was then built entirely out of Meccan stone and Yemen mortar and built to a height of 27 ells. According to the tradition of the Prophet,

the *ḥidjir* was included in the building and two doors were made on the level of the ground, the eastern as an entrance and the western as an exit. In the *ḥawāf* the four corners were kissed.

These alterations lasted only a short period. In 74/693 al-Ḥadīdjādī b. Yūsuf [q.v.] conquered Mecca and killed 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. In agreement with the caliph 'Abd al-Malik he again separated the *ḥidjir* from the Ka'ba and walled up the west door. The building, in keeping with the wish of the Umayyads, thus practically received its pre-Islamic form again and this form has survived to the present day. The piety of the populace has always resisted any considerable innovations. Only to an unimportant degree have the authorities now and then made improvements. As was the case in the pagan period, floods have continued to be a danger to the building. When in 1611 it threatened to collapse, a girdle of copper was used to avert the disaster. But a new *sayl* made this support also insufficient, so that in 1630 renovations were decided upon. But the old stones were used as much as possible for the rebuilding.

The Ka'ba successfully withstood the Ḳarmatian invasion of 317/929; only the Black Stone was carried off. After an absence of some twenty years it was sent back to Mecca (cf. de Goeje, *Mém. sur les Carmathes*<sup>3</sup>, 104-III, 145-8).

The custom of covering the Ka'ba is said to have been introduced by the Tubba'. The annual re-covering of the Ka'ba only became an established custom in modern times; for the oldest Muslim period, the 'Āshūrā day is mentioned as the day of covering, but in Raḍjab also and in other months the building has changed its covering. The *ḥiswa* consisted sometimes of Yemeni and sometimes of Egyptian or other cloth; during 'Umar's caliphate the building threatened to collapse on account of the many coverings hung on it. All sorts of colours are mentioned also. The Wahhābis even covered the Ka'ba with a red *ḥiswa*.

The *maḥāms* around the Ka'ba are mentioned as early as the 'Abbāsid period, sometimes under the name *zulla* ("a shade"). The present buildings are said to date from 1074/1663. A dome over the Zamzam well is mentioned in an equally early period; the present one was built in 1072.

The Ka'ba had offerings dedicated to it in the pagan as well as the Muslim period. Al-Azraḳī devotes a detailed chapter to this subject (135-6). Many a worldly ruler has used these treasures for political purposes. Tradition reports that 'Umar said: "I will leave neither gold nor silver in the Ka'ba but distribute its treasures". To this, however, 'Ali is said to have raised vigorous objections so that 'Umar desisted from his plan.

### III. The Ka'ba and Islam.

Every man living in Mecca in the 6th-7th century A.D. must of necessity have had some relationship with the Ka'ba. On Muḥammad in his Meccan period the Ḳur'ān is silent in this respect. All that is known is that the early community in Medina turned to face Jerusalem in prayer. This was in the early days when it was still reasonable to hope that the Medina Jews would be won over. Subsequently, about a year and a half after the *Hidjra*, the community turned to Mecca in prayer and in Mecca itself faced the Ka'ba.

"Turn then thy face towards the sacred mosque and wherever ye be turn your faces towards that part" (Ḳur'ān, II, 139/144).

At this same period the Ḳur'ān began to lay

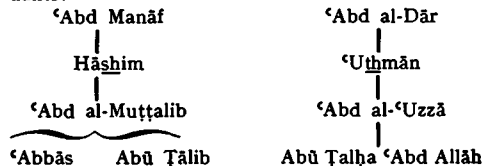
stress on the religion of Ibrāhīm, presenting Islam as a return to the purity of the primitive religion of Ibrāhīm which, obscured by Judaism and Christianity, shone forth in its original brightness in the Kur'an. Guarded support for this interpretation is advanced by Sprenger and followed by Snouck Hurgronje in his *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (cf. *EI*<sup>1</sup>, appendix to article IBRĀHĪM; for a contrary opinion see Yoakim Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran*, Paris 1958).

It is incontrovertible that an entire pre-Islamic ritual, previously steeped in paganism, was adopted by Islam after it had been purified and given a strictly monotheistic orientation. The pilgrimages to the Ka'ba and ritual progressions around the building were continued, but were now for the glorification of the One God. The abrahamic vision of the Ka'ba created a means of discerning an orthodox origin buried in the midst of pagan malpractices to which the first Muslims pointed the way.

In 6/627 a prospect of taking part in the Mecca cult was held out to the Muslims by the pact of al-Hudaybiya [q.v.]; in connection with it, the *'Umrat al-Kadā'* took place in the year 7. Muḥammad's political endeavours culminated in the conquest of Mecca in 8/629.

All the pagan trappings which had adhered to the Ka'ba were now thrust aside. 360 idols are said to have stood around the building. When touched with the Prophet's rod they all fell to the ground. The statue of Hubal which 'Amr b. Luḥayy is said to have erected over the pit inside the Ka'ba was removed as well as the representations of the prophets. When they began to wash the latter with Zamzam water, Muḥammad is said to have placed his hands on the pictures of Jesus and Mary and said: "Wash out all except what is below my hands". He then withdrew his hands. A wooden dove also which was in the Ka'ba is said to have been shattered by Muḥammad's orders. The two horns of Abraham's ram did not crumble to dust until the rebuilding of the Ka'ba by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

At the capture of Mecca, Muḥammad made arrangements regarding the religious and secular offices which had been filled in Mecca from ancient times. The historians say that in the old heathen period Kuṣayy, after a fierce struggle with the tribe of Khuzā'a, became master of the Ka'ba and held all the important offices, religious and secular: the administration of the *Dār al-Nadwa* and the tying of the standard, the provision of the pilgrims with food (*riṣāda*) and with drink (*siḥāya*) as well as the supervision of the Ka'ba (*sidāna* and *hidjāba*). His descendants:



administered the offices after his death, 'Abd Manāf and his descendants getting the *riṣāda* and *siḥāya* etc., while 'Abd al-Dār and his descendants saw to the *sidāna* and *hidjāba* etc.

When Muḥammad conquered Mecca his uncle 'Abbās or, according to another tradition, 'Alī asked for the administration of these offices. But Muḥammad said he had abolished all of them except the *siḥāya* and the guardianship of the Ka'ba. The former remained in the hands of 'Abbās; the latter he gave

to 'Uṭhmān b. Ṭalḥa who allowed his cousin Shayba b. Abī Ṭalḥa to act as his deputy. The Banū Shayba are the doorkeepers at the Ka'ba to this day. The *riṣāda*, which was in the hands of Abū Ṭālib, was taken over by Abū Bakr in 9/630; after his death the caliphs looked after the feeding of the pilgrims.

Muḥammad's control over Mecca and the Meccan cult was first clearly marked at the *Ḥadijī* of the year 9. As plenipotentiary of the Prophet, who did not participate in the pilgrimage, Abū Bakr announced to the assembled pilgrims the latest arrangements, which were put in the form of a revelation. They are contained in Sūra IX, which from them is often called the Sūra of Immunity (*barā'a*) (v. 1-12, 28, 36-7).

According to it, idolators are henceforth forbidden to participate in the Meccan festival as they are impure (*nadjās*). Moreover, they are declared outlaws. A period of four months is given them during which they can go freely about the country; but after that "kill them wherever ye find them". Excepted are those with whom an alliance has been made in so far as they have punctiliously observed its terms and helped no one against the Muslims.

In 10/631 Muḥammad himself led the pilgrimage, at which therefore according to tradition not a single idolator was present: the Ka'ba had become an exclusively Muslim sanctuary. At every *ṣalāt* Muslims throughout the world turn towards Mecca and at the ceremonies of the pilgrimage the Ka'ba forms the beginning and the end of the holy rites.

Two special ceremonies concerning the Ka'ba may here be mentioned, the opening and the washing of the building. The opening takes place on definite days and men are first admitted, then the women. On this occasion the above-mentioned staircase is pushed up to the building. The days in question change at the will of the Meccan authorities—but some usually fall in the month of the pilgrimage and one on the 10th Muḥarram (*'Āshūrā* day). It is considered particularly meritorious to perform the *ṣalāt* in the Ka'ba.

The procedure for the washing of the inside of the Ka'ba was as follows at the beginning of the 20th century. After the *Ḥadijī* is completed, at the end of the month *Dhu'l-Hijjā*, the Ka'ba is washed, a ceremony in which the Grand Sharīf, the governor and other authorities, as well as a number of pilgrims, take part. The first to enter is the Sharīf, who after a *ṣalāt* of two *raka'*s himself washes the ground with Zamzam water which flows away through a hole in the threshold. The walls are washed with a kind of broom made of palm leaves. The Sharīf then sprinkles everything again with rose-water and finally the building is fumigated with all manner of perfumes (cf. *al-Kibla*, no. 409, 1). The Sharīf throws the broom away among the crowd of pilgrims, who fight among themselves for possession of it. Al-Batanūni says (109) that the *samsamis* and the *mufawwifs* sell the pilgrims similar brooms for a minimum of half a real.

As is evident from this example, the veneration for the sacred building extends to all that comes in contact with it: to the Black Stone, the water-spout, the *mulḥazam*, and above all to the Zamzam water. It is however said—and probably with truth—that 'Umar thus expressed himself on the Black Stone: "I know that thou art a stone, that neither helps nor hurts, and if the messenger of Allāh had not kissed thee, I would not kiss thee". But then he kissed the stone. And hardly a single pilgrim will think of 'Umar's words during the *ṣawāf*. The *ṣalāt*



under the water-pipe is described as particularly efficacious: "Anyone who performs the *ṣalāt* under the *math'ab* becomes as pure as on the day when his mother bore him" (al-Azraḳī, 224). The Zamzam water, which the pilgrim has poured over him again and again, is useful for every purpose for which it is drunk (*mā' Zamzam li-mā shuriba lahu*, Kuṭb al-Dīn, 34).

There is abundant testimony in Muslim as well as European literature to the intensification of devotional feeling which the sight of the Ka'ba produces in the pilgrims. We may here quote al-Batanūnī's description of the *ṣalāt* at the Ka'ba as particularly characteristic (26): "The whole assembly stood there in the greatest reverence before this highest majesty and most powerful inspirer of awe before which the greatest souls become so little as to be almost nothing. And if we had not been witness of the movements of the body during the *ṣalāt* and the raising of the hands during the prayers, and the murmuring of the expressions of humility and if we had not heard the beating of the hearts before this immeasurable grandeur we would have thought ourselves transferred to another life. And truly we were at that hour in another world: we were in the house of God and in God's immediate presence, and with us were only the lowered head and the humble tongue and the voices raised in prayer and weeping eyes and the fearful heart and pure thoughts of intercession" (cf. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909, 216-7; Ben Chérif, *Aux villes saintes de l'Islam*, ii-iii, 45-6, 68).

Even the Shī'īs and the Wahhābīs have left the Ka'ba its place in Islam. Only the Ḳarmatians form an obvious exception.

Many moderns lay stress on the fact that Mecca was chosen by God as the place of revelation; they emphasise that the Ka'ba is a symbol of the unity of the Muslim world, the place of God's grace, His worship, and the proclamation of His glory.

As to the mystics, their attitude to the Ka'ba depends on their position regarding the law. For the, so to speak, nomistic mystics like al-Ḡhazālī, the Ka'ba is, it is true, the sacred building which one has to go round in the *ṭawāf*. The *ṭawāf* and its object however only receive their value for men when they give them an inducement to rise to a higher spiritual level. Ibn al-'Arabī goes a step further when he says that the true Ka'ba is nothing other than our own being (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, i, 733); the Ka'ba however also plays a part in his mystic experiences. Huḍjwīrī however quotes some sayings of mystics, who no longer require the Ka'ba as an inducement to rise, and even despise it. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl says: "I wonder at those who seek His temple in this world: why do they not seek contemplation of Him in their hearts? The temple they sometimes attain and sometimes miss, but contemplation they might enjoy always. If they are bound to visit a stone, which is looked at only once a year, surely they are more bound to visit the temple of the heart, where He may be seen three hundred and sixty times in a day and night. But the mystic's every step is a symbol of the journey to Mecca, and when he reaches the sanctuary he wins a robe of honour for every step". Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭānī also says: "On my first pilgrimāge I saw only the temple; the second time, I saw both the temple and the Lord of the temple; and the third time I saw the Lord alone. In short, where mortification is, there is no sanctuary: the sanctuary is where contemplation is. Unless the whole universe is a man's

trusting-place where he comes high unto God and a retired chamber where he enjoys intimacy with God, he is still a stranger to Divine love; but when he has vision the whole universe is his sanctuary. The darkest thing in the world is the Beloved's house without the Beloved.

Accordingly, what is truly valuable is not the Ka'ba, but contemplation and annihilation in the abode of friendship, of which things the sight of the Ka'ba is indirectly a cause" (al-Huḍjwīrī, tr. Nicholson, 327).

#### IV. The Ka'ba in Legend and Superstition.

In the article KA'BA in *EI* there is an account of a whole series of legends concerning the origins of the Ka'ba; we will not go into these here. It is common knowledge that when protesting against his coreligionists' imaginative excesses Muḥammad 'Abduh even cited certain current legends about the Ka'ba (*Tafsīr al-Manār*, i, 466-7). Well known too is the fact that after the Sa'ūdī conquest of Ḥijāz (1924-6), a number of popular cultic places, such as the tomb of Eve in Ḍjudda, were suppressed. Among the legends relating to the Ka'ba are those describing its creation at the beginning of the world, what happened to it during the flood, how Abraham was guided to make his way to Arabia, details of his conduct during the construction of the Ka'ba, how Gabriel brought the Black Stone which had been preserved since the flood in Abū Ḳubays [*q.v.*]. Originally white, the stone had taken on its present colour after contact with the sins of the pagan era. There are also legends about the Zamzam well, especially concerning the role of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the two golden gazelles he discovered. These had been concealed by the Ḍjurhum, along with swords and armour. All this was deposited at the Ka'ba or used to decorate the buildings.

From analogous theories developed earlier with relation to Jerusalem, Mecca was considered the navel of the world (cf. the account of these theories in the article KA'BA in *EI*).

Mecca is also a burial ground. Not only Ismā'īl and his mother but a whole series of prophets, numbering hundreds, is said to have been buried round the Ka'ba.

#### V. Religious history before Islam.

From the fact that Ptolemy calls Mecca "Macroba" (*i.e. mikrāb*, temple) we may conclude that in his day the Ka'ba was regarded as a sanctuary dedicated to one or more deities. According to a statement of Epiphanius (*Haereses*, v, following the text in *Philologus*, 1860, 355), Ḍhu 'l-Shāra had in Petra his *χαλβου*, a word which is probably the same as Ka'ba. It is not clear from Epiphanius, however, whether the temple in Petra was meant, or the quadrangular black stone which represented Ḍhu 'l-Shāra. Al-Bakrī (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 46) relates that the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*], as well as the main body of the Iyād tribe, had their centre of worship in Sindād in the region of Kūfa and that their holy tent (or temple, *bayt*) there was called Ḍhāt al-Ka'abāt (but cf. al-Hamdānī, *Sijāt Ḍjazīrat al-'Arab*, 171, l. 14, 17, 230, l. 12). What was the relationship between the sanctity of the Ka'ba and the Black Stone? We can do no more than offer hypotheses, like Wellhausen's.

No tradition suggests that the Black Stone was connected with any particular god. In the Ka'ba was the statue of the god Hubal, who might be called the god of Mecca and of the Ka'ba. Caetani gives great prominence to the connection between the Ka'ba and Hubal. Besides him, however, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, and

al-Manât were worshipped and are mentioned in the *Qur'ân*; Hubal is never mentioned there. What position Allâh held beside these in pagan times is not exactly known.

Many other idols are mentioned in the Ka'ba and the vicinity, among them the 360 statues.

The Ka'ba possessed in a high degree the usual qualities of a Semitic sanctuary. First of all it made the whole surrounding area into consecrated ground. Around the town lies the sacred zone (*haram*) marked by stones, which imposes certain restrictions on each one who enters it [see *IHRÂM*]. Moreover, the sanctity of the area is seen in the following points. In the *haram* the truce of God reigns. When the Arab tribes made a pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, all feuds were dormant. It was forbidden to carry arms. Next, the *haram*—and the Ka'ba especially—is a place of refuge. Here the unintentional manslayer was safe just as in the Jewish cities of refuge. On the Ka'ba there was a kind of handle to which the fugitives clung (al-Azraqî, 111), an arrangement which recalls the purport of the horns on the Jewish altar. Blood was not allowed to flow in the *haram*. It is therefore reported that those condemned to death were led outside the *haram* to execution.

The idea of peace extended even to the flora and fauna. Animals—except a few injurious or dangerous sorts—are not to be scared away; hence the many tame doves in the mosque. Trees and bushes were not cut down except the *Idhkhir* shrub, which was used for building houses and in goldsmiths' work. These regulations were confirmed by Islam and are in force to this day.

As to the rites, it is said that in the heathen period animals were sacrificed at the Ka'ba. Among the ancient Arabs the idol of stone replaced the altar; on it they smeared the blood of the sacrificial animals. In Islam the killing takes place in Minâ.

It is a question whether and how far the Ka'ba was connected with the *hadîdî* in the pre-Islamic period. On the one hand, the *hadîdî* was an integral part of the ceremonies carried out outside Mecca, notably at 'Arafât: the halt there is the summit of the pilgrimage. On the other hand, the *Qur'ân* (III, 91/97) uses the formula *hidîdî al-bayt* to refer to the Ka'ba. It is therefore most probable that in pre-Islamic times there was a fusion of two groups of ceremonies which, in a fashion still followed by the Arabs, united two adjacent holy places in the same celebration. It cannot be denied that the cult of the Ka'ba in the pagan era reveals traces of an astral symbolism. Golden suns and moons are repeatedly mentioned among the votive gifts (al-Azraqî, 155 ff.). According to al-Mas'ûdî (*Murûdj*, iv, 47, ed. and tr. Pellat, § 1373), certain people have regarded the Ka'ba as a temple devoted to the sun, the moon and the five planets. The 360 idols placed round the Ka'ba also point in this direction.

However, such a view cannot be safely propounded as foremost. In the pagan era the cult of the Ka'ba was certainly syncretistic, conforming to the usual features of Arab paganism. It is impossible to discern to what extent North Semitic cults were represented in Mecca.

*Bibliography*: On the whole article Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1857-61, 4 vols.

On I and II: J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 2 vols.; Ali Bey, *Travels*, London 1816, 2 vols.; R. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medînah and Maccah*,

London 1857, 2 vols.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885, 2 vols.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague 1888-89, 2 vols., with *Bilderatlas*; idem, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leiden 1889; Caïd Ben Chérif, *Aux villes saintes de l'Islam*, Paris 1919; al-Batanûnî, *al-Rihla al-Hidjâsiya*, Cairo 1329; E. Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, London 1928, 2 vols.; Ibrâhîm Rif'ât, *Mir'ât al-Haramayn*, i, Cairo 1925, numerous illustrations; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923; Azraqî, 86 ff.; Fâkihî, 18 ff.; al-Tabarî (ed. Leiden), i, 901 ff., 936 ff., 1130 ff.; Mas'ûdî, *Murûdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), i, 133, iv, 125 ff., v, 165-167, 193; *B.G.A.*, i, (al-Iṣṭakhri); ii, (Ibn Ḥawqal), 23-4, iii<sup>a</sup> (Muḥaddasî), 71 ff.; v, (Ibn al-Faḳīh), 16-22; vii, (Ibn Rusta), 24-54; Yâkût, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 278 ff.; Ibn Dîubayr, *Rihla* (Gibb Mem., v), 81 ff.; al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, *Kit. al-'Ilm*, bâb 48; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Notes sur la Mekke et Médine*, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, xxvii, 316 ff.

On III: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880; the Eastern and Western biographies of Muḥammad; commentaries on the *Qur'ân* on the passages mentioned.

On IV: Azraqî, 1 ff.; Tabarî, i, 130 ff., 274 ff.; Tha'labî, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyâ*, Cairo 1290, 69 ff.; Diyârbakrî, *Ta'riḫ al-Khamîs*, Cairo 1283, 2 vols.; Ibn Hishâm, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858-60, 2 vols.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, Paris 1847-48; A. J. Wensinck, *The Navel of the Earth*, *Verh. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Dl. xvii, no. 1; J. L. Palache, *Het Heiligdom in de Voorstelling der Semitische Volken*, Leiden 1920.

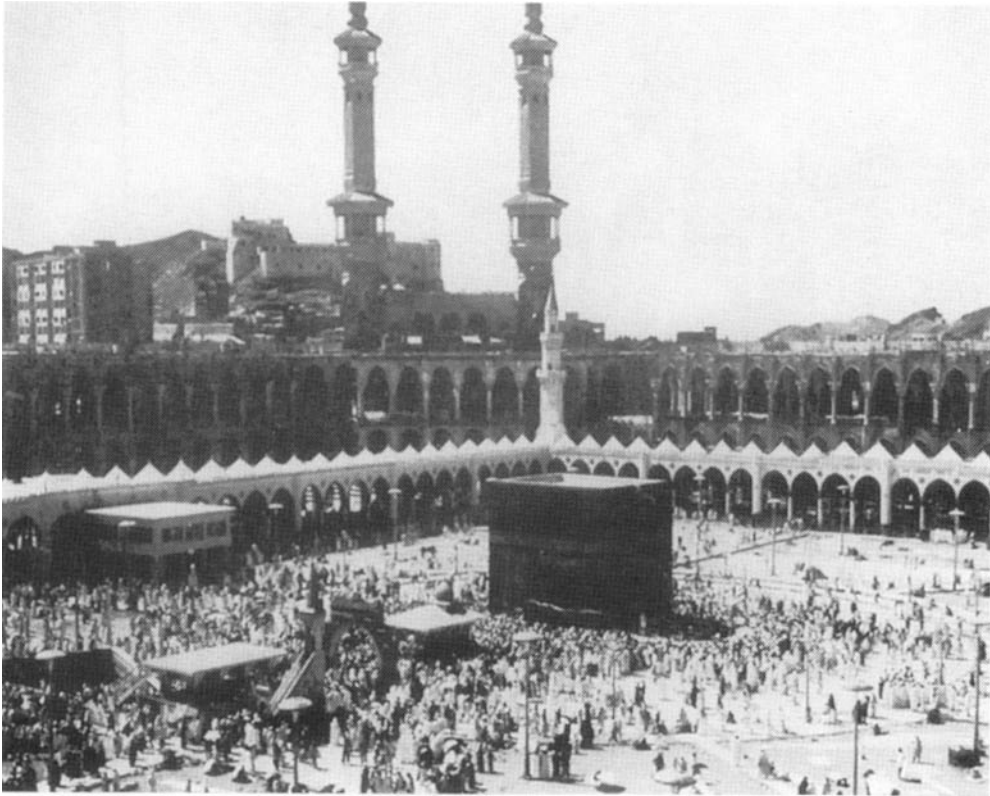
On V: L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, *Introduzione*, §§ 62 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, 73 ff.; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Munich 1904, 45-6.

(A. J. WENSINCK-[J. JOMIER])

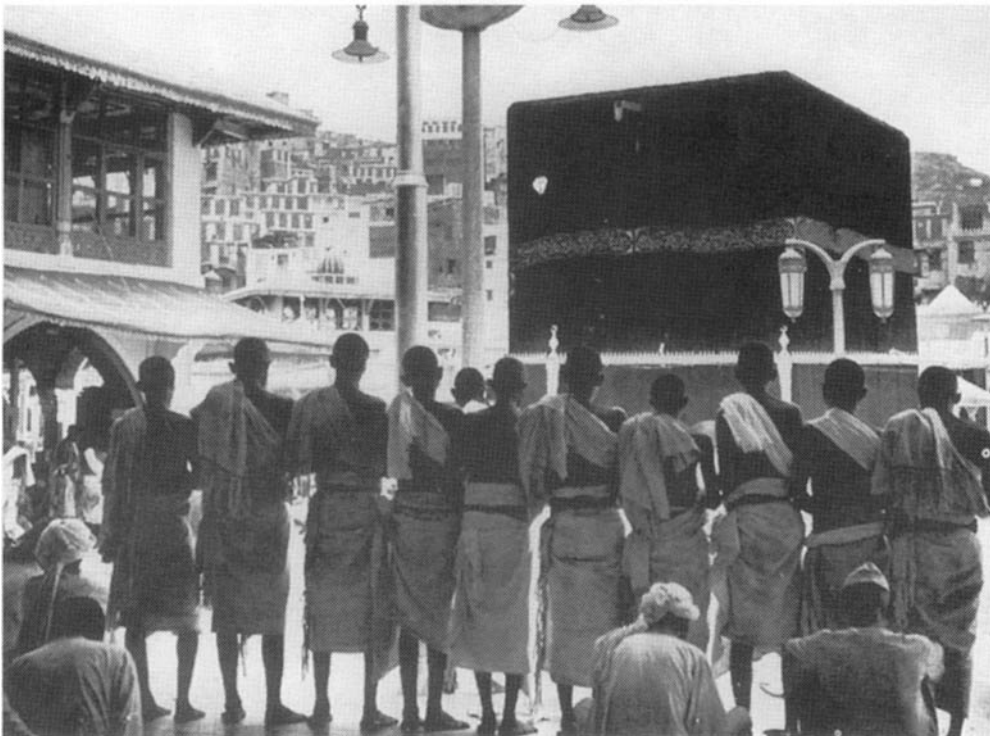
**KABAKBÂZÎ** [see LA'BA].

**KABAKÇI-OGHLU MUŞTAFÂ**, chief of the rebellion which overthrew the Ottoman sultan Selîm III. Originally from Kastamuni, a town in north western Anatolia, he was chosen as their leader by the *yamaks* (supernumerary janissaries) of the Rumelîkavak fortresses on the Bosphorus, who rioted on 17 Rabî' I 1222/25 May 1807 upon the instigation of the *kâ'im-makâm* of the grand vizier, Kôse Mûsâ Paşa, and the *Shaykh al-Islâm* 'Atâ' Allâh Efendi. He conducted the rebellion in an orderly manner, put to death the principal organizers of the *Nizâm-i dîjedîd* [q.v.] and served the aims of the instigators of the riot in preparation for the enthronement of Muştafâ IV [q.v.] (21 Rabî' I/29 May). Nominated commandant of the fortresses on the Rumelîan side of the Bosphorus with the rank of *turnadîl-başî*, he exercised influence in government affairs through his collaboration first with the *Shaykh al-Islâm*, later with Maḥmûd Fayyâr Paşa, appointed *kâ'im makâm* in Sha'bân/October, and again with the *Shaykh al-Islâm*. He was killed on 19 Dîjumâdâ I 1223/13 July 1808 in Rumelîfener by 'Alî Agha, the *a'yân* of Pınarhisar, sent with a troupe of soldiers by Muştafâ Paşa Bayraktâr [q.v.], who was marching with the Ottoman army toward Istanbul to restore Selîm III [q.v.] to the throne.

An uneducated man, he showed a remarkable capacity for leadership in conducting the rebellion. Nevertheless he has been rightly criticized for his harmful action which resulted in the suppression of



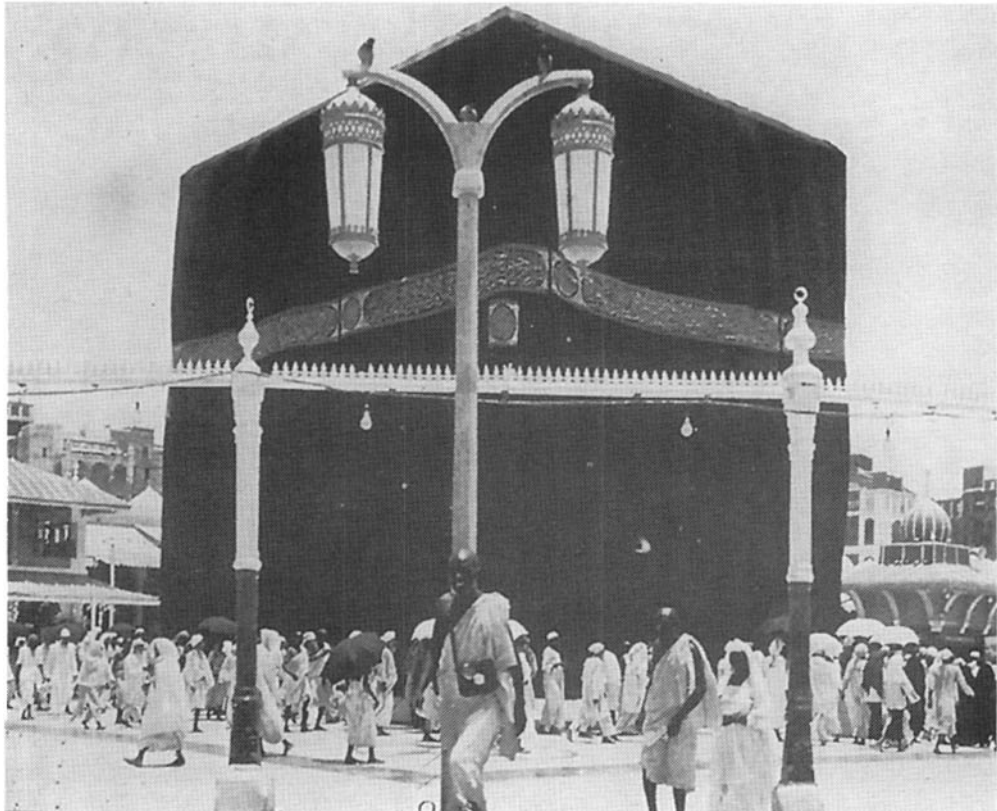
1. North-eastern façade. In the foreground, to the left, are the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*, the *Bāb Banī Shayba*, the *Minbar* and the Zamzam well; the building (*ḳubba*) of the latter is obscured from view.



2. North-western wall with the *mizāb*; to the left are the Zamzam building and the *Maḳām Hanafī*.



3. South-western corner before the recent works. Opposite the north-western wall is part of *al-ḥaḥīm* with *al-ḥidjir*: to the right lie the *Maḥām Ibrāhīm*, the *Bāb Banī Shayba* and the *ḵubba*. a. *Maḥām Ḥanafī*; b. *Maḥām Mālikī*.



4. South-western corner; to the left is the *Maḥām Ḥanafī*, to the right the *Maḥām Ibrāhīm*.

the reform movement which was followed under Selim III.

*Bibliography:* *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iv, 459 f.; A. de Juchereau de Saint-Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808*, Paris 1819, ii, 113-71; 'Aşim, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul n.d., ii, *passim*; Ahmed Djevdet, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul 1309, viii, 157-297; Muştafâ Nûri, *Netâ'idî al-wukû'ât*, Istanbul, 1294-1327, iv, 48-55; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Meşhur Rumeli ayanlarından . . . Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942, index; idem, *Kabakçı Mustafa isyanına dair yazılmış bir tarihçe*, in *Belleten*, vi (1942), 253-67; idem, *Kabakçı vak' asına dair bir mektup*, in *Belleten*, xxix (1965), 599-604; Zinkeisen, vii, 463-71, 552-57; N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1910, v index; A. F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bayraktar*, Moscow-Leningrad 1947; S. I. Shaw, *Between old and new; the Ottoman Empire under Selim III 1789-1807*, Cambridge Mass. 1971; H. D. Andreasyan, (tr.), *Georg Ogulukyan'ın ruznamesi 1806-1810 isyanları: III. Selim, IV. Mustafa, II. Mahmud ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1972. See also Ahmed Refik, *Kabakçîî Muştafâ*, Istanbul 1331.

(E. KURAN)

**KABĀLA** (A.) "guarantee", a juridical term used mainly in connection with fiscal practice, in a manner which is still very difficult to define precisely.

The particular field with which this discussion is concerned is a double one—that of the levying of the land-tax, *kharādî* [q.v.], and that of special taxes, *mukûs*. As was already the case before the Arab conquest both in the Byzantine Empire and under the Sasanids, local communities were held jointly responsible by the Treasury for the payment at the required time of the full amount of land-tax demanded. Nevertheless, it frequently occurred that many individuals had difficulty in finding the necessary ready money immediately. In these conditions, as a result of an agreement between the inhabitants and the administration, application was made to a notable, often but not necessarily a man of the locality, to advance the sum required, for which he had to ensure that he would be reimbursed later. The matter having generally been agreed in advance, this notable in effect acted as a guarantor for the debt of the locality in question. This procedure constitutes the contract of *ḡabāla*, the offer being called *ṭakbīl* and the person named *mutakabbīl*. In this form, Abū Yūsuf does not disapprove of *ḡabāla*. But in practice it appears that matters often happened otherwise, that is to say that not only the principle of the guarantee but also of the amount were known in advance; here, jurists and traditionists, such as Abū Yūsuf and Abū 'Ubayd, disapproved—traditionists, more particularly when, as the harvest could not be estimated in advance, the tax to be levied on it was likewise not calculable if it consisted of a percentage; and jurists, because the total sum envisaged, being necessarily less or greater than the eventual proceeds of the tax, was bound to be injurious either to the taxpayers or to the Treasury. But it is precisely on account of the anticipated profit that the military leaders began to seek out *ḡabālāt*. At the start, they had been allotted emphyteutic concessions (*ḡafā'ī'*; pl. of *ḡafī'a* [see ١٢٧٤']) on the State lands (*ṣawāfi*). But as these were practically hereditary, it was not possible to find new ones, and they therefore turned their attention to the private *kharādî* lands, so that they might succeed either in retaining the *kharādî* for themselves while only paying the tenth (see *Arabica*, i (1954), 358), or, a less serious offence, contract an advantageous *ḡabāla*.

However, the *ḡabāla* disappeared quite rapidly in face of the development of the new type of *ikṡā'*, although definitions of it are still to be found occasionally in the later lexicographers, such as al-Zamakhshari. Clearly it possessed some of the characteristics of tax-farming, and the texts sometimes confuse *ḡabāla* and *ḡamān*; nevertheless, *ḡabāla* usually denotes merely the operation at the basic level of the whole local community, whilst *ḡamān* also applies, throughout the whole course of Muslim history, to the far wider concession of the right to organize and levy taxes, for some years, from a vast district, in return for the payment—more or less in advance—of a sum which is guaranteed, but markedly smaller than the scheduled revenue. Sometimes the texts also compare the *ḡabāla* with the *mukāṡa'a* which, in the case of a small estate, in effect probably differs only in the matter of duration, but which also applies to vast semi-autonomous districts or provinces in whose entire internal administration the State definitively renounces all interest, in return for the settlement of a guarantee.

What has just been said appears to be applicable in some measure to Muslim Asia in general. In the Maghrib and in Spain, where the *ḡabāla* is to be found in regard to *mukûs*, it is not certain if the term occurs in connection with *kharādî*; occasionally it denotes the fixed dues owed by the administrator of a *wakf*. But it is above all with reference to Egypt, always distinctive in agricultural and fiscal matters, that some particularly delicate questions arise.

In Egypt, indeed, it seems that no *ḡafā'ī'* were distributed, although State lands and private lands possessing some degree of autonomy existed there before the conquest and were retained afterwards. But no doubt both because the Arab population of Egypt was originally limited to the garrison towns, and because control of the Nile and the resultant agricultural organization created, throughout all the irrigated territories, a unified administration which deprived each of them of part of its own effective autonomy, the very term *ḡafī'a* in this sense seems unknown (although in the plural *ḡafā'ī'* it denotes the Ṭulūnid quarter of Fustāṡ created on the model of Samarrā). *ḡabālāt*, however, do exist, often in the hands of persons whom the papyri call *māsūṡ*, μετζότερος. Then in the 2nd/8th century, Arab tribal groups settled in Egypt and, as it was not possible to give them *ḡafā'ī'*, they were granted lands for which they assumed the *ḡabāla*, under conditions which guaranteed an income for the State but which also left them with a substantial profit for themselves. It appears that this was brought about by distribution by auction, held in Fustāṡ for four years, with a revision of the basic tax survey every thirty years. Despite reforms in the methods employed (particularly under al-Aḡdal and al-Ma'mūn al-Baṡā'īhī, in the second century of Fāṡimid rule,) it seems that the system was maintained in certain respects until the Ayyūbid conquest introduced into Egypt a new system more or less inspired by the eastern *ikṡā'*. In short, the old system differed from similar systems in the Near East only in its systematic and durable character, and by its adaptation to the specific agricultural organization of Egypt.

However, this does not solve all of the problems. Papyri, and later the fiscal treatises from the Fāṡimid and subsequent periods, reveal that there was a distinction between lands lying outside the *ḡabālāt*, which were subjected to permanent surveys (*misāḡa*), deciding each year the areas to be flooded and the different types of cultivation to be employed on them,

and lands of *ḡabĀlĀt*, which were themselves *bilā misāḡa*, and for which therefore it was sufficient to have a contract drawn up independently of the annual verification of the surface area and type of cultivation. In the fiscal treatises of al-Maḡhẓūmī, Ibn Mammāṭī and al-Nābulusī, the first system is called the *muḡĀdana*, imposition by *faddān*, or simply *zirā'a*, and the second *ḡabĀla*, but also, at least in certain cases, *munāḡjaza*, settlement after dispute, sometimes *muḡġġara*, equal division (Ibn Hawḡal, i, 133 distinguishes between *ma'ḡud* and *maḡlūl*). On the other hand custom tended increasingly to give *ḡabĀla* the sense of *arḡ al-ḡabĀla*, land subjected to the system of *ḡabĀla*, and if one or two papyri give the impression that a *ḡabĀla* can include several small properties of another sort, as in the Asiatic system, others on the contrary suggest relatively small pieces of land, and the later fiscal treatises reveal a situation where the tax agents controlled the entire body of lands consisting both of divisions of land in *muḡĀdana* and of others in *ḡabĀla*, and had the right to transfer certain of these from one category to the other, according to the types of cultivation dependent upon the condition of the land after inundation: this suggests that now that the distinction between the Arabs and the converted native inhabitants is blurred, the difference between the two categories of lands is connected with a difference of agricultural utilization, the *ḡabĀla* being applicable only to those lands used for the cultivation of cereals and leguminous plants, to the exclusion of orchards and economic crops (flax, sugar, etc.). We do not know if this was already the situation at the time of the earliest adjudications.

Finally, if we come down to the Mamlūk period, we see that this evolution continues. There remain some lands for which the "rent" (*idjāra*) is fixed at a sum determined in advance by *tanāḡidjuz* = *munāḡjaza*, but what is now called *ḡabĀla* is no more than the agricultural unit of land generally subjected to *misāḡa*, and within it a distinction is made between the different types of land imposed on the *faddān* according to the type of cultivation: in other words, integration with the common system is complete, without adjudication or tax-farming or any other "guarantee" save that of paying what is due. This is a normal conclusion since frequently these dues now go not to the Treasury but to the *muḡḡā'*, the true heir to the profits of the former *mutaḡabbil*. In the Ottoman period, if there are *muḡġa'āt* and *iltizāmāt* (the meaning of which is etymologically related to *ḡamān*, but in fact corresponding rather to *iktā's*) the word *ḡabĀla* disappears from the vocabulary of land taxation; and, with Bonaparte's scholars, *munāḡjaza* was explained as signifying merely poor lands.

Alongside its use with regard to taxation on land, as described above, the word *ḡabĀla*, as well as *ḡamān* in this context, occurs in a more permanent sense to signify the farming of special revenues, generally of *muḡūs*, especially in towns, such as the sale of salt or the management of baths or even of a local customs office. It is most often in this sense that we must interpret those passages which show rulers abolishing or condemning *ḡabĀlĀt*, like *muḡūs* elsewhere; and it is in reference to such *ḡabĀlĀt*, which are perhaps more often designated in this way in the West than in the East, that Europeans have understood the word and adopted it (Spanish *alcabala* attested in 1101, Italian *gabella* current in ports and among the Normans in Sicily in the 12th century, from which the French *gabelle*, which however has so

far not been found before the beginning of the 14th century; Provençal *gabele*). (It should be noted however that, in the account of Ramon Muntaner of the Catalan expedition to the East, at the beginning of the 14th century, *gabella* denotes the Turkish tribes, and therefore derives from *ḡabĀla* and not from *ḡabĀla*.) For these taxes, see provisionally *ḡarḡba* above, but no study has been devoted to the methods employed for levying them.

*Bibliography*: Sources used (this does not claim to be an exhaustive list):—Abū Yūsuf, *ḡharāḡī*, ed. Cairo 1352, 105 f., trans. Fagnan, 49 f.; Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 70-2; Ṭabarī, ii, 1717, iii, 109, 1799; Bayḡaḡī, ed. Schwally, 125; Ibn Hawḡal, i, 136; Maḡhẓūmī, in *JESHO*, v (1962), 263; Ibn Mammāṭī, ed. Atiya, 259, 336-8; Nābulusī, *Fayyūm*, in *Arabica*, iv (1957), 13 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, viii, 246-52; Maḡrīzī, *ḡḡifāt*, Bulāk, i, 83-6; Ḳaḡḡashandī, *ḡubḡ*, iii, 458; A. Grohmann, *Papyrus Caire*, ii, no. 87, iii, no. 103, iv, nos. 270 and 271, with the corresponding notes; Ch. Becker, *Papyrus Schott-Reinhardt*, no. 3; J. David-Weill, *Papyrus Louvre*, in *JESHO*, xiv (1971), 13-15 (*māsūl*).

Modern works: no complete study. Some information in Quatremère, *Journal des Savants*, 1848, 49 (with etymology of *gabelle*); De Goeje, Glossaries of Balāḡhurī and Ṭabarī (but the passage from Balāḡhurī called upon to show that *ahl al-ḡibĀla* = *ahl al-dḡhimma* in this case is too uncertain to justify anything); Dozy, s.v. *ḡabĀla* (the same correction should be made to the passage from De Goeje) and *munāḡjaza*; Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, ch. IV (but cf. *Arabica*, i (1954), 350); Cl. Cahen, *Fiscalité, Propriété, etc.*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955); idem, *Impôts Fayyūm, ibid.*, iv (1957); idem, *Contributions*, in *JESHO*, v (1962); idem, *L'administration de l'armée fatimide*, in *JESHO*, xiv (in press); Diyā' al-Dīn al-Ra'ṭs, *al-Ḳharāḡī fi'l-dawla al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, last chapter; Makoto Shimizu, *Les finances publiques de l'État abbāsīde*, in *Der Islam*, xlii (1965), particularly p. 12; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Esp. Mus.*, iii, 39, 270, 301, 430; M. Talbi, *L'émirat aḡhlabīde*, 320, 661; H. R. Idris, *Zirīdes*, ii, 615; Vincenzo Crescini, *Gabella*, in *Romanica Fragmenta*, Turin 1932; Giovanni-Battista Pellegrini, *L'elemento arabo nelle lingue neolatine*, in *L'occidente et l'Islam nell'alto medioevo, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medio-Evo*, XII-2, Spoleto 1965, 706, 769-70; F. Nasser, *Les emprunts lexicologiques du français à l'arabe*, Beirut 1966, 273-4 and index. See also *IKṬĀ'*. (CL. CAHEN)

**KABARDS**, a Muslim people of the Caucasus. In Russian they are called Kabardintsi, in Turkish Kabartaylar; other designation, *Kāsāg*. The name of the Kabards was first mentioned as *Cheuerthoi* by Barbaro, who visited the Caucasus in 1436. Its etymology remains uncertain.

The Kabard language belongs to the eastern branch of the Adḡḡe (Čerkes) linguistic group, which is also referred to as "high Adḡḡe".

According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 139,925 Kabards ethnically and 138,925 linguistically. The census of 1939 records 164,000 Kabards.

The Kabards live in the basin of Upper Terek and some of its tributaries and are divided into two groups: one, forming the tribes of the Great Kabarda, lives between the rivers Malka and Terek to the west of the Terek; the other, forming the tribes of the Little Kabarda, lives between the Sunja and the Terek, to the east of the Terek.

The Kabards arrived in their habitat in the 13th century from their original homeland further to the west, after the Alans had been weakened by Mongol invasions, and after the collapse of the Golden Horde they began to play a leading role in the history of the Caucasus. In the 16th century Kabard princes maintained friendly relations with the rulers of Moscow. The second wife of Ivan IV was a Kabard princess, Marie, daughter of Temrük. In the 17th century the Kabards led the coalition of Caucasian peoples against the Kalmuks. Because of the dominating role they played in the Central Caucasus and their location near the Daryal pass, they were the first to come under Russian control in the 19th century, accepting it without any strong resistance. At the time of the Russian conquest a number of Kabards settled between the upper Kuban and the Zelenchuk and were called Fugitive Kabards. After 1864, some Kabards, mostly of the fugitive group, emigrated into the Ottoman Empire.

Sunni Islam of the Hanafi *madhhab* was introduced in the second half of the 16th century by the Crimean Tatars, in competition with Christianity. They were completely islamized by the end of the 17th century.

The traditional Kabard economy consisted of horse-breeding, agriculture, horticulture, apiculture and home industry. Traditional Kabard society had a complex structure which consisted of eleven classes grouped in two main divisions: the noblemen, or the free group, and the *pshtts*, or the non-free group. At the head of society were the princes (*pshtz*), among whom the *wälî* was the chief of the Kabard people. They were followed by the nobles (*uork*, or *uorkkh*). These in turn were subdivided into four classes according to the rights and obligations which bound them to the princes. The nobles were followed by the free peasants (*ifokholl*). The non-free group consisted of the *azat* (freed peasants who were bound by some servitude to their former masters); *og* (serfs); *loganaput* (between *og* and slaves); *unaut* (slaves).

In the 19th century attempts were made by K. Atažukin to create a literary language, and in 1865 he published a Kabard alphabet based on the Cyrillic script. However, Kabard did not attain the status of a literary language until 1924. The speech of the Great Kabarda was used as the basis of the literary language, and this language is used officially in the Kabardo-Balkar A.S.S.R. and the Karaçay-Çerkes A.R. The first newspaper in the Kabard language was published in 1924 under the title *Kara Khalk*. According to the *Letopis' periodičeskikh izdanij S.S.S.R.* there were in 1960 two Kabard newspapers and two magazines.

The Kabards were first organized into the Kabard Autonomous Region on 1 September 1921. On 16 January 1922 they were joined with the national district of Balkar, which on 5 December 1936 became the Kabardo-Balkar Autonomous Region. In 1944 the Kabard Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was announced, which further changed into the Kabardo-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on 9 February 1957. The territory of the Republic occupies 12,400 sq. km. In 1959 there were 420,115 people in the A.S.S.R. Of these 45 % were Kabards, 8.1 % were Balkars, 38.7 % Russians, and the rest other groups of Caucasians.

*Bibliography:* B. Geiger, T. Halasi-Kun, A. Kuipers and K. Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1958; *Istoriya Kabardino-Balkarskaya A.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1967; *Kabardiskaya A.S.S.R.*, Nalchik 1946; B. Kalmikov, *Očerki revoliutsionnogo dvizheniya v Kabarde,*

Nalchik 1946; A. Kuipers, *Introduction to Morpheme and phoneme in Kabardian*, The Hague 1960; Sh. B. Nogmov, *Istoriya Adigeyskogo Naroda Sostavlenaya po predaniyam Kabardintsev*, 5th ed., Nalchik 1952; *Sbornik Statey po Istorii Kabardy*, 1-2, Nalchik 1957; see also BESKESEK-ABAZA, ÇERKES, and AL-ḲABḲ. (HÜLYA SALIHOĞLU)

AL-ḲABBĀB, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH B. ḤUSAYN AL-TAMGRŪTĪ AL-DAR'Ī AL-RAḲḲĪ (from al-RaḲḲa [q.v.], his native town), a very famous Moroccan saint. Born in the *zāwiya* of Sayyid al-Nās as it was called (from the name of the Prophet), the founder of which was Abū Ishāḳ al-Anṣārī, known under the name of Sayyidī Ibrāhīm al-Ḥādīdī, he grew up there in prayer and asceticism. Accompanied by the son of this latter, Aḥmad, he went to the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt, founded by Abū Ḥafṣ, 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, in Ramaḍān 983/Dec.-Jan. 1575-76, and settled there until his death on Friday 12 Djumādā II 1045/23 Nov. 1635. He was buried in the place since called *rawḍat al-ashyākh*, on the Sidjilmāsa road. His fame had attracted many disciples, whom he initiated into the *dhiḳr shādhilī* and who acquired some fame, such as the aforementioned Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm and the two brothers Muḥammad and Ḥusayn Ibn Nāṣir al-Dar'ī. The teaching of the *ṣarīḥa*, which he had received from Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ḥādīdīdī al-Dar'ī, derived from Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Zarrūk, whose teaching was transmitted by Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Ḡhāzī, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sidjilmāsi and 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Rāshīdī.

*Bibliography:* E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 315 and n. 4; Ifrānī, *Ṣafwa*, 70; Kādirī, *Nashr*, i, 169; idem, *Ithāfāt*, fol. 14v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, i, fol. 81v; Nāṣirī, *Ṭal'at al-muṣṭarī*, i, 128-36 and *passim*; Maklī Nāṣirī, *Durar* (after al-Ḥaṣhtūkī, *Inārat al-baṣā'ir* and *Ṭal'at al-dā'a*); Ḥusayn Ibn Nāṣir al-Dar'ī, *Fahrasa*; Yūsi, *Muhāḍarāt*, in *fine*. (M. LAKHDAR)

ḲABBĀN [see MĪZĀN].

ḲABD (A.), verbal noun meaning "seizure", "grasping", "contraction", "abstention", etc., and used in the special vocabulary of various disciplines.

i.—In *fiḳh* the word signifies taking possession of, handing over. In Mālikī law *ḥiyāza* is more frequently used. *Tasallum* is also employed to mean the act of handing over. Taking possession is accomplished by the material transfer of the thing when movable goods are involved; by occupation when it is a question of real estate, but also symbolically by the handing over of the keys or title deeds of the property. *Ḳabḍ* only has a subsidiary role to play in the sale, since *fiḳh*, from the very beginning and in all its versions, recognized that the ownership of the thing which has been sold, when a definite object is involved, is transferred immediately by the agreement of the parties, before any formal transfer.

The part played by the *ḥabḍ* in the matter of gifts (*ḥibā*), loan (*ḥarḍ*), commodate (*'ariyya*) and security (*rahn*), is a subject of dispute amongst the legal schools. The Mālikīs excepted, most authors teach that the agreement of the parties on which these contracts are founded does not carry with it any legal obligation on the part of the one who gave the undertaking, nor any absolute right on the part of the beneficiary. The former cannot be forced to hand over the thing he has promised, nor can the latter demand its transfer, *ḥabḍ*. These contracts are "efficacious", therefore, only on the basis of the *ḥabḍ*, freely agreed. The formula of the classical authors, according to which *ḥabḍ* is useful for the completion (*tamām*, *luṣūm*) of these contracts, is



not sufficiently significant. Properly speaking, these contracts only become juridically valid through the operation of the *ḥabd*. Only the Mālikī school holds that immediately after the agreement of the parties relative to a gift, loan, commodate or security the beneficiary may constrain the man who made the contract to hand over the object (Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaḥīr*, ii, 344 for the gift; ii, 226-9 for the commodate; ii, 121 for the security).

However the *ḥabd* becomes a condition of the validity of the agreement itself (*sharḥ al-ṣiḥḥa*) as regards two contracts which become invalid if the material transfer does not take place at the time of the agreement: these are the *salām*, or forward sale (the price to be paid at the time of the contract) and the *ṣarf*, contract of exchange (exchanged currencies must be transferred there and then).

*Ḥabd amāna* and *ḥabd damān*. In regard to contracts which involve the temporary transfer of something from one contracting party to the other, in particular hiring, commodate, safe custody and mandate, there arises the question as to whether this taking possession is a *ḥabd amāna*, in which case the trustee is only held responsible if he has been at fault or in transgression (*ta'addī*) of the rules of the contract or of the customary dealings in such matters, or if it is a case of a *ḥabd damān*, which holds the trustee responsible for any loss arising in respect of the object, even through chance or circumstances over which he has no control. The Ḥanafis are of the opinion that in all these contracts, without exception, *ḥabd amāna* is the only possibility. The Shāfi'is and the Ḥanbalis make a distinction according to whether the contract is concluded in the interests of the trustee (commodate, hiring), in which case the *ḥabd* is *damān*, or whether the contract is profitable chiefly to the owner of the thing (safe custody, mandate), and in this case it is *ḥabd amāna*. As for the Mālikis, they adopt another criterion. According to whether the thing held in trust in accordance with one of the contracts outlined above can be concealed easily (*mā yughābu 'alayhi*) or with difficulty, in the first case they enforce the consequences of *ḥabd damān*, and in the second those of *ḥabd amāna*.

*Bibliography*: Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, *al-Amwāl wa-naḥariyyat al-'aḳd*, Cairo 1953, 449; Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-Zarkā, *al-Madhḥal al-fikḥī al-'amm*, Damascus 1964, no. 163. For Mālikī law: Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaḥīr* (with the commentary of Ṣāwī, Būlāḳ 1289, ii, 226-7 (commodate), ii, 344 (gift), ii, 121 (security); D. Santilana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1938, i, 316, ii, 379, 477 and *passim*; Chafik Chahata, *Les concepts de qabd damān et de qabd amāna en droit musulman hanéfite*, in *St. Isl.*, xxxii (1970), 89 ff. (V. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ii.—In Ṣūfism, a technical term used to denote a spiritual state of "contraction" as opposed to "expansion", *baṣṭ* [q.v.].

According to al-Kuṣḥayrī [q.v.]: "just as *ḥabd* is above the degree of *ḥhawf* (fear) and *baṣṭ* above that of *radjā* (hope), so *hayba* (reverential awe) is above *ḥabd*, and *uns* (intimate ease) is above *baṣṭ*". The explanation of this hierarchy is clearly that *ḥabd* and *baṣṭ* denote the pure objectivity of the 'arif (gnostic) untinged with any individual subjective reaction such as fear and hope, while on the other hand *hayba* and *uns* denote a greater degree of unveiling on the part of the Divinity. The end of the path is when Divine Subjectivity obliterates the objective experience of *ḥabd* and *baṣṭ* in a transcendent synthesis of the two. The terms themselves, as used by the Ṣūfis, spring

from the Divine Names [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ] *al-Kābiḍ* (He who causes contraction) which is an *ism djalālī* (Name of Majesty) and *al-Bāsiṭ* (He who causes expansion), which is an *ism djamālī* (Name of Beauty); and the Ṣūfis frequently use *djalālī* and *djamālī* as synonyms of *ḥabd* and *baṣṭ* when referring to the divinely subjective experiences of the 'arif (gnostic). Aḥmad al-'Alawī [see IBN 'ALĪWA] quotes his Shaykh as saying, in moments of *ḥabd*: "My Majesty is One with My Beauty"; and he comments: "Since the gnostic is with Him who contracts, not with the contraction itself, and with Him who expands, not with the expansion itself, he is active rather than passive and has thus become as if nothing had happened to him... Let your attribute be *kamāl* (perfection) which is beatitude in both *djalālī* and *djamālī*".

*Bibliography*: Kuṣḥayrī, *Risāla*; Ibn al-'Arabī, *Risālat al-Kuds* (for examples of *ḥabd*); Ibn 'Alīwa, *al-Minah al-Ḳuddūsiyya*, 283-5.

(M. LINGS)

iii.—In prosody *ḥabd* means "contraction". To the exposition in the article 'ARŪD, 671-2 and in G. Weil, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metern*, Wiesbaden 1958, 27, 30, the following may be added (on some of the rules governing the *ḥabd* there is no agreement and a complete survey cannot be given):

The *ḥabd* is a suppression of the fifth quiescent letter in the feet *fa'ūlun* and *mafā'ilun* which occur in the metres *ṣawīl* [q.v.], *ḥazāḍī*, *muḍārī* [q.v.], and *mutakārib* [q.v.], so that these feet are reduced to *fa'ūlu* and *mafā'ilun* respectively. A foot suffering this alteration is called *maḥbūd* (this last term occurs already in a discussion of poetry in the *Sira* of Ibn Ishāq [q.v.], but its meaning is uncertain, see R. Blachère, *Deuxième contribution, in Arabica*, vi (1959), 133, 141).

The shortening of *mafā'ilun* to *mafā'ilun* is obligatory in the last foot of the first hemistich ('arūd) of all varieties of the *ṣawīl*, so that this foot can never appear in its "primitive" form, except in case the first hemistich rhymes with the second (*taṣrī*, see KĀFIYA). The same is true of the last foot of the second hemistich (*darb*) of the second variety (which would imply that the *ḥabd* belongs not only to the *ziḥāfāt*, but also to the 'ilal, see Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sabbān, *al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya fi 'ilmay al-'arūd wa'l-kāfiya*, Cairo 1321, 10). The *ḥabd* is also recommended (according to some it is obligatory) in the penultimate foot of the third variety of the *ṣawīl*. In this variety the last foot of the second hemistich is reduced to *fa'ūlun*, and the penultimate foot, which is also *fa'ūlun*, should become *fa'ūlu*. This rule also applies to the first hemistich in case of *taṣrī*. On the other hand the *ḥabd* may not occur in the metre *mutakārib* when the penultimate foot of either hemistich has been reduced to a single closed syllable (*fa* or *fa'*, but cf. *Darstellung*, 283), and in all cases where the foot *mafā'ilun* has already been reduced to *mafā'ilu* (*kaṣf*). Finally it should be noted that in the metre *muḍārī* the foot *mafā'ilun* appears never in its primitive form, but is always changed into *mafā'ilun* or *mafā'ilu* (cf., however, Ṣabbān, *al-Kāfiya*, 32, l. 7-8).

*Bibliography*: Tibriḏī, *al-Wāfi fi 'l-'arūd wa'l-kawāfi*, Aleppo 1390/1970, *passim*; Zamakhsharī, *al-Kiṣṣās al-mustakim fi 'ilm al-'arūd*, Baghdād 1389/1970, *passim*; G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830 (repr. Osnabrück 1968), 80, 89-90, 92, 93-4, 94, 108-11, 161, 163-4, 166-70, 172-4, 176-8, 227-8, 272-4,



283-4; Silvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*<sup>8</sup>, Paris 1831, ii, 626-7 (and table), 629-30, 636, 643, 645; D. Vernier, *Grammaire arabe*, Beirut 1891, ii, 516, 519, 529, 534-5, 555, 574, 580-1.

(MOH. BEN CHENEH-[S. A. BONEBAKKER])

**KABID** (according to lexicographers the only correct form) or **KABD**, **KIBD**, "the liver".

1. Names for the liver and their semantic field. The Muslim peoples, like all others, recognised the internal organs of the human body and identified them with the analogous organs of animals. They also attributed to them one or another physiological and psychosomatic function based on observations which they interpreted according to mental structures that are only partially clear to us.

Language itself testifies to these early identifications. As E. Bargheer says, "these are significant characteristics which very often endow an organ with a pre-eminent place in the conceptual world of the people; in the case of the heart it is its beating or rhythmic movement, of the lungs breath, and of the liver its central position, its exceptional size in relation to the other organs, its variable shape and edible nature" (*Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, hrsgb. von E. Hoffmann-Krayer, Berlin 1927-42, v, col. 976, s.v. *Leber*).

In Arabic the classical name of the liver is *kabid*, but the frequent dialectal forms, *kabd* and *kibd*, are also encountered at a very early date (cf. *Wörterbuch der klassischen Arabischen Sprache*, i, Wiesbaden 1970, 18). As in other Semitic languages, it is the great weight in the liver that attracted attention. The noun for liver, common to all Semitic tongues, comes from the root *k-b-d* or *k-b-t* where the Western Semitic *d* seems to derive from an assimilation (to *b*) of the Accadian *t* (*kabattu* later *kabittu*, poetically *kablatu*), which is thought to be the original form (Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik d. semit. Sprachen*, Berlin 1908-13, i, 152). But we also find in Accadian *gabidu*, *kabidu*, probably borrowed from Western Semitic. It seems clear that this is a metaphorical derivation from the adjective "heavy" (Acc. *kabtu*, fem. *kabattu*, *kabitu*; Heb. *kābēd*; Ugar. *kbd*; Gōʿez *kēbūd* etc.) and the corresponding verb (cf. Arab. *kābada*, "to endure, to support"; cf. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*, Leipzig 1911, 78; P. Fronzaroli, *Studi sul lessico comune semitico*, *Rend. Linc.*, series 8, vol. 19, fasc. 5-6, 1964, 32 f., 47, 54). The use of this metaphor to denote the liver ("the heaviest and thickest of vessels", Galen, *De usu partium*, vi, 17 = iii, 495, ed. C. G. Kühn; i, 360, l. 19 f. ed. G. Helmreich) is a Semitic innovation in comparison with Hamito-Semitic, which has a number of very different words for it. It is questionable whether, as A. Cuny avers, it is to be found in Indo-European (*Recherches sur le vocalisme... en "nostratique"*, Paris 1943, 68 f.). The word most frequently found in Indo-European (from an etymon \**yek<sup>w</sup>.r(t-)* is perhaps linked to the idea of lump, swelling tumour (J. Pokorny, *Indo-germanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i, Berne-Munich 1948-59, 504). In our field it is represented chiefly by the Persian *ājigar* (Lat. *iecur*, Gr. ἥπαρ, etc.), which was borrowed by Ottoman Turkish (and Serbo-Croat for the liver of animals).

The Turkish word, in its most current form *bağır* (attested as early as the runiform inscriptions of the Yenisei, cf. V. G. Egorov, *Étimologičeskij slovar<sup>9</sup> čuvaškogo jazıka*, Čeboksary 1964, 155, who also gives all the forms of the word in Turkish languages), is perhaps associated with the idea of a tie, a bundle,

a sack or a pocket (cf. the Ottoman Turkish noun *bağ* and the verb *bağlamak*, but L. Bazin notes that the relationship presents some phonetic difficulties).

It should be said that the words cited above were stabilized at a very early date as corresponding to a "normal" or "central" meaning (L. Bloomfield, *Language*<sup>8</sup>, London 1935, 149) which is the organ "liver". But they also correspond, from no doubt as early a period, to a semantic field comprising "marginal" or "metaphoric" values, the result of "transfers".

Through contiguity of meaning, some of these "transfers" (cf. S. Ullmann, *The principles of semantics*, Glasgow 1951, 231 ff.) led the words in question to be used to designate the parts of the body in the vicinity of the liver. Thus in classical Arabic *kabid* can denote the surfaces of the body more or less close to the liver as well as the chest and even the belly; a woman is described as having *kabidu<sup>n</sup> malsā<sup>n</sup>*, "a sleek stomach" (Aʿshā, *Diwān*, ed. R. Geyer, London 1928, 77: 15a = *Ṭarafa, Diwān* in W. Ahlwardt, *The diwans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870, 11: 6a) and so on (references in *Wörterbuch der klassischen Arabischen Sprache*, i, Wiesbaden 1970, 18-20). Similarly Uyghur has *beğirğa basmaq*, "clasp to the breast or heart", *bağrı yorğan palvan*, "a hero (or athlete) of a mighty chest" (É. N. Nadžip, *Uygurško-russkij slovar<sup>9</sup>*, Moscow 1968, 226) and likewise in Azeri *bağırına basmaq* means "to embrace, seize in one's arms, clasp to one's bosom" (H. A. Azizbekov, *Azerbaydžanskoy-russkij slovar<sup>9</sup>*, Baku 1965, 47).

In Persian, the composite *ājigar-band*, "the liver complex" (attested for example in Saʿdī and *Šhams-i Tabrizī*) denotes the pluck, the internal organs of the chest as a whole: lungs, heart, liver. The Turkish languages had already borrowed the word *ājigar* in the sense of "liver" in the Turkish translation of the *Gülistan* prepared in Egypt by Sayf of Saray (1391; cf. É. Fazylov, *Staroubekskij jazık*, Tashkent 1966-71, i, 370). But the existence of another word (*bağır*, etc.) for the same concept in the same languages, and probably the use of *ājigar-band* in the sense indicated above as well, led to the extension of *ājigar* itself to another organ of the thoracic cavity, the lung, despite the existence of a properly Turkish word to designate this (*ök(h)ā, öpkā, övka, ökpe*, etc., with the anciently recorded metaphorical sense of "anger, grief, dissatisfaction, affliction" (cf. Egorov, *Étim. slovar<sup>9</sup>*... , 280 f.), which remains the only meaning in current Ottoman for the word *öfke*, Lat. orthog. *öfke*, alongside the dialectic term *öygän*, "lung"). Consequently it was necessary to use an adjective to distinguish between the "black liver" (Azeri *gara ājıyār*, Ottoman *kara ājiger*, Lat. orthog. *kara ciğer*)—that is the liver itself—and the "white liver" (Azeri *agh ājıyār*, Ottoman *āk ājiger*, Lat. orthog. *ak ciğer*), that is the lungs. Other languages within the sphere of the Ottoman Empire borrowed this same distinction, for example Bulgarian (where the distinction was applied to the Slav word *drob* rather than to the loanword *ājiger*, "lungs and liver", cf. *Bālgariski etimologičen rečnik*, v, Sofia 1966, 362) and Serbo-Croat (forms *crna ājigerica*, "liver", *bijela ājigerica*, "lung", cf. Abdulah Skaljic, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1965, 240 f. while the Indo-European word *jetra* is strictly specialized in an anatomical sense). The expression "white livers" (*kubūd biđ*) was also used in Arabic, at least occasionally, probably for the lungs (Ibn *Djazla, Minhādī al-bayān*, s.v. *kabid*, Ms. Paris, Bib. Nat., Ar. 2949, fol. 159 v., etc.).

The process of transfer of meaning by contiguity extended the semantic field covered by the word "liver" not only to the organs of the thoracic cavity but also to all the internal organs of the trunk. Moreover these organs as a whole are described, in a more or less vaguely limited fashion, by the plural of the word "liver". Thus in the Persian translation of al-Ṭabarī (4th/10th cent.), *diḡarān* denotes the entrails (G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 195). But in Turkish *baḡır* as such (or with a suffix *baḡırsaḡ* and variants) means "belly, paunch" and also "entrails" (cf. refs. in *Drevnetyurškiy slovar*<sup>2</sup>, Leningrad 1969, 77, 78). From this is derived the Uyghur *beḡırlımaḡ*, for example, which means "to grovel, to drag oneself along on the belly". In the modern languages of Ethiopia too the Proto-Ethiopic word corresponding to the Gəʿəz *kabā*, "liver", has acquired the meaning of "belly, heart, interior, intestines, paunch" (Tigre *kābd*, Tigrifa *kābdī*), and this has become the only meaning of *hod* in Amharic (from *kabā*, cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, 204), which has therefore had to use another word to designate liver (*gubbāt*).

Such shifts in meaning explain the use of these terms generally to cover the middle, centre, interior (we would say heart) of something. Thus Arabic has *fī kabādī ʿajabātī*<sup>3</sup>, "in the heart of a mountain", *ʿalā kabādī ʿl-baḡrī*<sup>4</sup>, "in the heart of the sea", etc. (refs. in *Wörterbuch* . . ., 20). In Old Turkish *ya baḡır*, "the liver of a bow" denotes its central curve (Maḡmūd Kāshgharī, *Diwān lughāt al-Turk*, Istanbul 1333-35, i, 301; C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest 1928, 28) as does the Arabic *kabīdū ʿl-kawṣ*<sup>5</sup> (F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 260, 265 f.; A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane*, Damascus 1968, 164, see index p. 179 and plate iii). In Tatar *Ural bawır* means the "centre (liver) of the Urals" (*Tatarʹsko-rusškiy slovar*<sup>6</sup>, Moscow 1966, 51). Similarly Persian has, for example, *diḡar-i ḡī*, "the bowels of the earth, the tomb". Passing from space to time, we find expressions like *fī kabādī ʿl-laylī*<sup>7</sup>, "in the middle, the heart of the night" (Ibn Saʿd, *iii/1*, 205<sup>23</sup>).

In Turkish this generalization of meaning also frequently embraced the front, the fore and also the side. In Uzbek, for example, *toḡh baḡırıda* means "on the mountainside" (A. K. Borovkov (ed.), *Uzbeksko-rusškiy slovar*<sup>8</sup>, Moscow 1959, 58). In the *Shor* dialect of Altaï it even acquires a prepositional sense in *baḡırında*, "beside" (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1893-1911, iv, col. 1134).

2. Primitively and popular psycho-physiology of the liver. Whatever marginal meanings the word for liver acquired to denote other organs or parts of the body and of the world, from the pre-theoretic stage the organ itself was attributed with one or another physiological and psychosomatic function.

Thus the liver, alongside the heart, was very widely regarded as the centre or one of the centres of psychic life, in other words as the prop of "the soul" or of a "soul" (cf. W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*<sup>9</sup>, iv, Leipzig 1920, 105 ff.; A. Merx, *Le rôle du foie dans la littérature des peuples sémitiques*, in *Florilegium* . . . Melchior de Vogüé, Paris 1909, 427-44; M. Jastrow, *The liver as the seat of the soul*, in *Studies in the History of Religion presented to C. H. Toy*, New York 1912, 143-68; F. E. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, University of California Publica-

tions in American Archaeology and Ethnology, xxxii/2 (1932), 233 f.; Bargheer, *Leber*, 977 f.; id., *Eingeweide, Lebens- u. Seelenkräfte des Lebensinneren*, Berlin and Leipzig 1931, 93; W. D. Wallis, *ERE*, x, 373 ff.). It was probably because of the liver's central importance as the seat of qualities with magical undertones that the noun in Semitic languages is frequently feminine. It is feminine in Syriac and also in Ancient Hebrew, contrary to the traditional view (cf. G. R. Driver, *JRAS*, 1948, 175, n. 2), and most frequently in Arabic although in Arabic it can also be masculine and grammarians generally consider using both genders permissible (A. J. Wensinck, *Some Aspects of Gender in the Semitic Languages*, Amsterdam 1927 (Verh. Ak. Amst., xxvi/3), 30, cf. 36 f.; M. Feghali and A. Cuny, *Du genre grammatical en sémitique*, Paris 1924, 55).

In more analytic fashion, the internal organs are generally credited with a causal function in engendering feelings, emotions and passions (a conception which is not entirely erroneous). Therefore for the Mesopotamians and perhaps partly for the Hebrews the liver was the seat of joy (when it is "illuminated" in a state of well-being) and of sorrow (when it is "ill" or aching), of anger (when it is burned up), of calm (when it is appeased) and finally, alongside the heart, of desire (cf. E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien*, Paris 1923, 128 ff.; Merx, *Le rôle du foie*, 436 ff., 439 ff.). For the Arabs the liver is wounded by the sorrows which we attribute to the heart, the pangs of love. The liver of the bashful lover or one who suffers in like fashion is "rent" (radicals *ṣ-d-ṣ*, *f-l-r*, *f-l-k*), broken (*kabīd marḡūda*, Ḥarīrī, *Maḡāmāi*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy, 2nd ed. Paris 1847-53, 57<sup>24</sup>), wasting away, thirsty, weighed down, burnt up. It is said of someone that "the pangs of love are consuming his liver". A slender, delicate liver is the mark of a tender spirit, a sensitive heart. A saintly man has a black body but a white liver (Ibn Djubayr, 240<sup>25</sup>), that is a pure soul (a very widespread metaphor found as far as the Ndembu of Zambia; cf. V. W. Turner, *The Drums of Affliction*, Oxford 1968, 48, 283; cf. Bargheer, *Leber*, 979; id., *Eingeweide*, 95 ff.). To eat or strike the liver is to inflict great sorrow. As a result, the liver is regarded as a particularly precious part of the body and beloved persons are located in or assimilated to pieces of liver. A child is "the deep-seated blood" (*muhāja*) of the liver; a dear friend or a venerated man is placed "between the liver and its membrane" (*khilb*). More generally, people dear to one are "pieces (*kiʿa*) of liver". (Refs. in *Wörterbuch* . . ., 19 f. and A. Merx, *Le rôle du foie* . . ., 429-33). This last expression is still current in, for example, the Tunisian village of Takrūna (W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrūna*, i, Paris 1925, 80-1, 272, 292, n. 42, with information from old texts, including a 6th/12th-century Mozarab deed between Christians) where the word "liver" simply means a cherished person, especially a child: *yā kubdī*, "my precious" (W. Marçais, *ibid.*, ii, bk. vii, Paris 1960, 3354-6). In the region of Constantine children are described as *kbād*, "livers" of their parents (M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasbourg 1966, 121).

Exactly similar expressions are found in Persian literature, which Merx believes to be direct transpositions from Arabic. (See, for example, the expressions in Merx, *Le rôle du foie* . . ., 434-5 and in *Farhangī zaboni toḡjīkī*, Moscow 1969, 779b, as

well as those in the various dictionaries). To take only two examples: to a father his son is like the blood of his liver, *khūn-i djegar*, already in Firdawsī (*Shāhnāmah*, i, 256, ed. Mohl) and *djegar-pare*, "a piece of liver" (or *djegar-guṣṣe*, "lobe of the liver") is a current expression for a dearly loved child.

Similar expressions are also found in Turkish languages; in these cases it is not easy to distinguish between those influenced by Persian and Arabic and those which could be original. A ruthless man is said to have a liver of stone or to be "liver-less" (*baghirsiz*) in *Kutadghu Bilig* (5th/11th cent.; ref. in *Drevnetyurskiy slovar*, 78). In contemporary Uyghur "my liver" means "my dear, my dearest" (É. N. Nadžip, *Uygursko-russkiy slovar*, 226). In Turkish literature in Turkestan during the 8th/14th century there are numerous texts which speak of love in terms of the liver being broken in two, rent, torn apart, burnt up, used as a target, eaten on skewers (these are often translations from Persian); a good choice of these has been collected by E. Fazylov in *Staroubekskiy yashk*, i, Tashkent 1966, 201-2. Elsewhere the liver is occasionally described as the seat of anger (some unconvincing references in Radloff, *Versuch*, iv, col. 1431 f.; in most cases it is the lung, cf. above).

Popular psycho-physiology of this kind underpinned metaphysical and moral speculation on the soul and its seat. Plato's division of the functions of the soul were pushed to greater or lesser lengths by the philosophers, who tended to incorporate these functions or modes in souls which were to some degree separate. Plato himself located the parts of the soul he distinguished in distinctive organic seats. Under the influence of a hepatoscopy originating in Mesopotamia, he placed the "appetitive soul" (ἐπιθυμητικὴ ψυχὴ, *al-nafs al-shahwāniyya*) in the immediate neighbourhood of the liver and in connection with it (*Timeos*, 69-72, known in the Islamic world through Hunayn b. Iṣḥāk's [q.v.] translation of Galen's compendium, XVII c, ed. and tr. P. Kraus and R. Walzer, *Galenus... Compendium = Plato Arabus*, i, London 1951, Arab. p. 23, Lat. p. 74). The soul, identified with the breath (πνεῦμα, *rūh*), being at the same time the mainstay of the affections and psychological faculties and of the physiological functions, it was proper to allot these to the different bodily organs, following popular notions that were corrected to some extent according to the logic of a particular system. The medical school known as "pneumatic" (founded by Atheneos of Attalia in the 1st century) only recast these conceptions. Galen introduced this doctrine (which, as we will see, accords the liver an important place) into his system alongside the theory of humours and through him it was adopted by later physicians, notably the Arabs.

In the pneumatic doctrine, both in antiquity and among the Arabs, sites were made more specific or modified according to current ideas, especially those which were conveyed by the language (for the liver cf. H. Hagen, *Die physiologische und psychologische Bedeutung der Leber in der Antike*, thesis, Bonn 1961; Syriac and Hebrew authors in Merx, *Le rôle du foie*, 437 ff.). Thus the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* criticizes the notions of non-specialist scholars who distribute the affections and psychological faculties among the various bodily organs and locate, for example, passion (*shahwa*) in the liver (ed. Cairo 1347/1928, bk. i, 200 f.). According to the *Hārūniyya*, a compilation of popular medicine very widely known in various versions and reputedly the work of one Maṣīḥ b. Ḥakam, who had compiled it for Hārūn al-Raṣīd, "the liver is the fount of mercy" (Vatican

Ms. cited by M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasbourg 1966, 121); Greek and Indian authorities are cited in support of this view.

The association of the liver with love for children, as noted above, is apparent in expressions current among the people of the region of Constantine. If grand-parents or parents are over-indulgent with a child, this is because "their liver prevents them from punishing them"; the liver "burns" to a decline in the absence of a child, and it is "torn apart" when a child dies (Belguedj, *op. cit.*, 121).

This conception also lies at the root of some ritual practices, for example the ritual consumption of liver during an infant's naming celebrations. In Morocco on this occasion a sheep is sacrificed and its liver divided between the members of the family so that tender love for the infant will be born in them (J. Jouin, *Hespéris*, xlv (1957), 308; Legey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926, 95; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 390). Also in Morocco the liver is associated with conjugal love; in some tribes the bridal couple eat at one of their first meals together the liver of a sheep that was slaughtered on the occasion of their marriage (E. Westermarck, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, 101; European parallels in Bargheer, *Leber*, 978 f., idem, *Eingeweide*, 216).

Popular physiological ideas deem the liver to be the fount of liquids drunk or secreted by the body. This idea, clearly expressed in the 13th century by Hildegard of Bingen (*Causae et curae*, 98, 110) and often conveyed by current German idioms (Bargheer, *Leber*, 984; idem, *Eingeweide*, 387), is attested in the Islamic world by the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* (bk. ii, 162), which describes the liver as governing the field of liquid food (*bayt al-sharāb*).

3. Scientific knowledge and scholarly theories. Rational study of the liver conducted by Muslim writers falls into the categories of anatomical descriptions of the organ, its psycho-physiological role—of interest to philosophers as well as anatomists and physicians—its pathology and therapeutics, and the use of animal liver in pharmacology.

All the general treatises on medicine include extensive statements on the liver, in view of its central role in the Galenic physiology adopted by Muslim science. Monographs on the liver and its pathology, along the lines of Greek monographs like those by Rufus of Ephesus and Philagrius, were compiled by Kuṣṭā b. Lūḳā and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, iii, Leiden 1970, 68, 156, 273, 292), although these may be chapters only of general works.

As far as the anatomy of the liver was concerned, Muslim writers, who, like the Greeks for the most part, were forbidden to make dissections, made do with copying Galen's descriptions of the organ; Galen himself had followed Herophilus of Chalcedon (3rd cent. B.C.), who had dissected corpses in Alexandria and made studies of the liver, but had apparently allied observations of unhealthy human livers and the livers of animals to his study of the normal liver. Galen's faith in Herophilus on this point was confirmed by dissections of monkeys (cf. Ch. Daremberg, *Oeuvres anatomiques, physiologiques et médicales de Galien*, Paris 1854-56, i, 293, n. 1; Max Simon, *Sieben Bücher Anatomie des Galen*, Leipzig 1906, ii, xxxiv, xxxvii f.). Muslim physicians followed him in teaching that the human liver had sometimes two or three lobes (*afraf*) or extensions (*sawā'id*), but

most commonly four or five, surrounding the stomach. Descriptions of the liver of this type are to be found in the *Manṣūrī* of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī and the *Malakī* of 'Alī b. 'Abbās in an edition with French translation opposite by P. de Koning (*Trois Traités d'anatomie arabe...*, Leiden 1903, 68-71, 374-9), as well as a French translation of the relevant chapter of Book iii of Ibn Sīnā's *Kānūn*, *fann 14*, chap. 1 (*ibid.*, 706-15; ed. Rome 1593, 455-6; Lat. tr., Venice 1564, 740-2) with the parallel texts of Greek authors.

The ideas of Arab physicians on the psycho-physiological role of the liver derive first from the physiological system of humours that Galen had codified from earlier teachings, a system that was generally accepted in the countries conquered by the Arabs and in the Christian West (cf. the excellent recent account of the matter by Luis Garcia Ballester, "Galeno" in P. Lain Entralgo, *Historia Universal de la Medicina*, ii, Barcelona, 1972, 209-268; idem, *Galeno en la sociedad y en la ciencia de su tiempo*, Madrid 1972; simplified summary by G. Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon*, Lawrence, Kansas, 1954; diagram of blood formation and distribution in *Historia Universal*, 244 and in A. C. Crombie, *Augustine to Galileo, A.D. 400-1650*, London 1952, i, 132). In this system the liver plays a role of prime importance: "all organs act by virtue of it, but it acts independently" (Ibn Sīnā, *Urđjūza fi 'l-ḥibb*, verse 417, ed. and tr. H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, Paris 1956, 40). The blood takes shape in it through purification and consolidation of food, which has previously been digested ("cooked") in the stomach and reduced to the state of "chyle" or "chyme" (*kilās* or *kīmās*, sometimes vocalized as *kaylās*, *kaymās*, the two words interacting as in Greek *χυλός* and *χυμός*, cf. Khwārizmī, *Mafāṭīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 181; Cairo 1349/1930, 107). Another preliminary digestive process ("coction") could have taken place in the mesenteric veins (*μεσαραϊκαὶ φλέβες*, *māsaraykā* or *māsaraykā*, Lat. *mesaraicae*) which, participating in the nature of the liver, partially transform the chyle into blood (Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, iii, *fann 14*, *maḥāla 1*, beginning; for Galen's doubts on this point see Mani, i, 68, which gave rise to disputes in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance). The gastric "coction" had already taken place under the prime influence of the liver, the source of heat, whose lobes were thought to surround the stomach like fingers.

The chyle, already transformed to some extent, reaches the liver by the vena porta (ἡ ἐπὶ πύλῃ φλέψ, ἡ πύλῃ, tr. as *al-ʿirḳ al-ustūwānī*, Simon, *Sieben Bücher...*, i, 346, then as *al-bāb*) into which pour the mesenteric veins. There it is transformed into blood proper, fitted for the nourishment of the body (the adage *sanguificatio est chyli in sanguinem mutatio* was dogma until the 19th century, Mani, i, 59). A part of this blood becomes the substance of the liver, which can be regarded as coagulated blood (Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, i, *fann 1*, *ta'ḥim 3*, *faṣl 2*; *ibid.*, iii, *fann 14*, *maḥāla 1*), a formulation that goes back at least as far as Aretaios of Cappadocia (2nd century; Mani, i, 58, cf. p. 64). The liver, as the organ of formation of the blood proper, may be regarded as the place of origin of the four "humours" (*manṣāʿ al-akḥlāʿ*, Ibn Sīnā, *urđjūza*, verse 416; cf. *Kānūn*, i, *fann 1*, *ta'ḥim 4*, *faṣl 2*). Two of these are produced immediately, heavy dregs which constitute the black gall or atrabile (χολῆ μέλαινα, *al-mirra al-sawdāʿ*, Lat. *atra bilis*) and tenuous, light parts, a kind of scum which constitutes the yellow gall (χολῆ ξανθῆ, *al-mirra al-safrāʿ*, Lat. *cholera*), both

drawn mostly by two vessels (*wi'āʿ*), kinds of necks (*bi-manṣilat al-ʿunḳ*, οἶον στομαχοῦ τινός in Galen) which join the liver to the spleen and to the gall-bladder respectively (cf. Rāzī, *Manṣūrī*, *apud* Koning, *Traités*, 76 f., 'Alī b. al-'Abbās, *malakī*, *ibid.*, 177, 378 ff., Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, *ibid.*, 706, with parallel Greek texts opposite, first Galen, *De usu partium*, iv, 4, profitably commented on by Daremberg, *Oeuvres... de Galien*, i, 282, n. 1).

The blood, still loaded by other elements, is distributed, starting from the liver (this is not exactly circulation, but ebb and flow with a slow renewal) through the venous system. All the veins (*ʿawrida*, *al-ʿurūḳ al-sawākin*) originate in the liver, while the heart is the place of origin of the arterial system. The veins branch out from the vena porta which takes its departure from the liver cavity, and the vena cava (χολῆ φλέψ, *al-ʿirḳ al-adjwaf*), which issues from its convex side (*Kānūn*, i, *fann 1*, *ta'ḥim 5*, *ḡiumla 5*).

Theories establishing a connection between the elements of the cosmos on various planes place the yellow bile along with the igneous element which predominates there and the "temperament" (κρᾶσις, *mizājī*) which makes manifest its dominance, in a special relationship with the liver. But one variant links this organ rather with the blood, in which air predominates and, naturally, the sanguine temperament (see the diagram in M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1970, 99 and that of R. Herrlinger, with colours showing the development since the Hippocratic corpus, at the end of E. Schöner, *Das Viererschema in der antiken Humoralpathologie*, Wiesbaden 1964; the common modern form taken from popular manuals can be found in T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, Hamburg 1914, 33).

Muslim physicians naturally also followed Galen in his linking of the principles of pneumatic teaching to the theory of humours, the inspiration for which we saw above. Some "spirits" (πνεύματα, *arwāḥ*), subtle vapours, animate the body and are thought to explain the performance of the vital functions. One of them, the natural or physical spirit (πνεῦμα φυσικόν, *rūḥ ḥabīʿī* or *ḥabīʿiyya*), has its seat in the liver according to Muslim medicine, which follows not so much Galen, who had doubts and vacillated on this point, as the Alexandrians and the Syrians, who systematized his ideas in a simplified fashion. This "spirit" is put on the same plane as the vital or animal spirit and the psychic spirit, which have their seat in the heart and in the brain respectively (classic treatment by Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, *al-mudḫhal fi 'l-ḥibb*, cf. O. Temkin, "On Galen's Pharmacology", *Gesnerus* [Aarau], viii (1951), 180-189). It is distributed with the blood by the veins.

Every one of these spirits, still according to Galenism, corresponds with a chief "faculty" or a group of "faculties" (δυνάμεις, *ḥuwā*, Lat. *virtutes*) and physiological and psychological phenomena are attributed to the actions of these. Thus the physicians claim that the "natural" faculty or faculties are subdivided into one type whose function (*fiʿl*) is to conserve and make up the individual, which presides over nourishment and is situated in the liver, and a second type which conserves the species and is situated in the sexual organs. Taking their cue from Aristotle, Ibn Sīnā and many others differ from this theory to some extent and place the heart as the first substratum and mainspring of the faculties (cf. Mani, ii, 21). The nutritive faculty spread out from the heart towards the liver (Ibn Sīnā, *Ḥifāʿ*,

*ḥabī'iyāt*, *fann* 6, *maḳāla* 5, *faṣl* 8, ed. J. Bakoš, *Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā* . . . , i, Prague 1956, 265; cf. *Kānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *ta'lim* 6). More precisely, pure Aristotelians like Ibn Ruṣḥd took issue with Galen in order to demonstrate that the principle of nutrition resided in the heart and not in the liver (*Kullīyyāt*, ii, ch. 9; cf. J. C. Bürgel, *Averroes "contra Galenum"*, *NGW Gött.*, i, 1967, No. 9, 292 f.). Various lists of faculties are given and they are conceived of as acting on other organs alike.

We will not deal here with the Muslim physician's pathology or therapeutics. A clear and simple exposition of them can be found in one of the oldest treatises, *Firdaws al-ḥikma* by 'Alī b. Sahl Ṭabarī (ed. M. Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, 40 f., 218 f.), and a full treatment which has become classic in *fann* 14 of Book iii of Ibn Sīnā's *Kānūn* (ed. Rome 1593, 455-79; ed. Tehran 1295 H., 179-204; Lat. tr. Venice 1564, 740-81); the first *maḳāla* of this is devoted to the anatomy of the organ (see above). Surgical treatises speak of cauterisation of the liver or in cases of liver infections (cf., finally, P. Huard and M. D. Grmek, *Le premier manuscrit chirurgical turc*, Paris 1960, 109, 113, 121, fig. 27, 31; present-day application, M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle* . . . , 148).

The *Kānūn* also contains numerous scattered pieces of information on the liver which can be easily found thanks to the very careful index to the Latin translation published in Venice in 1564. In the copious treatise on simple drugs in Book 2 (ed. Rome 1593, i, 249-347, put into Latin alphabetical order in the Venice 1564 translation, i, 124-280), as well as in the pharmacology of Book 5, there are notes on herbs and foods and simple and complex drugs known to have some effect on the liver. These complex drugs are listed in an abridged version in *maḳāla* 12 of the first *ḍjumla* (*summa*) of Book v (ed. Rome 1593, vol. ii, 243; Lat. tr. Venice 1564, ii, 305-6), classified according to the diseases for which they are remedies.

One pharmacological chapter in Book 2 of the *Kānūn* treats of the liver of animals (ed. cit., i, 196; tr. cit., i, 299). Ibn Sīnā's findings are among those taken up and developed from a dietetic point of view in Ibn Ḍjazla's widely circulated treatise on dietetics, *Minḥādī al-bayān* (Mss. Bib. Nat., Paris, Ar. 2949, fol. 159 v., 2950, fol. 279 r., 2952, fol. 231 r.-v.). One general disadvantage in eating liver is its production, during digestion, of blood so thick that it flows very sluggishly through the blood vessels. This can be remedied by eating it along with saumure or oil. The liver of quadrupeds should generally be avoided. The liver of a fat duck or chicken is the best, and fattened goose liver is also excellent, especially with a milky paste. Salt and oil should be added to avoid burdening the stomach. Roasted sheep liver is good for diarrhoea. Goat's liver (especially the male goat's) is a useful test for epilepsy, for it brings on a fit. As an eye lotion, to be eaten or used to fumigate, it is also good for infections of the iris (cf. a similar remedy in use in present-day Ḥaḍramawt, R. B. Serjeant, *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 7). The dried and pounded liver of a partridge made into a potion is also good for epilepsy, as is roast ass liver taken on an empty stomach. Wolf liver is effective in cases of liver complaints. The liver of the *wasagha* (a kind of large lizard) eases toothache. Finally, the liver of a mad dog cures rabies, particularly when eaten by a person bitten by that particular dog. This remedy (already mentioned by Pliny, xxix, 32, and widespread in Europe until the

19th century, cf. Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 283 f.) was apparently known in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century, for it is mentioned in S. Y. Agnon's novel *Tmōl shilshōm*, iv, 18 (Fr. tr. *Le chien Balak*, Paris 1971, 565 f.).

4. Developments in magic, religion and fable. Alongside a popular psycho-physiology which, like its scientific counterpart, considers the role of the liver in the body, in conjunction with scientific pathology, dietetics and pharmacopoeia from which (as a rule) cures for infection are derived, as well as an estimate of the value of animal liver as food or remedy, there exist the rudiments of basically symbolic and magical doctrines which were also developed for practical use. These sometimes appear in scientific treatises and are occasionally supplemented there.

Following Galen, Ibn Sīnā reports, though with some doubt, that the size of an animal's liver is in proportion to its greed and timidity (cf. P. de Koning, *op. cit.*, 708, 711). Employing the magical principle of like to like, it was thought that eating sheep's liver strengthened the liver of man (Dāwūd al-Antākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 207).

The scholarly conception of the liver as being formed (ontogenically, it could be said) from coagulated blood is understood literally or linked to a popular conception to give rise to a *ḥadīth* excepting the liver and the spleen from the general prohibition of blood: "two bloods have been permitted us" (liver and spleen: Ibn Māḍja, xxix, 31; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 97).

Talismans are used in cases of hepatic disorders. Thus the *Kitāb dhakhīrat al-Iskandar*, a Hermetic collection purporting to be of Greek origin, contains a description of a talisman consisting of a liver-shaped red stone with an ibex and an enigmatic inscription painted on it. This is a useful remedy for liver pains (J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, Heidelberg 1926, 98 f.). Books of practical medicine contain many prescriptions which contain a mixture of empirical observation, magical deductions (the use of wolf liver pulverized in oil), pure charlatanism (camel urine), and the use of washed talismans etc. (cf. for example, Pseudo-Ḍjalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī (Muh. al-Ṣanawbari, d. 815/1412), *Al-Rahma fi 'l-ḥibb wa 'l-ḥikma*, Cairo 1357, 106 f. ch. 102). In Morocco pieces of prickly pear cut into the shape of a liver are attached to the outside walls of a Marabout sanctuary; they are thought to cure the sick as they dry (E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, 202). Another Moroccan practice consists of drying on a terrace the liver and kidney of a sheep skewered to a piece of prickly pear cut into the shape of the sole of the sick man's shoe and stabbed repeatedly with a knife (A.-R. de Lens, *Pratiques des harems marocains*, Paris 1925, 12). The Bedouin of central Arabia eat for breakfast cinnamon, known moreover as *d'irf el-ḥebūd* (*ḥiraf al-ḥubūd*), "skins of liver", as a cure for liver complaints (J.-J. Hess, *Von den Beduinen des Innern Arabiens*, Zürich and Leipzig 1938, 148 f.).

Divination by means of the liver (hepatoscopy), which was so important in ancient Mesopotamia and Etruria but already renounced by the Arab queen Zenobia in the 3rd century (Zosimus, i, 59), was not practised by the Arabs (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 397, 527) although it is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn in a general list of methods of divination (*Muḳaddima*, i, 191, 194, ed. Quatremère; i, 369, 371 ed. Wāfl) and referred to by a Rabbi Levi of uncertain date who compares the king of Babel's

practice of hepatoscopy in Ezekiel xxi, 26, with "some Arab who slaughters a sheep and studies its liver" (Midrash Rabbā to Eccles. xii, 7, etc. in *Monumenta Talmudica*, v, *Geschichte*, Vienna and Leipzig 1914, 48, § 84).

The liver plays a minor role in folklore, mostly as a curative. In Turkish tales the liver of a prince is the sole cure for a mad princess (W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 302), a young girl sells an animal's liver for a kiss (*ibid.*, 224), and there is a cannibal who eats human liver (*ibid.*, 172). One version of the universal theme of the heart of a magic bird (A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, Helsinki 1964, 208, type 567) has the liver in place of the heart; this is sometimes replaced by the kidneys, the crop, or the heart once again (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen* . . ., 196-8). A story from Adakale tells of a miser who eats liver as an economy, an indication that the tale is a recent one (*ibid.*, 88; cf. below).

The theme of a magical cure effected by a bodily organ (cf. Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 159 ff., 229 ff.) combined with that of the extraordinary powers of marvellous beings is at the root of the *Shāhnāma*'s account of the cure of Kay-Kāwūs and the Iranians blinded through spells cast by the white *diw* during the invasion of Māzandarān (cf. s.v. *diw* above, ii, 323). Blood drawn from the liver of the white *diw*, which Rustam had wrenched from its breast when he defeated it, gave them back their sight (ed. J. Mohl, Paris 1838-76, Kay-Kāwūs, verse 652 ff.; ed. E. E. Bertels et al., ii, Moscow 1962, 109, Māzandarān, verse 613 ff.; tr. J. Mohl, i, Paris 1876, 428 ff.). The efficacy of the liver against blindness on this occasion came close to a principle of Taoist magical biology (J. C. Coyajee, *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s., xxiv, 1928, 187 f.). But, as we have seen above, the use of goat's liver for eye infections appears in Avicennian scientific medicine, and in the Book of Tobit the liver, heart and gall of a fish help cast out demons (Tobit, vi, 5; viii, 2) and the gall gives sight to a blind man (vi, 9; xi, 8). Thence without doubt the frequent use of the liver in European popular ophthalmology (Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 284 f.).

The prime importance of the liver in the body no doubt explains, by magical deduction, a group of practices. To chew or at least nibble the liver of an enemy seems to mean annihilation or the highest curse. This gesture, Hind's nibbling Hamza's liver at Uḥud (Ibn Hishām, 581), was the origin of Mu'āwiya's derogatory sobriquet, *ibn ākilat al-akbād*, "son of the liver eater" (Mas'ūdī, *Murūjī*, iv, 439, French tr. Pellat § 1742, Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb iḥbāt al-waṣiyya li 'l-imām 'Alī*, cited by Ch. Pellat in *Le shī'isme imāmīte*, Paris 1970, 85). The Sinai Bedouins believe that Druzes eat the liver of Muslims (W. P. Zenner, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, viii, no. 3, Oct. 1972, 411). See parallels in Bargheer, *Leber*, 977; id., *Eingeweide*, 93, 216; W. D. Wallis, *ERE*, x, 373 ff.

In the sacrifice of the "great feast" on ro *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjā*, the liver of the victim must be eaten first, following a well-documented custom of the Maghrib allegedly supported by some *fukahā* and the Prophet's own example (E. Douṭṭé, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 473; J. Desparmet, *Coutumes, institutions, croyances des indigènes de l'Algérie*, i, Algiers 1939, 275; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, 234 f.; ii, 120 f.; J. Chelhod, *Le*

*sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, 113 f.; J. Jouin, *Hesperis*, xlv (1957), 320; A.-M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927, 264).

Among some tribes in Morocco, the bridegroom makes the gift of a bull to his bachelor friends: the liver, which must be eaten first, conveys the *baraka* and must be distributed among all the men present, but not the women (E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, 126).

5. A animal liver as food. Liver, often classed with offal and tripe, was despised and left to the destitute. Thus in southern Libya a proverb says that impoverished men grab at something *mull en-nawār 'al-kabbā*, "like gypsies after a piece of liver" (F. J. Abela, *Proverbes populaires, adages et locutions proverbiales du Liban-Sud* (in the press)). Yet in other regions liver and heart are regarded as choice morsels, as in Ḥaḍramawt (F. Stark, *The Southern Gates of Arabia*, Harmondsworth 1945, 78). In Aden today offal is imported from Somaliland, where it is not eaten (information given by Yūsuf Ṭālib). Raw liver is sometimes looked upon as a delicacy, as in the Lebanon and Jordan (A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 65). In the Sahara, an animal killed in the hunt is speedily disembowelled. Liver, heart and lungs are tossed onto live charcoal and covered with burning sand, then eaten immediately or on the following day (M. Gast, *Alimentation des populations de l'Ahagger*, Paris 1968, 136).

In the Middle Ages, Arab markets always had their *kubūdis*, "liver vendors", who sold liver cooked with onions or roasted on skewers to people who ate on the streets or did no cooking. Manuals on *ḥisba* forbid the mixing of goat or cattle liver with that of sheep. They describe in minute detail the type and quantity of ingredients which must be added ("Ibn al-Uḫhuwwa", *The Ma'ālim al-ḫurba* . . ., ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 95 ff. of the Arabic text). Such food was often adulterated. A treatise entitled *Kimiyā' al-ṭabā'ikh*, which denounces cooks who sell fried liver that contains no liver, is already attributed to the philosopher Ya'qūb al-Kindī (3rd/9th century) (Shay-zarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, apud Ibn al-Uḫhuwwa, *ibid.*, 107, n. 8 and Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, in *Mashrik*, 10, 1907, 1081). On the other hand scrapings of dried or pounded and roasted liver were used as spurious musk (Sakaṭī, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. G.-S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, i, Paris 1931, 46; tr. P. Chalmeta-Gendron, *El-'Kitāb fi ādāb al-ḥisba*", Madrid 1968, 116 = *al-Andalus*, 33, 1968, 193) and Spanish and Moroccan *balādja* (a sort of pâté made from meat and offal) was also adulterated with liver that had gone bad, a great deal of bread, spices, etc. (*ibid.*, text p. 39, l. 13; tr. cited p. 180).

The type of rich cooking shown in mediaeval cookery books makes little use of liver. Of the many oriental treatises of this type only the *Wuṣṣla* has recipes for liver, one in which boiled liver is roasted on skewers in a caul (in the fashion of the *sharā'ih kurdjiyya*, which is made from pounded giblets and includes liver), and one for liver boiled and stuffed with whole or chopped spices (*Wuṣṣla*, Ms. A, fol. 59 r.-v.; cf. Rodinson, *Recherches* . . ., 135). Apart from that, liver is mentioned, chopped with the fat tail of a sheep (*aliya*) in the "artificial brain" (*Wuṣṣla*; cf. Rodinson, *ibid.*, 158) and fried black in sesame oil along with poultry giblets or pieces of lamb to make a sort of sauce utilized in various dishes (*Wuṣṣla*; cf. Rodinson, *ibid.*, 133, n. 4, 156). There is no real recipe for liver in the Baghdādī cookery book

of the 7th/13th century of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Baḡdādī nor in the Hispano-Maghribī culinary treatise of the same era edited and translated by A. Huici Miranda.

In present-day Lebanon recipes are found for mutton or beef liver which is usually grilled on skewers. These are called *mi'laḡ*, strictly speaking "pluck, the viscera of the thorax" (M. K. Khayat and M. C. Keating, *Food from the Arab World*, Beirut 1961, 32 f.; P. Bazantay, *Enquête sur l'artisanat à Antioche*, Beirut 1936, 47; a Lebanese recipe for liver fried in vinegar in Claudia Roden, *A Book of Middle Eastern Food*, London 1968, 180). Small pieces of liver, lightly fried and served hot or cold, are used as *mezze*, hors d'oeuvres served with an aperitif (Roden, 33). In the Maghrib, brochettes of liver and heart, formerly the food of the poor, have recently become a smart dish. Since the pieces are wrapped in caul they are called *malfūf* (M. Beausse, *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français*, Algiers 1931, 904 b; M. Gast, *Alimentation des populations de l'Aghagar*, Paris 1968, 134, 135, n. 2), and in Morocco *bū lfāf* (L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Paris 1952, 744; Z. Guinaudeau, *Fès vu par sa cuisine*, Rabat 1957, 39). When pieces of liver are alternated with chunks of mutton fat the dish is called *kwah* (the name for tripe, pluck, etc.) in Morocco (Z. Guinaudeau, *ibid.*, 41; cf. H. Mercier, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Rabat 1951, 101). The specialist chef of the grill is called a *kwayḡhī* (*ibid.*).

In Egypt, various kinds of poultry are often eaten stuffed with a mixture made from chopped liver and gizzards mixed with crushed raw wheat or minced meat (C. Wissa Wassef, *Pratiques rituelles et alimentaires des Coptes*, Cairo 1971, 381).

In Iran offal of sheep or chicken is used in a number of dishes, but liver is only mentioned in a comprehensive cookery book, probably compiled by the shah's cook and edited in 1301/1884, in kebabs grilled on skewers or in a kind of stew called *ḡasrat al-mulūk*, "the sigh" or "desire of kings" ("Alī Akbar b. Mehdī Kāshānī, *Sofre-ye aḡeme*, Ms. collection P. Ikowski, ed. and tr. M. Ghavam-Nejad, unpublished thesis, Paris 1967, 26, 27; the first recipe is found at a slightly later date in the books by Josephine Richard, alias Neshāt al-ḡawla, *Ṭabbakḡhī-yi Neshāt*, Tehran n.d., 22, and Badr al-mulūk-i Bāmdād, *Rāhnamā-yi ṭabbakḡhī*, Tehran n.d., 36).

Until recently liver was not eaten in Turkey and the butchers threw it to cats or dogs. However, consumption of liver and lungs (called *takım*, "the whole") and of pluck and tripe has recently gathered a little ground, being the speciality of itinerant Albanian merchants (called *sakatçısı*, "tripe-sellers"; information given by P. Boratav; cf. W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 88). Recipes for pilau using liver are found in present-day cookery books (*kuzulu pilav*, I. Orga, *Turkish Cooking*, London 1958, 125; *iç pilav*, with goose or chicken liver, C. Roden, *op. cit.*, 248), and found in Bursa by a Turkish ethnographical survey (H. Z. Kosay and A. Ülkücan, *Anadolu yemekleri ve türk mutfakı*, Ankara 1961, 101). Cf. also the brochettes of liver rolled in yoghurt in I. Orga, *Cooking with yoghurt*, London 1956, 40.

In Uzbekistan also liver is cooked en brochette (*ḡiḡar kabob*) and sometimes, as in Soviet Ādḡarbayḡdān, with pieces of fat-tail of sheep alternating with morsels of liver (*dumba kabob*); liver is also grilled then stuffed (*kovurilgan ḡiḡar*) (K. Mahmudov, *Usbekskie bljuda*, Tashkent 1962, 98, 102; N. K. Alhazov et al., *Azerbajdzanskaya kulinarıya*, Baku 1963, 43).

*Bibliography:* in the article. See also: Nikolaus Mani, *Die historischen Grundlagen der Leberforschung*, 2 vols., Basle 1959-67.

(M. RODINSON)

**KĀBİD** (?—934/1527), heretic of the early 10th/16th century. Originally from Persia, he came to Istanbul, where he was educated. In 934/1527 he was publicly maintaining, in different parts of the city, that the Qur'an depended in large measure upon the Old and New Testaments, and that Jesus was superior to Muḥammad. Complaints being made to the authorities, on 8 Şafar 934/3 November 1527 Kābīd was brought before the imperial *dīwān*, where he was interrogated by the *kāḡdī'askers* of Rumeli (Fenārızāde Muḡyī al-Dīn) and Anatolia (Kāḡdīrī Çelebi). He defended his doctrines by citing Qur'anic verses and *ḡadīths*, and the *kāḡdī'askers*, failing to refute him in argument, resorted to violent language and insults. The grand vizier (Ibrāḡīm Paḡḡa) intervened, saying that if Kābīd's teachings were false, their falsity should be demonstrated; but that it was unfitting that 'ulemā' should lose their tempers. He suspended the meeting of the *dīwān*, and Kābīd was freed. Shortly afterwards Ibrāḡīm Paḡḡa explained the position to the sultan, Süleymān, who had been following the proceedings from behind the grille (*ḡafes*). The sultan commented that there were other 'ulemā' than the *kāḡdī'askers*, and in accordance with his command the case was re-opened next day, when the *Shayḡḡh al-Islām* Kemāl Paḡḡa-zāde Aḡmed [q.v.] and the *kāḡdī* of Istanbul, Saḡdī Çelebi, were summoned. When Kābīd repeated his arguments, Kemāl Paḡḡa-zāde demonstrated the true significance of the texts upon which Kābīd relied and reduced him to silence. When Kābīd was invited to renounce his doctrines, he refused; whereupon the *Shayḡḡh al-Islām* referred the matter to the *kāḡdī* for him to pronounce sentence according to the *ḡarī'a*. The *kāḡdī* too invited him to recant and return to the true doctrine, and when he again refused sentenced him to death. He was executed immediately. Kābīd was evidently a fearless and tenacious adherent of his doctrines, from the trend of which he is assumed to be the founder of the *Khūbmeslīh* [q.v.] sect. The incident illuminates the religious currents of the period, and the personalities of the individuals involved.

*Bibliography:* Dīelāl-zāde Muḡḡafā, *Ṭabakāt al-mamālīk wa-daradīāt al-masālīk*, Istanbul, Ayasofya Libr., MS. 3296, ff. 128v.-130r.; Ālī, *Kunḡ al-akhbār*, MS. in the Library of the Dil-Tarih ve Coḡrafya Fakültesi, Ankara, f. 19r.; Āṭā'ī, *ḡhayl* to *Shahā'īk*, Istanbul 1286, 88 f.; Peṡevī, *Ta'riḡḡ*, Istanbul 1283, i, 124-6; ḡasan Beḡ-zāde, *Ta'riḡḡ*, Süleymāniye Libr., MS. Hafid Ef. 225, ff. 234v.-237r. (= MS. Nuruosmaniye 3134, ff. 22r.-23v.); Solakzāde, *Ta'riḡḡ*, Istanbul 1297, 467-9; Münedḡiḡim-Baḡḡhī, *Şahā'if al-akhbār*, Istanbul 1285, iii, 484; M. d'Oḡsson, *Tableau général* . . ., Paris 1787, i, 51-3, Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 69-70; C. Huart, in *Actes du XI. Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, section iii, 69 f.; *Sidḡill-i 'othmānī*, iv, 45; H. D. Jenkins, *Ibrahim Paḡḡa, Grand Vizir of Süleiman the Magnificent*, New York 1911, 49; M. Murād, *Ta'riḡḡ-i Ebu 'l-Fārūḡ*, Istanbul 1328, iii, 283-5; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 98 f.; Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, ii, 125 f.; Ibn Kemal, *Tawāriḡḡ-i āl-i 'Uḡḡmān*, vii, ed. Ş. Turan, Ankara 1957, xvi; Renzo Sertoli Salis, *Muḡteḡem Süleyman*, tr. Ş. Turan, Ankara 1963, 88 f.; H. G. Yurdaydın, *Türk düşünce tarihi ile ilgili birkaç not*, in *Ord. Prof. S. S. Ansayın*

*hatırasına armağan*, Ankara 1964, 53-6; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 178, n. 3; *IA*, art. *Kâbis*; art. *Süleyman I.*, by M. T. Gökbilgin, at p. 110; art. *Kemâl Paşazâde*, by I. Parmaksızoğlu, at p. 564 (this gives references for *risâlas* written in refutation of Kâbid); Rycout, *Present state*, book ii, chap. 12 (for the *Khûbmesîhi*). (HÜSEYİN G. YURDAYDIN)

**KĀBİL** [see HĀBİL].

**KABĪLA** (A.) denotes a large agnatic group, the members of which claim to be descended from one common ancestor; this word is generally understood in the sense of tribe. It derives from the Arabic root *k-b-l*, of which the form *kābala* signifies to meet, to be face to face with. The definition given by al-Nūwayrī (*Nihāya*, ii, 269), the only one, we believe, which refers to its morphology, refers specifically to this etymology: "the *kābala* was so named because its component parts are placed face to face and in equal numbers". Its structure seems indeed to be connected with that of the skull, in which the four bones, also denoted by the word *kābala*, are placed opposite to one another (*LA*, root *k-b-l*).

This term is often found in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Curiously enough, it is there employed almost exclusively in the plural, *kabāʾil* (*Aghāni*, ed. Beirut, ii, 81, vii, 285; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, i, Cairo 1959, 19, 41, 50; al-Sūwaydī, *Sabʾik al-dhahab fī maʾrifat kabāʾil al-ʿArab*, Cairo n.d., 104). The Qurʾān uses it only once: "We have established you in peoples (*shuʿub*) and tribes (*kabāʾil*) so that you may know one another" (XLIX, 13). On the strength of its inclusion in the Qurʾānic vocabulary, this substantive has been the subject of various explanations. Unfortunately, these are at once imprecise, contradictory and unsatisfactory. As examples of *kābala*, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī (i, 308) cites the Rabīʿa and Muḍar groups, which others regard as *shuʿub*; the tribe would in that case include a considerable number of divisions and sub-groups. Al-Bayḍawī (*Anwār al-tanzīl*, Istanbul 1303, ii, 453) and al-Ṭabarī (*Maʾjmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, Beirut 1961, xxvi, 96) consider it to be of more modest size. According to the former writer, the Kināna would belong to this type of group, while the latter names the Bakr. In the story of ʿAntar, the Banū ʿAbs are described as a *kābala*, which is thereby reduced to a very limited size. In reality, such examples are valid only when placed in precise historical perspective. An endogamous group, of unilineal descent, does not retain either the same size or the same rank in the social hierarchy throughout its existence. Thus the Quraysh, a mere branch of the Kināna in about the middle of the 6th century A.D., after some decades had become a powerful tribe. It would therefore be difficult to accept the models suggested by the classical authors. All that can be deduced from them with certainty is that the *kābala* is a smaller group than the *shuʿub*, which is made up of several tribes, and larger than the *ʿashīra* ([*q.v.*] cf. Qurʾān, XXL, 214; IX, 24; LVIII, 22).

The Arabic dictionaries prove, in the event, to be of little more help. Like the genealogists, in classifying the technical terms of social architecture they have relied solely on one criterion, that of size. The groups fit into one another like a set of boxes: the *djāhīm* (the stock or origin) contains the *djumhūr* (population, mass), which contains the *shuʿub*, which contains the *kābala*, which contains the *ʿimāra* (sub-tribe, small tribe), which contains the *baḡn* (belly or division), which contains the *fakhdh* (thigh or section), which contains the *ʿashīra* (clan), which con-

tains the *faṣīla* (kindred; cf. Qurʾān, LXX, 13), which contains the *rahḡ* (family; cf. Qurʾān, XI, 91 f.). Although more complete than that of al-Māwardī (*Aḡḡām*, Bonn 1853, 353), the above list drawn up by al-Nūwayrī likewise omits the word *ḡayy*, to which Robertson Smith attached much importance. Despite this plethora of technical terms, the social structures of the ancient nomadic Arabs remain extremely fluid.

In the writings of contemporary authors, *kābala* is often synonymous with *ʿashīra*, although they are agreed in regarding it as numerically inferior to the latter. The same variability is to be observed among the desert Arabs, who use the two words indiscriminately to denote the clan, while the tribe is sometimes called *kābala*, sometimes *ṣaff*. In the face of such uncertainty, some ethnologists eventually gave up using a vocabulary which appears to be unsuitable for translating the social reality which nevertheless it claims to express (R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947, 50).

We are scarcely better informed in regard to the ancient tribal organization. When seen from outside, no social group appears to be as homogeneous and united as the *kābala*. The traditional conception regards it as a large patriarchal family whose members, all closely linked with each other, bear the same patronymic name, that of their common ancestor. The homogeneity of the tribe, not to say that of the ethnic community itself, would appear to result from the process of its development, thanks to an uninterrupted series of endogamous marriages, from the time of the original founder. The groups claiming to derive from the same origin would therefore be connected with one another, like the links of a chain, and in this way they would form an enduring consanguineous unit.

The over-simplified nature of this representation is evident. Criticism is all the more justified in denouncing the artificial aspect of the classical theory since, at the tribal level itself, an extraordinary intermingling, brought about by migrations, wars and the constant movement to and fro between the desert and the city, periodically challenged even the surest of the genealogical foundations. The clan itself accepts the presence among its own people of certain foreign elements (dependents, protégés, confederates) who in the end become totally integrated with it by marriage or through the alliance of blood.

Does this mean that everything in the traditional theory of relationship among the Arabs must be rejected, and that one is confronted with a later construction, fashioned during the first century of Islam? Despite the well-known thesis of Robertson Smith, the existence of a system based on matrilinearity, in pre-Islamic Arabia, today seems very problematical. The genealogists' theories, although manifestly exaggerated, would not appear to be devoid of foundation. Certainly there could be no question of accepting the thesis of the consanguineous unity of the tribe. However, taken at the level of the line of descent, this unity is effective and serves as a basis for determining the *damawīyya*, formerly the *ʿākila* [*q.v.*], that is to say those jointly responsible for a crime committed by one of their members. A system of endogamy, carried to the limit of incest and practised on a very wide scale, forces the group back upon itself to such an extent that, when it extends, it does not cease to regard itself as a large family.

In short, it follows from this cursory examination of the classical documents that the exact significance of the word *kābala* remains as indeterminate as its morphology. We are therefore compelled to resort



to ethnological research in order to define each of these aspects. For this purpose, then, instead of citing examples from the ancient authors, let us consider the tribe as it exists today among the Bedouin. The *ḥabila* appears as an independent political group, varying in size from a thousand to two thousand persons, and even larger when the process of sedentarization has started. It is generally composed of two or three sections, nominally united by ties of kinship and in principle interdependent upon each other. Its members claim to be descended from one common ancestor, whose name they generally bear, along with those of their own section and of the clan, they jointly own an area of grazing-land, and they are ruled by one single ruler, formerly the *sayyid*, today the *shaykh*, old man, elder, a title also borne by the head of the clan.

Despite its monolithic appearance, the *ḥabila* falls into as many small, practically autonomous groups as it contains different lines of descent. The genealogists who have dwelt so insistently upon the unity of the Arab tribe have almost entirely lost sight of its heterogeneity. Now, the division of Bedouin society into interlocking groups has resulted from a fundamental duality which sets them against each other at all levels of the social structure: 'Adnān/Kaḥṭān, Rabi'a/Muḍar, Ḥimyar/Kahlān, Bakr/Taghlib, Aws/Khazraj, 'Abs/Zubayān, Hishām/Umayya, etc. Bedouin society has in fact been subjected to a progressive process of segmentation. At each stage, two blocks of apparently equal strength confront each other, and attract or repel one another in accordance with the interests of the moment. At the family level, the division should cease to operate and should be replaced by absolute solidarity, for any conflict between the members of this group would be tantamount to an act of suicide. In fact, the duality pursues its way inexorably. The division begins even within the patriarchal family, where each male is a contestant for power. To restrict ourselves to an examination of the tribe, we may state that it is often divided into two large subdivisions which strive against each other for supremacy and even make war. The Banū Ṣakh̄r, for example, are divided into the Ṭuwaga and the Ka'ābina; for a long time the leadership belonged to the latter, and then it passed into the hands of their rivals. Indeed, the tribe may be composed of several divisions, but it seems that a pluralism then tends to be reduced to a duality; an entire little world gravitates, like satellites, around the two principal leaders. When the *ḥabila* consists of three subdivisions, it often happens that the most recent of these, if not the least important, endeavours to preserve the balance between the other two. Thus the Ḥuwaytāt are divided into three large groups, two of whom show no liking for each other (Ibn Dī'āzi and Abū Tāyih), while the third (Ibn Nūjād) observes a positive neutrality, trying to make the best possible use of this ambiguous situation. Even within the subdivision, the relations of the clans with each other are not free from duality. Each one of them seems to have its twin, the other half of the cell, for whom it is both rival and supporter, and with whom it avoids contracting marriages.

In the light of these ethnographical data, the definition of *ḥabila* given by al-Nūwayrī and referred to above is seen in a new aspect. Its component parts are indeed symmetrical and of evidently equal strength.

Al-Hamdānī confirms the existence of this type of organization. The author of the *Iklīl*, who is not

particularly careful in his use of the terms of relationship, does nevertheless give most useful information on the organization of the Naṣḥk, a branch of the Bakil; they were divided into two factions (*baḥṣ*), the Yumḍjid and the Dhū 'l-Djirāb, and lived in the lower part of Ḍjawf in Rawḥān. The two groups had their own areas—over against one another and separated by the width of the valley. Each tribe (*ḥabila*) had about three hundred members. Fratricidal war decimated the two *ḥayys* (*Iklīl*, ed. Khaṭīb, Cairo 1369, x, 123 f.).

Is the structure of the *ḥabila* then of a dualist type? It would appear rather to be a matter of a particular kind of dualism, since the different sections in question, far from intermarrying, practise strict endogamy. This hypothesis seems all the more probable in that, when the tribe becomes settled, it projects the image of its divisions onto the soil itself. On the eve of the *hidira*, Mecca was divided into two concentric, rival and complementary halves: in the centre were the Kuraysh al-Biṭāḥ, on the periphery the Kuraysh al-Zawāhir. A similar situation was observed in Medina where the two sister tribes were rivals for power. The Khazraj had taken possession of the principal points of the city, while the Aws were relegated to the outskirts. This same type of structure is found today in many small Jordanian towns inhabited by former Bedouins, particularly in Ma'ān and Karak.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works mentioned in the text—: 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, *'Ashā'ir al-'Irāq*, 3 vols., Baghdad 1947 f.; 'Abd al-Djallī Ṭāhir, *al-Badw wa-'l-'ashā'ir fi'l-bilād al-'arabiyya*, Cairo 1955; Aḥmad Waṣṣī Zakariyyā, *'Ashā'ir al-Shām*, 2 vols., Damascus 1947; B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932; J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden 1943, 134-5; J. Lecerf, *Note sur la famille dans le monde arabe et islamique*, in *Arabica*, 1956/i; R. Murphy and L. Kasdan, *The structure of parallel cousin marriage, in American anthropologist*, lxi (1959); R. Patai, *The structure of endogamous unilineal descent groups, in Southwestern Journal of anthropology*, xxi (1965); J. Chelhod, *Les structures dualistes de la société bedouine*, in *L'Homme*, ix/2 (1969); for a more detailed bibliography see idem, *Le droit dans la société bedouine*, Paris 1971. (J. CHELHOD)

**KĀBĪR PANTHIS** [see Supplement].

**KĀBĪS** (Gabès), a town in Tunisia on the gulf of the same name (the Little Syrte of antiquity), 404 km. to the south of Tunis and 150 km. from Gafsa [see KĀFSA]; it has 40,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,200 are Europeans, and is the chief town of a governorate with a population of 204,000 (1966 census). The town of Gabès, divided since 1957 into four districts, includes the old townships of Manzil, situated higher up the Oued-Gabès, and Djāra, situated downstream, localities which have always been divided by fierce and still potent rivalry. A new quarter, Bab-Bhar or Gabès-Port, which is located further downstream, dates from the time of the French protectorate, and another built-up area extending towards the south has been added in more recent times. In 1959 and 1962 Manzil and Djāra suffered severely from the devastating floods of the Oued-Gabès, which is now kept under control by an additional channel that drains off the flood-waters directly to the sea. In effect, Gabès is situated at the bottom of a basin which is enclosed on the north by a loop of the *oued*, and on the south shut in by the

hills of Sidi-Boulbaba—the site of the sanctuary of the patron saint of the town, alleged to be a companion of the Prophet—and the Manāra, a superb view-point where, in the Middle Ages, a lighthouse stood, and where, since 1962, a working-class district has been constructed to house those made homeless by the recent floods.

According to A. Bechraoui, who has devoted a very recent study to the subject, the oasis of Kābis contains a stock of 1,400,000 trees, of which 650,000, that is 47 per cent of the total, are rather mediocre date palms. Next in order of importance come the pomegranate trees, 107,000 in number and of excellent quality, which are the second most important crop produced in Tunisia; then come peach trees, vines and apricot trees. Olive trees succeed only in the Kettana-Teboulbou-Oudref-Metouia region. Banana trees produce ripe fruits, but they are rather sparse. Cultivated land is devoted to the production of cereals in small quantities, fodder (especially lucerne), tobacco, henna and also market-gardening, asparagus being a recent introduction. Live-stock are few in number; animal rearing is mainly carried out on a domestic basis and is regarded as a means of making a little extra money. The coastal waters, which are shallow and contain an abundance of fish, have been left almost unexploited. With the help of irrigation, the oasis has been extended as far as possible. Some 60 borings having been made between 1890 and the present day, the over-exploited underground water-supply is in fact on the verge of becoming exhausted.

Kābis has recently been selected as a development centre for southern Tunisia: equipment has been provided for a port carrying vessels of 50,000 tons; Industries Chimiques Maghrébines (I.C.M.), a company specializing in the manufacture of nitrate fertilizers, has been set up; and a gas pipe-line connecting the town with the El-Borma fields, providing fuel for brick-kilns and the power station, has been installed. Craft-work and tourism provide additional employment and can be developed still further.

History.—Kābis is the Arabic form of the name of the city known in antiquity as Tacape, Tacapa or the plural form Tacapae. The Arabic form derived from the very commonly used accusative, Tacapas, with the elision of the Libyan Berber prefix *ta*. The site of Kābis has certainly been inhabited since the neolithic period, as is shown by many remains. Later, the Phoenicians were probably the first to establish an emporium specializing in trade with Numidia and across the Sahara. The emporium became a Carthaginian port, before being transformed into a Roman colony; after this date, specific information regarding the town is to be found.

From the reign of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) the systematic development of the region began, as is attested by the *comitia centuriata*. Tacapas was connected with Carthage by the main coastal road. In the year 14 a strategic route was opened, connecting it via Capsa (Kāfsa) with Thelepte and Ammaedara (Hādra) where the 3rd Legion (Augusta) was stationed. As a result of the Carthaginians' efforts in an earlier period, and as a result also of this network of roads which stimulated the port's activity, as well as of the abundant waters of the Oued-Gabès and of the Pax Romana, the town, the centre of which was certainly located upon the eminence where the sanctuary of Sidi Boulbaba now stands, was extensively developed—as to the scale of this development, however, there is some disagreement—and during the Christian period it became the

seat of a bishopric. However, it was fortified only at a comparatively late date. "Until the middle of the 6th century Gabès at least still possessed no ramparts", wrote Ch. Diehl (*L'Afrique byzantine*, i, 229). It was defended only by a *castellum* barring the invasion route, that is to say the isthmus between the coast and the Chott El-Fedjedj, linking Byzacena with Libya. It was there that, in 547, the Byzantine forces suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Astrices tribe. No doubt it was after this disaster that a wall was erected round Tacapas which survived at least until the 16th century. Today, no monuments from its ancient past remain in Kābis though, to be strictly accurate, there are traces of the "Roman dam" across the Oued-Gabès, several pillars and capitals that have been incorporated in the mosque of Sidi Idris or in the sanctuary of Sidi Boulbaba, and also some other fragments of lesser value which have been used in buildings in the old quarters.

The circumstances under which Kābis came to Islam remain obscure. It is however certain, despite assertions made later by al-Wazīr al-Sarrādjī (*Hulal*, i, 344), that 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd [*q.v.*] did not besiege the town during his invasion of Byzacena in 27/647-8. It was only later that it was captured, probably during the campaigns directed by Mu'āwiya b. Hudaydj or his successor 'Uqba b. Nāfi', between the years 34/654 and 50/670. It was later evacuated, after the defeat and death of 'Uqba in Tahūda, in about 64/684. The victor, Kusayla, established himself in Kayrawān and from there, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (*Futūḥ*, 70-1), he extended his rule over the neighbouring regions, including the "Gate of Kābis". It was through this gate that, in about 74/693-4, the forces of al-Kāhina [*q.v.*] expelled Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān [*q.v.*] from the country he had come to recover. Some years later, however, the same gate once more served as his route.

From this time, Kābis was finally acquired by Islam and became intimately involved in its existence. In particular, Kābis was not spared the violent *Khāridjite* storm which racked the whole of Ifrikiya from 122/740 to 155/772. The Zanāti 'Ukāshā b. Ayyūb al-Fazārī, of Ṣūfrite persuasion, captured it in 123/741 and threatened Kayrawān, before being defeated and killed (125/743). Some years later, under the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, it once again fell into the hands of the *Khāridjites*, this time those of Ibādite tendencies. Again, it was recovered and the rebel leader Ismā'īl b. Ziyād al-Nafūsī was defeated and killed in about 131/748-9. The assassination of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb (137/755) was the signal for new disturbances and a new *Khāridjite* outbreak, during which the town passed from one to another of the opposing factions. The Ibādite Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb captured it at the beginning of 141/middle of 758. It was liberated by Ibn al-Ash'ath in 144/761, only to be lost once more. Finally Yazid b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, the founder of the Muhallabid dynasty, entered the town on 20 Djumādā I 155/28 April 772 and for a quarter of a century brought an end to the bloodshed that had tormented the region for several decades.

In the Aghlabid period, Kābis became the chief town of the district and the seat of a governor. From the testimony of al-Shammākhī (*Siyar*, 203), who mentions an *'āmil* of the *imām* 'Abd al-Wahhāb (168/784-208/823), it might be thought that the town formed part of the Rustamid kingdom. In fact, this *'āmil* was merely a tax-collector who in a somewhat clandestine manner was organizing the *ṣadaqāt*

of the Ibādites of the "diocese" on Tāhart, since we know for certain that, throughout the 3rd/9th century, the town was at all times dependent upon the political authority of Ḳayrawān. For Kābis it was a period of peace, scarcely broken by the battle at which, in 283/896, not far from its walls, Ibrāhīm II crushed the Nafūsa Ibādites, who had become too menacing. In the 4th/10th century it passed into the hands of the Fātimids, who had it governed by the Kutāma Banū Luḳmān, whose liberality was immortalized by the poets.

The rule of the Zirids was less peaceful. It began with a Khāridjite revolt (361/972). Kābis was besieged and the suburbs devastated. The Fātimid caliph al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021 [q.v.]) then attempted, though in the end without success, to take both Gabēs and Tripoli from the Zirids. The town was governed for the Zirids by the Banū 'Āmir, and afterwards by a brother of Bādīs (386/996-406/1016 [q.v.]), Ibrāhīm, who in turn was succeeded by Manšūr b. Mawās. Its last governor, nominated by al-Mu'izz (407/1016-464/1062) was Ibn Walmiya. The town then broke away from the Zirids.

In fact, it was in the same region, at Ḥaydarān [q.v.], in 443/1052, that the disaster occurred as a result of which Ifrīkiya passed into the hands of the Hilālīs [see HILĀL]. It should however be explained that the Hilālīs caused no damage either to the town—which was by then surrounded by a strong wall—or to the oasis, although it was undefended. Some sort of understanding, naturally based on the payment of tribute, must certainly have been reached between the invaders and the governor of the town since, from 445/1053-4 and thanks to the protection afforded by the Riyāhid chief Mu'nis b. Yahyā, certain members of the Zirid dynasty who were in extreme danger openly took refuge in the safe haven of the town. Kābis did not immediately break off relations with Mahdiyya. It was in about 454/1062-3 that the governor, al-Mu'izz b. Muḥammad b. Walmiya, angered by the way in which his brothers Ibrāhīm and Ḳāḍī had been treated by the Zirid amīr, plotted with Ḳāḍī and proclaimed himself independent, under the protection of Mu'nis b. Yahyā. "This was the beginning of the occupation of the town by the Hilālī Arabs", remarks al-Ṭijānī (*Riḥla*, 96). Ibrāhīm succeeded his father, and then came the turn of Ḳāḍī, who was put to death (489/1095-6) by the inhabitants of Kābis in retaliation against his tyranny.

This assassination brought to power the Banū Ḍjāmi' who, through the medium of the Dahmān, were allied with the Riyāh Hilālīs. We are told, it is true, that the Fātimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (427/1036-487/1094), at the same time as he unleashed the Banū Hilāl upon Ifrīkiya, had offered Tripoli and Kābis to the Zughba group as their share. In fact, these latter were satisfied with Tripoli, and it was a Dahmano-Riyāhid, Makkī b. Kāmil b. Ḍjāmi' (al-Ṭijānī, *Riḥla*, 71, 97), who founded a dynasty in Kābis, after eliminating a brother of the amīr Tamīm (454/1062-501/1108), 'Umar b. al-Mu'izz, whom the Kābis insurgents had placed in authority. Makkī's successor was his son Rāfi', who in turn was succeeded first by Ruṣḥayd b. Kāmil b. Ḍjāmi' (about 515/1121-541/1147) and then, after the brief seizure of power by the freedman Yūsuf, by Muḥammad b. Ruṣḥayd, and finally by Mudāfi' b. Ruṣḥayd.

From the middle of the 5th/11th to the middle of the 6th/12th century, both under its independent governors who enjoyed Riyāhid protection and also under the direct administration of the Banū Ḍjāmi',

the history of Kābis was one of constant turmoil, at home through a whole series of intrigues and fruitless struggles in the attempt to seize power, and in external affairs through the expansionist policy of the Normans of Sicily, who were trying to establish control over the coast of Ifrīkiya. Despite various sieges (in 474/1081-2, 479/1086-7, 486/1093-4 and in about 511/1117-8) which finally failed, the town was only recovered for brief periods (in 489/1095-6 and 542/1147) by the successors of al-Mu'izz. In order to oppose these successors, the town in its turn adopted a frankly aggressive policy, welcoming their enemies and sending its troops, either alone or with allies, to assault their capital (in 476/1083-4, 493/1099-1100, and in about 511/1117-8). Against them, it made alliances not only with the Hilālīs but also with the Normans of Roger II, who sent the usurper, at his own request, a diploma of investiture in fair and correct form as well as certain Christian decorations, and then provided a successor, Muḥammad b. Ruṣḥayd, after the occupation of Mahdiyya (543/1148) and the whole of the Sahel. Despite all these conflicts, the town does not appear to have suffered immoderately. It was even embellished with a fine palace, that of al-'Arūsayn, begun probably by Ibn Walmiya and completed by Rāfi', who took the credit for it. It should incidentally be noted that Ruṣḥayd struck coins in his own name, a gesture affirming his independence.

The coming of the Almohads put an end to the independence which Kābis had already practically lost since 541/1146-7 by passing under the domination (tolerant, admittedly, but effective) of the Normans. The town, which had risen against the Normans in 553/1158-9, was captured by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī [q.v.], in 554/1160. The period of peace it then enjoyed lasted only for a few decades. Soon Kābis became in fact a subject of contention between the Almohads and two adversaries who at certain times were allies, at other times hostile to one another, Ḳarākūsh [q.v.], already master of Tripoli, and the Banū Ḡhāniya [q.v.]. Al-Manšūr (580/1184-596/1199) had to intervene personally in Ifrīkiya since he was in danger of losing it and, by his victory at al-Ḥamma (583/1187-8), he succeeded in recovering the town, which Ḳarākūsh, in alliance with 'Alī b. Ḡhāniya, had turned into a fortified base. Ḳarākūsh soon established himself there once again, but then, having fallen out with his former ally, he lost the town again to the Almohads, who had taken advantage of the situation. Yahyā b. Ḡhāniya had meanwhile succeeded 'Alī, and after crushing Ḳarākūsh and taking Tripoli from him, he laid siege to Kābis in 591/1195; to force it to surrender, he laid waste the oasis where, it is claimed, he left only one palm-tree standing to mark the spot. On his victory, he made Kābis his capital and extended his authority over the whole of Ifrīkiya, including Tunis, which had been captured in 600/1203. Al-Nāṣir (596/1199-609/1213) thus had to reconquer the whole of the eastern part of his kingdom. He inflicted a decisive defeat on Yahyā b. Ḡhāniya near Kābis (Rabi' I 602/October 1205) and recaptured the town, which was then finally acquired by the Almohads.

But the Almohads' reign in Ifrīkiya was nearing its end. Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā (625/1228-647/1249), the founder of the Ḥafsid dynasty, was the ruler of Kābis when he was nominated by the caliph al-Ma'mūn (624/1227-629/1232) as governor of the whole of Ifrīkiya. Supported by 'Abd al-Malik b. Makkī, the most influential land-owner in the city,

he succeeded in capturing Tunis from his brother, who was dismissed from office. This date marks the rise to fortune of the Banū Makkī, who, from 681/1282 to 796/1394, constituted what was truly a small, local and largely autonomous dynasty in Kābis—and, in actual fact, independent. The two most powerful members of this dynasty were 'Abd al-Malik b. Makkī and his brother Aḥmad; the latter was ruler of Djerba, in particular, and from there for a time he succeeded in extending his authority as far as Tripoli. The two brothers were of Luwāta origin; they were cultured—they liked to affect the style of a *faḳīh*—and also clever, and they often succeeded in influencing Ḥafṣid policy, in which they took an active part, to their own advantage.

In Rādjab 681/October 1282, 'Abd al-Malik opened the gates of Kābis to the usurper Ibn Abī 'Umāra (1282-4) and helped him to ascend the throne. In his gratitude, he is said to have presented 'Abd al-Malik "with all the young slaves who were in the palace of the late sultan" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 106) and to have appointed him as his vizier, with particularly wide financial powers. But the reign of Ibn Abī 'Umāra did not last long, and 'Abd al-Malik returned to his fief of Kābis. In 1286, the town was besieged by the amir Abū Zakariyyā' and its palm-grove was laid waste. During the disturbances that followed, 'Abd al-Malik did not remain inactive. In 1287-8 he gave his support (this time without success, however) to the pretender Ibn Abī Dabbūs against Abū Ḥafṣ (683/1284-692/1293); then, in 693/1294, he rejected the suzerainty of Tunis in order to lay claim to that of Bougie where a grandson of Abū Zakariyyā', the man who had besieged Kābis in 1286, was seeking to obtain his ancestor's inheritance. In 732/1332 a new pretender, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Liḥyānī, also received his support against Abū Bakr (718/1318-747/1346). The years that followed saw the apogee of the Banū Makkī. From 751/1350, while hostile to the powerful and crafty chamberlain Ibn Tafrādjīn, they succeeded in enlarging their territory and in making their authority more firmly based. Their prestige was such that, in about 1355, Venice concluded an advantageous treaty with them separately. Consistently hostile to Tunis, they gave their support to the second Marinid invasion (752/1352-757/1357), led by Abū 'Inān [q.v.].

But some decades later, the reign of Abu 'l-'Abbās (772/1371-796/1374) marked the end of independence for all the cities in the south. The reconquest of Kābis was not easy, however. In Dhu 'l-Ka'da 781/February-March 1380, the town was taken and a Ḥafṣid governor, Yūsuf b. al-Abbār, was installed there. But in the following year 'Abd al-Wahhāb, a grandson of 'Abd al-Malik b. Makkī, made himself master of the town and put the governor to death. Abu 'l-'Abbās had to lay siege to it in person in 789/1387 and, to force it to surrender, he had its date-palms cut down, a step which gave it a somewhat healthier climate, according to Ibn Khaldūn. 'Abd al-Wahhāb then surrendered, handed over one of his sons to the Ḥafṣid sovereign as a hostage, and paid a substantial indemnity. But 'Abd al-Wahhāb was assassinated in 792/1390 by his uncle Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Makkī, who proclaimed his independence. In 796/1393-4 a successful plot delivered him into the hands of the Ḥafṣid sovereign, Abū Ḥafṣ, who had him put to death. This was the end of the Banū Makkī and of the independence of Kābis.

From then onwards, little was heard of the town. Like the rest of the south, it again broke away from the authority of the last Ḥafṣids, who were under

Spanish protection, before coming under Turkish domination along with the whole of Tunisia, which was organized as a *paṣṣalik* (1574). 'Uṯmān Dāy (1590-1610), who made great efforts to restore peace in the country, established in Dījāra a colony of *kū-lughlis* (*kul-oghlu*), that is to say those of mixed breed, the progeny of Turks and native women. With its population of citizens, and with its situation on the edge of the Sahara, Kābis suffered more than many other towns from the anarchy which preceded the French occupation. It was under two-fold pressure, both from the nomads, who used to vanish into the desert or take refuge beyond the Libyan frontiers on the approach of regular troops, and from the beylical authorities. Thus, without being at the centre of the storm, Kābis was not spared in the insurrection of 'Alī b. Ḥadhāhum (1864). In 1870, it was actually plundered by the *khāsnadār*.

At the time the Protectorate was set up, a split developed between the two rival groups over the attitude to be adopted—Dījāra opted for acceptance, Manzil for resistance. The occupation of the latter place was thus relatively difficult: it began on 24 July 1881, but was not completed until the end of November, after the fortifications had been entirely destroyed.

During the Second World War a defence line was constructed to the south of Kābis, at Mareth, as a result of which the town was bombarded violently and severely devastated, but it did not escape occupation by the German army (19 Nov. 1942). It was recaptured by British and French forces on 29 March 1943.

Historical Geography:—Kābis has been well defined as "a maritime oasis". At all periods, its prosperity has been bound up with the richness of its luxuriant vegetation and the activity of its ports, the natural outlet for Saharan trade. Strabo (c. 58 B.C.-c. 25 A.D.) already described it as "a very large market" where merchandise from the regions of the Sahara was exchanged for goods being sent to Numidia. The elder Pliny (23-79 A.D.) speaks of the equitable sharing of water for irrigation, according to a fixed quota, among the inhabitants—a system still in force—and of the richness of the vegetation, which falls into three categories—date-palms; then olives, figs, pomegranates and vines; and lastly cereals and market-gardening.

No further precise geographical particulars relating to Kābis, which in the meanwhile had become Muslim, are recorded until the 3rd/9th century. Ibn Khurrādādhbih (d. 272/885-6) refers to it, without further comment, as "the town of the foreign *Afāriḳa*" (*madīnat al-Afāriḳa al-a'ādjim*), *Masalik*, 6-7; this expression suggests that in his time the *Afāriḳa*, that is to say the descendants of the Graeco-Romans and the latinized Berbers, mostly Christian, still constituted the major part of the population. It is certainly these *Afāriḳa* who are designated by the term *Aḍjam* in al-Ya'qūbī (d. about 282-92/895-905), who adds that the "very mixed" population was composed of Arabs and Berbers alike. Al-Ya'qūbī also notes that Kābis was "an important and prosperous town, where trees and fruit are abundant".

In the middle of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawkal tells us that it was inhabited predominantly by Berbers, and for the first time records a community of Jews, who were subject to a special tax. He remarks that its inhabitants "are not over-endowed by nature in matters of beauty and cleanliness and are somewhat simple" (*Ṣūrat al-Ard*, 72; trans. Kramers-Wiet, 66). He notes that it was surrounded by a wall and a ditch, and that outside the walls there

was a suburb—here recorded for the first time—where the markets were held. Of its varied and abundant produce he makes particular mention of oil, wool, great quantities of silk of excellent quality, and very good leather, soft to the touch and perfumed, which was exported to all parts of the Maghrib. Alas! the hinterland was inhabited by thieving Khāridīites who had sacked and burnt the suburb, bearing a particular grudge against the possessions of merchants and *Dhimmis*.

At the end of the 4th/10th century, al-Muḳaddasī depicts it as a town "smaller than Tripoli", "built of stone and brick, rich in date-palms, grapes and apples" (*Aḥṣan al-taḥāsim*, 12-13). Its "hinterland was inhabited by Berbers" and its walls "pierced by three gates".

The description given by al-Bakrī and often repeated by later geographers is the most detailed and goes back to the middle of the 5th/11th century, the time when the town was ruled by Ibn Walmiya under the protection of the Hilālī chief Mu'nis b. Yaḥyā. The town was then still contained within its ancient wall, constructed of hewn stone, the wall being reinforced with a ditch which could be flooded in time of danger. Since the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, it had seen great developments. In particular it was surrounded, not by one but by several suburbs to the south and east, and by markets and inns (*fanādiḳ*), a sign of intense commercial activity. It was embellished with a rich mosque and possessed numerous *ḥammāms*.

The only shadow in this picture was that the climate had become unhealthy—this had not been so earlier—as a result of the destruction of a talisman which had come to light during the search for some treasure. This legend of the talisman certainly refers to the demolition of the ancient buildings situated within the walls on the heights of Sidi Boulbaba, where the air is always very healthy, to allow for the construction, from the middle of the 4th/10th century, of the suburbs in the unhealthy basin enclosed by the *oued*. At the end of the 5th/11th century the suburb furthest away from the ancient walls, on the site of the present quarter of *Djāra*, was already fully urbanized, as is shown by the mosques of Sidi Idris, Sidi al-Ḥādīdī 'Umar and Sidi b. 'Isā, which G. Marçais attributed to the Banū *Djāmi*' (*Architecture*, 77-8) and which are all concentrated in this quarter. It was noted earlier that some fragments from buildings of antiquity have been re-used in these and also in other old buildings. Thus, from the middle of the 5th/11th century, the ancient city had begun to be deserted and eventually disappeared entirely, being replaced by the suburbs, an operation that intensified the unhealthy situation condemned by all the geographers from al-Bakrī onwards, whereas there had been no question of this beforehand.

Among the inhabitants, according to al-Bakrī, a distinction was still made between Arabs and *Afāriḳa*, which indicates that the ethnic fusion was still incomplete. The populace was the subject of various gibes—which are repeated in the *Masālik* somewhat complacently—on the grounds that the houses were not equipped with any latrines, and that excrement was used to improve the orchards, customs which can all still be verified (A. Bechraoui, *La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabès*, 317). The Berbers lived in huts (*akḥṣāṣ*), and principally they inhabited the hinterland. They were composed primarily of Luwāta, Lamāya, Nafūsa, Mazāta, Zuwāgha, Zuwāra and other smaller groups. The oasis of Kābis produced great quantities of bananas, sugar cane and all kinds of fruit which provided supplies for Ḳayrawān.

Unique in Ifriḳiya, it possessed a huge forest of mulberry trees which made it possible for excellent silk to be produced in abundance. In this connection it should be noted that Geniza [*q.v.*] documents confirm that Ifriḳiya was a great exporter of silk in the 5th/11th century, but that S. D. Goitein has failed to find any specific reference there to Kābis. Finally, al-Bakrī tells us that the port of the town, marked by a lighthouse which was praised as a marvel—a tower of which nothing now remains except its site on an eminence still known by the same name, *al-Manāra*—was visited by ships "from all corners of the earth".

In the middle of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī still speaks of the *Afāriḳa*, but in an incidental way, and there can be no doubt that, in that period, they no longer constituted a really important and distinct element of the population. The people, he adds, "are lacking in elegance, but are correctly and cleanly dressed" (*Nuzha*, 77). The town was still developing rapidly. Al-Idrīsī gives especial praise to its *ruḳab*, a variety of honey-like dates conserved in large jars. It still produced oil, "exported in great quantities in all directions". It had however undergone various changes—the harbour, once so frequented according to al-Bakrī, was said by al-Idrīsī to be barely navigable on account of its shallowness and the wind; there was no longer any reference to the lighthouse; the silk industry, now in decline, had withdrawn to the little village of Ḳaṣr Saḍīdīa, at the source of the *oued*; the leather industry, praised by Ibn Ḥawḳal and passed over in silence by al-Bakrī, had on the contrary become outstanding and its products were exported in large quantities.

Writing at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, Yāḳūt tells us nothing new, merely repeating al-Bakrī word for word. Ibn al-Shabbāḥ (618/1221-681/1282), reproduced by al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḍī, describes Kābis as "a large town" and states that, among its inhabitants, three elements could still be distinguished—Arabs, Berbers and *ʿAdjam*, that is to say *Afāriḳa*. This is the last time that the division of the populace into three ethnic groups is mentioned. Towards the end of the 7th/13th century, al-ʿAbdarī, when travelling through the city while on the pilgrimage, formed a very poor impression of the place: it is a dirty, evil-smelling town, he remarks, the pretentiousness of whose inhabitants is only equalled by their ignorance and impiety.

The account given by al-Ṭīḍjānī, who spent four days in the town in the middle of *Djūmādā I* 706/end of November 1306, is different again. "This is a beautiful maritime and Saharan town", he exclaims, "a true earthly paradise, in short a Damascus on a smaller scale". However, an important transformation was in progress. It is true that the ancient walls were still standing, but the centre of activity had moved out to "the suburbs, which were extensive and included most of the markets" (*Rihla*, 86-7). In the heart of the old town, the minaret of the Grand Mosque had lost its equilibrium and was leaning dangerously; the *Ḳaṣaba* and the palace of the Banū *Djāmi*' "the Ḳaṣr al-ʿArūsayn a marvel unparalleled in the world", were nothing more than ruins (*Rihla*, 94-5). The air was unhealthy than ever, the inhabitants' faces were pale and epidemics frequent, on account of the oleanders (*al-dīflā*), al-Ṭīḍjānī explains, for they polluted the water, apart from two springs, ʿAyn al-Amīr and ʿAyn Salām.

We then have to wait until the beginning of the 16th century—that is to say, for the account of Leo Africanus, who visited Tunisia in 1517 (*Description*, ii, 398)—for further details of the development of

Kābis. It was, it seems, still "a very large town", and the old city was still surrounded by its "high ancient walls". But the fact that "it has been sacked by the Arabs" has brought about its decline. Its inhabitants were scattered about in the oasis. "Their skins are black. They farm or they fish, in poverty, and under constant pressure from the Arabs and from the king of Tunis" (*Description*, ii, 398). In short, the town's ruin was complete; there was no longer any reference to its abundance of fruit, to its industries, its exports in all directions. Not one word of the activity of its port, or of its markets: insecurity had killed its trade, including the trans-Saharan trade which had left such a strong mark, doubtless through interbreeding with black slaves, upon the complexion of the inhabitants, who finally became of one single type in their poverty.

In the middle of the 19th century, V. Guérin was unable to discover any traces of the ancient walls. Nothing survived except for old hovels in Manzil and Dǧāra which, according to F. Laffite and J. Servonnet, scarcely deserved to be called houses. Manzil then had 3,500 inhabitants and Dǧāra 4,000, out of a total population for the oasis estimated at 10,000. In 1873, Captain Roudaire conceived the idea, which when examined proved to be impracticable, of an inland sea, inundating the region of the Chotts by means of a canal linking it with the Gulf of Kābis.

*Bibliography*: Geographical sources (arranged chronologically): Ibn Kḥurradādhbih, *Masālik*, and Ibn al-Fakīh, *Buldān*, ed. partly tr. Hadj-Sadok under the title *Description du Maghreb* . . ., Algiers 1949, 6-7 and note 57, 30-1; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Cairo 1937, 208; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, Beirut n.d., 72-3 (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 66-7); Muḥaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḥāsim*, ed. partly tr. Ch. Pellat under the title *Description de l'Occident* . . ., Algiers 1950, 4-5, 12-3, 64-5, 66-7; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed.-tr. De Slane, Paris 1965, 7/22, 17-19/41-44, 19/45, 47/102, 85/172; Idrīsī, *Nuḥḥa*, part. ed. H. Peres, Algiers 1957, 76-7, 89, 94; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 289-90; 'Abdarī, *Riḥla*, ed. A. Ibn Dǧaddū, Constantine n.d., 68-9; Tiǧānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 58, 68, 71, 86-117, 132; Ṣaḥī al-Dīn al-Baǧhdādī, *Marāṣid*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Biǧǧāwī, Cairo 1954, iii, 1054; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 398, 549; al-Wazīr al-Sarrāǧī, *Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, i, 342-73, 847-8, 962; V. Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, i, 190-7; Zaccone, *Notes sur la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1875, 152-62; Rebillet, *Le Sud de la Tunisie*, Sousse 1886, 15-101; F. Laffite and J. Servonnet, *Le Golfe de Gabès en 1888*, Paris 1888, 216-40, 315-32; Maunoir, *Journal de route*, Paris 1905, 67-71. Studies: A. Beḥraoui, *La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabès* (doctoral thesis, 3rd cycle, 1970); R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafṣides*, Paris 1940-47, index; L. Carton, *Essai sur les travaux hydrauliques des Romains dans le sud de la régence de Tunis*, in *Bull. Arch.*, Tunis 1888, 438-65; J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1958, index; Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896, i, 228-33, ii, 414, 535; L. Foucher, *Hadrumentum*, Paris 1964, 321-2; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 36, 138, 145-6, 219-36, 467; S. D. Goitein, *A mediterranean society*, Los Angeles 1967, i, 102, 278, 279, 469; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-28, i, 64-5, 203-4, ii, 125-6, v, 247; J. Hilaire,

*Compte-rendu des fouilles exécutées en 1898 sur l'emplacement de Tacapas*, in *Bull. Arch.*, Tunis 1900, 115-25; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, index; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, Eng. tr., London 1971, index; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970, index; G. Marçais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 77-8; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, Paris 1965, index; Marzūki, *Kābis dǧannat al-Arḍ*, Tunis 1962, 310; J. F. Monlezun, *Les ruines de Tacapas*, in *Bull. Arch.*, Tunis 1885, 126-31; P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa*, Rome 1959, index; M. Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, index; Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1884, ii, 31, 196; B. Torki, *La dessaharisation nucléaire = rétablissement de la mer intérieure au Maghreb Central*, Technical Report no. 23 (1968) of Commissariat à l'Energieatomique, Tunis; A. S. Zaghulul, *Ta'rikḥ al-Maghrib al-'arabi*, Cairo 1965, index; B. Orgels, *L'oasis de Gabès*, in *Correspondance d'Orient*, 1968. (M. TALBI)

AL-KĀBIŞI, 'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. 'UṬHMĀN B. 'ALĪ, ABU 'L-ŞAQR, astrologer, came from one of two towns called Kābişa (Yāqūt, *Mu'ǧjam al-buldān*, iv, 308 of the Beirut ed.), the one two farsakhs east of Mawṣil and the other near Sāmarrā. He is said by Ibn al-Nadīm (ed. Flügel, 265; quoted by Ibn al-Kiṭī, ed. Lippert, 64) to have studied Ptolemy's *Almagest* under 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-'Imrānī of Mawṣil (d. 344/955-6) "in our time"; Ibn al-Kiṭī adds that this refers to 370/980-1. Al-Kābişī is in fact cited by al-'Imrānī in his *In electionibus horarum* (J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales*, Madrid 1942, 338).

Al-Kābişī's principal surviving work, *al-Madkḥal ilā šinā'at aḥkām al-nudǧūm* (Hādǧidī Khalfā, v, 473 and 476) in 5 fuṣūl, is dedicated to Sayf al-Dawla, the Hamdānid ruler of Aleppo from 333/944-5 to 356/966-7. In *faṣl* 4 he uses, in an example, the year 317 Yazdǧird (A.D. 948-9). This book is, as its title indicates, an introductory exposition of some of the fundamental principles of horoscopy; its present usefulness lies primarily in its quotations from al-Andarzǧhar, al-Kindī, al-Hind, Ptolemy, Dorotheus, Māshā'illāh, Hermes, and Valens. But it was highly valued in the Middle Ages; there are many Arabic manuscripts (including some in Hebrew script), though no commentaries. A Latin version was made by Ioannes Hispalensis in 1144, a French translation (presumably from the Latin) by Pêlerin de Pousse in 1362; Ioannes' Latin translation was commented on by Ioannes de Saxonia at Paris in 1331 and by V. Nabod in 1560, and probably was also the text commented on by Francesco degli Stabili (Cecco d'Ascoli) (1269-1327).

In the preface to *al-Madkḥal* al-Kābişī mentions his (now lost) *Kitāb fi šihbāt šinā'at aḥkām al-nudǧūm*, which answers the equally non-extant *Risālat 'Isā ibn 'Alī fi ibṣāl aḥkām al-nudǧūm* (see also al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, 85). 'Isā ibn 'Alī may be the well-known Ḥarrānian astronomer who made observations at Baǧhdād and Damascus in 214/829-30 and 217/832-3. A manuscript in Istanbul (AS 4832) contains three short treatises written by al-Kābişī: *Risāla fi anwā' al-a'dād wa farā'if min al-a'māl mim mā dǧama'ahū min mutakaddimī ahl al-'ilm bi hādḥihi al-šinā'a*, a *Risāla fi 'l-ab'ād wa 'l-adjirām*, and a *Mā šarahaḥū min Kitāb al-fuṣūl li 'l-Farǧhānī*. The first two are dedicated to Sayf al-Dawla. We also have a poem describing the rainbow which Ibn Kḥallikān (*Wafiyāt*

*al-a'yān*, iii, 79 of the Cairo ed.) says some (including al-Tha'ālibī in his *Kitāb yaṭimat al-dahr*; not located therein) attribute to Sayf al-Dawla, others to al-Ḳabiṣī. There also exists, in a Latin translation by Ioannes Hispalensis and with a commentary by Ioannes de Saxonia, a *De planetarum coniunctionibus* attributed to Alchabitius; it was translated into French by Oronce Finé (1551). It is not, as Steinschneider suggested, *fuṣūl* 4 and 5 of *al-Madkhal*, and perhaps it is not by al-Ḳabiṣī at all; it was not known either to al-Bayhaḳī or to Hādīdjī Khalifa.

**Bibliography:** There are short references to al-Ḳabiṣī in the several Arabic sources cited above. In modern times he has been noticed by M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, 561-2, and *Die europäischen Übersetzungen*, repr. Graz 1956, 45-6; Suter, 60-1; C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī*, i, 246 and 309, and *Raccolta di scritti*, v, 338; and Brockelmann, I, 254 and S I, 399. Manuscripts and editions of the Latin translations of his *Isagoge* and *De planetarum coniunctionibus* are listed in a most confused and unreliable fashion by F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1956, 144-50. I list here the editions actually existing in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and at Harvard. 1) *Isagoge*: Ed. Matheus Moretus de Brixia, Bologna 1473. Publ. E. Ratdolt, Venice 1482. Ed. Bartholomaeus de Alten de Nusia (with the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia), E. Ratdolt, Venice 1485; I. and G. de Forlivio, Venice 1491; I. and G. de Gregoriis, Venice 1502 and 1503; and M. Sessa, Venice 1512. Ed. Guilhelmus Huyon (with the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia and the notes of Petrus Turrellus), B. Trot, Leiden [1520?]. Ed. Antonius de Fantis Taruisinus (with the *De planetarum coniunctionibus* and the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia), M. Sessa and P. de Ravanis, Venice 1521; and P. Liechtenstein, Venice 1521. And publ. (with the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia), Paris 1521. V. Nabod's comm. was published as *Enarratio elementorum astrologiae*, Cologne 1560; Cecco d'Ascoli's *Commento all' Alcabitio* was edited by P. G. Boffitto, Firenze 1905. 2) *De planetarum coniunctionibus*: Ed. Bartholomaeus de Altem (with the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia), E. Ratdolt, Venice 1485; and I. and G. de Forlivio, Venice 1491. See also the editions of the *Isagoge* by Antonius de Fantis. The French translation by Oronce Finé was published as an appendix to his *Les canons et documents très amples touchant l'usage et pratique des communs almanachs*, Paris 1551 and 1557. (D. PINGREE)

**AL-ḲABIṢĪ** (OR IBN AL-ḲABIṢĪ), ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḲHALAF AL-MA'ĀFIRĪ (324/935-403/1012), one of the principal representatives of the Mālikī school of Ḳayrawān, of which he was the leader after the death of Ibn Abī Zayd (d. 386/996). His father, a native of al-Ma'āfirīyyīn in the neighbourhood of Gabès, had married a woman from Ḳayrawān. An oral tradition affirms that al-Ḳabiṣī, Ibn Abī Zayd and Sīdī Maḥrez (Muḥriz b. Ḳhalaf) were first cousins, since their fathers had married three sisters. His principal teachers in Ifrīqiya were Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ibyānī, a Tunisian with Shāfi'ī leanings, Ibn Masrūr al-Dabbāgh, and Darrās al-Fāsī who professed Aṣḥ'arism; he was influenced by two devoutly religious men of Ḳayrawān, al-Sabā'ī and al-Djaban-yānī. His *riḥla* in the East lasted from 352/963 until 357/968; he was accompanied by Darrās al-Fāsī and the Spaniard al-Aṣḥī. Since he was blind, his compan-

ions acted as his secretaries. Before devoting himself to *fiqh*, he taught Ḳur'ānic "reading". An Uṣūlī of Aṣḥ'arī tendencies, he had a predilection for the work of Ibn al-Mawwāz, but above all he was a traditionalist of high repute and spread in the Maghrib the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buḳḥārī, a *riwāya* of which, attributed to al-Ḳabiṣī, is known to us. Of his works, we may mention a collection of *ḥadīths* of the *Muwaffā'*, highly esteemed particularly in Spain, and still extant in manuscript; a treatise on the rules of conduct of schoolmasters, largely inspired by the work of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, which has been published; a voluminous but incomplete compilation of traditions, classified according to the headings of *fiqh*; various epistles on Ḳur'ānic exegesis, practices of worship, articles of faith, the rites of the *ḥadīdī*, the enclosures of *ribāṣ*, 'adāla and objection to witnesses, fear of Allāh, repentance, etc.; one on al-Aṣḥ'arī and another in which he refutes the "Bakrites". Particularly after the death of Ibn Abī Zayd and Ibn Shīblūn, he became a jurisconsult of very high authority. His role as spokesman for and *shaykh* of the jurists of Ḳayrawān was clearly revealed in the affair of the nephew of the nurse of Bādīs. He had countless disciples. At the end of his life he was still teaching some 80 Ḳayrawānīs, Andalusians and Maghribīs. Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī were his principal continuators, bringing to its completion a work which was crowned by the breach between the Zirids and the Fātimids, the consecration of the definitive triumph of Mālikism in Ifrīqiya.

**Bibliography:** 'Iyād, *Tarīḥ al-Madārik*, Beirut 1965, iii, 616-21; Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim al-imān*, Tunis 1320, iii, 168-80; Ahwānī, *al-Ta'lim fī ra'y al-Ḳabiṣī*, Cairo 1945; H. R. Idris, *Deux juristes kairouanais de l'époque ziride: Ibn Abī Zayd et al-Qābiṣī*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1954, 173-98; idem, *Fêtes chrétiennes célébrées en Ifrīqiya à l'époque ziride*, in *R. Afr.*, 1954, 261-76; idem, ed. of *Manāḥib*, *Publ. de la Fac. des Lettres d'Alger*, xxxi, Paris 1959; idem, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, index. (H. R. IDRIS)

**AL-ḲABḲ**, DJABAL AL-ḲABḲ (the most common rendering), al-Ḳabḳh (e.g., Mas'ūdī) or al-Ḳabdjī (e.g. Ṭabarī, Yāḳūt), Turkish Kavkaz, the name given by the Muslims to the Caucasus Mountains. The form *ḳabḳ* may derive from Middle Persian *ḳāfḳōh* "the mountain of Kāf", Armenian *ḳaphok*; in Firdawsī we find the Caucasus called *ḳāh-i ḳāf* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 45, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 94). A village called Ḳabḳ is also mentioned by Ibn Rusta, 173, tr. Wiet, 201, as being the first stage on the road from Harāt to Isfīzār and Sīstān.

#### 1. Topography and ethnology.

The Caucasus became known to the Muslims from the time of the Orthodox caliphs, when the first raids northwards were launched through Ādḥarbaydjan to Arrān and beyond. Early Muslim geographers, apparently following Iranian concepts which may go back to Babylonian cosmological ideas, regarded the Caucasus mountain chain as part of the Kāf mountain range which forms a girdle round the earth, to the south of which lie the lands of civilization, but to the north of which lies the Land of Darkness. Thus Ibn Ḥawḳal, on the authority of Ḥasday b. Ishāḳ, connects the Caucasus with the Carpathians, Alps and Pyrenees as a mountain chain dividing Europe (ed. Kramers, i, 192; 193 (=map), 194, tr. Kramers and Wiet, i, 188-9 and Map 8; see also B. Munkácsi, *Der Kaukasus und*

*Ural als 'Gurtel der Erde'*, in *Keleti Szemle*, i (1900), 236 ff., and ḲāḲ). Because of this identification with the mountains of Ḳāf, Muslim exegetes and antiquarians located in the Caucasus and Caspian Sea region the rock, sea and town mentioned in the story of Moses and al-Ḳhiḍr in Ḳurʿān, XVIII, 59 ff.; thus Ibn Ḳhurradādhbih, 124, and Ibn al-Faḳīh, 287, say that "the rock is the rock of Ṣharwān, the sea is the sea of Dīlān (sc. the Caspian) and the town is the town of Bādjārwān ("the bazaar place", in Mūghān, south of the Araxes or Aras River)". Furthermore, the Caucasus region was regarded by these early authorities as the location of the *Saddayn*, the two mountains between which *Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn* or Alexander the Great erected a barrier against Gog and Magog [see *Yāḏiūḍi wa-Māḏiūḍi*]. Commentators like Ṭabarī and Bayḏāwī identify the *Saddayn* with the mountain massifs of Armenia and *Āḏhar-bāyḏjān*, and the *Epistles* of the *Iḳhwān al-Ṣafā'* apparently refer to the Caspian when they mention the *Baḥr Yāḏiūḍi wa-Māḏiūḍi*. The more careful amongst the Muslim geographers placed the Caucasus either in the fifth clime (e.g., Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuṣḥat al-Ḳulūb*, 91-3, tr. Le Strange 92-4), or in the sixth (e.g., Maḳḏisī, 61, tr. Miquel 135).

The conception of the earth-encircling mountain girdle of Ḳāf also led the geographers to fit the Caucasus into their orographical conceptions as a westward extension of the Alburz Mountains or as a northwards prolongation of the mountains running up from the Yemen and Ḥiḏjāz. In the anonymous Persian geography of the late 4th/10th century, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, we find quite a detailed consideration of the topography of the Caucasus (for which the author, who wrote in Gūzgān in what is now northern Afghanistan and was not himself a traveller, probably drew to a considerable extent on the Abū Zayd al-Baḳḳī-Isṭaḳḥrī tradition). The *Ḥudūd* regards the Caucasus as a northern continuation of the Sinai-Syrian Mountains-Armenian Taurus chain, running southwest to northeastwards to Arrān and Ṣharwān, but then turning northwestwards south of Sarīr to the land of the Alans (al-Lān, the modern Ossetes; see *ALĀN*). But then this range, roughly connecting Darband or Bāb al-Abwāb [q.v.] on the Caspian coast with the Alan Gate or Darial Pass in the central Caucasus, is made by the *Ḥudūd* to turn directly northwards through the *Ḳhazar* and Pečeneg lands to eastern Russia, instead of continuing westwards to Circassia and the Black Sea. According to this author, the range was only called *Ḳabḳ* as far as the Alan land; thereafter, each section of the range was named after the towns or districts along it. He also mentions a subsidiary range running eastwards, which must be that separating the Terek and *Ḳoy-Su* basins in Dāghistān [q.v.], sc. that marking the southern frontier of the modern *Čečen* province. Finally, he describes the western terminus of the true Caucasus as being after the Alan Gate and in the present Mount *Kazbek* region (*Ḥudūd*, tr. Minorsky, §§ 18, 48, 49).

Thus the Caucasus was early known to the mediaeval Muslims as a region of tightly-knit mountain ranges and deep, inaccessible valleys, highly fragmented politically and a refuge area for diverse ethnic groups, their social customs and their faiths. Its linguistic complexity was proverbial. Already in classical times, Strabo, xi, 4, attributed 26 languages to Caucasian Albania, sc. Arrān. The earlier Muslim geographers ascribe to the Caucasus 70 or 72 different languages, all mutually unintelligible (see *Yāḳūt*, iv, 31, and *Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire géograph-*

*ique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 437); by Abu 'l-Fidā's time (early 8th/14th century), we find a figure of 300 tongues, with the region characterised as *Diabal al-alsun* "Mountain of languages" (*Géographie*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 71).

During classical antiquity, the Caucasus had formed a major channel of entry into the Near East for peoples sweeping down from the Eurasian steppes, whence the remnants of various Indo-European, Ugrian and Turkic peoples to be found in the Caucasus in mediaeval times and even, in some cases, today. The *Ās* or *Alans* settled in *Ossetia*; the *Magyar* *Sevordi* (Armenian *Sewordik* "company of black ones") were established in the district of *Ṣhamkūr* northwest of *Gandja* and were known to *Mas'ūdī* as the *Sīyārwardīyya*, producers of fine-quality battleaxes used by the Persian troops (*Murūḏi*, ii, 75; *Marquart, Streifzüge*, 36-40); and the *Avars*, Hunnic or Turkic nomads who appeared in the Caucasus in the 6th century A.D. left behind remnants in *Dāghistān* in what became in Islamic times the region of *Sarīr* (see *Minorsky, Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, commentary, 447-8, and *AVARS*).

In the period immediately before Islam, the little information which we have relates mainly to events in *Transcaucasia*; *Ciscaucasia* was at this time exposed to the full force of barbarian onslaughts, and little is known about it. But to the south of the Caucasus range, the Christian kingdom of *Iberia* (sc. *Georgia*, see *KURDĪ*), and to the east of *Iberia*, the region of *Albania* (sc. the territory between the *Kur* River and the Caucasus, Islamic *Ṣharwān* and the northern part of *Arrān* [q.v.]), were caught up in the prolonged *Byzantine-Sasanid* warfare. In general, *Albania*, though largely Christian from an early period, tended to fall within the Persian sphere of influence, and Persian culture thus made itself felt as far north as *Darband*; whereas *Kaḳhetia* and *Georgia* were more deeply imbued by *Byzantine* and *Christian* influences. A perpetual aim of the Persians was to hold the passes through the Caucasus against barbarian pressure from the north, such as that from the *Avars*, *Huns*, *West Turks* and latterly, the *Ḳhazars*. Hence *Darband* and other strongpoints in the *Ṣharwān* and *Maskaṭ* regions were fortified afresh c. 560 A. D. by the Emperor *Ḳhusraw Anūshirwān*, and Persian diplomacy endeavoured at various times to get the *Greeks* to contribute to the cost of garrisoning fortresses at the *Alan Gate* (often misleadingly called the *Caspian Gate* by classical authors) and the *Caspian Gate* proper at *Darband* (see *Marquart, Ērān-Šahr*, 94-118, and *Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 238-9, 281, 373, 448). When the *Byzantine* Emperor *Heraclius* invaded the *Sasanid* dominions, the *Ḳhazars* moved southwards to *Darband*; but when the first Muslim armies appeared at *Bāb al-Abwāb* in 22/642, there was still a Persian garrison there under a governor with the name or title of *Ṣhahrbarāz*. However, like the Persian governor *Bādhām*, who was similarly isolated in the *Yemen*, *Ṣhahrbarāz* submitted to *Surāḳa b. ʿAmr* and rallied to *Islam* (*Ṭabarī*, i, 2663-71; *Ibn al-ʿAthīr*, *Beirut* 1385-7/1965-7, iii, 28, 29-30; *D. M. Dunlop, The history of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 47-50).

Something of the internal political organization and ethnic complexion of the Caucasus on the eve of the Muslim incursions can be gauged from *Balāḏhurī*'s information on *Ḳhusraw Anūshirwān*'s allocation of the Caucasian principalities to various rulers—or more probably, his confirmation of existing arrangements there. In his section on the conquest of *Armenia* (*Futūḥ*, 197), *Balāḏhurī* states that the emperor



conferred princely power (*shāhiyya*) on (1) the *Khākān al-Djabal* or *Shāhib al-Sarīr* who is called \*Wahrazān-Shāh; (2) the ruler of Filān, called Filān-Shāh; (3) the Ṭabarsarān-Shāh; (4) the ruler of Lakz, called \**Khursān-Shāh*; (5) the ruler of Maskaṭ, "whose principality has now disappeared"; (6) the ruler of Lāyzān, called Lāyzān-Shāh; (7) the ruler of Sharwān, the Sharwān-Shāh; (8) the ruler of \**Balkh*; and (9) the ruler of Zirīkarān. Most of these names can be identified and their principalities are traceable into Islamic times.

The *Shāhib al-Sarīr* or "Master of the Throne" eventually gave his name to the geographical district of Sarīr, the middle *Ḳoy-Su* valley in southern Dāghistān. His other title, \*Wahrazān-Shāh, may possibly relate to the undoubted identity of the people of Sarīr with the Avars, Armenian *Awrhazk*<sup>4</sup> (see Minorsky, *A history of Sharwān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, 98-9). The Filān are somewhat mysterious, but were probably an Avar group in southern Dāghistān; according to Mas'ūdī, *Murūdi*, 41-2, they were later absorbed into the principality of Sarīr. Ṭabarsarān [*q.v.*] is the mountainous district inland from Darband, often under the suzerainty of the Sharwān Shāhs in later Islamic times. Lakz also lay in southern Dāghistān, inland from Maskaṭ (which itself was situated on the Caspian coast south of Darband), and formed an important buffer-state for Sharwān against attack from the north; Mas'ūdī, ii, 5, describes it as "the bulwark (*mu'awwal*) of the kingdom of Sharwān". Lāyzān corresponds to the present Lāhīdī valley in the Garmadān river region of southern Sharwān, and was later incorporated into that principality. The precise location of the Caucasian \**Balkh* (Minorsky's restoration of the text's *B. kh*) is unknown, but it may refer to the modern places of *Balkha* or *Balkhar* in Dāghistān north of Bākū; in an early 6th/12th century collection of correspondence relating to Arrān, Sharwān and the adjoining lands, *Balkh* is placed in Lakz (Minorsky and Cl. Cahen, *Le recueil transcaucasien de Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār*, in *JA*, ccxxxvii (1949), 121). The Zirīkarān (read \*Zirīhgarān, glossed in *Murūdi*, ii, 40, as *'ummāl al-zard* "makers of cuirasses") lived in the region of the southern branch of the *Ḳoy-Su*, adjacent to Sarīr, and corresponding to the modern village of Kubači (Turkish *kübedji* "maker of mailed coats", cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 1517). Noteworthy is the absence of information about the northwestern Caucasus, that part beyond Ossetia, which tended to fall within the sphere of influence of the steppe peoples controlling the Kuban-Don regions. (See for an excellent survey of the geography and ethnology of the eastern Caucasus, Minorsky, *A history of Sharwān and Darband*, 75 ff., and for Sarīr in particular, idem, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, commentary, 447-50.)

## 2. The early Islamic period.

The Arabs came up against the Caucasus barrier after they had overrun *Ādharbāydjān* and Armenia. Their general position here was not without parallel to that of the Arabs in Spain when they reached the Pyrenees. In both cases, the Arabs were able initially to cross the mountains, but came up against hostile and powerful peoples beyond them, sc. the *Khazars* and Turks and the Franks. The Arabs in Spain could only hold the Narbonne for a short time, and in the eastern Caucasus, the Arabs made no permanent conquest north of their bastion of Darband. The *Khazars* [*q.v.*] and Turks remained for nearly four centuries factors inhibiting Muslim expansion into the Ciscaucasian steppes; and even the islamization of

Dāghistān and the central and western parts of the Caucasus took many hundreds of years, with no total victory over the rival faiths of Christianity and paganism. See for an appraisal of the existence of the *Khazar* state as a barrier to Islamic expansion, Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 46-7; but note also the insistence of K. Czeglédy, *Khazar raids in Transcaucasia in 762-764 A.D.*, in *AO Hung.*, xi (1960), 76-9, that in the fighting in the whole Caucasus region, one should distinguish—at least in the earlier period—between the *Khazars* and their West Turkish suzerains, the *Khākāns*, with their capital at Atil [*q.v.*] or Itil. It is undoubtedly true that Ṭabarī, if not Balādhuri, speaks of *al-Turk wa'l-Khazar* and of the *Khākān al-Turk* in connection with these Arab campaigns.

As mentioned above, the Arabs were in Darband before the close of 'Umar's Caliphate. At this time, and during 'Uthmān's reign, Muslim warriors from Kūfa were raiding across the Araxes and into the Kur valley, i.e., into Arrān. Ḥabīb b. Maslama penetrated to Tiflis, and from Bardha'a, the administrative centre of Arrān, places on the southern slopes of the Caucasus like Baylaḳān, Ḳabala and *Shamkhr* were reduced by Salmān b. Rabī'a al-Bāhili's forces, and the local ruler of Sharwān agreed to become tributary (Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 201-4). It was probably here that groups of *Khazars* were first encountered, for the disintegration of the Sasanid empire had drawn the *Khazars* into the eastern Caucasian power vacuum (cf. Balādhuri, 197). However, the first full-scale clash with the *Khazars* took place north of the Caucasus and is well-documented by Ṭabarī. In 32/652-3 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'a al-Bāhili, emboldened by what had been only token resistance on previous probes, went against the expressed wishes of 'Uthmān and advanced to the important *Khazar* centre of Balandjār ([*q.v.*]); it was probably located in the *Ḳoy-Su* basin in Dāghistān, to the north of Darband). But there, 'Abd al-Raḥmān was heavily defeated, with the slaughter of 4,000 Kūfans (Ṭabarī, i, 2889-94, 2896-7; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, iii, 131-3).

The eruption of *fitna* or internecine strife within the Caliphate for a time deflected Arab energies from conquests in hazardous and less-rewarding highland zones like the Caucasus and Central Asia. Yet *Khazar* counter-raids meant that, once the Umayyads were firmly established on the throne, the Caucasian frontiers could not be neglected. Moreover, the raids into the Caucasus and *Khazaria* must have had an economic importance as a source of slave captives. In 'Abbāsīd times, the *nisba* of "al-*Khazari*" is quite common amongst military slaves and others; this may well have been a blanket designation for Caucasian peoples as well as for *Khazars* proper and Turks. The Arabic sources for this warfare in the Caucasus are much less detailed than those for the conquests in the Iranian east, and the picture which has to be constructed from such sources as Balādhuri, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr is somewhat skeletal. Dunlop has observed (*The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 58) that the antipathy of historians in the 'Abbāsīd period towards the Umayyads and all their works has prevented a just appraisal of the exploits of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik's son by a slave mother, Maslama [*q.v.*], and of Hishām's cousin and eventually the last caliph of the Umayyad line, Marwān b. Muḥammad.

According to Armenian sources, cited in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 443, the *Khazars* raided into Georgia, Arrān and Armenia during Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya's Caliphate and again in the opening years of 'Abd al-

Malik's, on this second occasion killing the Mami-konian prince of Armenia. It seems that the Khazars recaptured and temporarily garrisoned Darband soon after this, and it is probable that control of this strategic point oscillated between the Khazars and Arabs for a time. At a critical juncture after a Khazar invasion of Armenia, al-Djarrāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥakamī al-Madhḥijī was in 104/722-3 appointed governor of the northwestern provinces of the Caliphate, with its attendant responsibility for the defence of the Caucasus frontier. From Bardha'a, he appeared in southern Dāghistān and attacked the people of Ghūmik, that Caucasian people known later as the Ghāzi- or Kāzi-Kūmūk or Lak [q.v.], who lived on a branch of the Koy-Su, and then he successfully reduced the Khazar centre of Balandjār, returning to Kabala and Shakkī. During the two following campaigning seasons, al-Djarrāḥ operated in the central Caucasus, through the Alan Gate, attacking the Khazars in 105/723-4 and making the Alans tributary in 106/724-5. The Alans were Christian, at least in part. They were natural allies of the Byzantines against the Arabs, and were to be found in Byzantine armies as auxiliary troops; whence the Muslims' need to secure as far as possible the Darial Pass entry into Transcaucasia. Noteworthy at this point is the mention of a practice common in later times, the planting of colonies of Khazar captives in Ḳabala (which perhaps corresponded to the ancient town of Shakkī, see Minorsky in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, *SHĒKKI*) by al-Djarrāḥ (Balādhuri, 206; Ṭabari, ii, 1200, 1453, 1462, 1472; Ibn al-Aṭḥir, Beirut, iv, 540, 555, v, 110-13, 125, 134; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 59-66).

After 109/727, the energetic warrior-prince Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik took charge, an indication of the importance attached by the Caliph Hishām to the Caucasus frontier. Maslama led raids through the Alan Gate against the Khazars, and at some time during his governorship, re-fortified what Mas'ūdī, in *Murūdi*, ii, 43-4, calls "the Alan castle", *Ḳal'at al-Lān*, a stronghold allegedly built in the first place by the Persian hero Isfandiyār to hold back the Alans. But not even Maslama's skill could contain the violence of the Khazars. In 112/730 they poured down through the Alan Gate, defeated and killed al-Djarrāḥ, overran Ādharbāyḍjān and Armenia, and penetrated as far south as Diyār Bakr and al-Djāzira before the invasion was stemmed and Maslama carried the war back into the Khazar lands. Maslama is said now to have received the submission of various "kings of the mountains", including the rulers of Sharwān, Lāyẓān, Ṭabarsarān, Filān, Khursān and Masḳat. Whether acceptance of Islam was required as a condition of submission is unclear. At all events, the impact of Muslim religion must have been very superficial at this time. The general picture in Arrān and the Caucasus region resembled that in Armenia: the Arabs made no attempt at imposing direct political control, but were content to leave local rulers in power as their tributaries.

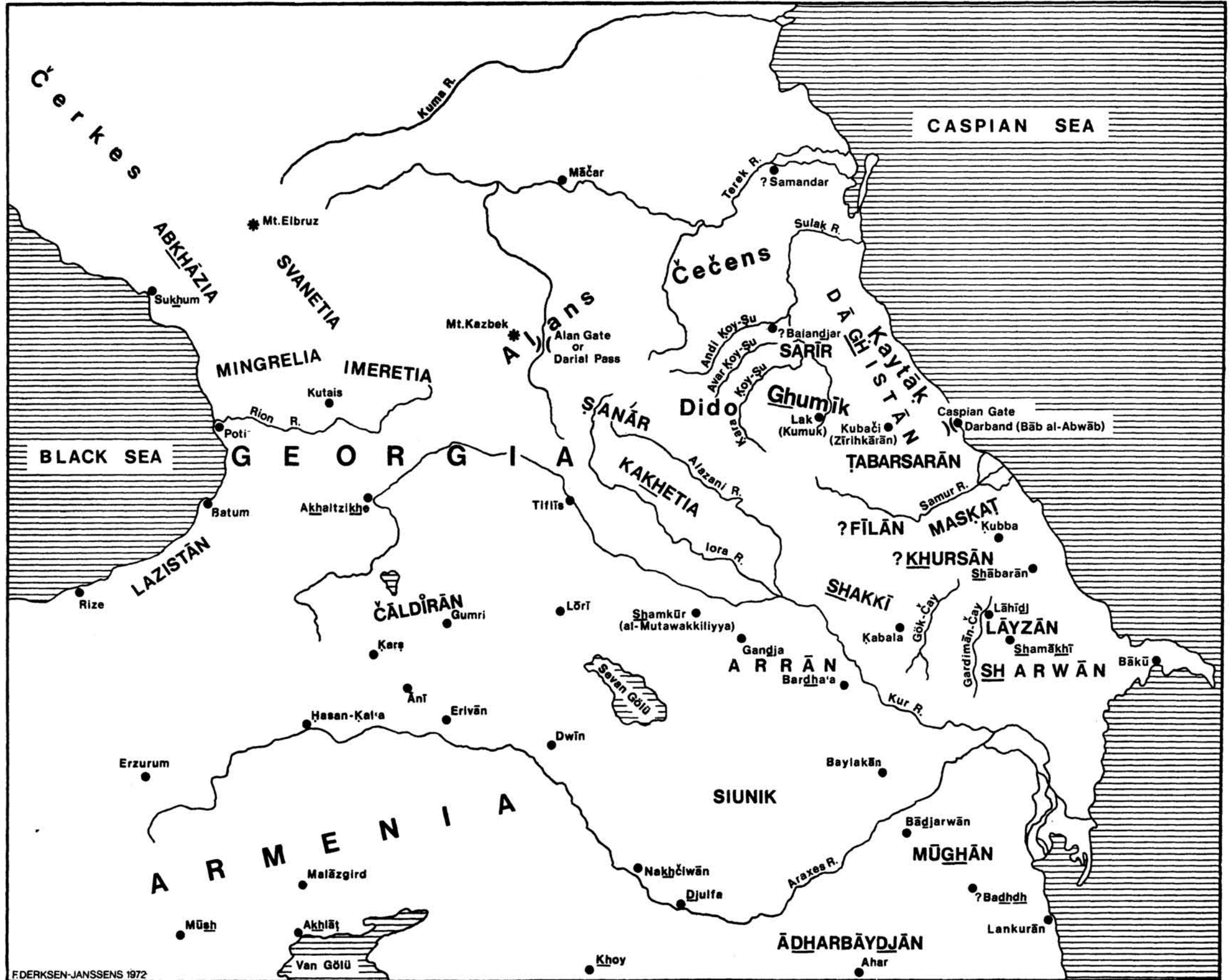
Some years after the great Khazar invasion of 112/730, the new governor Marwān b. Muḥammad campaigned against rebels in Armenia and then against the Alans, occupying the Darial Pass and three fortresses there before returning through Georgia (118/736). In the next year, he penetrated into Khazaria, reportedly reaching the Khazar capital and converting the Khazar king to Islam. (Minorsky suggested the possibility that Marwān's expedition was directed at the lower Don rather than the lower Volga region, since large numbers of Ṣakāliba, i.e., Slavs, were taken captive, some of whom, according

to Balādhuri, 207-8, were settled in Kakhetia; see *A new book on the Khazars*, in *Oriens*, xi (1958), 127-8.) The shortlivedness of Maslama's agreements with the various native princes of the Caucasus is shown by the fact that Marwān had to re-impose them, exacting tribute in the form of slave boys and slave girls and of grain for the upkeep of the Darband garrison. Amongst the rebels whom Marwān subjugated were the Dūdāniyya (read \*Didūwaniyya, according to Minorsky, the modern Didos of central Dāghistān [q.v.]); but it was very long before Islam made much impression there, and a part of the Didos was still pagan in the 12th/18th century. See Balādhuri, 197-209; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 381, 395; Ṭabari, ii, 1506, 1526, 1530-1, 1560, 1573, 1635; Ibn al-Aṭḥir, Beirut, v, 145, 159-62, 173-4, 177-9, 198, 215, 240; F. Gabrieli, *Il califfato di Hishām. Studi di storia omayyade*, in *Méms. de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, vii/1, (1935), 75-81; idem, *L'eroe omayyade Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik*, in *Rend. Lin.*, Ser. 8, Vol. v (1950), 30-1; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 67-87; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 28-9; Czeglédy, *Khazar raids in Transcaucasia in 762-764 A.D.*, 77-8.

The advent of the 'Abbāsids brought no improvement in the generally weak pattern of Arab control over the Caucasus region, a control that could in any case only have practical significance on those infrequent occasions when Muslim armies entered the mountains to enforce the terms of agreements. The military and political influence of the Arabs was, if anything, diminished by the disorders in the Caliphate consequent on the progress of the 'Abbāsīd *da'wa*. The Turkish and Khazar menace remained, and there were no commanders now of the calibre of the great Umayyad generals.

Al-Manṣūr's governor of Armenia, Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, took over Sharwān in eastern Transcaucasia (see Barthold in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, *SHIRWĀN*), including its naphtha wells (*naffāḥa*) and its saltpans (*mallaḥāt*), and the caliph attempted to neutralise his northern enemies c. 142/759 through a marriage alliance between Yazīd b. Usayd and the daughter of the Turkish Khākān or of the Khazar king; this plan, however, came to naught. Relations worsened, and in 145/762 there was a major Turkish and Khazar invasion via Darband as far as Armenia. This was followed by an even more devastating one two years later, affecting Arrān, Kakhetia, Georgia and Armenia, under a commander whom Czeglédy identifies as a leader of the Dāghistān Avars or Huns, one Rās (or Ās) Ṭarkhān. See Balādhuri, 309-10; Ya'qūbī, ii, 446-7; Ṭabari, iii, 318, 647, 648 (under years 182 and 183 A. H.); Ibn al-Aṭḥir, Beirut, v, 571, 577; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 179-81; and Czeglédy, *op. cit.*, 78-88. In the closing years of the 8th century A.D., the 'Abbāsids were beset by rebellion in Armenia; in general, the Turks and Khazars did not take advantage of these embarrassments, although in 183/799 the Khazars did answer an appeal by the disintegrated local nobility of Darband and invade Arrān (Ṭabari, iii, 648; Ibn al-Aṭḥir, Beirut, vi, 163; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 183-5).

The revolt of the Khurrami heresiarch Bābak [q.v.], the epicentre of which was at Badhdh, just south of the Araxes, had some repercussions in Transcaucasia. It was the Armenian prince of Shakkī, Sahl-i Sumbatian, who captured Bābak and handed him over to the 'Abbāsids in 222/837, and this prince came to dominate Arrān and the adjacent parts of Armenia and Georgia till Bughā's drive against the local rulers there, described below (see Minorsky, *Caucasica IV*. 1, *Sahl ibn Sunbāt of Shakkī and Arrān*, in *BSOAS*,



xv (1953), 504-14). In al-Mutawakkil's Caliphate, the Turkish general Bughā the Elder [see *BUĠĤĀ AL-KABĪK*] was appointed governor of Ādharbāyḡjān and Armenia in 237/851-2, and over the next few years he conducted operations in the course of which he sacked Tiflis and deposed and killed its Arab amīr, Ishāḡ b. Ismā'īl. This line of Arab amīrs was either of Qurashī origin or was descended from a client of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān b. Muḡammad; the amīrate had long been a focus of Arab power in the Caucasus, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūḡī*, ii, 66, dates the decline of Arab power and influence in the Caucasus from this senseless act of destruction. Bughā also reduced to obedience various Christian and non-Christian rulers of Arrān and Kakhetia, including the Christian Ṣanāriyya (Georgian Ts'anar) of the central Caucasus region to the north of Georgia (see on this people Minorsky, in *Hudūd al-'ālam*, commentary, 400-2; it is possible that they were ethnically related to the Četens, even though in Mas'ūdī's time they allegedly claimed descent from the North Arabian tribe of 'Uḡayl; see *Murūḡī*, ii, 67). Many of the rebels and malcontents were deported by Bughā to 'Irāk. The techniques of deportation and resettlement were further employed by him in 240/854 in regard to Ḳhazar families who were planted on the old site of Ṣhamḡūr in Arrān, now re-named al-Mutawakkiliyya in honour of the caliph; and he is also said to have brought in 3,000 Alan families through the Darial Pass. See Balādhuri, 211-12; Ya'ḡkūbī, ii, 518, 598; Ṭabari, iii, 1407-9, 1414-16; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, Beirut, vii, 58-9, 67-8; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 408 ff. (Armenian sources); Minorsky in *EP*, TIFLIS; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 193-4; and C. J. F. Dowsett, tr., *The history of the Caucasian Albanians by Movṣēs Daxurancī*, London 1961, 218-19.

### 3. The ascendancy of local Caucasian, Daylamī and Kurdiṣh dynasties.

With the opening of the 4th/10th century, we reach an age during which the Caucasus region, in so far as the Caliphal representatives had had any influence there at all, becomes wholly abstracted from the direct control of Baghdād; this is merely one aspect of the general enfeeblement of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate at this time. In particular, the eastern Caucasus and Transcaucasia begin to be affected by the dynamic upsurge of hitherto submerged western Iranian elements, the Daylamīs and Kurds, who in the course of the century extended their power into the Araxes-Kur basin and beyond, once the firm hand of the Sāḡīd governors [*q.v.*] had passed away in 317/929. Hence there emerge in eastern Transcaucasia three Muslim principalities of significance, that of the Arab Banū Hāshim in Darband [see *BĀB AL-ABWĀB*], the Arab Banū Yazīd in Ṣharwān [see *SHARWĀN-SHĀHS*], and the Daylamī Musāfirīds in Arrān, supplanted there in 360/970 by the Kurdiṣh Ṣhaddādiḡs [see *MUSĀFIRIDS* and *BANŪ SHADDĀD*].

As for the indigenous peoples and chieftains of the mountain massifs, information continues to be sparse, except inasmuch as events there impinge on the history of the adjoining Muslim, Georgian and Armenian principalities. The Muslim geographers of the period devote some space to the Caucasus in their works. The information of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* has been noted above; amongst the other authorities, see Ibn Ḳhurraḡḡbih, 123-4; Ibn Rusta, 89, 147-9, tr. 99, 165-8, discussed in detail by Minorsky in *A history of Ṣharwān and Darband*, 166-9; Ibn al-Fakīh, 286-98; Iṣṡākḡrī, 180-93; Ibn Ḥawḡal, ii, 331-55, tr. ii, 325-48; and Maḡḡḡḡḡ, 374-84.

Also from this period is the very important in-

formation on the Caucasus in the historian Mas'ūdī, dating from c. 332/943, and given in *Murūḡī*, ii, 1-7, 19-22, 25-6, 39-50, 65-77; this has been translated, with many corrections to Barbier de Meynard's rendering of the names, by Minorsky in *op. cit.*, 142-65. From Mas'ūdī's text, we glean many interesting items of information on the political and religious condition of the Caucasus at this time. He describes the then Ṣharwān-Shāh, the Arab Muḡammad b. Yazīd (d. 345/956), and the ruler of the Avar principality of Sarīr as descendants of the Sāsānīd emperor Bahrām Gūr, an indication of the strength of Iranian cultural influence in the eastern Caucasus. The expansionist tendencies of the Ṣharwān-Shāhs are illustrated by the fact that they had by Mas'ūdī's time absorbed the adjoining principalities of Lāyẓān and the Mūḡān which lay to the north of the Kur (to be distinguished from the better-known Mūḡān or Mūḡhān south of the Araxes), and the lands of the \*Ḳhursān-Shāh and the Wardān-Shāh. Ṭabarṣarān was controlled by a relative of the Darband Hāshimī amīrs. Of non-Muslim peoples, he mentions the people of Ḳhayḡḡḡ or Kayṡṡṡ in Dāḡḡḡḡḡ, dependents of the Ḳhazars and continual harassers of the Muslims in Darband, despite the fact that their ruler was nominally a Muslim himself. The rulers of Ḡḡumīḡ and Sarīr were Christian, as were those of the Alans, except that Mas'ūdī says that in 320/932 they had renounced their Christianity (this must have been a temporary apostasy only, for in the Mongol period the Alans were Greek Orthodox in faith). The great power of the Alan king and the impregnability of his fortresses is stressed; and the Alan capital is named as \*Magḡḡḡ, the exact location of which is still unknown (see Minorsky, *Caucasia II. The Alan capital Magas and the Mongol campaigns*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 232-8). On the southern slopes of the Caucasus lay several Christian, or partly Christian, partly Muslim, partly pagan, principalities, like those of Georgia, Ṣanār, Ṣhakḡī and the adjacent Ḳabala, etc. Finally, we have some information on the Čerkes of the north-western Caucasus, named as the Ḳaṣḡḡḡ or Kasak (= the Kasog of the old Russian chronicles, see below) and already praised by Mas'ūdī for their handsome men and beautiful women, the features that were to make them so highly-prized as slaves by the Mamlūks and Crimean Tatars. Mas'ūdī describes them as *maḡḡḡḡḡ* or fire-worshippers, but by this time Christianity must have had at least a foothold in the indigenous paganism [see further ČERKES].

Amongst the geographers proper, the information in Ibn Ḥawḡal's *K. Ṣūrat al-arḡḡ*, in particular, in ii, 342-4, 348, 354-5, tr. ii, 335-7, 341-2, 347-8, is likewise of prime value, since it dates from a generation later than that of Mas'ūdī and is particularly concerned with the contemporary political situation in Arrān, Armenia and the adjacent parts of the eastern Caucasus. Ibn Ḥawḡal himself probably did not penetrate very far to the north of the Araxes, but relied on "reports" (*akḡḡbār*).

These passages on Arrān and Armenia have been extensively studied by Minorsky in *Caucasica IV. The Caucasian vassals of Marzubān in 344/955*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 514-26. They show how Daylamī influence, in the expansionist stage of that obscure people's history, was able to extend a considerable distance northwards from Daylam proper at the southwestern corner of the Caspian. From a base at Ardabil in eastern Ādharbāyḡjān, the Musāfirīd Marzubān b. Muḡammad (330-46/941-57) was able to penetrate well beyond the Araxes and for a period draw several of the border and mountain potentates of

eastern Transcaucasia into his orbit. The greatest achievement here was the incorporation of Sharwān within the Daylamī sphere of influence as a result of two Musāfirid invasions, the first by Marzubān b. Muḥammad at some time between 334/945 and 337/948, and the second by his son Ibrāhīm c. 357/968. On the first of these occasions, the Sharwān-Shāh (apparently Abū Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad, see Minorsky, *A history of Sharwān and Darband*, § 9) was compelled to pay tribute of a million dirhams. Amongst other rulers who came to terms with the Daylamīs at this time were the lord of Shakkī, who is given the Armenian-sounding name of \*Ishkhānik (text, Ishdīānik); the lord of \*Dj.r.z, which Minorsky tentatively restored as Khazar, referring to Qabala between Shakkī and Sharwān, where Khazars had long been settled (see above); and one Abu 'l-Kāsim Dj.y.dhānī. Minorsky thought that this last name might conceivably be read as \*Khayzānī, referring to the Khayzān on the Caspian coast north-west of Bākū, rather than \*Khaydhākī, referring to the Dāghistān district of Khaydhāk or Khaydhāk mentioned by Mas'ūdi, see above. Miskawayh in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 161, tr. v, 172, refers to Marzubān as successfully quelling in 344/955 a people who had rebelled against him in the region of Darband, but it seems improbable that Musāfirid suzerainty could have been effectively extended into the northeastern corner of the Caucasus.

The Musāfirid empire in eastern Transcaucasia was only a transient achievement, and under pressure from the Kurdicised Arab family of the Rawwādid [q.v.], the Musāfirids had lost even Ādharbāyḍjān by 374/984-5. From now until the middle Salḍjūk period our most valuable single source on Caucasian history is the anonymous *Ta'rikh Bāb al-Abwāb*, a local history of Darband, Sharwān and Arrān preserved in Mūnedjīim-Baḥlī's compilation the *Djāmi' al-duwal*; it stems, according to the compiler, from the opening years of the 6th/12th century, and the quotations from this history of the eastern Caucasus have been published and translated by Minorsky in his *Studies in Caucasian history* (concerning the Musāfirids, Shaddādids and Rawwādid) and in his *A history of Sharwān and Darband*. The fortunes of the two originally Arab lines of the Hāshimīs in Darband and the Yazīdis or Mazyadis in Sharwān were closely intertwined, and there were frequent marriage alliances between the two reigning houses (e.g., in 426/1035, when the amīr of Darband 'Abd al-Malik b. Maṣṣūr married the sister of the Sharwān-Shāh Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alī b. Yazīd; see *A history of Sharwān*, §§ 16, 39). However, there were also frequent rivalries and disputes, with the intermediate zone of the western Caspian shore, including Maskaṭ and Shābarān in northern Sharwān, forming a bone of contention. The lords of Darband on occasion employed the Dāghistānis of Sarīr as mercenary troops against Sharwān, e.g., in the reign of the Sharwān-Shāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (345-70/956-81), see *A history of Sharwān*, § 12. But more frequently Darband, as the bastion of Islam in the north, suffered from the depredations of these mountain peoples; thus in 360/971 there was a violent battle outside Darband with the people of Sarīr, in which the Muslims lost 1,000 of the Darband garrison and *ghāzīs* from outside (*ibid.*, § 35).

The Muslims in turn retaliated by punitive expeditions into the interior, which served as outlets for the bellicose piety of volunteer fighters for the faith (*ghuzāt*, *muffawwi'a*), and doubtless provided some economic return in the form of the prized Caucasian

slaves. The Sharwān-Shāh Aḥmad's son Muḥammad marched into the interior of the Caucasus in 371/981-2 and captured the town of Qabala from its ruler 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Anbasa, presumably the son of the 'Anbasa al-A'war mentioned in Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ii, 68, and described as "the shelterer of thieves, brigands and malefactors". A further clash took place in 389/999, when the Sharwān-Shāh Yazīd b. Aḥmad defeated Ibn 'Anbasa again and captured the fortress of Gurzūl on the Gök-çay river, a stronghold which was still in the shah's hands a quarter of a century later and which constituted a strategically-valuable salient into the southern slopes of the Caucasus massif (*A history of Sharwān*, §§ 13, 14).

However, there were throughout the whole Caucasian and Transcaucasian region frequent shifts of alliances and groupings, in which religious affiliations were seldom decisive. An amīr of Darband could recruit a guard of pagan Rūs (see below). In Tiflis, Muslims and Christians lived side-by-side, and in the three-cornered struggle in the second quarter of the 5th/11th century for control of the city between Bagrat IV of Georgia, his powerful vassal Liparit and the Muslim incumbent ruler of Tiflis, Dja'far b. 'Alī, Bagrat and Dja'far could at times be found ranged against Liparit; Dja'far had also joined a coalition of Georgian and Armenian magnates against the Shaddādīd Faḍl or Faḍlīn b. Muḥammad b. Shaddād in c. 417/1026-7 (see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 43-4, 56-7). As in similar frontier regions, such as Anatolia and the Iberian peninsula, interconfessional marriages were quite common. Thus in 416/1025 the *History of Sharwān*, § 38, records the marriage of the amīr of Darband Maṣṣūr b. Maḥmūd to a daughter of the ruler of Sarīr Bukht-Yishūf, whose religion is clearly shown by his Syriac Christian name.

It is in the 4th/10th century that the Rūs (probably by now mixed bands of Scandinavians and Slavs; see Rūs) impinge on the history of the Caucasus and of the steppe region to the north of the mountain zone. A notable event in Islamic history, from the alarm and terror which it caused, was the Rūs descent on Bardha'a in Arrān in 332/943-4, when these adventurers sailed up the Kur, sacked the town and occupied it for several months [see BARDHA'A]. It was the Khazars who bore the brunt of Rūs raids down the Volga basin, and these attacks seem to have destroyed the Khazar state as it had existed in its heyday, or at least, left it seriously enfeebled and thrown back on the southerly Khazar lands, the Kuban steppe region. According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, Sviatoslav of Kiev in 965 defeated the Khazar Khān and took the Khazar town of Biela Vieža or "White tent or tower", usually identified with Sarkil on the lower Don, the Greek Aspron Hospitium (*Chronicle*, § 32, tr. S. H. Cross, in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xii (Cambridge, Mass. 1930), 171; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 240-1; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 2-3, 479). Ibn Hawqāl, i, 15, tr. i, 14-15, states that in 358/969 the Rūs utterly destroyed Bulghār and "Khazarān, Samandar [on the Caspian coast, south of the Volga mouth?] and Atil" (Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 241 ff.). The Russian Primary Chronicle further relates that after taking Biela Vieža, Sviatoslav subdued the Yas (sc. the Ās or Alans) and the Kasog (sc. the Kaḥhak or Čerkes), implying that their raids reached to the northwestern and central parts of the Caucasus. After the Rūs raids of 965, the Khazar chiefs seem to have sought and received help from the Sharwān-Shāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (or possibly

this may be Ibn Ḥawkal's mistake for this shah's father, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who reigned in Ṣharwān till 370/980-1) to enable him to return to Atil and Khazarān (Ibn Ḥawkal<sup>2</sup>, ii, 397-8, tr. ii, 388; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 246, and Arū).

There were certainly Rūs ships operating along the western shores of the Caspian around this time. The amir of Darband, Maymūn b. Aḥmad, endeavoured in 377/987 to employ some of the Rūs who had arrived there in 18 mercenary ships as mercenary troops (*ghilmān*), even though they were still pagan. The understandable unpopularity of these Rūs contributed to popular disturbances in Darband against Maymūn in 379-80/989-90, leading to his temporary deposition (*A history of Sharwān*, §§ 13, 36). The inability of the remnants of the Khazars to keep the lower Volga course closed to Rūs raiders must have allowed the Rūs frequent access to the Caspian. In 421/1030, 38 Rūs ships appeared off the coast of Ṣharwān and defeated the Shāh Manūčīhr b. Yazīd at Bākū. They apparently repeated the pattern of events of 90 years previously by sailing up the Kur, and entered the service of one of the contending parties in a dynastic dispute of the Shaddādids of Gandja (*ibid.*, §§ 15, 38). They eventually passed on to the western Caucasus and the Black Sea, making a circuit of the mountain region. It is possible that they then turned northwards to the Taman peninsula, where the Kievan prince Mstislav had in 988 founded the Rūs principality of Tmutorokan (*Russian Primary Chronicle*, § 43, tr. 207, cf. § 52, tr. 223). This Rūs foothold south of the Azov Sea enabled them to exert pressure on the Čerkes and other peoples of the western Caucasus. In 1022 the Chronicle records that Mstislav attacked the Kasog under their ruler Rededyā, and in the next year he was using Kasog and Khazar troops (Khazars of the Taman peninsula region?) in a dynastic dispute with his brother Yaroslav (§ 52, tr. 223). Later in the century, in 1066, Mstislav's son Rostislav received tribute in Tmutorokan from the Kasog and other peoples, and the Khazars of the region are mentioned as late as 1083 (tr. 234, 258).

It seems that the Rūs raiders were no longer exclusively water-borne. Two years after the attack of 421/1030 on Ṣharwān, there is mentioned a punitive expedition of *ghāzīs* led by the amir of Darband Maṣūb b. Maymūn which harassed plunder-laden Rūs returning from Ṣharwān through the Caucasus. In reprisal, a coalition of Rūs and Alans tried to crush the little principality of Karakh, which was a frontier region to the west of Darband and whose ruler bore the title of *Marzbān*, according to Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 40; but the Rūs and Alans were decisively defeated by the warriors of Karakh, themselves converted to Islam only a generation previously (*A history of Sharwān*, §§ 15, 36, 38).

#### 4. The Saldjūk period.

The appearance of the Oghuz Turcomans in northern Iran and Armenia, once the Ghaznavid defences in Khurāsān were down, eventually injected a new factor into Caucasian affairs, for both the Christian principalities of western Transcaucasia and the Muslim ones of the east generally felt the effects of disturbances in Ādharbāyḍjān, Armenia and the Byzantine frontier sooner or later. Already in 436/1044-5 or 437/1045-6 the Ṣharwān-Shāh Kubāḍh b. Yazīd fortified his capital of Yazīdiyya (founded by the amir Abū Ṭālib Yazīd b. Muḥammad, the unifier of Ṣharwān, in 306/918, see *A history of Sharwān*, § 9) with a strong stone wall and iron gates for fear of the Oghuz (*ibid.*, § 17).

The Christian kingdoms of western Georgia or Abkhāz and eastern Georgia or Kakhetia, under the Bagratids and the family of Gagik respectively, had felt the Turcoman threat on their southern flanks before this. Certain sources, and especially the Syriac and Armenian Christian ones, mention a long-distance incursion of Turcomans under Çağrı Beg Dā'ūd, brother of the later Saldjūk Sultan Toğhrıl, into Ādharbāyḍjān and Armenia in the years 409/1018 or 412/1021, although other sources place the raid several years later (cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963, 223-4). If the raid took place at one of the earlier dates, it may have been a contributory factor in the abandonment by the last Ardrunid, Senek 'erim or Sanḥārib, of the exposed province of Vaspurakan to the Byzantines in exchange for lands in Anatolia (1021), although the sources mention other factors; see E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, 168 ff. For the moment, the threat to Georgia and the surviving Armenian principalities came more from the vigorous policies of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus, but after his death in 1025, the Georgian ruler Bagrat IV, the ruler of Kakhetia Kiurike III and other Georgian and Armenian nobles pursued a confused but generally expansionist policy against the Shaddādids of Arrān and the amir of Tiflis, Dja'far b. 'Alī, this latter city coming sporadically under Georgian control after Dja'far's death c. 438/1046-7 (see Minorsky in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, TIFLIS, and *idem*, *Caucasica in the history of Mayyāfāriqin*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949-50), 29, 31; the line of Amir Dja'far in Tiflis went back, according to Ibn al-Azraq, to c. 315/927).

The Shaddādids suffered further from other marauders from Dāghistān and the mountain regions. After the death in 441/1049-50 of the amir Lashkarī 'Alī b. Mūsā, the leading men of the state abandoned several outlying fortresses constructed against the men of Shakkī, the Dādīdiyya (Didos?), the Abkhāz or Georgians, and the Rūm or Byzantines, hoping thereby to discourage their incursions (*Studies in Caucasian history*, § 13, cf. pp. 27-9). Hence when the roving bands of Oghuz, and later, the Saldjūks and their amirs, appeared in Transcaucasia, they found plenty of troubled waters in which to fish.

The Oghuz had harassed Arrān during the reign of Lashkarī 'Alī (425-47/1034 to 1049-50) (*Studies in Caucasian history*, § 12), but when Toğhrıl came to Ādharbāyḍjān and Arrān in 446/1054-5, the Shaddādīd Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwūr, his Rawwādid rival Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad, and other potentates of the region, all submitted to the Saldjūk and made the *khufba* for him (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Beirut, ix, 598-9, cf. *Studies in Caucasian history*, 54). The Shaddādids continued to feel Georgian pressure, and it was doubtless Georgian incitement which stimulated a large-scale invasion of Arrān in 454/1062 by the Georgians' Alan allies, compelling Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwūr to fortify Gandja (*ibid.*, § 15, cf. pp. 74-5).

Toğhrıl's successor Alp Arslan followed a similar policy of deflecting Turcoman and *ghāzī* elements from Persia to the western frontier zones, and in 456/1064 himself campaigned in Armenia, capturing Ānī from the Byzantines and Armenians (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Beirut, x, 37-41; eventually the town was granted to a branch of the Shaddādids, see Arslan and *Studies in Caucasian history*, 79 ff.). Two campaigns were made into Georgia against Bagrat IV, and Alp Arslan consolidated his influence there by marrying one of the king's nieces; see W. E. D. Allen, *A history*



of the Georgian people, London 1932, 91-2. Alp Arslan's second Caucasian campaign of 460/1068 seems to have been connected with a second incursion through the Darial Pass into Arrān by the Alans, who were joined by infidels from *Shakkī*; the invaders shut the terror-stricken *Shaddādīd* forces up within *Gandja*, penetrated to the Araxes and took back with them an immense booty (*A history of Sharvān*, § 40; *Studies in Caucasian history*, § 16). Nevertheless, Abu 'l-Aswār was at other times himself able to pursue an aggressive policy against *Sharwān*, invading it on four separate occasions, and making the *Shāh Fariburz b. Sallār* his tributary. In turn, *Fariburz* intervened in a dynastic dispute at *Darband* during 457/1065, imposing his son *Afridūn* there as ruler in 458/1066 (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 19, 41).

*Darband* was, indeed, racked by internal strife between members of the ruling family and between the *Hāshimī* amīrs and the local notables, exposing it on various occasions to fresh attacks from the *Avars* of *Sarīr* and the *Ghumīk* of northern *Dāghistān*, see *ibid.*, § 40. Possibly the raids of the pagan *Ghumīk* were lessened by their reported conversion to Islam at some time in the last decades of the 5th/11th century and their adhesion to the *Sharwān-Shāh Fariburz's* cause when he was at *Darband*. Two letters from the shah's chancery describe how, through the intermediacy of the Muslim *Laks* of *Kuwā* or *Fuwā* (to be connected with modern *Kubba*, north of *Bākū?*), the *Ghumīk* agreed to accept Islam, and how the *Shāh* sent to them his son 'Aḡud plus an *imām* and a *khafīf* to teach the rudiments of Islam (*Minorsky and Cahen, Le recueil transcaucasien de Mas'ād b. Nāmādr*, 118-19, 131-3, 138-41).

*Sharwān* began to suffer from Turcoman marauders towards the end of *Toghrīl's* reign. During the second attack of the *Oghuz* leader *Karatigin* in 459/1066-7, *Yazīdiyya* and *Bākū* were attacked, so that in the next year *Fariburz* agreed to pay a tribute to keep them away. Later in the same year *Sultan Alp Arslan* appeared in person and received the submission of both the *Shaddādīds* of *Gandja* and the *Sharwān-Shāh*. *Fariburz* tried to placate *Turkmen* chiefs who claimed to have been granted *Sharwān* as an *ikhṭā'*, until there arrived in 468/1075 the "amīr of the Two 'Irāks" *Sawtigin*, who had been granted all the Caucasian marches as his *ikhṭā'*. *Sharwān* was now definitely reduced to the status of a *Saldjūk* vassal-state and tributary. *Sawtigin's* appearance also meant the deposition of *Faḡlūn b. Faḡl b. Abi 'l-Aswār Shāwūr* and the end of the main branch of the *Shaddādīds* in *Gandja*, and in *Darband* there was a third *Saldjūk* occupation (*Studies in Caucasian history*, §§ 18-19; *A history of Sharvān*, §§ 20-9, 42, 46).

With the end of the narrative of the *Ta'rikh Bāb al-Abwāb* in 468/1075-6, our detailed information on eastern Transcaucasia and the Caucasus tails off. It seems, however, that lines of the *Sharwān-Shāhs* and the amīrs of *Darband* re-emerged as the Great *Saldjūk* empire passed its apogee under *Malik-Shāh* and fell into dissension. The scattered mentions of *Darband* in the later *Saldjūk* period have been collected together by *Minorsky* as Annex II of his *A history of Sharvān*, 139-41; it seems that some of the 6th/12th century amīrs of *Darband* may have been scions of the earlier *Hāshimīs*. *Mūnedjīm-Baḡhl* gives some information on the later *Sharwān-Shāhs*, whom he calls "the third race" of *Kasrānīds*; it is, however, clear that these "Kasrānīds" of the 6th/12th century are lineal descendants of the earlier *Yazīdīs*, albeit increasingly Persianised in culture and outlook (see *A history of Sharvān*, 68-9, and Annex I, 129-38,

and *Barthold* in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, *SHIRWĀN*(*SHĀH*)). The period before the Mongol invasion was one of great florescence for the descendants of *Fariburz*, who had himself managed to survive the imposition of *Saldjūk* rule by *Sawtigin* and whose skill had put the principality on a firm footing once more. The court of *Sharwān* became a centre of Persian culture, attracting poets like *Nizāmī* and *Khākānī* (whose nom-de-plume or *takhalluṣ* stems from the title *Khākān-i Kabīr* adopted by the *Shāh Manūčīhr b. Afridūn b. Fariburz*) and the astronomer-poet *Falākī Sharwānī* (see *J. Rypka et alii, History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 202-4, 208-9).

The *Sharwān-Shāhs* continued to assert their hegemony over *Darband*, but during this period were to a considerable extent under the protectorate of *Georgia*, whose kings themselves took the title *Sharwān-Shāh*. The shahs proper further acknowledged themselves as nominal vassals, at least, of the Great *Saldjūks* of 'Irāk and western Persia, and this acknowledgement appears on coins minted in *Sharwān* down to the death of the last *Saldjūk*, *Toghrīl b. Arslan*, in 590/1194. The shahs made alliances with the Georgians aimed at recovering *Darband*, and marriage links were frequent; the *Shāh Akhsatān b. Manūčīhr b. Afridūn* was the son of a Georgian princess.

This century was, of course, the Georgian monarchy's great period of expansion, under such rulers as *Dmitri I* (1125-56), *Giorgi III* (1156-84) and *Queen Tamar* (1184-1212), when the southern frontiers were held against the *Ildegizids* of *Ādharbāyjdjān* and *Arrān* [*q.v.*] and Georgian arms frequently penetrated to the Caspian shores. Already in 1124 *David II* "the Restorer" had led an army to *Darband* in support of his son-in-law the *Sharwān-Shāh's* claims there. *Dmitri I* was operating in *Ossetia* and as far as *Darband* and *Lāyzān* in *Sharwān* in 548-9/1153-4, just after the historian of *Mayyāfāriqīn*, *Ibn al-Azraq*, entered his service as the royal secretary (*Minorsky, Caucasia in the history of Mayyāfāriqīn*, 31, 33, 35; *Minorsky* also notes here how the engagement of *Ibn al-Azraq* was a sign of the growing influence of Arabic culture in the capital *Tiflis* and other parts of *Georgia*, Arabic now becoming a diplomatic language).

*Giorgi III* repelled an invasion of *Sharwān* by the amīr of *Darband* *Beg-Bars b. Muẓaffar* in 569/1173-4 or 571/1175-6, and one of *Khākānī's* odes describes how the vanquished *Darband* forces included *Alans*, *Avars* of *Sarīr*, *Rūs* and *Khazars* (these last being, in the plausible surmise of *Minorsky*, *Kīpčak* or *Polovtsi* rather than remnants of the historic *Khazars*). This *Darband* expedition was apparently a combined land and sea one, probably with the *Rūs* supplying the naval forces; *Khākānī*, whose patron was at this time *Akhsatān b. Manūčīhr* of *Sharwān*, claims that 73 *Rūs* ships were destroyed and that operations took place near the mouth of the *Kur* and also well upstream of that river (see *Minorsky, Khākānī and Andronicus Comnenus*, in *BSOS*, xi (1943-6), 557 ff., also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 127 ff.).

In general, the *Saldjūk* and Mongol periods saw the beginning and development of a gradual process of Turkicisation in many parts of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, especially in the lower-lying areas. The *Turcoman* begs brought with them their followers, and many parts of *Arrān* and *Ādharbāyjdjān* proved suitable for their flocks. In these provinces, too, the establishment of the *Ildegizid* *Atabegs*, with a powerful military machine of *Turcomans* and *Kīpčak*, favoured an increase in the Turkish ethnic elements there. The indigenous princes of the Caucasus were quick to

discern that the Turks could be used as mercenaries in their internal quarrels. In the 6th/12th century, Darband, under pressure from the *Sharwān-Shāhs* and their Georgian allies, tended to look towards the *Saldjūks* for help, although geographical distance inhibited much direct assistance. Great *Saldjūk* influence in the Caucasus was, at least in the earlier part of the century, more successfully exercised in Georgia and the southern Georgian fringes, symbolised in King Dmitri's acknowledgement of the names of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the *Saldjūk* sultans of 'Irāk on his coins.

The Georgian monarchs were often in military alliance with the Christian Alans, and there were frequent marriage alliances between the two princely families, as also between the Alans and the Byzantine emperors (see *Studies in Caucasian history*, 74-5). Alan troops were used in the Georgian armies, and David the Restorer specially constructed fortresses to keep open the route to the Alan Gates and Ossetia; in 1189 Queen Tamar took as her second husband the Alan prince David Soslan (Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, 104). C. 1118, David further formed a special guard of 5,000 *Ķlpcāk* military slaves, converts to Christianity, and settled *Ķlpcāk* families brought from north of the Caucasus in the devastated districts of Georgia and Armenia recently reconquered by him. During Tamar's reign, the *Ķlpcāk* military element in the Georgian state was at times influential; militarily, it was used with effect on such occasions as in 599/1203, when the Ildegizid Nuşrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr was repulsed from Arrān by an army of Georgians and *Ķlpcāk*, allowing *Shamkūr*, *Gandja* and *Dvin* to fall into Georgian hands (Allen, *op. cit.*, A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumi türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 190-1).

##### 5. The Mongol and *Timūrid* periods.

The period of the *Kh̄wārazmian* and Mongol invasions brought devastation and upheaval to the Caucasus, and, for one thing, broke up the unity of Georgia and destroyed the Bagratids' ambitions for a greater Georgia dominating Transcaucasia. After pursuing to his death the *Kh̄wārazm-Shāh* 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, Čingiz *Khān*'s generals *Diebe* and *Sübetey* in 617/1220 passed through western Persia to *Ādharbāydjān*, receiving the submission of the Ildegizids, and then entered Arrān. They passed via *Baylakān* into *Sharwān*, devastated *Shamākhī* and went on to Darband. By means of a stratagem, they got the *Sharwānis* to guide them through the Caspian Gate. The Alans were humbled, and the Mongols then emerged into the South Russian steppes, defeated an army of Russians and *Ķlpcāk* and rejoined Čingiz in Central Asia (cf. *Djuwayni-Boyle*, i, 148-9).

The new *Kh̄wārazm-Shāh* *Djalāl al-Dīn* appeared in *Ādharbāydjān* in 622/1225; he defeated the Georgians at *Garni* in *Siunik* in that year, and in the following year 623/1226 occupied *Tiflis*, massacring all the Georgians and Armenians there (see *Minorsky*, in *ET*<sup>1</sup>, *TIFLIS*). In *Sharwān*, *Djalāl al-Dīn* claimed to exercise the suzerainty rights of the Great *Saldjūks*, and imposed on the *Sharwān-Shāh* *Fariburz b. Garshāsp* the same tribute as had been paid in *Malik-Shāh*'s time, till the shah protested that his dominions had considerably shrunk in the intervening century-and-a-half; eventually, *Sharwān* was assessed at 30,000 *dīnārs* only. Transcaucasia remained open to the pillagings of the undisciplined *Kh̄wārazmian* troops, and in 625/1228 the *Kh̄wārazm-Shāh* returned. At *Mindor* near *Loré* he encountered a confederacy of Caucasian peoples under the Georgian

commander-in-chief *Iwané Mkhargrdzeli*. The allies are described as comprising Georgians, Alans, Armenians, Avars of *Sarir*, *Lakz*, *Ķlpcāk*, *Suwāniyān* (i.e., the *Svan*, the mountain people of northern Georgia), *Abkhāz*, *ČanIt* (i.e., *Č'anet'i*, the Georgian name for the *Laz*, corresponding to the Greek *Sannoi* or *Tsannoi*), *Syrians* and *Rūmis* or *Anatolians*; but they failed to stand up to *Djalāl al-Dīn* and were defeated (*Djuwayni-Boyle*, ii, 438).

Although *Djalāl al-Dīn* left the region soon afterwards, Transcaucasia continued to be disturbed, till a further catastrophe took place in the shape of the Mongol invasion of 633/1236. In the previous year, the Mongol general *Čormaghun* had raided *Sharwān* and eastern Caucasia as far as *Darband*, and now he entered Georgia via *Gandja*. The political unity of Georgia was now shattered. Hostages were taken from the Georgian nobles, and the kings forced to attend the Mongol *kuriltays*. Georgians were pressed into the Mongol armies, and there were Georgian contingents present at the fall of *Baghdād* in 656/1258 and at 'Ayn *Djalūt* in 658/1260. Only the internal divisions which arose within the Mongol royal house, and, in particular, the disputes between the *Il-Khānids* of Persia and 'Irāk and the *Djočids* or *Bätü'ids* of the Golden Horde, permitted the Georgian monarchs some freedom for political manoeuvre. The *Bätü'ids* claimed that *Anatolia*, and a *fortiori* the *Caucasus*, had been granted by *Čingiz* as an appanage for *Djoči* and his heirs. Much fighting between *Bätü's* brother *Berke* [q.v.] and the *Il-Khānids* took place in Arrān and eastern Transcaucasia. *Hülegü's* forces reached as far as the *Terek* river before being defeated in 661/1263 by *Berke's* troops. Three years later, *Berke* returned to the *Caucasus*, occupying *Gandja* and sacking *Tiflis*, where he died in 665/1267 (*Spuler, Die Goldene Horde*<sup>1</sup>, 42-4, 49-51). Only after the reign of the *Il-Khān* *Öldjeitü* was the Georgian king *Giorgi V* (1316-46) able to drive out the Mongols and bring much of Transcaucasia, including *Sharwān* and Arrān, under Georgian rule.

*Sharwān* was thus frequently a battlefield for the *Il-Khānids* and *Bätü'ids*, and the constriction of the indigenous dynasty's authority is shown by the fact that during the *Il-Khānid* period, the *Sharwān-Shāhs* do not seem to have minted any coins. Despite its inaccessibility, *Ossetia* suffered from the attentions of the Mongols, and the Alan capital, \**Magas*, was destroyed in 636/1239 after a long siege, see *Minorsky, Caucasia III. The Alān capital Magas and the Mongol campaigns*. The period of the Mongol invasions nevertheless allowed the Christian Alans to break out of their mountain fastnesses and play a rôle on the wider stage of European and Inner Asian history. Papal missions reached them, and in turn, Alan missions are mentioned at the court of the Christian Great *Khān* *Güyük* (*Djuwayni-Boyle*, i, 259). Alan colonies were planted in centres of the Golden Horde such as *Saray* on the *Volga* and *Kertch* in the *Crimea* (*Spuler, op. cit.*, 237, 239, 284, 314). According to *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, ii, 448, tr. *Gibb*, ii, 516, the Alans in *Saray* had a special quarter and had become Muslim. Moreover, Alan troops found their way as far east as the borders of *China*.

Further havoc was wrought in the southern parts of the *Caucasus* region by *Timūr*. *Timūr* first appeared in the winter of 788/1386-7, and undertook a campaign, described as a *djihād* or holy war, against the Christian Georgians. In defence of Transcaucasia, the Georgians were joined by the Muslim governor of *Shakki*, *Sidi 'Ali* of the *Arulat* tribe of the *Čaghataid ulus*, but this alliance brought forth further



Timūrid invasions, culminating in the campaign of 805-6/1403-4, when Tiffls was again devastated and all the lands from Arrān to Trebizond given to the Timūrid prince *Khalil Mirzā*. The 9th/15th century was a confused one in Georgian history, with attacks from the Turkmen *Ḳara Ḳoyunlu* amīrs and internal weaknesses, so that towards the end of the century, the kingdom became divided into three parts (see Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, 131 ff.).

The *Sharwān-Shāh Shaykh* Ibrāhīm (784-820/1382-1417) had to submit to Timūr and accompany him during his campaign against the *Khān* of the Golden Horde *Toqtanīsh* in 797/1395, but he did manage to retain his throne. In the post-Timūrid period, *Sharwān* enjoyed considerable prosperity, with a flourishing cultural life and with many fine buildings erected in *Bākū* and *Shamākhī*. The shahs were latterly allied with the *Aḳ Ḳoyunlu* amīrs, in particular with *Uzun Ḳasan*, but *Shāh Farrūkh-Yasār* b. *Khalil Allāh* was eventually killed in 906/1500 near *Shamākhī* by *Ismāʿil Šafawī*, and *Sharwān* was in 945/1538-9 incorporated into Persia. As for the adjoining district of *Shakkī*, *Sidī ʿAlī*'s son *Sidī Aḥmad* was re-established there c. 801/1398-9. The mention of *Ḳabala* by *Don Juan* of Persia shows that it was still of importance in the later 10th/16th century, when *Shakkī*, after falling to the *Šafawids* in 958/1551, eventually became an Ottoman *şandjak* (984/1576); see Allen, *Notes on Don Juan of Persia's account of Georgia*, in *BSOS*, vi (1930-2), 181, *Minorsky* in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, *ŠHEKKI*.

The northern parts of the Caucasus fell within the lands of the Golden Horde. *Dāghistān* was conquered by Timūr in 797-8/1395-6, but it is about this time that the three main powers in *Dāghistān*, the *Ḳaytāk*, the *Ḡhāzī-Ḳūmūḳ* and the *Maʿšūmī* princes of *Ṭabarasarān*, emerge [see *DĀGHISTĀN*]. The north-western part of the Caucasus, sc. *Circassia*, played an important rôle in Golden Horde affairs and also in Islamic military history. The *Čerkes* were still mainly Christian, and *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, ii, 448, tr. *Gibb*, ii, 516, mentions that the Christian *Čerkes* and *Ḳlpcāk* had their own quarters in *Saray*, just like the *Alans* (see above). From the inauguration of the *Mamlūk* Sultanate in *Egypt* and *Syria* in the middle of the 7th/13th century, *Čerkes* military slaves, carried from *Circassia* by the *Genoese* of *Kaffa* and other merchants, were a notable element in the state, and after 784/1382 provided most of the *Mamlūk* Sultans themselves.

The general process of Turkification in the Caucasus region must ultimately have favoured the spread of Islam. The steppelands to the north of the Caucasus must have been islamised fairly early after the decline of the *Khazars* there. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* visited *Māčar* on the *Kuma* river (to be identified with *Burgomadžary*). He found it a fine Turkish city. It was a flourishing trade centre of the Golden Horde *Tatars*, with a *ḳaysāriyya* (chief bazaar), and a famous *Šūfī shaykh* of the *Rifāʿiyya* order, *Muḥammad al-Baṭāʾihī*, had his *sāwiya* there (*Rihla*, ii, 375-9, tr. *Gibb*, ii, 479-81). But the spread of Islam was a slow process, and the mountainous heartland long resisted islamisation. The *Laz* of *Mingrelia* on the *Black Sea* coast, a people of Georgian stock and Christian since the beginning of the 6th century, maintained their faith through their close political and cultural connections with the adjacent *Byzantine* principality of *Trebizond*. Only after *Trebizond* fell to the Ottoman Sultan *Mehemmed II* in 865/1461 were the *Laz* gradually converted to Islam and the *Shāfiʿī madhhab* (see *Minorsky* in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, *LAZ*).

The rise of the Ottomans, together with pressure

from the Muslim powers in *Arrān* and *Ādharbāyḡjān*, also brought about the end—in very obscure circumstances, but probably towards the end of the 9th/15th century—of Christianity in *Dāghistān*. As part of the Roman Church's attempts in the Mongol period to unite the Eastern Christian churches and then win over all the oriental peoples for Christianity, *Dominicans* had been installed in *Tiffls* in the 7th/13th century. A Roman Catholic archbishopric was set up at *Matrega* or *Azov* in the succeeding century, and a vigorous missionary campaign undertaken into *Dāghistān* (in *Chaydakensi patria*, sc. the land of the *Ḳaytāk* or *Ḳhaydāk*). Helped by *Genoese* trading enterprises aimed at opening up a route to the east via the *Caspian*, this Christian church flourished till the ousting of the *Genoese* from the *Black Sea* and the establishment of Ottoman supremacy there (see *J. Richard*, *Les missionnaires latins chez les Kaïtak du Daghestan (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, in *Trudy XXV Kongressa Vostokovedov 1960*, iii (Moscow 1963), 606-11). However, by 872/1466, when the Russian merchant *Afanasii Nikitin* was travelling across the *Caspian*, the ruler of the *Ḳaytāk* was a Muslim, one *Alil (Khalil?) Beg*, brother-in-law of the *Sharwān-Shāh Farrūkh-Yasār*.

*Bibliography*: An extensive bibliography of the older geographical and travel literature was given by *C. van Arendonck* in his *EI*<sup>1</sup> article. For the classical period, see the article *Καύκασος* in *Pauly-Wissowa*, *Real Encyclopädie der classische Altertumswissenschaft*<sup>2</sup>, xi, 1, 59-63. An important addition to the Islamic geographical literature is the anonymous *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. *Minorsky*, *GMS*, London 1937. A geographical survey of the Caucasus is given in *A. Sanders*, *Kaukasien*, Munich 1944, and there is much useful information in the article *Kavkaz* in *BSE*<sup>2</sup>, xix, 248-63.

The historical literature proper has been mentioned in the course of the article. Amongst all this, the works of *V. Minorsky* are outstanding, especially his *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, his *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, and his four *Caucasica* articles in *BSOAS*, xii-xv (1948-53); see also his article *Transcaucasica*, in *JA*, ccxvii (1930), 41-111 (deals mainly with topographical and historical-geographical problems). Some of the many obscurities of Caucasian history have been illuminated by numismatic researches, in which the *Bākū* orientalist *E. A. Pakhomov* was a pioneer. The results of Russian and Armenian research have recently been utilised in the Ph.D. thesis of *Dickran Kouymjian*, *The numismatic history of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan based on the Islamic coinage from the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries*, Columbia University, New York, 1969 (unpublished).

(*C. E. Bosworth*)

#### LANGUAGES.

The indigenous languages of the Caucasus form a family with three distinct branches. It is to the languages of this family still or formerly spoken in the area that the name *Caucasian* languages is applied. In the course of time, however, speakers of languages belonging to the *Indo-European* and *Turkic* families have also penetrated the region and these languages have in turn been influenced by those of the *Caucasian* family, according to the length and closeness of their contact. The most significant of these languages is *Armenian*, a separate branch of the *Indo-European* family, which has a literary tradition, both Christian and secular, going back to the

fifth century of our era. The modern Eastern dialect is spoken by over two million people in the Armenian S.S.R. and in urban communities throughout the Caucasus. There are a number of representatives of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family, the oldest established being Ossetic. This Eastern Iranian language, spoken by the remnant of the Alans living in the Central Caucasus and south thereof in Georgia, has two main dialects: Iron, used as a literary vehicle, and the more archaic Digoron, the latter spoken by a partly Muslim population. Ossetic is unique among modern Iranian languages in being little affected either by Islam, i.e. by Arabic loans, or by Persian culture. Other Iranian languages, all of the Western branch, are Northern Kurdish, Tällsh, and Täfti. Kurds are scattered throughout Armenia and the Ādharbāyidjān S. S. R. Tällsh is spoken in a region along the Caspian coast astride the Irano-Soviet border and Täfti on both slopes of the eastern end of the Caucasus chain and on the Apscheron peninsular. Almost half of the Täfti speakers are Jews; the remainder, and all the Tällshi, are Muslims. About a quarter of the Kurds are Yazidis, the rest Muslims. Other Indo-European languages represented are Greek, and the German, Russian, and Ukrainian introduced by comparatively recent settlers.

Among Turkic languages the most widely spoken, by well over two million people in Soviet territory, is Āzerī, which has been a literary language since the 8th/14th century. To the north-east of the Caucasus languages of the Kıpçak group are found, namely Kumuk, Ḳaraçay, Balkar, and Noghay. All these Turcophone peoples are Muslims. Kalmuk, a Western Mongolian language, is spoken in the North Caucasus. The only Semitic language found in the Caucasus is the Neo-Syriac spoken by the scattered communities of so-called "Assyrians".

The Caucasian languages proper are divided geographically into Southern, North-Western and North-Eastern branches. The Southern, or Kartvelian, branch comprises four languages: Georgian, Svanetian, Laz and Mingrelian, the last two together forming the Zan group. Georgian alone is a literary language, the oldest texts dating from the fifth century of our era. The Laz and two groups of Georgian speakers, the Açar and some Ingilo, are Muslims. There are three languages of the North-Western branch, Abkhāz, Circassian, and Ubēkh, but the last is no longer spoken in the Caucasus, being kept alive only by a diminishing number of refugees in Turkey. The Circassians (Čerkes, or Adlghe) have two main dialects, Kabardian and Kiakh, both having a modern literature. The Abkhāz living south of the Caucasus have three related dialects; those living north of the Caucasus among the Circassians, known as Abaza, speak two different dialects. The great majority of Circassians and Abkhāz are Muslims.

The North-Eastern branch of the Caucasian family comprises a large number of languages and dialects, spoken for the most part in Dāghistān by an almost entirely Muslim population. They fall into six groups: I. the so-called Veinakh ("we people") group, consisting of Čečen, Ingush, and Bats (the latter a small Christian community); II. the Ayaro-Andi group, comprising Avār, Andi and its fellows (numbering eight in all), Dido (four languages) and Arči; III. the Lak-Dargwa group, i.e. five dialects of Lak and three of Dargwa; IV. the Samurian group, comprising Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran (Ṭabarsarān), Aghul, Budug, and Djek; V. Khinalug, and VI. Udi, the language of a Christian people thought to be the

remnant of the Caucasian Albanians. Čečen, Ingush, Avār, Lak, Dargwa, Lezgian, and Tabasaran are written languages, a status Udi formerly enjoyed. Avār is especially widely used as a *lingua franca*.

Although the three branches of the Caucasian family are very distinct they have a number of features in common. One is the richness of their consonant structures. Georgian, for example, has 29 consonants, including contrasting series of aspirated and glottalized voiceless stops and affricates, *p, t, c, č, k, q, p̣, ṭ, c̣, č̣, ḳ, q̣*; a similar contrast is found in Armenian, Ossetic and Northern Kurdish. Some North Caucasian languages have well over 50 consonant phonemes, including labialized and non-labialized pairs. In contrast to this, vowel phonemes are few; Georgian has five vowels and both Abkhāz and Circassian have systems reducible to two vowel phonemes. A syntactic feature widespread among Caucasian languages is the "passive construction" of transitive verbs, wherein the agent of such a verb is expressed in an oblique case and the patient is the subject of the verb. This type of construction does occur, but only with the past tenses of transitive verbs, in many Iranian languages, including Northern Kurdish, and it is so restricted in Kartvelian, but in other Caucasian languages it applies to all tenses of the verb; thus "I am doing the work" is expressed as "by-me the-work is-being-done". The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is absolute; a transitive verb must involve an object, so that, in Georgian for example, the sixth commandment can only be expressed "thou shalt not kill *men*". In the North-Western, and to a lesser extent the Southern, languages there is a multiple attachment of pronominal particles to the verb, each taking an appropriate position; for example, "the bread which the mother gives her daughter" is expressed in Abkhaz as "mother her-daughter which-to-her-by-her-give bread", the pronominal particles representing subject, indirect object, and agent in turn. In modern Georgian many of these pronominal forms are elided, leaving the unambiguous minimum; e.g. *g-klav* "(I)-you-kill", *m-klav* "(you)-me-kill", *klav* "(You-him)-kill", *klavs* "he-(him)-kills". The North-Eastern branch alone has a system of noun classes, whereby signs indicating the class of thing involved (e.g. male, female, inanimate, material) run through the sentence; cf. Avār *be-ca-w čī ro-žo-w w-ugo: be-ca-y ču ru ro-žo-y y-igo: be-ca-b ču ro-žo-b b-ugo* "the blind man/woman/horse in-the-house is". In combinations with the passive construction this system produces such intricate concord as (Čečen) "I work *it*-being-done *I*-am" for "I work", "by-me work *it*-is-done" for "I am working", and "by-me *it*-being-done *it*-is work" for "I am (actually) working". Although these and other features more or less common to the Caucasian languages can be matched both in languages of the ancient Near East and, among other modern languages, in the Basque of the Pyrenees and the Burushaski of Hunza [q.v.], no valid connexion between these and the Caucasian family has yet been shown.

*Bibliography:* B. Geiger, T. Halasi-Kun, A. H. Kuipers, and K. H. Menges, *People and languages of the Caucasus; a synopsis*, The Hague 1959; G. Deeters, *Die kaukasischen Sprachen*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, VII Bd., *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen*, Leiden 1963. (D. N. MACKENZIE)

**KABOU**, a locality in Togo (9° 25' N., 0° 50' E.), 24 km. to the north of Bassari, an important market whose prosperity, in pre-colonial times, was based

partly on the barter of crude iron given to the Kabre iron-smiths of Lama-Kara in exchange for slaves, and partly on its function as a halting place on the kola-caravan routes. The presence in Kabou of Muslim outsiders (particularly Ḥawsa and Djerma) was therefore not unusual.

It was a certain Oukpane, a native of Kalanga (about ten km. to the west of Bassari), who founded the village of Kabou, probably during the first third of the 19th century. Shortly afterwards Biraima, a Tyokossi of Sansané Mango, arrived, becoming the first Muslim actually to settle there; to some extent, no doubt, he was the representative of the authority of the Tyokossi sovereigns, which extended over Bapure (20 km. to the west of Kabou), of which Kabou was probably a dependency at that time. After Oukpane, the supreme chief was Outoune, who reigned for thirty-five years. At that period, Kabou had its third *imām*, Baba Toma (in succession to Biraima and Saliya). In Outoune's reign, the surviving members of the communities of Kalanga settled round Kabou.

Karakpe, a younger brother of Outoune, received the French explorers Baud and Vermeersch in April 1895, and Baud for the second time in January 1896, before the Treaty of Paris (23 July 1897), which left Kabou in the *Schutzgebiet* of Togo. At the time the Europeans arrived a Muslim quarter already existed, containing several dozen Djerma mercenaries.

The leaders of this pagan country, for many years a vassal of the Tyokossi warlords of Sansané Mango, had appealed for help to the Muslim warriors of the Dagomba chief of Yendi. The prestige of Islam was so great that Mama Bonfoh, the first of the Bassari race to be converted to Islam, was nominated as chief by the German administration at the beginning of the century. The pro-Muslim policy of the German administration brought about the conversion of large numbers of the inhabitants, following the chief's lead.

Although the town (whose various districts comprise 4000 to 5000 inhabitants) is predominantly Muslim, the surrounding country is inhabited by Kabre and Losso from the over-populated regions of Lama Kara. Very few of these "immigrant settlers" appear to have been converted to Islam. (R. CORNEVIN)

**KABR** (A.), tomb was first applied to the pit used as a burial place for a corpse, as was the term *qariḥ*, giving rise to its habitual use in the text of numerous epitaphs containing the expression *hādḥā kabru*... "this is the grave of...". Originally distinguished from the term *ṣandūq*, "cenotaph" (cf., J. Sauvaget, "*Les perles choisies*" *d'Ibn ach-Chihna*, Beirut 1933, 212 and "*Les trésors d'or*" *de Sibṭ al-'Ajamī*, Beirut 1950, 184), it had the more general meaning of the tumulus or construction covering the grave to bring it to notice, a custom current in Islamic countries from early times. Contrary to the formal injunction in *ḥadīth* to practise *taswiyat al-ḥubūr*, that is making the tomb level with the surrounding earth (cf. G. Wiet, *CIA Egypte*, ii, 64 f.), which was the outcome of juridical discussions and was linked with doctrinal controversies concerning "saint-worship" and the various rites of veneration of tombs (including that of the "pious pilgrimage" or *ziyāra* [q.v.]), funerary monuments of all kinds, ranging from a simple heap of pebbles or mound of earth, with perhaps also a raised stone, to a mausoleum occasionally reaching monumental scale and forming part of a veritable architectural complex, in fact always constituted a significant portion of Islamic art.

Without going into the legal prescriptions and

customary practices associated with the notion of "burial place" and therefore "tomb" in the Muslim world, we find that the word *ḥabr* designates a definite archaeological reality, though one which is sometimes difficult to define. In part this is due to lack of documentation, as regards both eras and regions, of the available monuments. To a greater extent it stems from a reluctance to group under the same heading the greatly differing remains covered by a variety of terms relating not only to differences in language and dialectal usage but more especially to distinctions in appearance and architectural style (e.g., *raḍīam*, *ḥarkūr* [q.v.], *ḥawsh*, *tābūt*, *ḥawīfa*, *mḥabriyya*, *ḥubba* [q.v.], *ḥaṣr* [q.v.], *ḡunbādḥ*, *ḡūr*, *turba* or *tūrbe* [q.v.]), or even qualitative differences applying to the dead man and therefore to the value of the sanctuary (e.g., *rawḍa*, *mashḥad*, *imām-sāde* [q.v.], *shāh-sāde*, *walī*, *marbūt*, *maxār*, *makām* and even *makān*). Nevertheless, it is permissible to make a preliminary distinction in the midst of such confusion, following the usage proposed by Max van Berchem and justified by Arabic texts (cf. M. van Berchem, *CIA Egypte*, i, 286, note, and 293; *CIA Jérusalem*, i, 6, 124), between the tomb itself, treated here under the word *ḥabr*, and the "mausoleum" (*ḥubba* or *turba*), that is "the construction consecrated to the tomb, either free-standing or joined on to another edifice", which is sometimes confused with those indeterminate structures that can be grouped under the heading of "commemorative monuments".

This article therefore excludes the many funerary edifices which constitute one of the most representative categories of ancient Islamic art and include notably the open-air funerary enclosure, the domed cubic monument and the funerary tower—the most widespread interpretations of the functional theme of the mausoleum. Yet the tomb situated directly over a real or assumed burial place is far from conforming to a simple, uniform type varying according to the time and region discussed. The existence of an original primitive element that can easily be recognized in many cases—hummock of earth, tombstone or stone-work bench, rectangle defined by pebbles or low walls, raised block at the head or feet of the corpse—does not alter the fact that in detail of forms and even in decoration and inscription, Muslim tombs reveal a great variety to be seen in the archaeological remains from various epochs; it is to be regretted only that there does not yet exist an exhaustive catalogue of these monuments.

Such a lack is made even more apparent by the fact that cemeteries preserved intact for centuries on the outskirts of town and containing truly venerable tombs in the midst of more recent ones—in cities as diverse as Salé, Ḳayrawān, Cairo, Damascus and Istanbul, for example—have often had to give way to urban development and the extension of dwelling-areas. At the same time some popular and traditional customs or regular visits to particular sites are disappearing (for such religious attitudes before "our secularization of urban cemeteries" see L. Massignon, *La cité des morts au Caire, Qarāfa—Darb al-Aḥmar*, in *BIFAO*, lviii/19, 25-79). However, many groups of tombs situated in places that are protected or difficult of access still provide a rich documentation which should be submitted to detailed study. In the light of a broadened perspective and on more solid chronological and statistical bases, we must look again at the sole systematic attempt of this kind, the fifty-year-old study of old, decorated steles in the cemeteries of Salé and Rabat which lends itself to comparisons with examples as far

distant as Egypt and Turkey (see J. Bourrilly and E. Laoust, *Stèles funéraires marocaines*, coll. *Hespéris IHEM*, no. 3, Paris 1927).

In the absence of any new studies, research on the tombs erected throughout the Islamic world is dependent on a paucity of information and on data gathered in the course of some other research, mainly epigraphic. The first necessity is to sift the basic compilations of Arabic inscriptions made by town or by region (such as the series of *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* impressively begun by Max van Berchem, or the several volumes, ordered according to slightly varying norms, which have appeared under the title *Corpus des Inscriptions arabes de Tunisie*) and the vast inventories of the epigraphic productions of a given region such as Sicily or Spain (see the section *Epigrafi sepolcrali* by M. Amari, *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia*, in the new edition, corrected and published by F. Gabrieli, Palermo 1971; and see especially E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931, in which pages xxxiii-xxv of the introduction are devoted to the form or embellishment of epitaph stones).

Interesting descriptive notes may also accompany the publications of series of Arab steles, or of isolated examples, preserved in museums (the documentation of the Arab steles of Egypt contained in *Catalogue du Musée arabe du Caire, Les stèles funéraires*, i and iii by H. Hawary and H. Rached, Cairo 1932 and 1938, ii, iv-x by G. Wiet, Cairo 1936-42 is of particular interest, as are also G. Wiet's comments on Iranian steles of the 6th/12th century in *L'exposition persane de 1931*, Cairo 1933). They are also found, with more accurate information than in the case of uprooted funerary inscriptions, in those rare epigraphic works centred on a homogeneous series of epitaphs which were published while the epitaphs were still *in situ* (see, e.g., the descriptions in B. Roy and P. Poinssot, *Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan*, IHET Paris 1950-58, and J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Stèles arabes anciennes de Syrie du Nord*, in *Annales Arch. de Syrie*, vi (1956), 11-38, or *Stèles arabes de Bust (Afghanistan)*, in *Arabica*, iii (1956), 285-306; see also the important inventory of Aḥlāt steles recently published by B. Karamağaralı, *Ahlat mezartaşları*, Ankara 1972). Finally a few rare studies attempt to trace the stylistic evolution of tomb decorations or inscriptions (see, e.g., J. Strzygowski, *Ornamente altarabischer Grabsteine in Kairo*, in *Isl.*, ii (1911), 305-36, or J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Épigraphes coufiques de Bāb Saghīr* apud *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, bk. iv, Paris 1950, or the series of articles relating to the tombs bearing figurative representations in Anatolia, the latest of which is B. Karamağaralı, *Sivas ve Tokat'taki figürlü mezar taşlarının mahiyeti hakkında*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, ii (1971), 75-109).

However, such notations as we have are so ill-assorted that in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to draw up even an approximate chart showing the development of a funerary art and epigraphy which gave birth to true works of sculpture in stone and contributed to a large extent to the rise of the most elaborate kinds of ornamental Arab scripts. At this moment no more can be said than that in Islamic civilization—setting aside temporary periods of austerity—as in many others tombs present a true reflection of the wealth and degree of refinement of a society in any one era; they also register the cultural and religious climate in which the epigraphs were composed, with their information

about the personality, circle and opinions of the deceased.

Inscriptions of a greater or lesser length are a constant characteristic of the majority of tombs, apart from those rustic ones which stand in humble anonymity. While here we will deal only with those in Arabic, it must not be forgotten that a number of important epitaphs were composed in later times in other languages. Such inscriptions appear on steles, cippi or cenotaphs and are inscribed on surfaces of a variety of shapes (most frequently rectangular panels or bandeaux), but in both style and disposition they always occupy the foreground of the tomb's layout. The prime purpose of such inscriptions being to record the name of the person buried there and to bear witness to his faith (through a variable use of Qur'anic quotations) by calling blessings down on him, they are above all epitaphs. They are classified in Arabic under the vague term *kitāb* and follow a classical schema apparent from the end of the 2nd/8th century (more exactly from 174/790, the date of the oldest stele in the Cairo museum).

From this date the inscriptions generally include, after the obligatory *basma*, either commonplace introductory phrases, such as the *taṣliya* or less frequently the *ḥamdala*, or pious sentences consisting of "the solemn affirmation of certain divine prerogatives, and the assertion that the death of a creature is due to God's divine decree". Subsequent to this comes the name of the deceased, announced in various stereotyped fashions and accompanied by a varying amount of detail on his genealogy or titles. Usually this is followed by eulogies in his honour, ranging from one to many and sometimes including "transferred eulogies". The verb which was employed earliest to introduce the name of the deceased was *shahida*, "has testified", found on the first Arab epitaphs in Egypt. The parallel usage of *tuwaffiya*, "X is deceased", which was first used especially to introduce the date of death, was later sometimes used alone in brief funerary texts (e.g., in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century in northern Syria). Likewise *hādḥā kabr*, noted above, which appears on a third of the earliest Islamic steles in Egypt, became the sole formula used without exception in later epitaphs from Ifrīkiya, al-Andalus, Syria, Anatolia and even eastern Iran.

Another important element, at least in the early period, was the confession of faith, with or without the *risāla*, sometimes supported by quotations from the Qur'ān such as verse IX, 33. Later, the absence of the *shahāda* can be noted in some regions (rural epitaphs cut in Syria in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries or contemporary ones from Anatolia) and in some types (epitaphs of children, for example, as attested by examples from Kayrawān). Likewise verse IX, 33 was used less frequently in Egypt from the Fātimid era; although still popular in the same period in Ifrīkiya and al-Andalus, it no longer appeared in Syria or the eastern provinces, nor in Anatolia from the 6th/12th century. This evolution parallels that observed in the case of other verses from the Qur'ān which were put to different use according to place and period. In Egypt, for example, verse XXII, 7, stressing the necessary advent of the final hour, was in vogue until the 4th/10th century and was also found in Ifrīkiya. In al-Andalus, XXXV, 5, on the vanity of earthly life, was widely used, as was the phrase "every soul tastes of death", taken from Qur'ān III, 182 or XXIX, 7, in the whole of the mediaeval east from the 6th/12th century. Depending on period or region, basic religious texts

enjoyed greater or lesser favour, although verses II, 256, III, 16-18, and Sūra CXII were always popular.

Also to be taken into account is the presence or absence of religious maxims whose precise meaning is known to us through studies like those done on the saying, "reliving the mourning for the Prophet" (cf. L. Massignon, *La Rawda de Médine, cadre de la méditation musulmane sur la destinée du Prophète, annexe I*, in *BIFAO*, lix (1960), 260-7), and also those moral maxims, complementary invocations and poetic texts which constitute, along with information on the date of death, the "accidental" portions of the funerary inscription. As a general rule, the wealth of doctrinal allusion and religious sentiment revealed by the epitaphs of the first four centuries of the *Hidjra* are contrasted with the later poverty of traditional formulas, compensated for by new tendencies such as the development of the titular description of the deceased according to new customs of society, the abundance of quotations from the *Kur'an* as a feature of ornamental design (as in some Iranian steles in *mihrāb* form from the beginning of the 6th/12th century), the progressive introduction of "literary" customs leading to an increasingly bombastic style and multiplying the occasional verses or snatches of rhythmic or assonant prose (see examples of epitaphs of Maltese or Sicilian origin).

The epigraphic decoration of the most sumptuous tombs—not always those most venerated, for popular devotion was often given to graves marked by a simple heap of stones—cannot be separated from their form, material used, nor from the other decorative elements of which it was an intrinsic and harmonious part. It is not fortuitous, for example, that a particular type of ornate inscription, associated in Syria from the 6th/12th century with artistic influences from Upper Mesopotamia, was developed on a class of tombs which were also highly specialized in origin and in the circumstances of their appearance (see J. Sauvaget, *La tombe de l'Ortokide Balak*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 207-15; cf. J. Sauvaget, *La madrasa Djahārkasiya*, apud *Les monuments ay-youbides de Damas*, 41-50); a number of comparable cases could be cited, especially with reference to the arched steles whose stylistic evolution was parallel to the flat *mihrāb* and contemporary door frames.

However, the various currents which joined forces to give rise to the curious parallelism of methods of constructing funerary monuments from one end of the Islamic world to the other cannot yet be determined with any precision and we must confine ourselves to the following observations. Firstly, it would appear that the tabular steles used "to create that which is known in Arabic as *shāhid*, the witness" constitute the oldest type of Muslim funerary stones (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, xxiii), a type which is attested in Egypt from the 2nd/8th century and endured until the Ottoman era, many specimens of the latter being known. These variously carved slabs, sometimes bearing the name of *rukḥāma* or *lawḥ*, were most frequently set at one or sometimes at either end of the tombs, being classified as archaic since they are in the shape of "boxes without lids" found in backward regions and isolated rural districts.

These steles vary greatly in appearance. They may consist of double rectangular steles, rounded or disc-shaped, of moderate size and quite simple decoration, sometimes without inscriptions, as in Spain and northern Syria. They may also be single, monumental steles, frequently remarkably ornamented, sometimes

with abundant and finished inscriptions; these latter may still be seen *in situ* at Salé or *Aḫlāt*, for example, and are exemplified in museums by the so-called Almerian steles of the early 6th/12th century and by a no less interesting series of Iranian slabs of the same period. At times they consist of a rectangular framework surrounding inscriptions which are incised or sculpted in relief on a hollowed ground; this is the most dominant pattern in the first centuries of the *Hidjra* from Egypt to Spain. At others the central motif is the inscribed arch, single or double, around which are arranged beautifully patterned ornamental compositions; this type appears in both east and west. Yet sometimes the tabular steles give way to shafts of columns embellished with inscriptions (*amūd ḡabr* and *sāriyat ḡabr*), which predominated in cemeteries in Toledo and *Qayrawān* in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries and still indicate Ottoman graves, where the cylindrical stele is usually crowned by a "turban" carved in marble.

On the other hand, from the 5th/11th century scaled-down sarcophagi were also popular. These consisted of strips of stone laid in tiers or of "long, low steles of white marble forming a prism standing on a pedestal", which are often given the Maghribi names *mḡābirīyya*, *ḡiannābiyya* or *ṣanam*, and are generally recognized as schematic imitations of the primitive pile of earth. These stones or low constructions may also be accompanied by raised slabs, a hybrid style which appears in a number of regions. Examples are the old Syrian tomb of al-Ma'arri (cf. J. Sourdél-Thomine, *Inscriptions du mausolée d'Abū l-'Alā' à Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 289-94) and especially the various combinations seen in the tombs of *Aḫlāt*. But in this case too there is a great diversity of shapes enabling the tombs to be allotted to different categories, limited by neither place nor period, from the earliest archaeological evidence furnished by the tomb of Subuktākin at *Ḡhazna*, most probably c. 387/997 (cf. S. Flury, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna*, in *Syria*, 1925, 61-90). Ayyūbid examples from Syria can be interpreted as imitations in stone of the sculptured wood cenotaphs well known elsewhere (Mesopotamian, Syrian and Egyptian examples cited by J. Sauvaget, *Le cénotaphe de Salādin*, in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, vi (1929-30), 168-75, or by G. Wiet, *Les inscriptions du mausolée de Shāfi'ī*, in *Bull. Inst. Eg.*, xv (1933), 167-85). Other prismatic steles are closer to the type of stepped platform identified by D. S. Rice in a papyrus preserved in Vienna and attributed to the 3rd/9th century by A. Grohmann, of which he found later representatives modelled in brick and stone-work in the miniatures accompanying many copies of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḡāmāt* (cf. D. S. Rice, *The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript*, in *BSOAS*, xxii (1959), 207-20 and fig. on p. 219). A whole new chapter could be written on the funerary stones bearing representations of animals in relief which forms part of an even more original chain of tradition. The popularity of this style in Turkey has been the subject of many studies (see the most recent, noted above).

*Bibliography*: in the article.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

In works of *fiḡh* (usually in the chapter dealing with obsequies) two problems connected with tombs are discussed. May they be decorated to a certain extent? Is it permitted to visit them? On the first point it is surprising to observe the complete unanimity of the *fuḡahā'* (no matter what school they belong to) in disapproving of all ornamentation on tombs, however

simple it may be. To mark the site of the tomb the more lenient among them permit at the most the construction of a lowly erection of unfired brick (*labin*); the use of fired brick (*ādīurr*) is firmly advised against as it would be the first step towards ornamentation. This modest construction must not be rough cast (though this is permitted by the Ḥanafis only) and must bear no inscription relating to the deceased (paradoxically enough, Ibn Ḥazm allowed his name to be inscribed) nor even passages from the Qur'ān. It is blameworthy to build a dome or any monument whatsoever above a tomb. It is obvious that this teaching, which the *fuḳahā'* based on traditions that they traced back to the Prophet, was never respected, except in impoverished villages. In the presence of the considerable number of richly decorated tombs found in all Muslim countries, it must be admitted that there are few areas where the divorce between theory and practice was so marked. No doubt this was the result of the nature of the condemnation formulated by the legal scholars: the decoration of tombs is blameworthy, reprehensible (*makrūh*), but not *ḥarām*, that is, categorically forbidden; this has given rise to the almost general belief that their decoration does not absolutely infringe religious law.

The permissibility of visiting tombs (*ziyārat al-kubūr*) was admitted very early on by *idīmā'*; all the schools, including the Ḥanbalis and Zāhīris, even went so far as to recommend the practice, while forewarning the faithful to shun the behaviour characteristic of Christian pilgrimages (carrying candles, chanting, distributing alms).

*Bibliography*: (I)—Ibn Kudāma, *Mughni*, Cairo 1368, ii, 507; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1952, i, 235; Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347, v, 133; *Khalil* b. Ishāk, *Muḥḥaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, Algiers 1956, i, nos. 46 and 47; Zayla'ī, *Tabyīn*, Cairo 1313, i, 245. (II)—Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwā*, Cairo 1326, iv, 302-6; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines... d'Aḥmad b. Taimiyya*, Cairo 1939, 334-5. See also *DIANĀZA, ZIYĀRA*.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

**KABRA**, in Spanish Cabra, a town in a mountainous region of Andalusia to the south-east of Cordoba, situated at an altitude of 448 m. on the slopes of the Sierra de Cabra; at present it is the centre of a *partido judicial* of the province of Cordoba and has a population of 20,000.

The Muslim town of Kabra, which succeeded the Roman Igabrum — one of the principal cities of Baetica according to Pliny — ranked as one of the fortresses of al-Andalus. Colonised by the *ajund* of Wāsiṭ in 'Irāk in the time of the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī (125/743-127/745) under the Umayyads it was the centre of a relatively small district (*ḥūra*) which took in Ecija. A single *ḥādī* had jurisdiction over both these towns. The bishopric of Kabra, which date from the 4th century A.D., continued to exist under the Umayyad caliphate. Some rare, and unfortunately too brief, descriptions by Arab geographers speak of the equable climate, the abundance of running water, the profusion of olive groves and the luxuriant vegetation of Muslim Kabra; they bear witness to the existence of a great mosque with three aisles and a busy street-market. Not far from the town some lead mines were worked.

Muḳaddam b. Mu'āfā (d. 299-300/912 [q.v.]), the originator of the *muwaṣṣhaḥāt*, was a native of Kabra.

Kabra was involved in the frontier disputes between the Castilians and the Andalusian Muslims. Ḥabbūs b. Māksan, the Zīrid dynast of Granada, captured it in 419-20/1029-30. Conquered by Ferdinand

III (the Saint) in 641/1244, the town belonged successively to the Council of Cordoba and to the Order of Calatrava. In 733/1333 the Naṣrid Muḥammad IV seized Kabra, destroyed the ramparts and part of the castle, and sent the inhabitants to captivity in Granada. Re-populated shortly afterwards by the Master of the Order of Calatrava, Kabra subsequently reverted to the Crown of Castile. In 849/1445 Henry IV gave the town to Diego Fernandez of Cordoba in reward for his services and granted him the title of Count of Cabra.

Various remains dating from the time of the Muslim occupation, in particular a ruined castle, can still be seen in Kabra.

*Bibliography*: Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, 174, 205; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *La Péninsule Ibérique...*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1938, notice 134, 149-50 (Arabic text), 178-9 (French tr.); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, 78; idem, *Iḥāta*, ed. 'Inān, i, 440, 541; idem, *A'māl al-a'lām*, 229; *Crónica de D. Alfonso XI*, *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, lxvi, new ed., Madrid 1953; P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar*, v, Madrid 1840, 40-50; *Sobre el nombre y la patria del autor de la "muwaṣṣhaḥa"*, in *al-Andalus*, ii (1934), 215-22; E. Lévi-Provençal, *H.E.M.*, iii, index.

(R. ARIÉ)

**KABSH** [see BADW (IIa), YÜRÜK, ZAKĀT, and SILĀḤ].

**AL-KABTAWRI**, ABU 'L-KĀSİM *KHALAF* B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ AL-*GHĀFIQĪ*, poet and letter-writer, from the island in the Guadalquivir called Kabtawra or Kabtūra (formerly Caput Tauri, Ibn Khaldūn—de Slane, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 113; today Isla Mayor, south of Seville). The son of a Sevillian scholar, he was born in Shawwāl 615/December 1218-January 1219. After the fall of Seville (646/1248) he moved to Ceuta, where he became head of the chancellery of the 'Azafid emirate; following the death of the amir Abu 'l-Kāsim al-'Azafī he left Ceuta for Tunis and there taught *ḥadīth*. He made two pilgrimages to Mecca, the first from Ceuta and the second from Tunis in 696/1297. Subsequently he settled in Medina, dying there in 704/1304. Among his teachers were Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dabbāḍj and Ibn Abi 'l-Rabī', then, in the East, al-*GHARRĀFĪ*, while his students included Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Ibn Djabīr al-Wādiyāshī, 'Abd al-Muḥaymin al-Ḥaḍramī, Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Tudjībī and Ibn Rushayd [q.v.].

Only a portion of his poetic output survives, but to judge from the extracts preserved in the works of biographers and the *riḥlas* of al-Tudjībī and Ibn Rushayd, al-Kabtawri was a minor poet who conformed to the tastes of his age by cultivating formal stylishness. His letters date from the period when he was head of the chancellery at Ceuta. M. H. El-Hila (*Lettres d'al-Gāfiqī*, Sorbonne thesis 1967) has collected eleven letters preserved in the 'Abdelliyya Library in Tunis (no. 2804) and two other communications reproduced in *al-Dhakhira al-saniyya*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920, 113-23 (the author is unnamed but the historical data, in conjunction with internal textual criticism, make their attribution to al-Kabtawri extremely likely).

This body of correspondence supplies new particulars about political aspects of the relationship between the countries of the Maghrib and the connexions between the Maghrib and Spain in troubled and confused times. Strong light is thrown on the policy of Ceuta vis-à-vis both the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada and the two Moroccan states (Almohad and

Marinid). From a literary point of view these letters, models of the type prevailing at the period, are characterized by affectation, *saḍīʿ*, and a wealth of metaphors, antitheses and borrowings from the Kurʿān and *hadīth*. At times the striving for literary effects transforms some sentences into punning riddles. There is one striking oddity in this correspondence: a letter addressed to the Prophet, which is a sort of panegyric expressing an ardent desire to visit him at Medina. This letter is probably the oldest of its kind still in existence, for it antedates the two known letters of Ibn al-Ḳhaṭīb (*Subḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 469).

*Bibliography*: Šafadī, *Wāfi*, Ms. Paris no. 2064, fol. 22; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Durar*, Haydarābād 1929-31, ii, 85; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, Rabat 1939, no. 393; Maǧǧarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1939-43, iii, 352. (M. H. EL-HILĀ)

#### KĀBŪL [see BAYʿ].

**KĀBUL**. 1. A river of Afghānistān and the North-West Frontier region of Pākistān, 700 km. long and rising near the Unai Pass in lat. 34° 21' N. and long. 68° 20' E. It receives the affluents of the Panǧjīr, Alingar, Kunar and Swat Rivers from the north, and the Lōgar from the south, and flows eastwards to the Indian plain, joining the Indus at Atak (Attock). The *Hudūd al-ʿālam* (end of 4th/10th century) calls it "the River of Lamghān", and describes it as flowing from the mountains bordering on Lamghān and Dunpūr, passing by Nangrahār (sc. the Djalālābād district) and running down to Multān and the ocean. Bīrūnī calls it "the River of Ghōrward", because one of the arms of the Panǧjīr River rises near the Ghōrband Pass. From these and other statements in the geographers, it is clear that the Kābul River was at this time considered as the main course of the Indus. It is probable that the Kābul River (in Sanskrit Kubhā, one of the seven rivers of the Ṛig-veda) gave its name to the region and eventually the town of Kābul, see below.

*Bibliography*: J. Humlum et al., *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 46; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, Reihe 1, xi, 1361-2, s.v. Kophen, Kophes.

2. The name of a region, and then of a town, in eastern Afghānistān, the city of Kābul being now the capital of that kingdom. The city lies in lat. 34° 30' N. and long. 69° 13' E. at an altitude of 1,750-1,800 m. on the Kābul River in a fertile and well-watered plain surrounded by chains of mountains and hills. Its excellent position as a communications centre, where the route up the Kābul River valley meets the various routes across the Hindū Kush and the route from Ghazna and the south, made it a place of importance at an early date.

In pre-Christian times, the Kābul region formed part of the Hellenized Bactrian states-system, but early in the Christian era it was overrun by invaders from the steppes to the north such as the Kushans and Kidarites and then the Hephthalites [see НА-ΥΛΤΙΛΑ]. Buddhism flourished there and in the whole of the Gandharan region, as the numerous stupas surviving in the Kābul valley attest, and as the travel narrative of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang, who knew Kābul as Kao-fu, likewise shows. Yet the diffusion of cultural influences from the Hindu Gandharan kingdom, based on Udabhāndapur or Wayhind, favoured the indianisation of the Hephthalite rulers of Kābul and the replacement of Buddhism by Indian cults. At this period, Kābul remained the name of the whole district of the upper Kābul River valley rather than a specific town [see KĀBULISTĀN]. Hence a Muslim geographer like Ya-

ʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 290-1, tr. Wiet, 106-7, gives as the chief town of the region the cryptic حروس, and the capital of the Kābul-Šhāhs as the fortress of حمریندس, possibly to be identified with the citadel of Kābul itself (Wiet reads these names as applying to a single place, Djarwīn, following Marquart's Djarwīn in *Ērānsāhr*, 277-89).

The name Kābul was known to the Arabs even in pre-Islamic times. The Dījāhīlī and Mukḥaḍram poets (sc. those of the intermezzo between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods) use the phrase *Turk wa-Kābul* as a synonym for remoteness, an *Ultima Thule*; see T. Kowalski, *Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur*, in *KCSA*, ii (1926-32), 38-41. However, first-hand knowledge of eastern Afghānistān came only with the expansion of the Arabs from their basins in Sistān and at Bust eastwards into Zamīndāwar and Zābulistān [q.v.], the territories of the Zunbils, epigoni of the southern branch of the Hephthalites. These local rulers strongly resisted the Arabs for over two centuries, barring the way to the Kābul valley, and the fact that these Zunbils seem to have been related to the Kābul-Šhāhs made for solidarity against the Muslim raiders.

During Muʿāwiya's caliphate, the governors of Sistān, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Samura and al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, raided as far as Kābul, compelling the local rulers there and in Zābulistān to pay tribute. The main product yielded by the raids through these inhospitable regions was, of course, slaves. ʿAbd al-Rahmān brought back slaves captured at Kābul to his house at Bašra, where they built for him an oratory in the Kābulī architectural style (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 397). The famous Syrian *mawlā* scholar Makḥūl al-Dimashqī, teacher of al-Awzāʿī (d. 118/736), had been captured at Kābul during the first Muslim raid there (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 161; Ibn Ḳhallikān, tr. iii, 437). Yet the political effects of these and subsequent raids were invariably transitory, and in ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate, a Muslim army under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra suffered a grievous defeat in the Kābul region (78/697-8); it was to retrieve the Muslim position that the famous "Peacock Army" was sent out under Ibn al-Ashʿath [q.v.]. In Hārūn al-Rashīd's time, the governor of Khurāsān, al-Faḍl b. Yahyā al-Barmakī, sent expeditions into northern and eastern Afghānistān which strengthened the hold of Islam on certain parts of the region. In 179/795 the general Ibrāhīm b. Dījibrīl attacked Zābulistān and then penetrated to Kābul, at that time under the rule of the Turk-Šhāhī dynasty; and under al-Maʿmūn there was a further raid entailing the capture of the ruler of Kābul and his adoption of Islam. For some time under the governorship in Khurāsān of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213/828-230/845), the Kābul-Šhāh paid tribute to the Muslims in the form of 1½ million *dirhams* annually plus 2,000 Oghuz Turkish slaves (Ibn Ḳhurradādhbih, 38).

Only under the Šaffārids of Sistān [q.v.] was real headway made by the Muslims. Thus Yaʿqūb b. Layṭh's expedition of 256/870 via Balkh to Bāmiyān, Kābul and the silver mines of Panǧjīr brought about the first lengthy Muslim occupation of Kābul. Arab historians record the wonder excited in Baghdād by the presents of elephants and pagan idols from the Kābul valley forwarded by the Šaffārids (Tabarī, iii, 1841; cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 125-6). The islamisation of the Kābul region progressed considerably under Alptigin and the Turkish slave governors of Ghazna in the later decades of the 4th/10th century; under the Ghaznavids [q.v.], Kābul seems to have been a depôt for the army's force of elephants

(Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 116-17). It now begins to be considered as administratively within the orbit of Ghazna rather than in that of the Bāmiyān-Ghōrbānd area, cf. Maḳḳasī, 297.

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries give a somewhat vague and confused account of the Kābul region, especially since it was peripheral to the experience of most of them. Long before it became islamised, Muslim merchants resorted to Kābul, primarily because it was an entrepôt for the products of India: in the enumeration of Ibn Khurrādādhbih, 38, for inferior aloes wood, coconuts, saffron, and above all, myrobalanus (*ihliladi, halil-adi*), the astringent medicament, of which a special Chebuli or Kābuli variety was distinguished (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 607-10, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 378). Towards the beginning of the Ghaznavid period, Kābul begins to be distinguished as a town, with a mixed Muslim and Indian population (the Indians regarding Kābul as a pilgrimage centre), a strong citadel and a prosperous *rabaḳ* or commercial quarter (Muḳaddasī, 304; *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 111).

The dominance of the capitals Ghazna and then Frūzkūh [*q.v.*], under the Ghaznavids and Ghūrids respectively, inevitably overshadowed Kābul, and contemporary sources do not have a great deal to say about it at this time. Such destructions of Ghazna as those of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ghūri and Timūr favoured the gradual rise once more of Kābul, although the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa still found there in 733/1333 a mere village, with nothing there of note save a *zāwiya* or hermitage of the Ṣūfi Shaykh Ismā'il al-Afghānī (*Rihla*, iii, 89-90, tr. Gibb, iii, 590-1). Eastern Afghānistān formed part of the Timūrid empire, and after Timūr's death it became an appanage (*soyūrghāl*) for Timūrid princes. Thus Abū Sa'īd's son Ulugh Beg (not to be confused with the more celebrated Ulugh Beg b. Shāh Rukh, d. 853/1449, [*q.v.*]) reigned in Kābul and Ghazna from 865/1461 to 907/1501-2. After his death, Kābul came temporarily under the control of the Arghūnid Muḳīm, who had married a daughter of Ulugh Beg, until in 910/1504 Bābur came from Transoxania and took over Kābul, compelling Muḳīm to retreat to Kāndahār. Kābul now flourished under Bābur, who is eloquent in his memoirs about the climate and natural beauties of the region, its amenities and its products, and the fact that it was a mecca for trading caravans, bringing thither the products of India, China, Central Asia and Persia; and it was at Kābul that Bābur laid out numerous gardens. He made it his centre for campaigns against Kāndahār and into northern India, and his successors the Mughal Emperors of India kept it firmly within the orbit of their dominions. For the first time, Kābul becomes a mint centre for gold and silver coinage, and Mughal coins were produced there down to the reign of 'Azīz al-Dīn 'Ālamgīr (1167/1754-1173/1759). It was to his favoured centre of Kābul that Bābur's body was brought, in accordance with his express desire, some years after his death at Āgra in 937/1530; his tomb is now a pleasant spot on the slopes of the Shīr Dawāza mountain on the west side of modern Kābul (see *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 188 ff., 705-6, 709-11, lxxx-lxxxii).

Nādir Shāh captured the citadel of Kābul in 1151/1738, en route for his famous Indian campaign, but after his death in 1160/1747, the Kizilbāsh garrison of Kābul yielded it up to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī of Kāndahār [*q.v.*]. Under Ahmad's son and successor

Timūr Shāh, it became clear that the Durrānī empire in north-western India could not be satisfactorily held from Kāndahār, so Kābul became the capital. In this way began Kābul's modern rôle as capital of Afghānistān, even though at times in the 19th century the authority of the amirs of Kābul was geographically fairly circumscribed [for the history of the period, see AFGHĀNISTĀN, v]. The town suffered during the first two Afghān-British Wars and the civil strife between rival members of the Sadōzay and Muḥammaḳzay or Bārakzay families. Thus when British forces returned to Kābul in autumn 1842, they burned the great bazaar of Kābul in retaliation for the murder of Macnaghten and the sufferings of the British forces during their retreat from Kābul at the beginning of that year. In recent decades, Kābul has expanded to a city of 435,000 people (1965 estimate), has acquired paved roads and has become a considerable industrial centre; in particular, it has expanded northwestwards in the Shahr-i Naw suburb towards the British Embassy and southwestwards towards the University of Kābul and King Amān Allāh's former palace of the Dār al-Amān.

*Bibliography*: For the geographical position of Kābul and the development of the modern city, see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, 130-9, and the detailed social, demographic and economic survey in H. Hahn, *Die Stadt Kabul (Afghanistan) und ihr Umland*. i. *Gestaltungswandel einer orientalischen Stadt*. ii. *Sozialstruktur und wirtschaftliche Lage der Agrarbevölkerung im Stadtumland*, Bonner geographische Abhandlungen, Hefte 34-5, Bonn 1964-5 (contains many useful maps). For Kābul's history during the mediaeval period, see scattered references in R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Cairo 1948; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, Berlin 1901; C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffārids*, Rome 1968; H. C. Ray, *The dynastic history of Northern India*, i, Calcutta 1931; M. Forstner, *Ya'qūb b. al-Layl und der Zunbil*, in *ZDMG*, cxx/1 (1970), 69-83. The information of the Muslim geographers is subsumed in Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 348-50, to which should be added *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 11, 343-7. The *Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1921, devotes much space to the topography and products of the Kābul region. For the modern period, see the sources quoted in the bibliography to AFGHĀNISTĀN, i, and v; the accounts of 19th and early 20th century travellers and officials like Mountstuart Elphinstone, Alexander Burnes, J. P. Ferrier, Sir Thomas Holdich, etc., are especially valuable here.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KĀBULISTĀN**, the upper basin of the Kābul River (see preceding article), vaguely defined in early Islamic times as the region between Bāmiyān in the west and Lamghān in the east. The geographer Muḳaddasī (c. 375/985) includes within it all the country north of Ghazna and Zābulistān, *i.e.*, the Lōgar valley, cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 349; and it is only about this time that the term "Kābul" becomes specialised for the name of the town rather than being applied to the whole region of Kābulistān. In contemporary Afghānistān, the heart of the mediaeval Kābulistān has since 1964 formed the *wilāyat* or province of Kābul.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KĀBŪS B. WUSHMAGĪR B. ZIYĀR, SHAMS AL-MĀ'ĀLI ABU'L-ḤASAN** (reigned 366-71/977-81 and



388-403/998 to 1012-13), fourth ruler of the Ziyārid dynasty which had been founded by Mardāwīd b. Ziyār [q.v.] and which ruled in Ṭabaristān and Gurgān (Djurdjān). Like other families rising to prominence in the "Daylami interlude" of Persian history, the Ziyārids endeavoured to attach themselves to the pre-Islamic Iranian past, and Kābūs's grandson Kay Kā'ūs makes Kābūs's ancestors rulers of Gilān in the time of Kay Khusrāw (*Kābūs-nāma*, Preface). As under his predecessors, suzerainty over the Caspian coastlands continued in Kābūs's time to be disputed by the Sāmānids in Khurāsān and the Būyids of western Persia. It seems to have been support from the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q.v.] which enabled Kābūs to succeed his brother Zahir al-Dawla Bisutūn in 366/977, for the great Amīr's overlordship is acknowledged on Kābūs's first coins; it was also at this point that he received the honorific of 'Shams al-Ma'ālī' from the Caliph al-Ṭā'ī.

However, Kābūs soon afterwards gave help to his son-in-law Fakhr al-Dawla [q.v.], the Būyid ruler of the Kurdish region of Djībāl, against the latter's brothers 'Aḍud al-Dawla and Mu'ayyid al-Dawla. This course proved disastrous for Kābūs. He lost control of much of Ṭabaristān by 369/979-80, and in 371/981-2 the remainder of his kingdom was invaded by Būyid forces under Mu'ayyid al-Dawla in person. After a defeat at Astarābād, Kābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla were compelled to seek refuge in Nišāpūr with the Sāmānid general Ḥusām al-Dawla Tāsh. Despite Sāmānid aid, the two fugitives were unable to stage a revanche as long as 'Aḍud al-Dawla lived. The Caspian region remained under Mu'ayyid al-Dawla's control until his death in 373/984, when Fakhr al-Dawla returned from Nišāpūr and with the Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād's support, became ruler in Rayy and Djībāl. Būyid ingratitude prevented Kābūs from sharing in this reversal of fortunes, and it was not until after Fakhr al-Dawla's death that Kābūs, after 17 years' exile among the Sāmānids, returned at the invitation of the local people to his ancestral lands (388/998).

The events of Kābūs's second reign are less well-documented in the sources; nor do we possess any coins from these later years. The historians relate that Kābūs's tyrannical and bloodthirsty rule, which had culminated in the execution of the governor of Astarābād for alleged Mu'tazilī beliefs, finally led to a military revolt. Kābūs agreed to abdicate in favour of his son Manūčīhr; but shortly afterwards the rebels murdered him by exposure to the winter cold (403/1012-13). His mausoleum, erected in 397/1006-7, may still be seen outside the modern town of Gurgān [see GUNBADH-I KĀBŪS]. After Kābūs's death, the Ziyārid kingdom fell increasingly under the influence of the Ghaznawids, heirs to the Sāmānids in Khurāsān.

Despite his reputation for cruelty, Kābūs achieved a great contemporary renown as a scholar and poet in both Arabic and Persian. His long exile among the Sāmānids brought him into fertile contact with the luminaries of the brilliant Bukhārā court culture. In the *Yatimat al-dahr*, Ṭha'ālībī calls him "the seal of rulers, the outstanding figure of the age, and the fountainhead of all equity and beneficence", whilst Ibn Shuhayd, cited in Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhkhira*, i/1, 202 (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd, Hayātuhu wa-āthāruhu*, Amman 1966, 132), links him with Bad' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as the leading figures in the new wave of rhymed-prose writers. The extant Arabic works of Kābūs comprise a collection of *rasā'il* and a work on *adab* and proverbs, but 'Askarī gives high

praise to a *Risāla fi'l-iftikhār wa'l-ṣitāb*, now lost (see Brockelmann, S I, 154). Kābūs was also an expert calligrapher and authority on astrology. As a patron of the arts, he received the dedication of verses by several of the great poets of the time, but the greatest lustre accruing to him came from his association with Ibn Sinā (Avicenna), who fled from Khwārazm for refuge at Kābūs's court before going on to Rayy, and also from his association with Bīrūnī, who came to Gurgān shortly after Kābūs's restoration in 388/998 and there dedicated to the amir his *al-Āthār al-bākiya*.

- Bibliography*: 1. Primary historical sources: 'Utbi-Manīnī, *Yamīnī*, i, 105-51, 390 ff., ii, 1-26, 172-9; Miskawayh and Rūdhrawarī, in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 415, iii, 15-18, 24-6, 28, 93, 98-9, 297-8; Gardīzi, ed. Nāzīm, 46, 50; *Kābūs-nāma*, ed. Levy, 55, 135-6, tr. 88-9, 231-4; Ibn Isfandiyyār, ed. Iḳbāl, ii, 4-13, tr. Browne, 225-33; *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 394 ff.; *Djurbādh-kānī*, *Tardjuma-yi Yamīnī*, Tehran 1334/1955, 54-77, 163-70, 221-3; Yāqūt, *Irsḥād*, vi, 143-52; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 506, ix, 8-9, 98-100, 167-9; Ibn Khallikān, iii, 243-8, no. 512, tr. ii, 507-10; Mustawfī, *Guzida*, Tehran 1339/1960, 388, 414-15, 420; Mīr-kh'wānd, iv, 25-7
2. Secondary historical sources: Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyarides*, in *Méms. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xliii (Paris 1922), 403-15; M. Nāzīm, *Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 77-8; Spuler, *Iran*, 102-3, 109; M. Kabir, *History of the Ziyarids*, in *J. of the Asiatic Soc. of Pakistan*, v (1960), 8 ff.; J. C. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz 'Aḍud ad-Daulas*, Wiesbaden 1965, 140-7.
3. Numismatics: S. M. Stern, *The coins of Amul*, in *NC*, Ser. 7, vii (1967), 255-7, 266.
4. Cultural: Ṭha'ālībī, *Yatimat al-dahr*, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iv, 59-61; 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Nafīsī, 30-1, 256-7; Dawlat-Shāh, ed. 'Abbāsī, 56-7; Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 78-80, revised tr. 87-90; Browne, i, 469-71; Zakī Mubārak, *al-Naṭh al-fanni*, ii, 277-89.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

#### KĀBŪS-NAME [see KAY KĀ'ŪS].

**KABYLIA**, a mountainous region in the Algerian Tell. The word Kabylia, coined by the French, means "land of the Kabyles" (*bilād al-Kabā'il*). This name is of fairly recent origin, however, for it is not found in the works of Arabic historians and geographers; it is probably of oral origin and intended for use by foreigners, *i.e.*, Europeans; it seems to have been introduced into geographic nomenclature by European writers from the 16th century onwards. The word "Kabyle", the etymology of which is sometimes questioned, seems to correspond to the Arabic word *kaḳā'il*, plural of *kaḳāila* "tribe", which certain Arabic writers used as a synonym for the Berbers. It was already employed with this meaning by the author of the *Rawḍ al-Kiriṭās* who, in various passages enumerating the contingents of the Marīnid armies (notably pp. 217 and 238 of the Arabic text), carefully distinguishes between the *Kabā'il* and the Arabs.

Geography and Economy. To the east of the plain of Mitidja a barrier of high land extends as far as the Tunisian frontier; these mountainous regions constitute the Kabylia, whose unity is as much physical as human. Close to the Mediterranean the base of ancient rocks, granite and micaceous, which in all probability constitutes the geological basis of North Africa, rises and forms a coastal rim, outcropping as plateaux, deeply dissected by erosion

into long parallel projections: such are the massifs of the Arbaa n-Ath-Iraten (formerly Fort National), Collo, and Edugh. The crystalline rocks have more recent strata, of which two are of great geographic importance: the secondary calcareous rocks were folded into long ranges spiked with peaks; the highest point of one of them, the Djurdjura, is the Lalla Khadidja at 2308 m.; the Djebel Babor rises to 2004 m. The tertiary sandstones spread out in an increasingly continuous surface layer from the west to the east, and because of the nature of the soils deriving from them are forested. Near the sea, torrents plunge over the Kabylia rim, where they gouge out virtually inaccessible vertical gorges; the gorges of Palestro and Kerrata and the canyons of Rhumel have a certain grandeur.

The northern flanks of the Kabylia are exposed to the masses of humid air originating in the Atlantic, thus receiving heavy rainfalls. One of the highest annual average rainfalls in Algeria, 1773 mm., was recorded at Bessombourg in the Collo massif. By reason of the altitude the precipitation can take the form of snow in midwinter, even reaching the depth of one metre at the 'Ayn al-Ḥammām station (formerly Michelet). Abundant humidity and the predominance of siliceous soils favour the spread of forests. Here they cover vast areas; in the main they are of oak, carpeting the middle slopes: the cork on the Numidian sandstones, the *zān* (*chênes zéens*, *quercus Mirbeckii*), the *afares* (*quercus castaneafolia*) and *ballūt* or hazelnut oak. Above 1,500 m. the cedar takes over; it used to grow on the scree on the slopes of the Djurdjura. Trees are important in the everyday life of the people of Kabylia: ash trees close to their houses are used to support vines; their leaves are used as fodder for cattle in summer and the wood is used in the manufacture of agricultural tools and domestic utensils. Olives and figs, which flourish as high as 600 m. and 1,000 m. above sea level respectively, are important components of the diet of the mountain dweller.

All these geographical elements, relief, humidity, low temperatures and forests, contribute to making the Kabylia an unproductive mountainous environment which became the refuge of a population determined to preserve its identity in the face of invaders. The Berber ethos has been maintained for centuries; it has kept its essential characteristics: its old social organization and its customs. Islam may have been accepted, but it was wholly vested with beliefs peculiar to Berber traditions. Arabic has not wholly supplanted Berber dialects, which are still in use throughout Great Kabylia.

The Kabylia mountains are closely kin to those of the western Mediterranean, their landscape bearing the imprint of the same ancient civilization. This is borne out first by the type of dwelling. In the Arbaa n-Ath-Iraten massif the village predominates: it runs along a single central street which follows the line of the ridge. Stone houses roofed with round tiles are inhabited by a group of families, the *kharrūba*, who refer to each other as brothers; each conjugal family occupies one room divided in two by a bench: on one side the people, on the other the livestock. The rooms are arranged around a central courtyard shut off on the outside by a double wooden door. In contrast to the collective village or *thadderth* is the *tūfik*, which is made up of scattered hamlets. Such dwelling places, perched high up and reached by winding paths, seem to have been imposed by the concern common to the populations of the Mediterranean world for protection against the attacks of neigh-

bours or strangers. Another possible explanation is that they meet the requirements for working a soil which is particularly difficult to utilize. Threshing floor and oil presses are installed at the entrance to the village. Under the walls of the houses the women cultivate small vegetable gardens. The slopes, rarely terraced, support groves of olive and fig trees, and fields of barley. The valley bottoms, where the wadis flow between steep banks covered with brushwood, are chilling, narrow, damp and gloomy, and it is easy to see why they remain uninhabited. The people are concentrated on the high land, moving from ridge to ridge. Where the valleys widen out into alluvial plains, the population abandons the high land, spreading out into *tūfiks* among the of barley fields. As in Lesser Kabylia, people are occasionally so dispersed that family huts are isolated in the midst of grazing for the oxen.

The geographer will be surprised at the almost total absence of terrace agriculture and the pastoral movement of flocks which have enabled other Mediterranean mountain dwellers to turn their environment to the best account. Instead, the Kabylia works silver, copper and wood to make coarse jewellery, carved tables and engraved dishes, while his wife weaves woollen carpets and makes pottery decorated with geometric figures. Pedlars travelled beyond the Mediterranean to sell these objects. Such ingenuity does not suffice to explain the great densities of population concentrated in such an unfavourable geographical environment: more than 140 inhabitants to the square kilometre in the major part of the Great Kabylia of Tizi Ouzou, with a maximum of 250 inhabitants in the district of Arbaa-n-Ath Iraten; between 95 and 140 in the Lesser Kabylia of Bidjāya (formerly Bougie); between 70 and 95 in the Lesser Kabylia of Collo and the districts of Skikda (formerly Philippeville) and 'Annāba (formerly Bône). These extraordinary population densities characterize a strongly structured human environment, appearing to be an instinctive defence to ensure the survival of a population which believes itself constantly threatened.

Be that as it may, the Kabylia could not have survived in such numbers if they had been reduced to living off the produce of their mountains. To these scanty resources they added the far more abundant ones available through emigration. The massifs are reservoirs of manpower from which the plains, settled at an early date, and the developing towns tapped a supply of workers when they needed them. Algiers is in part a Kabylia city; the outskirts constitute a waiting zone where those who still dare not face the unknown of the city crowd together: Aïn Taya has grown at the fastest rate, increasing from 2,910 inhabitants in 1954 to 21,906 in 1966. The urban centres of the mountains are also growing: in 12 years the population of Tizi Ouzou has risen from 6,056 to 25,852; that of Bidjāya from 29,748 to 59,991; that of Constantine from 111,315 to 240,672.

Since the beginning of the 20th century mountain dwellers from the east of Algeria have even crossed the sea to look for jobs in France and neighbouring countries. The 1966 census brings the number of emigrants living abroad who have remained in touch with their families by sending letters and money up to 268,000; according to the 1968 French census there were 612,000 natives of all regions of Algeria living in France. The two Kabylia départements of Tizi Ouzou (Great Kabylia) and Sétif (Lesser Kabylia) account for 20.77% and 25.99%, i.e., over 46% of all Algerian emigrants, which represents 16.9% and

14.5% of their total populations: thus one in six of those born in Great Kabylia lives abroad. The sums (savings and allowances) remitted by workers to their families have risen annually to 900 million Algerian *dinārs*, a currency contribution exceeding that derived from the export of wine or citrus fruit. Almost half of this income is sent to the Kabylia, whose basic resource is now their labour force of young men.

The results of emigration have not all been happy. The equilibrium of the mountain settlements has been upset. Several regions in Great and Lesser Kabylia have temporarily lost 20-30% of their adult male population. Old people, women and children predominate: there are not enough workers to cultivate the fields and shrub plantations. Agriculture is reduced to gardening on the outskirts of the villages and is declining. The wasteland gains more ground each year. Goats or poultry are reared on a small scale at the expense of flocks, which are decreasing in size. Traditional society has been disturbed, with a monetary economy supplanting the exchange of goods in kind. As food and clothes are bought from the local trader, the number of shops increases: the old pedlar has settled down. Often the standard of living has risen: foodstuffs such as sugar, tea, coffee and bread baked from wheat are becoming part of the regular diet. The returning emigrant often brings back luxury goods like cameras and transistor radios as presents. On his lavishly celebrated arrival, he introduces new ideas, tastes and desires which transform the outlook of his people. It is difficult for a young worker from a Renault factory to accept the absolute authority of an old man whose experience owes nothing to the modern world; breaking with tradition, he leaves the paternal roof and settles with his wife and children in a more open house, equipped with chimneys. Thus conjugal families often leave the *kharrāba*.

The Algerian government is aware of the dangers involved in emigration: if France should refuse to take in these workers, the economic and social consequences in Kabylia would be extremely grave. To put an end to this dependent state, the establishment of new jobs is envisaged to attract the emigrants home and to ensure their reintegration into the national economy by 1985. This goal can be reached only through large-scale industrialization of the mountain regions. For several years the number of newly-created jobs there has been increasing. The largest textile complex in Algeria, which will employ 2,200 workers, has been established in Great Kabylia at Drāben Khedda (formerly Mirabeau). In Lesser Kabylia Bidjāya today is an oil port capable of handling 14 million tons a year. Further to the east Constantine has a textile factory. Skikda will soon have a huge factory producing methane. The region of 'Annāba, which houses the leading metallurgical complex of al-Ḥadjar (formerly Duzerville), is tending to become a focal point of development, the centre for a vast mountain hinterland.

In spite of its indisputable unity, the Kabyle world is divided into several differentiated regional entities. Great Kabylia is unquestionably the most individualistic, comprising from north to south the slight mountainous ridge of the Mizrana, behind the sheer slope from Dellys to Tigzirt, the rich valley of Sebāou, the ancient massif of Tizi-Ouzou, and the mighty limestone sierra of Djurdjura, whose southern slope comes down into the Soummam valley. Here the Berber ethos has been preserved: the people living in the heights have remained firmly attached to their own language and customs, resisting

changes brought by Islam and French colonization. Beyond the forested borderland of Yakouren, the Kabylia are populated by Arabic-speaking Berbers. The Lesser Kabylia of Bidjāya, comprising the lower valley of the Soummam and the Babor mountain range, is occupied by small communities who make a living by tilling the soil and raising oxen. The Kabyle Collo massif shelters wild peoples in the heart of its dense forests. Eastern Kabylia is a region of wooded mountain ranges, interspersed by basins where richer agriculture and facilities for transport have allowed towns to develop; Skikda, Constantine, 'Annāba, Guelma and Souk Ahras are poles of attraction for the mountain dwellers.

(H. ISNARD)

**Ethnography.** A significant proportion of the inhabitants of Kabylia, though the precise number is impossible to determine, is Berber-speaking, occupying Kabylia of the Djurdjura or Great Kabylia in particular. Although the inhabitants of Lesser Kabylia or Kabylia of the Babors are Berber-speaking to a slight degree only, Berber customs are firmly rooted among them. However, the Kabyles cannot be considered as constituting one true ethnic group, for all the evidence points to their being ethnically different, although their origins are obscure. They form part of the relatively ancient, pre-Carthaginian peoples of North Africa who probably arrived from different directions, but at least some from the Mediterranean. Living together for centuries in the Maghrib, they eventually built up a common civilization with a single language, which was not written down in the majority of cases and diversified into a great number of dialects with many features in common.

This essentially rural civilization has lasted until the present day in spite of historical vicissitudes and the other civilizations—Carthaginian, Roman, Arabic, Turkish and French—which confronted it. Perhaps the Kabyles became more firmly attached to their ancestral way of life the humbler and more rustic they perceived it to be; at any rate, they had no wish to sacrifice it for the elaborate civilization of the Arabs, for example. That the latter was accommodated to a greater extent than any other was the result of a long association, it is true, but also because of the numerous eastern elements in Berber civilization and the affinities established at an early date. Much has been written on the customs of the Kabyles which, generally speaking, vary from community to community. Their rule of law, which until practically the present day was hardly ever written down but was preserved in the memory of all, differs on several points, notably the disinheritance of women, from Muslim law. Under French occupation a number of customs were recorded in French for the benefit of the magistrates, and French law gradually came to modify local custom and Muslim law.

That the Kabyles have been Muslims for a very long time is certain. Perhaps they embraced *Kharijism* during its greatest expansion (from the middle of the 2nd/8th century), but no information is available on this point. At the time of the French occupation it was apparent that Kabyle society professed an Islam more pietist than dogmatic, and that numerous holy men and women were venerated in the country. Religious figures, members of religious brotherhoods, and marabouts or *Shurfā'* enjoyed great esteem, often using their influence to settle differences arising between families or tribal groups, and had such privileges as exemption from tax. They

were almost the sole bearers of the written, that is Arabic, culture, which on the evidence of the work of *Shaykh* al-Warṭhīlānī (12th/18th century) was fairly rudimentary. They were however capable of teaching the basics of Arabic and a smattering of theology and Muslim law. Significant also were the religious brotherhoods, that founded by Sidi Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Ḳabrayn (Bū Ḳabrīn) (1126/1715-1208/1798) being by far the most important. Alongside God, the Prophet and the saints, the Kabyles believed firmly in the existence of maleficent and beneficent forces closely interwoven with man's existence.

Finally, we must consider the oral tradition in the Kabyle language, as distinct from the limited literature written in Arabic. Numerous specimens from this very rich field have been collected, transcribed and very often translated by orientlists or Kabyles. It was handed down within the framework of the family or village and subject to all the hazards inherent in a purely oral transmission. The tradition was also preserved by professionals who travelled from village to village singing the praises of God and the saints and recounting the struggles of tribes and the exploits of warriors. Others were practitioners of a more lighthearted, even bawdy, style. Verse was important, for it was more easily remembered than prose, and pious, moral and humorous tales were popular. This largely unexplored treasure is in great danger of disappearing, for the young are no longer interested in such old ways.

History. It is more or less established that neither the Carthaginians nor the Romans penetrated deeply into the Kabyle bloc. There are significantly few Roman ruins in Djurdjura, except in some coastal settlements. Arab civilization reached Kabylia of the Babors by the end of the 3rd/9th century, as evidenced by the welcome given by the Kutāma to the Fāṭimid missionary Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī, but seems to have reached Kabylia of the Djurdjura only in the shape of Islam, which was probably introduced at an early date though in superficial fashion. In fact, throughout the Middle Ages little is heard of Kabylia. It was subject to the Almohads, but we have no idea under what conditions it then came under the authority of the Ḥafṣids or of the Zayyānids of Tlemcen, and sometimes, for very short periods, even the Marinids of Fez. Kabylia seems rather to have survived these vicissitudes than to have played a prominent rôle, and it may be supposed that during this period of more than two centuries it was largely autonomous.

It is not until the 10th/16th century that the Kabyles, perhaps unwittingly, took an active part in the history of the Maghrib. The Barbarossa brothers, 'Arūḍj and then Ḳhayr al-Dīn [q.v.], made the Djidjelli region their first base of operations, with Algiers as their final objective. Since the Kabyle massifs constituted a screen between Djidjelli and Algiers, the Turks were forced to take account of the local inhabitants who could cut off their route, and the latter had to adopt attitudes which obviously influenced subsequent events. At that time the Kabyle peoples were divided between three powers, which Western writers called the kingdom of Kūko, the kingdom of Labbès (Banū 'Abbās) and the principality of the Banū Djuubar. The last-named held sway over the tribes inhabiting the coastal zone to the east of Bidjāya. The kingdom of Labbès was situated to the east of the Wādī 'l-Sāḥil or Summām, and spread over at least part of Kabylia of the Babors; that of Kūko stretched from Djurdjura

to the sea and was served by the port of Azeffūn: in other words it included the major part of Kabylia of the Djurdjura. At the time of 'Arūḍj, the leader of Kūko was named Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī; 'Arūḍj concluded an alliance with him, obtaining contingents of mountain fighters as reinforcements for his scanty Turkish army. During this time the Banū Djuubar and the Banū 'Abbās usually sided with the Spaniards from Bidjāya. Under Ḳhayr al-Dīn the scene changed: having quarrelled with him, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī went so far as to attack him, and played no small part in his short-lived surrender of Algiers (1520-25). The Turks then turned back towards the Banū 'Abbās and regained the upper hand. A similar state of affairs must have obtained during almost the whole of Turkish domination, with the different Kabyle groups sometimes allying themselves with the rulers of Algiers, then rebelling against them for a time, until, besieged in their mountains, they were obliged to negotiate in order to gain breathing space. Occasionally a matrimonial alliance strengthened the bonds between the Kabyles and Algiers, (the marriage of Ḥasan Paṣḥa to a daughter of the king of Kūko in 1560); often Kabyle contingents arrived to reinforce the Turkish troops (during the Turkish expedition against Morocco in 1574). This did not prevent the Kabyles from continuing their intermittent relationship with Spain nor from welcoming Christian prisoners who escaped from Algiers: it was in this way that in 1559 the chief of the Banū 'Abbās had at his disposal "a good troop of musketeers" (Haiedo, *Histoire des Rois d'Alger*, 119) and that for about ten years, from 1598 to 1608, the leader of Kūko maintained close relations with Philip III of Spain, who at one point thought of taking Algiers with the help of the Kabyles (Carlos Rodriguez Jouliz Saint Cyr, *Felipe III y el Rey de Cuco*, Madrid 1954). These vicissitudes sometimes brought in their wake internal political changes, such as the disappearance of the kingdom of Kūko and its transformation into a confederation of the Zwāwa, or the birth of a new confederation of the Geshṭūla (Ighshḍal) in the western part of Djurdjura at the instigation of a *shaykh* named Gassem (Ḳāsim).

Right up to the end, Turkish authority remained very shaky. The theoretically subject tribes were split into two Kaidates, Boghni and Sebaou plus the town of Bidjāya. To maintain law and order and to raise taxes the Kaidats had at their disposal several hundred janissaries, stationed at fortified posts, and troops of auxiliaries, some black ('*abid*'). They intervened as little as possible in local affairs and held the country by the constant threat of a blockade which it could not withstand, for the resources brought from outside were indispensable. In addition the Turks fostered local discord and gave their support to religious personalities by helping them erect sacred buildings. On the whole Turkish rule left no bitter taste in Kabylia since it was not rigidly enforced: "In popular songs the Turk is represented as a brave, dignified character; when the poet wishes to praise one of his compatriots, he compares him to a Turk" (Hanoteau, *Poésie populaire de la Kabylie du Djurdjura*, 63-4, n. 3).

During the Turkish period the Kabyle populations preserved their political and administrative institutions intact. These constituted an aggregate of small republics grouped into a federation extending over a small area. The political and administrative unit was the village (*thaddarth*), which was subdivided into groups, called *adrām*, *tharīfth*, *takherrūbt* and *kharrūba* according to locality. A collection of several

villages bound by reciprocal obligations constituted a tribe, 'arsh. At the time of the French conquest there were 1,400 villages divided among 120 tribes. A federation of several tribes was called *thakbilh* (Arabic *ḥabila*). In certain cases several confederations united as a temporary measure for communal military action, but any alliance outside the tribe was very unstable.

The village seems to have been a municipal republic subject to the authority of the citizens' assembly (*thadīma'ith*, Arabic *djāmā'a*), which had very far-reaching powers. It appointed a president (*amok-krān*, *amghār*, *amin*) charged with carrying out its decisions, and *temmān* (sing. *tāmen*, Arabic *dāmin*) as his deputies, or perhaps his supervisors. The *djāmā'a* assessed the quota and allocation of taxes, decided on war and peace, regulated relief funds and modified local customs if the need arose. It was composed of all the male inhabitants old enough to observe the fast of Ramaḍān, but in reality decisions were made by an oligarchy of rich and influential men who laid down the law. The authority of the *djāmā'a* was limited by the respect it owed to the rights of individuals and families, and by customs in force. Tribes and confederations employed the same type of organization, but the more widespread the grouping the looser the bonds of solidarity between its members. Moreover this solidarity was restricted by the existence within all the groups of *soff*, or parties, of whose origins and methods of functioning little is known. In short, Kabylia was made up of very small units whose relations with each other were perpetually unstable, and as the traveller al-Warḥī-lānī bears witness, the country lived in a state of endemic anarchy.

Such was the situation in Kabylia when the French disembarked at Algiers in 1830. They immediately came into contact with the Kabyles, since the latter were numerous in the capital, but had no thought of occupying their country, because, for several years, they were not even sure if they would remain in Algiers. After the departure of the Turkish garrisons, Kabylia enjoyed a period of complete independence which was hardly conducive to the cohesion of the country. Nevertheless an immediate understanding was reached between the Kabyles and the new occupants, since from August 1830 onwards Bourmont contemplated establishing military units of Zwāwa (Zouaves); the chequered career of these units opened on 1 October 1830.

Before the French took any real interest in the Kabyles the amīr 'Abd al-Kādir made approaches to them, since he considered them part of his sphere of influence as defined by the treaty of Tafna, and since he knew them to be hostile to French domination. He appointed a *ḫalīfa* of Sebaou, but was not recognized as sultan by the Kabyles. When Bugeaud was appointed governor-general and commander-in-chief, he was too absorbed in his struggle against 'Abd al-Kādir to attend to Kabylia; this he did in 1844, when, as soon as he gained a slight respite, he occupied Dellys. In 1847, in spite of French government opinion, he embarked on a fresh campaign and had some successes on the periphery of the territory, but the problem of the Kabyle massif remained more or less untouched. It was only after the election in France of Prince-President Louis Napoleon Bonaparte that the Kabyle question was taken up again. A campaign against the supposed *sharif* Abū Baghla opened in 1851, followed by another in Kabylia of the Babors led by General de Saint Arnaud which resulted in the decisive occupation of Djidjelli.

Kabylia of the Djurdjura remained unconquered, however, and disturbances were frequent, especially at the instigation of the Rahmāniyya brotherhood. On each occasion the French reacted, finally deciding to occupy the Kabyle massif completely, under the leadership of Marshal Randon, the governor-general. After a campaign, made difficult by the nature of the terrain and the tenacity of the tribes, the latter submitted at the beginning of July 1857. In return for hostages and a war tax the Kabyl tribes secured the preservation of their municipal regime, but the great native commands which had continued to exist in the face of many vicissitudes progressively disappeared.

The two Kabylas played an active part in the 1871 insurrection, and were harshly punished by confiscation of land and heavy fines; the municipal assemblies were theoretically suppressed, but the *amins* of the communities were maintained; French magistrates were introduced into the Djurdjura, charged with preserving Kabyle custom. Later, from 1880 onwards, Kabylia of the Djurdjura was divided into four "communes mixtes" and four judicial districts, and for several years gallicization was pursued with a measure of success. With the agreement of his principal councillors, Jules Cambon then clamped down on Kabyle politics, which he considered illusory. At the time of the creation of the Financial Delegations (1898), the Kabylas provided six (four for Kabylia of the Djurdjura) out of 21 native delegates. This mark of favour was followed by a new tendency to gallicize Kabylia, especially through the schools, which were relatively well-developed in this part of Algeria. At about the same period Kabyle emigration to France began. At first it was slight, but it conformed to a very ancient Kabyle tradition and need, and increased in volume during World War I. It produced quite a considerable rush of capital into the country with the workers sending all their savings to their families.

Thus it is not surprising after that that the Kabyles took a large part in the development of the "North African Star", founded in Paris in 1926 at the instigation of the French Communist Party and largely composed of Kabyles. As this group, which from 1927 was led by Maṣṣālī Hādīdji, soon clamoured for the independence of Algeria, a number of Kabyls found themselves at the head of the Algerian independence movement, although in the country itself tradition remained strong. It was on the border of Kabylia or in Kabylia of the Babors that the 1945 Algerian insurrection broke out; like that of 1871, it was firmly punished. From 1947 onwards a small group of Kabyles under the leadership of Belkasem Krim (Ibn al-Kāsim Karim) decided, for political reasons, to live as outlaws: this group became the core of the 1954 revolt in Kabylia.

Individual Kabyles, like Krim, Ait Ahmad, Boudiaf, Ouamran, etc., played a decisive role in triggering the Algerian War, whether they were directing action on the spot or living outside Algeria and travelling the world over to promote the Algerian cause. There was even a period (1955-7) when the action undertaken in Algeria was directed by the Kabyle Ramdan Aban. The apogee of this period came in August 1956 with the Soummam Valley Congress, inspired and brought into being by Aban and Krim. Of the death of the former in 1959 little is known; the latter was one of the negotiators of the Evian Agreement, which, in March 1962, put an end to the Algerian War. Not content with providing several influential leaders, a very large part of the population of Kabylia partici-

pated in the war, and the entire population maintained silence about the movements of the members of the National Liberation Army. At the end of the war the sector of Kabylia of the Djurdjura (*Wilāya III*) was under the command of a Kabyle, Colonel Moḥand u l-Hādī. After the war and the referendum instituting independence, a fierce struggle for power began in Algeria, especially between the members of the N.L.F. who arrived from abroad and certain resistance groups (*Wilāya III* and *IV*); among the latter were the Kabyles of *Wilāya III*, including Belkasem Krim. On several occasions (July and the end of August) they united in their mountain stronghold, and then matters were settled, at least on the surface. But the uneasiness continued, as witness the referendum and presidential election of September 1963 in which a great many abstentions were recorded in the electoral constituencies of the Djurdjura.

Not long afterwards, on 29 September 1963, Kabylia of the Djurdjura rose under the leadership of Ait Ahmed and Colonel Moḥand u l-Hādī, seemingly on the pretext of the government's dissolution of the Socialist Forces Front, founded by Ait Ahmed. The actual hostilities were insignificant, and the Algerian-Moroccan fighting which broke out on October 11 was made the occasion of smoothing over the conflict; everything returned to normal after October 20, although Ait Ahmed remained underground. This general protest by the Kabyles had an important consequence: the meeting of the N.L.F. Congress of April 1964, where, for the first time since the end of the war, it was possible to speak freely in outlining a common programme for the new Algerian state. In spite of this, outrages still took place in several places in Kabylia from April to June 1964 and Kabyle participation in the legislative election of 20 September was small: 57.38% voters and an appreciable number of blank papers.

Subsequently Ait Ahmed was arrested (17 October 1964), condemned to death and reprieved (12 April 1965). Escaping on 30 April he went to swell the opposition group living outside Algeria. Belkasem Krim founded an opposition movement abroad on 15 October 1967. For the moment all this is of little consequence. On the spot, the local elections of February 1967 were still marked by a large percentage of abstentions in Kabylia. But the government of Colonel Boumedienne (Abū Madyan) has ensured that Kabylia is peaceful, and in October 1968 published an economic and social development programme for Great Kabylia, matched by a sizeable number of millions of Algerian *dinārs*.

*Bibliography:* General.—G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1961; A. H. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles*, Paris 1893, 3 vols.; C. Devaux, *Les Kébailles du Djerdjera. Études sur les pays vulgairement appelés la Grande Kabylie*, Marseille-Paris 1856; E. Carette, *Études sur la Kabylie proprement dite*, Paris 1848, 2 vols.; J. Liorel, *Races berbères. Kabylie du Jurjura*, Paris 1893; J. Morizot, *L'Algérie Kabylisée*, Paris 1962; Y. Courrière, *La guerre d'Algérie*, I, *Les fils de la Toussaint*; II, *Le temps des Léopards*, Paris 1968, 1969, III, *L'Heure des Colonels*, 1970; *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, 1962 à 1968*, 7 vols., 1963 to 1969, *passim*.—History: E. Daumas and Fasar, *La Grande Kabylie, études historiques*, Paris 1947; L. A. Berbrugger, *Les époques militaires de la Grande Kabylie*, Algiers 1857; S. A. Boulifa, *Le Djurdjura à travers l'histoire. Organisation et indépendance des Zouaoua*, Algiers 1925; M. Hadj-Sadok, *A travers la Berbérie orientale du XVIII<sup>e</sup>*

*siècle avec le voyageur Al-Warḥilāni*, in *R.Afr.*, Nos. 428-429 (1951); N. Robin, *L'insurrection de la Grande Kabylie en 1871*, Paris 1901; L. Rinn, *L'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, Algiers 1891; Ch. Ageron, *La France a-t-elle eu une politique Kabyle?*, in *Revue historique*, 1960, 311-52; idem, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871-1919)*, 2 vols., Paris 1968, 267-92, 481-4, 854-68, 873-90 and *passim*; F. Dessomes, *Notes sur l'histoire de Kabylie*, Fort National 1964.—Economic life.—Caix de Saint Amour, *Questions algériennes. Arabes et Kabyles*, Paris 1891; R. Maunier, *L'économie Kabyle*, in *Mélanges de Sociologie nord-africaine*, Paris 1930, 88-108; A. Russinger, *Quelques problèmes humains posés par le développement agricole en Grande Kabylie*, in *Liens*, x (April-September 1959), 123-43; P. Schoen, *Les travaux et les jours du paysan Kabyle*, in *Liens*, xii (first quarter 1960), 1-63; R. Ancel, *La Kabylie vivra-t-elle?*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xvii (1952), 43-51.—Cottage Industry: J. L. Myres, *Notes on the history of the Kabyle pottery*, in *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, 1902, 248-62; P. Ricard, *Tissage berbère des Ait Aïssi (Grande Kabylie)*, in *Hespéris*, v (1925), 219-25; G. Chantreaux, *Le tissage sur métier à haute lisse à Ait Hichen et dans le haut Sébaou*, Algiers 1942; C. Lacoste, *Sabres Kabyles*, in *Journal de la société des Africanistes*, xxviii (1958), 111-91; L. Golvin, *Les arts populaires en Algérie*, ii, *Les tapis algériens*, Paris 1953.—Habitat.—A. Bernard, *Enquête sur l'habitation rurale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1921; R. Maunier, *La construction collective de la maison en Kabylie. Étude de coopération économique chez les Berbères du Djurdjura*, *Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, iii, 1926; M. Larnaud, *Le groupement de la population berbère dans la Kabylie de Djurdjura*, *Société historique algérienne*, 1932, 269-93; J. Stamboul, *Le problème de l'habitat rural en Kabylie et dans les territoires du Sud*, in *Liens*, vi (May 1958), 11-20.—Demography.—*La répartition en altitude des populations de la Kabylie du Djurdjura (Algérie)*, in *Annales de Géographie*, lx (1951), 238-9; P. Boyer, *L'évolution démographique des populations musulmanes du département d'Alger (1830-1948)*, in *R.Afr.*, xciii (1954), 308-53; L. Muracciole, *L'émigration algérienne. Aspects économiques, sociaux et juridiques*, Algiers 1950; R. Montagne, *L'émigration des musulmans d'Algérie en France*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xxi (1951), 5-19.—Ethnographic Studies.—E. Daumas, *Mœurs et coutumes de l'Algérie*, Tell, Kabylie, Sahara, Paris 1853; Besson, *Études comparatives sur la constitution de la famille chez les Kabyles*, in *Bulletin de la société de législation comparée*, xxv (1894), 276-96; M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Les cérémonies de mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie*, Paris 1901; J. Lanfry, *Mariage (retour de la femme au domicile de ses parents sans répudiation)*, in *Fichier de documentation berbère*, 1969, 1-49; R. Laurette, *Aspect de la vie sociale en petite Kabylie*, in *Cahiers Nord-Africains*, xvii (1951), 3-39; E. Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie (Kabyles du Djurdjura, Chaouia de l'Aurès, Beni-Mezab)*, Paris 1886; J. Lanfry, *Assemblée du village*, in *Fichier de documentation berbère*, 1946, 1959; P. Bourdieu, *Sociologie de l'Algérie*, Paris 1958; J. Servier, *Les portes de l'année*, Paris 1962.—Law.—G. Marcy, *Le problème du droit coutumier berbère, in France Méditerranéenne et africaine* 1939, or in *Revue de législation et jurisprudence algérienne, tunisienne et*

marocaine, 1955; G. Letellier, *Le problème du droit coutumier berbère*, in *Ibla*, iii (1939), 381-93; Campredon, *Étude sur l'évolution des coutumiers Kabyles*, Algiers 1921; R. Maunier, *Le ménage Kabyle (régime des biens entre époux)*, *Études de sociologie et d'ethnologie juridique*, Paris 1930-2; R. Maunier, *Famille Kabyle et famille romaine. Le ménage Kabyle et les biens des époux. Coutumes algériennes*, Paris 1935; F. Dulout, *Le mariage de Kabyles et les actes d'État civil relatifs aux dits mariages*, in *Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence*, i (1934), 86-91; M. Morand, *Le statut de la femme Kabyle et la réforme des coutumes berbères*, in *R.E.I.*, i (1927), 47-94; L. Milliot, *Une réforme du statut de la femme kabyle*, in *Afrique Française et Renseignements Coloniaux*, xlx (1931), 681-3; L. Bousquet-Lefevre, *La femme kabyle*, Paris 1959; B. Luc, *Le droit kabyle*, Toulouse 1911; L. Milliot, *Les nouveaux quauoun kabyles*, in *Hespéris*, v (1926), 365-418; M. Remond, *L'élargissement des droits politiques des indigènes. Les conséquences en Kabylie*, in *R.Afr.*, lxviii (1927), 213-53; J. Mazard, *La loi du 2 mai 1930 sur les mariages kabyles*, in *Revue Algérienne, tunisienne, et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence*, i (1933), 137-48.—Literature.—A. Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie de Djurdjura*, Paris 1869; Mouliéras, *Légendes et contes merveilleux de la grande Kabylie*, 2 vols., Paris 1893; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920; F. Amrouche, *Histoire de ma vie*, Paris 1968; J. Amrouche, *Chants berbères de Kabylie*, Tunis 1939; J. M. Dallet, *Contes kabyles inédits*; E. Dermenghem, *Contes kabyles*, Algiers 1945; M. Mammeri, *Evolution de la poésie kabyle*, in *R. Afr.*, xciv (1950), 125-48; M. Feraoun, *Les poèmes de Si Mohand*, Paris 1960; M. Mammeri, *La Colline oubliée*, Paris 1952; M. Feraoun, *Jours de Kabylie*, Algiers 1954; M. Feraoun, *La terre et le sang*, Paris (no date); M. Feraoun, *Les chemins qui montent*, Paris 1957; M. Feraoun, *Journal (1955-1962)*, Paris 1962; C. Lacoste, *Légendes et contes merveilleux de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris 1965.—Language.—Boulika, *Méthode de langue kabyle, étude linguistique et sociologique sur la Kabylie de Djurdjura*, Algiers 1913; J. M. Dallet, *Le verbe kabyle: parler des Ait Mangellat*, Paris 1953; A. Picard, *De quelques faits linguistiques dans le parler berbère des Irjen (Kabylie-Algérie)*, Algiers 1960; A. Picard, *Textes berbères dans le parler des Irjen*, 2 vols., Algiers 1958; A. Basset, *Études de géographie linguistique en Kabylie*, Paris 1929; idem, *La langue berbère*, in *Handbook of African Languages*, London 1952, 65-6; *Fichier de documentation berbère*, Fort-National; C. Lacoste, *Bibl. ethn. de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris — The Hague 1962. (R. LE TOURNEAU)

**KACĀCH** [see Supplement].

**KACĀCHĪ** OR **KACĀCH GANDĀWA**, province of Pākistānī Balūcīstān extending from 27° 53' to 29° 35' N. and from 67° 11' to 68° 28' E. It forms a level plain enclosed on the north and east by the southern Sulaymān range and on the west by the Kīrthār Ranges. To the south it is open, being bounded by the plain of northern Sindh.

The history of the region is more closely connected with that of Sindh than that of Balūcīstān. Its chief town, Kandābīl (probably Gandāwa) is said to have been taken by the Brāhman Rāy Čāc in the 7th century A.D., and to have been despoiled by the Arabs many times after the conquest. The region later

passed into the control of the Sūmras and Sammās of Sindh. The Balōc arrived in the 9th/15th century, but they were never a strong political force and control passed first to the Arghūns, then to the Mughals, and at last to the Kalhōrās of Sindh. In 1153/1740 Mir 'Abd Allāh, the Aḥmadzay Khān of Kalāt, was killed by the Kalhōrās, and Nadīr Shāh made the region over to the Brāhūl in compensation. Later, before the creation of Pakistan, it formed part of the Khānate of Kalāt [q.v.] with the exception of small areas in the eastern half of Kačchī, where the Dōmbkī, Umarānī and Kahīrī tribes were only nominally subject to the Khān. These tribes lie to the east of the railway from Jacobabad to Quetta, which traverses the province from south to north. The territory west of this line is also mainly occupied by Balōc tribes with the exception of the area near Dhādhār in the north, where nomadic Brāhūis are found. Everywhere there is a large settled population of Dīāfīs (i.e. Dīāī [q.v.]). There are no large towns; Gandāwa, Shōrān, Dhādhār, Sibī and Lahri are the principal places. Cultivation is carried on by irrigation from the small streams and hill-torrents which issue from the mountains: the Nārī and Bōlān on the north, the Mūla and Suklēdjī on the west, and the Lahri and Chātār on the east. The valleys of the Mūla, Bōlān and Nārī form passes by which communication with the uplands has been carried on from time immemorial. The two first-named are now traversed by railways which lead to Quetta and Peshīn by the Bōlān and Harnai countries. The population is scattered but denser than in most parts of Balūcīstān.

*Bibliography: Census of India 1901 and 1911. Balochistan. Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, s.v. Kacchi. See also BALŪCĪSTĀN, SINDH.*

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES\*)

**KADĀ'** (A.), originally meaning "decision", has in the Qur'ān different meanings, according to the different contexts: e.g., "doomsday" (XLV, 17; X, 93), "jurisdiction" (XXVII, 78; XXXIX, 69; XL, 20), "revelation of the truth" (XXVIII, 44) and "predestination, determination, decree" (XL, 68) (cf. E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Leiden 1960, 65). In *A Dictionary of Islam* (London 1885, 479), T. P. Hughes gives the following concise definitions of the word: (1) the office of a *kādī* [q.v.], or judge; (2) the sentence of a *kādī*; (3) repeating prayers to make up for having omitted them at the appointed time; (4) making up for an omission in religious duties, such as fasting, etc.; (5) the decree existing in the Divine Mind from all eternity, and the execution and declaration of a decree at the appointed time; (6) sudden death. In the *EI*, D. B. Macdonald gives as the first "technical" meaning: "the office and functioning of a judge (*kādī*)," although this may not be the original (first formed) conceptual sphere of the word. D. S. Margoliouth has pointed out, in refuting J. Hammer's incorrect interpretation, that had the *kadā'* been a Qur'ānic institution, the word would be found in this sense in the Qur'ān (*Omar's Instructions to the Kadi, JRAS* (1910), 312-3).

On the basis of the Qur'ān the word *kadā'* can be understood as God's "eternal decision or decree" concerning all beings. It is given different interpretations, especially when contrasted with another term, *qadar* [see AL-KADĀ' WA-KADAR], meaning "destiny, predestination". For instance, according to al-Bukhārī [q.v.] *kadā'* is the eternal, universal and all-embracing decree of God, while *qadar* denotes the details of His eternal, universal decree. Contrary

to this, al-Rāghib [q.v.] interprets *ḡadar* as predestination and *kaḡā'* as the detailed, definite decree. Akḡtari [q.v.] (in the middle of the 10th/16th century) may have been influenced by him when he concluded that: "*ḡader devlet-i 'alīyyede defter-i idīmāl ve kaḡā' anīā terā' ve taḡsīmī mensilindedir*" (*Kāmūs terā'ümese*, iv, Istanbul 1305/1888, 1136). He also quotes a saying which is highly relevant to this differentiation; when the caliph 'Umar on his way to Damascus turned back for fear of plague, Abū 'Ubayda al-Djarrāḡ [q.v.] asked him: "Are you running away from the *kaḡā'*?", to which the caliph answered: "I am fleeing from Almighty God's *kaḡā'* to His *ḡadar*". The meaning of this, according to Akḡtari, is that "insofar as the *ḡadar* does not appear in the form of *kaḡā'*, there is a chance of averting it" (*op. cit.*, 1136). The essential point in all interpretations, however, is that the *kaḡā'* is the "decree or decision" of God that must be fulfilled in all circumstances. This sense of the word was related to the neglected performance of religious duties (*ṣalāt, ṣaum* [q.v.]), which was therefore also called *kaḡā'* (Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamisches Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910, 68, 122). This concept of the word later passed into legal terminology, so that *kaḡā'* came to mean "payment of a debt" (J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 148).

As well as this, it also acquired a more important legal interpretation: the judgement of the *ḡādī*, which he could never withdraw once it had been uttered, was also called *kaḡā'* (Schacht, *op. cit.*, 196 and Tyan, *op. cit.*, 445). The *kaḡā'* announced by the *ḡādī* was always binding while the *fatwā* [q.v.] given by the *muftī* was not. In forming his *kaḡā'* the *ḡādī* could rely not only on the *ṣharī'a* but also on the 'urf, for when some local customs grew stronger, the *urfī kaḡā'* gained ground alongside the *ṣharī kaḡā'* (M. Fuad Köprülü, *Fihh, IA*, iv, 614).

In the Ottoman empire *kaḡā'* meant not only the judgement of the *ḡādī* but also the district which his administrative authority covered. The extent of the *kaḡās*, however, varied, for local circumstances (the importance of a place, density of its population, etc.) dictated whether a city was made a separate *kaḡā'* or how many *kaḡās* a *livā* contained. For instance, in 936/1530 in Rumelia the *livā* of Alaḡja-ḡiṣār was divided into five *kaḡās* and the *livā* of Hersek into four; the *livā* of Izvornik contained only one *kaḡā'*, while the *livā* of Bosna consisted of six, and so on (T. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paṣa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 8-12). The term *kaḡā'*, denoting an administrative district, has remained in use in the Turkish republic.

*Bibliography*: I. H. Izmirli, *Kitāb ul-iftā wa'l-kaḡā'*, Ewḡāf Maḡba'asl 1336-38/1918-20; Ö. N. Bilmen, *Hukuk-i İslāmiye ve İstilahat-i Fikḡiye Kamusu*, Istanbul 1968-70; A. Gorvine, *An outline of Turkish Provincial and Local Government*, Ankara 1956; *Kaza ve vilayet üzerinde bir araştırma*, Ankara Üniv. Siyasal Bilgiler Fak., Ankara 1957. (GY. KÁLDY NAGY)

AL-KAḌĀ' WA 'L-KADAR. When combined into one expression, these two words have the overall meaning of the Decree of God, both the eternal Decree (the most frequent meaning of *kaḡā'*) and the Decree given existence in time (the most frequent sense of *ḡadar*). Other translations are possible: for example, *kaḡā'*, predetermination (usually eternal but according to some schools operating within time); *ḡadar*, decree (usually operating within time but according to some schools eternal) or fate, destiny, in the sense of determined or fixed. It is also possible

to use *kaḡā'* alone for Decree in its broadest sense and define *ḡadar* more precisely as existential determination. The expression combining them is in general use and has become a kind of binary technical term of 'ilm al-kaḡām.

A.—Analysis of the terms.—1. *al-kaḡā'*. The dictionary meaning of this is judgement, decision (from which comes the corresponding technical sense of this in the "science of law"). In 'ilm al-kaḡām (and secondly *falsafa*) it means a "universal" judgement or divine decree operating from all eternity and for eternity on whatever has existence (cf. al-Djurdjāni, *Ta'rifāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 185). Al-Bāḡḡūrī (*Hāṣḡiya 'alā . . . Djawharat al-tawḡid*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 66) takes pleasure in noting that *kaḡā'* can have seven possible meanings.

The verb *kaḡā* recurs frequently in the text of the Kur'an, usually referring to an act of God. However in XXXIII, 36 Muḡammad's name is joined to His ("when God and His Prophet have resolved. . ."). On four occasions (II, 117, III, 47, XIX, 35, XL, 68) *kaḡā* indicates the absolute power of God, free from any type of intermediary, allied to the single creative Word: "Whenever He has decreed (*kaḡā*) something, He says 'Be it (*kun*)' and it is so".

Understandably, in order to magnify the transcendent Will of the Almighty, the Aṣḡ'arī school laid stress on this sovereign Decree. Two references will suffice: a) In the *Luma'* (ed. and Eng. tr. by R. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Aṣḡ'arī*, Beirut 1953, 45-6/65), al-Aṣḡ'arī distinguishes two aspects of *kaḡā'*. In so far as it is (realized within) creation (*ḡhalḡ*), it relates as much to the true as to the false, to acts done in obedience to the Law as to impious acts. Nothing escapes it: the decree and its object coincide. But in so far as it is the Command (*amr*) of God, the Decree is simply rectitude and justice, for it is distinguished from that which is decreed.—b. Al-Bāḡḡillānī's *Tamḡid* (ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 325-6) takes up these themes almost word for word, substantiating them with kur'ānic proofs. For the Aṣḡ'arīs as a whole, *kaḡā'* was the very expression of the Divine Will. Like Will it is "an attribute of essence" and thus eternal.

Those of Māturīdī tendencies, however, understood *kaḡā'* as the bringing into being of things in time, and therefore as "an attribute of action". Because of this, the Aṣḡ'arīs accused the Māturīdīs of making *kaḡā'* a "contingent" attribute, while the latter retorted that in their view "attributes of action" had an eternal nature and that *kaḡā'*, allied not only to the Divine Will but also to the Prescience, was the eternal attribute which dictates the production of things, *takwin*. (Cf., for example, al-Taftāzāni, *Ṣharḡ al-'aḡā'id al-nasafīyya*, ed. Cairo 1321, 95; also 'Abd al-Raḡīm b. 'Alī, *Naṣm al-sarā'id*, ed. Cairo n.d., 28-30).

—2. *al-ḡadar* has the meaning of measure, evaluation, fixed limit (cf. Ibn ḡazm, *K. al-Fiṣal fī'l-mīlāl*, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 31). "God distributes widely and measures out (*yaḡḡdiru*) His gifts to whom He pleases" says the Kur'an in several places (XIII, 26, XVII, 30, XXVIII, 82, XXIX, 62, XXX, 37). In its 1st and 2nd form the root ḡ-d-r has the general sense of to determine, to establish, to decree. God is "He who established [the fate of men] (*ḡaddara*) and directed them on the straight road" (idem, LXXXVII, 3). There are a great number of *ḡadīḡs* on the subject (cf. *kitāb al-ḡadar* in al-Buḡḡārī's *Ṣaḡīḡ*). The Decree of God "for good or evil, weal or woe", which is stressed by several *ḡadīḡs*, is presented as one of the articles of faith which must be explicitly professed.



In its technical sense *ḳadar* therefore designates the divine decree in so far as it sets the fixed limits for each thing, or the measure of its being. It is often practically synonymous with the *maṣḍar* of the 2nd form, *taḳḍīr*, the act of determining or decreeing. Two of al-Djurdjānī's definitions (*Ta'rifāt*, 181) summarize the Ash'arī conception of *ḳadar*, singly and in its relationship with *ḳaḍā'*: "*ḳadar*: the relationship of the essential Will with things in their particular realization", and "*ḳadar*: the passage of possible entities from non-being into being, one by one, in accordance with *ḳaḍā'*. *Ḳaḍā'* pertains to pre-eternity, while *ḳadar* belongs to the present order of things".

Thus Ash'arī traditions stresses: a) both *ḳadar* and *ḳaḍā'* belong to the eternal Divine Will; and (b) that the former, the determining principle of contingent entities, is no longer "an attribute of essence", like *ḳaḍā'*, but "an attribute of action", itself designated "contingent" by reason of its end. In al-Ash'arī's *Luma'* (ed. cit., 37-53), the chapter dealing with the Divine Decree and its relationship with men's actions is entitled *al-ḳadar*, with questions concerning *ḳaḍā'* forming only one rather short section. Here too the Māturīdī line relates *ḳadar* not to the Will but to the eternal Prescience and considers it (unlike *ḳaḍā'*) "an attribute of essence".

Right from the first centuries the question of the Decree was one of the most frequently debated. According to Nallino (*Raccolta*, Rome 1940, ii, 176-80), all the thinkers who centred their discussions around *ḳadar*, no matter to which tendency they belonged, were termed *Ḳadariyya* from the outset. Yet al-Ash'arī, in the *Ibāna* and the *Luma'*, intends this term to be reserved for those early trends of *'ilm al-kalām* which, affirming human freedom, deny that the Divine Decree was pre-determined. They are usually considered as predecessors of the Mu'tazilīs. Subsequently they were sometimes confused with the latter (as by Ibn Taymiyya) and sometimes distinguished from them, it being emphasised that if the Mu'tazilīs held it to be true that man measures and determines his actions himself by his *ḳadar*, this is by reason of a *ḳudra*, an effective power which belongs to him but which has been created by God in each man. Ash'arite tradition considers that the *Ḳadariyya* argument deserves the stigma of impiety (*taḳfīr*); that of the Mu'tazilīs is "false, though less reprehensible" (al-Bāḍjūrī, *op. cit.*, 65). On this meaning and the various meanings of the word *Ḳadariyya*, see W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination...*, London 1948, 48 ff.; see also ḲADARIYYA below.

The *ḳadari*, says the *Luma'*, is he who maintains that man's actions are determined by man himself, not by God, and that man therefore possesses personally not only the power to act (*ḳudra*) but also the power to determine his action and decree its effect. It is in this sense that the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin* summarized al-Djubbā'ī's standpoint. Al-Ash'arī protested against those who wish to call *Ḳadariyya* the proponents of a divine Decree which alone creates and determines the acts of men.

This last meaning, however, which is etymologically defensible, was allowed by Ibn Taymiyya in his treatise *al-Ḳaḍā' wa'l-ʿAmr*, in which he distinguishes between the *Ḳadariyya-mudjabbira* and the *Ḳadariyya-ʿadliyya*. The first, among whom he lists, jumbled together, Djahmīs and many Ash'arīs, are seen as preaching belief in an absolute divine Decree at the expense of all human initiative. The second, comprising Mu'tazilīs, *Falāsifa* and *Shīʿīs*, are the

defenders of the liberty and responsibility of man at the expense of divine Omnipotence. Ibn Taymiyya sets off one type of *Ḳadariyya* against the other and affirms both divine Omnipotence and the responsibility of man, who becomes free only through obedience to the Law (cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad B. Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 165-7, and refs.).

—3. Finally, the *Falāsifa* integrated the conceptions of *ḳaḍā'* and *ḳadar* (or *taḳḍīr*) and defined them by and large in the same way as the Ash'arīs, except that they placed the absolute divine Decree (*ḳaḍā'*) and its existentialization within time (*ḳadar*) in accordance with the universal determinism of things, in a sense very close to their conception of divine providence or *'ināya* [q.v.]. Near the end of the *Ilāhiyyāt* of the *Shīfā'* (ed. Cairo 1960, 414 ff.), when Ibn Sinā enquires how it is that evil comes under the absolute Decree of the Prime Being, he reminds himself of the conception of *'ināya*. He distinguishes moreover between *ḳaḍā'* and *taḳḍīr* by locating each within the divine creative Knowledge (cf. also *Nadjiāt*, ed. Cairo 1357/1938, 302). "Every thing", say the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 185), "(...) is attained by His existential determination (*ḳadar*), which is the particularization (*taḳḍīl*) of His first Decree (*ḳaḍā'*), and necessarily so since that which is not necessary does not exist". Here, the production of beings is seen as an emanation from the Prime Being, necessary and willed. A similar viewpoint is found in a variety of *Shīʿī* sects or schools.

B.—The problems posed.—1. The expression *al-ḳaḍā' wa'l-ḳadar* was frequently used to designate the absolute nature of the Divine Decree in the aggregate, in eternity as much as in its contingent realizations. Depending on whether we are dealing with Ash'arī traditions or Māturīdī tendencies, as we have seen, the precise meanings of these two terms differ, as does their relationship with one another and their relationship with the Divine Essence and attributes. Yet every time that *'ilm al-kalām* deals with the acts of the Almighty, one of the most frequently asserted instances is the problem of *ḳaḍā'* and *ḳadar*. At the will of school or writer, it is constantly allied with conceptions of "contingent power" (*ḳudra ḥāditha*), the "capacity" for action (*istiṭā'a*), and the "acquisition" of his deeds by man (*ḥasb, iḥtisāb*). In *'ilm al-kalām* it is the very expression of the aporia of divine Omnipotence and the absolute freedom of God in comparison with freely chosen human action (*iḥtiyār*).

It was occasionally *ḳaḍā'* but oftener *ḳadar* (or both together) which was compared with human freedom. The Ash'arī and Māturīdī *mutakallimūn* endeavoured to affirm both the existence of the Divine Decree and man's responsibility, which latter is dependent on the Decree itself, through the *ḥasb*, the relationship, created by God, between acts and the subjects who performed them. (Cf. L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane: Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 116-20, 128-32).

Agreeing with this, Ibn Taymiyya upheld the absolute nature of the Decree (*ḳadar*) and the human faculty of free choice, but considered it pointless and futile to resort to the conception of *ḥasb* or *iḥtisāb*, the "acquisition" or "endorsement" of acts in R. Brunschvig's translation. (See Ibn Taymiyya, *Minḥādī al-Sunna*, ed. Cairo 1382/1962, i, 85-7, and R. Brunschvig, *Devoir et Pouvoir*, in *St. Isl.*, xx, 40-1 and refs.). This "pragmatic" attitude is found once more among the modern *salafiyya*, such as

Muḥammad 'Abduh in the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (Cairo 1353, 61).

—2. Must man give his consent (*riḍā*) to the Decree of the Almighty? The question was clearly put by the Mu'tazilīs. If every thing that exists comes under the divine *ḳaḍā'*, they said, then the acceptance of the impiety of the ungodly (an acceptance which is itself impious) is obligatory . . . (Cf. 'Abd al-Diabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-ḳhamsa*, ed. 'Uṭmān, Cairo 1348/1965, 771 ff.). Among the possible replies, we may cite a short chapter of the *Iḳhwān al-Ṣafā'*, a text of the *Tamḥīd* of al-Bāḳillānī and the *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on Ḳur'ān XXXIII, 37-8 ("God's Command must be carried out", XXXIII, 37 . . . "God's Command is an enacted Decree", *ibid.*, 38).

a) The *Iḳhwān al-Ṣafā'* (*Rasā'il*, ed. Cairo 1347/1928, 133-6) define *ḳadar* as the reward which the "fates" (*maḳādir*) have in store for the soul, by "fates" meaning here the necessary astral laws. *Ḳaḍā'* is God's eternal Knowledge, from which these same astral laws derive. For a man to give his consent to and acceptance of *ḳaḍā'* thus understood, says the text, is extremely rare, but it is the noblest of the conditions (*sharā'iṭ*) of faith and the most deserving of the virtues which designate the Believer (*ibid.*, 134).

This recourse to the action of the stars on human destiny—which is in no way independent of Divine Knowledge but emanates from it—and the affirmation that all that happens occurs for the good of the soul are points of view belonging to the Ismā'īlī atmosphere of the *Iḳhwān al-Ṣafā'*. Other points of reference can be found among Shī'ī scholars which, like the *Falāsifa*'s conception of Providence, are always dominated by an emanistic view of the world. This is the sense in which we should understand, for example, Mullā Ṣadra Shīrāzī's statement in his *Kitāb al-Mashā'ir* mentioning among the central themes of his thought "knowledge of the *ḳaḍā'* and the *ḳadar*", "*du Décret prééternel et de la Destinée*" in H. Corbin's translation (Arab. and Pers. ed. and Fr. tr. by H. Corbin, Tehran 1342/1964, 5/90).

Here, in comparison, are two Sunnī elaborations: —b) "We give our consent to and acceptance of God's Decree taken as a whole and for each single thing" (*Tamḥīd*, 327). But what if it is a case of *kuḍr* and sin? Here al-Bāḳillānī makes a distinction between *ḳaḍā'* in the aggregate and its particularization. Assent is not given to *kuḍr*, even though every thing in existence and every accomplished act come under the Divine Decree, just as child, companion, wife and partner are not ascribed to God, although all that exists belongs to Him.

c) As far as vocabulary is concerned, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī distinguishes more clearly between *ḳaḍā'* and *ḳadar*, which are both understood in the Ash'arī sense. Consent and acceptance are given, with no difficulty, to *ḳaḍā'*, the eternal Decree. The existentialization of existing things, one by one, belongs to *ḳadar*, and here the question becomes delicate. Every Muslim must adhere to both *ḳaḍā'* and *ḳadar* together, but it is difficult for the ordinary man to reconcile such an adhesion, which is ordained by the Law, with condemning evil and wicked deeds, as the Law also demands. The solution sought by al-Rāzī lay in extending the distinction which al-Ash'arī had already made between *ḳaḍā'* understood as the sovereign Command of God and what is enacted in the order of creation; or, in more precise terminology, between *ḳadar*, the attribute of action which determines every contingent thing, and *maḳdūr*, the enacted object: it

is not *ḳadar* but *maḳdūr*, once placed by God in being or contingent action, which can be the object of reward or punishment, of praise or blame.

After having commanded the aporia of divine Omnipotence and human freedom, *al-ḳaḍā' wa'l-ḳadar* is as it were in the centre of the problem of good and evil, and of the moral qualification of actions.

*Bibliography*: in the text; to this may be added all the chapters on *'ilm al-ḳalām* which deal with the question, which was considered again and again, for example in the manuals of "set conservatism", such as those of Sanūsī of Tlemcen, Laḳānī, Fuḍālī, Bādīūrī, etc. (L. GARDET)

**ḲADAM SHARĪF** (ḲADAM RASŪL ALLĀH). Among the miracles (*mu'ḍjizat*) popularly attributed to Muḥammad was the fact that when he trod on a rock, his foot sank into the stone and left its impress there. This miracle is usually referred to along with others, e.g., that he cast no shadow, that if one of his hairs fell in the fire, it was not burnt, that flies did not settle on his clothes etc. (cf. al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabīyya*, Būlāk, 1292, iii, 407), or that his sandals left no imprint on the sand (cf. Ibn Ḥaḍḍjar al-Haytamī, commentary on *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Ḥamziyya*, l. 176. (Ind. Off. Ms., Loth, no. 826, fol. 94). No early authority refers to such a miracle, nor can any *ḥadīth* be quoted in corroboration of it, as Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī himself pointed out (see al-Ḥalabī, *loc. cit.*, i, 497). But sufficient evidence of this miracle is considered to be provided by the numerous impressions of one or both of the feet of the Prophet, which are venerated in different parts of the Muslim world. The most famous of these footprints is that in the Masḍīd al-Aḳṣā, at Jerusalem, on the rock from which Muḥammad mounted Burāḳ [q.v.] for his journey to heaven (al-Suyūṭī, *Iḥḳāf al-Aḳḥiṣṣā' fi Faḍā'il al-Masḍīd al-aḳṣā*, in JRAS, n.s. xix (1887), 258-9); this footprint is on a stone separated from the Rock at the extremity of the south-west corner; Sultan Aḥmad ordered an iron grill inlaid with silver to be placed over it in 1088/1609 (Muḍjīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Būlāk 1283, 371, tr. H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, Paris 1876, 106).

In the ancient village of Ḳadam, which lies to the west of the present district of the same name in the south of Damascus, there still exists a *masḍīd al-ḳadam* which seems to have been connected originally with the memory of Moses then transferred to that of Muḥammad; the latter's foot also left an imprint on a black stone that was carried from Ḥawrān and preserved in the Muḍjāhidīyya *madrasa* in the days of al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, 14/36) and today is in the library of the oratory of Sitt Ruḳayya (A. Talass, *Mosquées de Damas*, Beirut 1943, 230; J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *B. Ét. O.*, xiv (1952-4), 76). According to popular belief, the first footprint was made by the Prophet, when he half-ighted from his camel, but was warned by the angel Gabriel that God had given him the choice between the Paradise of this world and that of the next; whereupon he relinquished his intention of entering Damascus (W. G. Palgrave, *Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, ii, 19). In Cairo there are two footprints, one in a mosque called *Āḥḥār al-nabī* (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, ix, 689), the other at the tomb of Ḳā'it Bāy [q.v.] (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1914, 113), who, according to Aḥmad Daḥlān [q.v.], purchased it for the sum of 20,000 *dinars*; in Ṭanṭa, there are impressions of both the feet of the Prophet, in the shrine of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, xxii, 410), as also at Istanbul in the tomb of Sultan 'Abd

al-Ḥamīd I, in the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī [q.v.], and (six) in the *Khirkā-i Saʿādet* room of the Topkapı Palace [see SARĀY] (Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapı Sarayı*, Istanbul n.d., p. 79; for a colour photograph of one of these see Kemal Çiğ, *al-Manānāt al-muḥaddasa*, Istanbul (Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığı) 1966, p. [9]).

Closely connected with the veneration of the footprints of Muḥammad, is that paid to representations of his sandals. Copies of these are hung up in the houses of the pious, as a protection against the assaults of Satan, the evil eye, the depredations of robbers, etc.; they are also said to relieve the pangs of childbirth (al-Ḳaṣṭalānī, *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1281, i, 337). Such representations are common in Algeria, Egypt, India and Syria.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works cited in the text: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maḳḳarī, *Fath al-Mutaʿālī fī Madḥ al-Niʿāl*, (Ahlwardt, *Verx. der Arab. Handschr. Berl.*, no. 2593); Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḳhalaf, *Muʿdijzāt al-Anbiyāʾ* (*ibid.*, 2553); Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ḳhādīm al-Naʿl al-sharīf* (*ibid.*, 9644); Shāh Muḥammad ʿUmar, *Istīṣḥāʾ wa-Tawassul bi-Āthār al-Ṣāliḥīn wa-Sayyid al-Rusul*, Delhi 1319; R. Basset, *Les empreintes merveilleuses*, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, no. vii.-xxii., *passim*; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 362-3; P. Anastase Marie de St. Elie, *Le culte rendu par les Musulmans aux sandales de Mahomet*, in *Anthropos*, v, 363-6; R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳadam bei Damaskus*, in *OLZ*, 1913, 115-8. (T. W. ARNOLD \*)

India and Pakistan: The footprints of the Prophet, whether accepted as genuine relics or frankly admitted as mere token representations, are accorded special veneration in India and Pakistan. One may suspect here an Islamization of an old Indian reverence for the footprints of gods and sages; the Buddha was represented symbolically by the soles of his two feet, often embellished with auspicious marks, before representations of his person appeared in Buddhist iconography; and similar representations of the footprints of the god Viṣṇu continue that tradition in Hindū terms. Literary references (bowing to or touching the feet in homage, the sanctity of the dust of the teacher's feet, etc.) are commonplace. The accepted genuine relics may be placed in mosques, as at Gawī [see LAKHNAWT], or be housed in special buildings, as in the Ḳadam Rasūl building at Lakhnaʾū (Lucknow) whence the relics disappeared in 1857, or in the best known example, the Ḳadam Sharīf at Dihlī [q.v.], where the prints, imported from Arabia with great ceremony by Firūz Shāh b. Raḍjab, were placed over the grave of his son Faṭḥ Ḳhān who predeceased him in 776/1374; here the relics are kept constantly covered by water and garlanded with marigolds, and the relic shrine, with its accompanying graveyard, is contained within a fortified enclosure.

Both relics and token representations are accorded special ceremonies at the Bārah Wafāt, i.e. 12 Rabiʿ I, the ʿurs of the Prophet's death; for a description of these in India see Djaʿfar Sharīf, *Kānūn-i Islām*, tr. G. A. Herklot as *Islam in India* and ed. W. Croke, Oxford 1921, s.v. Bārah Wafāt.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

**QADAR** [see AL-QADĀʾ WA ʿL-QADAR].

**QADARIYYA**, a name commonly used by Islamists to denote a group of theologians, not in itself homogeneous, who represented in one form or another the principle of *liberum arbitrium* (free will) in the early period of Islam, from about 70/690

to the definitive consolidation of the Muʿtazila [q.v.] at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. In Islamic sources the notion is ambivalent; only authors of a determinist standpoint use it in the above sense (in later works the term can also refer to the Muʿtazila). Authors of a non-determinist standpoint, on the other hand, apply it (apparently synonymously with *muḍjibira*) to defenders of divine omnipotence (the earliest examples at present are the title *Kitāb al-radd ʿala ʿl-Ḳadariyya* of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd [q.v.] d. 143/760 or 144/761, cf. *GAS*, i, 597) and a passage in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʾs ([q.v.] d. (after?) 139/756) translation of the Middle Persian Letter of Tansar, cf. the New Persian version in Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Iqbāl, Tehran 1954, i, 40, 4). The word was always derogatory, never applied to oneself. Even sources fundamentally of the same tendency may therefore differ as to the scope of the notion, according to the rigour of their polemical intention. Conversely it may happen that one and the same phenomenon may be described with differing terminologies in different sources (for example Ḳadarites are often called "Murḍjīʿites" in Muʿtazili texts, and also elsewhere). Regional differences of meaning also seem to have played a part. The term apparently arose in ʿIrāq; previously such locutions as *al-muḳadhdhībūna bi ʿl-Ḳadar* (*bi-maḳādir Allāh*) or *alladhīna yaḳūlūna lā Ḳadar* were used. Cf. C. Nallino, *Sul nome di ʿQadariʿi*, in *RSO*, vii (1916-18), 461 ff. (= *Scritti*, ii, 176 ff.); W. M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 48 ff.; J. van Ess in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 127 ff.

*Sources*: 1) Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's "Ḳadarite" *Risāla* to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (ed. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi (1933), 67 ff.; for the content cf. J. Obermann in *JAOS*, lv (1935), 138 ff., and M. Schwarz in *Oriens*, xx (1967), 15 ff.). 2) Several references in the anti-Ḳadarite composition (genuine?) of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafīyya (d. c. 100/718), which we know through its refutation by the Zaydī imām al-Ḥādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/910; cf. *GAS*, i, 595). 3) The *Risāla* of the caliph ʿUmar II against a more extreme faction of the contemporary Ḳadariyya, preserved in Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, v, 346 ff. (cf. *GAS*, i, 594; for its genuineness, *Abr Nahrain*, xii (1971), 19 ff.). 4) The heresiographical report of *Khushaysh* (d. 253/867), preserved in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Dederig, 126 ff. (cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 51 ff.). 5) Lists of Ḳadarites, mainly traditionists, in Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960, 625, 8 ff.; repeated with several corrections and supplements, by Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-mafīsa*, *BGA*, vii, 220, 7 ff.), in Ibn Ḥaḍḍar (*Ḥady al-sāri*, Cairo 1347/1928, ii, 112 ff.), in Suyūṭī (*Tadrīb al-rāwī*, Cairo 1385/1966, i, 328 f.), in Ibn al-Murtaḍā (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Diwald-Wilzer, 133 ff.) etc; in addition the corresponding biographical details in *Dhahabi*, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*, Ibn Ḥaḍḍar, *Taḥḍīb al-taḥḍīb*, etc. 6) Scattered historical data, especially in Ṭabarī. 7) Counter-polemical in the standard collections of *Ḥadīth* (e.g., the *Kitāb al-Ḳadar* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim), in the works dealing with *mawḍūʿāt* (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Kitāb al-mawḍūʿāt*; Suyūṭī, *al-Laʿālī al-maṣnūʿa*, etc.), in other books of traditionist outlook (cf., e.g., the *Kitāb al-Sharīʿa* by Abū Bakr al-ʿĀḍjurrī, Cairo 1369/1950, 149 ff.; the material of the relevant chapter is obviously mainly taken from the *Kitāb al-Ḳadar* by Firyābī, cf. *GAS*, i, 166), and finally also in works of *adab* (e.g., Ibn ʿAbd Rabīh, *ʿIḥd*, ii, 376 ff.).

*Historical development*: The sources mentioned

der 5) list 40 certain names for Baṣra, about fifteen for Syria, six for Mecca, five to seven for Medina, about five for Kūfa, three for Yemen, and not a single one for Egypt and the whole of the East. These figures, however, express only part of the reality; they mirror above all the variable state of our information. The interest in a biographical listing of the Ḳadariyya apparently arose in Baṣra, where the pupils of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and their pupils in turn, began to quarrel over the correct interpretation of his doctrine; here, therefore, contemporaries were classified in accordance with a particular understanding of the idea, and for the past relevant material was most systematically collected. Elsewhere fuller information existed only for Syria, where, in the last twenty years of Umayyad rule, Ḳadarites played a part in history through their revolutionary activity. It is possible that in many other areas, for example in Egypt, the doctrine never became a problem. According to the nature of the information, the Ḳadariyya is seen in Syria primarily as a political movement; in Baṣra on the other hand it is viewed as a school of theology. The political argument developed from the principle that a ruler is answerable for his actions, and in the case of unrighteousness should therefore be deposed or should abdicate; the theological stance arises from the idea that one must not "ascribe evil to God". In the consequences which were drawn from this latter interpretation, a moderate and an extreme wing can be discerned.

The earliest document of the movement is the *Risāla* of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; it was certainly composed between 75/694, the arrival of Ḥaǧǧīǧāǧī in 'Irāk, and 80/699, the beginning of the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. From it the moderate wing of the Ḳadariyya drew its argument: God creates only good; evil stems from men or from Satan. Man chooses freely between the two; but God knows from all eternity what man will choose. He only "leads him into error" (*idāl*) if man has first given him occasion for this through his sin. Ḥasan viewed this thesis, which he supports with subtle ḳur'ānic exegesis, as "orthodox" (p. 68, 9 ff.). In fact this was certainly no "innovation", but it was only now systematically formulated for the first time. This is confirmed by the fact that among Ḥasan's contemporaries are found other Ḳadarites, all of whom could hardly have been his followers: in the Yemen Wahb b. Munabbih (c. 34/655-114/732 [q.v.]), whose non-deterministic sayings (in his *Hikma* and in his *Kiṭāb al-Ḳadar*) could not be disregarded, even in later times; in Syria the ascetic Khālīd b. Ma'dān b. Abī Kurayb al-Kalā'ī (d. between 103/722 and 108/727; a Ḳadarite according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 625, 14) and the famous jurist Makḥūl b. Abī Muslim (d. perhaps 113/731; at any rate he first came to Damascus as a prisoner of war from the region of Kābul); in Baṣra itself, amongst others, the ascetic 'Aṭā' b. Yasār al-Hilālī (d. 103/722 or 104/723). In its moderate form the Ḳadarite doctrine was a rule of practical piety.

The absence of earlier theoretical formulations prevents our going back beyond Ḥasan's treatise. We are given to understand that the purport of divine predestination had been "first" discussed when, at the siege of Mecca by the troops of Yazīd I in 64/683, the Ka'ba caught fire (cf. *Sira Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1382/1962, i, 185, 15), or, conversely, that Mu'āwiya was the first to justify his use of force by divine "compulsion" (*djabr*) (Kāǧī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, viii, 4, 3 ff., after Djubbār; cf. in addition the speech of 'Amr b. Sa'īd, the rebel against 'Abd al-Malik, in Ṭabarī, ii, 784, 18 ff.). But these are only

answers to the wrong question. There was never a point in time when Ḳadar was spoken of "for the first time"; there are only particular moments at which theological solutions emerge for the first time, or become generally significant or controversial. The alleged Ḳadarite beliefs of the last Sufyānid, Mu'āwiya II (reigned 64/684; cf. Maḳḳisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, vi, 16, 13 ff. and Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 181 ff.) probably derive from the belief that he abdicated of his own accord, before his early death, which was perceived to be in accordance with the political programme of the Ḳadariyya (cf. Lammens, *Études*, 183, 192 ff.; Wellhausen, *Arabisches Reich*, 106). The letter from Ḥasan b. 'Alī (d. probably 49/669-70) to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī on the question is manifestly a forgery (cf. the determinist version in Harrānī, *Tuḥaf al-'uḳūl*, Naǧaf 1385/1965, 162, 10 ff., and, shorter, in 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd, *Tāǧī al-'Aḳā'id*, ed. Tāmīr, Beirut 1967, 180, 1 ff.; a Ḳadarite version in Ibn al-Murtaǧā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mu'tasila* 15, 3 ff.).

Probably two decades after Ḥasan's *Risāla*, Ḳadarite doctrine is again encountered in 'Irāk in a group called by Khushaysh (in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 133, 22 ff.) Shabībiyya, the adherents of the Khāridjīte Shabīb al-Naǧrānī who lived about 100/718 (cf. Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt*, 116, 2 f.; contrary to a conjecture made by H. Ritter in his indices to Ash'arī's *Maḳālāt*, 637, and by W.M. Watt, *Free Will*, 53, he must be differentiated from the earlier Khāridjīte Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī who was drowned in the Tigris in the year 77/697 when fleeing the forces of Ḥaǧǧīǧāǧī). There is no direct connection with Ḥasan's theology; the doctrinal outlook is considerably different. The Shabībiyya believed that the deeds of men and their destinies in the hereafter are not foreknown by God; God has no will concerning their actions, leaving them to their own discretion (*tafwīd*; cf. Malaṭī, *ib.*, and Shahrastānī, *Mīlāl*, ed. Cureton, 94, 5 f.; also Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt* 93, 7 ff. concerning the Maymūniyya who seem to have borrowed from them).

This comes very close to—and is perhaps identical with—the Ḳadarite "innovations" attacked by 'Umar II (reigned 99/717—101/720) in his treatise preserved in Abū Nu'aym. God knows that one will sin, but also that one could abstain from sin (*Hilya*, v, 347, 3 ff.); His knowledge has only the function of recording, not of effecting (*ḥāfiẓ*, not *nāfi'ih*; 350, 3 and 351, 1 f.). A murder is not the same thing as the preordained destiny of death, since it originates in the autonomous will of a man (*adǧāl*; 352, 18). There is neither *hudā* nor *idāl* (351, 1; 348, 10 ff.); it is "left to man's own discretion" (*tafwīd*) whether he decides for good or for evil (351, 4; 352, 2 f.). 'Umar II sees that this is more extreme than Ḥasan's doctrine; he accepts expressly the Ḳadarites of the old school as *ahl al-Sunna* (351, 15). He, however, makes no explicit mention of a possible Khāridjīte background. We have some reason to assume that these ideas went beyond the small sectarian circles of the Khāridjītes; Khushaysh mentions, besides the Shabībiyya, a so-called *mu-fawwiḍa* (cf. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 133, 1 ff. and 134, 14 ff.).

Politically the doctrine was not yet considered dangerous or subversive. 'Umar's predecessor, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 96/715—99/717), is said to have "talked about *ḳadar*" (cf. Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, trans. B. Dodge, 381) and 'Umar II himself took no action against the "deviationists" he attacked. Ḳadarites who later came into conflict with the government were entrusted with offices of state under

him: 'Umar b. Hāni' al-'Anṣī, who in 127/744-5 was put to death on the orders of Marwān II on account of his participation in Yazīd III's revolt against Walīd II, was governor of Batanaea and Ḥawrān under 'Umar (cf. Buḫārī, *Ta'riḫh kabīr*, iii/2, 535), and Ghaylān al-Dimashqī [q.v.], whose critical opinions he knew throughout (cf. Ghaylān's *Risāla* to him in Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mu'tazila*, 25, 9 ff.), was in his time apparently active in the financial administration (cf. I. 'Abbās in *al-Abḥāth*, ix (1956), 329 after Balāḡhurī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 26, 9). It was known that the Qadarites were not conformists; several of them had taken part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath, and Ma'bad al-Djūhanī, a friend of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, was executed for this reason under 'Abd al-Malik.

But Ghaylān was the first to develop a political programme, not indeed under 'Umar II, but first under Hishām, when 'Umar's measures to give the same rights to *mawālī* as to Arabs were once more negated; significantly Ghaylān himself was a Copt. He denied the exclusive claim of Quraysh to the Caliphate; anyone may be chosen who lives by the Qur'ān and the *Sunnā*. If the ruler disregards these principles he may be deposed (cf. the passage in al-Nāshī' al-akbar, *Uṣūl al-niḥāl*, ed. van Ess, Beirut 1971, paras. 107-8; tr. in van Ess, *La Qadariyya et la Gailāniyya de Yazīd III* in *Stud. Isl.*, xxxi, 1970, 269 ff.). At first Ghaylān had been on good terms with Hishām; in 106/725 he made the pilgrimage with him (cf. Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫh*, iv, 290, 2 ff. and Buḫārī, *Ta'riḫh kabīr*, iv/1, 102 no. 457); it was only later, obviously during a mission to Armenia after the defeat of the Muslim troops in 112/730 and perhaps through the enmity of Marwān b. Muḥammad, later Marwān II, who was at that time the commander-in-chief in the war against the Khazars, that he clashed with the authorities (cf. Balāḡhurī in 'Abbās, *loc. cit.*, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 26, 16 f.). In principle, Ghaylān's propaganda was unrelated to Qadarite teaching; at about the same time it was represented in Transoxiana by Hārith b. Suraydī [q.v.], who apparently was himself a determinist. On his return from Armenia Ghaylān was arrested in Karyatayn on the edge of the Syrian desert, and executed in Damascus together with an adherent of whom we know little, Abū 'Abd al-Salām Ṣāliḥ b. Suwayd al-Dimashqī (cf. Ibn Badrān, *Tahdhib Ta'riḫh Dimashk*, vi, 369 f.). Other Qadarites were banished to the island of Dahlak [q.v.] in the Red Sea (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1777, 14), among them Abū 'l-Mughīra 'Amr b. Sharāḥil al-'Anṣī, whose subversive *ḥadīths* are preserved in the *Ta'riḫh Dārayyā* of 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Khawlanī, Damascus 1369/1956, 93 ff. About this time in Medina, under the governorship of Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makḥzūmī (executed 125/743), Ibn Ishāk ([q.v.] 85/704-150/767 or 151/768) was flogged on account of his Qadarite leanings (cf. Dhahabī, *Mizān*, iii, 472, 15 ff.; also *Ta'riḫh Baghādā*, i, 225, 5 ff.). The execution of Ghaylān was manifestly felt to be harsh; numerous legends attempted to justify it, and above all to obliterate his good relations with 'Umar II (cf. S. Diwald, *Der Bericht des Ibn 'Asākir über Gailān ad-Dimashqī*, in *Festgabe für Hans Wehr*, Wiesbaden 1969, 40 ff., especially 53 ff.). We learn characteristically little about the theological basis of Ghaylān's Qadarite beliefs. Nevertheless, contrary to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's purely exegetic judgements, a stronger theoretical theological motivation can be perceived: God's will has no determining influence on the actions of men (Ash'arī, *Makālāt*, 513, 5 ff.; Watt, *Free Will*, 41); men are determined above all

by their reason ('aql) in the direction of freedom of action (cf. *Tahdhib Ta'riḫh Dimashk*, iii, 177, 11 ff.; and Dhahabī, *Tahdkirat al-huffāz*, Hyderabad 1375/1955, i, 147, 3 f.).

Walīd II kept up Hishām's anti-Qadarite policy (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1777, 15 ff.). Yazīd III, on the other hand, took over Ghaylān's political programme in his declaration from Damascus when he proclaimed the revolt against Walīd (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1835, 6 ff., etc.). Therefore his supporters are called Ghaylāniyya, and often also simply Qadarites. The latter is perhaps precipitate; it is not always easy to decide whether those who took up this position because of the political programme were also Qadarite in the theological sense. Many of them were Kalbites, particularly from Mizza near Damascus; thanks to the political development by which the Kalb saw themselves increasingly neglected in favour of the Ḳays, the former *mawālī* party now received support from the indigenous Arabs. After Yazīd's premature death, the hopes of the Qadarites were transferred to his brother Ibrāhīm; when the latter capitulated before Marwān II they were again persecuted (cf. Marwān's letter in Ṭabarī, ii, 1851, 7 ff.). The names of several traditionists who took up a position in favour of Yazīd III are known to us; with the assumption of power by Marwān, they had to flee from Syria, one of them being killed at the instigation of the caliph (cf. in detail van Ess in *Stud. Isl.*, xxxi, 1970, 277 f.). With that the political role of the Qadariyya was played out; it remained confined to Syria.

In Baṣra, apparently, the movement remained confined to personal statements: 'Amr b. 'Ubayd approved of Yazīd III's revolt (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā's *Ṭabaḳāt*, 120, 12 ff., and Ṣhahraṣṭānī, *Mīṭal*, 17, 15); his "orthodox" opponent Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī censured it (cf. *Aghānī* 3, viii, 82, 10 f.). The political development in the town proceeded differently (cf. Caetani, *Chronographia*, 159r). The quietistic Qadariyya in the style of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was continued by his pupil Kātāda b. Di'āma (d. 117/735) and henceforth predominated. Militant characters, especially refugees from Syria, were finally integrated with the arrival of the 'Abbāsids. Instead, theological antagonisms intensified. For a long time there survived a moderate wing, which, following Ḥasan and Kātāda, exempted sin from predestination, and obviously derived its argumentation from Qur'ānic exegesis; it was represented among the *muhaddithūn* and others by Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūba al-'Adawī (d. 156/773) and his school, Hishām b. Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Dastuwā'ī (d. 153/770 or 154/771) with his son Mu'ādh (d. 200/815-6), Sallām b. Miskīn al-Namarī (d. 164/781), Abū Hilāl Muḥammad b. Sulaym al-Rāsibī (d. 167/784), 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Aṭā' al-Khaffāf (d. 204/820 or 206/821-2), and, furthermore, by numerous ascetics and *ḥuṣṣās*, whose names we learn particularly from Ibn al-Murtaḍā, and certainly by many others in whose deeds the authors of lists of Qadarites have no interest (cf., e.g., for the grammarians of Baṣra, Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, ed. Kaylānī, iii, 592, 8 ff.; Kiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, ed. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, ii, 38, 4 etc.). At the same time there developed a stronger theologically aligned group around 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, which later merged with the Mu'tazila; apparently of their number were Abū Salāma Ḥasan b. Dhakwān, 'Amr b. Fā'īd al-Uswārī, Ḥamza b. Naḍīb, Baṣhīr al-Raḥḥāl, 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd al-Tannūri (d. 180/796), perhaps also the Kāḍī 'Abbād b. Mansūr al-Nāḍjī (d. 152/769). They took as their starting point divine justice in-

stead of human "freedom to do evil": God must keep His word (cf. the anecdote in van Ess, *Traditionistische Polemik gegen 'Amr b. 'Ubaid*, Beirut 1967, 31 ff.: wa'd here still covers the later Mu'tazill wa'd wa-wa'id); a taklif bimā lā yufāk is impossible (cf. Tawhīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, iii, 223, 1 ff.). Here, too, the consequences for ḵur'ānic exegesis are for the moment in the foreground: verses of the Kur'an in which someone is explicitly given over to damnation (cf. Sūra CXI, 1 for Abū Lahab; as a further example Sūra LXXIV, 11) cannot have been in this form in the original text in Heaven, because otherwise they would have had preordaining power (cf. *Traditionistische Polemik*, 16 f.; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ḳadar 16, no. 2244).

This accentuation of the teaching aroused opposition. In 'Irāq it came mainly from Kūfa. In Baṣra it was at first still weak; until the middle of the 2nd/8th century the boycott of the Ḳadarites there remained confined to small circles, to which greater significance was only ascribed in later accounts projecting their own attitudes back to an earlier period. But gradually the opinions polarised; the more the Mu'tazila itself became conscious of itself, the more the belief in a strict determinism was strengthened on the other side. It was expressed in the form of *ḥadīth*, and because of this in the course of time gained stronger and stronger authoritative force. Pro-Ḳadarite *ḥadīths* are rare (cf. Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 2441 = i, 634, 5 f.; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 129, 5); the Ḳadarites obviously placed much more reliance on the persuasive power of their ḵur'ānic exegesis. However, it can be proven that a large number of the anti-Ḳadarite *ḥadīths* are also late, or were first raised to the rank of sayings of the Prophet as time went on; those respected traditionists who at that time were still Ḳadarite cannot have thought them authentic. Some of them are obviously in direct reference to the arguments Ḥasan al-Baṣrī developed in the course of his *Risāla*; particularly effective was the reproach that the Ḳadarites were "the Magians of this community" (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, v, 318a), in so far as they attributed evil to any other than God, or even to Satan himself. The mediating position of Ḥasan became increasingly untenable under the influence of these centrifugal tendencies; in the first decade of the 3rd/9th century the moderate Ḳadariyya in the old style apparently became extinct in Baṣra. After that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was claimed by both sides; the determinists sought to rescue his "orthodoxy" by increasingly emphasising the role of his contemporary Ma'bad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ukaym al-Djuhanī (this is the correct form of his name) as "founder" of the Ḳadariyya. Nothing more was known about his doctrine; but it was known that together with his brother he took part in Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt, and that both were executed on the orders of Ḥadīdīādī (cf., e.g. Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nuǧūm al-nāhira*, Cairo 1930 ff., i, 201, 9 f., and 200, 14 f.; also 206, 16 ff.). Obviously they wanted to discredit the whole movement by pointing to the military origins of such a "Syrian" type.

Little can be said about the other centres of the movement. In Mecca it focused on the traditionist and exegete Abū Yaṣār 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Naǧīb al-Thaḳafī (d. 131/748 or 132/749), who adhered to Ḥasan's doctrine, and also attended Abū 'Ubayd's lectures (cf. on his circle Dhahabī, *Mizān*, ii, 515, 10 f.); one of his adherents, Zakariyyā' b. Ishāk al-Makkī, was banned from lecturing on account of his doctrine (at the time of Highām or Marwān II?

cf. Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 329, 7 f.). In Medina several Ḳadarites obviously supported the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (145/762; cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 72 f.); that there were still Ḳadarites in the town at the time of the Caliph al-Mahdī, to be precise during the governorship of Dja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī (160/777-166/783), is testified by an account in Ṭabarī (iii, 534, 11 ff.). In the Shī'ite circles of Medina and Kūfa opinions about the problem were divided: Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (d. c. 100/718) had been a supporter of predestination, and so too were the immediate disciples of Zayd b. 'Alī (fell 122/740) as he himself was probably a supporter of predestination (cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 55 ff.); otherwise they frequently steered a middle course, which while coming near to that of the moderate Ḳadariyya did not give anyone occasion to call them Ḳadarites (the formula: *lā ḍiabr wa-lā tafwid*). The term *tafwid* was almost always rejected or at least avoided (cf. the otherwise rather contradictory sayings of the *imāms* in Kūfīnī, *Kāfi*, Tehran 1334/1955, i, 150 ff.). Here there was no necessity for a political Ḳadariyya, since the Shī'is had their own political motivations to offer.

Occasionally in polemic the Ḳadarite doctrine was attributed to Christian influence (in fact much more rarely than one would expect; the *Ḥadīths* speak of the "Magians" instead of the "Christians" of this community). This was expressed in the anecdote that Ma'bad al-Djuhanī, the "first" Ḳadarite, had taken over from an (erstwhile) Christian: Sanḥōya, the husband of Umm Mūsā (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/2, 27, 1 ff.), perhaps a former concubine of 'Alī (cf. Dhahabī, *Mizān*, no. 11036), or from Abū Yūnus Sansōya al-Uswārī, who is perhaps the same person (cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, iv, 181-6 f.), or a certain Sūsān (cf. Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, iii, 305, 14 f. etc.). The theological relationship is in fact unmistakable: for John of Damascus sin arises *ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥαθυμίας καὶ τῆς διαβόλου πανουργίας* (Migne, *PG*, 94, 1589), and in that respect he takes his place in a tradition for which we already find models in Efreim Syrus and Theodore of Mopsuestia (cf., e.g., references in A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 258 f.). Ghaylān al-Dimashqī, as a *mawlā* of Coptic origin, built upon Christian ideas (cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 239, and M. S. Seale, *Muslim Theology*, 18 ff.). The Khāridjite founder of the Shābībīyya came from Naǧrān, the Christian centre of the Arabian peninsula. But it must not be concluded from that that the Ḳadariyya had been engendered by Christian polemic against Muslim predestination (as in the thesis of C. H. Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung*, in *ZA*, xxvi (1911), 175 ff. = *Islamstudien*, i, 432 ff., especially p. 441; cf. against it the argument of W. M. Watt, *Free Will*, 58, n. 27, and the counterargument of W. Thomson in *MW*, xl (1950), 209). Predestination is "earlier" only in the sense that it is strongly connected with certain "Qāhīlī" ideas (cf. H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism*, Uppsala 1951, *passim*, especially 116 ff.); in the Kur'an deterministic and non-deterministic sayings stand side by side, on the basis of the idea of a personal God (cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 12 ff.). There was nothing to prevent Muslim neophytes, at least after the conquest of Syria (cf. Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, i, 50, 4 ff.), from naively solving the theological problem posed by the ambiguity of the Scriptures with categories familiar to themselves; we have no evidence to show that at the time this was thought strange or un-Islamic. How far

the interdependence of the two religions could go is best shown by the well-known argument based on the child born of adultery. Christian theologians have from the earliest times cited adultery as an example of the sins that man may not ascribe to God (cf. the Nestorian Bābai in Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, 260), and the Ḳadarites said the same thing later (cf. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baḡḡa*, 92, n. 1). Muslim determinists counter with the question, inspired by the Qurʾān, who then created the foetus engendered by adultery in the mother's womb? (cf. Sūra XCVI, 2; XXII, 5 etc.). To that question Ḥasan al-Baḡrī (cf. Schwarz in *Oriens*, xx (1967), 19) and, diverging somewhat, John of Damascus a generation later (cf. Becker in *Islamstudien*, i, 440, and G. C. Anawati in *L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà*, Rome 1964, 542 f.) provide an answer; the latter's argument agrees with the Ḳadarite position reported in *Khushaysh* (in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 134, 8 f.). John of Damascus was active in Damascus at the time of Hishām; when he as a Christian assailed the predominant Islamic belief of his time, it was natural for him to use the same arguments as the Ḳadarites. Only later, when, as a result of the internal development of Islam, the Ḳadariyya was forced from a moderate to an extreme position, did this plausible but accidental "alliance" cause offence.

*Bibliography*: (apart from the works mentioned in the article): A. Guillaume, *Some remarks on Free Will and Predestination in Islam*, in *JRAS* (1924), 43 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 52 ff. and 145 ff.; J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian theology*, London 1945 ff., 1/2, 157 ff. and 240 ff.; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 52 ff.; W. Thomson, *The conception of Human Destiny in Islam*, in *MW*, xxxv (1945), 281 ff.; idem, *The sects and Islam*, in *MW*, xxxix (1949), 208 ff., especially 212 ff.; idem, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 207 ff. and 276 ff.; W. M. Watt, *Islamic philosophy and theology*, Edinburgh 1962, xv and 31 f.; M. S. Seale, *Muslim theology*, London 1964, 5 ff.; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 48 f.; J. van Ess, *Umar II and his Epistle against the Qadariyya*, in *Abr Nahrain*, xii (1971), 19 ff.; id., *Ma'bad al-Guhari*, in *Festschrift F. Meier*; id., *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie. Zwei antiqadaritische Traktate des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya* (gest. um 100/719) und des Kalifen 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīz (gest. 101/720), Beirut 1973; id., *Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie. Studien zur Entstehung antiqadaritischer Überlieferung*, in *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift "Der Islam"*, Berlin 1973. (J. VAN ESS)

**ḲADĀSA** (A.), a neologism of comparatively recent creation, generally understood in the sense of holiness. The word does not occur either in the Qurʾān or in *ḥadīth*, and the *LA* ignores it. On the other hand, the root ḳ-d-s is well known to the Arab lexicographers; the Qurʾān (II, 30, 87, 253; V, 21, 110; XVI, 102; XX, 12; LIX, 23; LXII, 1; LXXIX, 16) and *ḥadīth* (Wensinck, *Concordance*) use it sporadically. Basically, it is used to denote beings and objects that are pure, wholly unsullied or in touch with the divine.

This religious meaning seems to be alien to Arabic and borrowed from Aramaic (A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 1938, 232; however, cf. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 1905, 145 n. 7, where the religious meaning is regarded as original in Arabic). But the borrowing would have

taken place before Islam, as might be concluded from a verse of Imru' al-Ḳays who speaks of the garment of a pilgrim to Jerusalem (*muḳaddasi*) torn to pieces by the children (*LA*, root ḳ-d-s).

As a manifestation of purity, *ḳadāsa* is not merely the negation of impurity, *nadḡāsa*, it is also its antonym. It does not indeed signify the absence of any impure element in persons and things, a condition denoted by *ḡahāra*, in the current sense of the word; it implies also the presence in them of supernatural forces, of celestial origin, which might make them dangerous to the profane. Nevertheless, with the help of certain precautions it would be possible to approach them: "I am thy Lord", said Allah to Moses, "take off thy sandals for thou art in the sacred (*muḳaddas*) valley of Ṭuwa" (Qurʾān, XX, 12).

In the ethnological meaning of the word, *ḳadāsa* represents the positive pole of the sacred, *ḡarām*. This last word is applied in fact to everything that is forbidden to the profane and separated from the rest of the world. The cause of this prohibition could be either impurity (temporary or intrinsic) or holiness, which is a permanent state of sublime purity. *Ḳadāsa*, in short, is merely the manner of existence of what is pure and sacred, that is to say of the divine, of that which contains a divine breath, of that which is the immanence of divinity, in touch with it or rightfully belonging to it. In its ordinary manifestations, it takes the form of *baraka*.

*Bibliography*: The sacred has been the subject of a very large number of studies which cannot be listed here. Some bibliographical outlines on this question will be found in J. Chelhod, *Les structures du sacré chez les Arabes*, Paris 1964, ch. I. (J. CHELHOD)

**ḲADDŪR AL-‘ALAMĪ**, the name by which is known the famous Moroccan popular poet 'ABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABI-L-ḲĀSİM AL-IDRĪSĪ AL-‘ALAMĪ AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ AL-ṬĀLIBĪ AL-‘ABD AL-SALĀMĪ. He grew up in Meknes in an austere atmosphere, renouncing the pleasures of this world, spending his time visiting the tombs of the saints and enjoying the company of the pious. His teachers were al-Ḥāḡḡī al-Muḳhtār al-Baḡḡālī, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḡmān known as al-Djāmal, Mawḡāy al-Tayyīb al-Wazzānī, Muḥammad b. Aḡmad al-Ṣīkillī, and other eminent masters of his time. He gained numerous disciples no less famous, amongst whom were the Sultan Mawḡāy 'Abd al-Raḡmān, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥafīz al-Dabbāḡh, the *imām* Muḥammad Ṣāliḡ al-Rīḡwī, al-‘Arabī b. al-Sā'īḡ al-Ṣharḡī and Muḥammad Ḡḡarrīṭ. Sayyidī Ḳaddūr al-‘Alamī, although unable to read or write, composed poems in the neo-classical and popular language, with astonishing skill and eloquence. These poems, which were long believed to have largely disappeared, or to have been burnt according to his wishes, have fortunately survived. Whether they were composed in *raḡīal* or in *malḡūn*, almost all deal with the glorification of God, the praise of the Prophet, and of the saints and important people of Islam. As for wine, beauty and love, of which they sing, these are to be interpreted allegorically, recalling thereby the mystical works of Ibn al-Fāriḡ and Ibn al-‘Arabī. The poem which had the most success is the one devoted to the saints of Meknes, and which begins thus: *āṣḡ man 'ār 'alīkum a raḡīal Məknās? mshāt dārī fī ḡmā-kum yā ḡl ləkrāyem!* About four years before his death, which took place at Meknes on 25 Ramaḡān 1266/4 Aug. 1850, he went into a trance, and never again set foot in the *Djāmi' al-Zaytūna*, where he had been accustomed to perform the Friday prayer.

He is said to have lived 112 *hidjra* years, i.e., 109 Gregorian years, which would give as the date of his birth 1154/1741.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf*, v, 336-52; A. Gannūn, *Nubūgh*, iii, 327-9; A. Mašrāfi, *al-Ḥusām al-mašrafī*, 288-90; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Chanson dite de Sidi 'l-ʿAlwī*, in *Arch. Berb.*, iv (1919-20), 67-75; M. al-Fāsī, *al-ʿAdab al-shaʿbī*, in *Tiṭwān*, vi (1964), 28; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 191, 206, ii, 402; M. T. Buret, *Sidi Qaddūr El-ʿAlamī*, in *Hesperis*, 1938/1, 85-90; Nāširī, *Istikṣā*, ix, 61. (M. LAKHDAR)

**KADDŪRA AL-DJAZĀʿIRĪ**. Of Tunisian ancestry, but settled in Algeria, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammād b. Saʿīd was, like his father, Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm (d. Shawwāl 1066/July-Aug. 1656), the most learned man and greatest mufti of Algeria of his time. Amongst his most brilliant disciples was Abū 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad Ibn Zākūr al-Fāsī, to whom he was the last to grant an *idjāza* (beginning of Rādjab 1094/26 June 1683). He died at Algiers on 15 Dhū 'l-Hidjja 1098/12 Oct. 1687.

*Bibliography*: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 288 and n. 5; Kādīrī, *Nashr*, ii, 93; idem, *Iltikāf*, fol. 40r; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, fol. 148r; Joachim de Gonzalez, *Essai chron. sur les Mus. célèbres de la ville d'Alger*, 20; Hafnāwī, *Taʿrif al-khalaf bi-riḍāʾ al-salaf*, ii, 382. (M. LAKHDAR)

**KADHF** (A.), slanderous accusation of fornication (*zināʾ* [q.v.]), or of illegitimate descent; in this latter case, it amounts to accusing the mother of fornication. The guilty party is punished by a fixed penalty (*ḥadd*) of 80 lashes, laid down by the Qurʾān (XXIV, 4). A slave guilty of the same crime therefore receives only 40 lashes, on account of the general principles of *fiqh*. According to the majority of *fuḥahāʾ*, *ḥadhf* only occurs if the expressions used by the slanderer expressly relate to the fornication or illegitimate descent of the person who is slandered. The Mālikīs alone consider as *ḥadhf* an accusation expressed by allusion (*taʿrīd*) or by preterition, which considerably extends the scope of the crime amongst them.

It is necessary to make clear at once that if, on account of the very restrictive interpretation put upon *ḥadhf* by the majority of schools, certain slanderous accusations are not of a kind to warrant punishment by the Qurʾānic penalty, the judge may in such a case, by virtue of his discretionary powers (*taʿzīr* [q.v.]), inflict on the guilty party another penalty less than the Qurʾānic *ḥadd* (but in Mālikī law it may be greater).

Any person having attained puberty and being in possession of his reason, whether he be slave or free, Muslim or not, may be punished for committing *ḥadhf*. The only ones to escape, apart from those who can produce four witnesses to prove the truthfulness of their statements, are the progenitors (except in the Mālikī school which admits no exceptions) and the husband if, after formulating an accusation of adultery against his wife, he has recourse to the procedure of *liʿān* [q.v.]. But, on the other hand, *ḥadhf* in the technical sense only occurs if the slandered person is *muḥṣan*. This expression in the context of *ḥadhf* (unlike that of *zināʾ*) can only be applied to a person who has reached puberty (except in Mālikī law, which protects even people below the age of puberty against the accusation of illegitimate descent, for example); this person, being in the possession of reason, must, moreover, be free, Muslim, and have no previous conviction for fornication. If

the slandered person lacks one of the qualities set out above, the author of the crime may only be given a punishment by *taʿzīr*, and not by the Qurʾānic *ḥadd*. The slandered person need not be alive at the time of the action; all his heirs, according to the majority of the *fuḥahāʾ*, or certain of them (according to the minority), may instigate a court action to punish for the *ḥadhf* if the *de cuius* had not done it in his lifetime.

*Bibliography*: All the works of *fiqh* include a chapter on *ḥadhf*. See, for example, Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, xvii, 40-65; Khallī b. Ishāk, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, Algiers 1962, iv, 50-1. For comparisons between schools: Aḥmad Faṭḥī Bahnaṣī, *al-Djārāʾim fi 'l-fiqh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1959, 123 ff.; L. Bercher, *Les Délits et les peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926, 119-28; J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 179.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

**KĀDĪ** (A.), "judge", a representative of authority, invested with the power of jurisdiction (*ḥadāʾ*). In theory, the head of the community, the caliph, is the holder of all powers; like all other state officials, the *kādī* is therefore a delegate (*naʾīb*)—direct, if appointed by the Caliph in person, indirect and in varying degrees according to the situation if nominated by intermediate representatives (*wazīr*, governor of a province, etc.). But in all cases the delegator retains the power to do justice in person (the principle of „retained justice.”)

There is a *kādī* in the capital and a *kādī* in the leading town of each of the great territorial divisions. But each of these can appoint direct delegates. The *kādī*'s justice has always been exercised by a single *kādī*. At the most he may be instructed to consult qualified jurists (*shūrā*). In the Muslim West, particularly in Spain, this practice was even elevated into a system; alongside each *kādī* was a *consilium* of jurists, whose role was purely consultative. The collegiate system was applied only in the extraordinary justice of the *mazālim* [q.v.]. Moreover, there were no degrees of jurisdiction; every *kādī*, although delegated by another, pronounced judgement without appeal, apart from recourse to the *mazālim*.

The objective being the application of the *sharʿ*, which is essentially religious law, the function of the *kādī* is of this same character.

In theory, the competence of the *kādī* is general, embracing both civil and penal cases. The religious nature of his office has led to the acquisition of administrative functions of the same nature, such as the administration of mosques and *wakfs* [q.v.]. However, his competence in penal matters is extremely limited; being responsible for enforcing the *sharʿ*, he is restricted solely to the very few crimes envisaged by that law, while their repression is concurrently undertaken by the *shurṭa* [q.v.], the organism responsible for the maintenance of public order. In fact, it is this organism which undertakes repressive jurisdiction in general, a function which it fulfills officially, and outside the constraints and limitations of the *sharʿ* (the discretionary punishment of crimes).

In those Islamic states—such as the Ottoman empire—which in the middle of the 19th century set out to modernize their structure, the office of *kādī* had been maintained until that time. Thereafter, it has survived only within the limited sphere of personal status and certain other specialised questions (inheritance, *wakfs*).

The institution of the *ḥadāʾ al-ḥudāt* (the holders'



title being *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* "the judge of judges") was so to speak the crowning point of the system of judicial organization of the Islamic state, and, combined with the institution of the *wizāra*, to which was delegated the executive power and which appeared during the same period, it was the final and highest step in the organization of that state, under the authority of the caliph.

Until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the only *kāḍīs*, in the capital and in the various provinces, were of uniform status, with no hierarchy among themselves. The procedure for introducing the new régime was very simple: between the years 174/786 and 182/798, the caliph elevated the office of *kāḍī* of his capital to that of *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt*, while delegating to the holder authority for the general administration of justice. In fact, the institution of *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* was an adaptation of the Persian institution of *mōbedān-mōbed*. The ancient Arab authors did not fail to notice the close relationship between them.

The evolution of the office was to pass through four successive stages. While the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate more or less maintained its general authority, until the appearance of the Fāṭimid Caliphate (372/984), there existed only the one *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* of Baghdād. However, the Fāṭimid Caliphate introduced an identical organism in Cairo. Subsequently, and corresponding with the process of the divesting of authority particularly within the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, the various kingdoms or principalities set up on their own account some *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* (very markedly after the 6th/12th century).

From the beginning of the Mamlūk period (663/1264) two new phenomena appear. On the one hand, the number of *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* increased; they were to be found within the principal divisions of the realm (*niyābāt*). But despite their title, these officials were merely the delegates of the *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* of the capital. The second phenomenon was the institution, in the capital, in addition to the previously existing office of *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* of the Shāfi' *madhhab*, of three other positions of *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* for the three other Sunnī *madhhab*s—Hanafī, Mālikī and Hanbalī. These also had their corresponding figures in most of the principal *niyābāt*.

The *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* is, above all, a judge. But to him is delegated the judicial administration: the nomination, control and dismissal of the *kāḍīs*; the special jurisdictions (*shurṭa*, *hisba*, *kaḍā' al-askar*) fall outside his authority; still more is this true of the jurisdiction of the *maẓālim*, which is the prerogative of the sovereign or his qualified representative, a minister or a governor of a province. This additional responsibility has moreover remained of "political" character; it has not been recognised in doctrine.

In outline, the powers of judicial administration of the *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* were exercised, more or less successively, in two different forms. From the start of the institution until the end of the 3rd/9th century and even, in general, during the 4th/10th, the *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* in the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate did not exercise his authority in his own name. Thus, the deeds of nomination of *kāḍīs* emanated from the caliph himself. The *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* plays a role only in presenting candidates. This situation continued for some time during the Fāṭimid Caliphate. But from then onwards, the *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* exercised their powers personally, as part of the general delegation that they had received.

The delegating authority was at first the caliph, and then, from the middle of the 4th/10th century, the sultan; finally, it was often the minister.

The *kāḍī 'l-djamā'a*. In its origins, the institution of the *kaḍā' al-djamā'a* of Muslim Spain differs considerably from the *kaḍā' al-kuḍāt* of the East. At that time it was merely a matter of a new title which 'Abd al-Rahmān gave, between 138/755 and 141/758, to the *kāḍī* of the Spanish territory already conquered, until then known as *kāḍī 'l-djund* (*kāḍī* of the military district). No doubt it was to indicate that the territory over which he had just asserted his independent authority was no longer merely a province of the Caliphate, that 'Abd al-Rahmān rejected the old name; and moreover that, in place of *djund*, he substituted the term *djamā'a* (community of Muslims), both to signify that henceforward he was the sole legitimate authority of the Muslim world, and also as a mark of distinction from the judges of the native populations, the vast majority of whom remained strangers to Islam. Thus, in the particular circumstances, it was not a question of borrowing some foreign institution; nor was it a matter of new duties coming to be added to the jurisdictional function, properly speaking. Moreover, the term *djamā'a* had already been in use for a long time, in Arabo-Muslim circles, to denote the holder of an office concerned with these circles, when the Muslim were still in a minority. Thus, the judge of the group of Muslims at the battle of Yarmūk (15/636) had been called *kāḍī 'l-djamā'a*. However, by reason of the general conditions under which he had to perform his duties, the new *kāḍī 'l-djamā'a*, a confidant of the sovereign who for his part was absorbed by his other occupations, was naturally bound to play the part of counsellor to the sovereign, as far as judicial administration was concerned.

Having once started upon this path, the institution was not slow to coincide with the *kaḍā' al-kuḍāt*. Moreover, at some period after the 3rd/9th century which cannot however be defined more precisely, it is known that the *kāḍī 'l-djamā'a* directly exercised powers of judicial administration and nominated provincial *kāḍīs*. From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the name *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* was applied indiscriminately to the *kāḍī 'l-djamā'a*.

Moreover, as was the case in the East, the small kingdoms which came into being as a result of the decline of the Umayyad Caliphate showed their independence by each creating on its own account the office of *kāḍī 'l-djamā'a*, also called *kāḍī 'l-kuḍāt*. It should be added that the institution did not remain peculiar to Muslim Spain, but became general throughout the Muslim West.

*Bibliography*: H. F. Amedroz, *The office of Kadi*, in *JRAS*, 1910, 778; W. F. A. Behrner, *Institutions de police chez les Arabes*, in *JA*, 1860-1; M. Gaudefroy-Demonbynes, in *REI*, 1939, 112; idem, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamluks*; R. Gottheil, *A distinguished family of fatemide cadis*, in *JAOS*, 1906, 217; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 118 ff.; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, index; E. Pröbster, *Die Anwaltschaft in islamischen Rechts*, in *Islamica*, 1932, 545; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964; Thagi-Nasr, *Essai sur l'histoire du droit persan*, thesis, Paris 1932; Annemarie Schimmel, *Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Leipzig 1943 (= *WI*, xxiv, 1942); E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Leiden 1960; idem, *Autorité de la chose jugée en droit musulman*, in *St. Isl.*, xvii, 81 ff.,

(E. TYAN)

Ottoman Empire. According to the Turkish chronicles the appointment of the first *kâdî* can be related to the events that made 'Othmân independent. Karadjaḥiṣâr was occupied as early as about 1290 A.D., but 'Othmân did not appoint a *kâdî* there until around 1300; it was then that the *fakîh* Dursun, who became jointly *kâdî* and *khaṭîb*, first read the *khuṭba* [q.v.] in the name of 'Othmân as the sign of sovereignty ('Āshīkpaṣhazāde, German tr., ed. R. Kreutel, 39-40; Neshrî, ed. F. R. Unat, 108-10). With the expansion of the Ottoman empire the number of the *kâdîs* increased so quickly that a new office soon had to be set up to supervise them. Therefore when Murâd I appointed the first *kâdî 'asker* [q.v.] in Bursa around 764/1363, he put him in charge not only of the military jurisdiction but also of the supervision of the *kâdîs*.

The *kâdîs* were already paid under Orkhân (Neshrî, *op. cit.*, 186) but the amount was so inconsiderable that Bâyezîd—although he was on the point of punishing them severely for corruption—on discovering this, ordered that they should be given two per cent of every inheritance and two *aḳḳes* for each written document ('Āshīkpaṣhazāde, *op. cit.*, 104 and Neshrî, *op. cit.*, 338). Their salary was reviewed on later occasions, and according to Mehemmed II's code they were authorized to receive seven *aḳḳes* for a *sidjill* (record), 12 for a copy of the *sidjill*, 32 for a *hüddîdîet* (certificate), 12 for their signature, 30 *aḳḳes* on the marriage of a maiden and 15 on that of a widow, and two per cent of every inheritance. Besides this, they also received a daily allowance, fixed at between 10 and 500 *aḳḳes* in the time of Mehemmed II.

The district over which a *kâdî* had jurisdiction was called a *kaḳḳâ'* [q.v.] or *kaḳḳâ'*, consisting of one or more *nâhiye* [q.v.]. According to the extent of the *kaḳḳâ'*, the *kâdî* had a certain number of deputies, called *nâ'ibs* [q.v.]. Next in rank to the *kâdîs* of the *kaḳḳâ'*s were the *kâdîs* of the *sandjaks* [q.v.], then the *eyâlets* [q.v.]. The *kâdî* districts of the larger or more important places were called *mevleviyets* [q.v.]. In the 9th/15th century the districts of the *kâdîs* in Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Selânik, Filibe and Sofia were *mevleviyets*; their number increased greatly as the empire expanded.

The *kâdîs* were appointed by the *kâdî 'asker* if their daily allowance was less than 150 *aḳḳes*; otherwise their appointment was proposed to the sultan by the grand vizier, on the basis of the *kâdî 'asker*'s opinion. From the end of the 10th/16th century, however, the increased influence of the *shaykh al-islâm* [q.v.] was reflected in the appointment of the *kâdîs*.

The latter were appointed to the *kaḳḳâ'*s for 20 months and to the *mevleviyets* for one year, and after the expiry of their term they became unpaid ex-office-holders (*ma'zûl kâdîs*) until their turn came round again. In the meantime, the number of the free schools, supported by the *wakfs* [q.v.] (religious foundations) increased so much that in the reign of Sulaymân I the number of applicants for the offices greatly exceeded the number of the posts available in the empire. Therefore from 965/1557 on, on the advice of the grand *miftî* Abu 'l-Su'ûd, all who graduated from higher schools and passed their final examination were officially listed in order that they would be granted posts in due course. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century there were ten applicants waiting for one *kâdî* post to fall vacant (*Koḳi Bey Risalesi*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, 108). The *ma'zûl* system which resulted reduced not only the *kâdîs* but all the functionaries to idleness, thus affecting basically the whole administration of the Ottoman empire.

Only after the *lanzimûl* [q.v.] was it decided that beside officials of higher ranks (e.g., the *kâdî* of Istanbul) every ex-office-holder should receive according to his merits a half, a third or a quarter of his pay while he was unemployed. This system was called *ma'zûliyet ma'âshî*.

The authority of the *kâdî* covered such a large area of responsibility that the full meaning of the title cannot be accurately rendered by the word "judge". Besides the usual legal matters, they held confidential posts to which they were appointed by the government, which expected them to report from time to time on the activities of high ranking officials, the general situation and the mood of the population. They had to see that craftsmen were attached to the army before it set off to war, that roads were safe, and that goods needed for domestic consumption were not exported. As well as this they had to supervise the public affairs of the cities, the suitability of buildings, the guilds, the quality of goods and their prices. They were also responsible for seeing that foodstuffs were sold at officially fixed prices and the *devshirme* [q.v.] conducted properly. They were important as public notaries; their function was to issue different kinds of certificates and documents concerning sales, contracts, loans and the occasional manumission of slaves, to attest private and public documents, and to supervise the accounts of the *wakf* incomes and endorse them with an authentication clause.

This extended authority of the *kâdîs* was restricted in the 19th century by the endeavours of reformers, and after the proclamation of the Turkish republic the very title was abolished. Thus the institution became a thing of the past, but the vast written material pertaining to it is of great interest to historians. The *kâdîs* recorded in their *sidjills* the directives of the central government and the judicial and notarial affairs brought before them and these records are one of the most valuable sources of Turkish history.

*Bibliography*: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 83-145; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/2, Oxford 1957, 121-33; M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve içtimai tarihi*, ii, 1453-1559, Ankara 1971, 63-81; H. İnalçık, *Adâletnâmeler, in Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, ii (Ankara 1967), 75-79; F. Selle, *Prozessrecht des 16. Jahrhunderts im osmanischen Reich*, Wiesbaden 1962; H. Sobotta, *Das Amt des Kadî im osmanischen Reich* (unpublished thesis), Münster 1954; M. T. Gökbilgin, *XVI asırda mukataa ve iltizam işlerinde kadîlik müessesesinin rolü*, in *IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1952), 433-44; R. Ziyaoğlu, *İstanbul kadîları-şehreminleri-Belediye Reisleri ve partiler tarihi. 1453-1971 İdari-Siyasi*, Istanbul 1971; H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın 1 numaralı şer'îye sicili*, Ankara 1958; H. W. Duda - G. D. Galabov, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadîamtes Sofia*, Munich 1960; U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973. (GY. KÁLDY NAGY)

**KÂDÎ 'ASKAR** (A.), "judge of the army". The first data relating to the institution of the *kâdî 'askar* date from the 2nd/8th century: Kindl mentions that after Şâlih b. 'Alî had become the governor of Egypt (c. 132/750), he organized a military expedition and appointed a judge over each unit of his army (E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden 1960, 529-30). In the Ayyûbid state the office of the *kâdî leshker* (i.e., *kâdî 'askar*) first came into being in Salâdin's time (1138-93) (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtı*).

*inna medhal*<sup>2</sup>, Ankara 1970, 387). The Anatolian Saljuks also had the institution of *kādi leshker*, as is first mentioned in sources referring to the 1270s (*op. cit.*, 122-3, 140).

In the Ottoman empire Murād I appointed the first *kādi 'asker* in Bursa in 765/1363, with authority for military jurisdiction and also supervisory powers over all *kādīs*. Later, in 886/1481, Mehemmed II established a second office of *kādi 'asker* with the same wide range of functions, thereby dividing the empire into two parts each containing a *kādi 'asker*, one for Anatolia and the other for Rumelia; the latter was the more important of the two. As a result of further conquests, in 922/1516 Selim I set up a third *kādi 'asker* office in Diyarbakir with the title *'Arab ve 'Adjem kādi 'askerligi*, but soon after the occupation of Syria and Egypt he abolished it.

Up to the 11th/17th century the *kādi 'asker* was appointed on the advice of the grand vizier, and later that of the *mufti* of Istanbul, although it was considered desirable that both should be in agreement. The *kādi 'asker*, like the *kādīs* [q.v.] of higher rank, was appointed for an annual term, but this could be prolonged if it seemed necessary. Their daily payment (500 *aḳtes*) was not more than that of the *kādīs*; their income, however, was a great deal higher because they were awarded 15 per thousand of the soldiers' estates (recorded separately in the *ḥassām defteri*).

The influence of the Anatolian and Rumelian *kādi 'askers* was greatly increased by the fact that both were members of the imperial council (*diwān-i humāyūn* [q.v.]). Besides this, they were authorized to appoint *kādīs* who received less than 150 *aḳtes* as well as to fill vacancies in schools and mosques. However, they began to lose their influence and leading position after the middle of the 16th century when, as a result of the activity of Abu 'l-Su'ūd, power passed into the hands of the spiritual leader of Islam, the grand *mufti* of Istanbul. The *kādi 'askers*, however, remained members of the *diwān-i humāyūn* until the middle of the 19th century. The offices of the Anatolian and Rumelian *kādi 'askers* existed until 1914, when the two were united. However, the reorganized office of the Anatolian *kādi 'asker* was short-lived, for it was abolished under the Turkish republic.

*Bibliography*: M. F. Köprülüzade, *Bizans müesseselerinin...te'siri*, in *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, I, Istanbul 1931, 195-8; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 228-41; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 151-60; U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973. (GY. KÁLDY NAGY)

**AL-KĀDĪ AL-FĀDİL**, ABŪ 'ALĪ 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN AL-LAKHMĪ AL-BAYSĀNĪ AL-'AŞĀLĀNĪ, MŪḤYĪ (MUDJİR) AL-DĪN, the famous counsellor and secretary to Saladin, was born on 15 Djumādā II 529/3 April 1135 at 'Aşkalān [q.v.], where his father, a native of Baysān, known as al-Kādi al-Ashraf, was the judge. He was put by his father into the *Diwān al-inshā'* at Cairo as a trainee, about 543-4/1148-9. Already before 548/1153 he entered the service of the *kādi* of Alexandria, Ibn Ḥadid, as a secretary. As the elegant reports he drafted there brought him to the attention of the Cairo authorities, he was recalled to Cairo by the last representative of the family of viziers, the Banū Ruzzik, al-'Ādil Ruzzik b. al-Šāliḥ Ṭalā'ī, as head of the *Diwān al-Djāysh* [see DĪWĀN]. A little later, when Ruzzik had been set aside by Shāwar, the prefect of Ḳūs, al-Kādi al-Fādil entered the

service of Shāwar's son Kāmil as secretary, and, after the murder of Shāwar, the service of Shirkūh, his successor as vizier. In 563/1167-8 he replaced Ibn al-Khallāl, the director of the *Diwān al-inshā'* under whom he had begun his career, in his functions, and, after the death of the latter on 23 Djumādā II 566/4 March 1171, he became his successor, Saladiu having meanwhile taken over the functions of vizier. The following year, after the death of the last Fātimid, when Saladin himself became ruler of Egypt, al-Kādi al-Fādil was his right hand man in the execution of the necessary reforms in the fiscal and military administration. He then accompanied the sultan on his expeditions to Syria; from 585 to 586/1189-90 he remained in Egypt to control the administration of finance and reorganise the army and the fleet. Subsequently he returned to Syria and stayed with Saladin until his death on 27 Šafar 589/5 March 1193. When al-Malik al-Afḍal, who had seized power in Damascus, rapidly compromised his position by imprudent actions, al-Kādi al-Fādil went to Egypt to serve al-Malik al-'Aziz. Soon afterwards war broke out between the two brothers, but al-Kādi al-Fādil, through his mediation, brought it to an end in 591/1195. After this he returned to private life. He died suddenly on 6 or 7 Rabī' II 596/26 or 27 January 1200.

Of the official writings of al-Kādi al-Fādil while at the *Diwān al-inshā'*, many examples have survived, in manuscript form (Helbig, see below), in early collections such as that of his emulator a century later, Muḥyī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Durr al-naẓim min tarassul 'Abd al-Raḥim*, ed. Cairo 1959, in the works of chroniclers such as, in particular, his colleague and friend 'Imād al-Dīn al-Işfahānī [q.v.] or at a later date Abū Šhāma, in compilations of *inshā'* such as that of al-Kākaşhandī [q.v.] in particular, and lastly in various works such as the *Khariḍa* of the same 'Imād al-Dīn (for a correspondence with Usāma b. Munkidh see H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousama*, 383 ff.). While he was in office, he also edited an official diary known by the name of *Mutadajaddidāt* (according to Maḳrīzī) or *Mādjarāyāt* (according to Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm; according to the latter the compilation was partly the work of the historian of the same period Abū Ghālib al-Şhaybānī), of which considerable extracts have been preserved by these writers: Al-Kādi al-Fādil was also the author of a considerable volume of poetry in part mingled with his correspondence.

It has often been said that al-Kādi al-Fādil was vizier to Saladin. This he never was: Saladin, who first achieved power in Egypt as vizier of the Fātimid caliph, never took a vizier himself. Al-Fādil was, however, a counsellor whose advice was heeded, and the director of his chancellery. The personal prestige he enjoyed in his old age was considerable; but it was not so much to the loftiness of his moral purpose, as to the exceptional quality of his private and official epistolary style that he owed his extraordinary reputation among his contemporaries and his emulators in subsequent generations. This style, which can be compared to that of his collaborator and friend 'Imād al-Dīn al-Işfahānī, combines richness (perhaps a little less prolix) and suppleness of form with a realistic treatment of the facts, a lesson too often forgotten by later writers, which makes his correspondence a valuable historical source. It is all the more strange to note that the work, which was considered to be a model by thousands of secretaries, has not yet found an editor in modern times. The Diary is lost, the *Diwān* has been published recently

(by Ahmad A. Badawī and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1961, 2 vols.), but the correspondence is still only accessible in the form of extracts found in the works mentioned above. The ideal would be to establish a concordance of all these extracts and manuscript collections; a long, exacting, but indispensable task, which was begun but by no means finished by Helbig, and which will be taken up again.

**Bibliography:** Almost everything said by the numerous authors who devote a biography to al-Kāḍī al-Fāḍil goes back to the chroniclers of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and to the account given by his friend 'Imād al-Dīn, who died a few months later, and reproduced by Abū Shāma *s.a.* 596. In addition, see in particular Ibn Khallikān, no. 384, and Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *op. cit.* In modern literature the fundamental work is still that of Ad. Helbig, *Al-Qadi al-Fadil*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1908. See also Walther Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Agypten*, 1928, and Horst-Adolf Hein, *Beiträge zur Ayyubidischen Diplomatik*, Diss. Freiburg/Br. 1968, with bibliography; *GAL*, I, 315, S I, 549; Hilmy M. Ahmad, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Holt and Lewis, 95-6 and n. 16; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany N. Y. 1972, index.

(C. BROCKELMANN-[CL. CAHEN])

AL-KĀDĪ AL-HARAWĪ [see AL-'ABBĀDĪ].

**KĀDĪ KHĀN**, FAKHR AL-DIN AL-HASAN B. MAṢŪR AL-FARĠĤĀNĪ, 6th/12th century Ḥanafī jurist (d. Ramaḍān 592/August 1196), a native of Transoxania, who wrote commentaries on those works of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, Abū Hanīfa's disciple, recognized as *yāhīr al-riwāya* (authentic version). A few manuscript copies of his commentaries are extant, notably a *Sharḥ al-Djāmi' al-ṣaḡīr* and a *Sharḥ al-Ziyādāt* in the Cairo National Library. Kāḍī Khān's fame rests on his *Fatāwā*, also called *al-Fatāwā al-khāniyya*, not, as the name would seem to suggest, a collection of practical decisions but rather a theoretical work, analogous in form and in essence with all treatises on *fiqh*. Nevertheless, Kāḍī Khān was less preoccupied than the other *fukahā'* with abstract explanations and methodology (*uṣūl*). This was perhaps the reason for the success of the *Fatāwā* in the eyes of practitioners, especially in India, where the first printed editions of the work appeared (Calcutta 1835). Nowadays the preferred text is the Būlāḳ one, where the text is printed on the margin of the first three volumes of *Fatāwā hindiyya* (1310).

Kāḍī Khān was one of those men whom the Ḥanafī school agreed should be classed as qualified to handle *idjtiḥād* [q.v.] and to put forward new solutions in legal matters. He was the last jurist of the classical period of Ḥanafī law, a time when a measure of legislative creativity was still possible.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutlūbughā, ed. Flügel (*Abh. d. DMG*, ii, no. 3), 16 no. 56; O. Flügel, *Die Classen der hanefit. Rechtsgelehrten*, in *Abh. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, viii (1860), 314; M. 'Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyya fī tarāḍīm al-Ḥanafīyya*, Cairo 1324, 64-5; Hādīdī Khallīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 2640; Brockelmann, I, 376; W. Pertsch, *Kat. der Arab. Hss. in Gotha*, no. 999. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL —

[Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS])

**KĀDĪ 'L-KUḌĀT** [see KĀDĪ].

**KĀDĪ MUḤAMMAD**, a Sunnī of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, b. c. 1895, was head of the leading aristocratic and religious family of Mahābād [q.v.] (the principal town of the Kurdish part of the province of

Āḍharbaydjan since separated as the Third Ostan), where there was a tradition of lively Kurdish cultural activity. After succeeding his father, 'Alī, as *kāḍī* he quickly established a reputation for outstanding competence and incisiveness alike as judge, orator and practical man of affairs.

In August 1941 the Anglo-Russian invasion of Persia was followed by a general rising of the Kurdish tribes and the total breakdown of the machinery of government. At Mahābād a committee of townsmen, headed by the *kāḍī* and supported by the tribal chiefs, took over the local administration. A political party, the Society for the Revival of Kurdistan, formed by a group of young nationalist intellectuals, later co-opted the *kāḍī* as president. Kurdish was introduced as the language of instruction in the schools, and nationalistic emotions were aroused by theatrical productions, the publication of anthologies of patriotic verse, and other journalistic activities in that tongue. Although the last vestiges of government authority had long disappeared, it was not until 22 January 1946 that the Autonomous Kurdish Republic was proclaimed with Kāḍī Muḥammad as president.

The withdrawal of the Soviet forces four months later opened the way for the central government to reassert its authority. With the reoccupation of Tabriz on 13 December both the Mahābād Republic and the larger Communist "Democratic Republic" of (Persian) Āḍharbaydjan, set up in the Turkic-speaking parts of the province, collapsed. Kāḍī Muḥammad surrendered four days later and, after trial on a charge of treason, was hanged on 31 March 1947.

Although the Kurdish Republic, as such, lasted only eleven months, the committee led by the *kāḍī* had administered the district with commendable efficiency and success for over five years.

**Bibliography:** A. Roosevelt Jr., in *MEJ*, i (1947), 247-69; W. Eagleton Jr., *The Kurdish Republic of 1946*, Oxford 1963; Hassan Arfa, *The Kurds*, Oxford 1966, 70-102. (C. J. EDMONDS)

AL-KĀDĪ NU'MĀN [see NU'MĀN].

AL-KĀDĪ AL-TAĤARTĪ [see IBN AL-RAḤĪB].

**KĀDĪZĀDE RŪMĪ** [see SUPPLEMENT].

**KĀDĪB**, rod, one of the insignia of sovereignty of the caliph. As early as the Umayyad era, the rod (*kāḍīb*) or staff (*'aṣā*) was already, along with the seal, one of the badges of rank which was conveyed with speed to the new caliph on the death of his predecessor. This custom was adhered to under the first 'Abbāsīd caliphs, notably after the death of al-Manṣūr, who ended his life at Mecca, and after the deaths of al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, who perished during an expedition to the eastern provinces; in these cases a special messenger, bearing the *kāḍīb* and the seal, was despatched to the heir presumptive, who was then in the capital. In the 4th/10th century narratives dealing with caliphal audiences describe the caliph holding the *kāḍīb* along with other badges of rank. Considered the staff of the Prophet which was received in succession by the first caliphal dynasties who ruled over the Islamic east, and thus endowed with a religious significance borne out by kūr'ānic references to a "staff" carried by biblical prophets such as Mūsā, this rod seems also to have served as a kind of sceptre.

A like appurtenance of sovereign dignity is also attested in Muslim Spain, where the Umayyad caliphs possessed, along with other badges of rank, a rod called *khayzurān*. On the other hand, the 'Abbāsīd caliphs of Cairo in the Mamlūk era had lost the rod, but even so it did not pass into the hands of the sultans

and seems no longer to have figured in the Ottoman ceremonial. Nevertheless the rod or staff (*ʿaṣā*) of the sovereign became in later literature the symbol of power, as is demonstrated in a passage from Ibn Khaldūn (*Muqaddīma*, part iv, ch. 1).

*Bibliography*: E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, *Le califat*, Paris 1954, 490-2; ii, *Califat et sultanat*, Paris 1956, 280; D. Sourdel, *Questions de cérémonial 'abbāsīde* in *REI*, 1960, 135 and n. 100; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 205; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 14. (D. SOURDEL)

**KĀDIR** [see KĪDAM].

**KĀDĪN** [see MAR'Ā, SARĀY].

**AL-KĀDIR** [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ].

**AL-KĀDIR BI'LLĀH**, 25th caliph of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, who reigned from 381/991 to 422/1031. Born in 336/947-8, Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ishāk was the grandson of the Caliph al-Muqtadir [*q.v.*] and cousin of the Caliph al-Ṭā'ī, who was deposed in 381/991 by the amīr Bahā' al-Dawla. Called to assume the caliphate by the latter, Abu'l-'Abbās received the regnal name of al-Kādir bi'llāh. The amīr, who had met with some vestiges of resistance in al-Ṭā'ī, hoped to find a more tractable ruler in the person of al-Kādir, who had had to flee from the capital to escape the vengeance of his cousin after a family quarrel. In fact, the new caliph at first appeared to make common cause with the amīr and seemed disposed to support his policies. Moreover, the proclamation was not initially recognized by the amīrs in the eastern provinces; it was not until around 390/1000 that the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids decided to recognize the new caliph installed by their Buwayhid rivals. Obligated to give way to the various demands of the chief amīr, in the first stage of his reign al-Kādir bestowed on the latter honorific titles comparable with those awarded to 'Aḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], was satisfied with ratifying the nominations he proposed, and agreed to marry Bahā' al-Dawla's own daughter, though in fact she died before the marriage was celebrated. He was also content with very limited financial resources. The only demonstrations of his authority were the construction of the sixth Great Mosque in Baghdād, that of Bāb Ḥarb (383/993), and the announcement, before an assembly of pilgrims from Khurāsān (390/1001), that his heir was his son, who was given the appellation al-Ghālib bi'llāh.

From around 390/1000, however, the chief amīr Bahā' al-Dawla, who had settled in Shīrāz, treated 'Irāk merely as a province of the kingdom. On account of this the caliph began to enjoy greater freedom. He was thus able to re-establish the 'Abbāsīd *khufba* in Yamāma and Bahrayn. Similarly, he opposed the nomination as chief *kādi* of a man whom the chief amīr wished also to appoint as *naḥīb* of the 'Alids, president of the *maṣālim* court and amīr of the pilgrimage, the *sharīf* Abū Aḥmad al-Mūsawī (394/1004). The caliph thus managed to block the universal application of Imāmīte law and to ban an 'Alid from the office of chief *kādi*. He had previously had the occasion to demonstrate his determination to defend the Sunnī régime which he embodied; in 390/1000 he had addressed a letter to the new *kādi* of Dīlān asking him to urge the populace to obey the caliph. A few years afterwards, there occurred the incidents which led him to intervene against Imāmism; following controversies concerning Ibn Mas'ūd's Qur'ānic recension, which the Sunnīs considered inexact, and the ensuing disturbances in the capital, the caliph convened a commission

of Sunnī scholars, who condemned the suspect version (Radjab 398/April 1006), and soon after arrested and executed a Shī'ī who at Karbalā' had dared to anathematize "those who had burned the *muṣḥaf*" of Ibn Mas'ūd. In these circumstances the chief amīr intervened to pour oil on troubled waters and to prevent the situation from becoming more grave. As a matter of fact there was a new danger threatening caliph and chief amīr alike: Fātimid propaganda making itself felt in the Shī'ī quarters of Baghdād. The name of the Caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] was hailed during the affair of Ibn Mas'ūd's Qur'ān and shortly afterwards the amīr of al-Mawṣil, Kirwaṣh, whose authority stretched as far as al-Anbār [*q.v.*], threw in his lot with the Fātimid regime and delivered a *khufba* in which he professed Ismā'īlism (Muḥarram 401/August 1010). At once al-Kādir sent an emissary to the chief amīr in the person of the theologian al-Bākillānī, who had for many years been greatly favoured by the Buwayhid amīrs, and obtained the amīr's intervention in the matter of Kirwaṣh, who re-established the 'Abbāsīd *khufba* soon afterwards. He played his part by having read publicly in the palace, in Rabi' II 402/November 1011, a manifesto condemning the Fātimid doctrine, criticizing the genealogy of the Fātimid caliphs, and numbering the Ismā'īlīs among the enemies of Islam. The manifesto was signed by Imāmī as well as Sunnī scholars.

The death of Bahā' al-Dawla in 403/1012 and the succession of his son Sulṭān al-Dawla made no great change in the political situation. It should not be forgotten that for a number of years the agitation of the Arab and Kurdish elements in 'Irāk had progressively weakened Buwayhid power, while the long-standing rivalry between Daylamites and Turks was ignited again in the course of any local disturbances, and incidents between Sunnīs and Shī'īs in Baghdād and other towns could break out at any moment. Al-Kādir's main preoccupation was the struggle against any doctrines deemed pernicious and especially those which constituted a danger to the caliphate. From 408/1017 he demanded that the Ḥanafī jurists who had shown some sympathy with Mu'tazilism make an act of penitence; at the same time he forbade the teaching of Mu'tazilī and Shī'ī doctrines. Then, in 409/1018, he had a reading given in the palace of the text called *al-risāla al-kādirīyya*, a profession of faith defining the official doctrine which also conformed to the ideas of the Men of Old (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, viii, 109; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 198-201; G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 299 ff.). Inspired by Ḥanbalite ideas, this text condemned not only Shī'ism in all its forms but also Mu'tazilism and even Ash'arism, which was denounced for taking a stance that was a dangerous compromise with Mu'tazilism, and also put forward the veneration of the Companions as a genuine obligation. In the same period the chief amīr Sulṭān al-Dawla appeared in Baghdād for the first time: soon after, he retired to Iran and ceded his position to Muḥarrif al-Dawla, who turned up in Baghdād in Muḥarram 414/March 1023 and demanded that the caliph come to meet him. Al-Kādir complied, but he protested soon afterwards when, without seeking the caliph's authorization, the chief amīr wanted to renew the Turkish chieftains' oath of allegiance and procured the amīr's vow of submission and fidelity.

The rivalry which broke out between the Buwayhid princes after the death of Muḥarrif al-Dawla in 416/1025 gave the caliph the opportunity to play a truly political role once more. Opposed were Djalāl al-

Dawla, the brother of Muḥarrif al-Dawla, who at once secured the proclamation in the *khutba* of his name, and Abū Kālidjār [q.v.], his nephew, who had himself proclaimed chief amir by the troops, an announcement ratified by the caliph until those same troops were deserting Abū Kālidjār and rallying to iǧlāl al-Dawla. The latter arrived in Baghdād in 418/1026, installed himself in the amiral palace and assumed certain caliphal prerogatives, but less than a year later the troops clamoured for his dismissal. Al-Kādir despatched the chief notables, the two *naḥīb*s and the *ḥādīb*, to inform him that he must withdraw; he did so and was prohibited from returning to the capital for some time afterwards.

The caliph devoted the last years of his reign to reinforcing 'Abbāsīd propaganda. During 420/1029 three letters were solemnly read aloud from the palace: the first denounced Mu'tazilism anew; the second attacked in particular the doctrine of the "created Qur'ān"; while the third proclaimed the superiority of the early caliphs and affirmed the obligation to "command good and forbid evil". At the same time doctrines favourable to Mu'tazilism had to be duly amended and the preacher at the mosque of Barāthā was dismissed as a Shī'ī extremist. Moreover the caliph received frequent reports of events in the eastern provinces, where Maḥmūd of Ghazna harried the Shī'īs and further extended Islamic power by setting out on the conquest of India, while at the same time engaging in battle against the Buwayhids, seizing Rayy in 420/1029 then attacking Kirmān in 422/1031. In 421/1030 the ageing caliph secured the succession by declaring his son Abū Dja'far his heir without any reference to the chief amir. On his death in 422/1031, though it had not regained its traditional power, the caliphate had won a considerable amount of prestige. Above all al-Kādir had worked effectively for the restoration of threatened Sunnism and in this way achieved ends as much political as religious. Al-Kādir's activities were reflected by the redaction of two treatises on public law, the two works entitled *Al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, the one by the Shāfi'ī al-Māwardī [q.v.] and the other by the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Farrā' [q.v.].

*Bibliography:* The basic sources are: Abū Shudjā', *Dhayl taǧrīb al-umam, passim*; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii-viii; Ibn al-Athīr. Other sources are mentioned in the following: M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, *passim*; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, Die Buyiden im Iraq*, Beirut 1966, *passim*; see also H. Laoust, *La pensée et l'action politiques d'al-Māwardī*, in *REI*, xxxvi (1968), 11-92; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghasnavids*, Edinburgh 1963, *passim*.

(D. SOURCE)

AL-KĀDIRI, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ṬAYYIB B. 'ABD AL-SALĀM AL-ḤASANĪ AL-KĀDIRI, *sharīf*, Moroccan historian and biographer, born in Fās on 7 Rabī' I 1124/14 April 1712, died in the same town on 25 Sha'bān 1187/ 11 November 1773. He was a pupil of the leading scholars of his time but, unlike them, throughout his life revealed an almost complete detachment from the good things of this world. Quite early he turned to Ṣūfism and, to make his living, was content to act as an 'ādil (legal witness to a deed). Al-Kādirī left a fairly considerable number of writings. In the list of works, compiled by himself (*Iḥikāf al-durar*, fol. 104 v.), some of the most noteworthy of these (apart from works relating to Muslim learning) are a monograph relating to the saint Kāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, a short

work devoted to the *ashrāf* of Sicilian origin, an obituary in *radjāz* on the family of the Fāsiyyūn [q.v.], an appendix to the *Kifāyat al-muḥtādī* of Aḥmad Bābā [q.v.], etc.: but the most important of al-Kādirī's works are his dictionaries of the celebrities of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, the *Iḥikāf al-durar* and the *Nashr al-mathānī*. The first exists only in a few manuscripts. The second, thanks to the lithographed edition (2 vol., Fās 1310/1892 [with an error of pagination in vol. ii between pages 161 and 249]) and the French translation (vol. i, tr. A. Graulle and Maillard, in *Arch. Maroc.*, xxi (1913); vol. ii, tr. E. Michaux-Bellaire, *ibid.*, xxiv (1917)) is well known. These two works, probably the last written by the author, fulfilled the same purpose. While the hagiographic record compiled by Ibn 'Askar [q.v.] had been continued for the 11th/17th century by al-Ifrānī [q.v.], for this same century there existed no dictionary of Muslim celebrities of all types. It was this gap that al-Kādirī set out to fill, although he seems to have been unaware of the existence of the *Ṣafwat man intashar* of al-Kattānī [q.v.], written at about the same time. The first results of his researches were recorded in the *Iḥikāf al-durar wa-mustafād al-mawā'iz wa'l-'ibar min akhbār a'yān al-mi'a al-thāniya wa'l-ḥadiya 'ashar* (which also contains substantial autobiographical elements). In a revised, completed and often abridged form, this work was presented under a new title, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-karn al-ḥādī 'ashar wa'l-thānī*. The two works thus resemble each other closely. They possess an original feature in that, following the obituaries for each year, they almost always give a résumé of the outstanding political events of that year. It seems that al-Kādirī also produced another version of the *Nashr al-mathānī*, apart from the one lithographed at Fās; this is stated by al-Kattānī (*Salwat al-anfās*, iii, 361), who had in his possession a more complete *Nashr*, covering the period until 1183/1769. This more extensive edition was said to be entitled *al-Azhār al-nādiya fi akhbār ahl al-mi'a al-ḥadiya 'ashar wa'l-thāniya*.

Al-Kādirī was familiar with the whole body of literature relating to the Sa'ādis [q.v.], but his sympathies lay primarily with Muslim scholars, whether they were like himself Moroccan or not.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the references given in the text, see: Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās, 1316/1898, II, 351 (Graulle in the introduction (of his translation), without regard to the original order has translated Kattānī's note on al-Kādirī); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 319-26 (indispensable); 'Abd al-Salām b. Sūdā, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-akṣā*, Tetuan 1369/1950, no. 3; I. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, 2nd series, Rabat 1958, nos. 2306-8 and 2161; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie 'alawide*, Rabat 1971, 240-1 and index. (G. DEVERDUN)

AL-KĀDIRI AL-ḤASANĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS (and Abu 'l-Faḍā'il) AḤMAD B. 'ABD AL-KĀDIR B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, Moroccan mystic who was also a man of the pen and of the sword. He owed his education to his stay at the *sāwiya* of Dilā', profiting from the teaching of qualified masters such as al-Yūsī. He made the pilgrimage twice, in 1083/1673 and in 1100/1689. During his first stay in the East, he followed courses given by doctors learned in Islamic sciences, amongst whom were: 'Alī al-Udjhūrī, 'Abd al-Bākī al-Zurkānī, and Muḥammad al-Khīrshī. At the end of his second journey he composed a *rihla* with the title *Nasmat al-ās fi ḥidāyat Sayyidina Abi*

'*L-Abbās* (it deals with Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ma'n al-Andalusī, in whose company he had visited the Holy Places). He is also the author of the following works: *Diwāb fi 'l-nasab al-ḥasanī wa 'l-ḥusaynī*; *Ta'rif fi nasab al-shurafā'* al-'*Alawiyayn*; three poems in *radjāz* metre: one on the Companions of the Prophet who had emigrated to Abyssinia, the second on the mosques in which the Prophet had prayed, and the third in *yā'* rhyme on the masters of his time. He passed the rest of his days in the odour of sanctity, devoting himself to the perusal of works of mysticism, and associating only with saints, such as Kāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, Muḥammad al-'Arabī Bardalla, and the aforementioned Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ma'n. Previously at Fez, he had followed the courses of al-Yūsī and 'Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsi. He died at Fez, Monday 19 Djumādā I 1133/18 March 1721, and was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ near the oratory of 'Adwat al-Andalus.

*Bibliography*: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 294; Kādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 201; idem, *Ilīkāt*, 61v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 71v-72v; idem, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*; Ifrani, *Ṣafwa*, ii, 353; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 28, n. 75; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 80-1, 91, ii, 368, 434; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 353.

(M. LAKHDAR)

AL-KĀDIRI AL-HASANĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-'ARABĪ B. AL-ṬAYYĪB, Moroccan scholar very learned in history and genealogy. He had eminent teachers in the various branches of knowledge, notably 'Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsi, his two sons Muḥammad and 'Abd al-Rahmān, al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, and the *ḥādī* Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Fāsi. He frequented well-known mystics, amongst others Kāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh Ma'n al-Andalusī, in whose company he made the pilgrimage, and Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Yamanī. All his works are devoted to mysticism: *al-Ṭurfa fi 'l-ḥitāṣār al-Tuḥfa* (which is a history of the *Djazūlī* and *Zarrūkī* movement from the beginning until his own time, and a résumé of the work of al-Mahdī al-Fāsi), a treatise on the descendants of *shaykh* 'Abd al-Kādir b. Mūsā al-Ḥasanī al-Djilānī, and another on the saints of Fez with the title *al-Ta'rif bi-ṣūlāḥā' Fās wa-akhbārihim*; he had given the draft of this, when he was about to travel to the east, into the keeping of Muḥammad b. 'Ayshūn al-Sharrāt, who appropriated it, passing it off as his own. Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Kādirī also composed a *kunnāsh* which, his biographers say, contained most interesting information. He died at the end of *Dhu 'l-Hijjā* 1106/11 Aug. 1695, and was buried outside Bāb al-Futūḥ at Fez in the place called Maṭraḥ al-Djamra.

*Bibliography*: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 275-6; 'Abd al-Salām al-Kādirī, *al-Durr al-sanī*, 62; Dilā'ī, *Natīdjat al-tahkīk*, 20; Kādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 158; idem, *Ilīkāt*, 46v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 184v-187; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 345; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 27, no. 69; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 51, 200, ii, 294, 314, 463.

(M. LAKHDAR)

AL-KĀDIRI AL-HASANĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. AL-ṬAYYĪB, celebrated Moroccan genealogist of the Chorfa. Born at Fez, 10 Ramaḍān 1058/28 Sept. 1648, he followed there the courses of eminent teachers, including 'Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsi and his two sons, Muḥammad and 'Abd al-Rahmān, al-Yūsī, al-'Arabī b. Ahmad al-Fiṣṭālī, and Ahmad b. al-'Arabī b. al-Hādīdī. He was accomplished in lexicography, rhetoric, logic, dialectic, and *ḥadīth* and its principles (*uṣūl*). But his speciality was genealogy in general and that of the Banū

Hāshim and of the 'Alawī branch in particular. 'Abd al-Salām al-Kādirī left an important body of work dealing with most aspects of learning. The following works may be cited, according to discipline: a) Literature: a *diwān* and a *fahrasa*—b) Mysticism: *Adū' al-ḥukūk fi ibdā' al-furūq*—c) Tradition: i) a rendering in verse of the *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-Sira* of Ibn Fāris, ii) *al-Durra al-khatīra fi muḥimm al-Sira*—d) Biography and Hagiography: i) a notice of Ibn Abī Zar', ii) of Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh Ma'n al-Andalusī: *al-Makṣad al-aḥmad*, iii) of Ahmad al-Shāwī: *Mu'ṭamad al-rāwī*, iv) of Abū Bakr al-Dilā'ī and his son Muḥammad: *Nuḥat al-fikr*, v) of Kāsim al-Khaṣāṣī: *al-Zahr al-bāsim* (or *al-'Urf al-nāsīm*)—e) Genealogy: i) *al-Durr al-sanī fi man bi-Fās min ahl al-nasab al-ḥasanī*, ii) *al-'Urf al-'āfir fi man bi-Fās min abnā'* *al-shaykh* 'Abd al-Kādir, iii) *al-Ishrāf 'alā nasab al-Akṭāb al-arba'a al-ashraf*, iv) *Tuḥfat al-nabīh bi-nasab Banī Ṭāhir wa-Banī 'l-Shabīh*, v) *'Ukūd al-la'āl wa-wasīlat al-su'āl bi-mā lahu s.l.m. min al-āl*, vi) *Maṭla' al-ishrāk fi 'l-shurafā'* *al-wāridīn min al-'Irāk*.

He died at Fez on Friday 13 Rabī' I 1110/19 Sept. 1698, and was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ.

*Bibliography*: *al-Durr al-sanī*, supra, e) i, 62; *al-'Urf al-'āfir*, supra, e) ii, tr. Giacobetti, *Kitāb al-nasab*, 145; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 276-80; Dilā'ī, *Natīdjat al-tahkīk*, 20; Kādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 162; idem, *Ilīkāt*, 48v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 39v-45v; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 348; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar*, ii, 192; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 27, no. 71; 'A. al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, i, 132-3, ii, 165, 292; Brockelmann, S II, 682-3; al-Wazīr al-Ḡhassānī, *al-Durr al-sanī*; Ibn Zaydān, *al-Manzā' al-laṭif*, 309; M. al-Bashīr, *Yawākūt*, 20; M. Dāwūd, *Ta'rikh Tiṭwān*, i/3, 361, 374; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, *passim*; A. al-Namīshī, *Ta'rikh al-shi'ṭ*, 74.

(M. LAKHDAR)

KĀDIRIYYA, Order (*ṭarīqa*) of dervishes called after 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī [q.v.].

1.—Origin. 'Abd al-Kādir (d. 561/1166) was the principal of a school (*madrasa*) of Ḥanball law and a *ribāṭ* in Baghdād. His sermons (collected in *al-Faḥ al-Rabbānī*) were delivered sometimes in the one, sometimes in the other; both were notable institutions in the time of Ibn al-Aṭṭār, and Yāqūt (*Iṣṭiḥāṭ al-Arib*, v, 274) records a quest of books made to the former by a man who died in 572/1176-7. Both appear to have come to an end at the sack of Baghdād in 656/1258, till when it is probable that their headship remained in the family of 'Abd al-Kādir, which was numerous and distinguished. In the *Bahājat al-Asrār*, where an accurate account of his descendants is given (pp. 113-117), it is stated that 'Abd al-Kādir was succeeded in the *madrasa* by his son 'Abd al-Wahhāb (552/1151-593/1196), who was followed by his son 'Abd al-Salām (d. 611/1214). Another son, 'Abd al-Razzāk (528/603-1134/1206-7), was a notable ascetic. Several members of the family perished during the sack of Baghdād, when it would appear that both these institutions came to an end.

A *ribāṭ* was at this time distinguished from a *zāwiya*, the former being a *coenobium*, the latter a place where an ascetic lived in solitude (al-Subrawardī, *Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, margin of the *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1306, i, 217). In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa *zāwiya* had come to be used in the former sense also, and his description of the religious exercises practised at the *zāwiya* (i, 71) would probably suit what went on at 'Abd al-Kādir's *ribāṭ*. The body of rules and doctrines which had his authority was sufficient to constitute a system (*maḥḥab*; *Bahājat*, p. 101), and by accepting the *khirka* from the *shaykh* the *murīd*

signified that he subordinated his will to that of the former (al-Suhrawardī, i, 192). A long list is given in the *Bahdja* of men who attained various degrees of distinction who had received the *khirka* from 'Abd al-Kādir, two of them at the age of seven and one at the age of one. These persons were said to "ascribe themselves" (*intasaba* or *intamā* or even *tasammā*) to 'Abd al-Kādir, and could bestow the *khirka* on others as from him; in doing so they would stipulate that the *murid* was to regard 'Abd al-Kādir as his *shaykh* and director after the Prophet. In a tradition which is likely to be apocryphal (*Bahdja*, p. 101, dated 592/1196), 'Abd al-Kādir declared that assumption of his *khirka* was not absolutely necessary for entry into his Order; personal attachment to himself was sufficient. It would appear that during his lifetime several persons carried on propaganda in favour of his system; one 'Alī b. al-Ḥaddād obtained proselytes in Yemen, and one Muḥammad al-Baṭā'iḥī, resident in Baalbek, did likewise in Syria; one Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, also of Baalbek, was another propagandist, and one Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad in Egypt "ascribed himself to 'Abd al-Kādir and in treading the Path relied on him after God and His Apostle" (*Bahdja*, pp. 109, 110). Since all who ascribed themselves to him were promised Paradise, the Order is likely to have been popular; and even in recent times missionaries in Africa appear to have little difficulty in obtaining fresh adherents to it (cf. O. Lenz, *Timbuktu*, ii, 33).

That 'Abd al-Kādir's sons had some share in spreading it is likely, though Ibn Taymiyya (d.728/1328) mentions that he had associated with one of his descendants who was an ordinary Muslim and not a member of it, and so did not agree with those who held fanatical views about him (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, p. 124). The *Bahdja* however does not bear out Le Chatelier's assertion (*Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, p. 35) that in 'Abd al-Kādir's life-time some of his sons had been preaching his doctrine in Morocco, Egypt, Arabia, Turkestan and India. It says much of 'Abd al-Razzāk, but nothing of the "mosque now in ruins, whose seven gilded domes have often served as the subject of description by Arabic historians", which this son is supposed to have built. Indeed this mosque appears to be later than Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (740/1339-40), the first author later than the *Bahdja* who mentions 'Abd al-Kādir's tomb (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, tr. Le Strange, p. 42). Nor does it confirm the statement that this 'Abd al-Razzāk introduced the use of music in the ritual, and indeed the employment of this was earlier than 'Abd al-Kādir's time, and is discussed by al-Suhrawardī (ii, 116) without allusion to 'Abd al-Razzāk. E. Mercier (*Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, iii, 14) asserts that the Kādiriyya Order existed in Berbery in the 6th/12th century and was closely connected with the Fātimids (whose rule terminated 567/1171), but he gives no authority for these statements.

Al-Suhrawardī holds that the exercises of each *murid* should be determined by his *shaykh* in accordance with his individual needs, whence it is unlikely that 'Abd al-Kādir instituted any rigid system of *dhikr*, *wird* and *ḥizb*, and indeed those in use among different Kādiri communities differ (Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 183 ff.). The initiation ceremonies given on Turkish authority by J. P. Brown (*The Darvishes*, p. 98) are quite different from those furnished by Rinn on North African authority. In one of these latter there is a tendency to set 'All above Muḥammad and to insist on the importance of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, which cannot well represent the views

of the Ḥanbalite 'Abd al-Kādir. The *wird* of 'Abd al-Kādir in *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniyya* is given on the authority of one 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Adjamī, who lived 185 years (536-731) and may be regarded as mythical.

2.—Development. Kādirism seems from an early period to have developed on different lines according as 'Abd al-Kādir was regarded as the founder of a system involving rites and practices, or as a worker of miracles. In the latter direction it meant the deification of 'Abd al-Kādir, the extremists holding that he was Lord of Creation after God, absolutely, whereas the more moderate supposed that he was so only in his own age (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, *loc. cit.*). The latter was the view of Ibn 'Arabi, who takes him as an example of a *khalifa* who showed himself and practised sovereignty (*taṣarruf*; *al-Fulūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, ii, 407); such a *khalifa* in his system is independent of the revelation to Muḥammad (*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, § 16). But there was also a theory that 'Abd al-Kādir practised in his grave all the activities (*taṣarruf*) of the living (Ibn al-Wardī, (d. 749), *Ta'rikh*, ii, 70); and Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Djawāb al-Saḥīḥ*, i, 323) mentions him among saints who in his time still appeared to people, being in reality impersonated by demons. In the initiation ceremonies recorded by J. P. Brown, *loc. cit.*, the candidate for admission to the Order sees 'Abd al-Kādir in dreams; in one case so often and so clearly that without having seen 'Abd al-Kādir's portrait he could recognize him among a thousand. The form of Kādirism which means the worship of 'Abd al-Kādir seems to prevail in North Africa, where it is called *Djilālism* (or *Djilānism*), and whole communities are called *Djilāla*. Their system has been described as the application of Sūfī mysticism to beliefs that are certainly pre-Islamic, and the materialization of that mysticism under the form of a cult of hidden subterranean powers (E. Michaux-Bellaire, in *Archives Marocaines*, xx, 235). Here the word *khalwa* is used for a heap of stones where women attach rags to reeds planted between the stones and where they burn benzoin and styrax in pots (herds (*ibid.*, xvii, 60). Such *khalwas* are to be found in all the Arab villages. Similarly "in the province of Oran on all the roads and on the summits of the chief mountains *kubbas* are to be found in the name of 'Abd al-Kādir Jilali" (E. de Neveu, *Ordres Religieux chez les Musulmans d'Algérie*, p. 30). The society of the Genawah or Negroes of Guinea has placed itself entirely under the protection of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Kādir with all his array of male and female demons; wherein Michaux-Bellaire found traces of the powers which, according to the Qur'ān (and even earlier authorities), belonged to Solomon. The cult of 'Abd al-Kādir is most ardently practised by the women in the *Khloṭ* and *Tilk*, who come to the *khalwa* for every sort of object, and to satisfy their loves and hates in all the acts of their existence. The men on the other hand chiefly go to the *khalwa* when they are ill (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi, 329).

That this development is inconsistent with Islamic orthodoxy is evident, and it is attacked by such authorities as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibrāhīm al-Shāṭibī (*I'tiṣām*, i, 348 ff.). The system to which the name Kādiriyya is more ordinarily applied differs from other orders mainly in ritual, although, through circumstances connected with its origin, "it has not that homogeneity of statutes which is to be found in other congregations, which seem to form small exclusive churches outside which there is no salvation" (Rinn, p. 186). Though the founder was a



Hanballi, membership is by no means confined to that school, and the Order is theoretically both tolerant and charitable.

3.—Geographical Distribution. Since historical and geographical works rarely distinguish between the different *ṭurūḥ* in their accounts of religious buildings, little can be said with certainty of the date at which the first Kādirī *zāwiya* or *khānkhāh* was established in any country save 'Irāk. The Order is said to have been introduced into Fez by the posterity of two of 'Abd al-Kādir's sons, Ibrāhīm (d. 592/1196 in Wāsīt) and 'Abd al-'Azīz (who died in *Dijāl*, a village of *Sindjar*); they had migrated to Spain and shortly before the fall of Granada (897/1492) their descendants fled to Morocco. The full genealogy of the *Shurafā'* *Dijlāla* of Fez is given in *Arch. Maroc.*, iii, 106-114, on the authority of *al-Durr al-Sanī* of al-Kādirī al-Ḥasani (1090/1679), who claims to have used a series of authentic documents. The *khālwa* of 'Abd al-Kādir in Fez is mentioned as early as 1104/1692-3 (*ibid.*, xi, 319). The order was introduced into Asia Minor and Istanbul by *Ismā'il Rūmī*, founder of the *khānkhāh* known as the Kādirī*khānah* at the *Topkhāne*. This personage (d. 1041/1631), who is called *Pir thānī*, "Second *Shaykh*", is said to have founded some 40 *tekiyes* in these regions (*Kāmūs al-'Alām*). A Kādirī *ribāḥ* in Mecca is mentioned by *Shāliḥ b. Maḥdī* in *al-'Alam al-Shāmīkh*, p. 381, about 1180/1767, but the assertion that a branch was established there during the lifetime of 'Abd al-Kādir (Le Chatelier, *op. cit.*, p. 44) is not improbable, since Mecca has a natural attraction for the *Ṣūfis*. In the *Ā'in-i-Akhbarī* (about 1600; tr. Jarrett, iii, 357) the Kādirīyya Order is mentioned as one that is highly respected but is not included among those recognized in India; nor does there appear to be any allusion to it in the list of Indian *Ṣūfis* in the *Ma'āthir-i Kīrām* (1752), though some other Orders are noticed, and 'Abd al-Kādir himself is mentioned. Yet see *Khāfi Khān, Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii, 604 and art, HIND, p. 432.

Some statistics (to be received with caution) of the Kādirīs and their *zāwiyas* are given by Depont et Coppolani (*Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, pp. 301-18). Much of its development is admittedly recent, and may be due to the fame won by the name-sake of 'Abd al-Kādir [q.v.] who for so many years resisted the French occupation of North Africa. It is doubtless represented in all Islamic countries, though it would appear that certain derived *ṭurūḥ* enjoy greater popularity in many places. Thus the Kādirism of Touba in Guinea, which has become a distinct sign whereby the Diakanke tribe can be recognized, is derived through the Sidia from the Kādirism of the Kounta of Timbuctu (P. Marty in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, xxxvi, 183). These Kounta however form a *filiale* of the Kādirīyya, and some of them prefer to call themselves *Shādhiliyya* (*ibid.*, xxxi, 414).

4.—Organization. The Kādirī community acknowledges nominal allegiance to the keeper of 'Abd al-Kādir's tomb in Baghdād, and the deeds of investiture published by Rinn, p. 179, and in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, ii, 513 and ix, 290, are from this source. It would seem however that the actual authority of this personage is chiefly recognized in 'Irāk and Pakistan. The latter periodically send gifts which form the main source of the revenues of his establishment; the members of this family find it worth while to learn Urdu. The Meccan *zāwiyas* were subject to the *Shaykh al-Turuk*, who had the right to nominate their *muḥaddam*. The Egyptian branch was under the control of the Sayyid al-Bakrī, who was

also *Shaykh al-Turuk*; 'Ali Paṣha Mubārak (iii, 129; see also P. Kahle in *Der Islam*, vi, 154) reckons the order as one of the four which go back to a *ḥuṣb*, but asserts that it has neither *furū'* nor *buyūt*. In Africa, according to Rinn, each *muḥaddam* names his successor; in the event of one dying without having nominated anyone, an election is made by the *ikhwān* at a *ḥaḍra*. The approval of the head of the Order in Baghdād is then solicited, and has never been refused. The organization of the Order in North Africa is described somewhat fully by Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, in the works cited. The system appears to be in general congregational, *i.e.*, the *zāwiyas* are independent, and the relation between them and the central institution in Baghdād is very loose. The principle whereby the headship of a *zāwiya* is hereditary is generally recognized.

5.—Symbols and rites. The sign of the Turkish Kādirīs was said to be a rose which is green, having been adopted by *Ismā'il Rūmī*. The candidate for admission to the Order after a year brought an *'arāḥiyya* or small felt cap, to which if the candidate be accepted the *Shaykh* attached a rose of 18 sections, with Solomon's Seal in the centre. This cap is called by them *tāḍī*. The symbolism of this is explained by J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 98 ff. (copied by Wilberforce Clarke, tr. of *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, p. 159; the Urdu translation *Kashf Asrār al-Mashāyikh* adds nothing to Brown's information). According to him, they preferred the colour green, though they allowed others; in Lane's time the turbans and banners of the Kādirīs in Egypt were white; most members of the Order were fishermen, and in religious processions they carried upon poles nets of various colours (*Modern Egyptians*, 1871, i, 306). There are festivities in honour of 'Abd al-Kādir on 11 Rabi' II, and pilgrimages are made in many places in Algeria and Morocco to the *zāwiyas* and shrines of the saint (Rinn, p. 177). The *Mausim* of the *Dijlāla* at Salé is described at length by L. Mercier in *Arch. Maroc.*, viii, 137-9; it commences the seventh day of the *Mūlud* (*Mawlid*), *i.e.*, the Feast of the Prophet's Birthday, and lasts four days 17-20 Rabi' I. Sheep and oxen are presented to the descendants of 'Abd al-Kādir. Michaux-Bellaire distinguishes in Morocco between the ceremonies of the Kādirīyya, who recite the *ḥizb*, and the *Dijlāla*, who recite the *dhikr* to the accompaniment of instruments; and again between the *Dijlāla* of the country, whose instruments are the *bender* (a sort of big tambourine without bells) and *'awāda*, and those of the town, whose instruments are the *ṣebila*, *ṣabal* and *ghayṭa* (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi, 330 and xvii, 60). A description of the *ḥaḍrat al-mallūk*, a performance executed with these last instruments, which leads to ecstasy, is given by him in the first passage cited. He further records some special ceremonies connected with the *Awlād Khālifa* in the *Gharb* (*ibid.*, xx, 287). All the *Hilālī* of the *Gharb* are *Dijlāla*, and in all the *ḥaḍras* (services) of the *Dijlāla* the presence of at least one *Khalif* is necessary for the direction of ceremonies, and when no actual *Khalif* is present, someone there takes the name in order to perform the priestly duty. The origin of the name *Awlād Khālifa* is obscure (p. 284); it may be noticed that the *Bahdja* mentions one *Khālifa* b. *Mūsā* al-Nahrmaḥliki as having played a leading part in the propagation of 'Abd al-Kādir's system. "The *ḥaḍra* of the *Dijlāla* of the country contains neither the *ḥizb* nor the *dhikr* instituted by the *Shaykh*, but a plain *dhikr* of improvised words in the ceremonial rhythm of the *banādir* (plur. of *bender*). These improvisations always terminate with the

words 'Thus spoke Mawlāy 'Abd al-Kādir' or 'O Mawlāy 'Abd al-Kādir.'" (Michaux-Bellaire, p. 288).

Various collections of rituals supposed to have been recommended by 'Abd al-Kādir have been published in Egypt, Turkey and India. In *al-Fuyādāt al-Rabbāniyya* he who is about to enter upon *ḫhalwa* (retreat) is advised to fast in the day and keep vigil at night. The *ḫhalwa* lasts forty days. "If a figure reveals itself to him saying 'I am God', he should say 'Nay rather thou art in God', and if it be for probation, it will vanish; but if it remain, then it will be a genuine revelation (*taǧalli*)" (Dihli 1330, p. 60). Reduction of food during the 40 days should be gradual till for the last three fasting is complete. At the end he returns by degrees to his former diet.

Some practices peculiar to the *Djilāla* of Tangier are recorded by G. Salmon (*Arch. Maroc.*, ii, 108). Those who make vows to 'Abd al-Kādir are in the habit of depositing in the *sāwiya* white cocks, which are called *muḥarrar* (Sūra III, 31); they do not kill them, but leave them free to rove about the *sāwiya*, where however they do not long survive; the *sharīf* who lives hard by takes them for his food. The four daughters of a deceased *sharīf* continued to live on the revenues of the *sāwiya* and carry away the *muḥarrar* fowls. The *muḥaddam* at this *sāwiya* was the *sharīf*, who conducted the ceremonies at which the *Ḳur'ān* is repeated without the *ḫizb* of 'Abd al-Kādir being pronounced, and where dances similar to those of the 'Isāwā [*q.v.*] are performed. Circumcisions are performed at the *sāwiya* on the first day of the *mawlid*. A nightly meeting called *layla* is held on the eve of this day, at which the *ḫizb* of 'Abd al-Kādir is recited. At El-Qsar, where there are also some local practices, all the potters belong to the *Djilāla*, among whom the richer members of the community are to be found (*ibid.*, ii, 163).

The first time that the *Ḳādirīs* appear to have played a political part was during the French conquest of Algeria, when the chief of the *Ḳādiriyya*, Muḫyi 'l-Dīn, having been offered the leadership in the war against the infidel, permitted his son 'Abd al-Kādir to accept it. This person was able to utilize the religious organization of his Order in order to establish the sovereignty which the French had accorded him, and when his sovereignty was threatened could fall back on his rank as *muḥaddam* of his Order to win fresh recruits (H. Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910, p. 800, 863 ff.). After his fall and exile it seems that the *Ḳādirīs* in Africa lent their support to the French government. "In 1879 when there was a local insurrection in Aurès the *shaykh* of the *Ḳādiriyya* of Menā'a, Si Muḥammad b. 'Abbās, displayed unimpeachable loyalty [see *awrās*]; and the same Order helped the French government to extend their influence in the Sahara at Wargla and El-Wad. Their *nā'ib*, Si Muḥammad b. Ṭayyib, fell on the French side at the battle of Charouin, March 2, 1901." (Israel Hamet, *Les Musulmans Français du Nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1906, p. 276).

*Bibliography*: Oriental editions cited: 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Shaṭṭanawī, *Bahājat al-Asrār*, Cairo 1304; *al-Fath al-Rabbānī*, Cairo 1302; Ṣāliḥ b. Maḥdī, *al-'Alam al-Shāmīkh fi Iḥār al-Ḥaḳḳ 'ala 'l-'Abā' wa'l-Mashā'ikh*, Cairo 1328; *Kaṣf Asrār al-Mashā'ikh*, Lucknow 1881; *Khāfi Khān, Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., 1869-74; *Bughyāt al-Murtād*, Cairo 1329. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

**KĀDIS** (Spanish: Cádiz; English: Cadiz; French: Cadix), the capital (pop. 117, 871) of the province of the same name, the most south-

erly in Spain; it prides itself on being the oldest town in the West, since it is said to have been founded by the Phoenicians in about 1500 B.C.; in Phoenician, it is named Gad(d)ir (cf. *AGADIR*), from which the Greeks derived the name Γάδιρα, the Romans Gadir and Gades, and the Arabs *Ḳādis*. Under the domination first of the Greeks and later the Carthaginians (after 500 B.C.), it became the most important place in the south of the peninsula. The Romans succeeded in capturing it from the Carthaginians (206 B.C.), and Julius Caesar named it *Augusta Urbs Julia Gaditana*. Then followed a period of obscurity during which the legends of the Greek and Roman historians regarding the temple of Hercules, later adopted by the Muslims, first took shape.

Neither under the Muslims, who captured it in 93/711, nor under the Visigoths did the town experience any great prosperity. It was occupied by the Normans, for the first time in 229/844 and then attacked once again in 245/859, but it played only a very minor role, and finally fell into the hands of Alfonso the Wise on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 660/24 September 1262.

The occasional references to *Ḳādis* by Arab historians and geographers were above all due to the famous pillars of Hercules (*aṣnām Hirḳil*), the most celebrated of these being the *ṣanam Hirḳil* or *manārat Hirḳil*.

Thanks to the geographer of Almeria who is known by the name al-Zuhri, we have some idea of the appearance of the tower at Cadiz, since we possess the eye-witness account of a writer who saw it on several occasions before its demolition in 540/1145 and who states that the building in question was not the temple of Hercules with which it has often been confused, notably by the author of the *Rawḍ al-mi'fār*. This square *manāra*, 100 cubits and three storeys high, was constructed of dressed granite (*kaḥḥān*); the second storey was about one-third the size of the first, and the third, triangular in shape, was surmounted by a statue of a man looking towards the East, from the ocean, with his left arm outstretched and his fingers curled, except for the index finger, which pointed the way to the straits of Gibraltar. His right hand held a baton which seemed to indicate the sea (the author states explicitly that it was not a key).

The date of construction of the Cadiz tower is unknown, but we must assume that it goes back to a period before the official introduction of Christianity to Spain, since the account refers solely to a statue, a purely Roman sign.

A member of the celebrated family of the Banū Maymūn of Denia became amir of Cadiz at the end of the Almoravid period. Having been led to believe that the *manāra*, erroneously called the Tower of Hercules, had been constructed on top of a vast treasure, 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Maymūn summoned a force of stone-masons and labourers who set to work removing the outer stonework; each time a block of stone was removed, a wooden beam was inserted into the empty space, with the result that in the end the vast mass of the tower rested only on wood. Then, after the spaces had been filled with wood, this support caught fire and the tower collapsed with a stupendous crash; all that could be found in the rubble were the lead that had served to bind the blocks of stone together and the brass from which the statue had been made. Ibn Maymūn's vain pretensions were thus exposed, and shortly afterwards he was assassinated by Yaḫyā, the grandson of the founder of the Almoravid dynasty.

*Bibliography*: Zuhri's text on the tower at

Cadiz has been published by Dozy in his *Recherches*<sup>3</sup>, appendix xxxv; it will be found in §§ 239-40 of the *K. al-Djā'rafiyya*, published by M. Hadj-Sadok in *BEO*, xxi (1968), 7-312; cf. *al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 145 in the text, 173-8 in the tr.—The Arabic and mediaeval sources on legends relating to the temple of Cadiz and the pillars of Hercules have been collected by Dozy, *Recherches*<sup>3</sup>, ii, 311-4; see also R. Basset, *Hercule et Mahomet*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1903; Madoz, *Diccionario*, v, 193-204.

(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-KĀDISIYYA, the name of several places in 'Irāk and al-Djazīra. The *Muḥṭarīk* of Yāqūt (337) lists five places of that name of which the two most important were situated near Sāmarrā and al-Kūfa. The history of these places is most difficult to trace.

1. A town in 'Irāk, on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 8 miles S.E. of Sāmarrā. It seems to have been closely connected with the latter in its period of prosperity. We do not know what special part al-Kādisiyya played at that time. Herzfeld, (*Reise*, i, 107) suggests it is really identical with the town of al-Kātūl which Hārūn al-Raḥīd or the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim began to build before the foundation of Sāmarrā. Yāqūt and other Arab geographers mention the glassworks of al-Kādisiyya, and it is reported to have been a large village (*ḥarya kabira*) but little is known of its history. It is probable that it ceased to be of any importance shortly after the abandonment of Sāmarrā towards the end of the ninth century, for the 4th/10th century geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqāl make no mention of it. It is found in al-Muḥṭarīk, but the reference seems to indicate the existence of a single structure, presumably the octagonal building which still survives today. In the middle ages the important Duḡjayl Canal left the Tigris opposite the town. The ruins of al-Kādisiyya lie in Lat. 34°5' N., between the two canals still existing out of the former three Tigris canals, called al-Kātūl. They are a short quarter of an hour distant from the bank of the Tigris. The old name has survived and is now popularly pronounced Dīādisiyya (occasionally corrupted to Dīāsiyya and Dīāliyya). We owe full accounts of these ruins particularly to Ross and Jones; E. Herzfeld also investigated the ruins. Jones gives a plan of the ruins of the town, which Herzfeld says is entirely correct.

The enclosing walls, which measure about 6000 paces, form a regular octagon. They are flanked by towers at the corners and defended by 16 bastions at intervals. They were built of bricks which in technique, plan and preservation resemble the castra of Sāmarrā. According to all criteria, these ruins belong—in Herzfeld's opinion—to the 'Abbāsīd period, not to an older one. Ten minutes from al-Kādisiyya, just on the river bank, are also mounds of ruins, called al-Ṣanam. They mark the site of a medieval or ancient town, half of which has already been eroded by the Tigris. On a remarkable find of statues made here, see Cl. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koorḍistan*, 1836, ii, 152. Al-Ṣanam perhaps was within the area of al-Kādisiyya and is to be regarded as its port.

*Bibliography*: Yāqūt, *Muḥṭarīk* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv, 9, l. 13; C. Ritter, *Erkundung*, x, 228-9; Lynch, in the *Journal of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xviii (1848), 5; H. Kiepert, in the *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde* (Berlin), 1883, 25, 27; M. Fhr. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* ii, (Berlin 1900), 229; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, Leiden 1900 f., i, 33, 223-4; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat und*

*Tigrisgebiet*, i, 1911, 105-107 (where the references to Rich, Ross and Jones are given).

(M. STRECK-[J. LASSNER])

2. A place lying to the south-west of al-Hīra [*q.v.*] and to the south-south-west of the plain where al-Kūfa was later founded. This al-Kādisiyya is famed as the site of the resounding victory of the Muslims over the army of the Sāsānian king Yazdādīrd III [*q.v.*] at a date between 14/635 and 16/637. This victory was of no small importance to the Muslims for it opened up the route to Ctesiphon-Seleucia (= al Madā'in [*q.v.*]), the winter capital of the Sāsānids, put them in the position of carrying off another great success at Djalūlā' [*q.v.*] and finally, after the whole of 'Irāk had fallen to them, enabled them to cross the Zagros and undertake the conquest of the Iranian plateau. Al-Kādisiyya was situated in the western part of the Taḡf, that steppe region rising above the cultivated land (*al-Sawād*) and characterized by springs (e.g. that of al-'Udhayb) which is the transitional area to the high plateau of the Arabian desert. In the Sāsānian period the Taḡf was protected by a series of watch-houses (*maslaḥas*) and a great fortified ditch (*ḥhandak*) from the raids of Arab tribes. The last village of the Taḡf, just before the desert, was al-'Udhayb, later a station on the Baghdād-Mecca road.

The exact location of al-Kādisiyya was unknown until quite recently. An attempt had been made to identify it with the early Islamic ruins of al-Uḥaydir (25 miles S.S.W. of Kūfa)—for example by Ritter, *Erkundung*, xi, 956, Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 64 note, and Justi in the *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 546. This identification, however, is definitely to be rejected as erroneous (cf. the article of W. Caskel, *Uḥaydir*, in *Isl.*, xxxix (1964), 28-37, which calls for an 'Abbāsīd date for these ruins). Besides, Ritter, *op. cit.*, x, 186 places al-Kādisiyya much too far north, while the locations of al-Kādisiyya and al-'Udhayb given by Wagner (*Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, 1902, 257-9) are fairly correct. A. Musil, on his journey of exploration in 1912, was the first to discover the real site of al-Kādisiyya, cf. his report in the *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wien. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1913, i, 11 (12 of the reprint). Musil there remarks that the spring al-'Udhayb rises in the valley of Mshayzīl; on the left bank of that valley, on the edge of a swampy *hōr* he was shown the ruins of al-Žādsiyye or Dār al-Kāzī (= Kādisiyya). According to the map which Musil appends to his essay in the *WZKM*, xxix (1916), 461, the ruins mentioned are situated in 31°45' N. Lat. and 44°8' E. Long. directly south of Naḡjaf and 19 miles from Kūfa.

The locality of Kāides, which in his excursion to the ruins of Babylon in 1790 Beauchamp visited and reported as the find-spot of a statue some considerable distance away (see the reprint of his account of his journey in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, x, 190), is perhaps also identical with the remains of al-Kādisiyya discovered by Musil. Kāides probably = Kādis, the shorter form of the name, which is occasionally found alongside Kādisiyya, as for example in an old Arab poet (see al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 226), in al-Ṭabarī, etc. Firdawsī writes Kādisī and Kādisiyya. In the neighbourhood of al-Kādisiyya there was a village called al-Kūdays, "little Kādis". The poets give the whole district round al-Kādisiyya the collective name al-Kawādis.

The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqāl, al-Muḥṭarīk) describe al-Kādisiyya as a small town with two gates and a mud

fortress, in the midst of cultivated fields and groves of date-palms, watered by a canal led from the Euphrates, the last running water in 'Irāk. In ancient times the Persian Gulf seems to have stretched up to the region of al-Kādisiyya. The main arm of the Euphrates once flowed, as al-Mas'ūdī notes (*Murūdj*, ed. Paris, I, 215 = § 229), towards al-Hira, where its ancient bed was still visible and was called al-'Atīk "the old (river)". It flowed between al-Kādisiyya and al-'Udhayb; at al-Kādisiyya there was a bridge across it called *Djīsr* al-'Atīk or *Djīsr* al-Kādisiyya.

The battle. To this one single battle of al-Kādisiyya al-Ṭabarī has devoted around one hundred pages and nearly another hundred pages to the preceding and subsequent events which must be taken into account for an understanding of this vitally important occurrence. The greater part of his account, however, is based on traditions of Sayf b. 'Umar, whom some Islamists have accused of falsification. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of such accusations: it is sufficient to observe that Sayf's account also forms the basis of the story related by the majority of Arab and Persian historians to such an extent that we have no alternative but to make use of this traditionist for any account of the battle, correcting him where possible with the help of other accounts.

After the disastrous defeat of the Muslims at the Bridge [see *Djīsr*] (*Shā'bān* or *Ramaḍān* 13/October or November 634) the campaign in 'Irāk suffered a setback, despite the arrival of reinforcements from Medina, the victory of al-Buwayb (*Ramaḍān* 13/Nov. 634 or *Ṣafar* 14/April 635, or one year after the Battle of the Bridge) and several fruitful raids and *razzias*. Al-Muḥannā [*q.v.*], fearing that the hostilities would take a dangerous turn since Yazdadjird III was preparing to react vigorously, believed it prudent to withdraw to the outskirts of the desert, to disperse his warriors to various spots where there were watering places and to limit his actions to *razzias*. So as to be able to seize the offensive once more, he appealed to Medina for help. Making a general levy among the Bedouins (*Dhu* 'l-*Ḥijjā* 13/Feb. 635 or *Dhu* 'l-*Ḥijjā* 14/Jan.-Feb. 636), the caliph 'Umar assembled and equipped at *Ṣirār*, near Medina (*Muḥarram* 14/March 635 or *Muḥarram* 15/Feb.-March 636?), an army under the command of Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], ordering him to leave for 'Irāk.

En route Sa'd was joined by other contingents sent by 'Umar, then halted at the beginning of winter (*Shā'bān* 14/635 or 15/636?) in the *Naḍīd* at *Zarūd* (or al-*Ṭha*'*labiyya*, near *Zarūd*) to call to arms the tribes of the surrounding area. He then made his way to *Sharāf*, which was at the western end of the Arab plateau near al-*Aḥsā'* and was well supplied with waterholes. While waiting in a well-organized camp for the arrival of several thousands of other Bedouins (who also included some Christian bands), he divided his men into decuries, established a hierarchy of command and sent al-Muḥīra b. *Shu*'*ba* [*q.v.*] to occupy various localities in order to secure his forces against a possible attack. It was at *Sharāf* that Sa'd was to meet up with al-Muḥannā, but the latter died during the winter of the wounds he had sustained at the Bridge. At last Sa'd advanced as far as 'Udhayb al-*Ḥijjānāt*, leaving there the women who had followed the expedition and going on to strike camp in the plain of al-Kādisiyya. While awaiting the enemy—for a month it is said—he carried out *razzias* to secure his supplies.

Meanwhile, Yazdadjird had assembled a large army and compelled his marshal, Rustam [*q.v.*], to advance, taking no heed of the latter's reluctance to face the Arabs on ground he considered unfavourable. At last the Persians pitched camp, separated from the Muslims by the channel called al-'Atīk. Hostilities did not open immediately; on the contrary, they entered into negotiations, which proved fruitless. During the month of *Muḥarram* Rustam built a kind of dyke with reeds, earth, straw and pack-saddles. In this way he enabled his army to cross the channel and the following day battle commenced; this occurred on a Monday in *Muḥarram* 15/636 or 16/637; the date given by Sayf, 14/635 (al-Ṭabarī, I, 2289 and 2298) is undoubtedly an error. The Persians had behind them the channel and the Muslims the moat of a fortress named al-*Kudays*. Sa'd, who suffered from abscesses (*hubūn*) on the thighs and hips and could neither mount a horse nor remain upright, remained lying down and relayed his orders from the top of the fortress to his lieutenant, *Khālid* b. 'Urṭufa, by means of notes. According to Sayf the battle lasted three days and one night; as the latter was drawing to a close the Persian retreat began and by the fourth day they were completely and irreparably routed. Rustam fell in the *melé*, killed by an unknown Arab warrior. Each day of the combat and the night of the third to fourth day have been given special names: 1) *Yaum Armāth* = Day of the Rafts (perhaps a reference to the dyke on the channel?); 2) *Yaum Aghwāth* = Day of Help (an allusion to the arrival of reinforcements from Syria?); 3) *Yaum 'Amās* = Day of the Hard War and *Laylat al-Harir* = Night of the Cries of Sorrow (maybe a reference to the relentless savagery of the fray); 4) the last part of this night: *Laylat al-Kādisiyya* = the Night of al-Kādisiyya and the fourth day: *Yaum al-Kādisiyya* = the Day of the Battle of al-Kādisiyya (perhaps so called because the decisive hours of this night and the next day truly merited the name?).

Caetani, in his *Annali*, gives a detailed summary of al-Ṭabarī's traditions. Noteworthy among the interesting details are: the Muslims were very badly equipped; the Persians made use of a number of elephants but their adversaries discovered a method of extricating themselves from this difficulty; some Syrian reinforcements arrived on the second and third day; the poet Abū Mihdjan [*q.v.*], who had been put in irons, succeeded in playing a valiant part in the fray; *Ṭulayḥa* b. *Khūwaylid* [*q.v.*], the "false prophet" who had been defeated by *Khālid* b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] during the *riḍā* and later joined the Muslim ranks, proved himself to be a brave defender of Islam; for the first two days fighting took place during the day only—the night was employed in burying the corpses, giving water to the dying and carrying away the wounded Muslims, enemy wounded being despatched with blows of a staff; 30,000 (?) Persians, who had chained themselves to one another so that they could resist to the bitter end, fled when defeat was inevitable but were drowned in the channel, which the pursuing Muslims were able to cross using their bodies as a bridge; the Muslims seized the great Persian royal banner known as *Dirafsh-i Kāvīyān*.

Subsequent events. Sa'd sent a section of his forces in pursuit of the fugitives and remained at al-Kādisiyya for a month longer. One of the Persian commanding officers, *Djāllnūs*, was killed while trying to protect his retreating forces; other attempts to reassemble the fleeing troops, in the district of

Bābil for example, and to resist the Muslim advance became no more than a few battles which in no way altered the situation. Finally Sa'd marched on al-Madā'in and, after having besieged and conquered Bahudasir, one of the seven or ten towns which made up the al-Madā'in ("the towns") group, was even able to ford the Tigris; this remarkable occurrence was regarded as the result of divine favour. After reaching the east bank of the river the Muslims occupied the other towns of al-Madā'in, which had been abandoned without a struggle by Yazdajird (Dhu 'l-Hijja 15 or 16?). Another battle of some importance took place on 'Irāqī soil, at Djalūlā' (on Šafar 16 or 17?; other dates are also mentioned in the sources), marking the definitive overthrow of Sasanid dominion in 'Irāq by the Muslims.

Problems associated with the battle. There are two such problems which, in all probability, must remain insoluble: 1) The total strength of the forces which met at al-Kādisiyya, for there is too great a difference between the figures given in the sources and every attempt to arrive at an evaluation comes up against the impossibility of finding any solid foundation to build on; 2) the chronology of the events preceding the battle and following it and thus of the battle itself—dates given in the sources for the battle vary between the years 14 and 16, but the earlier date must be rejected since there is too much circumstantial evidence against it. Islamists working on the chronological problem, such as Wellhausen, Caetani and S. M. Yusuf, have looked for an answer by reasoning from the facts, and since it has proved impossible to reconcile the data given in the sources have chosen those which shored up their own beliefs. They consider it impossible that the Muslims could have recovered their strength almost immediately after the defeat at the Bridge and have dated the battle of al-Buwayb in 14 (according to Caetani no earlier than Ramaḍān), which obliges them to date the battle of al-Kādisiyya at the beginning of 16 (Wellhausen adds further considerations of the supervening events of the period which occurred between this battle and the battle of Djalūlā'). In addition, Caetani and S. M. Yusuf consider the relationship between the campaign in Syria and that in 'Irāq and decide that the caliph 'Umar could not have concerned himself with the second until after the end of the first, that is after the battle of Yarmūk: as this celebrated victory of the Muslims over the Byzantines took place on 12 Raġjab 15/20 August 636, the battle of al-Kādisiyya could not have been fought before the early months of the year 16. S. M. Yusuf places it a little after Raġjab 15, i.e. a month after Yarmūk.

After a fresh examination of the facts as they developed and as they are set down in chronological accounts in the sources, the author of the present article has concluded that Muḥarram 15/February-March 636 is the date to be preferred for the battle of al-Kādisiyya. The Muslim success at al-Buwayb soon after their defeat at the Bridge is not to be considered impossible for the following reasons: 1) the troubles which broke out at al-Madā'in stopped the Persians from capitalizing on their victory at the Bridge; 2) Muslim reinforcements from Medina arrived immediately. Nor is it necessary to suppose that 'Umar could not have been concerned with the 'Irāqī campaign until after the battle of Yarmūk, for such a view makes it extremely difficult to determine the date when the caliph resolved to send a fighting army into 'Irāq; in fact, 1) if 'Umar did not

take his decision until after Yarmūk, there is not a sufficient interval of time between the great battles of Yarmūk and al-Kādisiyya for Sa'd's march, with the halts he made and his waiting period for the enemy (which the sources describe with too great detail for them to be ignored); it was perhaps this difficulty which led Caetani to propose that the battle did not take place in Muḥarram 16 but some months later; 2) if, to allow the necessary time for Sa'd's march and his waiting for the enemy, the caliph were presumed to have taken his decision in 15 during the month preceding the battle of Yarmūk, then 'Umar would have directed his forces towards 'Irāq precisely at the moment when he must have been greatly preoccupied by the news of the Byzantine emperor's preparations for the offensive. On the contrary, if we concede that Sayf has given an exact account of the assemblage of the army at Širār during Muḥarram 14 and of Sa'd's long march, then it follows that 'Umar decided at the end of the year 13 to renew with vigour the campaign in 'Irāq, that is during the period when his victories in Syria were following one after the other. These considerations, which are also supported by other circumstances—which the author of this article intends to set forth in another work—lead us to decide on the date of Muḥarram 15/February-March 636 for the battle of al-Kādisiyya.

*Bibliography:* Arabic sources: Ṭabarī, i, 2202, 2347, 2349-59 (after Ibn Ishāq), 2377 (after Wākidi), 2336-8 (after 'Awāna), 2211-9, 2221-35, 2244-85, 2285-2341, 2344-6, 2361-7, 2341-3, 2419-55, 2456-67, 2470, 2474-9 (after Sayf b. 'Umar) and index; Ṭabarī-Zotenberg, iii, 385-400 (with a few details absent from other sources but in general following Sayf's account); Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, *Kitāb al-Kharāḍī*, Būlak 1302, 16-7 (tr. Fagnan, 45, 47, 48-9); Ibn Sa'd (for the chronology), iii/1, 30 and index (ix/2, 31 s.v. al-Kādisiyya); Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 254-65; Dinawari, 125-36; Ya'qūbī, ii, 163-5, 173; Mas'ūdī, *Murūḍī*, iv, 201-4, 207-25 = ed. & tr. Pellat §§ 1532-4, 1538-57; *Aghānī* (the episode of the poet Abū Miḥdjan), xxi, 212-7 and index; Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, *Ta'riḫ sinī mulūk al-ard wa'l-anbiyā'*, ed. Gottwaldt, Leipzig 1844, 151-3; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isṭi'āb* (episode) 745, no. 3191 (for other sources of the same episode, see Caetani, 16 A. H., §§ 102, 107); Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv, 7 f., i, 769, iv, 323, ii, 107, and index; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii, 344-52, 354-77, 393-410; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Ms. Aya Sofia, fols. 14r-20v (beginning of the year 15) fols. 28v-31v (beginning of the year 16); Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 15, 230, 285, ii, 692, iii, 135 (tr. Rosenthal, i, 17, 259, 320-1, ii, 77-8, iii, 168-9); idem, *Ibar*, ed. Beirut<sup>2</sup> 1966-8, i, 14, 220 f., 278, 483, ii, 325, 561, 637, 657, 915-9, 921-3, 935-42 and index of the first three volumes (Ibn Khaldūn's account of the battle is a resumé of traditions collected by Sayf, as are the brief accounts of Miskawayh, Abū 'l-Fidā', Nuwayrī, Dhahabī and Ibn al-Furāt, and the longer ones in *al-Fakhri*, ed. Ahlwardt, 106-14, and Ibn Zaynī Dahlān, *al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmiyya*, Mecca 1311, i, 54-69.—Citations of warriors who fell in the battle given in *Isṭi'āb*, *Usd*, *Iṣāba*, *Tadīrid* of Dhahabī can be found in L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, 16 A.H., § 118, note 1.

Greek, Syriac and Armenian sources: summarized in Caetani, 16 A.H., §§ 113-7, 172, 173; see also F. Baethgen, *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker*, Leipzig 1884 (Abhandl.

für die Kunde des Morgenlandes DMG, viii, 3), text 16, tr. 110.

Persian sources: Mirkh<sup>w</sup>ānd, *Rawdat al-safā'*, lithograph Bombay 1825, ii, 270-8; Kh<sup>w</sup>andamir, *Habib al-siyar*, lithograph Bombay 1857, 14, 20-3.

Western authors: G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i, 65-73, 83; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i (1885), 235-43; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 68-83; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam: (the events) iii*, 14 A.H. §§ 5, 9-11, 19, 23-5, 45-63, 66, 16 A.H., §§ 3-35, 39-118, 134-228; (critique of the sources and critical résumé of the events): 13 A.H., §§ 1-3, 14 A.H. §§ 1-3, 16 A.H., §§ 1-2, 119-33, 229-37; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 88 f.; S. M. Yusuf, *The battle of al-Qadisiyya*, in IC, xix (1945), 1-18.

(L. VECCIA VAGLERII)

iii. In addition to the two towns mentioned above, Yāqūt knows three other places called al-Kādisiyya, namely two villages in the district of al-Mawṣil in the Nahr al-Khāzīr between al-Mawṣil and Irbid, and a third near Dījazirat b. 'Umar; see Yāqūt, *al-Muṣṭarīk* ed. Wüstenfeld, 337. Ibn al-Aṭhīr also mentions an al-Kādisiyya near Baḡhdād (xii, 91). For the possible relationship of these places and others similarly named to a people (Kādishaeans) that may have settled them, see Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 157 f., 162; J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr nach der Geographie des Pseudo-Moses Xorēnaç'i (Abhandlungen der Gött. Ges. der Wiss., 1901)*, 77, 78. (M. STRECK-[J. LASSNER])

**KĀDJĀR**, Turcoman tribe, from which sprang a ruling dynasty of Persia (see next article). There is no foundation for the statements of later historians that the Kādjār tribe entered Iran with Hülāgū [q.v.]. In the 9th/15th century they formed part of the Boz Ok branch of the Turcomans of Anatolia, dwelling in the Kayseri-Sivas region and recognizing the suzerainty of the Dhu'l-Qadr rulers. They probably take their name from a leader named Karāçar (= Karçar). In the 9th/15th century they were divided into four sub-tribes (*oba*): Aghça Koyunlu, Aghçalu, Shām Bayātī, Yīva. The first two of these were branches of the great tribes belonging to the *ulus* of the Dulqadrīl. The third was a branch of the Bayāts of northern Syria (it is very probable that the Dulqadrīl dynasty sprang from the Bayāts); Shām Bayātī owes its name to the fact that it wintered in Syria, but we do not know to which of these subtribes the Kādjār dynasty belonged. After the Kādjārs had entered Iran and settled in northern Ādharbāyḡdjān (Arrān) they were joined by an important clan called Igirmi (= Yirmi) Dört.

The defeat of the Kara Koyunlu by the Aq-Koyunlu, who thenceforth ruled much of Iran, prompted important branches of the Turcoman tribes of Anatolia to move into Persia: thus towards the end of the 9th/15th century the Kādjār settled in the Karabāgh (Gandjā) district of northern Ādharbāyḡdjān. In 897/1491-2 a member of the ruling house of the Aq Koyunlu, named Dana Khallī-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg and known as Ayba (or İba) Sultān, with the support of the Kādjār raised to the throne Uzun Ḥasan's grandson Rustam Beg. When Rustam Beg was defeated by Ahmad b. Ughurlu Muḥammad b. Uzun Ḥasan Beg he took refuge with the Kādjār in 1497. Although the Kādjār supported Rustam, the latter was defeated again and killed. Soon afterwards a part of the Kādjār rallied to Shāh Ismā'īl and, like so many other Anatolian Turcoman tribes, contributed to the establishment of the Ṣafawid

dynasty. For the next two centuries, however, they were not held in such esteem by the shahs as were, e.g., the Ustadjālu (Ustadjlu), Tekelū, Shāmlu and Dhulqadr (Dulqadr). At this period the Kādjār were again dwelling in north Ādharbāyḡdjān. At the end of the 10th/16th century Imām Kull Khān, who was *beglerbegi* of Karabāgh, was a member of the Yīva *oba* of the Kādjār. But during Ṣafawid times the Kādjār were administered mostly by the Ziyād Oghlu family from which sprang the future ruling Kādjār dynasty. At the time of Shāh 'Abbās some of the Kādjār were transferred to the district of Astarābād, to be a barrier against the raids of the Yaqa Turcomans.

In the 12th/18th century, whereas some tribes—Shāmlu, Dulqadr, etc.—broke up and lost their power, the Avshar (Afshar) and Kādjār remained numerous and strong. Hence under Nādir Shāh the Afshar were able to put an end to the Ṣafawid dynasty and seize power, and at the end of the century the Kādjār could succeed the Zand. In the 18th century the Astarābād Kādjār were divided into two branches: the Ashāka Bāsh and the Yūkhārī Bāsh. The Ashāka Bāsh were formed by the Koyunlū (or Kowānlū), 'Izz al-dīnlū, Shām Bayātī, Karā Mūsānlū (Mūsālū?), Wāshlū (Ashlū?) and Ziyādllū subtribes. The Kādjār dynasty belonged to the Koyunlū (or Kowānlū) subtribe of the Ashāka Bāsh. As for the Yūkhārī Bāsh, they were formed by the other six subtribes, i.e., Dawālū, Sāpānlū, Köhnālū, Khazīnadarlū, Kayāklū, and Kerlū(?). The chief subtribe of this branch was the Dawālū.

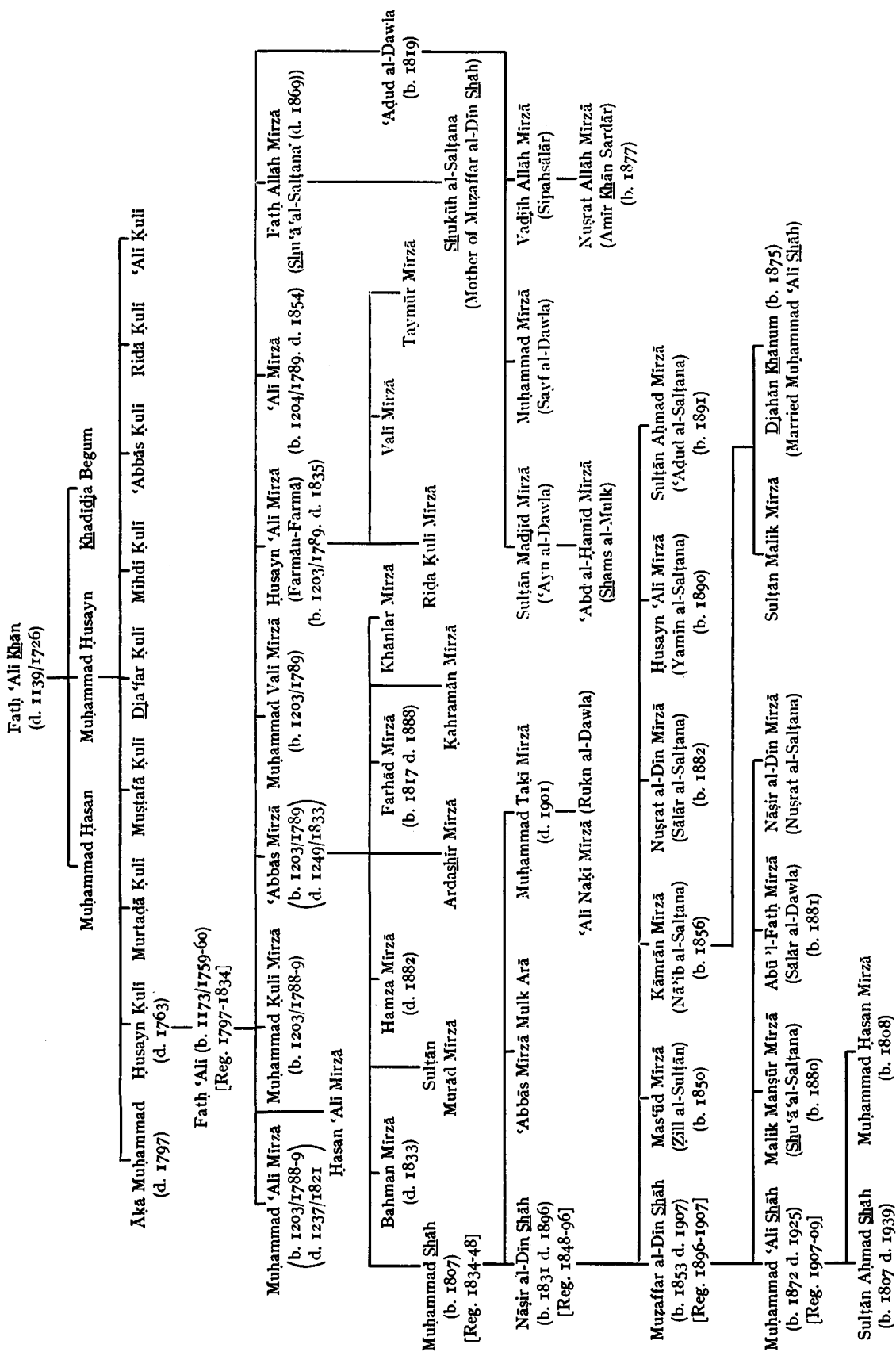
The Kādjār rulers never forgot that they were Turks. They were even proud of it. Thus, some members of the Kādjār dynasty bore the names of Ilkhānid and even Ottoman rulers, e.g., Hülāgū, Abāqa, Arghun, Ildirim Bāyazīd etc. We see also some Kādjār clans (*oymak*) in Anatolia in the Ottoman period, between the 16th and 20th centuries.

*Bibliography*: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, Ankara 1967, 152, 154, 155, 228, 234, 286, 287, 358, 366; idem, *Safevi devletinin kuruluş ve gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin rolü* (in press). (F. SÜMER)

**KĀDJĀR** (*kaçar* "marching quickly"), cf. Sulaymān Efendī, *Lughat-i Çağhatai*, Istanbul 1298, 214; P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la horde d'or*, Paris 1950, 203-4), a Turcoman tribe, to which the Kādjār dynasty of Persia belonged; also a village in the Litkūh district of Āmul [q.v.]. Nineteenth century Persian historians assert that the Kādjār took their name from Kādjār Noyān b. Sirtāk Noyān. The latter was the son of Sābā Noyān b. Djalā'ir, and was appointed *atabeg* [q.v.] to Arghūn (Riḡā Kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Tārīkh-i rawdat al-safā-yi nāshiri*, Tehran 1961-2, ix, 4). It is also alleged that the Kādjār migrated from the Mughān steppe to Syria towards the middle of the 8th/14th century and that they came back to Persia with Tīmūr. This may well be so, but there does not appear to be any mention of a tribe by the name of Kādjār in Mongol or Timurid times. What may be the earliest mention of them is in 897/1491-2 when the *lashkar-i kādjār* is said to have joined Dānā Khallī b. Ibrāhīm of the Aq Koyunlū to free Rustam Beg b. Maḡṣūd from the fortress of Alindjāk, where he had been held captive by rival khāns (Yahyā Kazvīnī, *Lubb al-tawārīkh*, 1936-7, 225-6, quoted by F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, Ankara 1967, and Ibn Karbalā'ī, *Rawdat al-djinnān wa-djannat al-djanān*, ed. Dja'far Sultān al-Karā'ī, Tehran 1946-7, 526), but it should be pointed out that Kādjār may here be simply the name of a person.

Karā Pīr Beg Kādjār is mentioned as being among

## SIMPLIFIED GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE KĀDJĀR RULING HOUSE



the followers of the Šafawid Šaykh Haydar, and Sulṭān ‘Alī nominated Ismā‘īl (later Šhāh Ismā‘īl I) his successor and sent him to Ardabil, he was accompanied, among others, by Qarā Piri Beg Kādġār (W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1936, 79, 96). Later, when Ismā‘īl defeated the Aq Koyunlū Aḥmad at the battle of Šarūr in 907/1501, the Kādġār were among his supporters and formed one of the Kizilbāsh tribes. Kādġār khāns held important offices under Ṭahmāsp I and Šhāh ‘Abbās I (Iskandar Munšī, *Ta’riḫ-i ‘ālamārā-yi ‘abbāsi*, Tehran 1956, i, 140, ii, 1085). One, Šhāh Kulī Kādġār, was sent by the former in 962/1555 and 975/1567 to treat for peace with the Turks (Pečewi, i, 327, 334; v. Hammer, *Hist. de l’empire ottoman*, French tr., vi, 69, 320; Riḡā Kulī Khān, ix, 5, is wrong in giving the date as A.H. 969). Another, Allāh Kulī Beg, became *kurūbāshī* to Šhāh ‘Abbās in 1000/1591-2 (*‘Ālamārā*, i, 439). Karābāgh was the main Kādġār centre in the 10th/16th century and the office of *beglerbegi* of Karābāgh was held by various Kādġār khāns. Muḥammad Khān b. Khallī Khān b. Šhāhverdi Sulṭān Ziyādoḡhlū, who succeeded Imām Kulī Khān on his death in 996/1587-8, was later appointed governor of Gandġa in 1015/1606 (*ibid.*, i, 385, ii, 716). The offices of *beglerbegi* and *amīr al-umārā* of Karābāgh appear to have remained in the hands of the Ziyādoḡhlū family (*ibid.*, ii, 657). Another Ziyādoḡhlū khān, Ḥasan, was made *dārūgha* [q.v.] of Šhīrāz in 998/1590 (Aḥmad Kummi, *Khulāṣat al-tawāriḫ*, ed. H. Müller, Wiesbaden 1964, Persian text, 68). Amīr Gūna Khān Kādġār became governor of Erivan in 1011/1603 (*‘Ālamārā*, ii, 652), while his son Ṭahmāsp Kulī Khān was governor of Erivan and Čukhur Sa‘d in the reign of Šhāh Šaffī (Iskandar Munšī and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Dhayl-i ta’riḫ-i ‘ālamārā-yi ‘abbāsi*, ed. Suhaylī Khānsārī, Tehran 1938-9, 293). Kādġār khāns also held governorships in Astarābād and Marv. Ḥusayn Khān Ziyādoḡhlū is mentioned as being governor of Astarābād in 1010/1601-2 and in 1011/1602-3 when he was recalled to Karābāgh to take part in operations against the Ottomans (*‘Ālamārā*, ii, 604, 657). Mihrāb Khān Kādġār became governor of Marv in 1017/1608-9; his son, Murtaḡā Kulī Khān, who was governor of Marv on behalf of Šhāh Šaffī in 1042/1632-3 (*Dhayl-i ta’riḫ-i ‘ālamārā-yi ‘abbāsi*, 103), became *sipahsālār* to Šhāh ‘Abbās II in 1057/1647-8. (See further K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 33-7, 40-2).

Kādġār historians attribute the dispersal of the Kādġārs in the frontier areas of the empire to the deliberate policy of Šhāh ‘Abbās, aimed on the one hand at reducing their power because they had by this time become very numerous in Karābāgh, and on the other at protecting the empire against inroads made by the Uzbegs and Tatars. By the end of the 11th/17th century the main concentration of Kādġārs appears to have been in Astarābād, and they played a prominent part in the struggles for power in northern Persia on the fall of the Šafawids. They were divided in Astarābād into two main groups, the Koyunlū, who were flock-keepers, and the Develū, who were camel-herders. According to Riḡā Kulī Khān the Koyunlū, ‘Izz al-Dīnlū, Šhāmbayātī (whose name suggests that some sections of the Kādġār had sojourned for a period in Syria), Karā-mūsālū, Iṣhlū, and Ziyādīlū had pastures below the Mubārakābād fortress of Astarābād and so were called *Ashākābāsh*, while the Develū, Šipānlū, Kuhanlū, Khazīnādārlū, Qiyāqlū and Karlū had pastures above the fortress and were therefore called

Yukhārlbāsh. He adds that according to another tradition the origin of these terms is to be sought in the period before the Kādġār were settled in Astarābād (ix, 7-8, 49). In the 12th/18th century the *Ashākābāsh* and the *Yukhārlbāsh* were split by internecine strife.

During the reign of the Šafawid Šhāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Muḥammad Khān, a Turcoman from Kazwīn, was appointed governor of Astarābād. He was induced by the Yukhārlbāsh to seize Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān, the leader of the *Ashākābāsh*, who lived in the Mubārakābād fortress, and his brothers, Faql ‘Alī and Muḥammad ‘Alī Beg. Faṭḥ ‘Alī subsequently escaped but his two brothers were killed. He took refuge with the Yamūt of Šā‘īn Khānī and in due course recovered possession of Astarābād (*ibid.*, ix, 7-8; Mīrzā Mīhdī, *Djāhāngushā-yi nādīrī*, ed. Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Anvar, Tehran 1963-4, 58-9). The sources vary in their account of the activities of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān during the last years of Šafawid rule. According to most Kādġār historians he went to the help of Šhāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn during the Afghan invasion, though the precise circumstances in which he did this are not clear. Being denounced by some of the shah’s officials as dangerously ambitious, he left Iṣfahān. Subsequently after an engagement with the Afghans near Varāmīn, he joined Ṭahmāsp II, who had come to Māzandarān, brought him to Astarābād, and assumed the title of *nā‘ib al-salṭana* and *wakil-i dawla*. Mīrzā Mahdī, however, gives a less favourable account of Faṭḥ ‘Alī’s actions, and alleges that Ṭahmāsp, who had appointed Faṭḥ ‘Alī governor of Šimnān, ordered him to relieve Tehran, which had fallen into the hands of the Afghans. After an inconclusive battle with the Afghans near Varāmīn, Faṭḥ ‘Alī took Dāmghān, and then turned his arms against Ṭahmāsp, defeating him in May 1726 near *Ashraf* and taking him captive (Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 280; see also Muḥammad Ḥāshim Rustam al-Ḥukamā’, *Rustam al-tawāriḫ*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafī, Tehran 1969, 122 ff., 142 ff., 174 ff.; Riḡā Kulī Khān, ix, 12).

Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān and Ṭahmāsp subsequently set out for Khurāsān. Nādir Kulī (afterwards Nādir Šhāh), with whom Ṭahmāsp had entered into communication, joined them at Khābūshān with a force of Afghans and Kurds. They reached Khwādġa Rabi‘ outside Maṣḥhad in the autumn. By this time acute rivalry had developed between Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān and Nādir Kulī, who succeeded in persuading Ṭahmāsp that Faṭḥ ‘Alī was plotting against him. Accordingly on 14 Šafar 1139/11 October 1726 Ṭahmāsp had Faṭḥ ‘Alī put to death (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, Cambridge 1938, 25-6).

Faṭḥ ‘Alī had two sons, Muḥammad Ḥasan and Muḥammad Ḥusayn, the second of whom died in youth. Rustam al-Ḥukamā’ alleges that Muḥammad Ḥasan was, in fact, a son of Šhāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the latter having given to Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān, when he came to Iṣfahān about the time of the Afghan invasion, a woman from the royal *haram*, a daughter of Ḥusayn Kulī Ākā, a descendant of Ya‘qūb Sulṭān Kādġār, who had served Šhāh ‘Abbās I, and whose mother was the niece of Bikānġi Khān Bahādūr, the leader of the Yamūt and Guklān. This woman, according to Rustam al-Ḥukamā’, was pregnant by the shah, and in due course gave birth to Muḥammad Ḥasan (139, 157, 266, 399-400; see also Khān Malik Šāsānī, *Siyāsatgarān-i dawra-i Kādġār*, Tehran 1959-60, introduction). After the death of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān, Muḥammad Ḥasan, because of the enmity of Nādir



and the intrigues of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū, who had been appointed *beglerbegi* of Astarābād, retired to the Turcoman steppe. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān was later responsible for the murder of Ṭahmāsp and his two sons in or about Dhu 'l-Ka'ḍa 1152/February 1740 during Nādir's absence in India (Lockhart, *Nādir Shah*, 177-8). Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in due course gathered together a force of Yamūt Turcomans, Kādjārs and others and in Dhu 'l-Hidjia 1156/January 1744 took Astarābād from Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān (see J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, i, 129 ff., for an eyewitness account of this event). Nādir Shāh ordered Bihbūd Khān, the *sardār* of the Atak, to punish Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān. An engagement took place to the east of Astarābād. Initially the Kādjār army had the advantage, but after defections to Bihbūd Khān, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān fled. Some months later he appeared in Khwārazm with Yamūt allies. In a battle with Nādir's forces under the latter's nephew, 'Alī Kulī Khān, and Bihbūd Khān, during which Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān engaged Bihbūd Khān in single combat and wounded him, the Kādjār forces were defeated a second time and Muḥammad Ḥasan forced to flee for his life (Lockhart, *Nādir Shah*, 243-5). After the death of Nādir in 1160/1747, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān appears to have joined Shāhrukh and subsequently to have been appointed *beglerbegi* of Astarābād and Gurgān and leader of all the nomadic groups of Kādjār in the province by Sulaymān II, who was crowned on 21 Muḥarram 1163/31 December 1749, and occupied the throne for forty days. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān took possession of Astarābād and Gurgān and on the deposition of Sulaymān became virtually independent. He extended his power to Māzandarān and Gilān. He moved down towards Kirmānshāh to aid 'Alī Mardān in 1164/1751 but retired to Astarābād on receiving news of the latter's defeat. Karīm Khān marched on Gilān, pursued him to Astarābād in 1165/1751-2 and besieged him there (Muḥammad Khalil Mar'ashī, *Madjma' al-tawārikh*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl, Tehran 1949-50, 120, 149; Muḥammad Sādiq Nāmī, *Tawrikh-i gilgushā*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran 1938-9, 25-6). The Zand army was unable to make headway and finally Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān reinforced by Guklān and Yamūt defeated Karīm Khān's army, after which he was joined by, or took possession of, Ismā'il III, the Ṣafawid puppet, who had been with Karīm Khān.

In 1168/1754-5 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, who had taken possession of Mashhad, made a bid to extend his power over northern Persia, but was defeated by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān near Sabzavār in the summer of 1169/1755. The Kādjār leader, after taking Kazwīn and reasserting his power in Gilān, marched on Iṣfahān and in 1169/1756 inflicted a second defeat on Karīm Khān, who retired to Shīrāz. At this point Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was forced to return to the north to deal with the incursion of Āzād Khān, the Afghan holder of Ādharbāydzjān, who had seized the opportunity to march on Gilān and Māzandarān. Āzād Khān's army was defeated near Lāhīdzjān in the winter of 1170/1756. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān then seized the initiative, marched on Ādharbāydzjān and decisively defeated Āzād Khān near Urūmiyya in the summer (1170/1757). In the spring of the following year, he set out for Karābāgh, which, together with Mughān and Arrān submitted, and the local Kādjār khāns, in particular the Ziyādoḡhlū khāns of Gandja, joined him. He left his eldest son Ākā Muḥammad

(whose mother was a daughter of Sulaymān Khān Koyunlū and who, as a child, had fallen into the hands of 'Adil Shāh about 1161/1748 and been castrated by him), then aged about sixteen, as his deputy in Tabriz and returned himself to Māzandarān (Riḍā Kulī Khān, ix, 39-40). If, however, Sir John Malcolm's statement that Ākā Muḥammad Khān was aged sixty-three at his death is correct, he would have been about twenty-two at this time. (See *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 203). From there Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān set out for Iṣfahān and Shīrāz, where he besieged Karīm Khān in 1171/1758. After about a month, the Kādjār force encamped round Shīrāz experienced difficulty in provisioning itself and many of their livestock were captured by the enemy (Riḍā Kulī Khān, ix, 48-9).

The internecine strife between the Ashākabāsh and the Yukhāribāsh, which had been temporarily checked after Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān had established his authority and included khāns from both factions among his followers, broke out again, and when a group of Afghans defected in Shawwāl 1171/June-July 1758, disorders ensued and the army began to disperse. Meanwhile Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū, who had remained in Iṣfahān, seized the opportunity offered by the absence of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in the south to return to Astarābād and take possession of it, but evacuated it when the latter returned. He retired to Dāmghān, where Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān besieged him. Karīm Khān, hoping to benefit from the renewal of internecine strife among the Kādjārs, sent an army under Shaykh 'Alī Khān Zand to Māzandarān, where several of the local tribes joined him. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān raised the siege of Dāmghān and proceeded to Māzandarān to meet this new threat. Disorders among the Turcomans and Kādjārs in the neighbourhood of Astarābād, however, forced him to return there, and he took with him the Ṣafawid, Ismā'il III, who was then living in Sārī (*ibid.*, ix, 58). Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū now joined Shaykh 'Alī, while Karīm Khān himself advanced from Tehran towards Astarābād. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, who had been joined by Ākā Muḥammad Khān (who had failed to maintain himself in Ādharbāydzjān), and also by some Shādillū Kurds from Khurāsān, Giraylis and Hadjdzjilars, joined battle with Karīm Khān near Ashraf. Victory went to the Zand army and Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was killed in flight in 1172/1759 (or according to some sources 1171). Muḥammad Khān Koyunlū, who had been made *beglerbegi* of Astarābād by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, escaped with Ākā Muḥammad, his full brother Ḥusayn Kulī Khān and various other members of the family to the Gurgān steppe to the *awba* of Murād Khān Dja'farbāyla of the Yūmūt (*ibid.*, ix, 75).

Shaykh 'Alī Khān Zand reappointed Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū governor of Astarābād. These events further exacerbated relations between the Ashākabāsh and the Yukhāribāsh, and in due course Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān captured Muḥammad Khān Koyunlū and the sons of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān who were with him. Later he persuaded Karīm Khān to take Ākā Muḥammad Khān and various of his brothers and relations to Shīrāz to prevent any attempt by them to reassert the supremacy of the Ashākabāsh, though keeping with himself Ākā Muḥammad's halfbrothers, Murtaqā Kulī and Muṣṭafā Kulī, whose mother was his sister (*ibid.*, ix, 77-8). In 1176/1762-3 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū died of plague and was succeeded as *beglerbegi*

of Astarābād by his younger brother Muḥammad Ḥasan.

Ākā Muḥammad Khān and his brothers, together with other local leaders, were held by Karīm Khān in Shīrāz as hostages for the good behaviour of their respective tribes. Khādīja Begum, Ākā Muḥammad's paternal aunt, was married to Karīm Khān. His brother, Husayn Kulī Khān, was made governor of Dāmghān in 1182/1769, and from then until his death in 1191/1777 he had a turbulent career in northern Persia (hence his title *Djahānsūz*). Seeking revenge for the death of his father, he made war on the Develū and also on the Zand governors of Māzandarān, Bisṭām and elsewhere, in spite of Ākā Muḥammad's advice to him to adopt a peaceful policy. Astarābād changed hands several times but remained, for the most part, in Develū hands. In or about 1188/1774, Husayn Kulī sent his son Fath 'Alī (born in 1173/1759-60 of an 'Izz al-Dīnlū Kādjar mother and known as Bābā Khān) [*q.v.*] to Shīrāz to conciliate Karīm Khān. He was well received and sent back to his father and given Dāmghān as a *suyūrghāl* (Riḍā Kulī Khān, ix, 90 ff.).

Ākā Muḥammad Khān appears to have been treated with favour and consulted by Karīm Khān on affairs of state ('Abd al-Razzāk, *Ma'āthir-i sulṭāniyya*, entitled *Dynasty of the Kajars*, tr. by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, London 1838, cxi ff.; Riḍā Kulī Khān, ix, 78; Rustam al-Ḥukamā', 338; Malcolm, ii, 176). He was not, however, reconciled to captivity, and the death of Karīm Khān in 1193/1779 enabled him to escape. He proceeded to Māzandarān, where he was occupied for some years in contests with rival khāns of the Ashākābāsh and the Yukhāribāsh, the latter of whom held Astarābād and the country extending from there to Khwār and Varāmin. Various of the khāns, including Ākā Muḥammad's half-brothers, Murtaḍā Kulī Khān and Riḍā Kulī Khān, co-operated with the Zand forces in the north (Riḍā Kulī Khān, ix, 127 ff.; Rustam al-Ḥukamā', 444 ff.; Malcolm, ii, 93 ff.). In 1194-5/1780-1 Ākā Muḥammad Khān came into conflict with the Russians, who had established a settlement in Ashraf, and expelled them (J. McNeill, *Progress and present position of Russia in the East*, 2nd ed. London 1836, 33-4).

By 1199/1785 Ākā Muḥammad Khān had made himself master of Gurgān, Māzandarān and Gilān, and on the death of 'Alī Murād Khān in that year, he set out for Isfahān, which Dja'far Khān Zand had seized. He defeated a Zand force near Kūmm and entered Isfahān. Reappointing as governor Bākīr Khān Khurāskāni (whom Dja'far Khān had turned out), he retired again to the north. In 1200/1786 he made Tehran his capital (cf. Riḍā Kulī Khān, who wrongly states that he was crowned in Tehran in that year, ix, 200). From this time onwards Tehran continued to be the capital, and the importance of northern Persia relative to southern Persia for strategic and economic reasons and because of its more numerous population increased.

In 1201/1786-7 Dja'far Khān recovered possession of Isfahān, but was again dispossessed by Ākā Muḥammad, who on this occasion appointed his half-brother Dja'far Kulī Khān governor before retiring to the north again (Riḍā Kulī Khān, ix, 188 ff.; Rustam al-Ḥukamā', 448 ff.; Malcolm, ii, 102-3). Luṭf 'Alī Khān succeeded Dja'far Khān Zand in 1203/1789-90 and in the following year Ākā Muḥammad made another expedition to the south. Luṭf 'Alī fled to Shīrāz. Ākā Muḥammad besieged the city, but raised the siege after about three months and returned to Tehran. In the following year Ākā Mu-

hammad was occupied in asserting his authority in Ādharbāyḍjān, where a number of local leaders had been virtually independent since the death of Karīm Khān. In 1205/1791 Luṭf 'Alī Khān made an abortive attempt to recover Isfahān, leaving Hādīdjī Ibrāhīm, the *kalāntar*, together with one of the Zand khāns, in charge of Shīrāz. During the absence of Luṭf 'Alī, Hādīdjī Ibrāhīm seized the city. Luṭf 'Alī turned back but failed to regain possession and retired to the south. Hādīdjī Ibrāhīm meanwhile entered into negotiations with Ākā Muḥammad Khān, who, after a Kādjar force had suffered a reverse at the hands of Luṭf 'Alī, marched in person on Shīrāz. A surprise attack near Persepolis by Luṭf 'Alī failed, and Shīrāz was handed over to Ākā Muḥammad Khān. Renewed disorders by the Guklān and Yamūt, however, forced him once more to return to Tehran and Astarābād. Luṭf 'Alī who had fled to the east, after various vicissitudes, took Kirmān in 1208/1794. Ākā Muḥammad set out once more for the south and laid siege to Kirmān. The city fell after some months and large numbers of the inhabitants were massacred. Luṭf 'Alī, who escaped before the city actually fell, was eventually captured near Narmāshīr and sent to Ākā Muḥammad, who killed him (Malcolm, ii, 110 ff. Hādīdjī Mirzā Ḥasan Fasāṭī, *Fārsnāma-i nāshiri*, lith., Tehran 1894-6, i, 232 ff.).

Having thus disposed of his Zand rivals and established his authority over the greater part of Persia except Khurāsān, Ākā Muḥammad Khān planned to restore to Persia Georgia, the ruler of which, Heraclius, had placed himself under Russian protection in 1783, renouncing all dependence on Persia. He reached Ardabil in the spring of 1209/1795 and on Heraclius' refusal to return to the status of a tributary of Persia (which had been Georgia's position under the Šafawids), he invaded Georgia and sacked Tiflis. He spent the winter in Mughān and then returned to Tehran, where he was crowned in the spring of 1796 (Riḍā Kulī Khān, ix, 273-4). His next step was directed to the reimposition of Persian control over Khurāsān, which was nominally ruled by Shāhrukh, the blind grandson of Nādir Shāh, and to the prevention of raiding by the Uzbegs, whose leader Dījāni Beg ruled Bukhārā. Mashhad was entered without fighting. Missions were sent to Dījāni Beg demanding the release of all Persian prisoners who had been taken by raiding parties, and to Zamān Shāh, the ruler of Kābul, proposing co-operation for the conquest of Bukhārā. A Russian force meanwhile marched against Persia in retaliation for the sack of Tiflis. Although this was withdrawn on the death of the Empress Catherine in the same year, Ākā Muḥammad abandoned his Khurāsān plans, returned to Tehran in the autumn, and in the spring of 1211/1797 set out again for Georgia. Crossing the R. Aras, he took Shūsha. A few days later, on 21 Dhu 'l-Hijjā 1211/19 June 1797 he was murdered in camp by two slaves, who, although under sentence of death for some misdemeanour, had been left free overnight. His nephew, Fath 'Alī Khān (Bābā Khān), who at the time of his uncle's death was governor of Fārs, succeeded as Fath 'Alī Shāh.

Ākā Muḥammad Khān, realizing the weakness brought about by internecine strife, had been much concerned to heal the breach between the Koyunlū and the Develū. Accordingly he married Fath 'Alī to one of the daughters of Fath 'Alī Khān Develū, and laid down that the crown should pass to 'Abbās Mirzā (b. 1203/1789), Fath 'Alī's third son, and the eldest of his sons born to Fath 'Alī Khān Develū's daughter (Nādir Mirzā, *Ta'rikh wa āiughrāfiyā-yi*

*dār al-saltāna-i Tabriz*, Tehran lith., 1905, 190-1; Riḍā Kulī Khān, ix, 226). ‘Abbās Mirzā, however, pre-deceased Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh in 1249/1833-4 and the succession passed in 1250/1834 to his son Muḥammad Mirzā (b. 1222/1807), whose mother, Āsiyā Khānum, was also a Develū, being the daughter of Muḥammad Khān Develū and granddaughter of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān Develū. Malik Djahān Khānum, the mother of Nāsir al-Dīn (b. 1247/1831-2), who succeeded his father Muḥammad Shāh in 1264/1848, was a granddaughter of Sulaymān Khān Koyunlū, Aḳā Muḥammad Khān’s maternal uncle. Nāsir al-Dīn’s son and successor Muẓaffar al-Dīn (b. 1269/1853, reg. 1896-1907) was the son of Shukūh al-Saltāna, the daughter of Shu‘ā al-Saltāna b. Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh. Although not all of Nāsir al-Dīn’s sons who were successively declared to be his *walī ‘ahd* were the sons of Kādjār mothers, the normal convention was for the mother of the *walī ‘ahd* to be a Kādjār. One of the arguments raised against the possible succession of Zill al-Sultān, the eldest son of Nāsir al-Dīn, who became for a period the virtual ruler of southern Persia, was that his mother, ‘Iffat al-Saltāna, was not a Kādjār. The mothers of Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh (b. 1289/1872, reg. 1907-9) and his son Ahmad Shāh (b. 1314/1898, reg. 1909-25) respectively were Kādjārs. Failure to establish a stable system of succession proved a weakness and led to repeated intrigues over the appointment of the *walī ‘ahd*, and Faṭḥ ‘Alī, Muḥammad Shāh and Nāsir al-Dīn all faced some degree of armed opposition by various Kādjār princes when they severally assumed the throne.

On the death of Aḳā Muḥammad, Hādjījī Ibrāhīm, his chief minister, put himself at the head of the troops and returned to Tehran, where Muḥammad Khān Kādjār had closed the gates pending the arrival of Faṭḥ ‘Alī from Fārs. The new shah had to contend with a number of rebellions, including one led by his brother Ḥusayn Kulī Mirzā, but none of them were of any magnitude. He continued the practice of appointing princes of the royal house to the provincial governments which the Šafawids had abandoned but the Zands had largely resumed. In 1799 ‘Abbās Mirzā, then aged about fourteen, was made governor of Ādharbāyḍjān, and from 1818, when he was appointed *walī ‘ahd*, the province was normally held by the *walī ‘ahd*. Its good order and security was considered crucial to the safety of the Persian state because of the critical nature of Perso-Russian relations and the fear that disorders would invite Russian intervention. From 1810 onwards Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh entrusted foreign relations to ‘Abbās Mirzā and for that reason foreign envoys resided from then until his death at Tabriz and not Tehran. Ādharbāyḍjān was one of the largest and richest of the Persian provinces, and its capital Tabriz rapidly became politically and commercially the second city of the empire. There were, however, certain disadvantages in making Tabriz the seat of the *walī ‘ahd*: on the one hand he became more vulnerable to Russian influence and on the other the faction between Turk and Persian was heightened, since his entourage in Tabriz tended to be composed largely of Ādharbāyḍjānī Turks, many of whom accompanied him when he came to Tehran to assume the crown.

When ‘Abbās Mirzā was made governor of Ādharbāyḍjān his eldest brother Muḥammad ‘Alī Mirzā, whose mother was a Georgian, was confirmed as governor of Kirmānshāh. This province was also of considerable importance in view of the repeated disputes between the Persian and Ottoman empires.

Ḥusayn ‘Alī Mirzā Farmān-farmā, whose mother was the daughter of an Arab chieftain of Khurāsān, was made governor of Fārs, Muḥammad Walī Mirzā governor of Khurāsān, and Muḥammad Kulī Mirzā governor of Māzandarān. In due course several other princes, too young to administer their governments themselves, were sent to other provinces accompanied by viziers who carried on the administration for them, much as had the atabegs for their wards in Saldjūq times. The Kādjārs never succeeded in establishing family solidarity, and this in view of the numerous progeny of each of the shahs is, perhaps, not surprising. Rivalry between the sons of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh, especially Muḥammad ‘Alī Mirzā and ‘Abbās Mirzā, several times threatened to break into open conflict. When ‘Abbās Mirzā died in 1833, Faṭḥ ‘Alī delayed until June in the following year before he declared Muḥammad Mirzā *walī ‘ahd*, for fear that a nomination would give rise to civil war.

Under the Treaty of Gulistān the way to the intervention of foreign powers in the matter of the succession to the throne was opened. By Art. 4 the Russian tsar undertook for himself and his heirs to recognize the prince who should be nominated as heir apparent and afford him assistance in case he should require it to suppress an opposing party.

When Faṭḥ ‘Alī nominated ‘Abbās Mirzā in 1818 he took steps to secure the agreement of the tsar to his nomination because he suspected that Yermolov, the Russian viceroy of the Caucasus, was preparing to intrigue with Muḥammad ‘Alī Mirzā. Faṭḥ ‘Alī, to assure ‘Abbās Mirzā’s accession, also granted him the revenues of Gilān as well as Ādharbāyḍjān for the support of his army, placed the governors of Khamsa and Kazvin, through which he would have to pass on his way to Tehran, under his orders, and sent a battalion of ‘Abbās Mirzā’s troops to Tehran to garrison the capital. In 1828, under Art. 7 of the Treaty of Turkomāncāy, the Russian tsar recognized ‘Abbās Mirzā as successor to the throne and undertook to consider him the legitimate sovereign from the moment of his accession. This limited Faṭḥ ‘Alī’s freedom of action, raised the possibility of ‘Abbās Mirzā succeeding to the throne with the support of Russian troops, and endangered his personal and political independence. The appointment of Muḥammad Mirzā as *walī ‘ahd* was recognized by the British and Russian governments in an exchange of notes expressing their mutual desire to act together over the matter of his succession and in the maintenance of the internal tranquility, independence and integrity of Persia.

So far as the provincial governments were not held by Kādjār princes they were, for the most part, entrusted to tribal leaders, though Faṭḥ ‘Alī, in so much as he was able, decreased the power of the tribes apart from the Kādjārs [see ILĀT]. There was, however, no clear dividing line between the provincial governor, the tribal leader, the landowner and the military commander. This facilitated rebellion and made the shah’s control almost always precarious. The provincial governors were required to remit to the central government annually a definite sum, based on the tax assessment prepared by the *mustawfi*’s office in the capital together with a new year present (*piškash*) and to provide troops when called upon to do so. The cost of the provincial administration in addition to the regular assessment was collected locally. At each major provincial capital there was a replica of the court at Tehran. This, in the absence of financial control, imposed an added burden upon

the local people. Ambitious princes, moreover, were encouraged to use the provincial resources to rebel.

The remission of provincial taxes was frequently in arrears, and their collection often necessitated a military expedition. Fath 'Alī Shāh had, in fact, set out on such an expedition to collect arrears from Husayn 'Alī Mirzā Farmān-farmā, the governor of Fārs, when he died, en route for Shirāz, in Isfahān on 23 October 1834. Husayn 'Alī Mirzā thereupon read the *khūba* in Shirāz in his own name and marched on Isfahān. Muḥammad Mirzā was in no state to set out from Tabriz. His treasury was empty and his troops mutinous. The means to make the troops march were collected largely owing to the initiative and energy shown by the British envoy, Sir John Campbell. On 10 November a force set out, and Muḥammad Mirzā followed shortly afterwards. Tehran, where 'Alī Mirzā Zill al-Sultān had proclaimed himself shah, was taken in December, and an expedition despatched to the south. Farmān-farmā's forces, led by his brother Hasan 'Alī Mirzā and his three sons, Riḍā Kull Mirzā, Taymūr Mirzā, and Walī Mirzā, were defeated near Kumīsha. Farmān-farmā surrendered and later died. Hasan 'Alī Mirzā was blinded and imprisoned at Ardabil. Farmān-farmā's sons escaped, finding their way via the Ottoman Empire to England, whence they returned in 1836 to the Ottoman Empire and spent the rest of their lives there in exile (see Riḍā Kull Mirzā, *Safar-nāma-i Riḍā Kull Mirzā, nava-i Fath 'Alī Shāh*, ed. Aṣghar Farmān Farmā'i Kādjār, Tehran 1963-4; J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of the residence of the Persian princes in London, in 1835 and 1836*, 2 vols., London 1838).

Several other Kādjār princes were seized by Muḥammad Shāh and kept in captivity in Ardabil, lest they become rebels, while some, fearing for their lives, placed themselves under foreign protection. In 1835 Muḥammad Shāh nominated his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn, then a child of four, as *walī 'ahd*. In view of his youth he was not made governor of Ādharbāyḍjān, which had been given to Qāhramān Mirzā, Muḥammad Shāh's full-brother. In January 1842 another full brother, Bahman Mirzā, was made governor of the province. In the same year Muḥammad Shāh's health gave rise to anxiety, and it seemed unlikely that Nāṣir al-Dīn would be able to establish his claim against Bahman Mirzā in the event of the shah's death. The latter, however, recovered, to fall ill again in 1845. Once more it seemed likely that Bahman Mirzā, who was a successful and popular governor of Ādharbāyḍjān, might press his claim to succeed, or to establish himself as regent. The shah again recovered. Bahman Mirzā, meanwhile, fell foul of Hādīdī Mirzā Āḳāsi, the *ṣadr-i a'zam*, and resigned his government under pressure in 1847. It was now that the question of succession became confused with that of protection. On 1 March 1848, Bahman Mirzā, alarmed for his safety, took sanctuary in the house of the Russian envoy and was subsequently granted asylum in Russia. The incident caused anger, alarm and consternation in Tehran. On 15 May Bahman Mirzā left Tehran and took up residence in Tiflis.

The shah died on 4 September. Riots and disorders broke out in Tehran. The queen mother took charge pending the arrival of Nāṣir al-Dīn, who had been sent to Ādharbāyḍjān as governor in February. Funds having been provided for his march by the merchant community of Tabriz, he set out and arrived in Tehran on 20 October. He took possession of the capital without difficulty, but there were disorders in Isfahān and Kirmān, and a prolonged rebellion in Khurāsān. Aṣaf al-Dawla, Muḥammad

Shāh's maternal uncle, who had been at one time Fath 'Alī's *ṣadr-i a'zam*, and governor of Khurāsān for some twelve years under Muḥammad Shāh, had, with his son Sālār al-Dawla, been driven into rebellion by the enmity of Hādīdī Mirzā Āḳāsi. In 1847 he was recalled to Tehran and exiled to Turkey. Sālār al-Dawla continued the rebellion and was not finally overcome until 1850, when, together with his brother, he was captured and executed.

During the early years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn, consideration was given to the question of a regency in the event of the shah's death and again in 1858 when the child he had proclaimed *walī 'ahd* died, and the claims of Bahman Mirzā, who was then residing at Tiflis, and 'Abbās Mirzā Mulk-ārā were canvassed. The latter's mother, a Kurdish lady, Khādīdīja Begum, Muḥammad Shāh's favourite wife, had appealed on Muḥammad Shāh's death, to Colonel Farrant, the British *chargé d'affaires*, to protect her son, because she feared for his safety at the hands of the queen mother. 'Abbās Mirzā finally went in 1853 to Baghdād where he lived under quasi-British protection. The shah was equally suspicious of both. The question, however, remained academic: no regent was appointed and Nāṣir al-Dīn survived until 1896.

In the later years of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign the rivalry of the *walī 'ahd*, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, governor of Ādharbāyḍjān, and his two half-brothers, Zill al-Sultān, who became governor of Isfahān in 1874 and was the virtual ruler of most of southern Persia from 1881 to 1887 when he was deprived of all his governments except Isfahān, and Kāmūrān Mirzā, the Nā'ib al-Saltāna, Nāṣir al-Dīn's favourite son, who was commander-in-chief of the army, threw the question of succession into doubt. In the event, Muẓaffar al-Dīn's succession was uncontested. During the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī and Aḥmad Shāh, various Kādjār princes took part in the struggles against the constitutional government, notably Shu'a' al-Saltāna and Sālār al-Dawla, Muḥammad 'Alī's half-brothers, while Muḥammad 'Alī, who, after his deposition in 1909, lived in Russia under the protection of the tsar, made an abortive attempt, with Russian connivance, to regain the throne in 1911.

The Kādjārs, having established themselves as the rulers of Persia, ceased to be tribal leaders and, like earlier rulers, became absolute monarchs. To impress their subjects with their power, they sought to emphasize the high, almost sacred, character of their rule. The pomp and circumstance of the royal court after the reign of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān rapidly increased and great attention was paid to ceremony, though the shah, it is true, was still, in theory at least, accessible to the lowest of his subjects. Similarly, after the death of Āḳā Muḥammad, the administration, based on the pattern of the Šafawid empire, became more elaborate. All officials were the shah's deputies, elevated and degraded at his pleasure. He was the sole executive. In circumstances in which intrigue and corruption were rife, and the exercise of power called forth the enmity and intrigues of rivals, bribery and nepotism were almost inevitable.

The chief minister was the *ṣadr-i a'zam* (sometimes known as the Mu'tamid al-Dawla). His functions were much the same as the *wazīr-i diwān-i a'lā* of Šafawid times [see *DIWĀN*]. His main duty was to provide money for the administration and defence of the state. The three chief officials under him were the *mustawfi al-mamālīk*, the *wazīr-i laṣṣḳar* and the *munshī al-mamālīk*. The minister for foreign affairs (*wazīr-i khārijī*), because of the increasing import-

ance of Persia's foreign relations, also became an influential official. From the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn onwards various attempts were made to modernize the administration [see *ḤUKŪMA*].

Ākā Muḥammad Khān was well served by Hādjdjī Ibrāhīm, who became *ṣadr-i a'zam* in 1209/1794. He was also joint vizier with Mirzā Shāfi' to Faṭḥ 'Alī. His power and nepotism led to intrigues, which aroused Faṭḥ 'Alī's suspicions against him, and he was blinded and killed in 1801. Many of his relatives were also seized and his estates confiscated. Various ministers subsequently attempted without success to assert control over Faṭḥ 'Alī. 'Abbās Mirzā as *wali 'ahd* was served with distinction by Mirzā Isā Mirzā Buzurg (d. 1822), who was succeeded by his son, Abū'l-Kāsin Kā'im Maḳām, also a talented man. He later became minister to Muḥammad Mirzā, over whom he established his ascendancy. When Muḥammad Mirzā succeeded to the throne, Kā'im Maḳām became *ṣadr-i a'zam*. His rule, reputedly corrupt, was extremely unpopular and he fell from power in 1835 and was executed on 26 June 1835. Hādjdjī Mirzā Ākāsi, a Georgian from Erivan, who had been Muḥammad Mirzā's tutor in Ādharbāydzān, succeeded him. He, too, eventually concentrated power in his own hands, holding a number of offices in addition to that of *ṣadr-i a'zam*. This also brought unpopularity upon him, and on the death of Muḥammad Shāh, in fear for his life, he took refuge in Russia.

Nāṣir al-Dīn on his accession made Mirzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Nizām, who had been deputy-governor of Ādharbāydzān since 1843, *ṣadr-i a'zam*. He, partly because of the youth and inexperience of the shah, also concentrated power in his own hands, and treated his royal master with a certain measure of contempt. An able man, he perhaps attempted too much at once. His severe rule and vigorous attempts to reform abuses met with opposition, and in 1851 he was overthrown and murdered. The queen mother, among others, played a prominent part in his overthrow (see further Firaydūn Ādamiyyat, *Amīr Kabīr wa Irān*, 3 vols., Tehran 1956-7). He was succeeded by Mirzā Ākā Khān Nūrī, whose energies were largely taken up in defeating the machinations of numerous rivals and in a contest with the shah for the sole exercise of power. Corruption, which placed every office within reach of the highest bidder, was his weakness and rendered him accessible to the attacks of his enemies. He was deprived of the office of *ṣadr-i a'zam* in 1853 when the government was reorganized [see *ḤUKŪMA*].

By the middle of the century, the resurgence of the bureaucracy, after its relative eclipse under the early Kādjārs, was becoming evident. In the second half of the century its influence continued to grow. The position of officials, however, was still fundamentally insecure. This was why they so often sought support for their schemes from outside sources, in particular the British and Russian missions. It also explains in part the apparently equivocal behaviour of ministers such as 'Alī Aṣghar Khān Amīn al-Sultān, who, until the fiasco of the Tobacco Regie, worked for the modernization of Persia in close co-operation with the British minister, Sir Drummond Wolff, but later fell under Russian domination.

During the Kādjār period there was a contraction in the area over which Persia claimed sovereignty, but within the frontiers as they were eventually established the control of the central government gradually became more effective. Ākā Muḥammad Khān's attempt to regain Georgia proved abortive. Hostilities with Russia in the Caucasus, which had been inter-

mittent from about 1805, were resumed in 1811, and the Persian army was decisively defeated at Aslāndūz on 31 October/1 November 1812. In the following year a preliminary treaty was signed at Gulistān on 13 September 1813 by which Persia ceded Georgia, Darband, Baku, Shīrvān, Shāki, Gandja, Qarābāgh, Mughān and part of Tālīsh to Russia. Neither side regarded the peace as permanent and the war was eventually resumed in 1827. The Russian advance was rapid. Tabriz fell and a treaty of peace was signed at Turkomāncāy on 21 February 1828. Erivan and Nakhjdjivān were ceded by Persia and the cessions made under the Treaty of Gulistān confirmed (for texts, see C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads*, Calcutta 1933, xv ff. and xxiii ff.).

The Perso-Turkish frontier, which was broadly as laid down in the Treaty of Zuhāb of 1049/1639 (which was in turn based upon the earlier settlement of 962/1555), also gave rise to many disputes. The Kurdish section, some 700 miles, in particular, was difficult country to settle and control. Like Qarābāgh, Mughān and Tālīsh, it was inhabited by semi-nomadic tribes. These moved to and fro between the Pashalik of Baghdād and Persia, while the frontier authorities of both countries were in the habit of giving asylum to marauders and refugees from the other. Relations with Turkey were also embittered by Shī'ī-Sunnī strife and, in 'Arabistān, by Perso-Arab antipathies.

In 1804 and 1805, the Ottoman Sultan Selim III had allowed Russian forces to use the south-eastern coasts of the Black Sea in their operations against Persia. Muḥammad 'Alī Mirzā, governor of Kirmānshāh, subsequently engaged in intermittent hostilities with Turkey. War was declared in 1821 and continued until 1823 when hostilities were concluded by the Treaty of Erzerum (for text see Aitchison, xix ff.). A series of major incidents between 1833 and 1842, including the burning of Muḥammara by the pasha of Baghdād in 1837 and the temporary occupation of Sulaymānī by Persia in 1840, again brought the two countries to the brink of war. In 1843 an Anglo-Russian offer of mediation was accepted. The proceedings were nearly wrecked at the outset by a massacre of Shī'īs at Karbalā'. A second Treaty of Erzerum was finally signed on 31 May 1847, by which the lowlands of Zuhāb were ceded to the Ottoman Empire and the highlands to Persia (for text see Aitchison, xlvi ff.). The latter gave up all claim to Sulaymānī while the Ottoman Empire recognized Persian sovereignty over Muḥammara. The two parties further agreed to appoint commissioners to delimit the frontier. The commission consisting of four commissioners, one each appointed by Persia, Turkey, England and Russia, met in 1849. Its proceedings were interrupted first by the Crimean war (1854-6) and then the Anglo-Persian war (1856-7). In 1869 a protocol was signed, laying down a band of territory twenty-five to forty miles wide within which the commissioners considered the frontier ought to be found. Repeated disputes between Persia and Turkey and acts of armed aggression bedevilled the work of the commission, and the frontier was not finally delimited until 1914 shortly before Turkey's entry into World War I (see further C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 125 ff.).

When Ākā Muḥammad Khān left Khurāsān in 1796 Persian control had not been fully restored. The reconquest of Harāt, which had formed part of the Ṣafawid empire in its heyday, together with the reassertion of Persian power up to the Oxus remained

the aim of Fath 'Alī Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh, and, in the first part of his reign, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. In the event, the reincorporation of Harāt into the Persian Empire was largely frustrated by British actions, and Persia and Britain were brought to the brink of war in 1838-9 (see *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Persia and Afghanistan*, London 1839; J. W. Kaye, *History of the war in Afghanistan*, 3 vols., London, 1857; J. A. Norris, *The first Afghan war 1838-1842*, Cambridge 1967, 82 ff.), and to actual war in 1856 (G. H. Hunt, *Outram and Havelock's Persian campaign*, London 1858; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, 452 ff.). By the Treaty of Paris (4 March 1857) which brought the war to a close, Persia recognized the independence of Afghanistan (for text see Aitchison, 81 ff.). In 1870, the shah proposed that the boundaries between Persia and Kalāt should be settled. Commissioners nominated by Persia, Kalāt and Britain met and their proposals were accepted in the following year. The rival claims of Persia and Afghanistan to Sistān, which more than once threatened to rupture their friendly relations, were also settled by British arbitration in 1872.

The subjugation of the Guklān, Yamūt, and Tekke Turkomans, who were in the habit of raiding deep into Persia and kept the Turkoman steppe in a state of permanent disorder, also proved beyond the power of the Persian government, and opened the way to a Russian advance to Marv and the Akhal. Persia was forced to abandon her claim to sovereignty over the area and in 1869 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh signed an agreement with Russia for a new frontier along the Atrak River, which was later superceded by the Akhal-Khurasān boundary convention of 1881 (for texts see Aitchison, liv ff. and lxxi ff.).

Persia's geographical situation on the frontiers of Russia on the one hand and of India and the Persian Gulf on the other, if nothing else, would have involved her in the political rivalries of Napoleonic France and England (with both of whom treaties were signed; for texts see J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, New York 1956, i, 77 ff., and Aitchison 45 ff.) and later in the struggle between Russia and Britain, even if she had not herself, at first, sought to use these rivalries to regain some of the territories which she had held at the height of Ṣafawid power. Fath 'Alī Shāh and 'Abbās Mirzā quickly realized that if Persia was to resist the Russian drive through Georgia, she must have modern weapons and adopt modern military methods. Modernization, thus, first began in the military field. But neither Fath 'Alī nor 'Abbās Mirzā understood that modernization, whether in the military field or any other, to be successful, demanded a fundamental change in the finances and administration of the country. The result of this failure, which was equally marked in the case of the later rulers, was that the material resources to carry out the desired changes were not made available.

As in earlier times, the army was largely formed by provincial contingents, irregular cavalry and infantry, and a small body of regular troops. Under Fath 'Alī Shāh there was a considerable expansion in numbers, the most numerous contingents coming from Ādharbāyājān and 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjām, while the Kādjār tribe furnished a large proportion of the standing army. Pay was often in arrears and while on campaigns the army lived on the country. Partly because there was no proper provision for the pay of the troops and partly for climatic reasons, campaigns were seasonal. Some knowledge of European

tactics was brought by Russian deserters and renegades, but the first serious attempt at military reform was made under the guidance of French officers who accompanied General Gardane's mission, which reached Persia in December 1807 under the Treaty of Finkenstein (4 May 1807). The treaty was rendered null and void by the Peace of Tilsit (1 July 1808) and the mission was withdrawn.

The next attempt to introduce European discipline and methods was made by a number of English officers who came to Persia with the mission of Sir John Malcolm in 1810 and passed into Persian service (see further J. Morier, *Second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 211 ff.). Under the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1814 the British government continued to supply officers for drill and discipline, arms and munitions, but most of the officers were withdrawn in 1815 consequent upon a dispute over the subsidy to be paid under the treaty. After Napoleon's reverses in 1814 various officers came to the east, some of whom were engaged by 'Abbās Mirzā and Muḥammad 'Alī Mirzā, but in the years between the peace of Gulistān and the renewal of the Russian war in 1826 the army was neglected. In the last years of Fath 'Alī Shāh's reign renewed efforts were made to reorganize the army and a detachment of officers and sergeants from India arrived shortly before his death and were employed in various parts of the country raising and drilling troops. They withdrew in 1836 on the rupture of Anglo-Persian relations over Harāt. A number of French officers were subsequently engaged but achieved nothing. By the end of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh the army, including the artillery, which Ḥādīdī Mirzā Ākāsi, in spite of his complete ignorance of military arts, had taken under his personal supervision, was in a state of decay.

Mirzā Takī Khān, after he became *ṣadr-i a'zam* to Nāṣir al-Dīn, began to reorganize the army as part of his policy to extend the power of the central government. Recruitment was reorganized and based on a system of quotas to be furnished by each village, district and tribe. In practice, however, the system was somewhat irregularly applied. Officers for the new army were to be trained in a new school, the *Dār al-Funūn*, which was opened in 1851, and had on its staff a number of Austrian and other foreign military and civil instructors. These various steps, however, had little immediate success, and the emptiness of the treasury after the Harāt campaign of 1856-7 precluded more radical reform. Subsequent efforts at military reform made during the ministry of Mirzā Husayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla were also unsuccessful.

Nāṣir al-Dīn was not unmindful of the advantages of an efficient military force to maintain his own position, if nothing else, and on his second European journey, he asked the emperor of Austria for the loan of a number of instructors. A mission arrived in January 1879, to be followed shortly afterwards by a Russian mission to reorganize the cavalry, for which the shah had similarly applied to the tsar. The Austrian mission failed to achieve any results and left in 1881. The Russian officers remained and organized the Cossack Brigade, which became the most efficient regiment in the Persian army. It was a ready instrument for the Russians in the furtherance of their aims in Persia and was used by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh in his struggles against the constitutionalists (see further G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 571 ff.; F. Kazem-

zadeh, *The origin and early development of the Persian Cossack Brigade*, in *The American Slavic and East European review*, xv (Oct. 1956), 351-63).

The disparity in power between Persia on the one hand and Russia and Britain on the other had been demonstrated by the Russian wars and the disputes over Harāt. Efforts at military reform, even if successful, would have done little to redress the balance between them, but would have contributed to the stability of the government and the maintenance of order, and so limited the intervention of Russia and Britain in internal affairs. As it was, both increasingly intervened in internal affairs because of the prevailing insecurity and maladministration, though their motives in doing so were different. Neither could regard with equanimity the prospect of civil war. Britain was not prepared to see the *walī 'ahd*, or another Persian prince, riding down to Tehran supported by Russian troops and the establishment of a puppet government, since this would have meant the establishment of Russia on the frontiers of India, while Russia could not afford civil war for fear that it might lead to a British occupation of southern Persia which would have blocked a Russian advance to the Indian Ocean. Persia, for her part, had no wish for subservience to either, but her dependence upon them grew, and in these circumstances it was natural that society should become divided into those who looked to Russia and those who looked to Britain.

Nāṣir al-Dīn probably had a clearer appreciation of Persia's weakness than his predecessors. Realizing that foreign intervention could not be prevented, he adopted a policy of encouraging foreign powers to invest in Persia in the hope that they would contribute to its development and prosperity, but he too did not recognize the need for radical financial and administrative reform if this policy was to be successful. It failed largely because of the disunity of Persian society, the rivalry of the powers, and the greed of the various parties concerned in the scramble for commercial monopolies and concessions. Thus, while the intrusion of France, Russia and England acted first as a stimulus to modernization, from the middle of the 19th century onwards, if not earlier, it added to the prevailing insecurity and intrigue, and so discouraged, rather than stimulated, progress and, in effect, contributed to the maintenance of the *status quo*.

The key to Persian independence was financial reform, which in turn presupposed administrative reform. Successive *ṣadr-i a'zams*, particularly in the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, were harassed by demands for more money. In the reign of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān the revenue was small, but broadly speaking expenses were met. Even in the time of Fath 'Alī Shāh, in spite of the depletion of reserves by the Russian wars, the revenue from ordinary taxes (land revenue, cattle taxes, taxes on real estate in towns, and duties on merchandise), and extraordinary taxes (revenue from fines, new year presents, *ad hoc* presents, and public requisitions) balanced expenditure, though the pay of officials and of the army was frequently in arrears. During his reign there was, however, a constant drain of specie. This trend continued under Muḥammad Shāh and resulted in a heavy depreciation in the value of the *tūmān*, a rise in prices, and a general shortage of money, though conditions varied greatly from place to place and year to year. In the last three or four years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh an excess of copper coinage caused much distress among the poorer sections of the population

and almost paralyzed small trade. This was withdrawn after the accession of Muḥaffar al-Dīn Shāh at great loss to the government.

By the middle of the 19th century government offices were being sold in an attempt to secure ready money, and there were signs of a financial breakdown comparable to that which had prevailed in Būyid times, prior to the emergence of the land assignment (*iḥfā'*) as the dominant political and economic institution of the state. Scarcely any provincial revenue was reaching Tehran and payments by the government were almost entirely in the form of bills, whose value was nominal. At the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Mīrzā Taḳī Khān made an abortive attempt to effect financial reform. Venality and corruption in the tax administration thereafter continued unrestrained.

Various expedients, notably the grant of monopolies and concessions to foreign concerns, were adopted by Nāṣir al-Dīn and Muḥaffar al-Dīn to provide themselves with funds. Muḥaffar al-Dīn also sought foreign loans to pay for the growing extravagances of the court, the allowances and pensions of the Kādjār princes and others, and general expenses (see further R. L. Greaves, *British policy in Persia, 1892-1903*, in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965), I, 34-60, II, 284-307, on the question of Anglo-Russian loans). Both policies gave rise to great discontent on the grounds that Persian resources were being sold and placed under the control of foreigners.

The first major concession was the concession granted in 1872 to a British subject, Baron Reuter, providing *inter alia* for railway and road construction, irrigation works and the establishment of a national bank. There was much criticism of this concession both inside Persia and abroad, and it was cancelled as a result of heavy pressure from Russia in 1873. It was finally remodelled and signed in January 1889, Baron Reuter being accorded for a term of sixty years the grant of the Imperial Bank of Persia, which was established under a British Royal Charter in September of that year. This was the beginning of a modern banking system in Persia. In 1890 a Russian subject obtained a concession for a loan bank, which some years later became an agency of the Russian State Bank.

In March 1890 a monopoly for the sale and export of tobacco was acquired by a British subject. This was the occasion for the open expression of popular discontent. The protest against the monopoly led by the religious classes resulted in the cancellation of the monopoly (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Tobacco Regie: prelude to revolution*, in *St. Isl.*, xxii, 119-157, xxiii, 71-90; N. Keddie, *Religion and rebellion in Iran. The tobacco protest of 1891-2*, London 1966). The compensation paid to the Imperial Tobacco Corporation was provided by a loan contracted with the Imperial Bank of Persia in 1892.

A third concession of outstanding importance was granted in 1901, namely the concession to Mr. William Knox d'Arcy for the exploitation of natural gas, petroleum, asphalt and ozokerite throughout the Persian empire, with the exception of the five northern provinces, for sixty years. In 1909 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed to operate the concession. In due course the exploitation of Persian oil resources transformed the economy of the country and profoundly affected her relations with Britain, but these developments did not reach their climax until after the fall of the Kādjārs (see further Aitchison, 23 ff.).

In the course of the 19th century there were

changes in the direction and sources of Persian trade (see further M. L. Entner, *Russo-Persian commercial relations, 1828-1914*, Florida 1965). Customs duties, which were farmed, by the end of the 19th century, formed an increasingly important proportion of the revenue. Because of the provisions of the commercial agreement concluded under Art. 10 of the Treaty of Turkomāncāy, Persia's hands in the matter of fixing the rate of duty were tied. The connexion between the customs and Persia's foreign relations was reinforced when the various foreign loans which Persia contracted were secured on the customs revenue. In 1899 Belgian officials were appointed to reorganize the customs administration. Greater efficiency in the collection of customs dues under the Belgian administration, coupled with new tariff charges secured by the Russian and British governments by agreements concluded in 1901 and 1903 respectively, aroused discontent among the merchant classes. This was an important factor in the support of these classes for the constitutional movement.

An arrangement of a rather different character from the normal concessionary agreements, but one which also emphasized Persia's weakness, was the secret agreement made with Russia in 1887 by which the shah pledged himself not to give permission for the construction of railways or waterways to foreign governments before consulting the tsar, and in 1890 a railway agreement was signed with Russia placing a ten-year embargo on railway construction (for text see Aitchison, lxxxi). There were still no railways by the end of the Kādjār period except for a few miles between Tehran and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm and a line from Dījlfā to Tabriz made in 1916. Lack of communications were an obstacle to trade and to the assertion of the control of the government in the provinces. In 1889 Persia had only two carriageable roads of any extent, namely from Kāzvin to Tehran and Tehran to Kūmm (Curzon, i, 486 ff., 613 ff.). Various concessions for road construction were given in the last decade or so of the 19th century, but little progress was made in road-building. In 1888 the Kārūn River was opened to international navigation (see further R. L. Greaves, *Persia and the defence of India, 1884-1892*, London 1959, 161 ff.).

Insecurity, misgovernment, poverty, and the usurpation of power were not new to Persia, and there is plenty of evidence of unrest in the Kādjār period — of rebellions by tribal leaders and others, such as the revolt of Ākā Khān Maḥallātī in 1840 (which also disturbed Anglo-Persian relations), mob violence in the towns, and movements of protest led by the religious classes, one of the most serious of which was the Bābī movement led by Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad, who declared himself to be the long awaited *mahdī* in 1260/1844 [see BĀB]. This movement was primarily a messianic movement, the intellectual bases of which went back to mediaeval Islamic movements of revolt and heresy, and like these earlier movements was provoked largely by a sense of injustice and frustration at the shortcomings of the government.

In spite of outbreaks of unrest the control of the central government by the middle of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was more firmly settled. It was weakest in the tribal and frontier areas. An important factor contributing to the extension of government control was the establishment of the telegraph under a series of conventions, the first of which was concluded in 1863 (see Aitchison, 25 ff.; Curzon, ii, 609 ff.). Both Nāṣir al-Dīn and Muẓaffar al-Dīn felt

sufficiently secure to undertake extensive European journeys, the former in 1873, 1878 and 1889 and the latter in 1900, 1902 and 1905.

Although the government had succeeded in making its influence more widely felt by the last quarter of the 19th century, the increasing dominance of non-Muslim nations over Persia, which was a marked feature of the century had, by the turn of the century, given a new dimension to internal unrest [see also *IMTIYĀZ*]. Hostility to the government began to be expressed in terms of a nationalist movement, which was at once pro-Islamic and anti-foreign. The fact that Russia could at almost any moment send troops into Persia made the Persian government increasingly reluctant to resist Russian pressure, while at the same time Persia's subservience to Russia gave rise to growing resentment. Similarly, Britain's failure to give Persia the support to which she had felt she was entitled under the various treaties which had been concluded in the reign of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh and her refusal during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn to give a clear commitment to come to Persia's aid in the event of a Russian attack had created annoyance, which was added to by the Harāt question, measures to suppress slavery and piracy in the Persian Gulf, and the British presence there, which, from time to time, was felt to threaten Persian independence.

New intellectual currents coming through diplomacy, travel, trade, Islamic modernist movements outside Persia, and education (though apart from the *Dār al-funūn* there were few modern schools until the end of the 19th century) also contributed to this development, and to the progressive dissolution of the old institutions of government and society. Little by little a new system of government was worked out and the people who were to work it came to the fore. In the last ten years or so of the 19th century these trends were accelerated and reached their climax with the grant of the constitution in 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Laws in 1907 [see *DUSTŪR* and *DJĀM'ĪYYA*]. In the first instance it was members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who first began to seek the reasons for Persia's backwardness *vis-à-vis* Europe and remedies for her ills. Among those who played a leading part in this respect were Ḥusayn Khān Muṣṭafī al-Dawla, who had served in consular posts in India and the Ottoman Empire, Malkam Khān, a Persian Armenian from Iṣfahān, who had been educated in Paris and was Persian minister in London from 1872 to 1889, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Muṣṭafī al-Dawla, Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Maḥdī al-Mulk Sīnakī (d. 1881), Amīn al-Dawla, and others. Persians living abroad, or who had travelled abroad, such as Mīrzā Ākā Khān Kirmānī, who lived in Constantinople, and Ākā Mīrzā Furṣat Shīrāzī, who travelled in India, and merchants engaged in foreign trade also contributed to the spread of new ideas. An important part was also played in this by the Persian press published abroad (there were no newspapers apart from the official gazette in Persia until after the death of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh), such as *Akhtār* founded by Mīrzā Ākā Kirmānī in Constantinople in 1875, *Kānūn* founded by Malkam Khān in London in 1890, and *Habl al-Maṣīn* first published in Calcutta in 1893 (see also *KAWMĪYYA*, Persia).

The 'ulamā' also played a prominent part in the events leading up to the constitutional revolution and largely provided its leadership. This was not due only, or even chiefly, to the influence of the pan-Islamic movement led by Djāmāl al-Dīn Afghānī [*q.v.*], though this had a considerable effect, but rather to the position of the 'ulamā' in society. Under



the Kādjārs the religious institution once more stood over against the state and was not wholly incorporated into it. The 'ulamā' fulfilled certain functions for the government and many of them received allowances and pensions from the government, which to some extent compromised them, but on the whole they were listened to with respect, both by the government and the people. From time to time they were able to exercise restraint upon the government and to act as peacemakers, though they were also sometimes associated with movements leading to outbreaks of violence in the cities. In the last resort, they provided a refuge for the people against injustice, and the people looked to them for protection and the fulfilment of their aspirations.

Fath 'Ali Shāh took pains to win the favour of the 'ulamā'. Later rulers were more concerned to limit their power. Muḥammad Shāh, although he gave pensions and allowances to the religious classes, was more inclined to the Ṣūfīs than to orthodox Islam and he attempted to bring the 'ulamā' under closer control. At the outset of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Mīrzā Taqī Khān continued this policy and alienated the religious classes by reducing their salaries and pensions. He also attacked the practice of asylum [see BAST], which Bahman Mīrzā, when governor of Ādharbāyjdān on behalf of Muḥammad Shāh, had also sought to limit. Tentative efforts to control *wakf* revenue, the spread of secular education with the setting up of the Dār al-Funūn, and attempts at judicial reform by Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla when he was *sadr-i a'zam* also created disquiet among the 'ulamā', who began to feel their position menaced by the actions of the government. They also felt Persia's traditional way of life and national independence threatened by the intrusion of foreigners. Partly for these reasons, when dissatisfaction at increasing internal misgovernment and hostility to growing foreign intervention came to a head in the early 20th century, it was expressed in a nationalist movement, articulated paradoxically largely in terms of Islam and led mainly by the 'ulamā' (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian 'ulama and constitutional revolution*, in *Le Shi'isme imamite*, Paris 1970, 245-70; eadem, *The Persian constitutional revolution of 1905-6*, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972). It was not, as such, a revolutionary movement, and the understanding and aims of the various groups supporting it varied. In essence it was a protest against tyranny. So far as there was a demand for the adoption of modern techniques of government, its purpose was to restrain the arbitrary exercise of power by the shah in order to limit tyranny and to secure the country from foreign influence and intervention. So far as there was a demand for freedom, the freedom envisaged was seen strictly within the limits set by Islam and did not involve a revolutionary concept. The underlying intention of the majority of people who supported the movement was to carry out the Islamic duty of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil in such a way that the ruler would be duly warned and restore just government. Their aim was the restoration of "good" government. Since it followed from the traditional dichotomy between Islamic, *i.e.*, just, government and usurpation, *i.e.*, *zulm*, that the reassertion of just government meant "good" government by a just ruler, they did not demand a reformulation of the theory of government such as would provide for checks and balances in the exercise of power.

The victory of the constitutionalists in 1906 was

shortlived. There was little to hold the various groups together once they had overthrown the despotism. Their confidence, moreover, was shaken by the conclusion of the 1907 Anglo-Russian agreement, which roused great resentment (see further R. L. Greaves, *Some aspects of the Anglo-Russian Convention and its working in Persia, 1904-14*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), I, 69-91, II, 290-308). Muḥammad 'Ali's counter attack against the constitution was, nevertheless, defeated and he was forced to abdicate. His son, Aḥmad Shāh, succeeded him with a regency. By 1911, however, when the constitution was suspended under Russian pressure, the leadership of the constitutional movement had passed into the hands of the bureaucracy and the landowning classes.

During the First World War of 1914-18 Persia proclaimed her neutrality but this was violated variously by herself, the central Powers and the Entente. At the end of the war a chronic state of disorder prevailed and the country once more seemed on the point of dissolution. In an attempt to forestall this, the abortive Anglo-Persian agreement, which recognized the independence and integrity of Persia, provided for military advisers, a loan, and co-operation in the improvement of communications, was signed in 1919. In the following year the Bolsheviks invaded Enzeli and occupied Rasht, and a revolutionary government was set up in Gilān under Kūčik Khān.

The last phase of Kādjār rule began with the *coup d'état* organized by Sayyid Diyā' al-Dīn and Riḍā Khān in 1921. The first action of the new government was to conclude the Perso-Soviet treaty of 1921, by the terms of which the Soviet government declared all treaties and conventions concluded with Persia to be null and void, but made it a condition that these concessions should not be ceded by Persia to a third power. The measures taken by Sayyid Diyā' to create an orderly administration quickly aroused opposition. He quarrelled with Riḍā Khān and was overthrown. The latter, as minister of war, then began to reassert the authority of the central government. The movement led by Kūčik Khān collapsed owing to internal dissension and the withdrawal of Russian support. In 1923 Riḍā Khān became prime minister. Some two years later, in 1925, Aḥmad Shāh was deposed and the crown of Persia conferred by a Constituent Assembly upon Riḍā Khān as Riḍā Shāh Pahlavi.

Although Persia, at the close of the Kādjār period, was once more in a state of disorder and weakness, and Riḍā Shāh like Ākā Muḥammad was faced, in a rather different form, with the problem of reimposing the authority of the central government and reasserting Persian independence against foreign powers, Persia had been transformed during the Kādjār period from a mediaeval into a modern state. At the beginning of the Kādjār period the theoretical purpose of the state had been to secure a temporal framework within which the individual Muslim could live the good life according to the precepts of the *shari'at*, from which it followed that the stability of the state and good government were bound up with right religion. The functions of government had been confined broadly to defence against external aggression and the maintenance of internal order. Political power had lain in the hands of the military classes, consisting primarily of the tribal leaders. The land assignment (*ikhṭā'*; *tuyūl*; *su-yūrghāl*) was still one of the most important political and economic institutions of the country. The functions of the bureaucracy had been mainly limited to the provision of the financial means to enable the government to carry out its duties. The 'ulamā', on the whole, had been a sta-

bilizing force, while the merchants had played an important part in the transmission and provision of funds for the state. By the end of the period Persia had become a modern territorial secular state, drawn into and affected by international politics. She had acquired a constitution and modern forms of government (though the spirit in which the new institutions were worked had not been transformed to the same extent as had been the outward forms). The functions of government had been greatly extended, and political power had become more widely based.

*Bibliography:* in addition to the references in the text: R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the year 1858*, London 1886; C. R. Markham, *A general sketch of the history of Persia*, London 1874; Muḥammad Taḳī Lisān al-Mulk Siphir, *Nāsikh al-tawārikh ta'rikh-i Kādjiariyya*, ed. Djahāngīr Kā'im-Makāmi, Tehran 1961; Amīr Gilānshāh, *Yak sad u pandjāh sāl-i salṭanat dar Irān*, Tehran 1963; 'Aḩud al-Dawla Sulṭān Aḩmad, *Ta'rikh-i 'aḩudī*, Bombay lith. 1889; M. L. Entner, *Russo-Persian commercial relations, 1828-1914*, Florida 1965; Firūz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864-1914*, New Haven and London 1968; Sir Percy Sykes, *A history of Persia*<sup>3</sup>, ii, London 1969; Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Ta'rikh-i idjtimā'ī va-siyāsī-i Irān dar dawra-i mu'āshir*, Tehran 1947-8; 'Alī Aḩghar Shāmīm, *Irān dar dawra-i salṭanat-i Kādjiār*, Tehran 1965; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran 1785-1906*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969; C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago and London 1971; A. K. S. Lambton, *The breakdown of society*, in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge 1970, i, 430-673; eadem, *Persian society under the Qajars*, in *JRCAS* (1961); eadem, *Trade under the early Qājārs*, in *Papers on Islamic History* ii, *Islam and the trade of Asia*, ed. D. S. Richards, Oxford 1970; 'Abd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḩ-i zindāgi-i man yā ta'rikh-i idjtimā'ī va idāri-i kādjiariyya*, Tehran 1955-6; Sir Edward Herslet, *Treaties, etc., concluded between Great Britain and Persia and between Persia and other foreign powers, wholly or partially in force on 1st April 1891*, London 1891.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

**KADR** [see KADĀ, RAMADĀN].

**KADRĪ**, Persian poet born at Shīrāz, who flourished in the first half of the 11th/17th century (and is not to be confused with his namesake Kadri Shīrāzī, active in India during the reign of Akbar). The account of his early years is given by Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshī in the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*. He is known for two short epic poems, *Djāngnāma-yi Kīshm* and *Djārānnāma*, commemorating the conquest of the island of Kīshm and the town of Hormūz by Imām Kūllī Khān of Shīrāz during the reign of 'Abbās I in 1032/1623.

A manuscript of the first, brought to Italy by Pietro della Valle, was published by L. Bonelli in *Rend. Lin.*, vi; the second is preserved in a British Museum Ms, Add. 7801 (copied in 1109/1697).

*Bibliography:* Ethé, in *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 237; idem, *Neupersische Litteratur*, Persian tr. S. R. Shafaḩ, Tehran 1337/1958, 63; Rieu, *CPM*, ii, 681; N. Falsafī, *Zindigāni-yi Shāh 'Abbās-i awal*, Tehran 1346, iv, 219; A. Iḩbāl, *Yādīgār "Kīsmatī as-mādjiari-yi Khaldī-i Fārs"*, no. 4, 1326, 39-45.

(M. MOHAGHEGH)

**KĀF**, 22nd letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *k*, numerical value 20, according to the eastern order [see ABḩĀḩ].

Definition: *occlusive, postpalatal, surd*; postpalatal, the medial position of *k* in the variations that it can be subjected to, according to the vowel with which it is in contact (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 2 b). According to the Arab grammatical tradition: *shādāda, mah-mūsa*, in *makhhrādj*: the region a little less further back than that of *kāf*, the furthest back in the mouth (Sibawayhi, ii, 453, l. 6-7, ed. Paris; al-Zamakhshārī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 188, l. 17, 2nd ed. Broch); the region in question is the postpalatal or prevelar region, but the Arab grammarians are not specific; al-Khalīl describes the *kāf* as *lahawiyya*, like the *kāf* (al-Azhārī, *Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 45, l. 7-8; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 19-20); this is placing the *makhhrādj* of the *kāf* too far back.

Remark: H. Blanc (*The "sonorous" vs. "muffled" distinction in old Arabic phonology*, in *To honor Roman Jakobson*, The Hague-Paris 1967, 306) sees in the pronunciation of Arabic in the time of Sibawayhi, in 'Irāḩ in the eighth century, two occlusives, *aspirated*, *surd* and probably strong: *k* and *t*; he adduces (*ibid.*, 298) the researches and reconstructions of I. Garbell in *Remarks on the historical phonology of an East Mediterranean Arabic* (*Word*, xiv (1958), 303-37) and also his own documentation, with reference to his communication: *The fronting of Semitic g and the Qāl-gāl dialect split in Arabic*, in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies* (Jerusalem 1969). A correct interpretation of Sibawayhi's doctrine, in phonetics, does not, in our view, allow us to see in *k* and *t* *aspirated* occlusives; moreover, the reconstructions of I. Garbell depend on the basic principles that she has provided for herself (*Word*, 306-9, Stage 1) (see the presentation of H. Blanc, *loc. cit.*, 298).

The articulation described is a phoneme; for the phonological oppositions that define the phoneme *k* see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'Arabe classique* (in *Mémorial J. C.*, Paris 1960, 173); for the incompatibilities see *ibid.*, 201.

*Kāf* in classical Arabic is a continuation of *k* of common Semitic, preserved in ancient Semitic, but subject to spirantisation (*k* > *kh*) in Aramaic and Massoretic Hebrew, when it is immediately preceded by a vowel, however short.

Alterations: Sibawayhi (ii, 452, l. 13-4) mentions a faulty pronunciation of *k*: *kāf* between *djīm* (in fact *gʷim* [see *ḐĪM*]) and *kāf*; this is, in our view, very probably a *g* pronunciation (cf. M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 49). According to Ibn Durayd (Ibn Ya'īsh, *Sharḩ al-Mufaṣṣal*, 1463, l. 11-2, ed. G. Jahn), it was a dialectal pronunciation of the Yemen, widespread among the people of Baghdād, e.g.: \**gamal* for "camel", \**ragul* for "man". J. Cantineau considers that it must be an affrication of *k*: *k* > *č* (*Cours de Phonétique arabe*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 64-5), an unconditional alteration. *Kashkasha* and *kaskasa* were known among certain Arab tribes. These phenomena caused *k* to become, respectively, *č* (or even *sh*) and *ts* (or even *s*), see H. Fleisch (*Traité*, § 11 d and the references)—final *k* of a word may be assimilated to initial *k* of the following word, thus: *-k k* > *-kk* (see *ibid.*, § 12 o).

For the conditional and unconditional alterations of *k* in the modern Arabic dialects see J. Cantineau, *Cours* (in *Mémorial J. C.*, 66-7) and the references of D. Cohen (*Le dialecte arabe Hassāniya de Maurétanie*, Paris 1963, 31, n. 1).

*Bibliography:* Apart from the references in the text: H. Fleisch, *Traité de Philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, § 44, c. j. § 45 g, § 46 a, § 49 i, k; M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen*

zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber, Göttingen 1934, 47, for aspirated *k*. (H. FLEISCH)

**KĀF**, 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *k*, numerical value 100, according to the eastern order [see **ABJAD**].

Definition: *occlusive, uvulovelar, surd*. According to the Arab grammatical tradition: *ṣhadida, madj-hūra*, in *makhraj*: the rear-most part of the tongue and the highest part of the upper palate (Sibawayhi, ii, 453, l. 5-6, ed. Paris; al-Zamakhshari, *Mufaṣṣal*, 188, l. 16-7, 2nd ed. Broch), that is to say: the root of the tongue is in contact with the very lowest part of the soft palate and the uvula and the latter disappears during the retention in the articulation: al-Khalil correctly says *lahawiyya* "uvular" (al-Azharī, *Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 45, l. 7-8; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 19-20).

The Arab grammarians place *kāf* not among the *muḥbaka* "velarised" (emphatics), but among the *musta'liya*, which prevent *imāla* [q.v.] (Sibawayhi, ii, 285, l. 17-20; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 8). *Kāf*, in fact, is not an emphatic in Arabic: thus, in the form *ista'ala*, a *k*, as the 1st radical consonant, has no effect upon the *i* with which it is in contact, unlike the emphatics. So we find, for example: *iktatala*; it is its velar articulation that may involve the velarisation of *s* (*s* > *ṣ*), a consonant of the same root (Sibawayhi, ii, 279, l. 18; H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 11 c). However, like the emphatics, it has the peculiarity of provoking a movement of the glottis: a constriction, which may become an occlusion and convert the *kāf* into *hamza*.

Remark: there exists currently, among populations that have preserved the pronunciation of *kāf* by living tradition, a deeper articulation: an occlusion against the wall of the pharynx, which causes the uvula to appear spread out on the tongue during the retention (see H. Fleisch, *Études de Phonétique arabe*, in *MUSJ*, xxviii (1949-50), 242, n. 2).

Arab grammarians since Sibawayhi (ii, 453, l. 17) have placed *kāf* among the *madj-hūra* (voiced); "but the traditional pronunciation of classical Arabic makes a surd of it" (J. Cantineau, *Cours de Phonétique arabe*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 67). A voiced pronunciation of *kāf* must certainly have existed, at least in an important part of the ancient Arab world, otherwise it would be difficult to explain precisely how the manner of pronouncing this ancient *kāf* should have become at present a principle in discriminating between the vernaculars of nomads, in which it is *voiced*, and those of sedentary populations, in which it is a *surd* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 46 h and the references; J. Cantineau, *Cours, ibid.*, 68 and the references). See (*ibid.*, 68-9) the vernaculars that have a *surd kāf* or one reduced to *hamza* and (69-70) those that have a *voiced kāf*, a *gāf*.

The *kāf* is a phoneme; for the phonological oppositions that define it, see J. Cantineau (*Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 174); for the incompatibilities (*ibid.*, 201).

The *kāf*, which is not an emphatic in classical Arabic, is the continuation of a common-Semitic *kāf* that was emphatic (J. Cantineau, *Le consonantisme du sémitique*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 287; M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le Vocabulaire et la Phonétique du Chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 123); but it is difficult to indicate precisely the nature of this emphasis (see J. Cantineau, *ibid.*, 291), and, according to M. Cohen (*ibid.*) it cannot be determined whether the Hamito-Semitic phoneme had a *surd* or a *voiced* articulation, but it can be confidently stated that its quality of *surd* or *voiced* was of secondary importance in comparison to its emphasis.

Alterations: final *k* of a word can be assimilated to initial *kāf* of the following word, thus: *-k k-* > *-kk-* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 12 o). Arab sources speak of an unconditional change: *k* > *k* among some tribes; this fact is difficult to interpret (see *ibid.*, § 9 h).

In modern dialects, we have seen above the transfer of *kāf* to *hamza* and the question of *voiced kāf*. J. Cantineau (*Cours, ibid.*, 70) suggests a possible dissimilation of *k* into *k* before a *t*, in oriental as well as North-African vernaculars. The explanation involving a dissimilation seems an inadequate solution to D. Cohen (*Le dialecte arabe Hassāniya de Maurétanie*, Paris 1963, 35). There are examples of the change of *kāf* into *ghayn*: in Syria (G. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palestina*, in *ZDPV*, xxxviii (1915), 216 (§ 95) and *Karte* 37; J. Cantineau, *Cours, ibid.*, 70-1); in certain "North-Arabian nomad" vernaculars, in the majority of the vernaculars of the Algerian, and, apparently, Moroccan, Sahara (J. Cantineau, *ibid.*, 72); in *Hassāniyya* (D. Cohen, *ibid.*, 35-7 and the references).

*Bibliography*: Apart from the references in the text: H. Fleisch, *Traité de Philologie arabe*, I, Beirut 1961, § 2 c, § 44 c, j, n, § 46 a, § 48 b, § 49 i; M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*, Göttingen 1934, 21, 45-6 and the references; A. Schaade, *Sibawayhi's Lautlehre*, Leiden 1911, 14, 66 (n. 17); H. Blanc, *Ibn Durayd on the Qāf of the Banū Tamim*, in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies*, Jerusalem 1969, 33-4; see also, *ibid.*, 15-16, 28-32. (H. FLEISCH)

**KĀF**, in Muslim cosmology, the name of the mountain range surrounding the terrestrial world. There is little doubt that this conception is borrowed from Iranian traditions. These make the Alburz [q.v.] the mythical mountain at the edge of the world, and the home of the gods. All the other mountains in the world have come from the Alburz by underground ramifications. This mountain (the high mountain: Hara-berezayti) surrounds all the world, but also a lake with the name of Wurukasha; however, according to the *Bundahishn*, this lake itself, although confined to the edge of the world, does not form a circular moat around it. The same work, talking of the geography of these mythical regions, gives the name of a mountain: *Kāf* (cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, Berlin 1863, 7, 73, 75, n. 1).

This geography interlocks with another, again an Iranian one, but with horizons limited to those of the Iranian world itself, and not the universe taken as a whole. Here the Alburz is the mountain rampart which bounds the Iranian world to the north. This is doubtless what makes Yākūt say (iv, 18) that the *Kāf* was formerly called Alburz; cf. also Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, GMS, xxiii, i, 191-2. Geiger (*Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen 1882, 42-3) thinks that Lake Wurukasha originally referred to a definite place (Aral or Caspian Sea), but that since then, from the time of the *Avesta*, it has been relegated to the realm of myth. On the Alburz - Hara-berezayti system and Lake Wurukasha (Vārukasha), cf. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie*, Berlin 1822-9, viii, 42-3; F. Spiegel, in *ZDMG*, vi, 85, and *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, 191 ff.; W. Gieger, *op. cit.*, 42-3; F. v. Adrian, *Der Höhenkultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker*, Vienna 1891, 287-8.

Iranian cosmology has fairly close links with that of the Hindus. In their writings, particularly in the *Purāṇas*, they deal with the question of the fabled

mountain chain of Lokāloka, which separates the visible from the invisible world, and which rises above the utter darkness. On the Lokāloka, cf. Spiegel in *ZDMG*, vi, 86, J. Dowson, *Classical dictionary of Hindu mythology*, London 1879, 180. According to the doctrine of the Jaina, the circular mountain of Mānūṣottara, which is situated in the midst of the continent of Puṣkarawara, forms the frontier of humanity: cf. Jacobi, in *ZDMG*, ix, 312.

In general terms, the idea of a mountain-boundary of the world, situated in the north, as it appears in the Indo-Iranian tradition, was very widespread among the peoples of the ancient Orient. Perhaps, in the last analysis, the origin of this could be sought in Babylonian cosmology; cf. F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, 29, 117-8; F. Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, ii, Munich 1900, 345-6; Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, Berlin 1903, 353, 355, 620. Traces of the same conceptions are also to be found among the ancient Hebrews: cf. W. Gesenius, *Kommentar über den Jesaia*, ii, Leipzig 1821, 316-7 (where analogous opinions found outside the Bible are also examined in detail); Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, Leipzig 1898, 134. Lastly, to return to the Hindus, the Meru which in ordinary Buddhist thought is considered to be the centre and navel of the earth (cf. W. Foy, in *Festschrift E. Windisch*, Leipzig 1914, 213-4; E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strasbourg 1915, 253, index; Roscher, *Neue Omphalos-Studien*, Leipzig 1915, 72), is at times thought to be the mountains of the Himalaya bounding the Hindu world to the north. In this connexion it may be remembered that for the Greeks too, Olympus, the home of the gods, marked the frontier of their world to the north, in Thessaly.

Already Gesenius (*op. cit.*, 317) and Rosenzweig (in his edition of the *Yūsuf u-Zalīkha* of Džāmi, Vienna 1824, 185) realized that the Muslim conception of the mountain Kāf had precedents, the most ancient being those Indo-Iranian traditions we have mentioned. But these legacies have connexions with the cosmological traditions of Islam itself as they are presented in the *Qurʾān* and *Hadīth*; an account of these themes can be found in T. Fahd, *La naissance du monde selon l'islam, in Sources orientales. La naissance du monde*, Paris 1959, 237 ff.

The general tendency of the classical Muslim world, apart from learned theories, is to consider the world as a flat disc. This manner of looking at it, which seems to result from certain *Qurʾānic* passages (cf. e.g., *Qurʾān*, XV, 19, LXXIX, 30: God spread out the earth), is found in the traditions and consciousness of the people. The mountain of Kāf is separated from the terrestrial disc by a region which men cannot cross, a dark area which would stretch for four months walking, according to a saying of the Prophet (cf. the Persian version of Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. Zotenberg, i, Paris 1867, 33). But the mountain of Kāf does not only surround the earth: it also encloses the Ocean which forms a girdle around the earth.

According to the descriptions, in particular those of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳḳīsī, Yāḳūt, Kazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī, the mountain of Kāf is made of green emerald, of which the sky reflects the colour. But others say that only the rock on which Kāf rests is of emerald. This rock (*al-ṣakḥra*) is also called a stake (*wataḍ*); God made it to support the earth, which without it would not be able to stand up by itself. That is why the Persian version of Ṭabarī affirms that if Kāf did not exist, the earth would shake constantly, and no creature would be able to

live on it: this latter idea can be compared with the role assigned to mountains in the architecture of the world by the *Qurʾān* (XIII, 3 and *passim*).

The existence of Kāf combines with other conceptions relating to the supports of the earth. A tradition contained in *Ḳazwīnī*, i, 146, tells how in the first ages, since the earth was oscillating in all directions, God created an angel who took it on his shoulders and grasped it with his hands (compare with the myth of Atlas); the angel had as his support a rectangular rock of green hyacinth, itself borne upon a giant bull which rests upon a fish swimming in the water. Ibn al-Wardī, who repeats these details (p. 12, 15-6), specifies that the mountain Kāf has as its base the rock of hyacinth. Elsewhere the same author (13, 17-8) increases the number of the supports of the earth, with the exception of the angel, and varies the hierarchy of elements already quoted. Other variants are pointed out by A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the literature of the western Semites*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, Phil. Sect., new series, xix/2 (1918), 18 and n. 2, and J. Meyer, *Die Hölle im Islam*, Basle 1901, 46. The Muslim Iranians describe the animal supporting the earth now as a bull (cf. Džāmi, *op. cit.*, 13; Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, 190b; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii, 946a), now as a hybrid of bull and fish (cf. Firdawsī, *Šāhnāma*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, Leiden 1877-84, 38, 444; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii, 947a). Similarly, popular belief in Baghdād long talked of a bull and a fish as supports for the earth (cf. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, Leipzig 1861, 30r). Amongst the inhabitants of the countries round the Red Sea, there reigned the belief that the earth rests on the back of gigantic bulls (cf. E. Rüppel, *Reise in Abyssinien*, i, Frankfurt-am-Main 1838, 256). *Ḳazwīnī* gives for the bull and the fish the names of the biblical monsters Leviathan and Behemoth, proving in that way that these conceptions, taken over by the tradition of the Muslim world, are connected with ancient biblical ideas, which themselves go back to the Babylonian tradition of the chaos. But, on the other hand, the theme of the bull carrying the earth is also found in India, and the rock from which the mountain Kāf springs can doubtless be identified with the stone *Šetiyya* in which Jewish legends see the umbilical stone of the earth, which God cast down into the depths of chaos or of the Ocean as the support of the earth (cf. for this legend Feuchtwang in *MGWJ*, liv (1910), 724-5; W. H. Roscher, *op. cit.*, 73-4). It must be noted, however, to end the theme of the supports, that one tradition (*Ḳazwīnī*, i, 144) maintains that God placed the earth in the universe without anything surrounding it or supporting it.

Kāf is thought to be the mother-mountain of all the mountains of the world. They are linked to it by subterranean ramifications; when God wants to punish a people, or to destroy a country, He sets one of these ramifications in motion, thereby causing an earthquake. Others believe that the earthquakes are due to the fact that the bull, wearied by his burden, kicks, thus shaking the earth. However it might be, Kāf plays an essential role in the cosmos: it is the primary mountain, the one which sees the sun pass on its course, and it is given a certain human appearance with a head and a face.

Inaccessible to men, it marks the edge of the world; therefore its name is used metonymically with this latter meaning (cf., e.g., Džāmi, *op. cit.*, 1). No-one knows what lies beyond; but some, while maintaining that this beyond belongs to the realm of eternal life, undertake to describe it: the country would be white like silver, stretching over forty days'

walk, and inhabited by the angels; stretching beyond Kāf there would be a land of gold, seventy of silver, and seven of musk, each one stretching in each direction over ten thousand days travelling, and each one populated by angels. Kāf with all the countries beyond can also be given as the home of the *djinn*s. But above all, Kāf is thought to be the haunt of the fabulous bird Simurgh, a sort of griffon with characteristics similar to those of the 'Ankā, [q.v.] of the Arabs. Existing since the beginning of the world, this marvellous bird then withdrew to Kāf in complete solitude, and lives there contented as a wise counsellor consulted by the kings and heroes of old. Kāf, its home, on account of this has been given the name, especially in poetry, of "mountain of wisdom", or "mountain of contentment". In the *Manẓūḥ al-Ṭayr*, the Persian poet Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [q.v.] describes the pilgrimage of the Ṣūfī by way of the seven stations through which the soul must pass before it loses itself completely in God, by means of the allegory of a very difficult journey filled with adventures, accomplished by a bird, traversing the seven valleys, until it reaches the mountain Kāf, where their very wise king Simurgh is enthroned.

Kāf also plays a certain role in the literature of tales; this mountain is found in the *Thousand and One Nights* (486th, 624th, and 778th Nights). On their side some exegetes of the Qurʾān interpret the letter *kāf*, which stands at the head of Sūra L, as referring to the mountain Kāf (references in R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, Paris 1959, 147).

In purely terrestrial geography, no longer cosmological, Kāf at times denotes the part of the high Asiatic chain of mountains which borders the Muslim world to the north, especially the Caucasus and the mountains of northern Persia; that is why the Dāmarwānd [q.v.], celebrated in the *Shāhnāma* as the scene of the wonderful deeds of the sovereigns, rulers and heroes of ancient Iran, is also given as the country of Simurgh. These conceptions naturally assumed less importance with the progress of geographical knowledge, but the Caucasus in particular remained as the stage for stories "of the far ends of the earth", for example the one in the Qurʾān of the rock of Moses and the spring of life (cf. Ibn Khurrādādhbih, 124, Ibn al-Fakīh, 287, Muḥaddasī, 46, *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, 449; on the Caucasus from this viewpoint as border-mountain, cf. B. Munkácsi, *Der Kaukasus und Ural als "Gürtel der Erde"*, in *KS*, i, 236 ff.).

Let us note finally the connexions between the Muslim conception of Kāf and that of the Mandaean. According to them (cf. H. Petermann, *op. cit.*, 452), the earth in the shape of a disc is bathed by the Ocean except on the northern side, where the Ocean is separated from it by a great mountain made of the purest turquoise, whose reflection constitutes the blue of the sky. Despite the opposite opinion of de Goeje (cf. Tabarī, *Intr.*, CDXXXVII), it is probable that the Madaeans drew this cosmology from Islamic sources.

*Bibliography*: Besides the references in the text: Ibn Rusta, 23-4; Yāqūt, i, 154; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 19, 376; Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 170; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib*, Cairo 1324, 13, 118; Thaʿālibī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 4; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳḳāsī, *Kitāb al-badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, ii, 6, 35-6, 44-6, iii, 140, 146; Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii, 706; Gesenius, *op. cit.*, 323-4; Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, 200; Lane-Zenker, *op. cit.*, 30, 232, 235; Reinaud, Preface to Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, tr., i, clxxxii—ii; A. Sprenger, *Das*

*Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, ii, Berlin 1862, 469-70; A. J. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 17-8; idem, *The ideas of the western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, xvii (1), 5-6, 37-8. (M. STRECK-[A. MIQUEL].)

AL-KĀF (EL-KEF), a town in Tunisia (pop. 18,000), capital of an administrative district with a population of 306,000 (census of 3 May 1966), situated in the region of Haut-Tell about 30 km. from the Algerian border; the altitude varies from 700 to 850 m. Since 1962, an effort has been made to replace the traditional cereal cultivation with a greater agricultural diversification, although the attempt at co-operative collectivization of the land was abandoned in September 1969. The town has also benefited from a degree of urbanization and cultural promotion. To this end, since September 1967 an annual festival has been held in honour of Jugurtha, promoted to the rank of a local hero.

The site of al-Kāf has been inhabited since the Paleolithic era, but when the town itself was founded is unknown; it was probably a Libyan or Punic foundation. The name first appears in texts dated 241 B. C. relating to mercenaries sent there by Carthage after the First Punic War to fend off the threat to the capital. The Romans called it Sicca Veneria after a Punic goddess who was identified with Venus. There seems to be no doubt that ritual prostitution was practised at her sanctuary. Under the Empire the town was called Colonia Julia Cirta Nova; it later came under Muslim control under the name of *Shiḳka Banāriya* (a corruption of Sicca Veneria) and continued to be referred to as such in Arab texts until the end of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) knew it under no other name. The name al-Kāf appears for the first time in the works of Ibn Abī Dīnār, who wrote around 1110/1698-9, and al-Wāzīr al-Sarrādjī (d. 1149/1736-7). The latter, citing Ibn Shabbāṭ on *Shiḳka Banāriya*, found it necessary to add, "which is the town now called al-Kāf" (*Hulal*, i/2, 525), indicating that the old name had been completely forgotten. The change of name must have begun at the beginning of the period of Ottoman control (1574), which marked a new stage in the life of the town. Around a score of sites in Tunisia bear names containing the vocable al-Kāf (R. Vaufrey, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, index to vols. i and ii; L. Baulout, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, index; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat*. . . , 35, 62; *Guide Bleu de la Tunisie*, index). An al-Kifān (pl. of al-Kāf) is noted in the vicinity of Fez (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, i, 229 n. 270), and Yāqūt (*Buldān*, iv, 431) mentions a fortress in Syria bearing the name al-Kāf, undoubtedly the same one which Ibn Khaldūn called al-Kahf (*Ibar*, v, 842) and which Zāhir Baybars (658/1260-676/1277) captured from the Ismāʿīlis. It is apparent that the toponym al-Kāf is very widespread. No doubt a corruption of the Arabic word *al-kahf* ("cave") through the dropping of the unvoiced spirant *h*, it was used to denote any agglomeration occupying a cavernous site, particularly one that was raised up. In this respect, al-Kāf merits its name. "Standing on one of the main shoulders of a massif which can be considered as a natural citadel, the town dominates the great plains of Sers, Zanfour, Lorebus and Oued Mellègue, and at the same time commands the main routes from Tunis to Algeria" (Tissot, *Géographie comparée*. . . , ii, 378).

This "natural citadel" was frequently mentioned during the Jugurthine war, and he made it one of his bastions. When it came under Roman control, it was

raised to the status of a colony and enjoyed real prosperity under the Empire, reaching some eminence when the celebrated rhetor Arnob of Sicca (d. c. 327) taught there. Numerous vestiges of its ancient past remain in al-Kāf (the basilica of Dār al-Kūs, dedicated to St. Peter, vast cisterns, various statues, epigraphic texts, mosaics, etc.) and recent excavations have led to new discoveries (a Byzantine basilica, public baths, etc.), details of which have not yet been published. The town's great mosque is in fact an ancient building slightly altered by the addition of a minaret and a *mihrab*.

During the Muslim expansion in the Maghrib, al-Kāf was conquered (about 69/688-9) along with other places in the region by Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī after the rout of Kusayla at Mams (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 30; Ibn al-Shabbāt, *Ṣilat al-Simf*, Ms. 3208, Nat. Lib. of Tunis, fol. 82 v.—83 r.). From then on and throughout the Middle Ages al-Kāf gave way to Laribus, which became the most important fortress in the region. In the middle of the 10th/16th century Leo Africanus could still sing the praises of Laribus, now no more than a few ruins 30 km. east of al-Kāf and totally eclipsed by the latter. No Arab geographer mentioned al-Kāf again until al-Bakrī (d. c. 461/1068) and he only incidentally in the course of relating a legend concerning a Berber deacon who was martyred in Christian antiquity. Yāqūt (574/1178-626/1229) reveals his ignorance of it when he says (*Buldān*, iii, 354): "Shiḳka Banāriya: a number of places in Ifrikiya (*amākin bi-Ifrikiya*)". The first and only description of mediaeval al-Kāf comes from the pen of Ibn al-Shabbāt (618/1221-681/1282). It is significant that this author is concerned solely with the town's old monuments, the evidence of its former grandeur.

Despite its eclipse, al-Kāf figures from time to time in mediaeval history. In 171/788 the Ibādī Khāridjīs suffered a crushing defeat there during the rule of the Muballabid Dāwūd b. Yazīd. Its fall, without a single blow having been struck, into the hands of the Fātimid *dā'* was a preliminary to the definitive defeat of the Aghlabid troops at Laribus. Under the Zīrids, the town played some part in the conflict between Bādīs (386/996-406/1016) and his uncle, Ḥammād, and during the Hilālī invasion (443/1052) a certain 'Ayyād (or 'Abbād or 'Imād) b. Naṣr al-Kilā'ī led a band of adventurers and founded a little kingdom there, successfully resisting all invaders. In 554/1159 the Almohads drove out his descendants and united the Maghrib. Al-Kāf is not mentioned under the Ḥafṣids, except for a battle which raged in the vicinity in the summer of 724/1324.

The town did not regain its former importance until the Ottoman era. Facing Constantine, its task was to defend the Regency of Tunis against invasion from Algeria. It was involved in the successive conflicts between Algiers and Tunis (1628, 1685, 1694, 1705, 1746, 1756, 1807) and in the squabbles among the various pretenders to the throne of Tunis. A *ḳasba* was built in 1675, and remained fortified. In 1739-40 'Alī Paṣha built a rampart around the town. The bey Ḥammūda Paṣha (1782-1813) restored the *ḳasba* in 1806 and consolidated the enceinte. During his reign al-Kāf, alongside Tunis, Ḳayrawān and Bādja, was one of the four main fortresses of the kingdom, permanently endowed with a strong garrison of at least 500 men under the command of an *agha*. Yet the town lost its strategic value: the installation of the French in Constantine in 1837 made its fortifications henceforth useless.

From then on, its decline began. V. Guérin, who

visited the town between the 8th and 10th of June 1860 observed: "Two quarters are almost in ruins and barely inhabited, which means that the town contains less than half the number of people one at first imagines. The total population consists of 4,500 Muslims, around 600 Jews, a few Maltese, and the employees of the French post-office" (*Voyages*, ii, 53-4). In 1864 it was taken in the insurrection of 'Alī Ibn Ghadhāhum, and was hit by the famine and cholera of 1867. The railway linking Tunis and Suḳ el-Arba (now Djandūba), built in 1878, accelerated its decline by depriving it of its traditional role as a commercial station between Algeria and Tunisia. The population of the town continued to decrease. In 1881 "its 45 hectares, which could have accommodated 8,000 people, contain no more than 3,500" (Monchicourt, *La région du Haut-Tell* . . . , 408). When the French protectorate was established in Tunisia, General Logerot took the town without a struggle on 26 April 1881. Three years later, in June 1884, the first French school in the interior was opened there; on July 8 in the same year it was raised to the status of a commune and from 1886 it was made the seat of a civil controller who governed alongside the caid. The municipal census of 1911 indicates its new composition, revealing also the resurgence it had begun to enjoy. Its 6,312 inhabitants comprised 4,462 Muslims, 269 of them Algerians, 650 Jews, and 1,200 Europeans, 800 of them Italians and 340 French. During the Second World War it became a vice-residency, administering that part of Tunisia which was not occupied by the Axis forces.

Al-Kāf, formerly one of the centres of Maraboutism, still possesses many *zāwiyas*, but the political influence of the brotherhoods, in the past of some importance, is now practically nil.

*Bibliography: Sources* (in chronological order): Muḳaddasī, *Ahsan al-taḳāsim*, ed. and partial tr. Ch. Pellat under the title *Description de l'Occident* . . . , Algiers 1950, 18-19; Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ed. H. Monès, Cairo 1951, i, 30; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. tr. De Slane, Paris 1965, 33-74; Yāqūt, s.v.; Ibn al-Shabbāt, *Ṣilat al-Simf*, Ms. 3208, Nat. Lib. of Tunis, fol. 82 v.—83 r.; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Bagh-dādī, *Marāsiḍ al-iffilā'*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1954, ii, 805; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, Alexandria 1958, 165; Pseudo-Raḳīḳ, *Ta'riḫh Ifrikiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. M. al-Kaābi, Tunis 1968, 68, 169; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, Beirut 1959, v, 842, vi, 228, 349, 401, 494; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 229, n. 270, ii, 373; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mu'nis*, ed. M. Ṣhammām, Tunis 1967, index; al-Wazīr al-Ṣarrāḳī, *Hulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hila, Tunis 1970, i/2, 525-6; G. Dupont, *Récit d'un voyage de Tunis au Kef effectué en 1744*, in *Revue de l'Afrique française*, no. 50 (Oct. 1888), 341-44, no. 51 (Oct. 1888), 352-60; Ibn Abī Dīyāf, *Ithāf ahl al-Zamān*, Tunis 1963, ii, 33, 48, 51, 53, 58-60, 83, 123, 129, 148-9, iii, 39, 41-2, 45-6, 85; V. Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique dans la régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, ii, 53-4, 57; R. Cagnat and Saladin, *Voyage en Tunisie*, Paris 1894, 200-19.—Studies: R. Brunschwig, *Haḳsides*, i, 145, 302; P. L. Cambuzat, *L'évolution des cités du Tell en Ifrikiya du VII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (thesis), i, 173, 227, 247, 322, ii, 337-43; P. Cintas, *Éléments d'étude pour une protohistoire de la Tunisie*, Paris 1961, 8, 25, 125; Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896, index; E. Esperandieu, *Épigraphie des environs du Kef*, Paris 1884; idem, *Étude sur le Kef*, Paris 1889; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en*

Tunisie (1861-1881), Paris 1959, index; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-28, ii, 96, iii, 101, 102, iv, 349, 403, v, 31, 192, 266, vi, 156, 249, vii, 190, 197, viii, 168, 197; H. R. Idris, *Zirides*, 110, 222, 235, 399, 471; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, i, 116, 157, 170, 209, Eng. tr., London 1972; E. Makhoul, *Structures agraires et modernisation de l'agriculture dans les plaines du Kef: les unités coopératives de production in Cahiers du CERES*, geog. ser. no. 1, Tunis 1968; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie* (1881-1911), Paris 1965, index; P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Paris 1905, iii, 241-86; C. Monchicourt, *La Région du Haut-Tell en Tunisie*, Paris 1913, 403-14; P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa*, Rome 1959, index; M. Speight, *Témoignage des sources musulmanes sur la présence chrétienne au Maghreb de 26/747 à 184/800*, in *IBLA* (Tunis 1972), no. 129, 83-6; M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 678, 680; A. Temimi, *Recherches et documents d'histoire maghrébine*, Tunis 1971, 21, 24, 93, 212; R. Vaufray, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, Paris-Tunis 1965-9, index to vols. i and ii.

(M. TALBI)

**KAFĀ** [see KEFE].

**KAFĀ'A** (A.), a term which in common usage signifies at one and the same time equality, parity and aptitude, but in the terminology of *fiqh* designates equivalence of social status, fortune and profession (those followed by the husband and by the father-in-law), as well as parity of birth, which should exist between husband and wife, in default of which the marriage is considered ill-matched and, in consequence, liable to break-up. In fact, in *fiqh*, *kafā'a* works in a single direction and protects only the wife who must not marry beneath her station; it matters little, on the other hand, if the man marries a woman of socially inferior status except in two cases. The scope of the theory of *kafā'a*, which varies from school to school, and the sanctions provided for by them in regard to an ill-matched marriage are discussed in the article نِكَاح. Here, we shall restrict ourselves to a consideration of the historical, sociological, and practical factors which have contributed to the elaboration of this theory, and its social effect through the centuries.

In pre-Islamic Arabia, it was obligatory that a married couple be well-matched on a racial and tribal level, as well as in social status. It was difficult to reconcile this pre-Islamic custom, if not with the letter of the Qur'ān, at least with that spirit of relative equality between men which is inherent in it. However, from the very beginnings of Islam, the rule was generally accepted that there could only be misalliance, lack of *kafā'a*, for the woman, the misalliance of the man being of no consequence with two exceptions. On the method of interpreting this lack of *kafā'a*, always limited to the woman, there were two tendencies amongst the *fuḥahā'*; on the one hand that of the scholars of Medina, who reduced *kafā'a* to almost nothing, simply forbidding a pious woman to marry a libertine, and on the other hand the tendency of the jurists of Kūfa, from which the exacting theory of the Ḥanafī school has arisen, according to which a husband is well-matched with his wife only if he is of the same lineage, the same social status, of the same seniority in Islam, and of the same morality. In addition, in Ḥanafī law, it is required that he exercise a profession at least as honourable as that of his father-in-law; from this

arises a comparative table of the different professions, which is found in most Ḥanafī works. The conflicts between these two interpretations may be explained by the influence of the social climate in which each was developed. At Kūfa there was a population in which Arabs and non-Arab Muslims lived in close proximity, and which in the past had been marked by the idea of social class so deeply rooted in the Sasanid empire, an influence which the inhabitants of Medina had escaped. Consequently, one might think that during the succeeding centuries considerations of social hierarchy and equal standing of the families of husband and wife, which have played and continue to play such a large part in the concluding of marriages in the Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī East, were unknown in the areas which had adopted Mālikī law. In actual fact, *i.e.*, on the plane of social realities, scarcely any difference is to be seen in this respect between the East and the Mālikī Maghrib. Here, as there, questions of social, family and economic parity have retained all their importance, even though as in the Maghrib, inequality of status is not the object of judicial sanction.

One must therefore resign oneself to explaining the importance attributed to *kafā'a* by the Ḥanafī system, not by sociological reasons, but by the fact that in this school the woman who had reached the age of puberty was permitted to conclude her own marriage without the assistance of a *wālī* [*q.v.*], even though such a proceeding was considered blameworthy. In these countries therefore the risks of misalliance were much greater for the wife's family than in countries under Mālikī law where the indispensable assistance of the *wālī* gave an important guarantee to the wife's family. This explains the tendency in certain Mālikī countries (Morocco for example), counterbalancing the relative freedom at present enjoyed by the woman to arrange her own marriage, to introduce in their recent code of personal status attenuated forms of *kafā'a*, unknown to classical Mālikī law.

*Bibliography*: I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 130-3 (= Eng. tr., 123-5); Farhat J. Ziadeh, *Equality (kafā'ah) in the Muslim Law of Marriage*, in *American Journal of Comparative Law*, vi (1957), 503-17; R. Brunschvig, *Métiers vils en Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, xvi (1962), 55-7, with numerous references to classical authors; B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York 1971, 89 ff.; N. J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh, 1964, 49, 94; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de Droit musulman comparé*, Paris—The Hague, 1965, ii, 171-81. (Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

**KAFĀLA** (*ḍamān* in all but the Ḥanafī school), an institution corresponding to some extent to the surety-bond in Western juridical systems, with the difference that the *fuḥahā'* distinguished two types of surety-bond. On the one hand there is the type for which the surety (*kafīl*) is binding to secure only the appearance in court of the debtor (*aṣīl* or *makḥūl*); this, known as the *kafāla bi'l-nafs*, is an institution peculiar to Muslim law. There also exists the *kafāla bi'l-māl*, by means of which the surety stands as a pledge to the creditor (*makḥūl lahu*) that the obligation of the principal debtor will be fulfilled. Moreover, the two types of surety bond may well cover a number of things.

Conditions of validity common to both types of surety-bond. Ḥanafī law insists on a formal agreement between the surety and the creditor, except according to Abū Yūsuf (whose opinion, however, has not prevailed), who regarded the

surety-bond as a unilateral commitment on the part of the surety. This conception was adopted by the other schools in which the surety-bond is an action that is valid solely through the will of the surety. The surety-bond being seen as an act of generosity on the part of the surety, it was deduced that the latter must be able to dispose of it freely; that is he must be in full enjoyment of his capacities, and must not be a minor, madman, nor "prohibited". On the other hand, the creditor being in the position of a donee profits, in Hanafi law (where his acceptance is insisted upon), from the same facilities as any other donee. Only debts and obligations which are capable of being fulfilled by the security in place of the principal debtor may be the object of a surety-bond. Therefore penal obligations and talion (*kiṣās*) are excluded, except in the case of *kafāla bi'l-nafs*, in which circumstances the surety-bond only guarantees the debtor's appearance in court.

a) *Kafāla bi'l-nafs*. This original form of surety-bond underwent a lengthy evolution in all works of *fiḥh* no matter to which school they belonged. The first *Shāfi'ī*s and the Imam al-*Shāfi'ī* in his second teaching were opposed to it: later the *Shāfi'ī* school, "influenced by public opinion and the pressure of necessity", finally permitted it. This surety-bond assumes that judicial proceedings may be instituted against the debtor; it is therefore invalid when the debtor has disappeared after the conclusion of the agreement and it is not known where he may be reached (except in *Shāfi'ī* law, in which trial by default is permissible). For the same reason the bond no longer holds good when the debtor dies, and of course the death of the surety has the same effect.

The schools deal differently with the defaulting surety, that is someone who fails in his obligation to make the debtor appear in court. In the view of the Hanafi school if, after a certain period of grace has been accorded him (for his failure may be due to the temporary absence of the debtor), he is still unable to fulfil his obligations then he is to be imprisoned, at the decision of the *qāḍī*. In these circumstances the Mālikis and Hanbalis give to the surety the benefit of the same waiting period as the Hanafis; if the debtor has still not appeared in court after this period the surety is sentenced to pay the debt of the debtor. *Shāfi'ī* law is less precise on this point, but it does not, under any circumstances, provide for the imprisonment of the defaulting surety.

b) *Kafāla bi'l-māl*. All debts may be bonded, even though their exact total is not known by the surety at the time when he enters into the contract or it is a question of an advance credit in the patrimony of the creditor (except in *Shāfi'ī* law). It is sufficient if the obligation can be fulfilled by a third for the account of the debtor, excluding (as we have seen above) obligations pertaining to the person of the debtor (*ḥadd*, *kiṣās*, fee for contractual release, etc.).

The surety bond is subject to the same restrictive clauses as those attending the principal obligation. From this it is deduced that if the creditor concedes a limit to the surety, the debtor, who has firmly pledged himself, benefits from it also. Nevertheless, in Hanafi law (in which the surety-bond assumes an agreement between creditor and debtor), the creditor is allowed to consent to a limit to the surety and to make the express stipulation that the debtor may not benefit from this. The creditor's release of the surety from his bond does not free the debtor but, in the reverse case, the release of the debtor frees the surety. If, instead of guaranteeing the payment of the debt, the surety takes over the debt this is not

*kafāla* but *ḥawāla* [*q.v.*], that is conveyance or assignment of the debt.

The moment that the debtor's obligation falls due, the creditor has the right to proceed against the principal debtor or the surety as he pleases, or both at once. Therefore in Muslim law there is no benefit of discussion on behalf of the surety as there is in Western law, where the surety can constrain the creditor to begin his proceedings with the debtor, unless there is legal and conventual liability. Only the Mālikī school allows the surety the opportunity of obliging the creditor to begin his proceedings with the debtor when the latter is solvent; the same is true when the debtor is absent, as long as the existence and stability of his goods can be established without difficulty. These conditions hold good in the absence of any contrary stipulations made by the parties concerned. The surety who has paid the reckoning of the debtor has no remedy at law unless the latter asked him to guarantee him and, this being so, he is able to dispose of his goods. In default of one of these conditions, the surety is bereft of any remedy, except in Mālikī law where he always retains his right of legal remedy provided that the discharge of the debt is established.

*Bibliography*: All works of *fiḥh* contain a chapter on *kafāla*. For Hanafi law see particularly Marghinānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1936, iii, 64-73. For the comparison between the schools: Ibn Kudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1368, iv, 534-66; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Muḍīṭahid*, Cairo 1952, ii, 291-4; Dimashkī, *Rahmat al-Umma*, ed. Halabi, i, 194-6; Shirāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, Fr. tr. Bousquet, Algiers, n.d., ii, nos. 136-7; Khallī b. Ishāk, *Mukhtaṣar*, Fr. tr. Bousquet, Algiers 1961, iii, nos. 218-20; J. Schacht, *Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 158-9. (Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

AL-KAFF ('ilm-), a divinatory process which belongs to the realm of physiognomy [see *FIRĀSA*], and designates more specifically chiromancy, or the art of deducing the character of a person according to the shape and appearance of the hands, whereas chiromancy proper is designated by '*ilm al-asārīr* (lines of the hand) or *khūṭūṭ al-yad*. One can also say *naẓar fi 'l-yad*, *firāsat al-kaff*, '*alāmāt asārīr al-kaff* (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, 393 ff.). But the use of the term '*ilm al-kaff* has become general, and this has supplanted the others. It covers both chiromancy and chiromancy; it also includes dactylo-mancy (prognostications drawn from the observation of the finger joints) and onychomancy (divination from the finger nails).

Although this form of divination, considered by the Chinese to be the first step in the science of the occult, has been and continues to be very widespread, literature on the subject remained rare until the Middle Ages (cf., for example, the recent collective work entitled *La divination*, studies collected by A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, Paris 1968, where chiromancy, mentioned only twice, appears to play a very minor rôle in the divinatory tradition).

In the West, a pseudo-*Ciromantia Aristotelis* (cf. L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A catalogue of incipits of Mediaeval scientific writings in Latin*, revised and augmented edition, London 1963, The Mediaeval Academy of America, no. 29, pp. 225, 303, 830) seems to have been at the origin of several short treatises or pamphlets on chiromancy attributed to Albertus Magnus (*op. cit.*, 282, 350), Michael Scott (*ibid.*, 531) and other scholastic theologians. This *Ciromantia*, said to have been translated (from the Greek?) by John of Seville and Adelard (of Bath?), appears to



have been unknown to the Arab translators of the writings of Aristotle. This pseudo-Aristotelian tradition arrived rather late in the Christian East, through the medium of mediaeval Latin works, as can be seen from three Christian manuscripts known to us: a) Beirut, Fac. Or. 271 (no. 579), entitled *Firāsāt al-kaff*, dealing, in a first section of twenty-four chapters, with the nature of the hand and its aspects (with rough drawings), and a second section, also of twenty-four chapters, concerned with the mysteries of life according to the hand; b) Aleppo, P. Sbath, 529, with the same title, done in the 19th century by a monk in Jerusalem (41p.); c) Berlin, Cat. Ahlwardt, 4255, an anonymous work of 55 fol., citing Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, among others.

This Christian tradition, based on Aristotle, was illustrated by numerous authors in the West, such as Antiochus Tibertus, *De chiromantia*, ed. from 1494, Andrea Corvo, *De chiromantia*, frequently ed. since 1513, Jean Indagine, *Introductio in chiromantiam*, published at Lyons in 1582, Jean Belot, Curé of Mil-Monts, teacher of divine and celestial sciences, *Traité de la chiromance*, Joh. Meteham, *Treatise on chiromancy from the Latin of Aurelian*, Joh. Montroy, *Libellus de chiromantia*, Laur. Mendelkern, *Chiromancie*.

In the East, where for once Aristotle was not invoked as the initiator of this art, two traditions come together in Arab divination: the Indian tradition represented by an anonymous work now lost, which was quoted by Ibn al-Nadim (*Fihrist*, 314), *K. Khuṭūṭ al-kaff wa 'l-naẓar fi 'l-yad li 'l-Hind*, and the Hellenistic tradition starting with Polemon of Laodicea (d. 144), the famous sophist of Smyrna, author of the  $\Phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\gamma\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\nu\lambda\iota\alpha$ , of which the original Greek is lost, but which has come to us through an Arabic translation made in the middle of the 3rd/9th century (cf. details and references in *Divination arabe*, 384 ff.).

This Islamic tradition, based on the Indian and the Hellenistic, is represented by a very small number of writings. In addition to the Arab Polemon, who devotes a paragraph to chiromancy (cf. Chap. 4 of the Leiden Ms., ed. and Latin tr. G. Hoffmann, in R. Förster, *Scriptores physiognomonici Graeci et Latini*, i, 201), there are two paragraphs in a *madj-mū'a* of writings on physiognomy from Bursa, of which the first treats "of the signs which result from the measurements of the fingers of the hand" (Hüsayn Celebi 882, fol. 64r-66r) and the second with "signs relative to the large or small number of children which one will have, drawn from the examination of the front face of the thumb" (*ibid.*, fol. 66r-67r; cf. *Divination arabe*, 395, n. 1., where the added *min* should be deleted). If to this are added a folio (99v-100) of Vatican 938, 14 (other references in Brockelmann, I, 508, SI, 924), attributed to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and a page (fol. 240v) of the Ms. 1601 of the Köprülü collection at Istanbul, this constitutes all that has been discovered of this literature. In order to know more about it, we must await the re-discovery of *al-Sab' al-sayyār*, a document dealing with several divinatory techniques, amongst which are *al-kaff* and *maḳādīr al-aṣābi'* (titles reminiscent of the two Bursa texts: the author lived in this town), attributed to the historian Muṣṭafā b. Ḥasan al-Djannābī (d. 999/1590) by Ḥādīdī Khalfā, iii, 576.

Meanwhile, in order to gain a clear idea of the object of this art according to the Arab authors, we have at our disposal two definitions: the first is found in the *K. al-firāsa* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (ed. and tr. Y. Mourad, Paris 1939, 11; cf. the fol. quoted

above) and the second in Ḥādīdī Khalfā, i, 236. From this it appears that chiromancy allows the prediction of the length or brevity of a man's life, his destiny, happy or unhappy, his wealth or poverty, etc., based on the lines of the hand or the sole of the feet by observing whether they are close or far apart, long or short, whether the spaces which separate them are wide or narrow, and by looking at the patterns which they form.

Finally, as in the case of the *Firāsa*, *ʿIlm al-aṣārīr* was applied in medical prognostication. Hippocrates and Galen practised it, as they practised physiognomy (cf. *Divination arabe*, 381 ff.; cf. R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, Leiden 1951, where an appendix is devoted to the "pronostics akkadiens et pronostics grecs", pp. xxxv-xlv). In this respect it would be useful to verify the contents of the *K. Asrār* (= according to al-Rāzī, *loc. cit.*: lines of the hand and of the sole of the foot) *al-nisā'* and the *K. Asrār al-riḳāḳ*, attributed to Galen and translated by Hunayn b. Iṣḥāq (cf. AS 4838, resp. fol. 57v-74v, and 76v-105v; Baḡdatli Vehbi, 1409, fol. 19r-26r and 26v-32v).

*Bibliography*: Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 393-7; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 370; Osman Bey, *Les Imams et les derviches*, Paris 1881, 132. (T. FAHD)

**KAFF**, term used in prosody [see 'ARŪḌ]; term with politico-religious meaning [See ḲŪ'ŪḌ].

**KAFFA** [see KEFE].

**KAFFĀRA**, an expiatory and propitiatory act which grants remission for faults of some gravity. This technical term, which is only employed four times in the *Kur'ān*, is said to have been borrowed from Hebrew *kappārā* (A. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an*, 250; D. S. Margoliouth, art. *Expiation and atonement (Muslim)*, in *Hastings Enc.*) For the reasons set out below, this thesis should be considered as unproven. On the other hand the root *k f r* is undoubtedly Arabic.

Speaking strictly etymologically, *kaffāra* "covers" sins rather than wipes them out. The root, which is frequently used in the *Kur'ān*, in fact means "to cover", "to cover a thing or person so that it is hidden from view". The renegade is called *kāfir* [*q.v.*] because his heart is wrapped in blasphemy; the same word refers to the night, for then things are shrouded in shadow (*LA*, root *k f r*). Thus the *kaffāra* is intended to cover wicked deeds with a veil so that they are concealed. From this point of view, fault and expiation are regarded in a material sense, the moral content developing rather later.

Comparison with other Semitic languages leads to a closer understanding of the original meaning of the root *k f r*. In Syriac, *kefar* means to wipe, and the fault would seem to be seen as a stain which must be removed. Similar conceptions lie behind *kapāru* in Assyrian, for it has the meaning of to wipe, to remove, to clean. The form *kuppuru* expresses the idea of a magico-medical operation by means of which an illness is driven away or a demon expelled. In Hebrew, *kippēr* appears to be close to the Arabic meaning. According to Ed. König, "cover" is the only appropriate translation. True, this scholar's opinion has been criticized and *kippēr* can also have the meanings of to rub, to blot out and to wipe. The dominant idea is of expiation. Thus the *kōfer* is simply a ransom, the expiatory sum of blood; the *kappō-reth* is the region of the Ark which acts as a lid and serves as the instrument of expiation; finally,

*kaffārā* is specifically the expiation of a fault and wiping out of a blemish by means of a victim whose blood is used to rub or sprinkle the person or thing that is to be purified.

It is tempting, therefore, to consider that the ancient Arabs held a material conception of the remission of sins. It should be noted here that other Arabic words currently used to signify pardon also conjure up the image of an object to be hidden or a stain to be wiped away. This is true of the Qur'anic terms *ghafara*, 'afā and *ṣafaha* (XXIV, 22, LXIV, 14), which have the sense of to cover, to efface, to smooth away; in the same way *maḥā*, to erase by rubbing or covering, has the meaning of to pardon. Furthermore, according to al-'Umarī the Arabs sought pardon for their misdeeds by confessing them before an assembly and requesting those whom they had wronged to bury their misdemeanours. This act, known as *dafn al-ḥunūb* [see *ḤUNŪB*, *DAFN AL-*] was enacted physically.

Although etymologically *kaffāra* may be understood as "that which covers" sin, it should be noted that this meaning figures least in the Qur'an, where essentially the root has the sense of to repudiate, to redeem, to pardon. In addition, the verb *kafara*, to be a renegade or infidel, often appears alongside *āmana*, apparently its antonym (III, 156, IV, 137, XXIX, 12); the form *kaffara* is employed with the sense of to erase (III, 195, IV, 31, V, 12, 65); *kufrān* expresses forgetfulness (XXI, 94) and annihilation (while demolishing the sanctuary of al-'Uzzā, Khālid b. Walid says: "Your annihilation and no longer your glory", *kufrānaki lā subḥānaki*). It is therefore hardly surprising that *kaffāra* is employed essentially in the sense of atonement: the *kaffāra* for perjury and violating the ban on hunting when in a state of *ihrām* is the manumission of a slave, fasting or the distribution of food or clothing to the poor (V, 89<sup>a</sup> and 95). Yet this is also a propitiatory act from which the idea of expiation seems lacking: "If a man grants pardon [for talion, this] will be a *kaffāra* for him" (V, 5).

Therefore it is evident that *kaffāra*, in its Qur'anic conception, is obtained without the help of a blood sacrifice, unlike the levitical system, where the means of expiation is usually blood. We have thus eliminated the notion that this is a borrowing from Hebrew in spite of the similarity of pure form.

Other instances where the sinner must do penitence are dealt with in the Qur'an: an attack on the physical integrity of the person (IV, 92), pronouncing the *ṣiḥār* oath (LVIII, 4), breaking the rules of fasting during Ramaḍān (II, 183 f.), violating the prohibitions of the pilgrimage (II, 195; V, 94, 95). In fact there are no grounds for claiming that these were cases of *kaffārāt stricto sensu*, and it is by analogy that *fiḥh* applies this term to acts (fasting, liberation of a slave, feeding the poor, sacrifice) on whose exact nature the Qur'an is silent (is it a case of redemption, expiation or propitiation?). It is also advisable to stress that *fiḥh* tends to regard *kaffāra* as a punishment ('iḳāb, *ḍjazā'*; cf. Ibn Ruṣḥd, *Bidāyat al-mudjītahid*, Cairo 1335, i, 212; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-ḥudūd*), which is not exactly the position of the Qur'an, where there is a distinction between *ḍjazā'* and *kaffāra* (V, 95) and the latter is even considered a propitiatory act (V, 45). Following the standpoint of the legal schools, as is obligatory, the acts by which *kaffāra* can be obtained include blood sacrifice, to be exact the *ḥady* for complete infringement of the rules of the pilgrimage, particularly those of *ihrām*.

The expiatory nature of Islamic sacrifice is brought out especially by the rôle of the blood redeemer (J. Chelhod, *La sacrifice chez les Arabes*, 59, 174 f.). The Bedouins too believe that the blood of a victim gives protection against epidemics, averts ill fate, banishes the wrongdoer and casts out chthonian spirits. Such beliefs were widespread among ancient Semitic peoples. In Babylonian ritual, purification and atonement are obtained through blood sacrifice. As we have seen, the same means were used to obtain expiation in the levitical system. The Mineo-Sabians confessed their sins publicly and atoned for them by offering a bleeding victim (G. Ryckmans, *La confession publique des péchés en Arabie méridionale préislamique*, in *Le Muséon*, lvi, 1-14).

*Bibliography*: Apart from works cited in the text, W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*; M.-J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*; R. P. Madebielle, art. *Expiation*, in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplément; S. R. Driver, art. *Expiation and atonement* (*Hebrew*), in *Hastings Enc.*; L. Moraldi, *Espiazione sacrificale e riti espiatori*, in *Analecta biblica*, v, Rome (Pontificia institutio biblica) 1956.

(J. CHELHOD)

**KĀFILA** [see *TIDJĀRA*].

**KĀFĪL** [see *KAFĀLA*].

**KĀFIR** (A.), originally "obliterating, covering", then, "concealing benefits received" = "ungrateful"; this meaning is found even in the old Arab poetry and in the Qur'an, Sūra XXVI, 18. In the Qur'an the word is used with reference to God: "concealing God's blessings" = "ungrateful to God", see Sūra XVI, 57 and XXX, 33: "That they are ungrateful for our gifts"; cf. also Sūra XVI, 85. The next development—probably under the influence of the Syriac and Aramaic where the corresponding development took place earlier—is the more general meaning of "infidel" which is first found in Sūra LXXIV, 10 and is henceforth very common; plural *kāfirūn* or *kuffār*, once (Sūra LXXX 42) *kafara*. The term is first applied to the unbelieving Meccans, who endeavour to refute and revile the Prophet: Sūra L, 2 and elsewhere. The subject of incredulity is sometimes more nearly defined with added *bi-*, e.g., Sūra XXXIV, 33: "We do not believe in your mission"; Sūra VI, 89. In the early Meccan period a waiting attitude towards the unbelievers is still recommended (Sūra LXXXVI, 17; LXXIII 10 f.; see also Sūra CIX entitled *al-Kāfirūn*), but later the Muslims are ordered to keep apart from them (Sūra III, 114, also 27), to defend themselves from their attacks and even to take the offensive against them (Sūra II, 186 and elsewhere). In most passages the reference is to unbelievers in general, who are threatened with God's punishment and Hell [cf. the article *DIJAHANNAM*].

In the literature of Tradition also the *ḥadīths*—with minute elaboration in details—deal partly with the fate of the *kāfir* on the day of judgement and his punishment in hell, and partly with the believer's attitude towards him. For the rest they reflect the great controversy in early Islam on the question whether a Muslim should be considered a *kāfir* for committing a "major sin" (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Kit. al-Imān*, Bāb 22). Thus we find *ḥadīths* such as: "If a Muslim charges a fellow Muslim with *kufr*, he is himself a *kāfir*, if the accusation should prove untrue"; or "The reproach of *kufr* is equivalent to murder" etc. Nevertheless, *kāfir* in theological polemics is a fairly frequent term for the Muslim protagonist of the opposite view (see further *TAKFIR*).

Eternal damnation for the *kāfir* has remained an

established dogma in Islam. In the dogmatic controversies of the early centuries the reasons were discussed for which a Muslim could be identical with a *kāfir* and have to suffer eternal punishment. The most tolerant is the view of the Murdji'a that all the *Ahl al-Kiḥla*, even if they commit a mortal sin (*ḥabīra*) are to be considered believers and their ultimate fate is to be left to God. The most striking contrast to this is the strict view of *Khāridjis* (and *Ibādīs*) that every Muslim who dies with a mortal sin—and this means with them every sin which has not been repented of—on his conscience is to be considered just a *kāfir*. For this special case the Mu'tazila assume an intermediate position between believer and unbeliever, the so-called "rejected" *fāsīk* [cf. the article *IMĀN*]. According to Nallino, in the *Riv. degli Studi orientali*, vii, 436 ff., the names Mu'tazila, Murdji'a, etc. [q.v.] are probably closely connected with their attitude on this point.

According to the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi, 459 f., the following kinds of unbelief are distinguished: 1) *kufr al-inhār* = neither recognizing nor acknowledging God; 2) *kufr al-dīhūd* = recognizing God, but not acknowledging Him with words, that is remaining an unbeliever in spite of one's better knowledge; 3) *kufr al-muʿānada* = recognizing God and acknowledging Him with words but remaining an unbeliever (obdurate) out of envy or hatred; 4) *kufr al-nifāḥ* = outwardly acknowledging, but at heart not recognizing God and thus remaining an unbeliever, that is being a hypocrite [cf. *MUNĀFIK*]. Cf. the modernist Muḥammad ʿAbduh's opinion on *kufr al-niʿam*, *kufr khāṣṣ*, *al-Kufr dīhūd al-ḥakḥ*, etc. in his *Tafsīr*, ii, 49, 102, iii, 20, iv, 11.

In the systematic *Fīḥ* books the *kuffār* are discussed in the following passages: 1) in the *Kitāb al-Taḥāra*. For the opinion deduced from Sūra IX, 28 that the unbeliever is unclean, we find all views represented, from the strictest to the most tolerant; just as on all questions of purity, the strictest is the *Shiʿa* which reckons the unbeliever among its *dah naḡīasat*; but on this point al-Nawawī, for example, was particularly lenient; he considers the believer and unbeliever equal as regards purity. The *Ahl al-Kitāb* [q.v.] are usually regarded more leniently than other *Kuffār*; for their benefit for example the questions of the *ahabāʾīk* and of *munākaha* with Muslims are discussed.—2) In the *Kitāb al-Djihād (wa'l-Siyar)*. The *djihād* [q.v.] against the unbeliever inhabitants of the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [q.v.] is a *farḍ ʿala l-kifāya*. The *Ahl al-Kitāb* again occupy a special position as by paying *dizya* and *ḥharāḡi* [q.v.] they become *dhimmīs* [see *DHIMMA*] and can receive *amān* [q.v.] These categories of unbelievers in the *Dār al-Islām* called *dhimmī* and *mustaʿmin* have a legal claim to protection. Another class also distinguished from the mass of the *kāfirūn* are the renegades [see *MURTADD*] for whom the law prescribes death, with the opportunity first of obeying a demand to return to Islām. The others, the unbelievers proper, who in this sense are also called *kāfirūn aṣṣhiyyūn* (or *mushrikūn*, in the narrower sense) have only to expect death or slavery [see ʿABD] if they fall as prisoners of war into the hands of Muslims; if they are fortunate, they may be exchanged or released. (In many cases, e.g., in the gradual advance of Islam into Africa, the distinction between renegades and pagans was difficult to ascertain and there are writings extant which deal specially with this question, cf. Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-Haytamī, *al-Islām bi-Ḳawāḡi al-Islām*, lith. 1293).—3) In several further points the law discriminates between *kuffār* and believers; the very strict interpretation

of the law is however in practice only held by a small minority.

To understand the historical development in the attitude of Islam to the unbeliever, it should be observed that it was settled in the early centuries not so much by religious as by political and social conditions. Even down to the time of the Crusades there prevailed in Islam a tolerance towards the unbeliever, especially the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, such as is impossible to imagine in contemporary Christendom. We find for example Christians in the highest official positions. In this early period there is no question of any religious fanaticism towards unbelievers. It was only aroused and nourished by the repeated wars with unbelievers (Crusades, wars with the Turks). War-psychology, on the other hand, at the time of the wars between Persia and Turkey could even bring it about that the Persians were called *kuffār* in Turkish *setwās* etc. (see Pečewi, i, 311, 319), a name which the Turks themselves had applied to them in the proclamations of the Mahdī of the Sūdān.

Since in the modern period the trend of affairs has apparently been quite in the opposite direction, and Muslims have been more and more impeded in carrying out measures against the *kuffār* by the political decline of Islam and the rise of the unbelieving nations (pressure of the Powers, capitulations, etc.), the very feeling of impotence in face of these facts may have contributed not a little to the strengthening of hatred and to periodical manifestations of it (in massacres etc.). This also explains the grotesque caricature of the *kāfir*, which has sometimes been found in the popular imagination at the present day (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 48 f.) and which is connected with the ideas of the Arch-Kāfir, *Daǧǧal* [q.v.] who bears *k-f-r* on his forehead (cf. I. Goldziher, in *Der Islam*, xi, 178).

It may also be due to the hatred of the Franks (and to dogmatic squabbles) that *kāfir* had developed into a term of abuse, so frequent in the Turkish form *gʿawr* (the Persian *geber* [see *DIĀBIR*] is said to be the same), although in theory it is (*ZDMG*, lviii, 562) affirmed that the Muslim commits a punishable offence if he says to the Christian or Jew: "Thou unbeliever". From the Turkish the word *kāfir* has entered into most Slavonic languages. The Spanish *cafre* and the French *cafard* also go back to *kāfir* or *kuffār*. (Cf. Erwin Rosen [i.e. Erwin Carlé], *Cafard, Ein Drama aus der Fremdenlegion in 4 Akten*, Munich 1914). In two cases *kāfir* has actually become a proper name, the name of a people, the Kaffirs, and of a country, Kāfiristān [q.v.].

*Kāfir* and *kufr* underwent a special development of meaning in the terminology of mysticism. Compare, for example, the well-known verse of Abū Saʿīd [q.v.]: "So long as belief and unbelief are not perfectly equal, no man can be a true Muslim", with the various explanations given in Muḥammad Aʿlā, *Dict. of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger, etc.), s.v., according to one of which *kufr* is just the equivalent of *imān-i ḥakīkī*.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the sources already quoted above, see for the Old Arab poetry *Zischr. d. Dtsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlv, 544.—On the development of *k f r* in Syriac s. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, i, 1798 f., in Aramaic: Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, p. 381 and his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ii, 383 ff.—For the literature of Tradition the whole material is available in the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*

of Prof. A. J. Wensinck, who kindly called my attention to the *hadīths* quoted above (cf. *Handbook*, s.v. *Kāfir*, *Kufr*). Dogmatic: al-Māturīdī, *Sharḥ al-Fiḥh al-Akbar* (Hayderābād 1321), 2 f., 9 et *passim*; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-Mīl wa 'l-Nīḥal* (Cairo 1320), iii, 142 ff.; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ash'ari*, 16 ff.; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 101, 182 f., 202, 205; idem, *Richtungen*, 138, 156, 163, 179; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, 60, note.—For other classifications of *Kuffār* see Muḥ. A'īā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s.v. (and following him, Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, s.v. *Kāfir*); cf. also al-Djurdjānī, *al-Ta'rifāt* ed. Flügel, s.v. *Imān*.—For *Kuffār* in *Fikḥ*: Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten*, 59 ff.; idem, *Vorlesungen*, 182; Juynboll, *Handb. d. islām. Gesetzes*, 173.—Historical: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 183 f.; Becker, *Christentum und Islam*, 15 ff.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms* (Heidelberg 1922), 28 ff., especially 47 ff. On the so-called *Kuffār al-Turk*, of whom Barhebraeus also speaks (*Chronicon*, ed. Bruns u. Kirsch, Leipzig 1789, 324), cf. Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apologet. Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, 296.—*Kāfir* in European languages: Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen*, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, xxxvii, (1888), 68, 154; Dozy and Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden 1869, 245; Diez, *Etymolog. Wörterb. d. roman. Sprachen*, 5. Ausg., Bonn 1887, 435; Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe*, Beirut, 64 f.; Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (1903), s.v. *Caffer*.—On the Mystics cf. now also Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, 23, and idem, *La passion d'al-Hosayn ibn-Mansour al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, p. 99 of the Index. *Kāfir*, *Kufr*, *Takfir* and *Ikfār* have often interested Muslim writers, and there are many titles in Brockelmann, for instance *al-Adjwiba al-fāḫḫira raddan 'an al-milla al-kāfira*, *Risāla fi tā'at al-kāfir*, *Risāla fi muṣāḥabat al-kuffār*, *Risāla fi 'l-kufr wa 'l-imān*, *Djam' alfāz al-kufr*, *Kashf al-qarar 'amman nakaḥa wa-kafar*, *Risāla fi takfir al-shi'a*, *Tanbih al-ghabi 'alā takfir Ibn al-'Arabī*, *al-Khiṣāl al-mukaffira wa 'l-dhunūb al-muḥaddama wa 'l-mu'akhhkhara*, *Takfir al-kahā'ir wa 'l-nāfiya*, *Ikfār al-rawāfiḍ*, *Risāla fi lafz al-kufr wa 'l-ikfār wa 'l-takfir*

(W. BJÖRCKMAN)

**KĀFIRISTĀN** ("land of the unbelievers"), the name of a mountainous region of the Hindu Kush massif in north-eastern Afghānistān, until 1896 very isolated and politically independent, but since the Afghān conquest of that date and the introduction of Islam known as Nūristān ("land of light").

Some older European writers mentioned what might be termed a "greater Kāfiristān", comprising such regions as Kāfiristān in the restricted sense (see below), Laghmān, Čitrāl, Swāt, Badjāw, Gilgit, etc. This corresponds roughly with the mediaeval Islamic region of Bolūr (the Po-lo of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Bolor of Marco Polo), which seems to have extended as far as Baltistān on the borders of Kashmīr and Tibet; the *Hudūd al-'ālam* (end of the 4th/10th century), tr. Minorsky, 121, 369-70, describes Bolūr as a vast country ruled by the Bulūrīn-Shāh who was a Child of the Sun. Modern usage restricts Kāfiristān to the region lying roughly between latitude 35°-36° N. and longitude 70°-71°30' E., bounded on the west by the Panđhīr River valley;

on the east by the mountain range separating the Kunar-Bashgali valley from Čitrāl (sc. the modern Afghān-Pakistani border); on the north by the mountains forming the watershed between the rivers of Kāfiristān draining southwards and those of Mindjān and Badakhshān draining northwards to the Oxus; and on the south by the Kābul River valley. This last southern fringe of Kāfiristān, the regions of Laghmān and Kunar (called by the Afghāns *Kāfiristān-i suflā*), is ethnically Afghān and Pashto-speaking and forms the hinterland of Djalālābād. It is the more northerly region (*Kāfiristān-i 'ulyā*) which is Kāfiristān proper, comprising from west to east the basins of the Alishang and Alingar, of the Pēč or Praisun and the Waigal, and of the Bashgal; above these steep-sided river valleys the Hindu Kush mountains rise almost to 20,000 feet. The inaccessibility of the region had made it a refuge area for a very old group of Indo-European peoples, probably mixed with an older substratum, and for a distinctive group of Indo-Iranian languages, the Kāfirī ones, which form part of the wider Dardic group [see AFGHĀNISTĀN, ii, Ethnography, and DARDIC AND KĀFIR LANGUAGES].

The enduring paganism of the local peoples and their imperviousness to the Islam which came largely to surround them, account for the name Kāfiristān, although an influence from the district names within Kāfiristān of Katwar or Kator and the ethnic designation Kati has been suggested. The distinction of "wearers of black" (Pers. *Siyāh-pūsh*, Pto. *Torkāfir*), comprising five sub-tribes speaking Kati, and "wearers of white" (Pers. *Safid-pūsh*, Pto. *Spinkāfir*), comprising the Prasungeli, Wangeli, Wamais and Ashkuns, is an old one, but does not seem to have any scientific or ethnological basis. Anthropologically, the Kāfirs are dolichocephalic, with abundant, usually dark, hair, but with a noticeable strain of blue-eyed blonds. Whence popular tales that the Kāfirs are descendants of Alexander the Great's troops; a deputation came to Sir William Macnaghten in 1839 at Djalālābād during the First Afghān-British War, claiming kinship with the British troops.

Parts of Kāfiristān were in pre-Christian times probably part of the Greek satrapy of Paropamisā and inhabited by a people called the Kambođjas, mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions. Alexander the Great campaigned in the Kunar valley en route for India (see Sir Thomas Holdich, *The gates of India*, London 1910, 202-4). Then, in early Christian times, it came within the Kushan kingdom and the Buddhist province of Kapiśa, so that southern Kāfiristān, the region known as Lamakān, later Lamghān, was strongly Buddhist, as the survival there of stupas attests (see L. Edelberg, *Fragments d'un stūpa dans la vallée du Kunar en Afghanistan*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, iv/3 (1957), 199-206). It is probable that at this time the ethnic Kāfirs occupied a wider geographical area than in more recent times, but were pushed northwards into the mountain fastnesses.

The Muslims only reached the borders of Kāfiristān through the extension of Šāffārid rule to the Kābul and Panđhīr River valleys (later 3rd/9th century), and then through the establishment of the Ghaznawid sultanate in eastern Afghānistān. It is in the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī that the occurrence of the name Kator/Katwar seems first to arise, when Sultān Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd is mentioned in connection with the *Kutr* (424/1033 or 425/1034) (*Ta'rikḥ-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ḡhanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 407, tr. Arends, *Istoriya Mas'uda*<sup>1</sup>, Moscow 1969, 504).

Mas'ūd's father, the great Maḥmūd of Ghazna, had previously led an expedition in 417/1020-1 against the lion-worshipping infidels of what Gardtzi calls the Nūr and Kīrāt valleys, the first name possibly to be connected with the modern place-name Nūrgal in the lower Kunar valley, i.e., southeastern Kāfiristān (*K. Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāzim, Berlin 1928, 78-9, tr. Bosworth, in *East and West*, N.S. xvi (1966), 341-2; cf. Nāzim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, (Cambridge 1931, 74-5, and Beveridge's Appendix X to her tr. of the *Bābur-nāma*, xxiii-xxiv).

Marco Polo mentions the land of the Pasciai idolators, ten days' journey south of Badakhshān, which may refer to the Kāfirs as much as to the Pashā'īs proper of the south-western fringes of Kāfiristān; a 10th/16th century source, the account of the Muslim expedition of 990/1582 (see below), shows that some of the so-called Kāfirs of that time were in fact Pashā'ī speakers. It is clear, however, that Marco Polo never visited this area himself, but must have relied on reports of the Mongol general Nekūder's march from Badakhshān to Čitrāl and Kašmīr across the Kāfiristān mountains in c. 658/1260 (see Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 155; Cordier, *Notes and addenda to Sir Henry Yule's edition*, London 1920, 23, 25).

En route for his Indian campaign in 800/1398, Tīmūr acceded to the complaints of the people of Andarāb about the depredations of the pagan "Kators and Siyāh-pūsh", and led an expedition via the Khāwak Pass into western Kāfiristān. Some of the Kāfirs are said to have accepted Islam, but this can only have been a temporary conversion; an important part of his troops was ambushed, and he finally retreated (*Malḡūbāt-i Timūri*, in Elliott and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, London 1866-77, iii, 400-8). The Tīmūrid Maḥmūd Mirzā b. Abī Sa'īd (d. 900/1495) is said to have campaigned twice in Kāfiristān, gaining thereby the title of Ghāzi, and Muḥammad Haydar Dughlāt, the future conqueror of Kašmīr, led a raid in 934/1527-8 into what he calls "Bulūristān" (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1912-21, i, 46; Muḥammad Haydar, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, a history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, tr. E. Denison Ross and N. Elias, London 1895, 384-6). Bābur gives a valuable geographical description of southern Kāfiristān, with emphasis on its rich fruits and on the wine produced by the Kāfirs, who exported it to Badjāwr. He also speaks of Muslim *nimṭas* or half-breeds, who were probably converted Kāfirs and who still mixed with the Kāfirs, living at Čaghānsarāy at the confluence of the Kunar and Pēč Rivers (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. i, 210-14, 371-2). Bābur himself made various incursions via the Lamghān district into the southern fringes of Kāfiristān. In the winter of 913/1507-8 he crossed the Bād-i Pišh or Bād-i Pakht Pass linking the lower Alishang and Kābul River valleys, causing an inscription to be carved above the pass commemorating his transit (the existence in modern times of this inscription has been noted by several observers, but it has not so far been scientifically described); in 926/1520 at the Bād-i Pišh Pass again, he received the submission of certain Kāfiri chiefs, who brought gifts of wine (*Bāburnāma*, tr. i, 209, 343-4, 421-3).

In the Mughal period, the *Ṭabaḡāt-i Akbarī* laconically mentions that in 990/1582 the Emperor Akbar, whilst at Djalālābād, sent an expedition against the infidels of Katwar (Elliott and Dowson, *op. cit.*, v, 425). This detail can now be amply supplemented by

the account in 16 *dāstāns* or epic narratives of the Kāḡl Muḥammad Sālim, who accompanied this expedition as a preacher and encourager of the Muslim troops; Kāḡl Muḥammad's work has been edited by G. Scarcia as the *Ṣifāt-nāma-yi Darvīš Muḥammad Ḥān-i Ġāzi, cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Lagmān nell' anno 1582* (Rome 1965). The leader of the expedition, Muḥammad Ḥākim (d. 992/1584 or 994/1586), was Akbar's younger brother and governor of Kābul, and was also a strong adherent of the missionary-minded Naqshbandiyya Šūfi order. The area attacked was the south-western part of Kāfiristān, including the lower basin of the Alishang and Alingar Rivers, where the Muslim forces established various strongpoints against the Kāfirs.

After this period, there is substantially silence until the 19th century, when British travellers and officials began to take an interest in Kāfiristān as a still-independent buffer-zone between British India and the emirate of Afghānistān. Thus Mount Stuart Elphinstone described the topography of the land of the "Seapoosh Caufirs, a strange and interesting people", and gave the pioneering account of the Kāfirs' customs and social organization, based on the reports of a Muslim envoy to Kamdesh in the Bashgal valley (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies, in Persia, Tartary, and India*, London 1842, i, 130-2, ii, 373-87). D. Masson also wrote on Kāfiristān in his *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, London 1842. Col. J. Biddulph, like these previous writers, did not know Kāfiristān at first-hand, though he was familiar with the adjacent regions of Čitrāl, Hunza, Gilgit, etc., and had received deputations of Kāfirs in Čitrāl in 1878. In his *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta 1880), he devoted a chapter to the "Siah Posh", in which he included the Kalash of southern Čitrāl, still today pagan in part, with considerable ethnological comment, and gave specimens of the Bashgali (i.e., Kati) language (*op. cit.*, 126-33, cxlv-cliii). The first European to penetrate deep into Kāfiristān personally was Col. Lockhart, who was heading a mission in 1885-6 to examine the Hindu Kush passes and who spent some days amongst the Katis of the upper Bashgal valley. Soon afterwards, Capt. (later Sir) George Robertson, later British Agent in Gilgit, spent almost a year (1890-1) amongst the Katis at Kamdesh in the upper Bashgal valley adjacent to Čitrāl; his account of the Kāfirs still in their pre-Muslim phase of existence, *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London 1896), remains a classic of ethnology.

The paganism of the Kāfirs was a mixture of polytheism and animism. The *Ṣifāt-nāma* of Kāḡl Muḥammad Sālim mentions three of the gods whom the Kāfirs invoked against the Muslims, sc. Pāndād, Sh.r.w.y. and Lāmandī, and Scarcia has suggested a possible connexion with the cult of Śiva, in view of the long exposure of the Kābul River valley to Indian cultural and religious influences (*op. cit.*, cll ff.). Robertson says that the Kāfir pantheon was headed by Imra the creator god, from whom sprang other gods such as Gīsh the war god, the goddess Dīzanē and many lesser ones; there was also much emphasis on demons and evil spirits who needed constant propitiation. The politico-social system was locally-based, tribal and oligarchical. Tribal affairs were directed by a council of senior clan headmen (*jasts*), and 13 magistrates (*ur, urir*) were elected annually for the actual conduct of government. Status was measured by wealth, symbolized

by the giving of feasts and potlatches, and by prowess in warfare, especially when the killing of Muslims was involved. As well as the full tribesmen, there was a class of poor freemen, mainly herdsmen; a class of artisans, the *baris*; and a small slave class, who were captives from warfare and who were considered to be ritually impure. The status of Kāfirī women was low, with polygamy as the norm; marriage was exogamous outside the clan. Note-worthy as part of the material culture of the Kāfirs was the carving of wood into images and into the characteristic stools and chairs. Specimens of these may be seen in the Kābul Museum and in western ones like the Linden-Museum of Stuttgart; and see on the craft, R. Henkl, *The wooden sculptures of Kāfiristan*, in *JRAS Bengal*, Letters, xvi/1 (1950), 65-72, and J. Auboyer, *The art of Afghanistan*, London 1968, Pls. 134-40.

In the 1893 Kābul agreement between Sir Mortimer Durand and the Afghān amir 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān [q.v.], Kāfiristān was left outside the British Indian territory, and the amir in 1895-6 led an expedition into Kāfiristān, bringing the territory under Afghān sovereignty and implanting Islam amongst the pagan Kāfirs (see Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan, *The life of Abdur Rahman*, London 1900, i, 199-202). Today, most of Kāfiristān, now Nūristān, falls administratively within the provinces or *wilāyats* of Laghmān and Kunar, with Mirtalam in the lower Alingar valley as an important centre; the population of the region has been estimated at between 40,000 and 60,000.

**Bibliography:** Most of the detailed studies have been cited within the article. Scarcia's edition of the *Ṣifat-nāma* of Kāḏī Muḥammad Sālim, CVI-CLVI, contains an extensive account of the early history of Kāfiristān. For geography and topography, see W. Barthold, *Istoriko-geograficheskiĭ obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 56-7; M. Voigt, *Kāfiristan*, Breslau 1933; and J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 91-2, 107-10. For a synthesis of the information of Robertson and the earlier writers with recent ethnological and anthropological fieldwork in Kāfiristān, see P. Snoy, *Die Kāfīren, Formen der Wirtschaft und geistigen Kultur*, diss. Frankfurt a/M 1962 (with detailed bibliography on all aspects of the region), and also A. R. Palwal, *History of former Kāfiristan*, 10 parts in *Afghanistan*, xxi-xxiv (Kabul 1968-71). Snoy, *Nuristan und Munḡan*, in *Tribus, Veröffentlichungen des Linden-Museums*, no. 14 (Stuttgart 1965), 101-48, repr. in *Sonderdrucke der Mitglieder der Südasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg*, no. 8, deals with the material culture and artifacts of these two regions and their economic relations. Amongst historical and general works on Afghānistān which include sections on Kāfiristān or refer to the region, see V. M. Masson and V. A. Romodin, *Istoriya Afganistana*, Moscow 1964-5, index; D. N. Wilbur *et alii*, *Afghanistan, its people, its society, its culture*, New Haven 1962, 50-2; M. Klimburg, *Afghanistan, das Land im historischen Spannungsfeld Mittelasiens*, Vienna 1966, 133-4; and W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan, a study of political developments in Central and Southern Asia*<sup>3</sup>, London 1967, 5, 57-60.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KĀFIRKŪB**, which is recorded only in the plural form *kāfir-kūbāt*, is formed from the Arab word *kāfir* [q.v.] (impious, unfaithful) and the present participle of the Persian verb *kūbidan* (to strike, to crush). It

denotes a club, literally a "heathen-basher". The term is testified, in 'Irāq, from the end of the 2nd/8th century, by Arab writers and chroniclers: al-Djāhīz, Abū Hanīfa al-Dīnawarī, etc. (see *Bibl.* below), but al-Ṭabarī already cites it when describing the incidents arising in 66/685 during the revolt of al-Mukh-tār [q.v.], and his Shī'ite followers, al-Khashabiyya [q.v.], who were given the name because they fought with *khusḥub* (clubs; see De Goeje, *Glossary to al-Ṭabari*, CCXXI, CDLV); however, other interpretations of the name of this sect have been put forward (see *TA*). According to Abū Hanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 343, the appellation *kāfir-kūbāt* originated on the contrary in the uprising of Abū Muslim's [q.v.] followers in Khurāsān: *indjafal al-nās 'alā Abi Muslim min Harāt . . . fa-lawāfaw djami'an musawwi'di 'l-thiyāb wa-had sawwadū ansāfa al-khusḥub allatī ma'ahum wa-sammawhā kāfir-kūbāt*: "the men converged on Abū Muslim from Herāt. . . they arrived dressed entirely in black and had also blackened the short clubs they called *kāfir-kūbāt*".

It should be noted that this term does not appear in such Arab dictionaries as the *LA*, *Kāmūs*, *TA*, etc., nor in Desmaison's French-Persian dictionary. Nor does it seem to have been used outside the 'Irāqī sphere. It is not to be found in the works of Egyptian writers such as al-Makrīzī or al-Kalkāshandī, who use the term *dabbūs* for a club; Ibn Khaldūn does not employ it nor does Dozy mention it. It would thus seem to be a term born of a particular period and in a relatively circumscribed area which swiftly became obsolete.

**Bibliography:** Djāhīz, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbl, i, 142 (in an anonymous verse); idem, *Rasā'il*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 20 (in a list of arms carried by the Turks); Abū Hanīfa Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Cairo 1330, 343, \*Cairo 1960 (in connection with the uprising of Abū Muslim's followers); Ṭabarī, ii, 694, i. 15 (the year 66/685, in connection with al-Khashabiyya), iii, 1686, l. 13, 1587, l. 4, 1689, i. 17 (the year 251/865, in connection with the war waged by the pro-al-Amīn 'Ayyārūn of Baghdād against al-Ma'mūn); Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 114 = ed. Pellat, iv, § 2328 where *kāfir-kūbāt* has been substituted in an anecdote concerning Umm Salama, the wife of Caliph al-Saffāh; *Aghānī*, ed. Dār al-kutub, iv, 346 (another anecdote concerning the same caliph); De Goeje, *Glossary to Ṭabari*, CDLV; I. Friedlaender, *The heterodoxies of the Shītes*, in *JAOS* (xxix), 1908, 93-5. (M. CHOUÉMI)

**KĀFIYA** (A.), plur. *ḥawāṣin*, term in prosody, meaning "rhyme". Goldziher (*Abh. zur Arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896, i, 83-105; cf. R. Blachère, *Deuxième contribution*, in *Arabica* vi (1959), 141) has shown that the word meant originally "lampoon", then "line of poetry", "poem" and, that these earlier senses survived in Islamic times after the word had also come to be used in the technical sense of "rhyme". He derives *kāfiya* from *ḥafan*, "nape of the neck" (and the corresponding verb *ḥafā*, "to hit the nape of the neck") and draws attention to passages in which lampoons and curses are compared to dangerous missiles wounding the head or other parts of the body. The native lexicographers connect the term in various ways with the verb *ḥafā* in the sense of "to follow" (e.g., it "follows upon every line of poetry"). They believe that "rhyme" is the original meaning and that "line of poetry", "poem" are secondary (see Freytag, *Darstellung*, 296-7).

The theory of the *kāfiya* is usually considered a special science distinct from the 'ilm al-'arūd or

"science of metre" [see 'ARŪP]. It teaches how verses should end as regards consonants and vowels and which letters can be used as rhyme consonants and which not.

Many authorities attribute to Khallī b. Aḥmad [q.v.] a definition according to which the *kāfiya* comprises the group of consonants beginning with the vowelised consonant (one version says: the vowel of the vowelised consonant) immediately preceding the last two quiescent consonants of the verse, but various other definitions are attributed to him as well as to later authorities (Ibn Kaysān, *K. talḥīb al-ḥawāfi*, 48, 54, asserts that Khallī b. Aḥmad used the term *kāfiya* in the sense of "rhyme consonant"). According to the Arab view a verse always ends in a quiescent consonant, since they also consider as such the *alif wāw*, and *yā* of prolongation. A distinction is made, however, between a *kāfiya* in which the rhyme consonant is not followed by a letter of prolongation, called *kāfiya muḥayyada*, "fettered *kāfiya* (as in *yaktul*), and a *kāfiya* to which such a letter of prolongation is attached (as in *yaktulā*, *yaktulī*, *yaktulā*). In the case of *ū* and *ī* the *wāw* and *yā* of prolongation are usually not written and their presence (in a vowelised text) is marked only by a *ḍamma* or *kasra* added to the rhyme consonant. This type of *kāfiya* as well as the various types where the rhyme consonant is followed by a short vowel and a vowelised or quiescent *hā* is called *kāfiya muḥlaḥa*, "loose *kāfiya*" (some speak of the *rawī muḥayyad* and the *rawī muḥlaḥ*, the "fettered rhyme consonant" and the "loose rhyme consonant").

The consonants of the *kāfiya* are six in number: (1) the *rawī* or rhyme letter which, since it occurs in every type of *kāfiya*, is considered its principal consonant after which famous poems are often named, e.g., the *Lāmiyya* of al-Shanfarā, the *Tā'īyya* of Umar b. al-Fāriḍ; (2) as an annex to the *rawī*, the *waṣl* or *šila*, i.e., a letter of prolongation following the *rawī* (as noted above the *alif* is the only one that is always written in this capacity). The *waṣl* can also consist of a vowelised *hā* preceded by a short vowel (as in *yaktuluh*, *yaktulih*, *yaktulah*) or a *hā* followed by a letter of prolongation and preceded by a short vowel; (3) the *ḥhurūḍī*, the letter of prolongation following the *hā* as *waṣl* (as in *yaktuluhū*, *yaktuluhū*, *ta'šihī*, etc.). Being a letter of prolongation it is considered quiescent, but indicated only in the case of *alif*; (4) the *riḍf*, i.e., the *wāw* and *yā* immediately preceding the *rawī* as letters of prolongation or to mark the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*, and the *alif* as letter of prolongation in the same position; (5) the *ta'sis*, an *alif* of prolongation placed before the *rawī* and separated from it by a consonant, the *dakḥīl*, which may be changed at will. In case the *ta'sis* and the *rawī* belong to different words, the second word should be a separate pronoun or a preposition with a pronominal suffix (as in "annahā *hiyā*, *badā liyā*, but cf. *Luzūm*, 11-2; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfi*, 84-5); (6) the *dakḥīl* just mentioned.

The vowels of the *kāfiya* are likewise six in number: (1) the *maḍīrā* or *mudīrā*, the vowel of the *rawī*; (2) the *naḥādīh*, the vowel of the *hā* serving as *waṣl*; (3) the *tawḍīh*, the vowel before the quiescent *rawī* (according to others also before the vowelised *rawī*); (4) the *ḥaḍhw*, the vowel immediately before the *riḍf*; (5) the *ishbā'*, the vowel of the *dakḥīl* (there is some confusion over this term since it is sometimes limited to the vowel of the *dakḥīl* in a *kāfiya muḥlaḥa*, and is also reported to have been applied to the short vowel preceding the *rawī* in a *kāfiya muḥlaḥa* with out *ta'sis*); (6) the *rass*, the vowel immediately

before the *alif* of the *ta'sis* (always *a* of course).

The two quiescent consonants of the *rawī* may be separated by as many as four vowels. Thus five different types can be distinguished: (1) the *mutakāwis* in which the two quiescent consonants are separated by four vowelised consonants (as in *faw[ḥa ḥadami]h*); (2) the *mutarākīb* in which three vowelised consonants stand between the two quiescents (as in *fī[ḍjabali]y*); (3) the *mutadārīk* in which two vowelised consonants separate the two quiescents (as in *ḥad[fa'a]l*); (4) the *mutawātīr* in which there is one vowelised consonant between the two quiescents (as in *bā[li]y*); (5) the *mutarādīf* in which the two quiescent consonants come in immediate succession. This happens in principle only in *kāfiyas* with a *riḍf* (*ḥāl*, *layl*, etc.) and forms like *al-naḥr* are rare and not considered permissible by some scholars.

Two different types of *kāfiya* may not be used in one and the same poem, except in certain forms of the metres *sarī* and (rarely) *ḥāmil* where *fa'ilun* may alternate with *fā'ilun*. Nor are any changes allowed in five of the six consonants mentioned above (the *dakḥīl* being the exception), and, generally speaking, in the vowels (see the exceptions noted below). Violations of these rules were designated at an early date by special terms on the meaning of which considerable uncertainty existed at first (see Bonebakker, *The Kitāb naḥd al-shi'r*, Leiden 1956, Intro., 20-2, 25-6, 34-5; *Blachère, op. cit.*, 137-40, 149-50): (1) the *ikwā'*, the change of the vowel *maḍīrā*. The older poets occasionally allow themselves to alternate *u* with *i* (see J. Fück, *Arabiyya*, Paris 1955, 41; al-Aḥfash al-Awsaṭ [q.v.]; *K. al-Ḳawāfi*, 42, suggests that this change was very common), and less frequently *u* or *i* with *a*. If, however, the *rawī* is followed by the letter *hā* as *waṣl*, the *ikwā'* seems to be rare (*Luzūm*, 32-3; but cf. *Ḳd*, v, 508); (2) the *ikfā'*, the substitution of a cognate letter for the *rawī*, e.g., *nūn* for *mīm*, the substitution of a letter that is unrelated being sometimes designated by the special term *idjāza* or *idjāra* (for other interpretations of these terms see *Umda*, i, 132-3, 143-4; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfi*, 134); (3) the *sinād*, a violation of rules applying to vowels and consonants that precede the *rawī*, namely (a) the *sinād al-tawḍīh*, the changing of the vowel immediately preceding the quiescent *rawī*, though the interchange of *u* and *i* is generally allowed and even the alternation of the *a* with the two others occurs frequently; (b) the *sinād al-ishbā'*, the changing of the vowel of the *dakḥīl*, the alternation of the *u* with the *i* being a less serious defect than that of the *a* with the other two (especially in the case of a *kāfiya muḥayyada*, see *Luzūm*, 25-7, 31 and *Umda*, i, 138); (c) the *sinād al-ḥaḍhw*, the changing of the vowel immediately preceding the *riḍf*. The *ḥaḍhw* and the *riḍf* together form the long vowels *ū* and *ī* and the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*. One can alternate *ū* with *ī* and *aw* with *ay* (undesirable in the case of a *kāfiya muḥayyada* according to *Luzūm*, 28-9; cf. also Aḥfash. *K. al-Ḳawāfi*, 15; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfi*, 90, 110-11), but other combinations, e.g., *ī* with *ay* constitute a *sinād*; (d) the *sinād al-riḍf*, the rhyming of a line that has a *riḍf* with one that has not (though occasionally this happens with *aw* and *ay*, the *wāw* and the *yā* being considered consonants in such cases; see *Luzūm*, 21-2 and *Freytag, op. cit.*, 313-4); (e) the *sinād al-ta'sis*, the rhyming of a line that has *ta'sis* with one that has not (though again it may happen that such a line is introduced in a poem without *ta'sis*, especially in cases where the vowel of the *dakḥīl* is *faḥa*; see *Luzūm*, 20-1; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfi*, 130-1; and cf. Aḥfash, *K. al-Ḳawāfi*, 15-6).

It should be noted, however, that no uniformity of opinion exists on the extent to which alternations of vowels are permissible (somewhat different rules apply to strophic poetry, see W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik... des Šaḥīyaddīn Hillī*, Wiesbaden 1956, Intro., 22-3), and that the short vowel immediately preceding the *rawī* in a loose *kāfiya* (for which some adopt the term *ishbā'*) may alternate freely.

Two further defects of the rhyme should be mentioned here, the *īā'* and the *taḍmīn* or *taḥmīm*. The *īā'* occurs when the same word in the same meaning is repeated in the *kāfiyas* of lines belonging to the same poem, though this repetition is permissible in cases where more than seven lines intervene, there is a change of theme, or cases where one of the two words has the article and the other not (for further details, including a stricter interpretation of what constitutes an *īā'* attributed to *Khallī*, see *Akhfash*, *K. al-Kawāfi*, 55-64; *Iḥd*, v, 508; *Wāfi*, 242-3). The *taḍmīn*, "enjambement", occurs when one line runs into another in such a way that the end of the line only gives a complete sense when we add the beginning of the next (for further details see *Ṭaḍmīn*).

The above by no means covers all the defects of the rhyme and the terms for these defects listed by the critics. It also makes no mention of the various defects connected with the common practice of rhyming the first two hemistichs of a poem (see below). For further details see especially *Akhfash*, *K. al-Kawāfi*, 64-8; *Tanūkhī*, *K. al-Kawāfi*, 65-8, 123-4, 135-6; *Umda*, i, 149-54; *Wāfi*, 250-3.

In general the letters *alif*, *hā'*, *wāw*, and *yā'* cannot be used as *rawī*, unless they belong to the root of a verb or noun, important exceptions being the pronominal suffixes *-hu* (*-hi*) and *-hā'* following a long vowel or a *sukūn*, the *wāw* and the *yā'* in the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*, and the *yā'* that is preceded by a long vowel or is itself vowelled, and the *yā'* marking long *i* in a shortened *nisba* ending ('*Adī* for '*Adīyy*'). Thus, for instance, the *hā'* in '*aṣāhū*, the *wāw* in *ramaw*, and the *yā'* in *irḍay* and in *fu'ādiyā* can be *rawī* though these letters are not part of the root, but the *alif* in *daḥḥalā* (inflexion of the dual of a verb), the *yā'* in *uḫṭulī* and *kitābī* (inflexion of the feminine of a verb and pronominal suffix of a noun respectively), the *wāw* in *ḥatalū* (inflexion of the plural of a verb), and the *hā'* in *kitābuhū* (pronominal suffix of a noun) and in *rahmah* (where the *hā'* replaces the feminine ending *t* of a noun) are *waṣl*. The *nūn* of the *tanwīn* and the second energetic form of the verb cannot be used either as *rawī* or as *waṣl*. But there is no agreement on these rules. Exceptions occur and letters belonging to the root, e.g., the *hā'* in *ablah* from *b-l-h* and the *wāw* in *yaḥlū* from *ḥ-l-w*, can also be *waṣl*. Some prefer adopting the pronominal suffixes *-ka* and *-ki* of the second person singular and the *tā'* of the third person fem. sing. of the perfect tense as *waṣl* rather than as *rawī*, so that for instance *ḍarabat* rhymes with *katabat*, but not with *wazanat*. Where the poet doubles the rhyme consonant, adopts a second rhyme consonant, or imposes upon himself some other rule that is not prescribed by the theorists we have the figure *luṣūm mā lā yalzam* [q.v.], also called *illizām*, *i'nāt*, or *tashdīd*.

In the *kāfiya* the final syllables of word are often subject to changes, the most important of which are the following: (1) final short vowels are dropped or lengthened, the *tanwīn* disappearing at the same time (*zayd* or *zaydū* for *zaydun*, *al-nār* or *al-nārū* for *al-nāru*) (2) the *tā'* of the feminine ending may be

changed into *hā'* and in that case the ending is dropped (*rahmah* for *rahmatun*); (3) in the *kāfiya muḥayyada* the vowel of the final letter may be transferred to the penultimate letter if it is unvowelled (*al-naḥur* for *al-naḥru* to avoid the unacceptable form *al-naḥr*); (4) a quiescent *hā'* may be added to verbal forms from which the last letter of the root has disappeared (*iktādih* for *iktādī*) and to the pronominal suffix of the first person singular; (5) the *hamza* at the end of a word may be replaced by a *wāw* or *yā'* of prolongation which may serve as *waṣl* (*hāzi* for *hāzī*). Ibn Kaysān, *Talkīb*, 53-4, 60-1, draws attention to the musical qualities of the *ta'sis*, the *riḍf*, the *ṣila*, and the *khurūdj* as vowels that can be lengthened in recitation and singing, thus marking clearly the end of a metrical unit. Others discuss in detail the practice of *tarannum*, i.e., the lengthening of the final vowel in the *kāfiya muṣṭaḥa* in singing, and three alternate modes of solemn recitation: (a) the method followed by the Ḥijāzīs who pronounced these vowels as long even when there was no *tarannum*, (b) the practice of the tribe of Tamīm (according to *Akhfash*, *K. al-Kawāfi*, 105, also of *Qays*) who pronounced the final vowel with *tanwīn*, and (c) the rejection of final vowels, apparently even in cases where one of these three methods would violate the metrical pattern of the verse (see also *Akhfash*, *K. al-Kawāfi*, 12-3, 34-7; Freytag, *op. cit.*, 323-4, where specific terms for the long vowels are mentioned).

In all classical forms of poetry the same rhyme is maintained throughout the poem. Moreover, the rhyme also appears at the end of the first hemistich of the first line (except in the metre *radīat*[q.v.] where there are no hemistichs), resulting often in a shortening or lengthening of its last foot to make it conform to the pattern of the last foot of the second hemistich. This practice is called *taṣrīf* and the critics note that some of the older poets omit the *taṣrīf* in the first line, but use it in some other line of the poem. They also quote early examples of the use of internal rhyme (see *Kudāma*, *Naḥd*, 14-9; for the possible connections between these examples and the post-classical forms of strophic poetry see E. García Gómez, *Una "pre-Muwaššaha"* in *Al-Andalus*, xxi, 1956, 406-14; E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 227 ff.). The common term for internal rhyme is *taṣrīf*, but a number of other terms was introduced by later theorists to distinguish different and sometimes complicated patterns (see A. F. M. von Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Vienna 1853 [repr. Hildesheim 1970], 168-9, for definitions and examples of some of the most important terms). Other devices include the repetition at the beginning of the line of the rhyme word of the preceding line and the use of a double *kāfiya* throughout the poem, each *kāfiya* marking the end of a metrical pattern (see Mehren, *op. cit.*, 165, 173).

In keeping with the critics' view that each line of poetry should, as far as possible, contain a complete statement, all treatises on rhetoric give attention to questions of style and figures of speech that affect the choice of the rhyme word. Besides formulating some obvious conclusions on how to avoid stopgaps, the critics recommend structuring the line in such a way that the listener can almost predict the *kāfiya*. This may be achieved, for instance, by leading the hearer to anticipate the repetition of a word that has occurred earlier in the line or one of its paronyms, or by making some rhetorical device depend on the last word of the line, e.g., *ḥarām*, "forbidden", in the *kāfiya* to create an antithesis with *muḥallaḥ*, "declared lawful", earlier in the line (*tashīm*, *tawshīh*,



*irsād*, see Mehren, *op. cit.*, 102-3; cf. also 161-4). Some authorities recommend basing the line, if possible, on a *kāfiya* one has selected in advance and Šafadī[*q.v.*] holds that in the *double entendre* (*tawriya*) the effect of the figure will be more striking if the homonym on which it depends comes only at the end (see Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 97). The *kāfiya* should not contain any expression from which an evil omen could be drawn.

**Bibliography:** Discussions of the *kāfiya* appear in almost every work on literary theory and criticism and it is impossible to offer a comprehensive bibliography. The following list, moreover, does not mention treatises and special monographs that have already been summarized in Western handbooks or in the article 'ARŪP.

Akhfāsh, *K. al-Kawāfi*, ed. 'Izzat Ḥasan (Damascus, 1390/1970) (fundamental); Kudāma, *Naḥd al-shi'r*, ed. Bonebakker (Leiden, 1956), 2, 7-9, 19-23, 96-9, 108-11, 140-2; Ibn Kaysān, *K. Tal-kīb al-kawāfi*, ed. W. Wright in *Opuscula Arabica* (Leiden, 1859); Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *'Iyār al-shi'r*, Cairo 1956, 5, 102-11, 127-8; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iḥd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amin et al., v (Cairo, 1365/1946), 496-508; 'Abd al-Bākī al-Tanūkhī, *K. al-Kawāfi*, ed. 'Umar al-As'ad and Muḥyiddīn Ramaḍān (Beirut, 1389/1970); Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *K. al-Šinā'atayn*, Cairo 71/1952, 375-88, 445-51; Marzūqī, *Sharḥ diwān al-ḥamāsa*, ed. Aḥmad Amin and 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn (Cairo, 1371/1951-1373/1953), i, 9, 11; Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, (*Sharḥ*) *Luxūm mā lā yalsam*, ed. Ṭahā Ḥusayn and Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo, n.d.), i, 5-51 (fundamental); Ibn Rashīk, *al-'Umda*, Cairo 1353/1934, i, 129-58, 164, ii, 3-5, 25-33, 54-7, 69-70, 292-3; 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥ. al-Khafādī, *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, Cairo, 1372/1953, 180-1, 183, 186-8, 210-5, 217-25; Tibrīzī, *al-Wāfi fi 'l-'arūd wa-'l-kawāfi*, ed. 'Umar Yaḥyā and Faḥr al-Dīn Qabāwa (Aleppo, 1390/1970); Usāma b. Munqidh, *al-Badi' fi naḥd al-shi'r*, Cairo 1380/1960, 63-72, 116-20, 127-8; Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Maṭhal al-sā'ir*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 242-6, 264-78, ii, 348-53, 359-61; Ibn Abī 'l-Iṣba', *Tahrīr al-Tahbīr*, Cairo 1383/1963, 116-8, 224-41, 263-7, 295-308, 316-20, 386, 391-2, 517-24, 527-31; idem, *Badi' al-Kur'ān*, Cairo 1377/1957, 36-7, 89-93, 100-2, 108-9, 227-38; Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭādījānī, *Minḥādī al-bulaghā*, Tunis 1966, 206-7, 271-84, 285-6; Ibn Hidīdīa, *Khiṣānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304/1886, 78-9, 100-2, 114-6, 119-21, 126-31, 169-70, 173, 234-5, 366, 370-1, 374-5, 422-3, 434-5, 438-9; Ibn Ma'ṣūm, *Anwār al-rabi'*, Naḍīaf 1388/1968-1389/1969, ii, 149-58, iii, 32-8, 45-51, 71-108, iv, 336-55, v, 181-4, 271-5, 333-7, vi, 93-100, 151-2, 162-5, 190-203, 249, 310-3 (the works by Ibn Abī 'l-Iṣba', Ibn Hidīdīa, and Ibn Ma'ṣūm supplement Mehren's *Rhetorik*); G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn, 1830 (reprint Osnabrück 1968), 296-318 (etymologies of technical terms); Silvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*, Paris 1831, ii, 651-61; D. Vernier, *Grammaire arabe*, Beirut 1891, 520-31; W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge 1896-8, ii, 350-8, 368-73 (forms of words in rhyme); A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes jusq'au Ve siècle de l'Hégire*, Damascus 1956, 177-85; Blachère, *Litt.*, 359-60, 264-5, 555-6, 683; H. Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen*, Oslo 1940; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe* (Beirut 1960), 192-3; M. C. Lyons and P. Cacia, *The Effect of Monorhyme on Arabic Poetic*

*Production in Journal of Arabic Literature*, i (1970), 3-13; art. SAḌJ<sup>c</sup>.

(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

AL-KĀFIYADĪJĪ, MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN AL-ḤANAFĪ, 9th-15th century scholar and prolific writer on many subjects. Born in, or rather, after, 788/1386-87 in Šarūkhān [*q.v.*] in a place called Kōkḍjeḳī, apparently situated near Bergama as indicated by the additional *nisba* al-Barghamī, he came to Egypt after 830/1427 and was soon welcomed into the leading scholarly circles there. Çaḳmaḳ appointed him a professor in the Zāwiyat al-Aṣhrāf Ša'bān and later promoted him to the academic deanship (*mashyakhāt al-tadris*) of Ša'bān's Turba. The identical post at the Šaykhūniyya was given him by Ināl in 858/1454. He was a successful teacher as indicated by the names of his students and also by the affection and esteem shown to him by al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī. He died on Friday morning, 4 Ḍjumādā I 879/16 September 1474.

His *nisba*, Kāfiyādījī or Kāfiyādījī, was earned by his fondness for the *Kāfiya*, the famous grammatical treatise by Ibn al-Ḥāḍijib [*q.v.*]. A grammatical work, a commentary on the *Kawā'id al-i'rāb* of Ibn Hiṣhām (Brockelmann, II, 29, S II, 18), was praised by al-Kāfiyādījī's biographers as his most important publication. But his interests were unusually wide, comprising, in addition to points of law and religion, the full range of the linguistic disciplines, history, the mathematical sciences and astronomy, and, above all, logic. His basic work on logic is a commentary on the *Tahdhīb* of al-Taftāzānī (Brockelmann, II, 278, also mss. Laleli 2592 and Bursa Haraḳçı 1378). His numerous treatises (often carrying the date of their composition at the end) are preserved to a large part but, with one exception, have been neither edited nor studied. Most of them are brief essays that focus on specific problems and try to organize the subject matter along general lines based on formal logic. As was noted by al-Sakhāwī, al-Kāfiyādījī thereby founded, or gave the impression of founding, new disciplines as in the case of his treatise on historiography (cf. Bibliography) or, for instance, in a little essay entitled *al-Rawḥ fi 'ilm al-ruḥ* (ms. Atif Ef. 2828, 167a-169b, also Berlin or. fol. 4249, cf. M. Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband*, Wiesbaden 1962, 83), which defines a mystically tinged knowledge of the spirit as a special discipline. His sense of brevity ran in a way contrary to the dominant scholarship of the time, so that his treatment of Kur'ān science, *al-Taysīr fi ḳawā'id 'ilm al-tafsīr* (written for Abū Sa'īd Timurbughā in 856/1452) provoked words of dissatisfaction by the otherwise well-disposed Suyūṭī in the introduction of the *Iḥān*. But in sum, it would seem that al-Kāfiyādījī's writings deserve recognition and study for their author's effort to be interesting and original.

**Bibliography:** al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, vii, 259-61; 'Alī b. Dāwūd al-Djāwharī, *Inbā' al-ḥaṣr*, Cairo 1970, index; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 48 f., and *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*, Cairo 1299, i, 317 f.; Ibn Iyās, in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 5c, 94 f.; Brockelmann, II, 138-140, S II, 140 f.; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1968, 245-62, 547-80, containing the text and translation of the *Mukhtaṣar fi 'ilm al-ta'rīkh*. (F. ROSENTHAL)

KAḤIZ [see KAYL].

KAḤSA (GAḤSA), a town in Tunisia 360 km. south-west of Tunis, 200 km from Kayrawān, and 100 km from Gabès [see KAḤBIS], population 30,000; the chief town of an administrative region with a population of 300,000 whose principal mineral resour-

ces consist of the phosphate deposits of M'Dilla, Metlaoui, Redeyef, and Moularès, which were discovered in 1885. The oasis of Kaḥsa contains about 100,000 palm trees producing dates of second-rate quality, to which must be added orchards of orange trees, lemon trees, apricots and figs, vineyards and, very recently, olive groves and attempts to grow pistachio trees. Irrigation is supplied by copious springs which arise in the heart of the town itself, and also by the sinking of artesian wells. As it is the first oasis on the road from Kayrawān towards the region of the Chotts, and is moreover likely to detain the visitor on account of its prehistoric and classical remains, the town has begun to take an interest in tourism and has therefore been able to take advantage of some recent improvements such as that of the road system and equipment of hotels; development of parks; the restoring of the "Roman baths", the Kaḥaba and the Great Mosque; the partial reconstruction of the Byzantine city wall etc. Handicrafts, consisting mainly of the fabrication of brightly coloured blankets and carpets decorated with simple motifs, are also making some progress.

**History:** Kaḥsa is the Arabic form of the classical name of the city called Capsa, the toponym from which J. Morgan, in 1909, created the term "Capsian" to designate the Upper Paleolithic or Mesolithic type of civilization of which this region was one of the most important centres, as can be seen from the numerous "snaileries" and other traces of prehistoric industries.

When we come to historical times, the past of Kaḥsa is less clear. In particular, it is not known precisely when, nor by whom, the city was founded. It is reputed to have been founded by a god, the Lybian or Phoenecian Hercules, which together with other indications suggests a Punic origin. However no archaeological discoveries have been found to confirm this hypothesis. According to the Arabs, the founder of the city was Shantiyān, the slave (*ghulām*) of Nemrod (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 47/100), the legendary king of Chaldea. In fact the foundation of the city, whose origin is unknown, can be explained by the topography of the site. As S. Gsell says (*Histoire*, v, 279): "there was there a junction of natural routes leading to the oases of the Chotts, to Gabès, to the Byzacena, to Maktar and to Tébéssa". It is by no means impossible that a Punic town should have been established at these crossroads, of benefit to their trade.

In later years the town was part of the Numidian kingdom of Jugurtha who treated it well, even going so far as to exempt it from taxes, in order to keep it in his power. It paid a high price for these privileges, and their corollary, fidelity to the Numidian king. In the course of a daring campaign, Caius Marius, whom Rome had given the task of subduing Jugurtha, took it by surprise and set fire to it (107 B.C.). But it was reborn from the ashes and at the time of Trajan (98-117) became a commune administered by *suffetes*, which gives some indication of an earlier Punic organization which was retained under the Empire. Then came the reign of Diocletian (284-305). The Berbers became more aggressive, and Rome had to resign itself to the gradual evacuation of the area. This withdrawal continued under the Vandals and on the death of Genseric (428-77) Capsa became the capital of a Berber kingdom. Then it returned to the fold of Byzantium in the reign of Justinian (527-65), who had recreated the unity and greatness of the Empire. For a time Capsa even became the chief town of the province of Byzacena.

About the year 540, Solomon built a new city wall, and it received the name of Capsa-Justiniana.

Kaḥsa has now few traces of its sumptuous, ancient past: the "Roman baths", a few columns and capitals, and other remains of lesser value, largely re-used, mainly in the Great Mosque, but also in other buildings of the old town. Yet right up to the 6th/12th century, the town retained the appearance of a classical city, even to the use of a Romanic language unique in Ifrikiya, and the profession of the Christian religion by a large part of the population. Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 47/100), who was writing in the middle of the 5th/11th century, noted that "the town was entirely built on columns (*asāfin*) and arches of marble (*ihkām*)", and that its ancient wall was so well preserved "that it seems as if it was only finished yesterday". A century later al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 75) specified further that "it was inhabited especially by Berbers and that the majority of them spoke Ifrikiyan Latin (*al-lisān al-laḥimī al-ifriki*)"; cf. T. Lewicki, *Une langue romane oubliée de l'Afrique du Nord*, in *RO*, xvii (1953), *passim*.

The first waves of the Muslim conquest swept past the ramparts of Kaḥsa as early as the year 27/647, after the victory of Sbeitla (Sufetula) and the death of the Patrician Gregory. Twenty years later the town was taken by 'Uḫba b. Nāfi', and then, after breaking free of the Arabs with the whole of Ifrikiya, was definitely recaptured by Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān about 78/697-8.

At the end of the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 3rd/9th, the region was largely inhabited by *Khāridjīs*—Luwāta, Zuwāgha and Miknāsa. In 224/839 they took part in the revolt of the district of Kaḥtiliya and were severely punished by the Aghlabid amir Abū 'Ikāl. According to al-Shammākhī (*Siyar*, 203), the imām 'Abd al-Wahhāb (168/784-208/823) had an *'āmil* there; by this is to be understood a tax collector who raised the *ḥur'ānic* taxes from the Ibāḍis and sent them more or less secretly to Tāhart, for the town had never been politically a part of the Rustamid kingdom.

After being under the authority of the Fātimids and then the Zirids, for more than a century Kaḥsa became the capital of a real independent little state including the whole of the land of Kaḥtiliya, present day Djērid, (445/1053-554/1159). The Hilālī invasion had profoundly modified the political context and the ethnic equilibrium of the area. The authority of the central government collapsed, and anarchy reigned everywhere. The Zirid governor of the town, 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. al-Rand, in common with others proclaimed himself independent (445/1053-465/1073) and, by paying tribute to the Arab nomads—above all the Riyāh—with whom he formed an alliance, he strengthened his authority and the security of his realm, attracting to his court poets and *ṣuḥabā'*.

The rule of the Almohads, who united the whole of the Maghrib, put an end to the independence of Kaḥsa. The town was taken in 554/1159 by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī after a quite difficult siege. From that time, like all the south of Ifrikiya, it had a troubled existence. There were attempts to take it from the Almohads by an adventurer of Armenian origin, *Qarāḳūsh*, and above all by the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*]. The Banu 'l-Rand on their part would not admit they were defeated. This dynasty was restored by Ibn al-Mu'izz at the request of the inhabitants, dissatisfied with their Almohad governor, whom they had put to death. The caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf came from Marrakesh to lay siege to the town in person

(575/1180), but its submission did not last long. In fact it soon fell into the hands of the Banū Ḥhāniya. It was then the turn of al-Manṣūr to besiege it with a powerful army (583/1187-8). This time Kaḥsa was severely punished: its ramparts were completely razed, and the inhabitants were permitted to retain their lands only as sharecroppers.

During the Ḥafṣid period, the life of the city was no more tranquil. It was taken by the pretender—or usurper—Ibn Abī 'Umāra (681-3/1282-4) in 681/1282. Then it regained its former independence under a local dynasty, that of the Banu 'l-'Ābid who were in favour of Arab predominance. The Ḥafṣid Abū Bakr (718/1318-747/1347), whose very turbulent reign was marked at the beginning by the loss of the southern provinces, besieged it in 735/1335, retook it, and handed it over to be governed by his son Abu 'l-'Ab-bās. At the same time, by grants of land to needy inhabitants, he tried to make it more attached to his rule. However, following the brief Marīnid hegemony (748-50/1348-50), it was not long before it recovered its autonomy once more under the rule of Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. al-'Ābid, then that of his son Muḥammad. Abu 'l-'Abbās (772/1370-796/1394) had to reconquer his kingdom. In 780/1378 he came to lay siege before Kaḥsa, ravaging its oasis in order to force the inhabitants to capitulate, and left his son Abū Bakr there as governor. Thanks to the disturbances which followed the death of the governor al-Turayki (793/1391), a certain al-Dunaydin restored the dynasty of the Banu 'l-'Ābid for his own ends. Abu 'l-'Abbās had to intervene once again. About the middle of 795/spring 1393, he again laid siege to the town, again laid waste the palm grove, experienced some failures, and with considerable difficulty at length succeeded in gaining control of the situation a few months before his death. This lasted for a short time only. The Banu 'l-'Ābid again arose in the town under his successor Abū Fāris (796/1394-837/1434) who was in his turn obliged to capture it (802/1400), and raze its ramparts, eliminating definitively the rebel dynasty. Some decades later Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir (837-9/1434-5) paid a visit to the town and improved the Kaḥaba endowed by his predecessor.

From this time on Kaḥsa is rarely mentioned in history. After a fruitless attempt in 957/1550, Dragut [see TURGHUD], made governor of Tripoli by the sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent (1520-66), succeeded in taking it on 17 Ṣafar 964/20 December 1556. The Turkish occupation failed to restore prosperity. Subsequently, under pressure both from the nomads and a central government incapable of protecting it, it continued to decline until it became merely a minor town of little importance, which was occupied without difficulty by the French (20 November, 1881), when the protectorate was established.

Historical geography. — Kaḥsa is a steppe town which rises between the Orbata mountains in the south-east, and the Assalah and Ben Younès mountains in the north and north-west, on a high point at an altitude of 345 m. in a position which, in historical times, has always had a rather desolate appearance. It was a typical example of a fortress-town depending for its importance on its water reserves in an otherwise arid region, and its position which made it, according to Ch. Tissot, "both one of the gateways to the Sahara and one of the keys to the Tell" (*Geographie*, ii, 668). Sallust (86-35 B.C.) while describing it as a "large and strong city", already stressed the vast and lonely deserts which isolated it and made access to it difficult for invading armies.

Thanks to these advantages, Kaḥsa was able to maintain its importance and prosperity right up to the end of the Classical era, despite the decadence of Byzacena. After the Arab conquest its importance grew even greater. We have noted that it kept the appearance and style of a Classical city for many years. About the end of the 3rd/9th century, al-Ya'qubī, who is the first Arab geographer to leave some detailed personal observations about this town, described it thus: "A fortified town, surrounded by stone walls. There are springs in the interior of the town; the streets are paved. The suburbs are very prosperous, and the fruit there is famous" (*Les Pays*, 212). In the middle of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawqal—who was at Kayrawān in 336/947 (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 94, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 92)—informs us that Kaḥsa was an "autonomous (*mustakilla*)" town, and that "its prosperity was perfect (*fi ghāyat al-kamāl*)" before 330/942, at which date it was devastated by Abū Yāzīd [q.v.] (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 92, tr., 93). It must have recovered quickly from these devastations. In fact, towards the end of the 4th/10th century, al-Muḥaddasi (d. 378/988) counts it among the great centres of Ifrikiya. In the middle of the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī (d. about 461/1068), who had not visited the country and in general reproduces the Ifrikiyan al-Warrāḳ (d. 363/973-4), gives us a very favourable description of it. This description, which is one of the most detailed we possess of the mediaeval stronghold, lays emphasis on the Classical monuments, still in an excellent state of repair, its gushing springs, providing an abundant supply of water for its orchards, which produced, among other things, large quantities of pistachios exported to all parts of Ifrikiya, and even to Egypt, to Sidjilmāsa and to Spain. There were also to be found, he adds, dates as big as pigeons' eggs. In the surrounding area there were no less than two hundred villages, called *Kuṣūr Kaḥsa*, all flourishing. Lastly, and the final uncontrovertible indication of wealth, he informs us that the taxes raised there furnished no less than 50,000 *dinārs* to the Treasury. It is certain that this description related to the highest degree of prosperity attained by the town, probably at the time of al-Warrāḳ, that is the end of the 4th/10th century. This prosperity was doubtless maintained during the following century, that of al-Bakrī, despite the invasion of the Hilālīs with whom the Banu 'l-Rand succeeded in finding a *modus vivendi* which, though costly, was at least acceptable. The town continued to flourish until the middle of the 6th/12th century, when al-Idrisī was writing, and he described it as "a fine town (*madīna ḥasana*)", with its walls still intact, its abundant water supply, its well stocked markets, its numerous traders, its industries in full expansion (*sinā'a kā'ima*), its vast palm grove producing dates of magnificent quality (*ʿadḥīb*), its populous villages, its gardens, its orchards, and its varied plantations providing, amongst other things, henna, cotton and cumin, all of which were highly prized in the Middle Ages.

From the time of the Almohads, the scene changed. The town, jealous of its independence, rebelled frequently, and paid a high price for its excessive love of freedom. Several times over, as we have seen, its ramparts were razed and its palm grove laid waste. Its economic decline can be traced back to that time. In the 7th/13th century, Yāqūt (574/1178-626/1229), though he recounts its former splendours, mentions it at the time only as "a small town (*balda ṣaḥīra*) on the borders of Ifrikiya. . . in the middle of a sterile saline region" (*Buldān*, iv, 382). Its sur-

rounding villages, which were the most exposed to devastation, disappeared. In the time of Ibn al-Shabbāḥ (618/1221-681/1282), reproduced by al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡī (*Hulal*, i, 437), "only a few of them survived". In the middle of the 10th/16th century, Leo Africanus, after reporting the destructions ordered by al-Manṣūr, wrote: "Today Caphsa is completely repopulated, but its buildings are only small, with the exception of a few mosques. Its streets are very wide and paved all over with black stone like those of Naples and Florence. The population is under control, but poor on account of the taxes by which they are burdened by the king of Tunis" (*Description de l'Afrique*, ii, 444). He continues, pointing out that its climate is unhealthy, and praising its cloths, its pottery, its dates, its orange trees and its olive trees, which gave "an oil as perfect in taste as in colour". After this it is not until the 19th century, that is in the accounts of travellers such as Guérin, Zaccane and Mayet, that we have other descriptions of the town, which in fact was then no more than a wretched village.

*Bibliography: Geographical sources* (in chronological order): Ibn Khurrādādhbih, *Masālik*, and Ibn al-Fakīh, *Buldān*, partially ed. and tr. Hadj-Sadok under the title *Description du Maghreb*... , Algiers 1949, 6-7 and n. 74, 30-1; al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Cairo 1937, 212; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Ard*, Beirut n.d., 87, 92 (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 92, 93); Muḡaddasī, *Aḥsān al-taḡāsim*, partially ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat under the title *Description de l'Occident*... , Algiers 1950, 4-5, 64-5; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Paris 1965, 14 and 35, 47 and 100-2, 75 and 153, 148 and 284; Idrīsī, *Nuḡha*, partially ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 75, 80, 89; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 382-3; Tiḡḡānī, *Rihla*, Tunis 1958, 114, 136-9, 147, 353, 356-7; Ṣaḡī al-Dīn al-Baḡhdādī, *Marāsiḡ al-Iḡḡlā*, ed. 'Alī Muḡammad al-Biḡḡāwī, Cairo 1954, iii, 1113; Jean-Léon l'Africain (Leo Africanus), *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 443-5; al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡī, *Hulal*, ed. M. H. al-Ḥīla, Tunis 1970, i, 368, 379-81, 388, 436-7, 488, 1005, 1073; V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, i, 270-87; Zaccane, *Notes sur la régence de Tunis*, Paris 1875, 208-16; Céalais, *De Sousse à Gafsa*, Paris n.d., 153-213; V. Mayet, *Voyage dans le sud de la Tunisie*, Paris, 1887, 171-86. Studies: L. Balout, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1955, 387-448; Bodereau, *La Capsa ancienne et la Capsa moderne*, Paris 1907; A. Bouhdibam *Les conditions de vie des mineurs de la région de Gafsa*, Tunis 1968, *Études de Sociologie tunisienne*, i, 165-233; R. Brunshvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, Paris 1940-47, i, 3, 6-9, 21, 149, 150, 158, 174, 189-90, 207-8, 305, 328, ii, 105-6, 186, 199, 220, 280; J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1958 (see index); Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896, i, 126, 169, ii, 388, 391, 529, 560, 572; L. Foucher, *Hadrumentum*, Paris 1964, 262, 321; J. Ganiage, *Les Origines du protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1959, 138, 145, 171; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-28, ii, 89-9, v, 204, 278-9, vii, 231-5; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, i, 222-3, 396-9, ii, 470-1; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, ii, 271; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970, 117, 173, 220, 309; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie*, 1881-1911, Paris 1965, i, 243-4, 260-5, 276-8; A. Sa'd Zaghūl, *Ta'rikh al-Maḡarib al-'Arabī*, Cairo 1965, 113, 141-3, 190-1;

M. Talbi, *L'Émirat Aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 219-20, 356, 359, 672-7, 686; Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1884, ii, 264, 265, 268; J. Toutain, *Les cités romaines de Tunisie*, Paris 1896; R. Vaufray, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, i, *Le Maghreb*, Paris 1955, 14, 127-95, 407-15. (M. TALBI)

**KĀḤTĀN** [see LIBĀS]

**KĀḤŪR** (also *kāḡūr*, *kaḡ(f)ūr*, see the dictionaries; from Hindu *kaḡpūra*, *kappūra*, Malayan *kapur*), camphor, the white, translucent substance which is distilled together with camphor oil from the wood of the camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora*) indigenous to east Asia (China, Formosa, Japan); it is to be distinguished from the Borneo camphor derived from *Dryobalanops aromatica* coming from Indonesia (Sumatra, Borneo). Both kinds were used as perfumes and medicines, but the latter, according to the Muslim sources native to Faḡūr (Kaḡūr, Faḡūr, and variants) in Sumatra, production of which must have been greater in the Middle Ages than today, was much more expensive and efficacious than the East Asian variety; according to Marco Polo it was worth its weight in gold.

Camphor seems to have been unknown to Greek and Roman antiquity, but in the Near East, by Sāsānid times at the latest, it was used as spice and perfume; when the Arabs conquered Ctesiphon in 16/637, they found there rich stores of camphor, which they thought was salt (Balādhuri, *Futūḡ*, 264; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, *Kāmil*, ii, 401). It was also known in ancient Arabia, for according to Kur'an LXXVI, 5, devout Muslims are refreshed in paradise with a drink flavoured with camphor. Camphor was known to ancient Arabic poets, at least by name; it is often put metonymically with musk (*misk* [q.v.]) as a symbol of the opposition of white and black, e.g., 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ā, ed. Schwarz, 10, 16; 16, 14; 32, 1; 115, 12; 171, 6; 183, 3; Imru 'l-Kays in Hamdānī, *Djazira*, ed. Müller, 198; anon. in Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 747. Cf. further A'shā, ed. Geyer, 80, 6; Akḡḡal, ed. Šālḡānī, 35; Ibn al-Rūmī in Ibn Abī 'Awn, *Taḡḡbihāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān, 323, etc. On the whiteness of camphor, see further Dozy, ii, 447a and A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1954, 30.

The technology of camphor, its provenance, extraction, preservation, utilisation etc., is fairly comprehensively described by the geographers and cosmographers. The camphor tree grew on river banks and became so large that it could give shade to a hundred men. In general it was dealt with as follows: the bark was cut so that the resin ran out. It was collected in large vessels and kept cool. In so far as the camphor tree was usually in areas infested by tigers (*numūr*, several mss. mistakenly *nusūr*, "eagles"), the resin could only be obtained at fixed times of the year when the tigers had dispersed. The wood is described as white, soft and very light. After the drawing off of the resin, the tree dies off. The diverging descriptions in the sources imply no contradiction, but only different procedures existing side by side. Cf. Ibn Khurrādādhbih (*BGA*, vi), 65; Mas'ūdī, *Murūḡī*, i, 338, 340, iii, 49, 56 = ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 371, 375, 892, 899; Kazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 262 f. = tr. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, new impression Hildesheim 1970, 379; Dimashḡī, *al-Iḡḡāra ilā maḡāsin al-tiḡjāra*, tr. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.*, 9; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, tr. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.*, 231 f.; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 456; Ibn Baḡḡūḡa (Paris), iv, 141.

The main significance of camphor lay however in its officinal uses. Already al-Kindī (*The Medical Formulary or Aqrābādīn*, tr. M. Levey, 1966) brought together a series of camphor recipes useful for swollen liver, complaints of the larynx, inflammations of the mucous membrane of the mouth, and so on (nos. 11, 24, 61, 77, 89, 91, 104, 152). The same author, or one of his pupils, composed a document about the production of fragrant oils and salves by means of "heightenings" (*taš'idāt*, primitive distillations), in which camphor played an important part: *Kitāb Kimiyā' al-'iṣr wa 'l-taš'idāt*, ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948, 242-6. Camphor is useful as a source of perfume, as a compress for acute fevers, headache, etc.: Ibn al-Kuffī, *Ḍiṣāḥa*, see H. G. Kircher, *Die "Einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Diss. phil., Bonn 1969, no. 214; Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, see W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaws al-ḥikma des 'Alī ibn Saḥl Rabban al-Ṭabarī*, Diss. phil., Bonn 1969, no. 610; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Hyderabad 1362, ii, 109; al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, *Umdat al-khitāb*, see M. Levey, *Mediaeval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology* (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., Vol. liii/4 (1962), 17 f., 47 f.; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 212. By far the most exhaustive description, together with a statement of his sources, is provided by Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Diāmī*, Cairo 1291, iv, 42-44 = tr. Leclercq, iii, 127-31. On camphor in Syriac literature see Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* <sup>2</sup>, 341b, 686a.

The same word *kāfūr* (variants *kufurrā*, *kifirrā*, *djufurrā*, et al., Lane 2622b; *Lisān* (Beirut), v, 149 f.) also designates the integument of the palm leaf or of the grapevine. The word came through the Aramaic *gōparrā* probably from the Akkadian. Cf. Ašma'ī, *al-Naḥḥl wa 'l-karm*, ed. Haffner, Beirut 1908, 6; Ibn Sida, *Mukḥaṣṣas*, xi, 119 f.; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-'uḳḅār*, ed. Meyerhof, no. 206; Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, 147; Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* <sup>2</sup>, 129a.

*Bibliography* (besides references in the text): A. Spitaler/M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch d. klass. arab. Sprache*, i, 10; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 590-5; Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, 411, 480 = Eng. tr. 436, 514; F. A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*, Berlin 1891, 150; Tschirch, *Handbuch der Pharmakognosie*, ii, 1133-8. (A. DIETRICH)

**KÄFÜR**, ABU'L-MISK, a black eunuch (the name al-Lābī, given to him by al-Mutanabbī, suggests his origin from Lāb in Nubia) became the dominant personality of the Iḳḥshīdīd [q.v.] dynasty in Egypt. Sold to its founder, Muḥammad ibn Tuḡḡdī al-Iḳḥshīdī [q.v.], Kāfūr so impressed his new master that the latter sponsored his rise to positions of political and military influence. As a field commander Kāfūr participated in the Egyptian expedition of 333/945 to Syria; he was also involved in the diplomatic exchanges between al-Iḳḥshīdī and the Caliph of Baghdad. Of great significance was his appointment as the supervisor of the princely education of the two sons of al-Iḳḥshīdī. Upon the death of Ibn Tuḡḡdī Kāfūr safeguarded the interests of his master's dynastic legacy by securing a formal succession of the Iḳḥshīdīd princes, Abu'l-Kāsim Anūdjūr (Unūdjūr) in 334/946, and 'Alī ibn al-Iḳḥshīdī in 349/961. Although during that period Kāfūr enjoyed complete executive authority, he found it expedient to operate behind the façade of the Iḳḥshīdīd establishment. Only in

355/966, following the death of 'Alī, did Kāfūr publicly declare himself as the sole master of Egypt. This declaration was justified because of the minority of another prospective Iḳḥshīdīd successor, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, and was sanctioned by an official diploma of investiture allegedly received from the Caliph of Baghdad. Until his death on 21 Djuḡmādā I 357/23 April 968, the name of Kāfūr replaced the Iḳḥshīdīd names in the Egyptian *ḫuḫba* [q.v.]. His official title was *al-ustādḥ* [q.v.]. There is no evidence, however, that his exalted political status included the prerogatives of *sikka* [q.v.] or *ḫirāz* [q.v.].

The main significance of Kāfūr in Islamic history lies in the fact that during the twenty-two years of his government he successfully protected the Iḳḥshīdīd establishment against dangerous outside pressures (the Fāṭimids, the Karmatians, the Nubians and the Ḥamdānids). All this he accomplished in spite of internal political complications (rebellion of Ḡhalbūn in 335/947-336/948; an abortive coup d'état by Anūdjūr in 343/954; persistent spread of subversive Ismā'īlī propaganda) and serious economic setbacks (a devastating fire in the business section of Fustāṭ in 343/954; major earthquake in Egypt in 344/955; recurrence of famine, food-price inflation, and consequent civil disturbances, in 338/949, 341/952, 343/955, 352/963-357/968). His effective military and diplomatic measures helped secure an advantageous agreement with the Ḥamdānids in 335/947 concerning the Iḳḥshīdīd hold over Damascus. Above all, Kāfūr was able to delay the Fāṭimid expansion to Egypt. "The black stone (i.e., Kāfūr) stands between us and thee (i.e., the Fāṭimid Caliph)" complained frustrated Ismā'īlī agents in Egypt. (Cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḫunafā'*, Cairo 1948, 147).

In spite of economic adversities and heavy government expenditure, Kāfūr's administration refrained from extortionate fiscal practices. Its gold coinage, though fluctuating in weight, displayed a remarkable stability as to the standard of fineness. Kāfūr's domestic accomplishments must be partially attributed to his ability to enroll the services of competent administrators, one of them the famous Ya'qūb ibn Killis [q.v.].

Kāfūr also gained popularity in Islamic history because of his patronage of scholars and writers. The most celebrated of them was the great poet al-Mutanabbī [q.v.], who immortalized the black ruler in a number of panegyrical and satirical verses. Kāfūr has been credited with the construction of a number of sumptuous palaces, of two mosques (in Gīza and on al-Muḳaṭṭam), of a hospital, and of the Kāfūriyya gardens in the capital. No archaeological traces of his architectural contributions have been discovered.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-Muḡḥrib fi ḫula'l-maḡḥrib*, Bk. iv., ed. and tr. with an excerpt from al-Kindī's *Ta'riḫ Miṣr* by Kn. L. Tallquist (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 25/ii), where the bibliography is fully given at the beginning of Kāfūr's biography (p. 78-86, Arab. text 46-48); also al-Ḥalabī in Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Aegypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, (*Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxi (1876), 37-50 and 59-61); Ibn Ḳhallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 524-528 and Index; Ibn Tagḥrībardi, *al-Nuḏjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo (Dār al-kutub), iii, 291 f., iv, 1-18; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ḳhiṭaṭ*, ii, 27-7; idem, *Iḡhāṭat al-Umma*, Cairo 1940, 12-13 (cf. G. Wiet, *Le Traité des famines de Maqrīzī*, in *JESHO*, vi (1963), 13-14); al-Mutanabbī, *Diwān* (ed. Dieterici), *al-Kāfūriyyat*, 623 f.; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Kāfūr al-Iḳḥshīdī*, in *Bull. Fac. Arts Fu'ād I Univ.*, vi

(1942), 23-46; Ismā'īl Kāshif and H. Aḥmad Mahmūd, *Miṣr fī 'aṣr al-Tūlāniyyin wa'l Ikhshīdiyyin*, Cairo 1960, *passim*; P. Balog, *Tables de références des monnaies ikhshīdites*, RBdN, ciii (1957), 107-134.

(A. S. EHRENKREUTZ)

**KĀFÜR**, MALIK, known as 'IZZ AL-DAWLA, TĀDĪ AL-DĪN and HAZĀR-DĪNĀRĪ, eunuch general and minister of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khildīl [q.v.] of Dihli, is stated to have been of Marhat't'a (Marāt'ha) origin (see 'Iṣāmī, p. 319). In youth he was the slave of a wealthy Khwādja ("Khodja"—sc. Nizārī Ismā'īl) of Kanbhāyat (Cambay). In the Muslim conquest of Guḡjarāt of 698/1299 he was taken by the commander Nuṣrat Khān and presented to Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn in Dihli. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 187) may be in error in stating that the epithet *Alfī* (= *Haṣār-dīnārī*—"the thousand guinea man" acc. S. Lane Poole, p. 113) refers to a sum paid by the sultan himself for Kāfūr. Kāfūr was evidently of great physical beauty and Baranī refers in coarse terms to passive homosexual practices as well as to the Sultan's infatuation with him. His advance through the following few years is undocumented and he next appears as an outstandingly successful military commander. Ca. 705-6/1305-6 he commanded an army which in the Panḡjāb defeated the Mongol invader Kebek/Köpek/KNK (identification with the future Çaḡhatāyid ruler poses difficulties, as Indian sources are unanimous in stating that he was put to death in Dihli). Kāfūr is now referred to as *Nā'ib-i Bārbak*, "assistant master of ceremonies", whence his name Malik Nā'ib, thought by some historians to refer to the more important role of *Nā'ib-i Sultān* (see Tripathi, p. 180). He was next sent as commander of a series of great military raids into the Deccan, which laid the foundations of Muslim power there. On the first of these he arrived at Devgīr (Devagiri) on 19 Ramaḡān 706/24 March 1307: Rāḡija Rāmādeva (Rāmācandra) of Devgīr was taken to Dihli with rich spoils. On 25 D̄jumādā I 709/2 October 1309 Kāfūr was again despatched to the Deccan and besieged the Kākatiya ruler, Pratāpa Rudraveda of Warangal, until the latter surrendered spoils and agreed to pay tribute: Kāfūr arrived back at Dihli on 11 Muḡarram 710/9 June 1310. On 24 D̄jumādā I 710/19 October 1310 he was despatched upon his third great expedition, which reached the extremity of peninsular India. On 5 Shawwāl/25 February 1311 he arrived at Dhorasamudra, where the Hoysala Vira Ballāla III surrendered and joined Kāfūr's army on its way to plunder the southernmost Indian kingdom of the Pānd'yas. From there great quantities of gold and elephants were taken by Kāfūr, but the hostile ruler Vira Pānd'ya eluded capture. Camp was struck from Madura on 4 Dhu 'l-Hiḡidja/24 April; Kāfūr reached Dihli in triumph on 4 D̄jumādā II 711/18 October 1311. At court Kāfūr now appears to have excited the enmity of a faction headed by Māhrū Malika-yi D̄jahān, second wife of 'Alā' al-Dīn, her brother Alp Khān and Khidr Khān, the sultan's eldest son by her. Probably at his own request, Kāfūr was sent south once more ca. 713/1313-14 to displace Singhana, son of Rāmādeva, from Devgīr and to consolidate Muslim rule and settlement in the northern Deccan. He performed this task ably until he received an urgent summons to Dihli, where 'Alā' al-Dīn's health was deteriorating. After his swift return there and at any rate with 'Alā' al-Dīn's acquiescence, Kāfūr had Alp Khān murdered and Khidr Khān exiled from the presence. 'Alā' al-Dīn died on 6 or 7 Shawwāl 715/ 3 or 4 January 1316:

contemporary rumour accused Kāfūr of hastening his end. Kāfūr secured the recognition as sultan of Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar, the six-year-old son of 'Alā' al-Dīn by Čit'ā'l, daughter of Rāmādeva of Devgīr: some sources state that Kāfūr also married this lady. In the struggle for power he succeeded in having Khidr Khān blinded and two other elder sons of 'Alā' al-Dīn imprisoned, but failed in the case of a fourth, the future Sultān Kuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak. About 35 days after the death of 'Alā' al-Dīn, Kāfūr was murdered by four *pā'iks*, palace bodyguards: in consequence Sultān Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar was by stages set aside in favour of Kuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak, who later put to death Kāfūr's murderers.

*Bibliography*: Amīr Khusrāw, *Khasā'in al-futūḡ*, Bibl. Indica 1953; Dīyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rikh-i Firūzshāhī*, Bibl. Indica 1862; 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḡ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948; Waṣṣāf, *Taḡrīyat al-amṣār*, Bombay 1269/1853; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, iii, Paris 1855; Farīṣhta, *Ta'rikh*, i, Bombay/Poona 1832. Secondary works: K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, London 1967; R. P. Tripathi, *Some aspects of Muslim administration*, Allahabad 1959; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan invaders*, Oxford 1921; J. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysalas*, Oxford 1957; S. Lane Poole, *Mediaeval India under Mohammedan rule*, London 1912. (S. DICBY)

**KĀGHAD**, KĀGHID (from the Persian *kāghadh* perhaps of Chinese origin), paper. In the early period of development of Muslim culture the east was acquainted only with papyrus (*hīrtās*) as writing-material. It was Chinese prisoners of war brought to Samarkand after the battle of Aṭlakḡ near Tālās who first introduced in 134/751 the industry of paper-making from linen, flax or hemp rags after the method used in China. The various kinds of paper then made were the following: *fīr'awānī* ("Pharaonic"), a kind which was to compete with papyrus even in the land of its origin (the oldest paper with Arabic writing on it found in Egypt dates from 180/796-200/815); *sulaymānī*, from Sulaymān b. Rāshīd, the treasurer of Khurāsān under Hārūn al-Rashīd; *d̄ja'fārī*, called after D̄ja'fār b. Yaḡyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 187/803); *ṭālḡī*, from Ṭālḡa b. Ṭāhīr, the second ruler of the Ṭāhīrid dynasty; *ṭāhīrī*, from Ṭāhīr II of the same dynasty; *nūḡī*, after the Sāmānid Nūḡ I, 331/942-343/954.

To judge from these names it must be supposed that paper achieved some importance as early as the second half of the 2nd/8th century. About that time or at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century paper had, according to al-D̄jahīz, the same importance for the east as papyrus had for the west, especially since Hārūn al-Rashīd had ordered the use of paper as a writing material in the government offices because it was not possible to erase a text written on paper, or to scratch it out without this being noticed. In the first half of the 3rd/9th century paper made in Samarkand had already replaced papyrus as well as parchment in Baghdād, although we do not know precisely when the manufacture of paper began in Baghdād or in Cairo. According to al-Tha'ālibī (350/961-429/1038) the paper made in Cairo was especially fine and smooth, but on the other hand it is stated that the Ikhshīdid vizier, D̄ja'fār b. Ḥīnzāba (d. 391 or 392/1001), had brought the paper which he used directly from Samarkand.

Paper-mills were erected elsewhere on the plan of those in Samarkand; al-Faḡl, brother of D̄ja'fār al-Barmakī, who had been governor of Khurāsān in

178/794, probably founded the paper-mill in the Dār al-Ḳazz quarter in Baghdad. Soon afterwards others arose in the Tihāma, Yemen and Egypt, where paper ultimately drove out papyrus, also in Damascus, Tripoli, Hamāt, Manbijī, Tiberias, the Maghrib, Spain (at Jativa), Persia and India. *Kāghadh-kunān*, the "paper-makers", was the name taken by the people of the village of *Khūnadjī* or *Khūna* in *Ādharbāydiyyān*, two days' journey from *Zandjān*, on account of the excellent paper made there. The place was destroyed by the Mongols, who, however, founded a colony, *Mughuliyya*, there (Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, 219; *Hādijīl Khālifa, Dihānnumā*, Istanbul 1145/1732-3, 298, tr. Norberg, i, 365).

On the preparation of paper and the different methods of colouring it, interesting details are given by J. von Karabacek, *Neue Quellen z. Papiergeschichte*, in *Mitt. aus der Samml. der Papyrus Ersh. Rainer*, iv, 75 ff. The raw material for paper-making consisted of rotten linen or hemp ropes, cut into small pieces, cleaned and bleached. It was then pounded in mortars, stampers or paper-mills, and water was added to make a pulp which was dressed with glue made of wheat starch (*nashā*). The pulp was then led off into a pulp-vat (*ḡasriyya*), water was added, and the pulp drawn through a deckle (*ḡalīb*) and shaken. It was smoothed by hand, left on the deckle as long as seemed necessary, then laid on a table, attached to a clean, even wall and left to dry. Then each side of the sheet was rubbed with a concoction of flour and starch, left to dry and polished. The fineness of the paper depended on the nature of the deckle, the finest, like our vellum, coming from a very fine wire sieve.

In the rubbish heaps of the old towns in Egypt (e.g., al-Ushmunayn, Madinat al-Fayyūm, al-Fuṣṭāt), great masses of ancient paper of different kinds and colours have been discovered. Besides very white and off-white papers, artificially coloured ones—yellow, pale blue, violet, pink, green and red, have been found. Paper was much cheaper than papyrus; according to a 4th/10th century document in the collection of Archduke Rainer in the National Austrian Library, 6 2/3 dinars were paid for 125 sheets. The price naturally depended on the quality and kind. That made in Baghdad (*al-waraq al-Baghādī*) was considered the best.

The paper used in the east is now almost entirely of European manufacture. In Persia we still find a Chinese paper called *Khān Ballḡ* (Turkish name of Peking), a scarce paper, sought after for its durability. The Cairo printers prefer a strong yellow-coloured paper called *nabāṭī* (Pers. *nabāt*, sugar-candy).

A paper-mill long ago destroyed (*Kāghad-Khāna*, popularly *K'at-Hāne*) gave its name to the Imperial Kiosk and the public promenade of the "Sweet Waters of Europe" in Istanbul.

*Bibliography*: *Fihrist*, 21; *Kalkashandi, Daw' al-Ṣubḡ*, i, 412; idem, *Ṣubḡ al-a'ghā*, i, 474-7; Kurkis 'Awwād, *Al-waraq aw al-ḡaghīd*, in *MMA*, xxiii (1948), 409-38; al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, *'Umdat al-kuttāb wa-'uddat ḡhaw' l-'albab*, ch. xi, tr. Martin Levey, *Medieval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. lll/4, Philadelphia 1962; J. V. Karabacek, *Mitt. aus der Samml. der Papyrus Ersh. Rainer*, lll/ll, 87-178; Chavannes, *Doc. sur les Tou-hiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 297; A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie I (Denkschr. d. Osterr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Vienna 1967)*, 98-105;

Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, 8-11; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i, 268; Jouannin and Van Gaver, *Turquie*, 457; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, iii, 155; Osman Ersoy, *XVIII ve XIX Yüzyillarda Türkiye de ḡāḡit*, Ankara 1963; F. Babinger, *Zur Geschichte der Papiererzeugung im osmanischen Reichs*, Berlin 1931. For the establishment of paper-mills in Turkey in the 18th century in connexion with the founding of the Mütferriḡa Press, see МАТБА'А.

(CL. HUART — A. GROHMANN)

**KĀGHAN** [see **ḲHĀḲĀN**].

**KAHF** [see **AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF**].

**AL-KĀHĪĀL** [see 'ALĪ B. 'ISĀ].

**KĀHIN**, a term of controversial origin (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, 91 ff.), belonging to Canaanite, Aramaic and Arab traditions. At the earliest stage known to us it appears to have been used by the "Western Semites" to designate the possessor of a single function with related prerogatives, that is to say, the offering of sacrifices in the name of the group, the representing of this group before the deity, the interpretation of the will of the deity, and in addition the anticipation and communication of his wishes. The evolution of this function and these prerogatives follows the social evolution of these three groups themselves; with their transition from a pastoral to an agricultural civilization, their conception of the deity and of the service due to him changed to suit the conditions of daily life. As the pre-Islamic Arabs were the last followers of the pastoral way of life, their conceptions of the priesthood probably reflect more or less faithfully the earliest stage of the priestly function, so far, of course, as the post-Islamic data at our disposal have remained faithful to their oral or written sources.

In this respect, although the accounts in which the *kāhin* appears may be fanciful and tendentious, it remains true that, in order to recreate a proper context for these stories and to avoid anachronisms, the people who told them and the people who used them must have tried to reconstitute and preserve the original terminology. For those who know the Semitic theodicy in particular, the importance of the names and epithets given to the deities in polytheism and to God in monotheism in the elaboration of theology is obvious, bearing in mind above all that the true Muslim theodicy is to be found in the treatises of the *asmā' al-husnā* [q.v.] rather than in those of the *mutakallimūn*.

We are of the opinion that the same reasoning applies to the terminology designating the personnel and the accoutrements of the cult. Therefore we have chosen as our point of departure the various names and attributes designating the function and prerogatives of the *kāhin*, in the hope of gaining a clearer picture of his characteristics as they must have appeared in the religious outlook of the greater part of the Arabs, since we lack documents of sufficiently established authenticity that deal with the conception of the *kāhin* held by the élite of the people and the ruling class.

Like the Greek *ιερεὺς* and the Latin *sacerdos*, the Arab *kāhin* combined the functions of sacrificer and guardian of the sanctuary, and those of the *μαρτυρὴς* and the *augur*; hence it is possible to render the word *kāhin* by "priest", in the sense of agent of the official cult. But the predominance of nomadism, where it was usually the head of the family or tribe who offered sacrifices, after the manner of the patriarchs in the Old Testament, and in which frequent migra-

tions prevented the establishment of an official form of worship and fixed places of worship, weakened the first role of the *kāhin* while favouring the development of the second, more in keeping with the expectations of most of his fellow-tribesmen. Thus it is virtually necessary to translate *kāhin* as "diviner" (since we lack an exact equivalent) with the dual meaning of the Latin *divinus*, that is to say "one inspired" and "prophet", without excluding his strictly priestly role in places where social conditions allowed it, such as at Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, and near a few important holy places of Arabia (Dhu 'l-Khalāṣa, al-Djalsad, al-Fals, for example; cf. details in T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968).

The oracular, mantic and augural role of the *kāhin* is for all practical purposes the only one recognized in the evidence we possess, which derives essentially from folklore. The numerous special divinatory functions which he exercised are known to us only through the various names which designated the exercise of these functions, illustrated by a few examples. These names, frequently used as synonyms for *kāhin* (as are for example for "diviner and the female equivalent: "augur", "haruspex", "magus", "pythoness", "sybil", "seer", etc.), are: *afkal*, *hāst*, *dhū*, *ilāh*, *sādin*, *arrāf*, *ā'if*, *sādjir*, *kā'if*, *nāshid*, etc. Our knowledge of the *kāhin* amounts in practice to no more than the significance of those names and the deductions to be drawn from the stories which illustrate them.

To begin with the term *kāhin* itself: its etymological origin is obscure (possibilities are the Semitic root *k w n*, "to be, to stand up", and the Akkadian root *k' n*, giving the idea of prostration; but the unusual permutation of the consonant *k* is still unexplained). However, it seems to have been part of the earliest religious vocabulary of the Western Semites, after the manner of the *bārū* at Mari and in Akkad. Like the *bārū*, he combined the functions of guarding the holy place, transmitting the oracle, offering sacrifices, and interpreting signs by divination. These were the functions of the Hebrew *kōhēn* before the institution of the Monarchy, as described in the Bible (cf. H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, 1966).

The Arab *kāhin* had not developed beyond this stage when the advent of Islam brought about his disappearance because of the absence, in the nomadic environment in which he lived, of a permanent stable kingship which, as in neighbouring kingdoms and elsewhere, would have organized the priesthood if only to keep it under control. This lack of organization resulted in making the *kāhin* the sole repository of supernatural knowledge, dispensed in Israel by the *kōhēn* and the *nabī*, and this led them to the practice of both divinatory and ecstatic techniques. Thus, like the *bārūm* of Mari (cf. A. Finet, *La place du devin dans la société de Mari*, in *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines*, Paris 1966, 93), the *kāhin* of ancient Arabia held in his hands the fate of the entire tribe, in both peace and war.

The oracular and ecstatic aspects of his functions appear more overtly in the *kāhina*, who like the "ecstatic prophetess" of Mari (*muhhutum*, cf. G. Dossin, *Sur le prophétisme à Mari*, *ibid.*, 80) had visions and was in charge of an oracle (*rabbat bayt*: cf. examples and references in *Divination arabe*, 98 ff.). The most famous of these women was Ṭ(Z)arifa.

As far as the *kāhin* is concerned, these aspects are revealed more particularly by two names borne by certain of their numbers: *afkal* ('Amr b. al-Djū'ayd, the *sayyid* of the Rabī'a) and *hāst* (Zuhayr b. Djanab,

the *sayyid* of the Kalb). In fact *afkal*, from the Sumerian-Akkadian *aphallu* and preserved in several Semitic languages with the meaning of high priest (cf. *Divination arabe*, 103 f.), seems to have acquired an ecstatic character among the Arabs (*loc. cit.*); in the same way the *hāst*, a term of Aramaic origin comparable to the Hebrew *ro'eh*, the forerunner of the *nabī*, must have been originally a "seer", as is indicated by his name; but he became increasingly an observer of omens, and the term became a generic one covering different divinatory and magical practices (*op. cit.*, 112 f.). (On the oracular utterances of the *kāhin* and the *kāhina* see *SAP* [7]).

The aspect of guardian and sacrificer in holy places and places of worship appears in the following names given to the *kāhin*: *rabb*, who like the *r b* of Ugarit and the Kaṭabānī *r b y* had to manage the affairs of the holy place (territories and entrances); *dhū ilāh*, caretaker of the betel, the "sacred stone" itself entrusted to his keeping during the movements of the tribe, expressing at the same time the close link arising from the proximity between the deity and his servant (compare with *'abd*, *taym*, *imru*), and their Semitic equivalents); *sādin* and *hādīb*, which properly speaking designated the function of guardian in the holy places and the *cellae* where the *sacra* of a tribe or a group of tribes were deposited. This presupposed, therefore, a measure of settlement and all that this implied with respect to institutions, organizations and established customs. The observation of what was happening in other temples of the world around (compare for example the reforms introduced by 'Amr b. Luḥayy [q.v.] after a stay in a Hellenistic spa, and the institutions founded in the 5th century by Kuṣayy [q.v.], who came from a Byzantine area where ecclesiastic and monastic organization were highly developed) aided the development of the office of the *sādin*, and stability made possible the creation and preservation of traditions, myths and legends. But the function of the *sādin* was not restricted to the guardianship of the holy place; he took the place of the *kāhin*, and like him performed sacrificial and divinatory rites, as did the Ugaritic *n k d* (compare Hebrew *nōkedh* from the Meshā' stela) who also bore the titles *r b* and *k h n* (see *Divination arabe*, 111).

The divinatory aspect of the function of the *kāhin* is covered generically by the term *arrāf*, and specifically by names derived from the divinatory specialities which he practised, such as *ā'if* and *sādjir* [see 'YĀFA], *kā'if* [see KĪYĀFA], *nāshid* and several other secondary designations for particular occasions, such as *hakam* (arbitrator on the occasion of a *munāṣara*), *khātib*, (spokesman and messenger), *shā'ir* (incantator and inciter to battle), *ṭabīb* (medicine man), *khābir* (valuer).

The *arrāf* is the *kāhin*, even though the former occupies a lower rank than the latter in the hierarchy of seers because he does no more than exercise the divinatory prerogatives of the *kāhin*; however, since in a nomadic society these predominated, *arrāf* and *kāhin* were eventually applied to the same person.

*Irāfa* is the knowledge of things unseen or of things to come, on the basis of things visible or present. It implies a gnostic knowledge (compare *ma'rifa* in relation to *'ilm*), and consequently a knowledge restricted to the initiated, an implication contained in the Akkadian and Hebrew equivalents of *arrāf*: *mūdū* and *iidd'o'ni*. Therefore *irāfa*, while belonging essentially to the realm of divination, comes close to that of enchantment and magic.

*Arrāf* and *arrāfa* are inspired by a *tābī'* or *tābī'a*



(familiar spirit) or a *ra'īyy* or *ri'īyy* (inspirer for particular occasions); therefore the *'arrāf* is called *malbū'* (flanked by a demon), and *'irāfa* is at times assimilated to sorcery and to *sha'badha* (legerdemain, conjuring). The lowest stage of the function of the *'arrāf* and the *kāhīn* is rendered by the term *nāshīd*. This epithet refers both to his role as exorciser (*munāshada*) and to his role as finder of lost animals and other objects. It is often in this guise that the *kāhīn-'arrāf* appears in the apologetic folktales of primitive Islam.

Before Islam, the *kāhīn* in central Arabia was the spiritual and intellectual guide of the tribe, a role filled by all agents of a cult in underdeveloped societies at every period and every place. By reason of the geographic, historic and social circumstances in which he practised, he was an independent holy man, like his Greek counterpart, even though at times connected with an oracle, rather than an official in the service of a centralizing state, like his Assyro-Babylonian and Roman counterparts.

*Bibliography*: Apart from references in the text, and in particular T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, a work containing references, justifications and a long bibliography, the principal sources and studies are: a) Sources: Ibn Hishām; Ibn Sa'd; Ṭabarī; Mas'ūdī, *Murūjī*; Ibn al-Athīr; Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, ed.-tr. W. Atallah, Paris 1969; Buhturī, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Cheikho, in *MFO*, iii-v (1909-11); Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭihāf*, ed. Wüstenfeld; *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>; Dīhizī, *Ḥayawān*; idem, *K. al-Tarbi'*, ed. Pellat, Damascus 1955; Ibn Kutayba, *K. al-Ma'ārif*, ed. 'Ukāsha; Yāqūt; Kazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-makhluqāt (I) wa-āthār al-bilād (II)*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, I-II, Cairo ed. 1352/1933, Fr. tr. G. Rat, Paris-Toulon 1902.

b) J. Wellhausen, *Reste*<sup>2</sup>; H. Lammens, *Le culte des Bētyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites*, in *BIFAO*, xvii (1919-20), 39-101; idem, *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale*, in *MUSJ*, xi/2 (1926), 39-173; E. Dhorme, *La religion des Hébreux nomades*, Paris 1937; A. Haldar, *Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites*, Uppsala 1945; J.-M. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*<sup>3</sup>, Paris 1905; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*<sup>4</sup>, London 1927; idem, *On the forms of divination and magic enumerated in Deut. XVIII, 10-11*, in *The Journal of Philology*, xiii (1885), 273-87, xiv (1885), 113-28; T. Witton-Davies, *Magic, divination and demonology among the Hebrew and their neighbours* . . . London 1899; G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*<sup>5</sup>, Louvain 1953; E. O. James, *The nature and function of priesthood*, London 1955; A. Jamme, *La religion sud-arabe préislamique*, in *Histoire des Religions*, Paris, Blood et Gay, iv (1947), 239-307; J. Starcky, *Palmyrénens, Nabatéens et Arabes du nord avant l'Islam*, *ibid.*, 201-37; H. S. Nyberg, *Bemerkungen zum "Buch der Götzenbilder" von Ibn al-Kalbī*, in *Skrifter utg. av Svenska institutet i Rom*, Ser. 2/1 (1939), 346-66; Ed. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i-ii, Leiden 1896-99; I. Engnell, *Studies in divine kingship in the ancient Near East*, Uppsala 1943. (T. FAHD)

AL-KĀHĪNA ("the Sorceress") was the guiding spirit of Berber resistance to the Arab invaders led by Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān [q.v.] after the collapse of Byzantine power marked by the fall of Carthage (73/692-3).

Her true personality—which must have been highly complex—is very difficult to discern, for only the distorted reflections of her real features can be detected behind the legend. There is no agreement even on her real name, for al-Kāhīna is only a nickname given to her by the Arabs. It is said that she was named Dihya—Ibn Khaldūn (tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 172) mentions a Berber tribe known by this name—of which Dahyā, Dāhiya, Damya, Dāmiya, or Dahya could be merely variant spellings. There is the same doubt about her descent; she is said to be the daughter of Tālit, or again of Mātiya (= Matthias, Matthew) son of Tīfān (= Theophanus). If this means that al-Kāhīna was descended from those Berbers of mixed blood, the issue of mixed marriages, it would help to explain her authority, not only over her compatriots but also over the Byzantines. Several other indications confirm this hypothesis. Al-Kāhīna herself is said to have married a Greek. We are told that she had two sons: the one of Berber descent, the other of a Greek father (*Yūnānī*). She was also, contrary to general belief, Christian by religion rather than Jewish. Her tribe, the nomadic and pastoral Djarāwa, a subdivision of the Zanāta, themselves related to the Buṭr, had indeed first adopted Judaism, but like many other tribes, such as the Nafūsa, had afterwards been converted to Christianity. When al-Kāhīna appeared on the scene of history she was a widow, and was certainly very old. Legend relates that she lived for 127 years, 35 of them as "queen" (*malika*) of the Aurès, where in 477, following a successful rebellion against the Vandals, a first independent Berber kingdom had already been set up, governed by Iabdas. Like those "Arab queens" cited by T. Fahd (*Divination arabe*, 98), she was clearly an "ecstatic". At the moment of inspiration she became wildly excited, let her hair stream out, and beat her breast. She also practised more orthodox techniques of divination, such as reading the future in gravel, and there is no doubt that she owed a large part of her power to her prophetic gifts.

Al-Kāhīna took up the challenge thrown down by Kusayla, who had mobilized in particular the settled Barānis. At first she was victorious. After taking Carthage and destroying the organized Byzantine forces, Ḥassān turned towards the Aurès, the stronghold of Berber resistance. He regrouped his forces on the banks of the Meskiana and attacked. Al-Kāhīna did likewise, after demolishing Bāghāya, which was probably her capital and which she wished to avoid falling into the aggressors' hands. The decisive confrontation took place on the banks of the Oued Nīnī, probably not far from the railway station of the same name which today is situated 16 km. to the south of Aīn-Belda on the railway line to Khenchela. The battle was so disastrous for Ḥassān that for many years afterwards the Arabs called the *oued* where it took place *Nahr al-Balā'* ("river of trials"), or, for less apparent reasons, *Wādi 'l-'Aḥārā* ("valley of the virgins"). This campaign, Ḥassān's first setback, had an epilogue in the territory of Gabès in the course of a final battle which drove the invaders out of Ifrīkiya.

Ḥassān was ordered to halt his retreat four stages to the east of Tripoli, where he established his camp (Kuşūr Ḥassān) and bided his time. Al-Kāhīna enlarged the area of her authority, but her power certainly did not spread over the whole Maghrib, nor even the whole of Ifrīkiya, as is stated in some sources (Ibn 'Iḍhārī, *Bayān*, i, 36; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, in de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 340). She treated the Arab prisoners well; she had adopted one of them according to the Berber rite of simulated suckling, an influential chief,

**Khālid b. Yazīd** (sometimes called Yazīd b. **Khālid**), who was regarded as a spy from Hassān's camp. Perhaps she wished to establish good relations with the Arabs and bring them to renounce their designs, of which she was doubtless informed, by means more reliable than divination. It was probably the failure of this policy which forced her in despair to devastate the country, adopting in the face of a stubborn enemy a "scorched earth" policy, which Solomon had already employed in 539 against King Iabdas when he was entrenched in the Aurès (Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *Berberie et Ibérie*, . . . in *Rev. Historique*, fasc. 488, p. 300, citing Procopius). These alleged devastations have been a matter of controversy for many years. Some modern historians deny them altogether. The Arab chroniclers exaggerated them to an enormous extent. In fact, it seems that they cannot be denied completely, but nor should they be seen as a cataclysm. They could not have extended beyond certain regions of Ifrīkiya, but they must nevertheless have been sufficiently serious to disaffect large sections of the settled population, who, when they did not seek refuge in the Mediterranean islands or even in Spain, were ready to beg Hassān to intervene.

Hassān, who had kept himself informed of the situation and had received reinforcements, once more invaded Ifrīkiya, probably in 78/697-8 (the chronology is not clear), this time probably with the support of some Berber contingents hostile to the policy of al-Kāhina. Henceforth the indigenous peoples no longer made common cause. From this moment an air of defeatism began to prevail in the Aurès, and this inspired Kāhina, her hair flowing, in ecstasy (*nāshirāt* <sup>as</sup> *sha'arahā*), to give voice in her desperate state to those alarming prophecies which were but the warnings of despair and have come down to us as so many oracles. The first clash took place in the Gabès region and was unfavourable to al-Kāhina. This is the logical moment to place the dramatic episode, unlikely yet probably true, in which the "queen", certain of her forthcoming destruction, advised her sons to change sides before it was too late. She herself, with Hassān on her heels, fled for refuge to the mountains of the Aurès. The final engagement took place in a place which al-Mālikī (*Riyāḍ*, i, 36) calls Ṭarfā: the form Tabarka given by al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 57, trans. 121), Ibn Nāḡī (*Ma'ālīm*, i, 61), and Ibn Abī Dīnār (*Mu'nis*, 35) is surely a graphic corruption of this. Here, probably at the exit of *Djabal Neshshār* about 50 km. north of Tobna, al-Kāhina fought her last battle, which, we are told, both sides regarded as a fight to the death, before perishing beside a well which long bore her name. Her energy and determination made a considerable impression, and some modern historians have seen in her a sort of Berber Joan of Arc (de Lartigues, *Monographie*, 182).

*Bibliography*: Sources in chronological order: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, ed. and tr. A. Gateau, Algiers 1948, 76-8; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. Riḍwān Muḥammad Riḍwān, Cairo 1932, 231; Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ed. H. Monés, Cairo 1951, i, 32-6; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Paris 1965, text, 7-8, 20, 31, 57, 145, 182, tr., 22-3, 48, 69, 121, 277, 340; Ibn al-Aḥḡir, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1357/1938-9, iv, 31-3; Yāḡūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1957, v, 339, s.v. Nīnī; 'Ubayd Allāh b. Šāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥallīm, *Faḡh al-'Arab li'l-Maghrib*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *RIEEI*, Madrid 1954, ii, 222-3 (tr. in *Arabica*, i, 40-41); Pseudo-Ibn al-Raḡīḡ, *Ta'rikḡ*, ed. al-Kaābi, Tunis 1968, 55-64; Ibn 'Idḡārī, *Bayān*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 35-8; Tīḡānī, *Riḡla*, Tunis 1958, 58; Nuwayrī,

*Nihāya*, tr. de Slane, al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡī, *Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Ḥilla, Tunis 1970, i, 533-37; in *Berbers*, Algiers 1852, i, 340-2; Ibn Khaldūn, *Iḡbar*, Beirut 1950, vi, 214, 218-19, vii, 17-18, tr. de Slane, *Berbers*, i, 208-9, 213-15; Ibn Nāḡī, *Ma'ālīm*, Tunis 1902, i, 55-61; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mu'nis*, Tunis 1967, 21, 34-5; al-Mawlā Aḡmad, *Riḡla*, Fez n.d., 48-51 (trans. Berbrugger, *Voyages*, Paris 1846, 234-41); al-Urḡilānī, *Nuḡha*, Algiers 1326/1908, 101-4; Ibn Abī 'l-Diyāf, *Iḡhāf*, Tunis 1963, i, 82-3; Nāšīrī, *Istiḡṡā*, Rabat 1954, i, 58, 82-3. Modern studies: S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*; M. Dall'Arche, *Scomparsa del Cristianismo ed espansione dell'Islam nell'Africa Settentrionale*, Rome 1967, 125-32; Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *Berberie et Ibérie médiévales: un problème de rupture*, in *Rev. Historique* (Paris 1968), fasc. 488, 297-302, 311; H. Fournel, *Berbers*, Paris 1875-81, i, 215-25; Masqueray, *Traditions de l'Aurès*, in *Bull. de corr. Afr.*, 1885, 1-2, 80-3; E. Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, Paris 1888, i, 212-6; de Lartigues, *Monographie de l'Aurès*, Constantine 1904, 182; E. F. Gautier, *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1952, 270-80; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris 1946, 29, 34-5; H. Monés, *Faḡh al-'Arab li'l-Maghrib*, Cairo 1947, 242-59; A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1948, 161, n. 106; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, i (1954), 32-3; H. Z. Hirschberg, *Ha-Kāhina ha-berberit*, in *Tarbitz*, xxvi (1957), 370-83; T. Lewicki, *Prophètes, devins et magiciens chez les Berbères médiévaux*, in *Folia Orientalia*, vii (1965), 4, 6; idem, *Survivances chez les Berbères médiévaux d'ère musulmane de cultes anciens et de croyances païennes*, in *Folia Orientalia*, viii (1967), 7; Sa'd Zaghlūl 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Ta'rikḡ al-Maghrib al-'Arabī*, Cairo 1965, 182-95; H. Simon, *Le judaïsme berbère dans l'Afrique ancienne*, in *Rev. d'Hist. de Phil. Religieuses*, Strasbourg 1946, 6, 8; T. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 92-3, 97-8, 100; M. Talbi, *Un nouveau fragment de l'Histoire de l'Occident Musulman (62-196/682-812), l'épopée d'al-Kāhina*, in *CT*, 1971, no. 73. (M. TALBI)

AL-ĶĀHIR BI'LLĀH, 19th 'Abbāsīd Caliph, who reigned from 320/932 to 322/934 in succession to his brother al-Muḡtadir [*q.v.*]. He had previously been temporarily chosen as caliph after the abortive palace revolution in Muḡarram 317/March 929. Al-Muḡtadir's death followed after the sortie he made at the head of his troops against the *amīr* Mu'nis [*q.v.*] in 320/932. When the dignitaries came to nominate a new caliph, Mu'nis's judgement in favour of Aḡmad, the son of al-Muḡtadir, was ignored and Muḡammad, son of al-Muḡtaḡīd, was proclaimed on 27 Shawwāl 320/31 October 932. The headstrong and vindictive personality of the new caliph had an immediate effect on the extremely shaky political situation. Al-Ķāhir made his mark right from the beginning of his reign through his ignominious treatment of his mother, whose property he seized after having ill-treated her, and his conduct towards the sons and officials of the former caliph. The reins of government were held by the vizier Ibn Muḡla [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* Mu'nis, who encountered grave difficulties: the opposition of the former supporters of al-Muḡtadir and a financial crisis. The caliph himself tried to reinforce his authority; he succeeded in thwarting the schemes of the chamberlain, Ibn Yalbak, and had Mu'nis arrested, while the vizier took flight (*Šha'bān* 321/July 933).

The new vizier, Muḥammad b. al-Ķāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh, supported the anti-Shī'ite policy of the caliph, who had Ibn Yalbak and Mu'nis put to death, declaring himself *al-muntaqim min a'dūdīn Allāh* and having this slogan engraved on the coinage. Al-Ķāhir wasted no time in ridding himself of his vizier and replacing him with Aḥmad al-Ķhaṣṣībī; but he too soon found himself in insurmountable financial difficulties, while the former vizier, Ibn Muḥla, plotted against the caliph and managed to stir up the Sāḍīf guard, who rising on 6 D̄jumādā I 322/24 April 934, seized the caliph and imprisoned him.

The son of al-Muḥtadir, taking the name of al-Rāḍī, was proclaimed the new caliph. Since al-Ķāhir had refused to abdicate, in spite of the pressure put upon him, the chief of the Sāḍīf guard, supported by al-Rāḍī, had him blinded. Al-Ķāhir was released only eleven years later, on the orders of the following caliph, al-Mustakfi, and he died in D̄jumādā I 339/October 950.

*Bibliography:* D. Sourdel, *Visirat*, 471-8; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *index*. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-ĶĀHIRA, capital of Egypt and one of the most important centres of religious, cultural and political life in the Muslim world. The city is situated on both banks on the Nile, at 30°6' Lat. N. and 31°26' Long. E. respectively, at ca. 20 km. south of the delta where the Muḥaṭṭam Mountain almost comes down to the river. This strategic point dominating the access to Lower Egypt had been inhabited since early times, but became of primary importance during the arab invasion in 22/643, when 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ established the foundations of a permanent encampment at al-Fuṣṭāṭ. The actual name of the city is derived from *Miṣr al-Ķāhira*, a town established in 359/970 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz, which gradually embraced the surrounding places. The remains of al-Fuṣṭāṭ are found in the quarter of modern Cairo called Maṣr al-'Aṭlika, Old Cairo. See also BABALYŪN, AL-FUṢṬĀṬ, MIṢR, AL-RAWḌA. (ED.)

#### MONUMENTS

Numbers in square brackets after monuments are those given in the *Index to the Mohammedan monuments in Cairo* (Survey of Egypt 1951). An asterisk after a monument indicates that it is dated by reference to a foundation inscription (often more than one).

*Nomenclature.* A considerable difficulty in the identification of monuments is orthographic, since current pronunciation of a name (Ṣarḡhatmiṣh) [218], the literary sources (Ṣarḡhitmiṣh [Budagov], Ṣuyurḡhutmuṣh [Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*]) and the inscriptions (Ṣirḡhitmiṣh, carefully pointed) often diverge markedly. For the sake of convenience, in reference to the standard art-historical authorities a modified form of the colloquial arabicized Turkish has been adopted (Kūṣūn [224] and not Kaṣṣawn, as it appears pointed on the porch of his mosque), except when popular etymology has so distorted the name (Tagḡribirdi/Taḡriwerdi [209] which has become Saḡriwardi) that the original is difficult to reconstruct.

*Topography.* The vast extent of the modern city of Cairo creates problems for the history of its monuments. Exceptionally among Middle Eastern cities, its development has been horizontal, rather than in terms of vertically superimposed layers, extensive rather than intensive. The original enceinte of al-Ķāhira, located well to the north of the agglomerations of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, al-'Askar and al-Ķaṭā'i', was intended essentially as a centre of government, well

outside the main habitation areas, containing a palace-complex, the barracks of the Fāṭimid armies and the new congregational mosque of al-Azhar [97]. For a time the walled city of old Cairo, Ḳaṣr al-Sham' Bābalyūn and al-Fuṣṭāṭ maintained their importance as industrial centres with the chief port installations on the Nile and the major blocks of tenements. However, the progressive westward deflection of the course of the Nile, and the attraction of al-Ķāhira as the centre of government led to a steady population movement northwards, so that the original mud (*labīn*) walls of D̄jawhar (358/969 onwards) had twice to be expanded, by Badr al-D̄jamāl [6, 7, 199] in 480/1087-484/1091\*, and by Bahā' al-Dīn Ḳarāḳūsh under Ṣalāh al-Dīn in 572/1176-589/1193. The 5th/11th-century expansion, allegedly motivated by fear of an attack by the Salḍiūk, Āṣlāz, was less extensive than the latter, which included large areas between the walls of D̄jawhar and the Nile (see Fig. 1), now commemorated only in the names of certain quarters of modern Cairo, the Bāb al-Lūḳ, the Bāb al-Ḥadd, the Bāb al-Ḳhalk (Ḳharḳ), etc. The steady northward population movement led to the desertion of large areas of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, which by the mid-6th/12th century had become abandoned (*ḡharāba*) and which in 572/1176 were partially connected to the inhabited areas by a wall, which remained incomplete at Ṣalāh al-Dīn's death.

From the Fāṭimid period onwards the areas of al-Ķaṭā'i' south of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn became increasingly associated with the southern cemetery (the Ḳarāfa al-Kubrā', see below). The first major expansion outside the Fāṭimid enceinte was the Citadel built for Ṣalāh al-Dīn, 572-1176 onwards, not to fortify the city but as a place of refuge.

The Citadel was supplied with water from the Nile by means of an aqueduct [78] (*ḡhanāfir*) which in its present state dates only from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 255-9), who in 712/1312 (sic) built four *sāḡiyas* on the Nile to raise water to the aqueduct of the Citadel and in 741/1341 incorporated into it the remains of Ṣalāh al-Dīn's wall, which had been intended to enclose the *ḡharāba* of al-Fuṣṭāṭ. It was restored and lengthened at various times during the 9th/15th century and particularly in the reigns of Ḳā'it Bāy and Ḳānṣawh al-ḡhawri [99.v.], to whom the large water-tower, now known as the Sab'a Sawāḳī and still more or less on the Nile, must probably be attributed [78].

A second Ayyūbid fortress, no longer extant and destroyed and rebuilt several times during the Mamlūk period, was the Kal'at al-Rawḍa/Kal'at al-Miḡyās, erected on the Island of Rawḍa (Roda) by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḡ, though the island was almost exclusively a residential area, like D̄ilza (Giza), and very few monuments of any architectural importance now survive there.

Under the Baḡri [see AL-BAḡRIYYA] Mamlūks the expansion continued mainly outside the Fāṭimid walls, those foundations within being almost exclusively funerary and royal. The south-western slopes of the Citadel, which had remained unfortified in the Ayyūbid period, were walled by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad but were principally occupied by the sultan's palace and the houses of his high amīrs. In this period we see the creation of the great Mamlūk thoroughfares, the Darb al-Aḡmar leading from the Citadel to the Bāb Zuwayla [199]\*, the Sh̄hāri' al-Ṣalba leading from the Citadel towards the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and the Ḳhalīdī, originally a canal (now the Sh̄hāri' Port Sa'īd). The expansion to the north of the walled city of al-Ķāhira was not so marked:

the only two remaining foundations of any importance are the Mosque of Baybars in the Maydān Dāhir (Zāhir) [1], 665-7/1266-9\*, built on one of the royal polo grounds (see Pls. 3, 3a, 3b) and Kubba-al-Fadāwiyya [5], dated by Creswell to 884-6/1479-81\*.

Under the Ottomans the expansion of Cairo appears to have taken a different direction, to the west of the walled city of al-Kāhira, particularly in the Būlāk area, which then became the principal port of Cairo. There are only two pre-Ottoman buildings surviving in this quarter, the mosque of the Kāḍī Yaḥyā [344], 852-3/1448-9, and the mosque of Abu 'l-'Ilā [340], c. 890/1485. By contrast, the quarter contains the mosque (*kullīyya*) of Sinān Pāshā [349], 979/1571\*, a large number of 17th- and 18th-century foundations and many less important but interesting *khāns* (*wikhālas*) as well as wooden houses of a distinctively Istanbul type. The area has been only cursorily surveyed and stands in need of a detailed study. The change of direction initiated by the Ottomans was continued with the development of residential quarters, at Dīlza and 'Imbāba on the west bank of the Nile, at Shubra, where a palace of Muḥammad 'Alī built by 1850 (E. Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane*, 52-8) attracted a residential suburb, at 'Abbāsiyya, and ultimately in the development of Garden City and Heliopolis (see Pl. 8).

The history of settlement of al-Kāhira shows a secular northward movement continuing from that of al-Fuṣṭāṭ to al-Kaṭā'i'. Al-Kāhira itself, at least within the walled area enclosed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, remained of central importance as the seat of government and in the 19th century, with the Europeanized town plan imposed upon the Ezbekiyya quarter, the centre of commerce as well. The same development, however, was not followed in the cemeteries which now virtually surround the city and which are perhaps the most remarkable architectural feature of Cairo to strike the visitor.

Cemeteries. The great southern cemetery (al-Karāfa al-Kubrā'), the principal burial place of Cairo since the invasion of 'Amr, remained in full use in the Fātimid period, when it was the centre of a considerable cult, which was made acceptable to Sunnī orthodoxy by the foundation of a *madrasa* at the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī soon after the Ayyūbid conquest of Egypt (the present mausoleum [281], 608/1211, was built by al-Malik al-Kāmil; see Pls. 2, 2a). At the south of the cemetery are a group of Fātimid *mashhads*, the most important of which is that of Yaḥyā al-Shabīḥī [285], c. 545-6/1151, the mausoleum of the Imām al-Layṭh [286] rebuilt by al-Ghawrī in 911/1505\* and restored in 1201/1786-7\*, the *khānkāh* and mausoleum of Shāhīn al-Khalawātī [212], 945/1538, and the mausoleum of Sīdī 'Ukba rebuilt by Muḥammad Pāshā Silāḥdār in 1066/1655-6\* and restored in 1099/1688 [608], better known as the Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya. Remains of the Mamlūk period in this area are now sparse, though a detailed survey would doubtless permit the location of many funerary foundations mentioned by Maḥrīzī and others. Behind the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī are the tombs of the late royal family, the Ḥawsh al-Pāshā.

The northern part of this cemetery contains a larger and more important group of Fātimid *mashhads*, including that of Sayyida Nafisa (of which only restoration inscriptions dated to the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ now exist; the reconstruction proposed by D. Russell, *A note on the cemetery of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 168-74, is highly speculative), Sayyida Ruḳayya

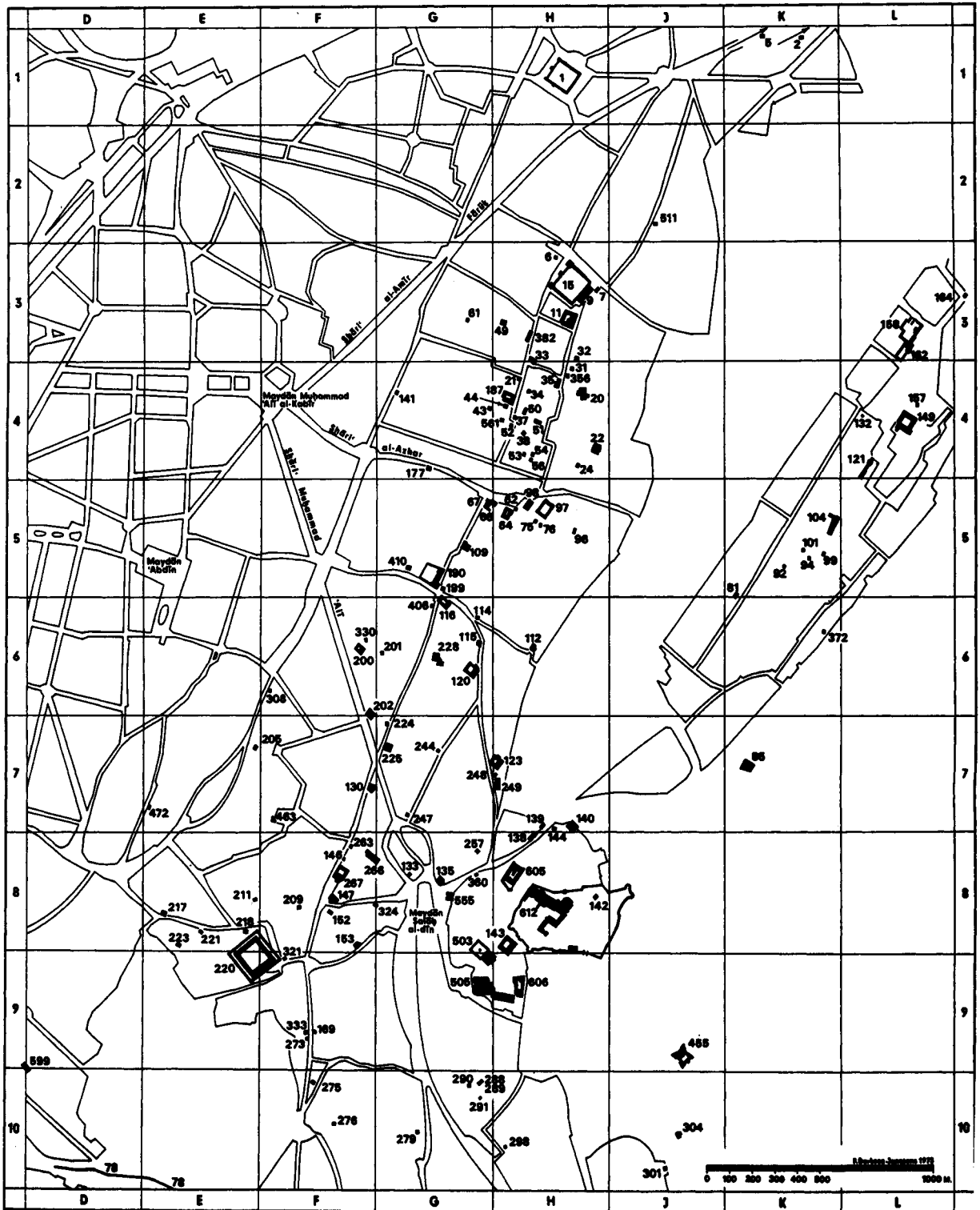
[273], 527/1133\*, and Sayyida 'Āṭiqa [333], c. 1125. The sequence continues almost without interruption with the mausolea of late Ayyūbid and Bahrī Mamlūk sultans or princesses, including Shāḍiār al-Durr [169], c. 648/1250, the *hawsh* and mausoleum of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs [276], possibly as early as 640/1242-3, and the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalīl [275], 687/1288\*, the last Mamlūk sultan to be buried in this area. Doubtless to be included within the same cemetery, in the area to the south-west of the Citadel, is a group of funerary foundations. The earliest of these is conventionally known as the mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pāshā [279], (?) 666/1267-672/1273, and they include the mausoleum and *khānkāh* of Kūṣūn [290-1], 736-7/1335-7\*, and a remarkable mausoleum with minaret, the Sulṭāniyya [288-9]; by reason of its domes, which resemble superficially Timūrid domes at Samarḳand and Herāt, Creswell dates the latter to the mid-9th/15th century but it may well be a century earlier.

The fringes of the southern cemetery merit attention. The Christian cemeteries appear to have been located, as they are now, in the vicinity of Kaṣr al-Shām', though nothing of any antiquity remains there (those of the Djabal al-Aḥmar to the north-east of Cairo appear to date from the present century). The Jewish cemeteries were located even further south in the area of Basāṭīn al-Wazīr. The most puzzling of these fringe monuments, however, is the Maṣḥad al-Dīuyūshī [304], 478/1085\*, the mausoleum of Badr al-Dīamālī, which now stands completely isolated on the Muḳaṭṭam hills, though the literary sources refer to pavilions and other buildings (e.g., the Maṣḥid al-Tannūr built on the supposed site of the Tannūr Fir'awn) which no longer remain. It is, in any case, the only funerary monument in this area.

The cemetery of the Bāb al-Wazīr to the north and north-east of the Citadel lies immediately outside the northern walls of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The most important, as well as the earliest, foundation there is that of Mandjak al-Yūsufī [138], 750/1349\*, described as a mosque in the *Index*, but, exceptionally, having a separate entrance gateway, and a tomb attached to the mosque in the form of a *madrasa*. The other monuments are also 8th/14th century, the *sabil* of Shaykhū [144], 755/1354\*, the earliest free-standing *sabil* in the architecture of Cairo, the *masḥid* and *khānkāh* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn [140], 757/1356\*, and the mausoleum and *khānkāh* of Tankizbughā, situated in an isolated position some distance away on a low spur of the Muḳaṭṭam [85], 764/1362\*. The latest of this group is the mausoleum of Yūnus al-Dawādār [139], pre-783/1382. None of the foundations is royal, and since the foundation of Mandjak is not significantly smaller than those of the Bahrī Mamlūk sultans, the creation of this small cemetery is an index of the pressure upon space created by the grand funerary constructions of the Mamlūk sultans *intra muros* and in the main streets leading from the Citadel towards the centre.

The great northern, or north-eastern, cemetery, known misleadingly as the Tombs of the Caliphs, though almost contiguous with that of the Bāb al-Wazīr and now apparently separated from it only by a recent road, the Shāri' Ṣalāḥ Sālim, would appear (al-Maḥrīzī, ii, 363) to be a separate development; the first tomb to be built in this area (known in his time as the 'Awāmid al-Sibāk) was that of Yūnus al-Dawādār [157], 783-4/1382, actually the burial place of Ānas\*, father of Barḳūq. There is a topographical problem here, however, since in the southern sector of this cemetery, contiguous to that of Bāb al-Wazīr,

1. Mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars (H1)
2. Mausoleum of al-Malik al-ʿAdil Tūmānbāy (K1)
5. al-Kubba al-Fadāwiyya (K1)
6. Bāb al-Futūḥ (H3)
7. Bāb al-Naṣr (H3)
9. *Khān* of Kāʾit Bāy (H3)
11. *Khān* of Kūṣūn (H3)
15. Mosque of al-Ḥākim (H3)
20. Musāfir<sup>khāna</sup> palace (H4)
21. *Sabil-kuttāb* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Kat<sup>khudā</sup> (H4)
22. *Zāwiya* of Āydumur al-Pahlawān (H4)
24. Mosque of al-Ākādār (H4)
31. *Madrasa* of Karā Sunḡur (H4)
32. *Khānkhāh* of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Djāshenkr (H3)
33. Mosque of al-Akmar (H3)
34. Palace of Beshtāk (H4)
35. Mosque of Djāmāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (H4)
37. Zāhiriyya *madrasa* (H4)
38. Mausoleum and *madrasa* of al-Šāliḥ Naḡim al-Dīn Ayyūb (H4)
43. *Madrasa* and *māristān* of al-Manṣūr Kalāʾūn (G4)
44. *Madrasa* of al-Nāṣir Muḡammad (H4)
49. Mosque of the *khāḍi* Abū Bakr Muḡhir (H3)
50. *Kāʾa* of Muḡammad Muḡibb al-Dīn (Waḡf ʿUḡmān Kat<sup>khudā</sup>) (H4)
51. Maḡʿad Māmāy (Bayt al-Kāḍi) (H4)
52. *Sabil-kuttāb* of *Khuraw Pāshā* (H4)
53. Bāb al-Bādīstān (al-Ghūrī) (H4)
54. Façade of Wikālat al-Ghūrī (H4)
56. Gate of al-Ghūrī (H4)
61. *Ribāḡ* of the wife of al-Aṣḡraf Ināl (*Khwānd Zaynab*) (G3)
62. *Hawḡ* and *sabil* of Muḡammad Bey Abū Dhahab (H5)
64. Wikālat al-Nakhla (H5)
- 66, 67. Mausoleum, *madrasa*, and *khānkhāh* of al-Ghūrī (GH5)
75. *Khān* of Kāʾit Bāy (H5)
76. *Sabil-kuttāb* of Kāʾit Bāy (H5)
78. Aqueduct (D10)
81. Mausoleum and remains of *khānkhāh* of *Khwānd Ṭughāy* (Umm Anūk) (K5)
85. Mausoleum, *khānkhāh*, and *madrasa* of Tankizbughā (K7)
92. Tomb of Ṭaṣṡtmūr (K5)
94. Mausoleum of Ibn Ghurāb (K5)
96. Ghannāmiyya *madrasa* (H5)
97. Mosque of al-Azhar (H5)
98. Mosque of Muḡammad Bey Abū Dhahab (H5)
99. Mosque and mausoleum of Kāʾit Bāy (K5)
101. *Maḡʿad* of Kāʾit Bāy (K5)
104. *Rabʿ* of Kāʾit Bāy (K5)
109. Mosque of al-Fakahānī (G5)
112. Mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī (H6)
114. Mosque of Kīḡimās (Kačmāz) al-Ishāḡī (G6)
115. Mosque of Aḡmad al-Mihmāndār (G6)
116. Mosque of al-Šāliḥ Ṭalāʾīʿ (G6)
120. Mosque of Altinbughā al-Māridānī (G6)
121. *Khānkhāh* of al-Aṣḡraf Barsbāy (L4)
123. Mosque of Aḡsunḡur (Ibrāḡīm Aḡḡā Mustahfi-zān) (H7)
130. Mosque of Ālmās (Yilmāz) (F7)
132. Kubbat ʿAṣfūr (L4)
133. Mosque of sultan Ḥasan (G8)
135. Mosque al-Maḡmūdiyya (G8)
138. Mosque of Mandjak al-Yūsuf (H8)
139. Mausoleum of Yūnus al-Dawādār (H7)
140. *Masḡiid* and *khānkhāh* of *Shaykh* Nizām al-Dīn Ishāḡ (H7)
141. *Ribāḡ* of Yaḡyā Zayn al-Dīn (G4)
142. Mosque of *Khādim* Sulaymān Pāshā (H8)
143. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḡammad (H8)
144. *Sabil* of *Shaykhū* (H7)
146. *Zāwiyat* al-ʿAbbār (F8)
147. Mosque of *Shaykhū* al-ʿUmarī (F8)
149. *Khānkhāh* of Farāḡi b. Barḡūk (L4)
152. *Khānkhāh* and mausoleum of *Shaykhū* al-ʿUmarī (F8)
153. *Madrasa* of *Khūshkadam* al-Aḡmadī (F8)
157. Tomb of Ānas (Yūnus al-Dawādār) (L4)
158. Mausoleum, *ribāḡ*, and mosque/*khānkhāh* of Sulṡān al-Aṣḡraf Ināl (L3)
162. *Khānkhāh* and mausoleum of Amīr *Qurḡumās* (L3)
164. Mausoleum of Kānṣūḡ Abū Saʿīd (L3)
169. Mausoleum of *Shadjar* al-Durr (F9)
177. *Khānkhāh* of Muḡbil al-Zimām al-Dāʾūdī (G4)
187. Mosque and *madrasa* of Sultan Barḡūk (H4)
190. Mosque of al-Muʾayyad *Shaykh* (G5)
199. Bāb Zuwayla (G5)
200. Mosque of Malika Ṣafiyya (F6)
201. Mosque of al-Burdaynī (G6)
202. Remains of the mosque of Kūṣūn (F6)
205. Minaret and door of the mosque of Beshtāk (E7)
209. *Madrasa* of *Taḡhrībirdī* (F8)
211. Mausoleum of Azbak al-Yūsufī (E8)
217. Façade of the mosque of Lādīn al-Sayfī (E8)
218. Mosque and *madrasa* of *Ṣarḡatmish* (E8)
220. Mosque of Aḡmad b. Ṭūlūn (EF8,9)
221. Mausoleum of Salār and of Saḡḡar al-Djāwīlī (E8)
223. *Madrasa* of Kāʾit Bāy (E8)
224. Gate of the mosque of Kūṣūn (G7)
225. al-Takkiya al-Sulaymāniyya (G7)
228. "Palace" of Kāʾit Bāy (G6)
244. Bath of Beshtāk (G7)
247. Gate of Mandjak al-Silāḡdār (G7)
248. Mosque of *Khayr* Beg (H7)
249. Palace of *Khayr* Beg (H7)
257. *Māristān* of al-Muʾayyad *Shaykh* (G8)
263. Tomb and *madrasa* of Sunḡur Saʿīd Ḥasan Ṣadaḡa (F8)
266. Palace of Amīr *Yushbak* (F8)
267. Palace of Amīr Ṭāz (F8)
273. *Mashḡad* of Sayyida Ruḡayya (F9)
275. Mausoleum of al-Aṣḡraf *Khallī* (F10)
276. *Hawṣḡ* and mausoleum of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs (F10)
279. Mausoleum of Muṣṡafā Pāshā (G10)
- 288, 289. The Sulṡāniyya and the northern minaret (G10)
290. Minaret of Kūṣān (G10)
291. Mausoleum and *khānkhāh* of Kūṣūn (G10)
298. Mausoleum and *madrasa* of Tankizbughā (H10)
301. Kubbat *Ikhwān* (*Ikhwāt*) Yūsuf (J10)
304. *Mashḡad* of al-Diuyūshī (J10)
306. *Takkiya* and *sabil* of Sultan Maḡmūd (F6)
321. Bayt al-Kiridiyya (F9)
324. *Sabil-kuttāb* of Kāʾit Bāy (G8)
330. Gate of Malika Ṣafiyya (F6)
333. *Mashḡad* of Sayyida ʿĀṡiḡa (F9)
356. Gate of Ḥārat al-Mabyaḡa (H4)
360. Mausoleum of Kānṣūḡ Abū Saʿīd (G8)
372. Tomb of Ṭāybughā al-Ṭawīl (K6)
382. Mosque and *sabil-kuttāb* of Sulaymān Aḡḡā al-Silāḡdār (H3)
406. *Rabʿ* of Raḡwān Bey (G6)
410. Bath of al-Muʾayyad *Shaykh* (G5)
455. The fort of Muḡammad ʿAlī (J9)
463. al-Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya (F7)
472. Mosque of Dāʾūd Pāshā (E7)
503. Mosque of Muḡammad ʿAlī (G8,9)
505. Palace of al-Djāwhara (GH9)
511. Kubbat Badr al-Djāmālī (J2)
555. Bāb al-ʿAzab (G8)
561. *Sabil* of al-Nāṣir Muḡammad (H4)
599. Shrine of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (CD9,10)
605. Archives (H8)
606. Mint (H9)
612. Ḥarīm palace (H8)



Both the numbers of the monuments, and the numbers and letters of the sections of the map correspond with those of the *Map of Cairo showing Mohammedan monuments*, Survey of Egypt, 1950 (enclosed in K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1952), and the *Index of Mohammedan monuments in Cairo*, Survey of Egypt, 1951.

are three important Bahrl foundations, of Taṣhtīnūr [92], 735/1334\*, Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, pre-768/1366 [372]\* and Khwānd Tuḡhāy [81], known locally as Umm Anūk, pre-749/1348 (al-Maḡrīzī, ii, 66-7), a mausoleum and *khānḡāh* with remains of rich stucco decoration and some interesting faience mosaic at the base of the surviving dome. North of this group all the surviving monuments are Burdjī (in spite of all the maps which indicate, without numbering, Bahrl remains); all are on a larger scale and many are royal. These include the *khānḡāh* complex of Farajī b. Barkūk [149], 803/1400-813/1411\*, the funerary complex of Kā'it Bāy [94, 99, 101, 104], 877-9/1472-4\* (see Pl. 6) and the combined foundations of Sultan Ināl [158], 855/1451-860/1456\*, and of the amīr Kurkūmās [162], 911-3/1506-7\*. Once again, it is easy to ascribe the growth of this cemetery to the pressure upon building space within the city, all the more so since expropriation was discouraged and substitution (*tabdīl*) of *wakf* property generally required a special *fatwā*, the practice only becoming general, according to Ibn Iyās, in the 9th/15th century. However, the larger royal foundations of this cemetery included elements like the *rab'* (plural *rubā'*) of a decidedly commercial nature, and there is evidence (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 316-31) that Farajī b. Barkūk hoped to transfer the Sūkh al-Ḥarīr to the neighbourhood of his *khānḡāh*. The area has only recently been colonized and was for much of its extent isolated from Cairo itself by the line of rubbish heaps known as the Barkīyya. Access to the cemetery would appear, therefore, to have been not from the Bāb al-Wazīr but from the Bāb al-Barkīyya, remains of which, dated 480/1087 by an inscription, were discovered late in the 1950s (G. Wiet, *Une nouvelle inscription fatimide au Caire*, in *JA*, ccxlix (1961), 13-20).

The cemetery to the north of the walls of Cairo, now known as the cemetery of Bāb al-Naṣr, now contains only one monument of any antiquity, the Kubbat Shaykh Yūnus [511], c. 487/1094. Maḡrīzī (ii, 414) states that the quarter was particularly frequented after 700/1300 and that Mamlūk notables even built houses there: it was deserted under al-Aṣḡraf Sha'bbān (776/1375-6) when prices rose and the Sūkh al-Līf was forced to move. This emphasis upon habitation, reinforced by the lack of monuments, shows that the area was of very minor significance as a cemetery, and that its chief period of growth has been during the last hundred years. With this cemetery should perhaps be associated two isolated Burdjī Mamlūk mausolea, al-Kubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], probably the mausoleum of Yuṣḡbak al-Dawādār, an amīr of Kā'it Bāy, 884-6/1479-81\*, and that of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmānbāy [2], 906/1501\*, in the quarter of Ḥusayniyya. They are both so far north of the walls of al-Kāhira that they cannot easily be attributed to any cemetery, but the former is so influential in the architecture of the Ottoman period in Cairo that mere eccentricity of location is irrelevant to their architectural importance.

With the Ottoman conquest the chronological development of the cemeteries comes to an end. The Istanbul custom of having small cemeteries attached to pious foundations within the city was not adopted in Cairo; most of the Turks who happened to die in Egypt were buried in the *ḡawḡs* of Mamlūk cemeteries already in existence. No collection of Ottoman funerary inscriptions has ever been made. There are moreover few mausolea to show for 300 years of occupation, and the only remarkable building dating from this period is the tomb of Sulāymān Pāṣḡhā (Colonel de Seves), Commander in Chief of the

Khedive Ismā'īl's troops, who is buried in a cast-iron pavilion on the east bank of the Nile just opposite the southern tip of Rawḡa.

## History.

### FĀTIMIDS

*Palace.* The Fātimid palace, the political, religious and administrative centre of al-Kāhira from the 4th/10th-6th/12th centuries, has completely disappeared, though a tolerable reconstruction based upon al-Maḡrīzī's description has been made by Ravaisse (see Bibliography). It almost certainly consisted of various quite separate abodes, each with a central *ḡā'a* (an elongated hall with two axial *iwāns* [A. *iwān*]) and a sunken central area, usually square, known as the *durḡā'a* and their appurtenances. Remains of one of these, most probably to be identified with the Dār al-Ḳuṭbiyya, have recently come to light in the course of excavations in the courtyard of the *madrasa* of Ḳalā'ūn. The *ḡā'a* also appears to have been an element of the domestic architecture of Fātimid Cairo, as witness the Ḳā'at al-Dardīr (Creswell, *MAE*, i, 261-3), which exceptionally has vaulted *iwāns* instead of the more usual flat roof. The *iwāns* could sometimes be closed off from the *durḡā'a* by palatial doors, as in the case of a *ḡā'a* (Dayr al-Banāt) in the Greek Orthodox monastery of St. George at Old Cairo (Ḳaṣr al-Sham'), a construction of indeterminate date but with such doors of the Fātimid period, and as in the case of a similar pair of doors in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo found in excavations at the mausoleum of Ḳalā'ūn (Inventory No. 554 [Pauty, *Bois sculptés*, Plate lx]).

*Fortifications.* The mud-brick *labīn* fortifications of Dīawhar had disappeared by al-Maḡrīzī's time, the result not of the instability of the material but of the population pressure on the compound of al-Kāhira, in spite of all attempts to exclude the public from its precincts. (There is an unrecorded mud-brick *muṣaīllā* or *masḡīd* in the al-Ḳarāfa al-Kubrā' near the Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya which is almost certainly Fātimid in date). The present Fātimid fortifications of al-Kāhira, therefore, date from the time of the Caliph al-Mustanṣīr and even before their extensive repair by Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn in various sectors were much more characteristic of North Syrian than of Cairene architecture, being of squared stone and strengthened with transversely placed columns. The chief remaining elements of the north wall, in which the wall and the north porch of the mosque of al-Ḥākim are embedded, are the Bāb al-Futūḡ and the Bāb al-Naṣr [6, 7], 480/1087\* [see BΛB]; on the east is the Bāb al-Barkīyya of the same date\* (not marked on the monuments map) and on the south the Bāb Zuwayla, 484/1091 (al-Maḡrīzī, i, 381). For a precise reconstruction of the walls of al-Kāhira, showing the fortifications of Dīawhar, Badr al-Dīamālī and Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn, see Fig. 1.

*Mosques.* The earliest of the mosques of al-Kāhira was that of al-Azhar [97], situated to the south of the palace, dated 359-61/970-2 (al-Maḡrīzī, *Khīṣṣat*, ii, 273) and built very much on the lines of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn with a *ṣaḡn* and *riwāḡs* surrounding it which are multiplied in the *ḡibla* side (see MASḡĪD). Very little of the building is original (for a reconstruction see plan in Creswell, *MAE*, i, 58-60, Fig. 20). It was not originally founded as a teaching institution though little more than a year after its foundation it had become the centre of the propagation of the Fātimid *da'wa*. It was this change of function, as much as the population increase within the enceinte of al-Kāhira, which doubtless explains

the foundation soon afterwards of the mosque of al-Ĥākīm [15], founded by al-ʿAzīz in 380-1/990-1 and completed by al-Ĥākīm no later than 403/1012, outside the walls of *Djawhar*, to the north. Creswell has deduced that those parts of the stucco facing of the *ḵibla riwāḵs* of al-Azhar which are not 19th-century inventions may go back to the original date of foundation; but the courtyard façades and the domed pavilion at the entrance to the raised crossing on the axis of the *miḥrāb* cannot be earlier than the reign of al-Ĥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh, 526/1131-534/1149. For the Ayyūbid period there is only the testimony of ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak (iv, 16) that any upkeep of the mosque at all was attempted, al-Malik al-Kāmil being said to have erected a *ḵibla ṣaḡhira min ḵhashab bi-ḵurb riwāḵ al-Sharḵāwiyya* in 627/1230. With the exception of this dubious period, however, al-Azhar was reorganized, restored and added to by almost every important ruler of al-Ķāhira from al-Ĥāfiẓ to Kāʿit Bāy, who added a *miḥrāb* and a minaret (both undated) as well as a monumental porch (*bawwāba*), and al-Ḡhawri, who added its second minaret, also undated. The adjacent *madrasas* of Ṭāybars and Āḵbuḡhā (709/1309-10 and 734/1333-4 to 740/1339\*) were enclosed within the complex when the *bawwāba* (the Bāb al-Muzayyinīn) was added by Kāʿit Bāy (873/1469\*), though the present entrance is Ottoman, 1167/1753-4\*, probably the work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katḵhudā, who considerably enlarged the mosque at this time.

The mosque of al-Ĥākīm was even more traditional in that it boasted a *ziyāda* or *temenos* on at least one side (identified by Creswell, *MAE*, i, 115-7 and dated by him 411/1021-427/1036), though it added two minarets based on great salients at the north-west and south-west corners and adopted the plan of three monumental entrances, the northern one being subsequently embedded in the wall of Badr al-Djamālī. The mosque suffered badly in the earthquake of 702/1303 but was restored immediately by Baybars al-Djāshenḵr (Cāshnegīr)\*, who added pyramid-like casings to the two stone minarets and a *mabḵhara* or pepperpot-like top to each. In spite of a further restoration attributed by al-Maḵrīzī (*Ḷhiṭat*, ii, 277) to Sultan Hasan the mosque is now in a ruinous condition and the decoration judged so important by S. Flury (*Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ašhar Moschee*, Heidelberg 1912, 9-26, 43-50) can scarcely now be made out.

The other two extant Fāṭimid mosques of Cairo, both modifications of the *ṣaḡn* plan, merit attention. Al-Aḵmar [33], 519/1125\* (see Pls. 1, 1a), the work of the vizier Maʿmūn al-Baṭāʿihī, has the earliest decorated façade in Cairo, with a rich complement of foliate and epigraphic ornament, but is equally significant because although the mosque is *ḵibla*-oriented (at least approximately) the façade follows the street, which is not parallel to the *ḵibla* wall: this is the first case of what was to become a standard Cairene practice. The mosque of the vizier al-Šāliḥ Ṭalāʿīc [116], 555/1160\*, the last dated Fāṭimid building of Cairo (misleadingly restored in the present century), also combines architectural interest—a colonnaded narthex or loggia as façade and a basement of shops (*dakḵkīn*)—with rich interior stucco decoration, partly restored by the amīr Bektimūr al-Ķūkāndār in 699/1300\* or 702/1302\*. This mosque, situated injudiciously outside the walls of Badr al-Djamālī immediately opposite the Bāb Zuwayla, had been intended as a shrine for the head of al-Ḥusayn. This was placed in a mosque-shrine inside al-Ķāhira on a site now occupied by the mosque of Sayyidnā

al-Ḥusayn, the work of an unidentified 19th-century architect under the influence of the railway station architecture of the Gothic revival in Europe.

*Tombs, Mashhads.* The tombs of the Fāṭimid caliphs were inside the palace in the actual region of the Khān al-Ḷhallī [53-4, 56] and were thus destroyed on the fall of the dynasty. (A fragment of the only remaining inscription has been published in *RCEA* 2104; see G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* 34-5, no. 51.) Many other funerary inscriptions have been published (see Bibliography), most from the typical Cairene *ḵawṣḥ*, an unroofed burial enclosure, which may be provided with one or more *miḥrābs* in the *ḵibla* wall, which contains graves covered by cenotaphs, or sometimes one or more domed mausolea, usually *ḵibla*-oriented but following no clear chronological sequence. Some domed mausolea of private persons survive, among which may be the Sabʿa Banāt, four mausolea, not all with *miḥrābs*, to the south of the ruins of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and identified by Creswell on the basis of *Ḷhiṭat*, ii, 459 with the mausolea of those members of the family of the vizier Abu ʿl-Kāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Maḡrābī put to death by al-Ĥākīm in 400/1010. More characteristically Cairene are the *mashhads* of the late 11th-12th centuries built over supposititious ʿAlid graves in the southern cemetery in various groups. Among the best conserved are the *Iḵhwān* (*Iḵhwāt*) Yūsuf [301], c. 500/1100, Sayyida ʿĀṭika [333], c. 520/1125, Sayyida Ruḵayya [273], 527/1133\*, the only precisely dated member of the group, Yabyā al-Šhabḥī [285], c. 545/1150 and Umm Kulḥūm nearby (not marked on the monuments maps), pre-550/1155. Small constructions, sometimes with a central courtyard, the *mashhads* consisted of sanctuary chambers covered by domes on squinches, with richly decorated carved stucco friezes and *miḥrābs*, often in threes, and containing one or more cenotaphs, which were perhaps surrounded by a *maḵṣūra*. These were conceived essentially as centres of pilgrimage (*ziyārāt*). Not all Fāṭimid funerary monuments take these forms, however: the “Ḷabr Luʿluʿ bint al-Muḵawḵis”, among the mysterious remains of al-Ḷarāfa al-Kubrā, is a three-storey construction, each storey with a *miḥrāb*; and it has yet to be explained why the *Mashhad* al-Djuyūṣḥī on the Muḵaṭṭam [304], 478/1085\*, the mausoleum of Badr al-Djamālī with very rich stucco decoration, should be in the form of a *mashhad* rather than a *ḵubba*. The cave in the Muḵaṭṭam directly below it, the Maḡhawri or Kaḥf al-Sudān, which has been associated by Massignon (see Bibliography) with the cult of the Aṣḥāb al-Kaḥf [*q.v.*] and which appears on the Arabic version of the *Special 1:5000 scale Map* as containing Fāṭimid remains, has been a military area for so long that it has not been possible to check the suggestion that it also may have been a *mashhad* of a sort.

#### AYYŪBIDS

*Fortifications.* The Citadel and the walls of Šalāḥ al-Dīn have been authoritatively described and analysed in detail by Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 1-40 ff.). The former, the largest Ayyūbid fortification ever undertaken, occupies a spur of the Muḵaṭṭam Hills on its north-west side: the south side is an artificially built up terrace. The Ayyūbid remains are confined to the more or less rectangular northern enceinte, which had four gates, the Bāb al-Mudarraḡī built by the Amīr Ḷarāḵūḡh in 579/1183-4\*, two gates at the Burḡī al-Maṭar and the Burḡī al-Imām and the Bāb al-Kulla. To this first period may also be assigned a long stretch of curtain wall with fairly uniformly spaced half-round towers which starts at the east of



the Burđi al-Muqaṭṭam and runs round the south, east and north sides of the enceinte. The ramparts were connected by a *chemin de ronde* and had rounded crenellations. These fortifications which, Creswell judges, must have been virtually complete at the time of Ṣalāh al-Dīn's death, were strengthened by al-Malik al-ʿAdil in 604/1207-8, when he added three great square towers, the Burđi al-Ṣuffa, the Burđi Kerkyalān and the Burđi al-Ṭurfa, all built athwart the southern sector of the walls, cutting the *chemin de ronde* so as to form individually defensible redoubts in case of need. The Bāb al-Karāfa at the Burđi al-Imām was also reinforced, and, among other works, two towers on the eastern sector, the Burđi al-Ḥaddād (Ḥadid?) and the Burđi al-Raml were converted into circular bastions. On the completion of these works al-Malik al-ʿAdil took residence in the palace there. Makrīzī states that the Citadel was built with stone from the pyramids at Dīza; most of it is, however, of soft Muqaṭṭam limestone which was quarried on the spot. In Creswell's view the rusticated masonry is easily attributable to al-ʿAdil since he employed it for fortifications at Buṣrā, Damascus and elsewhere.

The purpose of the Citadel was internal defence, against the possibility of a Fāṭimid counter-attack or an insurrection of the populace of al-Kāhira. A second Ayyūbid fortress with the same purpose, a secure palace complex, the Kalʿat al-Rawḍa, was built on Rawḍa by al-Ṣāliḥ Nađīm al-Dīn Ayyūb, 638/1240-1. It contained a *ḥāʿa* (Creswell, *MAE* ii, 84-7) with an enlarged *durḥāʿa* to take a free-standing dome, probably wooden. It also had a Gothic doorway, doubtless carved on the spot by some of the Frankish prisoners taken by al-Ṣāliḥ on his Syrian campaign. Although nothing now survives of this fortress of sixty towers, it remains of interest, for it was here that al-Ṣāliḥ installed the garrison of Mamlūks known, from their station on the Nile (Baḥr al-Nīl), as Baḥrī, which eventually supplanted the Ayyūbid dynasty (al-Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, Ziyāda i, 341).

*Mosques.* There are no surviving Ayyūbid mosques in Cairo, and no Ayyūbid restoration inscriptions from either the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn or the mosque of ʿAmr, which under their occupation was the only mosque in which the *ḥayḍa* was permitted, in an attempt to eradicate the importance of al-Azhar as the centre of Fāṭimid propaganda. More curiously, the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn by the Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal, who added a *miḥrāb* c. 487/1094\*, appears to have been respected, since the ʿAlid *shahāda* which appears on it has never been defaced.

*Madrasas.* It would appear probable that the Ayyūbids relied more upon the institution of the *madrasa* to combat the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. Time has dealt harshly with these foundations however. One of the first foundations of Ṣalāh al-Dīn's occupation of Egypt was a *Shāfiʿī madrasa* near the grave of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī in the southern cemetery (begun 572/1176-7). Of this nothing remains but the magnificent teak cenotaph of al-Shāfiʿī dated 574/1178-9\* and the work of the *nađībīyār* ʿUbayd b. Maʿall. The combination of venerated tomb with *madrasa* was an interesting exploitation of the principle of the Fāṭimid *mashhads* for orthodox Sunnī ends. Elements of the *madrasa* probably survived until the late 12/18th century, but the tomb of the Imām underwent one great transformation, under al-Malik al-Kāmil, who in 608/1211 [281] built an enormous wooden-domed mausoleum, which has been frequently restored since but is still arguably the most impressive mausoleum-shrine of Cairo (see Pls. 2, 2a).

(For the chronology see G. Wiet, *Les inscriptions du mausolée de Shāfiʿī*, in *BIE*, xv (1933), 167-85.) Remains of a *madrasa* in the Sūḥ al-Naḥḥāsin attest a second foundation of al-Kāmil, the Kāmiliyya [428], 622/1225 (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 375), but the best preserved of all is a double two-*iwān madrasa* on the Kaṣaba, the main street of Fāṭimid Cairo, by al-Ṣāliḥ Nađīm al-Dīn Ayyūb [38], 641/1243-4\*, with a single minaret crowned by a *mabḥara* above the porch in the centre of the façade and a street between which separates the two buildings. Apart from a decorated street façade which depends for its ornament on the tradition of the courtyard façades of al-Azhar, the *madrasas* are almost in ruins, though the crown of the vault of the west *iwān* of the left-hand *madrasa* has inserts of stone vaulting in the brick substructure, which are executed without centring as in Upper Egypt, an architectural practice which has attracted little attention from archaeologists working on Cairo but which is fairly frequent in the 7th/13th-8th/14th centuries. The most significant feature of the foundation, however, is the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ [38], 667/1249\* but completed (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 374) 648/1250. One of the last post-mortem funerary constructions of Cairo, it is also the first conspicuous funerary foundation, the *ḥibla*-oriented mausoleum essentially forming part of the street façade and thus one of the most conspicuous features of the building. This approach was to become so much a standard feature of the architecture of Mamlūk Cairo that where a choice between a *ḥibla* orientation and a street façade arose it was often the latter which prevailed.

*Tombs.* A funerary construction of a more traditional type is the "Tomb of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs" [276] near Sayyida Naḥsa, possibly as early as 640/1242-3, with very rich decoration of carved and painted plaster, which contains the cenotaphs of many of the caliphs who lived in Egypt as Mamlūk puppets after the fall of the caliphate of Baḥdād. The domed mausoleum is enclosed in a vast *ḥawṣh* with seven *miḥrābs* in the *ḥibla* wall and the remains of a monumental entrance. In the post-Ayyūbid period such isolated mausolea without appurtenances are very much the exception.

Few public works of the Ayyūbid period survive. The Ayyūbid elements of the aqueduct which supplied the Citadel with water were incorporated into the works of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Two bridges on the Dīṭza road remain, however, with inscriptions from the time of Ṣalāh al-Dīn in the name of Karākūsh (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 465 ff.) and restoration inscriptions of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 716/1316, Kāʿit Bāy, 884/1479 and Husayn Pāshā, 1087/1676.

#### MAMLŪKS

*Fortifications.* There are no considerable Mamlūk fortifications extant in Cairo. The Kaṣr al-Rawḍa was restored under Baybars and the restoration inscriptions of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel relate principally to the building of an irregular southern enceinte and to the construction of a new aqueduct connecting the Citadel with the Nile and incorporating into it part of the wall of Ṣalāh al-Dīn which had been intended to connect the *ḥarāba* of al-Fuṣṭāṭ with al-Kāhira but was never completed. The aqueduct was begun as early as 712/1312 (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 229; Casanova's translation erroneously has 711/1311, cf. Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 255-9 also for the later history of the aqueduct). The buildings of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel included a large mosque on the *ṣabn* plan [143] with a

foundation inscription of 718/1318\*, which was considerably modified in 735/1335 (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 212, 325—when the large wooden dome over the *miḥrāb* supported on ten columns of Aswan granite was doubtless added. The mosque also has two minarets said to have been decorated by craftsmen from Tabriz: if this report is really to be believed the craftsmen appear to have forgotten their skill on the way to Cairo. The palace of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the *Qaṣr al-Ablak* (so called from its use of bi-coloured voussoirs for the arches of the main *ḥā'a*), also known as the Bayt Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, was destroyed in 1824. It has been possible to reconstruct it, however, from descriptions given by Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (Bibliothèque Nationale MS arabes 583, folio 190a) and al-Maḥrizī (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 209-10, which gives the date of construction as 713-4/1313-5). The palace consisted of a great *iwān* (cf. Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 260-4) and a central *ḥā'a*, which appears to have had flat-roofed *iwāns* and a central dome on wooden pendentives. The palaces of the amirs which in Maḥrizī's time covered the southern slopes of the Citadel have now entirely disappeared, those which still remained doubtless being destroyed when the palace of al-Dīawhara [505] was built by Muḥammad ʿAll in 1229/1814.

*Mosques.* The earliest of the Bahrī Mamlūk mosques is that of Baybars in the Maydān Dāhir [1], 665/1266\* (see Pls. 3, 3a, 3b), completed two years later, on a polo-ground well to the north-west of the Fāṭimid walled city. Built very much on the plan of the mosque of al-Ḥākim, though without the *siyāda* and without the two minarets, it has three monumental entrances, the decoration of which is a curious blend of North Syrian motifs and the ornament of the Fāṭimid mosque of al-Aḥmar (see above). The building has been largely gutted; the wood and marble brought for it by Baybars from Dīaffa has disappeared and only fragments of the rich stucco decoration of the window frames remain. Its most conspicuous feature is the large square *maḥṣūra* in front of the *miḥrāb*, doubtless originally covered with a wooden dome and unparalleled in scale in the mosque architecture of Cairo. With the exception of Lāḍjīn's restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (see *Restorations* below), the principal period of mosque construction in Cairo would appear to be from 715/1315 onwards, partly following on the foundation of the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel and partly taking rather belated advantage of the relaxation of the restriction of the *ḥuṭba* to a very limited number of mosques inside Cairo. The foundations, often on a large scale, are all of amirs, not of sultans, and are chiefly on the main arteries to the south and south east of the Fāṭimid walls leading towards the Citadel. They include Ālmalik (?) al-Ḥūkāndār [24], 719/1319\*, Aḥmad al-Miḥmāndār [115], 725/1324-5\*, Ālmās [Yilmāz, less probably Ölmez] [130], 730/1329-30\* (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 307), Kūṣūn [202], 730/1329-30\*, which has a monumental porch on the east at some distance from the mosque itself, Beṣṭāk [205], 735/1335, and Altinbuḡā al-Marīdānī [120], 739-40/1339-40\*, the grandest and most inventive of the lot, with many columns of Aswan granite complete with Ptolemaic capitals, glazed ceramic window-grilles, carved wooden *maṣṣabiyya* screens separating the *ḥibla riwāḥs* from the *ṣaḥn*, and a very curiously indented façade on the Darb al-Aḥmar. There are three further mosques of this period, Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī [112], 745-6/1344\*, Aḳsunḳur [123], 747-8/1346-8\*—better known from its restoration by Ibrāhīm Aḡḡā Mustabfiẓān in 1062/1652\*, who

covered part of the interior with (bad) blue and white tiles and made it known as the Blue Mosque, and Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī [147], 750/1349\* (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 312-3 has 756/1355-6). These foundations vary considerably in their dimensions, but their façades always follow the line of the street in which they are built, any divergences from the *ḥibla* orientation which this might entail being reconciled by setting the interior plan askew. None are primarily funerary constructions and some are quite definitely not, for example the mosques of Kūṣūn, who built a mausoleum and *khānkāh* [290-1] in the southern cemetery 736/1335 (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 425), and of Shaykhū, whose *khānkāh* and mausoleum are directly opposite [152], 756/1355\*—.

The Cairene mosques from the time of Sultan Ḥasan onwards, if even grander in scale, are fewer in number and, even in the case of royal foundations, usually form part of a more complex institution. This is reflected in the terminology of the literary sources, which becomes steadily more diverse. The mosque of Sultan Ḥasan [133], 757/1356-754/1363\* (see Pl. 4), described in its *wakfiyya* as *hādha'l-masjid al-ḡiāmi' wa'l-madāris*, is variously described by al-Maḥrizī as *madrasa* and *ḡiāmi'*. Its central feature is indeed a vast cruciform *madrasa* for the four *madḥhabs* with an open courtyard containing a domed fountain (*fawwāra*). The principal *iwān*, allotted to the Hanafīs for teaching purposes, contains a marble *minbar* and a monumental *miḥrāb*, leaving no doubt that the functions of *madrasa* and *masjid ḡiāmi'* were not exclusive. Remarkably, the *ḥibla iwān* gives on to a palatial tomb-chamber, originally covered with a wooden dome. The *madrasas* occupy each corner of the main courtyard and consist of many storeys of cells disposed round a small interior courtyard. Annexed to the construction are still to be found a *miḍāt* or ablution courtyard (in Cairene architecture it is unusual for fountains in the courtyards of mosques or *madrasas* to be used for ablutions before the late Ottoman period), a high water-tower, a *ḥayṣariyya* with the remains of shops, and a *rab'*, which may also have served as a hospital. Complete specification of the appurtenances, many of which have disappeared in the last hundred years, must await publication of the *wakfiyya* of the institution. In the architecture of 8th/14th-century Islam as a whole, not only of al-Kāhira, the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan is outstanding for the vastness of its conception and scale and is particularly remarkable for its height. The interpretation of its architectural history has not significantly advanced since the publication of Max Herz Bey's monograph (see Bibliography), except that unconfirmed speculations that the porch might be of Anatolian inspiration have now been confirmed by comparison with the two-minaret porch of the Salḡūḡ Gök Medrese at Sivas (see SALDJÜKS: ARCHITECTURE] 670/1271-2 (J. M. Rogers, *Seljuk influence on the monuments of Cairo*, in *Kunst des Orients*, vii/1 (1972), 40-68). The building, which remained unfinished at the time of Sultan Ḥasan's death, had an eventful history under the early Burḡī Mamlūk sultans and its vast scale made it rather unsuitable for general imitation. The façade was, however, imitated by al-Muʿayyad Shaykh in his mosque, with its other dependencies, including two minarets placed on top of the Bāb Zuwayla [190], 818/1415-823/1420 (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 328-30), and he paid the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan the further compliment of appropriating the great bronze doors from its entrance and a bronze chandelier from the interior for his own construction.

The mosque of al-Muʿayyad, the last considerable mosque of Mamlūk Cairo, is built on the *ṣaḥn* plan,

and the remains of its courtyard façade show it to have been also the last imitation of the blind arcading and rosettes which were taken over by al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh from the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn for his refection of the courtyard of al-Azhar. Polychrome marbles on a vast scale were expropriated for the decoration of the *ḥibla* wall, and the mausoleum even contains fragments of an Ikhshīdid cenotaph; decoration of such richness, or rapacity, was not subsequently possible in the architecture of the Mamlūk period. The later 9th/15th century mosques of Cairo, even royal foundation like that of *Ḍiḡmaḡ* in the Darb Sa'āda, 853/1449\*, are comparatively on a very small scale indeed. Their plans become progressively more similar to those of *madrasas*, chiefly of the two-*iwān* type with a reduced *ṣahn*, which eventually becomes roofed with a wooden lantern, and the approximation of plan is doubtless due to the fact that the mosque became simply a minor element of complex foundations. Kā'it Bāy, the most considerable builder of the Burjī Mamlūks, built no mosques which were not primarily some other institution, and the chief interest of those few buildings of his reign which might be classified as primarily mosques, like that of Kidīmās (Kačmāz) al-Ishākī [114], 885-6/1480-1\*, is not their scale or comprehensiveness but the architectural problems they solve. In the last case an island site is used, and the ablution courtyard, the *ṣhayḡh*'s house and a *sabil-kuttāb* (see below, *Ottomans*), which lie across a street, have to be connected by a bridge. The elements of the foundation are remarkably compressed, and the maximum use is made both of the street façades and of their symmetrical decoration. However, pressure on space inside the city, and doubtless a sufficiency of mosques in the various quarters of al-Kāhira, made the lavish foundations of the Bahrī Mamlūks either impossible or unnecessary.

*Madrasas*. With the probable exception of al-Azhar itself and the *madrasas* associated with it—those of Ṭāybars, 709/1309-10, Aḡbughā, 734-40/1333-39\*, Gawhar (*Djawhar*), 844/1440\* (Wiet *CIA* 118 No. 572), and possibly the Ḡhannāmiyya [96], 774/1372-3\*—the *madrasas* of Cairo in the Mamlūk period had no comparable function to the metropolitan *madrasas* of Ottoman Istanbul, which served as schools for those of the 'ulamā' destined to hold the highest administrative positions in the empire. They are almost invariably funerary constructions, to which the mausoleum of the founder was attached, well before his death if possible, and in fact provided an excuse for the erection of a conspicuous tomb, prejudice against which still existed among the orthodox 'ulamā' in the 7th/13th-8th/14th centuries. Moreover, at least with royal foundations, where more land for building might be available, the prime consideration was that the mausoleum should face on to the street in order to be as conspicuous as possible, preferably at the *ḥibla* side of the foundation, which explains the preponderance of royal mausolea on the west side of the Kaṣaba. The reconciliation of the conflicting demands of *ḥibla*-orientation, a façade on the street for the mausoleum, symmetrically disposed windows and doors for the attached foundation and so far as possible a symmetrical internal disposition, partly explains the labyrinthine convolutions of the entrance to the *ṣahn* of the *madrasa* of Taghrībirdī [209], 844/1440\*, or the bizarre assemblage of passages and closets against the *ḥibla* wall of that of the Kādī Abū Bakr Muẓhir [49], 884/1479-80\*. In principle the *ḥibla* came first, and in the Burjī period a certain revival or rigorism led to the correction of defectively

oriented buildings, for example a 9th/15th-century *mīhrāb* built into the *ḥibla* wall of the mausoleum of the Imām al-Ṣhāfi'ī; however, in cases of conflict the symmetry of the street façade in funerary foundations generally took first place.

The exceptional character of the independent, non-funerary *madrasa* is shown by the fact that in the Burjī period only two *madrasas*, both founded by Kā'it Bāy (on the Ka'at al-Kabṣh [223], 880/1475\*, and on the Island of Rawḡa, described also as a mosque by Ibn Iyās (text ii, 205, 211, 271, 301) and completed by 896/1491, the only standing monument of any antiquity on the island), can be considered as non-funerary foundations. One funerary *madrasa* did not exclude the possibility of other funerary foundations either. The amīr Karāsunḡur, who built a *madrasa* [31] in 700/1301 in Cairo, built a tomb at Aleppo when nā'ib of that town and is buried in a tomb, the Gunbadh-i Ḡhaffāriyya, at Marāḡha [q.v.] in N.W. Iran, whither he had fled in 712/1312. The amīr Tankizbughā actually built two foundations inside Cairo, one in the southern cemetery [298], c. 760/1359 (Creswell's dating), and one on a spur of the Muḡaṭṭam to the east of the Citadel [85], 764/1362\*, which contains a canopy mausoleum (*ḡahār fāḡh*) completed four years after his death. Even Barḡūḡ, who had founded a funerary *madrasa intra muros* [187], 786-8/1384-6\*, is reported to have asked on his deathbed to be buried in a *ḡubba* near the graves of various venerated *ṣhayḡhs*, which is one of the motives given by al-Maḡrīzī (*Khīṭāṭ*, ii, 464) for the location of the *ḡhānḡāḡh* of Farādī in the desert [149], 803/1400-813/1410\*, where Barḡūḡ is indeed buried. This suggests that whereas institutionally speaking *madrasa* and *ḡhānḡāḡh* are not exclusive terms, the latter were preferred as places of burial; in any case Barḡūḡ's reported wish is curiously similar to the Timūrids' motives for the development of *Ṣhahr-i Sabz* (Kīsh, Kīshsh) and the *Ṣhāh-i Zinde* at Samarḡand [q.v.] as their family cemeteries.

Regarding the evolution of the plans of Cairene *madrasas*, in particular of the cruciform *madrasa*, an authoritative account has been given by Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 104-34). The institution was imported from Syria by the Ayyūbids, but no surviving Ayyūbid monument in Egypt or Syria is cruciform in plan and the lists of the known *madrasas* of Damascus up to 695/1295 and of Cairo up to 639/1242, mostly *Ṣhāfi'ī* or *Ḥanafī*, show few to two rites and none at all for four. The *Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya* at Baḡhdād (631/1233) was intended for four rites, but Creswell has shown (*MAE*, ii, 126-7), that it was not cruciform, whereas the first Cairene cruciform *madrasa* built by Baybars, the *Zāhiriyya* [37], 660/1262\*, does not appear to have been intended for all four rites. This is also untypical in that it does not appear to have been a funerary construction, Baybars having built his tomb in the *Madrasa al-Zāhiriyya* at Damascus [see *DIAMASHQ*]. The cruciform plan was not immediately adopted for the *madrasa*, that of Kalā'ūn [43], 683-4/1284-5\*, having one *iwān* only and a sanctuary three bays deep. The first cruciform *madrasa* in Cairo for all four rites was that of al-Nāṣir Muḡammad [44], 695/1295-703/1304\*, and only two others appear to be recorded by Maḡrīzī, those of Sultan Ḥasan (see above) and *Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār* (*Khīṭāṭ*, ii, 401) [35], 811/1408\*. The cruciform plan was, of course, more widely employed, for mosques as well as for *madrasas*, though always with a tendency for the axial *iwāns* to enlarge at the expense of the side ones. It was, however, most conspicuously employed in the two surviving hospitals (*māristāns*) in Cairo,

that of Ǧalāʾūn [43], 683/1284, and that of al-Muʾayyad [257] (see Pls. 5, 5a), 821-3/1418-20 (*Khīṭat*, ii, 408), the façade of which suggests some direct acquaintance with the Mengüdjikid hospital at Divriği in Central Anatolia (626/1228 onwards). The hospital of al-Muʾayyad was, however, turned into a mosque in 825/1421-2.

The great majority of the Mamlūk *madrāsas* of Cairo are modifications of the two-*iwān* type. Even if we cannot accept Creswell's suggestion that the plan of such *madrāsas* was entirely determined by that of the domestic architecture of Cairo, in particular the *ḥāʾa*, we may readily admit that domestic architecture and the *madrāsas* of the Mamlūk period developed *pari passu*. There are even two *madrāsas* which bear inscriptions proving that they were originally houses, al-Ǧhannāmiyya [96], 774/1372-3\*, and that of Khūshqadam al-Aḥmadī, formerly the palace of Taṣhtimūr al-Dawādār [153], 768/1366-7 or 778/1376-7. The dates of their conversion to *madrāsas* are curiously late: the former must have been a *madrāsa* by 827/1423 when the *Khīṭat* was completed, but according to Ibn Iyās the first *khūṭba* was pronounced in the latter only in 801/1486. The conversion was, of course, simple: it required only the hollowing out of a *mihṛāb* on the *ḥibla* side and the construction of a minaret, both essential features of the Cairene *madrāsa*.

**Khānḳāhs.** Mamlūk Cairo is rich in religious foundations of a quasi-monastic type, *sāwiyyas*, *khānḳāhs* (pl. usually *khawānikh* or *khānḳāhāt*) and *ribāṭs*. The first of these were generally small constructions housing a *shaykh*, with room for students to group informally round him. They are rarely of architectural importance, and were often not endowed at the express request of the *shaykh*. Of the only two mentioned in Creswell's *Brief Chronology*, the Zāwiyyat al-ʿAbbār [146] (c. 684/1285-6, *Khīṭat*, ii, 420) consists of two domed mausolea and is equally well known as the *Khānḳāh* al-Bundukdāriyya, and the Zāwiyyat ʿAydimur (ʿAydemir) al-Pahlawān [22], the date of which is disputed (see Van Berchem, *CIA*, 125), was almost certainly a *madrāsa*. Where the sources speak of other *sāwiyyas* they may say no more than that they consisted of a *rukn* or a *ruwāk*: they are, therefore, extremely difficult to identify architecturally.

The earliest *khānḳāh* founded in Egypt was Ayyūbid (569/1173-4), in the palace of Saʿīd al-Suʿadā, a freed slave of al-Mustansīr (*Khīṭat*, ii, 415-7, 422). The site may still be identified, but the building has been so often changed that no idea of its original disposition can be formed. Curiously enough, throughout the period up to the Ottoman conquest, only seven buildings are named, or implied, in their foundation inscriptions as *khānḳāhs*: those of Baybars al-Djāshenkīr [Čāshnegīr] [32], 706-9/1306-9\*, *Shaykhū* al-ʿUmarī [152], 756/1355, Niẓām al-Dīn Iṣḥāk [140], 757/1356\*, Muḳbil al-Zimām al-Dāʾūdī [177], 797-8/1395\*, and three in the eastern cemetery, Farāǧ b. Barkūk [149], 803/1400-813/1410\*, al-Aṣhrāf Barsbāy [121], 835/1432\*, and al-Aṣhrāf Ināl [158], 854-60/1450-6\*. The conception of a *khānḳāh* as an independent construction, with kitchens, a bath and living quarters either disposed round a central courtyard or in separate blocks, as in that of Farāǧ b. Barkūk, is well established by Maḳrīzī, Ibn Taghribirdī, Ibn Iyās and al-Sakhāwī; but the extreme divergence in the numbers of *khānḳāhs* they give, from twenty-nine in the first case to a mere four in the last, and the fact that each gives a slightly different list shows that the term, like *madrāsa*, is far from having an exclusive sense in the architectural history of Cairo. The general

tendency in the Burdjī period is for *khānḳāhs* to be subsumed in epigraphy under *madrāsa* or *djāmiʿ*, though reference may be made to a *mashyakhat taṣawwuf* or *mashyakha ṣūfiyya*, and, as in the case of the foundation of al-Aṣhrāf Barsbāy [121] above, the "*khānḳāh*" of the inscription may become "*madrāsa*" in the *wakfiyya* (A. Darrag, *L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961, 50). Up to the end of the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which coincides with the foundation of most of the *khānḳāhs* mentioned in the sources, it seems to have been the rule for Ṣūfīs to live in *khānḳāhs*, in cells either grouped round a courtyard, as in the foundation of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Djāshenkīr [Čāshnegīr] [32] above, and of Salār and Sandjar al-Djāwīlī [221], 703/1303-4\*, on the Djabal Yaṣḥkur, or in an annexe, usually of cruciform plan, or, finally, as in the foundations of Ināl, Kāʾit Bāy and Qurḳumās, in a *rabʿ* or block of living-units set within the main enclosure but structurally independent of it. In the latter two types there is no necessary resemblance between the annexe and the main construction.

By the first quarter of the 9th/15th century living quarters were being suppressed from new foundations within the city, though whether this was for lack of space or of Ṣūfīs is unclear. A condition of residence within the *khānḳāhs* of the Bahrī period often stipulated in their *wakfiyyas* (cf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī, *Dirāsāt taʾriḫiyya wa ʾāḥrīyya fī wathāʾiq min ʿaṣr al-Ǧhūrī*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cairo, 168-9, for the *wakfiyya* of Baybars al-Djāshenkīr was that Ṣūfīs, as well as taking vows of poverty and piety, were obliged to relinquish salaried appointment within the administration or in any other religious institution. Non-residential *taṣawwuf* was permitted in the Bahrī period under some circumstances, e.g., to married Ṣūfīs, but *khānḳāhs* founded at this time were seen as essentially places for private *dhikr* to which non-residents were in principle not admitted. From the time of al-Muʾayyad *Shaykh* onwards (*wakfiyya* quoted by ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 128) the emphasis changed to the communal *dhikr*, the previous restrictions on alternative employment for Ṣūfīs were less rigorously enforced, and the important element of *taṣawwuf* became daily attendance at the *ḥudūr*. The later Burdjī *khānḳāhs* were dependent parts of complex funerary foundations, and were sometimes no more than *makhāds*, iike that of al-Ǧhūrī [66-7], 908-10/1503-4\*, a large oriented hall where the daily *dhikr djāmāʿī* or *ḥudūr waṣīfat al-taṣawwuf* was celebrated at certain specified hours.

Much more work is required on the development of the *khānḳāh* in Mamlūk Egypt (for a survey see S. Mehrez, *The Ghawriyya in the urban context, an analysis of its form and function*, IFAO Cairo, forthcoming). It has been suggested that the change from residential to non-residential Ṣūfī centres was at least partly the result of the decadence of the *ṭariḳas* in 9th/15th century Egypt; this may be true, but the sources are extraordinarily silent on the precise *ṭariḳa* for which a given *khānḳāh* was intended or which eventually took control of it. Divergences in the practices of the *ṭariḳas* led in 8th/14th-9th/15th century Iran and in Ottoman Turkey to profound modifications in the architecture of the *khānḳāh*, and it would not be reasonable to suppose that Cairo was any different in this respect. The only hope of clarifying this question appears to lie either in the publication of the Mamlūk *wakfiyyas* of Egypt (e.g. the *wakfiyya* of Barsbāy (Aḥmad Darrādī, *Hudūdīyat wakf al-aṣhrāf Barsbāy* 72, 74) tells us that he founded,

to the west of his *khānkhāh* in the desert, a *zāwiya* for the benefit of the *Ṣūfis* (*Rifā'īs*) or in a prosopographic analysis of the *shaykh*s of the various *khānkhāh*s during the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries.

*Ribāṭ*s. *Ribāṭ*s (used always in the religious sense and not in the sense of *khān*) are rare foundations in Cairo and the only foundations named as such in inscriptions are Burdjī, that of Yaḥyā Zayn al-Dīn [141], 856/1452\* (*CIA*, 746, No. 270), and two of al-Ashraf Ināl, one attached to his mausoleum in the desert [158], 854/1450-860/1456\*, and one inside al-Kāhira in the *Khurūnfiṣh* [61], 857/1453-865/1461\*. There is little evidence that the foundations were intentionally associated with the early Islamic *ribāṭ*s for the *muḍāhidūn* [see RIBĀṬ], and the occurrence in the *ribāṭ* of Ināl [158] of a second foundation inscription describing it as a *khānkhāh* (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 399 No. 274) suggests that the two terms were by this period virtually synonymous.

*Tombs*. The most splendid of the mausolea of the Mamlūk period are, of course, those "attached" to the great funerary foundations—of Ḳalā'ūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Barḳūḳ *intra muros* and of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ on to Ḳā'it Bāy in the eastern cemetery, though, as C. Kessler has observed, it was really the foundation which was attached to the mausoleum, providing its justification, so that, as the prejudice against monumental mausolea gradually waned, the tombs took over a progressively greater part of the foundation or became even more central to its plan. On the other hand there are a number of smaller mausolea from this period, if not exactly isolated then certainly worthy of remark. That of Kūḍūk\*, for example, incorporated into the mosque of Aḳsunḳur [123], 747-8/1346-7\*, is exceptional in being neither oriented nor having a *miḥrāb*. That of Azbak (Özbek) al-Yūsufī is simply one of the side niches of his two-*iwān* *madrasa* [211], 900/1494-5\*, with a wooden *mashrabiyya* grille to separate it from the *durḳā'a*. The Kubbat 'Asfūr [al-'Asfūr?] in the eastern cemetery [132], post 913/1507, is attached merely to a *sabīl*. So concerned was al-Ḡhūrī that his mausoleum [67], completed 909/1504\*, should be on the Ḳaṣaba that the dependencies are almost eliminated and the mausoleum reaches right from the street to the *ḳibla* wall. The mausoleum of Ḳhayr Beg is attached to his palace, [249], pre-910/505, and the space between filled by a mosque or *muṣallā* with a *miḥrāb* which deviates 28° with reference to the *ḳibla*. There are a few Mamlūk canopy tombs (*ḳahār jāḳs*), notably those of Tankizbughā [85], 764/1362\*, and a mausoleum within the *khānkhāh* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy in the desert [121], 835/1432\*, though most Mamlūk tombs are domed chambers (hence the general use of the term *ḳubba* for mausoleum). Most interesting of these isolated constructions is al-Ḳubba al-Fadāwiyya at 'Abbāsiyya [5], a vast domed edifice datable to 884-6/1479-81\* on a high basement, part of which serves as a *muṣallā*, but which has no ground floor porch and which is reached by a grand staircase on the exterior.

*General considerations*. It is often asserted that the architecture of Cairo shows a progressive decline from the Bahrī to the Burdjī periods. There was certainly a change of taste in the later period with an elaboration of surface ornament on both exterior and interior surfaces, in marble veneer, glass paste or simply carved stone, the exterior surfaces of the domes of the larger royal foundation, from that of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ onwards, being carved with elaborate tracery in high relief. Wood was scarce and an expensive import, no marble appears to have

been quarried after the Byzantine period, and despite all expedients the supply of antique material had almost dried up by the mid-9th/15th century. The devices resorted to to supply this deficiency, for example the use of bitumen or red paste to fill in grooved designs on white marble and thus create the illusion of polychrome marble veneer (*Madrasa* of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr Muḥbir [49], 884/1479-80\*; Kidjmās [Ḳaḍ-māz] al-Ishāḳī [114], 885-6/1480-1\*; funerary *madrasa* of Ḳā'it Bāy [99] completed 879/1474\* (see Pl. 6); *madrasa* of al-Ḡhūrī [66] completed 910/1504\*), show technical inventiveness rather than decadence. Pressure on space within the confines of al-Kāhira doubtless explains the smaller size of funerary foundations, in order to accommodate the standard appurtenances, and there is a tendency for the proportion of height to ground area to increase. There also does seem to have been a misguided preconception among Mamlūk builders that a plan or elevation could be reduced by a factor of two or four without losing in effectiveness, and this smaller scale naturally makes all-over surface decoration even more conspicuous. However, where space was freely available, as in the eastern cemetery, the Burdjī monuments of the whole of the 9th/15th century remain architecturally imposing. This period also saw a tremendous development in the technology of stone work. The few stone domes of the Bahrī period are small and mainly experimental constructions: where a large area was to be covered the dome had necessarily to be wood (as in the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī or of Sultan Ḳasan, both incidentally restored in their original material by Ḳā'it Bāy) or of brick, as in the mausoleum within the *madrasa* of Sarghatmish [218], 757/1356\*. In the Burdjī period the enormous span of the domes of the *khānkhāh* of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ represents perhaps the apogee of Mamlūk stone-work in Egypt, but the technique was maintained right up to the fall of the Mamlūks, in the tomb and palace of Ḳhayr Beg [248-9], 906-8/1501-2\*. These are scarcely grounds for speaking of decadence.

*Domestic Architecture*. In the discussion of the Cairene *madrasa* the central rôle of the *ḳā'a* in the grand domestic architecture of al-Kāhira has already been stressed. In many cases a *salsabil* in the wall of an *iwān* emitted a trickle of water which flowed down into a pool in the centre of the *durḳā'a* (*ḳā'a* of Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn [50], otherwise known as the *wakf* of 'Uḥmān Katḳhudā, dated 751/1351\* not 651/1253 as in Creswell, *Brief Chronology*). Ventilation was assured by wind-funnels or towers (*malḳaf*, plur. *malāḳif*), facing north to catch the evening breeze, and these also occur in some religious buildings (the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'ī [116], 555/1160\*, where the shaft inconveniently issues at the top of the *minbar*, and in the *khānkhāh* of Baybars al-Djāshenḳir [32], 706-9/1306-9\*). The main *ḳā'a* may not be on the ground floor, and as in the case of the palace of Beṣḥtāk [34], 738 or 740/1337 or 1339, the *piano nobile* is reached by an exterior staircase up the side of a basement which contained the stables as well as a street façade of shops incorporating a *masdjīd* of Fātimid foundation, the Masdjīd al-Fidjīl. In the storeys above the *ḳā'a* were the private apartments, often looking on to it through wooden *mashrabiyya* screens: the result was to make some of the great houses of Cairo extremely high. Of most of these palaces the chief remains are the monumental porch giving on to the street (Mandjak al-Silāhdār [247], 747-8/1346-7\*; the Amīr Ṭāz [267], 753/1352, on the Shāri' al-Suyūfiyya), but one palace, of the amīr Yuṣḥbak, who to judge from an inscrip-

tion of 880/1475-6 was the last owner of the building, has been preserved almost in its entirety [266]. Its other current name, the Ḥawsh Bardak, suggests that it should be identified with the *iṣṭabl* (both stables and residence) built by Kūsūn as an enlargement of a palace of Sandjar and pillaged in 742/1341-2. After Yushbak's death in 887/1482 the palace was given by Kā'it Bāy to yet another amir, Ākbardī, the last recorded occupant, who died in 904/1498-9. The sequence of owners suggests that this palace, and possibly others as well, may have been an official residence, but this is so far undemonstrable and its continued use may simply be due to the lack of suitable housing for amirs holding high positions. It became customary, indeed, to incorporate earlier palace buildings within later structures, or to amalgamate adjoining buildings, so that they came to form rambling complexes of *ḥā'as* and *maḥ'ads*, north-facing loggias generally at mezzanine level on a basement of storerooms or servants' quarters (e.g., that of Mamāy [51], 901/1496\*, now known as the Bayt al-Kāḍī), disposed round irregular courtyards. The Rab' Raḍwān Bey [406] near the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bayt al-Kirīliyya, adjoining the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn [321], both 11th/17th-century constructions, incorporate earlier elements, and the same would appear to be true of the 9th/15th century, for example, the "palace" of Kā'it Bāy [228], 890/1485\*, in the Darb al-Aḥmar.

This tradition of appropriation of earlier houses and the resultant constructions rambling round a *ḥā'a* probably changed little from the Fāṭimid period onwards. It was certainly little affected by the Ottoman occupation, and Turkish influence on the architecture of al-Kāhira was probably at its least in this sphere. The Musafirikhāna palace [20], 1193/1779-1203/1788, is arguably more of an Istanbul-type construction, and Muḥammad 'Alī's palace of al-Djawhara [505], 1229/1814, shows much French influence. But the less elaborate houses of Ottoman Cairo continued the local tradition.

*Commercial Architecture.* The tenement houses or *rab's* of Cairo have never been studied architecturally as a group (most appear on the *Index* as "house-*wakhs*"). The Mamlūk baths of the city, numerous as they once were, scarcely survive. The entrance to the bath of Beshṭāk [244], pre-742/1341\*, and the central hall of a bath which formed part of the endowments of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh [410] (cf. 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 35-6, vi, 71) are the only important remains of the Mamlūk period. The *khāns* of the Mamlūk period are slightly better preserved, though, given the lavish documentary evidence from the Fāṭimid period onwards for *khāns* in which foreign merchants lodged and the fact that many of the high Mamlūk amirs engaged in trade, it is surprising that there should be only one surviving *khān* of the Bahrī Mamlūk period, the earliest in Cairo, that of Kūsūn [11] in the Djamāliyya quarter, pre-742/1341, the date of his death. Two *khāns* founded by Kā'it Bāy are preserved (the inscriptions use the word *khān*, though the literary sources almost invariably use the word *wakāla/wikāla*), one at al-Azhar with a *sabil-kuttāb* attached [75-6], 882/1477\*, and one [9] at Bāb al-Naṣr, 885/1481. The best preserved, however, is the Wikālat al-Nakhla [64]\*, which bears the cartouches of al-Ghūrī, 906/1501-922/1516. It consists of a courtyard approached through a monumental entrance surrounded by a ground floor of booths (*dakākin*) or depôts (*makhāzin*) with two upper storeys of rooms for lodging and, possibly, originally another storey as well. The plan

differs little from that of contemporary *khāns* in Aleppo and Damascus, though the building is much higher in proportion to its ground area, and the street façade has windows for each storey above the ground floor. These late Mamlūk *wikālas*, organized, as in Syria, according to trade as well as to the nationality of the merchants who inhabited them, changed very little after the Ottoman occupation, most of the surviving *khāns* being 10th/16th-12th/18th century in date.

Al-Ghūrī also built a *ḥaysāriyya* [53-4, 56] (undated), now known as the Khān al-Khallī, which was in fact a *khān* of 8th/14th century date ('Alī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 90, 301). It has been assumed that al-Ghūrī merely restored the *khān*, but the incomplete foundation inscription in his name (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 596, No. 406) leaves no doubt that it was a new foundation.

#### OTTOMANS

Most assertions of the disruptive effect of the Ottoman conquest upon the architecture of Cairo are based on prejudice or on superficial acquaintance with the monuments. The Mamlūk tradition as it had evolved under the Burjī Mamlūks was extraordinarily persistent, and, in contrast to Damascus, the Ottoman metropolitan tradition of architecture made itself felt only sporadically. Changes of various sorts did take place. The *Irsāliyye Khazīnesi*, a tax first fixed under Khādīm Sulaymān Pāshā (931/1524-941/1534) [see *IRSĀLIYYE*], left the Ottoman *wālis* with little money for building, and most of them left Egypt with heavy debts. In the later 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, when the Mamlūk beys prevented its remission to Istanbul, larger foundations were undertaken, like the mosque and dependencies of Muṣṭafā Shurbagī [Ābādī] Mīrzā at Būlāk [343], 1110/1698\*, the extensive restoration of al-Azhar, 1167/1753, and the mosque, *hawḍ* (drinking trough) and *sabil* of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab [62, 98], 1187/1774\*. The changes however, were by no means entirely the result of economic pressure. The Ottoman governors, generally in Egypt *en poste* for short periods, preferred to endow large funerary *kullīyyas* [*kullīyes*], complex foundations, in Istanbul, where large areas of land were still freely available for building in the central districts of the city. They did not intend, if they could help it, to die in Egypt; they did not have the Mamlūk tendency to build more than one mausoleum (the last Mamlūk to do this in Cairo was Kānsūh Abū Sa'īd with two mausoleums [360, 164] both dated 904/1499\*), and the discovery on their arrival that Cairo was almost entirely built up already and that land was too difficult, or too expensive, to expropriate must have greatly contributed to their lack of enthusiasm for large-scale foundations there. However, two early governors appear to have been exceptional in building in Egypt and not in Istanbul, Khādīm Sulaymān Pāshā (*wālī* 931/1524-941/1534), who built a mosque of Ottoman plan but Mamlūk decoration on the Citadel [142], 935/1528\* (chronogram), with a very curiously planned *tekke* behind it, and Iskandar Pāshā (governor 963/1556-966/1559) whose mosque, *tekke* and *sabil* at the Bāb al-Khalk (Khark) have all disappeared. The former is exceptional in having continued to build in Egypt after relinquishing his official duties: he is credited with a *wikāla* at Būlāk [539], 948/1541, and a *tekke intra muros*, al-Sulaymāniyya [225], 950/1543-4\* (but described in the foundation inscription as a *madrasa*).

*Sabils.* The distinction between Ottoman and Mamlūk architecture in Cairo is perhaps best shown

by considering the history of the *sabil*, the earliest surviving example of which is that in the name of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [561] at the porch of the foundation of Kalā'ūn. The cistern cannot be located, and the later elements of Cairene *sabils*, a carved stone *salsabil* or *shādhirwān* down which the water flowed into an interior pool and bronze grilles through which the water could be taken with a dipper, do not survive. The date is disputed: *Khiṭāf*, ii, 97 (followed by Creswell, *M.A.E.*, ii, 274-5) gives 726/1326, but there are clear signs of a subsequent restoration, when a *kuttāb* (Kur'ān school) may have been added above. One free-standing Bahrl *sabil*, that of Shaykhū [144], 755/1354\*, appears to be without a *kuttāb*, but by the early Burdjī period the joint construction, generally at the corner of a façade so that it might be accessible from two or three sides, becomes a feature of larger foundations, for example that on the façade of the *khānkāh* of Shaykhū [152], later than the foundation of 756/1355\*, and the pair at either end of the façade of the *khānkāh* of Farajī b. Barḳūk in the desert [149], 803/1400-813/1411\*. However, where a site at an important street junction could be employed, the *sabil-kuttāb* might become free-standing in the later Burdjī period, for example, that of Kā'it Bāy [324], 884/1480, with a magnificent revetment of marble veneer and a complex of small rooms behind.

In the Ottoman period the *sabil-kuttāb* became the most frequent of all commemorative foundations, doubtless for reasons of economy. It was almost invariably an independent foundation, even when built up against some earlier building. That of *Khusraw* [v.] (Husrev) Pāshā [52], 942/1535\*, is both typical of the genre and symptomatic of general Ottoman practice. Governor of Egypt from 940/1534 to 942/1536, he had built mosques at Diyārbakr (925-35/1519-29), Sarajevo (actually a *kullīyya* (*kullīyye*); cf. Mayer, *Architects* . . ., 50) (938/1532) and Van (975/1567), a mosque and double *madrasa*, the *Khusrawiyya*, at Aleppo (953/1546-7), and a *türbe* in Istanbul, all these three built by Sinān, a canopy tomb at Van (989/1581) and a *khān* on the Van-Bitlis road. His architectural activities are by far the most flagrant example of the Ottoman governors' neglect of Cairo, although his case is paralleled by that of Sinān Pāshā, twice governor of Egypt, whose numerous constructions in Syria and at Istanbul are represented in Cairo now only by his mosque at Bülāk [349], 979/1571\*. If (improbably) sheer poverty was *Khusraw Pāshā's* excuse, the habit of founding *sabil-kuttābs* in Cairo persisted throughout the period of Ottoman domination. The best known is that of 'Abd al-Rahmān Katkhudā [21], 1157/1744\* (see Pl. 7), an elegant Mamlūk pastiche which fully exploits the advantages of its situation at an important street junction. Architecturally, however, it is far from untypical; the *teshimes* of 11th-12th/17th/18th century Istanbul do not appear to have been copied at all, and the typically bow-fronted wooden-eaved Istanbul *sabils* (known as *ṣibyān mektepleri*) are not imitated in Cairo until the 19th century (mosque of Sulaymān Āghā Silāhdār [382], 1255/1839).

**Fortifications.** The Ottoman fortifications of the Citadel cannot ever have served much purpose. The Bāb al-'Azab [555], 1168/1754, a premature revival of romantic Crusader architecture, was restored by Muḥammad 'Alī when he occupied the Citadel and built there the Mint [606], 1227/1812, two palaces, the *Djāwhara* and the *Ḥarīm* [505, 612], 1229/1814 and 1243/1827, the Archives [605], 1244/1828, and ultimately the mosque of Muḥammad 'Alī [503], 1265/1848, the plan of which, in spite of frequent

assertions to the contrary, is based on that of the *Yeḥi Djamī'* at Istanbul. The Citadel was no longer a fortress in any strict sense of the word, and an earlier fortress of Muḥammad 'Alī on the Muḥaṭṭam Hills [455], 1225/1810, connected to the Citadel by a ramp, is so disposed that it cannot ever have had more than decorative value. Various gates of quarters (*ḥarāt*) datable to the Ottoman period remain within the walls of al-Kāhira, for example that of the *Ḥarāt al-Mabyaḍa* in the *Djamāliyya* [356], 1084/1673. There is no reason, however, to posit a revival of fortification within the city in the Ottoman period. The existence of such gates is well documented in the Mamlūk period, though none dating from this time has yet been identified.

**Mosques.** Although the principal religious foundations of Cairo in the Ottoman period are mosques, not *madrasas*, there is only one royal foundation, that of Malika Ṣafiyya [200], 1019/1610, though it is royal only by error in that its founder, 'Uṭmān Āghā, the Dār al-Sa'adet Āghā, had not been manumitted, so that the foundation was judged to revert to his owner, Malika Ṣafiyya. Although the masonry and much of the decoration is Cairene, the mosque plan comes closer to the metropolitan mosques of Istanbul than any other Ottoman building in Cairo. It is set in a walled enclosure of which one gateway [330], 1019/1610\*, still stands, on a high basement without shops and consists of a courtyard surrounded by domed arcades leading to a sanctuary with a dome on a hexagonal base which goes back in plan to that of the Üç Şerefeli mosque at Edirne. The next mosque in order of size is that of Sinān Pāshā at Bülāk [349], 979/1571\*, which was subsequently imitated by that of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dḥāhab [98], 1187/1774\*. The use of a dome similar to that of al-Kubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], 884-6/1479-81\*, rather than one of the dome types evolved in Istanbul, as a model for both mosques appears at first sight remarkable, though Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb (*Ta'rikh al-masājid*, i, 671) has adduced evidence that by the late 11th/17th century at least this Mamlūk mausoleum had become one of the sights for visitors to Cairo. Both mosques, like others of the 10th/16th-11th/17th centuries, introduce certain features which are more characteristic of the Ottoman architecture of Istanbul: a narthex with *mihrābs*, allegedly for late-comers to prayers, and, inside, a balcony above the entrance (it is not always clear whether a royal box or a gynaeceum was intended), and a sunken transverse passage across the sanctuary, a reconciliation, perhaps, of the Istanbul practice of entry into the sanctuary directly from the street rather than via a *ṣahn* or a *miḍāi*, as in Cairo. The balcony above the entrance first occurs in the architecture of Cairo in the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel, when it may actually have been a royal box; there appears to have been a gynaeceum right from the start in the mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahā'ī [112], 745-6/1344-5\*, and the sunken passage across the sanctuary occurs in various Burdjī monuments, including the mosque within the *khānkāh* of al-Aṣḥraf Barsbāy in the desert [121], 835/1432\*. Such Ottoman modifications, therefore, were mainly ritual rather than architectural.

This general point also applies to other Ottoman mosques of Cairo, for example the Maḥmūdiyya [135], 975/1568, very much a Burdjī Mamlūk building in construction but based on the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan opposite, even to the tomb-chamber behind the *ḫibla* wall, though the choice of a steep hill as a site makes the whole idea rather ineffective. The mosque of Dā'ūd Pāshā [472], 955/1548, combines an



irregularly shaped *muṣallā* of late 9th/15th-century type with an entrance more like a *ḥā'a* with a staircase incongruously occupying it; and the Ribāṭ al-*Āḥār* [320], 1073/1662-1224/1809, a much restored building which is now in part a basilical mosque, has a *ḥubba* attached which is no mausoleum but a repository for two limestone feet of Pharaonic workmanship, now revered as the *āihār al-nabawiyya* [see *QADAM SHARIF*] (For earlier restoration, in the name of Farādī b. Barḳūḳ and Kānshūh al-*Ghūrī*, see Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* 79-80, nos. 107, 129). There is a general tendency for basilical mosques, sometimes with a central lantern, like that of Muṣṭafā *Shurbagī* [Corbaḡī] Mirzā, [343] 110/1698\*, to replace those with an open *ṣahn*, the last of which is the mosque of al-Fakahānī [109], 1148/1736\*; but this again is the continuation of a Burḡī development. In general, the continuity of Mamlūk plans and materials is striking, and while, to judge from the extant remains, tile revetments of low quality were employed in some Ottoman buildings, when a flashy marble mosaic was required it could easily be executed by local craftsmen (mosque of al-Burdaynī [201]\*, 1025/1616-1038/1629\*).

*Madrasas and tekkes.* The Cairene *madrasas* of the Ottoman period are conspicuous only by their absence. The Takkiya Sulaymāniyya [225], 950/1543-4\*, and the *takkiya* and *sabil* of "Sulṭān Maḥmūd" [308], 1164/1751\*, which closely follows it in plan, are both described in their foundation inscriptions as *madrasas*, but there are scarcely any others known and a complete survey of the Ottoman epigraphy of Cairo is required to determine the question. Both these buildings follow the plan of an Istanbul *madrasa* with a raised courtyard surrounded by arcades with cells and a projecting axial *iwān* (*dars-ḥāna*): unlike their Istanbul counterparts they are oriented, so that the *darsḥāna* also serves as a *masḡid*. If they were also *tekkes* we have no information regarding the *ḥarīka* which occupied them. The situation is little better regarding the foundation of *ḥānḳāhs* in the Ottoman period. There is a *tekke* of the Mawlawiyya (Mevlevī) order attached to the tomb and *madrasa* of Ḥasan Ṣadaḳa (Sunkur Sa'ḏī) [263], 715/1315\*-721/1321\*, with a late 12th/18th-century wooden *semā'ḥāne* on an upper floor, and there is also a *tekke* of the Rifā'iyya [442], 1188/1774. Yet a third extant *tekke* of the Ottoman period is a Bektāshī convent at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam, an early 10th/16th-century foundation of considerable potential interest but which has long been totally inaccessible and has never been surveyed.

*Commercial architecture, etc.* It has already been remarked that the commercial and domestic architecture of Cairo appears to have changed little from the Mamlūk to the Ottoman period: almost all the major architectural changes in these spheres have been from the time of Muḥammad 'Alī onwards. This impression remains to be confirmed, however, and on this, as on the architecture of the 19th-century city, the basic work remains to be done.

*Restorations.* Any account of the architecture of al-Qāhira would be incomplete without some reference to the major restorations which the monuments have undergone. Almost all those still standing have undergone generally accurate major restoration at the hands of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* over the past ninety years. By no means all earlier restorations are commemorated by inscriptions (for example those of Kā'it Bāy in Sultan Ḥasan and the Imām al-Shāfi') or thought worthy of record by the literary sources: much of

the Islamic architecture of the city owes its relatively well preserved state to the fact that for most of the time *wakf* revenues must have been adequate for the upkeep of the foundation. Where this was not the case, in the Mamlūk period at least, money available for building was usually spent on a new foundation to commemorate the individual donor rather than on the repair of another's monument. Only this can explain the rarity of inscriptions commemorating major restorations in the architecture of al-Qāhira: it was, ultimately, more glorious to demolish a dilapidated building than to restore it.

The major restorations, therefore, are generally explained by special considerations. The Fāṭimid restorations of the mosques of 'Amr, Ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Azhar had a political motive, the propagation of the *da'wa*, as well as the necessity of coping with a population increase, and the Mamlūk and Ottoman restorations of the Citadel, the aqueduct and the main bridges extant in the Cairo area are readily comprehensible in terms of the necessity of maintaining public, or royal, utilities. The continuous series of inscriptions attesting additions to or restorations of al-Azhar by the Bahri and Burḡī sultans are an index of its importance in the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries as a teaching institution; while the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn [220] by Lāḡīn, 969/1296-7ā, the most considerable of the whole period involving two *mīhrābs*, a domed fountain (*ḥawwāra*) in the centre of the courtyard, a sundial and the virtual rebuilding of the minaret as well as, doubtless, unspecified structural repairs, was in prompt fulfilment of a vow, as is shown by the dating of the *minbar* he also erected there a fortnight after his accession, 696/1296. The earthquake of 702/1303 was evidently destructive enough to demand widespread repairs, of the mosque of al-Ḥākim by Baybars al-Dīshenḳīr, of the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i [116] by Bektimūr al-*Čükāndār*, and the mosque of 'Amr by the amīr Salār, who probably built the *mīhrāb* on the outer wall by the main entrance.

The other recorded Mamlūk restorations appear capricious in the extreme: a further restoration of the mosque of al-Ḥākim by Sultan Ḥasan, 760/1359 (*Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 277), a restoration of the mosque of al-Aḳmar [33] by Yilbughā al-Sālimī, 799/1397\*, a *minbar* in the name of Sultan Dīaḳmaḳ in the *madrasa* of Barḳūḳ *intra muros* [187], a *minbar* in the name of Kā'it Bāy in the *ḥānḳāh* of Farādī b. Barḳūḳ in the desert, 888/1483, and a re-endowment inscription of Barsbāy, 838/1435, in the *ḥawṣḳ* of *Dhu 'l-Nūn* al-Miṣrī (Wiet, *CIA*, 70, No. 565). Why they should be so few or so various is beyond the state of our knowledge.

In the light of this general lack of concern for older buildings without special importance, however, the scarcity of Ottoman restoration inscriptions becomes much less scandalous. Some restorations certainly appear capricious: for example that of the mosque of Aḳsunḳur by Ibrāhīm Aḡnā Mustahfīzān, 1062/1651-2\*, or that of Sultan Ḥasan by Ḥasan Aḡhā, 1082/1671-2\*, the latter of which may in any case refer only to the rebuilding of the fountain in the courtyard. Other Ottoman restoration inscriptions indicate a curious revival of interest in Fāṭimid *maṣḥads*: the *Maṣḥad* al-Dīyūshī to which are attached the remains of an undated Ottoman *tekke*, Sayyida Nafisa, which was apparently burned down at the Ottoman conquest, by 'Alī Pāshā Hekimoghlu, twice pāshā of Egypt (1170/1757); the Imām al-Layḥ (1201/1786-7); the mausoleum of Sīdī 'Uḳba, by Muḥammad Pāshā Silāḥdār (first rebuilt 1066/1655-6\* and



now known as al-Sādā al-Wafā'iyya [463]); and the shrine of Zayn al-Ābidīn [599], which bears a somewhat defective Ottoman copy of a foundation inscription dated 549/1154, restored by 'Uthmān Āghā Mustahfiẓān (1225/1810, cf. 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 4). Two earlier Fātimid buildings were completely rebuilt: a mosque founded by the amīr Abū Manšūr Kuṣṭah, 535/1141 (Sīdī Sāriya), in the Citadel, which re-appears as the mosque of Khādīm Sulaymān Pāshā [142], 935/1528\*, and the mosque al-Zāfir ibn Naṣr Allāh, 543/1148, rebuilt by Aḥmad Katkhudā Mustahfiẓān Kharpūtlū, 1148/1735, as the mosque of al-Fakahānī [109], into which the wooden doors of the Fātimid mosque were incorporated.

The Ottoman inscriptions of al-Azhar (given in Mehren, ii 59, see Bibliography) chiefly coincide with the substantial enlargements of the mosque undertaken by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā. The only other inscriptions which demonstrate a concern for public utilities are those of the Great Aqueduct, restored by 'Abdī Pāshā, 1139/1727, with a chronogram also giving the date 1140/1728 (Van Berchem, CIA, 591).

This brief account of restoration work in al-Ķāhira over a period of seven hundred years or so is based mainly on the published inscriptions: if suggestive in certain respects, it is clearly lacunary. It is more than possible that not a few inscriptions which claim to refer to the founding of a building are really recording pretentious restorations. However, if the record of restoration under Ottoman dominion is poor, it is scarcely worse than in the earlier history of al-Ķāhira. Concern for the monuments of others, one may conclude, was not a pronounced Cairene characteristic.

*Bibliography*: (apart from references cited in the text): The bibliography of the monuments of al-Ķāhira is so scattered that no complete survey of the source material can be attempted. Much work remains to be done before even a corpus of the Islamic architecture of Cairo can be assembled, and the present brief account demonstrates the extent to which generally received opinions are based upon a *priori* generalizations rather than detailed publication. The most recent and complete bibliographical work is K.A.C. Creswell's *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st January, 1960* (American University in Cairo Press 1961); *Supplement, to 1st January 1970*, in the press. The monuments of al-Ķāhira up to 726/1326 have full chronological bibliographies in idem, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, abbr. as (MAE), i, Oxford 1952, ii, Oxford 1959, those for monuments founded before 358/969 being found in *Early Muslim architecture*, (EMA), ii, Oxford 1940, which gives details of repairs and additions to them subsequent to the foundation of al-Ķāhira. The latest general bibliography of Cairo by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *A bibliography of the literature of Cairo*, Cairo 1964, is to be consulted for recent articles in Arabic, though in general it supersedes none of Creswell's works cited above.

The material available falls into six classes: (1) maps; (2) primary sources and accounts based directly upon them, rather than upon the monuments; (3) detailed publication of the monuments themselves; (4) epigraphy; (5) general studies, including less pretentious works which aim to be partly guide books; (6) guide books proper. Work in hand will be indicated at the end of the account.

(1) Maps. For the whole period 358/969-1272/1856 the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo*, 2 sheets (Survey of Egypt 1951), published in English and

Arabic versions with numerical, chronological and alphabetical *Indexes* of the Muslim monuments in each language, are a necessary source and supersede the earlier monuments map of Cairo by Max Herz Bey (Egyptian Department of Antiquities 1914). They do not indicate monuments declassified before 1950, and buildings destroyed since 1856 are not shown. For this reason, certain quarters of Cairo which have become built up during the present century, for example the island of Rōḍa (Rawḍa), appear as misleadingly unimportant, and for a more accurate impression of their constitution in the post-mediaeval period the maps in M. Jomard, *Description de l'Égypte. État moderne*, 1809-22, ii, 579-788, should be consulted.

There are many differences of detail between the 1951 maps and those attached to MAE, i-ii: in cases of divergence the latter are generally the more reliable. The *Indexes* do not correspond exactly in their Arabic and English versions, showing discrepancies of orthography or even classification; and, particularly for the Ottoman period, some monuments numbered on the maps do not appear in the *Indexes*. The basic work of their collation and revision is at present being undertaken by a seminar of the American University in Cairo under the direction of C. Kessler.

(2) Primary sources. For the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalā'ūn, D. P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970, is a useful guide to the material available. It is regrettable that no similar survey has yet been attempted for any other period of the history of al-Ķāhira. Of all the primary sources, al-Maḳrīzī, *Mawā'iz (Khīṭat)*, for the period up to the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shayḳh is by far the most useful and is often a first-hand source (ed. Būlāḳ 1270/1853; ed. G. Wiet, in MIFAO, xxx, xxxiii, xlvi, xlix, liii (Cairo 1927- ), covering i, 1-322 of the Būlāḳ edition; tr. U. Bouriant, in MMAF, xvii, fascicules 1-2 (Paris 1895-1900), covering Būlāḳ ed. i, 1-250; tr. P. Casanova, in MIFAO, iii (Cairo 1906), covering Būlāḳ ed. i, 251-347). This should be supplemented by al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda, i-iii, Cairo 1934-70; tr. E. Quatremère as *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, i-ii, Paris 1837-44; continued by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūḳ fi dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. A. Zeki Bey, *Revue d'Égypte*, ii-iii, Būlāḳ 1896-7; E. Gaillardot (Cairo 1897), also al-Sakhāwī, *Tuhfat al-albāb*, i, Cairo 1937. Among other sources of primary importance are Ibn Duḳmaḳ, *Kitāb al-intiṣār li-wāṣitat 'iḳd al-amṣār*, Būlāḳ 1309/1891-2; Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo [see ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN]; Ibn al-Zayyāt's guide to the Ḳarāfa, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fi tarīḳ al-ṣayāra fi 'l-Ḳarāfatayn al-kubrā wa 'l-ṣuḡhrā*, Cairo 1325/1907; and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311-14/1893-7 [for other editions see IBN IYĀS], translated G. Wiet as *Histoire des Mamlouks circassiens*, IFAO, Cairo 1945, covering the period 1467-1500, and as *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, i, Paris 1955-6, covering the period 1500-16; ii, Paris 1960, covering the period 1516-22.

For the Ottoman period the chief source remains 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khīṭat al-tawfiḳiyya al-djādida*, Cairo 1306/1888-9 (new edition, Cairo 1969- ). With the exception of Aḥmad Darrādī, *L'Acte de waqf de Barsbay (Huḍūdīyat waḳf al-ashraf Barsbay)*, Cairo 1963 and of L. A. Mayer's valuable study, *The buildings of Qāyṭbāy as described in his endowment deed*, Fascicule i (all pub-

lished), London 1938, the substantial collections of *wakfiyyas* in the Ministry of Waqfs in Cairo remain largely unexploited, nor does any published catalogue of them exist. Extracts from a number of *wakfiyyas* are given by al-Maqrizī, 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak and other historians, but the only studies of the *wakfiyya* material relating to Cairo are by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, *al-Waṭḥā'ik fi khidmat al-āthār*, in *al-Mu'tamar al-thāni li āthār al-bilād al-'arabiyya*, Cairo 1958; idem, *Silsilat al-waṭḥā'ik al-tārikhiyya al-ḥawmiyya I. Wathīkat Amir al-Akhūr al-Kabir Karākhūdiya al-Ḥasani*, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xviii/2 (1959), 183-251; idem, *al-Tawḥīka al-shar'īyya wa'l-ishhādāt fi zuhr wathīkat al-Ḥūrī*, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xix/1 (1960), 293-420. These two articles cite documents dated 846/1442-3 and 911/1505 (Awkāf No. 853) respectively.

Among topographical works which draw mainly upon the literary sources should be mentioned first C. H. Becker, *CAIRO* in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, and A. Breccia and E. Kühnel, *Cairo*, in *Enciclopedia italiana*, viii, 281-7. More detailed works of this type are A. R. Guest and E. T. Richmond, *Miṣr in the fifteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1903), 791-816; G. Salmon, *Etude sur la topographie du Caire, le Kal'at al-Kabsh et la Birkat al-Fil* in *MIFAO*, vii, Cairo 1902; P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et la topographie du Caire d'après Maqrizi*, in *MMAF*, i/3, iii/4, Paris 1887-90; P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire*, in *MMAF*, vi, Paris 1891-2. W. Popper's *Systematic notes to Ibn Taghribirdī's Chronicles*, i, *The Cairo Nilometer*, Berkeley 1951, and ii, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks*, Los Angeles 1957, contain much valuable topographical material. Mention should also be made of L. Massignon's *La cité des morts au Caire (Qarāfa Darb al-Aḥmar)*, in *BIFAO*, lvii (1938), 25-79. Much hitherto unpublished material, not all, obviously, of equal relevance to the city of Cairo, is to be made available in a series of translations (general editor S. Sauneron) by the IFAO (Cairo) of the accounts of foreign travellers to Egypt, which it is hoped to turn into a corpus, *Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Égypte*. The following are to appear: Pierre Belon (1547), Jean Palèche (1581), Jean Coppin (1638), two anonymous Florentine and Villanovan accounts (1589-90) and Lichtenstein, Kiechel, Fernberger, Von Teufel, Lubenau and Miloite (1587-8).

(3) Detailed publication of monuments. For its detailed publication of the monuments up to 726/1326, K. A. C. Creswell's *EMA*, ii, and *MAE*, i-ii, the latter two volumes incorporating the author's earlier publications of isolated monuments or types of architecture in Cairo and presenting his most recent views on the problems he had earlier considered, are basic works. For plans and descriptions of monuments no longer extant, M. Jomard, *Description de l'Égypte. État moderne* (cited (1) above) is sometimes useful. For the period 726/1326-923/1517, K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief chronology of the Muhammadan monuments of Egypt to 1517*, in *BIFAO*, xvi (1919), 39-164, has still, for the majority of the monuments it catalogues, not been superseded. Monographs, some of them no more than preliminary studies, devoted to monuments not treated in *MAE*, i-ii, include: Ḥasan 'Abd al-Waḥhāb, *Masājid Aṣlam al-Silāḥdār*, in *al-Handasa*, xvi (1937), 469-80; idem, *Madrasat Abi Bakr Muḥbir*, in *al-Handasa*, xv (1935), 17-23; M. Herz Bey, *La mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*, Cairo 1899; idem, *La mosquée de*

*l'emir Ganem al-Bahlaouan au Caire*, Cairo 1908; Franz Pasha, *Die Grabmoschee des Sultans Kait-Bai bei Kairo* (= *Die Baukunst*, i/3), Berlin/Stuttgart 1897; R. L. Devonshire, *Abu Bakr Muḥbir et sa mosquée au Caire*, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii (*MMAF*, lxviii), Cairo 1940, 25-31; and Saleh Lamei Mostafa, *Kloster und Mausoleum des Farag ibn Barqūq in Kairo* (= *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, ii, Glückstadt 1968), cf. review by K. Brisch in *Kunst des Orients*, vi/2 (1970), 182-3, the only detailed contribution up to the present to the study of the growth of the Eastern cemetery in Cairo. To these should be added M. Meinecke, *Das Mausoleum des Qalā'ūn in Kairo. Untersuchungen zur Genese der mamlukischen Architekturdekoration*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo*, xxvii/1 (1971), 47-80, the first serious attempt to broach the problem of the origins of Mamlūk architectural decoration.

With the exception of an unpublished doctoral thesis by Kamāl al-Dīn Sāmih (good plans, poor text) on the work of the 18th-century patron and builder, 'Abd al-Rahmān Katkhudā (Faculty of Engineering, Fouad I University, Cairo 1947) and A. Raymond, *Les constructions de 'Abd al-Rahmān Katkhudā au Caire*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques de l'IFAO*, x, 1973, the period after 923/1517 remains largely untreated, except in general accounts of the architecture of Cairo (see (5) below). For this period, and for other periods as well, the *Comptes rendus du Comité des monuments de l'art arabe* (Cairo 1882 onwards: most recent volume, covering the years 1954-61, Cairo 1963 [since 1956 reports have been in Arabic]; *Index* up to 1914 edited by M. Herz Bey, Cairo 1915; list of contents by volume, 1882-1940, in K. A. C. Creswell *Bibliography* (cited above), columns 89-96) remains an important source. For the 19th century onwards, with the exception of E. Pauty, *L'architecture du Caire depuis la conquête ottomane* (see (5) below), there appear to be only two useful studies, 'Abd al-Rahmān Zakī, *Mabāni al-Kilā' fi 'aṣr Muhammad 'Alī Pāshā*, in *al-'Imāra*, iii/3-4 (1941), 89-98; and J. Fleming, *Cairo Baroque*, in *Architectural Review*, xvii (1945), 75-82.

Archaeological investigation of the mediaeval domestic architecture of al-Kāhira has in recent years been on a minor scale and has remained largely unpublished. Of primary importance, however, are G. T. Scanlon's preliminary reports of five seasons of work at al-Fuṣṭāt, *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* (1964 onwards), for the considerable revisions they entail of the conclusions advanced by A. Bahgat and A. Gabriel, *Fouilles d'al-Foustat*, Paris 1921, and A. Gabriel, *Les fouilles d'al-Foustat et les origines de la maison arabe en Égypte*, Paris 1921. Owing to the unfortunate fact that the rebuilding operations within mediaeval Cairo have rarely been accompanied even by salvage excavations, the curious apparent incongruity between the Ṭūlūnid-Fāṭimid-Ayyūbid domestic architecture of al-Fuṣṭāt and the Mamlūk architecture of al-Kāhira *intra muros* has remained so far unexplained, though it is to be hoped that the forthcoming publication by R. Mantran and the late A. Lézine, under the general title, *Étude scientifique des palais et maisons du Caire et de Rosette (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, will throw light on this problem. E. Pauty's, *Les palais et les maisons d'époque musulmane au Caire*, *MIFAO*, lxii (Cairo 1932), and *Les hammams du Caire*, *MIFAO*, lxiv

(Cairo 1933), are poorly documented general studies with few plans and give little idea of the history of the domestic architecture of Cairo.

For the Coptic architecture of Cairo in the Islamic period, A. J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic churches of Egypt*, i-ii, Oxford 1884; reprinted with Butler's corrections, Oxford 1970, is to be supplemented with discretion by M. Simaika Pasha, *A brief guide to the Coptic Museum and to the principal ancient Coptic churches of Cairo*, Cairo 1938. On the architecture of the other non-Muslim minorities, all of which is apparently 18th century or later, there appears to be nothing published at all.

(4) Epigraphy. The epigraphy of the monuments of Cairo, the most valuable source for their history, should be approached with the caution that, especially in the Burdjī [q.v.] Mamlūk period, a foundation inscription may specify only one of the buildings of the complex to which it applies. This custom partly accounts for the misdescriptions or inconsistencies in the Arabic and English *Indexes* to the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo* (see (1) above). The still incomplete *RCEA*, a secondary compilation, has not superseded M. Van Berchem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum (CIA)*. *Première partie, Egypte*, i, Paris 1903; ii (continued by G. Wiet), *MMAF*, lii, Cairo 1929-30. The two volumes contain only a selection of the inscriptions from the Ottoman period. *CIA*, i-ii, supersedes Van Berchem's *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *JA*, 8e série, xvii (1891), 411-95; xviii (1891), 46-86; xix (1892), 377-407. The *CIA* should now be completed with G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre (Catalogue général du Musée de l'Art Islamique du Caire)*, Cairo 1971. Some volumes of the *Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire* are also relevant, particularly because of the striking rôle which wood plays in the architectural decoration of all periods in Cairo: J. David-Weill, *Bois à épigraphes*, i, *Jusqu'à l'époque mamlouke*, Cairo 1931; ii, *Depuis l'époque mamlouke*, Cairo 1936; E. Pauty, *Bois sculptés d'églises coptes (époque fatimide)*, Cairo 1930, and idem, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide*, Cairo 1931. The volumes of the *Catalogue général* dealing with the tombstones in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, *Stèles funéraires*, i-ix, Cairo 1932 onwards, to which Ḥasan al-Ḥawwārī, Ḥusayn Rāshid and G. Wiet have all contributed, are of less value, partly because in most cases the tombstones have only the vaguest provenance and partly because of the common Cairene practice of building earlier stelae into a mausoleum of later date. C. Prost, *Les revêtements céramiques dans les monuments musulmans de l'Égypte*, i (all published), in *MIFAO*, xl (Cairo 1916), is a preliminary study of the curious problems, epigraphic and technological, raised by the scanty use of ceramic revetment in Mamlūk and Ottoman architecture. Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb *Tawḥī'āt al-ṣunnā' 'alā āthār Miṣr*, in *BIE*, xxxvi (1955), 533-58, gives craftsmen's signatures, generally of workers in the minor arts and not of architects proper, on the monuments of Cairo, with comment upon their exceptional rarity for Islamic architecture. It is on this work that Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1933, includes occurrences of Mamlūk blasons on the architecture of Cairo: the list is no longer complete but it is still a basic adjunct to the epigraphic material relating to al-Kāhira.

On the difficult problems raised by Mamlūk

names there is a preliminary study by J. Sauvaget, *Noms et surnoms des Mamelouks*, in *JA*, ccxxxviii (1953), 31-58. On the Turkish side this may be supplemented by P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, and by L. Rásonyi, *Sur quelques catégories de noms de personnes en turc*, in *Acta linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, iii (Budapest 1953), 323-51, though many Mamlūk names of Turkish origin remain problematic. Further enlightenment may be obtained from G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i-iii, Wiesbaden 1963, 1965, 1967, which is all the more important since the studies of the Mongol and Circassian Mamlūk names, by L. Hambis and G. Dumézil respectively, announced by Sauvaget (*art. cit.*), do not appear to have been published.

(5) General works. Apart from C. H. Becker's still useful short account *CAIRO* in *EP*<sup>1</sup>, there is no adequate, comprehensive work on the architecture of Cairo. Of those so far attempted that of Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Ta'riḫ al-masājid al-āthāriyya allatī shallā fihā fariḫāt al-djum'a ḥaḍrat sāhib al-djalāla al-Malik al-Sāliḫ Fārūḫ al-awwal*, i-ii, Cairo 1946, which, as its title indicates, is selective, is the most useful compilation of historical, epigraphic and architectural information. L. Hauteceur and G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, volume of text with album of plates, is a premature attempt to order the monuments, hastily compiled and with some prejudices which have evoked little sympathy (cf. review by K. A. C. Creswell in *JRAS* (1934), 199-203). Nevertheless, while many of their generalisations have turned out to be unjustified, some chapters on technology, particularly the Mamlūk taste for marble revetment, contain much valuable, if not precisely documented, information. The lavishly illustrated production of the Ministry of Waḳf, *The mosques of Egypt from 641 to 1946*, i-ii, Giza 1949, has a text which is too brief to be informative. Ahmad Fikrī, *Masājid al-Kāhira wa-madārisuhā*, i-ii, Cairo 1965-9, in fact covers only the Fātimid and Ayyūbid periods. D. Brandenburg, *Islamische Baukunst in Ägypten*, Berlin 1966, despite its title chiefly devoted to the monuments of Cairo, is somewhat arbitrary in its selection of monuments and relies heavily upon *MAE*, i-ii, thus giving insufficient weight to the period after 726/1326, and upon a not always critical reading of Hauteceur and Wiet. The most recent general work on Cairo, 'Abd al-Rahmān Zakī, *Mawsū'at madīnat al-Kāhira fī al-'ām*, Cairo 1969, gives much information, particularly relating to the architecture of Cairo in the 18th-19th centuries, which is not otherwise available, but the work is too short for completeness and the treatment of the earlier monuments is highly selective. It is, indeed, a significant comment on the paucity of recent published work on the monuments of Cairo that for the period after 726/1326 two of the best general works should still be A. F. Mehren, *Cāhiraḥ og Kerāfat: i, Gravmonumenter paa Kerāfat eller de Dodes Stad udenfor Cāhiraḥ*; ii, *Religieuse Monumenter i Cāhiraḥ*, Copenhagen 1869-70, which record many otherwise unpublished monuments, and M. S. Briggs, *Muhammedan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924.

Recent collections of essays dealing in general with the history or archaeology of Islamic Egypt contain some material directly related to the architecture of Cairo, in particular, *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, = *MMAF*, lxxvii (Cairo 1940), and *Studies*

in *Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell*, Cairo 1965. However, it is noteworthy that in the most recent collections of essays on Cairo to appear, *Annales Islamologiques*, viii, *Volume commémoratif du Millénaire du Caire 969-1969*, IFAO Cairo 1969, and *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, Ministry of Culture of the ARE, Berlin 1973, the emphasis of recent research—following the lead established by M. Clerget, *Le Caire, Etude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire géographique*, i-ii, Cairo 1934, a work which can still be consulted with profit—has been upon the problems of urbanism in Cairo and the extent to which the architecture of the mediaeval city was successful in resolving them. The most recent work of this kind, best for the late 18th-20th centuries, is J. Abu Lughod, *Cairo. One thousand and one years of the City Victorious*, Princeton 1972. In the light of the unbalanced publication of the monuments such a shift of emphasis may appear premature, but it is to be hoped that it will lead to a revival of interest in the basic archaeological problems.

Among what may be best described as informative guide books to the monuments of al-Ķāhira, D. Russell, *Mediaeval Cairo*, London 1962, is the most detailed and to a considerable extent succeeds in overcoming its defects of organization (into tourist itineraries rather than historical periods or coherent quarters), occasional inaccuracies, lack of plans and a perhaps excessive prejudice in favour of the monuments of the Fāṭimid period. Other useful works of the same type, though they aim to cover more limited areas of Cairo, are Maḥmūd Akkūsh, *Ta'rikh wa-waṣf al-djāmi' al-Tūlūnī*, Cairo 1346/1927; R. L. Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo*<sup>3</sup>, Cairo 1931; E. Pauty, *La mosquée d'Ibn Touloun et ses alentours*, Cairo 1936; Maḥmūd Aḥmad, *Concise guide to the principal Arabic monuments in Cairo*, Būlāk 1939; and Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Djāmi' al-Sulṭān Ḥasan wa-mā ḥawlahu*, Cairo 1962.

For much of the Ottoman architecture of Cairo these general works remain the only source, though they may with discretion be supplemented by E. Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane, Vue d'ensemble*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvi (1936), 1-69, a general work in spite of its apparently promising title. The author's lack of acquaintance with Metropolitan Ottoman architecture and the small number of Cairene monuments he considers in detail have contributed to the generally held, though highly misleading, impression of the Ottoman period in Cairene architecture as one of decadence and inactivity. It remains for subsequent research to correct this. See A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols., Damascus 1973, and G. Wiet, *Cairo, city of art and commerce*, Norman, Okl. 1964.

(6) Guide books. The text of the *Guide Bleu*, which has not substantially changed for the mediaeval monuments of Cairo since its first edition (compiled by M. Baud Paris 1950), is of little use for all but the most obvious of the Islamic monuments. *Murray's Handbook for travellers in Egypt* (many editions: I cite the 10th edition edited M. Brodrick, London 1900) depends largely upon the work of S. Lane-Poole and other late 19th-century authors and, despite its literary bias, is both more complete and less misleading, containing much information on no longer extant buildings of the 18th-19th centuries. K. Baedeker, *Handbuch*

*für Reisende, Ägypten und der Sudan*, 8th edition 1928, with preface on the monuments by K. A. C. Creswell, is particularly useful for its description of monuments on the outskirts of Cairo, which do not always appear on the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo* and for its directions for reaching them.

Work in progress. Apart from works mentioned above, in particular G. T. Scanlon's *Final Report* on his excavations at Fuṣṭāṭ and the publication of Cairene houses and palaces by R. Mantran and the late A. Lézine, work in hand includes a major publication of the funerary architecture of Cairo, Fāṭimid to Mamlūk periods, by C. Kessler, to appear as a volume of the *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, with contributions by Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm on the Mamlūk foundations of the 14th century. The work of these authors, to which should be added that of M. Meinecke, Ṣhahira Mehrez (Muhriz), J. Raghib and M. Keane, may be expected in the course of the next few years to advance substantially the present state of knowledge on the monuments of al-Ķāhira and their history. (J. M. ROGERS)

#### THE MODERN CITY

General outline. Modern Cairo took shape under Muḥammad 'Alī (1805-49), from whose reign date the first beginnings, modest as yet, of new institutions. Once begun, the movement could no longer be stopped. So far as town-planning, the press, and the birth of Egyptian nationalism are concerned, the reign of Khedive Ismā'īl ([q.v.] 1863-79) was a watershed. During this period, Cairo began to take on the appearance of a modern city. Owing to a fall in the production of cotton in the United States following the American Civil War (1861-5), Egypt easily found markets for her crop and money poured in. Besides this, the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869 drew the eyes of the world to Egypt; control of this area appeared even more of a decisive element in the struggle for worldwide power. For this reason the debts of the Khedive were made the pretext for the first stages of foreign intervention and in due course this was also the reason for the British occupation (1882).

Throughout all these events the city developed and public services such as gas, water and tramlines were laid on. Foreigners as well as migrants from other Ottoman territories settled there. The First World War marked the definitive separation of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire. With the Cairo demonstrations which followed immediately after the armistice in 1918, Egyptian nationalism became a genuinely popular movement, given concrete expression in the Wafd Party. Political pressure was still held to be the best means of achieving liberation, and the importance of economic factors on the road to freedom was given but scant recognition through the establishment of the Bank of Egypt in 1920, and that within the framework of a national capitalism. A measure of independence was proclaimed under the aegis of King Fu'ād (1922). The opening of the first state university in Cairo in 1925 was a significant moment, and indeed, in his novels Naḍīf Maḥfūz presents this event as the dawning of a new era in the history of the Egyptian middle classes.

One after another the institutions characteristic of a large modern city were set up. The Free Officers' revolution (23 July 1952) brought in its train the abolition of the monarchy and the eviction of the old ruling classes. The new political orientation was

demonstrated in the city even at the level of urban development through the opening up of thoroughfares, the establishment of schools, workers' housing, institutions and factories and by the development of radio, the building of new mosques, etc. The Anglo-French military intervention of October to December 1956 led to wholesale nationalization of French and British enterprises. With the ending of the three-year long union with Syria in 1961, the country clearly took the path of Arab socialism, with the stress on the essential economic struggle facing the Third World. Finally, the Palestine war of 1967, on both the political and the military fronts, continued to impose a burden on Cairo which remained very heavy.

Today Cairo is undoubtedly one of the liveliest capitals in the world. The city has a dual aspect, truly Egyptian and yet at the same time cosmopolitan, the latter arising from her geographical situation.

The genuinely Egyptian aspect is revealed in the drama of a people rudely forced into changing their way of life by demographic pressures. Thanks to modern medicine, both pressure and change have led to the disappearance of many ancient customs and the proletarianization of a section of the population. The efforts of the present-day authorities to create a new Egypt are a response to this demographic challenge. As for the cosmopolitan aspect of the city, this is partly related, as in former days, to the presence of students and teachers who come from all over the world. It also arose because of the succession of foreign rulers (Mamluk, Turkish and British). Now that Cairo is governed by Egyptians, the foreign element is confined to tourism, technical aid and "co-operation".

Town planning. The map drawn up by Bonaparte's expedition depicts the city as bounded in the west by the Ezbekiyya, with fields lying between it and Būlāk. "The great builder and earth-mover", Muḥammad 'Alī, embellished and cleared façades and drained the Ezbekiyya but built very little apart from a palace and mosque in the citadel (between 1830 and 1848) and a large palace at Shubrā (1808, rebuilt in 1823); he had a road built across the fields so that there was a direct route to the latter (now Shāri' Shubrā). A few institutions were set up in the city, such as the School of Medicine, founded in 1827 at Abū Za'bal and transferred in 1837 to Shāri' Kaṣr al-'Aynī. The *sikka dīadīda* was constructed in 1845 to clear congestion in the al-Azhar quarter. Workshops were opened in Būlāk [q.v.]. "Despite this progress", writes M. Clerget, "the boundaries, area and general appearance of Cairo around 1850 were the same as in the 18th century". P. Marthelot also observes that "a second city was born in the second half of the 19th century".

The eccentric 'Abbās, grandson of Muḥammad 'Alī, pasha, then viceroy, from 1849 to 1854, gave his name to the al-'Abbāsiyya district, originally a small township composed of quarters for military personnel.

Under the viceroy Sa'īd (1854-63) the *Bāb al-Ḥadīd* railway was constructed (1856), linking the city with Alexandria; in 1858 it was continued to Suez. From 1857 British troop reinforcements sent to suppress the Indian Mutiny crossed Egypt from Alexandria to Suez, completing the last part of the route on foot. The barracks and viceregal palace of Kaṣr al-Nīl were built on the river in 1863 (destroyed in 1947 after the British withdrawal).

The reign of Viceroy (later Khedive) Ismā'īl (1863-79) saw the construction of the palace 'Ābādīn, begun in 1863; from 1874 the ruler took up residence there, finally quitting the citadel, which was

formerly the seat of the Turkish pashas. A canal, al-Tira' al-Ismā'īliyya, was dug between the Nile and the Khālīdī, passing between Būlāk and the Ezbekiyya, then to Bāb al-Ḥadīd and finally to Ḡhamra (it was filled up shortly after 1897). The Kubba palace dates from 1863. In 1867 Khedive Ismā'īl saw Haussmann's Paris. He too had new quarters laid out: the streets of the Ismā'īliyya district, south of the road from the Ezbekiyya to Būlāk, have the same layout today (cf. the 1873 plan of Cairo). For the celebrations which marked the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the Opera House (destroyed by fire in 1972) was built near the Ezbekiyya; a building was added to the Khedive's palace on the island of Gezīrah (al-Dījazīra) which later became the 'Umar Khayyām Hotel. The road from Gīzā (al-Dījazīra) to the Pyramids was transformed into a splendid boulevard. In 1871-2 a modern bridge spanned the Nile (the Kaṣr al-Nīl, now the Kūbrī 'l-tahrīr, which was rebuilt in 1931), with another over the other arm of the river (rebuilt in 1914). In 1872 two large arcaded thoroughfares were laid out: Clot Bey street from the station to the Ezbekiyya and Muḥammad 'Alī street from al-'Ataba al-khaḍrā' to the Citadel.

The establishment of modern means of transport played an essential part in the development of both suburban and peripheral areas. Relatively central districts like Tawfīkiyya (named after Khedive Tawfīk, 1879-92) or Faggala (Faḍḍjāla), which began around 1880, or residential areas like Garden City (which dates from 1905) could be populated without the need for trains and tramlines. But Zaytūn and Maṭariyya in the suburbs could only come into being after the construction of the railway from Pont Lemoun (Kūbrī Linūn) to Maṭariyya and al-Mardī (1889-90). The same was true of the tramlines which were laid in 1896 and linked al-'Ataba al-khaḍrā' with 'Abbāsiyya (1896), via Faggala, or with Shubrā in 1903 (the first large-scale development in Shubrā took place in 1898). The Khālīdī seems to have been filled in on the 1897 plan of Cairo; the process was completed in 1899 and the tramline from Ḍāher (al-Zāhir) to Sayyida Zaynab made use of it in 1900.

The Zamalek district (al-Zamālik, from a word for the huts where the soldiers on guard duty camped near the palace) began to be inhabited around 1905-10. A plan made in 1910 shows the layout of all the present-day streets. The Abu 'l-'Alā' bridge linking the island with Būlāk dates from 1912. In the desert to the north-east of the city, Heliopolis (Miṣr al-dīadīda) arose in 1906 following the granting of a concession to a Belgian company in 1905. An express tramline, called the "metro", connected Heliopolis to Cairo (cf. the commemorative album published by the company, nationalized since 1960, *Dāhiyat Miṣr al-dīadīda, māḍīhā wa mustakbaluhā*, 1969). On the southern suburban line to Helwan (al-Ḥulwān), which is 27 km. long, the area of present-day Maadi (al-Ma'ādī) 11 km. from the city began to be developed by a company in 1907. Only Helwan was undeveloped, and so it remained until the 1952 revolution when it became an industrial centre with iron and steel works, armaments factories, etc.

Apart from those already mentioned, notable bridges are the Embabeh (Imbāba) railway bridge (1890-91, rebuilt in 1925); the Giza bridge (formerly 'Abbās: 1907, rebuilt in 1966-7); and the bridge from Zamalek to west bank (1912). The University Bridge, constructed in 1958, should be added to this group.

All these developments in Cairo were brought

about by companies, especially foreign ones, who were given contracts for the work. Public services were also carried out by non-Egyptians: the post office in 1843, water in 1865, gas and then electricity, run by the Le Bon company from 1873 to 1948, telephones in 1881, trams in 1896, etc. Much later the Egyptian government recovered these concessions, some when they expired and others through buying them back or through nationalisation. The part played by foreign architects can be seen in a number of façades in the Italian style. Telegraphic communications began with the railways, and Cairo was connected by submarine cables with Bombay, Aden, Malta, Gibraltar and Great Britain as early as 1870.

Health services, types of housing and a study of the population have been covered by Clerget. The various groups of citizens moved to different districts: thus the Greek minority could be found in the south and south-west of al-Azhar, the Jews south of Khorfonish and later at Sakākīnī, the Europeans around the Rossetti Garden and Muski, where the different Catholic churches also sprang up, and later in Garden City or Zamalek, and the Copts around the patriarchate at Clot Bey and later in *Shubrā*. The Syro-Lebanese Christians were particularly attracted to the new district of Faggala, where churches and schools were to be found (the Jesuit school opened there in 1885); later many moved to Heliopolis and Zamalek and the Copts settled there. In the heart of the city the Muslim bourgeoisie still lived in the palaces and traditional dwelling houses, the exodus to *Hilmiyya* or to cooler districts not yet having become general. The *Gamaliyya* quarter is the subject of a special study by J. Berque.

After the 1914-18 war the expansion of the town continued. Gardens and villas made way for large modern blocks. Around 1926-8 two large thoroughfares were built connecting al-ʿAtaba with al-Azhar (*shārīʿ* al-Azhar) and al-ʿAtaba with al-ʿAbbāsiyya. The widening of *Khalidj* street, decided upon in 1937, was not effected until after the revolution, in 1956. On the west bank of the Nile, Giza was developed between the world wars although the bank opposite Zamalek was still fields in 1945. But in 25 years (1945-70) a veritable town grew up on these open spaces, notable for its districts developed entirely for various classes of officials, so that there is a teachers' estate, an engineers' estate, etc.

On the east bank of the Nile the withdrawal of the British (1946) and the destruction of *Kaṣr al-Nīl* barracks made possible the construction of a large and beautiful square, which from 1952 has been called *Mīdān al-Tahrīr* and which encompasses the old *Is-māʿiliyya* square. Here an enormous government and administrative block has been erected, the *Mogammaʿ* (al-*Mudjammaʿ*, c. 1950), and the meeting place of the League of Arab States (1961). The revolution realised the old dream of a corniche on the Nile: for the first time the city has a façade on the river-side.

Blocks of apartment buildings at reasonable rents of a type new to the country sprang up here and there after the Revolution: at the foot of *Muḳaṭṭam*, at *Shubrā* and elsewhere, but especially on the waste ground of *Tilul Zeinhom* to the south of the *Ibn Tūlūn* quarter, where there is nowadays a veritable town.

Developments in civil aviation, evident especially from 1930 on, made Cairo a staging point for the big international airlines. After being in use for many years, *Almāza* airport, which was too close to Heliopolis, was superseded by an international airport situated in the desert further to the north-east.

It was equipped with a new air terminal in 1963.

To relieve the pressure on the over-crowded city, the revolution established new housing estates, such as *Naṣr*, which lies between Heliopolis and ʿAbbāsiyya on military land turned over to civilian use and to which it is hoped to move the greater proportion of governmental departments. A stadium holding 100,000 people has been built here. A large trunk road joins the airport and the citadel via *Naṣr* then links up with the Nile corniche at *Fuṣṭāṭ*. An attempt to set up a semi-touristic estate was made in 1954-6 at *Muḳaṭṭam* on the flat area to the south of the tomb of al-*Djuyūshī*, but the date was inopportune and the enterprise stagnated.

In which directions will the present-day city develop? Committees are discussing this problem at this very moment. But in the meantime the lack of suitable legislation has caused historic sites to be swamped by ugly housing and the splendid buildings of the past are vanishing, gutted or abandoned. Some determined Egyptians are fighting to ensure that the necessary expansion respects some of the legacies of the past. The public services face problems which grow daily more complex in the realms of transport, sewage and the road network posed by the ever-increasing number of inhabitants.

Population and occupations. Clerget (i, 241) estimates that Cairo had 245,000 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century. The census figure he gives for 1882 is 396,683 and for 1907, 678,433. His remarkable study has been completed by P. Marthelot (*Le Caire, nouvelle métropole*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, Cairo, IFAO, viii (1969), 189-221). From his work we learn that there were 1,070,857 inhabitants in 1927 and 3,348,799 in 1960, the latter figure covering the whole metropolitan area of Cairo, including Helwan and *Maṭariyya*. In 1947 Cairo had two million inhabitants, discounting the population of the outlying suburbs but including the people of *Dokki* and ʿAgūza in the *ḥiṣm* of ʿAbidin (cf. Janet Abu-Lughed and Ezz el-Din Attiya, *Cairo Fact Book*, Cairo, The American University in Cairo Social Research Center, 1963). Taking into consideration the whole of Greater Cairo, the correct figure for 1965 would be around four million. By 1970 it had passed five million, a rapid increase due to the strong tendency towards immigration from the countryside.

To the craftsmen and workshops described by M. Clerget must be added the newly founded factories noted by P. Marthelot. One of the aims of the 1952 revolution was industrialization to achieve eventual economic independence. Noteworthy in this respect is the role played by the Cairo banks and their nationalisation in 1956-61. As well as the already existing textile factories in the northern suburbs, the cement works at *Tūrā*, electrical industries in the centre and various assembly-works, new enterprises were founded, especially in the southern suburbs around Helwan: a car assembly plant, an armaments factory, blast-furnaces and steelworks, an airplane works, a factory producing fertilizers, a porcelain works, etc.

Tourism was also envisaged as a source of revenue. The hotel infrastructure had been in private hands for many years; now numerous hotels have been nationalised. According to the 1965 statistics (as noted by P. Marthelot), 66.8 % of the active population of Cairo was employed in some undefinable activity; 23.5 % held regular jobs in the administration; and only 7.5 % was employed in industry. From such figures we can only guess at the number of underemployed, a considerable proportion, though only a minority are totally unemployed.

The question of accommodation has always been difficult. With the initiation of Arab socialism in 1961 and the creation of the Ministry of Housing and Utilities in 1965, the state became a builder on a large scale. But private activity also continued in this sphere, facing, with considerable difficulty, the influx into the capital.

"The same is true of Cairo as of many cities in the so-called Third World", writes P. Marthelot (p. 197), "which stand out against a rural background subject to demographic tension or marked by structural flaws: the city is the receptacle in which are concentrated all those whose lives tend to be disturbed because of this, whether or not it is able to answer to the demands made on it. But this is at the price of the stagnation at a very low standard of living of a very important section of the population".

In both Clerget and Marthelot there are numerous data about town planning—the density of the inhabitants varying a great deal according to district (cf. *al-Tālī'a*, February 1970, 70, pointing out that in Būlāk over 60 % of families live in one room)—the expansion of the city, transport, etc. They are based on statistics compiled by the governmental department concerned. As far as health is concerned, Cairo has one doctor per 910 inhabitants, as opposed to one per 3,420 in Lower Egypt and one per 2,990 in Upper Egypt. Similarly, the city has one hospital bed for every 233 people, as against one in 584 and one in 636 in Lower and Upper Egypt. There is one telephone for every 27 inhabitants, while in Lower and Upper Egypt the figures are one in 362 and one in 301 respectively (cf. *al-Tālī'a*, *ibid.*, 74-5). The government is making a determined effort to remedy this state of affairs and to this end has enacted new socialist laws.

Culturally speaking, Cairo has two aspects, on the one hand the development of national institutions—schools, universities, specialised institutes—and on the other the holding of international meetings and congresses. A large number of schools have been opened. Around 1950 only 40 % of children in Egypt received a primary education; by 1970 the number had risen to over 75 % for the country as a whole and was said to exceed 90 % in Cairo (cf. *Cairo Fact Book*; education in 1947 listed by *shiyākha*, a subdivision of the *khism*). Examples from higher education are the Dār al-'Ulūm [q.v.], the Free University of Cairo (1908; converted in 1925 into Fu'ād al-Awwal University and now the University of Cairo), and 'Ayn Shams (1950), the former a religious educational establishment attached to al-Azhar [q.v.]. Since the publication of the article AL-AZHAR in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, considerable changes have been wrought by a law of 1961, with a remodelling of curricula and the creation of new faculties of secular studies—medicine, polytechnic, etc.—in addition to the three formerly in existence. There are a number of advanced institutes in Cairo (see 'Abd al-Rahmān Zakī, *Mawsū'a*, s.v. *ma'had*) which are devoted to the sciences, art, theatre, cinema, etc. The majority are Egyptian [see FU'AD AL-AWWAL, INSTITUT D'EGYPTE], but a few are foreign (one example of these is the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, founded in 1880). The Arabic Language Academy (*Madjma' al-lughā al-'arabiyya*, established in 1932, maintains surveillance over the language.

There are over 20 museums in Cairo (cf. the list of the major ones in 'Abd al-Rahmān Zakī, s.v. *maḥaf*). The famous Museum of Egyptology founded at Būlāk by Mariette has occupied its present home

in Midān al-Taḥrīr since 1902. Other important collections are the Coptic Museum (founded as a private collection in 1910, it has been a national museum since 1931), the Museum of Islamic Art (which has been in its present building at Midān Bāb al-Khalk since 1903), the Museum of Agriculture, the Military Museum, etc.

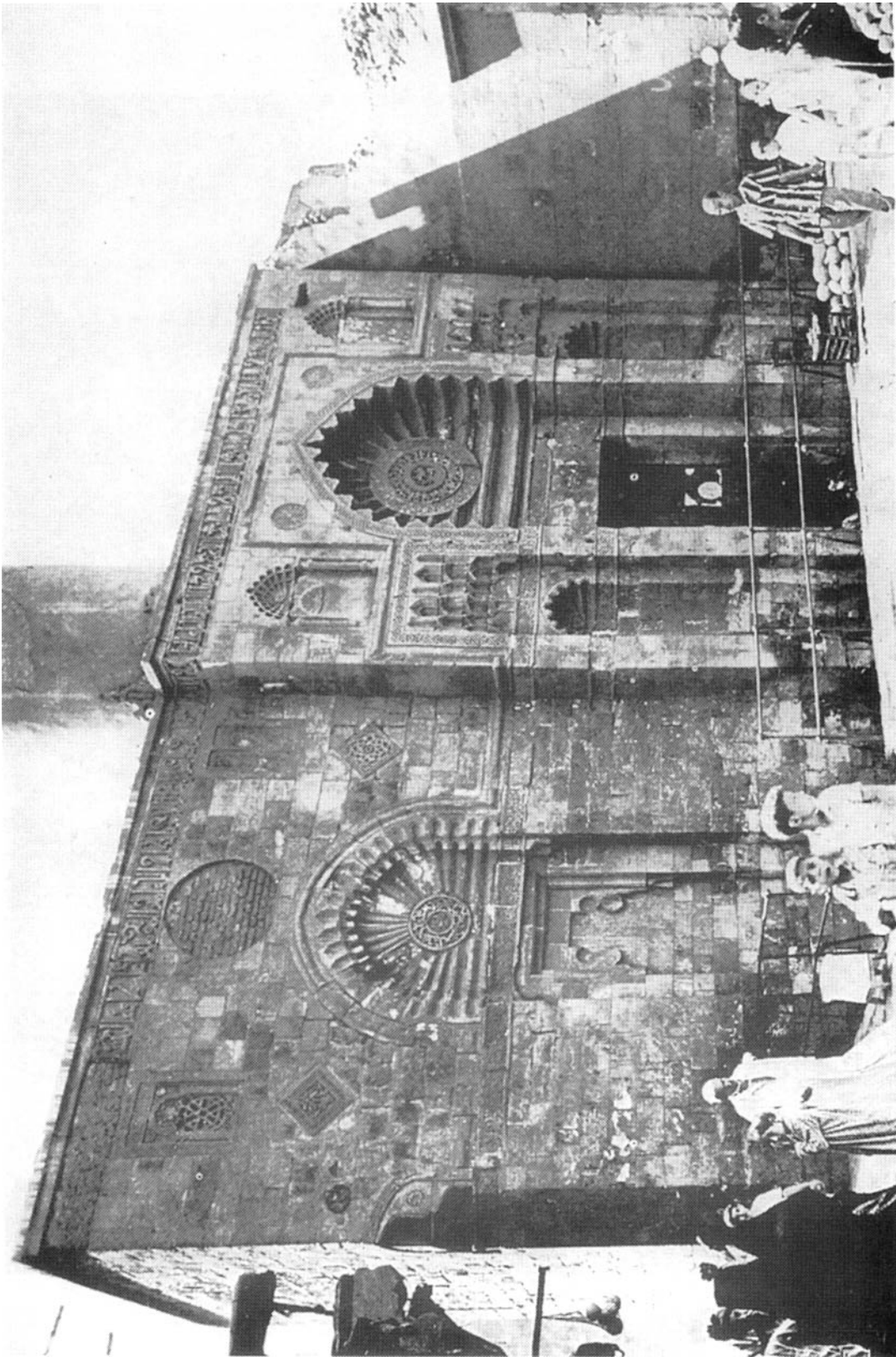
Especially since 1952, new mosques have been built in Cairo itself. Outstanding among many are the mosque of 'Umar Makram in the Midān al-Taḥrīr, where most official funeral prayers are usually held, and the mosque of Kūbrī 'l-Kubba, which contains mausoleum of Djamāl 'Abd al-Nāshīr (Nasser, died September 28, 1970).

*Bibliography*: M. Clerget, *Le Caire, étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique*, 2 vols., Cairo 1934, a work of major importance for both text and bibliography; 'Abd al-Rahmān Zakī, *A bibliography of the literature of the city of Cairo*, Cairo (Egyptian Geographical Society), 1964. Apart from these two basic works and those already cited in the text: *Annales Islamologiques*, viii, the commemorative volume of the Cairo millennium (969-1969), Cairo (IFAO) 1969; *The Millennium of Cairo, 969-1969*, Ministry of Culture, Cairo 1969 (an album with a collection of photographs of ancient and modern art, views of the city and of its institutions, commerce, industry, etc., published in six editions, which differ only in their text but have the same photographs, in Arabic, English, French, German, Russian and Spanish); J. W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941; 'Abd al-Rahmān Zakī, *Mawsū'at madīnat al-Kāhira fī al-f'ām*, Cairo 1969; J. Berque, *L'Égypte, impérialisme et révolution*, Paris 1967 (Eng. tr., *Egypt, imperialism and revolution*, London 1972); M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today; social and political aspects of popular religion*, Cambridge 1970; G. Baer, *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, Jerusalem 1964; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969; Anouar Abd el-Malek, *Egypte, société militaire*, Paris 1962. For particular aspects of the cultural life of Cairo since 1954, see the publications in the series *MIDEO*, Cairo.

(J. JOMIER)

**KAHRAMĀN-NĀMA**, or *Dāstān-i Kahramān*, a popular romance in prose, several versions of which are known in both Persian and Turkish. It belongs to a series of prose works which develop themes from the Iranian epic tradition, embellishing them with fabulous touches borrowed from folk literature. Like the *Hūshang-nāma*, the *Tahmūraṭh-nāma* and the *Kiṣṣa-i Djamshīd*, the story takes place in the earliest period of the legendary history of Iran, the times of the *piṣdādīyān*. The central hero is Kahramān, nicknamed Kātil, "the slayer". His name is in fact a common noun, the arabicized form of an Iranian word, probably of Median origin, the Middle Persian counterpart of which is *kārframān*, meaning "manager, superintendent" (cf. W. B. Henning, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik. Iranistik. Linguistik*, Leiden 1958, 49, n. 2). This meaning was also attached to the word in classical Arabic (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) and in mediaeval Persian (cf., e.g., Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Diwān-i ash'ār*, Tehran 1355 sh., 5; Sanā'ī, *Diwān*, Tehran 1341 sh., 20; Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh Munshī, *Tarjama-i Kalīla va Dimna*, ed. M. Minowī, Tehran 1343 sh., 132, 155). In modern Persian and Turkish, however, the word *kahramān* has acquired the meaning of "hero, champion", a semantic change which might very

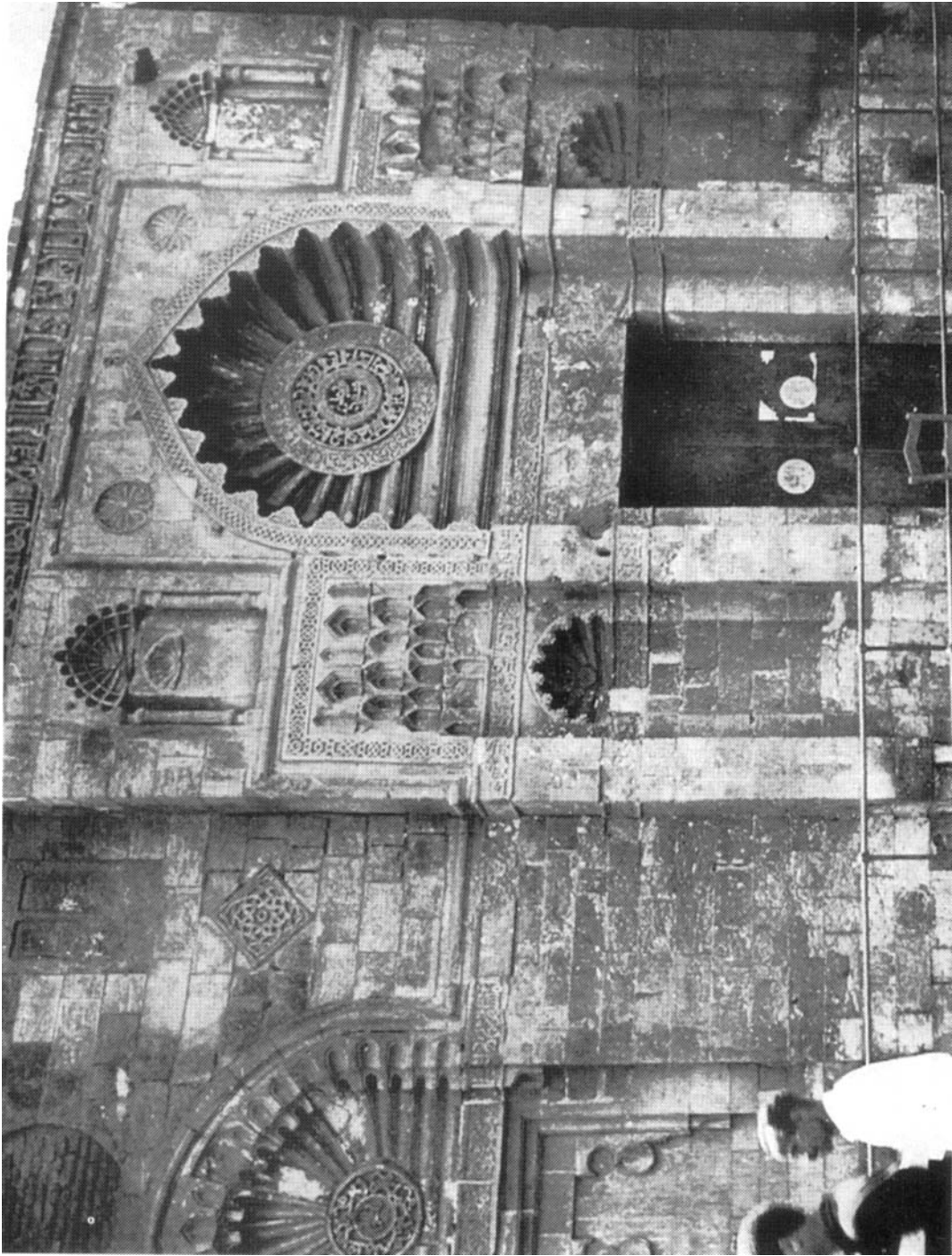




1. Mosque of al-Akmar. Façade. 519/1125.

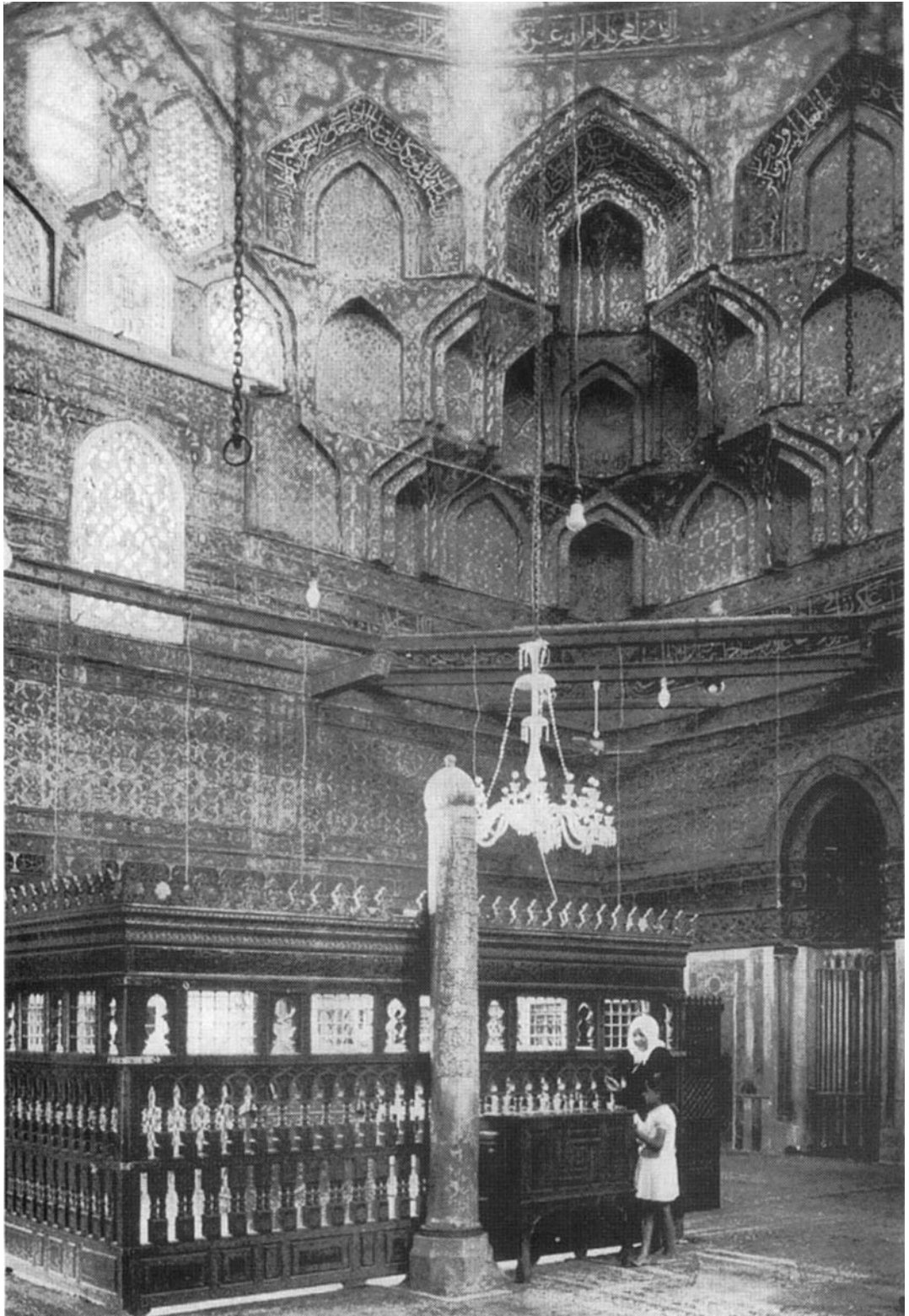
(No. 33 on the map)



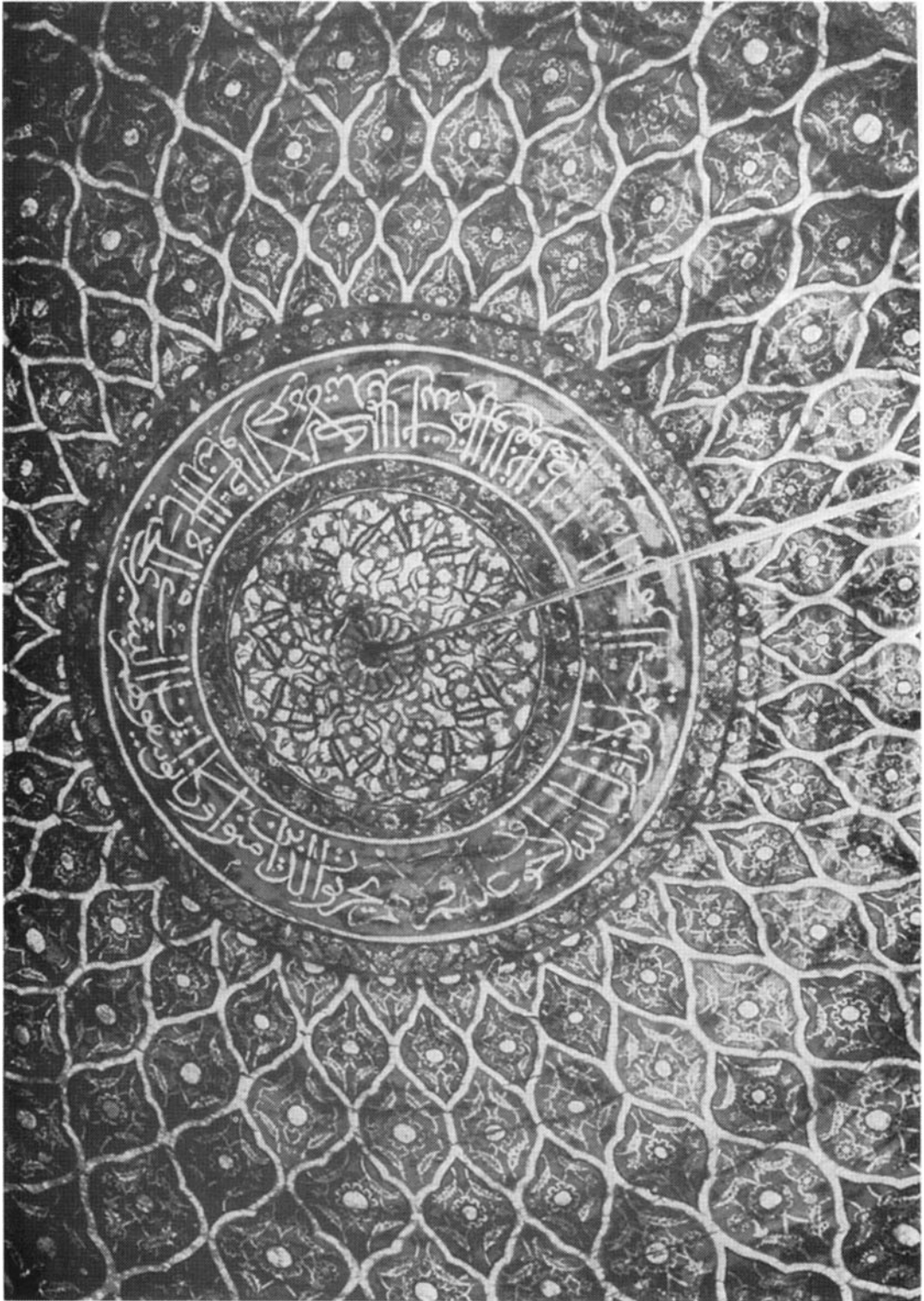


1a. Mosque of al-Akmar, Façade. 519/1125.

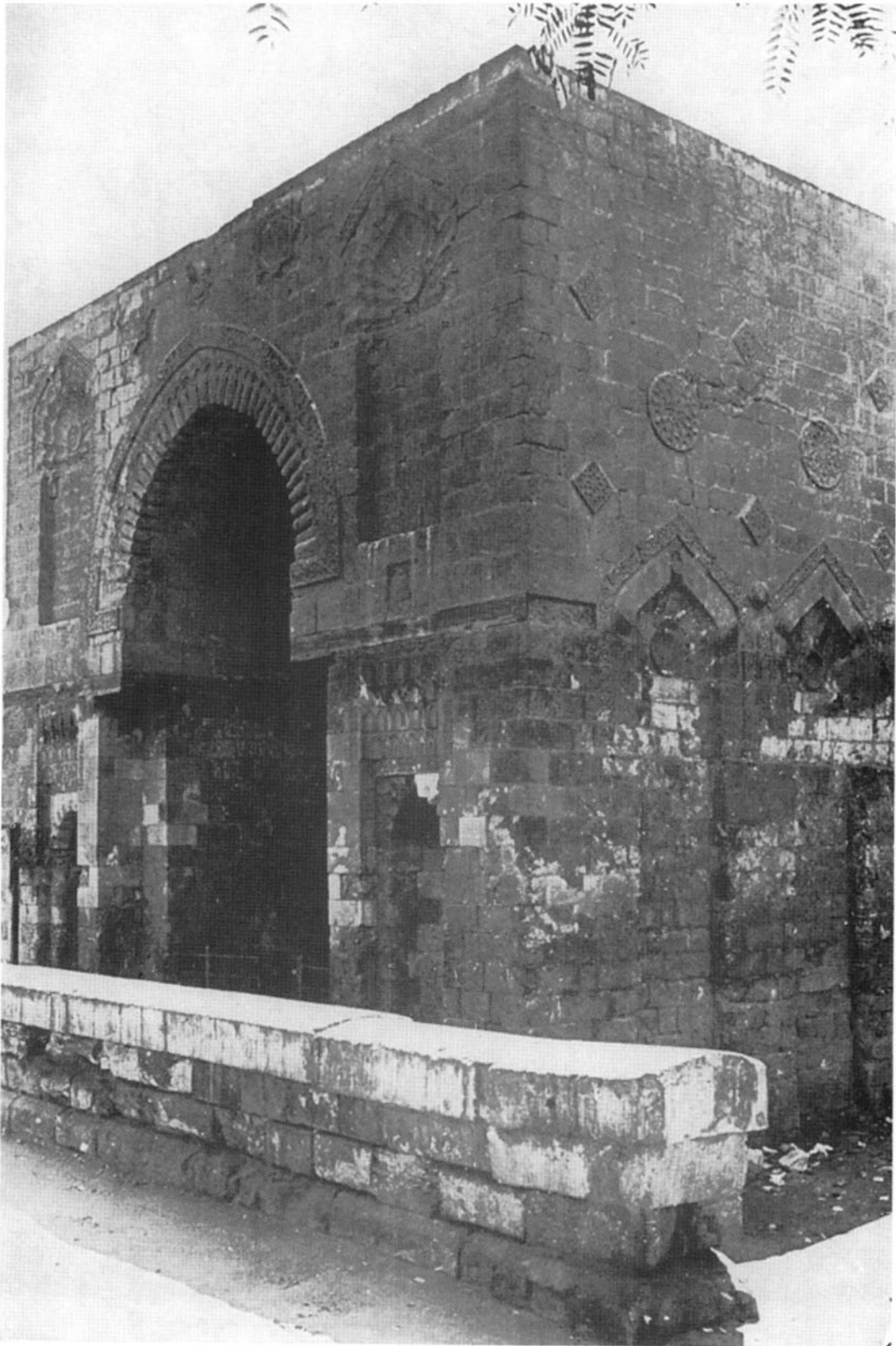
(No. 33 on the map)



2. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, 608/1211.



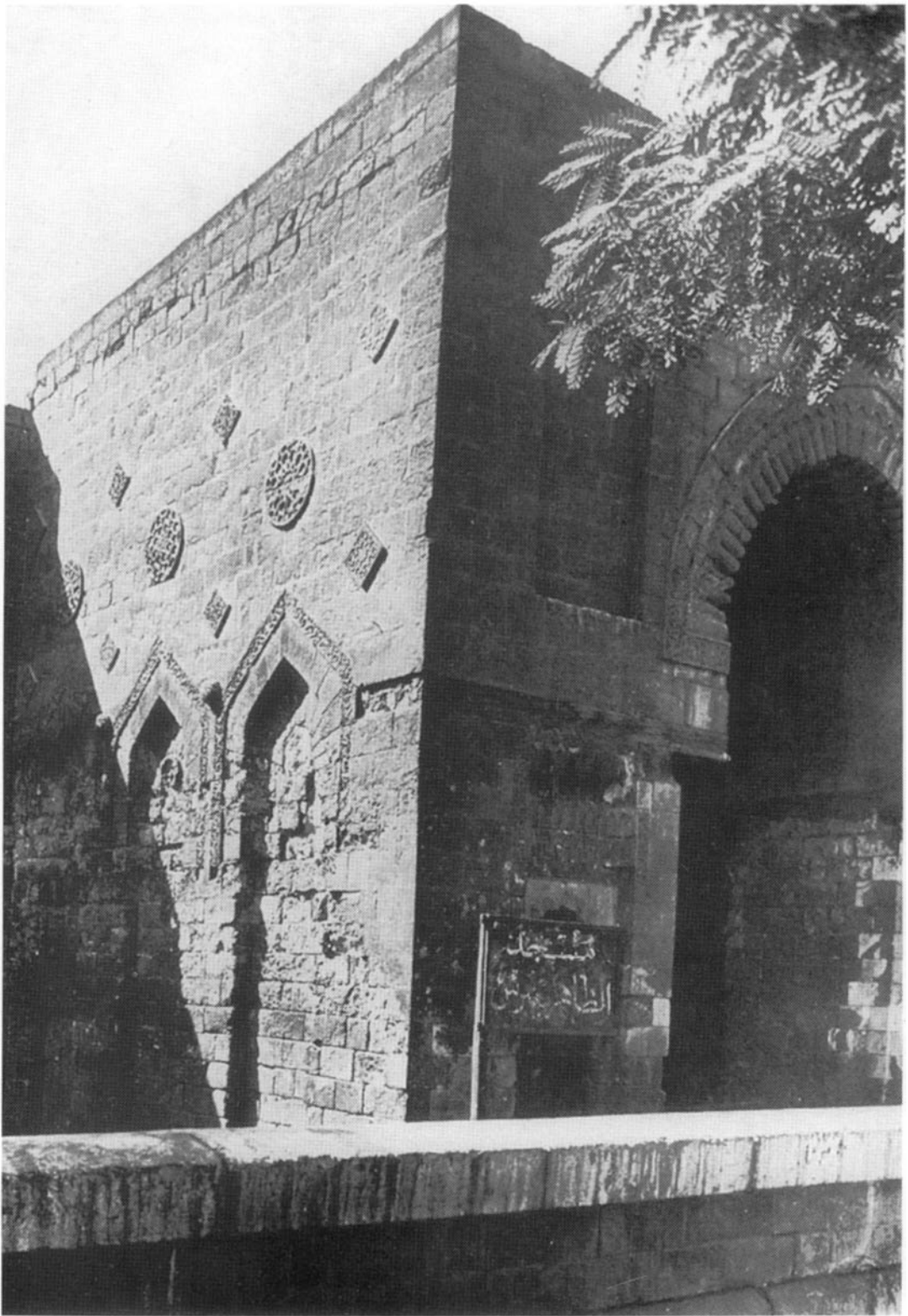
2a. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, 608/1211.



3 Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665-7/1266-9.

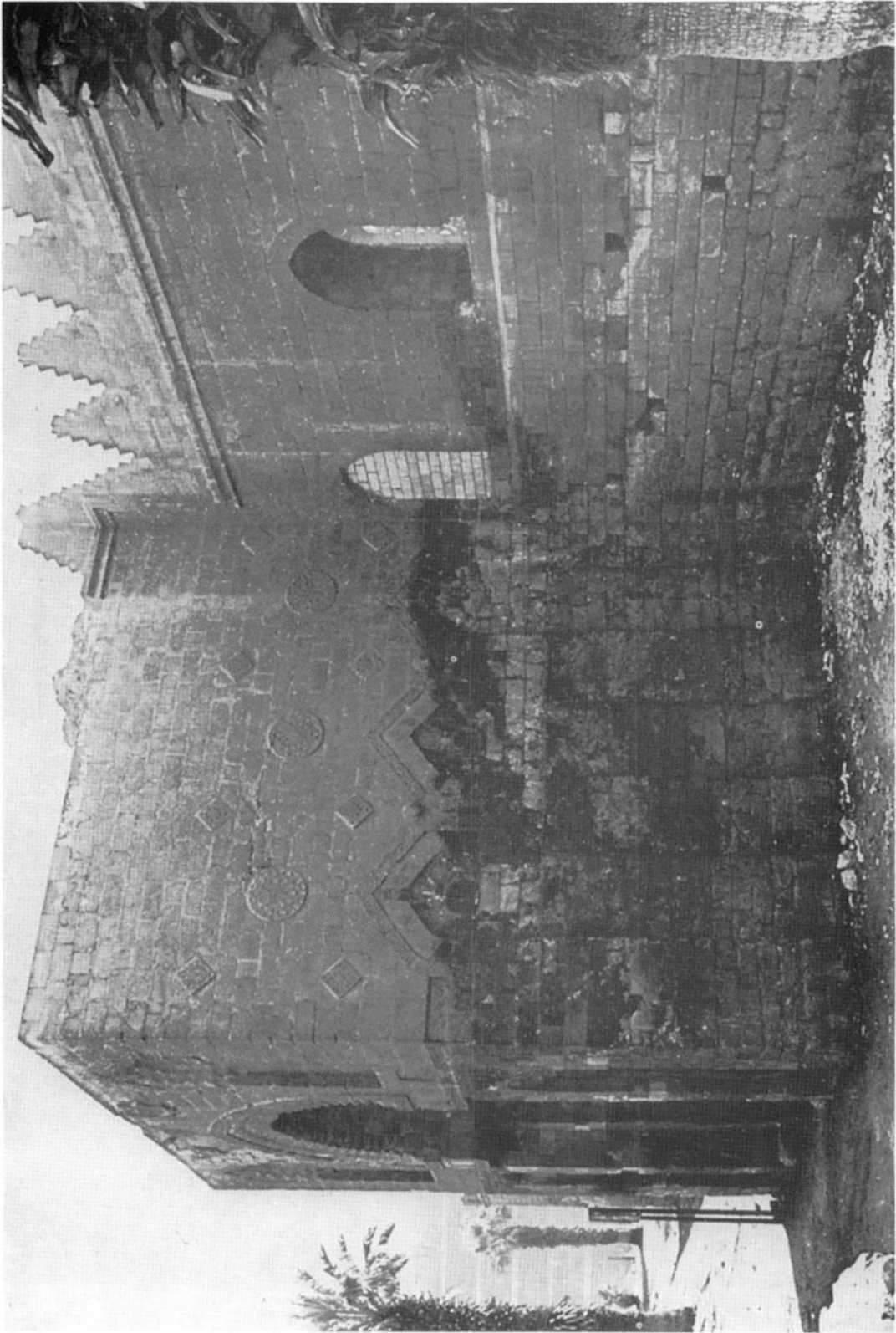
(No. 1 on the map)



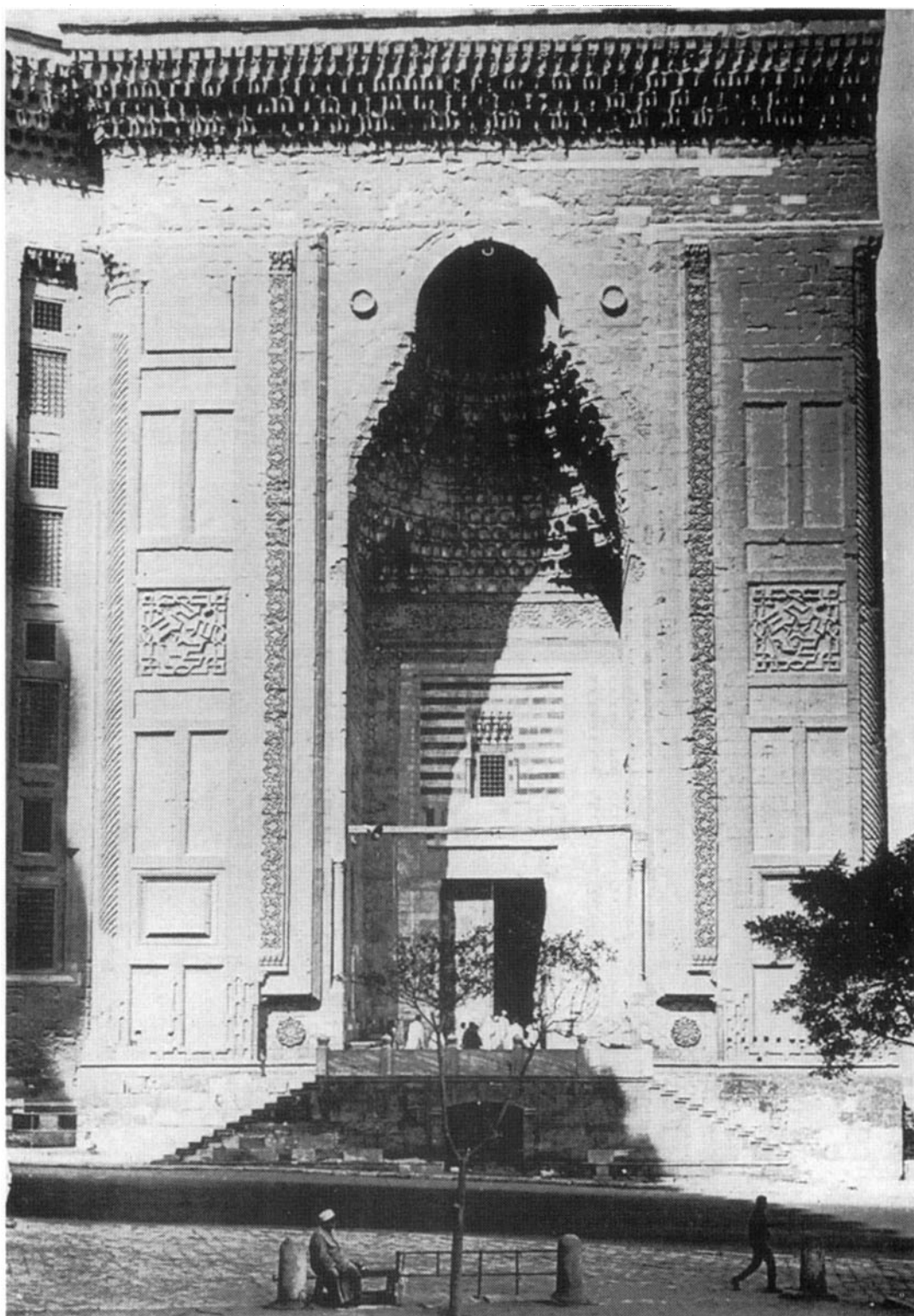


3a. Mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars, Maydān Dāhir. 665-7/1266-9.

(No. 1 on the map)

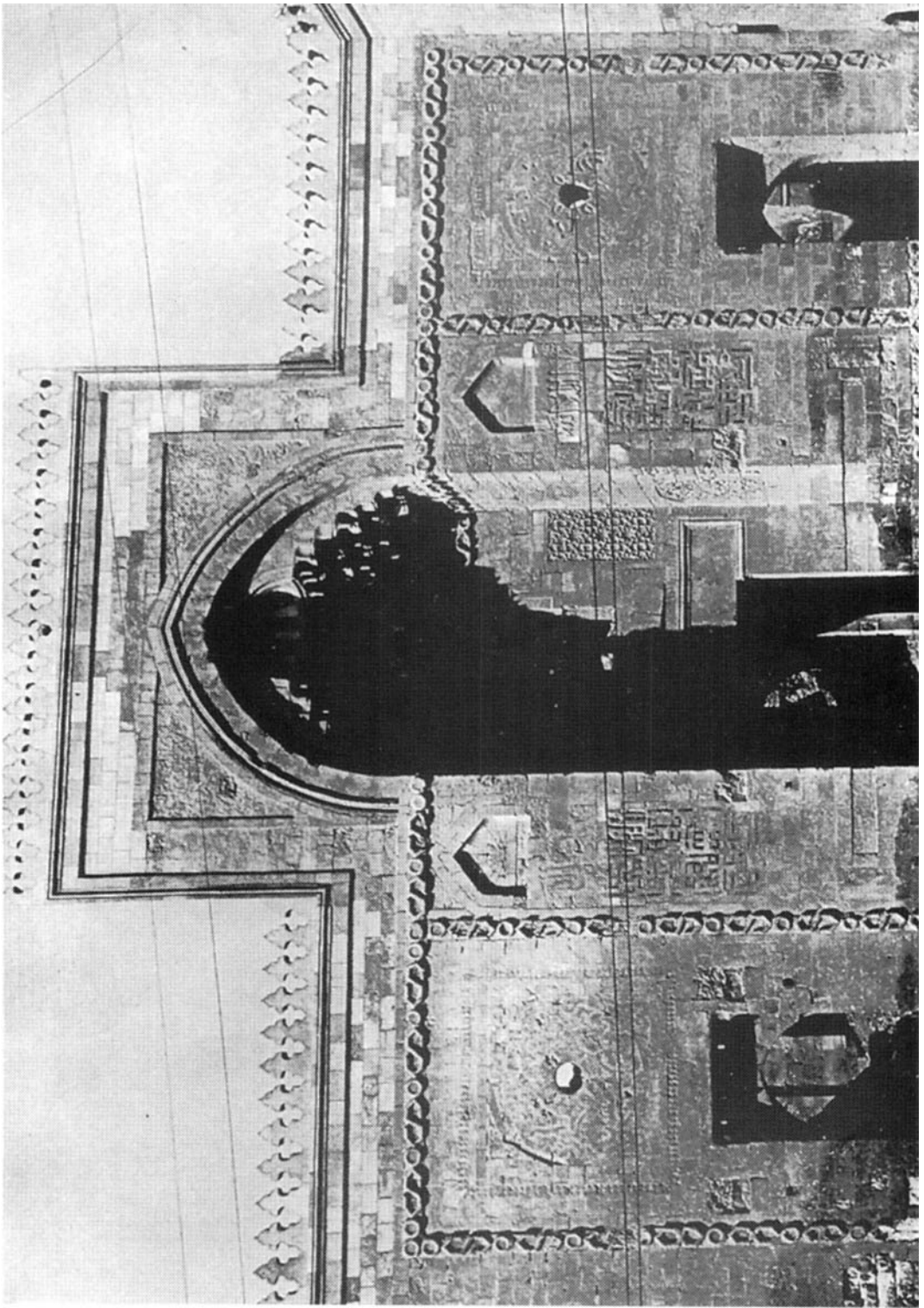


3b. Mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars, Maydān Dāhir, 665-7/1266-9.  
(No. 1 on the map)



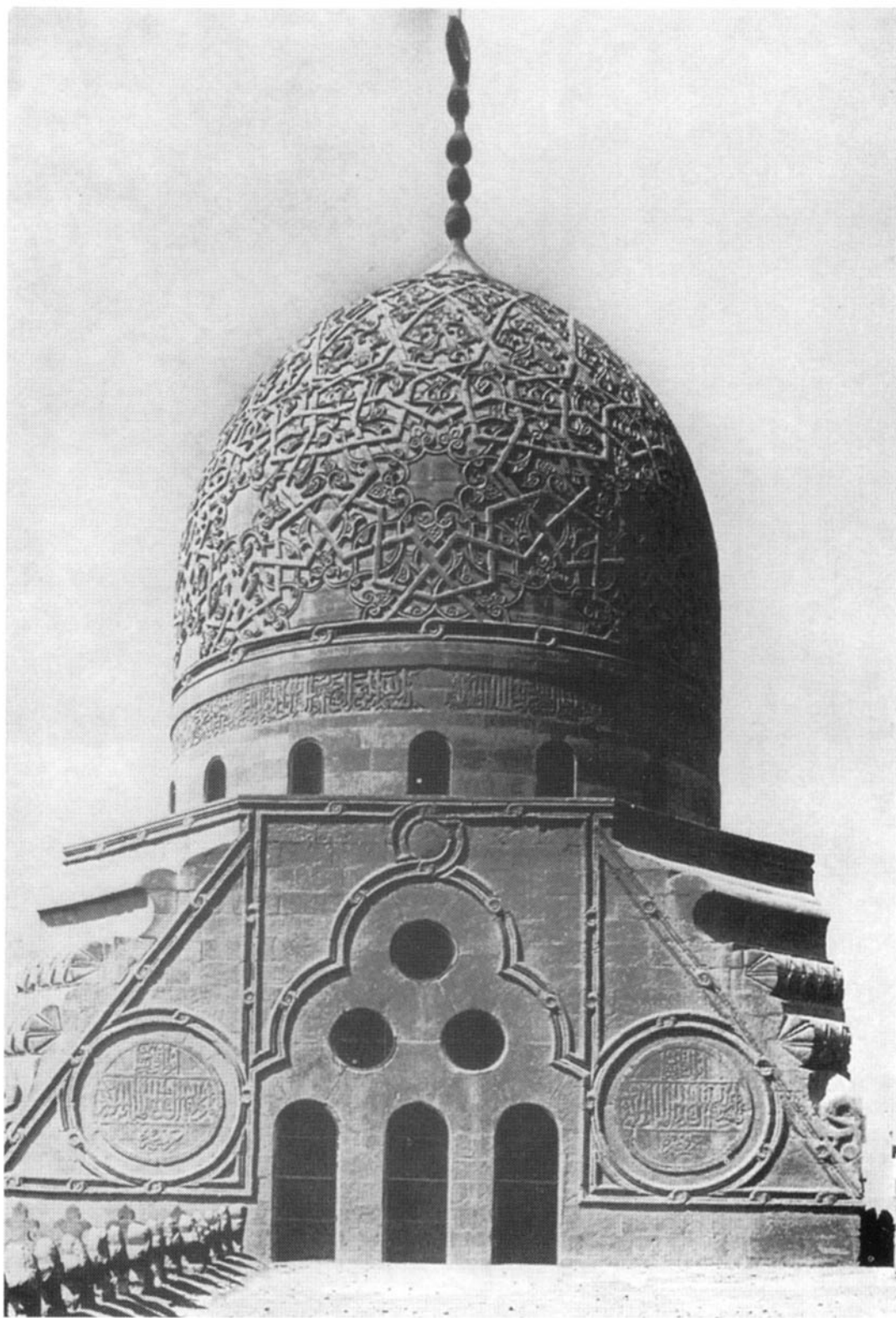
4. Mosque-madrasa of sultan Hasan. 757-64/1356-62/3.

(No. 133 on the map).



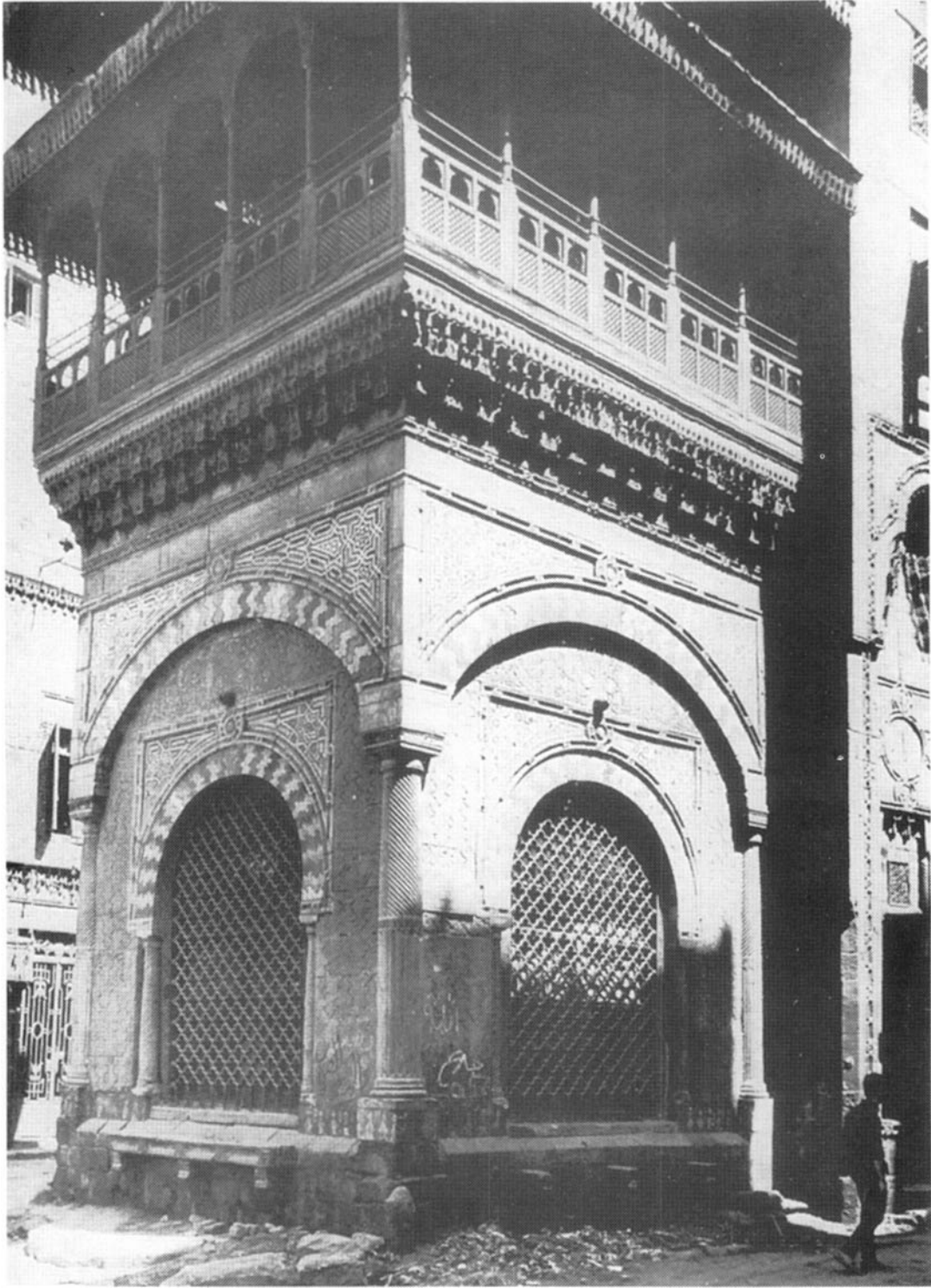
5. *Mārisiān* cf al-Mu'ayyad *Shaykh*. 821-3/1418-20. (No. 257 on the map)





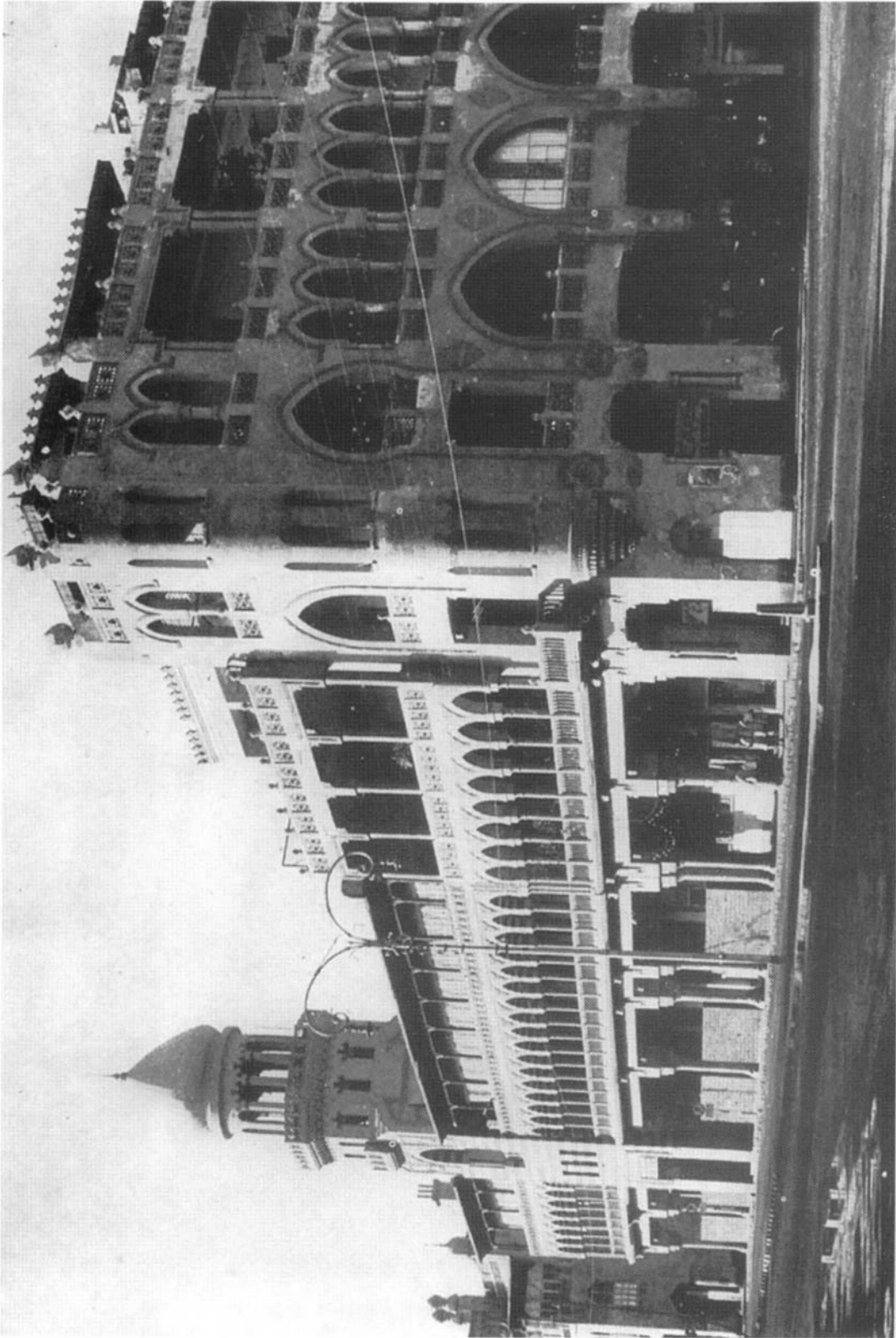
6. Mausoleum of Qā'it Bāy. Dome. 877-9/1472-4.

(No. 99 on the map)



7. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā. 1157/1744.

(No. 21 on the map)



8. The main street of Heliopolis.

All photographs by Sophie Ebeid

well have resulted from the existence of the romance. It is also not unlikely that the name of the hero was derived from the rôle of superintendent which he seems to play with regard to the shah of Iran, Hūshang. On behalf of this king, Kaḥramān subdued *divs* and sorcerers and acted as the leading champion of the Iranian army when Hūshang invaded India in order to complete an empire comprising the seven climes of the world. The story varies greatly in its particulars in the existing manuscript and printed versions of the romance, a confusion undoubtedly resulting from the long history of its development in popular literature. A few versions, all in Turkish, have been summarized in a more or less detailed form (cf. H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus libr. manuscr. qui in Bibl. Senatoria Civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur*, Grimaë 1838, 522 f.; Th. Menzel, in *ET*, s.v. *Kaḥramān-nāma*; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1932-3, i, 137-8, 144-5, 356, ii, 23).

According to some of these, Kaḥramān (or a another person called Kaḥrām, who sometimes takes over part of his functions) was the king of the man-eaters living in Sīstān who at first opposed the king of Iran. But he is also represented as a prince of royal Iranian blood who as a youngster had been carried off by the *divs* to the mountain Kāf. Through his enormous strength he is able to master the demons. When he returns to the world of human beings he rides a monstrous creature which he has caught and tamed himself. Woven into the main plot of the romance is a tale about the king and queen of the fairies and their son Bahrām-i Djabali, as well as a series of picaresque stories of the *‘ayyārūn* [q.v.]. The origin and early history of the *Kaḥramān-nāma* is still obscure. A reference to Kaḥramān as the guardian of the treasures of Hūshang in the *Diwān* of ‘Unsurī (ed. Y. Karīb, Tehran 1323, 129; ed. M. Dabīr Siyāki, Tehran 1342, *bayt* 2416) proves that at least the kernel of this romance already existed in the time of Firdawsī. It would seem that elements of the legends about Hūshang [q.v.] and Rostam have been used to build up a new epic cycle. The composition of a voluminous version in Persian is attributed to Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarsūsī (see *ABŪ ṬĀHIR*). Of this only some manuscripts of a Turkish translation are known, the oldest dating from the 10th/16th century. Much more condensed versions are known in both Persian and Turkish. In the Ottoman empire the romance became very popular and was incorporated into the repertoire of the *meddah* [q.v.]. It has been printed several times in Turkey and Iran and has inspired modern writers in Kazakh and Uzbek (cf. *Philologia Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1966, 744; A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnikh rukopisey AN Uzbekskoy SSR*, ii, Tashkent 1954, 440, no. 1875).

**Bibliography:** in addition to the works cited in the article, D’Herbelot, *Bibliographie orientale*, Paris 1697, 234, s.v. *Caherman*; J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, i, Paris 1838, lxxv; G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers., u. türk. Handschr. der K.-K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna 1865, ii, no. 799; W. Pertsch, *Die türk. Handschr. der Herzogl. Bibliothek zu Gotha*, Vienna 1859, nos. 254-7; idem, *Verzeichnis d. pers. Handschr. d. Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1888, no. 1039; idem, *Verzeichnis d. türk. Handschr. d. Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1889, nos. 476-7; E. Edwards, *Printed Persian books in the British Museum*, London 1922, 318; *Khānbābā Mushār*; *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i ‘āpti-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337-42 *sh.*, i, 1234, ii, 2602; *Terdjūme-i hikāye-i . . . Kaḥramān-i kātīl*, Turkish tr.

by Mehmed Emīn Yemenī al-Salmāniyewī, Istanbul 1285/1868-9; *Kaḥraman katil*. Yeniden yazan S. Tevfik, Istanbul 1930; see also I. Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim, le “Porte-hache” du Khorassan*, Paris 1962, ch. i, *passim*. (J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

**KAHRUBĀ** (also written as *kāhrabā*’; for other forms see *Wörterbuch der klass. arab. Sprache*, s.v. *كهربا* and W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Hikma des Tabari*, Bonn 1969, 414), yellow amber. The word is of Persian origin (for Pehlevi quotations see G. Jacob, *ZDMG*, xliii (1889), 358) and means “a straw-attracting substance”. It occurs in the Arabic translation of Dioscorides, ed. E. Teres, Tetuan 1952-Barcelona 1957, p. 84, s.v. *αἰγερρος* (Greek text, ed. Wellmann, i, 82); but since this text, originally translated by Stephanos B. Basileios, was revised by Hunayn b. Ishāq [q.v.] and, moreover, there is no indication whether the edited text takes into consideration the well-known additional translations of names made for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in Cordoba (see M. Meyerhof, *Die Materia Medica des Dioskurides bei den Arabern* [*Index Islamicus*, No. 5351]), we cannot be sure whether this mention of the word is the oldest known. Anyhow, two Arabic authors of the 3rd/9th century use the word: ‘Alī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-hikma*, written 236/850 (see for a full list of references *Wörterbuch*, *loc. cit.*, and for a relevant discussion Schmucker, *loc. cit.* [“Qurt.” means Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā’ al-‘uḥḥār*, ed. Meyerhof, 1940!]) and al-Kindī, *Aḥrābādīn* (see M. Levey, *The medical Formulary*, 1966, no. 224 and p. 320). Today the word is also used for “electricity” (ἤλεκτρον).

The very name of the substance, the only one used in Islamic sources, points to the lands from which the knowledge of amber reached Islam. Al-Muḥaddasī includes it in a list of goods imported from *Kh’arāz* via the *Bulghars* [q.v.]; this corresponds to Scythia mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny. The origin of the amber imported from there is the shore of the Baltic Sea.

Most Islamic sources are well aware of the botanical nature of amber. Al-Bīrūnī, in his *K. al-Djamāhir fi ma’rifat al-djawāhir*, 210-212, says that he deals with this substance because it is popular among the eastern Turks, who store it like various kinds of horn (*khutū*). He mocks at authors who do not know of its non-mineral origin, as if they had not observed leaves and insects enclosed in the pieces. The resemblance between amber and sandarac is always stressed.

Apart from its use in gems, jewellery and for talismans, amber is also employed as a drug: when pulverized, it is administered as a hemostatic and astringent. The amber trade routes have been studied by Jacob, *loc. cit.* and vol. xlv (1891).

**Bibliography:** Apart from the literature mentioned in the article, see for quotations from medical authors Ibn al-Bayṭār, iv, 88 f., and al-Anṭāki, *Tadhkira*, 1343/1923, i, 253 f.; Abu ‘l-Ḳāsim ‘Abd Allāh Kāshānī, *‘Arā’is al-djawāhir wa-nafā’is al-aṭā’ib*, ed. I. Afshār (Persian), Tehran 1345/1966-7, 146; G. C. Williamson, *The book of amber*, 1932 (not seen). (M. PLESSNER)

**KAḤṬABA** B. SHĀBIB B. KHĀLID B. MA’DĀN, ABU ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭā’ī of Banū Nabhān (*Djamhara*, 178; *Aḥḥbār al-‘Abbās*, 216), an Arab general and one of the most prominent leaders of the ‘Abbāsīd *da’wa* in *Khurāsān*. According to Balādhurī, his real name was Ziyād, Kaḥṭaba being

a nickname derived from the verb *k-h-t-b*, which means, *inter alia*, "to strike with a sword" (*LA*, s.v.). In one place his *kunya* is given as Abū Hamza (*Muḥabbar*, 465); it is quite possible that he had two *kunyas*, like some other leaders of the *da'wa* who took the precaution of adopting a new one on becoming active in the movement.

Practically nothing is known about Kaḥṭaba before his appearance as one of the 'Abbāsīd emissaries in Khurāsān. Some information, however, exists about his grandfather, Khālid b. Ma'dān, which may explain the origins of Kaḥṭaba's connections with a Shi'ite movement. Khālid b. Ma'dān supported 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel and was on that occasion the standard-bearer of his tribe, the Banū 'Amr b. al-Ṣāmit (*Djamhara*, loc. cit.). Later, in the year 38/658, he was commander of 'Alī's army at the battle against the Khawāriḍj at Nahrāwān (Ṭabarī, i, 3431; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iii, 309). He took the field against the Khawāriḍj once more in 43/663-4 (Ṭabarī, ii, 54), but this time he refused to pursue them after they had been expelled from Kūfa, asserting that his sole responsibility was the defence of his *miṣr*. It can thus be deduced that Kaḥṭaba's family settled in Kūfa at least as early as in 'Alī's time. An isolated apocalyptic tradition in Ya'qūbī mentions that as a young man Kaḥṭaba was also resident in Kūfa (Ya'qūbī, ii, 411). As such he must have been familiar with the 'Alid ideas and Shi'ite activity in the town. His name, however, does not feature in the detailed list of Abū Hāshim's supporters in Kūfa which appears in *Akḥbār al-'Abbās* (183-4, 191-2). The list is mentioned on the occasion of Abū Hāshim's death, in 98/716-7, and it is highly likely that by that time Kaḥṭaba was already in Khurāsān, although there is no mention of this in the sources.

That Kaḥṭaba was familiar with the Hāshimiyya and its ideology, and that in Khurāsān he actually joined the clandestine movement, is demonstrated by his election as one of the *nuḥabā'*, the twelve most prominent leaders, when the movement organized its leadership in Marw. According to the tradition transmitted by al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1358), the 'Abbāsīd *da'wa* in Khurāsān was inaugurated by the visit there of the emissary Abū 'Ikrima and his nomination of the *nuḥabā'* in the year 100/718-9. In later Islamic tradition this acquired apocalyptic significance through the messianic expectations associated with the beginning of a new century—an association somewhat similar to the millenarian hopes in Christianity. It was thus politic of the 'Abbāsīds, after they had come to power, to link the inception of their *da'wa* to the year 100, stressing that the new order brought to Islam by their *dawla* was the embodiment and fulfilment of the messianic hopes attached to the turn of the century.

The discovery and publication of the *Akḥbār al-'Abbās* has permitted a detailed reconstruction of the history of the *da'wa*. From the unique traditions contained in this source it is quite clear that the Hāshimiyya movement in Khurāsān pledged itself to the 'Abbāsīd cause only around the year 126/743-4. Until then it had been organized in secret, mainly in Marw and in Nišāpūr, in the form of small, clandestine groups. Towards the year 111/729, Marw took the lead with the arrival there of Khidāsh [q.v.], the competent Hāshimite leader from Nišāpūr, who was undoubtedly responsible for the creation of a strong organized leadership of the movement in Marw. To him too the movement owed the formulation of its ideology, basically an 'Alid one, which explains why later 'Abbāsīd tradition went out of its way to

blacken Khidāsh's name. Although the leaders in Marw, Kaḥṭaba amongst them, were aware that the *imāma* of Abū Hāshim had been formally transferred in an unprecedented legal act to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās [q.v.], they were not inclined to accept him as their sole leader and for a long time refrained from any communication with the new *imām* and with the mother-centre of the movement in Kūfa. The suppression of the revolt of Zayd b. 'Alī [q.v.] in Kūfa in 125/742-3 and the crucifixion of his son Yaḥyā [q.v.] in Khurāsān a year later was a severe shock to the Shi'a. Remorseful and disappointed, the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān was drawn to the *imām* in Humayma [q.v.], who emerged as the only hope for the cause of *Ahl al-Bayt* [q.v.].

When Bukayr b. Māhān [q.v.], the 'Abbāsīd emissary from Kūfa, was sent to Khurāsān in 125 or 126/742-4 to organize the movement according to the *imām's* specifications, he must have ratified the organization that had existed there from the time of Khidāsh. This included a supreme council of twelve *nuḥabā'* in Marw and a great number of *du'āt* (formally 70), 40 of whom were in Marw and its vicinity and the rest scattered throughout the main urban centres of Khurāsān. At the end of 125 or 126, soon after the death of Muḥammad b. 'Alī and the succession of his son Ibrāhīm [q.v.], a delegation of three *nuḥabā'*, Kaḥṭaba amongst them, met the new *imām* during the *Ḥadīdī* in Mecca and swore allegiance to him in the name of their Khurāsānī *shi'a*. Henceforward Kaḥṭaba was the chief link between Khurāsān and the *imām*. The stringent secret measures, undertaken by the *da'wa* in order to keep the identity of the *imām* hidden from the movement's followers as much as from most of its leaders, demonstrated the importance of his role. A later tradition, attempting to legitimize the status of Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ [q.v.] as the first 'Abbāsīd caliph, made Kaḥṭaba the man who met Ibrāhīm before his death in the prison of Marwān II and received from him his testimony in favour of the *imāma* of Abū 'l-'Abbās (*Frag.*, 190-1; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 251).

Kaḥṭaba's real genius was revealed when he served as general in the army of the *da'wa*. When Abū Muslim [q.v.] was sent to Khurāsān in 128/745-6 to organize the movement for the decisive campaign against the Umayyads, Kaḥṭaba was appointed to lead his army. His son Ḥasan was his lieutenant. In the middle of Djumādā II 129/March 747, Kaḥṭaba accompanied Abū Muslim in a tour of the *da'wa* centres in western Khurāsān in preparation for the revolt, which was to begin in Muḥarram 130/August-September 747. When they reached Kūmis, Abū Muslim returned to the vicinity of Marw and Kaḥṭaba continued westwards at the head of a small delegation in order to meet the *imām* during the *Ḥadīdī* of that year. After meeting the *imām* in Mecca and informing him of the detailed plans for the revolt, he returned to Khurāsān, having been formally nominated by Ibrāhīm as head of his armies.

Meanwhile the plans for open revolt in Khurāsān received a setback through some unforeseen development in the province. The black banners of the *da'wa* were hoisted on 25 Ramaḍān 129/17 September 747, but military activity was delayed until after the coming of winter, affording ample time for Kaḥṭaba to return from Mecca and for Abū Muslim to recruit large numbers of warriors (mainly the *muḥātīla* of the Yamānī tribes) and thoroughly organize the army. In Rabī' II 130/January 748, Abū Muslim entered Marw and drove out Naṣr b. Sayyār [q.v.],

the last Umayyad governor of *Khurāsān*, who fled to the west (*Akhbār*, 315 f.). Soon afterwards *Kaḥṭaba* returned to *Khurāsān* and took over from his son *Ḥasan* as the head of the army. He was accompanied by a group of military commanders, most of whom were Arabs, and by two competent administrators, *Khālid* b. *Barmak* [q.v.] and *Djahm* b. 'Atiyya, whose task was the organization of the campaign, including the regular payment of the troops, and the administration of the occupied territories.

The winter over, the campaign opened in *Sha'ban* 130/April 748 (*Akhbār*, 321). *Kaḥṭaba* marched on *Sarakhs*, there encountering his first adversary, the *Khāridjite* *Shaybān*, whom he defeated and slew. After the fall of *Sarakhs*, *Kaḥṭaba* advanced swiftly westwards, revealing his military genius in the strategy he adopted. One of his main strategic principles was to keep the flanks of his advancing army constantly protected and free. By chosing to advance on the main route of northern *Khurāsān*, which passed from *Marw* through *Ṭūs*, *Dāmghān* and *Rayy*, he ensured that his left flank was protected by the great desert of central Iran while making his way through old-established centres of *da'wa*. As we shall see, *Kaḥṭaba* had to deviate from this route twice, once in *Gurgān* and the second time when he reached *Rayy* and had to turn southwards to *Iṣfāhān* and *Nihāwand* instead of continuing on the short way to 'Irāk.

The main campaign started out from *Abiward*. Advancing on *Ṭūs*, *Kaḥṭaba* met an Umayyad army led by *Tamīm* b. *Naṣr* b. *Sayyār*. Defeating and killing his adversary, he captured *Ṭūs* then swiftly pressed on to *Niṣhāpūr*, which he took at the end of *Sha'ban* 130/4 May 738. Meanwhile a strong Umayyad army, commanded by *Nubāta* b. *Ḥanzala* al-*Kilābī*, captured *Gurgān* and endangered *Kaḥṭaba's* right flank. At once *Kaḥṭaba* diverted the whole of his army northwards. He met *Nubāta* on 1 *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* 130/1 August 748, defeated and killed him, and dispersed the remnants of his army. Having secured his right flank, *Kaḥṭaba* resumed his original route and captured *Kūmis* in the beginning of 131/September 748. A grave danger now emerged from the south. 'Amir b. *Ḍubāra* al-*Murri* assembled a huge army in *Iṣfahān* ('*ashkar al-'asākīr*, Ṭabari, iii, 4). Leaving *Rayy*, which had fallen without a struggle, *Kaḥṭaba* turned with the main body of his army against this new threat. At the same time his son *Ḥasan* was sent with a strong contingent to engage the garrison of *Nihāwand* and cover his father's right flank. On 23 *Radjab* 131/18 March 749, *Kaḥṭaba* engaged *Ibn Ḍubāra* in battle at *Djābalk* and there secured the greatest victory for the *da'wa*. The battle of *Djābalk*, which resulted in the death of one of the best Umayyad generals and the destruction of one of their most illustrious armies, proved to be fatal to the Umayyad cause.

The remnants of the shattered Umayyad legions retreated to *Nihāwand*, where the defence of the town was organized by *Malik* b. *Adham* al-*Bāhilī*. The original garrison of the city had consisted of troops of the *Ahl al-Shām* but a strong contingent of *Khurāsānī* warriors who opposed the *da'wa* had also found refuge there. Soon tension was apparent between the two groups. When *Kaḥṭaba* joined his son in the siege of the city and began bombarding it with *mandjaniqs*, *Malik* b. *Adham* entered into secret negotiations with the 'Abbāsīd general. Securing safe conduct for his Syrian troops, he opened the city gates to *Kaḥṭaba*. Adhering to the terms of the *amān*, *Kaḥṭaba* allowed the Syrians to go free, but captured the *Khurāsānīs*

and put most of them to death (131/749). *Yazid* b. 'Umar b. *Hubayra*, the Umayyad governor of 'Irāk, alerted by the defeat of *Ibn Ḍubāra* and the fall of *Nihāwand*, left *Kūfa* in haste to block *Kaḥṭaba's* approach to al-Madā'in. *Kaḥṭaba* moved to *Khānikīn*, arriving there in *Dhu 'l-Ka'da* 131/July 749. Danger then threatened his northern wing from the direction of the *Djazira*. *Marwān* II, alarmed by *Kaḥṭaba's* successes, sent a strong force to impede his progress at *Shahrazūr*. Adhering to his original strategy, *Kaḥṭaba* dispatched a contingent under *Abu 'l-'Awn* 'Abd al-Malik b. *Yazid* al-*Azdī* to deal with this new danger. *Abu 'l-'Awn's* venture was crowned with success: he defeated 'Uthmān b. *Sufyān*, the commander of the Umayyad army in *Shahrazūr*, and captured the city.

As a result, it seems that *Marwān* decided to organize his forces for the defence of the *Djazira*. His decision not to join forces with *Ibn Hubayra* had fateful consequences, but it was apparently based on the assumption that *Kaḥṭaba* was aiming to strike at the heart of the caliphate in the *Djazira* and *Syria* rather than in 'Irāk.

Meanwhile *Kaḥṭaba* prepared his last move into 'Irāk. From *Khānikīn* the shortest route to al-Madā'in was blocked by *Ibn Hubayra*, who assumed that *Kaḥṭaba* would take the direct route to *Kūfa*. Outwitting him, *Kaḥṭaba* planned a swift and daring move that took him into the heart of 'Irāk. He marched out of *Khānikīn* in a north-westerly direction, leaving the highroad and outflanking *Ibn Hubayra's* camps in *Daskara* and *Djalūlā'*. Crossing the *Kāṭūl* canal near *Bādjiisrā*, he assembled his army near *Awānā* and crossed the *Tigris* there on a bridge of boats. Once safely on the right bank of the *Tigris*, he hastened to *Anbār*, captured it and crossed over the *Euphrates* at *Dimimmā*. *Ibn Hubayra*, too late to intercept these swift moves, had to retreat with speed towards *Kūfa*. Meanwhile *Kaḥṭaba* advanced southwards along the western bank of the *Euphrates*. On reaching the eastern bank, *Ibn Hubayra* moved simultaneously opposite him. A few miles to the south of *Fam* al-*Furāt*, *Kaḥṭaba* caught sight of a shallow stretch of the river which he decided to ford. During the night of 8-9 *Muharram* 132/27-8 August 749, he mounted a surprise attack on *Ibn Hubayra* and defeated him, forcing him to relinquish *Kūfa* and retreat with the remnants of his army along the *Nil* canal to *Wāsiṭ*.

In the confusion of the battle, *Kaḥṭaba* was either slain or drowned. His place was immediately taken by his son *Ḥasan*, who led the victorious army into *Kūfa* on 10 *Muharram* 132/29 August 749.

*Bibliography: Akhbār al-Dawla al-'Abbāsīyya wa-fihī akhbār al-'Abbās wa-waldihī*, ed. A. A. Duri, Beirut 1971, index; *Ya'qūbī*, 392, 398 f., 410-2; *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-ḥadā'iq*, in *Fragmenta Historico-rum...*, ed. de Goeje, 181, 186, 190-5; Ṭabari, index; *Ibn Kutayba*, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 188; *Ibn Durayd*, *Ishākiq*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 237; *Ibn Khallikān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 828, tr. de Slane, iv, 205; *Yāqūt*, i, 463, ii, 3, 413; *Ibn al-Kalbī*—*Caskel*, tab. 257 and Register; *Balādḥurī*, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Ms. Rabat, iii, 379, Ms. Aṣīr Efendi, Istanbul, 597-8, fols. 296a f.; *Gardīzi*, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nafisi, 89, 91-2; *Ibn Badrūn*, *Commentaire historique sur la poésie d'Ibn Abdoun*, ed. Dozy, index; *Ibn Ḥabīb*, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, Hyderabad 1942, 465; *Ibn Khaldūn*, *al-'Ibar*, Beirut 1957, index; *Ibn al-Athīr*, ind. (M. SHARON)

KAḤṬĀN, according to the consensus of opinion among Muslim genealogists, historians, and geograph-



ers, and in popular tradition, the ancestor of all the South-Arabian peoples [see YAMAN], whence he is sometimes known as "father of all Yaman", the Yamanis themselves being called *banū Kaḥṭān*, *habā'il Kaḥṭān*, or simply *Kaḥṭān*. He thus corresponds to 'Adnān [*q.v.*], the common ancestor of the northern Arabs, though some authorities prefer to contrast him with one or other of 'Adnān's descendants, *e.g.*, his son, Ma'add (al-Dinawari, 281; al-Ṭabari, ii, 1056, 1084; al-Mas'ūdi, *al-Tanbih*, 88), or his grandson, Nizār (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdi*, v, 223, vi, 42 f., 46, 143, 150; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iv, 273). The normal genealogy given for Kaḥṭān is Nūh—Sām—Arfaḥshadh—Shālakh—'Ābar—Kaḥṭān, and he is also credited with a brother, Fālagh. In this we may see an adaptation of the Yahwist tradition in the Table of the Nations (*Genesis*, X, 21-5; *I Chronicles*, I, 4, 17-9); Noah—Shem—Arphaxad—Shelah—Eber—Peleg + Joktan, and this is confirmed by the Arab insistence on the identity of Kaḥṭān with Joktan (Yaḳṭan), who was the ancestor of several peoples of patent South Arabian reference. Some genealogists do admittedly make Yaḳṭan a brother or son of Kaḥṭān (*e.g.*, Ibn Kutayba, 14; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdi*, i, 79 f.; al-Ṭabari, i, 217), but this is certainly a confusion on their part. The claim, however, that Kaḥṭān is an Arabicized form of Yaḳṭan (*e.g.*, *Tāḍī al-'Arūs*, s.v.) is phonologically hazardous and need not be pressed. Hebrew *Yokṭān* is rather to be related to the verb *kāhan* "to be small, weak", thus "the younger (brother)", and one might compare the occurrence in Old South Arabian of the term *qtn* to denote collateral descent from a clan-head. Kaḥṭān, on the other hand, is now attested as a tribal name even before Islam. An inscription of the time of the second century Hamdānid ruler, Š'R m 'WTR (Jamme 635/26-7) alludes to campaigns in the country to the north of Naḍīrān against a king of Kinda and Kaḥṭān (*mlk/hdt/wqhtn*), and this may provide additional support for the identification of Ptolemy's *Καταῦραι* (*Geogr.*, book vi, chapter 7, §§ 20, 23) with Kaḥṭān. Though virtually nothing is known of the rôle of this people in pre-Islamic times, it seems reasonable to suppose that the apparent similarity of the name with Yaḳṭan led the Arab genealogists to make the identification in order to provide the South Arabian peoples with a respectable biblical ancestry, just as the Northern Arabs, under the influence of the Bible and the Qur'ān, had been linked with Ishmael, son of Abraham, through the fictitious 'Adnān.

The tribal confederation of the Kaḥṭān is subdivided into two groups, the smaller of the Ḥimyar and the larger of the Kahlān. The two were officially regarded as brothers and their descent from Kaḥṭān was established by the interpolation between biblical Joktan and his son Sheba of two further generations represented by Ya'rub and Yaḥḍjub. The Ḥimyar, as progenitors of the great pre-Islamic kingdoms of South Arabia, were probably settled, while the Kahlān were essentially nomads (cf. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 116 ff.). Most, indeed, of the Southern tribes which had settled in North Arabia, Syria, and 'Irāk by the advent of Islam claimed descent from Kahlān.

The hostility between the Kaḥṭān and the Ma'add seems to go back to pre-Islamic times and may find its origin in the opposition between the desert and the sown. This enmity was intensified by the repeated raids of the Yamanis into the lands of the Ishmaelites as well as by the later antagonism between the Anṣār (Medinans) and the Quraysh, which came to a head after the death of the Prophet and influenced the

history of the first two centuries of Islam in the most baneful fashion. It was perhaps this feud that first linked the Yamanī tribes on the one side and the Ishmaelites on the other into closer ethnological unities. One of its more innocuous results was the *mufaḥḥara*, the struggle for rank and glory, which continually prevailed between the two rivals. The Kaḥṭān, in view of the splendour of the ancient South Arabian kingdoms, had the more right at first to feel the more distinguished. But the mission of Muḥammad and the primacy of the Quraysh brought the Ma'add a tremendous superiority. The Yamanis endeavoured to counterbalance this by creating a South Arabian saga, which pictured their past greatness in the most splendid colours. They then made Kaḥṭān son of the prophet Hūd [*q.v.*], whom they next partly identified with 'Ābar. (The present-day Kaḥṭān still regard Hūd as Kaḥṭān's father, though they are unaware of his shrine in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.) Finally they tried to connect themselves with the 'Adnān genealogy, partly by making the ancient Djuhurum [*q.v.*], the brothers-in-law of Ismā'il, to be direct descendants of Kaḥṭān, but especially by giving Kaḥṭān a genealogy direct from Ismā'il, who thus became "father of all the Arabs". They may also be responsible for the theory that the Kaḥṭān, together with the so-called "lost Arabs" (*al-'Arab al-bā'ida*), represent the genuine (primary) Arabs (*al-'Arab al-'ariba* or *al-'arabā'* etc.), while the Ma'add were Arabicized (secondary) Arabs (*al-'Arab al-muta'arriba*). Another theory makes the "lost Arabs" *al-'Arab al-'ariba*, while the Kaḥṭān are *al-'Arab al-muta'arriba*, and the Ma'add *al-'Arab al-musta'arriba* (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *al-'Arab*).

The Kaḥṭān at present are for the most part beduin and form a very large group of tribes covering the area between Bīṣha in 'Asīr and Ḥawṭa in Central Arabia. Those that Doughty met in Ḥā'il claimed descent from Hūd and traced their ancestral home back to the mountainous country around al-Ṭūr in 'Asīr. Perhaps because of their isolated habitat on the northern fringe of the great southern desert, strange tales were reported of their customs and way of life and they acquired a reputation, perhaps justified, for savagery and cruelty. They are said to be Ḥanbalī Sunnis and derive their livelihood from camel breeding. The Kaḥṭān of 'Asīr differ from their nomadic relatives by living well-conducted lives and prospering in trade and agriculture. They form a federation of six autonomous tribes in the region just east of Abhā, living independently of one another and uniting only in times of crisis. Although al-Hamdāni knew of the individual tribes, he was apparently unaware of their description as Kaḥṭān. It is not improbable, however, that they are survivals of the pre-Islamic tribe. Al-Muḥaddasī, writing some fifty years after al-Hamdāni, mentions a district of Kaḥṭān between Zabīd and Ṣan'ā' and alludes also to a clan, the Āl Kaḥṭān, northwest of Naḍīrān, whom he describes as "the oldest princes of Yaman".

*Bibliography:* A. P. Causin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, Paris 1847; al-Dimashqī, *Nuḥbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 246, 249, 252; al-Dinawari, *al-Aḥḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 9, 281, 348; al-Hamdāni, *al-Iklīl*, i, ed. Löfgren; Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhi, *al-'Ikd al-farīd*, Cairo 1305, ii, 57; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, i, 57, iv, 273; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, 3-7; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Caskel; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, ii, 46 f.; Ibn Kutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 14; A. von Kremer, *Die himjarische Kasideh*, Leipzig 1865; idem, *Über die südarabische Sage*, Leipzig

1866; idem, *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volksage von Jemen*, Leipzig 1867; D. S. Margoliouth, art. *Joktan*, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 79 f., ii, 142, iii, 142, 143, v, 223, vi, 42 f., 46, 136, 143, 150; idem, *al-Tanbih*, 31, 80, 81, 88, 109, 185, 188; J. A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, Philadelphia 1934; Naṣḥwān ibn Sa'īd, in *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's in Šams al-'ulūm*, ed. 'Azī-muddīn Aḥmad, Leiden 1916; J. J. Reiske, *Primae lineae historiae regnorum arabicorum*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1847; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, fol. 443 b; al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik al-dhahab fī ma'rījat kabā'il al-'arab*, Bombay 1296, 16; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Index; F. Wüstenfeld, *Register*; idem, *Tabellen*; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫh*, i, 220.

The tribe of Kaḥṭān: C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1888; *A handbook of Arabia*, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Section, i, 1916; J. J. Hess, *Kaḥṭānische Beduinenlieder*, *Verhandl. des XIII. Internat. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, 302 ff.; A. Jamme, *Sabaeen inscriptions from Maḥran Bilāṭs (Mārib)*, Baltimore 1962; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale: ii, Daḥnāh*, 3 vols., Leiden 1905-13; B. Moritz, art. *Katanitai*, in Pauly-Wissowa; al-Muḥaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḥāsīm*, 87, 94, 104; M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1952; H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, New York 1952; idem, *The heart of Arabia*, 2 vols., London 1922; W. Thesiger, *A journey through the Tihama, the 'Asir, and the Hijaz mountains*, in *GJ*, cx (1948), 188-200; *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Section, 1946; H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, Sitzungsber. Österreich. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., cclvi, Vienna 1964.

(A. FISCHER[—A. K. IRVINE])

**KAHWA**, an Arabic word of uncertain etymology, which is the basis of the usual words for coffee in various languages. Originally a name for wine, found already in the old poetry (see Landberg, *Études* ii, 1057 and *al-Aghānī*, 1st ed., vi, 110<sup>7</sup>, viii, 79<sup>10</sup>, xx, 180<sup>9</sup>), this word was transferred towards the end of the 8th/14th century in the Yemen to the beverage made from the berry of the coffee tree. The assumption of such a transference of meaning is not, it is true, accepted by some who consider *kahwa*—at least in the sense of coffee—as a word of African origin and seek to connect it with the alleged home of the coffee tree, Kaffa, although they also assume contamination with *kahwa* “wine” (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii, 566; Vollers, in *ZDMG*, i, 657; *Hobson-Jobson*; Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 1057-66). On the other hand, it should be noted that the holders of this view do not prove that coffee was exported from Kaffa as early as 1400, and do not quote a similar word in the languages of Ethiopia and adjoining lands, while the usual word for coffee there (*būn* for tree, berry and beverage; see Armbruster, *Initia Amharica*, ii, Cambridge 1910, 58; Coulbeaux and Schreiber, *Dict. de la langue tigrāī*, Vienna 1915, 408; I. Reinisch, *Die Kafa-Sprache* etc., ii, in *Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., cxvi, 1888, 273; see also Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 1055 f.) has passed in the form *bunn* (in rhyme also *būn*) as a name of the tree and berry into Arabic. But as it is probable that the drinking of coffee spread in the Yemen out of Šūfī circles and a special significance was given to wine in the poetical language of the mystics, a transference of the poetic name for

wine to the new beverage would not be at all impossible.

The coffee tree was not indigenous to South Arabia and was probably introduced from the highlands of Ethiopia, where it is found in profusion growing wild, notably in Kaffa. But there is no trace of authority for the assertion (Deflers and *Handbook of Arabia*) that the coffee tree was already introduced into Yemen in the period of the Ethiopian conquest and of the fall of the Ḥimyar kingdom, about a century before the Hidjra. In this case the older literature would hardly have left it unnoticed.

The earliest mention of coffee so far found is in writings of the 10th/16th century. According to (Aḥmad) Ibn 'Abd al-Ḡhaffār, quoted by 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djazīrī in his essay (see below, *Bibliography*), the popularity of *kahwa* as a beverage in the Yemen was first known in Cairo in the beginning of the 10th/16th century. It was there taken especially in Šūfī circles, as it produced the necessary wakefulness for the nightly devotional exercises. According to this authority, it had been brought to Aden by the jurist Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Dhahbānī (died 875/1470-1), who had become acquainted with it during an involuntary stay on the African coast and on his return devoted himself to mysticism; it soon became popular.

Another reference in al-Djazīrī, however, ascribes the introduction of the beverage to 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Šhādhillī. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar of the family of Da'sayn died in 821/1418 according to al-Šardjī. He also might have become acquainted with coffee in Ethiopia, for after entering the Šhādhilliyya order, he lived for a period in the entourage of the king Sa'd al-Dīn (*i.e.*, between 788/1386 and 805/1401-2 or 807/1404-5, cf. al-Makrīzī, *al-Ilmām bi-Aḥḥbār man bi-Arā' al-Ḥabash min Mulūk al-Islām*, ed. Rinck, Leiden 1790, p. 24; Paulitschke, *Harar*, Leipzig 1888, 504 *infra*), who gave him his sister to wife. Even after he had founded his *zāwiya* in al-Maḥḥā (to follow al-Šardjī) gifts continued to reach him from admirers in Ethiopia.

In the treatise by 'Abd al-Ḳādir (Ibn) al-'Aydarūs (see below, *Bibliography*), 'Alī b. 'Umar, the saint of al-Maḥḥā, alone is mentioned as the introducer of the beverage *kahwa* (*muhdīth al-kaḥwa*, fol. 341b; *wāḍi'uhā*, fol. 347b, in a verse by Šhayḫ b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs, died 990/1582). His claim to fame is, it is true, qualified by the note “that, before he prepared the beverage, only the kernel of the husk, *i.e.*, the *bunn*, was used and the husks were thrown on the dung-heaps (fol. 342a). In a verse attributed to him, however, he praises the *kahwat al-bunn* as a dispeller of sleep and aid to devotional exercises (fol. 342b). While al-Šardjī says not a word of his connection with coffee, 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-'Aydarūs numbers the introduction of the beverage among his miracles (*karāmāt*, fol. 342a).

The legend as given by Ḥādīdjī Khalīfa seems to have made two individuals out of 'Alī b. 'Umar, of whom Alī represents the founder of the Šhādhilliyya order, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 656/1258; see al-Ša'rānī, *Lawāḥiḫ al-Anwār*, Cairo 1299, ii, 5) and his disciple 'Umar the saint of al-Maḥḥā (Muḥḥā). The latter was ordered to settle, by command of his teacher who had appeared to him at his own funeral, at the place where a wooden ball which he gave him should come to rest. This is how he came to Muḥḥā. On the charge of having misconducted himself with the daughter of the king who was staying with him for a cure, he was banished into the mountains of Uṣāb (Wuṣāb, N.E. of Zabīd).



He and his disciples, who followed him into exile, are said to have sustained themselves with *kahwa* (here the berry) and finally to have made a decoction from it. His visitors were cured of an itch, epidemic in Mukhā, by taking coffee and this procured the saint an honourable return.

The third person who is given credit for the introduction of coffee is Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydārūs. An essay by 'Alawī al-Sakḳāf (see below, *Bibliography*) contains a statement from the *Ta'rikh al-al-Nadīm al-Ghazzī* (i.e., apparently *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-manāḳib 'ulamā' al-mi'a al-'āshira* by Nadīm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, Brockelmann, II, 376), according to which the Šūfi, who is called here a *Shādhīlī*, once came upon a coffee tree in his wanderings and ate the berries. As he noticed their stimulating effect he took them as a food and recommended them to his disciples, so that they became known in different countries. The reference here is probably to the Šūfi of this name who died in Aden in 914/1508-9 (Abū Maḳhrama, Leiden Ms. 1956, fol. 188; al-Nabhānī, *Djāmi' karāmāt al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1329, i, 263), whose grave is still honoured there. 'Abd al-Ḳādir (Ibn) al-'Aydārūs only mentions his fondness for coffee and quotes his *ḥasīda* in praise of it. On the other hand, Abū 'I-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī in his treatise *Iṣṭifā' al-ṣafwa li-taṣfiyat al-Ḳahwa*, fol. 2b mentions Abū Bakr al-'Aydārūs as the introducer (*munshi'*) of *kahwa*.

According to Glaser (*Mitt. der Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxx, 25), it is stated in a Turkish source (which he does not name) that in the 10th/16th century the *wālī* Özdemir (cf. Aḥmed Rāshid, *Tārikh-i Yemen ve San'a'*, i, 83 ff.) transplanted coffee from Africa to Yemen.

The fact that the merit of introducing coffee as a beverage is given to different individuals, suggests that we have to deal with various local traditions. The tradition of Mukhā is the most firmly established and most widely known; therefore 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhīlī—who is frequently confused with the founder of the *Shādhīliyya* order (d'Ohsson, von Hammer, Rinn)—has become the patron saint of coffee-growers, coffee-house keepers and coffee-drinkers (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, p. lxxxviii). In Algeria coffee is also known as *shādhīliyye*, after him (Beaussier, *Dict. pratique arabe-français*, Algiers 1871). He is popularly regarded as the founder of Mukhā, which is, however, already mentioned by al-Hamdānī (74<sup>18</sup>, 87<sup>3</sup>, 119<sup>18</sup>), although it owed its rise to coffee. A well, a gate and the mosque over his grave preserve the memory of al-Shādhīlī in Mukhā (Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, i, Copenhagen 1774, 438-40; cf. also the legend in Hādīdīlī *Khallifa*, and 'Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, *Bayān-i Wāḳi'*, French tr. by Langlès entitled *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke par Abdoūl Kérym*, Paris 1797, 202 f.).

Al-Shādhīlī and al-'Aydārūs (probably not Ḥaydar, as de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabes*, i, 461, thinks) have become Christian monks named Sciadli and Aidrus in the legend given by Naironi. The motif of the camels or goats on which the enlivening effects of coffee were first noticed has so far not been found in Oriental sources. According to a popular legend, the coffee tree shot up from goat's dung sown by the saint (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchinese*, Leiden 1906, i, 260).

The legends are probably correct in saying that the taking of coffee in Arabia first began among Yemenī Šūfis. They were particularly fond of the beverage because its effect facilitated the

performance of their religious ceremonies. They therefore considered this as its original "destination" (*mawḳū' aṣli*) and found that it incited to good and hastened on the mystical raptures (*fath*) (*Safwat al-Ṣafwa*, fol. 342b). The pious intention with which it was taken made the drinking of coffee a good work (*ḥā'a*). It received a ceremonial character, being accompanied by the recitation of a so-called *rātib*. This *rātib* consisted in the repetition 116 times of the invocation *yā ḥawī*. This usage is based—apart from the similarity in sound between *kahwa* and *hawī*—on the fact that the numerical value of *ḥwh*, i.e., 116, is the same as that of *ḥwy*, i.e., *hawī*, "strong", one of the most beautiful names of Allāh [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ]. According to *Shaykh* b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydārūs, the recitation of the *fātiḥa* [q.v.] should precede it. *Shaykh* b. Ismā'īl Bā 'Alawī of al-Shihr, however, prescribed the fourfold repetition of the *Sūra Yā-Sīn* (*Sūra XXXVI*) with a hundredfold *taṣliya* on the Prophet as *rātib* (*Safwat al-Ṣafwa*, fols. 344b *infra* f., 345b, 347a). Thus when taken with a righteous intention and devotion and genuine religious conviction, coffee-drinking leads to the enjoyment of the *kahwa ma'nawīyya*, the "ideal *kahwa*", also called *kahwat al-Ṣūfiyya*, which is explained as "the enjoyment which the people of God (*Ahl Allāh*) feel in beholding the hidden mysteries and attaining the wonderful disclosures (*mukāshafāt*) and the great revelations (*futūḥāt*)" (*op. cit.*, fols. 341b, 345a *supra*, 345b *infra* f.).—'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhīlī is reported to have said that coffee, like the water of Zamzam, serves the purpose for which it is drunk (*op. cit.*, fol. 348a, cf. above ii, 588a, *infra*), and the saying has been handed down of Aḥmad b. 'Alawī Bā *Dījahdab* (d. 973/1565-66; cf. al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, i, 330), who in his last years is said to have lived on nothing but coffee:—"He who dies with some *kahwa* in his body enters not into hell-fire" (*Safwat al-Ṣafwa*, fol. 344b).

Coffee was probably not known as a beverage in South Arabia much earlier than the turn of the 8th/14th century. Whether the tree was introduced long before this is doubtful. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [q.v.] speaks in his *I'āb* (commentary on *al-'Ubbāb*, probably by 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Sayfī; cf. Brockelmann, II, 531) of a beverage which appeared (viz. in Mecca) shortly before the 10th/16th century and was prepared from the husk of the *bunn*, a tree introduced from the region of Zayla<sup>c</sup>, and called *kahwa* (quotation in 'Alawī al-Sakḳāf, p. 9). Among the jurists who gave an opinion in favour of coffee, the oldest is *Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad* b. Sa'īd b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Kabbin al-'Adanī (died in Aden 842/1438, cf. Abū Maḳhrama, fol. 149b f.; according to al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, i, 155 f.: 829/1425-6).

An *urḍūsa* of *Sharaf al-Dīn al-'Amrīṭī* gives the year 817/1414-5 as the date at which coffee became domesticated in Mecca (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschr. zu Gotha*, iv, no. 2107). According to the *'Umdat al-ṣafwa*, however, the drinking of a decoction of coffee husks first appeared towards the end of the 9th/15th century, while previously only the eating of the fruit as a delicacy (*naḳl*) was known. The drinking of coffee dropped out of use again for a time, but it finally established itself and soon people drank coffee even in the sacred mosque and regarded it as a welcome tonic at *dhīkr* and *mawlid*. Coffee-houses (*buyūt al-ḳahwa*) were soon opened, where men and women met to listen to music or where they played chess or a similar game for a stake. This and the custom of handing round the coffee in the manner of wine naturally aroused the indignation of the ultra-

pious, many of whom had from the first set their faces against the beverage as an objectionable innovation. They found a champion in Khā'ir Bey, who was appointed chief of the police in Mecca in 917/1511 by Kānshūh al-Ghawrī [q.v.]. He carried through the proclamation of coffee as forbidden (*ḥarām*) in the same year, in an assembly of jurists of the different schools in which the unfavourable judgment of two well-known physicians and the evidence of a number of coffeedrinkers regarding its intoxicating and dangerous effects ultimately decided the issue. The *ḥādīs* signed the protocol of the assembly. Only the then *muftī* of Mecca dared to decline his co-operation and became therefore the object of damaging suspicions. By putting the questions in a clever way they were at the same time able to get an opinion condemning coffee from the *faḳīhs* of Cairo. The rescript which Kānshūh issued in reply to the protocol sent to Cairo did not completely fulfil the hopes of the opponents of coffee as it contained no absolute interdiction but only allowed measures to be taken against any concomitant features contrary to religion. Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-Haytamī, as late as about 950/1543, had a vigorous discussion, at a wedding feast (*walimat 'urs*) where coffee was offered to the guests, on the new beverage with a prominent *muftī*, who declared it intoxicating and forbidden. Ibn Ḥaḍjar refers to the assembly above-mentioned and cannot find words strong enough to condemn its decision and the manner in which it was reached (*ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fols. 352b-356a, quotation from the *Mu'dīam Mashā'ikhīhi*).

In accordance with this verdict, Khā'ir Bey forbade the taking and sale of coffee and had a number of vendors punished and their stocks burned, so that coffee husks (*kishr*) disappeared from the market. But Kānshūh's rescript again gave the coffeedrinkers courage and when in the next year one of the leading opponents of coffee was subjected to disciplinary punishment by a high official from Egypt and Khā'ir Bey was replaced by a successor who was not averse to coffee, they were again able to enjoy with impunity the beverage, to which these measures had only attracted the attention of wider circles. Only occasionally do we read of action being taken thereafter against disgraceful proceedings in coffee-houses. An edict forbidding coffee issued by the Ottoman sultan during the Ḥaḍḍī in 950/1544 was hardly respected at all.

In Cairo coffee was first made known in the first decade of the 10th/16th century in the Azhar quarter by Ṣūfīs from Yemen, who held their *dhikrs* in the mosque with their associates from Mecca and Madina while partaking of coffee. After it had been publicly sold and drunk there for a time, the *faḳīh* Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Sunbāṭī, famous as a preacher, declared it forbidden in 939/1532-3. Two years later in a meeting for exhortation in the Azhar mosque he so incited his hearers against the beverage that they fell upon the coffee-houses, made short work of their contents and maltreated the occupiers. The difference of opinion thus emphasized caused the *ḥādī* Muḥammad b. Ilyās al-Ḥanafī to take the opinions of prominent scholars; as a result of personal observation of the effects of coffee he confirmed the opinion of those who considered the beverage a permitted one. Although in the following years coffee was from time to time for brief periods forbidden in Cairo, the number of its devotees, even among the religious authorities, steadily increased.

Several notable theologians had given *fatwās* in favour of coffee, for example, Zakariyā al-Anṣārī

(died 926/1520), Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Sayfī (d. 930/1523-4), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīkī (died between 950 and 960/1543-1553), who in verses in praise of coffee also gives the advice that the opinion of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ should be set aside and the *fatwā* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan followed (*Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fols. 349a, b; cf. also al-Ṣiddīkī's verses in Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's *al-Kashkūl*, Būlāk 1288, i, 19), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī (d. 975/1567-8) and others (*Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fol. 348b).—Gradually the view came to prevail that coffee was in general permitted (*mubāh*), but that under certain circumstances the other legal categories could be applied to it also.

Intercourse with the holy cities and with Egypt brought coffee to Syria, Persia and Turkey. Rauwolf in 1573 found the beverage widely known in Syria (Aleppo). In Istanbul and Rūmilī coffee first appeared in the reign of Sulaymān I (926/1520-974/1566). In 962/1554 a man from Aleppo and another from Damascus opened the first coffee-houses (*kahwe-khānc*) in Istanbul. These soon attracted gentlemen of leisure, wits and literary men seeking distraction and amusement, who spent the time over their coffee reading or playing chess or backgammon, while poets submitted their latest poems for the verdict of their acquaintances. This new institution was jokingly called also *mekteb-i 'irfān* (school of knowledge). The coffee-house met with such approval that it soon attracted civil servants, *ḥādīs* and professors also (*Tārīkh-i Pccvī*, i, 363 ff.; English translation in B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma 1968, 132 ff.; Kātīb Čelebi, *The balance of truth*, tr. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 60-2). Poets like Māmiya al-Rūmī (cf. Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, p. 147) and later Belīghī sang the praises of coffee, and the opinion expressed in 928/1522 by Sulaymān's court physician, Badr al-Dīn al-Kūṣūnī (Leiden Ms. 945, fol. 58) was not unfavourable. The coffee-houses increased rapidly in number. Among the servants of the upper classes were *kahweḍī*, whose special task was the preparation of coffee, and at the court they were subordinate to a *kahweḍībashi* (Gibb-Bowen, i/x, index). In religious circles, however, it was found that the coffee-house was prejudicial to the mosque, and the 'ulamā' thought the coffee-house even worse than the wine-room. The preachers were specially eager for the prohibition of coffee and the way was paved for them by the *muftīs* (according to d'Ohsson: Abu 'l-Su'ūd) with an opinion that (roasted) coffee was to be considered as carbonized and therefore forbidden (the same argument is found in the treatise by Muḥammad ('Alī?) Dede, Leiden Ms. 682, i, fol. 4b). The fact that current politics were discussed in the coffee-houses, the government's acts criticized and intrigues concocted, was the principal cause for the intervention of the authorities. Edicts issued in the reigns of Murād III (982/1574-1003/1595) and Aḥmad I (1012/1613-1016/1617) were not strictly enforced and still less obeyed. The religious authorities met public opinion by declaring coffee legal, if it had not reached the degree of carbonization.

Murād IV 1032/1623-1049/1640 issued a strict prohibition of coffee (and tobacco). He had all the coffee-houses torn down and many forfeited their lives for the sake of coffee. Under Meḥmed IV (1058/1648-1099/1687), while the sale of coffee in the streets was allowed, the prohibition of coffee-houses was at first renewed by the Grand Vizier Köprülü for political reasons. This prohibition could not possibly be kept in force permanently, and later we even read of measures taken by the government to lower the high

price of coffee. From Sulaymān's time a tax was levied on coffee which was at a rate of 8 aspers per *okka* for Muslim buyers and 10 for Christian; in 1109/1697 there was added an extra tax of 5 paras the *okka*, which was called *bid'at-i kahwa*, for both.

According to Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, v, 713, the question of the correct spelling of *kahwa* with *h* or *k* has been disputed in Turkey. *Kahwa* is actually found in several manuscripts e.g., in the opinion of al-Kūšūnt above mentioned.

The coffee tree flourishes in south-western Arabia and does best on the western side of the Sarāt at a height of 1100 to 2200 m., where it finds in the depths of the valleys and on the slopes a fertile, moist soil and the uniform warm temperature necessary for it. The plantations on the slopes arranged in terraces (see the picture in *Handbook of Arabia*, Pl. xiv), however, needed regular watering; in addition, the mist (*'imā*, *sukhaymānī*) that rises in thick clouds out of Tihāma brings them moisture. To protect the trees from the heat of the sun and from locusts they are surrounded by shady trees like carob trees, tamarinds, etc. The tree, which is raised from seed (or propagated from layers), reaches a height of 2 to 5 m. with a diameter of 5 to 6 cm. and yields berries in the fourth year. It is an evergreen and throughout the year bears both blossom and berries in various stages of ripeness so that there is really no fixed harvest-time. The main harvest, however, varying with kind and locality, usually falls in the months from March to June. After the berries have been carefully gathered and allowed to dry they are shelled in a mill. The beans and the husks are then dried in the sun a second time.

The coffee tree is found as far north as 'Asir [g.u.] where it is said to flourish exceedingly on mount *Sh-dh-y* (*Shadhā*?) in the land of the Zuhrān (north of the Wādī Dawka, Doka on Stieler's map). (*Sharaf 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Barakātī, al-Rihla al-Yamāniyya*, Cairo 1330, 16; cf. J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, ii, 377; for other places in 'Asir see *Handbook of Arabia*, 136, 137). The most southern areas of coffee cultivation are Bilād al-Ḥudjriyya, Wādī Warazān and Wādī Banā. To the east we find coffee grown in the land of the Yāfi' and in the *Djāwf*. But it is the Ḥarāz mountains, the valley of al-Farḥ belonging to the land of the Banū Maṭar, the *Djābal Rayma* and the district round 'Udayn that are particularly celebrated for their excellent coffee. (For further information see Grohmann's book in the *Bibliography* where, too, the varieties are detailed.)

It has always been the custom in Yemen to drink preferably a decoction of the husks, which like the latter is called *kishr*, and is to be obtained in numerous coffee-houses (*mikhāya*). To *kishr* as well as to the coffee made from beans, flavourings such as cardamom, ginger, cloves, etc., are often added.

The fresh ripe fruit is pleasing to the taste and nourishing. The eating of the *bunn*—it is not stated whether fresh or dried—is particularly recommended in a *ḥasida* by Ḥamza b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nāshirī (*Safwat al-safwa*, fol. 358b f.) on account of its various health-giving virtues. No information is available as to whether the custom usual among the Galla and in Kaffa of eating ground coffee mixed with butter is also usual in South Arabia. In Persia the eating of dry ground coffee is not unusual.

For Arabic and Persian works on coffee in addition to those quoted above and in the *Bibliography*, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn. der arab. Handschr. . . zu Berlin*, nos. 5476-5480; Pertsch, *Die arab. Handschr.*

. . . zu *Gotha*, nos. 94(9), 2105-2109, 2777; *Cat. Cod. Orient. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*, iii, no. 1401; Brockelmann, II, 414 and 437, no. 16.

*Kahwa* is also the name of the room in which coffee is served and thus comes to mean "reception-room" and "coffee-house". The word is also used in the sense of "tip" and "present".—On coffee-houses in the East, see the works mentioned below by Olearius, Chardin, Russell, von Hammer, Snouck Hurgronje.—On coffee-vessels see Lane, Snouck Hurgronje, von Oppenheim, Socin, Euting, Landberg.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works mentioned above: 'Abd al-Kādir b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Djazīrī, *'Umdat al-safwa fi hill al-kahwa*, partly ed. in De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2nd ed. Paris 1826, i, text 138 ff., tr. 412 ff.; 'Abd al-Kādir b. Shaykh . . . b. al-'Aydārūs, *Safwat al-safwa fi bayān ḥukm al-kahwa*, Ms. Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, No. 5479 (Brockelmann, II, 536-7); Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ḥiddīkī (his authorship is evident from Ms. Leiden 1742, fol. 108a), *Iṣṭifā'* (var.: *Aṣfā')* *al-Ṣafwa li-tasfiyat al-kahwa*, Ms. Leiden 1138 (*Cat. Cod. Orient.*, iv, 161); Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūli 'l-albāb wa-'l-djāmi' lil-'adjab al-'udjāb*, Cairo 1294, i, 121 f. (s.v. *bunn*), cf. 369 (s.v. *kahwa*); *TA*, ix, 145 *infra*, x, 308 *infra*; *K. al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-tuhaf*, quoted in Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab. Philol.*, Leiden 1899, ii. LXXXVIII; Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḥarājī, *Tabakāt al-khawāṣṣ*, Cairo 1321, 100; 'Alawī b. Aḥmad al-Sakḥāf (wrote in 1295/1878), *Risāla fi Kam' al-ṣahwa 'an tanāwul al-tunbāk wa-'l-kafsa wa-'l-kāt wa-'l-kahwa*, Cairo 1302, 8-10; Ḥādīdīj Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Istanbul 1145, 535-6 (French tr. in De Sacy, *Chrest.*, i, 480-3; cf. also Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgesch. der Araber*, vii, Vienna 1856, 435); Pečewī, *Tāriḫ*, Istanbul 1283, i, 363-5; Na'īmā, *Tāriḫ*, Istanbul 1140, i, 551-4; Rāshīd, *Tāriḫ*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 425 f., v, 144 f.; Mehmed Ḥafīd b. Muṣṭafā, *al-Durar al-muntakhabāt al-manthūra fi ishlāḥ al-ghalaṭāṭ al-mashhūra*, Istanbul 1221, 367 f.; al-Firūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, Turk. tr. by 'Aṣīm Efendi, Istanbul 1230-33, iii, 911; Aḥmed Rāshīd, *Tāriḫ-i Yemen wa-Ṣan'ā'*, Istanbul 1291, ii, 312-5 (cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Notice sur l'Arabie méridionale in Publ. de l'École des Langues orient. viv.*, 2nd Ser., ix, 103-195); L. Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raisz*, . . . [Laugingen] 1582, 102; Prosper Alpinus, *De Plantis Aegypti Liber* etc., Venice 1592, f. 26, Cap. xvi; Observations by Veslingius thereon in the Padua edition, 1640; P. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton 1843, i, 51, 74-76; A. Olearius, *Offt beehrte Beschreibung der neuen orientalischen Reise* etc., Schlesswig 1647, 421, 422 f.; Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1664, 62-64; idem, *Suite du Voyage de Levant*, Paris 1674, 40, 71; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii, 279-81, iv, 67-69; E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitates exoticae*, Lemgo 1712, 123; La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse*, Amsterdam 1716, 234 ff. (*Mémoire concernant l'arbre et le fruit du café and Traité historique de l'origine et du progrès du café* etc.); Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 55 f., 144, 221 f., 226 f., 228 f., 234-58 *passim*, 281 *infra*; idem, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, i, 145, 146 f., 173 f., 305 f., 313, 318 f., 324 *infra*, 334, 336, 343, 354, 433, 438 ff.; A. Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, 2nd ed. London 1794, i, 23, 119 f., 146 ff., 372 f.;

M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, ii, Paris 1790, 123-6; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, i, 153, iii, 486, 487 f., cf. 764 f., iv, 606 cf. v. 171, v. 161 f., 464, 529, cf. 713, vi, 219, 644 f., vii, 242; idem, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros*, Pest 1822, i, 527 ff.; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 3rd ed., London 1842, i, 205-7, ii, 36-39; Ch. J. Cruttenden, *Narrative of a Journey from Mokhâ to San'a*, in *Journ. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc. of London*, viii (1838), 268, 272, 277 f., 279, 284, 285; J. E. van der Trappen, *Specimen historico-medicum de Coffea* (Diss., Trajecti ad Rhenum (Utrecht) 1843); C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, xii, Berlin 1846, 771 ff., 874 ff., xiii, (1847), 535 ff.; Haneberg, in *ZDMG.*, vii, 25 ff.; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii, 266 f.; Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, i, 49 ff., 423 ff.; R. Manzoni, *El Yemen*, Rome 1884, 9 f., 219 ff., 350 f., 382-4; L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadhramout etc.*, Batavia 1886, 68 f.; E. Glaser, *Von Hodeida nach San'a*, in *Mitt.*, 1886, 33 f., 36, 39; idem, *Über meine Reisen in Arabien*, *Mitt. d. K.K. Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxx (1887), 25; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, The Hague 1889, 35, 39 note, 59, 67, 83, 96, 137, 140, 152, 154, 158, 174, 178, 182, 191, 192, 220; idem, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter etc.*, The Hague 1886, 33; idem, in *Feestbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden 1891, 29; idem, in *Intern. Arch. f. Ethnographie*, i, 1888, 148 f., nos. 12-14; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, i, 223, 244-50, ii, 303 and see index, s.v. *Coffee*; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, 143-5; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i, Leiden 1896, 83-5, 127, 128, note 2, 178, 179; Von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899-1900, i, 74, ii, 46-48; *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, coll. by A. Socin, publ. by H. Stumme (*Abhandl. d. K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Cl., xix, 1900-1), i, Nr. 22 and Excurs Q; Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, Leiden 1901-13, i, 337, 376, 460, note, ii, 56-61, 212-26, 1055-81, 1087 ff., idem, *Arabica*, Nr. v, Leiden 1898, p. 160 f.; W. Schmidt, *Das südwestl. Arabien*, Frankfurt on M. 1913, 44 f., 79 f., 82-4, 103 f., 120 f.; *A Handbook of Arabia*, comp. by the Geogr. Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, London n.d., i, 136, 155 f., 158, 172 f., 183, 189, 190 and see index; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgbiet*, Vienna 1922, 239 ff.; H. Welter, *Essai sur l'histoire du café*, Paris 1868; E. Jardin, *Le caféier et le café*, Paris 1895; Z. Kamerling in K. W. v. Gorkom, *Oost-Indische Cultures*, publ. by H. C. Prinsen Geerligs, 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1917-19, ii, 183 ff.; F. J. Bieber, *Kaffa*, i, Münster i. W. 1920, 246, 253, 254, 257, 376 ff.; R. Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, The Hague 1867, 55; H. Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots dérivés de l'Arabe*, Beirut 1890, 65 f. The following were not accessible to the writer: A. F. Naironi, *De saluberrima potione cahue seu cafe nuncupata discursus*, Rome 1661; L. F. Marsigli, *Bevanda asiatica . . . l'istoria medica del cave o sia caffè*, Vienna 1685; A. Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*, Caen 1669; new ed. 1836; J. Ellis, *An historical account of coffee*, London 1774. (C. VAN ARENDONK\*)

#### TRADE WITH EUROPE

The arrival of European merchants in Mukhâ and the Red Sea in general was significant for the coffee

trade in more than one way. Hitherto, the southern Yemen together with some areas of Ethiopia had supplied the entire Islamic world with coffee beans. Indeed, the Yemeni rulers passed stringent rules against any attempts made by foreigners to export coffee seeds and seedlings (see Ellis, 29). But with the rapid spread of the habit of coffee drinking in Europe and other parts of the world during the 17th and 18th centuries and the consequent rise in demand, the monopoly enjoyed by the coffee growing areas of the Red Sea was broken for ever, and its cultivation extended to Ceylon, Java, the Caribbean and South America (*India Office Records*, London, letter of 22 August 1732; *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 301, 160). Another unlooked-for consequence was the greater availability of documentation on the volume and structure of trade, which the purely Islamic sources seem to lack. The descriptions left by European travellers and traders and the records of the English and Dutch East India Companies not only provide general accounts of the trading conditions at Mukhâ and Bayt al-Faikh, the chief centres of the coffee trade, but also detailed information on exports of various nations, prices, methods of purchase, commercial regulations, the areas of coffee growth, and the economics of marketing. There can be little doubt that coffee was one of the most valuable commodities entering the international trade of the Middle East and played a vital part in the flow of silver specie it ins eastward journey from Europe to India, bringing in the process considerable prosperity to regions that had few alternative sources of wealth.

The existence of coffee as a plant and a beverage became known in Europe towards the end of the 16th century. Jean de La Roque, who wrote the first scholarly historical treatise on the origins of coffee both in the Near East and Europe, attributed its first botanical reference to Prosper Alpinus, whose book was published in Venice in 1592. The work of Alpinus went through several editions in the 17th century and was followed by the treatises of Philip-Sylvester Dufour, Nicholas de Blegny and John Ray. The interest aroused by the Arabian coffee among the scientific world of Europe was matched by its economic and commercial prospects as seen by merchants. As early as 1609-10 the ships of the English East India Company were sent to Mukhâ to inquire about trading possibilities, and the commander of the Sixth Voyage, Sir Henry Middleton, succeeded in making a journey to San'a' (*The First Letter Book*, 240). In 1616, the Dutch merchant, Pieter van den Broecke, learned about coffee at Mukhâ and managed to obtain very favourable commercial terms from the *imâm*, much to the surprise and annoyance of Arabian, Persian and Indian merchants at San'a' (F. de Haan, *Priangan*, iii, 804; K. Glamann, 183; E. Macro, 37). But it was not until the middle of the century that coffee appears to have been regularly imported into Europe by the Cape route. In the 1660s coffee was sold under the name of "coho seeds" in the public sales of the English East India Company in London, while the first reference to "cauwa de Mocha" in the Amsterdam auctions of the Dutch Company occurs in 1661-62 (*A Calendar*, 27; Glamann, 183).

Although the servants of the Dutch East India Company were perfectly aware of the economic importance of coffee in Middle East trade and often exported it from Mukhâ to other Asian ports, they made little effort to import it to Europe on a regular basis before 1690 (*Dagh-Register 1664*, 311). In contrast, the English imports were much greater during this period and there were few years between

1664 and 1700 when coffee was not imported and sold in London. In 1664 the total quantity listed in the account books amounted to 44,912 lb. valued at £ 1,138, while in 1690 there was a peak import of 298,816 lb. worth £ 9,821 (*India Office Records*, London, vols. 26 etc.). In the first half of the next century the average annual imports were well over a million lb., the peak being reached in 1724 when the total imports were 2.67 million lb. The English sources also provide interesting information on the total exports of coffee from Yemen and the share of the different trading groups in the total. In 1726, for example, out of a total estimated export of 19,267 bales (each bale containing approximately 280 lb.), the Arab and Turkish merchants handled 10,330 bales or 54 per cent. The next largest exports were those of the English, both the Company and private, with 5020 bales (26 per cent), followed by the Dutch with 2000 bales (10 per cent), the French (1300 bales or 7 per cent), and the Persian and Indian merchants with 617 bales (3 per cent). However, it is probable that these figures were either underestimated or the season for this year was exceptionally bad. For in 1731 the chief merchant of the English factory stated that in good years the quantity of coffee exported varied between 60,000 and 70,000 bales, although in none of the actual reports sent home by the servants of the East India Company do the exports ever exceed 40,000 bales (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 201, p. 518; vol. 2, no. 261, pp. 79-80). A possible explanation for the discrepancy lies in the difference between the weight of coffee in an English bale and in an indigenous bale, the latter being much smaller. (For the weights and measures of Mukhā, see *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 209, p. 11, no. 311, p. 106). It is evident from these and other figures that even at the height of the European trade in Yemen, the share of the Middle East as a consumer of coffee was overwhelmingly large. But with European demand at 40 per cent, its effect was both a rapid increase in cultivation and a progressive rise in the price of coffee. In 1672, a year of high demand, the price of coffee in Mukhā was 45 Spanish dollars per bahar (approximately 450 lb.). In the 18th century coffee was frequently sold at 100 dollars and in years of short harvest the price could rise to well over 170 dollars per bahar (*Factory Records Surat*, 16 Sept. 1672, vol. 3, fol. 16; Ovington, 271; *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 29, p. 56; vol. 2, nos. 334, 342, 344, 348 pp. 302, 324, 330, 342; *Abstract*, vol. 449, p. 496). The Turkish and Arab merchants seem to have purchased their coffee exclusively in the great inland mart of Bayt al-Fakih [q.v.] and seldom used Mukhā. Coffee was brought down to the coast by camels and shipped off through the ports of Luḥayya and al-Ḥudayda. According to Ovington, Luḥayya came into prominence when the trade of Mukhā was disrupted by English warships during the short war with the Mughal emperor in 1687-88 (Ovington, 273). But it is also possible that the proximity of al-Ḥudayda and Luḥayya to Djudda, which was the main intermediate market for coffee in the Middle East, was the reason why these ports were used by the Muslim merchants in preference to Mukhā. Coffee was distributed in the Ottoman Empire through two separate routes. The most important one was through the Djudda, Suez, and Cairo, but substantial quantities also went through Baṣra and up the Euphrates. The demand in India and Persia was small and seldom exceeded 500 bales unless the Sūrāt merchants were especially commissioned by the European trading companies in western India to purchase coffee on

their behalf. However, with the increase in the consumption of coffee in Europe towards the end of the 17th century, the chartered companies fell into the practice of buying coffee directly in Mukhā. The Dutch Company re-opened its factory in Mukhā in 1696 after previously closing it in 1684 (Glamann, 186, 188). The English East India Company had sent their servants from Sūrāt to Mukhā during the trading season and had also despatched ships direct from London with supercargoes who had the responsibility of purchasing coffee in Yemen. But in 1716 the Bombay Council decided to establish a permanent factory in Mukhā with the aim of buying coffee all the year round and thus avoiding the high prices of the main trading season (*Bombay Public Proceedings*, 6 February 1716, vol. 4; *Abstract*, vol. 449, para. 49, p. 229). From Mukhā it was only a short step to Bayt al-Fakih, and during the early 18th century English, Dutch and French merchants regularly made their appearance alongside the Arab, Turkish and Indian traders in the coffee market of the inland town.

One of the reasons why the directors of the English East India Company had hesitated before opening a regular trading post at Mukhā was the fear of religious intolerance and on one occasion it was definitely stated that the Muslim pilgrims on the Ḥajj considered it a meritorious deed to insult and abuse any Christians they met with in the Red Sea area (Court of Directors' letter to Bombay Council, 17 April 1701, Despatch Book, vol. 93, para. 56, p. 223). But the Company's servants who had closer acquaintance with the actual conditions in Yemen took a different view and considered that the treatment of Europeans there was in no way different from the treatment of the Christians in Europe (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 5, p. 23). Indeed, the commercial terms on which the Europeans were allowed to trade in Mukhā and Bayt al-Fakih were consistently more favourable than those given to the indigenous or Indian merchants. The export duty paid by the former was only 3 per cent *ad valorem* while the latter paid 5 per cent (Hamilton, i, 36). In addition, after the civil war of the late 1720s in Yemen, the new *imām* allowed the European companies to export 500 bales of coffee duty-free each year (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 211, p. 19). It is true that the formal commercial capitulations given out at Ṣan'ā' were often violated by the local governors who demanded additional payments for themselves, and the sellers of coffee to some extent had to make up the fiscal loss in the shape of a special levy on coffee sold to the Europeans. In 1721, for instance, it was reported from Mukhā that very little coffee had come onto the market that season because the normal excise duty of one dollar per bahar had been suddenly raised to five dollars (*Abstract*, vol. 449, para. 8, p. 406). In Bayt al-Fakih, according to La Roque, the tax was paid only by the seller (La Roque, 105). That the coffee trade yielded to the local rulers a lucrative source of income is shown by the high transit duty imposed on it by the governors of Mecca and Djudda and the paṣha of Egypt, who raised the duty to 12 1/2 per cent in 1699 (Alg. Rijksarchief, The Hague, Koloniaal Arch. Oost-Indië en de Kaap, no. 1810, 7 and 10 July 1719; Glamann, 192). There was also evidence that the Porte was alarmed by the effect of European competition on the trade of the Turkish merchants and sent several diplomatic missions to Yemen to try to persuade the *imām* to prohibit the export of coffee by the Europeans. The missions ended in failure when the *imām* demanded a compensatory income equal to the duty and the total purchase

value paid by the Europeans (*ibid.*). It is no exaggeration to state that the place formerly occupied by pepper and spices in the Levant trade was in some measure taken by coffee.

The international demand and the commercial expertise of the visiting merchants were responsible for creating a fairly sophisticated organization in the coffee trade. Very little information is available on the economic structure of its cultivation, but it seems that coffee was grown mostly by smallholders who brought the ripened and dried berries to the market themselves, although there were also large growers who employed the big merchants of Bayt al-Faḳīh to market their products (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 166, p. 481). The markets of Mukhā and Bayt al-Faḳīh were served by distinct and separate growing areas, the supplies coming to Mukhā being from villages to the south. The areas supplying Bayt al-Faḳīh were much more extensive and varied from one and a half day's journey from the latter to six days. The best coffee came from Wosab and Saffal, but the output of this type was generally small. The next grade purchased by the Europeans was grown in Harrass, Rimah, Himmah and Doran, while coffee from Selba, Sinan and Aden was brought to the market in a very dirty condition and seldom bought for Europe (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 19, p. 42). The beans were nearly always cleaned and given an initial degree of processing before being sold, although in years of high demand they could be offered "ungarbled" and protests made by the English and the Dutch against such practices met with the rejoinder from the governors that they could not compel their subjects to sell coffee only in a particular state if the Turkish and other merchants were prepared to buy what was offered (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 319, p. 227).

The main trading season in Mukhā and other ports extended from March to August, when ships from Suez, Djudda, Baṣra and Sūrāt arrived to buy coffee and exchange their cargoes of foodstuffs and Indian piece goods as well as European woollen goods. The coffee market was particularly sensitive to the timing of the ships' arrival and departure, and the mere rumour of the sighting of a European or Turkish merchantman at sea could send up the price at Bayt al-Faḳīh or lead to the withholding of supplies from the market in the hope of higher prices. On several occasions the Dutch servants made competitive bids, but each time gave way before the higher bids of other Europeans and ended up without purchasing any coffee. It was only later that the servants of the English Company discovered that this was a deliberate plan in order to keep up the price of Yemen coffee, so that the product of their own plantations in Java could be sold more advantageously in the home market (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 216, p. 9). But in general the most important influence governing the price at Mukhā or Bayt al-Faḳīh was the wholesale price obtaining at Djudda and Cairo, the Yemeni merchants keeping themselves fully informed by a system of local correspondence. One of the by-products of the coffee trade was a very large influx of precious metals, largely silver, into the Red Sea area, which enabled the traders to import luxury goods from India and elsewhere, and the Indian ships returning to Sūrāt mostly carried specie. There was also an active banking system and the European companies frequently supplemented their import of treasure with funds obtained by purchasing bills of exchange in the local capital market, which were later repaid in Sūrāt.

*Bibliography: India Office Records*, London, General Ledgers and Commerce Journal, vols. 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42 (the Series starts from 1664); *Factory Records Egypt and the Red Sea*; J. Ellis, *An historical account of Coffee*, London 1774; Jean de La Roque, *A Treatise concerning the Tree and Fruit of Coffee*, in *A Voyage to Arabia Foelix through the Eastern Ocean and the Red Sea being the first made by the French in the years 1708, 1709 and 1710* (first published in French in Amsterdam in 1716); *Prosperi Alpini De Plantis Aegypti liber . . . accessit etiam liber de balsamo alias editus*, Venice 1592; Philip-Sylvester Dufour, *Traitez du Café, du Thé et du Chocolat*, Lyon 1585; Nicholas de Blegny, *Le Bon Usage du thé, du café et du chocolat pour la préservation et pour la guérison des maladies*, Paris 1687; John Ray, *Universal History of Plants*, London 1687; *The First Letter Book of the East India Company 1600-1619*, ed. George Birdwood and William Foster, London 1892 (for Sir Henry Middleton's account of the journey to Ṣan'ā', see La Roque, *A Voyage to Arabia*, 1742 ed.); F. de Haan, *Priangan. De Preanger-regentschappen onder het Nederlands Bestuur tot 1811*, 4 vols., Batavia 1910-12; Kristof Glamann, *Dutch Asiatic Trade 1620-1740*, Copenhagen-The Hague 1958; Eric Macro, *Bibliography on Yemen and Notes on Mocha*, Florida 1960; *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1660-1663*, ed. Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, Oxford 1922; *Dagh-Register gehouden in 't Casteel Batavia, anno 1664*, ed. I. A. van der Chijs, Batavia-'s-Gravenhage 1893; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, ed. H. G. Rawlinson, London 1929; *Abstract of Letters received from Bombay*; Alexander Hamilton, *A new account of the East Indies*, ed. Sir William Foster, 2 vols., London 1930.

(K. N. CHAUDHURI)

**KAHYĀ** (KETKHUDĀ) or **DJENĀZE HASAN PASHA**, Ottoman grand vizier under Sultan Selīm III. A slave of Circassian origin, he served different Ottoman dignitaries until he became *kaḳyā* (*ketkhudā* [q.v.]) of Melek Mehmed Pasha [q.v.], thus being known later as Ketkhudā Hasan Pasha. His military skill first became evident during the Greek rebellion in Morea, when as *mütesellim* of Tripolitza he defeated the rebels besieging the town on 23 Dhu'l-Ḥij̄d̄j̄ā 1183/19 April 1770. He was appointed commander of the fortress Vidin with the title of vizier in Muharram 1202/November 1787 while Melek Mehmed Pasha became *ser'asker* of Vidin. On the latter's dismissal in Rabi' II 1202/January 1788, Hasan Pasha succeeded him. During the Russian and Austrian war his victories in the summer of 1788 at Orsova, Mehadiya and Sebes against the Austrians won him such a reputation that the new sultan, Selīm III [q.v.], appointed him grand vizier on 3 Ramaḍān 1203/28 May 1789. As he was ill, he arrived at the army headquarters in Rusūck on a stretcher, thus acquiring his second nickname of *Djenāze* (corpse). His grand vizierate proved to be unhappy. Indeed an Ottoman army under the command of Kemānkes̄h Muṣṭafā Pasha was beaten by the Austro-Russian allies at Fokshani on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'ḍa/1 August. Furthermore, the main army under his own command was defeated at Martineshti, near the Rimnik River, on 2 Muharram 1204/22 September 1789. With the ensuing capture of Belgrade and Bucharest by the Austrians and that of Akkerman and Bender by the Russians, Hasan was dismissed from the grand vizierate on 5 Rabi' I/23 November and replaced by *Djezā'irli Ghāzī Hasan Pasha* [q.v.], who had success-

fully defended Ismā'īl against the Russians. Nominated commander of Rusčuk, he was exiled to Bozdja-Ada (Tenedos) in Djumādā I/January 1790. Two years later, in Dhū'l-Kā'da 1206/June 1792, he was appointed governor of Silistre, but was later transferred to Crete. He was governor of the Morea when the French landed in Alexandria on 1 July 1798. After a period of retirement in Yefī-Šehir (Larissa), he later became commander of Bender, but a sudden attack by the Russians obliged him to surrender it on 27 Ramaḡān 1221/8 December 1806 and he was taken to Russia as a prisoner-of-war. After being released, he lived in Yefī-Šehir until his death around 1225/1810. Although a brave soldier, he possessed the qualities neither of a military leader nor of a statesman.

*Bibliography:* de Salaberry, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1824, iv, 128 ff.; Aḡmed Dīāwīd, *Hadīkat al-wuzarā'*, appendix II, 40 f.; Zinkeisen, vi, 666 ff.; Djewdet, *Ta'rikh*, iv, 33, 60-88, 306-39, v, 4-6, 273, vi, 330, viii, 95-9; *Sidjill-i 'Oḡhmānī*, ii, 164; I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara 1956-59, iv/1-2, index; S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new; the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, index.

(E. KURAN)

**KĀ'ID** (A.), an imprecise term, but one always used to designate a military leader whose rank might vary from captain to general. Semantically, it is the equivalent of the Latin *dux*. The plural most frequently employed by historians is *kuwwād*.

For the army in Muslim Spain, this title corresponded to general or even commander-in-chief. In the navy, *kā'id al-ustūl* (= *kā'id 'ala 'l-ustūl*) or *kā'id al-baḡr* (= *kā'id 'ala 'l-baḡr*, *kā'id fi 'l-baḡr*) was equivalent to "admiral". But Ibn Khaldūn intimates that the term current among sailors of his day was *al-milān* (pronounced with a back *lām*), a Catalan loan-word (*luḡhat al-Ifrānḡia*) which is evidently related to the Castilian and Portuguese *almirante*. The *kā'id al-asāfil* was the admiral-in-chief. On a warship the *kā'id* commanded the fighting men on board (*mukātilān*) while the *ra'īs* directed the actual handling of the ship by the sailors (*baḡriyyūn*).

In Morocco under the Sa'dids, *kā'id* denoted a general, and *kā'id al-'aḡar* or *kā'id al-kuwwād* was used for commander-in-chief.

After the establishment of the tribal *djish* [see *ḡAYSH*, III], the commander of each of the militarized tribes was given the title of *kā'id* or *bāshā*. Beneath him were the *kā'id raḡā*, who led a unit of 500 men (*makhāziniyya*) and the *kā'id mi'a*, who commanded 100 men. In large cities a military governor, called *kā'id al-madīna* or *kā'id al-ḡaḡaba* (*al-ḡāḡim* is also found), was responsible for dealing with cases of murder, theft and offences against public morality (cf. the Spanish *alcáide*). The *kā'id al-dawr* or "chief of the watch" was responsible for keeping watch at night; under his command were the *dawwāra* (sing. *dawwār*).

At the court of the 'Alawid sultans, the *kā'id al-maḡḡwar* directed the external administration of the palace (the internal administration was the responsibility of the chamberlain, *ḡāḡīb* [q.v.]). He performed the duties of a master of ceremonies, putting into the appropriate hands correspondence addressed to the sultan and admitting to his presence those ambassadors and dignitaries who had been granted audience. Under his command was a troop of horsemen, called *maḡḡawiriyya*, whom he employed as couriers on confidential missions.

Each of the departments of the palace (*ḡā'ifa*, pl.

*ḡawā'if*; *ḡanḡa*, pl. *ḡanā'if*), internal and external, was directed by a special *kā'id* (dialect pl. *ḡuyyād*).

The non-militarized tribes, who were liable to a land-tax known as *nā'iba*, were governed by a *kā'id*, usually one of the notables of the tribe. The office went to the most open-handed candidate, who was chosen by the *kā'id al-maḡḡwar*. Appointed for an indeterminate period, the *kā'id* of a tribe risked dismissal if a more generous candidate were to make an offer to the palace. The new *kā'id* was given a warrant (*ḡaḡir*) of investiture, a horse, a tent of state (*ḡubba*) and a round seal (*ḡāba'*) made of silver. On its top half was inscribed *ḡhadīm* (or *waḡif*) *al-maḡām al-'ālī bi 'llāḡ*, and on its lower half, under a horizontal line, the name of the *kā'id* followed by *waffaḡahu 'llāḡ*. Since the letters were cut into the seal, when it was smeared with greasy ink the text stood out in white on the paper.

The *kā'id*'s duties were of three types: fiscal, judicial and, in a subordinate sense, military. He was responsible for allotting and collecting the normal and special taxes. He had to ensure public security and pass judgment in all cases which did not come under the jurisdiction of the *ḡāḡī*. Finally, it was he who had to raise the auxiliary troops demanded of the tribe to make up the strength of the regular army. As they were sent in a *ḡarḡa* (= classical *ḡaraka*), these militiamen were called *ḡurrāḡ* (sing. *ḡāriḡ*).

The *kā'id* was assisted in his duties by a lieutenant (*ḡḡalīfa*), who was frequently a member of his family. To carry out his orders, arrest offenders, etc., he had at his disposal a number of mounted policemen (*makhāziniyya*). He also nominated a *ḡayḡḡ* to take charge of the concerns of each section of the tribe.

Whenever a powerful *kā'id* was removed from office and the government deemed it dangerous for him to dwell within his native tribe, he was compelled to live at court, with the honour due to his rank. Such a powerless *kā'id* was known as a *kā'id ra'siḡ* (dialect *ḡāid rāso*), "governor of himself".

*Bibliography:* Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḡaddima*, Būllāḡ 1274, 123; tr. Slane, ii 37; *AM*, iv (1905), 135, xx, 141.

(G. S. COLIN)

**KĀ'IF** [see *KIYĀFA*].

**KĀ'IM ĀL MUḤAMMAD**, "the Kā'im of the family of Muḡammad", in *Ši'ī* terminology commonly denotes the Mahḡī [q.v.]. The term *kā'im*, "riser", was used in *Ši'ī* circles at least from the early 2nd/8th century on in referring to the member of the family of the Prophet who was expected to rise against the illegitimate regime and restore justice on earth, evidently in contrast to the *ḡā'id*, or "sitting", members of the family, who refused to be drawn into ventures of armed revolt. The term thus was often qualified as *al-Kā'im bi 'l-sayf*, "the one who shall rise with the sword". It also appears frequently qualified as *al-Kā'im bi-amr Allāḡ* meaning both "the one who shall rise by the order of God" and "the one who carries out the order of God". With the latter connotation the term could be applied to any *imām*. Thus some Imāmi *ḡadīth*s stress that every *imām* is the Kā'im of his age (*Kā'im aḡl zamāniḡi*). In its specific sense the term meant, however, the eschatological Mahḡī, who as such was sometimes called *Kā'im* (more commonly: *ḡāḡīb*) *al-samān*, "the Lord of the (final) age". Various early *Ši'ī* sects expected the return of the last *imām* recognized by them, whose death they usually denied, in the role of the Kā'im. In Imāmi and Ismā'īli usage the term Kā'im has widely replaced that of Mahḡī.

Among the Imāmiyya, whose *imāms*, especially

from *Dja'far al-Šādiq* [q.v.] on, made it a principle to refuse involvement in revolutionary activities, numerous traditions were related concerning the rising (*kiyām*) of the expected Kā'im *imām*, the signs (*'alāmāt*) indicating his appearance, his acts and his conduct. After the death of the eleventh *imām*, the twelfth, Hidden *Imām* was identified with the Kā'im who on his appearance will fulfill the predictions about his actions and miracles. Imāmī doctrine distinguishes between inevitable (*mahtūma*) signs for the coming of the Kā'im and conditional (*muštarafa*) ones which may be cancelled by God. The traditions do not fully agree as to which signs are inevitable. Most often mentioned are: 1. The coming of the Yamāni who shall appear in the Yaman calling for the support of the Kā'im; 2. the appearance of the Sufyāni [q.v.] who will rise in the Dry Wādī (*al-Wādī al-Yābis*) in the month of Radjab in the same year as the Kā'im and will seize Damascus and the five provinces of Syria before being killed by the Kā'im; 3. a voice (*nidā'* or *šayha*) from heaven calling the name of the Kā'im; 4. the swallowing up (*ħhasf*) of an army sent by the Sufyāni against the Kā'im in the desert (*al-baydā'*); and 5. the killing of the Pure Soul (*ħall al-nafs al-zakiyya*), whom the Kā'im will send to Mecca as a messenger, by the Meccans between the *Rukn* and the *Maħām*. Connected with the coming of the Kā'im in Imāmī doctrine is the *radī'a* [q.v.], the return to life of some of the wicked and the righteous of earlier generations, giving the latter the chance of taking revenge for the injuries they had previously suffered. The Kā'im is expected to proceed from Mecca where he will reside and rule the world. His reign, according to a well-attested tradition, will last seven years, each of which will be like ten years of the normal time scale. According to another tradition he will rule nineteen years. Although some traditions speak of the reign of a son of the Kā'im, the majority affirm that there will be only forty days of turmoil after the passing of the Kā'im until the Resurrection and the Judgment.

Ismā'īlī doctrine added a further dimension to the concept of the Kā'im describing him as *Kā'im al-ħiyāma*, "the Kā'im of the Resurrection", who shall act as the Judge of mankind, and attributing a cosmic rank to him above that of prophets and imāms. For details see ISMĀ'ILYYA, *Doctrine*. Druze doctrine recognizes Ĥamza b. 'Alī as the *Kā'im al-samān*. See DURŪZ.

*Bibliography*: For Imāmī *ħadīth* and doctrine see especially: al-Nu'mānī, *al-Ghayba*, Tehran 1318; Ibn Bābūya, *Ikmāl al-dīn*, Tehran 1301, 364 ff.; al-Šaykh al-Mufid, *al-Irshād*, al-Nadīaf 1382/1962, 346 ff.; Abū *Dja'far* al-Ṭūsī, *al-Ghayba*, al-Nadīaf 1385; al-Madīlisī, *Biħār al-anwār*, Tehran 1305, xi-xiii; al-Sayyid Muħsin al-Amīn al-Āmilī, *A'yān al-šhi'a*, iv/2, Damascus 1937, 470 ff.

(W. MADELUNG)

AL-KĀ'IM BI-AMR ALLĀH, 26th 'Abbāsīd caliph, whose rule lasted from 422/1031 to 467/1075, corresponding with the end of the Buwayhid period and the beginning of the Salđjūk period in 'Irāk. Born in 391/1001, the son of an Armenian concubine, he was named heir shortly before the death of his father, al-Kādir [q.v.] and succeeded to the throne unopposed. The usual oath of allegiance was taken on 13 *Dhu' l-Ĥidjja* 422/12 December 1031.

At this period, although the caliph had only very limited personal resources at his command, he had recovered a measure of freedom, to the extent that he was able to arbitrate in the rivalry between the Buwayhid amīrs. The *amīr al-umarā'* *Djalāl al-Dawla*

[q.v.] was in fact threatened by his nephew, Abū Kālīdžār [q.v.], ruler of Fārs, and was trying to impose his authority. As early as 423/1032, al-Kā'im entrusted the jurist al-Māwardī with a confidential mission to Abū Kālīdžār, refusing to grant the latter any title but that of Malik al-Dawla; soon after, *Djalāl al-Dawla*, who had incited the Turks against the caliph, was reconciled with al-Kā'im and even agreed, after an incident which cast doubt on the morality of the amīr, to apologize to him. A few years later, in 428/1032, *Djalāl al-Dawla* had Abū Kālīdžār recognized as his delegate, then requested new titles, those of *šāhānshāh al-a'zam* and *malik al-mulūk*; in spite of hostile public opinion, the caliph awarded these exceptional titles to the amīr after he had obtained the consent of the principal *fukahā'* (429/1038). The situation remained tense, from a political as much as from a religious point of view, and in 432/1091 al-Kā'im thought it opportune to give a new reading of his father's profession of faith, *al-risāla al-ħādīriyya*. Then in 434/1043 he had to make a vigorous protest against *Djalāl al-Dawla's* wish to take from him the collection of taxes paid by tributaries or *đjāwālī*; after having threatened to leave the capital and have the mosques closed, he managed to make the *amīr al-umarā'* capitulate on this point.

The following year, when the authority of the caliph of *Bagħdād* was once again recognized in *Ifrīkīya* by the Zīrid sovereigns, who had been formerly Fātimīd vassals, and when the town of Aleppo similarly escaped from the control of the rulers of Egypt, a new problem arose through the approach of the Salđjūk amīrs. In 435/1044 *Ṭuħrīl Beg* seized the town of Rayy, and the caliph sent al-Māwardī to him as ambassador. The object of this embassy is explained in different fashions by the chroniclers, but it seems that the caliph, while bestowing the title of *mawlā Amīr al-Mu'mīnin* on *Ṭuħrīl Beg*, wished at the same time to protest against the pillage of the recently captured town. However, the policy of keeping a balance between the Buwayhid amīr and the Salđjūk amīr which the caliph initiated was speedily compromised by various events.

The death of *Djalāl al-Dawla* in 435/1044 brought the fulfilment of Abū Kālīdžār's ambitions; proclaimed *amīr al-umarā'*, he received the title of *Muħyi 'l-dīn* and applied himself to limiting the caliph's freedom of action. After first opening hostilities with *Ṭuħrīl Beg*, he made peace with him in 439/1048; he died soon after and was replaced by his son, who received the title of al-Malik al-Raħīm [q.v.]. Until 444/1052-3, *Ṭuħrīl Beg*, after having seized *Išfahān* and approached 'Irāk, remained at the borders of the country, where troubles multiplied: incidents between Sunnīs and *Šhi'īs*, agitation by the *'ayyārūn* [q.v.], and Fātimīd propaganda. When the Turkish amīr al-Basāsīrī [q.v.] accused the caliph's vizier, Ibn al-Muslima, of summoning the Salđjūks to defend the caliphate, the vizier denounced him as a Fātimīd agent; whereupon the caliph was informed that al-Basāsīrī was preparing to overthrow him. Then, according to some chroniclers, the caliph himself or his vizier Ibn al-Muslima decided to appeal to *Ṭuħrīl Beg* for help. In fact, the outcome of these events suggests that the caliph, who never willingly accepted the advent of the Salđjūk amīr in *Bagħdād*, was not responsible for this action, which in any case was inevitable, whatever the vizier's true attitude might have been.

At the end of *Ramađān* 447/December 1055, *Ṭuħrīl Beg* entered *Bagħdād*, though declaring that he was simply passing through, and the *ħuṭba* was



proclaimed in his name. A few days later, on 2 Shawwāl/25 December, he took up residence in the "royal palace" and received from the caliph the titles of *rūkn al-dīn*, *shāhānshāh*, and *sultān*. The caliph also consented, despite himself, to give Ṭuġhrīl Beg the hand of his own daughter. Only two years later, in 449/1057, was he received in solemn audience by the caliph, who conferred on him the new title of *Malik al-mashriq wa 'l-maghrib* and gave him authority over the lands controlled by the Fāṭimid caliphs.

The rebellion of al-Basāsiri broke out in 450/1058; for a few months the rebel succeeded in having the *khufba* pronounced in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph while Ṭuġhrīl Beg was occupied in Iran in suppressing a revolt by his brother. Though first choosing to stay in Baghdād, al-Ķā'im was exiled on the order of al-Basāsiri and forced to stay for around a year at 'Āna, while the rebel attempted to negotiate with Ṭuġhrīl Beg and make use of his hostage to obtain various assurances from the Saldjūk sultan. Finally Ṭuġhrīl Beg made a direct approach to the amīr who was guarding al-Ķā'im: he secured the freedom of the imprisoned caliph, and the death of al-Basāsiri soon after enabled him fully to exercise his powers as sultan once again. The caliph could therefore no longer continue to play off rival amīrs one against the other and found himself confronting Saldjūk sultans as he had earlier confronted Buwayhid amīrs. The only difference, though that an important one, was that the new controller of the reins of military power supported a policy of Sunnī restoration that was closer to the caliphal position than Buwayhid policy had been.

In spite of appearances, relations between the caliph and Ṭuġhrīl remained no less strained. The sultan's reign was dominated in this respect by his marriage with the caliph's daughter; not only did he succeed in marrying her, he also managed to take her far from Baghdād in spite of her father's opposition.

The death of Ṭuġhrīl Beg on 8 Ramaḍān 455/3 September 1063 inaugurated a somewhat confused period during which Alp Arslān [q.v.] was mainly concerned with eliminating his rivals and fighting the Byzantines. Al-Ķā'im smoothed matters for him by opposing the ambitions of the 'Uḳaylid amīrs and refusing the offer of the Kurdish amīr, Hazārasb, governor of al-Ahwāz. For his part, Alp Arslān showed himself desirous of gaining the favour of the caliph by returning his daughter to him and having imprisoned, then put to death, al-Kunduri, the former vizier of Ṭuġhrīl Beg who had been held responsible for the intrigues leading up to the marriage. Alp Arslān was thus recognized as *āmīr al-umarā'* and sultan in Rabī' II 456/March-April 1064. He never lived in Baghdād and died in Rabī' I/January 1073. After receiving the privilege of the *khufba* from the month of Rabiab, his son Malik Shāh [q.v.] obtained the official investiture from the caliph a few months later. The latter died on 12 Sha'bān 467/March 1073, having in the usual way named as his heir his grandson 'Ubayd Allāh, who was to take the name of al-Muḳtadi [q.v.]. Religious strife was a particular feature of this latter period. The foundation of the Niẓāmiyya *madrassa* in 459/1067, which was put under the direct protection of the sultan and aimed at the diffusion of Shāfi'i law, triggered off the hostility of the Ḥanbalīs. Various incidents took place in the capital and the caliph, who hesitated to make a stand without consulting the sultan, was unable to control them.

Thus al-Ķā'im, who had followed in his father's

footsteps, was unable either to restore the power of the caliph or to impose the doctrine defined in the *Risāla ḥādīriyya*; all the same, the caliphal concept had been successfully defended in his day by the first authors of treatises on public law, al-Māwardī [q.v.] and Ibn al-Farrā' [q.v.]. It was up to his successors to try to pursue his policy.

*Bibliography*: The main chronicles are Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, Ms. Paris BN, ar. 1506; Ibn al-Athīr; *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūkiyya*, Lahore 1933; Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 11-51. See also H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1966, *passim*; G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, Damascus 1963, *passim*; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, ii, *Sultanat et califat*, Paris 1957, *passim*.

(D. SOURDEL)

AL-ĶĀ'IM (BI-AMR ALLĀH), second caliph of the Fāṭimid [q.v.] dynasty. One of the less illustrious members of the dynasty, his name evokes the memory of grave defeats and is eclipsed by that of the "man on the donkey", the famous Abū Yazīd [q.v.].

As a ruler, however, al-Ķā'im does not appear to have been inadequate for his task nor to have lacked energy in exercising authority. Before his accession to power in 322/934, he had already had long experience of public affairs since from his youth he had been entrusted by al-Mahdī [q.v.] with a share in governing Ifrīkiya.

While still a child, Abū 'l-Ķāsim Muḥammad, the future al-Ķā'im, along with his "father" al-Mahdī, then *imām* of the Ismā'īli community, had to endure the long and dangerous emigration which took them in 289/902 from Salamiyya in Syria to Sidjilmāsa, the capital of the Midrarite Berber principality of Tāfilet, in the remotest part of the Maghrib. Then, in 299/912, aged 20 and only recently appointed heir presumptive to a caliphate that had just arisen from the ruins of the Aghlabid emirate, he was immediately compelled to undertake certain military commitments, leading the Fāṭimid armies into Lesser Kabyliya, into Tripolitania, and then into the central Maghrib. The two Egyptian expeditions which al-Mahdī hastened to place under his command, more or less in rapid succession, in 301-2/914-5 and again in 307-9/919-21, won him some renown, even though their outcome did nothing for his reputation as a soldier. Thus, at his accession he had already been put to the test, both as heir to the throne and as general.

On becoming *imām* and caliph, al-Ķā'im restricted himself to governing the powerful and prosperous realm he had inherited in conformity with the rules laid down by his "father", and to pursuing the same policy of hegemony in regard both to the 'Abbāsids and to the Umayyads of Spain. For most of his reign Ifrīkiya enjoyed a period of peace, passed over in silence by the chroniclers, who gave special prominence to bloody deeds and revolts, until the *Khāridīlī* threat burst upon him, darkening his last two years.

It would be impossible to trace the career and achievements of al-Ķā'im, in however summary a way, without briefly raising the thorny question of his ancestry. A comparative study of the Ismā'īli and the Sunnī sources led B. Lewis to put forward an original interpretation based on spiritual paternity and the theory of the *mustaharr* and *mustawda* *imāms*. According to this theory, there was, after the death of Ismā'īl, a true *imāmate* in the line of descent from al-Ḥusayn and a tutelary *imāmate* in the line of descent from al-Ḳaddāh, the former ending with al-Ķā'im, the latter with al-Mahdī, the first Fāṭimid caliph. The latter is thus, B. Lewis argued, merely

the tutor, the spiritual father of al-Kā'im, the *mustaḥarr imām*, to whom he handed over the imāmate of which he was the "trustee". The first genuine Fātimid caliph was thus al-Kā'im, and the Fātimids' *nasab* can be traced back from al-Kā'im to Fātima, through her son al-Ḥusayn.

Criticised by Ivanov in his *Rise*, discussed in detail by S. M. Stern in *Heterodox Ismā'ilism* and again in the present author's (unpublished) thesis *Le Califat faṭimide au Maghreb*, the idea put forward by B. Lewis remains attractive. The notion of *istiḍā'* would correspond to an established fact: the persecutions endured by the Fātimid pretenders, under the 'Abbāsids, compelled them to act in a clandestine manner and to entrust the imāmate during the period of occultation (*satr*) to their "trustees" (*mustawda'*) or "proofs" (*ḥudūdīa*).

On his death, al-Mahdī had left a critical situation in the remotest part of the Maghrib, caused by the volte-face of the lord of the Miknāsa, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-Āfiya, who had transferred his allegiance to the Umayyads of Spain. Immediately after his accession to the throne, al-Kā'im launched an expedition aimed at re-establishing his power in Morocco and extirpating the influence of his rival, the Umayyad al-Nāṣir. The Fātimid army, under the command of the slave Maysūr, crossed the Maghrib in a single thrust and reached Fez. Another of al-Kā'im's officers, the slave Ṣandal, had meanwhile descended upon Nakūr, which he captured, killing the local Ṣāliḥī ruler in Shawwāl 324/September 936. He then rejoined Maysūr outside the gates of Fez, which at that time was under siege. Finally the city surrendered, and the Fātimid general re-established the authority of the Idrisid Banū Muḥammad, who had remained loyal to the Fātimids, before returning victorious to Ifrīkiya.

In order to restrain the hostile Berber tribes who had settled on the frontiers of his kingdom, al-Kā'im took steps to strengthen the authority of 'Alī b. Ḥamdūn, an Arab of *Djudhamī* origin and ruler of Masīla [q.v.], over the territory of the Kamlān who, during the Ifrīkiyan campaign, had been moved to the south-east of Kayrawān. To counter the Maghrawa, a powerful branch of the indomitable Zanāta, he procured an alliance with the Ṣanhādīja of Zīrī b. Manād, whom he helped to found the city of Aṣḥir [q.v.], in 324/936, in the heart of the Algerian Atlas. The Huwwara of the province of Tripoli, who had risen in revolt under the leadership of a *Qurashī* named Ibn Ṭālūt, a pseudo-*imām*, were swiftly brought to heel.

His authority being thus re-established in the south of his realm, al-Kā'im at once considered a resumption of hostilities against the 'Abbāsids in their Egyptian province. As it is recorded under the year 323/935, this campaign against Egypt appears to have been organized by al-Mahdī himself shortly before his death. In fact, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, al-Kā'im must have resolved to employ the troops stationed at the base at Barqa, reinforced with elements from Ifrīkiya, to attack Egypt, where he had already suffered two successive defeats. It was therefore in his reign, as al-Kindī states categorically, that the third raid on Egypt took place, again without success. This time, however, the Fātimid attack was made at an unpropitious moment. Having rebelled against the *Ikhshīdīd* governor Muḥammad b. Ṭuḡḡdī [q.v.], the officers commanding the fleet, 'Alī b. Badr and Baḍīkam, and also the commander of the garrison of Alexandria, Ḥabashī, fled to Barqa where they placed themselves under the authority and in the service of al-Kā'im. To re-

inforce them, al-Kā'im sent troops under the command of his freedman Zaydān and his officer 'Āmir, known as al-Maḍjīnūn. The Kutāma occupied Alexandria on 6 *Djumādā I* 324/1 April 936, but Ibn Ṭuḡḡdī, reacting swiftly, succeeded in freeing the town and forcing the Fātimid troops to withdraw towards Barqa.

In the year of his accession, al-Kā'im resolved to resume naval operations against the Christians. A strong squadron of twenty sailing vessels, under the command of an Arab officer from the *djund* of Tripoli, Ya'qūb b. Ishāk b. al-Ward, left Mahdiyya on 7 *Raḍiāb* 322/23 June 934 and sailed towards Italy. Ya'qūb intercepted a number of Christian merchant-ships on their way from Spain and proceeded as far as Genoa, which his men captured after a fierce siege. Having sacked the town and carried off much booty, the Fātimid admiral set sail for Mahdiyya, arriving on 25 *Ramaḍān* 323/28 August 935. In addition to this attack, al-Kā'im endeavoured to intensify the *djihād* in the Byzantine territories in eastern Sicily and Calabria. To Palermo he sent a new governor, Khalīl b. Ishāk, the brother of the admiral Ya'qūb and a talented poet and his favourite general, who subjected the island to a reign of terror. For four years, from 325/937 to 329/941, Khalīl made himself notorious by his tyranny over Muslim and Christian alike. Some Arab elements who had settled there under Aghlabids were forced to flee to Christian territory, and a number of them were constrained to adopt Christianity. Native Sicilians were dispossessed of their lands and compelled to settle in forts situated along the frontiers of the Christian territories. The cadastral register [see *ḳānūn*] was burnt, thus rendering the verification of land taxes impossible in certain regions such as Agrigento.

After his accession al-Kā'im proved particularly anxious to increase his military strength and to consolidate his authority in the interior of the kingdom. For this reason, from the time of his reign the internal policy of the new rulers of Ifrīkiya became more severe. Under al-Kā'im, the country seems to have suffered to a greater extent from excessive taxation and religious persecution, and the *Ḳhārīdījī* agitation which sprang up in the Aurès and *Ḳaṣṭīliya* thus found suitable soil.

However, al-Kā'im's attitude towards this agitation seems strangely passive. He allowed the rebellion to take root among the hostile tribes of the Aurès whom the garrison of Baghāya were unable to hold in check and, when the Berbers poured through the valley of the Oued Mellegue under the banner of their *Nukkārī* leader, Abū Yazīd [q.v.], capturing in succession Tebessa, Marmāḍjanna, Laribus, Sbiba and Dougga (Tugga Terebinthina), in 332/944, he limited himself to a static defensive strategy. His reaction was lacking in both energy and foresight. Yet he had at his disposal large numbers of troops (70,000 men, according to al-Nu'mān), well equipped and well organized. Instead of launching a vigorous counter-offensive and sending his powerful forces directly against the enemy, he adopted the unfortunate idea of dividing his troops among different strategic points, thus compelling them to remain stationary and to await the invaders, and also dividing his own effort, while leaving the enemy free to take the initiative in operations. In this way, a body of troops under the command of the slave Buṣhra took up their position at Béja, another at Kayrawān under the command of Khalīl b. Ishāk, and a third was on the road between Kayrawān and Mahdiyya, led by the slave Maysūr. Abū Yazīd had no difficulty in defeating each of these

three adversaries in turn, and in *Djumādā I* 333/January 945 he began a siege of the capital, Mahdiyya. Al-Ḳā'im, however, succeeded in arousing vigorous resistance to Abū Yazīd in this maritime stronghold. Repeated attacks by the rebels were checked at the gates of Mahdiyya, which remained impregnable despite the rigours of the siege. The ardour of the rebels ultimately evaporated, and many tribal contingents returned to their mountains since there was nothing more in Ifrīkiya to pillage. Harrassing operations were successfully conducted by Fātimid troops outside Tunis and Sousse, at Cape Bon in particular, and on Abū Yazīd's rearguard, and his threat to the capital was reduced considerably. Thus, when al-Ḳā'im died there in *Shawwāl* 334/May 946, the moment had already come for his son and successor Ismā'īl, the future al-Manṣūr, to pass over to the offensive and to spend many months on the task of crushing the revolt.

*Bibliography:* the principal sources are Ismā'īli: Ḳāḍī Nu'mān, *al-Maḍjālīs wa 'l-musāyara't* (ms.); idem, *Ifṭitāh al-ḍa'wa*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī, Beirut 1970; 'Azīz Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr, *Sīrat al-ustādḥ Djaudhar*, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn and 'Abd al-Hādī Sha'ira, Cairo 1954, tr. M. Canard, *Vie de l'ustādḥ Jawdhar*, Algiers 1957; Yamānī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Sīrat Dja'far al-Hādījīb*, ed. in *B. Fac. Ar.*, iv, tr. M. Canard, *L'autobiographie d'un chambellan du Mahādī 'Obeidallāh le Fātimide*, in *Hesperis*, 1952; Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār (ms.), vi.

Of the works devoted to Ismā'īlism and the Fātimids, the principal ones to be noted are: W. Ivanow, *Rise (Ismā'īli tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids)*, Oxford 1942, *Islamic Research Association Series*, no. 10, with particular reference to the extracts from Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, *Zahr al-ma'ānī and Dja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, Asrār al-nuḥkā'*; idem, *A creed of the Fatimids*, according to the *Tāḍī al-ḥakā'id ma'ādin al-fawā'id* of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, Bombay 1936; B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismailism. A study of the historical background of the Fatimid caliphate*, Cambridge 1940, Arabic tr. *Uṣūl al-Ismā'īliyya*, Cairo 1947; S. M. Stern, *Heterodox Ismā'īlism at the time of al-Mu'izz*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955); idem, *Hātīm b. Ibrāhīm on the history of the ḍa'wa in Yemen*, in *Oriens*, 1951; W. Madelung, *Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre, in Isl.*, xxxvii-xxxviii (1961); M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi (1942-7).

Of the Sunnī sources, see particularly: Kindī, *Wulāi Miṣr*, Beirut 1959; Makrīzī, *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*, Cairo 1948; Ibn 'Iḍḥārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, i, ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, Leiden 1948-51; Ibn Ḥammād, *Histoire des rois 'Obaydides*, ed. and tr. Vonderheyden, Algiers-Paris 1927.

(F. DACHRAOUI)

**ḲĀ'IME** (τ., originally α.; cf. ḲĀ'IM), the name formerly used for paper money in Turkey, an abbreviation for *Ḳā'ime-i mu'tebere*. The word *Ḳā'ime* was originally used of official documents written on one large, long sheet of paper; the first paper money was also manuscript on large sheets, and was also known as *sehim Ḳā'imesi*, *Ḳā'ime-i naḥdiyye*, *eurāk-i naḥdiyye*, and *eurak-i mu'tebere*. Although in the 20th century bank notes have been called *Ḳā'ime*, this term was not used for notes of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, a private bank under government charter, but only for paper issued by the government itself.

The early *Ḳā'ime* were interest-bearing treasury notes; they are, however, to be distinguished from

the many other kinds of short and long-term interest-bearing paper issued by the Ottoman government or its individual departments and known variously as *Ḳhasīne tahwīlāt*, *sergi*, *eshām-i dīdīd*, *eshām-i mūm-lāz*, etc. [see *ASHĀM*], and also from the Ottoman bonds sold principally to European investors from 1854 on. The *Ḳā'ime* became paper money, while the other sorts of paper did not, since from the start *Ḳā'ime* were intended to circulate on a par with coin and to be accepted as such by state offices and tax collectors. When, in addition to forced circulation, later issues of *Ḳā'ime* were in low denominations and without interest, it became even more obvious that this was paper money.

The first issue of *Ḳā'ime* probably occurred in July or August of 1840, in the crisis period, as 'Abd al-Maḍjīd [q.v.] began his second year as sultan. (*Taḳ-wīm-i Weḥāyi'*, 15 *Raḍjāb* 1256; *London Times*, 18 September 1840). These handwritten treasury notes had a face value of 500 piastres, matured in eight years, and bore interest payable semi-annually to the bearer. Modern Turkish scholars uniformly put the interest rate at 8%, but it appears that the first issues bore 12½%. The total value of the first issue amounted to 160,000 Turkish pounds. Other larger issues followed in September and October in denominations of 50, 100, 250, 500, and 1,000 piastres; the format was somewhat reduced for convenience of circulation. These series were unnumbered and easy to counterfeit, although in the second issue indelible ink was used and the *tughra* [q.v.] and seals of the finance minister and ministry were affixed.

As a further measure against the growing counterfeiting, new printed *Ḳā'ime* were decreed in 1841 (though perhaps not issued until 1842) and the holders of manuscript issues were given three months to exchange theirs for the new. Circulation of the *Ḳā'ime* was now restricted effectively to Istanbul, since provincial officials were unable to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine. These issues were popularly called *Ṣā'ib Pasha Ḳā'imesi* after the then finance minister. When the printed *Ḳā'ime* were also counterfeited, a new printing (1844?) was done in *ta'īlīk* letters. Interest was reduced in 1844 to 6%.

Interest was regularly paid in the 1840's, and some holders simply kept the *Ḳā'ime* as an investment. But new issues included smaller denominations, down to 10 and 20 piastres at the time of the Crimean War (known as *ordu Ḳā'ime*), that bore no interest. An estimated 1,750,000 pounds of *Ḳā'ime* circulated at the start of the war. During the war this amount was more than tripled, and the value of *Ḳā'ime* declined seriously. Three efforts to retire the *Ḳā'ime* after the war, through two foreign loans and a capital levy on the Istanbul populace, narrowly failed. A very large issue of 12,500,000 pounds to meet current needs in March/April 1861 produced chaos. On December 12 of that year, when the *Ḳā'ime* had depreciated to one-third or less of face value, merchants refused it, shops were sacked, and panic gripped Istanbul. Fu'ād Pasha, newly appointed grand vizier, drew up a plan involving a new foreign loan to retire the *Ḳā'ime*, government economies, the institution of a central government budget, and the creation of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. With English backing, the loan of 1862 sufficed to retire all *Ḳā'ime*, which were redeemed 40% in coin and 60% in so-called *Ḳonsolide* (Consols) or *eshām-i dīdīd*, government bonds at 6% interest.

No further *Ḳā'ime* were issued until the crisis period initiated by the revolt in Bosnia-Herzegovina: two million pounds on 13 August 1876, one million

on 11 November, seven million on 5 January 1877, and six million on 3 September. Denominations ranged from 100 piastres down to five and later one piastre; none bore interest. Only about two million were retired as intended, and the value plummeted rapidly to a bottom of 1200 piastres *kâ'ime* for one gold pound. Though legally valid in all provinces except the Hıdı̇z, the Yemen and Tripoli, circulation was largely in Istanbul as provincials distrusted and refused the paper. The government redeemed the outstanding 14 million pounds of *kâ'ime* in 1879-80 at one fourth its value in gold.

Again, the critical years of World War I brought further issues of paper money. When the Ottoman government pressed Germany for gold shipments to meet war expenses, the German government urged the Turks to issue paper money instead. This they refused to do without gold cover. The solution contrived was that the Ottoman Public Debt Administration acted as a bank of issue for seven issues of *kâ'ime*, 1915 to 1918, totalling 160 million Turkish gold pounds. Each issue but the last was covered either by gold or by treasury certificates deposited by the German government in Berlin under the seal of the Ottoman Public Debt. The paper money, which bore no interest, ranged from 1,000 pounds down to five piastres. This paper also depreciated greatly and was refused in the provinces. With Germany's defeat the gold backing was lost to the Allies. The paper money, nevertheless, continued to circulate.

The Turkish Republic inherited this same paper currency, which was not increased in amount after 1918, but decreased somewhat through wear. After 1923 the value remained relatively stable. Worn bills were replaced in 1927. From the 1930s to the present (1973) the Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası has issued paper money, earlier referred to as *evrak-ı nakdiye* and now usually just as *kâğıt para* or *banknot*; the term *kâ'ime* has become obsolete.

*Bibliography*: Charles White, *Three years in Constantinople*, London 1845, ii, 71-2; J. H. A. Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, London 1856, i, 289-9; F. A. Belin, *Essais sur l'histoire économique de la Turquie*, in *JA*, Series VI, iii (Jan.-Feb. 1865), 149-58; Ahmed Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, ii, Ankara 1960, 226-46, 255-6; A. D. Mordtmann, *Stambul und das moderne Türkenthum*, Leipzig 1877-8, ii, 159-61, 182-93; Charles Morawitz, *Les finances de la Turquie*, Paris 1902, 16-7, 23, 31, 38-9, 53; A. Du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie*, Paris 1903, 123, 149-67, 263-4, 354-7; Ahmed Râsim, *‘Othmânîlî ta’rihi*, Istanbul 1328-30, iv, 2125-48; E. G. Mears, *Modern Turkey*, New York 1924, 384-6, 401-5; D. C. Blaisdell, *European financial control in the Ottoman Empire*, New York 1929, 29-35, 50-1, 185-7; Ahmed Emin (Yalman), *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven 1930, 144-6, 161-5; Nihad Mehmed, *Das Papiergeld in der Finanz- und Währungsgeschichte der Türkei, 1839-1909*, Istanbul 1930; M. Z. Pakalın, *Tanzimat malîye nazırları*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1939-40, *passim* (much information), Şükrü Baban, *Tanzimat ve para*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 246-62; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarihi deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-56, ii, 140; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1954-62, vi, 204, vii, 223-33, viii, 425-6; Midhat Sertoğlu, *Resimli Osmanlı tarihi ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1958, 159 (illustration); Ekrem Kolerkiç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda para*, Ankara 1958; R. H. Davidson, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963, 111-3, 350-1; Ulrich Trumppener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918*,

Princeton 1968, 271-82; Mine Erol, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kâğıt para (kâime)*, Ankara 1970 (now the best study, partly based on archives, many illustrations); *Ta’kvim-i Vekâyî*, 1256/1840, nos. 206, 210, 213, 216. See also ASHÂM, DUYÛN-I ‘UMÛMİYYE. (R. H. DAVISON)

**KÂ'İM-MAKÂM** In the Ottoman Empire the title of *Kâ'im-makâm* was borne by a number of different officials, the most important of whom was the *şadâret kâ'im-makâmı* or *kâ'im-makâm paşha* who stayed in the capital as deputy when the grand vizier had to leave for a military campaign. The appointment of a *kâ'im-makâm* seems to have begun in the 10th/16th or even in the 9th/15th century and it lasted until the end of the Empire. The *kâ'im-makâm* enjoyed almost all the authority of the grand vizier, issuing firmans and nominating functionaries, but he was not allowed to intervene in the area where the army was operating. He was especially influential in the administration of the capital. Selected earlier from among the viziers, he often intrigued against the grand vizier with the aim of succeeding him. A *kâ'im-makâm* was also appointed at the removal of a grand vizier when the successor had to travel from some provincial governorate. In this case the tenure of the *kâ'im-makâm* lasted only for a short period without having much distinction. During the last decades of the Ottoman Empire a cabinet minister or the *şaykh al-Islâm* [q.v.] was usually nominated *kâ'im-makâm* upon the grand vizier's illness or his absence from the capital.

The reform movement in the Empire added new meanings to the term. The position of a *kâ'im-makâm* was now instituted as a military rank corresponding to lieutenant-colonel in the *‘Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye* Army, established by Mahmûd II in 1241/1826. The term remained in common use until the 1930s, to be replaced then by that of *yarbay*. The governor of a *sandjâk* [q.v.] was equally called *kâ'im-makâm* when the Ottoman civil administration was reorganized in the first years of the *Tanzimat* [q.v.]. By the law of 8 November 1864 revising Ottoman provincial government, the *kâ'im-makâm* became the governor of a *kađâ* [q.v.], appointed by the sultan. The republican regime maintained in essence the 1864 law, and thus the *kâ'im-makâm* (“*kaymakam*”) still continues to be the administrator of a *kađâ*.

*Bibliography*: *MTM*, i, 523 f. (*kânûnnâme* of 1087/1676); M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire Othoman*, Paris 1788-1824, vii, 157 f.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 96; Muştafa Nûri, *Netâyiđi al-wukû‘âi*, Istanbul 1327, iv, 106, 109; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 180-85; Pakalın, ii, 219-22; Gibb-Bowen, i, index; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1962, 127 and index; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* Princeton, N.J. 1963, index. (E. KURAN)

IN OTTOMAN EGYPT, while possessing in general the sense of “lieutenant” of a higher official, *kâ'im-makâm* had a number of specific usages.

(a) Before Muḥammad ‘Alî Paşha, the term was applied (i) to the acting viceroy, who held office between the death or removal from office of one viceroy and the installation of the next. After 1013/1604, the office seems invariably to have been held by a bey, hence, in practice, by a member of a Mamlûk household. The deposition of a viceroy and the appointment of a *kâ'im-makâm* became, particularly in the 12th/18th century, a device by which a

Mamlūk faction would legitimize its ascendancy. The term was also used in this period, (ii) for the general agent of a *multasim* in the administration of his *iltisām*; he would usually be a member of the *multasim*'s Mamlūk household; (iii) for the agent of a naval commander (*ḥapūdān*), administering his master's financial assignments in *emānet*.

(b) Under Muḥammad 'Alī Paṣhā, the old usages of the term became obsolete, and it was applied to specific grades in the military and administrative hierarchies: (i) In the reorganized and westernized army, the rank of *ḥā'im-makām* was equivalent to lieutenant-colonel; (ii) in the administration the *ḥā'im-makām* was in charge of a *nāhiya* (sub-district) and had special responsibility for the maintenance of the irrigation-system. His immediate superior was the *ḥākim al-khuṣṣ* (district officer).

*Bibliography*: P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922*, London 1966; Helen Anne B. Rivlin, *The agricultural policy of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961; Stanford J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton, N.J. 1962; idem, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964: in all, consult indexes s.v. (P. M. HOLT)

**KĀ'IM-MAKĀM-I FARĀHĀNĪ.** In the early *Kādjār* [q.v.] period the title of *Kā'im-makām* [see above] was held by two statesmen, Mirzā 'Isā Farāhānī, better known as Mirzā Buzurg (b. ca. 1167/1753-4 d. 1237/1822), and his son Mirzā Abu 'l-Kāsim-i Farāhānī (1193/1779-1251/1835), both of whom were ministers of the crown prince 'Abbās Mirzā [q.v.]. A quasi-official title, *Kā'im-makām* signified the representative of the *Ṣadr-i a'zam* [q.v.] at the petty court of the crown prince in *Ādharbāyḍjān*. Both father and son were of energetic and incorruptible character, but the latter was more remarkable, not only as a poet, but also as "a true Persian diplomatist, acute and far-sighted", to use J. B. Fraser's words. Mirzā Abu 'l-Kāsim succeeded to his father's office in 1238/1822, and served the crown prince with much loyalty and zeal. He accompanied the crown prince in battle and was the instigator of his attempts at reform. 'Abbās Mirzā died (1249/1833) before his father, but the political skill of *Kā'im-makām-i Farāhānī* secured the throne for Muḥammad Mirzā, 'Abbās's son, when Fath 'Alī Shāh died shortly after. At Muḥammad Shāh's accession, Mirzā Abu 'l-Kāsim became prime minister of Persia, but his accurate budgeting of court expenditure, together with his haughty and disdainful attitude towards the court grandees, earned him powerful enemies who brought about his arrest, followed by his tragic death.

Mirzā Abu 'l-Kāsim was an outstanding prose-writer and also wrote poetry. His style is distinguished and is still considered a model of good writing. Numerous editions of his works exist, the best of which is the *diwān*, *Shi'r Kā'im-Makām*, ed. H. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1926, and the *Munsha'āt Kā'im-Makām*, ed. *Djahāngīr-i Kā'im Makāmī*, Tehran 1337 s.

*Bibliography*: Biographical data concerning the two *Kā'im-makāms* are to be found in most of the historical and anthological works of the *Kādjār* period. See, for instance, Storey, ii, 2, 332 ff. Among other references the following deserve special attention: Maḥmūd Mirzā *Kādjār*, *Safinat al-Maḥmūd*, ed. A. *Khayyāmpūr*, 2 vols., Tabriz 1968, i, 74-6; Riḍā Kūli Mirzā, *Safar-Nāma*, ed. A. F. *Kādjār*, Tehran 1346 s., 30-35; *Djahāngīr-Mirzā*, *Ta'riḫ-i Naw*, ed. 'A. *Iḳbāl*, Tehran 1327 s., 197-240; Riḍā-

Kūli Hidāyat, *Madjma' al-fuṣahā'*, lith. Tehran 1295, ii, 87-91, 425-6; Nādir-Mirzā, *Ta'riḫ wa-Djuḡhrāfi-yi Tabriz*, lith. Tehran 1323, 39-40; 'Iṭimād al-Saltāna, *Ṣadr al-tawāriḫ*, ed. M. Muṣṣṣīrī, Tehran 1349 s., 117-51. Among western accounts see: G. Drouville, *Voyage en perse*, Paris 1825, i, 241; J. B. Fraser, *A winter's journey from Constantinople to Tehran*, London 1838, ii, 181-8; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 287-8; S. G. W. Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, London 1887, 77-8. For a literary evaluation of the *Kā'im-Makām*'s works see M. Bahār, *Sabk-Shināsi*, iii, index; A. H. Zarrinkoob, *Naḥd-i adabi*, Tehran 1338 s., 492-4; Yahyā Ārian-Pūr, *Az Ṣabā Tā Nimā* Tehran 1350 s., i, 62-75; Browne, iv, index; (Pagliaro-)Bausani, *Storia della letteratura Persiana*, Milan 1960, 839-40; Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, 1968, index. (A. H. ZARRINKOOB)

**KĀ'IT BĀY**, AL-MALIK AL-AṢḤRAF ABU 'L-NAṢR SAYF AL-DĪN AL-MAḤMŪDĪ AL-ZĀHIRĪ, sultan of Egypt and Syria (872/1468-901/1496), was purchased by Barsbāy [q.v.], manumitted by Sultan *Djakmak*, became a life-guard, then *Dawādār Saḡhīr*, i.e., assistant *dawādār* in the office of the Grand *Dawādār* [see *DAWĀDĀR*], then amīr of 10 Mamlūks under Ināl [q.v.], *Ṭablahkhāna* (i.e., amīr with the right to have a band accompanying him), under Sultan *Khushkadam* [q.v.], inspector of houses of refreshment and shortly afterwards commander of a thousand (*Muḥammad Alf*). In 872/1467-8 he became *Ra's nawbat al-Nuwwāb* (i.e., Commander of the Mamlūks of the guard).

When *Temirboghā* ascended the throne in *Djumādā I* 872/Dec. 1467, he appointed his friend *Kā'it Bāy atābek* but the sultan had no real power, as he had very few supporters among the Mamlūks under his command. He had not the money to win over new followers; the treasury was empty. After an unsuccessful rising by the *Ustādār Khā'ir Bey* the crown was offered in the month of *Radjāb* of the same year (Feb. 1468) to *Kā'it Bāy*, who accepted it after some hesitation. *Temirboghā* retired into private life to *Damietta*, to which he was not taken as a prisoner but travelled in perfect liberty accompanied by some friends. Unlike other Mamlūk sultans, *Kā'it Bāy* treated deposed sultans or descendants of former sultans throughout his reign with magnanimity and honour, frequently invited them to polo tournaments in *Cairo*, allowed them to make the pilgrimage to *Mecca* and even allowed them to visit the capital in his absence without any suspicion or fear of conspiracies.

*Kā'it Bāy*'s chief political problem was his relations with the Ottomans. The rivalry between them and the Egyptians found expression in the fighting among their vassals in *Asia Minor*. The ruler of *Albistān* [q.v.], *Shāh-suvār* [see *DHU 'L-KADR*] was at war with *Egypt* [see *KHUSHKADAM*] and was secretly supported by the Ottomans, while *Kā'it Bāy* assisted prince *Aḥmad* of *Ḳaramān* in his war with *Meḥemmed II*. The first two expeditions sent against *Shāh-suvār* (872 and 873) ended disastrously through the carelessness of the Egyptian commanders and more especially the lack of discipline among their troops and the rivalry between the Egyptian and the Syrian corps. *Kā'it Bāy* later succeeded in depriving *Shāh-suvār* of the help of the Ottoman sultan by agreeing to cease assisting *Aḥmad* of *Ḳaramān*. Thus weakened, *Shāh-suvār* was decisively defeated in 876/1471 by the *Atābek Ezbek*. *Shāh-suvār* fell back to *Zamanṭū*. Besieged there, he capitulated on condition that he was allowed to remain in possession of his kingdom as vassal of the sultan; but he was taken prisoner, brought to *Cairo* and executed contrary to the laws

of war. The prince of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, Uzun Ḥasan, the ruler of Diyār Bakr and a part of Persia, was a dangerous rival to Kā'it Bāy, and advanced from triumph to triumph; in 872/1468 he defeated the sultan of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and in 873 the sultan of Samarḳand, but when in 876/1471 he declared war on Meḥemmed II he was defeated and thus became less dangerous for Kā'it Bāy. He died in 880/1475 and was succeeded by Ya'ḳūb Bey. A quarrel arose between Bayindir, the latter's governor in al-Ruhā (Edessa), and the sultan's general Yeṣḥbek, because Bayindir had given shelter to Sayf, the rebel chief of the Beduins of Ḥamā. Yeṣḥbek advanced on al-Ruhā and, although satisfaction was offered in every respect, he insisted on besieging the town, but was defeated during a sortie and killed with several of his staff; other Egyptian notables were taken prisoner. Kā'it Bāy could not wipe out this defeat and had to make peace, as he was threatened with a struggle with the new Ottoman sultan Bāyazid [q.v.]. Apart from continual friction regarding the ownership of Albistān, Bāyazid felt himself threatened, because Kā'it Bāy had given a friendly welcome to his brother Djem [q.v.], the pretender to the throne, and had even encouraged him to fight against Bāyazid. An embassy sent to Bāyazid to endeavour to maintain peace was unsuccessful. The Ottomans invaded Cilicia in 891/1485 and occupied Ṭarsūs and Adana; other Ottoman troops besieged Malaṭya. The Egyptian forces operated with success against both armies especially as Kā'it Bāy had won over 'Alā' al-Dawla, prince of Albistān. In 893/1488 the Ottomans were no more successful. An endeavour to land a considerable body of troops in the bay of Iskandarīn [q.v.] failed. In 895/1490 the Atābek Ezbek inflicted a decisive defeat on the Ottomans at Ḳayşariyya in Asia Minor, where several generals were captured. Kā'it Bāy showed a wise moderation in maintaining his inclination for peace, recognizing the enormous resources of the Ottomans, and peace was concluded in 896/1491. The rest of the reign of Kā'it Bāy was peaceful but the domestic situation did not improve. It is true that he succeeded by his authority alone in preventing a fight between the hostile Mamlūk factions, but he could not permanently restrain their outbursts and he did not succeed in introducing a sound financial system.

Kā'it Bāy's reign stood out above those of the other Circassian Mamlūks because of its duration but also because of his initiative and effectiveness. Kā'it Bāy was well disposed towards the trading nations. While many of his predecessors, Barsbāy in particular, had put obstacles in the way of the activities of Italian merchants, Kā'it Bāy granted them new privileges and made no attempt to monopolize the spice trade. It is quite probable that trade between the sultan's lands and Christian Europe did in fact make great strides during his reign; but Kā'it Bāy also introduced measures to protect the interests of native merchants, taking appropriate action in relation to the governments of other states. His understanding of the economic interests of his country is also attested by the many inscriptions, which have recently been published, dealing with his abolition of certain taxes that weighed heavily on various branches of industry. Moreover, he spent considerable sums of money in construction work, such as the new buildings in the citadel of Cairo, his mausoleum, a Ṣūfi monastery (at *Khānḳāh*, near Cairo), the repair of the mosque of Medina and the aqueduct supplying water to the mosque at Jerusalem.

It was his military activities above all, however,

which swallowed up his financial resources. According to Ibn Iyās, for the conduct of all his wars Kā'it Bāy spent more than 7 million *dīnārs* (*aṣḥrafī*), discontinuing the gratuities he had to pay to his troops when they returned to Cairo, which was also an enormous sum. This information is borne out in the accounts of other writers. To this must be added his expenses connected with fortifications, such as the repair of the fortresses of Alexandria, Aleppo and other towns. Since the Mamlūk sultans had never succeeded in establishing a regular system of taxation, Kā'it Bāy was obliged to extort arbitrary contributions, known as *muṣādara*, from his subjects. When he was in need of money and the treasury was empty he levied contributions from leading citizens, from merchants, from the non-Muslim communities and even imposed new taxes on various branches of commerce and property in mortmain. Such measures reinforced the economic recession which had long marked industrial and commercial development in Egypt and Syria. In spite of the increase in international trade and the great efforts of the sultan, who embarked on tours of inspection in all the provinces (though not before his old age), the seemingly rich and powerful Mamlūk state under Kā'it Bāy was heading for disaster. When he abdicated, one day before his death, the Mamlūk kingdom was so impoverished and enfeebled that it was no match for Ottoman Turkey.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, ed. Kahle, iii, 2-324; Ibn al-Djī'ān, *al-Ḳawl al-mustaṣraf fī safar mawlānā al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf*, ed. R. V. Lanson, Turin 1878; R. L. Devonshire, *Relation d'un voyage du sultan Qaitbay en Palestine et en Syrie*, in *BIFAO*, xx (1922), 1-42; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v, 326-59; M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, *II. Bayezid devrinde Çukur-Ova'da nüfus mücadelesi* in *Bell.*, xxxi/123 (1967), 345-73; J. Wansbrough, *A Mamluk letter of 877/1473*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 200-13; idem, *A Mamluk commercial treaty concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489*, in *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern, Oxford 1965, 38-79; G. Wiet, *Décrets mamlouks d'Égypte*, in *Mayer Memorial Volume*, Jerusalem 1964, 138-40; idem, *Deux princes ottomans à la Cour d'Égypte*, in *BIE*, xx (1938), 137-50.

(SOBERNHEIM—[E. ASHTOR])

AL-ĶĀ'ĶĀ', Arabic term for a man whose foot-joints can be heard cracking when he walks, but often found as a proper name in the first days of Islam and particularly among the Tamīmīs; the last to bear this name seems to have been al-Ķā'Ķā' b. Dirār al-Tamīmī, chief of police for 'Isā b. Mūsā [q.v.], governor of Kūfa from 132/750 to 147/764 (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 131, 347). Among those who bore this name, apart from al-Ķā'Ķā' b. 'Amr [see the following article] and the poets cited by al-Marzubānī (*Mu'djam*, 329-30), especially noteworthy was the Companion of the prophet al-Ķā'Ķā' b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ḥadrad, who took part along with his father in the events at Wādi Iḍam in 8/629 [see ḤAMD], after which was revealed the ḳur'ānic verse IV, 96/94, a warning and even a reprimand (*Sīra*, ii, 626-7; see also Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, iii, 263; Ibn Ḥadžjar, *Iṣāba*, nos. 7126, 7342).

Another Companion was al-Ķā'Ķā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurāra al-Tamīmī, the nephew of Ḥādġib b. Zurāra [q.v.] and *sayyid* of the Dārim, who made common cause with Saḍġāh [q.v.]; he was renowned for his generosity and nicknamed Tayyār al-Furāt (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1913; al-Dī'āhīz, *Bayān*, iii, 88; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; *Naḳā'id*, 258, 771; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ii, 621; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*,

141; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 265, 419; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, iii, 263; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣābah*, no. 7128).

Also worthy of note are the names of al-Ḳa'Ḳā' b. 'Aṭīyya al-Bāhili, who lived in Ḳhurāsān and was taken prisoner by the Ḳhārīdītes (Mubarrad, 996); and al-Ḳa'Ḳā' b. Ḳhulayd al-'Absī, who was secretary to al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik between 86/705 and 96/715 (al-Djāhshiyārī, 47; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 837, 1300, 1312; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 373). A *tābi'ī*, whose generosity became proverbial, thanks to two verses in his praise, al-Ḳa'Ḳā' b. Ṣhawr b. 'Iḳāl al-Dhuhli, is cited among the associates of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād [q.v.]; he is numbered among the witnesses against Ḥudjir b. 'Adī [q.v.] in 51/671 and among the officers who took part in the action against Muslim b. 'Aḳil [q.v.] at Kūfa in 60/680 and that against al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd [q.v.] (al-Djāhiz, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 327; idem, *Tarbi'*, 85; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 152; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 133, 256-7, 272, 523; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iḳā'*, iii, 311; al-Marzubānī, 330; Ibn Durayd *Ishṭihāk*, 211; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 99; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, iv, 474-5). Lastly, there is another belated *tābi'ī*, al-Ḳa'Ḳā' b. Ḥakim al-Azdī, who settled in Baṣra and was a contemporary of al-Mahdī, (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 407; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 66; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 257; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 513-4). (ED.)

**AL-ḲA'ḲĀ' B. 'AMR B. MĀLIK AL-TAMĪMĪ**, a warrior of the early Islamic period who, after the death of the Prophet, joined Saḍjāh [q.v.] for a time and became the lieutenant of Ḳhālīd b. al-Walid [q.v.], taking part in the battle of Buzāḳha [q.v.] as early as 11/632. After the capture of al-Hira, he commanded a detachment which won a victory over the Persians in the region of al-Anbār, probably in 12/633. In Rādjab 13/August-September 635, he took part in the conquest of Damascus and the following year led a troop of cavalry at the battle of Yarmūk [q.v.]. He fought with distinction at al-Ḳādisiyya [q.v.], where his intervention was timely. He is cited among the brave warriors who captured al-Madā'in [q.v.] and he must have commanded the vanguard at the battle of Djalūlā' (16/637 [q.v.]) and established a garrison at Hulwān [q.v.]. He also took part in the capture of Nihāwand (21/641-2). Before the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] 'Alī sent him to Baṣra to negotiate with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. Later he settled at Kūfa. Al-Ḳa'Ḳā', a much-loved heroic figure, was also known as a poet; a few of his verses celebrating his military exploits are extant.

*Bibliography*: Ṭabarī, i, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 211-2, 217, 222 (ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 1541-3, 1548, 1555); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, iii, 263; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii, 294-5, 300, 303 ff., 316, 329, 367-8, 370 ff., 400 ff., iii, 7 ff., 186 ff., 195, 198, 200, 208 ff.; idem, *Uṣd*, iv, 207; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣābah*, no. 7127; Yāḳūt, i, 321, 602, 937, ii, 107, 280; *Aghānī*, xv, 57, 58; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 36-7, 82, 88, 203, 207-8; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi, 14, 39, 45, 49, 65, 72, 77, 86, 105; Caetani, *Annali*, index. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

**KAKHTĀ**, a fortress, now an imposing ruin, which stands on a precipitous ridge dominating the ancient site of Arsaneia in Commagene, recently identified by F. Dörner; the name does not appear before the 6th/12th century. The region, of which Gerger, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates at the mouth of the gorges, was in reality the chief centre, played only a minimal role in the Arab-Byzantine wars during the first centuries of Islam, since the main passes lie further to the west or north, and there was

no need for the fortress of Kakhtā, which commanded the outlet of a valley in the eastern Taurus, to be built and developed until the time of the Armenian immigration, followed by the Turkish conquest and the short-lived Frankish conquest (by the County of Edessa). The land was then relatively fertile, and upstream from Kakhtā was situated the monastery of Mar Barṣawma, one of the principal residences of the Patriarchate of the Christian Monophysite (Jacobite) Church. It was only after the fall of the County of Edessa that Kakhtā became a Muslim fortress, at first in the hands of Artukids [q.v.] of Āmid and Ḳhanzī (545/1150) and then of the Saldjūqs of Rūm (623/1226), who made it one of the bases for their power in the eastern Taurus and for expansion into Upper Mesopotamia. For a short time it had a more important role, during the struggles between the Mongols and the Mamlūks for possession of the borderland between Syria, the Djazīra and Anatolia. Aided by the Turkomans, the Mamlūks arrived in the 8th/14th century, and thrust a wedge between the Mongol protectorates as far as Malatya. The occupation of Kakhtā by the Mamlūk sultan al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [q.v.] (1280) marked one of the principal stages in this advance, and it is to the participation in this expedition of his private secretary, the historian Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, that we owe the valuable description of the fortress and its condition at that time, which the author inserted in the biography of his master. Considerable work in rebuilding and enlarging the fortress was begun on Ḳalāwūn's orders, and completed by his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; some fine inscriptions bear witness to this work (it is hard to see why Ḥamdī Bey, quoted in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, attributed to an al-Manṣūr in 525 an inscription which is clearly from 685/1286), and its full extent will be revealed by the excavations and studies being made at the present time under the direction of F. Dörner. However, the decline of the İlkhānid empire caused the eastern Taurus to become an isolated area once again; the wars left only Kurds and Turkomans in the region, and after the final episodes, in which Kakhtā passed alternately into the hands of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and of the Mamlūks, it ultimately disappeared when the Ottomans became the sole rulers of all the neighbouring countries. Today, at the foot of the ruins, there is nothing more than a poor hamlet in the middle of the heaps of stones.

*Bibliography*: Sources: Michael the Syrian, ed. J. B. Chabot, iii, 198, 283-8, 294; *Chronique anonyme syriaque*, tr. A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, in *JRAS* (1933), 87; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, tr. E. A. W. Budge, 405; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii, 458; Ibn Bībī, tr. H. Duda, *Seltschukengeschichte* . . ., 122-4, 248-50; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Taṣhrīf*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961, 27-9; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vi, 367-71, 594; Ibn Iyās, *Journal*, tr. Wiet, i, 267; Ewliyā Çelebi, iv, 22.—Ernst Honigsmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 1935; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 124-5; idem, *Note additionnelle à deux ouvrages d'archéologie orientale médiévale*, in *Cahiers Techniques de l'Art*, ii (1949), 83-8 and photos; see particularly F. Dörner and R. Naumann, *Forschungen in Kommagene*, Berlin 1939, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, x, the studies of F. Dörner and Theresa Goell in *Istanbuler Forschungen*, xxiii, and the general work prepared by F. Dörner (in which the mediaeval history of the fortress is dealt with by the present writer). Some useful details will also be found in the article of J. Mordtmann in *EI*<sup>1</sup> and an illustration of the state of the

ruins in about 1890 in Humann und Puchstein, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1890, 186. (CL. CAHEN)

**KĀKŪYIDS**, or KĀKWAYHIDS, a dynasty of Daylamī origin which ruled over part of *Djibāl* or west-central Persia during the first half of the 5th/11th century as virtually independent sovereigns, and thereafter for more than a century as local lords of Yazd, tributary to the Saldjūks. The rise of the Kākūyids is one aspect of the "Daylamī interlude" of Iranian history, during which hitherto submerged Daylamī and Kurdish elements rose to prominence. Under the dynamic leadership of the greatest member of the dynasty, 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad, the Kākūyids played an important rôle in the politics of western Persia at a time when three great powers, the Būyids, the Ghaznawids and then the Saldjūks, were striving for power there.

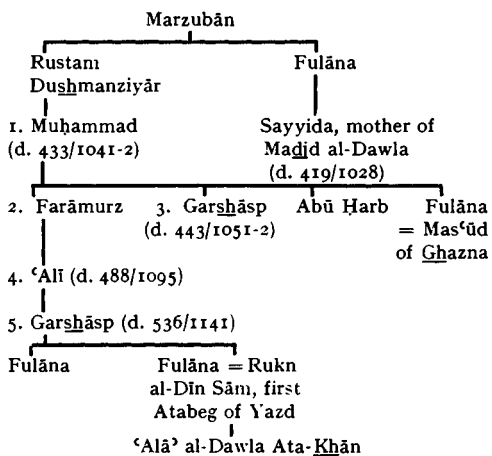
i. *Political and dynastic history.*

The founder of the line, 'Alā' al-Dawla Abū *Dja'far* Muḥammad b. *Dushmanziyār* (thus in most of the literary sources: Kākūyid coins invariably have *Dushmanzār*, lit. "afflicting the enemy [through his military prowess]", cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 88), was the son of a Daylamī officer, *Rustam Dushmanziyār*, who was in the service of the Būyids of Rayy and *Djibāl*. Muḥammad often appears as "Ibn Kākūya" or "Pisar-i Kākū" in the historical texts. These sources generally explain *kākūya* as a hypocoristic from Daylamī *kākū* "maternal uncle", *Dushmanziyār* being the uncle of the famous *Sayyida*, mother of the Būyid amir of Rayy, *Maḍjīd al-Dawla Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawla* (387-420/997-1029), cf. the modern Luri use of *kākā* = "uncle" in a jocular, friendly sense. *Sayyida* was thus Muḥammad's first cousin. *Dushmanziyār* was granted *Shahriyār* in the Elburz Mts. region by *Maḍjīd al-Dawla*. The date of his death is uncertain, but in about 398/1007-8 we find his son Muḥammad governing *Iṣfahān* on behalf of the Būyid amir; and thus begins the Kākūyid hold on that city which was to endure substantially down to the Saldjūk conquest of *Iṣfahān* at the beginning of 443/1051. The internal weakness of the local Būyid amirate, with *Maḍjīd al-Dawla* dominated by his forceful mother, enabled Muḥammad to constitute himself as the military defender of the Būyids. In 411/1020-1 we find him suppressing a revolt of Turkish soldiers in *Hamadhān* for *Maḍjīd al-Dawla's* brother *Shams al-Dawla*; in 414/1023-4 he seized *Hamadhān* from the Daylamī garrison there and went on to attack the Kurdish 'Annāzids [q.v.]; in 417/1026 he put down unrest among the Kurds of *Djūrakān* or *Gūrān*; and in 418/1027 he repelled the concerted invasion of *Djibāl* by the *Bāwandid Ispahbadh* of *Ṭabaristān* and the *Ziyārid Manūčīr b. Kābūs*, who had come to the aid of local Daylamī rebels. Whilst still acknowledging Būyid overlordship on his coins, Muḥammad was now largely undisturbed in his control of western *Djibāl* and the adjacent parts of *Kurdistān*. There are extant coins of his from *Iṣfahān*, *Hamadhān*, *Asadābād*, *Ḳirmīsīn*, *al-Ḳaṣr*, *Buruđjird*, *Djurbādhkān*, *Shābūr-Ḳhwāst*, *Dīnawar*, *Karādī* in the *Rūdhrawar* district, *Rayy* and *Yazd*; their legends show how he gradually acquired an impressive string of *alkāb* or honorific titles, comprising those of 'Alā' al-Dawla, 'Aḍud al-Dīn, *Fakhr al-Milla* and *Tādī al-Umma*.

When *Mahmūd* of *Ghazna* occupied *Rayy* in 420/1029 and overthrew the Būyids there, 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad's position was threatened by the efforts of *Mahmūd's* son *Mas'ūd* to extend *Ghaznavid* control over north-western Persia, and shortly afterwards, the appearance of *Oghuz* raiding bands further complicated the situation. On more than one occasion,

he lost *Iṣfahān* and *Hamadhān* to the *Ghaznawids*, fleeing for refuge to the Būyids of *Khūzistān* or to the *Musāfirids* of *Ṭarum*. But the *Ghaznawids* always regarded "Pisar-i Kākū" as their implacable opponent, as *Bayhaḳī's* history shows. His statesmanship and pertinacity were such that he was always able to recover his position after reverses. On two occasions he even held *Rayy*, and it was probably in 421/1030 that he captured *Yazd* and minted coins there, the farthest outpost in the east of Kākūyid power. Possession of the rich towns of *Djibāl* enabled him to hire mercenaries, Daylamī and Kurdish, for his army, and also to recruit *Oghuz* *Türkmen* fleeing westwards from the *Ghaznawids* in *Khurāsān*. The historian of *Iṣfahān*, *Māfarrukhī*, praises 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad for his care to maintain all fortresses in his territories, his ingenuity in planting spies in neighbouring regions, and his sense of realism, knowledge of when resistance was possible and when conciliation and yielding were wisest.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE  
KĀKŪYIDS



With the collapse of *Ghaznavid* authority first in the west and then in *Khurāsān*, 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad was for a brief period completely independent and acknowledged no suzerain on his coins. The increasing strength of the Saldjūks and the relentless extension of his power westwards by *Ṭoḡhrīl Beg* were, however, bound to press on the Kākūyids. In 429/1037-8 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad built a protective wall around *Iṣfahān*, but he died in 433/1041-2. His eldest son, *Zahir al-Dīn Shams al-Mulūk Abū Manšūr Farāmūrz* had already discerned the trend of events; he was present with *Ṭoḡhrīl* on the battlefield of *Dandānkān* in 431/1040, when the victorious Saldjūk leader granted to him *Rayy* and *Iṣfahān*. When 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad died, there ensued a struggle amongst his sons over the Kākūyid inheritance. *Farāmūrz's* succession in *Iṣfahān* was contested by his brother *Abū Ḥarb*, who secured help from the Būyid amir of *Fārs* and *Khūzistān*, *Imād al-Dīn Abū Kālidjār*, but nevertheless failed to capture *Iṣfahān*. From 438/1046-7, when *Ṭoḡhrīl* besieged him in *Iṣfahān*, till 433/1051, *Farāmūrz* acknowledged on his coins *Ṭoḡhrīl* as suzerain. In *Muḥarram* 433/May-June 1051 *Ṭoḡhrīl* finally captured *Iṣfahān* after a year's siege, razed its walls and moved his capital thither from *Rayy*. *Farāmūrz* received in compensation the towns of *Yazd* and *Abarḳūh* in northern *Fārs*, and ended his days as a faithful vassal of the Saldjūks; thus he was a member of the delegation led by



Kundurl in 453/1061 to seek the hand of the caliph al-Kā'im's daughter for Toḡhrīl, and of the sultan's retinue when he went to Baghdād two years later to meet his wife.

A further brother of Farāmūrz, 'Alā' al-Dawla Abū Kālīdjār Garshāsp, had been governor of Hamadhān and Nihāwand, i.e., the western part of the Kākūyid dominions, during his father's lifetime, and had defended Hamadhān against the so-called "Irā-ki" Türkmēn when they besieged it in 420/1029. In 430/1038-9 the town was again attacked by the Oghuz, suffering a frightful sacking, but the Türkmēn were soon afterwards repulsed by 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad himself. When the latter died, Garshāsp succeeded him in Hamadhān and Nihāwand, recognizing Farāmūrz as his overlord. But Garshāsp soon clashed with Toḡhrīl Beg, and tried to get help from the Büyid Abū Kālīdjār; in exasperation, Toḡhrīl in 437/1045-6 sent his half-brother Ibrāhīm Ināl to seize first Hamadhān, and then, two years later, Kanguwār. Unlike Farāmūrz, Garshāsp remained hostile to the Saldjūks down to his death in exile in Khūzistān in 443/1051-2; just before this, he had been in Iṣfahān and had been in touch with Mawdūd b. Mas'ūd of Ḡhazna, who was endeavouring to organize a grand anti-Saldjūk coalition.

The descendants of Farāmūrz lived out their lives as provincial *muḳtā's* under the Great Saldjūk sultans, honoured as former minor rulers and now closely linked by marriage to the Saldjūk royal family. References to these later Kākūyids are very sparse in the general chronicles, and the main source for them is the local history of Yazd by Dja'far b. Muḥammad Dja'fari. They do not seem to have exercised minting rights; at least, no Kākūyid coins are extant after those of Farāmūrz.

Mu'ayyid al-Dawla or 'Alā' al-Dawla 'Alī b. Farāmūrz, ruler of Yazd, married Ḡaḡrī Beg's daughter Arslan Khātūn in 469/1076-7. He spent much of his time in Iṣfahān at Malik-Shāh's court, as is shown by the anecdote in Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarḳandī's *Čahar maḳāla* (ed. Browne, 41-3, revised tr. 46-8), where Amīr 'Alī commends the poet Mu'izzī to the sultan's patronage. Eventually he died in battle near Rayy fighting for the claimant Tutuṣh b. Alp Arslan against Sultan Berk-yaruḳ (488/1095). 'Alī's son 'Alā' al-Dawla 'Aḳud al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār Garshāsp also held Yazd and was high in the favour of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh and then in that of his son Maḥmūd. According to Anūshīrwān b. Khālid, Maḥmūd at first regarded Garshāsp like a brother, but he fell from grace and was imprisoned by the sultan; henceforth he became a fierce partisan of Sandjār (he had married the sister of Muḥammad and Sandjār), and in 513/1119 urged him to invade western Persia and join battle with Maḥmūd at Sāwa. There is mentioned in Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's history of the Saldjūks of Kirmān a dispute within the Kākūyid family in Yazd during the later years of the Saldjūk amīr Arslan-Shāh b. Kirmān-Shāh (495-537/1101-42), in which the amīr intervened to restore the dispossessed party; this incident must have fallen within Garshāsp's time, but no further details are known. A somewhat confused later source implies that Garshāsp was killed fighting at Sandjār's side at the battle of the Kaṭwān Steppe in 536/1141 against the Kara Khitāy. The last decades of the Kākūyid family are very obscure. Garshāsp seems to have left no male heir and during the reign of the penultimate Great Saldjūk sultan, Arslan b. Toḡhrīl (556/1161-571/1176), his two daughters governed Yazd. The Sultan decreed that one of the commanders of the

Yazd garrison should become Atabeg for them. In this way, there begins the line of Atabegs of Yazd, that of Rukn al-Dīn Sām b. Lankar and his brother 'Izz al-Dīn Lankar. These Atabegs were at the outset linked by marriage to the last Kākūyids, since Rukn al-Dīn married one of Garshāsp b. Alī's daughters; the Atabeg 'Alā' al-Dawla Ata-Khān, who was killed in 624/1227 fighting for the Kh'arazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn against the Mongols, was their offspring. The line of Atabegs persisted in Yazd throughout the 7th/13th century, after which Yazd eventually came under the control of the Muẓaffarids [q.v.].

## ii. Cultural.

By the time of the Kākūyids' rise to power, the Daylamī rulers of Persia had emerged from their pristine barbarism and grossness, and we find 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad assuming the responsibilities of the paternalistic Islamic ruler in his principality. The cost of the walls which he built around Iṣfahān, their circuit running to 15,000 paces not counting the defences of the outlying suburbs, was a burden on the local population, but in such troubled times the walls were regarded as a great benefit. One of 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad's special claims to fame is that he gave refuge to Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), after the latter had been in the service of the Büyid Shams al-Dawla of Hamadhān; the great scholar wrote his Persian encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Dānīsh-nāma-yi 'Alā'i*, for the Kākūyid amīr, and he died in 428/1037 whilst accompanying his patron from Iṣfahān to Hamadhān.

The Kākūyid governors of Yazd did much to beautify the town and to make it a centre of intellectual life, and under them and their epigoni, the Atabegs, Yazd enjoyed one of its most flourishing periods. The local historian of Kirmān, Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, says in his *Ikḍ al-'ulā* that "'Alā' al-Dawla ['Alī b. Farāmūrz], who was the ruler of Yazd, continually sought to attract the eminent men of both Khurāsān and Irāq, encouraged them with all sorts of promises and expressions of favour, and brought them to Yazd" (ed. 'Amīrī, Tehran 1311/1932, 102). 'Alī was particularly noted as an early patron of the outstanding poet of the Saldjūks, Mu'izzī, and several of the latter's odes are dedicated to the Kākūyid. The *Ta'riḳh-i Yazd* and the other local histories deal at length with the many palaces, mosques, *madrasas*, caravanserais, libraries and mausoleums constructed in the town by the Kākūyid amīrs; of prime value in Yazd, situated as it was on the edge of the central desert, was their extensive construction of *kanāts*.

*Bibliography:* i. Primary sources. The history of the dynasty can only be pieced together from scattered notices in general histories like that of Ibn al-Aṭhīr and Mustawfī's *Ta'riḳh-i ḡuzīda*, from Ḡhaznawid sources like Bayhaḳī, and from Saldjūk ones like Bundārī and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's *Ta'riḳh-i Saldjūkiyān-i Kirmān*. The local histories supplement these, in particular, Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ta'riḳh-i Ṭabaristān* (on Rukn al-Dīn Dushmanziyār b. Marzubān and the antecedents of the dynasty); Māfarrukhī's *Kitāb Maḥāsīn Iṣfahān*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1312/1933, cf. E. G. Browne, *Account of a rare manuscript history of Iṣfahān*, in *JRAS* (1901), 23, 42, 50 of offprint; Dja'far b. Muḥammad Dja'fari's *Ta'riḳh-i Yazd*, ed. Irāḍī Afshār, Tehran 1338/1960; Ahmad b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Kātib, *Ta'riḳh-i dījadī-i Yazd*, ed. Afshār, Tehran 1345/1966; Muḥammad Muḥīd Mustawfī Bāfḳī, *Djāmi'-i Muḥīdī*, i, iii, ed. Afshār, Tehran 1340-2/1961-3.

ii. Secondary sources. For the general back-

ground to the rise of the Kākūyids, see V. Minor-sky, art. DAYLAM, and idem, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932, also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran-London 1964, 12-30; and for their place in the general history of Persia, see C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, Cambridge 1968, 37-40. On the chronology of the dynasty, see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 216-17, and Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 97-8. A detailed history of the dynasty is given by Bosworth, *Dailamis in Central Iran: the Kākūyids of Jibāl and Yazd*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, viii (1970), 73-95.

iii. Numismatics. The coinage of the Kākūyids has been well covered. See Zambaur, *Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale*, in *Wiener numismatische Zeitschrift*, xlviii (1914), 142-7; G. C. Miles, *The coinage of the Kākwayhid dynasty*, in *Iraq*, v (1938), 89-104; idem, *Notes on Kākwayhid coins*, in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, ix (1960), 231-6; idem, *A hoard of Kākwayhid dirhems*, in *ANS Museum Notes*, xii (1966), 165-93. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KĀL'Ā [see KĀL'ĀT BANĪ HAMMĀD].

ĀL-KĀL'Ā-I SEFĪD [see KĀL'Ā-I SEFĪD].

KĀL'Ā-I SULTĀNIYYA [see ĀNĀK-KĀL'Ā BOGHAZĪ].

KĀL'Ā [see ĀGĀDIR, BURĪD, HĪṢĀR, HĪṢN, KAṢĀBA].

AL-KĀL'Ā (A.), castle, fortress. a word which has passed into Spanish in the simple form Alcalá, and as Cala—or Calat—in compounds, occurs as a place-name throughout the entire peninsula—e.g., Alcalá de Henares, Alcalá la Real (also named after Ibn Zayd), Alcalá de Guadaíra, or Calahorra (castle of Hurra), Calatrava (Kālat Rabāh [q.v.] = 'Alī b. Rabāh?), Calatayud (Kālat Ayyūb [q.v.]), Calatorao (from *turāb* = land, as in *Madīnat al-turāb* = Valencia), Calatañazor (Kālat al-nusūr, the site of the alleged defeat of al-Manšūr). The diminutive Alcolea (from the Arabic *al-kūlay'a*) is also the name of various places of less importance, such as Alcolea in the neighbourhood of Cordoba, Alcolea del Cinca, etc. The northern zone of Old Castile and the Alava region were known by the Muslims as al-Kilā', "the castles", a term comparable with the names Castilla and Cataluña = regions of castles.

*Bibliography*: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 681; E. Lévi-Provençal, *HEM, passim*; Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico*, i, 356-96. (A. HUICI-MIRANDA)

AL-KALĀBĀDHĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. IṢḤĀK, author of one of the most celebrated manuals on Šūfism. In spite of the fame of his work, he himself is practically unknown. He is believed to have died in 380/990 or 384/994; his *nisba* indicates that he lived in Kalābādh, a district of Bukhārā, according to Yāḳūt [s.v.], and manuscript sources (see Arberry, *India Office Catalogue*, no. 1218) confirm that he died in Bukhārā, where "his tomb is visited and revered". Of the five or six works by al-Kalābādhī, two have come down to us, one of them unpublished and without any great merit: *Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār* (for other titles of this work see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 669), a kind of brief ethical commentary on some of the Prophet's *ḥadīths*. The other is *Ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, a basic work for the understanding of Šūfism in the first three centuries of Islam (tr. A. J. Arberry, *The doctrine of the Sūfis*, Cambridge 1935). The work is divided into three parts. The first, historical, section defines the meaning of the word *šūfi* and gives a swift survey of the most important figures of Šūfism; the second part is apologetics, going back to the articles of the creed *al-Fiḳh al-*

*Akbar II* to demonstrate the accord between the doctrine of the Šūfis and Ašh'arism (see Arberry, *Sufism*, 69); through using quotations from the Šūfis and commenting on them, the third part sets out the major stages on the mystic path. The author frequently quotes al-Ḥallādī, indicating that he lived in an environment favourable to mysticism but one in which Šūfism had begun to deteriorate. According to the introduction, the book was written in response to this decay and with the intention of delineating true Šūfism.

*Bibliography*: In the article. (P. N.WYIA)

KALABAND (Ottoman) [see NAFY].

KALAH (KALĀH, KALĀ, KILĀ, KILLĀH), the mediaeval Arab geographers' name for an island or peninsula (*djazīra*) which played an important intermediary role in commercial and maritime relations between Arabia, India and China. It was particularly well-known for its tin mines, and the Arabic word *kal'ih/kala'* [q.v.] for this metal derives from Kalah; the place was also portrayed as the centre of trade in camphor, bamboo, aloes, ivory etc. Its capital also was named Kalah (cf. e.g., al-Dimashkī, *Cosmographie*, 152, 170); so too the sea which washed its shores and was very difficult to navigate was called the Baḥr Kalah (e.g., al-Dimashkī, *op. cit.*, 152, 169).

The identification of Kalah, of no small importance for the history of trade in the Indian Ocean, has engendered a vast bibliography. Various clues, the production of tin in particular, have suggested the Malacca peninsula; Walckenaer (*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Paris 1852, 19) was the first to identify Kalah with a town whose name is written as Quedah in the Portuguese sources, but is pronounced Kēdah; this town lies on the west bank of the Malacca peninsula (6° Lat. N.). The province of Kēdah, watered by the Kalang River (see Ritter, *Erskunde*, v, 20-1), is still of importance in this region of Malacca because of its brisk trade in tin; the town itself, though a flourishing port in the past, has declined considerably.

Walckenaer's identification was accepted by L. A. van der Lith (ed. of *K. 'Adjā'ib al-Hind*, index), De Goeje (in *De Gids*, Amsterdam 1889, iii, 297), Tomaschek (*Die topogr. des indischen Seespiegels Mohlt*, Vienna 1897, 86) and G. Le Strange (tr. of Hamd Allāh Mustawfi's *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, 194). Quatremère (in *Journal des Savants*, 1846, 734) and Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*, 145) think it likely; the latter believe that Kalan should also be identified with Ptolemy's Kōλι, but this town seems to have been situated elsewhere (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Koli*, xi, 1073). J. Sauvaget (*Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, 43) favours this identification but points out that Kēdah, Kērah (Kra isthmus) or even Kēlang, north of the town of Malacca, are all possibilities. Although the Malay *d* is pronounced in such a way that an Arabic speaker might hear *l*, the Chinese transcribed the name as *Ko-lo* and the vocalization of the first syllable of *K-lah* is in fact unknown (P. Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Bull. de l'École fr. d'Extrême-Orient*, iv (1904), 351 n. 6).

Moreover, it must be noted that G. Ferrand (in *JA*, 2nd series, xiv (1919), 214-33) came to reject the possibility of identifying Kēdah with Kalah and to conclude: "geographically, between Qara = Kra, about 10° latitude North, and Kara, near Kēdah, I prefer the first of these ports as the site of Kalah and its variants in the Arabic texts"; Ferrand's study giving the reasons for his preferences has not been published, and the claims of Kēdah and Kēlah (Kra)

cannot be considered as settled. Other reasonable suggestions for the site of Kalah are: in Ceylon (the port of Ghālī, Galle, Galle Point; e.g., Reinaud, *Relations des voyages* . . . Paris 1845, i, pp. lxi-lxii and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geographie*, i, cdxiv, cdxviii-cdxix; Dulaurier, in *JA*, 4th series, viii, 209), Malabar (Reinaudot, cf. Ouseley, *Travels* . . ., i, London 1819, 53 n.) and Coromandel (Gildemeister, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis loci*, Bonn 1838, 57-8).

Alongside Kalah, Arab geographers use the compound word Kalāh-bār (e.g., *Rel. de l'Inde et de la Chine*, § 15; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 330, 340 = tr. Pellat, §§ 361, 374), where bār is explained as deriving from the Sanskrit *vāta*, from which come *vād* and *vār*, "district". However in Sanskrit and in Tamil *pāram* (= *bāram* in compounds) designates "the opposite coast" and is used by sailors from another country for the coast to which they usually travel; *Relation* (§ 15) gives two explanations ("kingdom" and "coast"), the second being the correct one, so al-Mas'ūdī (i, 340-374) was wrong when he took bār to mean "sea".

*Bibliography*: apart from references in the text: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 66; Djawālīkī, *Mu'ar-rab*, ed. Sachau, 56-7, 125; S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the Kitāb Nuzhat al-Muštāq . . . of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 116-7; Yāqūt, index; Kaẓwīnī, *Aḥḥār*, ii, 38; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 375; Bākuwī, *Talkhīṣ al-āḥḥār*, tr. de Guignes, in *Notices et Extraits*, ii, 405; Ibn al-Wardī, *Khariḍat al-'aḡjā'ib*, Cairo 1324, 86; G. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages* . . ., Paris 1913-4, index; idem, in *JA*, 2nd series, xii (1918), 89, 109, xiii (1919), 312, 438 n. 2, 439-40, xiv (1919), 214-33, xxi (1923), 31; *Huḍūd al-'ālam*, 187.

(M. STRECK\*)

AL-KALĀ'Ī, ABU 'L-RABĪ' SULAYMĀN B. MŪSĀ B. SĀLIM AL-ḤIMYARĪ AL-BALANSĪ, often known as IBN SĀLIM AL-KALĀ'Ī, a Mālikī scholar, historian, orator and poet from al-Andalus who traced back his genealogy to the Ḥimyarite family of Dhū 'l-Kalā'. Born in Ramaḡān 565/May-June 1170, in the neighbourhood of Murcia, he was still a child when his family moved to Valencia, where he began his studies, pursuing them in other Spanish cities, especially Cordoba. A pupil of Ibn Maḡjā' [q.v.], Ibn Ḥubaysh, Ibn Zarḡūn and a number of other celebrated teachers, he discharged the office of *khafīb* at the Great Mosque of Valencia, and probably also that of *ḥāfi*; his reputation, however, rested on his numerous works and on the eulogies bestowed on him by his disciples, principally Ibn al-Abbār [q.v.], who was indebted to him for advice and assistance in undertaking the sequel (*Takmila*) to the *Ṣīla* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [q.v.]. Another of his pupils was al-Ru'aynī [q.v.], who maintained an unbroken correspondence with him and devoted a long notice to him in his *Barnāmadj*. When forced to leave Valencia in 587/1191, al-Kalā'ī composed an elegy on his exile which attests to his technical skill; the surviving fragments of his *dīwān* also reveal his talent as a poet. On his eventual return to Valencia, despite his advanced age he played an active part in the battle of Anīṣha (El Puig de Cebolla) which preceded the capture of the town by James I of Aragon (16 Šafar 636/28 September 1238) and there lost his life (20 Dhū 'l-Hidjja 634/15 August 1237). Ibn al-Abbār mourned his death in a *marthiya* of about 100 verses (see H. Massé, intro. to the *Iktifā'*, 16-23, 40).

Al-Kalā'ī was the author of more than a score of works, but the only one which has been preserved is the *Kitāb al-Iktifā' fī maḡhāzi 'l-Muštāfā wa 'l-*

*thalātha 'l-khulafā'* (Vol. i (all published), ed. H. Massé, Algiers-Paris 1931, *Bibliotheca arabica*, vi); this *Sira Kalā'iyya*, a history of the *maḡhāzi* of the Prophet and of the first three caliphs only, is based on sources many of which are now lost. The volume published by H. Massé covers the Prophet's mission, the conversion of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the emigration to Abyssinia. Some quotations from *al-Iktifā'* are to be found in al-Diyārbakrī's *Ta'rikh al-khamis* (Cairo 1283, 1302); Khurshīd Ahmad Fārik has published in Delhi (Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, 1970) from a Ms. preserved in Dar al-kutub (Cairo), as *Ta'rikh al-riḍā*, the passages in *al-Iktifā'* relating to the *Riḍā* [q.v.].

Most biographers of al-Kalā'ī agree on the list of his works; these reveal that this *muḥaddith*, celebrated for his erudition and fine handwriting, was particularly concerned with the Companions of the Prophet (notably *Kitāb Maydān al-sābiḡin*, etc.; *al-Mu'djam fī dhikr man wafaḡat kunyatuh kunyat zawḡih min Ṣahābat al-Muštāfā*) and the transmission of *hadīth* (in particular, *Ruwāt al-Buḡhārī wa-akhbārūh*, in 4 vols.; *Arba'ūn*, etc.). Independently of his masters' *Mu'djam*, he collected his poetical works in a *dīwān*, as well as his correspondence and his *khufbas* (numbering about 80). Finally, we should note two imitations of al-Ma'arrī and a selection of proverbs. Although it is difficult to form a judgment on the sole basis of titles which are not always explicit, it would appear that posterity did no injustice to al-Kalā'ī in preserving from his voluminous output only the *Iktifā'*, a work which deserves some attention.

*Bibliography*: H. Massé has reproduced in his intro. to the *Iktifā'* the bibliographical accounts contained in: Ibn al-Khaṡīb's *Ihāfa*, al-Baṡhtakī's abridgement of the *Ihāfa* (Ms.), Ibn al-Abbār's *Takmila* (708, no. 1991 and additions, 540), Dhahabī's *Tadhkira* (Ḥaydarabād, iv, no. 14), Suyūṡī's *Ṭabakāt al-huffayṡ* (Göttingen 1833, iii, 56), Ibn Farḡūn's *Dībādj* (Fez 1316, 125), Maḡḡarī's *Analectes* (ii, 502, 655, 768), Nāṡirī's *K. Zahr al-afnān* (Fez 1314, i, 307), al-'Arabī al-Maṡhrāfi's *Fath al-Mannān*. To this list should be added: Ru'aynī, *Barnāmadj*, ed. I. Šhabbūh, Damascus 1381/1962, 66-72; M. Bencheneb, in *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orient.*, Paris 1907, iv, no. 334; Ibn al-'Imād, *Šadhḡarāt*, v, 164; Pons Boygues, 283-4, no. 239. See also Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. H. Mu'nis, ii, 102, 215, 267; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḡ mi'tār*, 32; Nubāhl, *Marḡaba*, 119; Hādjīdjīl Khālifa, i, 388, v, 579; R. Basset, in *Bull. Corr. Afr.*, 1884, 375; F. C. Seybold, in *Homenaje a D. Fr. Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 115 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 371, S I, 634; F. Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, index. (CH. PELLAT)

KALĀM, in the sense of *kalām Allāh* the Word of God, must here be distinguished from 1) *kalām* meaning 'ilm al-kalām [q.v.], "defensive apologetics", or "the science of discourse" (on God); and 2) *kalima* [q.v.] which, in the expression *kalimat Allāh*, means "a" (single) divine utterance.

*Kalām Allāh* is found at least three times in the *Qur'ān* (II, 75, IX, 6, XLVIII, 15). God spoke to the prophets (II, 253); He spoke "clearly" to Moses (IV, 164, VII, 143), who had been chosen to transmit His messages and His Word (VII, 144); God does not speak to men "except by revelation or from behind a veil" (II, 118); but He has never spoken to the ungodly (II, 174, III, 77); and an idol made by man, such as the Golden Calf, cannot speak (VII, 148; cf. Ps. 115, 135).

In the list of "the most beautiful (divine) names" (cf. AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ), neither *kalām* nor *mutakallim* is found. God speaks, but the Qur'ān does not "name" Him as "speaker". *Kalim Allāh*, "God's spokesman", is the name of Moses. Yet in the treatises on "God, His existence and His attributes", God is described as *mutakallim* ("speaking"), since He possesses *kalām*.

Two groups of questions arise: 1) on the basis of the Qur'ānic texts, *kalām*, Word, is attributed to God and "theologians" were quick to examine the question of *kalām* as a divine attribute (*ṣifa*); and 2) God having addressed His word to the prophets (II, 253), by antonomasia *kalām Allāh* designates the Qur'ān, which gave rise to the problem of the relationship between the Qur'ān and the Word as attribute. Throughout the centuries, this was to remain one of the most controversial questions.

I.—*Kalām*, a divine attribute. This problem is directly linked to reflections and debates on the nature of the Qur'ān (created or uncreated). Did such discussions come into being, as has been frequently stated (by C. H. Becker, for example), through the wish to reply to the Christian theologians of Damascus, who proclaimed that the Logos, the Word of God, was both uncreated and creator? No doubt this influenced the way in which the problem was posed in some instances, but the Qur'ānic source of the question is no less evident.

If there is a Word of God, there is therefore a divine attribute of the Word, according to the most customary process of scriptural "determination" (*tawḥīf*). But of what sort is this attribute? And what relationship does it have to the divine Essence?

a) The Mu'tazilites (and the Ḍjahmiyya) denied that there was an uncreated Word subsisting in God, for "it cannot be established that there subsists in the soul an entity which could be called 'word' (*kalām*)" said the *ḥādī* 'Abd al-Ḍjabbār (*Mughnī*, vii, *Kḥalḥ al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1380/1961, 179). The expression "Word of God", which should be retained, in fact signifies that God created in contingent beings phrases and words so that He could communicate His law to men.—b) The Falāsifa and various related groups understood it to mean a divine, eternal Idea, a necessary emanation of the flux (*ḥayā*) which is bound to flow from the Prime Being, is received by the separate Intellects, transmitted to men by the illumination of the single Active Intellect and is broken down into words on account of the structure of mankind's passive intellect (*bi'l-kuwwa*).—c) According to the Karrāmiyya, the Word of God is not strictly speaking eternal: God becomes the agent and speaker by producing within Himself (*iḥdāth fi 'l-dhāt*) the Act and the Word. It is therefore proper to speak of "an attribute of the Essence", but one which has "begun".—d) The "pious Forefathers" and the Ḥanbalite tradition affirm the absolute eternity of the Word, subsisting in God and revealing Him, communicated as and when God wishes in His co-eternal mystery.—e) Finally, the Aṣḥ'arites (and apparently also the Kullābiyya) affirm this same co-eternity: the *kalām Allāh* is *ḥadīm*, uncreated and without beginning. But they distinguish (cf. II below) between the Word subsisting in the divine Essence, which is without speech (*ḥawl*), and its expression by means of letters and sounds. In itself, *kalām* is not an "attribute of action" (*ṣifat al-af'āl*), like the Creation or the Decree; it is, like Will, Knowledge, Life, an attribute that is *ma'ānī*, "which adds a concept to the Essence" but itself subsists within the essence by the

very existence of God. Thus al-Ḍjuwaynī, after having argued at length against the Mu'tazilites, teaches that the Word is eternal, it is "an attribute of the Essence", and has always the nature of a commandment, a prohibition, or information. Therefore it applies to things which arise within time, without itself having begun in time (cf. *Iṣḥād*, text and Fr. tr., J. D. Luciani, Paris 1938, 73/120). On this point the Ḥanafi-Māturīdī theses differ only in minor respects from the Aṣḥ'arī view.

No doubt in order better to underline the *bilā kayf* of the Word of God in comparison with human speech, later treatises make the following distinction: while the unity of divine attributes is said to be dependent on the *'akliyyāt* [*q.v.*], meaning that which human reason, illuminated by the Law, is fitted to substantiate, the *kalām* attribute of God—like Hearing, Sight and Visibility—is dependent on the *sam'iyāt*, knowledge which is available to man only *ex auditu*, through the teaching of the prophets. The very existence of these four attributes falls outside the scope of reason.

II.—The Qur'ān, Word of God. While everyone acknowledged the identification Qur'ān = *kalām Allāh*, the various schools interpreted this according to different principles, which are outlined above. Logically, therefore, the arguments concerning the created or uncreated Qur'ān are an application of the teaching on attributes, but in fact the positions adopted on the subject of the Qur'ān took precedence and influenced developments relating to the attribute of the Word.

a) The Mu'tazilite theory of the created Qur'ān is based on the concept of word as speech, presuming articulation and movement, which would be incompatible with pure divine immutability. All prophetic utterances, above all the Qur'ān, may be called the "Word of God" in that they express what God wishes to communicate to mankind; but this Word is created on the lips of prophets or reciters, or on the pages where they are recorded. In the same way, when God spoke to Moses in the "burning bush", strictly speaking it was the bush which spoke, through sounds and words directly created within it by God.

b) It is not easy to define to its ultimate consequences the thinking of the "pious Forefathers", especially that of Ibn Ḥanbal. The affirmation that the Qur'ān is the uncreated Word of God is absolute. The definitive thinking of Ibn Ḥanbal is that the Qur'ān pertains not to the world of creation (*ḥalḥ*) but to the world of commandment (*amr*). Now, nothing appertaining to *amr* can perish. "The Qur'ān went out from God and will return to Him" (*Aḥīda*, v, 313; quoted by H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 84, n. 3); according to Ibn Baṭṭa, this applies to each word, each letter of the Book (*ibid.*, 51/86). And anyone who asserts that the Qur'ān is created, or reserves any doubt on this subject, or simply refuses to make a pronouncement (*wuḥūf*), is impious (*ḥāfir*); so too is anyone who refuses to condemn such a man as an unbeliever (*takfir*). When God makes His Word appear in a body, said Ibn Taymiyya (*Fatāwa v. Tis'iniyya*, Cairo 1329, 265), He does not create anything in that body; it is He Himself who speaks, as He did in the bush which revealed to Moses: "I am God and there are no other gods but Me".

H. Laoust has made an excellent summary of Ibn Taymiyya's thinking on this point, which is in itself an echo Ḥanbalite tradition (*Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḥī-d-Dīn Ahmad B. Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 171 and ref.). The attribute of

the Word is subordinate to the attribute of the Will (*irāda*). God speaks or (in opposition to the Salāmiyya) ceases to speak when and how He wishes. His Word is at the same time "an idea, sounds and letters organized with an end in view (*maḥṣūd*)" (H. Laoust, *ibid.*). It may convey information (*ikhbār*) or ordain a command (*inshāʾ*). In this last case, it will either bring about a creation (*takwīn*: e.g., the five ḡurʾānic *kun*) or formulate a law (*taḥrīf*). The Word is therefore multiple in its formulation. It is also hierarchically graded: the best of the *sūras* is the *Fātiḥa*, followed by the *sūrat al-Ikhḫlās*; Ḳurʾān, Tawrāt and Inḡīl are indeed the Word of God, but the Ḳurʾān is superior to the Tawrāt, which itself is superior to the Inḡīl.

Are the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) and reading (*tilāwa*) of the Ḳurʾān by the faithful also uncreated? The professions of faith of Ibn Ḥanbal declare that to assert that its pronunciation and reading are created, when the book is *kalām Allāh*, is the mark of the condemned sect of the *Djahmiyya* (*ʿAḫīda* I, 21, 32). Al-Barbahārī makes the same assertion, adding that it is also *djahmi* to opt for *wukūf*, a deferment of judgment, on this precise point.

But there is a Ḥanball tradition which tends to qualify—or at least make more exact—the position of Ibn Ḥanbal. It is said that he protested vigorously against those who averred that pronunciation and reading were created; but he never adds that they were definitely uncreated. Ibn Taymiyya came to the following conclusion: those who hold that the pronunciation and reading of the Ḳurʾān are uncreated are in fact similar to the *Djahmiyya* and thus to be condemned; but, also according to Ibn Ḥanbal, those who support the opposite view are guilty of "blame-worthy innovation" (*bidʿa*). It was Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, remarks H. Laoust (*Essai* . . . 172, n. 2), "who attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal the dogma that recitation of the Ḳurʾān is uncreated". Was this in fact a position of reserve (*tawakkuf*) which Ibn Ḥanbal adopted for fear that such an uncreated recitation would lead to the acceptance of *ḥulūl*, an "infusion" of divine substance in the reciter? Ibn Taymiyya avoided saying that the *lafẓ* was uncreated and confined himself to asserting: "The Word (*kalām*) is the Word of God, and the voice (*ṣawt*) is the voice of the reciter" (*ibid.*, 172), and again: "When men recite the Ḳurʾān, or when they write it down on paper, the Ḳurʾān remains in reality (*ḥaḳīqat*) the Word of God. A word, in fact, can be attributed only to him who first formulated it and in no respect to him who transmits it or spreads it abroad" (tr. H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 85, note referring to *Wāsiyya*, 22).

c) The *Ashʿarites* and *Ḥanafites-Māturīdites* preferred a compromise to this prudent *tawakkuf*. Their solution was presented, especially by the earliest scholars, as the middle way between the *Muʿtazilites* and those whom they called *Ḥashwiyya*: according to the latter, the Ḳurʾān was uncreated, not only on the lips and in the hearts of the faithful but also in so far as it was reproduced in writing on paper; following a *ḫabar* attributed to ʿĀʾiṣḥa, whatever lies between the two covers of the book is the Word of God (and thus uncreated).

The thesis of the Ḳurʾān as the Word of God, eternal and uncreated, was forcefully proclaimed in the professions of faith of al-*Ashʿarī* (*Ibāna*, ed. Cairo 1348, 10; *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. Cairo 1369/1950, I, 321); and also in the *Wāsiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* (article 9) and the *Fīḫ Akbar* II (article 3) and III (article 16). Al-*Ashʿarī* cites the authority of Ibn Ḥanbal. Throughout the centuries, the schools remained faithful to this total affirmation.

But what part of the *kalām Allāh* is communicated by the prophets and recited or read by the faithful? Al-*Ashʿarī*'s professions of faith are silent on this point; yet on the other hand the problem is posed in basic *Ḥanafī-Māturīdī* texts. The Ḳurʾān, says the *Wāsiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* (article 9), the uncreated Word of God, inspired and revealed by Him, "is not He, nor other than He, but His real Attribute, written in the copies, recited by the tongues, preserved in the breasts, yet not residing there. The ink, the paper, the writing are created, for they are the work of men. The word of God on the other hand is uncreated, for the writing and the letters and the words and the verses are manifestations (*dalāla*) of the Ḳurʾān for the sake of human needs. The word of God on the other hand is self-existing in His Essence, and its meaning is understood by means of these things. Whoso sayeth that the word of God is created, he is an infidel (*kāfir*) regarding God . . . His speech being recited or written and retained in the heart, yet never dissociated from Him" (tr. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, 127). *Fīḫ Akbar* II (article 3) goes further as far as this distinction is concerned: "Our pronouncing, writing and reciting the Ḳurʾān is created, whereas the Ḳurʾān itself is uncreated."

What exact relationships can be established between the divine attribute of the Word and the Ḳurʾān, read, written or recited? A venerable tradition distinguishes between the heavenly Ḳurʾān, written for all eternity on the "protected table" (*lawḥ mahfūz* [q.v.]) and the earthly and created books. Burning one of these earthly Ḳurʾāns would not destroy the Word of God. Certain later writers, such as al-Fuḍālī, wondered if the words which "descended" on the Prophet were the very words of God (those of the *lawḥ al-mahfūz*) or the words spoken by the Angel.

*Ashʿarī* answers were usually more elaborate. In an analysis reproduced by Ibn Ḥazm, al-Bāḳillānī explains that the Ḳurʾān is the Word of God in the sense that it is an "expression" (*ʿibāra*) of it (see A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 151, and *ET*, D. B. Macdonald, s.v. *KALĀM* and refs.). He says further: "The *kalām* is an entity (*maʿnā*) subsisting within the soul (*ḫāʾim bi ʾl-nafs*) which sometimes expresses itself in audible sounds" (*Tamḥīd*, ed. R. J. McCarthy, Baghdad-Beirut 1957, 251).

This distinction led to the famous theory of the *kalām al-nafs* or *kalām nafsi*, the internal word, which, as we have seen, was rejected by the *Muʿtazilites*. Al-*Djuwaynī* stresses this point forcefully (*Irshād*, 58-78/98-131; see also his *Lumaʿ*). We have a brief and clear account of it in al-*Ḡhazālī*'s *Iḫtiṣād* (ed. Cairo, n.d., 80). It is not true that there can be no speech without letters and sounds. Internal speech, "the discourse of the soul", *kalām al-nafs*, is a reality. The attribute of the Word, subsisting in the divine Essence, is first and foremost this internal Word in God, which is eternal and uncreated, without future or past, without multiplication or division. It is in no way impossible that God makes it manifest *ad extra* by created sounds and letters. It is essentially in this that prophetic revelation resides. Contrary to the belief of the *Muʿtazilites*, it is not a matter of words created in certain bodies. It is indeed God who speaks, but through sounds and letters belonging to the world of creation which manifest and express His single and immutable Word. Later *Ashʿarī* and *Māturīdī* manuals take up these points again with greater or lesser felicity (e.g., al-Bādīūrī,

*Hāshīya* . . . 'alā *Djawharat al-tawhīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 43).

Finally, it should be noted that if "the Word of God is one attribute without multiplicity" (al-Bādjūrī, *ibid.*), its manifestation through verbal words allows us to make a distinction in the Qurʾān between information and commandment as the Ancients insisted (cf. above, the Ḥanbalī doctrine). In turn, commandment may be divided into prohibition, promise and threat; but these are "distinctions made by reason" (*akṣām iʿtibāriyya; ibid.*).

d) In the modern period, Muḥammad ʿAbduh emphasized the Ashʿarī distinctions to the extent of presenting an answer which seems an attempt at a synthesis between Ashʿarism and Muʿtazilism (see *Risālat al-tawhīd*, Cairo 1353, 44 ff.): the Word is an eternal attribute of the essence; the Qurʾān is the Word of God without any intermediary, but in as much as it is expressed in words that are uttered or written down, recited or read, it belongs to the world of creation. In this sense it can be said that God created the Qurʾān, but without the intervention of any creature.

*Bibliography*: As well as references within the article, all manuals on *uṣūl al-dīn* and *ʿilm al-kalām* and all works in European languages devoted to these disciplines contain a chapter or some paragraphs on *kalām* as an attribute of God.

(L. GARDET)

**KALĀM**, theology [see ʿILM AL-KALĀM].

**KĀLAM** (καλαμος, reed), the reed-pen used for writing in Arabic script. It is a tube of reed cut between two knots, sliced obliquely (or concave) at the thicker end and with the point slit, in similar fashion to the European quill and later the steel pen. The reed has to be very firm so that it does not wear away too quickly; the best kind comes from Wāsiṭ and grows in the marshes (*baṭāʾiḥ*) of Irāk, but those from the swamps of Egypt (al-Muḥaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 203, l. 13) or from Fāris were also recommended. Those from a rocky ground were called *ṣukhrī*, those from the seashore *baḥrī* (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḥd al-Farīd*, Bülāk 1876, ii, 221, l. 18 ff., al-Kalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 441, l. 7 f.). It is allowed to steep like hemp and is kept in the water until its skin has taken on a beautiful dark brown colour. Its fibres should be quite straight so that the slit may also be even. After the nib of the *kalām* has been cut, it is laid on a long, flat piece of ivory or bone *miḳaṭṭa*, which is specially used for this purpose; the point is then slit with a sharp transverse cut with a special very sharp knife with a long handle (penknife, Turkish *kalāmīrāsh*). The length of the reed-pen should be, according to Ibn Muḳla, 12-16 finger-breadths or a span, but could not exceed this by more than the length of the *djūlfa* (nib). The width should be that of the index and the little finger (al-Kalkāshandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 444, ll. 14-16), but a medium thickness—not too long or short, not bent or curved—would be the best one (al-Kalkāshandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 440, ll. 16-19). The internode should not be too long. The pen should also not be dry, although well-ripened; it should be browned by the sun, golden, shining like a pearl and silvery on the sides.

Each kind of script needed a special pen, and the cutting of the nib (*djūlfa*) was an art in itself. It was the prime necessity for good handwriting, and excellent cutting was considered as "half the script". It is worth noting that in the Fātimid period a kind of "fountain-pen" was invented in Egypt.

The part of the point to the left of the incision is called *insī*, "human", because it is turned towards the

writer, and the right *wahshī*, "savage". If the former is slightly softer than the latter so much the better. It became a rule that in the kinds of writing called *naskḥ*, *thuluth* and *riḳāʿ* the *wahshī* side ought to be twice as broad as the *insī* side; in the kinds called *dīwānī* and *ḥirma*, it is the other way about. The *nastaʿlīq* is written with a pen slit exactly down the centre.

To protect the *kalām* from damage it is kept in a holder (*miḳlama*). These are of two kinds: 1) a metal box in the form of a long flat tube closed at one end by a lid with hinges and often adorned with arabesques. Attached to it is an inkwell (*dawāt*, popularly *dawāya*). This kind of holder is peculiar to the Arabs. In Ottoman Turkish it is called *dīwī* (from Ar. *dawāt*); at an earlier period it was also called *ḥubūr* (strictly, plur. of *ḥabr* "grave") by the Ottoman Turks, a word which is found as early as Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharājī* (Cairo 1302, p. 17), with the meaning of "holder", "case"; 2) a papier-mâché box adorned with lacquerwork. In it is a drawer which also holds an inkwell. This kind is used particularly in Persia and is called *kalāmḍār*, "pen-box".

Sūra LXVIII of the Qurʾān (*Sūrat Nūn*) is sometimes called *Sūrat al-Kalam* from its opening: "N.—By the pen and what they write. . .". According to the traditions quoted by al-Ṭabari (*Tafsīr*, Bülāk 1323-30, xxix, 107) the *kalām* was the first thing created by God so that He could write down events to come. Two explanations have been given of this *kalām*: 1) the implement used for writing, a divine gift like the latter; 2) a *kalām* of light, as long as the distance from heaven to earth, which wrote down all things that are to happen until the last judgment (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafāṭīḥ al-Ghayb*, Cairo 1278, vi, 330; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Kitāb al-baḍʿ wa ʿl-tāʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, i, text 161 f., tr. 149).

The *kalām* is the emblem or symbol of the administrative services as opposed to the *sayf*, which marks the military officer. Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) wrote a *Mufaḥḫharat al-sayf wa ʿl-kalām* and Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366) a work with a similar title; *Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asad al-Dawānī* (d. 907/1501), ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Umm al-Walad-zāde (d. 920/1514) and *Ḳinall-zāde* (d. 979/1572) each wrote a *Risāla Kalāmiyya* on the same subject (Brockelmann, II, 140, 211, 430, 433).

*Bibliography*: Al-Kalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, Cairo 1331, 434-5; A. P. Pihan, *Notice sur les divers genres d'écriture . . . des Arabes*, etc., Paris 1856, 47 f.; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1908, 13, 16, 17 (with pictures); L. Th. Bogdanow, *Persia* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1909, 81; F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, 1910, Munich 1912, ii, Plate 152; A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I. Teil (Denkschr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften), Vienna 1967, 117-23.

(CL. HUART—[A. GROHMANN])

**KĀLAM**. In Ottoman usage the word *kalām*, pronounced *kalem*, was used figuratively to designate the secretariat of an official department or service, and then came to be the normal term for an administrative office. This usage has survived in modern Turkish, and is also current in Arabic. (Ed.)

**KĀLAMDAN** [see KĀLAM, KITĀBA].

**KĀLAMKĀRĪ** (from Persian *kalām*, "pen", and *kār*, "work"), the hand-painted and resistdyed cottons of India, also known as chintz (from the Western Indian vernacular word *chitta*, "spotted

cloth"). In true *ḵalamkārī*, printing-blocks are not employed. The design is sometimes drawn free-hand, but more commonly "pounced" (*i.e.*, applied by rubbing powdered charcoal through a perforated paper stencil), after which the mordants (fixing-agents), some of the colours themselves, and the wax-resist which protects parts of the fabric during red and blue dyeing operations, are applied by hand, with *ḵalams* made of reed or bamboo. The *ḵalams* incorporate a cotton wad or hair ball impregnated with the colour or with wax. Although India had understood the principles of mordant-dyeing for at least 2,000 years (there is some evidence that is was even practised in the Harappa civilization, c. 2000 B.C.) there are no surviving specimens of the work earlier than about 1600 A.D. The finest *ḵalamkārīs* of that period were made in the hinterland of Masulipatam (Golconda), the craftsmen being Hindus who worked mainly under the patronage of Muslims and Europeans, although some were also produced as temple-hangings. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, large quantities were shipped to Europe by the Dutch, English and French East companies and had an important influence on the decorative arts of the West. Laws were introduced in France and England to forbid importation in the interests of home industry, but they were often defied. When the laws were relaxed in the second half of the 18th century, the fate of the trade was already sealed by advances in European technology, and in particular by the application of the copperplate process to fabric-printing. Henceforth the standard of the craft in India declined.

*Bibliography*: J. Irwin and Katharine B.

Brett, *Origins of chintz*, London 1970; *Census of India*, 1961, ii, part VII-A (1): Selected crafts of Andhra Pradesh.

(J. IRWIN)

AL-KĀLAMMAS, appellation bestowed on the man who, according to tradition, was the first *nasī'* [*q.v.*] of the Arabs, Ḥudhayfa b. 'Abd b. Fuḵaym b. 'Adī, of the Banū Mālik b. Kināna; al-Marzubānī (*Mu'djam*, 250), however, echoes a tradition according to which al-Ḵalammas al-Akbar was 'Adī, great-grandfather of Ḥudhayfa, and al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, Būlāk 1327/1909, x, 2) states that three men were the first to be designated *nasī'*, but he does not mention Ḥudhayfa by name. However he does mention him in this respect in *Annales*, I, 1134. According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 116 = § 965), the latter bore the *kunya* of Abu 'l-Ḵalammas, while biographers of al-Djāhīz [*q.v.*], a *mawlā* of this family (see *Milieu*, 51 and *biblio.*), attribute this *kunya* to a *nasī'* by the name of 'Amr b. Ḵal', who does not appear in the current lists (much later it was borne by 'Uḥmān b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar; see al-Ṭabarī, *index*; Abu 'l-Farajī, *Maḵṭūb al-Ṭālibīyyin*, 296). It is probable that al-Mas'ūdī's Abu 'l-Ḵalammas derives from a confusion with the *kunya* of the last of the *nasa'a*, Abū Ṭhumāma, a contemporary of the Prophet. The function of *nasī'* was handed down from father to son for several generations (Caussin, *Essai*, I, 244, who dates the institution from 412 A.D.) until the aforesaid Abū Ṭhumāma. The latter's genealogy differs according to the various writers: Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel (Tab. 47) called him Djunāda b. Umayya b. 'Awf b. Ḵal' b. Ḥudhayfa, and in the *Sira* (I, 44) he appears as Djunāda b. 'Awf b. Umayya b. Ḵal' / Ḵala' b. 'Abbād b. Ḥudhayfa; Ibn Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 157) and al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, 12) add another Ḵal' / Ḵala' between 'Abbād and Ḥudhayfa. On the other hand, however, Ibn Nubāta (*Sarkh*, 406) makes al-Ḵalammas a contemporary of Hind bint al-Ḵhuss [*q.v.*], who was thought to be responsible for intro-

ducing taboos relating to certain domestic animals which Allāh denies having introduced (Ḵur'ān, V, 102/103).

The direct descendants of Ḥudhayfa were known collectively as al-Ḵalāmīs, the plural of *ḵalammas*, the meaning of which is not clear; Arabic dictionaries give the meaning of the word as "sea, copious well" (cf. *ḵalammas* in *LA*, s.v.) and, by extension, "a generous, able man" etc. It may be related to *ḵāmūs* (*oceanos*) and perhaps also to *calendas*, as A. Moberg has suggested (*An-Nasī' in der islam. Tradition*, Lund-Leipzig 1931, 44, 53-4).

*Bibliography*: in the article. (CH. PELLAT)

KĀLANDAR, name given to the members of a class of dervishes which existed formerly, especially in the 7th/13th century, in the Islamic world, within the area extending from Almalk in Turkestan in the east to Morocco in the west; they resembled, with some minor differences, the "hippies" of today, distinguishing themselves from other Muslims by adopting Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] doctrines and by their unconventional dress, behaviour and way of life. The origin of the term has not yet been established: it is first encountered in a *rubā'ī* of Baba Ṭāhir 'Uryānī (*JA*, 8th series, 1885, vi, 516) and in a short treatise entitled *Ḵalandar-nāma* (ed. Sulṭān Ḥusayn-i Ṭābanda-i Gunābādī, Tehran 1319, pp. 87-95) by the well-known *ṣūfī* 'Abd Allāh-i Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9).

It passed into Arabic in the form *karandal* (see Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, Berlin, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Ms. Orient, fol. 3145, f. 3a f.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 340) and *ḵalandar* (al-Nu'aymī, *Tanbih al-ḵālib wa irshād al-dāris*, al-Ṭandjī's Ms., f. 368b f.). The suggestions put forward that the word derives from Persian *kalandar* ("ugly and ungainly man"; "a whittled piece of wood put behind a door to stop it opening", *Burhān-i ḵātibī*, ed. M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1342, ii, 1680a), Persian *kalāntar* (from *kalān*, "large, great") (*ibid.*), or from Greek *kaletor*, from the root *kaleo* (Ivanov, *Truth-workers*, p. 60, note 1) are still no more than hypotheses (cf. *Burhān-i ḵātibī*, iii, 1540, editor's note 3). In Turkish, it came to mean "a dervish who has withdrawn from the world and who wanders about like a vagabond; a man who has renounced all worldly things and who has seen the truth, a philosopher" (see Sāmī, *Kāmūs-i Türkī*, Istanbul 1318, ii, 1081; cf. J. W. Redhouse, *Turkish-English dictionary*, Istanbul 1921, 1471).

There exists, especially in Turkish works, vivid and detailed information concerning the *kalandar's* outward appearance: they are depicted in the chapter on them in the *Ḵh'wāḡya-i Djihān wa natīḡya-i ḡlān*, by the 10th/16th-century Turkish writer Wāhidī (Istanbul University Library, Ms. TY 9504, f. 31b), as clean-shaven, with shaven eyebrows and heads, wearing a conical hat of woven hair and a yellow or black shawl, and carrying a drum and a standard (*'alam*); to this should be added the information concerning the appearance of the dervishes connected with the Abdālān-i Rūm and the Ṣamsī groups (cf. Wāhidī, *ibid.*, ff. 20a-21b).

In an illustration to Nicolas de Nicolay's *Les navigations* . . . (Lyons 1567) and reproduced in Blaise de Vigenère's translation (Paris 1612) of Chalcondyles, the *kalandar* is wearing a coarse garment of horse-hair which reaches only to just below the hips; his hair and face are completely clean-shaven; on his head is a felt hat with a horse-hair brim of one hand's length! He is wearing rings in his ears, on his wrists and on his genitals.

There were great similarities between the *kalandars* and the Ḥaydarī, Djāmī and Bektāshī sects,

which differed to some extent in their appearance and dress but had adopted the same way of life (Wāhidī, ff. 43a, 57b ff., 60a ff.; cf. *Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, no. 1, p. 52b; Fakiri, *Ta'rifāt*, Ist. Un. Lib., Ms. TY 3051, f. 13b). In Old Ottoman texts, the words *ışık* and *torlak* are used as equivalents of *kalandar* (*Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, p. 34a).

In the Punjab, the word *kalender* usually means "a trainer of performing monkeys" (see Rose, *Glossary of the tribes of Panjab and N. W. Frontier*, iii, 257).

*Bibliography*: In the text. (TAHSİN YAZICI)

**KALANDARIYYA**, name of a Muslim *ṭarīqa* and, earlier, name given to a (not strictly organized) movement, which probably began after the appearance of the Malāmītiyya [q.v.] (3rd/9th century) and whose adherents, holding in general to Malāmī doctrines, gave them a different interpretation; as manifested in the 7th/13th century, the movement was strongly under Buddhist influence (see M. Habib, *Chishti mystics* . . . in *Med. Ind. Qly.*, i/2 (1950), n. 1). The existence of the movement in *Khurāsān* in the 5th/11th century is clearly attested; its adherents then may have been Buddhist ascetics maintaining their Buddhist beliefs and way of life under a Muslim guise; alternatively, the (earlier) Malāmīs had been inspired by such Buddhist ascetics. Since the *kalandars* looked with envy at the way of life of these Indian ascetics (see *Khatib-i Fārisī*, *Manāḳib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāwī*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1972, 12), the second alternative is more likely. The movement was at first confined to individuals and to the eastern Islamic world (*Khurāsān*, *Turkestan*, etc.); its spread westward, in the early 7th/13th century, is due to the activities of *Djamāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī* (d. ca. 630/1223-3). Until his day the movement, like the Malāmītiyya, possessed general basic principles, but remained no more than a corpus of ideas; al-Sāwī, systematizing and adding to this corpus, produced in effect a new movement—so new, that in some sources (e.g., Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-*Khatib*, *Fuṣṭāt al-ʿadāla*, ed. O. Turan, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 555 ff.) he is represented as the founder not of the *Kalandariyya* but of the *Djawlaḳiyya* branch of the *Kalandariyya*. The history of the movement must therefore be treated in two phases, before and after al-Sāwī.

In the first phase, the basic principles of the movement consisted of a kind of existentialism. Whereas the Malāmātīs, without boasting or ostentation, carried out scrupulously God's commands, the *Kalandaris* sought to destroy all custom and tradition and to conceal their actions from public view (*Djāmī*, *Nafahāt*, Turkish tr. by Lāmiʿi, Istanbul 1289, 20; cf. al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif*, Cairo 1358/1939, 56-7, partial Eng. tr. in J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 267). Al-Suhrawardī's description is supported by the statements of *kalandars* in 'Abd Allāh-i Anṣārī's *Kalandar-nāma* (ed. Sultān Ḥusayn-i Ṭābanda-i Gunābādī, Tehran 1319 s., 87 ff.), which presents a system of thought advocating inner contentment, the unimportance of learning, the avoidance of all display, and contempt for the transient world and everything in it (*op. cit.*, pp. 88 f.).

In practically any society some individuals, naturally enough, will adopt such ideas; but their systematization was probably due to the influence of Indian ascetics. In the 3rd/9th century there were to be found in Mesopotamia and adjacent regions wandering non-Muslim ascetics, practising poverty, seeking uprightness (*ṣiḳk*), purification and sanctity, traveling in pairs and never spending two nights in

the same place (*Djābīz*, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 147; cf. I. Goldziher, *Le dogme et la loi de l'Islam*, Paris 1920, p. 133). It is very possible that Muslim ascetics, impressed by these holy men, looked for, and found, in the *Kurʿān* (e.g., X, 112) and in *ḥadīth* the authority to imitate them.

Apart from Anṣārī's *Kalandar-nāma*, no work is known which treats of the movement before the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the time when it attracted the attention of the whole Muslim world, no doubt because of the appearance of *Djamāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī*, with his unusual style of dress, and his attraction of adherents. He and his followers shaved the beard, the moustache, the eye-brows and the head; they wore a hair-cloth garment; and they regarded any action as licit. Such distinctive behaviour provoked reaction in some, attracted others, and caused them to be mentioned in several literary works. Al-Sāwī probably died in about 630/1232 (the birthdate 382/992-3 given in his *Manāḳib* (ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1972, intr. p. iv, text p. 5; cf. M. F. Köprülü-zāde, *Andolu'da islāmīyet*, offprint from *EFM*, p. 52) is to be rejected). The name *djawlaḳiyya* presumably arose from the founder's distinctive garb (Pers. *djawlaḳh*, "sack-cloth"). The *Djawlaḳiyya* (under that name) had penetrated into Anatolia in the first half of the 7th/13th century (see O. Turan, *loc. cit.* above; cf. *Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī*, *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, i, 18). Convents of the movement were found principally in Anatolia and Egypt, but the movement itself spread as far as the *Maghrib* and India (see Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāḳī, *Ushshāḳ-nāma*, ed. and tr. A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1939, 2-26; cf. Dawlat-shāh, pp. 215 f.; *Djāmī*, *Nafahāt*, Turk. tr., p. 671).

*Kalandars* were numerous in Syria and Egypt in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, and their unconventional behaviour occasionally produced a reaction from the authorities: thus in 761/1360 the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir obliged them to adopt normal dress. They were found in Anatolia in the first half of the 7th/13th century (cf. Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿarīfīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, ii, 596; Fr. tr. Huart, ii, 100; cf. O. Turan, *op. cit.*, p. 561), and in the Ottoman period (they were active until the 12th/18th century) are referred to also under other names: *Abdālān-i Rum*, *Shamsiyyān*, etc. "*Abdālīs*" are recorded from the early 8th/14th century (see, e.g., the *Vildiyetnāme* of Hādīdjī Bektāsh, ed. A. Gölpınarlı, Istanbul 1958, 46). In the 10th/16th century, attacks on such dervish-groups began: a certain Wāhidī wrote his *Khawādja-i Dihān wa Natidja-i Djān* (in the press, ed. T. Yazıcı) as a condemnation of the adherents of ten *ṭarīqas* of this type; and in the next century, when they were still active, Karakāsh-zāde 'Umar Ef. produced a modernized redaction of Wāhidī's work (*Nūr al-hudā li-man ihtadā*, Istanbul 1286). When later authors (e.g., Harīrī-zāde Kemāl al-Dīn, *Wasā'il al-hakā'ik fi bayān salāsīl al-ṭarā'ik*, Ms. Fatih 432, ff. 74 v. ff.) allege that the *Kalandariyya* derives from the Mawlawiyya, they are misled by the fact that the dress of the *Shamsiyya*, a branch of the Mawlawiyya, resembled that of the *Kalandars*. In Anatolia *Kalandars* are also called *ışık* and *torlak*.

In Iran the usual name was *Kalandar* (*Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, p. 34). In the *Şafawid* period they were numerous, especially around Ardabil (A. Olearius, *Vermehrte . . . Reisebeschreibung*, n. p. 1656, 685).

The movement was firmly established in India as early as the reign of *Iltutmush* (607/1210-633/1236) see M. Habib, in *Med. Ind. Qly.*, i/2 (1950), 3). In the 7th/13th century *Kalandar*-type dervishes came



to Delhi, and aroused curiosity by their odd behaviour (Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rikh-i Firuz-shāhī*, Calcutta 1860-2, 202); especially in the Punjab and in Sind they influenced such personalities as Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāki (d. 686/1287-8), Amīr Husaynī (d. 718/1318-9) and Shāhbāz Kalandar ('Uthmān-i Marandī, d. 724/1324). They had convents in the neighbourhood of Delhi. They flourished particularly in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 560), but were later absorbed into other orders (C. A. Storey, *Persian literature*, i/2, 1036).

Doctrines. Influenced by Hindu and Buddhist (especially Mahayana and Sangha) traditions, the Kalandariyya were distinguished from other Muslim orders by the following features: (1) The shaving of the head, eye-brows and face (especially after the time of al-Sāwī) in order fully to reveal the beauty of the face. (2) The wearing of a *khirka*; in India the usual garb was a blanket over the body and a blanket or a cotton sash round the waist (*Khayr al-maǧālīs*, no. xxxviii; *Siyar al-ʿarifin*, p. 119; *Manāḥib-i Khwādja-i Dihān*, quoted in *Manāḥib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, intr. p. xi); (3) The wearing round the neck and on the arms of iron rings called *ḥaydariyya* (*Fawā'id al-fuwād*, 25 *Djumādā* I, 708). (4) Austerities and seclusion were not considered important, and they were lax in following the obligatory precepts and practices of Islam, usually refraining from engaging in worship (Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, iv, 301), or at least in corporate worship (*Siyar al-ʿarifin*, p. 97). (5) They usually subsisted on charity, owned nothing but a few personal possessions, and did not marry. They were notorious for their coarse behaviour (Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*). The adherent should remain unmoved by any ill-treatment and never feel sorrow or grief; he should be satisfied with one morsel of food and one garment; he should absolutely eschew hypocrisy (*riyāʿ*); he should despise all precious objects; he should remain aloof from the mass of the population and always be on the move; and he should always love a beautiful countenance (*Manāḥib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, intr. pp. xii f.). In spite of the obligation to keep on the move, some *kalandars* did settle in convents, in Egypt and Syria and (e.g., in the 7th/13th century) in Konya (Aflāki, *loc. cit.*).

*Bibliography*: Further to references in the text: Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, Būlāk 1870, ii, 332 f.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 61-4; Farīḥī, *Ta'rikh-i Hind*, Bombay 1831, ii, 774; *Burhān-i Kātibī*, ed. M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1342 s., iii, 1540, 1670; A. Olearius, *Persianischer Rosenthal*, Schleswig 1654, book 8, § 67; de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*, i, 263 ff.; *Notes et Extr.*, xii, 341; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iv, 664; J. P. Brown, *The Darvishes*, ed. H. A. Rose, London 1927; A. le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 253 ff.; R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, 216; F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 94 n.; J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 264-9.

(TAHSİN YAZICI)

**KALANSUWA** [see **LIBĀS**].

**KALĀNTAR** (Pers. *kalān*, "big, great") is used in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries to mean "leader" (cf. Hāfiẓ Abrū, *Cinq opuscules de Hāfiẓ-i Abrū concernant l'histoire de l'Iran au temps de Tamerlan*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1959, 7; Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh-i mu'īnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 257, 258, 261), and occurs especially with reference to the tribal and military classes. The phrase *il va ulūs va kalāntarān va sar khaylān va aʿrāb va aḥshām va farīḥ-i Balūḥ* is found in a document dated 874/1470 issued by Uzun Ḥasan for the

government of Khurāsān and Transoxania (*Asnād va mukātabāt-i ta'rikhī-i Irān*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, Tehran 1962, 322), in which *kalāntarān* clearly means tribal leaders (cf. also the phrase *kalāntarān va iūshmalān va sar khaylān-i il va ulūsāt* in a farman of Shāh Ṣafī dated 1043/1634, *Yak ṣad o pāndjāh asnād-i ta'rikhī*, ed. D. Jahāngīr Kā'im-maḳāmlī, Tehran 1969, 44). From the late 9th/15th century onwards *kalāntar* designates (i) an official belonging to the "civil" hierarchy in charge of a town or district or the ward of a town, (ii) the head of a guild, and (iii) the head of a tribe or sub-tribe. In its first sense, which is now obsolete, the term *kalāntar* sometimes overlapped or was synonymous with *ra'īs*, *dārūgha* [q.v.], and *hadkhudā*. The use of the term *kalāntar* for the head of a guild is rare, but is attested in two documents, one dated 928/1522 for the *kalāntar* of the singers and musicians of the empire (Hādīdī Ḥusayn Nakhḍiāvānī, *Dhayl-i Ḥabīb al-siyar ta'līf-i Maḥmūd b. Ghīyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr*, in *Nashriyya-i dānishkada-i adabiyāt-i Tabriz*, x/3 (1958), 246-7), and the other for the *kalāntar* of the *nakhkārakhāna* in the *Sharafnāma* of 'Abd Allāh Marwārid (H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, fol. 20b ff.). As a tribal term *kalāntar* is still current and is common among the tribes of Fārs and Kūhgīliya, and among the Bakhtiyārī.

As the head of a town or district the *kalāntar* held a position of respect similar to that of the *ra'īs* in the Saldjūq period, though it must not be assumed that the *kalāntar* necessarily carried out the same functions everywhere or that his status was always the same. He was, like the earlier *ra'īs*, the link between the government and the taxpayers and his main duty was to reconcile the interests of the two parties. In some cases he received his appointment from the ruler (cf. the appointment of a village *kalāntar* by Timūr mentioned by J. Aubin, *Un santon Quhistānī de l'époque Timouride*, in *REI* (1967), 211). The analogy between the *kalāntar* and the *ra'īs*, however, must not be pressed too far. Under the Ṣafawids, the *kalāntar* was more fully integrated into the official hierarchy than had been the *ra'īs* in Saldjūq times. In the case of Iṣfahān and some of the major towns, the *kalāntar* received his appointment from the shah. Iskandar Beg, referring to the appointment of a certain Adham Beg as *kalāntar* of Tabriz in 1015/1606-7, states that this office was "among the most important affairs" (*az mu'zamāt-i umūr*) (*Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, ii, 725). Muḥammad Muḥfid also mentions that the office of *kalāntar* was "among the high offices" (*az manāḥib-i 'aliyya*) (*Djāmi'-i Muḥfidī*, ed. Irādī Afshār, Tehran, iii, 244).

In Ṣafawid times the *kalāntar* of Iṣfahān held a position of eminence and was reckoned among the notables (*ashraf wa a'yān*). Together with the *wazīr* of Iṣfahān, he was authorized to designate the heads of the districts, subject to the agreement of two-thirds of the population concerned, and the heads of the craft guilds (Mīrzā Rafī'ā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dāniṣh-pazhūh in *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, Univ. of Tehran*, xvii/4, 421-2). His functions were primarily concerned with the assessment and collection of taxes. In the first three months of the year, he would appoint a tax collector (*muḥassīl*), assemble the heads of the craft guilds and the heads of the districts or wards of the city and send them to the *nakhīb al-ashraf*, who would transmit to them a statement of their tax quota. After the members of the different guilds and the inhabitants of the different districts had, with the

approval of the *kadhūdās*, allocated this among their members and the inhabitants of the districts respectively and the documents recording this had been signed by the *naḥīb*, these would be brought to the *kalāntar* for his signature and would be registered by the *muḥaṣṣis-i mamlakat*, who kept a register of the break-down of the taxes among the individual taxpayers belonging to the guilds and districts. The *muḥaṣṣis-i mamlakat* was, in effect, the *kalāntar*'s clerk and appointed with his approval. The seal of the *kalāntar* was required on orders for the payment of drafts made on the taxes of the guild or districts.

It was also the duty of the *kalāntar* to investigate and decide any disputes which might occur between the guilds or the inhabitants of a district concerning their trade, business, or activities and to prevent them exercising tyranny or oppression against one another. A number of attendants belonging to the *diwān* (*mulāzimān-i diwān*) were allocated to him to act as his subordinates to perform the various tasks which were referred to him by the *diwān* (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 421-2, 427, xvi/5-6, 549; see also *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. and explained by V. Minor-sky, GMS, 1943, Persian text, fol. 76a ff.). He received wages, allocated on the taxes, and dues which he collected annually from the guilds according to custom (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 422). Dues levied for the *kalāntar* (*Kalāntārī*, *rusūm-i kalāntārī*, *marṣūm-i kalāntār*) are also attested in Āḳ Ḳoynulū documents (see text of a *suyūrghāl* granted by Rustam Beg dated 902/1496 and a grant of immunities from Aḥmad Beg dated 903/1497, given by J. Aubin in *Arch. persanes commentées 12, Note préliminaire sur les archives du Takya du Tchima-rud*, Tehran 1955, 6, and A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, Oxford 1953, 103, for a document dated 904/1498-9 for a *suyūrghāl* from Amīr Alvand Āḳ Ḳoynulū).

The *kalāntar* of Iṣfahān had certain functions in connection with the reception of foreign envoys, and was consulted by the *mihmāndārbāshī* and the *wazīr* over the designation of their lodgings (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 427; cf. also a document dated 1130/1717 from Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, instructing the *diwānbeḡi*, vizier, *kalāntar*, and officials of Iṣfahān to hand over to a certain Frenchman the house in which he was to live, H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 229). When Humāyūn, the Great Moghul, came to Ḳazwīn during the reign of Tahmāsp he lodged with the *kalāntar* *Khwādja* 'Abd al-Ghanī *Djalādātī* (Iskandar Beg, *Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 98). Tavernier, when he arrived in Iṣfahān in 1664, was met by the *kalāntar* of the Armenians, who was ordered to provide him with men to transport the presents he had brought for inspection at the court (*Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 116).

The duties which the *kalāntar* performed on behalf of the government were only one aspect of his functions. He was also, in the words of the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, the representative of the people (*wakīl-i ra'āyā*). As such, it was his responsibility to present their affairs to the shah and others in authority, to remove tyranny and oppression which might afflict them, and to see that the orders and regulations issued by the guilds concerning their business and work were carried out. Similarly, he was required to be present on occasions when measures were taken affecting the interests of the people, as, for example, when claims for a reduction of taxation after some natural calamity were examined by the *rayyā'* (surveyor), or when disputes over the use of the water

of the Zāyandarūd were investigated (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/5-6, 552).

The population probably had greater influence on the appointment of the *kalāntar* in the provinces than in the capital. A document dated Rabī' I 1107/1695 for the dismissal of a certain *Khwādja* Muḥammad Taḳī, the *kalāntar* of Gilān-i Biyā Pas (Rašt and its dependencies), and the appointment of *Khwādja* Muḥammad Sa'īd as his successor, states that the *wazīr*, deputy *wazīr* and *mustawfī* of Gilān-i Biyā Pas, the local *shaykh al-islām* and the *wazīr* of the *buyūtāt-i khāṣṣa* had investigated the dissatisfaction of the *kadhūdās*, taxpayers (*arbāb-i bunīca*), and people of the province with *Khwādja* Muḥammad Taḳī and their wish that *Khwādja* Muḥammad Sa'īd, the former *kalāntar*, should be reappointed. The document records that they had reported that only 469 persons had expressed their satisfaction with *Khwādja* Muḥammad Taḳī as *kalāntar*, while 2,127 persons had signified their desire for the reappointment of *Khwādja* Muḥammad Sa'īd; of these 983 had complained against *Khwādja* Muḥammad Taḳī, while the rest had merely stated their support for the appointment of *Khwādja* Muḥammad Sa'īd. In the light of this, the latter was reappointed *kalāntar* and the population of the province were instructed not to oppose him in anything which he considered would contribute to the ease of the people or increase the revenue of the *diwān*. The document states that the *wazīr* and *mustawfī* were not to make allocations on the revenue or interfere without his knowledge or permission (or that of the officials he might appoint). It was his responsibility to make charges on the revenue in accordance with the details received from the *diwān* and to send to the *diwān* at the end of the year a statement of these charges and of the taxes and dues and their allocation among the individual taxpayers together with the relevant documents and receipts duly sealed. He was also given general oversight of the purchase of silk from Gilān by the royal administration, and had a watching brief over matters connected with law and order: disputes between the people were to be decided by the *dārūgha* in his presence or that of the officials he appointed (*Bar-rasīhā-yi ta'rīkhī*, Tehran, iii/2, 80-2; also in *Yak šad o pandjāh sanad-i ta'rīkhī*, op. cit., 54). An undated *farmān* issued by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in favour of Amīr Muḥammad Zamān b. Amīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn, after establishing the hereditary claim of Amīr Muḥammad Zamān to the office of *kalāntar* of some of the provinces (*walāyāt*) of Sīstān and mentioning that the claim of his grandfather Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min had been recognized in Ramaḡān 1068/June-July 1658, subject to two-thirds of those whose names were on the tax-roll (*bunīca*) being agreeable to his holding the office of *kalāntar*, appoints him to that office, provided his appointment is also supported by two-thirds of the people. His duties were similar to those of the *kalāntar* of Gilān-i Biyā Pas, except that he did not have special duties in connection with the silk trade (*Asnād-i khāndān-i Kalāntārī-i Sīstān in Barrasīhā-yi ta'rīkhī*, Tehran, iv/5-6, 12-14). Cf. also two diplomas for the office of *kalāntar* of Tabrīz issued by Karīm *Khān* Zand, dated 1764 and 1773 respectively, which show that the wishes of the inhabitants were considered in the appointment of the *kalāntar*, at least in theory. Nādir Mīrzā, *Ta'rīkh va Djuḡhrāfiyā-yi dār al-saltāna-i Tabrīz*, Tehran lith., 1905, 291 ff.)

In the smaller towns also the *kalāntar* was the spokesman of the people and could sometimes make his voice heard. For example when the *kalāntar* of

Sāva and the people of that region complained to Shāh 'Abbās in 999/1590-1 of the tyranny and exactions of Shāh Kūlī Sulţān, the Turkoman governor, he was replaced by Gandī 'Alī Khān (Kāfī Aḥmad Kūmmī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. H. Muller, Wiesbaden 1964, Persian text, 90). Several European observers in the 17th century state that the *kalāntar*'s function was to defend the people against the injustice and extortion of the government (cf. Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890, 36; Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse*, 260; Corneille le Brun, *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes orientales*, Amsterdam 1718, i, 209).

The *kalāntar* of the Armenians of New Djuġfā outside Isfahān, where Shāh 'Abbās established an Armenian colony, was an important and influential official in Şafawid times. He was normally an Armenian. His functions were similar to those of the *kalāntar* in other towns or districts of towns (see further H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kansleiwesen*, 138 ff.; J. Carswell, *New Julfa*, Oxford 1968, 78). An official known as the *kalāntar* was also well-known in Georgia in the 17th and 18th centuries and his functions seem broadly to have corresponded to those of the *kalāntar* in Persian towns (cf. Joseph Karst, *Le Code de Vakhtang VI, Commentaire historique-comparatif*, in *Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici*, Strasbourg 1937, iii, 564).

Usually, the *kalāntar* was a local man, and as with many other local officials there was a strong hereditary tendency in his office. Occasionally the *kalāntar* of one city might be transferred to another, but this was rare. Sometimes the *kalāntar* held some other office as well (cf. the case of Muḥammad Şāliḥ Beg, a Tabrizī, who died in 1031/1621-2, after having been at one time *waṣīr* of Şhīrwān and later *waṣīr* and *kalāntar* of Kūmm; Iskandar Beg, *Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsi*, ii, 991).

The fact that the *kalāntar*, while acting as the spokesman of the people, was also integrated into the official hierarchy made it easy for him, as soon as the hand of the central government was removed, to use the power and influence which he held as a government official to assert his independence. In the 18th century the *kalāntars* and *kadhkhudās* of the cities and towns often emerged as local leaders in times of crisis. One such was Ḥādīdī Ibrāhīm, whose father Ḥādīdī Ḥāshim had been *kadhkhudābāshī* of the Ḥaydarī quarters of Şhīrāz under Nādir Shāh. He became *kalāntar* of Şhīrāz after the death of 'Alī Murād Khān Zand and continued to hold this office under Luţf 'Alī, and in 1205/1791, when the latter absented himself from Şhīrāz in an abortive attempt to seize Isfahān, took possession of the city, to surrender it in due course to Ākā Muḥammad Khān Kādjār, whose *şadr-i a'zam* he later became. Amīn al-Dawla, one of Faţḥ 'Alī Shāh's first ministers, was also, at the beginning of his career, *kadhkhudā* of one of the districts of Isfahān and later *kalāntar* of the city.

Sir John Malcolm, writing in the early 19th century, states that "the Kalantar, or chief magistrate of the city, and the Kut-khodahs, or magistrates of the different wards, though nominated by the king, must be selected from the most respectable inhabitants. . . Although these officers are not formally elected, the voice of the people always points them out: and if the king should appoint a magistrate disagreeable to the citizens, he could not perform his duties, which require all the weight he derives from personal consideration to aid the authority of office" (*History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 324-5). James

Morier, about the same time, states that a *kalāntar* besides "the real governor resides in every city, town and village and superintends the collection of the tribute". His account shows that there was a marked continuity of practice in the office of *kalāntar*. He states, "The *Kelounter* is a man of consequence wherever he presides; he is an officer of the crown, and once a year appears before the Royal presence, an honour which is not permitted to the *Ket Khoda*. He also receives wages from the King's treasury, which the *Ket Khoda* does not. The *Kelounter* is the medium through which the wishes and wants of the people are made known to the King: he is their chief and representative on all occasions, and brings forward the complaints of the *Rayats*, wherever they feel oppressed. He also knows the riches of every *Rayat*, and his means of rendering the annual tribute: he therefore regulates the quota that every man must pay; and if his seal is not affixed to the document which the *Rayat* brings forward in the time of the levy, the assessment is not valid, and the sum cannot be received" (*A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 235-6).

From about the middle of the 19th century, as the central government extended its operations, the office of *kalāntar* lost its importance. Its financial functions were largely taken over by officials of the ministry of finance. The *kalāntar* continued, however, under the governor, to have some responsibility for local affairs, the guilds, and, to some extent, public order, but his duties and influence varied from place to place (cf. E. Aubin, *La Perse*, Paris 1908, 37, 38, 51). With the grant of the constitution in 1906 and the adoption of modern forms of government, the office of *kalāntar* lapsed, its various surviving functions being taken over by municipal and police officials. During the reign of Riḍā Shāh, the term *kalāntari* became the official designation of a police-station.

*Bibliography*: see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The office of kalāntar under the Safawids and Afshars*, in *Mélanges Massé*, ed. 'Alī Akbar Siyassi, Tehran 1963, 206-18; W. M. Floor, *The office of kalāntar in Qājār Persia*, in *JESHO*, xiv, iii (1971), 253-68; Mirzā Muḥammad Kalāntar-i Fārs, *Rūznāma*, ed. 'Abbās Ikbāl, Tehran 1946. (Mirzā Muḥammad was made *kalāntar* of Fārs by Karīm Khān (54). The *Rūznāma* contains a number of references to *kalāntars* in southern Persia between the years 1142/1729-30 and 1199/1784-5).

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

AL-KALAŞĀDĪ, ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-KURASHĪ AL-BASTĪ, Muslim mathematician, jurist and scholar, born in Baza (Basta) in Spain, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. He studied in his native town, following 'Alī b. Mūsā's courses in law, Qur'ān exegesis, *belles-lettres* and the science of the fixed shares in an estate (*farā'id* [q.v.]). Afterwards he settled in Granada, where Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. Futūḥ and the *imām* 'Abd Allāh al-Sarakuṣṭī were his teachers. The specialised teachings of the former were oriented towards philosophy, science and philology, while the latter's courses introduced him further in Muslim law. From Granada he set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, sojourning in the most important cities of the Maghrib and Egypt, where he met the outstanding authorities in *belles-lettres* and science. In his *Riḥla*, some extracts of which are preserved in Aḥmad Bābā's [q.v.] *Nayl al-ibtihādī*, he gives a list of these scholars, together with interesting biographical and bibliographical

information: thus at Tlemcen he met al-Kāsim b. Sa'īd al-ʿUqbānī (d. 854/1450) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Zāghū (d. 849/1445), both of whom had a great influence on him and acquainted him with the methods of arithmetic and their application to the problems of the *farā'id*. In Egypt he attended the lectures of Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-Asḳalānī (in 852/1448). Having returned from his pilgrimage, al-Kalāshādī settled in Granada, consecrating his life to teaching and editing his numerous works. Of his pupils, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mallālī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sanūsī, and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Balawī may be mentioned. The political and military situation was, however, deteriorating: the united houses of Aragon and Castile decided to launch the final attack against the last Muslim stronghold in Spain. Courageously, al-Kalāshādī exerted himself in trying to organize resistance, but he was soon forced to join the Andalusian hordes of refugees that were spreading over the Maghrib. He died in Ifrīkiya at Bedja, on 15 Dhū 'l-Hiǧǧidja 891/10 December 1486.

Al-Kalāshādī was a prolific author on widely-varying topics, some of whose works enjoyed considerable renown both in East and West. He was certainly a compiler, but distinguished himself by the carefulness of his composition and the multiplicity of personal examples. In his mathematical works, one notices the first use of a symbolization which he uses quite extensively in the presentation and writing down of equations, sc. the use of the letter *sh* (abbreviation of *shay'*) to represent the unknown (*x*), of the letter *m* (for *māl*) =  $x^2$ , of *k* (for *ka'b*) =  $x^3$ , of *l* (for *ta'dīl*) to represent the symbol =, of *dj* (for *djadhr*) =  $\sqrt{\quad}$ . Al-Kalāshādī's commentary on Ibn al-Bannā' al-Marrākūshī's [q.v.] *Talkhīṣ* contains a fairly advanced formula for finding the approximate square root. Finally, attention may be drawn to a rational classification of the fractions by him and an exhaustive study of arithmetical procedures [see AL-KASR]. Here follows a list of his works:

Arithmetic and algebra: 1. *Ghūnyat dhawī 'l-albāb fī sharḥ Kashf al-djilbāb*, MS. Tunis 14554; 2. *Inkīshāf al-djilbāb ʿan funūn al-hisāb*, MSS. Alex. Hisāb, 4; Br. M. 418, 903<sub>2</sub> (see M. Ben Cheneb and É. Lévi-Provençal, in *R. Afr.*, 1922); 3. *Kānūn al-hisāb wa-ghūnyat dhawī 'l-albāb*, MS. Berlin 5995, lx. 8534; 4. *Kashf al-asrār (astār) ʿan ʿilm (hurūf) al-ghubār*, MSS. Paris 2473, 5350; Tunis 168 R, 402 R, 3292, 2934, 4775; Algiers 399, 17, 1448, 9; Rabat 455, 456; Brill 295, 532; Beirut 239; several MSS. in the collection of the author. The text has been published in Cairo (1309/1891) and Fez (1315/1897); 5. *Kashf al-djilbāb ʿan ʿilm al-hisāb*, MSS. Paris 2463, 13; Cairo I v, 178; Esc. 2853, 4; Br. M. 418, 903<sub>12</sub>; Woepcke, in *JA*, I (1854); Tunis 2054; Tetouan, 227; 6. *Risāla fī maʿānī 'l-ḥasr wa-'l-basf*, MS. Tunis, 2039; 7. *Risāla fī maʿrifat istiḥrāḍi al-murakkab wa-'l-basf*, MS. Tunis 2043; 8. *Sharḥ al-Urdjūza al-yasminīyya*, MS. Br. M. 621; another MS. in the collection of the author; 9. *Sharḥ dhawāt al-asmāʿ*, MS. Rabat 456; several MSS. in the collection of the author; 10. *Sharḥ Talkhīṣ Ibn al-Bannāʿ*, MS. S. 331; Paris 2464; 11. *Tabṣīrat al-mubtadī bi-'l-ḳalam al-hindī*, MS. Rampur, I, 409, 3; Tunis 2043 (copy, dated 1020); 12. *Al-Tabṣīra al-Wādīḳa fī masāʾil al-aʿdād al-laʾiḳa*, MS. Tunis 2049.

The fixed shares: 1. *Bughyat al-muhtadī (sic) wa-ghūniyat al-muntahī*, *Mard.* 340. Published in Fez. No doubt one should read *al-mubtadī*, as is clear from a copy in my private collection; 2. *al-Darūri fī ʿilm al-mawārith*, quoted in *al-Aʿlām*, V, 163; 3.

*al-Kullīyyāt fī 'l-farā'id*, with commentary, MS. Tunis 418; 5. *Lubāb Taḳrīb al-mawārith wa-muntahā 'l-ukūl (ḳawl) al-bawāḥith*, MS. in the coll. of the author; 5. *al-Mustawfi li-masāʾil al-ḳawfi*, quoted in the *Nayl*, 208; 6. *Sharḥ al-farā'id* of Ibn Ḥaǧǧib, of al-ʿAttābiyya, of the *Talkhīn*, of the chapters regarding the *farā'id* of *Ḳhallī's Mukhtasar*, quoted in the *Nayl*, 208; 7. Two *sharḥs* of the *Tilīm-sāniyya*, S. I, 666; 8. *Taḳrīb al-mawārith wa-tanbīh al-bawāʿith*, quoted in the preface of the *Bughyat al-mubtadī*.

Mālikī law, ḥadīth, apologetics concerning the Prophet. The *Nayl al-ibtihādī* gives a long list of works, the greater part of which has not come down to us: 1. *Ashraf al-masālik ilā madhhab Mālik*, quoted in *al-Aʿlām*; 2. *Hiḍāyat al-ānām fī sharḥ Kawāʿid al-Islām*; 3. *Sharḥ al-Burda*; 4. *Sharḥ Hikam Ibn ʿAtāʾ Allāh*; 5. *Sharḥ al-Anwār al-saniyya fī 'l-ḥadīth*; 6. *Sharḥ Lubb al-ashār*, MS. Br. II, 378; 7. *Sharḥ Mukhtasar Khalīl*; 8. *Sharḥ Radjāz Ibn Barri*; 9. *Sharḥ Radjāz Abi ʿAmr b. Manzūr fī asmāʾ al-Rasūl*; 10. *Sharḥ Radjāz al-Ḳurtubī*; 11. *Sharḥ al-Risāla*.

Grammar, prosody, etc.: 1. *Ghūnyat al-muḥāt*, with commentary; 2. *Sharḥ al-Djarrūmiyya*; 3. *Sharḥ al-Djūmal* (of Zaǧǧidjādī); 4. *Sharḥ Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*; 5. *Mukhtasar fī 'l-ʿarūd*; 6. *Sharḥ al-Khazradjīyya*; 7. Commentary on the *Eisagoge*; 8. *Sharḥ* of the *urdjūza* of Ibn Futūḥ on the constellations; 9. *Rihla*.

*Bibliography*: Brockelmann, S II, 378; Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, 141-3; Ibn al-Kādi, *Durrat al-ḥidāi*, II, 445; Maḳḳārī, *Nafḥ al-ṣīb*, II, 684; Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw al-lāmiʿ*, 5, 14; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maḥbūʿāt*, 1519; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-ʿiḳyān*, 131; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādī*, 208; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, V, 163.—S. Enestrom, *Sur une formule d'approximation des racines carrées donnée par Alkalasadi*, in *Bibl. Math.* (1886), 236-9; Colin, in *JA*, ccxxii; F. Hoefer, *Histoire des mathématiques depuis leurs origines jusqu'au commencement du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1874, 302; J. A. Sanchez Perez, *La aritmetica en Roma, en India y en Arabia*, Madrid-Granada 1949, 105; id., *Biografias de matematicos arabes que florecieron en España*, Madrid 1917; Woepcke, *Traduction du traité d'arithmétique d'Alkalasadi*, in *Actes Ac. Lincei*, xii (1859).

(M. SOUSSI)

#### KALĀT [see BALŪCISTĀN].

**KAL'AT AYYŪB**, now Calatayud, a fortress town in the Upper March (*al-Thaḡhr al-aʿlā*) to the south-west of Saragossa, built near the site of the ancient Bilbilis (Laba in Yāḳūt); it took its name from the tābiʿ Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī, a wālī who succeeded ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Situated 25 miles from Tudela and 50 miles from Medinaceli and Saragossa, the town possessed fertile, well-watered lands with orchards of figs and many fruit trees, yielding a wide variety of produce which was sold at moderate prices. According to al-Bakrī, the local mountains produced a gum-resin (*murr*) of good quality. A type of ceramic with a golden glaze was manufactured in the town and exported. Al-Idrīsī included the *balad* of Kal'at Ayyūb in the *iklīm* of Arnedo (Arnit), along with Daroca, Huesca, Saragossa and Tudela, but in al-Bakrī's opinion it must have come under the last-named place for administrative purposes; according to al-Maḳḳārī, Molina was its *madīna*. The territory of Kal'at Ayyūb suffered from incidents arising from the behaviour of two powerful families who were not always subject to Cordoba, the Banū Ḳasī (*muwallad*) and the

Banu 'l-Muhâdjir or Tudjibis (Arab). According to al-'Udhri, the amir Muḥammad rebuilt Kal'at Ayyüb in 248/862. Under the domination of the Tudjibis, it was compelled on several occasions to submit to Cordoba during the caliphate. In the 5th/11th century it was ruled by Sulaymân b. Hüd who, on his death, left the town to his son Muḥammad, but the latter swiftly handed it over to his brother Ahmad, lord of Saragossa. It is reasonable to suppose that Kal'at Ayyüb was under the control of the Almoravids at least from 503/1109, and it remained in their possession until 25 Rabi' I 514/24 June 1120, when it was captured by Alfonso I of Aragón. The Muslims who stayed on in Calatayud after the Christian conquest formed a community living alongside Christians and Jews; they must have been far superior in numbers. The Jalón valley, where Calatayud is situated, was one of the regions of Aragón where there was a strong concentration of Moriscos.

*Bibliography:* E. Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne" d'Ahmad al-Râsi*, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953), 77, 78; Idrîsî, *Maghrib*, 176, 189, 190 in text, 211, 230 in tr.; 'Udhri, *al-Masâlik ilâ djami' al-mamâlik*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ahwâni, Madrid 1965, index; Bakrî, *al-Masâlik wa'l-mamâlik*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmân 'Alî al-Hâdjidjî, Beirut 1968, 91, 127; Yâkût, iv, 163; *Marâsid*, II, 141; Ḥimyarî, *al-Rawd al-Mi'târ*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1938, 163 in text, 195-6 in tr.; Makkarî, *Analectes*, i, 90, 103; Ibn 'Idhârî, iii, 222, iv, ed. Ihsân 'Abbâs, Beirut 1967, 44, 54, 55, 144; Ibn al-Khaṭîb, *A'mâl*, Beirut 1956, 171; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 404, 465; F. Codera, *Los tochtibes en España. Noticias de esta familia tomadas de Aben-hazam, Nuevas noticias acerca de los tochtibes and Noticias acerca de los Benihud, reyes de Zaragoza, Lérida, Calatayud y Tudela*, in *Estudios críticos de historia árabe española*, Saragossa 1903, 323-72; J. M. Lacarra, *La reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro*, in *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país*, Saragossa 1951, 39-83; H. Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, Paris 1959.

(J. BOSCH-VILÀ)

**KAL'AT BANİ 'ABBÄS**, a town in Algeria in the Bîbân mountains, about 35 km. northwest of Bordj Bû 'Arridj. Situated at an altitude of about 1050 m., the town stands in a strategic position on a plateau surrounded on three sides by sheer ravines from about 500-600 m. in depth, its only link with the surrounding country being a narrow strip of ground bordered by precipices. The town is divided into four quarters which in the past were frequently in conflict with one another, and one of these is now almost in ruins. It is the most important centre of the Banü 'Abbäs tribe, whose ill-defined territory extends from the Oued Sahel to the Medjana. Its inhabitants were once renowned for the making of woollen burnouses which they used to sell throughout Algeria and Tunisia; in the Tell towns, another occupation was embroidering burnouses. At the present day, many of the inhabitants are leaving their homes, mainly to go to France.

Kal'a was founded in the second half of the 9th/15th century by the marabout Sidî 'Abd al-Rahmân, who is said to have established a *sâwiya* on the rock of Kal'a and to have placed himself at the head of the Banü 'Abbäs in their rising against the Zwâwa, of whom they had hitherto been tributaries. His son Ahmad erected a *ḥaṣba*, proclaiming himself sultan, and extended his authority over the country lying between the Hoḍna and the sea (the kingdom of Labès, of Marmol). 'Abd al-'Aziz, his successor,

further increased his power with the aid of the Turks, whom he supported against the Kabyles of Kükü and helped in their expeditions against the Moroccans and the people of Tuggürt and Wârgla. The breakdown of this alliance (1552) led to fighting between the Turks and the Banü 'Abbäs which continued until the end of the 10th/16th century. Though besieged on various occasions during this period, Kal'a could never be taken. After the death of 'Abd al-'Aziz, who was killed while defending his capital, his son Amokkrân took power. The latter defended his territory as far as the Sahara, repulsed several attacks by the Turks, and died while fighting against them (1600); his son Sidî Nâsir, a man of the *sâwiya* rather than a warrior, aroused the displeasure of the Banü 'Abbäs, who assassinated him. At this, the kingdom of Kal'a ceased to exist and the town became no more than the family citadel of Sidî Nâsir. By the 12th/18th century, the town had declined swiftly: "the country is without a master", wrote al-Warṭhîlânî, "the people are in revolt against God, His Prophet and His laws". Protected by its unassailable position, it remained independent until the French conquest. It served as a place of refuge for opponents of the Turks and for members of the great Muslim families who, in time of war, brought their grain and their valuables there for safe keeping, entrusting them to private persons. The honesty of these trustees was proverbial. Thus, amidst the disorders which laid waste the land, Kal'a enjoyed the benefits of a real neutrality. The tomb of Sidî Ahmad, the son of 'Abd al-Rahmân and ancestor of the Ūlâd Muḥkrân, was an object of veneration in the 18th century. It was also in Kal'a that Muḥkrânî, the leader of the 1871 revolt, was buried.

*Bibliography:* Warṭhîlânî, *Nuzhat al-Anzâr*, Arabic text ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1908, 4, 8, 11, 28, 36; Carotte, *Études sur la Kabylie*, Paris 1848, ii; Daumas and Fabar, *La Grande Kabylie*, Algiers-Paris 1847, ch. xiii; Berbrugger, *Les Époques militaires de la Grande Kabylie*, Algiers 1857, 79-86, 91-104; Ch. Féraud, *Les Mogrâni seigneurs de la Medjana*, in *Notices et mémoires de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine*, 1871, and *Histoire des Villes de la Province de Constantine (Sétif, Bordj bou Arreridj, Mesila, Bou Saada)*, Constantine 1872; L. Rinn, *L'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, Algiers 1891, intro; S. A. Boulifa, *Le Djurdjura à travers l'histoire*, Algiers 1925; M. Hadj-Sadok, *A travers la Berbérie orientale du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avec le voyageur al-Warṭhîlânî*, in *R. Afr.*, xcvi (1951), 326, 354, 355, 357, 359. (L. GOLVIN)

**KAL'AT BANİ HAMMÄD**, a mediaeval town in the Central Maghrib, situated in the Maadid mountains, capital of the Banü Hammäd dynasty [see HAMMÄDIDS]. It is also known as Kal'at Abî Ṭawîl (al-Bakrî, *Istibṣâr*, etc.). The site of the town, now a mass of ruins, is in the form of a vast amphitheatre opening out onto the plain of the Hodna which it dominates from a height of about 550 m. The average altitude of the old city is 990 m. above sea level. To the north of it rises the massive truncated cone of Taḥarbüst (1418 m.), an arid mountain whose contorted slopes are marked by projecting spurs where the folds of rock are inverted; to the west is the Gorein range, which can be transversed in the direction of Msila only by a pass at the foot of the peak, which rises to 1190 m.; to the south, the Djabal Rahma largely bars the view, except over its eastern flank, which is cut by the narrow valley of the Oued Fradj, running from north to south, a gap revealing in the distance the plain with the glittering Chott

Hodna. The same torrent, flowing down from the mountain through narrow gorges with steep sides, runs past the eastern part of the town. Beyond its deeply embanked course rise various mountains ranging from 1000-1400 m. in height.

Well protected against any possible attacks from the plain, which can easily be watched, and situated only a short distance from the most usual east-west routes, the site has doubtless been occupied from the earliest times. Ruins dating from antiquity—not yet investigated scientifically and including the remains of some baths—indicate Roman occupation, though it is impossible to estimate either its extent or its character. In 335/947-8, the place may have seen the tragic end of Abū Yazid [*q.v.*], the "Man on the donkey", since Mount Kiyāna, still called the mountain of the 'Adīlsa, seems to tally closely with the modern Taḡarbūst on whose summit some ruins are to be seen. There can be no doubt that the strategic value of the place was well known to the Ṣanhādīja; the reasons motivating Ḥammād, son of Buluggīn, son of Zīrī, in his partial abandonment of the ancient capital Aṣhīr are thus apparent. By choosing the Kal'a site, he secured for himself a second base that was strong and particularly well protected against the ambitions of the Zanāta in the plain; but also and above all, by building a stronghold there, he made clear his desire for independence from Bādīs, the Zīrid of Ḳayrawān. Kal'a was to appear as a spear-head directed towards the East. Some years later (405/1015), Ḥammād raised "the standard of revolt" and "proclaimed the sovereignty of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs". A new dynasty was born, and Kal'a became the capital of an independent state.

If Ibn Khaldūn is correct, the town was built and populated by the forced transfer of the inhabitants of Msila and Sūḵ Ḥamza (Bouira); other elements of the population, particularly the Djarāwa, settled there themselves. Ḥammād's first care was the building of strong ramparts, a palace, "several mosques, caravanserais and other public buildings". It is hard to believe, however, that as early as 401/1010, Kal'a "attained a high degree of prosperity" and that "artisans as well as students flocked there from the remotest regions and the furthest points of the empire". In fact, at this period Ḥammād still seems to have been closely attached to Aṣhīr, regarding Kal'a as merely a secondary town. Bādīs, who had reacted vigorously against his uncle's initiatives, attacked Kal'a in 406/1015; it seemed that the town could not resist his assault, when the Zīrid suddenly died.

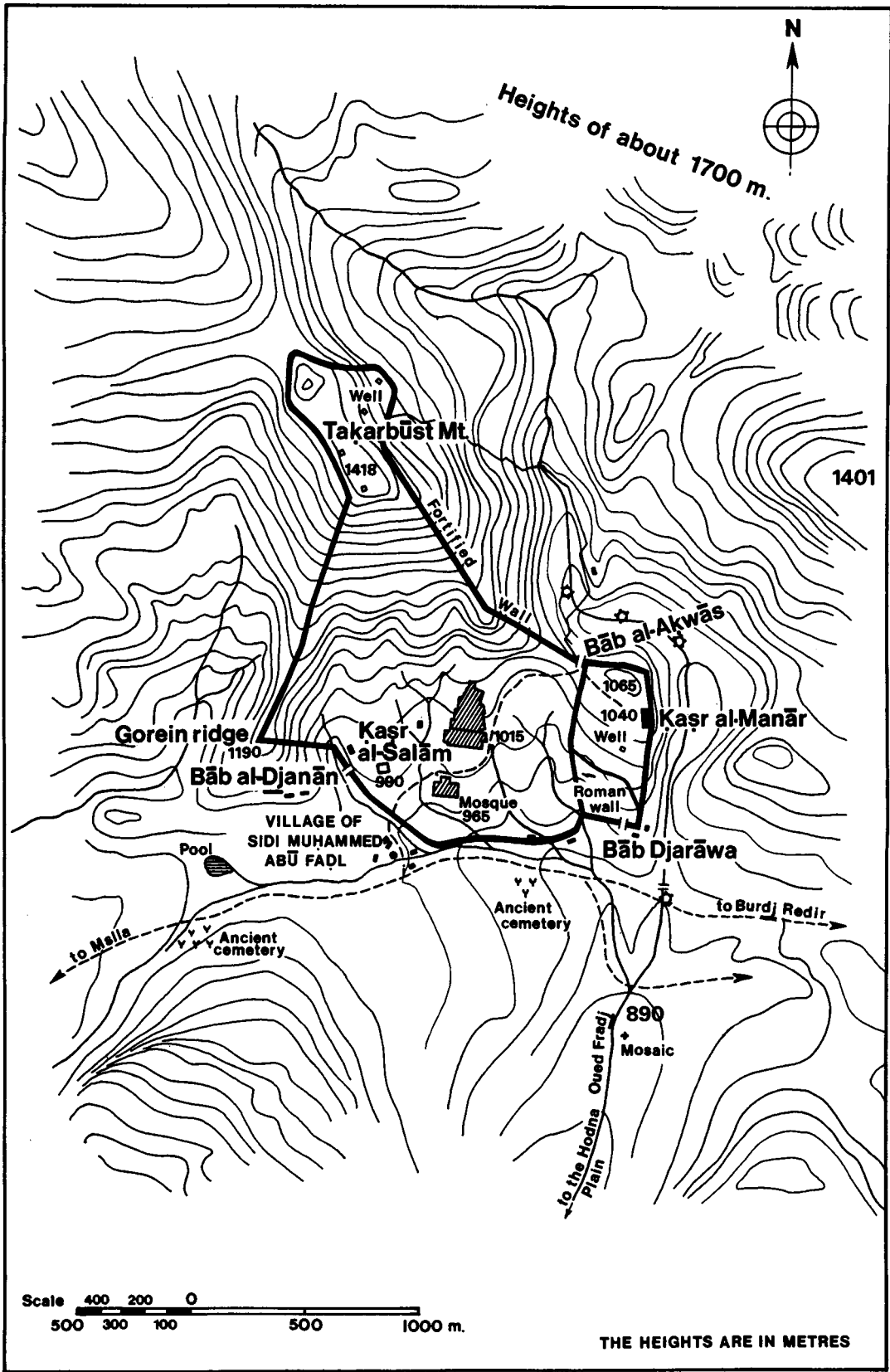
The very short-lived apogee of the town came during the reign of al-Nāṣir, son of 'Alannās (454/1062-481/1089) and his son and successor al-Manṣūr (481/1089-498/1105). The sudden prosperity of Kal'a is due to the misfortunes of Ifriḳiya when it was invaded by the Arab nomads. The towns in the interior, Ḳayrawān in particular, were depopulated, while Kal'a, according to al-Bakrī, became the metropolis after the ruin of Ḳayrawān: "the inhabitants of Ifriḳiya flocked there to settle... the town is a trading centre which attracts caravans from 'Irāk, the Ḥidjāz, Egypt, Syria and all parts of the Maḡrib". However, from the beginning of his reign al-Nāṣir sought an emergency outlet to the sea; he had the little port of Bougie put into order, and there his son built al-Manṣūriyya, where he later took refuge. The Hilālīs [see HILĀL] held the whole Hodna plain as well as that of Sétif, as far as the Iron Gates; despite a treaty, the Athbaḍī made the city's existence more and more difficult, subjecting it to a veritable

blockade. In the 6th/12th century, the power of Kal'a declined continuously, to the advantage of Bougie, and in 543/1148-9 Yaḥyā the son of al-'Azīz removed all articles of value and transported them to Bougie. Shortly after 547/1152, Kal'a was taken by storm by the Almohads, who "destroyed it utterly". However, the armies of 'Abd al-Mu'min installed themselves there and formed a garrison, restoring various ruined buildings and reconstructing a small oratory in the remains of the Great Mosque. The Banū Ghaniyya occupied the town for a time, but they were dislodged by the Almohads after a three month's siege (1185). After this date, nothing more was heard of the former capital of the Ḥammādid.

The population consisted firstly of the Ṣanhādīja, kinsmen of Ḥammād who probably constituted a privileged class, secondly of the citizens of Msila and Sūḵ Ḥamza, whose origin was complex, and finally of the Djarāwa, whose quarter, to the east of the town, seems to have been walled off from the other quarters of the town. There stood the Ḳaṣr al-Manār and its keep, the top of which commanded a view over the whole city and its environs. This situation corresponds so very closely to the text of Peter the Deacon that it is tempting to see in the Djarāwa the famous Christians cited in the *Chronique du Mont Cassin* who were said to have had a church dedicated to the Virgin. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century the population was augmented by new arrivals from Ḳayrawān, heterogeneous ethnic elements who included some Jews (there is in fact a record of the presence in Kal'a of the Jewish scholar Isaac Alfāsi, who apparently left for Spain at the end of the 11th century).

The topography of the town reveals an almost rectangular enceinte facing the south (approximately 950 by 500 m.), enclosing on three sides the town which is built upon the last ridges of Taḡarbūst; despite the natural defence afforded by the precipitous flanks of this massif, to the north of the town, the wall climbs high up the mountain, runs across its peak and comes down on the east to rejoin the quarter of the Djarāwa. Similarly, on the west it follows the summit ridge of Gorein and climbs up to the peak, descending sharply to the bed of the oued, beyond which is the gate known as Bāb al-Djanān, leading to Msila. An almost rectilinear axis connects this gate with Bāb al-Aḳwās, leading to Burḍī Redir, to the north-east of the city, at the edge of the Djarāwa quarter; a third gate, to the south-east, Bāb al-Djarāwa, opens towards the Hodna valley. To the south of the east-west axis stand the ruins of the Great Mosque whose minaret still rises to a height of more than twenty metres. To the north of the same axis, on ridges fairly well isolated from one another, towards the west, can be seen the ruins of the Ḳaṣr al-Salām and then, further to the east, the Ḳaṣr al-Kawkab and the Ḳaṣr al-Mulk, better known as Ḳaṣr al-Bahr because of the large sheet of water lying to its south, upon which nautical jousting (*istibṣār*) probably took place. Finally, towards the east, in the Djarāwa quarter can be seen the ruins of the Manār keep and those of the palace of the same name.

Identified by Méquesse in 1886, the old Ḥammādid city was investigated by P. Blanchet and A. Robert in subsequent years. Excavations on a quite considerable scale were undertaken by General de Beylié; they concentrated upon the Manār keep, the Ḳaṣr al-Bahr and the mosque. From 1951 to 1962, new excavations were conducted by L. Golvin, particularly on the



Kal'at Bani Hammād

[After V. Huot]

Kaşr al-Manār and the Kaşr al-Salām; numerous silos were discovered in the latter group of buildings, appearing to confirm al-Idrīsī's statement: "There were . . . stores of such excellence that it (corn) could be kept for one and even two years, without fear of the least deterioration". Still more recent excavations, which are being undertaken at the present time under the direction of R. Bourouiba, have succeeded in isolating the Kaşr al-Manār completely, and in enabling a far more convincing plan of the mosque than that given by Beylié to be drawn up.

The art of Kal'a reveals some originality, particularly in the deeply cut vertical niches in the façades of the Manār, and above all in its system of square, superimposed rooms, forming a central hub around which ramps are placed, roofed over with cradle vaulting, a foreshadowing of the great Almohad minarets at the end of the 6th/12th century (Kutubiyya, the Ḥassān Tower, the Giralda). The minaret of the mosque, square in shape, is much closer to those in Muslim Spain than to those in Ifrīkiya; on its south face it is ornamented with a rich decoration of deeply cut recesses set with polychrome tiles, the antecedents and continuation of which are little understood, while lobed interlaced arches, sometimes bordering shell-shaped semi-domes, call to mind Fāṭimid Egypt. To Egypt should be attributed the hanging honeycomb vaulting (*Mukarnas*), probably the earliest in the Muslim West. Elsewhere, decorations of carved plaster may be compared with those in Sāmarrā, but here also is a reminder of Egyptian craftsmanship; and very beautiful carved marble water channels (*ṣhadirwān*) recall those at Fuṣṭāt. Several painted frescoes, numerous ceramic fragments of the most diverse techniques—pottery with engraved or painted decoration, polychrome tiles, tiles with metal lustre, impressed tiles, tiles known as "a cuerda secca"—worked bronzes, jewels of gold and silver, coloured glassware, cut crystal, many sculptures of marble, stone and plaster, all these objects testify to a varied and sometimes scholarly craftsmanship which reveals the twofold influences of the Orient and of Spain.

The wealth of the city, much vaunted by historians and geographers, doubtless explains this artistic flowering. Though there is little information about intellectual life in Kal'a, the name of one of its scholars is known, the ascetic Abū Faql, son of al-Naḥwī, whose mausoleum stands in a small hamlet bearing his name near the Bāb al-Djanān. Other personages who brought renown to Bougie were born in Kal'a and no doubt were given their earliest education there. Here too, without question, the heritage from Kayrawān was of particular value.

*Bibliography:* al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, text, 49, tr. de Slane, 105; al-Idrīsī, ed. and tr. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text 86, 91, tr. 99, 106; *Istibṣār*, ed. Von Kremer, Vienna 1858, 19, 20, 55, 56, 58, ed. Fagnan, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère*, Constantine 1900, 32-5, 99, 101, 105; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, tr. de Slane, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 43, 52; Peter the Deacon, *Chronique du Mont Cassin* (year 1114), Hanover 1846; Mas-Latrie, *Traité de Paix et de Commerce* . . ., Paris 1868; Méquesse, *Notices sur la Kalaa des Bani-Hammad*, in *R. Afr.*, July 1886; P. Blanchet, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, in *Revue de la Soc. Arch. de la Province de Constantine*, 1898, 97; P. Blanchet and H. Saladin, *Description des monuments de la Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, in *Nouvelles*

*Notices des Missions scientifiques*, xvii (1904-5), 1-21; A. Robert, *La Kalaa et Tihamanine*, in *Revue de la Soc. Arch. de la Province de Constantine*, 1903, 217 ff.; idem, *Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, in *R. Afr.*, vi (1907), 291 ff.; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, in *RMM*, v (1908), 500-2; de Beylié, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, Paris, 1907; G. Marçais, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, *Revue des Notices et Mémoires de la Soc. Arch. du Département de Constantine*, 1908; idem, *Les poteries et Faiences de la Qal'a des Beni Hammad*, Constantine 1913; idem, *Album de pierre, plâtre et bois sculptés*, Algiers 1916; idem, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris 1926, i, ch. ii, 95, 202; idem, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1955, 63, 127; L. Golvin, *Note sur quelques fragments de plâtre trouvés à la Qal'a des B. Hammad*, in *Mélanges G. Marçais*, ii, 1958, 75-94; idem, *Le Magrib central à l'époque des Zirides*, Paris 1957; idem, *Recherches archéologiques à la Qal'a des Banū Hammad*, Paris 1965; R. Bourouiba, *Rapport préliminaire sur la campagne de fouilles de Septembre 1964, à la Qal'a des Bani Hammad*, in *Bulletin d'Arch. Algiers*, i, (1962-5), 243, 261.

(L. GOLVIN)

**KAL'AT DJA'BAR** [see DJA'BAR].

**KAL'AT HUWWĀRA**, a town in Algeria in the wilāya of Mostaganem, a *dā'ira* of Ighil Izane (Relizane), about 30 km. north-east of Mascara, on the Wādī Kal'a. Population: 12,332 (1966 census). This Kal'a was founded in the 6th/12th century by a chieftain of the Hawwāra, Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq. About a century later, the Hawwāra [*q.v.*] were supplanted by a tribe from the Djabal 'Amūr, the Banū Rāshid. The town came under the rule of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād, and following them under the Marinids and then the Turks; it was at this period that Leo Africanus described it as a fortified township with about forty houses belonging to artisans and merchants. Little by little it became inhabited by Kulughlis and even by Turks who came to take refuge there. The inhabitants were employed in agriculture, soap manufacture and carpet weaving. After 1830, the town recognised the authority of 'Abd al-Kādir, who drove out the Kulughlis, then it came under the authority of the French in 1845. At the present time, it remains a centre of several industries such as carpet-weaving (done by women), tanning, shoemaking, saddlery, metal-work and welding. The carpets of the Kal'a, in which Berber (Djabal 'Amūr), Spanish and eastern influences are combined, have enjoyed a measure of fame.

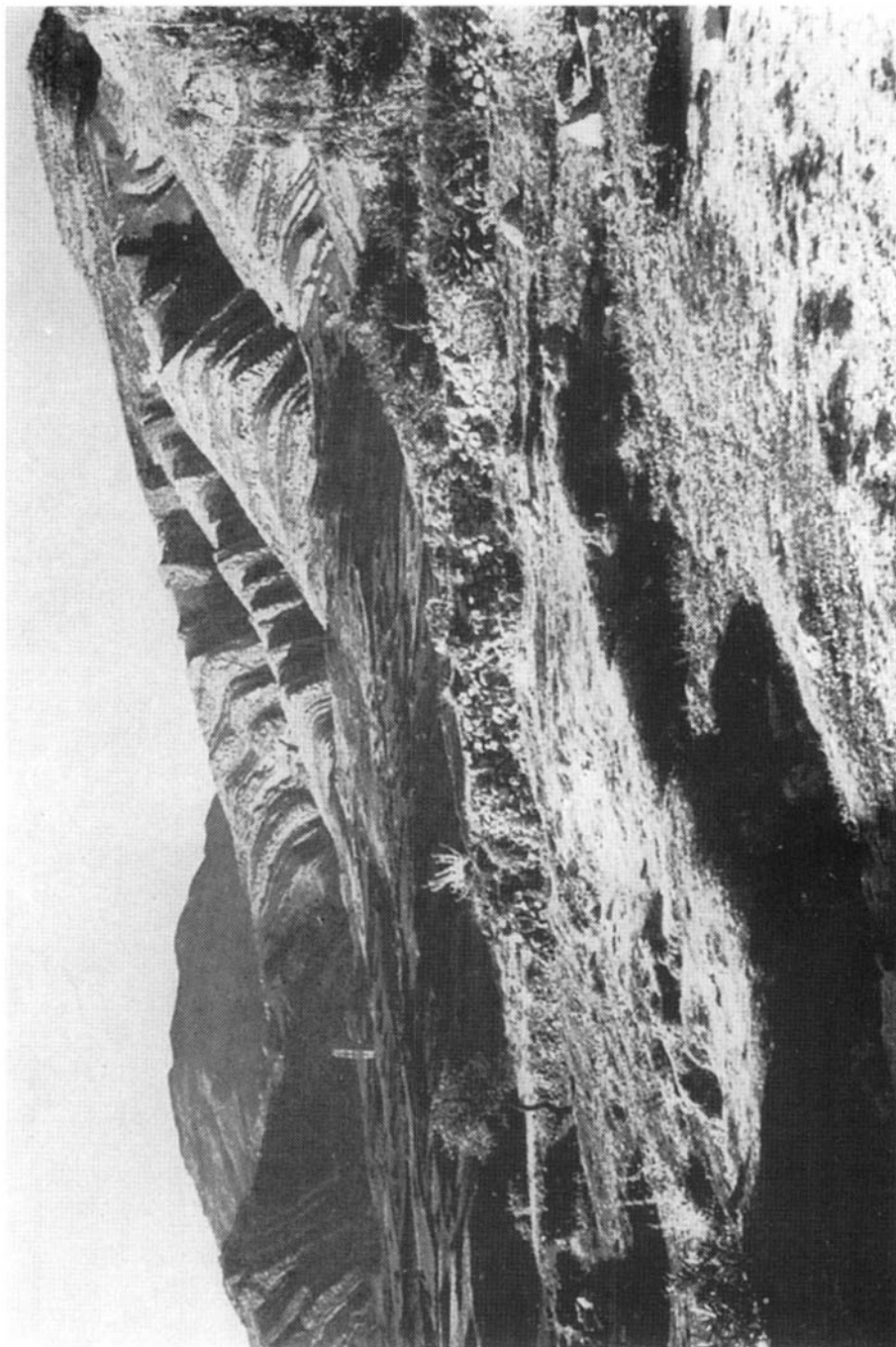
In the 11th/17th century, it was the birthplace of a celebrated marabout, Sidi Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, the author of satirical aphorisms of great popularity in Algeria (cf. R. Basset, *Les dictons populaires attribués à Sidi Ahmed ben Yūsuf*, Paris 1890).

*Bibliography:* Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 181-2, ii, 224-5, tr. i, 281-2 and iv, 2, 3; Leo Africanus, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, tr. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 338; Marmol, *Afrique*, tr. Perrot d'Ablancourt, ii, 356; E. Graulle, *Notice historique sur la Kalaa des Beni Rached*, in *RMM*, 1913; René Leclerc, *Monographie géographique et historique de la commune mixte de la Mina*, in *Bull. Soc. Géog. Oran*, 1902; R. Basset, *Notes de voyage*, in *Mélanges Africains et orientaux*, Paris 1915, 96-103; L. Bonnet, *L'industrie du tapis à la Kalaa des Bani Rached*, Algiers 1929; L. Golvin, *Aspects de l'artisanat en Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1957, *passim*; idem, *Les tapis et tissages principaux de l'Algérie*, in *Cahiers des arts et techniques de l'Afrique du Nord*, ii, 1953; idem, *Les arts populaires en Al-*

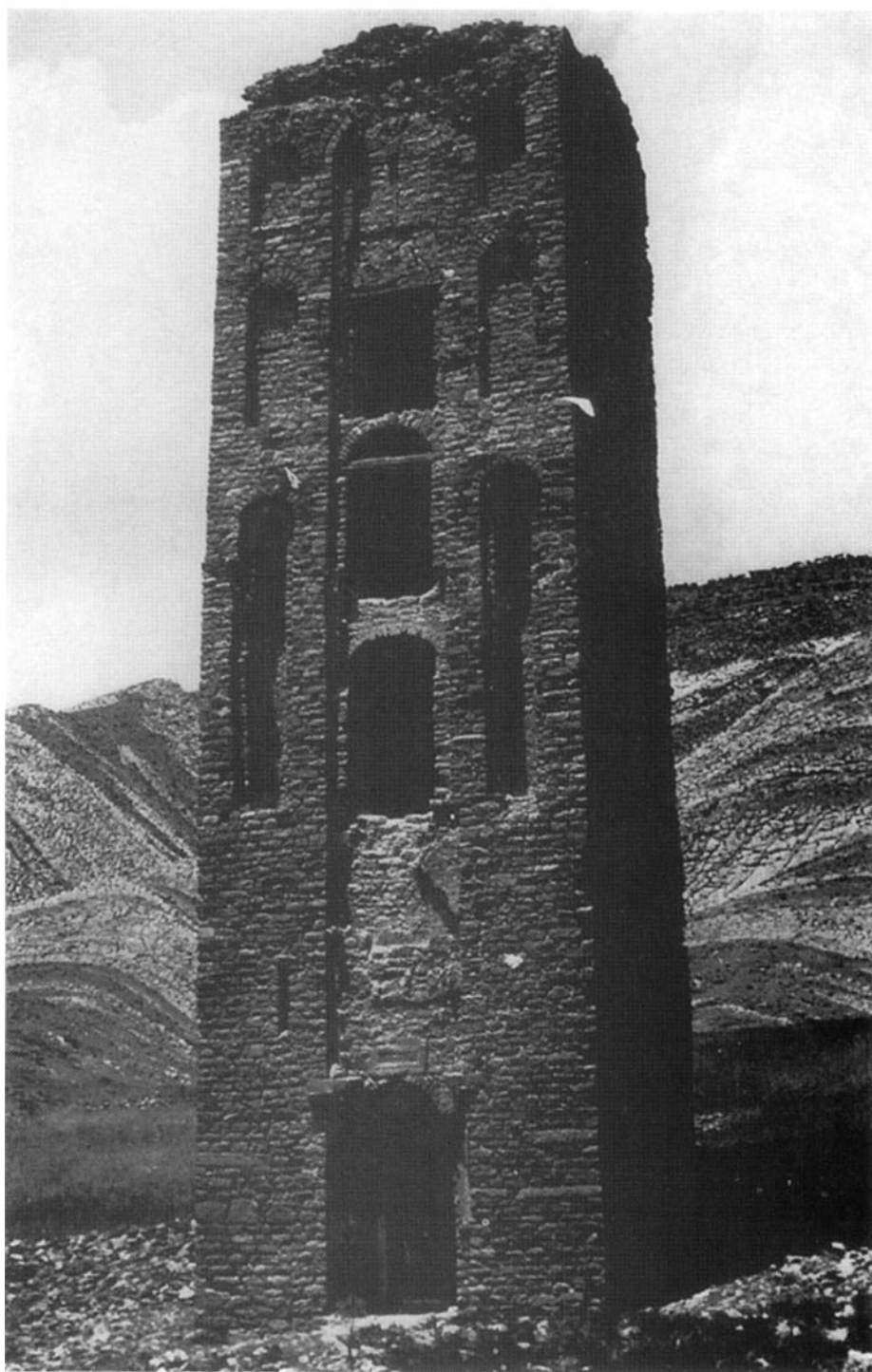




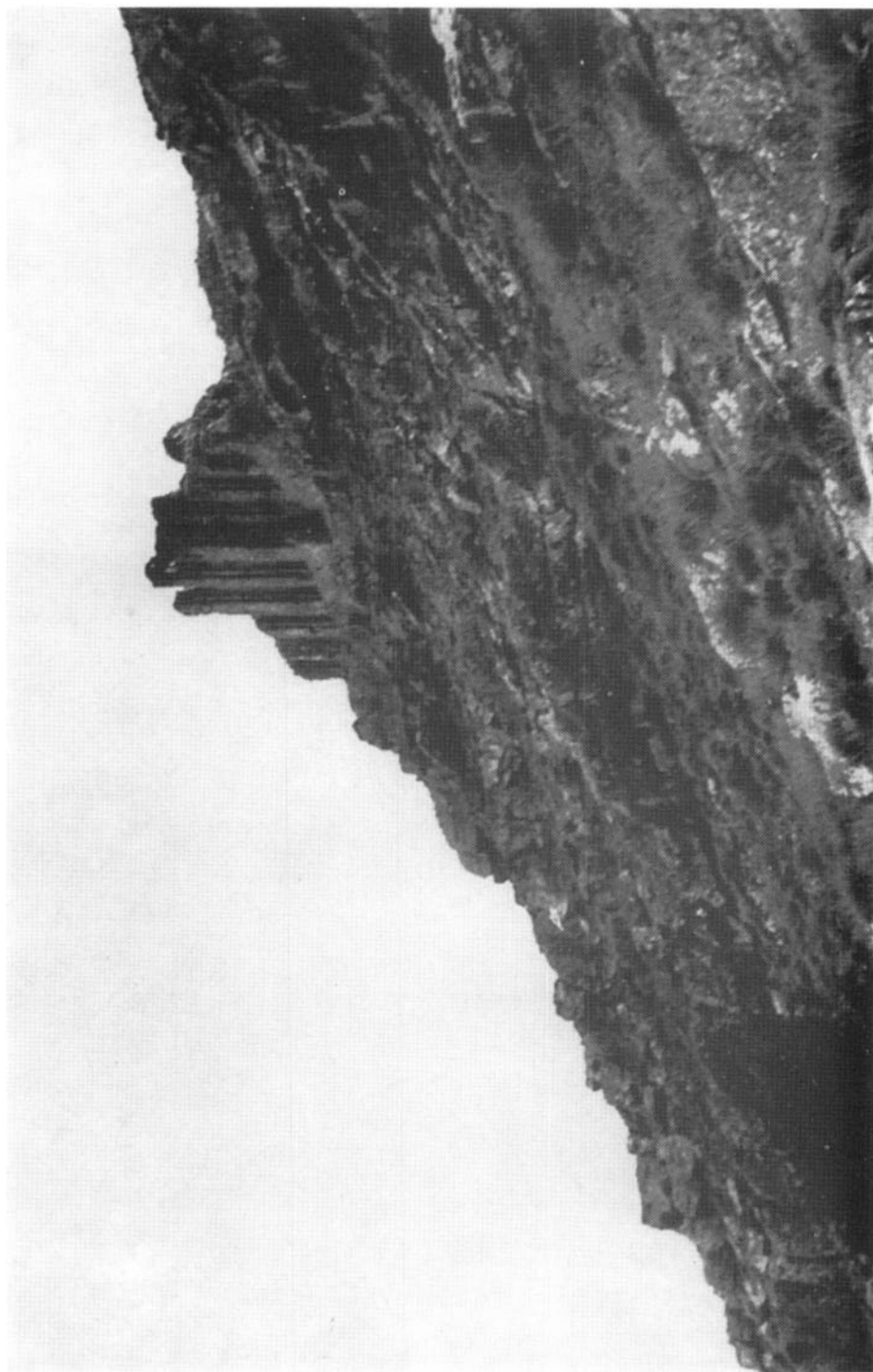
1. General view of the Takarbut and the mosque.



2. View of the Takarbiṣt and the Gorein.



3. Minaret of the mosque.



4. The keep of Ḳaṣr al-Manār.

*gérie*, ii, *Les tapis algériens*, Algiers 1953, 521-80. (R. LE TOURNEAU)

**KAL'AT NAḌĪM**, a fortress in northern Syria, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, which in the medieval period commanded the route from Halab to Harrān, in Upper Mesopotamia, via Manbidj. This fortress stood at a point where the Euphrates was relatively easy to cross, owing to the existence of two small islands which facilitated the construction of pontoon bridges. It is thought that the fortress stands on a Classical site, but the identification of this presents some problems: the most tenable hypothesis appears to be the identification of the site with the *Caeciliana* of Roman itineraries.

In the oldest Arab texts, the locality is called *Djisir Manbidj*, and these add that the bridge over the Euphrates, which had formerly existed, was constructed at the order of the Caliph 'Uḥmān. The name of Kal'at Naḍim was rarely mentioned before the 6th/12th century; it seems to derive from a certain *ghulām* called Naḍim who, in 300/912, re-founded the town. Certain maps and even texts are therefore mistaken when they give the name as Kal'at al-Naḍim. However, it seems that this name was deliberately adopted by these authors as more poetic, dubbing the fortress "the castle of stars".

The bridge of Kal'at Naḍim played an important role from the earliest years of Islam. The region was conquered in 18/639 and the bridge is mentioned in accounts of the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya. By this route the Umayyad armies won Mesopotamia. Subsequently, Kal'at Naḍim was part of the Ḥamdānid [q.v.] domain, then that of the Mirdāsids [q.v.], and the Banū Numayr [q.v.], before falling into the hands of Zankī, of Nūr al-Dīn [q.v.], and then of the Ayyūbids [q.v.]. Nūr al-Dīn restored the fortress (which twenty years later Ibn Djuḅayr called a "new castle"), placing an important garrison there.

Later, probably in 658/1260, Hülāgū had to give battle to secure the fortresses which commanded the Euphrates crossings; at that time Barhebraeus, bishop of Aleppo, made his way to the conqueror to seek mercy for the Christians and was imprisoned at Kal'at Naḍim.

The fortress of Kal'at Naḍim, which was described by many travellers of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, stands isolated on a rocky eminence at a height of about 50 metres. The castle itself comprised two storeys and certain parts were damaged when the castle, where a rebel Arab had taken refuge, was captured by the Ottomans in 1820. Three Arabic inscriptions mention works undertaken at the orders of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Zāhir, son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, between 605/1208 and 612/1215. Of the little town which, according to the Arab geographers, lay along the bank of the river and at the foot of the fortress, no identifiable vestiges remain. The ancient bridge has also disappeared.

*Bibliography*: Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. i, 266; Ṭabari, i, 3259; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 150; Ibn Khur-rādādhbih, 98; Kudāma, in *BGA*, vi, 233; Ibn Ḥawkal, 120, 125, 138, 154; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, 44; idem, *Murūj*, i, 215 = § 228; Yāqūt, i, 478, iii, 460; Idrisi-Jaubert, ii, 139; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 233; Ibn Djuḅayr, *Riḥla*, 248; Kaẓwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, ii, 1610; Ibn al-Shīḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab*, 230; Barhebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum*, 509, 510, 599; *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, 393; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 153-4; Ainsworth, *A personal narrative of the Euphrates expedition*, London 1888, i, 223-34; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911,

23-4, 34-5; Le Strange, 107-8; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, 87, 88, 92, 136, 227, 234 (cf. *Arabica*, xviii (1972), 307); Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, Paris 1940, 114, 156; N. Eliséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, Damascus 1967, index; *RCEA*, nos. 3776, 3777, 3778.

(D. SOURDEL)

**KAL'AT RABĀḤ**, Sp. Calatrava, town of Muslim Spain, of which the ruins are to be seen at Calatrava la Vieja on the left bank of the R. Guadiana about 15 km. north-north-east of Ciudad Real. According to the *Rawḍ al-mi'fār* the town was founded in Umayyad times and peopled by the inhabitants of decaying Uriḫ (Oreto), about 40 km. to the south. The eponymous Rabāḥ is unidentified; the common belief that the place was named after the *tābi'* 'Alī (or 'Ulayy) b. Rabāḥ seems to be an unfounded conjecture. It was the capital of an extensive region divided into *djuz*', which word in Andalusian usage (says Yāqūt) was the equivalent of *ikhlim*. The *adjiā'* of Bakr, Lakhm and *Djudhām* are recorded. The marshy region to the north-east of Kal'at Rabāḥ was well known to topographical writers as the place where the upper Guadiana (under which name they confused several rivers, e.g., Gigiuela, Riānsares) disappeared underground and reappeared several times before emerging finally at Kal'at Rabāḥ [see WĀḌĪ YĀNA]. Dimashki says that red arsenic or realgar (*raḥjī al-ghār*) is found there.

Standing in Toledan territory on the main highway between Córdoba and Toledo not far from Christian lands, Kal'at Rabāḥ had an eventful history and is frequently mentioned in the literature, though without details. It fell into Christian hands for the first time in 478/1085 when Alfonso VI annexed Toledo, but this occupation came to an end with the arrival of the Almoravids (Battle of Zallāka [q.v.], 479/1086) though Toledo itself was not retaken and never again came under Muslim rule. With the erosion of Almoravid power Kal'at Rabāḥ was once more under Christian rule by 541/Jan. 1147 and remained so until the Muslims, in the shape of the Almohads, again reasserted their authority for a few years in 592/1196. (Alarcos, the scene of the celebrated Almohad victory in the previous year, is a short distance downstream from Kal'at Rabāḥ [see AL-ARAK]). It finally surrendered to Alfonso VIII in 609/1212 immediately before the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa [see AL-'IKLĀB]. It did not recover any measure of prosperity and in 1252 the capital of the region became Villa Real, newly founded by Alfonso the Wise. It was renamed Ciudad Real in 1420.

The religious order of the Knights of Calatrava was founded in 1158 during the second Christian occupation with the purpose of fighting the Moors. The name Calatrava still exists as an element in numerous toponyms of the region.

*Bibliography*: Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari *Al-rawḍ al-mi'fār*, s.v.; Yāqūt, s.v. Rabāḥ; Dimashki, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, 242. (J. F. P. HOPKINS)

**KAL'AT AL-RŪM** [see RŪM KAL'ESĪ].  
**KAL'AT AL-SHAḲĪF** (the "Citadel of the Rock") is the Crusaders' castle of Beaufort. It is also known by the name of Shaḳīf 'Arnūn. On the testimony of the Arab authors, Yāqūt among others, it was long believed that 'Arnūn was the Arabic transcription of the name Arnould, a Frank said to have been lord of the region. In fact, it is a toponym which occurs even in the Bible (Joshua, XII, 1); its position to the west of the Jordan indicates that it corresponds to the present village of 'Arnūn which, in former times, marked the frontier of the land of Moab. From the earliest remains it may be supposed that a

military settlement existed on the site during the Roman period, beside the Leuctrum.

The castle, which was considered impregnable, is situated at an altitude of 670 m., high on a rocky crest, at the extreme southern end of the mountain range of Lebanon. To the east, standing above a sheer drop of 300 m., it dominates the deep and narrow valley of the Nahr al-Liṭānī, while to the west the mountain falls away in a fairly steep slope to the level of the plain where the village of 'Arnūn is situated. Below the castle, the Liṭānī changes direction sharply towards the west and then takes the name Nahr al-Ķāsimiyya, forming the dividing line between the mountains of Lebanon and the plateau of Galilee.

Kał'at al-ShaĶif stands in an important strategic position, for it effectually controls a two-arched bridge over the Liṭānī, the *Djisir al-Ķhardalī*, as well as several roads which meet at the bottom of the valley, including the roads from Bānyās to Ṣaydā' via Nabatiyya and from Bānyās to Beirut via *Djazzin* and Dayr al-Ķamar, and the road from Šūr (Tyre) to Damascus. The castle commands the entrance to Palestine; it guards the southern passage from the Biḳā', access to Syria from the south, and access from the coastal region of Šūr and Ṣaydā'. It is linked with several other fortresses, including Subayba to the south-east, Hūnīn to the south, Tibnīn to the south-south-west, Kał'at Marūn to the south-west and Ṣaydā' to the north-west.

The whole complex of buildings, constructed on two levels, follows the configuration of the ground and takes the form of an elongated triangle about 140 m. long, with its base (about 38 m. wide) at the southern end. A ditch 15 to 36 m. wide, cut out of the rock on the north, west and south sides, forms a barrier between the plateau and the site of the fortress, which is inaccessible from the east. Opposite the entrance, two piers about 4.30 m. apart made it possible to cross the ditch by means of a bridge which could be destroyed in the event of an attack, and to reach a small artificially levelled area on the south side of the crest. Today Kał'at al-ShaĶif is in a very ruined condition. It is divided into various sections surrounded by two enceintes constructed of courses of large blocks of stone, the surface of the stone-work being left rough: to the east, above the ravine, is a group of buildings in the lower courtyard defended by four round towers linked together by curtain walls, and to the west is the upper part, which forms a redoubt accessible by means of an interior ramp. Such is the fortress itself, which includes several sections built at different periods. For the mediaeval period we can distinguish five separate programmes of alterations and construction: 1139 to 1190 (Crusaders), 1190 to 1240 (Ayyūbids), 1240 to 1260 (Franks of Ṣaydā'), 1260-1268 (Templars), 1268 onwards (Mamlūks). When the Crusaders arrived, Kał'at al-ShaĶif formed part of the province of Damascus. In 533/1139, the atabeg *Šihāb al-Dīn* ceded the fortress to Fulk, king of Jerusalem, who entrusted it to Reynald, lord of Ṣaydā', since it controlled access to his territory. The irregularly shaped keep standing in the middle of the west front and typical of the Crusaders' earliest constructions dates from this period; it consists of two storeys and a terrace, the old curtain wall of the enceinte leaving it projecting; the rough surface of the stone-work and the narrow arrow-slits are characteristic features of the period. After the battle of *Ḥaṭṭīn* [q.v.] the Frankish castles still retained their garrisons, but through lack of man-power they no longer received any reinforcements or relief troops,

and one after another they fell into the hands of the Muslims. *Šalāḥ al-Dīn* [q.v.] prepared to lay siege to Kał'at al-ShaĶif on 17 Rabi' I 585/5 May 1189. Reynald of Sagette obtained a three months' truce, and took advantage of it to improve the castle's defences: the curtain walls were strengthened, and living-quarters were constructed in the courtyard. Stone-work with a more finished surface and stirrup-shaped arrow loops characterize this second period. In *Raĵjab/August*, the siege was resumed; in the end the fortress was starved out and surrendered on 15 Rabi' I 586/12 April 1190. Then began half a century of Muslim occupation (586-637/1190-1240). The Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ķāḍil [q.v.] undertook various building operations, including some alterations to the first enceinte on the south side; he also constructed a new section of wall flanked by massive cylindrical towers with an entrance, to the east, giving access to an oblong armory leading to the terreplein of the castle.

In 637/1240 al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl, prince of Damascus, was in conflict with his nephew al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb, the ruler of Egypt; to win the support of the Franks and Templars, he offered to restore to them the region of Ṣaydā', Kał'at al-ShaĶif, Tiberias and Ṣafad. The garrison of al-ShaĶif refused to surrender the fortress, and Ismā'īl was compelled to besiege it in order to gain possession and to hand it over to Balian of Sagette, the son of Reynald and a member of the Ibelin family. Balian died almost immediately, and his son Julian inherited the fortress, which he held until 1260. Crippled by debts and unable to strengthen the fortress to meet the threat from the troops of Baybars [q.v.], he sold it to the Templars and joined their ranks. The Templars improved its defences: on the east side, opposite the keep, they built a large hall with two vaulted bays over ogival windows and, about 245 m. to the south, the new castle, a small outwork destined to be destroyed eight years later.

On 19 *Raĵjab* 666/4 April 1268, the sultan Baybars appeared before al-ShaĶif and bombarded the fortress with 26 siege-engines for ten days. The garrison of Templars surrendered, the women and children were sent to Šūr, and the garrison itself, consisting of 480 men and 22 knights, was sent into captivity. The sultan appointed the amir *Šārim al-Dīn* *Ķaymaz* *Kāfūrī* as governor and the amir *Sayf al-Dīn* *Balabān* *Zaynī* as superintendent of works; the latter restored the fortress and placed on the walls the heraldic device of Baybars, a feline passant. In the Mamlūk period, Kał'at al-ShaĶif was the centre of one of the eleven districts of the *niyāba* of Ṣafad.

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, when the amir *FaĶhr al-Dīn* *Ma'n* [q.v.] revolted against the Ottomans, he drove out the Ottoman garrison and tried to repair the citadel's defences, to withstand the troops sent by *Ḥāfiẓ* *Aḥmad* *Paṣḥa* from Damascus in 1022/1613. The fortress had stocks of water, oil and provisions for 500 men. Al-ShaĶif possessed three cannons for defence, while the attacking forces had only one which exploded at the second shot; the only damage suffered by the fortress was the destruction of an outer tower caused by the accidental explosion of a powder store. Eventually the troops from Damascus withdrew, after a siege lasting for 84 days. *FaĶhr al-Dīn* entrusted the fortress to a *Sukmānī* chief, *Husayn* *Ṭawīl*, with stocks of food for three years. Shortly afterwards, the *Sukmāniyya* betrayed the Ma'n and joined the *Ḥarfūsh*. Sappers sent from Damascus then dismantled the fortresses of Bānyās and al-ShaĶif in 40 days.

At the beginning of the 18th century, al-ShaĶif



became the centre of one of the three districts of *Djabal 'Amila*, a region inhabited by the Mutawālī, whose chiefs at that time belonged to the Yemeni section of the *Shī'ite* tribe of the Banū Ṣa'b. At the end of the 18th century, the fortress was included in the territories of the Druzes and came under the *pashalik* of Ṣaydā', while all around it, according to Volney, the best tobacco in Syria was grown. At the beginning of the 20th century al-*Shakīf* formed part of the district of Ṣaydā', on the borders of the districts of Ṣūr and Marjī 'Uyūn. In 1970 the castle was under the *kaḍā'* of Nabatiyya.

*Bibliography*: Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iii, 356; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 56, 76, 534; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 43, 52; M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 119, 121, 123, 235; M. Chebli, *Fakhraddin II Maan*, 55-64; Volney, *Voyage*, 291; G. Rey, *Architecture militaire des Croisés*, 126-39, pl. xiii; P. Deschamps, *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem*, 177-208, pl. liii-lxxv, 6 plans, 1 in section; K. M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, i, 572, 612, 619, 627, ii, 479, 577, 707, 788; E. de Vaumas, *Le Liban*, pl. lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvi.

(N. ELISSÉEFF)

**KAL'AT SHARKĀT** [see ATHŪR, in Suppl.].

**KALĀṬA, GHĀLĀṬA** [see ISTANBUL].

**KALĀWDHIYA**, Claudias, a locality of ancient origin (the Claudiopolis of Pliny? cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.), the exact site of which has not been determined but which almost certainly commanded the entrance to the Euphrates gorges below Malaṭya/Melitene, between the eastern Taurus and the *Khanzīt* [q.v.]. One of the fortified places on the frontier that were captured and re-captured by the Arabs and the Byzantines, it was restored by al-Manṣūr, but again fell into Byzantine hands, together with the province of Melitene, in the middle of the 4th/10th century. In fact, having become practically valueless, like the other fortresses in the same line of strong-points below the Taurus (*Hadatha*, etc.), it declined rapidly, and Michael the Syrian, writing in the neighbourhood, knew only of "the land of Claudias", but never says anything about the locality itself. From the end of the 5th/11th century the region was in the hands of the Turks, but the later authors who mention *Kalāwdhiya*/Claudias, from Mustawfī and Kaẓwīnī to Otter, do so solely on the strength of ancient literary sources.

*Bibliography*: Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 186-7; Yākūt, iv, 167 (who believes that Ptolemy was a native of this place); Leo the Deacon, Bonn ed., 250; Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, ii, 518, iii, 309; Honigsmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 88-9, and also the article by J. H. Mordtmann in *EF*<sup>1</sup>.

(CL. CAHEN)

**KALĀWRIYA** [see KILLAWRIYA].

**KALĀWŪN**, AL-MALIK AL-MANṢŪR SAYF AL-DĪN KALĀWŪN AL-ALFĪ AL-ṢĀLIḤĪ AL-NAḌĪMĪ AL-'ALĀ'Ī, the fifth Mamlūk sultan, ruler of Egypt and Syria from 678/1279 to 689/1290. One of the most eminent sultans of the Bahrī [q.v.] Mamlūk sultanate, he followed the policies of Sultan Baybars I [q.v.] especially in his campaigns against the Mongols and the Crusaders.

Kalāwūn was born in the country of the Kipčak Turks on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The date of his birth is unknown and the sources tell us nothing about his childhood. A slave-merchant eventually brought him to Egypt and sold him to the amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḳ-Sunḳur al-'Ādil al-Sāḳī (the cupbearer), one of the *mamlūks* of the Ayyūbid Sultan

al-'Ādil [q.v.], for a thousand *dīnārs*; hence the nickname *al-Alfī* (the "Thousander"). After 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḳ-Sunḳur died in 647/1249, Kalāwūn and other *mamlūks* passed into the possession of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Naḍīm al-Dīn Ayyūb (637/1240-647/1249). He sent Kalāwūn together with other newly acquired slaves for military training (*furūsiyya* [q.v.]) in the military quarters which he had established on the island of al-Rawḍa in the Nile. When Kalāwūn had finished his training and proven his efficiency as a fully qualified soldier, he was manumitted and given the title of amīr. His master died in 647/1249 and was succeeded by his son Sultan Tūrān Shāh in the following year. The death of Tūrān Shāh—the last Ayyūbid sultan—inaugurated a period of confusion which led ultimately to the establishment of the Mamlūk sultanate.

During the reign of Aybak, the first Mamlūk sultan, Kalāwūn rose to a higher position among the Mamlūks, becoming one of their leading figures. In 652/1254 he fled with other Mamlūk leaders such as Baybars, Sunḳur and Baysara to Syria in order to escape the likely revenge of Aybak, whom they had tried to depose. He spent about three years in Syria in the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir II Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (648/1250-658/1260). In 655/1257 Kalāwūn and his fellow Bahrī Mamlūks fell foul of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf and were forced to leave him. They thereupon entered the service of al-Malik al-Mughīth Fakhr al-Dīn 'Umar in Karak. The amīr Ḳuṭuz, the deputy of the Mamlūk sultan Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aybak, sent an army to meet the fugitive Bahrī Mamlūks on their way to Karak. The Mamlūks were defeated and Kalāwūn was taken as prisoner to Egypt. He did not stay long in Cairo but disappeared and fled to Karak in the same year (655/1257).

Kalāwūn remained in Karak for about two years, until 657/1259, when he returned to Egypt accompanied by other exiled Mamlūks. They were welcomed by the new Sultan Ḳuṭuz, at that time preparing troops to meet the invading Mongols, who were defeated near Nābulus in 658/1260. Kalāwūn was among the Mamlūks who helped Baybars I in his attempt to kill Sultan Ḳuṭuz and seize the throne in the same year. Baybars trusted Kalāwūn and promoted him to the position of commander of a thousand (*amīr alf*). In 671/1272 Kalāwūn accompanied Sultan Baybars in a campaign against the Mongols. He distinguished himself as the first amīr to cross the Euphrates, thus gaining an advantage over the enemy. During the reign of Baybars, he became very close to the sultan, and in 675/1276 gave his daughter in marriage to Baybars' son, al-Malik al-Sā'īd Baraka Khān. Baybars celebrated the event with great festivity.

In 676/1277 Baybars died, and was succeeded by his son. Kalāwūn, as father-in-law of the sultan, became the most eminent and important of the amīrs. In 676/1277 Sultan Baraka Khān sent Kalāwūn on a campaign against the Armenians. During Baraka Khān's short reign of about two years, the older amīrs who had served under his father, resentful of his disregard of them, rebelled against him, and besieged him in the citadel of Cairo, forcing him to abdicate. The Mamlūks then asked Kalāwūn to accept the throne, but he refused because he foresaw opposition. Al-Malik al-'Ādil Salāmīsh, Baybars' seven-year-old son, was consequently chosen as sultan in 678/1279 and the Mamlūk amīrs appointed Kalāwūn his *atabak* [q.v.]. Sultan Salāmīsh reigned for only three months, during which time his *atabak* Kalāwūn was the real ruler. Kalāwūn's name was mentioned in the Friday

prayer and struck on the coins along with that of Salāmīsh. At last in 678/1279 Salāmīsh was deposed, and Qalāwūn was saluted as sultan, taking the title al-Malik al-Manṣūr.

As soon as he was acknowledged as sultan, Qalāwūn arrested a group of Ḍāhīrī amīrs, that is to say, amīrs belonging to the late Sultan al-Ḍāhīr Baybars. Prompted by purely political motives, Qalāwūn abolished certain taxes such as a war-tax which was collected whenever the sultan made preparations for a campaign. During the first year of his sultanate, Qalāwūn faced opposition from several of Baybars' amīrs who had their own claims to the sultanate. One of them, the amīr Sunḑur al-Aṣḑar ("the ruddy") proclaimed himself sultan in Syria with the name al-Malik al-Kāmil. Sunḑur gained the support of Baybars' Mamlūks, the Bedouin tribes of Syria and the Ayyūbīd amīr of Hamāh. Qalāwūn sent against him a strong army headed by the amīr Badr al-Dīn Bak-tāsh al-Fakhrī. The two armies met at al-Dīasūra near Damascus in 679/1280. Sunḑur was defeated and fled to the Bedouin Arabs, asking the Mongols for assistance. In the following year, when both sides learned about the advent of the Mongols, Sunḑur made peace with Qalāwūn.

Like Baybars I, Qalāwūn was successful in defending Syria against the Mongols, who had now taken advantage of the confusion in Syria resulting from Sunḑur's revolt. Led by Mangūtmūr, a brother of the Ilkhān Abāḑā, the Mongols, together with their Georgian, Frankish and Armenian allies, had managed to cross the Euphrates and invade Syria. Qalāwūn came to Syria with his army, which was augmented by additional troops from various parts of Syria. The two armies met at Ḥīmṣ in 680/1281. The Mongols were severely defeated and forced to withdraw from Syria. Both Mangūtmūr and Abāḑā died in the same year. Abāḑā's successor, Aḥmad Tegüder (Takūdār), was a convert to Islam. He tried to establish good relations with Qalāwūn, exchanging letters and embassies with him. In 683/1284, Aḥmad Tegüder was murdered and his brother Arḡhūn succeeded him. Arḡhūn, who remained a pagan and was very hostile toward the Muslims, attempted, unsuccessfully, to persuade the pope and the king of France to help him in a Crusade against the Mamlūks.

As for the Crusaders, Qalāwūn followed the example of Baybars I in pursuing the holy war against them in Syria. During the struggles with Sunḑur and the Mongols, Qalāwūn had made a truce with the Crusaders, which led to a temporary cessation of hostilities. Having brought these struggles to a successful conclusion, he broke the truce and conducted a series of raids into Crusader territory. In 684/1285 he attacked the fortress of the Knights Hospitallers at Marḑab and, after a siege of 38 days, succeeded in capturing it. The historian Abu 'l-Fidā (d. 732/1331), who was at that time 12 years old, was present at the siege of Marḑab, having accompanied his father on the expedition. The Knights Hospitallers retired to Tripoli. Bohemund VII of Tripoli wanted to appease Qalāwūn, so he handed over to him the coastal stronghold of Maraḑiya. In the same year (684/1285) Margaret of Tyre purchased peace with Qalāwūn for ten years on humiliating terms. The best fortified port and largest town taken by Qalāwūn was Tripoli. He took advantage of the quarrel over the throne of Tripoli after the death of Bohemund, and besieged the town in 688/1289. Although Tripoli received help from Cyprus, Qalāwūn with his strong mangonels ruined the walls of the town as well as its citadel and captured it by assault. Abu 'l-Fidā—then 16

years old—participated with his father and cousin in this battle. He reports that after the capture of Tripoli he crossed over to an island outside the port where he was oppressed by the foul smell of decaying corpses lying there. In the following year (689/1290) the people of 'Akkā (Acre) broke the truce by robbing and killing some Muslim merchants. Qalāwūn proclaimed a holy war, but as he was about to attack Acre, he died in his tent on the outskirts of Cairo. This task was therefore left to his son and successor al-Malik al-Aṣḑraf al-Khalīl, who captured the city in 690/1291.

Qalāwūn also took the offensive against the Christian Armenians. The Kingdom of Little Armenia was raided in 682/1283. After two years the Armenians were forced to conclude a truce for ten years. They agreed to pay an annual tribute consisting of a large quantity of Armenian silver coins, and to release all Muslim prisoners.

In order to extend Mamlūk rule in the south, Qalāwūn waged war against Nubia in 686/1288 and 688/1289. He sent two expeditions, headed by some of the ablest amīrs, to punish Ṣhamāmūn of Nubia. Ṣhamāmūn had been playing a kind of "hide and seek" with the Mamlūk army. At last he sent a delegation, bearing a gift and the normal tribute, *baḥḥ* [q.v.], to Egypt and begged forgiveness. These offerings were accepted and the delegation was kindly received. Nubia remained subordinate to the Mamlūk sultanate.

Qalāwūn preserved and strengthened the good diplomatic and trade relations established by Baybars I with foreign powers. He also maintained good relations with the Mongols of the Golden Horde, Andronicus II Palaeologus of the Byzantine Empire, King Alfonso of Castile, James of Sicily and Rudolf I of Habsburg. He concluded, further, a commercial treaty with the republic of Genoa. Hoping to attract merchants to Egypt as a means of encouraging Egyptian trade, Qalāwūn issued a charter of safe conduct (*amān* [q.v.]) to foreign merchants coming from China, India, Yemen and other countries which is preserved in Kalkāshandī's [q.v.] *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣḥā*. As an encouragement to internal trade Qalāwūn abolished a subcategory of the *zakāt* tax, called *zakāt al-dawlaba*, which was payable by Muslim shopkeepers on their merchandise, realizing that it tended to impoverish the merchants.

Qalāwūn bequeathed the most important monuments of the Mamlūk period. He restored the citadels of Aleppo, Baalbek and Damascus. In Cairo, he erected a hospital (*al-bimāristān al-Manṣūri*), which is perhaps the most remarkable building of the Mamlūk era. It consists of many wards for various diseases, a lecture room, laboratories, a dispensary, baths, kitchens and store-rooms. This hospital was open to men and women, rich and poor, residents and transients from all countries and provinces, without distinction of origin or rank. Every patient leaving the hospital received a gift of money and clothing. The hospital was connected with a school mosque and a mausoleum which is decorated with remarkable arabesque tracery and fine marble mosaic. The school mosque, which was designed for the education of approximately 60 orphans, was equipped with a library containing a fine collection of medical, theological and legal books. Nuwayrī, who was the *nāṣir* of Qalāwūn's hospital and its *wakf*, provides in his book *Nihāyat al-arab* valuable data about the properties, shops, public baths, and farms which constituted the *wakf* assigned by Qalāwūn for the maintenance of his tomb, school and hospital.



Ḳalāwūn died on Saturday 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 689/11 November 1290. He had proved to be brave, patient, generous, just and mild. It is said that he could express himself in Arabic only with great difficulty. He was the only Mamlūk sultan who succeeded in founding a dynasty capable of holding the sultanate for several generations. All the Mamlūk sultans from 689/1290 until 784/1382 were his descendants, except those who were his Mamlūks; *i.e.*, Kitbughā, Lādjin, and Baybars II al-Djāshnikr. Ḳalāwūn established the Burdjī regiment of Mamlūks [see BURDJĪYYA], mostly Circassian slaves, whom he bought and quartered in the towers (Arabic sing. *burdj*) of the Cairo citadel. The Burdjī or Circassian Mamlūks, the second line of the Mamlūk sultans, ruled Egypt and Syria from 784/1382 until the end of the Mamlūk sultanate in 922/1517.

**Bibliography:** The important primary source for the life and career of Ḳalāwūn is the biography by Muḥyī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1292), entitled *Tashrif al-ayyām wa 'l-uṣūr fī sirat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961; see also his biography in al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 269-70; Ibn Taghribirdī (Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn [q.v.]), *al-Manhal al-sāfi*, Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, no. 1209 *Tarīkh Taymūr*, iv, fols. 435-43; cf. Abu 'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-baṣhar*, Istanbul 1286/1870, iv, 22, 24; Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-dīmi' al-ghurar*, vol. viii, entitled *al-Durra al-zakiyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-turkiyya*, ed. U. Haarmann, Cairo 1971, 187, 197, 225, 231-303; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853-4, ii, 238, 379-80, 406-8; idem, *Sulūk*, ed. M. M. Ziada, Cairo 1936-9, i, 390, 392, 406, 420, 436, 650, 656, 663 ff.; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo no. 549 *ma'arif 'āmma*, xxix, fols. 28-31; al-Ḳalqāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a-shā*, xiii, Cairo 1918, 340-2; cf. S. 'Āshūr, *al-'Aṣr al-mamālīki fī Miṣr wa 'l-Shām*, Cairo 1965, 47-8, 67-70, 82-90; D. Ayalon, *The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom*, in *JAOS*, lxi (1949), 137 and n. 21; T. Ferdinān, *Suḳūf al-Markab fī yad al-Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn*, in *al-Maṣrikh*, iv (1935), 543-6; Y. F. Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Edinburgh 1967, 112-7; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, reprinted 1968, 277-84; Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 99, 114, 118; idem, *Some financial aspects of the waḳf system in medieval Egypt*, in *al-Madjiāla al-Tārīkhiyya al-Miṣriyya*, xviii (1971), 20.

(HASSANEIN RABIE)

**ḲALB** pl. *ḳulub* (A.), "heart".

#### I. — MYSTICISM

In Ṣūfi terminology the "heart" plays a large part, for it is viewed both as the source of man's good and evil aspirations and as the seat of learning or religious apprehension and of divine visitations. The *'ilm al-ḳulūb wa 'l-khawāṭir*, "science of hearts and movements of the soul", owes its origin to al-Ḳasim al-Baṣrī, one of the earliest writers on *taṣawwuf* (cf. L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḳalāwūn*, Paris 1922, 468).

The role allotted to "heart" in the personality and understanding of man is in strict conformity with Semitic tradition, and the Ṣūfi "science of hearts" is firmly based on the Ḳur'ān. While *'aql*, "intellect", has no place in the vocabulary of the Ḳur'ān, *ḳalb* is very frequently employed. It is with his heart that man "understands", just as he sees with his eyes and hears with his ears (*e.g.*, *Ḳur'ān*, VII, 179, XXII, 46). Of those who neither understand nor hear (the

Word of God) it is said, "it is not their eyes that are blind, but the hearts in their breasts" (XXII, 46). Such blindness of the heart is a denial, the origin of ignorance. Thus God "seals the hearts" of "those who do not know" and does not guide them in the true way (VII, 101, X, 74, XXX, 59, etc.). God "sets a seal on the heart of every haughty tyrant" (XL, 35). In *tafsir* and *'ilm al-ḳalām*, the "seal affixed to the heart" was to become one of the most controversial questions in the consideration of man's freedom of action (*e.g.*, Faḳhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Ma-fātiḥ al-ghayb*, on *Ḳur'ān*, XVIII, 23).

So it is from his heart that man's awareness or ignorance of God originates. But far from being merely an intellectual apprehension, this is a knowledge which demands the whole of one's life. So that the heart may be truly the seat of divine knowledge, it must be "assuaged by a remembrance of God" (XIII, 28), be pure (XXVI, 89; XXXVII, 84) and contrite (L, 33); it must be filled with *taḳwā*, reverential awe of the Lord (XXII, 32). It is the seat of the religious sciences; it is also the home of that mercy, that "faith above faith" which is the divine dwelling-place: God Himself "causes His Presence (*sakīna*) to descend to the hearts of Believers so that they may add faith to their faith" (XLVIII, 4). The hearts of those who are guilty, however (XV, 12; XXVI, 200), which are "marked out for severe punishment", and the hearts of "those who do not believe in the Hereafter" (XXXIX, 45), "shudder" (*ibid.*); terror will strike the hearts of the impious (*kuffār*, III, 151, VIII, 12).

Closely related to these texts is L. Massignon's comment (*op. cit.*, 489): "In sum, the Ḳur'ān made the heart the source of knowledge and conscience; since he can in no way 'hold back' the irreversible and irremediable dispersion of his resources (in movements and feelings), man can regain possession of himself only within his own self, in his *taḳlīb*, in his heart". This he does "against the grain of the countermanding fleshly lusts, which all Muslim writers locate in the liver and bile" (*ibid.*, n. 7).

Consequently, the deepening experience of faith and the search for union with God, which are the first and constant aims of *taṣawwuf*, become linked with the study of the "science of hearts", the *'ilm al-ḳulūb* to use al-Ḳasim al-Baṣrī's expression. The following distinctions were formulated: the seat of thought and awareness of self lay not in the brain but in the heart, a bodily organ (*djismi*), a morsel of flesh (*muḍgha*, *maḍiḡha*), situated in the hollow of the breast whose beats both gave life and indicated the presence of life. There in the heart lies the "secret and hidden (*sirr*) home of the conscience, who's secrets (*naḍiwā*) will be revealed on Judgement Day" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 478). The role of the spiritual master (*shaykh*) regarding the novice (*murīd*) is to teach him this "science" of desires, thoughts and inner impulses, to teach him to recognize and overcome those aspirations which come from the "physical soul" (*nafs*), and to gather up and protect the inspirations from the "heavenly spiritual breath" (*rūḥ*) through which God reveals Himself to man. Everything that enables man to battle against cupidity and the passions, all that can strengthen his faith (*imān*) and foster his surrender to God (*islām*), becomes part of "the science of hearts". Thus the celebrated Ṣūfi treatise by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (4th/10th century), which covers ritual acts as well as revealing steps in the path to divine union, is called *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* ("Food for Hearts", numerous eds., especially Cairo 1351/1932). In a closely related sense, Baḥya

ibn Paḳūda, an Andalusian Jew who wrote in Arabic in the 5th/11th century and was strongly influenced by Ṣūfī ideas, entitled his spiritual treatise "Introduction to the Duties of the Heart", *Hidāya ilā farā'id al-ḥulūb*.

This stress placed on the "heart", the organ of conscience and seat of religious knowledge and of life in the presence of God, is in no respect an emotionalization of religious values. It stems from an experimentally based anthropology in which understanding and will are united in an existential mode of behaviour which binds man and his destiny. It remains in complete harmony with one of the most dominant notes in ḳur'ānic teaching. Here, *ḳalb* comes close to the Ṣūfī idea of *ma'rifa*, the direct awareness of the "initiate" (*ʿārif*).

A great many works of *taṣawwuf* deal with the "science of hearts", but here we will restrict our enquiry to one of the most characteristic examples. One of the best, and most famous, expositions is that of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḡhazālī, notably in his *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, which follows in the same tradition as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and in fact reproduces whole passages from the *Ḳūt al-ḥulūb*. However, the influence of Hellenic philosophy led al-Ḡhazālī to set out clearly the problem of the heart as one of the foundations of the human personality. While it may be legitimate to stress the ethical end of the "science of hearts", as does al-Ḡhazālī, for example, in *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ḡhazālī*, London 1953), the close intertwining of knowledge and the moral life which is also affirmed there should not be forgotten. These are its presuppositions:

The first book of the third part of the *Iḥyā'* is called *Sharḥ ʿadā'ib al-ḳalb*, "A commentary on the wonders of the heart". The preliminary definitions where al-Ḡhazālī analyses the four concepts *ḳalb*, *rūḥ*, *nafs* and *ʿaql* are well known. For each concept al-Ḡhazālī distinguishes a "physical" and a spiritual meaning. In the first sense *ḳalb* is a bodily organ: *rūḥ* the "vital spirits" in the blood (cf. contemporaneous ideas of physiology); *nafs* is the sum of man's passions, the root of his "blameworthy qualities"; and *ʿaql* the faculty of knowing, which "has its seat in the *ḳalb*". In the second sense *ḳalb* is a "subtle, divine and spiritual" principle which is "the reality of man" (*ḥaḳīkat al-insān*); *rūḥ* is that spiritual substance in man that acts and understands; *nafs* is man in his reality but capable of being qualified by different attributes according to how his soul controls his carnal desires (*ammāra*, cf. *Ḳur'ān*, XII, 53) or chastises his passions and struggles to reform itself (*lawwāma*, *ibid.*, LXXV, 2), or is "at peace" (*muḳma'inna*, *ibid.*, LXXIX, 27), "pleased by and pleasing to" the Lord; *nafs* in that case corresponds to the "rational soul", the *nafs nāḥiqa* of the philosophers. Finally *ʿaql* in this second sense is "that which understands knowledge", in short "the heart itself". In their spiritual interpretation, these four terms designate man's "reality", but under four different aspects.

The Ḡhazālīan text *Risāla ladūmiyya* (in *Dīwān al-ḡhawālī*, Cairo 1353/1934, 23-7) lays greater stress on the synonymy of the terms: "By the 'rational soul' I mean that matter to which all schools give a special name. Philosophers call it the 'rational soul'; the *Ḳur'ān* calls it the 'soul at peace' and 'the spirit which descends from the Word of God' (cf. XVII, 87); the Ṣūfīs call it 'the heart'. These are simply differences in terminology, but they cover a single concept (*ma'nā wāḥid*): there are no conceptual differences. The heart, the spirit and the soul

at peace are all names for the rational soul, which is a substance endowed with life, action and perception. Wherever we speak of the 'spirit' in absolute terms, or of the 'heart', it is this substance we are discussing".

Thus it would be a mistake to take al-Ḡhazālī's stress on the heart as indicating his "subjectivity" in the western sense of the term (cf. J. Oberman, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazalis*, Vienna 1921). If, as A. J. Wensinck observes (*La Pensée de Ghazzālī*, Paris 1940, 64), "the heart comprises reason and will", then rather than perceiving an emotionalization of rational values (see above), we should be aware of a total apprehension of what is distinctive of man according to an existential psychology common to biblical and ḳur'ānic traditions: "the heart in a Pascalian sense" indeed, but only to the extent that Pascal's statements are themselves inspired by the Bible. "The heart has two gates", said al-Ḡhazālī in the *Iḥyā'* (cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 66-7), one opening on to the external world, the impressions of the senses, passions and desires and thus open to devilish whispers, and the other opening on to the "internal Kingdom". This second gate is "that of inspiration, of the breath of awe of God, and of revelation". Though the terminology is different, this is very close to the "two faces of the soul" found in St. Augustine and mediaeval Latin writers.

In the experience of *dhikr* [*q.v.*], increasingly intensified repetition of the Holy Name passes from the tongue to the heart (cf. *Iḥyā'*, iii, 17): the formula uttered, and thus the Object it evokes, are impressed first on the very organ of the heart (and the circulatory system) and then, by this means, on the spiritual heart, that is in the very depths of being. (N.B.: the "heart" plays a very similar role in Ṣūfī *dhikr* and in the hesychasm of Mount Athos or in the *Account by a Russian Pilgrim*). Al-Ḡhazālī appears to distinguish only two stages, "*dhikr* of the tongue" and "*dhikr* of the heart"; others add a third, "*dhikr* of the inmost heart of hearts (*sirr*)", which takes possession of the whole being of the man at prayer (cf. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh of Alexandria, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa 'l-misbāḥ*, Cairo, n.d., 4-6).

To sum up: we have seen that for al-Ḡhazālī and Ṣūfī tradition as a whole, the bodily organ of the heart (and not the brain) is the seat of *ʿaql*, the faculty of knowledge. *ʿAql*, in the meaning of "the understanding of knowledge", is "in short the heart itself", and the heart is the home and source of *ma'rifa*. Now the "spiritual heart" is the province of the moralist (in man as in animals the "bodily heart" belongs to medicine). Thus while *ʿaql* may be identified with *ḳalb*, the reverse does not hold. *Ḳalb* is not only the faculty of knowing, it is also the seat of all moral impulses, both evil desires and instincts and the struggle to be free of them and attentive to divine teaching (cf. the analysis of texts of the *Iḥyā'* by H. Laoust in *La Politique de Ghazālī*, Paris 1970, 218-21). Salvation comes only from the heart's purified knowledge in its dual and inseparable aspects, speculative and actual. Thus it is a complete education of the "heart" that spiritual teachers must constantly develop and enrich in themselves and their disciples.

In Ṣūfism the analysis of the cardinal virtue *sidḳ* [*q.v.*], "sincerity" or "truthfulness", is wholly dependent on the "science of hearts"—see the *Kitāb al-Sidḳ* of al-Ḳharrāz (ed. and tr. A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1937). On Judgement Day the answer to the *su'āl al-sidḳ*, "the question of sincerity", will be revealed in two fashions by those prophets who are

also saints (*walī*): it will be stamped on the tongue, visible to the hearers, and on the heart, the seat of divine inspiration.

Al-Hallādjī, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn 'Arabī comment in this manner on Jesus' answer to the *su'āl al-ṣiḥk* (cf. L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 686 and ref.).

*Bibliography*: in the article. (L. GARDET)

## II. — POETRY

Although accorded from the outset an important place in the *nasīb* of the *ḥaṣīda* [q.v.], the word "heart" is emphasized only rarely in the ancient literature of Arabia. This situation conditioned the evolution of the word in all subsequent poetic literature. It was rediscovered and re-assessed as the progressive development of feeling caused the word to be employed more and more freely in the traditional context of Arab poetry. It would appear that this represented the righting of a deliberate omission, the precise reasons for which have yet to be determined.

In fact, the old Arab *nasīb* contains hardly any mention of the heart as the seat of the passions, at least in the collections generally held to be the most Bedouin (one example in Zuhayr, two in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 13 in Djarīr, who was influenced by the poetry of the cities). It is permissible to suppose that the rarity of the word "heart" in the works of the founders of the Arab lyric is related to the nature of the love which was celebrated in their *nasīb*, though it is true that the few examples found in their verse show that they did not neglect the affective meaning of the term. But for them "matters of the heart" had a social, even sociological, importance. In fact the *nasīb* reveals many of the features of the "Rites de passage" (Van Gennepe, Paris 1909). The poet is searching for a protector, a stronger or older "neighbour" whose intervention entails a new tribal affiliation, *nasīb* (cf. al-Buḥtūrī, *al-mawālī 'l-ṣarīḥu nasību*); the *ḥimā*, or "abandoned encampment", appears to be the place where the "binding" rites took place, in the ceremony perhaps called *'aḥīkā* (Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 152); the poet becomes the bondsman of a new clan, the clan of the Lady who is presumed to hold him in captivity (*sabī*); he becomes a "hostage" (*raḥn*) of the Lady's clan (used in the sense of captive in *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 402; cf. al-Sarrādjī, *Maṣāri'ī*, 177, verse by Hilāl b. al-'Alāḍ). He is a captive (*asīr*) of the Lady's clan like the devotees of a god dwelling in the midst of a sanctuary in classical antiquity. Furthermore, for the *Lisān*, each child is called *rahīna*, pledge or captive in respect of the *'aḥīkā* he has undergone; the same root implies the idea of *ḥidāh*, the sacred sport of arrows, which is compared with the "arrows of the Lady". The same is true of the poet's she-camel; we know that in Arabic folklore (e.g., in al-Sarrādjī, *Maṣāri'ī*, 101) the lover is in search (*mishḍān*) of a stray she-camel, perhaps also *ṣalab al-ḥādīja*, the visit of the Lady being a sign that the poet's quest is crowned with success.

Like the *'aḥīkā*, the *nishḍān* is an old pagan rite (cf. *ḥadīth* on the prohibition on gleaning in the *ḥaram* of Mecca, the former *ḥimā*). The *munshid*, the pilgrim of the *ḥimā* and acolyte of the "visit", is searching for "signs", as the meaning of the root indicates. These signs are those provided by the *ṣadīr*: these become commonplaces in the classical *nasīb*. Sometimes the *munshid*'s quest is ended by the *'asā*, a term with clear sociological implications (the tribal affiliation being connoted by the 5th and 7th forms of the root). The visit to the Lady or pilgrimage of the *ḥimā* (*'i'imār*) seems to be linked to the season,

the spring equinox, *raḍjāb*, for the first encounters (the ideal month of the *'umra* or the *'i'imār*), after a visit had been made to the sanctuary of the Ka'ba; it is possible, on the evidence of the *Ḳur'ān*, that *wa'd* and *ikhḷāf* were related to the vicissitudes of this quest of the Arab lover, which in later literature became that of the "heart" as such.

From these fleeting but converging indications, we can speculate with some probability that "Arab love" corresponded to a "passage ritual", related, at least in the composition of its vocabulary, to the presence of a lady from another tribe who mysteriously bound the lover by a tie, the duration and exact nature of which remained imprecise because of the same "tabu" which affected "matters of the heart".

This "tabu" no longer operated where the Bedouin significance of the love poem had been completely obliterated, and when it had succumbed to the joint influence of the poetry of the cities, music and religious terminology. After the breakdown of tribal ties, those poets who preferred to turn to the past rather than to the future, with the exception of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, transferred the main import of Bedouin love to the heart, but weakened it into mere metaphor. The following ideas were retained:

1) Now it is the heart of the poet which, always in straitened circumstances or abroad, "searches" for the Lady.

2) Having become the seat of passion, that is of the Memory and the Secret, the heart is for that very reason an indispensable part of courtly dialectic, at the same time confidant and actor. Naturally the latter is the element which we shall see emphasized when we turn from the poetry of Ḥiḍjāz to that of 'Irāq.

The heart is on a never-ending quest, journeying after the caravan in which his beloved rides (*Ḥamāsa* of al-Marzūki, i, 51; al-Sarrādjī, *Maṣāri'ī*, *ḥalbu man tayyamū*, 141; *Djamil's Diwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, 118; al-'Abbās, 232). This heart is called *murtahin* ('Umar, 179 and 295), for it is no longer clear where it dwells and the uncertainty condemns the poet to perpetual wandering. Dissociated from the person of the poet and his group, it is fragmented (*iṣṣada'a*), or else it flies through space, in the grip of such an intense emotion that it cannot recognize its true country (*marū'*, 185), a metaphor later employed by the mystic *Djunayd* (al-Daylamī, *'Atf*, 32).

Such an instability, arising from uncertainty about its home and where it really belongs, turns the heart into a nomad with no clearly defined pastureland, doomed to follow the whims of the seasons (*mitbā' al-waḥān*, 'Umar, 279). Strictly speaking, this situation is *tatayyum*, slavery in exile ('Umar, 192; cf. al-Daylamī for an analysis of the equivalent notion of *huyām*, 23). It is also the *ṣibā*, the call of passion (coming after the signs given to the *munshid*), flashes of lightning, the language of birds which set the heart on the right road. Vagabond and wanderer, the heart is at the same time imprisoned in the net of love which condemns it to strive unceasingly for the *waṣl* or *wiṣāl* (the Lady's favour, originally integration within the Lady's group; 'Umar, 295, a synonym: *mawadda*, Abū Nuwās, 704; cf. 'Umar, 222 and 326). During this *ṣalab*, this quest, the heart is truly the quarry (a gazelle of the sacred enclosure) hunted by the Lady and eventually tracked down by her and pierced by her arrows, perhaps like the animals that are no longer defended by the prohibition of the *ḥimā* ('Umar 319: *musayyad* coupled with *mulayyam*, *ibid.*, 360; the Lady hunts the heart though she herself has the appearance of a gazelle).

The heart which has been subjected to such harsh blows (*muṣāb*) is lovesmitten and dependent upon the Lady's pleasure (*mu'allāḡ, muwakkal*, 362). These metaphors are interchangeable between the lover, represented by his heart, and the Lady; the victim is endowed with the traits and attributes of his tormentor, and vice versa. Thus the poet is led to declare that the Lady occupies his heart (*ibid.*, 355), the heart itself having become the sacred enclosure where the Lady's whims are given free rein. The Lady occupies the best seat in the poet's heart, the "highest place" ('Umar, 190: *muḥtallan, rafī'an*). There she can do exactly as she pleases, knowing herself to be in a vanquished land (*abāḡat Umm Ḥazra min fu'ādī shi'āb al-ḡubb*, Djarir, 65; cf. al-'Abbās, 39, 191, and Abū Nuwās, 497). At the end of love's "quest", the heart can be possessed by the Lady through a variety of means (magic, the hunt, capture, captivity, chains, bonds, cords, nets, pledge, loan, deposit with every kind of alienation, the result of the departure for strange lands which is the "quest" inherent in the Arab concept of love).

Yet in still deeper fashion, by means of a psychology which endows the heart with many "membranes" (al-Hamadḡānī, *al-Af'āz al-ḡiābiyya, bāb ṣamīm al-ḡalb*; cf. Daylamī, 'Aḡf, 16 and al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḡā, i, 86), it can be considered that the heart contains the Lady or her image (a trace of the encampment) in whole or in part.

Thus it is with a love which is more internal, more courtly or more normative that the poet from the cities of 'Irāḡ (*e.g.*, al-'Abbās b. al-Aḡnaf; fifty examples in the *Khazraḡī* edition; the pseudo-*diwāns* of the romantic heroes) must come to terms when he endeavours to look into his heart.

The heart is the seat of the Memory of Love (al-'Abbās, 182). This Memory is identical with Love (281: "I am astonished that a heart can love you"). To compare the lover to the Lady is to compare the respective state of their hearts (*ibid.*, 53: "if my heart were like yours"). The heart experiences the fires (*nīrān*) of passion (*ḡad aḡrakat nīrānuḡ ḡalbi*). The Lady rules the heart of the lover as absolute monarch (*ibid.*, 16). Little distinction is made between Memory and the image of the Lady which resides in a heart that can contain no other object (*ibid.*, 19). On the other hand, there is less insistence on the breaking or cracking of the heart (*sudū', fuḡūr*), that symbol of the restless life of the lover and his separation from his tribe.

Arab poetry henceforth invested the heart with an importance which remained characteristic of the courtly spirit. But the heart also had conflicts and problems which occupied theorists as well as poets. In the first place, since the heart seemed to be the principle of love, the question arose whether it shared this role with the eyes, whose act of looking had wounded the poet. This question brought to the forefront the related question of the "licentiousness of the glance" cast at the beloved object, which is the main object of courtly ethics. To recognize the priority of the glance is to uphold the imperative of a strict morality which condemns the lover and perhaps courtly love in the name of social order. To speak of the predominant if not determinant role of the heart (which can develop the image without the help of the eyes with the assistance of an intensive literary culture) is to admit the fatality of passion and its justification by the absurd, which was the gist of the *Zāhirite* scandal sparked off by Ibn Dāwūd. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this debate, the influence of which had already made itself felt

in the work of the 'Irāḡī "logographs" and storytellers in the 3rd/9th century.

It could well be that a number of narratives concerning the story of the heroes of romances reveal rather indirect stances relating to this central debate. It should be added that both mysticism and theology put the idea of the heart's vision in the forefront (al-Daylamī, 85). Finally, the Memory of the Lady engraved on the heart—a traditional image no doubt but a deeply felt one—was in this theophany assimilated to the divine face, "yearning" for which haunted Islamic thought, theological as well as philosophical (the *ru'yā* predominates: in the last chapter of al-Ḳuṣḡayrī's *Risāla, ru'yā ḡasana* is seated in the "heart", which in mystic *sālimīyya* is considered as being the "domain" of the Angel; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, i, 131). A vision of the heart and of yearning which are mutually linked and associated in the light of a new conception, or at least a broader one, of "heart" helps to confer on oriental courtly love that shadowy vagueness and dreamlike dimension which strikes the western observer.

Thus the heart begins by referring to a Bedouin love about which little is known except that it involved a change of status where the sacred element had already infiltrated tribal customs. In the poetry of the cities, the heart eventually seems to be the focus of poetic modes of expression; later, under other and still more complex influences, the heart becomes the authorized seat of the Memory of Love and the Vision of the Lady. To determine to what extent this "vision of the heart", the offspring of a highly elaborated civilization, remained faithful to the ideas of primitive Arab culture, is not one of the least of the problems posed by the appearance in the Arab language of a literature composed in a clearly courtly spirit.

*Bibliography*: Examples of the use of the word *ḡalb*: *Mufaḡḡalīyyāt*, ed. Ahmad Ṣḡākir, 93, 301; Zuhayr, ed. Ahlwardt, 91; Djarir, ed. al-Sāwī, 65, 91, 100, 147, 158, 159, 181, 210, 227, 240, 257, 300, 301; 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamid, 67, 84, 105, 106, 160, 178, 179, 185, 190, 192, 195, 201, 203, 217, 219, 222, 225, 227, 229, 279, 295, 319, 323, 326, 355, 360, 362. For the relationship which may have existed between the condition of the poet and the heart's "captivity", see J. C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968, 61. For the role of the heart in "courtliness", see Vadet, *op. cit.* and Ibn Dāwūd; *I'ṡilāḡ al-ḡulūb*, Ms. Bursa 1535 and especially Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Rawḡat al-muḡibbin*, ed. 'Ubayd, 104 (*munāḡara* between the heart and the eyes). For the original meaning of *munṣḡid* and *inṣḡād*, see the romance of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a in *Aḡḡānī*, i, 199, Daylamī, 'Aḡf, 88, the legal treatises on the relationship between *yamin* and *munāḡhada*. (J. C. VADET)

**KALB** (fem. *kalba*, pl. *kilāb, kalīb, aḡlub*, secondary pl. *kilābāt, aḡalīb*), the general name for the domestic dog (*Canis familiaris*) with no distinction of breed. A fundamentally unclean (*nadīas*) animal and therefore forbidden food according to *kuṣ'ānic* law, the dog is generally if not despised, then at least avoided, throughout Islam. This is particularly true of urban areas, at any rate insofar as the animal does not assist its master in the pursuit of a permitted activity. For Muslims this reservation is compounded by a superstitious caution arising from the belief that the dog is a demonic emanation belonging to the category of evil spirits (*min al-ḡinn wa'l-ḡinn*). In Arabic, as in most languages, the word "dog" is a biting insult and it appears pejoratively

in numerous proverbial sayings. In addition, throughout Asia and the Near East, and particularly in the cities, disdain for the animal was buttressed by the scourge of rapidly increasing packs of dogs, regarded as "maroons" (from Sp. *cimarron*, i.e., reverted to the wild state) by some cynologists and as "pariahs" by others. However, like that of the vultures, the presence of these constantly famished outlaws was tolerated to some degree for their indispensable services as scavengers. Istanbul was notorious for its hordes of pariahs; yet in the words of Xavier Marmier, writing in the mid-19th century: "disagreeable as these animals may be, in the State of Constantinople they are practically a necessary evil. Rectifying the lack of foresight of the city police, they cleanse the streets of a great quantity of matter which otherwise would putrefy and fill the air with pestilential germs". The same was true of Cairo and Alexandria; so prolific were the dogs that they became a disaster for the inhabitants, and in the 19th century the viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī (1769-1849), rounded up enough of them to fill a ship and drowned them. The Maghrib too suffered from this "invasion" and there the indefinable and particularly aggressive breed of "douar (gypsy) dog" or "kabye dog" was prevalent. Such a proliferation of carriers of the virus easily explains the endemic nature of rabies (*kalab*) in all Islamic countries at all periods. It is also obvious why the Prophet, faced with the problem of a plague of stray dogs in Medina in his day, at first took the implacable decision to exterminate "all dogs" (according to the *ḥadīths*), and then, mitigating his decree because the canine race were a race of Allāh's creatures (*inna-hā umma min al-umam*) and because man needed certain categories of dog, decided to exterminate the black-coated strays and particularly those with light patches (*ṣabībatān*) on each eyebrow, the undisputable mark of the devil in the eyes of all Arabs. It should be noted that this physical trait occurs frequently among black herd- and sheep-dogs of many occidental breeds and could be regarded by cynologists as an identifying mark of oriental pariahs. Freed from the Prophet's condemnation were all useful dogs who obeyed a master, i.e., trained hunting dogs (*kalb al-ṣayd*, *ḍāri*, pl. *ḍāwāri*) and watchdogs, whether they guarded houses (*kalb al-dūr*), alleys (*kalb al-darb*), flocks (*kalb al-ḍar*, *kalb al-rā'i*, *kalb al-ghanam*), or crops and vineyards (*kalb al-zar*). In the general opinion of the doctors of law and jurisconsults it was permitted to possess, maintain (*iktīnā*), buy, sell and bequeath such dogs, even black ones so long as their use could be justified. In addition, one who killed one of these dogs had to recompense the owner (*kālib*) at the rate of forty *dirhams* for a hunting dog, one ewe for a sheep-dog, one *farāḥ* (= 16 *raḥls*) of wheat for a crop-guarding dog and one *farāḥ* of good earth for a house watchdog.

Though socially useful dogs are tolerated, the animal remains unclean with respect to religious practices. Everything a dog touches or licks is rendered impure and the place where it has lain must be purified with water, following the practice of the Prophet on one occasion. A dog prowling close to a Believer in prayer makes void the *ṣalāt*, and its presence prevents angels from visiting a house. Finally, anyone who keeps a useless and vicious (*'aḳūr*) dog lessens his final reward by one (or two) *ḥirāf* [q.v.] each day. All these unfavourable dicta on the dog are derived from the standard collections of *ḥadīth* and commentaries on them are found in the major treatises of the four Sunnī legal schools: Mālik's *Muwaffa'*, al-Shaybānī's revised *Muwaffa'* and *Kitāb al-Asl*;

Sahnūn's *Mudawwana*, al-Shāfi'ī's *Kitāb al-Umm*, al-Sarakhsī's *Mabsūt*, al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar*, Ibn Kudāma's *Mughnī*, etc. (in the chapters on *al-ṣayd*, *al-dhabā'ih*, *al-dhakāt*, *al-dahāyā*, *al-a'ima* and *al-buyū'* according to the individual writers); they are likewise found in works on the differences among jurists (*ikhtilāf al-fuḥahā'*) such as the *Bidāyat al-Muḍṭaḥhid* of Ibn Ruṣhd. An inventory, classification and analysis of the data on the dog in all these sources is clearly set out by Erwin Gräf in his detailed study of ritual slaughter in Muslim law (*Jagdbeute und Schlacht tier im islamischen Recht*, Bonn 1959).

Famine drove some Arab tribes in pre-Islamic days to eat the flesh of the dog; this was true of the Banū Asad [q.v.] and of one branch of them, the Banū Faḳ'as, among others. If we can believe some satirical verses written in the beginning of the Islamic period (see al-Djāhīz, *al-Bukhālā'*, Leiden 1900, i, 259; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 267), these people acquired a taste for such food. In the Maghrib, al-Muḳaddasī (ed. and tr. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 61, and the cited bibliography, 87) observes that the inhabitants of Kasṭīliya and Naḫṭa are cynophages and, in the 8th/14th century, al-Tiḍjānī accused the inhabitants of Tozeur, in the Djarf of Ifrikiya, of the same deplorable custom (*Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 115). According to gourmets, however, the flesh of plump pups (*ḍīrū*, pl. *ḍīrā'*, *adīrā'*) is succulent, similar to that of pigeons (see *Ḥayawān*, ii, 169, iv, 42). Finally we may speculate that, for pre-Islamic Arabs, eating dog-flesh could have been a relic of old totemic rites, since the dog was "tabu" in the ancient civilizations of the East.

In spite of the unfavourable attitude towards the dog arising from Qur'ānic law and public opinion, nomadic and rural Muslims were not completely unaware of the high qualities of man's first companion, in the aspects both of usefulness and of devotion. As early as pre-Islamic times, the dog was the only domestic animal whose personality was sufficiently noticed for him to be given a proper name which had no connection with his external appearance, like Sa'd, Mas'ūd, Anīs, Murdjān or Samḥa, and the chroniclers recount a number of anecdotes illustrating the compassion shown to dogs. The Prophet himself promised a divine reward to an old woman for her act of charity to a thirsty dog. S. H. Leder (in *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt*, 1912) twice mentions wills or *wakfs* made in favour of dogs (cf. G. H. Bousquet, *Des Animaux et de leur traitement selon le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islām*, in *St. Isl.* ix (1958), 31-48). Nor does the Muslim forget the edifying and touching story of Kītmīr, the dog belonging to the Seven Sleepers (Qur'ān, XVIII, 17), the symbol of fidelity [see *اَشْهَابُ الْكَلْبِ*]; he will be the only dog allowed to enter Paradise. In the opinion of al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār al-tanzīl*, Leipzig 1848, i, 557), Allāh gave this dog the gift of speech, while al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, xv, 141) believed him to be the reincarnation of a human being, a view that tallies with the Ismā'īlī belief that Kītmīr's doglike exterior hid the huntsman (*mukallīb*) Salmān (see al-Djāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 189, iii, 44; al-Damīrī, s.v. *kalb*, ii, 278-312; Massignon, *Les Sept Dormants d'Ephèse en Islam et en Chrétienté*, in *REI*, xxii-xxx (1954-62)).

It was al-Djāhīz who restored the dog to its just place in Muslim society in his remarkable treatise "On Animals" (*Ḥayawān*, i and ii). Pleading the case for the defence of the dog in a disputation between the supporter of the dog (*ṣāhib al-kalb*) and the supporter of the cock (*ṣāhib al-dīk*), he gathers together the Greek scientific data alongside Aristotle, whom he can, when necessary, refute, Arabic sayings in

prose and verse, travellers' tales and contemporary information, with the addition of his own observations on canine ecology and ethology. All this he examines critically in the light of a logic which in his case may owe more to an innate feeling for method than to his penchant towards the rationalist tendency of the Mu'tazilites. In any case, we may be grateful to al-Djähiz for not having contented himself with an apology for one type of hound, the "Saluki" (*salūki* [q.v.]) harrier, the noble hunter (*'itāk*) which was all that poets and writers on the hunt before and after al-Djähiz could do. Thanks to him, although we cannot speak of breeds, we are nevertheless able to distinguish the most common dogs of his day. Apart from the Saluki, there were the Kurdish sheep-dog (*kurdi*), a large animal introduced into Turkey in the 6th/12th century by the Kurds, probably the fore-runner of the Hungarian herd-dog, the Kuwatz. Since it had a keen sense of smell, the Kurdish sheep-dog was also used to track game and, when mated with a Saluki, produced a "cross" (*khilāsī*) with the qualities of both its parents. This, the first hound to hunt by smell and not by sight, was described succinctly by the poet 'Alī b. al-Djahm al-Sāmī (d. 249/863), the favourite of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (see *Aghāni*, x, 239). Half a century later, this verse portrait was summarized by Ibn al-Mu'tazz in two of his *ṭarīyyas* [q.v.] (see *Diwān*, Istanbul 1945, 26, no. 30; Damascus 1952, 297; Beirut 1961, 282-3), where this great hunting dog is described as *nayradīnawradī*, "a tireless tracker". The many subsequent crosses of this strain, which falconers used as "bird dogs" to flush small furred and feathered game for their birds of prey, led to a great many varieties of "mastiff hounds" or mongrels (*khāridī* and in the Maghrib *balhūt*, *barhūsh*). The pointer known as *zaghāri/zughāri* (pl. --*iyya*), from its old High German name, *zeigari*, "pointer", appeared in the 6th/12th century with the Crusades. It was imported into Islamic countries at great cost for use as a bird dog; quieter than the *khilāsī*, it was described as *kalb al-bandī*, "the bush dog". Because of its origins and its clear and light-coloured coat, the *zaghāri* pointer greatly resembles the present-day Italian pointer and Hungarian Vizsla, who are assumed to be the ancestors of all other breeds of pointer. From its pale beige coat, the *zaghāri* pointer was given the nickname *zabībī* (dry grape colour); thus named, it is listed among the presents set by the Byzantine emperor Michael VI Stratiotikos to the Fātimid caliph al-Mustansir bi'llāh in 444/1052 (see M. Hamidullah, *L'Europe et l'Orient musulman*, in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 289).

Among the smaller breeds, al-Djähiz mentions a basset sheep-dog, the *zi'ni/zini*, which is reminiscent of the Hungarian Puli and Pumi. He also mentions the *kalāfi*, the "stocky dog", which seems to belong to the same type as the Pomeranian, and the *ṣini*, "the Chinese", which corresponds to the pug or Pekinese. This dog was easily trained to perform tricks for ladies such as holding a lamp on its muzzle without moving or running errands in the market place with a basket round its neck (*Hayawān*, ii, 179). Mountebanks and travelling showmen made wide use of its skills as a performing dog (*mutalakkin*), putting it to work with monkeys in public performances.

Following the Greeks, the Muslims were not aware of any breeds of wild dog, believing the painted hyena or cynhyena (*sim*) and the aardwolf (*'isbār*) to be hybrids resulting from a cross between domestic dogs and wolves or hyenas. Al-Djähiz was the first to refute these errors (*Hayawān*, i, 183-5).

Rabies (*dā' al-kalab*) was widespread in Arab countries from the earliest days because of the hordes of pariah packs transmitting the virus. For a long time, a man smitten with the disease (*kalib*, *mahlūb*) was considered as one possessed by *djunūn* and treated accordingly by methods designed more for exorcism than therapy; drinking the blood of a king was held to be the supreme remedy and empirical treatments, which were kept secret, were passed on from father to son in some families. Driven by the urgent need to act against the growing scourge, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Baṣra (45/665-6), made public a form of treatment by having it posted up on the wall of the Great Mosque which he had restored (*Hayawān*, ii, 10-2); unfortunately we do not know the nature of this treatment, which appears to have produced good results. The clinical symptoms of rabies, especially hydrophobia, were known precisely; al-Djähiz describes them and, after him, so do Kūshādījm (*Maṣāyid*, Baghdad 1954, 138-9), al-Kazwīnī and al-Damīrī (s.v. *kalb*).

On the analogy of shape, the Arabs gave the name *kalb* to other animals; thus *kalb al-mā'* (fresh-water dog) is the name for the otter, and in the western Islamic world for the beaver. Greed was the analogy which led to the name *kalb al-baḥr* (dog of the sea) being given to the little shark which we too call the dog-fish and which Arab naturalists also call the *kawsadī* or *lakḥm*. It is from this "little shark" (*kuraysh*) that Muḥammad's tribe probably took its name, apparently through totemism. Finally, in the world of the invertebrates (*hasharāt*) we find the *kalb al-mayy*, the mole-cricket (*gryllotalpa vulgaris*), also called *hālūsh* and *harrāthā* by horticulturalists, while arboriculturalists call all wood-eating worms *kalb*. By a similar process of analogy, the word *kalb* and its derivatives were given to a large number of objects, instruments and tools, whose contours or functions were to a greater or lesser degree reminiscent of the animal (see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.).

*Bibliography*: in addition to the references cited in the article: Kazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 403-4; Amīn al-Ma'ūf, *Mu'djam al-hayawān*, Cairo 1932 (s.vv. *canis* and *dog*); Ed. Ghālib, *al-Mawsū'a fi 'ulūm al-ḥabī'a*, Beirut 1965, s.v.; E. Blaze, *Histoire du chien*, Paris 1843; H. D. Richardson, *Dogs, their origins and varieties*, New York 1957; idem, *Forty years with dogs*, London n.d.; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888; De Schaeck, *Des chiens d'Afrique*, in *Revue des Sciences naturelles appliquées*, Paris 1894-5; von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899-1900, i, 69-71; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, Vienna 1908; J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, ii, 53; H. R. d'Allemagne, *Du Khorassan au pays des Backhtiaris*, Paris 1911, iv, 230 ff.; W. Marçais and A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, Paris 1925, i, 285-7, n. 31; O. F. Gandert, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Haushundes*, Leipzig 1930, vol. xlv; A. Childe, *Etude philologique sur les noms du chien...*, in *Arquivos do Museu nacional*, xxxix, Rio de Janeiro 1940; J. Oberthür, *Le Chien*, Paris 1949, i-ii; K. Lindner, *La chasse préhistorique*, Paris 1950, 363, 386, 441 ff.; F. M'ery, *Les chiens de chasse*, Paris 1951; idem, *Le Chien*, in *Enc. Larousse*, Paris 1959; E. Dechambre, *Les chiens*, Paris 1952; M. Barat, *Les chiens et les hommes*, Paris 1953.

The dog in astronomy. The ancient astronomers gave the name "dog" (κύων, *canis*) to a number of constellations and stars because of the allegorical figures which they believed they would perceive in

their dispositions in the sky. After the rise of Islam, the Muslims adopted the same principle and, translating the Greek and Latin terms, gave the name *kalb* to the following stars: a) *al Kalb al-akbar*, the Great Dog—also known as *Kalb al-ḡjabbār*, “the dog of the giant” (i.e., of Orion)—is a sub-zodiacal constellation lying to the east of the Hare, beneath and to the left of Orion, on the edge of the Milky Way. In the European Middle Ages it was called the *quelb alagbar* and *quelb elgebar*. There are seven stars in the constellation and one of these, Sirius the Dog ( $\alpha$  *Canis majoris*, magnitude 1,58) or *al-Shi'rā al-yamaniyya* (*Elschere aliemini*), rises soon after the summer solstice. b) *al-Kalb al-aṣghar*, “the Little Dog”—also called *Mukaddam al-kalb*, “the forerunner dog”—is a sub-zodiacal constellation lying under Gemini between Hydra and Orion. *Quelb alasgar* embraces two stars: Procyon ( $\alpha$  *Canis minoris*, mag. 0,48) or *al-Ḡhumaysā*/*Algomaisa* (= rheumy-eyed, a corruption of *al-ḡjumaysā*, the sycamore)—which is also known as *al-Shi'rā al-shāmiyya*, “Sirius of Syria”—and *al-Shi'rā al-'abūr*/*Alhabor*, “Sirius which has crossed” (the Milky Way). They rise in mid-July. c) *al-Kalbān*, “the Two Dogs” (of Aldebaran), in the zodiacal constellation of Taurus are two stars situated between the Hyades and the Pleiades, corresponding to  $\nu$  *Tauri*, mag. 4,5 and  $\kappa$  *Tauri*, mag. 4,6. d) *Kalb al-rā'i*/*Celbalrai*, “the Shepherd's Dog”, is a corruption of *Kiṭf al-rā'i*, “the Shepherd's Shoulder” (Arcturus) and corresponds to  $\beta$  *Ophiuchi*, mag. 2,9, in the Serpentarius constellation. e) *Kilāb al-shitā*, “the Dogs of Winter”, designates the four mansions of *al-Dhira'* (= Castor and Pollux,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  *Geminorum*), *al-Nathra* (=  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$  *Canceri*), *al-Tarf* (=  $\alpha$  *Canceri* and  $\lambda$  *Leonis*) and *al-Djabha* (=  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\alpha$  *Leonis*) whose heliacal rising occurs successively from the end of June to mid-August and acronychal setting from the beginning of January to mid-February. Sirius ( $\alpha$  *Canis majoris*) rises at the same time as *al-Dhira'*. This long period covers the time of the Dog (*al-kalb*) or “Dog Days” (cf. Fr. *jours caniculaires*, Ger. *Hundstage*), which are characterized by heatwaves (*wagharāt*) and simooms (*samā'im*), and also the time of the hoar-frost (*kuḷba*, *kalab al-shitā*), with its “black nights” (*al-layālī al-sūd*). In antiquity this whole period was regarded as ill-omened and thus held in dread. At the time of the rise of Sirius the Romans sought to placate him by sacrificing a red dog. The maxims of the nomadic Arabs concerning the *anwā'* [q.v.] of these four mansions indicate their apprehension in the face of the torrid summer with its shortage of water and pastureland and their fear of the harsh winter with its meagre supply of food and fuel. The star *al-Dhira'*, “the Arm” (for *al-dhira'* *al-mabsūṭa*, “the outstretched arm” of Castor), which forms the seventh lunar mansion, is at its apogee at the beginning of October, and *al-Nathra*, “the Sneeze” (of Leo), the eighth lunar mansion, in mid-October. In the case of *al-Tarf*, “the Extremity” (of the southern rear claw of Cancer), the ninth lunar mansion, this occurs at the beginning of November, while for the tenth lunar mansion, *al-Djabha*, “the Forehead” (of Leo), it takes place in mid-November. Thus the “Dogs of Winter” is a most appropriate name for these four mansions; it reveals a trace of the old solar astrological calendar of the Bedouins, based on their observation of the meteorological changes and atmospheric precipitations which took place during the heliacal rise and acronychal setting of well-known stars.

*Bibliography*: LA, s.v. *kalb*; A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO Alger*, ix (1951),

76-210; M. Barat, *Les Chiens et les Hommes*, Paris 1953, 89 ff.; Ch. Pellat, *Dictons rimés, anwā' et mansions lunaires chez les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 17-41; idem, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, new ed., Leiden 1961. (F. VIRÉ)

**KALB B. WABARA**, the ancestor of the Banū Kalb, the strongest group of the Kuḏā'a [q.v.]. His mother, Umm al-Asbu', was so called because all her sons were named after wild animals (T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 75 ff.). The Kalb were, according to the genealogical system (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab* etc.), of Yemenite descent, but sometimes they claimed for political reasons to belong to the Northern Arabs or even to Quraysh.

I.—Pre-Islamic period

Their greatest chieftain was Zuhayr b. Djanāb, who had great authority among the northern tribes; so he was sent by Abrahā [q.v.] to control the Bakr and Taghlib (*Aghānī*, ed. Brünnow, 95; Ibn Kutayba, ed. de Goeje, 233). This cannot be the Abrahā of the year in which the prophet Muḥammad was born, but is probably an earlier viceroy of the Yemen. Descendants of Zuhayr are enumerated in *Aghānī*, ed. Brünnow, 102 ff., amongst them a contemporary of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (d. 102/720). Zuhayr was later represented as one of the “long-lived” (*mu'ammār*), who in his verses deplored his lost youth (Abū Hātim in I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, 24 ff.; al-Sayyid al-Murtaḏā, *Amāli*, ii, 172-6).

The grazing grounds of the Kalb (they were famous camel-breeders, see, e.g., *Aghānī*, vii, 109, l. 4) were in the steppe between Syria and 'Irāq (see map in vol. i, 891) called *samāwat Kalb* (Yāqūt, iii, 131 etc.); here their centres were the oases in the low-lying valley (*al-khabī*) formed by the Dījawf [q.v.] and the Wādī Sirhān [q.v.] which opened to them the way to Syria long before the Muslims conquered it (see the verses in *Hamāsa*, Freytag, p. 659 and Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 83, n. 2). Thus, they had settled in Salamiyya, Palmyra, Damascus (especially in the Ḡhūta and al-Mizza), in Dījawlān, al-Suwaydā', and in the region of Ḥarrān; there were small numbers of them in Ḥims, Aleppo, Ḥamāt and Manbiḡ. They had also settled in Fadak, Dūmat al-Djandal, Taymā', and al-Ḥira, and, according to al-Kalkāshandī (*Kalā'id al-ḡjumān*, 47) and Ibn Khaldūn (*Ibar*, ii, 521), there were many of them in “the Gulf of Constantinople” (*al-khalīḏj al-kustanīnī*), as well as in Shīrāz in Persia, and in Manfalūṭ in Egypt. In Syria the Byzantines had placed them under the command of the Ḡhassānids [q.v.], their phylarchs, to defend the Syrian *Limes* against the Sasanids and al-Ḥira. In this way the Kalb became accustomed to military discipline and to law and order. Like the Ḡhassānids they became converted to Christianity in its Monophysite form.

The Kalb clashed with the Muslims for the first time when Muḥammad sent, c. 6/627, an expedition against Dūmat al-Djandal [q.v.] which led to the conversion of al-Aṣbagh b. 'Amr and a treaty (Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 36; see J. Sperber in *MSOS As.*, xix (1916)). There were already some converted Kalb in Mecca, e.g. Muḥammad's step-son Zayd b. Ḥāritha [q.v.] and Dihya [q.v.]. In 8/639 the Kalb sent a deputation to Muḥammad to announce their conversion; it seems however that the majority stood aside, taking no part in the conquest of Syria.

*Bibliography*: in the article; in addition see the indexes to Ṭabart, Ya'kūbī, Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishīkāk*, the *Aghānī* (Tables), Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iḥḏ al-farīd* (*Indices* by M. Shaḥī'), Hamdānī, ed. D. H. Müller (*BGA*, iv), al-

Bakrī, Yākūt; *The Nakā'id of Djarir and al-Farazdaq*, ed. Bevan; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmilī*, ed. Wright; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 264-6; W. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, ii, 369. For their dialect see H. Kofler, *Reste alt-arabischer Dialekte*, in *WZKM* xlvii-xlix (1940-42). [See also AL-DJĀBIYA, BANU 'L-MUHALLAB.] (J. W. FÜCK)

## II.—Islamic Period

The relations between Kalb and the Umayyads go back to the time of the caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (see above). Owing to their importance and strength in Syria, Mu'āwiya, who had married Maysūn [q.v.], whose father, Unayf [q.v.], belonged to the Kalb aristocracy, chose to rely on the Kalb in order both to secure his position at home, and to prepare himself to face 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in war. Thus the Yamanites in general and the Kalb in particular became the most influential of the tribes in Syria during the reigns of Mu'āwiya and his son, Yazīd, who also had married a wife from the Kalb, and during that of Mu'āwiya II [q.v.].

Conflicting interests led Kalb and Ḳays [q.v.] to support opposing political groups. In the period of political trouble that followed the death of Yazīd I, the support given by Kalb to the Umayyads was due to the favourable economic and political position which they had enjoyed under them. On the other hand, Ḳays gave their full support to Ibn al-Zubayr [q.v.], less because of their attachment to his cause, than because of their hatred for the Kalb and the Umayyads who supported them. Mas'ūdī reports (*Murūdj*, v, 200) that al-Yaman, headed by the Kalbī Hassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal, stipulated before giving their full support to Marwān [q.v.] that they should be given the same concessions as they had enjoyed under Mu'āwiya I, Yazīd I and Mu'āwiya II. These were that two thousand of them should receive two thousand *dirhams* for their support each year, and, if a recipient died, his son or cousin should receive the payment. Kalb should take precedence at court, and should be consulted on every important matter. To all these terms Marwān gave his consent. Not unnaturally, therefore, Ḳays gave their full support in the battle of Mardi Rāhiṭ [q.v.] (64/683) to Ibn al-Zubayr, while Kalb and others of Yaman took the side of Marwān. This battle, however, ended with a crushing defeat for Ḳays, a defeat which they never forgot and which deepened still further the conflict between themselves and Kalb. This was one reason for the feuds between them in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.], for Ḳays found in the political disturbances at the time of his accession an opportunity to revenge themselves.

One such opportunity came in the battle on the *Khāzīr* (67/686) when 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who was with those Ḳays serving in the Syrian army, deserted the field as soon as battle was joined, thus bringing about the victory of the 'Irākīs. Following this treason, 'Umayr took refuge with the leader of Ḳays, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, who had been holding out against the Umayyads in Ḳarḳīsyā' since the battle of Mardi Rāhiṭ. Thenceforward there began the armed conflict between Kalb and Ḳays, which took the form of raids, called '*Ayyām*' ("days"), each of which usually bore the name of the place in which it had occurred.

Both Zufar and 'Umayr began to make a series of raids on those Kalb who were living in the Samāwa desert between Syria and 'Irāk, and these raids were met by retaliation from the Kalb under Ḥumayd b.

Ḥurayth b. Baḥdal. However, these constant Ḳaysi raids eventually caused the Kalb to leave the area and emigrate to al-Ḡhawr in Palestine. Thus Ḳays achieved unchallenged supremacy in the area.

However, the Kalb-Ḳays feud broke out in a different area. The raids of Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth on the Ḳays in the *Djazīra* had stirred up the Banū Fazāra [see FAZĀRA] in 'Irāk, who complained to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. This led to another series of raids, the most celebrated of which was that of Banāt Ḳayn in which the Ḳays was victorious. As a result of the wise measures taken by 'Abd al-Malik, the raiding ceased, and the day of Banāt Ḳayn was the last of the famous "days" between Kalb and Ḳays.

During the military struggle between the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids (132/750) 2,000 Kalb originally sent to help Salm b. Kutayba—the Umayyad governor of Baḡra—defected and took the side of the 'Abbāsids. This may have been due to the fact that Marwān II relied almost exclusively on Ḳays; or the Kalb may have realized by this time that the Umayyad cause was lost and therefore have tried to win favour with the new regime. However, in the same year the Kalb, with others of Yemen, took part in the revolt of Abu 'l-Ward against the 'Abbāsīd army led by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī [q.v.]. This might have been a result of their disappointment with the new régime.

Under Ḥārūn al-Rashīd [q.v.], Damascus was the scene of a tribal feud between the two factions of Yemen and Muḍar. It lasted with short intervals from 174/790 to 180/796. The chief reason for this feud was the Syrian Arab tribes' sympathy for the Umayyads, and it was fostered by the policies of the 'Abbāsīd governors, who supported one faction against the other. This feud emerged once more under al-Ma'mūn [q.v.] (213/828) in connection with the Yaman in Egypt.

In the later 'Abbāsīd period, the history of the Kalb was of less importance and took the form of Bedouin (*a'rāb*) attacks on the central authorities. The following are the main events. The Kalb under 'Uṭayf b. Nī'ma took part in the revolt of Ḥimṣ against the governor al-Faḍl b. Ḳārin and killed him in 250/884. But al-Musta'īn's general, Mūsā b. Bughā al-Kabīr, was able to defeat the rebels and capture Ḥimṣ. In the year 294/906, the *a'rāb* of Kalb, together with al-Nimr b. Ḳāsiṭ [q.v.] and Asad, defeated al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, the governor of Mosul, and pursued him to the gates of Aleppo. In the same year al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān succeeded in defeating the *a'rāb* of Kalb and Ṭay' [q.v.], but he was eventually captured. Under al-Mustashīd, the Kalb took part in the dispute between the ruler of Damascus and Dubays b. Ṣadaqa, the ruler of Aleppo [see MAZYADIDS], by betraying the latter, who took refuge with them, to the former.

It is interesting to note that Carmathian propaganda found a response among some of the Kalb and especially the Banu 'l-'Ulayb b. Ḍamḍam and their *mawālī*, who were living in the Samāwa desert. In 289/901 they paid homage to Yaḥyā b. Zakrawayh, the Carmathian propagandist, calling him *shaykh*. Banu 'l-Aṣḡabagh—another branch of Kalb—also joined Ibn Zakrawayh, and seem to have believed so sincerely in his mission that they called themselves "Fāṭimids". Taking by surprise al-Mu'ṭaqid's army, which was pursuing them, they managed to kill its leader, Sabuk al-Daylamī. Then they pushed on to Damascus, burning the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa and surprising all the villages they passed through. Ibn Zakrawayh and his followers harassed Ṭughdī b. Ḍjuff [q.v.], the ruler of Damascus, and imprisoned



him within his city. It was not until the Egyptians sent an army under Badr al-Kabīr, Ibn Ṭūlūn's slave, that the Carmathians were defeated and their leader Ibn Zakrawayh was killed. It is significant that one reason suggested for his death was the egalitarian policy he adopted towards his *mawālī* followers.

The death of Yahyā led Banu 'l-'Ulays and Banu 'l-Aṣḡagh to follow his brother al-Ḥusayn b. Zakrawayh. The latter was able to defeat the Egyptian force and the troops of Ḥimṣ and of other Syrian provinces sent against him. He also made his authority felt to such an extent that he was recognized as Amīr al-Mu'minīn in the Friday *khutba* all over Syria in 289/901-2. However, the caliph al-Muktafi was able to have him seized and put to death in 291/903.

Following the death of al-Ḥusayn b. Zakrawayh, the Banu 'l-'Ulays, Banu 'l-Aṣḡagh and Banū Ziyād (all from Kalb) joined another Carmathian *dā'ī*, Abū Ḡhānim Naṣr. They made several attacks on Buṣrā, Adhri'āt, Damascus and Ṭabariyya. In Ṭabariyya, where some of the troops of Damascus joined them, they defeated and killed Ibrāhīm b. Bughāmardī, the deputy governor of Jordan, impelling the caliph al-Muktafi to send an army against them under al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān. They then moved on to Samāwa and Hit, which they devastated. Another army, under Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Kundādīk, took the field against them. Finding themselves unable to face this joint army, the Kalb betrayed the Carmathian leader Naṣr, and killed him. By taking his head to the caliph as a sign of their loyalty, they averted any action against themselves.

The Kalb were also the most enthusiastic supporters of all the Sufyānī [*q.v.*] rebels. The revolt of Abu 'l-Ward (132/750) and that of 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khalid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya (195/810) are good examples. This support is clearly reflected by the tradition that the Kalb would be the last adherents of the Sufyānī.

*Bibliography:* Abū Tammām, *Naḡā'id Dīarīr wa 'l-Aḡḡal*, i, 16, 17, 26; *al-Ḥamāsa*, (ed. G. H. Freytag) i, 260, 261, 263, 317-19, 435; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, i, 219, 255, 256; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 305-6, 373; Balādḥurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 60, 61, 65; v, 99, 106, 127-8, 132, 138, 146, 147, 148, 301, 308, 309, 310, 311, 313-14; idem, *Futūḥ*, 110, 246, 286; Ya'qūbī, ii, 283, 301, 303-4; idem, *Buldān*, 326-7; Ṭabari, i, 686, 749, 1898, 2065-6, 2082, 3056, ii, 29, 204, 205, 474-5, 478, 480, 483, iii, 52-4, 830, 843-5, 1319-22, 1514, 1533-4, 2217-22, 2256-9, 2277, 2278; *Ta'rikh al-khulafā'* (anonymous), fols. 70b, 95a, 96b; Ibn Durayd, *al-Iṣṭihāq*, 318-19; Dīahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā' wa 'l-kuttāb*, 24, 26, 31; Ḥamdānī, 129-32, 205-6; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 200, 202, vii, 240; idem, *Tanbih*, 371-6, 377; *Aghānī*, xvi, 88, xvii, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 121-3, 311, xx, 121-3; Ibn Ḥawqāl, 41; Marzubānī, *Mu'djam al-shu'arā'*, 241; Ibn Ḥazm, *Dīamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, 264; Bakrī, *Mu'djam mā ista'djam*, i, 279-80, iv, 160; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, iv, 145, 460, v, 86, 337, vi, 118; Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-'ulūm*, 42; Yāqūt, i, 131, 369, 405, 536, 599, 701, 738-9, ii, 84-5, 217, 248, 261, 378, 391, 421, 744, iii, 304, 419, 575, 587, 596, 628, 690, 694, 783, 827, iv, 522, 1024; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii, 395-6, 402, iii, 380, iv, 254, v, 406, vi, 129-30, 249, vii, 134-5, 541-3, x, 668-9; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, ii, 69, iii, 16; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, ii, 99, 496, 504; 521, 539, 540, iii, 499, 501, 810, v, 936; *Kalkashandī, Kalā'id al-djumān*, 46-9; Ibn Ḥadjār, *al-Iṣāba*, iii, 337; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, Göttingen 1852-3, 264-7; R. W. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*

*in Early Arabia*, London 1903, 200-1; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du Calife Omayyade Mo'awia I<sup>er</sup>*, Beirut 1908, 50-1, 286-93, 309-12, 324-6, 418; U. R. Kakhāla, *Mu'djam kabā'il al-'Arab*, iii, Damascus 1949, 991-2; J. 'Alī, *Ta'rikh al-'Arab kabīl al-Islām*, Baghdad 1950-60, vi, 150, 168-9, v, 31-3; J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, Calcutta 1927, 70-1, 132-3, 178, 182, 201-6; W. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab: das Genealogische Werk des Hiṣām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966, 279, 288, 369; A. A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate*, London 1970, 83-120. (A. A. DIXON)

### III.—In Muslim Spain

The army of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] included Kalbī and Ḳaysī elements, among whom the memory of Mardjī Rāhiṭ aroused an antagonism which showed itself in North Africa and particularly in Spain throughout most of the 2nd/8th century. The troops sent by Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik to suppress the Berber revolt launched by Maysara [*q.v.*] were composed of Syrians; Balḍī [*q.v.*], commander of their van, who was a member of the Ḳaysī aristocracy, took refuge at Ceuta, appealing for assistance to the governor of Spain, 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan, a Medinan opposed to the Syrians. After refusing to help for some considerable time, 'Abd al-Malik finally allowed Balḍī to enter Spain, where the Berbers were also in revolt. Discord between Kalb and Ḳays soon broke out, and Balḍī succeeded in supplanting 'Abd al-Malik, whom he caused to be tortured. Balḍī's pro-Ḳays policies provoked disturbances. His successor roused the wrath of other elements of the population and the Umayyad caliph in Damascus then sent to Cordoba the Kalbī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Husām b. Dirār [*q.v.*], who adopted a policy which favoured his fellow-tribesman. His partiality earned him the hostility of a Ḳaysī chieftain, al-Sumayl b. Hātim [*q.v.*], who exerted considerable efforts and opened hostilities against the governor, allying himself even with some Yamanīs (Lakḥm and Djudhām) against Kalb. The revolt launched in 127/745 was successful; Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, defeated and taken prisoner, was replaced by Thabāba b. Salama al-Djudhāmī, who died in 129/746. Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri [*q.v.*] was then chosen as governor of Spain. The Kalbī supporters of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, who had fled, were defeated at Secunda (Shakunda) in 130/747 by the Ḳaysī party, and in time passions cooled, especially since enduring famine encouraged the cessation of hostilities. In coalition with the Berbers, the Yamanīs moved to attack al-Sumayl, governor of Saragossa, but the Ḳaysīs succeeded in delivering him (137/755), with the aid, notably, of emissaries from the future 'Abd al-Rahmān I [*q.v.*]. Negotiations having broken down, the Kalb and other Yamanīs assisted the Umayyad pretender to come to Spain and establish himself there.

Subsequently, the hatred between Ḳays and Kalb diminished as the Andalusian personality took shape, but even in the 3rd/9th century the fires of fanaticism still flared up (e.g., a war begun in 207/822 which lasted seven years in the region of Murcia, sparked off on some flimsy pretext).

*Bibliography:* E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index. (E.D.)

AL-KALBĪ, the name of a prominent family from Kūfa. Bishr al-Kalbī and his sons al-Sā'ib, 'Ubayd and 'Abd al-Rahmān took part in the Battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] on 'Alī's side (36/656); al-Sā'ib b. Bishr embraced the cause of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr and, despite numerous defections in the

ranks of the Kūfans, was slain beside him at Dayr al-Djāhlik [q.v.] in 71/690 by Warḳā' al-Nakha'ī (al-Ṭabarī, ed. M. Ibrahim, Cairo 1964, vi, 103, seems to date his death to 67/686 and places it during the battle between Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr and al-Mukhtār; whatever the facts of the matter, al-Sā'ib was not killed at Siffin in 36/657, as Ibn Ḥazm states, *Djamhara*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1962, 459). Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib (and not b. Mālik as in the *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 95) played an active part in the revolt of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Aṣḥ'ath [see *IBN AL-AṢḤ'ATH*] and fought in his ranks at Dayr al-Djamādjim [q.v.] (82/701); he left a partial account of this battle in which he recounts, *inter alia*, his honourable, even triumphant, return to his family in Kūfa in one single day without having had to abandon one of his weapons (al-Ṭabarī, vi, 349-50, 364).

To swordsmanship, the family added another claim to fame: learning; in fact it is rare to consult an early Arab book without finding some reference to an al-Kalbī. These references, brief or more detailed, concern three different persons, who were already difficult to distinguish in early days.

I.—Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (Abū 'l-Naḍr) died in Kūfa at the age of at least 80 in 146/763. He was interested in all contemporary branches of learning: universal history; the history of religions, pre-Islamic (al-Shahrestānī, *Milal*, Cairo 1947, 1220-64), Jewish (Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIqd*, Cairo 1948, i<sup>2</sup>, 157) and Christian; poetry (Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, iii, 436), literature and philology; genealogy, tradition and ancient legends. He employed his wide knowledge in a commentary on the Kur'ān (*Tafsīr*), the longest ever composed (al-Dhahabī, *Ibar*, Kuwait 1960, i, 106). So great was his fame in this sphere that Sulaymān b. 'Alī, perhaps during his governorship of Baṣra (133-9), brought him to that city to teach kur'ānic exegesis. With the support of Sulaymān b. 'Alī, Muḥammad al-Kalbī put forward, despite the opposition of his hearers, an interpretation of the Kur'ān which went contrary to received opinion; it is probable that he expressed pro-'Alid views. His courses were written down (*Fihrist*, 95), but his *Tafsīr* is now lost, apart from a few sparse fragments in various works. This is perhaps to be explained by his use, direct or indirect, of written sources and chains of tradition (*isnād*) which did not conform to the norms fixed for *ḥadīth* criticism, and above all by the fact that, as a Shi'ī, he had advanced opinions contrary to Sunni orthodoxy, especially in *ḥadīth* and in the different levels of kur'ānic interpretation (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1374, i, 76, 91, 216-7, etc.). He was sometimes accused of heresy, of *riḍā*, of saba'ism, of *irdjā'* and so on, and sometimes of forgery and falsehood. Even in the 20th century he has impassioned opponents among the scholars of al-Azhar (Aḥmad Shākir, in his edition of the *Lubāb al-Ādāb* of Usāma b. Munqidh, Cairo 1935, 123-4, n. 5). Yet he has remained an authority, and even his detractors draw on him as a source.

II.—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, Abū 'l-Mundhir, generally called Ibn al-Kalbī, was probably born in Kūfa around 120/737 and educated in that town; he died there in 204/819 or 206/821, in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. His death was greatly regretted by the caliph (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, Cairo 1931, xiv, 45-6) for reasons which are not particularly clear; we do know, however, that the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī (d. 169/785) made use of Ibn al-Kalbī's knowledge when countering the Umayyad attack in Spain (al-Ṭabarī, viii, 172-3). It was probably during this caliph's rule that Ibn al-Kalbī stayed

in Baghdād. Like his father, he was interested in all branches of knowledge of his time and he wrote a good number of works, more than 150 according to the *Fihrist*. This immense oeuvre was incorporated, to a great extent, in the works of his direct and indirect disciples: Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Ibn Durayd, al-Ṭabarī, Abū 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī and many others who borrowed a great deal from him without much concern for acknowledgement and often with over-vague references to the master's work. A few titles, however, have been recovered from this anonymous mass by Ibn al-Kalbī's fame:—1. *Djamharat al-Nasab*: W. Caskel and G. Strenzić have published two imposing volumes, one a study on everything closely or remotely connected with Arab genealogy and with Ibn al-Kalbī in particular, and the other genealogical tables culled from the work of Ibn al-Kalbī (*Gamharat an-Nasab des Ibn al-Kalbi*, Leiden 1966). Ibn al-Kalbī was the uncontested master of Arab genealogy, and in his *Djamhara* Ibn Ḥazm did no more than give currency to the work of his eminent predecessor, without acknowledging it to a great extent. In his lifetime Ibn al-Kalbī was the source, arbiter and sometimes amused dispenser of titles of nobility.—2. *al-Aṣnām*, published for the first time in Cairo in 1912 by Aḥmad Zakī, has been translated into German (by Rosa K. Rosenberger, Leipzig 1941), into English (by N. A. Faris, Princeton 1952), and into French (by M. S. Marmardji, in *Revue Biblique*, xxxv (1926), 397-420: a fragmentary translation; more recently, W. Atallah has published a new ed. of the text together with an annotated French translation (Paris 1969)). As on genealogy, Ibn al-Kalbī remains an authority on the history of Arab paganism; Ibn Durayd, al-Naḍjirāmī, Yāqūt, 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghādī and others consulted his work, summarized it, and always cited him as a reference.—3. *Ansāb al-Khayl*, in which the author set forth genealogical accounts illustrated by short poetic pieces celebrating the most famous chargers of history (ed. Levi Della Vida, Leiden 1928; a copiously annotated edition by Aḥmad Zakī appeared posthumously in Cairo in 1946).—4. A few fragments of various length have been preserved, vestiges of lost works such as *K. al-Kulāb*, *K. al-Lubāb*, *Shi'r Ḥatīm al-Ṭā'ī*, etc.

To some extent Ibn al-Kalbī's work has been mingled with that of his father, but only partially; in the narrative of the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim, for example, he naturally cites his father, who had taken part in the combat, but he also had recourse to other witnesses (al-Ṭabarī, vi, 342-50). He is so scrupulous in his pursuit of exactitude that he even quotes his own father through the medium of other narrators (*ibid.*, ii, 272, vi, 360). Apart from oral sources, Ibn al-Kalbī cited specialists who had access to biblical and Palmyran sources (*ibid.*, ii, 273); he was kept informed of archaeological discoveries in the Yemen (Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭihāk*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1958, 524); he seems to have had a secretary called *Djabala* who provided him with translations from Pahlavi (*Fihrist*, 244) and he himself consulted the archives and tablets of the Christian communities of al-Ḥīra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 628). Equipped with modern methodological criteria, it is easy to point to lacunae in Ibn al-Kalbī's knowledge and to criticize some of his opinions on the history of languages or some of his narratives, which are more legendary than historical. In his universal history he often had to fall back on oral sources alone, and he should be given credit for having written these down. All in all, his work is not inferior to that of other historians of

oriental or classical antiquity. Some Arab writers were fiercely critical of him, but such criticisms, sometimes based on scholarly rivalry, were often sectarian or motivated by religious fervour, for, like his father, Ibn al-Kalbī fell foul of Sunnī orthodoxy. On the other hand, he did have ardent supporters (Yāqūt, Beirut 1956, ii, 187-8, 219, 504), and detractors and admirers alike were frequently largely dependent on his work. Among modern scholars, I. Goldziher has criticized Ibn al-Kalbī (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 185-7) by taking literally the early criticisms directed against him; he bases his arguments on the false, self-glorifying genealogies which Ibn al-Kalbī recounts with humour, and on his pro-ʿAbbāsīd views (al-Ṭabarī, viii, 172-3), using these to throw doubt on his scientific worth. Th. Nöldeke (*Gesch. der Araber und Perser*, Leiden 1879, xxvii and index) restored the balance, and since then criticisms of Ibn al-Kalbī have been reduced to their proper dimensions: even so, neither ancients nor moderns have evaluated him at his true worth. Present-day research is confirming Ibn al-Kalbī's eminent role in the history of Arab literature.

III.—ʿAbbās b. Hishām, Hishām's son and not his brother as al-Kūfī states (*Fihrist*, 95). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī (xvi, 46) speaks of an Ibn al-Kalbī who must be the grandson of Muḥammad al-Kalbī. Al-ʿAbbās transmitted his recollections of his father, Hishām, passing on some of his learning to philologists like Ibn Durayd (*Ishṭikāḥ*, *passim*) and to historians like al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī. Nothing further is known about him.

*Bibliography*: Main accounts: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabakāt*, Beirut 1957, vi, 358-9; Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāshā, Cairo 1969, index; Ibn al-Nadīm, index; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, Cairo 1931, xiv, no. 7386; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, iii, 436-8, v, 131-3; Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1936, xix, no. 112; Dhahabī, *Mizān*, Cairo 1963, iv, 304-5, 556-9. Among modern writers, the editors of Ibn al-Kalbī usually provide ample bibliographies. Note the introductions to the *Djamhara* (Caskel-Strenzick) and to the *Asnām*. See too Brockelmann, *Blachère*, *Litt.*, and also Kahhāla.

(W. ATALLAH)

**KALBIDS**, a family stemming from the tribe of the Kalb b. Wabara [*q.v.*], which Arab sources relating to the Maghrib call Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan).

In the Maghribī chronicles, governors and senior officials of the Umayyad administration in Ifrīkiya who were of Kalbite origin appear frequently, as do others belonging to the rival Ḳays tribe. While the more astute of the caliphs in Damascus sometimes managed to steer an even course between these two adversaries, their representatives in the Maghrib, in Spain and in Sicily often leaned to one side or the other, guided either by their personal sympathies or by the circumstances obtaining at any particular time. Thus the disputes and often bloody battles provoked by the traditional antagonism of the two tribes intensified the chaos in a situation where a Kalbite *wālī* frequently followed a Ḳaysite one and *vice versa*.

Under the Aghlabids, who relied largely on Muḍarite elements, the Kalbites began to decline, but they were the main prop and stay of Fāṭimid political and religious policy; they therefore swiftly found in Ifrīkiya a milieu favourable to their rise, so that by the middle of the 4th/10th century they were the governing element of Muslim Sicily. At this period Kalbite elements were probably already allied with the Kutāma Berbers.

For services rendered particularly to the first *imāms* of Ifrīkiya, the Kalbites were speedily rewarded by the Mahdī and his descendants; in al-Ḳā'im's day, 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn al-Kalbī (one of the first dynasts of this family and son-in-law of Sālim b. Abi Rāshid, the Fāṭimid governor of Sicily from 305/917 to 325/936) died at the siege of Agrigento (326/938) in the midst of the struggle pursued by Sicilian Fāṭimid supporters against those who had remained faithful to the caliphate in Baghdād. His son al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, who had distinguished himself in Ifrīkiya in the campaigns waged by al-Ḳā'im and al-Manṣūr against the *Khāridjite* Abū Yazid [*q.v.*], was the first of a succession of Kalbite governors in Sicily, a kind of hereditary emirate (cf. *Kitāb A'māl al-a'lām* (see *Bibl.*)), which lasted until the mid-5th/11th century.

Confronted by that chaotic situation caused by the rebellions in Palermo and Agrigento against the Fāṭimid representatives, the Caliph al-Manṣūr deemed it logical and sensible to entrust Sicily's management to those whose fidelity was proven beyond doubt and who, moreover, could maintain a neutral stand between the rebels and the *imāms* of Ifrīkiya. Only a few years after his arrival in Sicily, al-Ḥasan had two victorious encounters with the Byzantine forces in Calabria and Apulia. He took this opportunity to build a mosque at Reggio, but it was destroyed a few years later. On al-Manṣūr's death (Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 341/March 953), al-Ḥasan returned to Ifrīkiya, leaving the government of the island in the hands of his son Aḥmad, but without definitely abandoning his role as military commander in Sicily and Calabria. He was later recalled to the area by his brother 'Ammār, who was hard-pressed by the Byzantines. Aḥmad, the second Kalbid *wālī* of Sicily (342/954-358-69), found himself involved in some decisive battles; most notable were the capture of Taormina (351/962), whose name was changed to Mu'izzīyya in honour of the *imām* al-Mu'izz, and the fall of Rametta and the simultaneous victory at sea known as the *wak'at al-madīās* (battle of the straits), which is celebrated in a turgid *ḥasīda* by Ibn Hānī' (*Diwān*, ed. Zāhid 'Alī, 1352/1934, no. 40, 540-59).

In the succeeding years the different Kalbid governors pursued sporadically their conflict with the Byzantines, but military offensives were rarely large-scale: Byzantium had now admitted the need to enter into peace negotiations with the Fāṭimids, especially since the ambitions of the Emperor Otto I regarding southern Italy had become known. These ambitions also fired his son, Otto II, who, when he ventured into Calabria, found himself faced with a coalition of Muslims and Byzantines, the latter driven by necessity to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Kalbid troops, the former providentially assisted by the rivalry of the two Christian empires. The clash between Otto II's troops and those of the Kalbid *wālī* 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, son of the first Kalbid governor of Sicily, took place in Muḥarram 372/July 982 at Capo Cotrono in Calabria. At first the Muslims seemed overwhelmed but the battle quickly turned in their favour. This was perhaps the last great Muslim victory against the Christians in Sicily, aside from a few offensives of little importance such as the forays of 376/986 into Calabria, the siege of Cosenza a couple of years later, new attacks on Taranto in 381/991, the storming of Matera in 384/994, a surprise attack on Benevento in 392/1002 and finally a brief siege of Capua.

In Egypt too the Fāṭimids employed the services of leading members of the Kalbid family, some of

whom were sent to Sicily by the *imāms* of Cairo to act as governors. This was true of, for example, *Djā'far* b. Muḥammad, in Egypt counsellor to al-'Aziz bi-'llāh (al-Mu'izz's successor in 364/975), who governed the island for two years (372/983-374/985). This period saw the apogee of Kalbid prestige: in Egypt, when al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh [q.v.] was proclaimed caliph, the Kutāma Berbers, Fātimid supporters, demanded that control of affairs be entrusted to al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār, the victor of Rametta and nephew of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn; in Sicily, the Kalbid Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh (379/989-388/998) governed the island with great wisdom for eight years. The former was granted the title of *Amin al-Dawla* and the latter that of *Thiḳat al-Dawla*.

The fortunes of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family soon declined from this peak: in Egypt there was a conspiracy against al-Ḥasan, while Sicily sank into chaos under *Djā'far* (388/998-410/1019), son of Yūsuf. Although the steadily increasing autonomy enjoyed by Sicily from the outset of Fātimid rule in Egypt coincided with the greatest splendour of the amirs' court in Palermo, it proved detrimental to the political realities of the moment, in the face of which the Kalbid rulers should have shown greater administrative prudence and zeal. Instead, they preferred relaxing in the mansions of Palermo, numerous at this period, to the efforts of military undertakings or the cares of political responsibility. Indeed *Djā'far*, amir of the island for twenty years, seems to have been the founder of Castello di Mareolci in Palermo. The effects of this decline were apparent in all fields, but they were especially marked in military matters: the Muslims suffered their first setback in Bari in 394/1004 at the hands of the Byzantines and the Venetians, and the following year they were checked by the Pisans at Reggio.

This already serious state of affairs worsened under the rule of *Djā'far*'s brother, the Kalbid amir Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Akḥal (410/1019-427/1036), about whose campaigns in Calabria and Apulia the Arab chroniclers have little to say. It is certain, on the other hand, that during the 15-year span of this governorate a new element, the Zirids, played a far larger part than formerly in the political and military life of Sicily. In fact, al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, at the instigation of many of al-Akḥal's opponents, who complained of his injustice and malpractices, sent his own son, 'Abd Allāh, to the island at the head of a large military contingent. Al-Akḥal sought the help of the Byzantines, with whom he had already entered into negotiations. The latter defeated the Zirid forces, but then withdrew to Calabria, leaving 'Abd Allāh to effect the easy defeat of his opponent, whom he besieged and killed.

The struggle for power among Yūsuf's sons, their continual intrigues and boundless ambitions, characterized the governorate of al-Ḥasan, called al-Ṣam-ṣām, the last Kalbid amir of Sicily (431/1040-445/1053; the latter date is given variously in the Arab chronicles). Various local *kā'id*s [see *IBN AL-HAWWĀS* and *IBN AL-THUMNĀ*], however, had already begun to lay claim to power on the island and their struggles for supremacy hastened Norman intervention in Sicily.

Of the total period of Muslim rule in Sicily, the Kalbid era was one of the most prosperous. As their reign began when the bloodiest and most devastating military offensives could be considered over, some of the most far-sighted of the rulers of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family, sustained by the prospect of

autonomy, promoted the marked development of western Sicily. Palermo and some other urban centres prospered once more, thanks to the new impetus given to municipal enterprises, to public works and to cultural matters. In the capital especially, the study of the traditional sciences had already been inaugurated in the preceding period, and some of the most enlightened Kalbid amirs, themselves often enthusiastic versifiers, encouraged an exceptional development of poetry, as may be seen from the few extant extracts of the vanished anthology compiled by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭā' al-Ṣiḳillī [q.v.].

*Bibliography:* The historical, geographical and literary texts dealing with the Kalbids of Sicily have been collected by M. Amari in *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, appendix, Leipzig 1875 (Italian tr., i, Turin-Rome 1880; ii, 1881; appendix 1889); the historical data on this family have been studied by this same historian in *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*<sup>2</sup>, ed. C. A. Nallino, Catania 1933-39.

Some interesting information on the relationship between the Kalbids and the Fātimid *imāms* of Ifriḳiya can be found in Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr al-'Azīzī al-Djāwḍharī, *Sirat al-ustādḥ Djāwḍhar*, ed. Muḥ. Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥ. 'Abd al-Hādī Ṣḥā'ira, Cairo 1954 (Fr. tr. by M. Canard, Algiers 1958); certain texts relating to these relationships have been translated into Italian by U. Rizzitano in *RSO*, xxxii (1957), 546-55; cf. also U. Rizzitano, *Gli Arabi in Italia, in L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1965, i, 93-114; idem, *Un compendio dell'Antologia di poeti arabo-siciliani intitolata "ad-Durrah al-ḥaṣīrah min šu'arā' al-Ḡazīrah" di Ibn al-Qaffā'* "il Siciliano", in *Atti del Acc. Naz. Lincei*, 8th series, vol. viii, Rome 1958, 335-78. In the *Kitāb a'māl al-a'lām* of Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Ḳhaṭīb, one chapter is devoted to the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family; cf. the edition by Aḥmad Muḥṭār al-'Abbādī and Muḥ. Ibrāhīm al-Kittānī, Casablanca 1964, 122-36 (Sp. tr. by R. Castrillo Marquez, Madrid 1958). (U. RIZZITANO)

**KAL'E** [see **KAL'A**].

**KAL'E-I SEFID**, a fortress in Fārs, in 30° 10' N. Lat. and 51° 30' E. Long. (Greenwich). It is built on a mountain with a flat top, in the eastern part of the valley of Kohra, which falls steeply down on all sides. On its summit, which can only be reached by cliff-paths, lies an extensive well-wooded plateau watered by numerous springs. A strong garrison is necessary for its defence, as is noted in the *Fārsnāma*. Descriptions of the fortress and the country round it are given, among Oriental writers for example, by Ibn al-Balkhī in the *Fārsnāma* (the pertinent passage is copied by Mustawfī, *Nuṣḥat al-Ḳulūb*, 'Alī Yazdī and Mīrkhwānd (see *Bibl.*). Of descriptions by European travellers in the 19th century, that of Stolze deserves special mention; along with Andreas he explored the mountain and castle thoroughly. The statements of Kinneir, who visited **Kal'e-i Sefid** in 1810, are unreliable, according to Stolze.

The name of the fortress is given in the Persian geographers and historians as **Kal'e-i Isfid** (Sefid, Sepid), the "white citadel"; **Kal'e-i Ispid-diz** (the "white fortress") is also found; **Kal'e-i Sefid** is the only form in use at the present day. Translated into Arabic the name is given in Ibn al-Aṭṭār (ed. Tornberg), xi, 46 as al-Ḳal'a al-Bayḍā'. The name "white citadel", which is found elsewhere as a name for a castle in areas where Arabic and Persian are spoken (e.g., in al-Ḥīra, al-Madā'in, in the oasis of Ruḥba east of Ḥawrān, and in the region of Ḳayrawān, in Afghanistan, etc.; for Bireḍjīk cf. above i, 1233), may

very probably originate in the dazzling white colour of the building-stone used. The name Kal'e-i Gul u Gulāb (citadel of the rose and rose-water), borne by Kal'e-i Sefid in al-Bundārī (Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 183, 13) is remarkable.

Kal'e-i Sefid is the most noteworthy point on the mountain road which leads from Behbahān to Shīrāz and furnishes communication between Khuzistān and Fārs. It may be regarded as certain that a commanding place like this was very early fortified. The "Persian passes" through which Alexander the Great tried to enter the ancestral home of the Achaemenids and which were defended by the Satrap of Persis, Ariobarzanes, with his strong forces, have often been sought in the valley of Kal'e-i Sefid; e.g., by Vincent, Mützel, Droysen, Forbiger. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, ix, 138), in differing from these, considers Kal'e-i Sefid to be the stronghold of the Uxians and places the "Persian Gates" farther east. Ritter's view has been attacked particularly by Mützel in his edition of Curtius (Berlin 1841), p. 414 f. and by Stolze (*op. cit.*, 262 f.; see bibl.). That the region of Kal'e-i Sefid does not correspond to the situation of the "Persian Gates" of the historians of Alexander and that the latter should be located elsewhere has been fairly convincingly proved by Stolze, *op. cit.*

Kal'e-i Sefid is not mentioned by the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. Like the adjoining town of Nawbandjān (Nawbandajdjan) it must have been allotted to the Persian province of Sābūr in the Caliphate period. From the 4th/10th century on we find cropping up in the Oriental sources a nomadic people named the Shūl, after whom the whole area, inhabited by them from the west of Shīrāz to the frontiers of Fārs and Khuzistān was called Shūlistān. There is definite evidence to show that Kal'e-i Sefid belonged to Shūlistān. On the Shūl and the land of Shūlistān cf. the references in Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 380 f. (see bibl.) and also Mustawfī, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* (ed. Browne, GMS xiv), 538, 658, 660, 696, 726.

Kal'e-i Sefid is frequently mentioned by Persian poets and chroniclers. It is first found in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* (ed. Mohl, ii, 92, 245 f.); here the conquest of the stronghold is related as one of the noteworthy deeds of the hero Rustam. As the *Fārsnāma* (written about 500/1106) reports, the fortress of Kal'e-i Sefid had lain in ruins for many years until it was rebuilt by a certain Abū Naṣr from Tīr Murdān (a district of the province of Sabūr) during the turmoils of the last decades of Būyid rule, that is in the first half of the 5th/11th century. The mountain, difficult of access, served not infrequently in wartime as a secure hiding-place. For example in 534/1139 Buzāba, governor of Fārs, retired here before Karā Ṣonkor, atabeg of the Saljūq Sultan Mas'ūd; cf. the article BŪZ-ABEH. The Salghūrid Abū Bakr [g.v.], atabeg of Fārs from 623 to 658 (1226-1260) (on him see SALGHURIDS) transported his treasures to Kal'e-i Sefid and placed a garrison in the citadel in order to have a place of refuge here in case of a catastrophe. The last atabeg of Fārs of the Salghūrid dynasty, Saljūqshāh, met his death at the foot of Mount Kal'e-i Sefid in battle with one of Hūlāgū's generals in 663/1264; see J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchāne*, Darmstadt 1842, i, 243 and cf. also Mustawfī, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, 509.

Although Hūlāgū issued an order to destroy all the fortresses in the lands conquered by him, an exception was made of Kal'e-i Sefid, as is expressly mentioned; cf. the passage in the *Ta'rikh-i Waṣṣāf*

in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382. The citadel could therefore continue to serve as a place of refuge, and was also on several occasions used as a state-prison for political opponents. Thus for example Mas'ūd Shāh of the Indjū dynasty, who ruled as governor of Fārs from 736/1335, imprisoned his brother Muḥammad in Kal'e-i Sefid [see INDJŪ]; when later Abū Ishāq, a younger brother of the Mas'ūd Shāh just mentioned, came into conflict with the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn and had to flee after the capture of his capital Shīrāz in 754/1353 he went to Kal'e-i Sefid (see Mirkhānd's account in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382; Mustawfī, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, 658, 15 f.). A few years later the sons of Mubāriz al-Dīn, Shāh Sulṭān and Shāh Shudjā', rebelled against their father, blinded him and imprisoned him in Kal'e-i Sefid in 759/1358; see Mustawfī, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, 681; Defrémery in *J.A.*, 1864, ii, 112. In 785/1383 Shāh Shudjā' had his son Sulṭān Shiblī sent to Kal'e-i Sefid as an alleged rebel (see Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, 724; Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382; Defrémery, *op. cit.* (1845), i, 437).

Kal'e-i Sefid has attained special fame through its capture by Tīmūr. The latter on his second campaign in Fārs in 795/1393 passed by the road from Behbahān to Shīrāz, besieged this barrier fortress, considered impregnable, and stormed it on the third day. All the members of the Muẓaffarid dynasty were captured and put to death (cf. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, Calcutta 1887, i, 600 f.; Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, 751).

We read of the capture of Kal'e-i Sefid by Hamza-Bey several centuries later, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I; see Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 384. The Mamasani have now settled in a large part of what was once called Shūlistān; they are a robber tribe, who centre round Kal'e-i Sefid. On them see Layard in the *JR Geog. S.*, xv, 28; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 390. ix, 137; C. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, i, 210, 219 f., 262 f. When the Mamasani in the latter part of the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh (1797-1834) were in constant rebellion under a robber chief named Wallī Khān Bakash, an army of Ādharbaydjānī troops was sent against them, who besieged Kal'e-i Sefid and forced the stubborn defenders of the citadel to yield (cf. Curzon, *op. cit.*).

It should further be mentioned that below the fortress on the mountain there was at one time a second smaller castle, the name of which is variously given as Astak (*Fārsnāma*, 158, 17) or Nishnāk (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 132, 5; further variants of the name are given here in note 1).

The little village of Tell Espīd should not be confused with this; it lies northwest of Kal'e-i Sefid in the adjacent plain on a hill some 2400 feet high; cf. Wells in the *Proc. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1883, v, 161 and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 85.

*Bibliography*:—Ibn al-Balkhī, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, GMS, New Series, vol. I, London, 1921, 158 and in addition the tr. by Le Strange in *JRAS* (1912), 878; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 129, 16, 131, 19, 132, 8; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, part. ed. by Quatremère as *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, i, Paris 1836, 382 f.; in the latter work Quatremère gives pertinent extracts from Persian histories by 'Abd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh (*Ta'rikh-i Waṣṣāf*) and Mirkhānd; Hādjdjīlī Mirzā Ḥasan Ṭābiḥ Shīrāzī, *Fārsnāma-i Nāsiri*, litho. Tehran 1313, 334; Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh-i Mu'ini*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 353; Le Strange, 264 f.; J. M. Kinneir, *A geogr. memoir of the Pers. Empire*, London 1813, 73; Malcolm,

*Hist. of Persia* (rev. ed., London 1829), i, 19 note, 295; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 137-144; Stolze, in *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x (1883), 262-5; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, ii, London 1892, 318 f.; E. Herzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1907, 84 f. (with the map on Plate vii). (M. STRECK)

**KAL'Ē-I SULTĀNIYYE** [see CANAK-KAL'Ē BOĞHAZI].

**KALENDER** [see KALANDAR].

**KALENDEROGHLI MEHMED** (d. 1018/1609), leader of the *Djelāli* [q.v. in Supp.] rebels of Anatolia, was born in the village of Yassıvırān, in the *sandjak* of Ankara. He managed to obtain a *timār* in this *sandjak* and was promoted to *çavuş* when Lālā Mehmed Paşa [q.v.] was *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. As one of the "deserters" (*firārî*) who fled at the critical moment in the battle of Mezö-Keresztes ([q.v.], 1005/1596), he was deprived of his *timār*; when he appealed, his dismissal was confirmed and he was threatened with further punishment, whereupon he, like so many others who had been proscribed as "deserters", joined the *Djelāli* movement under Karayazdîl, then the virtual ruler of Anatolia. Karayazdîl died in 1010/1601, and was succeeded as leader by his brother Deli Hasan. In 1011/spring 1603, Deli Hasan came to terms with the government in Istanbul and crossed into Rümeli to serve as *beglerbegi* of Bosna, but Kalenderoghll, together with such other leaders as Karakuş Ahmed and Kara Sa'îd, stayed in Anatolia and maintained their resistance in the area of Ankara—Akşehir—Kütahya. He came to the fore as one of the officers of Tawil Khaill, who surprised the army of the vizier Naşûh Paşa near Bolvadin (1014/1605), so that when the sultan (Ahmed I) attempted to come to terms with the *Djelāli* leaders Kalenderoghll was appointed *beglerbegi* of Karāmān (and thus obtained the title of *pasha*). However, he did not assume the duties of this post but was granted Ankara as *arpalik* [q.v.]. His position became precarious with the death of Lālā Mehmed Paşa, who had been his protector, and the appointment of Murād Paşa ("Kuyudju" [q.v.], 1015/1606) as grand vizier. Moreover, the people of Ankara had refused to permit him to enter the city; he was obliged to leave one of his officers to deputize for him and to withdraw eastwards.

Meanwhile, Murād Paşa had marched against the rebels and summoned Kalenderoghll to join him in the campaign against *Djānpulātoghll* 'Alī Paşa at Aleppo. Suspecting a trap, Kalenderoghll disobeyed this order, thus revealing himself as a rebel. When Murād Paşa moved towards Aleppo, Kalenderoghll, at the head of a numerous host of *segbāns* [q.v.], moved westwards, occupying the Aegean coastlands and the Bursa district, so as to threaten Istanbul itself. He defeated the government forces sent against him and even laid siege to Bursa; he failed to take the city but fired the suburbs. Greatly disturbed by Murād Paşa's decisive defeat of *Djānpulātoghll* in 1016/1607, Kalenderoghll summoned all the *Djelālî* leaders to join him; nearly all obeyed, with the exception of Muslu Çavuş, who was operating around Silifke, and *Djānpulātoghll* himself, who was attempting to take refuge in Istanbul. Kalenderoghll's proposal to offer battle in the region of Mar'āsh - Aleppo was accepted, with a few dissenters. The army of over 70,000 *segbāns* was defeated in the *yayla* of Göksün [q.v.] by Murād Paşa's troops, composed entirely of *kapu kulları* and reliable tribal levies from south-east Anatolia and the Arab lands (22 Rabi' II 1017/5 August 1608). Kalenderoghll

and his companions fled, hoping to reach safety in Persia. Hotly pursued, he managed to take refuge with Shāh 'Abbās, but since he would not abandon his turbulent ways he was put to death.

*Bibliography*: M. Akdağ, *Celāli isyanlarından Büyük Kaçgunluk (1603-1606)*, i, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, ii/2-3 (Ankara 1964), 1-49; I. H. Uzunçarsili, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iii/1 Ankara 1951, 102-17; Na'imā, Istanbul 1280, ii, 4-10; Peçevi, Istanbul 1283, ii, 270; Mehmed Edirnevi, *Nukhbat al-ta'rikk wa'l-akhhbār*, Cairo 1248, 230; Kātib Celebi, *Fedhkeke*, Istanbul 1287, 289; Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 397-410; Archival and manuscript sources: Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri, vols. 76, 78; Ankara Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, vols. 7, 9, 10; 'Abd al-Kādir, *Wakāyis-nāme*, Süleymaniye Lib., Istanbul, Ms. Esad Ef. 2151; Hasanbeğzāde, Nuruosmaniye Lib., Istanbul, Ms. 3134; *Münşe'āt*, Ms. Esad Ef. 3384. (M. AKDAĞ)

**KALGHAY**, KALGHA, KAQHALGHA, a title best known as indicating the "deputy" or "their apparent" of the *khāns* of the Crimean *Khānate* [see KIRIM]. The term has been subjected to a variety of linguistic, sociological and political analyses, the most important of which are summarized here.

Linguistically, the title has been associated with the Tatar word *kalghay*, "he will remain" or "let him remain", on the basis of an anecdote given by Halim Girāy (*Gülün-i Khānān*, Istanbul 1287, 11 ff.). This popular etymology, followed by Hammer (*Geschichte der Chane der Krim* . . ., Vienna 1856, 39), Howorth (ii/1, 610) and Ahmed Djewdet (*Ta'rikk*, i, 73), is untenable. A Mongol origin (Pelliot, *İnalçık*) is unlikely, since the term is not encountered before 1475. For a full discussion of the problem, see Doerfer, iii, p. 499, and J. Matuz, *Qalga*, in *Turcica*, ii (1970), 101-29.

In a sociological or institutional sense, there were ample precedents for the office of *kalghay*. The *Khānate* of the Golden Horde and its successor state, the Crimean *Khānate*, like other stable governments, required a trusted official who could make decisions in the absence of the *khān*. The *kalghay*, as deputy and heir apparent, was invariably a brother or a son of the *khān* (M. de Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer noire*, ii, Paris 1787, 252). As direct descendants of Çingiz-Khān [q.v.], the *khāns* of the Golden Horde and of the Crimea followed closely many Mongol or inner Asian traditions. In fact, the office of *kalghay* corresponds rather closely to the Mongol prince known as the *otigin-ajān* or "master of the hearth or the home yurt or patrimony". (cf. B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime social des Mongols*, Paris 1948, 67 and 126). According to Mongol tradition, the home yurt was entrusted to the care of the *khān*'s youngest son. It would appear significant that most *kalghays* were chosen from among the younger brothers of the *khān* until the end of the 10th/16th century, a time when Islamic-Ottoman practices became more influential in the Crimea (see GIRĀY and the accompanying genealogical table). İnalçık reports (*loc. cit.*) that slightly more than half of the *khāns* had previously served as *kalghay*, which emphasizes the role of deputy over that of their apparent. Clearly the Ottoman sultan (after 883/1478) and the tribal aristocracy could always impose their will, and often did, to disrupt an orderly succession and to weaken an able or over ambitious Girāy dynastic line. A convocation of the tribal dignitaries, termed a *kuriltay* [q.v.], also represented a weakened version of an inner Asian institution; the original *kuriltay*

apparently consisted only of family members of a ruling dynasty. In the Crimean *Khānate*, as in the Golden Horde, the privilege was extended to the tribal *mirzās* [q.v.], thus weakening the authority of the ruling family (cf. B. Grekov and A. Iakoubovski, *La Horde d'Or*, Paris 1939, 121-3).

In accordance with the inner Asian practice of conferring an *indjū* or fief upon princes and holders of high office, the *kalghay* maintained his seat of power in Aḳmesdjid, exercising from there complete administrative and judicial authority over the inner Crimean territory from Aḳmesdjid to the Ottoman enclave of Kefe (Kaffa). He held his own daily *diwān* [q.v.] and was attended by officials with ranks corresponding to those of the *khān's* *diwān* in Bāghčesarāy. It was in the composition of the court and in the powers given to *kadīs* that one may observe Islamic political influences among the Krlm Tātār elite. The *diwān* of the *kalghay* could recommend the death penalty for criminals within the *kalghay's* territory, but this penalty was subject to the review of the *khān* and his *mufti* and *kādi-ʿasker* [q.v.]. The appointment of a *nūr al-dīn* [q.v.], a second deputy and heir apparent to the *khān*, after 992/1584, may indicate an Ottoman influence. Henceforth the tendency was to appoint a brother of the *khān*, younger or older, to the rank of *kalghay*, while the position of *nūr al-dīn* was reserved for his favourite son. Thus, a certain preference was given to seniority of line, as in the case of the later Ottoman sultans, rather than seniority in a given Girāy family.

In the 12th/18th century the revenues of the *kalghay* included 10,000 piastres from the customs dues of Karasubzār [q.v.], 5,000 p. from the salt works of Kerč, 3,000 p. from the customs dues of Kaffa [q.v.] and a tribute of 2,500 p. from the honey tax of Moldavia and 1,000 p. of the same from Wallachia. He also received the capitation tax (*djizya*, [q.v.]) from certain Christian villages, a revenue which he often turned over to officers of the court, and he inherited the property of *mirzās* in his district who died without suitable heirs (Peyssonel, ii, 254).

The *kalghay* could be called upon by the *khān* to lead Tātār contingents to war (usually in support of the Ottoman army, at which time special subsidies were forthcoming) or on Tātār raids into the territories of Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy or Circassia; on these occasions the *kalghay* had full powers and received one tenth of all booty in keeping with Mongol custom. When the *khān* led the army, the *kalghay* often remained behind to guard the Crimea from Cossack or other attack. If he accompanied the *khān*, he was placed in command of the right wing of the army (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāhāt-nāme*, x, 47-8). The *kalghay* generally could be expected to support the prerogatives of the dynasty against encroachment by the sultan or the *mirzās*.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, the *kalghay* could send his own envoys together with those of the *khān* and could negotiate independently of the *khān* under certain circumstances. A proportional amount of all tribute (*ḥsh*) payments from Muscovy, for example, had to be specifically allotted to the *kalghay*. (Note the lists of articles sent to the Crimea in H. Feyizhan and V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Materiali po istorii Krimskago Khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1864, *passim*).

The palace of the *kalghay*, situated on high ground on the left bank of the Saigir river in Aḳmesdjid, was demolished after the Russian conquest of 1783. Close to the old town, the Russians built the new enclave of Simferopol, which became the seat of power for the Russian governor of the Crimea. The

office of *kalghay* typified the combination of inner Asian and Islamic institutions, a feature common to the institutions of the Turco-Tatar peoples of western Asia.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see the bibliography to the article *ḠIRĀY* in *IA* (Halil Inalcik); H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876-1929, especially vol. ii/2; V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoye Khanstvo pod verkhovestvom Ottomanskoj Porti do Nacala xviii vv.*, St. Petersburg 1887; and C. M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*, New York 1972.

(C. M. KORTEPETER)

**KALHĀT** (22° 42' N., 59° 17' E.), the chief coastal settlement of the Banū Salīma and Mālik b. Fahm (Azd) tribes of south-eastern 'Umān, probably since pre-Islamic times. Their clans had also settled on the Persian side of the Straits of Hurmuz and, under the leadership of the *Djulandā* (b. Karkar), exercised a degree of control at the entrance to the Gulf from their fortresses at al-Dikdān and Huzv until evicted from the latter by 'Aḳud al-Dawla. The collapse of Buwayhid power and its replacement by that of the Saldjūqs, the demise of the Ibādī Imamate in 'Umān and Ḥaḳramawt and a shift of Indian Ocean trade to the Red Sea brought about a radical change in political groupings at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and saw the final decline of the old trading centres of Sirāf and Ṣuḥār. The merchants of Sirāf had already started to develop the island of *Qays* in Buwayhid times and it was their princes who gained control of the entrance to the Gulf at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, gradually bringing back part of the Indian Ocean trade to the Gulf.

At the same time the traditional relationship between the peoples of south-eastern 'Umān (who were mostly Ibādīs) and Hurmuz, then the local port for Kirmān, was activated. *Kalhāt* was fortified and became the new entrepôt of the "monsoon" trade, a role previously held by Ṣuḥār. In an effort to challenge the control of *Qays*, an alliance was made with the Salghūrids of Fārs; it was this that led to the capture of *Kalhāt* by the *Kh*ʿarazmīs some time between 611/1214-5 and 617/1220-1. A few years later Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-*kusī* (var. *kushī*, *kāshī*) of *Kalhāt* subjugated *Qays* and brought the whole of the coast as far as *Ḍufār* (Dhofar) under his rule; his expedition sent to reduce the peoples of interior 'Umān perished in the southern desert in 660/1261-2.

Although Maḥmūd made Hurmuz his capital, he never lost his attachment to *Kalhāt* and finally retired there; his descendants, however, became increasingly Persianized and estranged from the mainly Arab population of their second capital, repressing Ibādism, which was inimical to dynastic rule. Some time before the middle of the 8th/14th century *Kalhāt* was severely damaged by an earthquake and during the course of this century gave way to *Maskaṭ* (Muscat) as the "monsoon" trade centre on the 'Umān coast. Sacked by Albuquerque in 1508, it was never properly rebuilt by the Portuguese, who developed *Kurayāt* as their southernmost fortified settlement. In the second half of the 16th century, *Kalhāt's* trade was still worth a third of *Maskaṭ's* to the Portuguese factors, but by the end of their occupation in the mid-17th century, its demise appears to have been complete, replaced even as a local port by *Ṣūr*.

*Bibliography*: al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld 1876-7, 742; Albuquerque, *The commentaries of the great Alfonso Dalboquerque*, Hakluyt Society

1875-1884, Index s.v. *Calayate*; J. Aubin, *Les Princes d'Ormuz du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *JA*, ccxli (1953); 'Awtāb al-Šuḥārī (Salma b. Muslim), *Kitāb Ansāb al-'Arab*, two Mss. including Bib. Nat. Paris Mss. arabes 5019, section Azd; de Barros, *Asia*, 6th ed., Lisbon 1945 ff., ii, 2, i, 44; Dimashqī, *Nukhbāt al-Dahr* . . ., ed. Mehren, 1866, 166; S. D. Goitein, *Two eyewitness reports on an expedition of the king of Kish (Qais) against Aden*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954); Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nusha*, 116; Ibn al-Aḥlīr, x, 233-4; xii, 198; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 226; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Ta'rīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. Löfgren, 1951, 1954, ii, 272-4, 287-91; Idrīs-Jaubert, i, 152; F. M. Da Luz (ed.), *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas da Índia*, in *Boletim Da Biblioteca Da Universidade De Coimbra*, xxi (1953), 55-6; Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Col. H. Yule, London 1871, ii, 381-3; Muḥaddasī, 426-7, 432; al-Sālimī, ('Abd Allāh b. Humayd), *Tuḥfat al-A'yān bi-Sīrat Ahl 'Umān*, Cairo 1961, i, 253; ii, 5; Sirḥān b. Sa'īd al-Ambū 'Alī, *Kaṣḥf al-Ḡhumma* . . ., Damascus Ms. Ta'rīkh 347, 483, tr. E. C. Ross as *Annals of 'Omdān* . . ., *JAs. Soc. Bengal*, 1874, 140; P. Teixeira, *The travels of Pedro Teixeira*, Hakluyt Society, 1902, Appendix A (. . . origin of the Kingdom of Harmuz . . .) Appendix D (. . . Chronicle of the Kings of Ormuz); P. Della Valle, (Letter ix), *Les Fameux Voyages de Pietro della Valle*, Paris 1663-4, iv, 407-8; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, i, 41-2; Yāqūt, i, 502-3; ii, 211-2; 9, iii, 211-2, 368-70; iv, 168, 215-6, 974.

(J. C. WILKINSON)

**KĀLĪ** "carpet" [see **BISĀT**, in Suppl.].

**AL-KĀLĪ**, ABŪ 'ALĪ ISMĀ'IL B. AL-KĀSĪM B. 'AYDĪHŪN B. HĀRŪN B. 'ISĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN/SALMĀN (*mawlā* of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān or of his son Muḥammad) **AL-BAGHDĀDĪ**, great Arab philologist (288/901-356/967). The genealogy and following data are vouched for by his autobiography, which was preserved by his pupil, al-Zubaydī (p. 204 f.). He was born in the year 28(8)/901 in Manāzḍjird [q.v.], to the north of Lake Van. In 303/915 he set out for Baghdād; after a longer stay in Mosul, he arrived there in 305/917, along with people from the frontier town of Kāllkalā (Erzerum), whose *nisba* he took in the hope of receiving particular favours in his studies as a man of the frontier. In Baghdād he studied *lugha* and *akḥbār* with the most renowned scholars of his time, such as Ibn Durayd, Ibn al-Anbārī, Niffawayh, Ibn al-Sarrādjī, al-Zaḍḍīdjī, al-Akḥfash al-Aṣḡar, al-Muṭarriz the *ghulam* of Ṭha'lab, and others; under the direction of Ibn Durustawayh he studied thoroughly the *kitāb* of Sibawayh in al-Mubarrad's interpretation; he read Ibn Kutayba's books with the author's son Abū Dja'far and the books of Yaḥyā al-Munaḍḍijīm also with the author's son Aḥmad etc.; he also devoted himself to the study of the *ḥadīth* under the guidance of well-known traditionists such as Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Dāwūd al-Sijīstānī and 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baghawī; he read the *Qur'ān* with the *imām al-kurrā*, Ibn al-Mudjāhid. In 328/939 he left Baghdād, apparently on the invitation of prince al-Ḥakam, the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, for al-Andalus, arriving in Cordoba on 27 Šha'bān 330/17 May 942. He died there, as al-Zubaydī adds, highly honoured, in Rabī' II 356/March-April 967; according to Ibn al-Faraḍī, i, 65 f., no. 221; \*Cairo 1373/1954, i, 84, no. 223, he died on Saturday 7 Djumādā I 356/20 April 967 (this precise information is probably from al-Kālī's son Dja'far, from whom Ibn al-Faraḍī transmits, see

Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl, 129, no. 189; \*Cairo 1374/1955, 127, no. 292).

Al-Kālī, frequently cited also as Abū 'Alī al-Bagh-dādī, became the key figure in the 'Irāqī tradition in the West. On his emigration to Cordoba, he managed to take with him a great part of his library. Books which he did not possess, or which had been mislaid on the way in Kayrawān, he either dictated from memory in his new home or made commentaries and critical observations on them, following the 'Irāqī tradition which he knew, and taking into account examples of other traditions (see Ibn Khayr, 395 *passim*; Zubaydī, 203; Kīfī, i, 205; Sellheim, 95 ff.). As a grammarian he paid no heed to the quarrels of the schools, such as the well-known one between the Baṣrans and the Kūfans since the days of the two rivals al-Mubarrad and Ṭha'lab, but relied on his own judgement, although he agreed on the whole with the *madḥhab* of the Baṣrans (cf. Kīfī, i, 205). For his pupils see the passages mentioned in Fulton, 9, according to al-Dabbī, Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl and Ibn al-Babbār.

Few of his numerous works remain (Kīfī, i, 206; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 352; Fulton, 6 f.). The best known is his *K. al-Amālī*, which deals with every conceivable question of philology in so far as it concerns the 'arabiyya; cf. 'Umar al-Daḥḥāk in *MMIA*, xlv (1969), 515-37; the best edition is that of the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo 1344/1926; the third volume contains the *Dhawl al-Amālī wa 'l-Nawādir*, with Bakrī's *Tanbīh*; Bakrī's commentary on the whole work, with the title *Simt al-la'ālī fi ṣarḥ Amālī al-Kālī* was published by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī (Memon) in three volumes with indexes, Cairo 1354/1936. Kālī's great dictionary, the *K. al-Bārī* 'fi 'l-lughā, was arranged according to a phonetic system very similar to the *K. al-Ayn* of al-Khaḥlī b. Aḥmad, and must have comprised about 4,500 folios: see *A facsimile of the manuscript of al-Kitāb al-Bārī* 'fi 'l-lughā by Ismā'īl ibn al-Kāsim al-Kālī, ed. with an introduction by A. S. Fulton, London 1933 (cf. Hāshim al-Ṭa'ān's thesis (M.A.), *al-Bārī li-Abī 'Alī al-Kālī*, Baghdād 1972 (?)); J. Kraemer in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 212 f.; S. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-'Ain und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965, 65 ff. For two Mss. of his *K. al-Maḥṣūr wa 'l-mamūdā*, see *Fihrist al-kutub al-'arabiyya*, Dār al-Kutub, ii, Cairo 1345/1926, 40; printed in Cairo 1392/1972. The *Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Shirāsiyya*, listed by Brockelmann, S I, 944, 16, apparently has nothing to do with al-Kālī. So too, the *K. al-Amḥāl* ascribed to him in the *Fihrist al-maḥḥūḍāt*, Dār al-Kutub, 1936-55, i, Cairo 1380/1961, 78, is in fact the *K. al-Amḥāl* of Hamza al-Iṣfahānī.

*Bibliography*: al-Zubaydī, *Tabakāt al-naḥwiyyin wa 'l-lughawiyyin*, Cairo 1954, 132, 202-5; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, Madrid 1891, i, 65 f., no. 221; \*Cairo 1373/1954, i, 83 f., no. 223; al-Humaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḥtabis*, Cairo 1373/1954, 154-8, no. 303; al-Sam'ānī fol. 439 b; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa*, Saragossa 1893, 395-7 index; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 216-9, no. 547; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 351-4, no. 122, and *Mu'djam*, index; al-Kīfī, *Indāh al-ruwāh 'alā anbāh al-muḥāk*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 204-9, no. 130; al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'djīb fi talkhīs akḥbār al-maghrib*, Leiden 1881, 16, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1893, 20; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Ibn al-'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Leiden 1851, ii, 266; \*1951, ii, 250, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1904, ii, 413; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-djanān*, Hyderabad 1338/1919, ii, 359; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1348/1929 ff., x, i, 264 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, iv, 142, 146, \*Beirut 1958, iv, 309, 312;



al-Suyūfī, *Bughya*, 198; *al-Muḥsir*, Cairo 1378/1958, index; al-Maḥḥārī, *Analectes*, ii, 48-52, index, Cairo 1367/1949, iv, 70-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shuḥḥarāt*, iii, 18; *TA*, s.v. *kalā*; Ismāʿīl Paṣḥa, *Hadīyyat al-ʿArīfīn*, Istanbul 1951, i, 208; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 112-4; F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 71 f., no. 33; Brockelmann, I, 132, S I, 202 f., 944, S III, 1196; M. Ben Cheneb, *L'Idjāza du Cheikh ʿAbd el-Qādir el Fāsy*, Paris 1908, 438 f., no. 242 (Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congr. Intern. des Orient.); O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 239-41; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörteransammlungen*, 's-Gravenhage 1954, 95 f., index, Arabic tr., Beirut 1971, 138 ff., index; Kh. al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954, i, 319 f.; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʿallifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957, ii, 286 f.; S. A. Bonebakker, in *Actas del primer Congreso des Estudios Arabes e Islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 453-66. (R. SELLHEIM)

**KĀLĪ**, **KĀLĀʿĪ**, the name used by the Arabs for tin (or for an especially good quality of tin), which is sometimes also called *al-raṣāṣ al-kaʿlī* and *al-raṣāṣ al-abyaḍ*, that is, "kaʿlī lead" or "white lead" (see *LA*, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; Vullers, *Lex. pers.-lat.*, ii, 735; Quatremère, in *Journal des Savants*, 1846, 731). For the other names for tin in Arabic (*ḥayṣar* = κασσίτερος, etc.), see, for example, al-Dimashqī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 54. The word probably comes from the Far East, whence the Arabs could have borrowed it directly, without the intermediary of modern Persian (although this is also possible) as al-Djāwālīkī believed (ed. Sachau, 125), considering the modern Persian *kalhā* to be the original. The correction *kalāhi* for *kalhā* proposed there is based on Ibn Saʿīd, quoted by G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyage . . .*, Paris 1913-4, 343. The word found in the Persian dialect of Māzandarān, *kaʿlī* (in Gilāni: *kaʿlib*; see Melgunof, in *ZDMG*, xxii, 198), must have come from Arabic, and thence to the Turkish *kalay* and the modern Greek καλάι. As a loan-word *Kalāʿī* travelled further still, into Portuguese (*calaim*, *calin* = tin from India; see Dozy and Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*), Leiden 1869, 245; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 143). It has been thought that the region of Kalah [q.v.] in the Malacca peninsula, which was celebrated for its tin mines, gave rise to the word. The Arab geographers and lexicographers usually derive *kaʿlī* from al-Kalʿa (= Kalah; e.g., Yākūt, s.v.; al-Firūzābādī, *Kāmūs*, s.v.; cf. also Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuṣḥa*, ed. Le Strange, 203). The word is also—and certainly erroneously—connected with an (alleged) source of tin called al-Kalʿa in Ceylon (Yākūt, i, 21, iv, 162), in Spain (Yākūt, iv, 162; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 203) and in the Yemen (al-Firūzābādī, *op. cit.*).

The usual word for tin in present-day Malay appears to be *timah*. Also found with this meaning are *kaling*, *kaleng*—not *kelang* as Langlès, Quatremère, Dozy-Engelmann, Yule-Burnell and others write it—which, according to the dictionaries, means primarily tin-plate or tinned iron-plate (though the meaning tin may be an older one); cf. Wilkinson, *A Malay-Eng. Dict.*, Singapore, 1901, 497<sup>b</sup>; idem, *An abridged Malay-Eng. Dict.*, Singapore, 1919, and Klunkert, *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederl. Woordenboek*, Leiden 1916). It is clear that the Arab word *kaʿlī* does not derive from *Kalʿa* (= Kalah), but from this Malayan word. Quatremère firmly supports this etymology but Dozy-Engelmann and Yule-Burnell do not commit them-

selves. It is difficult to credit that the Malayan *kaling* is a corruption of *kaʿlī*. The possibility has also been considered that the name of the district of Kalah, from the Malayan *kaling*, means simply "land of tin"; this view was expressed as long ago as Langlès in his edition of the *Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor in Grammaire de la langue arabe* by Savary (Paris 1813, 499 = offprint, Paris 1814, 63). Yule and Burnell quote as an analogy the fact that the little state of Salangor (north of the city of Malacca) was formerly known as Nagri Kalang, "the land of tin". Furthermore, according to Wilkinson, *Malay-Eng. Dict.*, 526<sup>b</sup>, *Kelang*, *Klang* properly only the name of a district of Salangor and a small urban town ship within that district, is also often extended to include the whole state of Salangor. Perhaps the origin of *kaʿlī* is to be found in this *Kelang*.

*Kalʿī*, *kaʿlāʿī* is also used for a type of sword which is often mentioned, especially in early Arabic poetry (cf., for example, Aws b. Ḥadjār, ed. Geyer, 33; Ruʿba b. al-ʿAdjādī, ed. Ahlwardt, 49, l. 43; scholia to Ṭarafa, *Muʿallaqa* (apud Arnold, *Septem Moallakat*, Leipzig 1850, 61). On al-Ṭhaʿlībī, *Laṭāʾif*, 102, 130 (cited by Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 396<sup>b</sup>), see Fleischer in *Sitz.-Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, (1886), 45. Cf. also Ibn Saʿīd, *Ṭabakāt*, i, 50). This kind of sword is generally considered to be of Indian origin (cf., e.g., al-Firūzābādī, *al-Kāmūs*, s.v.), and indeed Indian swords were famous from early times among the Arabs and were celebrated by the poets (cf. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 127-8 and A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 88-9). As a more definite place of origin Arab geographers and lexicographers usually give al-Kalʿa, where the tin of the same name comes from (e.g., Yākūt, s.v.). Sometimes the Syro-Arab desert (the Bādiya), or the district of Hulwān in ʿIrāk (cf. *LA* and *Kāmūs*, s.v.) is given as the place of origin. The Yemen, which produced the finest swords after India, is sometimes given as the place where the *sayf kaʿlī* came from; as in the glossary of Ṭarafa's *Muʿallaqa* cited above. Jacob, *Alt-arab. Beduinen-leben* (Berlin 1897, 149) would like to opt for the Yemen, more specifically the "fortress" (*kaʿlā*) of Aden; in support of this hypothesis is the fact that a poem by ʿAlkama (ed. Socin) no. 3, speaks of the "pearls of Kalʿa" (*kaʿlāʿī*). Yet the derivations of the Arab word from an East Indian place called al-Kalʿa (= the Kalah of Malacca [q.v.]) seems more likely. The distinction between the two kinds of sword, *kaʿlī* and *kaʿlāʿī* (cf. Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.* s.v. *kaʿlā* and *kaʿlāʿī*), is in any case invalid (contra Schwarzlose, *op. cit.*, 130). (M. STRECK)

**KĀLĪF**, also **KĀYLĪF**, a town on the Amu-Daryā (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 64 calls the latter "Kālif River"), west-north-west of Tirmīdh. The main part of the town with the fortress *Ribāʿ Dhi-l-Karnayn* lay to the south of the river; there was a castle nearby. On the outskirts on the northern bank lay the fortress called *Ribāʿ Dhi 'l-Kifl* [see DHU 'L-KIFL]. In 1220 the Khwārizmshāh Muhammad II marched on the town to prevent the Mongols from crossing the Amu-Daryā. According to Mustawfī, *Nuṣḥat al-Kulūb*, 156 (translation 153), Kālif was famous in the 8th/14th century for its fruit and had some importance as trading-post on the road from Balkh to Naḥshab (Nasaf) [q.v.] in Sogd. The town still exists (Russian Kelif) but is now situated on the northern bank of the river only. The ford in the Amu-Daryā is still of importance on the route to Afghānistān.

*Bibliography*: Muḥaddasī, 291, 343; Yākūt/

Wüstenfeld iv, 229 = Ed. Beirut iv, 432 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict.* 474; Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate* 442; Barthold, *Turk.*, index; *Enciklopedičeskoj Slovač Brockhaus-Efron* xxviii (1895), 902. (B. SPULER)

**KĀLIKĀLĀ** [see ERZURUM].

**KALIKAT** [see Supplement].

**KALIKĀTĀ** [see CALCUTTA].

**KALĪLA WA-DIMNA**, title of an Indian mirror for princes, formed by the corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two principal characters, two jacks, Karaṭaka and Damanaka (in the old Syriac translation the forms are still Kalilag and Damnaḡ). It was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi and thence into Arabic, and became widely known in Muslim as well as Christian literatures.

1. The original work. The Indian original was composed by an unknown Viṣṇuīte Brahman, according to Hertel probably about the year 300 A.D. in Kaṣhmīr; the main argument for this, the transcription of denarius by *dināra* is, however, not conclusive, as the pronunciation of the *r*, as *i* is older than Hertel supposes (see also A. Berriedale Keith in *JRAS*, 1915, 505). It consisted of an introduction and five books, each of which bore the name *tantra*, i.e., "occasion of good sense". The book was intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal-fables composed in perfect Sanskrit. The oldest descendant of the original work is the *Tantrākhyāyika*, rediscovered by J. Hertel (see *Tantrākhyāyika, die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra*, tr. from the Sanskrit with intro. and notes by J. Hertel, 2 parts, Leipzig-Berlin 1909). A second recension of the original work is called the *Añcatantra*. J. G. L. Kosegarten published an uncritical mixed text (Bonn 1848); on this Th. Benfey based his translation, *Pantschatantra, fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen*, tr. from the Sanskrit with intro. and notes, 2 vols., Leipzig 1859. In the introduction to this work the history of the spread of Indian literary themes to Europe was first exhaustively investigated.

2. The Pahlavi translation. A rather early recension of the *Pañcatantra* was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi by order of the Sasanian king Khusraw Anūsharwān (531-579) by his physician Burzōe, whom he had sent to India for this purpose, and expanded by the addition of an appendix of fables from other Indian sources; of these the three first (chap. 11-13 in de Sacy) are taken from the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata* (*ibid.*, chap. 138, 139, 111); the other five (de Sacy's chap. 14, 15, 18, 18 and the story of the king of the mice, see below, not given in de Sacy) have so far not been found in Indian literature, although there is no reason to doubt their Indian origin. Burzōe prefaced his translation with an autobiographical introduction which the vizier Buzurdjimihr, it appears, signed with his own name as an honour to the author (see *Burzōes Einleitung zu dem Buch Kalila wa-Dimna*, tr. and annot. by Th. Nöldeke, *Schriften der wissensch. Gesellsch. in Strassburg*, fasc. 12, Strasbourg 1912).

3. The old Syriac translation. Burzōe's Pahlavi translation itself is lost; but by about 570 A.D. it had already been translated by the Periodont Būd into Syriac. This translation only survives in one manuscript, which was formerly preserved in the monastery at Mārdīn, then in the library of the Patriarch of Mōṣul and afterwards came into the possession of Mgr. Graffin in Paris. From a defective copy of this, which Socin had brought with him, Bickell prepared the first edition (*Kalilag und Dam-*

*nag, alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*, text and Germ. tr. by G. Bickell, with an introduction by Th. Benfey, Leipzig 1876). F. Schulthess was later able to prepare a much more reliable text based on three new copies which Sachau had had prepared in Mōṣul (*Kalila und Dimna*, Syriac and German, Berlin 1911).

4. The Arabic translation. About two centuries later 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muḡaffa' [see *IBN AL-MUḠAFFA'*] translated Burzōe's Pahlavi version into Arabic. He wrote an original preface to his book, probably inserted in Burzōe's introduction the section on the uncertainty of religions, added after the first book of the *Pañcatantra* a chapter written by himself on Dimna's trial (chap. 6 in de Sacy), which by punishing the traitor satisfies the feeling of justice outraged by the immoral teachings of this book, and apparently also added the chapter "monk and guest" (no. 16 in de Sacy). Ibn al-Muḡaffa's edition was originally a stylistic work of art intended for literary connoisseurs; but because of the nature of its contents it soon became very popular and therefore much corrupted in transmission. Even the numerous quotations in Ibn Kutayba's *'Uyūn al-Aḡhbār* already no longer reproduce Ibn al-Muḡaffa's text word for word. The fairly numerous manuscripts of the work are all of late date. Sylvestre de Sacy's edition (*Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai*, Paris 1816) is based on an inferior manuscript and is arbitrarily emended from other manuscripts (see Nöldeke, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, 676). In de Sacy's text, Ibn al-Muḡaffa's preface is preceded by a new preface by an otherwise unknown Bahnūd b. Saḡwān or 'Alī b. al-Šāh al-Fārisī, in which he gives an account of the history of the book in India, as well as a report said to have been written by Buzurdjimihr regarding Burzōe's mission to India with the commission to bring back the book; in several manuscripts this is followed by another story of Burzōe's being sent for a miraculous plant. Some manuscripts (see J. Derenbourg, *Directorium vitae humanae*, 323) add at the end two more fables, of the heron and the duck and of the dove, the fox and the heron from other, as yet unknown sources. This latter story is also inserted in the oldest Oriental reprint of de Sacy's edition, Bülāk 1249 (according to Chauvin, *op. cit.*, p. 13); from this it has passed into the more recent editions printed at Cairo, Mōṣul and Beirut, the list of which in Chauvin, p. 13 ff., according to Cheikho, p. 6, is not yet complete. Valuable contributions to the criticism of de Sacy's text from Italian manuscripts are given by I. Guidi, *Studi sul testo arabo del Libro di Calila e Dimna*, Rome 1873. The story of the king of the mice and his ministers, not given in de Sacy, which is shown by the Syriac text to belong to the Pahlavi work, was published by Nöldeke in text and translation in the *Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xxv/4 (1879). The complete material from 16 Paris manuscripts for the story of the ascetic and the broken jug was given by Zotenberg in the *JA* Ser. 8, vii (1886), 116-23.

While the numerous printed editions of the East (Bülāk 1249/1817; Cairo 1297/1835; Bayt al-dīn 1869; Mōṣul 1874, 1876; Beirut 1880, 1884) in the main reproduce the texts of the Sacy and Guide, A. N. Tabbara (*Kalila et Dimna, trad. arabe copiée d'après un ancien manuscrit trouvé à Damas*, avec notes, Beirut 1904) claimed to have discovered a new source for textual criticism; but his manuscript (of 1080/1675) is too modern to afford new material and his edition is, besides, bowdlerized. On the other hand I. Cheikho found in the Lebanon monastery of Dayr

al-Shīr a valuable manuscript of the year 749/1339, and made it accessible in an excellent edition: *La version arabe de Kalīlah et Dimnah d'après le plus ancien manuscrit arabe daté*, Beirut 1905 (many later eds.). A new edition by Khallī al-Yazīdī (ibid., 1908) was followed by that of Salīm Ibrāhīm Ṣādir and Shāhīn 'Aṭīya (ibid., 1910), intended for school use. The latest of note is that of T. Husayn and 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām (Cairo 1941), based on a Ms. from Aya Sofya dated 618/1221 and therefore earlier than that of Cheikho. The modern European translations from de Sacy's text are given by Hertel (*op. cit.*, 393); to these may be added M. Moreno, *La versione araba de Kalilah e Dimnah*, tr. into Italian, San Remo 1910 (see RSO, vi, 201), in his *Kalila et Dimna, fables de Bidpai* (Paris 1957); A. Miguel follows 'Azzām's edition with the addition of chapters from Marṣaff (4th ed., Cairo 1934) and Derenbourg's *Directorium*).

5. Arabic versifications. The translation by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' has been three times put into Arabic verse. The first version was made by his younger contemporary Abān al-Lāhīqī [q.v.]; see also A. E. Krymski, *Abān al-Lāhīqī, le Zindāq (environ 750-815), versificateur arabe des recueils des apologues indo-persans. Essai sur sa vie et ses écrits, tiré de l'unique manuscrit de Souli. . .*, Bibl. Khéd. N<sup>o</sup>. 594, et d'autres sources primitives. Appendices: a. Barlaam et Joasaph, essai littéraire-historique; b. Texte arabe intact d'al-Awrāq par Souli, éd. en collaboration avec Mirza Abdoullah Ghaffarow (also in Russian with Russian title) Moscow 1913; on the manuscript cf. Horovitz in the *Mitt. des Seminars für Orient. Sprachen*, Westas. Stud., x, 35. This version is lost; with the help of it, but on the basis of the text of Ibn al-Muḳaffa', about the year 1100, Ibn al-Habbāriya [q.v.] composed in ten days a poetic version in elegant and flowing language entitled: *Natā'idī al-Fiṭna fī Naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*, lith. Bombay 1317 (see Houtsma in *Oriental Stud. Th. Nöldeke. . . gewidmet*, i, 91-6). A third versification of the book, entitled *Durr al-hikam fī amthāl al-husūd wa'l-'adajam* was completed by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. al-Husayn al-Ṣaghānī after 80 days' work on 20 Djumādā 640/15 Nov. 1242). It exists only in a manuscript in Vienna (see Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hss. der . . . Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i, 469, no. 480).

6. The later Syriac translation. In the tenth or eleventh century a Syriac cleric translated the work from Ibn al-Muḳaffa's text again into the then already dead language of his church; he endeavoured to give the book a Christian tinge and therefore amplified the verses of the Indian original, already much distorted in the Pahlavi translation, into long and weary moral discourses. He also made a series of mistakes in the translation. But as the text he used was much nearer the original than the most of our manuscripts, this translation is, in spite of its defects, of considerable value for textual criticism; it is edited by W. Wright, *The book of Kalilah and Dimnah transl. from Arabic into Syriac*, London 1884. In contrast to the naturalism of the original, Keith-Falconer, the English translator of this version (Cambridge 1885) is even more prudish than the latter itself; on text and translation see Nöldeke in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, 673 ff., 1885, 753 ff.

7. Persian prose and verse translations. According to Firdawsī in the *Shāhnāma* (see de Sacy in *Not. et Extr. X* (1818), i, 140 ff.), Ibn al-Muḳaffa's book was translated into Persian under the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Ahmad (302-31/914-43) by order of the vizier Bal'fami [q.v.]; but it appears that this translation was never completed. By order of the same ruler the

poet Rūdhakī (d. 304/916) put the book into Persian verse of which, however, only 16 verses have survived in quotations in Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. Horn, p. 18 sqq.

Ibn al-Muḳaffa's work was translated into Persian prose probably after the year 539/1144 (see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 745-6) by Niẓām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hamīd, who dedicated his work to Bahrām Shāh of Ghazna [q.v.]. Naṣr Allāh in a new preface announces his intention of reproducing the work completely, including the aphorisms which seemed to him particularly valuable, with all the rhetorical adornment of artificial prose; he gives only Burzōe's introduction in ordinary prose, as an artificial style does not suit its matter. The work was lithographed in Tehran in 1282/1864 (this disposes of Chauvin's doubts, p. 46/7), 1304 and 1305; cf. de Sacy in *Not. et Extr. X*, i, 96 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, ii, London 1906, 349.

A metrical version of the book was composed for Sulṭān 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs (641-62/1244-63) by Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Tūsī Kānī'ī, a contemporary of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Konya, whither he had fled before the Mongols from his native city of Tūs; it was probably based on Naṣr Allāh's translation, which, however, he nowhere mentions (see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 582 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A history of Pers. literature under Tartar dominion*, Cambridge 1920, 111).

This work was, however, put in the shade completely by the revision of Naṣr Allāh's translation done by Husayn Wā'iz Kāshifī (d. 910/1504) [see KĀSHIFĪ], the court-preacher of Husayn Bayqarā of Herāt [see HUSAYN MĪRZĀ]. In honour of Husayn's minister Aḥmad Suhaylī he called his work *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. He professed to be making the rhetorical artificial prose of Naṣr Allāh easier to understand by giving it a new version but in reality he created an even more florid and verbose concoction, "full of absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far-fetched comparisons and tasteless bombast and represents to perfection the worst style of those florid writers who flourished under the patronage of the Timurids" (E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, n. 352). But as this style remained predominant in Persia and particularly in India down to the threshold of the modern period, the work had an unparalleled success and was printed in England (first complete edition London 1836), where it was used as a text book for the examination of English officials in India in Persian and repeatedly printed and lithographed in India and Persia, translated into several Indian dialects, into Pushtu, Georgian and all the principal languages of Europe (see Chauvin, 26-43). Husayn replaced the four prefaces of Ibn al-Muḳaffa' by a new introduction from a so far unidentified source; de Sacy supposes (*Not. et Extr. X/i*, 59) that in it we have the older *Djāwidān Khirad*, which al-Turtūshī was still able to use for his *Sirāḡi al-Mulūk*, Būlāk 1289, 97, 185. The Emperor of China, Humāyūnfāl, is persuaded to give up the idea of abdicating his throne by his vizier, who tells him how the Indian king Dabshalīm was directed by a dream to a cave in which an old man would give him a treasure. Of the latter Dabshalīm keeps only the testament of Hoṣhang, king of Persia, which contains 14 pieces of advice for rulers, and with these he goes to Ceylon where the Brahman Bidpai or Pilpai explains each of these precepts by stories which form the separate chapters of the book.

Dislike of the extravagant and luxurious style of

the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* induced the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) to commission his vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl to prepare a new edition of the work. This bears the title '*Iyār-i Dānīsh*' and was completed in 996/1578. It retains the arrangement of its model but restores Ibn al-Muḳaffa's preface and Burzōe's introduction. The work itself is still unpublished but a Hindustānī translation by Ḥafīz-uddīn, entitled *Khīrād Afrōz*, was published by Th. Roebuck (Calcutta 1815) and by Eastwick (Hertford 1857), London 1867) on account of its elegant diction.

8. Turkish translations. Ibn al-Muḳaffa's work was twice translated into Eastern Turkī from Naṣr Allāh's translation; see the manuscripts in Dresden in Fleischer, *Cat. Codd. Mss. orient. Bibl. Regine Dresdensis* (Lipsiae 1831), 19, 136 and in Munich in Aumer, *Die pers. und türk. Hdss. der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, 54.

Naṣr Allāh's edition was translated into old Ottoman Turkish (not into Eastern Turkī, as Hertel, p. 407, says, relying on a somewhat misleading expression of Éthé's, *op. cit.*) by Mas'ūd for 'Umar Beg, prince of Aydın (d. 748/1347) (a Ms. in the Bodleian, Marsh. 180). This prose text was put into verse by an unknown author who dedicated his work to Sulṭān Murād I (761/1359-792/1389); only about half has survived in a Gotha manuscript (see Pertsch, *Verz. der türk. Handschr. d. Herz. Bibl.*, 168, 189). A modern Ottoman prose version, which must have been made before 955/1548, exists in the Bodleian Ms. Marsh. 61; cf. H. Éthé, *On some hitherto unknown Turkish versions of Kalilah and Dimnah in the Actes du 6<sup>e</sup> Congr. internat. des Orientalistes*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sect., i, 241 ff.

'Alī b. Šāliḥ, called 'Alī Wāsi' or 'Alī Čelebī, translated the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* into Ottoman rhymed prose and dedicated his work to Sulṭān Sulaymān I (1512-20) with the title *Humāyūn-nāma*; it has been several times printed in Būlāḳ and Istanbul (see Chauvin, p. 50). Among the different European translations of the *Humāyūn-nāma*, the best known is the French of Galland, published after his death by Gueulette (Paris 1724); it was reprinted many times and "continued" in 1778 by D. Cardonne (see Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland*, Paris 1964, 180-8, 254-9). It was translated into German, Dutch, Hungarian and Swedish, and into Malay by Gonggrijp (Batavia 1866) and the latter version inspired a Javanese translation by Kramaprawira, which was put into Javanese verse by an anonymous poet. The luxuriousness of its language, in which the *Humāyūn-nāma* surpassed even its Persian original, induced the *muftī* Yahyā Efendī and 'Uḥmānzāde, who died in 1139/1726 as *kādi* in Cairo, to prepare extracts from it (see Éthé, *op. cit.*, 242).

The *Anwār-i Suhaylī* was translated, apparently with the assistance of the *Humāyūn-nāma* by Faḍl Allāh b. 'Isā Tashkandī, at the instigation of Muḥammad Mūsā Bay Bāččā into modern Eastern Turkī prose (to be more accurate, into the language of Tashkant and Fargḥāna as the colophon says, or the language of Turkeṣtān and Fargḥāna as the title states). Muḥammad then had the book lithographed by the calligrapher Mirzā Ḥāshim Khojandī, according to the colophon in 1306/1888; according to the title, the book was published in 1893.

Ibn al-Muḳaffa's book was translated from the Arabic into Kaḏan Turkī by 'Abd al-'Allām Fayz Khān Oghlu and printed at Kaḏan in 1889 (University Press, *Orient. Bibliographie*, iii, 1421), in the same year at Wjatschakof (*ibid.*, iv, no. 3935) and in 1892 at Čirkova (*ibid.*, vi, 167, no. 3166). The introduction,

however, was borrowed from the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*.

9. The Mongol translation. The Mongol translation which Malik Ifṭīkhār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, a descendant of Muḥammad Bakrī, prepared in Kaḏwin has not survived (see Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'riḫ-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, Gibb Mem. xiv, 844-5, tr. 233; Browne, *A history of Persian literature under Tartar dominion*, 93, and correctly stated as early as Hammer-Purgstall in the *JA*, 3rd Ser., i, 580). This statement is confused in Ḥādīdī Khālifa, v, 239, who ascribes a translation into Turkish (*luḡat al-Turk*) to the ancestor Muḥammad Bakrī (see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* X, 175; Éthé, *op. cit.*, 243, does not take notice of von Hammer's correct statement). As Flügel wrongly translates in *linguam Tatarorum*, Hertel (p. 414) wrongly identifies this reported Tatar translation with the above mentioned Kaḏan Turkī (so-called Tatar) translation quoted in Chauvin, 78, n.

10. The Ethiopic translation. An Ethiopic version, which was certainly based on an Egyptian text of the Arabic of Ibn al-Muḳaffa', is also lost: it is mentioned in a work composed in 1582 (see Wright, *Cat. of the Ethiop. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 816; see also Nöldeke, *Gött. Gelehrte Anz.* 1884, 676, n. 5).

11. The Hebrew and older European translations. At the beginning of the twelfth century a certain Rabbi Jō'el translated Ibn al-Muḳaffa's work into Hebrew (see S. de Sacy, *Notes et Extraits*, ix (1813), 397-466) from a valuable manuscript which, however, already contained the false story of Burzōe's mission and the two not genuine fables at the end of the heron and the duck and of the fox, dove and heron. From the unique manuscript, exceedingly corrupt in the beginning, J. Derenbourg published his translation along with that of Jacob b. Eleazar of the 13th century (*Deux versions hébraïques du Livre de Kalilah et Dimnah in the Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 49, Paris 1881). Jacob's version while based on a similar text to that of Jō'el is, however, very free, composed in elegant rhymed prose and full of biblical locutions. The version of Rabbi Jō'el was then translated into Latin by the baptised Jew John of Capua for Cardinal Ursinus between 1263 and 1278 with the title *Directorium vitae humanae* (cf. Johannes de Capua, *Directorium vitae humanae*, publ. and annot. by J. Derenbourg in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 72, Paris 1887). With the exception of an old Spanish version, which reproduces the same text as Rabbi Jō'el much more faithfully than John of Capua does (see Clifford G. Allen, *L'ancienne version espagnole de Kalila et Digna, texte des mss. de l'Escorial, précédé d'un avant-propos et suivi d'un glossaire*, thesis, Paris-Macon 1906), all later translations into Western European languages, with the exception of quite modern ones, are based on the Latin text of John of Capua (see Chauvin, 59-72; Hertel, 366-400). Most noteworthy are the Italian versions by Firenzuola (*Discorsi degli animali ragionanti tra loro*, Florence 1548) and Deni (*La filosofia morale del Doni*, Venice 1552), and the French adaptations by G. Pottier (*Plaisants et factieux discours sur les animaux*, Lyons 1566) and P. de la Rivey (*Deux livres de philosophie fabuleuse*, Lyons 1579). In 1664 G. Gaulmier published a translation from the Arabic text entitled *Liures des lumières* . . ., attributing its elaborations to "David Sahod d'Ispahan". A version of a Greek translation (see below) appeared in 1666, prepared by P. Poussine. The last two works inspired La Fontaine (for the influence of *Kalila wa-Dimna* on the *Roman de Renart* and

especially on La Fontaine, see M. F. Ben Ghazi, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa', unpublished thesis, Paris 1957, ii, 153-82).

12. The Greek translation. Towards the end of the 11th century, Symeon son of Seth translated Ibn al-Muqaffa's work fairly freely into Greek from a manuscript which was still free from later additions but contained the chapter on the king of the mice and his ministers. He called the book Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰγγυλάτης, because he recognised in *Kalīla* the Arabic *ikhil* and in *Dimna* the Arabic word for "trace". See Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰγγυλάτης, *Quattro recensioni della versione greca del Kitāb Kalilah wa-Dimna*, pubbl. da Vittorio Puntoni, *Pubblicazioni della Soc. Asiat. Ital.*, ii, (1889). This version was in turn translated into Latin and German as well as into several Slavonic languages.

13. The Persian translation of the *Hitōpadēsha*. The later Sanskrit version of the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitōpadēsha*, was translated very freely into Persian, probably in the reign of Akbar, by a certain Tādj al-Dīn, under the title *Mufarrīh al-kulūb* (see de Sacy, *L'électuaire des coeurs, ou traduction persane du livre indien intitulé Hitoupadésa par Taadj-eddin, ms. persan de la Bibl. du Roi, N° 380* in the *Not. et Extr. X*, i, 226-64). This work was then translated by the highly esteemed Hindūstānī author Mir Bahādūr 'Alī Ḥusaynī in 1217/1802 into his mother tongue (see Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litt. hindouie ou hindoustanie*, i, 699). A year later the latter was edited by Gilchrist as *Ukhlaqi Hindee or Indian Ethics, transl. from the Version of the celebrated Hitopao'es or Salutory Counsel* by Meer Buhadoor Ulee, . . . under the superintendence of John Gilchrist, Calcutta 1803; cf. J. Hertel, *Die Aḥlāq-ē Hindī und ihre Quellen in the Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lxxii, 65-86, lxxiv, 95-117, lxxv, 129-200.

14. The older Malay translation. On a mixture of Ibn al-Muqaffa's work and a Tamil text of the *Pañcatantra* is based the Malay version *Hikayat Kalīla dan Damīna*, which was first brought to notice by Wernrdly in his *Maleische Sprachkunst*, Amsterdam 1736, and was published in 1876 by Gonggrijp at Leiden (2nd ed. 1892; cf. J. J. Brandes in the *Festbundel aan Professor M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden 1891, p. 77 ff.). This work was next translated into Javanese (Batavia 1878) and Madurese (*ibid.*, 1879).

15. Imitations of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Setting aside the fables included in the *roor Nights*, Ibn al-Muqaffa's work has been three times imitated in Islamic literatures. Ibn al-Habbārīya (see above) followed up his versification with the *Kit. al-Sādīh wa'l-Bāghīm* (printed in Cairo 1294). While this was only an imitation of the beast-fable, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Zafar al-Ṣakallī (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172) in his *Sulwān al-Muḥāḍā*, which he first composed in 545/1150 and dedicated in 554/1159 in a new edition to the *kā'id* of Sicily, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kuraḥī, intended to produce a mirror for princes, like the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*: in addition to beast-fables the book also contains historical anecdotes. It was lithographed at Cairo 1278, printed Tunis 1279, Beirut 1300; translated into Turkish by Kara Kḥalīlzāde (d. 1168/1754) and printed in Istanbul 1285; translated into Italian by M. Amari, *Solwan al-mota ossiano Conforti politici di Ibn Zafer, arabo siciliano del XII secolo*, Florence 1851, 1882 (Eng. tr. London 1852).

Another mirror for princes in which historic anecdotes are mingled with beast-fables for the edification of the reader, was composed about the end of the 4th/10th century by the prince of Ṭabaristān, Is-pahbadh Marzubān, in the Persian dialect of his

land. This work itself has not survived, but in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century it was twice translated into classical Persian. This was first done at the court of the Saljūq of Asia Minor, Sulaymānshāh by his vizier Muḥammad b. Ghāzī of Malatya; his work, entitled *Rawḍat al-Uḫūl*, exists in two manuscripts in Leiden and Paris. The *Marzubānnāma* of Sa'd al-Dīn-i Warāwīnī, composed between 607/1210 and 622/1225, enjoyed greater popularity. It has been edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad (Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. viii).

Warāwīnī's version was translated by an unknown author into Ottoman Turkish (a copy of 848/1444 in Berlin; see Pertsch, *Verz. der Türk. Hdss.*, no. 444); this Turkish version was again translated anonymously into Arabic (Ms. Berlin, see Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, no. 8472). A second Arabic translation, which according to the Gotha Ms. (see Pertsch, *Die Arab. Hdss. der Herz. Bibl.*, no. 2692), is also based on the Turkish, was made by Ibn 'Arabshāh [q.v.]; there is another Ms. in Paris (de Slane, *Catal.*, no. 3524) and it was lithographed in Cairo in 1278. The same author then rewrote his work in artificial prose in his *Fākihāt al-Khulafā' wa-Mufāḥharat al-Zurafā'*, and added several new stories.

The same recension, which had been translated into Ottoman Turkish and which is distinguished from Warāwīnī's vulgate as well as from the *Rawḍat al-Uḫūl* by the tenth (concluding) chapter *dar bayān-i ziyādat-i 'umr wa-dawlat wa-zindagānī kardān bā dōst udushman*, was translated into Kazan Sulaymān Bek, son of Muḥammad Bek, and printed at Kazan in 1864 under the title *Kitāb Destūri Shāhī fī hikāyāti Dū-dishāhi*.

16. *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in Muslim art. *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was one of those books which inspired the Muslim artists of the pre- and post-Mongol Iranian schools as much as those of Baghdād. A description of the miniatures illustrating a considerable number of the manuscripts would require a monograph and is outside the range of this article. Reference should be made to K. A. Creswell, *A bibliography of painting in Islam*, Cairo 1953, and a few basic works: E. R. Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the VIIIth to the XVIIth C.*, London 1912; A. B. Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XX\* s.*, Paris 1929; I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne. . . au Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1929; B. Gray, *Fourteenth century illustrations of Kalilah and Dimnah*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 134-40; Blochet, *Les enluminures des mss. orientaux. . . de la B.N.*, Paris 1929; M. S. Diwand, *A handbook of Mohammedan decorative arts*, New York 1958; Z. Ḥasan, *al-Taṣwīr fī l-Islām*, Cairo 1936; Kühnel, *A Bidpai Ms. of 1343-4 in Cairo*, in *Am. Inst. Iranian Art and Arch.*, v (1937); Talbot-Rice, *The Paris exhibition of Iranian art*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 282-91; M. Muhriz, *Rusūm Kalīla wa-Dimna*, unpublished thesis, Cairo 1946.

*Bibliography*: V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou reliefs aux Arabes* etc., ii, *Kalīlah*, Liège-Leipzig 1897; J. Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra, eine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig-Berlin 1914. (C. BROCKELMANN)

**KALĪM ABŪ ṬĀLIB**, Persian poet, was born according to contemporary evidence, in Hamadān. His life, until he went to India, was spent chiefly in Kāshān, and therefore he is often called *Kāshānī*. After receiving his education in Shīrāz during his early youth, he visited India in Dījahāngīr's reign, but returned to Persia in 1028/1618-9. Two years later, however, he migrated permanently to India. On his arrival, he sought his fortune in various

provinces, including Deccan, where he attached himself to Mir Djuṃla. Following Shāhḍjahān's accession, Kalīm entered the imperial court, and became poet laureate to the emperor. He was commissioned to write a verse account of Shāhḍjahān's reign on the model of Firdawsi's *Shāh-nāma*. He died in Kaṣhmīr in 1061/1651, and was buried there.

Kalīm's poetic output is said to comprise approximately 24,000 couplets. He tried his hand at almost every traditional form, but his claim to renown rests chiefly upon his *ghazals*, which are characterized by a subtlety of themes. His consistent use of the artifice known as *mithāliyya* (giving a statement in one line of the couplet and equating it with an appropriate illustration in the other) seems to have contributed to its popularity as an accepted poetic convention.

*Bibliography: Diwān*; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, B.M. Ms. Add. 6556; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *Shāhḍjahān-nāma*, iii, Calcutta 1939; Muḥammad Amīn, *Bādshāh-nāma*, B.M. Ms. Or. 173; 'Alī-Ḳulī Khān Vāliḥ Dāghistāni, *Riyāḍ al-Shu'arā'*, B.M. Add. 16, 729; Luṭf 'Alī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkādā*, Bombay 1860; Ḡhulām 'Alī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, Kānpūr 1900; Muḥammad Afdal SarḲhush, *Kalīmāt al-Shu'arā'*, B.M. Ms. Or. 231; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādī*, B.M. Ms. Add. 7087; Shīr Khān b. 'Alī Amdīad Khān Lodī, *Tadhkira-i Mir'āt al-Khayāl*, Bombay; Muḥammad Shibli Nu'mānī, *Shī'r al-'Adīam*, iii, Aligarh 1906-7; Browne, iv; Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

**KALĪM ALLĀH** [see MŪSĀ].

**KALĪM ALLĀH AL-DJAHĀNĀBĀDĪ**, b. NŪR ALLĀH b. AḤMAD AL-Mī'mār (mason/architect), AL-ṢIDDĪQĪ, one of the leading Čiṣhtī saints of his time, who was responsible for the revival of this order in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent when Muslim society was in a state of utter disorder. He was born at Shāhḍjahānābād (Delhi), whence his *nisba* al-Djahānābādī, on 24 Djuṃmādā II 1060/24 June 1650, eight years before Awrangzīb's accession to the throne. His ancestors, builders and masons by profession, originally hailed from Khodjand [q.v.]. His father and grandfather both played leading roles in the building of the famous Red Fort and the congregational mosque of imperial Delhi. Many of the inscriptions, mostly verses from the Ḳur'ān and the ninety-nine names of Allāh (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* [q.v.]), which decorate the mosque were made by his father, the *ustādh* Nur Allāh. He acquired his early education from local scholars, including Abu 'l-Riḍā Muḥammad, uncle of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [q.v.]. Later he left for the Hīdžāz to make the *Ḥadīdī* and *Ziyāra* and stayed there for a long time. He contracted his *bay'a* in the Čiṣhtī order with Yahyā b. Maḥmūd al-Gudjarātī (d. 1101/1689), who had migrated to Medina and settled there. During his stay in the Hīdžāz he was initiated into the Naḳshbandī and Kādīrī orders by Mir Muḥtaram and ShayḲh Muḥammad Ḡhiyāth (cf. *Nuṣḥat al-Khawāfir*, vi, 240-1). On his return to Delhi he stayed in a mosque situated between the Red Fort and the Džāmi' Masḡid in the quarter known as the Khānim kā Bāzār. He established a *madrasa* there which attracted a large number of students from far and wide who enjoyed free board and lodging. No details of this *madrasa* are available. The Sūfī poet Mirzā Maḥzar Džān-i Džānānī once saw him teaching the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-BuḲhārī to students in this *madrasa*, which probably formed part of the mosque in which he stayed. Ac-

ording to Mirzā Muḥammad AḲhtar Gūrgānī (*Tadhkira-i Awliyā'-i Hind wa-Pākistān*, Lahore 1954 (?), ii, 272), the emperor Awrangzīb later ordered the construction of a *khānkāh* for him, a complex of buildings comprising 'ibādat-khāna, *madjlis-khāna*, *langar-khāna* and private quarters. According to the same author the emperor Muḥammad Mu'azzam Bahādūr Shāh I [q.v.] became his disciple in his fourth regnal year (1123/1711), while engaged in an expedition against the rebellious Sikhs under Banda Bay-rāgī. Kalīm Allāh led a life of austerity, depending mainly on the *fulūḥāt* (offerings) received from devotees and disciples. Learning of his poverty, FaruḲhsiyar [q.v.], during his short but eventful reign, offered him financial assistance but he refused to accept it, perhaps fearing persecution at the hands of the *amīr al-umarā'* Husayn 'Alī Khān, one of the Sayyid king-makers known to Indian history.

As a rule he discouraged his disciples from coming close to the rulers and kings and even exhorted them not to approach or visit them. He also did not favour the *samā'*, as was in vogue in his days, although he himself enjoyed it. In one of his letters (no. 110) he vehemently condemns the immature or sham Šūfis whom he describes as "*mulḥids* who have given up the *sharī'a*". As against Aḥmad Sirhindī [q.v.], he favoured keeping good relations with the non-Muslims so that they might be impressed with the teachings of Islam. Similarly he did not shun the common people but rather liked their company. He discouraged the indiscriminate discussion of the knotty problem of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. All his life he struggled for the glory and spread of Islam but like Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, his successor in the field, his efforts met with little success.

He died on 24 Rabī' I 1142/17 Oct. 1729 at an advanced age at Delhi and was buried in the compound of his own *khānkāh*, which also served as his residence. The year of his death has been variously given as 1140/1727, 1141/1728 (cf. *Nuṣḥat al-Khawāfir*, vi, 241), 1142/1729 (appendix to *Sawā' al-Sabīl*, 139) and 1143/1730 as given by Ḡhulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (cf. *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, i, Haydarābād 1910, 42). The year 1142/1729 has been adopted as the most reliable one, as many authorities agree thereon. After the mutiny of 1857 the entire quarter wherein stood his *khānkāh* was pulled down by the British but his grave was spared. It had remained in a state of neglect and disrepair for some decades when Khwādījā Ḡhulām Farīd, spiritual guide of the ruler of Bahāwalpūr [q.v.], contributed a large sum for its reconstruction. It was later repaired and renovated by one of his descendants, who set up a beautifully carved stone railing around his grave and paved the tomb floor with marble flags. The tomb still exists and is the lonely structure standing between the Red Fort and the Džāmi' Masḡid. An 'urs is held every year at his tomb on the occasion of the anniversary of his death. It was regularly attended by the last Moghul emperor of Delhi, Bahādūr Shāh "Zafar" [q.v.], and other princes of the royal family.

His leading *khālifa* was Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī to whom he addressed a number of letters on the problems of *taṣawwuf*. He left three sons and three daughters. His sons, however, were all minors at the time of his death.

He is credited with having written more than 20 books including: (1) *Sawā' al-Sabīl* (ed. Delhi 1343/1925), original in Arabic with Urdu tr., on various mystic problems; (2) *Irshādāt-i Kalīmī* (ed. Delhi 1346/1927), a selection of letters addressed to his principal *khālifa* Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī, with

Urdu translation; (3) *Kashkūl* (in Persian, Delhi n.d.), described as a *poi-pourri* of *taṣawwuf*, composed in 1101/1690, when he was nearly 41 years of age; (4) *Murākka'* (in Persian with Urdu tr., Delhi n.d.), comprising what the Čiṣṭīs recite daily by way of *dhikr*, regarded as a supplement to No. 3; (5) *Mak-tūbāt* (Delhi n.d.), 132 in number, addressed to his principal disciples, outstanding among whom was Ni-zām al-Dīn Awrangābādī, interspersed with personal and private affairs; (6) *Tilka 'aṣḥarat al-Kāmila*, in Arabic (ed. Delhi with Urdu tr., n.d.), discusses ten problems of *taṣawwuf* which he claims to have solved while in *i'itihāf* [q.v.] during Ramaḍān; (7) *Mā lū-budda fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, (ed. Delhi n.d., in Arabic with Urdu tr.), deals with the aims and objects of *sulūk* and *taṣawwuf*; (8) Keeping up the tradition of his family he wrote a treatise on astrology styled *Risāla Tashrīḥ al-Aflāk-i 'Amilī muḥaṣṣhā bi'l-fārisiyya* (Ms. in the Naḍhīriyya Public Library, Delhi). He also wrote a commentary on the *Ḳānūn* of Avicenna of which a Ms. copy is preserved in the Raza (sic) Library, Rampur. A fine commentary on the *Ḳur'ān*, called *Ḳur'ān al-Ḳur'ān*, which was printed in the margin of a copy of the *Ḳur'ān* (ed. Meerut 1920), was also written by him. A certain *Kitāb al-radd ('alā) al-Shi'a* or *Risāla Radd-i Rawāfiḍ* and *Tasnim*, the latter on certain problems of *taṣawwuf*, are also attributed to him.

*Bibliography*: Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, *Khaṣī-nat al-Aṣfiyā'*, Cawnpore 1914, i, 494-5; Muḥammad Husayn Murādābādī, *Anwār al-'Arifin*, Bareilly 1290/1873, 429-30; Gul Muḥammad Aḥmad-pūri, *Takmila-i Siyar al-Awliyā'*, Delhi 1312/1894, 79-85; Naḍīm al-Dīn, *Manāḳib al-Maḥbūbīn*, Rampur 1289/1872, 45-6; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, Haydarābād 1910, i, 42; Aḥmad Akhtar Mirzā, *Manāḳib-i Farīdī*, Delhi 1314/1896, 34; idem, *Tadhkirah-i Awliyā'-i Hind (wa Pākistān)*, Lahore 1954 (?), ii, 271-2; Rahmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirah-i 'Ulamā'-i Hind*, Lucknow 1894, 172 (Urdu tr. by Ayyūb Kādīrī, Karachi 1961, 397-9 with additions); Faḳīr Muḥammad, *Ḥadā'iq al-Hana-fiyya*, Lucknow 1914, 483-9; Zayn al-'Abidīn, *Tadhkirat al-mu'in fi dhikr al-Kāmilīn*, Bareilly 1890, 142-4; Bashīr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāḳi'āt-i Dār al-Hukumat-i Dihlī*, Āgra 1909, iii, 116-7; Sayyid Aḥmad Walī-Allāhī, *Yādgar-i Dihlī*, Delhi n.d., 43; Khallīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, *Tarīkh-i Maṣḥā'ikh-i Čiṣṭī*, Delhi 1953, 231-2, 366-426 (a very detailed account); 'Abd al-Kādir, *Wāḳi'āt-i 'Abd al-Kādir Khānī*, (Urdu tr., captioned "'Ilm o-'Amal", by Ayyūb Kādīrī, Karachi 1960, i, 222); *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, Delhi 1315/1897 (contains random references to personal and private matters); *List of Muhammadan and Hindu monuments* (a Government of India publication, Calcutta 1919, i, 150 (gives a full architectural description of his tomb); 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakḥnawī, *Nuḣat al-Khawāṣir*, Haydarābād 1376/1958, vi, 240-1.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**KALIMA** (A.), the spoken word, utterance; can be extended to mean "discourse" and "poem". The *falāsifa* prefer to limit their discussion to the problems of grammar and logic: thus in the preamble to the *Naḍīyat* (Cairo<sup>8</sup> 1357/1938, 11) Ibn Sinā defines *kalima* as "a single word (*lafza*) which refers to an idea and the length of time that this idea is applied to any indeterminate subject whatsoever; for example, when we say 'he walked'." Cf. also *Manṭiq al-maṣhrīkiyyīn*, Cairo 1328/1910, 57-8, and p. 66 where *kalima* is given as a synonym for "that which grammarians call *fi'l*". But according to the *Ishārāt* (ed.

Forget, Leiden 1892, 11), logicians use *kalima* to apply to any wholly descriptive spoken word, noun or verb, which designates an indeterminate entity in a fixed period of time. (Cf. A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sinā*, Paris 1938, and Fr. tr. of *Ishārāt*, Paris 1951, 84, n.l.).

The term *kalima* and the plural *kalimāt* occur frequently in the *Ḳur'ān*. It is used on numerous occasions in the very general sense of "spoken word", good XIV, 24, XLVIII, 26) or bad (IX, 74, XIV, 26, XVIII, 5, XXIII, 100). Yet it most frequently pertains to the realised Word of God. "The words of God cannot be altered", says the *Ḳur'ān*, X, 64. Subsequently *kalima* acquires a sense closely akin to *amr*, "decision", "order", or indeed *ḥadar*, "decree". R. Blachère frequently translates *kalima* by *arrêt*. There are numerous references (e.g., VI, 115, VII, 137, X, 33, 96, XI, 119, etc.; in the plural, VI, 34, 115, XVIII, 109, XXXI, 26, etc.). In XLIII, 28 it is said of Abraham: "and he made it an everlasting word (*kalimat*<sup>an</sup> *bāḳiyat*<sup>an</sup>) among his descendants". The commentators (see al-Bayḍawī, ed. Fleischer, ii, 237, 25) usually emphasised that this referred to an affirmation of the Oneness of God, the equivalent of the "first *shahāda*", as is suggested in XLIII, 26-7. One of the most frequently cited passages of the *Ḳur'ān* is III, 39 and 45, where Jesus is proclaimed as "a word coming from God". The commentators regarded this *kalimat Allāh* who is Jesus as a divine word linked to the creative *kun* ("be!"; cf. III, 47) and subsequently related the creation of Jesus to that of Adam: "Yes, in the case of Jesus God acted just as He did with Adam: God created the earth, then He said 'be!' and there he was" (III, 59).

Thus *kalima* is not an attribute of the Word [see *KALĀM*] but its expression, through which divine decisions are formulated and communicated. *Ḳur'ānic* commentaries discuss it with particular reference to the verses concerning Jesus, and also in the "professions of faith" (*akā'id*), e.g., *La Profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, ed. and Fr. tr. H. Laoust, Damascus 1958, 58/107-8).

In 'ilm al-*kalām*, the problem of the *kalimat Allāh* is related to the problem of the attribute of *kalām Allāh*: created according to the Mu'tazilite, uncreated according to the later schools. In the course of the Aṣḥ'arī scholars' lengthy refutations of the Mu'tazilites, *kalima* and *kalām* were confused once again. Thus in al-Bākillānī's *Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy, Damascus-Beirut 1957, 253) the Christians and the Mu'tazilites are credited with holding that "the Word of God is created", *kalimat Allāh makhlūka*. Al-Djuwaynī has the same to say of the Christians (*Irshād*, ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 75/123). From the doctrine of *kalām Allāh* it follows that the divine utterances must be innumerable. All contingent existences (*al-mumkināt*) were created by *kalimāt Allāh*, that is by the repeated creative commands (*kun*, "be!"); therefore the Expression of the Reality (*al-ḥaqq*) is the self of the identities of the contingent existences, or the contingent existences themselves, *nafs a'yān al-mumkināt* (see *Dict. of Technical Terms*, 1271 ff., and al-Djurdjānī, *Tarīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 194-5).

In the *Shi'a* and *Sūfi* vocabularies (at least as far as the *Sūfism* of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is concerned) *kalima* acquires frankly gnostic overtones. Consider the following examples:

a) From an Ismā'īlī lexicon. In the 4th/10th century Abū Ya'kūb al-Sidjīstānī stated in his *Kitāb al-Yanābi'*: "the horizon of Understanding is contiguous to the Word of God (*kalimat Allāh*), which is outside the totality of all beings that have been

formed beneath the Prime Intelligence" (ed. and Fr. tr. H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, 10/23). "The Word of God", says Corbin (*ibid.*, 29, n. 44), "should be understood as the divine imperative (*amr Allāh*) by whose will the Prime Intelligence exists". Further on (70/92) al-Sidjīstānī specifies: "Paradise is the *kalimat Allāh* by whose means He first founded those things which exist in Paradise". Finally, the penultimate chapter of the book considers the "meaning (*ma'nā*) of the Word (*kalima*) of the Primary Cause" (90-4/118-21). There *kalima* is analysed letter by letter (*k-l-m-h*) according to the principles of *dījafr* [q.v.], with reference to the Ismā'īlī hierarchies. To the extent that the Prime Intelligence is identified with *kalām Allāh* (91/119), *kalimat Allāh* becomes synonymous with the "First Cause, i.e., the Oneness" (90/118).

b) From an Imāmī lexicon. In his *Kitāb al-mashā'ir* (ed. and tr. H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1342/1964) Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī (10th/16th-11th/17th c.) established the link between the Word of God and the Qur'ān. He deals with the *kalām Allāh*, but in specifying that the attribute of the Word (*kalām*) refers to the production of "perfect Words" (*kalimāt tāmmāt*) whose chief example is the creation of Jesus in Mary's womb (*op. cit.*, 57/193).

c) From a Ṣūfī lexicon. The chief exponent of *kalimat Allāh* was Ibn 'Arabī, who took it as his main theme in *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (ed. 'Affī, Cairo 1365/1946). His meditations on the experience of each prophet are called "the divine Wisdom in the Word (*kalima*)" of Adam, Seth, Abraham, Isaac, etc. In the chapter on Jesus he stresses this (i, 139); while in the passages dealing with the experience of Moses (i, 197 ff.), he notes Qur'ān, X, 64 ("the words of God cannot be altered") and adds (ii, 211); "the words of God (*kalimāt Allāh*) are in fact the essence (*a'yān*) of all things in existence; to them belongs eternity (*ḥidam*) by virtue of their immutability; to them belongs contingency (*hudūth*) because of their (concrete) existence and their burgeoning forth (with-in existence)".

Many other texts could be cited to show how *kalima* becomes the creative Logos of God, His Parole instauratrice, "instigating Word" (H. Corbin), the first and emanating Source of the production of all being which makes and is the essence of all things.

*Bibliography*: in the article. See also the main *tafsirs* on the Qur'ānic verses cited above.

(D. B. MACDONALD—L. GARDET)

**KALIMANTAN** [see Supplement].

**KALĪMĪ** [see YAHŪD].

**AL-KALKASHANDĪ**, the *nisba* or gentile of several Egyptian scholars of the Mamlūk and early Ottoman periods, the most important of whom are as follows:

(1.) Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī ('Abd Allāh?) b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Fazārī al-Shāfi'ī, legal scholar and secretary in the Mamlūk chancery, and author of several books. The main sources for his life are the fairly brief mentions of him in biographical and historical sources of the late Mamlūk period by al-'Aynī, al-Makrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Sakhāwī and Ibn al-'Imād; some of his compositions are recorded by Hādīdījī Khalifa; but it is above all from his own works that we gain most information. It is remarkable how little notice was taken of al-Kalkashandī by contemporaries or near-contemporaries. Al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) even states in his *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* that al-Kalkashandī's *Ṣubḥ* comprises four volumes only, instead of the seven of reality, and he had obviously not seen an actual

copy. Nor does he seem to have seen a copy of al-Kalkashandī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, for he states in his defence of the study of history, *al-'Ilān bi 'l-taubbikh li-man dhamma ahl al-tawrikh*, tr. in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden 1968, 434, that it was dedicated to the Ustādār Djamāl al-Dīn, when the dedicatee in the *Nihāya* itself is another person altogether (see below). Hence we do not know much about al-Kalkashandī's legal and professional life beyond the salient points and dates of his official career, let alone about his early years, education and private life.

He was born in 756/1355 at Kalkashanda (the form Karkashanda in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, must be based on a mispronunciation or a dialectical variant pronunciation), a small town south of Tūkh and north of Cairo in the modern *mudiriyya* of Qalyūb [q.v.], into a family of scholars. In his *nasab* or genealogy, al-Kalkashandī attached himself to the Banū Badr of the North Arab tribal group of Fazāra of Ghatafān [q.v.], see *Ṣubḥ*, i, 345, which had settled in this part of Lower Egypt after the Muslim conquest. In the course of his education at Alexandria, he concentrated on literature, tradition and law, with the aim of becoming a *ḥādī* of the Shāfi'ī law school, and his earliest compositions were in this sphere (see below). In 778/1376-7 he received his *idjāza* or licence to give judicial opinions and to lecture (*al-futyā wa'l-tadris*) on Shāfi'ī law and on the classic collections of traditions from the well-known scholar Shaykh Sirādī al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Alī, called Ibn al-Mulaḥḥin (d. 804/1401).

However, after a period of teaching, in 791/1389 al-Kalkashandī became a secretary in the chancery or *Diwān al-Inshā'* of the Mamlūk administration in Cairo, as a *kātib al-dast*, one of the secretaries who accompanied the chief secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) when the latter sat with the sultan for the dispensation of justice [see *Diwān*, ii Egypt]. The background to this appointment of his under the *kātib al-sirr* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, of the famous secretarial family of the Banū Faḍl Allāh [q.v.], is indicated in the *maḥāma* in praise of the secretarial art and of his master which al-Kalkashandī inserts in *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 112-28 (see on this Bosworth, in *BSOAS*, xxvii (1964), 291-8).

He died on 10 Djumādā II 821/16 July 1418 aged 65; it is not known whether he was still employed in the *diwān* at that date. His son Naḍīm al-Dīn Muḥammad, called Ibn Abī Ghudda (797/1395-876/1471), also achieved some fame as a legal scholar, a traditionist and a littérateur (*Sakhāwī, Daw'*, ed. Cairo 1353-5/1934-5, vi, 322-3; Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Cairo 1353-6/1934-6, iii, 821; cf. Brockelmann, II, 167, S II, 165).

Al-Kalkashandī's compositions fall into three groups: (a) law, (b) *adab*, (c) *ḥitāba*, the secretarial art, together with its genealogical and historical ancillary disciplines.

In the legal sphere, he composed commentaries on the works of two earlier scholars. Firstly, on the *Djāmi' al-mukhtaṣarāt fi furū' al-shāfi'iyya* of the Shāfi'ī scholar Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Nasā'ī al-Madlīdī (691/1292-757/1355), see Brockelmann, II, 254, S II, 271; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, VIII, gives this commentary the title *al-Ghuayūth al-hawāmi'*, without, however, specifying his source; and secondly, on the treatise *al-Hawī al-saghīr fi 'l-furū'* of the Ṣūfī Shaykh Naḍīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Kazwīnī (d. 665/1266, see Brockelmann, II, 494-5, S I, 679). These two works are mentioned by Hādīdījī Khalifa and



Sakhāwī respectively, but do not now seem to be extant.

In the realm of *adab*, al-ḲalḲashandī wrote a short work, the *Hilyat al-faḍl wa-sinat al-karam fi 'l-mu-fākhkhara bayn al-sayf wa'l-ḵalam*, for the bearer of the royal inkstand or *dawādār* [q.v.], Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Zāhiri, when Sulṭān al-Zāhir Barḵūḵ appointed him to this high office in 794/1392; the text of this exists in independent manuscripts and is also inserted into *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 23-140 (see Baġdathī Ismāil Paṣa, *Idāh al-maknūn*, Istanbul 1945-7, i, 421). Like so many other scholars, he wrote a commentary on Ka'b b. Zuhayr's poem in praise of the Prophet, *Bānat Su'ād*, which he says in *Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Abyārī, 420, was called *Kunh al-murād fi sharḥ Bānat Su'ād* and which, he further says, contains fine meanings and expressions not known to him in other commentaries; this work is extant in manuscript. It is not very clear what connection, if any, this commentary on *Bānat Su'ād* has with a poem in praise of the Prophet attributed to al-ḲalḲashandī in Brockelmann, II, 167, and printed at Alexandria in 1288/1871; the ascription of this to al-ḲalḲashandī is in any case doubtful, see Sarkis, ii, 1522.

However, it is the works on secretaryship and related topics dating from al-ḲalḲashandī's later years which exhibit the full flowering and maturing of his genius, above all the stupendous *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fi sinā'at al-inshā'*, the culmination of the secretarial manuals and encyclopaedias of the Mamlūk period and, indeed, of the whole Arabic *adab al-ḵatīb* literature (ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḳhadīwiyya, Cairo 1331-8/1913-20, 14 vols). The *Ṣubḥ* was completed in 814/1412 and comprised seven volumes, containing an introduction, ten discourses (*makāilā*) and a conclusion. Within it, al-ḲalḲashandī gives a very detailed conspectus of the theoretical sciences and the practical skills required by a secretary concerned with official correspondence. The contents are analysed in detail in W. Björkman's indispensable guide to the *Ṣubḥ*, his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg 1928). A volume of indices has also been published (Cairo 1972). Noteworthy is the large number of original documents, going back to the earliest years of Islam, which al-ḲalḲashandī cites, those pertaining to Egypt and its external relations, from the Fāṭimid period onwards, being especially valuable. The attention of European orientalists such as Amari and Lammens was drawn to these treaties, investiture diplomas, etc. even when the *Ṣubḥ* was known only in manuscript. Al-ḲalḲashandī's sources embrace virtually the whole corpus of Arabic writers on *kitāba* and such related sciences as history and geography, but his proximate sources were the works of two authors of the 8th/14th century. These works comprise those of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349), his *al-Ta'rif bi'l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, its supplement, the *'Urf al-ta'rif*, and his geography, the *Masālik al-abṣār*; and the *Taḥkīf al-ta'rif* of the *ḵādi* Taḳī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥibb al-Dīn, called Ibn Nāzir al-Dījaysh (d. 786/1384). The sources of the *Ṣubḥ* are exhaustively discussed by Björkman, *op. cit.*, 75 ff., and the *Taḥkīf* (so far unedited and not mentioned in Brockelmann) and its author have been examined by R. Veselý, *Zu den Quellen al-Qalqaṣandī's Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, in *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, Philologica 2 (1969), 13-24.

In the *Ṣubḥ*, al-ḲalḲashandī aimed at being encyclopaedic and exhaustive, but he later made a resumé of it, the *Daw' al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-djanā al-dawḥ*

*al-muḥmir*, dedicated to Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Bārīzī, who later became *ḵatīb al-sirr* (the first volume only of this printed at Cairo, 1324/1906). The *Daw'* appears to contain a few items of information not found in the *Ṣubḥ*.

The study of genealogies, important to the secretary for identifying and correctly addressing the recipients of official documents, is dealt with in *Ṣubḥ*, i, 306-71, but al-ḲalḲashandī devoted two works specially to the science of genealogy. The chief one is the *Nihāyat al-arab fi ma'rifat ansāb al-'arab*, written after the *Ṣubḥ* and before the *Daw'* and dedicated to the Amīr Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf al-Umawī al-Ḳurashī. As well as a great deal of information on the science of genealogy in general, it deals with early Arabian history, the *Ayyām al-'arab*, etc.; but the core of the book is an alphabetically-arranged dictionary of Arab tribal names. The book was printed at Baġhdād in 1332/1914 from an unspecified manuscript, and properly edited (with a good biographical introduction, summarized by G. C. Anawati in *MIDEO*, vi (1959-61), 274-6) by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo 1959). One question discussed by Abyārī relates to the ascription by Hādījī Khalīfa, iv, no. 9556, cf. vi, no. 14070, of a work also entitled *Nihāyat al-arab* to al-ḲalḲashandī's son Muḥammad (see above), this work being written for Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Djūd Baḳar b. Rāshīd, "Amīr of the Bedouins of the Eastern and Western Regions", sc. of Lower Egypt; Brockelmann, II, 167, S II, 165, attributed this work to the son Muḥammad and repeats this dedication to Abu 'l-Djūd. Abyārī, on the other hand, thinks it improbable that father and son should both write a work on the same subject and with the same title, and convincingly suggests that Muḥammad transcribed the original manuscript of his father's *Nihāya* in 874/1443-4 and presented this copy to Abu 'l-Djūd (*Nihāya*, ed. Cairo, intro., *shin-thā'*). Al-ḲalḲashandī's other genealogical work, described as a supplement (*istidrāk*) to the *Nihāya*, is the *Ḳalā'id al-djūmān fi 'l-ta'rif bi-ḵabā'il 'arab al-xamān*, dedicated to Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad al-Djūhanī al-Mu'ayyadī, and completed in 819/1416. This may well have been al-ḲalḲashandī's last work; it has been edited by Abyārī (Cairo 1964).

Finally, we have al-ḲalḲashandī's remaining work, the *Ma'āthīr al-ināfa fi ma'ālim al-ḵhilāfa*. This is a treatise on the constitutional position of the Caliphate, the qualities necessary for office, the duties of the caliphs, the documents issued by them (of which many texts are quoted), together with a history of the caliphs and some of the later sultans. The whole work is dedicated to the 'Abbāsīd caliph in Cairo, al-Mu'taḍid b. al-Mutawakkil (816/1414-845/1441), which places the composition of the work after that of the *Ṣubḥ* and in the last years of al-ḲalḲashandī's life; the non-historical part of the *Ma'āthīr* is clearly dependent on the *Ṣubḥ*. The work has only recently become known with the identification of two manuscripts in Turkey by the late Mükrimim Halil Yınanç and İbrahim Kafesoġlu; a detailed analysis of the work, with the parallels in it to the *Ṣubḥ* indicated, is given by Kafesoġlu in his article *Kalkaşandi'nin bilinmeyen bir esseri, Medsürü l'-Ināfe*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, viii, no. 11-12 (Istanbul 1956), 99-104. A printed edition of the *Ma'āthīr*, based on an unspecified manuscript and with no acknowledgement of the contribution of Turkish scholars, has been given by 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādī (Kuwayt 1964 3, vols.).

(2.) A famous family of Shāfi'ī scholars, originally from ḲalḲashanda but settled in Jerusalem, retained

the *nisba* of "al-Kalkashandi", including Takī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Maḳḳisī (783/1382-867/1463) and his nephew Karīm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Maḳḳisī (808/1405-855/1452), both of whom achieved fame in Cairo and in Palestine as teachers, authors and *muftīs*, see Sakhāwī, *Dawʿ*, iv, 311-12, xi, 69-71, and idem, *Iʿlān*, tr. in Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*<sup>2</sup>, 439-40. Probably to be attached to this Jerusalem family also is Burhān al-Dīn Abū ʿl-Fath Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Maḳḳisī, d. 922/1516 in Cairo, author of collections of traditions and of a treatise *Taḥbīt al-mulḥ bi-tafsīr ḥawlihi taʿālā kul allāhumma mālik al-mulḥ*, none of them published, see Brockelmann, II, 94, S II, 85.

**Bibliography:** As remarked above, the primary sources for al-Kalkashandi's life, outside his own works, are exiguous. See Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, ii, 8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharat al-dhahab* vii 149; Makrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, iii, 821; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-sāfi*, Cairo 1375/1956, i, 330-1; Tāshkōprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, i, 182. For secondary sources, see the biography prefixed to vol. xiv of the *Ṣubḥ*; Sarkis, ii, 1521-3; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʿallifin*, i, 317; Ziriklī, *al-ʿĀlām*, i, 172; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, V-XV; Brockelmann, II, 166-7, S II, 164-5; İ. Kafesoglu, *IA* art. s.v.

Studies based on the *Ṣubḥ* (in addition to those older ones mentioned in Brockelmann's *EI*<sup>1</sup> art.) include: M. Amari, *De' titoli che usava la cancellaria de' Sultani di Egitto nel XIV secolo scrivendo ai reggitori di alcuni Stati italiani*, in *Atti Reale Accad. Lincei*, Serie terza, xii (1883-4), 507-34; H. Lammens, *Relations officielles entre la cour romaine et les Sultans Mamlouks d'Égypte*, in *ROC*, viii (1903), 101-10; B. Michel, *L'organisation financière de l'Égypte sous les sultans mamelouks d'après Qalqashandī*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. égyptienne*, vii (1925), 127-47; M. Canard, *Le traité de 1281 entre Michel Paléologue et le Sultan Qalāʿūn, Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-aʿṣā, XIV, 72 sqq.*, in *Byzantion*, x (1935), 669-80; idem, *Un traité entre Byzance et l'Égypte au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les Sultans Mamlūks Baibars et Qalāʿūn*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Paris 1935-45, 197-224; idem, *Les institutions des Fātimides en Égypte* (= Arabic text of *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 462-532), Algiers 1957; O. Spies, *An Arab account of India in the 14th century, being a translation of the chapters on India from al-Qalqashandī's Ṣubḥ al-aʿṣā*, Delhi 1935 and Stuttgart 1936; G. Wiet, *Les classiques du scribe égyptien au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xviii (1963), 41-80; C. E. Bosworth, *The section on codes and their decipherment in Qalqashandī's Ṣubḥ al-aʿṣā*, in *JSS*, viii (1963), 17-33; idem, *Some historical gleanings from the section on symbolic actions in Qalqashandī's Ṣubḥ al-aʿṣā*, in *Arabica*, x (1963), 148-53; idem, *A maqāma on secretaryship: al-Qalqashandī's al-Kawākib al-durriyya fi ʿl-Manāqib al-Badriyya* in *BSOAS*, xxvii (1964), 291-8; idem, *Christian and Jewish religious dignitaries in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria: Qalqashandī's information on their hierarchy, titulature, and appointment*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 59-74, 199-216; idem, *A Mamlūk text on the orthographic distinction of ḍād and zāʾ*, in *Parole d'Orient*, iii (Kaslik, Lebanon, 1972), 153-69.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KALLALA**, GUELLALA, a Berber-speaking village situated to the south of the Isle of Djarba

[*q.v.*], famous for its pottery workshops. A great variety of models (at least 120 types) are made there and sold throughout Tunisia. Formerly, they were exported to Algeria, Sicily and Tripolitania, but in recent years the manufacture of pottery has suffered a slight setback as a result of the importation of cheap European ware, some of it made from plastic. Kallāla pottery is of two types. The large *ʿzeffaya*, which demands great skill, is designed to support considerable pressure. Pieces can be as large as 1.50 m., with a low centre of gravity to allow the potter to operate the lathe and fashion the upper part at the same time. It is even necessary to make these pieces in several parts. The *ṣafri* (Berber *amiris*), a large container for oil or water (holding 200 to 250 litres), is made of four pieces mounted one on the other. The smaller *harrāsha* type is more finely finished and is used for a great variety of receptacles (for water, flour, oil, delicacies, spices), for casseroles, lids, pipes, lamps, perfume-holders, etc. Enamelled and decorated pottery is also made here. On the occasion of a marriage, neighbouring potters give the young couple a large glazed earthenware jar for storing part of the trousseau (blankets and winter clothing).

The Berber spoken in Kallāla (Arabic *Gollāla*, Berber *Iḥallālan* = "the potters") has preserved a number of archaic features. The dynamic accent has a phonological value: they say *afrukḥ amāshkun*, "the little boy", and *tafrukḥi tamāshkunt*, "the little girl"; but *afrukḥ d amāshkun*, "a little boy" and *tafrukḥi tamāshkunt*, "a little girl"; the feminine is definite or indefinite solely according to the placing of the stress. Vowel length is also a phonological factor: *aghrum* is "bread", but *aghrūm-is* (with a long *ū*) is "his bread" and *aghrum-ansən* (with a short *u*) is "their bread". There is a difference between *rahḥagh al-bāv-is*, "I have gone to his father's house" (movement, *bāv-is*) and *yalla al bāv-is*, "he is at his father's house" (rest, *bāv-is*). On some occasions the noun following the genitive is shortened: *imi*, "mouth" or "gate" (with a long *i*), but *imi-lhush*, "an area in front of the house" (with a short *i*). Numerals and prepositions can also influence the pronunciation of the nouns they accompany: *barḳūkas*, "couscous", but *edh berkukes*, "with couscous" (with a short *u*). *alḥush* means "house" but they say *usigh-d s-olḥush* (with a long *ū*) for "I have come from the house". A number of nouns have a pronoun value: *alḥum*, "camel", *alagḥm-is*, "his camel"; *albagḥal*, "mule", *albagḥl-is*, "his mule"; *alḥawḥḥ*, "coffee", and *alḥawḥt-is*, "his coffee". Two things should be noted in this last example: the voiceless dental is pronounced *ḥ* (aspirant) after a vowel and *t* (occlusive) after a consonant and the closed syllable remains so by means of gemination in a new syllabic structure. The treatment of *t* and *ḥ* resembles the *begadkefat* consonants in Hebrew and Aramaic. The opposing ones at Kallāla are *b:v*, *d:dh*, *g:y*, *k:x* (= postpalatal voiceless aspirant which tends to a "hushing" quality) and *d:d* (often pronounced *d*). In some cases analogy and a massive intrusion of Arabic words have shattered the harmony of the system, but the whole has the same correlations to be found among the Ghumāra of Morocco and the Zenaga of Senegal. Kallāla, along with Sedwikes, Almaj and Adjim, is one of the last strongholds of the Berber tongue on the Isle. An oral literature (songs, tales and riddles) still remains, but the language is sorely threatened by schooling, radio and television as well as by contact with the Arabic-speaking population.

*Bibliography:* J. L. Combes and A. Louis, *Les poteries de Djerba*, Tunis 1967; W. Luadi, *Töpferei und Töpferdörfer in Tunesien*, in *Kosmos*, ii (Stuttgart 1961), 478-88; S. Tlatli, *Djerba, l'île des Lotophages*, Tunis 1967; W. Vycichl, *Begad-kephat (Djerba, Gellala)*, in *Proceedings of the Hamito-Semitic Colloquium*, London 1970.

(W. VYICHL)

**KALMUK**, the Turkish name for a Mongol people, the Oyrat, who in the time of Čingiz-Khān [q.v.] inhabited the forests to the west of Lake Baykal. The name is derived (probably only by popular etymology) from the verb *kalmak*, "to remain" and distinguishes the Oyrat, who "remained" pagans, from the Dungans (the Chinese-speaking Muslims), who had "returned" (the verb *dönmek*), according to the well-known Muslim idea, to Islam. A group of the Oyrat had accompanied Hülegü to the west and played a certain rôle in İl-Khānid Persia. The people as a whole, however, came into their own only after the collapse of the Mongol dynasty in China, when they wrested the greater part of Mongolia from the Čingizids and laid the foundations of the Kalmuk empire.

From the time of Ways Khān (1418-28) the Mongols on the Ili [q.v.] had to fight against the "infidel Kalmak"; accounts of these wars are given in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*. Ways Khān was twice taken prisoner by the Kalmuks and had to give his sister in marriage to their chief, Esen Tayshi. Toghon, the latter's father, was then ruling in Mongolia on the Chinese frontier, where he was succeeded in 1439 by Esen Tayshi. After the death of Esen Tayshi (1455) the great nomad empire of the Oyrat broke up; individual princes are mentioned from time to time later as ruling in the neighbourhood of Muslim lands; at the beginning of 864/end of 1459 a Kalmuk embassy appeared in Harāt. The Muslim sources also report the restoration of the Oyrat empire under Khara Khula (d. 1634). In Turkestan during this period also the Kalmuks were regarded as powerful foes of Islam. The Kazakh Khān Tawakkul (Tefkel in Russian) had to flee before them to Tashkent, where he was received by the Özbek ruler Nawrūz Aḥmad (d. 963/1556); in reply to his appeal for help, Nawrūz declared that even ten princes such as themselves would be no match for the Kalmuks. At a later date, however, on the occasion of his embassy to Tsar Feodor (1594), Tawakkul was described in Russian documents as "king of the Kazakhs and Kalmuks", perhaps because a few bands of Kalmuks had attached themselves to him. In the winter of 1603-4 there occurred the first incursion of the Kalmuks into Khwārizm. Soon after, under Tsar Vasili Shuisky (1606-1610), the Kalmuks entered into relations with the Russian government for the first time, though it was not until 1632 that they settled on the Volga on a large scale. This branch of the Kalmuks had separated from their kinsmen, under the leadership of Kho-Örlök, as early as 1618. The territory of the Volga Kalmuks did not therefore form part of the empire founded by Khara-Khula, although relations between the two branches of the people had not yet been severed. Representatives of the Volga Kalmuks still appeared at the *kuriltay* [q.v.] of 1640; Batur, the son and successor of Khara-Khula, gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Kho-Örlök. By the same *kuriltay* the dominance of Buddhism was firmly established among all branches of the Kalmuks. The progress made by Islam described in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi* (p. 91) in

connexion with the above-mentioned marriage was apparently not maintained. Most of the Muslim territories in Turkestan were under the suzerainty of the Buddhist Kalmuk ruler on the Ili, the founder of the last great nomad empire in Central Asia, which lasted until it was destroyed by the Chinese in 1758; as late as 1749 the regent (*ataik*) of Bukhārā and his opponent had to submit a dispute to the verdict of an embassy from the Kalmuk ruler. A great part of the Kazakhs' pasture land was now seized by the Kalmuks, and Islam was almost completely banished from the southern part of Semireč'ye. Several Buddhist monuments, including Tibetan inscriptions, date from this period. It was only after the decline of the Kalmuk empire that these areas were re-occupied by the Muslim Kazakhs. The wars of the Volga Kalmuks with the Crimean Tartars and their raids into Khwārizm had less effect on Islam; from 1724 the Kalmuk chiefs on the lower course of the Volga were regarded simply as viceroys (*namesnik*) of the Russian tsar. They had no longer any connexion with the ruler on the Ili. The decision of the "viceroy" Ubashi and a large number (about 300,000) of his people to migrate from Russia and settle in Chinese territory proved disastrous to the Volga Kalmuks. During the migration heavy losses were inflicted on them in Central Asia, especially by the Kazakhs (1771). Henceforth the Kalmuks were of no political significance in either Russia or in China. During the Muslim rising in the Ili valley the great Kalmuk temple of Buddha near Kuldj was destroyed.

*Bibliography:* *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, ch. 4, Cambridge 1968; N. Elias and Denison Ross, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Ta'rikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Dughlat*, London 1898; V. V. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and I. Minorsky, i, Leiden 1956; W. Radloff, *Aus Siberien*, ii, Leipzig 1884; P. Pelliot, *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke*, Paris 1960.

(J. A. BOYLE)

#### THE MODERN PERIOD.

After 1771, some 50,000 Kalmuks continued to live west of the Volga. Their descendants joined the anti-Bolshevik Southeastern League but after its disintegration in 1920 they were formed into an "Autonomous Oblast" (province), which was raised to the status of Autonomous Republic in 1933. In 1939 the population of the republic was 200,000 including 134,000 Kalmuks. It was partly occupied by the Germans in 1942 and abolished by the Soviet Government in 1943, when all the Kalmuks were deported to Central Asia on the grounds of alleged collaboration with the enemy. A Soviet decree of 1957 provided for the return of the Kalmuks to their territory, which was reconstructed an Autonomous Republic in 1958 with its capital at Elista (formerly Stepnoy), 150 miles south of Volgograd. According to the 1970 census, the population was 268,000, of whom 110,000 were Kalmuks. This constitutes 80 % of the Kalmuks living in the USSR. A few thousand still live in the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China, where they are known as Oyrats. Only a small number of Kalmuks, less than 2,000 living in Semireč'ye, ever embraced Islam, the rest remaining actual or nominal adherents of Buddhism.

*Bibliography:* *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*; R. Conquest, *The Soviet deportation of nationalities*, London 1960, 36-41, 134-43. (G. E. WHEELER).  
**KALPAK** [see LIBAS].

**KALPI**, once a powerful town in Uttar Pradesh, northern India, 26° 8' N., 79° 45' E. The old town and fort stand on clay cliffs overlooking the river *Djāmnā* [*q.v.*]; there is a modern town to the south-east of the old one, which has some commercial importance and where a fine quality paper is still made by hand. The town was traditionally founded by a *rāḍīā* of Kannawḍj in the 4th century A.D., and fell into Muslim hands in the first conquest in 593/1196. The high fort, walled on three sides and defended on the fourth by the cliffs and river, was an important stronghold on the Dihli sultans' line of communication along the *Djāmnā*. In the early 9th/15th century, after Tīmūr's devastation of Dihli, Kalpi became independent for a short time under a former governor, Muḥammad *Khān* b. Malikzāda *Fīrūz*, until in 837/1433-4 Ibrāhīm *Shāh* of *Djawnpur* sought to annex it to the *Sharkī* sultanate; a counter-attack by Mubārak *Shāh* Sayyid of Dihli regained it, but in the following year during the Dihli-*Djawnpur* wars it was seized by Hūshang *Shāh Ghūri* of *Mālwa* and remained in the possession of *Mālwa* for the next ten years. About 847/1443 it was sacked by Maḥmūd of *Djawnpur*, but after the eventual fall of the *Sharkī* sultanate to *Bahlūl Lodī*, Kalpi reverted to Dihli, and *Bahlūl* appointed Kuṭb *Khān* *Lodī* as its governor. There were in addition several minor incidents during the 9th/15th century in which possession of Kalpi fluctuated between Dihli, *Djawnpur* and *Mālwa*. It fell into *Mughal* hands in 933/1527, and under Akbar became the headquarters of a *sarkār* and a copper mint. After the *Marāfhā* wars in the early 18th century Kalpi became the residence of a *Marāfhā* governor.

Among a number of old Muslim tombs to the west of the old town, one is outstanding, the *Čawrāsī Gunbadh* (lit. "84 domes"; this name is obscure). This is a square, nine-domed structure in a walled courtyard, with two graves under the central dome; popular belief assigns it to a *Lōdī* sultan; it is possible that it may have been of a *Lōdī* governor, as the style of its arches and the supporting systems is consistent with a late 9th/15th or early 10th/16th century date; certain *Djawnpuri* motifs in its decoration do not necessarily vitiate this conclusion, as stonemasons would have had no difficulty in travelling from one area to another on the *Djāmnā*. It is possible that the "84" of its name represents a date; if so 1584 V.S., about 934/1527-8, would be the most likely.

*Bibliography*: A. Cunningham, in *ASI*, xxi (1885), 131-3; J. F. Blakiston, *The Jami Masjid at Badaun and other buildings in the United Provinces*, [= *MASI*, xix], Calcutta 1926, 6-7 and plates xvi-xxi. See also *Bibliographies* to *DIHLI*, *DJAWNPUR*, *MĀLWA*, *SHARKIDS*. For the *Lodī* style of building see *HIND*, Architecture.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

**KALŪDIYA** [see *KALAWDHĪYA*].

**KALWĀDHĀ**, a locality situated on the left bank of the *Tigris*, not far south of East *Baghdād*, capital of a district (*ḥassūdī*) of the same name. Here the *Nahr Bīn* flowed into the *Tigris*; a branch of the *Nahrawān*, it provided East *Baghdād* with a network of canals. *Kalwādhā* was a large town endowed with a Great Mosque frequented by the people of *Baghdād* since it was only a short distance to travel (*Ibn Rusta-Wiet*, 214, estimates it at three parasangs, but *Yākūt*, s.v., reduces it to one parasang, specifying that in his day the place was in ruins). The town is often mentioned in verses of the 2nd/8th century which extol its pleasures.

Tradition attributes its foundation to *Kalwādhā*, son of *Ṭahmūrath*, but philologists connect the name with *kalwādh*, the Ark of the Covenant, which was supposed to be buried there.

*Bibliography*: *Ibn Hawkal-Wiet*, 234; *Salmon*, *Introduction*, 151 n. 1; *Le Strange*, index; idem, *Baghdad*, 195-6. (ED.)

**AL-KALWĀDHĀNĪ**, ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB MAHFŪZ B. AḤMAD B. ḤASAN B. AḤMAD AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, a celebrated jurist (*faqīh*) of the Hanbali school and one of the architects of what *Makdisi* called "the resurgence of traditionalist Islam in the 11th century". Born on 2 *Shawwal* 432/6 June 1041, he was the disciple of Abū Ya'qūb during the same period as *Ibn 'Aqīl*. He studied *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* under his master "until he was pre-eminent in his knowledge of the Hanbali rite" (*bara'a fi'l-madhhab*). His other teachers were less well known, apart from 'Abd Allāh al-Wannī (d. 450/1058), under whom he studied the law of inheritance. It is said that he and *Ibn 'Aqīl* attended al-*Ghazālī*'s classes at the *Nizāmiyya*, but nothing is known of his opinion about the young man from *Khurāsān* who had just arrived in *Baghdād* (484/1091, see *Ibn Radjāb*, *Dhayl*, i, 177). Like the majority of Hanbalites, *Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb* did not share al-*Ghazālī*'s taste for theology and philosophy. His speciality was *fiqh*, and in this field he acquired the status of a *mudjtahid* who was accorded the right to put forward, in particular cases, new solutions according to his own judgement. *Ibn Radjāb* (*op. cit.*, 147-54) gives a number of examples of these solutions; in one striking case *Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb* went against the consensus of scholars (*idmā'*) in deciding that the marriage contract is not automatically broken when one of the partners is held prisoner of war by non-Muslims. In defence of his opinion he even declared that a *ḥadīth* of Abū Sa'īd, recorded in *Muslim's Saḥīh*, was not authentic; according to this *ḥadīth* a marriage is broken when the wife is held captive in the *dār al-ḥarb*, in the country of the impious.

Despite such independence of spirit, in most of his works al-*Kalwādhānī* is much more classical and less original than his rival, *Ibn 'Aqīl*. Among his works, *Ibn Radjāb* thought the most important were: *al-Hidāya fi'l-fiqh*, *al-Khilāf al-kabīr*, also called *al-Intisār*, and *al-Khilāf al-ṣaḡhīr*, which is also known as *Ru'ūs al-masā'il*. Manuscripts of the first two are extant in *Damascus*, along with *al-Tamhīd fī usūl al-fiqh* (see *Brockelmann*, S I, 687), an important work on the basis of the law.

Al-*Kalwādhānī* died in *Baghdād*, where he seems to have spent all his days, on Wednesday, 23 *Djumāda* II 510/3 November 1116, and was buried at the feet of *Ibn Ḥanbal* beside another celebrated Hanbali contemporary, Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī. By far the most important of his disciples was 'Abd al-Qādir al-Djillānī, who studied under him and *Ibn 'Aqīl* at the same time.

*Bibliography*: *Ibn Radjāb*, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabakāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. H. Laoust and S. Dahan, *Damascus* 1951, 143-54; *G. Makdisi*, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* *Damascus* 1963, 259-63. (P. NWIYA)

**KALYĀNĪ**, a fortified town of the Deccan [see *DAKHAN*], 17° 53' N., 76° 57' E., about 37 miles west of *Bidar* [*q.v.*]. In the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, it was the capital of the Late Western *Čalukya rāḍīās*, passing later to the *Yādavas* of *Devagiri* (= *Dawlatābād*, [*q.v.*]); after the foundation of the *Bahmanī* [*q.v.*] dynasty at *Devagiri*, *Kalyānī* was annexed as one of the strongholds on their northern borders; but there had presumably been a previous

Muslim conquest of the town since an inscription is preserved of a *djāmi'* *masdji'd* founded by Ulugh Khān (later succeeded as Muḥammad b. Tughluk) in 723/1323; and another Tughlukī inscription of 734/1333 is known. The fort was rebuilt by the Bahmanīs at the end of the 9th/15th century after the introduction of gunpowder. The fort was maintained in good repair, as is evident from a series of inscriptions on its bastions, in the 10th/16th century; these show that it was held by the Barīd Shāhīs [q.v.] as the successors to the Bahmanīs in Bīdar until 981/1573, after which it passed to the 'Adil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpur [q.v.]. It fell to the Mughal empire, after a protracted siege by Awrangzib, in 1067/1657, and was included in the Mughal *ṣūba* of Bīdar. When the Deccan became independent of the Mughals under the first Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [q.v.], Kalyāni was one of the possessions included. From 1178/1764 it was governed by a line of Nawwābs of Kalyāni, of whom the first was Mir Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, a son-in-law of Aṣaf Dījh of Ḥaydarābād.

*Bibliography*: G. Yazdani, *Inscriptions from Kalyāni*, in *EIM* 1935-36 (1939), 1-13; idem, *Kalyāni fort*, in *ARADHYd.* 1344 F., 17-23 and Pl. I. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

**KALYŪB**, a moderate-sized town in Lower Egypt with a railway station, 10 miles north of the central station at Cairo on the Cairo-Alexandria railway. The town proper lies about a mile west of the station and about 3 miles from the right bank of the Nile, on the Tur'at al-Sardūsiyya. Down to the middle of last century, Kalyūb was the capital of the Mudiriyya al-Kalyūbiyya, but then in 1871 under the Khedive Ismā'īl, the Dīwān of the Mudiriyya was moved to Benhā. Since that date Kalyūb has been a *markaz* (district capital). Branch lines run to Zakāziḳ and the Barrage du Nil. The majority of the inhabitants are Muslims. According to 'Alī Paṣṣa Mubārak, Kalyūb possessed a *Shari'a* court (*maḥkama shar'iyya*) and a hospital. Cf. 'Alī Paṣṣa Mubārak, *al-Khiṭa' al-djādida*, xiv, 114 ff.; Baedeker, *Egypt* (1914), 34; Sambey, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, Istanbul 1314/1890, v, 3693<sup>b</sup>. The population of the *mudiriyya* of Kalyūb was 988,000 in 1960.

A Greek Κάλυπτονη—not yet, however, found—is at the base of the name. In the *Scalae* it is found under the form Καλυπτε (Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, Series i, 151).

*Historical*: John of Nikius mentions Kalyūb in his *Chronicle*, ch. 113 (ed. Zotenberg, 321, 509). 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ [q.v.] had a bridge thrown over the canal at this town to be able to conquer the other towns of the province of Miṣr (ca. 20/641). In 549/1154-5 the caliph al-Zāhir granted Kalyūb as a fief to his great favourite Naṣr b. 'Abbās. Usāma b. Munkidh so depreciated this present in the eyes of Naṣr and his father that it became one cause of the murder of the caliph by Naṣr and 'Abbās (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi, 126; Usāma b. Munkidh, ed. Derenbourg, i, 245; Ibn Muṣassar, ed. Massé, 93). In the fighting between Selīm I and Tumān-Bey, Kalyūb did not escape the raids of the Arabs (Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, under Ṣafar 923/March 10 1517). For embassies etc. Kalyūb was the stage before Cairo. Thus, for example, in Rabī' I 925/March 1519 Khā'ir Bey had the Sulṭān's envoy received there with the greatest ceremony by the Kāḍī Barakāt b. Mūsā (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii, 109). The town had again to suffer exceedingly from the exortions and plundering of soldiers and Mamlūks in the years 1219-20/1804-5; cf. al-Djābarti, *Adjā'ib al-Āthār*, sub annos. Kalyūb, as a result of its situation close to

the gates of Cairo, probably did not escape on other occasions the effects of the political happenings in the capital. Ibn Dukmāk (809/1406) and al-Zāhiri (839/1434-5) report that in their day Kalyūb was for the most part lying in ruins.

*Economic*: Almost all sources praise the wealth of Kalyūb in gardens and trees, among which the acacias (*sanj*) are mentioned as particularly valuable. In spite of the restrictive edicts of al-Malik al-Kāmil, the ground was very badly farmed, so that Kalyūb's prosperity suffered considerably (cf. 'Uḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī—wrote 637-48/1240-9, Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 409—who devotes a longish section to Kalyūb in his *Luma' al-Kawānin al-Muḍi'a fi Dawāwīn al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*; quoted in 'Alī Paṣṣa Mubārak, *op. cit.*, 114 f.).—In 1240/1824-5 Muḥammad 'Alī built a cotton mill in Kalyūb and later a barracks and a remount depot were established there. The al-Shawāribī family deserves special mention for its share in the economic development of Kalyūb, where they also built a seray with a mosque.

There are six mosques in Kalyūb, in one of which the Friday service is held. Among these the "great Mosque", formerly called Djāmi' al-Zaynabī, with its great *Manāra*, made a great impression on Ibn Djabayr (578/1182-3 in Egypt; cf. Brockelmann, I, 629; 'Alī Paṣṣa Mubārak, *op. cit.*, 114). According to the inscriptions on its minbar and above the door, it was renovated in 1148/1735-6 by the Shaykh al-'Arab of Kalyūb, Aḥmad al-Shawāribī. Among the tombs of saints the most important is that of Sidī 'Awwād.

'Alī Paṣṣa Mubārak gives a very full account of the above-mentioned al-Shawāribī family, as one of the most prominent in the town. Al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars gave them charge of the new bridge over the Baḥr Abu'l Manādīdja (cf. also al-Kalkashandī, tr. Wüstenfeld, 28) and granted them large estates as fiefs and an annual pension (which lasted till 1275/1858-9). Muṣṭafā Paṣṣa granted them the supervision of the whole province of al-Kalyūbiyya. Various members of the family also filled important posts in the administration, besides the office of Shaykh al-'Arab of Kalyūb, which seems to have been hereditary amongst them. Sulaymān al-Shawāribī's patriotism cost him his life; in Radjab 1213/Dec. 1798 he was beheaded by the French for his part in an attempted rising (cf. al-Djābarti, iv, 37 f.).

According to Ibn Dji'an (cf. 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *al-Ifāda wa'l-I'tibār* etc., French tr. de Sacy entitled *Relation de l'Égypte* etc., 595) the province of al-Kalyūbiyya comprised in his time (777/1375-6) 59 townships and yielded a revenue of 419,054 dinārs (but on p. 599 a list of 61 townships is given). Ibn Dukmāk gives 60 with a total revenue of 383,140 dinārs. In the time of the French expedition, the revenues of the province from the estates (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, i, 306 ff.) amounted to: (1) for the payment of the *miri*, 3,390,742 dinārs; (2) for the *kushūfiyya*, 1,710,462 dinārs; (3) for the *fā'iz* 15,119,199 dinārs.

The Baḥr al-Dardūs—according to legend built by Pharaoh and enlarged by his "vizier Hāmān" (Ibn Dukmāk, al-Kalkashandī)—was, according to the enthusiastic description in Ibn Dukmāk (whom al-Kalkashandī follows), a large canal, apparently with water always in it. This is indicated also by two documents of the years 891/1486 and 1061/1650-1 (quoted by 'Alī Paṣṣa Mubārak) in the possession of the al-Shawāribī family. Al-Kalkashandī notes that the canal in his time had disappeared and

that its place had been taken by the Abu 'l-Manâdjia canal (cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 25 f.); Maspéro-Wiet, *op. cit.*, 105). According to 'Alî Pasha Mubârak, there was only a small canal in his time: the Tur'at al-Sardûsiyya. Ibn Khallikân, Buṭrus al-Bustânî and 'Alî Pasha Mubârak give several scholars who bore the *nisba* al-Kalyûbi. The best known of them is Shihâb al-Dîn al-Kalyûbi [q.v.].

**Bibliography:** Besides the works quoted above: Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbâr Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919, 23, 60, 93; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, in the *Hist. des Crois.*, iv, 147; al-Dimashqî, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fî 'Adjâ'ib al-Barr wa 'l-Bahr*, ed. Mehren, Copenhagen 1874), 231; al-Makrîzî, *al-Khîṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 313, ch. 25, ii, 85, n. 1; Ibn Duḳmâk, *Kitâb al-Intiṣâr*, ed. Vollers, with title *Descr. de l'Égypte*, Bülâk 1309, v, 43, 47; al-Kalkashandî, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhâ*, in Wüstenfeld, *Calcaschandi's Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten* (*Abh. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxv 1879), 25 f., 28, 109; al-Zâhirî, in De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1826, ii, 5; Ibn Iyâs, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, Bülâk 1311, ii, 54, 109, 157, 197, 204, iii, 109, 110, 170, 192, 206, 286, 303, 318; d'Anville, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte* . . ., Paris 1766, 39; al-Djibartî, *'Adjâ'ib al-Aḥbâr fî 'l-Tarâḍim wa 'l-Akhbâr*, Cairo 1322, iii; 'Alî Pasha Mubârak, *al-Khîṭaṭ al-Djâdida* . . ., Bülâk 1305, xiv, 114-9; Muḥammad Ramzî, *al-Kâmûs al-djughrafi li 'l-bilâd al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, ii/1, 19, 57-8. (A. RICHTER\*)

**AL-KALYÜBÎ**, AḤMAD B. AḤMAD B. SALÂMA, SHIHÂB AL-DÛN, an Arab author, pupil of the celebrated Shâfi'î faḳîh Shams al-Dîn (al-Shams) al-Ramlî (d. 1004/1596), was regarded in his day as an unchallenged authority and died towards the end of Shawwâl 1069/July 1659. He composed numerous works, of which 21 have survived, in the fields of *fiqh*, geography, medicine, secret sciences and *adab*. To the 17 works mentioned by Brockelmann, II, 364, we have to add: 1. a *Kitâb al-Mudjarrabat* in Göttingen (see *Verzeichn. der Hss. im Preuss. Staate, I. Hannover*, 3. Göttingen, iii, Berlin 1894, no. 100); 2. *Mi'vâdjî al-nabi* in the Zâhiriya or 'Umûmiya in Damascus (see Ḥabîb al-Zayyât, *Khazâ'in al-kutub fî Dimashk wa-dawâhîhâ*, Cairo 1902, 74, no. 40; Houtsma, *Cat. d'une coll. de Mss. arabes et turcs* . . ., Leiden 1889, no. 241); 3. *Risâla fî ma'rifat asmâ' al-bilâd wa-urûḥâ wa-afwâhâ* in Princeton (see Littmann, *A list of Arabic Mss. in Princeton Univ. Library*, Princeton-Leipzig 1904, 9, no. 40; 4. a *K. Hikâyât*, anecdotes of pious individuals, different from the *K. al-Nawâdir* in the Brit. Mus. (see Ellis and Edwards, *A Descr. List of the Arabic Mss. acquired . . . since 1894*, London 1912, 62, Or. 7018). Of his works there have been printed: 1. *Hâshiya* to al-Mahallî's (d. 864/1400) commentary on al-Nawawî's *Minhâdjî al-fâlibîn*, along with the *Hâshiya* of Shihâb al-Dîn al-Burullusî, Cairo 1306, 1318, 4 vols.; 2. *K. al-Ṣalawât*, Bülâk 1300; 3. *al-Tadhkira fî 'l-Ṭibb*, on the margin of al-Suwaydî's *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1302, alone Cairo 1305; 4. *Hikâyât gharîba wa-'adjiḅa* or *Hikâyât wa-gharâ'ib wa-'adji'ib wa-laḅâ'if wa-nawâdir wa-fawâ'id wa-nafâ'is*, usually briefly quoted as *Nawâdir al-Kalyûbi*, which was only assembled after his death (see *The Book of Anecdotes, Wonders, Marvels, Pleasantries, Rarities and Useful and Precious Extracts*, ed. by W. Nassau Lees and Mawlâwî Kabîr al-Dîn, Calcutta 1856, 1864, also in Cairo several times since 1274, last ed. 1323, 1328, the conclusion of which differs from the Calcutta edition.

**Bibliography:** Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-aḥar min*

*a'yân al-harn al-hâdî 'aṣḥar*, i, 175; after this 'Alî Bâṣha Mubârak, *al-Khîṭaṭ al-djâdida*, xiv, 118; Sanguinetti, in *JA*, 1865, ii, 351; Leclerc, *Hist. de la Médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 303; Brockelmann, II, 364. (C. BROCKELMANN\*)

**KALYÜN** [see BAHRIYYA and SAFÎNA].

**KAMÄL** [see KEMÄL]

**KAMÄL AL-DÛN IBN AL-'ADÛM** [see IBN AL-'ADÛM].

**KAMÄL AL-DÛN AL-FÄRISÎ**, MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-ḤASAN, ABU 'L-ḤASAN, was the brilliant student of the great scientist Kuṭb al-Dîn al-Shîrâzî (634/1236-710/1311), and thereby the intellectual heir of Naṣîr al-Dîn al-Ṭûsî (597/1201-672/1274) and of the so-called "School of Marâgha" and its successor at Tabriz. His most impressive work is the *Tanḳîḥ* on the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haytham (ca. 354/965-430/1039), to which he added appendices on the refractions and reflections of a sphere, the rainbow, the halo, the *camera obscura*, and other topics in optics. His theory of the rainbow is particularly important as he demonstrates the combinations of refractions and reflections of sunlight within a drop of water that result in both the primary and the secondary rainbows; his investigations of celestial and meteorological phenomena with the *camera obscura* were brilliantly conceived and executed. Unfortunately, this work has been little studied.

Besides the *Tanḳîḥ*, works by Kamäl al-Dîn existing in manuscript are: *Tadhkirat al-abbâb* (e.g., Köprülü 941, fols. 128v-136, copied at Baghdâd in 737/1337; cf. Hâdjîdjî Khalîfa, ii, 257), on "friendly numbers"; *Asâs al-kawâ'id fî usûl al-fawâ'id* (Köprülü 941, fols. 1-128v, and in other Istanbul manuscripts; see M. Krause, *Stambuler Handschriften*, 509, and cf. Hâdjîdjî Khalîfa iv, 471), a commentary on the *Fawâ'id bahâ'iyya*, a mathematical treatise by 'Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad al-Khaddâm (b. 643/1245); and *Kitâb al-baṣâ'ir fî 'ilm al-manâzîr* (see Krause, *ibid.*), an independent work on optics. Nothing further is at present known of these works.

**Bibliography:** There are articles on Kamäl al-Dîn in Suter, 159, and Brockelmann, II, 273 and S II, 295. The *Tanḳîḥ* was published at Haydarâbâd-Deccan in 2 vols., 1347-8/1928-9. Various sections of it are discussed by E. Wiedemann, *Ueber die Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln*, in *Sitz. Phys.-Med. Soz. Erlangen*, xlii (1910), 15-38 (repr. in his *Aufsätze*, i, 597-640); *Eine Zeichnung des Auges*, in *Zentralbl. f. Augenheilk.*, xxxiv (1910), 204 ff.; *Zur Optik von Kamäl al-Dîn*, in *Arch. Gesch. Naturw. Techn.*, iii (1912), 161-77; and *Theorie des Regenbogens*, in *Sitz. Phys.-Med. Soz. Erlangen*, xlvi (1914), 39-56 (repr. in his *Aufsätze*, ii, 69-86); and by M. Nazîf, *Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham*, 2 vols., Cairo 1942-3, *passim*. (D. PINGREE)

**KAMÄL AL-DÛN ISMÄ'IL** (better known as KAMÄL ISMÄ'IL-I IṢFAHÂNÎ), a Persian poet of the Saldjûki-Khârazmshâhi period and a distinguished master of the so-called 'Irâkî School in Persian poetry. His father, Djâmâl al-Dîn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzâk, was also an eminent poet and upon his death (ca. 588/1192) Kamäl, when still under 20 years of age, composed elegies and panegyrics which secured him the protection of local patrons as heir to his father.

Although some scholars put his father far above him (see for instance Ulugh-Beg's judgement in Dawlat-Shâh, ed. E. G. Browne 1901, 141-2; cf. *Ta'rikh-i Ḥasim*, Bombay 1322 AH, 36-8), his reputation as a panegyrist has overshadowed that of his father.

Of his life very few details are known. He seldom left Iṣfahân, his native town, whence he sent pane-

gyrics to various patrons elsewhere. Nevertheless, he travelled to **Kh**̄wārazm, and visited Rayy, **Ni**shāpūr and **Ṭabaristān**, a journey which, he himself says, took no less than three years. The resentment of local patrons, the death of a son by drowning and the loss of a brother, physical sufferings, especially dry scab (*dj̄arab*), ophthalmia, and tooth-ache, are the other autobiographical details which he mentions in his *diwān*. Kamāl devoted a large part of his work to the praise of the leaders of two patrician families of **Iṣfahān**, the **Sh**āfi'ī **Āl-i Khudjand** and the **Ḥanafi** **Āl-i Ša'īd**. Among other patrons to whom he dedicated panegyrics are: 'Alā al-Dīn **Tekīsh** (568/1172-596/1199) and Sultan **Djalāl al-Dīn** [q.v.] (617/1280-628/1230) of the **Kh**̄wārazmshāhs [q.v.], **Atābak Sa'd b. Zangī** (ca. 594/1198-623/1226) and his son **Abū Bakr** (623/1226-658/1260) of the **Salghurids**, and **Husām al-Dawla Ardashīr** (d. 602/1205) and his son **Sharaf al-Mulūk Ḥasan** (d. 602/1205) of the **Ispahbads** of **Ṭabaristān**. He also wrote mystical odes in honour of the well-known **Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar-i Suhrawardī** [q.v.] (d. 632/1234), to whom he is said to have paid homage as a devotee (*murīd*). He apparently did not meet the *shaykh*, but certainly received letters from him since a unique copy of at least one letter has survived (see *MDAT*, 14). **Dawlat Shāh** tells us that toward the end of his days, Kamāl adopted an ascetic life and retired to a hermitage situated outside **Iṣfahān**, where he was tortured and killed by the **Mongols**. According to **Dawlat Shāh**, this happened in 635/1237-8. Other sources give 628/1230-1 and 639/1241-2, both improbable.

As a panegyrist Kamāl is admired and imitated by no less a poet than **Hāfiẓ**. His poetry is polished and rich in original ideas. The honorific title **Kh**hallaḡ al-Ma'ānī (Creator of Subtle Ideas), by which he is mentioned in some *tadhkiras*, does not occur earlier than **Djāmī** and **Dawlat Shāh**; it refers to the fertility of his imagination and his fine poetic figures, for which even the uncompromising **Shams-i Kay**s praised him (*al-Mu'djam*, ed. **Tehran Univ.**, 360). He also wrote *ghazals*, quatrains, satires and obscene verses, in all of which the social conditions of his troubled time are mirrored. A short satirical *mathnawī*, a Persian letter addressed to an unknown friend, and an Arabic pamphlet dealing with the bow (*Risālat al-Kaws*), are among his other works.

*Bibliography*: For recent works published in Persia, including the literature of the *tadhkiras*, see: **A. Khayyām-Pūr**, *Farhang-i Sukhanvarān-i Iran*, **Tabriz** 1340 S., 487-8; **Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'il's Kulliyāt** has been lithographed in **Bombay** 1307. A new edition of the *Diwān-i Khallāḡ al-Ma'ānī Abū'l-Faḡl Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'il Iṣfahānī has recently been published by **H. Bahr al-'Ulūm**, **Tehran** 1349 S. See also: *The hundred love songs of Kamāl Ad-Dīn of Iṣfahān*, tr. by **L. Gray** and rendered in English verse by **Ethel W. Mumford**, **London** 1930. The whole text of the *Risālat al-Kaws* is given in the *Maḡālī' al-Budūr* of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bahā'ī, 1299, ii, 167-72; **H. Ritter**, in *Philologica*, vii, no. 20, in *Isl.*, xxi, ascribes to him a *mathnawī* on mystical love which is not to be found in the published *diwāns*. Further references are in: **C. Rieu**, *Cat. of Pers. Ms. in the B.M.*, ii, 850-51; **H. Ethé**, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 269; **Browne**, ii, 540-42; **A. J. Arberry**, *Classical Persian Literature*, 1958, 244-8; **J. Rypka**, *History of Iranian Literature*, **Dordrecht** 1968, 214; idem in *the Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 585-6.*

(A. H. ZARRINKOOB)

**KAMĀL AL-DĪN SHĪR 'ALĪ** [see **BANNĀ'Ī**].

**KAMĀL KHUDJANDĪ** (KAMĀL AL-DĪN MAS'ŪD), Persian lyric poet and mystic, was born in **Khudjand** (Transoxania), later settled in **Tabriz**, where he lived the rest of his life and, according to **Kh**̄wādamīr, died in 803/1400-1. **Kamāl Khudjandī's** modest *diwān* contains short, exquisite *ghazals* of five to seven verses with love, *Lebenslust* and frustration as central themes, and permeated with a deep pantheistic mysticism reminiscent of the school of **Ibn al-'Arabī** and **Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī**. True to the tradition of the great Persian mystics, he never condescended to write panegyrics on potentates, and was often critical of the 'ulamā' (even in his capacity as *Shaykh al-Islām*) and the temporal authorities. **Hāfiẓ** held **Khudjandī** in high esteem and exchanged poems with him. Revered and much visited by the people, the shrine of **Shaykh Kamāl** was long regarded as a sanctuary.

*Bibliography*: *Diwān*, ed. **Dawlatābādī Dawlat Shāh**, *Tadhkira al-Shu'arā'*, 325; **Kh**̄wādamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii, 90; **Riḡā Ḳulī Khān**, *Madjma' al-fuṣṣahā'*, ii, 29; **H. Ethé**, *Gr. I Ph.*, ii, 304; **Sūdī**, *Sharh-i Hāfiẓ*, **Bülāk**, ed. 3, 84; **Browne**, iii, 320-30; **J. Rypka**, *History of Iranian Literature*, **Dordrecht** 1968, 262-3; **I. S. Braginskij**, *Zum Studium des Schaffens Kamol Hudschandis*, in *Akten des XXIV. int. Or.-Kongr.*, (München, 1957) **Wiesbaden** 1959, 499-505; idem, *Očerki iz istorii tadhksoy literaturi*, in *O tvorčestve Kamola Khodžandī*, 239-61; **A. Pagliaro-A. Bausani**, *Storia d. letteratura Persiana*, 464, 469. (M. SHAKI)

**KAMĀL PASHA ZĀDE** [see **KEMĀL PASHA ZĀDE**].

**KAMĀNICA** [see **MALĀHI**].

**KAMĀNICA** (KAMIENIEC, KAMENETZ PODOLSKI), a fortress town of the Ukraine, situated in the region known as **Podolia**. **Kamānica** rose to prominence as a stronghold guarding the southern border of **Lithuania** and (after 1432) of **Poland** against the incursions of the **Tatars**. It was important, too, as a station on the commercial route extending from the **Black Sea** and **Moldavia** to **Poland** and the **Baltic**. The fortress occupied a position of great strength on a high spur of rock, a little above the confluence of the **River Smotric** with the **River Dnestr** (cf. **Dupont**, 29, who describes it as "le boulevard de la chrétienté dans cette partie de l'Europe"). **Ottoman** forces appeared before **Kamānica** in 1042/1633 (*Fedhlike*, ii, 160). Not until the **Polish-Ottoman** conflict of 1083-7/1672-6, however, did the town become subject to the **Turks**, falling to the **Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü** in the first year of the war (1083/1672). **Kamānica** was not destined to remain for long under **Ottoman** rule, being returned to **Poland** in 1110/1699 at the **Peace of Karlowitz** which brought to an end the **War of the Sacra Liga** (1684-99). The town passed into the hands of **Russia** at the time of the **Second Partition of Poland** in 1793. In 1918, at the end of **World War I**, it reverted to **Poland** once more, but since 1945 it has been included in the **U.S.S.R.**

*Bibliography*: **Hādidī Khālifa**, *Fedhlike*, **Istanbul** 1286-7, ii, 160; **Rāshid**, *Ta'rikh*, **Istanbul** 1282, i, 266 ff.; **Silāhdār**, *Ta'rikh*, **Istanbul** 1928, i, 586 ff.; **Yūsuf Nābī**, *Ta'rikh-i Kamānica*, **Istanbul** 1281; **Ewliyā Čelebī**, *Seyāhat-nāme*, v, **Istanbul** 1315, 128 ff.; *Acta Ioannis Sobieski*, ed. **Fr. Kluczycki**, ii/1, **Cracow** 1881, 1060 ff.; **S. Makowiecki**, *Relacya o upadku Kamienica r. 1672*, in *Przeegląd Powszechny*, ix (Cracow 1886); **G. Górski**, *Wojna Rzeczypospolitej z Turcją w latach 1672 i 1673*, **Warsaw** 1890; **J. Pajewski**, *Buńczuk i Koncert. Z*

*Dziejów Wojen Polsko-Tureckich*, Warsaw 1960, 146 ff.; J. Woliński, *Wojna Polsko-Turecka 1672-1676 w Świeśle Relacji Rezydentów Austriackich w Turcji*, in *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* [Wojskowy Instytut Historyczny Zakład Historii Dawnego Wojska Polskiego], vii/2 (Warsaw 1961), 322 ff.; L. Finkel, *Bibliografia Historii Polskiej*, Warsaw 1956, ii, 1335, 1953 (index); *Cronicele Romaniei Său Letopiseșele Moldaviei și Valahiei*, ed. M. Koșalniceanu, iii, Bucharest 1874, 7 ff.; E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente la Istoria Românilor*, Supl. *privitoare*, ii/3, Bucharest 1900, 89 ff. (Peace of Zurawna, 1087/1676); *Mémoires du Sieur de La Croix*, Paris 1684, i, 325 ff.; Mons. de Jonsac, *Histoire de Stanislas Jablonowski, Castellan de Cracovie, Grand Général des Armées de Pologne*, Leipzig 1774, iii, 182 (plans of Kamieniec); P. Dupont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Vie et des Actions de Jean Sobieski III du nom, Roi de Pologne*, ed. J. Janicki, Warsaw 1885, 28 ff., 226 ff., 268 (index); E. Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen*, Munich 1970; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 385 ff., xii (Paris 1838), 158, 462; Zinkeisen, v, 71, 138, 213; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv, Gotha 1911, 144, 203 ff., 272; Babinger, 179, 229, 238; Ağâh Sirri Levend, *Gazavât-nâmeler . . .*, Ankara 1956, 126 ff.; *IA*, s.v. Kamanice (Aurel Decei). (V. J. PARRY)

AL-KAMAR (A.), the Moon.

I.—Astronomy.—Al-Kamar is the one celestial body that in fact orbits the earth as mediaeval Muslim astronomers, following their predecessors, assumed all seven “planets” to do. The actual motion of the moon in its orbit is extremely complicated, as it is effected by a combination of the gravitational pulls of the sun and of the earth. It was a major aim of Muslim astronomers to devise a cinematic model that would enable them to predict this motion accurately, as several lunar phenomena, and in particular the first visibility of the lunar crescent after conjunction (*ru'yat al-hilâl*), which determines the beginning of a month, were of great significance to them. They did not fully succeed in their efforts, though they did conceive of a model essentially identical with that of Copernicus.

Among the pre-Islamic Arabs as among the Muslims, the basic calendaric unit was the lunar month, which began at the sunset following the first visibility of the lunar crescent after the moon's conjunction with the sun. The length of this month varies in accordance with the effects of two variables, the solar velocity and the lunar velocity; but in the mean the length of the lunar month is very close to  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days, which can be accounted for by alternating months of 30 days (full) with months of 29 days (hollow). For several centuries before Muḥammad the Arabs intercalated months when necessary to make the lunar months fall within the same season every year (see al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ch. 5; Abū Ma'shar in *JA*, ser. V, xi (1858), 168-78 and Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 156-8), but Muslims allow the months to “wander” with respect to the solar year.

One method of intercalation of the pre-Islamic Arabs according to al-Bīrūnī was essentially by observation of the *manzil* (lunar mansion) occupied by the moon at first crescent. The risings of the 28 *manāzil* [q.v.], which are individual stars or groups of stars that the moon conjoins with roughly at the rate of one each night of a sidereal month, were originally used for weather-predictions (e.g., in the *Kitāb al-Awā'ib* of Ibn Kūṭayba), but the conjunctions of the moon with these *manāzil* later became an important

element of catarchic astrology on analogy with the Indian usage of the conjunctions of the moon with their 27 or 28 *nakṣatras*. In general, the moon plays an important role in astrology as the transmitter to the world of the four elements of the influences of all the higher celestial spheres as well as of its own.

Muslim astronomers date the epoch of their era, the *Hiđra*, variously at sunset of 14 or 15 July 622 A.D. Each normal year thereafter contains 354 days. But, because of the slight inaccuracy of the estimate of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days in a synodic month, an intercalation-cycle is employed according to which 11 years out of every 30 contain 355 days. The earliest known such intercalation-table, the *Muđjarrađ*, is for 210 years ( $30 \times 7$ ), so that the weekdays on which years and months begin are also cyclical; it occurred in one of the works of al-Fazāri (*fl.* 145/762 - ca. 174/790) (D. Pingree, in *JNES*, xxix (1970), 110-1), but is often repeated thereafter.

The earliest Muslim theories of lunar motion were based on Indian and Indo-Sasanian developments of Greek theories as found primarily in the *Ziđi al-Sindhind* and in the *Ziđi al-Shāh*. In these theories there was only one inequality in lunar motion—that explained by the assumption of an epicycle on whose circumference the moon (or rather the moon's apogee) rotates in the opposite sense to the rotation of the centre of the epicycle on the circumference of the deferent (see, e.g., D. Pingree on *Māshā' llāh's De elementis et orbibus coelestibus*). Rather crude “Indian” methods of estimating the time of the occurrence of the first visibility of the lunar crescent are often found in the early Muslim astronomers (see, e.g., E. S. Kennedy on Ya'qūb ibn Ṭāriq in *JNES*, xxvii (1968), 126-23), as are also Indian procedures for computing lunar parallax in latitude (see, e.g., O. Neugebauer, *The Astronomical Tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962, 71-2 and 121-6, and E. S. Kennedy in *Isis*, xlvii (1956), 33-53). In general, Muslim lunar eclipse-theory is Ptolemaic.

During the third century after the *Hiđra* Muslim astronomers gradually adopted Ptolemaic models of planetary motion, retaining from the earlier material mainly some new parameters and the use of sine and related functions in place of chords. For the moon Ptolemy hypothesized a deferent circle whose centre rotates on a small circle about the earth (the “crank-mechanism”) in the direction opposite to the order of the signs at the rate of double the moon's elongation from the sun. On the circumference of the deferent in the direction of the order of the signs rotates the centre of the lunar epicycle at the rate of the moon's mean velocity. On the circumference of the epicycle in the direction opposite to the order of the signs rotates the moon itself at the rate of its anomalistic motion. The plane of this mechanism is inclined to that of the plane of the ecliptic, and the diameter of the intersection of the two planes rotates in the direction opposite to the order of the signs at the rate of the moon's nodal motion. Further, the apogee of the lunar epicycle, from which point the moon's anomalistic motion is counted, is not the intersection of the line extending from the earth through the centre of the epicycle with the epicycle's circumference, but the intersection of the line extending from the point on the little circle about the earth opposite to the centre of the deferent through the centre of the epicycle with the epicycle's circumference (prosneusis). The choice of different parameters (that is, ratios of the radii of the three circles to each other, rates of (mean) motion of the moon, the sun, the lunar anomaly, and the lunar node, and



inclination of the lunar orbit) for use in this model will lead to different predicted longitudes and latitudes for a given time, and generally Muslim astronomers simply adjusted the parameters so that these predicted longitudes and latitudes would better conform to observed or otherwise determined "true" longitudes and latitudes.

There are two principal exceptions to this rule. Astronomers at Marāgha in the late 7th/13th century began a process of revision of the Ptolemaic planetary models in order to obtain more "perfect" models in which all motion is circular and constant about the circle's centre and in which, for the moon, its distance from the earth at quadrature is not as small an amount as will result from Ptolemy's model. The culmination of these efforts lies in the brilliant work of Ibn al-Shāṭir (*fl.* 750/1350) of Damascus, whose lunar model is essentially identical with that of Copernicus; the latter must somehow be dependent on the former. Ibn al-Shāṭir achieves his desired result by replacing the circle about the earth on which the centre of the deferent revolves according to Ptolemy with a second epicycle bearing the moon, whose centre revolves on the circumference of the first epicycle (see V. Roberts in *Isis*, xlviii (1957), 428-32; F. Abbud in *Isis*, liii (1962), 492-9; and E. S. Kennedy in *Isis*, lvii (1966), 365-78). The second revision was due to the Jewish astronomer Levi ben Gerson (1288-1344) of Orange in southern France. His complicated lunar models will be described in a major forthcoming publication by B. R. Goldstein (meanwhile see B. R. Goldstein in *Proc. Israel Acad. Sci. Hum.*, iii (1969), 239-54). The "Aristotelian" model of al-Bīrūnī (B. R. Goldstein, *Al-Bīrūnī*, New Haven 1971, i, 36-9 and 142-54) is no improvement over Ptolemy's.

One other problem relating to the moon that interested Muslim scientists was that of the nature of its light, or rather in what fashion the moon's light depends on the sun's. This problem was of prime importance for Ibn al-Haytham, whose treatise *Fī daw' al-kamar* (ed. in his *Madīmi' al-rasā'il*, Haydarābād-Deccan 1357/1938; cf. M. Schramm, *Ibn al-Haytham's Weg zur Physik*, Wiesbaden 1963, 70-189) is the most original mediaeval discussion of the matter.

*Bibliography:* The following published *zījis*, among many others, contain information about lunar theory: Caussin de Perceval, *Le Livre de la grande Table Hakémite, Notices et extraits*, vii, Paris 1803, 16-240 (Ibn Yūnus); L. A. Sédillot, *Prolegomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg*, 2 vols., Paris 1847-53; Carra de Vaux, *L'Almageste d'Abū-l-Wefā al-Būzjānī*, in *JA*, ser. viii, xix (1892), 408-71; C. A. Nallino, *Opus Astronomicum*, 3 vols., Milan 1899-1907 (al-Battānī); F. Nau, *Le livre de l'ascension de l'Esprit*, Paris 1900 (Bar Hebraeus); A. Bjørnbo, R. Besthorn, and H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des . . . al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914; O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962; al-Bīrūnī, *Kānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, 3 vols., Haydarābād-Deccan 1954-6; B. R. Goldstein, *Ibn al-Muthannā's Commentary*, New Haven 1967; and G. J. Toomer, *A survey of the Toledan tables*, in *Ostris*, xv (1968), 5-174. See also, besides the articles cited above, D. Pingree in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii (1964), 135-60; E. S. Kennedy in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 327-34; H. Salam and E. S. Kennedy in *JAOS*, lxxxvii (1967), 492-7; O. Neugebauer in *Mém. Ac. Roy. Belg., Cl. Lettres*, lix (1969), 5-45; and C. Jensen in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, viii/4 (1972), 321-8. (D. PINGREE)

II.—Folklore, literature, art, etc.—The moon played an important role in pre-Islamic Arabia. Lunar cults had a significant place there, though this has perhaps been exaggerated, but the Mesopotamian lunar god Sin undoubtedly became the supreme god of Ḥaḍramawt. The Bedouins of central Arabia, who carried on many activities during the night in order to avoid the heat of the day, revealed their interest in the moon through, among other things, a rich vocabulary designating its aspects and phases, the various nights of the lunar cycle, etc., as well as through kinds of rhyming riddles, questions posed to the moon which it is supposed to answer. The phases were sometimes likened to the progressive entry of the moon into a sheath (*ghilāf*), which was compared with a foreskin.

In Islam, apart from the moon's leading role as the regulator of the canonical acts, in scholarly astronomical theory and in the calendar of lunar mansions inherited from ancient Arabia [see ANWĀ'], one of the astrological processes, that of *ihhtiyārāi* [*q.v.*] (*electiones*), was based on the moon's position in one of its mansions at the moment that a given action took place. In a vaguer sense, the idea of a lunar influence on all sorts of natural phenomena was widely held. A cyclical theory of universal history considered the epoch inaugurated by Muḥammad as a lunar era.

In alchemy, silver is under the influence of the moon. Numerous magical and divinatory systems relate the moon to, for example, the skin and the bones of the skull, Monday, the feminine sex, the letter *djīm*, etc.

In literature, the moon features in many poetical similes. The human face, especially that of a beautiful woman or a handsome young man, is often compared with the full moon (*baḍr*). Frequent similes employ the crescent moon. Such comparisons are generally laudatory. Some poets, however, apparently employing Bedouin maxims, lay stress on the deficiencies of the moon, in a manner which seems sacrilegious to literary theorists. The mystics sought to make it the symbol of ineffable realities, a symbolism reflected especially in Persian and Turkish poetry.

The crescent sometimes appears in Muslim painting, but mainly at a later date in India under European influence. Above all, however, it is a decorative theme, stemming from pagan religious symbolism. In astrological treatises representations of the moon derive from Babylonian models by way of orientalised Hellenistic imagery.

Popular traditions of many kinds, handed down from antiquity, associate the moon with particular agricultural practices, attribute particular illnesses to its influence, and so on; from it are derived meteorological predictions, omens and various signs. Popular literature, proverbs and riddles often refer to the moon. Likewise, it is often personified. In many cases this is no more than a rhetorical device, but often too a true personalization is involved. The vocabulary and tales usher in a whole sub-mythology which is rarely accompanied by associated popular ritual practices, and yet God is never absent. The Moon, although subject to God, has its own power. It is said to have rendered homage to Muḥammad through a miracle which places the apocalyptic forecast of the Qur'ān (LIV, i) "the Moon has been split", in the Prophet's day. Eclipses particularly induced mythological figurations. Popular magical practices in the Maghrib make appeals to the Moon.

Place-names bear traces of ancient lunar cults, and personal names often incorporate the moon. The

crescent, always employed as a decorative motif, eventually became the emblem of Islam to Europeans, and was adopted as such by the Ottoman empire in the 19th century [see HİLĀL].

Pre-Islamic astral paganism endured for many years among the "Sabeans" of Ḥarrān, who invoked the Moon, among other deities. Traces of its influence can be found among the Yazīdīs and also the Nuṣayrīs of Syria, where 'All and Salmān are identified with the moon and where a religious sub-group is called the *ḵamariyya*.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the articles cited above, see M. Rodinson, *La lune chez les Arabes et dans l'Islam, in La lune, mythes et rites*, Paris 1962 (coll. *Sources orientales*, 6), 153-215, where the relevant references will be found. (M. RODINSON)

**KAMARĀN**, coralline island (with numerous small islets) in Yemeni territorial waters, less than three miles from the Salif peninsula, 200 miles north of Perim; its length is 14 miles, its maximum breadth 6 miles, its area 22 sq. miles. The impoverished inhabitants, who number between 1000 and 3000, are Sunnīs of mixed origin (Adeni, Ethiopian, Somali, Indian); they cultivate cotton and fish for pearls.

At the end of the 4th/10th century the king of Yemen kept prisoners on Ḵamarān; in the first half of the 10th/16th century the island was occupied and fortified by the Portuguese. In the second part of the 19th century Turkey, by virtue of the international health regulations, established there a quarantine station for pilgrims arriving through Bāb al-Mandab; they used to contract a disease called in Mecca "Ḵamarān sickness". In June 1915, as the Turks were attacking Aden, Ḵamarān was occupied by the British. Turkish sovereignty on all Red Sea islands ceased in 1923 under Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne. The quarantine station had passed under British administration; Holland became a participant in 1928, Italy in 1938; the Anglo-Italian Agreement provided that Great Britain should not "establish its sovereignty or erect fortifications or defences" on the island. When the quarantine station was closed in 1952, thanks to improvements in health controls on the mainland, it was said to receive 100,000 pilgrims yearly.

The international status of Ḵamarān is peculiar: in 1948 the Ḵamarān Order in Council declared that the United Kingdom had "power and jurisdiction" over the island and appointed the Governor of Aden as Governor of Ḵamarān, stating however that the island was not part of Aden Colony or of the Aden Protectorate, and that the Foreign Jurisdiction Act applied to it "as if it were a British colony or possession", a formula resembling that of trusteeship agreements (mandates). Since 1928 Yemen has constantly and unsuccessfully claimed sovereignty over Ḵamarān and protested against British concessions for oil research on it (the one given in 1955 to the D'Arcy Exploration Co. proved fruitless). On 1 December 1967 the "Peoples' Republic of South Yemen", following a British communication to the United Nations dated 30 November 1967 to the effect that the Kurya Murya islands would be restored to the sultan of Maṣḳat, issued a decree naming its own governor for Kurya Murya, Perim and Ḵamarān.

*Bibliography*: Yākūt, 80; al-Muḵaddasī, 103; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, Leiden and London 1931, 218, note 1; idem, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1923, iii, 27, 32; *OM* (1938), 215, (1953), 29; L. Farago, *The riddle of Arabia*, London 1939, 284-7;

E. Quadri, *L'île de Camaran*, in *Revue Égyptienne de Droit International*, xiii (1957), 1-30; B. Reilly, *Aden and the Yemen*, London 1969, Colonial no. 63; R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963. (V. VACCA)

**KAMḤ**, the name for wheat in Syria and in Egypt; in 'Irāk wheat is called *ḥinṭa* and in Arabia it was called *dhurr*. These different words are also used in the literary Arabic of the western and eastern provinces of the Muslim empire.

Wheat was the main grain crop in the Near East from the beginning of the Muslim period (and much earlier), while in Europe in the Middle Ages even the upper classes ate bread made from barley and rye. The predominance of wheat among cereals distinguished Muslim countries from the Far East also, as Chinese travellers observed.

Muslim physicians recommended abstention from other bread and literary evidence shows that in the caliphal period only the poor classes of southern 'Irāk ate rice bread. In *Ḵhūzistān* and in some Caspian provinces, such as Māzandarān, however, there were extensive rice plantations or rice was even predominant. But in the central provinces of the Muslim world people ate bread made of cereals other than wheat only in times of distress, e.g., famines, or when the general prosperity had declined considerably, as in Egypt at the end of the 9th/15th century. Bread made of barley was the food of ascetics.

The accounts of the 'Irākī treasury of the 3rd/9th century, which have come down to us in extracts included in the works of the geographers Ḵudāma b. Dja'far and Ibn *Ḵhurradādhbih*, contain information on the quantities of wheat and barley received as taxes in kind. These figures point to a slight predominance of barley, but this cereal was used for animal fodder. Furthermore, the accounts show that barley was grown mainly in districts where the soil was apparently less adapted to wheat growing. It is worth noting that the equilibrium between wheat and barley was a striking feature of agriculture in 'Irāk from Sumerian times and is still characteristic at the present day. In the days of the caliphs Upper Mesopotamia produced great quantities of wheat which were shipped to southern 'Irāk. In Syria the provinces of Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and Ba'labakk, and particularly the Ḥawrān, were veritable granaries, supplying the surrounding regions with wheat. In Palestine wheat of excellent quality was grown in the coastal plain, so that al-Muḵaddasī could praise the quality of the bread of Ramla. Egypt, which had earlier supplied Rome and Constantinople with wheat, exported it in the days of the caliphs and their successors to the *Ḥijāz* and to other countries. The main wheat-growing region was the Ṣa'īd, the southern part of the country. Arabic authors emphasize that some types of Egyptian wheat were unequalled. Barley-growing had been decreasing in Egypt before the Muslim conquest and probably continued to decline thereafter. European travellers who visited Egypt in the 8th/14th century dwell on the excellent quality of its wheat bread. So over many centuries the predominance of wheat remained unchanged. Throughout the coastal regions of North Africa wheat was produced and was the staple food, at least of the town-dwellers. Speaking of the province of Būna, the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal says that wheat and barley were so plentiful that their quantities could not be measured. The Muslim merchants of North Africa exported wheat to the countries then called *Gḥāna* and Takrūr, now part of Senegal and Mali.

The predominance of wheat was universal in

Muslim lands. Only in very dry regions, such as Kirmān and Nubia, was *dhura* (sorghum) grown. Of course the wheat grown was not of the same variety elsewhere. The geographer al-Bakrī says that in the province of Sijilmāsa, in western Morocco, there was grown a small-grain "Chinese" wheat. All the texts quoted so far refer to the golden age of Muslim civilization. In the later Middle Ages the cultivation of wheat declined in many regions of the Muslim world, as regards both the extent of the areas cultivated and the quality of the grain, this being a result of bedouinization.

The papyri, the Arabic chronicles and the writings of various Arabic authors contain extensive data on the prices of wheat and of barley. In the Near East in the 'Abbasid period their price ratio was 2:1 and in the later Middle Ages 3:2. It is evident that grain prices rose under the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid caliphs, both in 'Irāk and in Egypt, by 900 per cent or even more. Prices in Egypt were however much lower than in 'Irāk. From the end of the 4th/10th century the price of wheat began to fall in 'Irāk and from the end of the 5th/11th century in Egypt, a fact probably connected with the main trends of demographic development: the growth of population (i.e., of consumers) in the caliphal period and the decrease from the period of the Crusades.

The measures in which the grain prices are given are in the classic period the *kurr* (2925 kg.) in 'Irāk, the *ghirāra* (208.8 kg.) in central Syria, the *makkūk* of Aleppo (about 82 kg.), the *tillīs* (67.5 kg.) and later the *irdabb* (69.6 kg.) in Egypt and various *mudd* in the provinces of North Africa.

*Bibliography:* A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 405, Eng. tr., 430; Qudāma b. Dja'far, *K. al-Kharāđi*, 237 and cf. tr. De Goeje, 180; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 8 ff.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tambih*, 22; al-Muqaddasi, 136, 145, 151; D. Müller-Wodarg, *Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen Abbasidenzeit*, in *Isl. xxxii* (1957), 17 ff.; Ibn Hawqal, 76, 77, 80, 81; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (ed. de Slane), 151, 158; al-Istakhri, 91; Spuler, *Iran*, 387; E. Ashtor, *Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient médiéval*, in *Annales Éc., soc., civ.*, xxiii (1968), 1018 ff.; idem, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 42 ff., 77 ff., 100 ff., 124 ff., 242 ff., 282 ff., 392 ff., 451, 453 ff.; E. Ehrenkreutz, *The kurr system in medieval Iraq*, in *JESHO v* (1962), 309; X. de Planhol, *Les fondations géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968, 90. (E. ASHTOR)

**KĀMIL** [see 'ARŪP].

**KĀMIL, MUṢṬAFĀ** [see MUṢṬAFĀ KĀMIL].

**AL-KĀMIL** (AL-MALIK), title of two Ayyūbid princes.

1) AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MĀ'ALĪ MUḤAMMAD, the eldest son of al-'Ādil [*q.v.*] Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, born 573/1177 or 576/1180. In 595/1199 he left the D̲jazīra, where he had begun his political career as his father's representative (from 587/1191), to come to the aid of al-'Ādil at Damascus in his struggle against al-Afdal b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. After the latter's defeat, father and son marched into Egypt, entering Cairo on 22 Ramaḍān 596/6 July 1200. Al-'Ādil was proclaimed sultan of Egypt and Syria. After the formal investiture by the caliph in 604/1207, al-'Ādil distributed his provinces between his sons [see AL-'ĀDIL]; al-Kāmil was to remain viceroy of Egypt for the rest of his father's reign. In 604/1207 he moved his residence to the newly finished Ka'at al-D̲jabal.

In Ṣafar 615/May 1218 the Franks made an un-

expected attack on Egypt (fifth Crusade [see CRUSADES]), landing at Dimyāt [*q.v.*]. Al-Kāmil was unable to prevent their capture of the Burđj al-Salsala (Tower of the Chain), the main stronghold of the harbour. Shortly after receiving news of this, al-'Ādil died in his camp near Damascus (Friday 7 D̲jumādā II 615/31 August 1218), and al-Kāmil became sultan of Egypt and supreme head of the Ayyūbid realm. On 25 Ṣha'bān 616/5 November 1219 the Franks finally succeeded in conquering the town of Dimyāt. For nearly two years al-Kāmil was able to hold them at bay from his new camp, called al-Manṣūra, south of Dimyāt, until the combined forces of al-Aṣḥraf [*q.v.*], al-Mu'azzam [*q.v.*] and other Ayyūbid princes, following their brother al-Kāmil's demand, reached Egypt in August 1221. The Franks, who had lost irretrievable time, tried to march against Cairo, but were encircled from all sides and after heavy fighting were forced to surrender (7 Rađjab 618/27 Aug 1221) and to leave Egypt: the fifth Crusade had reached its inglorious end.

The second period of al-Kāmil's reign was marked by the struggle for the leadership among the Ayyūbid brothers: al-Kāmil against al-Mu'azzam of Damascus (1221-1227) and—after the latter's death—against al-Aṣḥraf, who succeeded him (1227-1237).

As early as 619/1222 al-Aṣḥraf visited his brother in Cairo, and they concluded an alliance against al-Mu'azzam, who subsequently had to give way to al-Aṣḥraf in two separate disputes (succession at Ḥamāt, 619/1222; possession of Akhlāt [*q.v.*]). An alliance between al-Mu'azzam and the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*], concluded during 622/1225, tilted the balance of power, and al-Aṣḥraf was compelled to seek an arrangement with his brother. In Ṣhawwāl 623/September 1226 he went to Damascus to submit to al-Mu'azzam and to renounce his supremacy over Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt; until D̲jumādā II 624/May-June 1227 he was forced to remain as *de facto* prisoner. The Ayyūbid realm was on the verge of dividing into two states when the situation was completely altered by the sudden death of al-Mu'azzam (Friday, 1 Dhū 'l-Hiđđja 624/12 November 1227). His son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd [*q.v.*], a youth of 21 years, at once submitted to al-Kāmil, recognizing his supremacy.

In the same year 624/1227 rumours of a new Crusade reached Cairo. Presumably considering the situation desperate, al-Kāmil contacted Frederick II, offering him all Saladin's conquests. Frederick II accepted, and on 7 September 1228 landed at Acre. After hard bargaining the famous treaty which delivered Jerusalem to the Franks was signed on 11 February 1229.

Al-Kāmil's cordial relations with his nephew al-Nāṣir did not last. At a meeting with al-Aṣḥraf at Tell al-'Ađiūl (near Ghazza), he therefore agreed that al-Nāṣir should cede Damascus to al-Aṣḥraf; a treaty was signed at the end of 625/1228. The two brothers then marched against the Syrian capital. After a short siege, al-Nāṣir surrendered (21 Rađjab 626/15 June 1229) and had to accept the fortresses of al-Karak and al-Ṣhawbak in exchange. Damascus was handed over to al-Aṣḥraf; al-Kāmil was recognized as overlord of the realm. Princes favouring al-Kāmil were installed in all the minor principalities and took over al-Aṣḥraf's possessions in the D̲jazīra, thus further enhancing al-Kāmil's influence and control.

After a prolonged visit to the D̲jazīra, al-Kāmil returned to Egypt in Rađjab 627/May 1230, but only two years later the situation demanded his return. He marched to Salamiyya to prepare with the assem-

bled Ayyūbid princes against an expected attack by the Mongols. As no attack materialized, he decided to expel the ill-famed Artuqid ruler of Āmid, al-Mas'ūd Rukn al-Dīn Mawdūd (Dhu 'l-Hidjja 629/October 1232). The Artuqid soon surrendered and was sent into captivity at Cairo. Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the other important fortress of the prince of Āmid, capitulated soon afterwards and was given to al-Kāmil's son Naḍīm al-Dīn Ayyūb, who in 634/1236 also took over Āmid. Even in the Dījazīra al-Kāmil had become the most powerful sovereign, so that the other Ayyūbid princes were bound to feel threatened by him.

Al-Kāmil returned to Cairo in about Djumādā I 630/February-March 1233, but his stay was once more brief. The capture of Akhlāṭ by the sultan of Rūm Kayqobād [q.v.] (at the end of 629/1232) led him to mount a general attack on the Saldjūqs of Asia Minor; probably he planned to transfer—after the expulsion of the Saldjūqs—the Ayyūbid princes from Syria to Asia Minor, Syria to be governed as a unitary state like Egypt. The invasion began from Salamiyya in Ramaḍān 634/June 1234, but failed. The distrust and opposition of the Ayyūbid princes then forced al-Kāmil to abandon his plans; he returned to Cairo in Dhu 'l-Kāda 631/August 1234, but soon he had to hurry back to repel with the help of al-Ashraf the counter-attack of Kayqobād. After a prolonged stay with al-Ashraf at Damascus, al-Kāmil then returned to Cairo in Muḥarram or Šafar 634/September-October 1236.

A new breach between al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf opened up over the succession at Aleppo. An alliance led by al-Ashraf was formed against al-Kāmil and a fraternal war seemed imminent, when al-Ashraf fell ill and after a few months died (4 Muḥarram 635/27 August 1237). His most dangerous enemy having disappeared, al-Kāmil marched against Damascus, together with his nephew al-Nāsir, to whom he had promised that city. After two months' siege Damascus surrendered (19 Djumādā I 635/5 January 1238); the coalition against al-Kāmil disintegrated. Before al-Kāmil was able to reap the fruits of his triumph (to take Aleppo and install al-Nāsir at Damascus), however, he suddenly fell ill. He died on Wednesday, 21 Raḍiāb 635/6 March 1238, and was buried in the Citadel of Damascus.

*Bibliography:* H. L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, where all the sources are enumerated.

(2.) AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL NĀSIR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUZAFFAR ŠHIHĀB AL-DĪN GHĀZĪ B. AL-'ĀDIL MUḤAMMAD [q.v.] B. AYYŪB, nephew of the preceding, sultan of Mayyāfāriḳīn [q.v.]. He succeeded his father in 645/1247 and tried in vain to come to terms with the Mongols, who had already besieged Mayyāfāriḳīn in 642/1244 and repeated their attack in 645/1247. Thereafter al-Kāmil visited al-Malik al-Nāsir [q.v.], the Ayyūbid sultan of Aleppo and Damascus, in order to persuade him to mount a joint action against the Mongols; but he failed, as al-Nāsir hoped to appease them by dispatching his ambassador, the well-known historian 'Izz al-Dīn b. Šhaddād [q.v.] (cf. H. F. Amedroz, *Three Arabic Mss. on the history of Mayyāfāriḳīn*, in *JRAS* (1902), 785-812). The Mongols under Tašmūt b. Hülāgū began the third siege of Mayyāfāriḳīn in Dhu 'l-Kāda 656/October-November 1258 and conquered the town in 658/1260, in spite of the brave resistance of al-Kāmil and the inhabitants. Al-Kāmil and his brother al-Ashraf were brought before Hülāgū [q.v.], who personally killed them both. It was said that al-Kāmil's head was carried round several towns of

al-Dījazīra and Syria and finally hung upon the Bāb al-Farādis at Damascus; it was buried there at the *masḥad* of al-Ḥusayn after the city was reconquered by the Muslims.

3) AL-KĀMIL [see ŠHĀ'BĀN].

*Bibliography:* 'Izz al-Dīn b. Šhaddād, *al-A'lāk al-khaṭīra*, 3rd part, Bodeleian Lib., Ms. Marsh 333, fol. 111 ff., Ms. Berl. 9800, fol. 72 ff.; al-Yunānī, *Ḥaydarābād*, i, 359, 430, ii, 75; Abū Šhāma, *Dhayl*, Cairo, 205; al-Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo, 441; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien und Diyarbekr*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl.N.F. IX, 3, 16-17, n. 1; Spuler, *Mongolen*. (H. L. GOTTSCHALK)

**KĀML** (A.), lice (the individual louse being *kaṃla*; some authorities believe that *kaṃl* applies only to females and that for males the term is *ṣu'āb*, pl. *ṣi'bān*, although the latter designates rather the nits). The family to which this hemipterous insect belongs has numerous species, but Arabic does not seem to have distinguished between them, for not even the head-louse (*pediculus capitis*) and the body-louse (*p. vestimenti*) are treated separately.

Although the existence of nits which cling to the skin was known of, the louse was thought to be engendered spontaneously in human sweat and body-dirt, in places covered by hair or clothing. At birth, the louse takes on the colour of the hair in which it emerges. Some men, called *kaṃil*, are more prone than others to give rise to lice, which in such cases have longer bodies. Measures of cleanliness are therefore useless, and the best way of avoiding the increase of these parasites is to wear silk clothing, since this fabric does not suit them. This is why 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, who were *kaṃils*, begged the Prophet to permit them to wear it. By a special divine dispensation, lepers are free from this pest, since they cannot scratch without danger. On the other hand, hens and pigeons do not escape them, nor do monkeys, who have many and eat them as they groom themselves.

Eating lice is of course prohibited, as is eating food with which they have come into contact. Before Islam, in periods of famine people ate *kurra*, which was flour mixed with hair, obtained from spreading the flour on the head and then shaving it, but picking the lice out of the mixture was enjoined.

The *fuḥahā'* expatiated on the conditions under which one could get rid of this most repugnant of vermin. In normal circumstances, the use of carthamus oil was recommended, or vinegar mixed with sea water, or even mercury and sesame oil. Muslims are also permitted to delouse themselves when they are neither in the mosque nor in a state of consecration (*iḥrām* [q.v.]), but they are not allowed to crush these insects with fruit stones, for this would make the latter unfit for cattle fodder. Lice are usually crushed between the nails, and women in particular enjoy the crackling noise this produces. Killing a louse in the mosque is prohibited; it must even be kept in the clothing until the person concerned leaves, although a *hadīth* permits it to be buried when the floor is suitable. In the state of *iḥrām*, the pilgrim must avoid killing vermin; a louse which affords great discomfort can be removed delicately, or even killed, but should the pilgrim engage in systematic delousing he must give alms in return for the relief he has been granted.

Seeing a louse in a dream is interpreted in slightly different ways depending on the circumstances surrounding it. The insect is also used to determine the sex of an unborn infant. A little milk from the

expectant mother is placed in the hand and the louse dropped into it; if it crawls out the child will be a girl, if not, a boy, since in the latter case the milk is thicker. Other beliefs are attached to this pest; for example, a man who throws away a living louse forgets his acquaintances.

Although translators of the Qurʾān, basing themselves on Exodus VIII, 16 ff., generally employ the word "lice" for *kummal* in VII, 130/133, where the plagues of Egypt are mentioned, commentators offer different explanations of this term, which is held to designate either crickets or a sort of moth (*ḥirdān*, *ḥalam*, etc.).

Other insects related to lice are bugs and fleas. Bugs, hemipters of the *cimex* family, are distinguished by their stench and by the odour of bitter almonds which is given off when they are crushed. They are called *baḥḥ* and *banāt al-ḥaṣīr* because they hide in the bedmatting, but they are sometimes included (see *LA*, s.v.) in the species called *baʿūd*, "mosquitoes", because the latter were regarded as a metamorphosis of the bug, as were fleas, of which, the Arabs thought, they constituted a variety. Bugs may be killed, under the same conditions as other vermin, but as they appear mainly at night and in dwelling places, they were less of a problem to the *fukahāʾ* than lice and fleas.

The latter, diptera of the *pulex* family, were called *burgḥūth*, and also Abū Ṭāfir, Abū ʿAdī, Abū Wathḥāb, Ṭāmir b. Ṭāmir, colloquial names inspired by the backward leaps they make. They are born in the earth, in dark places, at the end of winter and in early spring, and they also change into mosquitoes. They can be got rid of by the use of talismans (as in Antioch) or of a reed smeared with asses' milk or billy-goat's fat, on which they will gather in return for a promise that they will be thrown outside without being killed and to the accompaniment of the appropriate formulas. It was popularly believed that if a fox whose coat was full of fleas took a tuft of wool in his mouth then the fleas would gather on it; if he slid gently into the water, they would be drowned.

According to tradition, injuring fleas is prohibited because they woke up a prophet in time for the morning prayer. However, killing them is permitted, except in the mosque or the state of *iḥram*, and, as with lice, it is advised that they should not be thrown in the fire. At an early date the question of whether the blood (or rather excrement) of fleas on the clothing or body necessitated washing was discussed, but the majority of *fukahāʾ* consider that a few stains do not impair ritual cleanliness.

*Bibliography*: Dajāḥiz, *Ḥayawān*, index, s.v. *kaml*; idem, *Bukḥalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjiri, 199 (*Arabica*, 1955/3, 327); Damīri, s.v.; Kayrawānī, *Risāla*, index, s.v. *powx*. (ED.)

**AL-KAMMAD**, by-name of ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. AḤMAD, a Ḥasanī *sharīf* from Constantinople who moved to Fez, where he taught *ḥadīth*, logic and dialectic. None of his works has survived, but some noteworthy *responsa* (*adīwiba*) on a number of cases of the category of (*nawāzil*) reveal his competence in the subject. He died in 1116/1704-5.

*Bibliography*: É. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 288 and n. 2; Kādīrī, *Nashr*, ii, 184; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, fol. 53 r.; idem, *Ilḥikāt*, fol. 57 r.; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide*, index. (M. LAKHDAR)

**KAMMŪN**, cumin (*Cuminum Cuminum*), an umbelliferous plant which seems to be a native of eastern Iran. At an early date it was found in the

Near East (Syria, Palestine, the upper valley of the Nile), then spread throughout the Mediterranean basin. The Hebrew is *kammōn*, Greek *kūminon*, Latin *cuminum*.

Wild or cultivated, its aromatic seeds were much sought after. Physicians recognized its many virtues: carminative, emmenagogic, sudorific, etc. in potions and in electuaries (*maʿādījīm*). Dieticians knew it as an aid to digestion.

Many varieties were known and these were variously appraised. Cumin from Kirmān [q.v.] was considered the best; pharmacists described it as *bāsīlīkūn*, "royal". After this came cumin from Fāris, Egypt, Syria, the land of the "Nabateans", and Abyssinia (*habashī*).

Allied to a determinant specifying the type of plant, the word *kammūn* was used as a generic term to designate other plants, not necessarily umbelliferous ones, which bore aromatic or medicinal seeds. *Kammūn armanī*, "Armenian" or *kammūn rāmī*, "Byzantine" was in fact caraway (*Carum Carvi*). It was also called *kammūn barrī*, "wild cumin", as it is in some regions of France, where it is known as *cumin des prés*, "meadow cumin". *Kammūn ḥulw*, "sweet cumin", was one of the names for aniseed. In Bougie, in eastern Algeria, *kammūn al-djabal*, "mountain cumin", was the name for *Meum athamanticum* JACQ. *Kammūn aswad*, "black cumin", was fennel-flower (*Nigella sativa*), a ranunculus properly called *shūnīz*. It was also known as *al-ḥabba ʾl-sawdāʾ*, the "black grain", and is called *ḥabbet el-baraka* in modern Syria.

Alongside the word *kammūn*, diffused throughout the Arab world, is found another much rarer term. The consonantal outline of this word is *s-n-w-t*, but its exact pronunciation is not known: *sannūt*, *sunūt*, or *sinnawt*? Lexicographers also give it the meaning of "honey", "fruit syrup" (*rubḥ*), "cheese" and several other condiments. This rare term appears in some *ḥadīths*; it seems to be a Yemenite word. A denominative verb, *sannata*, is attested, with the imprecise meaning of "to throw *s-n-w-t* in a pan".

The Muslim West. Seeds of cumin were cultivated and used widely, both in medicine and in cooking; they were also attributed with magical and beneficial properties. Muslim Spain differed from the rest of the Arabic-speaking world in using, alongside *kammūn*, a dialectical phonetic variant, *kāmūn*, where it seems that the reduction of the gemination was compensated for by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This form *kāmūn* also gave rise to a derivative: *kaymūn*, *keymōn*. Here we find the mutation *ā-ū* = *ay-ū*, which is attested in Spanish Arabic dialect for other nouns of the same morphological type: *kānūn*, *tābūt*, *dāsūs* (for *djāsūs*); this may be a case of pronunciation with *imāla* [q.v.].

The Spanish word *alcamontas*, signifying a range of aromatic seeds, cumin, caraway, aniseed, fennel-flower, etc., is an Arab loan-word given a Romance plural. It is the equivalent of the *quatre semences chaudes majeures*, "four main warm herbs", of the old French pharmacopoeia. In old Spanish the original Latin name for cumin often appears in a plural form, *cominos*.

In the Maghrib, Morocco is characterized by the widespread use of the Spanish form, *kāmūn*. In the extreme north-west of the country (the regions of Tangiers and Tetuan), the variant *kaymūn* is preserved. Herbalists in Fez sell a variety of this grain called *kāmūn šofī* or *kāmūn bū-šofa*, "fluffy cumin", imported from the Tuat. A potion made from it is used to cure pains in the entrails or stomach. In the

rest of the Maghrib, it would seem, *kammün/kämmün* is the one name used for cumin.

In Tunisia *kammün* symbolizes grace, charm (*sirr*), the absolute perfection of a beauty. Its seeds, thought to generate attraction, are one of the essential ingredients of love potions. The plural, *kmāmon*, designates "an assortment of aromatic seeds: cumin, coriander, aniseed, caraway, fennel-flower, etc."; a synonym for this is the plural *srārs*, "seeds". This is an equivalent of *alcamonias* and also of the Moroccan *rās 'l-kānūt*, lit. "the essentials in the shop (of the druggist, 'attār)". In Malta cumin is called *kemmün* and *kemmün helū* is used for aniseed (cf. above).

Throughout the Arab-speaking west the relative adjective *kammūnī* is used for a shade of green: in Spain a greenish brown, in Morocco a greenish khaki, in Algeria a pistachio green. In Takroūna, Tunisia, however, it is a bluish pink. Such descriptions are naturally related to the colour of the local variety of the seeds.

In the feminine substantive (*kammūniyya*), this epithet is applied to a variety of dishes seasoned with cumin.

The non-Arab-speaking Muslim world. The Persian name for cumin is *zira*, *zīrē*. The composites *shāh-zira* and *zira-i rūmī* designate caraway. A particular dish, containing cumin, is called *zīrabā*, *zīrbā*; in the archaic form *zīrabādī* (for *zīrabāg*), the dish and its name passed into the Arabic culinary vocabulary of the east and Muslim Spain. Alongside the learned-word *kemmün* the Turkish of Turkey uses a popular form, *kimyon*; the adjective *kimyoni* means olive green. The Persian dish mentioned above is called *zırva* and today describes "a dish of calves' feet with rice and garlic"—and apparently without cumin.

Finally, proverbs which feature cumin are found sporadically throughout the whole Islamic world. These belong to two series: in the first the cumin is promised that it will be well watered, tomorrow—this is the prototype of empty promises; in the second the cumin says, "rub me between your hands and I will release my good smell", which is the equivalent of "ring for service".

*Bibliography:* Ibn al-Baytār, *Traité des Simples*, tr. Leclerc, no. 1967; Ibn al-Hashshā, *Glossaire sur le Manşūrī de Razès*, ed. Colin and Renaud, nos. 526, 693, 1181; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, tr. Renaud and Colin, no. 229; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroūna*, i, 405, iv, 1665, vii, 3496; Westermarck, *Wit and wisdom in Morocco*, nos. 1080, 1487; Huici, *Kitāb al-ṭabīkh*, Madrid 1961-2, 38 (tr. Madrid 1966, 36). (G. S. COLIN)

**AL-KAMMŪNĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM AL-TAMĪMĪ, a Ḳayrawānī panegyrist of the Zīrid al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs (first half of the 5th/11th century), was admired by the critics for the abundance and perfection of his laudatory, descriptive and elegiac poetry, remarkable alike for the choice of themes and images, the power of the language and the strict rhythm of the verse. But the vogue his poetry enjoyed during his lifetime was equally due to the verve, humour and sprightly imagination with which he recounted the vicissitudes of his disordered and picturesque life, and denounced the failings of some of his fellow citizens. However, very few lines of this classical yet personal output have survived.

*Bibliography:* text of Ibn Rashīk's *Ummūdhādī*, containing sample lines of poetry, quoted in part by: Kifī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shu'arā'*, Beirut 1970, 114-5; 'Umārī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Ms. 2327 Paris, xvii, 82 r. 83 v.; Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, ii, 4;

Ibn Zāfir, *Badā'i' al-badā'i'ih*, Cairo 1278, 40; Ibn Manzūr, [pseudo] *Niḥār al-ashār*, Istanbul 1298, i, 20; see also Ḥ. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-'aḳīk*, Tunis 1330, 23, 53; Maymanī, *Ibn Rashīk* . . ., Cairo 1343, 31, 32, 81; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, 785; 'A.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 161-3; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīkiya sous les Zirides*, Tunis 1972, 128-9, 279. (CH. BOUYAHIA)

**KĀMRĀN** mīrzā, second son of Bābur and of Gulrukḥ Begam, and half-brother of Humāyūn; he was born in Kābul ca. 915/1509. He was cleverer than Humāyūn and had a poetical turn, but he was cruel and vicious and a restless schemer. He repeatedly rebelled against Humāyūn, who was at last compelled by his officers to make him innocuous by blinding him in 960/1553. He went to Mecca in 961/1554 and died there in Dhu 'l-Ḥijjā 904/October 1557. The most interesting thing about him is the devotion of his wife, Māh Čīčak Bēgam Arghūn, daughter of Shāh Ḥasan of Sind. She insisted on accompanying him to Mecca, in spite of her father's remonstrances, saying that he had given her to Kāmran in the days of his greatness (in 954/1546) and that she would not abandon him now in the time of his misery. She died at Mecca a few months after her husband.

Kāmran was put in charge of Ḳandahār by his father, and in the beginning of Humāyūn's reign he was governor of the Panjāb. During the interregnum, when Humāyūn was in Persia, Kāmran and his younger brother, 'Askarī, ruled over Afghānistān. He left one son and three daughters. The son, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who inherited his father's poetical talents, was confined in Gwalior by Akbar in 964/1557, and was put to death some years later as a dangerous competitor. All three daughters were given in marriage; one of them, named Gulrukḥ, was a woman of masculine spirit; she married Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Sulṭān, and she and her son were thorns in Akbar's side. (Firīshṭa, lith. ed., 221, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Darbār-i Akbarī*).

*Bibliography:* Abu 'l-Faḳl, *Akbar-nāma*, i; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Ta'riḳh-i Rashīdī*, Eng. version by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross; Djawhar Āttābī, *Memoirs of the Emperor Humāyūn*, tr. Stewart (Or. Transl. Fund 1832); Bābur's *Memoirs*; Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*; Gulbadan Bēgam, *History of Humāyūn* (O. T. F.), London, 1902; Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhhab al-Tawāriḳh*, i, 451 ff.; Elliot-Dowson, iv, 498, v, vi. There is a copy of Kāmran's *Diwān* in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Cat., ii, 145, 215, where a biography of the author is given. (H. BEVERIDGE\*)

**KĀMRĀN SHĀH DURRĀNĪ**, ruler of Harāt in succession to his father, Maḥmūd Shāh (d. 1244/1282). By alienating the powerful Bārakzay family Kāmran contributed to the downfall of Sadōzay rule in Afghānistān in 1235/1818. Subsequently, Maḥmūd and Kāmran disputed possession of Harāt, which comprised an area extending from the Harī Rūd in the west to the Hilmand river in the east and from Sistān in the south to Maymana in the north, although their authority in the outlying areas was always contested. In his early years Kāmran revealed energy and ability, but during the last five years of his reign power passed to his able vizier, Yār Muḥammad Khān Allkozay (d. 1267/1851), who secured his position by control of the only effective military force, of the revenue and of the British subsidy negotiated in 1255/1839 and who deposed and murdered Kāmran in 1258/1842. Kāmran and Yār Muḥammad contin-

ued the Harātī tradition of alternately acknowledging and rejecting Iranian sovereignty and in 1253-4/1837-8 withstood a prolonged Iranian siege which devastated the Harāt valley.

*Bibliography*: See AFĠHĀNISTĀN; see also Commonwealth Relations Office, London, *Gazetteer of Afghanistan, Part 3, Herat*, Calcutta 1910; J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, 2nd ed. London 1857, Appendix F.; George W. Forrest (ed.), *Selections from the travels and journals preserved in the Bombay secretariat*, Bombay 1906; J. W. Kaye, *Lives of Indian officers*, 2 vols., London 1867 (arts. by Pottinger and Todd); A. Conolly, *Overland journey to India*, 2 vols., London 1831; H. L. O. Garrett and C. Grey, *European adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849* Lahore 1929, Appendix, xxviii-lviii (Court's Journal). (M. E. YAPP)

**KĀMŪNIYA** [see AL-KAYRAWĀN].

**KĀMRŪP**, a region in western Assam [q.v.], the most north-easterly limit of penetration by Muslim armies in India. Conquest was not followed by any great settlement of Muslims in the region, which was in fact held only for limited periods. The few Muslims in the district today are mostly traders in the towns. For the history of the district as it affects Islam, see ASSAM. In the Muslim geographers (*Hudūd al-ʿālam*, Marwazī) it is often referred to as Kʿmrwn. (ED.)

**KĀMŪS** (A.), dictionary.

#### I. ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

The word *kāmūs/kawmas*, from the Greek *Ωκεανός* appeared in Arabic, at the latest at the time of the Prophet, with the meaning of "the bottom, the very deepest part of the sea". Nevertheless, following Ptolemy, the Arab geographers borrowed the Greek word again, in the form *Ukiyānūs*, and applied it to "the mass of water surrounding the earth", more particularly the Atlantic Ocean, which was called *Ukiyānūs al-muḥīf*, then more simply *al-Kāmūs al-muḥīf*. As this latter term was employed in a metaphorical sense by al-Firūzābādī [q.v.] as the title of his great dictionary, *kāmūs* eventually came to be a common noun denoting a dictionary, though it still carried some sense of "fullness, exhaustiveness", in contrast to *muʿdjam* [q.v.], "Lexicon". This distinction, however, was neither general nor absolute, so that nowadays *muʿdjam* tends to be used in the same sense as *kāmūs*. In classical Arabic, the concept of "dictionary" was not covered by any single term, each lexicographical work bearing its own title. A number of these titles included the word *luġha*, "language", and lexicography was called *ʿilm al-luġha* "the science of language". Sometimes this was confused with "philology", which today is called *fiḥḥ al-luġha*, an expression already employed in the Middle Ages by Ibn Fāris [q.v.] in the title of his celebrated *Sāḥibī*. The neologism *muʿdjamiyyāt* is now tending to gain currency.

In Persian, the general term for a dictionary was *farhang*, but, as in Arabic and also in Turkish, various expressions were also used in titles.

Mediaeval Arabic dictionaries may be classified in three groups, according to the arrangement used:

I. Those arranging roots anagrammatically, treating all permutations of a group of root letters under one heading, and separating biliterals, trilaterals and longer roots. Almost all such dictionaries adopted an alphabetical order based on phonetic principles, beginning with gutturals, a practice somewhat reminiscent of the order of the Sanskrit alphabet. This system was first used by al-Khalīl [q.v.].

II. Those employing the "rhyme order"; that is, arranging roots primarily under the final radical, then the first and any intermediate radicals. Within this framework, the normal alphabetical order was followed. The first major work to use this system was al-Djawharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ*. This system soon gained the ascendancy in general dictionaries, and was not seriously questioned until the 19th century, under European influence.

III. Those arranged, more or less, on the modern European pattern insofar as roots are concerned. The earliest example, Abū ʿAmr al-Ṣhaybānī's *Kitāb al-Djīm*, lists all words with the same initial in one chapter, but in no obvious order within the chapter. This has been called the "Kufan Method" (J. A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography*). The modern arrangement proper goes back at least to Ibn Fāris. However, it found favour largely in specialized dictionaries such as those of the Kurʿān and *ḥadīth*. Al-Zamakḥsharī's *Asās al-balāġha* adheres most closely to this arrangement.

The following are the principal mediaeval Arabic dictionaries, arranged in rough chronological order. (The Roman numerals I, II, and III in brackets after titles indicate the arrangement used in accordance with the above classification).

2nd/8th century: Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [q.v.], *Kitāb al-ʿayn fi ʿl-luġha* (I), survives in at least three manuscripts; Père Anastase Marie de Saint Elie embarked on an edition in 1914, but he was unable to continue it beyond 144 pages and almost all the printed copies are lost. The first volume of a new edition, prepared by ʿAbd Allāh Darwīsh, appeared in Bagḥdād in 1386/1967 (with an alphabetical index). Abū ʿAmr al-Ṣhaybānī, *Kitāb al-Djīm fi ʿl-luġha* (II), is available only in manuscript (Madrid, Escorial no. 572).

3rd/9th century: Ibn Durayd [q.v.], *al-Djamhara fi ʿl-luġha* (I). This combines the anagrammatic arrangement with the normal alphabetical order. The Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) edition (1344 AH) has a useful index listing the content in the modern manner.

4th/10th century: Al-Ṣāhib ibn ʿAbbād [q.v.], *al-Muḥīf fi ʿl-luġha* (I), Ms. only (ʿIrāk Nat. Mus.). Abū Mansūr al-Azharī [q.v.], *Kitāb al-taḥdhib fi ʿl-luġha* (I), Cairo 1964. Al-Djawharī [q.v.], *al-Ṣaḥāḥ* (or *Ṣiḥāḥ*) (II), Cairo 1956 and Būlāḳ n.d. Ibn Fāris [q.v.], *Maḳāyīs al-luġha* (III), Cairo 1366-71 AH. idem, *al-Mudjmal fi ʿl-luġha* (III), vol. i (all published), Cairo 1958.

5th/11th century: Ibn Sida/Siduh [q.v.], *al-Muḥkam wa ʿl-muḥīf al-ʿaḳam fi ʿl-luġha* (I), Cairo 1958. This work was compiled in Spain.

6th/12th century: al-Zamakḥsharī [q.v.], *Asās al-balāġha* (III), Cairo 1953, largely concerned with the language of rhetoric.

7th/13th century: Ibn Mukarram or Ibn Manẓūr [q.v.], *Lisān al-ʿArab* (II), Būlāḳ 1300-8 AH, Beirut 1955-6. This is still the best-known large-scale dictionary.

8th/14th century: al-Firūzābādī [q.v.], *al-Kāmūs al-Muḥīf* (II). This is the standard handy dictionary, containing a very large vocabulary compressed into small space by the omission of supporting examples. It has been frequently printed, mostly in Cairo and in four volumes.

12th/18th century: Though not strictly mediaeval, Murtaḳā al-Zabīdī's *Tādj al-ʿarūs min djawāhir al-Kāmūs* (II), Būlāḳ 1306-7 AH, Kuwayt 1965, is best mentioned here. It is an expansion and extension of the *Kāmūs*, on the scale of the *Lisān al-ʿArab*.

The modern (European) dictionary arrangement is now normally used by Arabs. Buṭrus al-Bustānī used it for his 2-volume *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (Beirut 1867-70), basically a re-arrangement of the *Kāmūs*. No large-scale Arabic dictionary has appeared in the Arab world since the *Tādj al-ʿarūs*. The most popular one-volume work is Louis Maʿlūf's *al-Mundjīd*, Beirut 1908, 18 Beirut 1965.

Bi-lingual dictionaries were rare in the Arab world until the present century. Kāshgharī's [q.v.] *Diwān lughāt al-Turk* (5th/11th century) explains Turkish words in Arabic, while al-Zamakhsharī's *Muḥaddimat al-adab* (*Samachstherii Lexicon Arabicum Persicum*, ed. J. G. Wetzstein, Leipzig 1843-50) gives the Persian equivalents of Arabic words. Neither is very conveniently arranged. To list all bi-lingual Arabic dictionaries published since the Renaissance would take several pages. Those mentioned below are of the literary language only, and do not include polyglot dictionaries.

Jacob Golius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Leiden 1653, with a Latin-Arabic index, was pre-eminent until G. W. Freytag's larger work, with the same title, was published, Halle 1830-7 (also has a Latin-Arabic index). Both are based on the *Kāmūs*, recast in modern arrangement. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski's *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris 1860, pays some attention to dialectal Arabic and is still very useful, since it is more complete than Père J.-B. Belot's *Vocabulaire arabe-français*, which has enjoyed general favour since 1883. Edward William Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863-87, repr. 1955-7, though incomplete, is still widely used. These 19th-century works may well be superseded by two new dictionaries in the course of publication. The first, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, published in Wiesbaden in fascicules since 1957, is sponsored by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (the present editor (1974) is M. Ullmann). Definitions are in German and English. It begins at the letter *kāf*, where Lane's *Lexicon* becomes mere sketches, because of the urgent need to supplement the deficiencies of Lane. The second is the *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français-Anglais*, edited by Blachère, Chouémi and Denizeau, published in Paris in fascicules from 1961. It covers both the classical and the modern languages.

R. Dozy's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden 1881, Paris 1927, is invaluable for words used in Arab Spain and the Maghrib, and for much late-classical vocabulary. Modern literary Arabic is well served by Hans Wehr's *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1952; Supplement, Wiesbaden 1958; Eng. ed., J. Milton Cowan, *A dictionary of modern written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1961.

The above account does not include dictionaries from European languages into Arabic. No comprehensive work has yet been published. Ellious Bochtor's *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, which appeared in a third edition revised and supplemented by Caussin de Perceval in Paris in 1864, has been practically forgotten. Belot's *Vocabulaire français-arabe* has gone through many revisions since 1889, but it is still inadequate. G. P. Badger's *English-Arabic Dictionary*, London 1913, is worthy of note. But the late Elias A. Elias's *Modern Dictionary English-Arabic*, Cairo 1913, has been very widely used. Munir Baalbaki's *al-Mawriḍ*, Beirut 1969, is fuller and more up-to-date, with considerable scientific and technical vocabulary, but Arabic definitions do not include some information—such as broken plurals—useful to

European Arabists. There is a useful Russian-Arabic Dictionary by Baranov, Moscow 1964, while Götz Schregle's *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch*, 1st fasc., Wiesbaden 1963, at present under publication, will be of benefit. Two French-Arabic dictionaries have been published in Beirut: the first, *al-Manhal*, is the work of Djabbur ʿAbd al-Nūr and Suhayl Idrīs (1970); the second (1972) is a French-Arabic *Mundjīd*.

*Bibliography*: The following general works contain bibliographies. R. Dozy, *Supplément*, v-xxix; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, *al-Ṣaḥāḥ wa-madāris al-muʿjamāt al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1956, a reprint of the author's introductory volume to his edition of the *Ṣaḥāḥ*; A. Darwish, *al-Maʿādīj al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1956; J. A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography—its history and its place in the general history of lexicography*, Leiden 1959, 1965; Şiddīk Ḥasan Khān, *al-Bulgha fī usūl al-lughā*, Istanbul 1296 AH, contains an alphabetical list of the chief mediaeval Arabic dictionaries. For a brief account of L. Kopf's important but unpublished thesis on Arabic lexicography see *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 617-8. See also W. Marçais, *Arabic lexicography* (in Arabic), in *Articles et Conférences*, Paris 1961, 145-70. (J. A. HAYWOOD)

## 2. PERSIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

The normal Persian word for "dictionary" is *farhang*, which also retains its original meaning of "learning, education". In its Middle Persian (Pahlavi) form it is applied to two glossaries which, though undated, preserve pre-Islamic material. The *Frahang-i 'oim ek'*, named after its first entry, lists Avestan words with their Pahlavi equivalents. The *Frahang-i Pahlawig* provides mainly the Persian equivalents of the basically Aramaic ideograms used in Pahlavi, with their traditional mnemonic readings. Owing to the great ambiguity of the Pahlavi script, many of these readings are fantastic, e.g., *binmīn* (Aram. *brh* read as *bnmn*) for *pus*, "son".

The earliest named dictionary of modern Persian is the *Risāla* of Abū Ḥafṣ-i Suḥdī, variously attributed from the 1st/7th to the 5th/11th centuries. Although no longer extant, this work seems to have been still available to compilers of the 11th/17th century. The *Lughat-i furs* by the poet Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī is the oldest surviving Persian dictionary. Compiled about 450/1058-460/1068, its purpose was to explain about 1,200 rare and archaic words in the older poets of eastern Iran. It is arranged alphabetically by rhymes, each entry supported by a quotation in verse. A slightly earlier work by the poet Kaṭrān of Tabriz, *Tafāsīr fī lughāt al-furs*, is lost. No other Persian dictionary is recorded until the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The lexicographers of the period devoted their energies instead to the analysis of Arabic, particularly of the Qurʾān, in both Arabic and Persian. Of lexica with Persian glosses we have the *Kitāb al-maṣādir* and *Tarjūmān al-Kurʾān* of Ḥusayn Zawzanī (d. 486/1093), *Dastūr al-lughā al-ʿarabiyya* and *Kitāb al-mirḳāt* by Ḥusayn Natanzī (d. 499/1106), *al-Sāmī fī 'l-asāmī* (497/1104) by Abū 'l-Faḍl Maydānī, the celebrated *Muḥaddimat al-adab* (before 521/1127) by Abū 'l-Kāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī, *Tādj al-maṣādir* by Djaʿfarak Bayhaḳī (d. 544/1150; a work of this name is also ascribed, almost certainly wrongly, to the poet Rūdakī, d. 329/940-1), *Ḳānūn al-adab* (545/1150-1) by Abū 'l-Faḍl Ḥubaysh Tiflīsī, a work based on al-Djawharī's Arabic *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* called *al-Ṣurāḥ min al-ṣiḥāḥ* (681/1282-3) by Djamāl al-Kurashī, and several others.



Also based on the Arabic *Ṣiḥāḥ* is the Persian *Ṣiḥāḥ al-furs* (or, *al-ʿaḍjām*) by Muḥammad Hindū-shāh Nakhdiawānī Shams-i Munshī, written in 728/1327-8. The third oldest Persian dictionary, forming the fourth part of a treatise on poetics called *Miʿyār-i Djamālī*, by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Fakhrī Iṣfahānī (Shams-i Fakhrī), an older contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, was written in 745/1344. It is modelled on Asadī's work, but the supporting verses for its 1,600-odd words are mostly by the author himself, and so less reliable.

After this time the centre of Persian lexicography moved to India. Two works of the 8th/14th century are preserved, the *Farhang-nāma* (ca. 700/1300) by Mubārak Shāh Ghaznawī, Fakhr-i Kawwās, and Baḥr al-faḍāʾil (ca. 795/1393 ?) by Muḥammad b. Kiwām al-Balkhī. The *Adāt al-fuḍalāʾ* (822/1419) by Kādī-khān Muḥammad Dihlawī Dhārwal names other sources since lost. Many more Persian dictionaries were compiled in India in the next two centuries, of which it is possible to name only the *Sharaf-nāma-i Aḥmad Munayyri* (878/1473-4) by Ibrāhīm Kiwām al-Dīn Fārūkī, based on the poets, the *Tuḥfat al-saʿāda* (916/1510-1) by Maḥmūd b. Shaykh Diyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, without quotations, *Muʿayyid al-afāḍil* (925/1519) by Muḥammad b. Lād Dihlawī, *Farhang-i Wafāʾi* (933/1526-7) by Husayn Wafāʾī, *Kashf al-lughāt* (ca. 950/1543 ?) by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad Sūr, and *Madār al-afāḍil* (1001/1593) by Ilāhdād Fayḍī Sirhindī.

The same period saw the rise of another stream to feed the Persian sea, namely the efforts of Turks to interpret Persian writers. After the anonymous and undated *Aḥnūm-i ʿaḍjām*, the first important works of this type are the three compilations by Luṭf Allāh b. Abī Yūsuf Ḥalīmī, *Baḥr al-gharāʾib*, *Niḥār al-mulūk* (872/1467-8) and the shorter *Kāʾima* (917/1511-2). Ḥalīmī stands out by reason of the critical attitude he adopted towards his sources. Among similar contemporary works were *Shāmil al-lughāt* (ca. 900/1495) by Ḥasan b. Husayn Karahīṣārī, *Wasīlat al-makāshid* (903/1497-8) by Khaṭīb Rustam Mawlawī, and the *Tuḥfa-yi Shāhidī* (920/1514-5) in verse, by Ibrāhīm b. Khudāyede. All but the last of these works were used by Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Rūmī in the preparation of his celebrated *Lughat-i Niʿmat Allāh* (before 947/1540).

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century two major compilations appeared. In 1008/1599-1600 Muḥammad Kāsim Kāshānī Surūrī produced his *Madīmaʿ al-furs* for Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafawī. Thirty-eight earlier dictionaries are named among his sources and nearly 6,000 words defined. At the same time, at the Moghul court, Djamāl al-Dīn Husayn Indjū Shīrāzī was preparing the work named *Farhang-i Dīhāngīrī* when it appeared in 1017/1608-9. More than 40 sources are quoted, though evidently not all directly, many in common with Surūrī, and some since lost. Surūrī, acquiring Indjū's work, revised his own dictionary by 1038/1628-9.

Later in the century two attempts were made to improve on these works. In 1062/1652 Muḥammad Husayn b. Khalaf Tabrīzī, Burhān, produced his famous *Burhān-i kāfiʿ* in Haydarābād, Dakhān, and two years later ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Husaynī al-Tattawī his *Farhang-i Rashīdī*. Rashīd sought to shorten his work by omitting much of the quoted verse. Burhān's changes were more sweeping. For the first time the vocabulary, of some 20,000 words, was arranged completely alphabetically, in contrast with the complicated, partially alphabetic arrangements of his predecessors, and all attestation or indication of source was omitted.

From the very beginning mistakes had crept into Persian lexica, mainly owing to the ambiguity of badly written manuscript sources. Shams-i Fakhrī already had *grʿz* for *gavāz*, *pʿknd* for *yākand*, etc., and the number of errors mounted steadily with time. In the *Burhān* two major new types of falsity appeared. One was the inclusion of the traditional readings of the ideograms in Pahlavi, from the *Frahang-i Pahlawīg*, with the label "in Zand and Pāzand". The other was the tacit incorporation of the vocabulary of the *Dasātīr*, an anonymous and spurious "holy book of the ancient Persians" containing many distorted or invented words. The most flagrant errors in any dictionary, however, are probably to be found in the great Persian-Turkish *Farhang* (1075/1664-5) by Shuʿūrī Ḥasan Efendī. In addition to the vocabulary of his predecessors, almost every page of Shuʿūrī's work contains invented words, supported by bad verse attributed to fictitious poets. Their origin will probably never be known.

More than any previous dictionary, the *Burhān-i kāfiʿ* gave rise to a series of works criticizing or defending it. The most valuable of these is the *Sirādj al-lughāt* (1147/1734-5) by the poet Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Arzū. This was shortly followed by a vast compilation called *Bahār-i ʿaḍjām* (1162/1749) by a pupil of Arzū, Rāy Tēkčand Bahār, from whose time onwards the vocabulary of contemporary writers began to find a place in the dictionaries beside that of the classics.

By this time European contacts with Iran and India had led to a lexicographical interest. In 1669 Edmund Castell contributed the first printed Persian dictionary in his *Lexicon heptaglotton*, quoting Niʿmat Allāh's *Lughat* and a manuscript work by Jacob Golius (1596-1668) as his sources, but evidently also using Shuʿūrī *inter alia*. In 1680 Franz von Mesgnien Meninski's Turkish-Arabic-Persian *Thesaurus* appeared, incorporating the works of Ḥalīmī, Niʿmat Allāh and Shuʿūrī, and the *Dīhāngīrī*. Meninski's was the mountain from which John Richardson's *Dictionary Persian Arabic and English* (1777-80) was quarried, later to be enlarged by Francis Johnson (1829). J. A. Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* (1855-64) and J. J. P. Desmaisons' *Dictionnaire persan-français* (1908) both drew on these European works, but also on the *Burhān*, the baleful Shuʿūrī, the *Bahār-i ʿaḍjām*, and other oriental works. F. Steingass's *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (1892) goes furthest on the downward path of omitting all references to sources.

In the 13th/19th century many more Persian dictionaries in the classical tradition appeared in India, including *Shams al-lughāt* (1220/1805-6) compiled under the direction of Joseph Barretto, *Haft kulzum* (1237/1822) by Kabūl Muḥammad, but ascribed to the sultan of Awadh (Oudh), *Ghiyāth al-lughāt* (1242/1826-7) by Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and the *Farhang-i Anandrāzī* (1306/1888-9) by Muḥammad Pādshāh Shād. In Iran Riḍā Kuli Hidāyat's compilation, *Farhang-i anḍjuman-ārā-yi Nāsirī* (1286/1869-70), was the most significant, despite his swallowing the *Dasātīr* whole.

The foundations of modern lexicography in Persian, relying on direct recording of the spoken and written word, may be said to have been laid in 1874 by J. L. Schlimmer's *Terminologie médico-pharmaceutique et anthropologique française-persane*. The number of present-day Persian dictionaries is legion. Mention can be made only of two outstanding but disparate ventures: in Europe Fritz Wolff's *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname* (1935), with full references, and in Iran

the encyclopedic *Lughat-nāma*, begun by ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā (1879/1956) and continued under the direction of Muḥammad Muʿin and others.

*Bibliography*: P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, Göttingen 1884; C. Salemann, *Bericht über die Ausgabe des Miʿjār i Jamālī, Beilage V, Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Farhange, in Mélanges Asiatiques*, ix, 4 (1888), 505-94; ʿA. A. Dihkhudā et al., *Lughat-nāma*, 40, *Muḥaddīma*, Tehran 1959, 178-378; S. I. Baevskiy, *Opisanie tadžikskikh i persidskikh rukopisey Instituta Narodov Azii*, vip. 4, 5, Moscow 1962-8; F. Tauer, *Persian learned literature*, III, *Philology*, in J. Rypka et al., *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 429-37.

(D. N. MACKENZIE)

### 3. TURKISH LEXICOGRAPHY.

a) Oriental Dictionaries. Turkish lexicographers maintained the arrangement of Arabic and Persian dictionaries.

The first Turkic dictionary is Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Divān lughāt al-Turk*, written in Baghdād in 466/1074 (ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, Istanbul 1333-5/1915-7; dictionaries based on it by C. Brockelmann 1928, B. Atalay 1943). It deals with the standard language of the Karakhanid Empire, including a number of dialect words. The meanings are given in Arabic and illustrated by quotations from Turkic folk poetry.

Kāshgharī's work served as a model for the Kipçak Turkish dictionaries produced in Egypt and Syria in the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries (O. Pritsak in *PhTF*, i, 75-6; Abū Ḥayyān, *K. al-Idrāk* (712/1313, ed. A. Caferoğlu 1931); the anonymous *Tardjumān Turkī* (743/1343, not 643/1245, cf. B. Flemming in *Isl.*, xlv (1968), 226-9, ed. M. Th. Houtsma 1894); *Dijmāl al-Dīn al-Turki*, *K. Bulghat al-muḥtāk* (8th/14th cent., ed. A. Zajaczkowski 1954-8); the anonymous *K. al-Tuḥfat al-Zakiyya* (8th/14th cent., ed. T. Halasi Kun 1942, B. Atalay 1945); the anonymous *al-Kawānīn al-kullīyya* (9th/15th cent., ed. Fuad Köprülü 1928) and the recently discovered *K. al-Durra al-muḍīʿa* (partial ed. by A. Zajaczkowski in *RO*, xxix (1965).

In Khwārazm al-Zamakhsharī's *Muḥaddīmat al-adab* was popular. No less than 15 manuscript copies of this work, provided—fully or partly—with Khwārazmian Turkic glosses, have survived (Z. V. Togan in *TM*, xiv (1964), 81-92).

The Çağhatay dictionaries were compiled primarily to facilitate the reading of the works of Nawāʾī (844/1441-906/1501). Their arrangement is alphabetical and the items under each letter are entered according to the vowel which follows the initial letter. Poetical quotations help to illustrate the meanings of a word. Important are: Ṭālīʿ Imānī of Herāt, *Badāʾiʿ al-lughāt* (Çağh.-Pers., before 912/1506, ed. A. K. Borovkov 1961); the anonymous *Abuḥḥā* (Çağh.-Ottoman, first half of the 10th/16th century, ed. A. Vámbéry 1862, V. Velʿyaminov-Zernov 1968); Mīrzā Maḥdī Khān, *Sanglāḥh* (Çağh.-Pers., ca. 1172/1758, ed. Sir G. Clauson 1960).

Ottoman lexicography starts with versified vocabularies, averaging 2,000 Arabic or Persian words explained in Turkish. These vocabularies, destined to be memorized, are divided into *ḫiṭʿas* (sections) in which words of similar form or sound are grouped together. One of the earliest is the *Tuḥfe-i Ḥusāmī* (Pers.-Turk., 802/1399) by Ḥusām, mentioned in the *Tuḥfe-i Shāhidī* (see below). Famous were: Firīsh-teoğlu ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. before 879/1474), *Lughat-i Firīsh-teoğlu* (Ar.-Turk.), printed in the margins of another Ar.-Turk. versified vocabulary, *Subḥa-i*

*Sibyān* (n.d.); Shāhidī Ibrāhīm Dede, *Tuḥfe-i Shāhidī* (Pers.-Turk., 920/1514, lith. 1275/1853); Sünbülzāde Meḥmed Vehbī (d. 1809), *Tuḥfe-i Vehbī* (Pers.-Turk., 1st ed. 1213/1798) and *Nuḫbe-i Vehbī* (Ar.-Turk., 1st ed. 1220/1805); Ḥasan ʿAynī, *Naṣm al-Djawāhir* (Ar.-Pers.-Turk., printed 1250/1834-5); Ahmed ʿAṣim (d. 1235/1819), *Tuḥfe-i ʿAṣim* (printed, Bülāk 1254/1838-9).

Large dictionaries were also produced. In the Arabic-Turkish dictionaries the Arabic words are arranged in *bābs* either according to the initial or according to the last letter, and, under each *bāb*, divided into *faṣls* according to the second and following letters. The best known are: Muṣṭafā b. Shams al-Dīn al-Ḳaraḥīṣārī, *Aḫḫarī Kabīr* (*Aḫḫarī-i Kabīr*) or *Lughat-i Aḫḫarī* (952/1545), at least 15 editions between 1826 and 1906; Ahmed ʿAṣim, *al-Okīyānūs al-Basīf* (1st ed. 1230/1814-1233/1818), the translation of al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Kāmūs al-Muḫīf*; Meḥmed b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī (Wānkulu), *Tardjamāt Shīḫh al-Djawhārī* (printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, 1141-1729), the translation of al-Djawhārī's famous *al-Shīḫh*. In the Persian dictionaries the Persian words are arranged in *bābs* according to the initial letter, and within each *bāb* in three sections according to the vowel after the first letter. Important are: Niʿmat Allāh b. Ahmed, *Lughat-i Niʿmat Allāh* (947/1540, unpublished), in which verbs and nouns are dealt with separately; Ḥasan Shuʿūrī, *Farhang-i Shuʿūrī* (1080/1669-1092/1682, printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, 1155/1742); Ahmed ʿAṣim, *Tibyān-i nāfiʿ* (1st ed. 1214/1799-1800), the translation of al-Tabrīzī's *Burhān-i ḫāfiʿ*, with an arrangement as in modern dictionaries. The best known Turkish-Arabic-Persian dictionary is Esʿad Meḥmed Efendi's *Lahdīat al-lughāt* (1145/1732-3, printed 1216/1801-2).

b) European Dictionaries. The conquest of Constantinople (1453) brought the Ottomans into close contact with the West. Owing to various interests, many dictionaries were produced first by European, later also by Turkish lexicographers. Famous dictionaries were: Fr. Meninski, *Thesaurus*, Vienna 1680, revised as *Lexicon turco-arabico-persicum*, Vienna 1780; J. D. Kieffer-T. X. Bianchi, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, Paris 1835-7; J. Th. Zenker, *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866-76, reprinted 1967; J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, Constantinople 1890, 1921; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Dictionnaire français-turc*, Istanbul 1299/1882; I. Khloros, *Lexikon tourko-ellenikon*, Istanbul 1899/1900. Unilingual: Ahmed Wefīḳ Pasha, *Leḫje-i ʿOḥmānī*, Istanbul 1293/1876; Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*, Istanbul 1317-8/1899-1900. Eastern Turkic: Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turk-oriental*, Paris 1870; Sheyḫ Süleymān Efendi, *Lughāt-i Çağhatay we Türkī-i ʿOḥmānī*, Istanbul 1298/1881.

Of the numerous modern dictionaries may be mentioned: Fritz Heuser, *Heuser-Shevket Türkisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1967; H. C. Honyfahir İz, *A Turkish-English dictionary*, Oxford 1957; eidem, *An English-Turkish dictionary*, Oxford 1952, several new editions, reprinted 1968; *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary*, ed. the American Board, Istanbul 1968. Unilingual: *Türkçe sözlük*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1969. For more titles see A. Caferoğlu, *Yeni Çağ Türk dili lügatleri*, in *Ist. Ün. Ed. Fak. Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xiv (1966), 9-52.

The vast majority of (non-Ottoman) Turkic languages are spoken in the Soviet Union. Before the Soviet period dictionaries of several of these languages already existed. However, their systematic investigation began only after World War I. Today dictionaries

of all Turkic languages spoken in the Soviet Union and in China, i.e., Altay, Āḡharbaydġānī, Baḡhkir, Čuvaḡh, Gagauz, Karačay-Balkar, Karaim, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Khakas, Kirghiz, Kumik, Nogay, Šhor Tatar, Turkoman, Tuviniān, Uzbek, (New) Uighur, Yakut, are available, see *Slovari, izdannie v SSSR. Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel'*, Moscow 1966, 129-162. Turcologists set great value on the following: E. K. Pekarskiy, *Slovar' yakutskogo yazika*, i, Petrograd 1917 (tr. into Turkish, *Yakut Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1945), ii-iii, Leningrad 1927-30; N. I. Aḡmarin, *Thesaurus linguae Tschuvaschorum*, i-ii, Kazan, iii-xvii, Čebok-sarl 1928-50; K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1940 (tr. into Turkish, *Kirgiz Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1945-8), 1965.

c) Special Dictionaries. Historical: K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, Copenhagen 1942; *Tarama Sözlüğü*, revised ed., Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1963; A. Caferoğlu, *Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1968; *Drevnetyrskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969; E. Fazllov, *Staroubekskiy yazık*, Tashkent 1966-71. Comparative: L. Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyy slovar' turetsko-tatarskiikh narečiy*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1869-71, reprinted 1961; W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte*, 4 vols., St. Petersburg 1893-1911, reprinted The Hague 1960, Moscow 1963; H. Kāzim Kadri, *Türk lugati*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1927-45. Dialect: *Türkiyede Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, 3 vols., Istanbul 1939-47, revised and enlarged ed., Ankara 1963; G. Jarring, *An Eastern Turki-English dialect dictionary*, Lund 1964. Etymological: M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türk-sprachen*, Helsinki 1969; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.

*Bibliography* (in addition to that in the article): Rieu, *Türk. Mss.*, 134-149, 263-9; Blochet, *Mss. Turcs*; F. E. Karatay, *Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe basmalar alfabe kataloğu*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1956; idem, *Tophkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, ii, Istanbul 1961, 3-42; *Tarama Sözlüğü*, i, Ankara 1963, X-XCI; J. Benzing, *Einführung in das Studium der altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie*, Wiesbaden 1953; the bibliographies in *PhTF*, i; G. Hazai, *Sovietico-Turcica*, Budapest 1960, s.v. *Wörterbücher* (p. 314). (J. ECKMANN)

**KĀN** [see **KĀNĀN**].

**KĀN WA-KĀN**, the name of one of the seven post-classical genres of poetry (*fann*, pl. *funān*), the others being the *silsila*, the *dūbayt* or *rubā'ī*, the *muwashshah*, the *kūmā*, the *mawāliyyā* and the *radīal* [q.v.]. The genre was devised by the Baḡhdādī poets and its name derives from the formula used by storytellers to open their narratives: "there was and there was", i.e., "once upon a time"; originally, in fact, the *kān wa-kān* was just a rhyming story and it was only later that the term was applied to various subjects, particularly those of a moral or didactic nature, or to wisdom tales. Always written in dialectical Arabic, it was popular only in the East and especially in Baḡhdād. A *kān wa-kān* poem is in monorhyme with a long vowel after the *rawī* [see **KĀFIYA**]; in each verse the first hemistich is longer than the second and the metre is as follows:

1st hemistich:

mustaf'ilun,	fa'ilātun,	mustaf'ilun,	mustaf'ilun
↓	↓	↓	↓
mafā'ilun	fa'ilātun	mutafā'ilun	
	↓		
	maf'ilun		

2nd hemistich:

mustaf'ilun, fa'ilātun, mustaf'ilun, fa'lān  
↓  
fa'ilātun

*Bibliography*: examples of *kān wa-kān* can be found in Ibshihī, *Mustafraf*, Būlāḡ 1292, ii, 273 f. = Cairo 1332, ii, 239 f. = Cairo n.d., ii, 288 f. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1286, iv, 158; Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā'iq*, Cairo 1311, 23, 26, 29, 33, 34, 42, 53, 55, 71, 74, 77, 80, 86, 135, 137, 144, 169, 181, 191, 204, 217; Hilli-W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik* . . ., Wiesbaden 1956, 42, 72, 148-70; M. Tal'at, *Ḥāyat al-arab fī šinā'at shi'r al-'Arab*, Cairo 1316, 92-110; N. Diyāb, *Ta'rikh ādāb al-luḡa al-'arabiyya*, Cairo n.d., i, 129-50; H. Gies, *al-Funān al-sab'a. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis sieben neuerer arabischer Versarten*, Leipzig 1879, 53-62.

(M. BEN CHENEB\*)

**KĀNĀ** [see **KUNĀ**].

**KĀNĀMĪ** [see **KĀNEMĪ**].

**KĀN'ĀN**, the biblical K'na'an, is a personality regarding whom the few extant traditions agree on scarcely a single point. Al-Bayḡdāwī (ed. Fleischer, i, 513) mentions him as the father of the famous Nimrūd (Numrūd according to the *LA* and the *TA*); he is also regarded as the ancestor of the Kan'aniyyūn (*LA*, x, 191) and of the Berbers (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdi*, index; al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 266; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, vi, 93, 97). Very little is known about him. Many believe that the story in *Sūra XI*, 44 ff. about a son of Nūḡ who disregarded his father's fervent pleas and refused to take refuge in the Ark, thus perishing with the unbelievers, refers to him (al-Bayḡdāwī, *ad loc.* and al-Tha'labī, *Kiṣaṣ al-ambiyā'*, Cairo 1324, 36). Al-Ṭabarī (i, 199) also mentions a son of Nūḡ called Kan'ān who lost his life in the Flood, but treats the *ḡur'ānic* verse in question as referring to Yām b. Nūḡ (see *Tafsīr*, *ad loc.*), although in i, 199 he identifies the latter with Kan'ān.

While Kan'ān appears here as a son of Nūḡ and Ibn al-Kalbī mentions "Shālūm, that is, Kan'ān" as Nūḡ's fourth son (in *Yāḡūt*, iv, 311), in the passage parallel to Genesis, ix, 25 (in al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, 212) he appears as a son of Ḥām b. Nūḡ (cf. al-Ya'qūbī, i, 13 ff., 16; cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, iii, 240, 294). According to a third tradition (in *Yāḡūt*, *op. cit.*) Kan'ān was a son of Sām b. Nūḡ, and according to a fourth—but unreliable—tradition a son of Kūsh b. Ḥām (al-Dimashqī, *op. cit.*).

(B. JOEL\*)

**KĀN'ĀN PASHA** [see **KEN'ĀN PASHA**].

**KĀNĀT** (A.), pl. *kanawāt*, *kanā*, *kunī*, *aḡniya*, "canal, irrigation system, water-pipe". Used also for a baton, a lance, etc., the term originally meant "reed" [see **KAṢAB**] and it is with this meaning and that of "rush" that the word *kanū* is known in Akkadian (cf. Zimmermann, *Akkad. Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, 56); becoming *kanā* in Hebrew and *kanayā* in Aramaic, it passed into Arabic and was also borrowed in Greek and Latin in the forms *κάννα*, *κάννη* (*κάννη*), *canna*; by an evolution parallel to that of *kanāt*, the Latin word *canalis* "in the shape of a reed", acquired the meaning of "pipe, canal".

In Persian *kanāt* is used today especially for those underground water pipes which are the subject of this article (hydraulic methods in general are discussed in **MĀ'**; **BĪ'R**; **FĪLĀḤA**; see also **KAṢARA**, etc.).

## I. IN IRAN

The *kanāt*, a mining installation or technique using galleries or cross-cuts to extract water from the depths of the earth, has been described as the greatest contribution made by Persians to hydraulics. *Kanāts* are a special feature of the Persian plateau, where geological conditions are favourable to the enrichment of underground pools of water and so to the spread of *kanāts* (see further H. Goblot, *Le problème de l'eau en Iran, in Orient*, xxiii (1962), 46-55, also published in an English translation in *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, ed. C. Issawi, Chicago 1971, 214-19). They are mainly associated with large alluvial fans in the piedmont zone between the high mountains and the *kavir* or salt desert, or in large alluvial valleys on the desert margin, but are also found in the larger intermontane valleys of the Zagros Mountains. By means of a gently sloping tunnel, which cuts through alluvial soil and passes under the water-table into the aquifer, water is brought by gravity flow from its upper end, where it seeps into the gallery, to a ground surface outlet and irrigation canal at its lower end. In eastern and south-eastern Persia, Afghanistan, and Balūčistān these installations are known as *kāris*.

The origin of the techniques used in the construction of *kanāts* is to be sought in the old kingdom of Urartu around Lake Urūmiyya (Riḍā'iyya in north-western Persia) (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, Leiden 1955-8, i, 153 ff.). A *kanāt* built by Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), whose father, Sargon II, claims to have learnt the secret of tapping underground water in his campaign against Urartu, still carries water to the city of Erbil (J. Laessle, *Reflections on modern and ancient oriental waterworks*, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, vii (1953), 5-26). With the establishment of the Achaemenian empire *kanāts* appear to have spread westwards to the Mediterranean and Egypt and southwards to Oman and Southern Arabia. In Egypt *kanāts*, probably built during the Persian occupation, have been found in the *Kharga* oasis and Matruh (A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian empire*, Chicago 1948, 224; H. J. L. Beadnell, *An Egyptian oasis: an account of the oasis of Kharga in the Libyan desert, with special reference to its history, physical geography, and water supply*, London 1909, 171; idem, *Remarks on the pre-historic geography and underground waters of Kharga oasis*, in *Geographical Journal*, 1933, 128-39; G. W. Murray, *Water from the desert: some ancient Egyptian achievements*, in *Geographical Journal*, 1955, 171-81; G. F. Walpole, *An ancient subterranean aqueduct west of Matruh*, in *Survey of Egypt*, Cairo 1932). The second major diffusion of *kanāts* took place in the early centuries of Islam, when they were introduced into Spain by the Umayyads of Spain (see J. O. Asín, *Historia del nombre "Madrid"*, Madrid 1959) and thence to Marrakesh, where they are known as *khet-taras* or *rhet-taras*, the Canary Islands, Mexico and Chile (C. Troll, *Qanat Bewässerung in der alten und neuen Welt*, in *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen geographischen Gesellschaft*, 1963, 313-30; idem, *Techniques agricoles, milieu naturel et Histoire de l'Humanité*, in *Bull. de la société géographique de Liège*, December 1967). In the 4th/10th century they spread to southern Algeria, where they are called *foggara* (*Jahhara*). They are also found in the Damascus oasis, east of the River Jordan near Shunat Ninrun, south-east of Riyāḍ at al-*Kharāḍ*, north of *Dhahrān* at al-*Kāṭif*, in Cyprus and in the Turfan oasis, where the technique was apparently introduced in the 18th century (M. Cable and F. French, *The Gobi desert*,

Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV

New York 1944, 184-5. See further C. Troll and C. Braun, *Madrid, Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt durch Qanate im Laufe der Geschichte*, in *Abhandlungen des mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, Mainz, 1972, No. 5, 105-90 for a discussion of the geographical disposal of *Kanāts*).

*Kanāts* are constructed by specialists called *muḥannīs* (*Ēhkhū* in Kirmān and Yazd, cf. Muḥammad Mufid, *Djāmi-i Mufīdī*, ed. Irādj Afshār, Tehran 1961, i, 127; Iskandar Beg, *Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, i, 473; *kumush*, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-*Ḥummī*, *Ta'rikh-i Ḥumm*, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Malik, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1934, 42; *Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 473; *Kāris* in Afghanistan; and *Kumushkan* in Kurdistan), whose knowledge and skill are largely passed from father to son. The inhabitants of certain districts, notably Yazd, are highly rated for their skill as *muḥannīs*. The traditional techniques of the *muḥannī* are described in a 5th/11th century Arabic work, *Anbāt al-miyā' al-khafiyya*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥāsib al-Karādjī, whose patron was Abū Ḥanīm b. Muḥammad, the *wasīr* of Manūčīr b. Wuḥmīr. This work was printed in Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, in 1940, and an abbreviated translation entitled *The construction of subterranean water supplies during the Abbaside caliphate*, was published by F. Krenkow in 1951 (*Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xiii, 23-32). In 1966 a Persian translation, with the title *Istikh-rāḍī-i ābhā-yi panhāni*, by Ḥusayn Khādīv *Djām* appeared in Tehran. This clarifies some of the difficulties in the published Arabic text. Al-Karādjī states in his preface that he had referred to various books by earlier writers on the exploitation of subterranean water and found them lacking. No craft was more beneficial than that which was concerned with the exploitation of subterranean water, because by its help the earth was made to flourish, men's lives achieved order, and abundant benefit accrued (*Istikh-rāḍī-i ābhā-yi panhāni*, 2). His account makes clear that the techniques employed by *muḥannīs* were mining techniques.

The first step in making a *kanāt* is to sink a trial shaft (*gamāna*) to prove the presence and depth of the ground-water-table. The choice of location of the trial shaft is affected by the slope of the land, general topographical conditions, variations in vegetation, and the site of the land to be irrigated or the settlement to be provided with domestic water (cf. *Istikh-rāḍī-i ābhā-yi panhāni*, on the indications by which the presence of underground water can be recognised, 19 ff.). When the trial shaft is sunk and water reached, the *muḥannī* then has to determine whether the well has struck a constant flow of water in an impermeable stratum (*āb-i kahri*). If this is the case, the alignment and slope of the *kanāt* from this shaft, which becomes the mother well (*mādar Ēāh*), to the point where the *kanāt* is to come to the surface above the land which is to be irrigated, has then to be established. If the gradient is too steep, the water will flow too fast and erode the walls and the tunnel will fall in. Work on the *kanāt* usually begins at the lower end, *i.e.*, where the water of the *kanāt* is to come to the surface. The *muḥannī*, using a small pick and shovel, digs back towards the mother well, though occasionally work is begun simultaneously at both ends. One of the most difficult problems of the *muḥannī* is to avoid the rush of water when the tunnel enters the water-bearing section and a breakthrough is made (cf. *Istikh-rāḍī-i ābhā-yi panhāni*,

on the digging of the trial shaft or *gamāna*, 35).

Vertical shafts are sunk from the surface to the tunnel every 20-150 yards or so, or are sunk first and then connected by a tunnel. The cross-section of a tunnel is usually elliptical with a height of ca. 4 ft. and a width of ca.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ -3 ft. It is usually unlined, but if it passes through soft soil, baked clay hoops (*kaval*, *nāy*, *tambūsha*) are used to prevent collapse (cf. *Istikhṛādjī*, 54 ff., 60 ff.). The vertical shafts are approximately 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter and their upper portions are strengthened by mud or stone linings. Their purpose is to give ventilation and to enable the soil excavated to be hauled to the surface in a bucket by a windlass. If the shaft is unusually deep a second windlass may be set halfway down in a niche. Round each shaft a ring of soil accumulates, and from the air the *kanāt* has the appearance of a line of small craters. On the whole, in those parts of Persia where *kanāts* are found in abundance, and also in Balūčistān and Afghānistān, conditions are favourable to the digging of wells and galleries by the methods and tools used by *muḳannīs*. The gravel of which the soil is largely composed crumbles easily under the pickaxe with no need of explosives or, at a normal pace, of extraordinary effort. Caving-in on a large scale is rare, though minor subsidence is common. The *muḳannī* carries a castor-oil lamp to test the ventilation, and if the air does not keep the flame alight another shaft is built (cf. *Istikhṛādjī*, 57-8). Al-Karāḏjī describes protective clothing suitable for the *muḳannī* (59).

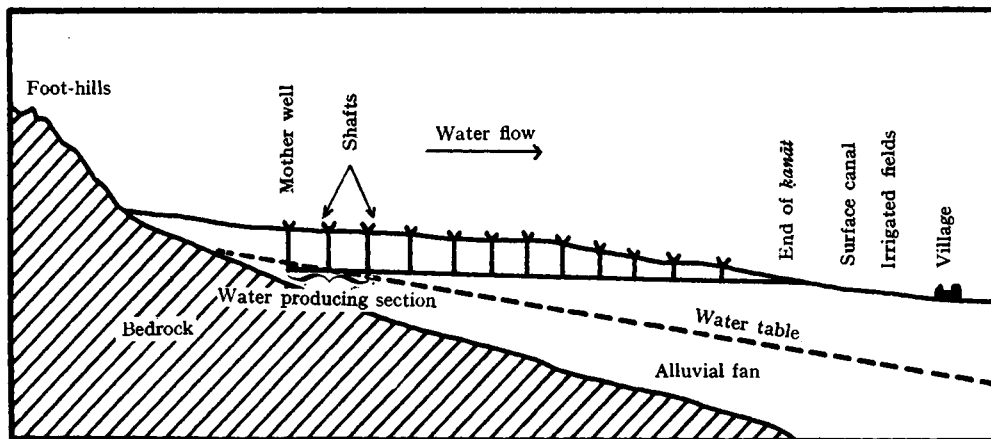
The gradient of a *kanāt* is established by the use of a spirit-level suspended between two pieces of cord, each about 10 yards long. It varies from 1 : 1,000 or 1 : 1,500 in a short *kanāt*, but in a long *kanāt* is nearly horizontal (cf. *Istikhṛādjī-i ābhā-yi pan-hānī*, which discusses three types of levelling instruments, or *tarāz*, used by *muḳannīs* and a fourth invented by the author, 64 ff.). Al-Karāḏjī states that the gradient should be 1 *dhīrā'* per *farsakh*, i.e., rather less than seems to be the general practice (115). The length of *kanāts* varies. Some are quite short, but *kanāts* of 5-10 miles are common and some may be 20 miles or more, as is the case with several in Yazd and Kirmān. The depth of the mother well varies: shallow ones may be less than 25 ft., while many are as much as 150-350 ft. The deepest known mother well is at Gūnābād in eastern Persia and is 1,000 ft. deep.

The discharge of the water of *kanāts* varies according to ground-water characteristics, the nature of the soil and the season. Those which tap a permanent aquifer tend to have a constant flow throughout the year. If a *kanāt* does not tap a stable ground-water source or is in porous soil, its flow may be reduced to virtually nothing in summer, or in a dry year. The water of such *kanāts* is known as *āb-i rū'ī*. The flow of some *kanāts* may reach 400 gallons a minute, but that of most is much smaller, dropping to 30 gallons a minute or less. It is a disadvantage of the *kanāt* system that the water, since it flows all the year round, may be wasted when irrigation is not needed.

Regular cleaning and repair of *kanāts* is required, though the frequency with which this is necessary varies with the soil and the configuration of the land (cf. *Istikhṛādjī*, 120 ff. on the maintenance of *kanāts*). They are subject to damage and destruction by flash floods. The shafts are sometimes covered by a slab of stone to prevent them being filled by blown sand (see also below.)

In 1962 a distinguished French water engineer, M. Henri Goblot, estimated that about half the land under cultivation in Persia was irrigated by *kanāts*, while some of the crops under dry farming in the plateau would not have been cultivated if the construction of a *kanāt* had not made it possible to establish a village in the neighbourhood. The total number of *kanāts* is variously thought to be between 30,000 and 50,000 (see further H. Goblot, *Le problème de l'eau en Iran, op. cit.*). Dr. Esmail Feylessoufi, writing in 1958, put the number at the lower figure, of which he believed some 22,000 to be in running condition, and their estimated discharge to be 560 cubic metres per second (*Underground water kanāts and deep wells in Iran*, publication of the Independent Irrigation Administration, Tehran 1958, 9 ff.). M. Goblot accepts a rather higher figure, namely 40,000, with a total discharge of 600-700 cubic metres per second (see also idem, *Le rôle de l'Iran dans les techniques de l'eau*, in *Technique: review de l'enseignement technique*, 155-6 (January/February 1962), 12).

*Kanāts* have played an immensely important role in Persia, both in contributing to the spread of cultivation and also in influencing the site and nature of settlements. Hamadān, Qazwīn, Tehran, Nishāpūr, Kirmān, Yazd (cf. the legend of the foundation of Yazd by Alexander, which was preceded by the



Cross-section of a *kanāt*

making of a *kanāt*, Muḥammad Mufid, *Djāmi'-i Mufidi*, iii, 731-2), and many other towns owe their existence to *kanāts*. Until 1930, the water supply of Tehran, the modern capital, was provided by twelve *kanāts*. In some districts there is a heavy concentration of *kanāts*. Aerial photos, for example, showed that there was a total of 266 *kanāts* in the Varāmin plain, twenty-five miles south-east of Tehran, in the late 1950s (P. Beaumont, *Qanats in the Varamin plain, Iran*, in *The institute of British geographers, transactions and papers*, 1968, publication no. 45, 172). From the point where a *kanāt* comes to the surface, fields and gardens spread out round it and its branch canals, and settlements grow up along or near the *kanāt*, their size and number depending upon the volume of its flow.

Sometimes the ownership of the *kanāt* is in the same hands as the land which it waters. Sometimes the different parcels of land have a prescriptive right to the water of a *kanāt* with or without the payment of dues. Frequently the ownership of the land and of the *kanāt* is in different hands and the water is bought and sold. Many *kanāts* are *wakf* property or *khālīṣa* (cf. a *niṣhān* granting tax immunities to Fayḍābād, Balkh, which states that four *dāngs* of any *kanāt* brought into operation belonged to the *diwān*, H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 18 b).

The distribution of the water of a *kanāt* is based on time. The rotation period varies from *kanāt* to *kanāt*, and the order in which the different parcels of land receive the water is sometimes permanent and sometimes settled from year to year by the drawing of lots or some other method. Normally land higher up has the right to water before land lower down. The shares are often fragmented into very small units of time. If the flow of a *kanāt* is considerable and those having a right to the use of its water numerous, the distribution of the water is likely to be under an official known as the *mirāb*, who is chosen by the joint users, or, in the case of a *khālīṣa kanāt*, by the government, and is paid by a special due. The division of the water of some *kanāts* through branch canals goes back many years: that of one in Ardīstān is reputed to have originated in Mongol times.

The need for the careful regulation of the water of a *kanāt* among the various parcels of land it waters, or between the inhabitants of a town for which it provides domestic water, and the need to keep it in good repair impose a certain solidarity upon the users, though this does not prevent frequent, and sometimes bloody, disputes over the use of its water, or usurpation of this by those higher up to the disadvantage of those lower down. The maintenance of a *kanāt* in the case of joint ownership clearly poses certain problems, but there are numerous instances of *kanāts* owned by over a hundred persons being successfully operated. A substantial body of law concerning *kanāts*, based partly on custom and partly on the *Shari'a*, has grown up over the centuries. This includes especially the question of the *ḥarīm*, i.e., the land bordering a *kanāt* in which another well or *kanāt* cannot legally be sunk, and access to *kanāts* (see *Istikhṛādī-i ābhā-yi panhāni*, 42 ff.). Some of this law goes back to pre-Islamic times. Gardīzī mentions that 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (governor of Khurāsān 213/828-230/844) assembled the *fukahā'* from Khurāsān and 'Irāk to write a book on *kanāts* and rules for the distribution of their water, since disputes were continually taking place over them. He states that the book which resulted from their la-

bours, the *Kitāb al-ḥunī*, was extant in his day (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 8). In modern times customary law and the *Shari'a* have been supplemented or superseded by the civil law and governmental regulations (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, London 1953 and eadem, *The Persian Land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969).

There is frequent mention in histories of the repair of old *kanāts*, and the making of new ones by rulers and others. The upkeep of irrigation works (which included *kanāts*) was, indeed, one of the traditional functions of the ruler. There are also records of the destruction of *kanāts* by acts of war. In recent years, as a result of the use of power-operated wells in regions formerly watered entirely or partly by *kanāts*, and the construction of dams controlling surface irrigation water, the ground-water table has fallen, and many *kanāts* (whose flow is governed by the height of the water table) have become dry or their flow has been seriously depleted, (cf. P. Beaumont, *Qanats in the Varamin plain*, 177 ff. and idem, *Qanat systems in Iran*, in *Bull. of the International association of scientific hydrology*, xvi, 1.3/1971, 40). *Kanāts*, however, still remain the principal, and sometimes the only, source of irrigation and domestic water supply in many parts of Persia, but in the more densely populated districts they have lost their importance as the main suppliers of water.

*Oman and Trucial Oman.* A considerable number of *kanāts*, or *aflādī* (sing. *falādī*) as they are known, some in operation, others abandoned, are to be found in Oman, Trucial Oman, and Bahrein. Many of them are sited near *wādīs* and the alignment is often adjacent or parallel to the *wādī* bed. They are liable to damage in time of flood. For this reason the vertical shafts are frequently covered by stone slabs to lessen the danger of destruction. Tradition attributes the building of *aflādī* to Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd. It seems probable that, in fact, the *kanāt* system in Oman was developed first in Achaemenian and then in Sasanian times, while many *kanāts* appear to have been restored under Ya'ariba rule (see further J. C. Wilkinson, *Arab settlement in Oman; the origins and development of the tribal pattern and its relationship to the imamate*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Oxford 1969). One of the *aflādī* of Iskī is by tradition supposed to have been destroyed by Ḥadīdjādī b. Yūsuf [q.v.] during his expedition against Oman. At the present day the technique of making *aflādī* is confined to certain groups of the 'Awāmīr tribe.

In general the *kanāts* of Persia are neither so deep nor so long as those in Oman. At Nizwa there is a *falādī* the mother well of which is ca. 60 ft. deep; in the Buraymī oasis, which is irrigated by *aflādī*, the longest is ca. 9 km. In Central Oman an inverted syphon (*gharrāk fallāh*) is used in *kanāt* building to cross *wādīs*. There is considerable variation over the ownership of the *aflādī*, their administration, and the distribution of their water. In some cases the ownership of the *falādī* and the land it irrigates is in the same hands, but more often it is separate and the water is bought and sold. A special feature of the *aflādī* in Oman is that a share of the water belongs to the *falādī*, the revenue from which is devoted to its upkeep. Many *aflādī* have a special book recording the ownership, sale and distribution of the water. The rotation period of the water varies from *falādī* to *falādī*. It is measured by the sun by day and the stars by night. The water is divided into shares called *bāda* and subdivided into *rabi'a*, *kāma*, *aṭṭar*, and *ḥiyās*. The official in charge of the water

distribution is commonly known as the *ʿarīf*, who, in some cases, has under him a subordinate official or officials, known as *bīdār*. Another official, the *wakīl*, is normally in charge of the upkeep of the *falaǧī*. The *ʿarīf* and the *wakīl*, who are elected by the owners of the water, are paid by dues or a share of the water.

*Bibliography* (further to that in the article): H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London 1967, 248-56; P. W. English, *The origin and spread of qanats in the Old World*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxli/3 (June 1968), 170-81 (with a bibliography); G. B. Cressey, *Qanats, karez, and foggaras*, in *Geographical Review*, xlviii (1958), 27-44; E. Noel, *Qanats*, in *JRACS*, xxi (1944), 191-202; H. Goblot, *Dans l'ancien Iran: les techniques de l'eau et la grande histoire*, in: *Annales économiques, sociétés, civilisations*, iii (May-June 1963), 499-520; idem, *Note sur l'interaction des techniques dans leur genèse*, in *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, 1964, 207-16; P. Beckett, *Qanats in Persia*, in *Journal of the Iran Society*, i/4, (Jan. 1952), 125-33; A. Smith, *Blind white fish in Persia*, London 1953; M. A. Butler, *Irrigation in Persia by kanats*, in *Civil engineering*, iii (February 1933); H. Alizadeh, P. Seewald and A. J. Baker, *Traditional practices of groundwater supply for irrigation in Iran*, FAO, Tehran, Nov. 1954; D. Sperber, *Bab Nahara*, in *Iranica antiqua*, vii (1968), 70-3; J. Laessøe, *The irrigation systems at Ulhu*, in *Journal of cuneiform studies*, v (1951), 21-32; D. L. Graadt van Roggen, *Notice sur les anciens travaux hydrauliques en Susiane*, in *Mem. Miss. Arch. de Perse*, vii (1905) 166-204; A. Pagliaro, *Pahlavi katas 'canale'*, gr. Kádoç, in *RSO*, xvii (1938), 72-83; J. P. de Menasce, *Textes pehlevi sur les qanats*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxx (1966), 167-75; J. Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1818, 162-5; M. A. Köymen, *Selçuklu devri kaynaklarına dair araştırmalar II Risâle-i Senceriyya*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih-Coğrafiya Fakültesi Doğu Dilleri*, i/3 (1969), 46-7; R. B. Serjeant, *Some irrigation systems in Hadramaut*, in *BSOAS* xxvii/1 (1964), 33-76; information on *kanāts*, especially their building and repair by rulers and others, is also to be found in the works of Islamic geographers, chronicles and local histories, notably Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Kummī, *Taʾriḫ-i Kumm*, 41-7 and *passim*; Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Gulrīz, *Minūdar yā bāb al-ǧinnat Kaswin*, Tehran 1958, 259-71; ʿAbd al-Rahīm Ḍarrābī, *Taʾriḫ-i Kāshān*, ed. Iraqī Afshār, Tehran 1956, 64-6, and Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmi-i mufīdī*, i, 77, 79, iii, 709, 712, 724), and in *wakfnāmas* (cf. H. L. Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astārabād*, G.M.S. 1928, 38, 40, 46 ff.).

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

## II. IN ARAB COUNTRIES.

The Persian word *kahrēz/karez* (see Vullers, *Lex. pers.-lat.*, ii, 767, 927; Desmaisons, s.v.), which was originally applied to underground irrigation systems before being replaced by *kanāt*, passed into Arabic in the form *shirīdī/ṣuhārīdī*, which generally designates a cistern, *kanāt* having a wider current use. Yāḳūt (s.v. *kanāt*) believes that the *kūra* of al-Ḳanāt (in the Sinǧiār region of the *Ḍiazīra*) took its name from underground water pipes, and these have been found near *Ḳaryatayn* on the ancient road from Damascus to Palmyra (Moritz, *Die antike Topographie der Palmyrene*, in *Abb. Pr. Ak.*, iv (1889), 12);

and in *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient* (Paris 1946, 283 and fig. 85), J. Weulresse notes that near *Ḍjarūd* (in the Damascus region) there are draining systems of 8 to 10 km. long, sunk at a level of 10 to 12 m., sometimes terminating in underground reservoirs whence the water is drawn by norias. Basing his observations on al-Nābulusī's *Rihla*, J. Nasrallah (*Voyageurs et pèlerins au Qalamān*, in *B.Et.Or.*, x (1943-4), 26) reports that a village named al-Ṣāliḥiyya, which lies between *Yabrūd* and al-Nabk (north of Damascus), had a *kanāt* which, legend has it, dried up when a Maghribī whom the village people had made unwelcome cast a spell on it; the ruin of the whole locality ensued. The same writer notes that the clearing of the *kanāt* begun shortly before the Second World War restored the prosperity of the region.

Methods of underground canalization spread from Iran to the Yemen and thence to Ḥiǧǧāz where the canals were called *ḫizāma* (pl. *ḫazāʾim*). Among various meanings, this term, according to al-Aṣmaʿī (*apud LA* and *TA*, rad. *ḫ-z-m*; cf. Yāḳūt, s.v. *kanāt*), especially designates a series of wells sunk at a certain distance from one another and linked by a gallery (*kanāt*) laid out at a level that does not tap the underground water. The water tapped by this method flows gently towards the centre of habitation it supplies or irrigates. The water outlet is known as a *fakīr* (pl. *fukūr*), but this term (cf. *LA* and *TA*, rad. *f-ḫ-r*) is also used for a well or a group of wells linked by a gallery, that is, it is practically synonymous with *ḫizāma*.

Al-Aṣmaʿī's description corresponds to a method which consists of tapping underground water, from an altitude higher than that of the intake point, by means of a series of wells linked by a gallery high enough to permit a stooping man to move through it (1 m. to 1.50 m.). Such a technique has the virtue of dispensing with machinery to raise well water to the level of the ground, reducing loss due to evaporation, tapping the seepage water, and finally of giving a gentle, regular incline to the underwater draining system, less steep than that at ground level.

That the Romans may have known of this technique is suggested by remains found in the *Ḳayrawān* region in Tunisia (see M. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan et des steppes tunisiennes du VII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (J.-C.)*, in *AIEO Alger*, (1952), 1-272, esp. 60 ff.), but the Arab origin of their works in North Africa is not in doubt. They have been found in Tunisia near Gafsa (Burseaux, *L'Oasis d'El-Guettar, ses ressources, sa décadence*, in *RT*, (1910), 364-73), among the *Nafzāwa*, where they are called *ḫhrīdīya*, and even in the immediate vicinity of Tunis (see M. Solignac, *Travaux hydrauliques hafsidés de Tunis*, in *R. Afr.* (1936), 517-80).

The method employed in the Algerian oases of Touat, Gourara, Sūf, Mzāb, Tidikelt and Figuig (*Fī-ǧīdī*) is called *foggara* (< *faḳḳara*), pl. *ǧǧāǧīr*, which seems to come from the same root as *fakīr*, although *f-ǧī-r* and *f-w-r* are also possible. Described many years ago by J. Brunhes (*Les oasis du Souf et du M'zab*, in *La Géographie*, v (1902), 180), they consist of underground canals sunk at a depth of 8 to 55 m., connected to the exterior by shafts originally designed to collect rainwater; at the outlet the main canal branches out so that gardens can be irrigated.

In the central Sahara and at Fazzān a pump well is called a *ḫḫattāra* (pl. *ḫḫatāṣar*), implying the notion of movement to and fro, but in Morocco this term is applied to the underground draining systems

existing in Tafilat, here and there in other regions, and especially in Marrākūsh. Wells sunk to a depth of 40 m. at the outset and spaced out at 10 to 20 m. on average, with shafts set out at similar distances over a total course of 4 to 5 km., are linked as before with a gallery at a slope of about 1%. Water from the aquiferous stratum and stream-level was distributed by conduits lined with stonework and earthenware (*kādūs*; Sp. *arcaduz*) for use in irrigating gardens and as drinking water. There were around 350 *khatāṣ* in Marrākūsh but some of them are now in ruins (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, 15-7, 85-90 and index; Guides Bleus, *Maroc*, s.v. Marrakech).

Al-Idrīsī (ed. and tr. Dozy and De Goeje, 68/78) states that this technique was introduced into the Almoravid capital by a *muhandīs* by the name of 'Ubayd'Abd Allāh b. Yūnus; G. S. Colin (*La noria marocaine*, in *Hesp̄ris*, xiv (1932), 38) believes that he must have been a Jew from the oases of Touat and Gourara, but J. Oliver Asin's researches (*Historia del nombre "Madrid"*, Madrid 1959) throw new light on the problem raised by al-Idrīsī's note: it is in fact probable that the Arab name of Spain's present capital, *Mad̄irīṭ*, is formed from a Latin suffix *etum* and the word *mad̄irā*, which designates precisely those underground conduits of which traces have been found in the subsoil of Madrid; thus it is within the bounds of possibility that the engineer of Marrākūsh originated from al-Andalus. *Khatāṣ* have also been noted in Ifni and the same system was known in the Canary Isles and, in the Mediterranean, in Cyprus (cf. Oliver Asin, *op. cit.*, 365).

*Bibliography*: Among works cited in the article, the works of G. S. Colin, *La noria marocaine et les machines hydrauliques dans le monde arabe*, in *Hesp̄ris*, xiv/1 (1932), and that of J. Oliver Asin are fundamental and also contain full bibliographies. See also J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation*. . ., Paris 1902; *Bull. Etudes arabes*, no. 40 (Nov.-Dec. 1948), 208-13 and no. 41 (Jan.-Feb. 1949), 11-2. (Ed.)

**KANAWĀT**, pl. of *kanāt* [*q.v.*], is found as a toponym in Syria. It designates particularly "a canal of Roman origin which leaves the Barada upstream from Rabwa on the right bank, and divides into five branches which pass across Damascus, supplying the southern part of the city with water" (Ibn 'Asākir, *Description de Damas*, tr. N. Elisséeff, Damascus 1959, 252).

Kanawāt is also the name of a place that lies 85 km. south of Damascus, on the west slope of the Hawrān. Because of its wealth of water this very ancient settlement cannot be identified with the biblical Kenāt (Num. xxxii, 42; 1 Chron. ii, 23). Kanawāt (*Καναθα*, Canatha) enjoyed great prosperity in the first centuries of the Christian era; magnificent ruins dating from the Roman period still stand there. Under Trajan, the construction of a new canal is mentioned, but this was almost certainly the repair of an ancient one. The upper town still possesses an ancient water conduit in a good state of repair.

*Bibliography*: Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien und Palästine*, Weimar 1823 f., 157 f.; Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*. . ., Berlin 1854-9, 79 f., iv, 51-4; J. Porta, *Five years in Damascus*, London 1885, ii, 90 f.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 586; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persisch. Golf*, i, Berlin 1899, 194; P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, Halle 1907, 76-7; Moritz in Pauly-Wissowa, x, 1956; Baedeker, *Palestina und Syrien*, s.v. (M. STRECK\*)

**KANAWDJ** or **KANNAWDJ** (Sanskrit Kanaakubdja; known to the Arabic geographers as Kanawdj, Kinnawdj, the latter form used also in *Hudūd al-'Ālam*), town in Farrukhābād district, Uttar Pradesh, India, 27°3' N., 79°56' E., formerly also the surrounding district. It has been identified, not beyond question, with Ptolemy's *Κάναγορα/Κάναγοζα*; it is certainly referred to in the travels of Fa-Hsien (A.D. 405) as a city under the Guptas, and as a capital and great Buddhist centre at the time of Hsüan Ts'ang's travels, circa A.D. 641, when under the great Harṣavardhana it had become the chief town of the Pañčāla country. As the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, s.v. *Jurz*) it exercised strong control over north and north-west India from the Satlād̄j to Bihār, bordered on the west by Sind; and it is presumably against this "kingdom" of Kanawdj rather than against the town that Muḥammad b. Kāsim, the conqueror of Sind, is alleged by the *Čač-nāma* to have made war. At the time of the Ghaznawid invasions of the 6th/12th century, when north India was ruled over by numerous petty kingdoms, the Kanawdj region was under the Gāhadawāla Rād̄jput̄s; together with Mālwā, Kalindjar, Dahgān and Badā'un, Kanawdj bore the brunt of the Ghaznawid attacks (Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, *Diwān*, 28, 219, 247, 262-65, 307, 397). Muslim colonies at Kanawdj and other of these places seem to have existed from the times of these incursions. Under the Ghūrīds the Gāhadawāla power was at first a formidable opponent, and Kanawdj was not annexed to the early sultanate until 595/1198-9; the hold seems to have been insecure, for it was necessary for Ilutmīsh to attack it again later — presumably decisively, for a few years later we find his young grandson 'Alā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd appointing a cousin, Djalāl al-Dīn, to the governorship of Kanawdj in 640/1243. Thereafter it figures frequently in the histories of Khaldjī and Tughluqid times, doubtless on account of its strategic importance on the banks of the Ganges; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to it as well built and strongly fortified, and mentions its sugar trade. Kanawdj figures as one of 23 provinces in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluq (*Masālik al-Absār*, Eng. tr. Spies, Aligarh 1943, 16).

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century Kanawdj was one of the centres of activity of the Hindū "rebels" against whom Malik Sarwar was despatched in 796/1394; and, in his new governorship which was soon to become the sultanate of D̄jawnpur, he was in charge of a region extending from Kanawdj to Bihār. When the sultanat al-shark achieved independence from Dihlī, Kanawdj, as its westernmost stronghold, was often a point of contention between the sultanates of Dihlī and D̄jawnpur, and there were many battles in its vicinity. The town was taken by Maḥmūd Tughluq in 804/1401-2, who held it as his temporary capital (probably with the connivance of the Sharkī ruler) against his recalcitrant *wasir* Mallū Ikbāl Khān Lodī [*q.v.*]; after the death of the latter it was recovered by the Sharkīs in 809/1407 (*Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhi*, 175). It again figured in the Dihlī-D̄jawnpur conflicts at the time of Bahlūl Lodī versus Husayn Shāh Sharkī, and Sikandar Lodī versus his brother Bārbak [see SHARKĪ].

Humāyūn took Kanawdj for his father Bābur in the campaigns of 932/1526, to lose it, and his kingdom, to Shēr Shāh 14 years later. After the Mughal restoration the history of Kanawdj seems to have been largely peaceful, and the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* records it as the headquarters town of *sarkār*. In the 12th/18th century, with the decline of the Mughal power,



Kanawdj was variously in the hands of the Nawwābs of Farrukhābād, the Nawwābs of Awadh, and occasionally the Marāfhās.

Kanawdj appears as a mint town, Kannawdj *ʿurf* *Shergarh*, under *Shēr Shāh* and the later *Sūrīs*; its name was changed by Akbar to *Shāhgarh*, although under the later *Mughals* it appears as *Shāhābād*.

Its monuments are poorly described, although there are many tombs and shrines in the neighbourhood. The *Djāmiʿ* mosque, built by *Ibrāhīm Sharkī*, using much Hindu and *Djāy*n temple spoil, shows the westernmost extension of the *Sharkī* style [see *DJAWNPUR*, and *HIND*, Architecture].

*Bibliography*: In addition to references in the article: *Istakhrī*, 9; *Ibn Ḥawqal* (*BGA*), 14, 227; *Muḥaddasī*, 477-8, 480, 485; *Masʿūdī*, *Murūdjī*, i, 162, 178, 372, 374 (= tr. Sprenger, 175, 193, 380, 382; = tr. Pellat, index); *al-Bīrūnī*, *India*, ed. Sachau, 11, 97; tr. 21, 199; *Ibn al-Aṭhīr*, ix, 186, 217 f.; *M. Reinaud*, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, Paris 1849, 136-43; idem, *Géog. d'Aboulféda*, i, pp. cccxxvii f., ccclviii, ii/2, 120; *Relations de voyages et textes géogr.*, tr. G. Ferrand, i, ii, Paris 1913-14, index s.v. *Kanūdjī*; *J. Marquart*, *Ērānshahr*, Berlin 1901, 263-5; *Walters*, *Yuan Chwang*, London 1904; *McCrinkle*, *Ancient history of Ptolemy*, Bombay 1885; *Beal*, *Travels of Buddhist pilgrims*, London 1869.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES—[J. BURTON-PAGE])

**KANBĀNIYA** (also *KANBĀNIYA*, with *KAN-FĀNIYA* once attested in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*), from Spanish *campaña*, in general denotes in Spanish Arabic usage, the countryside, but in particular the *Campiña*, sc. the vast, gently-undulating plain which forms the southern part of the *kūra* of Cordova; *al-Idrīsī*, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. Dozy-De Goeje, 174, 209, makes it an *iklim* whose capital was Cordova and its main towns *al-Zahrāʿ*, *Ecija*, *Baena*, *Cabra* and *Lucena*. After leaving the capital, the approach to it was first through the *Bāb al-Kantara* and across the Roman bridge spanning the Guadalquivir near the caliphal palace and the great mosque, and then through the famous *Rabaḍ* [q.v.]; several roads then ran across its expanse. In addition to cereals and fruit, this fertile plain produced a celebrated variety of grapes called *kanbāni*. The plain was much used for hunting, and the upper ranks of Cordovan society liked to reside in the numerous country houses (*munya*) built there; moreover, the Christians themselves had churches there.

The *Campiña's* strategic situation made it a route for the passage of troops to attack Cordova in times of trouble, and is specially mentioned in regard to the revolt of *ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn* [q.v.], who managed to capture the fortress of *Bulāy* (Poley = Aguilar de la Frontera), from which he was able to send out expeditions, lay waste the agricultural lands and seriously threaten the capital's food supplies.

*Bibliography*: *E. Lévi-Provençal*, *Hist. de l'Esp. Mus.*, index and bibl. cited there; *R. Castejon*, *Cordoba califal*, in *Boletín Acad. Córdoba* (1929), 257; the Arabic geographers dealing with Muslim Spain (*Yāqūt* cites a village called *Kanbān*, which he seems to have formed from the *nisba* of *al-Kanbāni*, but he also mentions the *Kanbāniya*). See also *AL-ANDALUS*, *KURṬUBA*. (ED.)

**KANBĀYA** [see *KHAMBĀYAT*].

**KANBŌH** [see Supplement].

**KAND** [see *SUKKAR*].

**KANDĀBİL** (the earliest form of the name found in Arabic works), *GANDJĀBĀ* (current from the 16th

century), or *GANDĀVĀ* (the form found in classical *Balūʿī* poetry of the 15th century and widely used since the 18th century) was a town standing on a high elevation (*Balādhuri*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 445), alone on a desolate plain (*Iṣṭakhrī*, Cairo 1966, 106; *Ibn Ḥawqal*, Beirut 1962, 281), and from it routes led west to *Ḳuzdār*, north to *Mastandjī*, east to *Multān* and south to *Manṣūra* (cf. *Ibn Khurradaḍbih*, Leiden ed., 55-6; *Iṣṭakhrī*, 106, 179; *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 282; *Muḥaddasī*, Leiden ed., 456). Only the modern *Gandāvā*, situated 28°37' N and 67°29' E in the *Kačči* district of *Balūcīstān* Province, Pakistan, answers this description in all details. It stands on a hill 321 ft. high, at the head of the flat, desolate plain of *Kačči*, and from it the old routes lead in the directions specified in the sources (see *Elliot and Dowson*, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867, i, 385).

The founding of *Kandābīl* was ascribed to the legendary *Bahmān Ardašīr* "to demarcate the boundary between the Indians (*Sindians*) and the Turks" (*Mudjmal al-tawāriḫh*, 117-8), i.e., between *Turan* or *Kaykān* and the flat *Budha* country of the *Sindian* people (*Yāqūt*, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. *Kandābīl*). In the seventh century, *Budha* included within its boundaries the present district of *Kačči* and the western areas of the districts of *Jacobabad*, *Sukkur*, *Larkana* and *Dadu* (*Fathnāma-i Sind*, 15, 39, 125). *Kandābīl* was the chief town in the northern part, while the capital was at *Kākārādj* (= *Kakar*, in *Dadu* district) in the more fertile southern part. With the Arab conquest (93/712), the whole of southern *Budha* was integrated with the central province of *Sind* (*ibid.*, 122-3) and the subsequent boundaries of *Budha* embraced only the northern region of *Kandābīl*, i.e., the present *Kačči* district and the country around it (*Iṣṭakhrī*, 104). The country was called *Budha*, *Budhiya* or *Budhiyya*, not because of any links with *Buddha* or *Buddhism* but because the bulk of the inhabitants were *Budhs*; *Zuṭṭs* also lived there (*Balādhuri*, *Futūḥ*, 436, 445). Both these communities (now Muslim) have survived, the *Budhs* living mainly in *Mutt* and the *Zuṭṭs* scattered over the whole country.

According to *Fathnāma*, 73, the Arab armies reached the *Kandābīl* region as early as 23/644 but withdrew after receiving the news of Caliph *ʿUmar's* death. From 23/644 until 92/711, the *Kandābīl* region of *Budha*, though subjugated by the Arabs, became a refuge for Arabs fleeing from the *Umayyad* government and was occupied by the *Brahmin* kings of *Sind*. In 660, *Čačh*, the ruler of *Sind*, led a successful expedition through the country of *Kandābīl* (*Fathnāma*, 49). During the caliphate of *Muʿāwiya* (42/661-61/680), the commander *Sinān* gained a victory in *Kaykān* (*Balādhuri*, *Futūḥ*, 433), but when he advanced through *Kaykān* into *Budha* on his second expedition he was killed there (*Fathnāma*, 83). In 69/688, the *Khāridjī* rebel *ʿAṭīyya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafi* was pursued by a section of *Muhallab's* army "to *Kandābīl* in *Sind*" and killed there (*Balādhuri*, *Ansāb*). Six years later *ʿIlāfi* rebels slew *Saʿīd b. Aslam*, commander of the *Makrān* district, at *Kandābīl* (*Balādhuri*, *Futūḥ*, 435). *Al-Ḥādīdjādī* despatched *Mudjīdjāʿa* in 85/704 to punish the *ʿIlāfis*, but they fled to *Sind* before his arrival; however, he subjugated the "tribes of *Kandābīl*" (*ibid.*, 435), who had probably aided the *ʿIlāfis*. Subsequently (704-11), *Kandābīl* was occupied by *Dāhār*, ruler of *Sind*, who appointed his nephew, *Dhol* son of *Čandar*, as the governor of "*Budhiya*" (*Fathnāma*, 94).

After the conquest of *Sind*, including "*Budhiya*",

by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳasim in 92/711 (*ibid.*, 121-4), the region of Ḳandābīl became an administrative division of al-Sind province and peace reigned, apart from occasional disturbances. In 101/720, the rebel sons of Muḥallab reached Ḳandābīl, regarding it as their last refuge, but their trusted ally Wadā' closed the gates and barred their entry into the town; they died fighting outside the walls of Ḳandābīl against the superior forces of Hilāl b. Aḥwaz al-Tamīmī, who had pursued them relentlessly [see AL-MUḤALLAB. In 55/754 Ḳandābīl was occupied by a group of Arabs, but they were ousted by Hishām b. 'Amr, governor of Sind. Some time in 222/837, another usurper, Muhammad b. Ḳhalīl, occupied Ḳandābīl, but 'Imrān, then governor of Sind, attacked him, conquered Ḳandābīl, and transferred the local chiefs involved to Kuẓdār (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 445). Firmly checking all disturbances, 'Imrān brought lasting peace and prosperity to Ḳandābīl. A century later it had developed into the central market-place of the Budha hinterland, where "the Budh people" sold their produce and obtained all their supplies (Iṣṭakhri, 105-6). Palm trees were planted later, and in the 11th-12th century Ḳandābīl was a "big city, prosperous and pleasant, producing large quantities of dates" (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, 123).

Ḳandābīl remained an administrative district of Sind, under the rule successively of the Sumarās, the Sammās, the Arghūns and Turḳhāns, the Moghuls and the Kalhorā rulers [see SIND]. In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ḳandābīl, then known locally as Gandāvā and associated with Sibi province, became the capital of the Lāsharī Baluch confederacy in alliance with the Sammās. In 924/1518, Shāh Beg Arghun, en route for his conquest of Sind, sent a force to occupy "Gandjābā". It fell to the Moghul Emperor Akbar in 1574, was included in the sub-division (*mahāl*) of Fathpur (*Ta'riḳh-i Sind*, 130, 186, 235-6) and was governed from Bakhkhar. Nadir Shāh, who had subjugated the Kalhorās of Sind, transferred the Kačchi district, including Gandāvā, to Kalāt in 1740/1740 and thereafter (1740-1955) it became part of the ḳhānate of Kalāt, political capital of the Kačchi district and the winter resort of the ḳhāns of Kalāt. The city wall, repaired by Murād (an able officer of the Kalhorās) in the early 18th century, was still intact in the 19th century, but is now dilapidated and in ruins.

*Bibliography*: Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeye, 1866; *Fathnāma-i Sind*, or *Čačhnāma*, Persian text Hyderabad Daccan 1939; Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḳh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, Leiden; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḳh*, Leiden 1883; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Ta'riḳh*, Cairo ed.; Ibn Ḳhurradādhbih, Leiden 1889; Iṣṭakhri, Cairo 1961; Ibn Ḥawḳal, Beirut 1962; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdi al-Dhahab*, Paris; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, Leiden 1877; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, Eng. tr. V. Minorsky, *G.M.S.*, London 1937; Yāqūt, *Mudjam al-Buldān*, Leipzig; Farazdaq, *Diwān*, Munich 1900 and Cairo 1936; Mir Ma'sūm, *Ta'riḳh-i Sind*, Pers. text, Poona 1938; *Mudjmal al-Tawāriḳh wa'l-Ḳisas*, Tehran 1318 S; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867; A. W. Hughes, *The country of Baluchistan*, London 1877; M. A. Stein, *Report of archaeological survey work in North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, 1904-5*, in *Baluchistan district gazetteer, Series vi a, Kachchi*, Bombay 1907. (N. A. BALOCH)

**KANDAHĀR**, a city in southeastern Afghānistān (in modern times giving its name to a province) situated in latitude 31°27' N. and longitude

65°43' E. at an altitude of 3,460 ft. (1,000 m.), and lying between the Arghandāb and Shorāb Rivers in the warmer, southern climatic zone (*garmsir*) of Afghānistān. Hence snow rarely lies there for very long, and in modern times the city has been favoured as a winter residence for Kābulis wishing to avoid the rigours of their winter (see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 141-2; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 89, likewise recorded in the 8th/14th century that the inhabitants of Ghazna moved to Ḳandahār for the winter).

Since it is one component of the triangle Kābul-Ḳandahār-Harāt, possession of which gives military control of Afghānistān, and is also at the end of a route via the modern railhead of Čaman to Quetta and northwestern India, Ḳandahār has been of strategic and commercial importance all through recorded history. Even in the Stone Age, the inhabitants of the nearby settlements of Mundigak and Deh Morasi Ghundai (4th-2nd millenia B.C.) traded with northwestern India, eastern Iran and the Eurasian steppes. In Achaemenid Persian times, the region of Ḳandahār was possibly to be identified with the Achaemenid satrapy of Harahuvāt; in the Persepolis Fortress tablets (c. 500 B.C.) there is more than one mention of the issue of rations for journeys between Susa and Kandarash (R. T. Hallock, *The evidence of the Persepolis tablets* [= ch. from the *Cambridge history of Iran*, ii], Cambridge 1971, 13, 29).

In Hellenistic times, the region of southeastern Afghānistān was known as Arachosia, and the town of Ḳandahār itself is probably to be identified with the μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας of, e.g., Isidore of Charax (on the problem of the city's ancient name, Alexandria of Arachosia or Alexandropolis, see G. Pugliese Caratelli and G. Garbini, *A bilingual graeco-aramaic edict by Asoka*, Serie Orientale Roma xxix, Rome 1964, 19-22). Then as now, Arachosia was famed for its grapes; the Indian author Kauṭīlya (4th century B.C.) speaks of Hārahūraka as a place whence wine was obtained. However, Greek rule here can only have lasted some 25 years, 330-305 B.C., for in the treaty between Seleucus I and Chandragupta the frontier between the Seleucids and the Mauryas was apparently fixed to the west of Ḳandahār, on the Helmand. Soon afterwards, Emperor Asoka had a series of rock inscriptions executed on a *tepe* in the old city of Ḳandahār, including one in Greek and Aramaic discovered in 1958 (see D. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Une bilingue greco-araméenne d'Asoka*, in *JA*, cclxvi (1958), 1-48, and Caratelli and Garbini, *op. cit.*), one in Greek in 1963 (see Schlumberger, *Une seconde inscription grecque d'Asoka*, in *CRAIBL* (1964), 126-40) and an Aramaic one also in 1963 (see A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste, *Une inscription indo-araméenne d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)*, in *JA*, cclvii (1966), 437-65); these show that Greek and Aramaic were still recognized in Ḳandahār as administrative languages, the local Iranian tongue presumably being unwritten. It may have been Asoka who introduced Buddhism to the region, though this is unproven. At all events, the faith appeared early, and the old city of Ḳandahār included a Buddhist monastery and its *stupa*, dated tentatively by G. Fussman to the 4th century A.D., see his *Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xiii (1966), 37-9.

The name Ḳandahār itself must be connected with Gandhāra, the ancient Indian kingdom on the upper Indus and Kābul Rivers which became a stronghold of Buddhism, and Arab historians do in fact use the form Ḳandahār/Ḳunduhār for Gandhāra proper. It is

possible that the name was transferred southwards to Arachosia by some migration of Gandhārans; there are stories, retailed by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, of the Buddha's begging bowl being preserved in Kandahār (at a later date, it was shown in a Muslim shrine outside the city), brought thither by Gandhāran Buddhist refugees.

The actual site of Kandahār has varied at different periods of history. The old city, abandoned since the time of Nādir Shāh, lay 3 miles (5 km.) to the west-south-west of the modern city, at the foot of a rocky spur called the Kaytūl, the site being now called the *shahr-i kuhna*. Here archaeology has revealed a walled city, clearly dating back to Hellenistic times, and successively occupied in the ensuing Buddhist and Islamic periods (see Fussman, *op. cit.*, 33 ff.).

Very little is known on Kandahār in the Kushan period, but under the rule of the southern branch of the Hephthalites, the Zabulites (see HAYĀTĪLA), Kandahār fell within their kingdom (see R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Cairo 1948, 104 ff.). In the Umayyad period, Arab raiders penetrated into the region of Kandahār after their occupation of Sīstān and their establishment of a bridgehead of Muslim arms at Bust [q.v.]. Arabic sources call the region around Kandahār al-Rukhkhādī (< Arachosia; the name survives today in the site of an Islamic settlement now called Tepe Arukh) or Zamīndāwar/Bilād al-Dāwar. It was the centre of a powerful local dynasty who bore the title of Zunbils, epigoni of the southern branch of the Hephthalites; down to the Ṣaffārid period (later 3rd/9th century) they constituted the main obstacle to the spread of Islam in eastern Afghānistān. Balādhuri records that the governor of Sīstān under Mu'āwiya, 'Abbād b. Ziyād b. Abihī, led a raid against Kandahār and captured it after bitter fighting; the poet Ibn Mufarrigh probably accompanied the expedition, for he composed an elegy for the Muslim dead (these verses, not related to any specific occasion by Ch. Pellat, *Le poète Ibn Mufarrigh et son oeuvre*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956-7, iii, 217, can therefore be pinned down to 'Abbād's expedition). Balādhuri mentions the characteristic high caps (*kalānisa fiwāl*) of the Kandahāris, and although his Arabic text is somewhat ambiguous here, it seems that 'Abbād now re-named the town 'Abbādiyya after himself (Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 434, repeated in Yāqūt, *Buldān* (Beirut 1374-6/1955-7), iv, 402-3; cf. K. Fischer, *Zur Lage von Kandahar an Landverbindungen zwischen Iran und Indien*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landmuseums in Bonn*, clxvii (1967), 192-3, and Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 270). But Muslim control must have been thrown off by the time 'Abbād was recalled from his governorship in 61/680-1; the name of 'Abbādiyya is heard of no more, and at the time of the Muslim débâcle in Zamīndāwar in 79/698 (see C. E. Bosworth, "Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the 'Army of Destruction' in Zābulistān (79/698)", in *Isl.*, 1 (1973), 268-83), there was no Muslim-controlled territory east of Bust.

In this early Islamic period, Muslim authors tended to reckon Kandahār as part of the province of Sind (e.g., Ibn Khurrādādhbih, 65, and Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 281, tr. 90, links Kandahār with Sind also), probably because the indigenous religion of the people of Zamīndāwar, the cult of the god Zūn, was considered as related to Indian faiths. In the reign of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr there is mentioned a campaign by the governor of Sind, Hishām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī, against Multān, Kaṣhmīr and Kandahār, but Marquart, following

Reinaud, identified this Kandahār with the classical Gandhāra on the upper Indus, and in particular, with Wayhind, capital of the Hindū-Shāhīs [q.v.] (Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 445; a fuller account in Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 448-9; cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 271-2, and Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 254).

However, Marquart commented how infrequently the name of Kandahār in Afghānistān appears in early Islamic sources. More commonly mentioned as the main centres of the region of Zamīndāwar are the towns of Pandjwāy (Iṣṭakhri, 250, says "al-Rukhkhādī is the name of a region, and Bandjwāy is its capital"), and then, one day's journey further on from Bust, Tiginābād. Ancient Pandjwāy was apparently situated on the road from Kandahār to modern Pandjwāy, according to Mir Husain Shah, *Panjwayee-Fanjuwai*, in *Afghanistan*, xvii/3 (Kabul 1962), 23-7; cf. Le Strange, 346-7. The exact site of Tiginābād, mentioned by Djuwaynī in the 7th/13th century and appearing on an 18th-century European map as Tecniabad, is still unknown (see Fischer, *op. cit.*, 191-2). Marquart thought that *al-Rukhkhādīyān*, "the two Rukhkhādīs", mentioned in the account of a raid into the region by Hārūn al-Rashīd's governor 'Isā b. 'Alī b. Māhān, referred to these two places Pandjwāy and Tiginābād (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 127, cited in *Erānshahr*, 272). It is certainly these two towns which are mentioned in sources from the Ghaznavid and Ghūrid periods (e.g., Gardīzī, Bayhaḳī and Djuzdjānī), but there is no doubt that Kandahār itself continued to exist and to flourish. The Islamic old city of Kandahār, in whose remains one can clearly discern the classical eastern Islamic division of a citadel (*kal'a*, *kuhandiz*), a town proper within the walls (*madīna*, *shahrastān*) and suburbs (*rabaḳ*, *bīrūn*), probably developed during this time (cf. Fussinan, *op. cit.*, 39-42).

With the destruction of the Ghaznavid centre of Lashkāri Bāzār/Kal'a-yi Bist by 'Alā' al-Dīn Djihānsūz in 545/1150 (see GHŪRĪDĪS), the name of Kandahār comes back into prominence and is henceforth mentioned continuously. In 680/1280-1 Kandahār was conquered by Shams al-Dīn II b. Rukn al-Dīn Kart, the vassal ruler in Harāt for the Ilkhānid Abāḳa (B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 158). Tīmūr conquered it and bestowed it on his grandson 'Ir Muḥammad in 785/1383. In 821/1418 Kandahār became part of Soyurghatmīsh b. Shāh Rukh's appanage, and in the later 9th/15th century it appears as a minting-place for Husayn Mirzā Bayḳarā of Harāt (875/1470-912/1506). It was under this latter ruler's overlordship that the Arghunīd Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg added the region of Kandahār and the adjacent parts of what is now northeastern Balūcīstān, scil. Sībī, Mustang and Quetta, to his other territories and made Kandahār his capital. This eventually led to conflict with the Tīmūrid descendant Bābur [q.v.], who was carving out for himself a principality on the Indo-Afghān fringes. Bābur captured Kābul from Dhu 'l-Nūn's son Muḳīm in 910/1504, and Muḳīm was allowed to fall back on Kandahār. However, Bābur felt that his hold on the Kābul River valley would be insecure whilst the Arghunīds remained in eastern Afghānistān, so he attacked Muḳīm and his brother Shāh Beg in Kandahār in 913/1507-8. Nevertheless, Shāh Beg was able to obtain Shaybānid help and return. Kandahār was not finally captured from him till 928/1522, after a drawn-out but intermittent siege (exaggeratedly enumerated in the sources as of five years' duration), the city's strong fortifications long preserving it; Shāh Beg now retreated southwards permanently to Sībī, Quetta and Sind (Mirzā Muḥam-

mad Ḥaydar Dughlat, *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī*, tr. N. Elias and E. D. Ross, London 1895, 202 ff., 357; *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, London 1921, 227, 332-9, 365-6, 429-36).

The Mughals did not enjoy unchallenged possession of Kāndahār for long. After Bābur's death it was held by his son Kāmran Mīrzā, but was also coveted by the vigorous and aggressive Ṣafavid state in Persia under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. After prolonged warfare with the Ōzbegs, the Ṣafavids had fallen heir to most of the Timūrid inheritance in Kḥurāsān, being in firm control of Harāt after 934/1527-8; they accordingly wished to consolidate their position by the addition of Kāndahār. Kāmran Mīrzā held the city against Ṣafavid attacks in 941/1534-6. In the internecine disputes of Kāmran and his half-brother Humāyūn [q.v.], the latter was in 950/1543 forced to take refuge with Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In 952/1545 Humāyūn and a Persian army took Kāndahār, but a month later Humāyūn turned on his Persian allies and seized the city for himself. In 965/1558 Ṭahmāsp recaptured it from the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and the latter did not regain it till 1003/1594-5. The Persians again took it from Dījihāngīr b. Akbar in 1031/1622, and after ten years' reversion to Mughal control it passed in 1058/1648 into the hands of 'Abbās II, remaining with the Ṣafavids till 1121/1709. The Ṣafavid province of Kāndahār also included the southerly districts of Mustang, Sībī, Kākārī, etc.; at various times in the 10th/16th century it was governed by royal princes of the Ṣafavid house (cf. K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 12-14, 35-6, 42). It is from the mid-11th/17th century that we have a drawing of the walled city of Kāndahār as it existed before Nādir Shāh's destructions, given by J. B. Tavernier in his *Travels*; he passed through Farah, Kāndahār and Kābul on his way from Iṣfahān to Āgra (the picture is reproduced in Fischer, *Zur Lage von Kandahar*, 149).

The end of Ṣafavid rule in Kāndahār came at the hands of the Gḥalzays [q.v.], an Afghān tribe who had settled in the vicinity of Kāndahār on lands left vacant when Shāh 'Abbās I had moved a considerable part of the original Abdālī [q.v.] occupants to the Harāt region. In the course of the 11th/17th century, the Gḥalzays had generally supported the Ṣafavid cause rather than that of the Mughals, but the leader of the Hōtak clan of the Gḥalzays, Mīr Ways, now rebelled against the Ṣafavids, and in 1121/1709 declared his independence, though he contented himself with the title of *wakīl*, "regent". On his death in 1127/1715, Mīr Ways was buried in Kāndahār, and his grave was, until recently at least, regarded as a source of *baraka* or blessing, despite its being overshadowed by that of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (see below). Mīr Ways's son Maḥmūd (d. 1137/1725) consolidated his power, and it was from Kāndahār that the Gḥalzays streamed westwards into Persia and overthrew the decrepit Ṣafavid monarchy (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958). However, the Gḥalzays were unable to build a lasting state in Persia out of their conquests, and in 1150/1738 their original centre of Kāndahār was lost when Nādir Shāh [q.v.], with support from the Abdālīs of Iḥarāt, captured it after a lengthy investiture (Shawwāl 1149-Dḥu 'l-Ḳa'da 1150/February 1737-March 1738; Lockhart, *Nādir Shah*, London 1938, 114). Kāndahār was at this time apparently called Ḥusayn-ābād after the city's Gḥalzay governor Ḥusayn Sulṭān. Nādir now destroyed the "Gḥalzay fortress",

meaning here the whole of the walled city and not just the citadel. Today, the walls of the Islamic city are somewhat reduced in height, Nādir's destruction being aggravated by the depredations of local seekers of building materials, although as late as A. Le Messurier's time, substantial remnants of the triple enceinte were still visible (see his *Kandahar in 1879*, London 1880, 245-6). Nādir built a new military encampment, Nādirābād, to the southeast of the old city and of the modern one; coins were minted by him with the names of both Nādirābād and Kāndahār, but the former was abandoned on his death in 1160/1747 (see Lockhart, *Nādir Shah*, 120).

The development of the present-day city of Kāndahār is connected with the replacement of Gḥalzay power in the area by that of the Abdālī Afghāns, for Nādir (in whose army Aḥmad Khān Abdālī had been prominent) allowed the Abdālīs to return to their original home. After Nādir's assassination, Aḥmad established his power in eastern Afghānistān. He founded a new city of Kāndahār to the east of the old one, enclosing it with a wall and making it his capital; the city was named Aḥmad-Shāhī and this name, together with the epithet *Ashraf al-bilād*, "most noble of cities", appears on the coins which he minted there [see AḤMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ]. He was buried there, and Elphinstone reports that 40 years after his death his tomb was much venerated by the Abdālīs or Durrānīs, and that a right of sanctuary existed at it (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*, London 1839, ii, 132).

Under the Durrānī *Amīrs*, Kāndahār still remained liable to vicissitudes. In the civil warfare among Aḥmad's grandsons Zamān Shāh, Maḥmūd and Shudjā' al-Mulk possession of the city fluctuated between the contenders. The Bārakzay amīr Dūst Muḥammad [q.v.] became unchallenged ruler in Kābul in 1241/1826 and transferred the capital thither, leaving his brother Kūhandil Khān as governor in Kāndahār. During the latter's governorship, Shāh Shudjā', of the line of Sadōzay Durrānīs dispossessed from control of eastern Afghānistān, had endeavoured to reconquer Kāndahār (1250/1834); during the First Afghān-British War, Shāh Shudjā' temporarily became amīr of both Kāndahār and Kābul (1255/1839). In the Second Afghān War, Kāndahār became for a few months in 1297/1880 the centre of an independent Afghān state under a member of the Sadōzay family, Sardār Shīr 'Alī. But after the attempt to seize Kāndahār made from Harāt by Ayyūb b. Shīr 'Alī b. Dūst Muḥammad, and Ayyūb's subsequent defeat by the British general Roberts, separate existence of this state based on Kāndahār was ended, and the united country handed over to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān [q.v.]; for a detailed account of all these events, see AFGHĀNISTĀN, v, History.

The modern city of Kāndahār had a population estimated in 1962 at c. 120,000, and the province of which it is the capital had in 1969 an estimated population of 724,000. The whole area round the city is a rich agricultural one, supplying the colder regions of northern Afghānistān, and also Pakistan, with fruit and vegetables; water is brought to many parts of this agricultural hinterland by a complex system of underground channels or *kāwīzs* from the nearby hills [see KANĀT]. In the 1960s Kāndahār acquired an airport of international dimensions, and the roads connecting it with Kābul and Harāt were metalled. As opposed to the capital Kābul, Kāndahār is in the centre of a strongly Pashto-speaking region, and has thus had an important rôle in the govern-

mental policy of encouraging that language; it was, for instance, in Kandahār that the Pashto propagandist society *Wiṣh Zalmyān*, "Awakening Youth", was founded in 1947. It has nevertheless lagged behind the capital in social and educational progress. Holdich remarked on the tolerance towards foreigners of Kābul compared with the fanaticism of Kandahār (*The gates of India*, London 1910, 377). In connection with this, Kandahār was the scene of anti-government riots in 1959, primarily caused by grievances over taxation, but also involving an element of conservative protest at the permissory abolition of the veil for women.

*Bibliography*: Given substantially in the article. For earlier history, the two works of K. Fischer, *Kandahar in Arachosien*, in *Wiss. Zeitschr. der Martin-Luther-Univ., Halle-Wittenberg, Geschichte-Sprachwissenschaft*, vi/6 (1958), 1151-64, and *Zur Lage von Kandahar* . . ., in *Bonner Jahrbücher* . . ., clxvii (1967), 129-232, are valuable. For the Islamic and modern periods, see the bibliography to *AFGHĀNISTĀN*, v. History, and scattered references in the standard histories of Afghānistān by, e.g., Fraser-Tytler and Masson and Romodin. For the 19th century onwards, the accounts of travellers, diplomats and soldiers (e.g., Elphinstone, Masson, Bellew, Le Messurier, Holdich, etc.) contain much relevant information.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KANDAHĀR** (Deccan), locally often spelt Kandhār, Kandhār to distinguish it from its illustrious Afghān namesake, is a plains fort and the surrounding *ta'alluk*, mainly agricultural, known to have been part of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] dominions, from whom it later passed to the 'Ādil Shāhīs. It seems, however, to have known previous Muslim occupation, since the main gate bears an inscription of Muḥammad b. Tuḡluk [*q.v.*] (*EIM* 1919-20, 16-7) and was presumably occupied by him on his expedition to south India. The fort, 25 miles south-west of Nandēf, is remarkable for its highly developed military architecture, which shows, successively from the exterior, a large glacis with a retaining wall, a covered way, a moat 2 to 3 m. deep and 21 to 24 m. wide, a massive *fausse-braye*, built in large dressed masonry by Muslims out of Hindu materials, with defensive bastions at intervals, a second covered way, and the main ramparts of the enceinte with strong towers and bastions. Across the moat is a single drawbridge leading to a series of gateways, of which the first, the *Djinsī* or Lohābandī Darwāza, facing north, is

protected with steel plates and defended by a bastion; a barbican court leads to the main gate, the Makka or Maḥll Darwāza, facing west. An inner court connects with the second covered way and leads to the third (Mānkall) gate, flanked with high bastions, before the interior of the fort is reached. A *Djāmi* *masǧid* of the late Bidjāpur style stands inside the final inner court. Many of the bastions of the enceinte bear guns, and some have inscriptions showing their construction by "Ākā Rūmī", presumably a Turkish engineer, of dates near 998/1590.

*Bibliography*: *Annual Report, Arch. Dept. Hyderabad*, 1331-3F. (= 1921-4 A.D.), 3 ff.

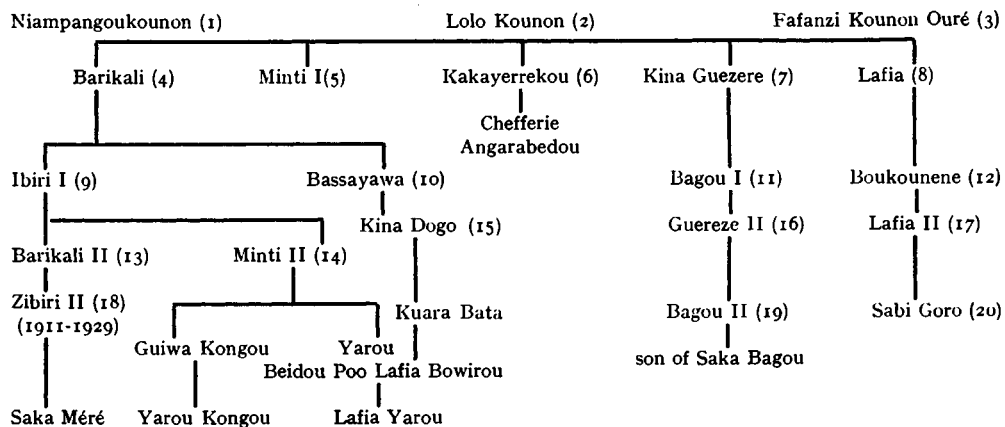
(J. BURTON-PAGE)

**KANDI**, a town in North Dahomey (11° 2' N., 2° 9' E.), is said to have been founded by a hunter from Nikki or Sinendé who, finding a large number of elephants, exclaimed *sinounou ba kamme!* ("I have come upon a great many elephants"). The word *kamme* is said to have become Kan-ni and then Kandi. According to another tradition, some women who slipped on the bank of a nearby watercourse fell down and broke their pitchers, *kan'di*.

Kandi was founded by Saka, the son of the king of Nikki. Having been sent by his father to fight against the king of Niampangou, he was welcomed with so many gifts that he revealed the purpose of his mission; unable therefore to return to Nikki, he settled in Kandi, his mother's homeland, where he fought against brigands and pacified the whole region. He gave himself the name *Mon* ("elder brother" in Bariba), which was corrupted to *Mo* by the local Mokolle. The seventh ruler, Guezere, was granted the insignia of authority by Nikki—a drum, covered with human skin, which was beaten with two human bones, and a commander's baton which was provided with a new leather cover every year. The most celebrated of the subsequent rulers of Kandi was Zibiri II (1911-29), who helped Geay, the administrator, to quell the revolt of 1917.

Since there were five generations between the first ruler and the 18th, it appears that the installation of the first Saka in Kandi occurred during the early decades of the 19th century. Although the first migration of the Bariba from the Niger was set in train by the invasion of the Muslim conquerors, hostility to Islam largely disappeared. Contact with islamized groups of Fulani led to the islamization of Bariba villages. In the town of Kandi, islamization appears to have been more rapid on account of the visits there by Hausa or Djerna merchants.

#### DYNASTIC TABLE OF THE RULERS OF KANDI



*Bibliography:* P. Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam au Dahomey*, Paris 1926; R. Cornevin, *Histoire du Dahomey*, Paris 1962. (R. CORNEVIN)

**KANDİL** [see KİNDİL].

**KANDIYA**, Ottoman name of a town on the north coast of Crete, the Herakleion of antiquity, which was captured by the Ottomans in 1080/1669 after a twenty-seven month siege by the grand vizier Köprülüzâde Fâdil Ahmed Paşa, this event marking the end of the struggle to wrest Crete from the Venetians which had been waged intermittently since 1055/1645.

The mediaeval Islamic name of the island of Crete, al-İkrīṭīsh [q.v.], was not unknown to the Ottomans, nor were they unaware that Crete had once before formed part of Dār al-Islām (cf. the post-conquest historical excursus in Silahdâr, *Ta'riḫh*, i (Istanbul, 1928), 530-8, which draws largely on the *K. al-Rawḍ al-mi'târ* of Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im [q.v.] (wrongly attributed by Silahdâr to a certain 'Abd Allâh b. Wahb); on Shihâb al-Dîn Nuwayrî; and, for the 10th/16th century, on the *Bahriyye* of Pîrî Re'îs). In common usage, however, the Ottomans preferred the forms Girit (*Bahriyye*, 800), later Girid, for the island proper.

Kandiya, deriving from Ar. *khandak* (the "entrenched" fortification set up on the site by the first Muslim conquerors) > Gk. *χανδαξ* (accus. *χανδαξα*) > Venetian Candica or Cantiga (13th century) > (by false etymology) Candida (15th century) > Candia, although commonly used (with variants: la Candie, etc.) in western sources during the entire period of Venetian and Ottoman rule to denote the island as well as the town, was used by the Ottomans to denote only the town and its encircling walls (*kal'e-yi Kandiya*) and the metropolitan *sandjâk* which was dependent on it. Locally, among the Greek population, the name *Khandak* passed out of use after the Byzantine reconquest and was replaced by Megalokastron, or Kastron, the Castle par excellence (also occasionally found in 17th century western sources: Castron), which usage continued until the officially inspired revival of the ancient name of Herakleion, which the town has borne since the establishment of Greek rule in Crete at the end of the 19th century.

The fortress of Kandiya capitulated to the Ottomans on 5 Rabi' II 1080/2 September 1669; after the handing over of the fortress and its contents, and the ceremonial entry of Ottoman troops, a truce was concluded between the two commanders on 9 Rabi' II/6 September. The history of Kandiya in the period from the conquest to the temporary occupation of Crete by Muḥammad 'Alî Paşa in 1821—i.e., the years of more or less undisputed Ottoman rule—is obscure. For the immediate post-conquest period Ottoman historical and literary sources, most accessibly reproduced in Râshid and Silahdâr, and the vigorous account given by Ewliyâ Celebi, combine eyewitness accounts of the surrender of the fortress and its immediate "Ottomanisation" (sc. the conversion of the churches and other public buildings to Muslim use) with texts of the more formal *feth-nâmes* and diplomatic correspondence engendered by the occasion. Cf. also the *Kânûn-nâme* for Kandiya, drawn up in 1081/1670 (text in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 350-3).

Both Muslim and western sources agree that the damage caused to the town and the fortifications by the prolonged siege was considerable. Despite repairs put in hand by Fâdil Ahmed Paşa before his departure, and official attempts to encourage the inhabitants of the hinterland to settle in the town, the

signs of depopulation and devastation remained visible for many years. An interesting byproduct of the destruction was the export to Venice or Zante of timber from the ruined houses. Described as "Cyprus wood", it was used for the manufacture of chests or cabinets, which found a ready market in England.

The Ottomans had entertained high hopes for the riches to be garnered from Crete after the conquest of Kandiya: "a second Egypt", as Ewliyâ Celebi called it, but these hopes, particularly for Kandiya itself, were not to be realised. Shortly after the conquest the population was estimated at "not above 10,000, with Greeks and Jews", and Canea (Ḥanya) was ca. 1680 spoken of as "much better inhabited than Candia" and as the main centre for the trade of the island.

Perhaps the most important reason for the steady economic decline of Kandiya during the Ottoman period had little to do with its change of masters, being in fact the progressive silting up of its port. Already in the 1680s it was described as having "not water enough for ships of any considerable bigness" and as being largely choked with rubbish washed into it from the town, despite the initiative of a French merchant in bringing "an engine" from Marseilles to clean it. At this time, galleys were still being repaired in those bays ("arches", *göz*) of the Arsenal which had survived the siege, but no new construction of ships was carried on there.

There seems to be little to distinguish Kandiya in the 12th/18th century from other Ottoman provincial centres of similar rank and function. Authority was vested in a paşa of three *tugh*s, appointed triennially; real power obviously resided in the local military forces. These, in mid-century, apparently consisted of the 6,000 or so Turks who were able to bear arms, for, according to Richard Pococke, "all the Turks belong to some military body". The upkeep of the local military establishment was provided for from the *kharâdj* and *gümriük* receipts, with the exception of the pay for the Janissaries, which was remitted from Istanbul.

Throughout the 12th/18th century, and into the nineteenth, Kandiya steadily lost ground to Canea (Ḥanya) as a port and commercial centre. The necessity of transshipping cargoes into small lighters offshore, and the character of the town as a garrison centre and seat of a paşa, together conspired to encourage particularly the economically-dominant Marseilles merchants and their consul to settle at Canea. Although Kandiya remained, with its still splendid Venetian monuments and broad streets, the capital of the island until 1855, its day was long past. In the last decades of Ottoman rule its trade, largely in olive oil, soap, raisins and wine, amounted only to some 20% of that of the island as a whole, while administratively it sank to the level of a *sandjâk* under the charge of a *mutaşarrif*. With the rising tide of Greek nationalism, the Muslim population of Kandiya, which ca. 1889 had been estimated at 17,000 out of 24,000, shared the same fate as their co-religionists in other parts of the island. With the abandonment of Ottoman rule, and through communal strife, emigration and population transfer, Kandiya had, by 1923, ceased to exist as a Muslim town.

*Bibliography:* Ewliyâ Celebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, viii (Istanbul 1928), 376-570 (pp. 478-498 contain the so-called *Kandiye-nâme*, Ewliyâ's account of his participation in the siege); Fındıklılı Mehmed Silahdâr Âghâ, *Ta'riḫh*, i (Istanbul 1928), 511-51; Mehmed Râshid, *Ta'riḫh*, i (Istanbul 1282), 164-

245 (interpolation of a lengthy official account of the siege and its aftermath, with some diplomatic correspondence); references to unpublished *ghazawāt-nāmes* in A. S. Levend, *Gazavāt-nāmeler* . . . (Ankara 1956) 120-6; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 350-3; B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago*, Oxford 1687; O. Dapper, *Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel* 1688, Amsterdam 1703, 405-8, 441-2; Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East* . . ., London 1754-5, ii, 255 ff.; M. Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, Paris, an VII, 178, 195 ff.; C. S. Sonnini, *Voyage à Grèce et en Turquie*, Paris, an IX, i, 342 ff.; J. M. Tancoigne, *Voyage à Smyrne* . . ., Paris 1817, i, 110-16; G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti dell'Isola di Creta*, 4 vols. in 5 parts, Venezia 1905-32, especially i/1, pp. 6, 7, 99-154, 303-414; ii, *passim*; *Sāl-nāme* for 1294 (1877); V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890, i, 581-3. (C. J. HEYWOOD)

**KANDŪRĪ** or *kandūra* or *kandūri* a Persian word meaning a leather or linen tablecloth; in Hindūstāni this word means also a religious feast held in honour of a venerated person like Fāṭima. In this latter meaning the word has been imported, apparently, from India into the Indonesian archipelago. In Acheen the word is unchanged, while in Java it is slightly altered into *keṅduri* or *keṅdurin*; it may be noted that nowadays the more usual terms in Java are *seḍekah* or *siḍekah*, from the Arabic *ṣadāka*, *slametan*, from the Arabic *salāmat*, or *hādijat*, a well-known Arabic word, meaning need, want of a man's presence at a feast, and hence the festival itself. In general it is a feast given with a religious purpose, or at least in conformity with religious law, just like the *walīma* in the books of *fiḥh*. The occasions which give rise to it are numerous, for instance: days of commemoration, domestic events, especially circumcision, the completion of teaching the Qur'ān, certain periods, such as pregnancy, sowing and harvest, and sundry reasons like setting out on a journey, occupying a new house and other enterprises, the averting of epidemics and calamities, etc. According to the Law each *kandūri* should have a religious character: the poor must be invited, forbidden things should be avoided, but the strong local 'ādāt is always prone to look for means of effecting a compromise. Every complete *kandūri*, especially those in commemoration of deceased relatives and those given on the anniversary of a saint, is sanctified by means of recitation of the Qur'ān, *dhikrs* or prayers; popular superstition, however, regards such *kandūris* as consisting of actual offerings of food to the deceased. Almost every *kandūri* is opened by a prayer, the commemorative ones by the *do'a kibur*. In Acheen some months are called *kandūri* with a second word indicating the food the sacred meal consists of.

*Bibliography*: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehese*, i, 210, 214-6, 236; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. des Islam. Gesetzes*, 164.

(PH. S. V. RONKEL\*)

**KANEM** (A. Kānim), today the name of a prefecture (capital Mao) in the republic of Chad. It is bounded in the north by Borkou, in the east by Batha, in the south by Chari-Baguirmi, in the south-west by the department of Lac and in the west by the republic of Nigeria (population 170,000). Its borders do not correspond exactly to those of the region which was one of the most ancient kingdoms of Africa and stretched, according to the most widely accepted view, as far as the caravan route from Kawar [q.v.] to Lake Chad in the west, to Baḥr al

Ghazal [q.v.] in the south, to the depression of the Eguei in the east, and in the north to a line drawn from Belgashipari to Birpo by the lake.

The most characteristic topographical feature of Kanem is the existence of numerous sand dunes running N.W. by S.E., separated from one another by hollows several hundred yards broad and sometimes four or five miles long. Dunes and depressions are specially marked in the northern part. The hollows, which are given the name of *wād* (*wādi*), are dry except during the rainy season, when ponds are formed in the deepest parts; their bottoms consist of soil impregnated with natron. Below this, to a depth of 3 to 30 feet, lies a vast waterbearing stratum. The climate of Kanem is that of tropical regions. The rains are unequally distributed and diminish from south to north. The date-palm grows wild in many of the *wāds*. It even forms a regular oasis at Mao. Cultivation is limited to the area around the villages, built on the slopes of the dunes. The commonest crop is the millet, to which may be added wheat, beans and cotton. The rearing of horses, cattle, sheep and camels is also a very important source of income for the inhabitants. The fauna is very rich and varied: the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, lion, buffalo and panther abound in Kanem proper and the ostrich, antelope, gazelle and giraffe on the northern steppes.

The population is far from being homogeneous. The diverse elements which compose it belong some to the negro group and some to the Arab group. To the first belong the Kanembū, the Buddūma, the Kūri; to the second the Ulād-Slīmān and the Shoa; the Tundjur and Tubu are classed between the two. The Kanembū, descendants of the first settlers in Kanem, constitute basis of the population, upon whom they have imposed their language. They are dark grey (*azrak*) in colour and tall in stature. Industrious and peace-loving, they are settled and devote themselves to agriculture. They profess Islam and are fairly strict Muslims. In their midst live groups of individuals called Haddād (in Kanembū *dogoa*) who, although differing from the Kanembū neither in language nor in physical type, are considered as belonging to an inferior race. Very warlike in disposition, armed with bows and arrows, they played an active part in the civil wars which desolated the country in the course of last century.

The Buddūma and the Kūri inhabit the islands of Lake Chad. The Buddūma, who occupy the northern archipelago, live by fishing, cattle-raising and the cultivation of millet. They have, for the most part, remained fetish-worshippers. The Kūri, on the other hand, while leading the same sort of life as the Buddūma, are completely islamized.

The Ulād Slīmān who came from Tripolitania and Fezzān in the middle of the 19th century, speak Arabic. Nomads and robbers, almost their sole means of existence was the slave trade and brigandage. The Shoa, long established in Kanem, continue to use the Arabic language but their physical type has been altered by admixture with the black population. The Islam which they profess is fairly strict. Nomads in the dry regions near the desert, they become settled in the moister southern regions.

According to the Arabic sources studied by Marquart (see *Bibl.*), the kingdom of Kanem seems to have been founded by the Zaghāwa. Al-Bakrī (de Slane, 29) mentions the inhabitants of Kanem as idolators and al-Idrīsī (ed. Naples-Rome 1970, i, 29), who cites the town of Mānām, seems also to consider them as such. Islam was introduced in the 4th/10th

century by the Tubu (Teda). This occupation seems to coincide with the accession to the throne of the Yazanīs, who claimed to be descendants of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [q.v.] and became the disseminators of Islām, which had been introduced by al-Hādī al-‘Uthmānī, the predecessor of the Yazanīs. The *Kitāb al-Isṭiḥṣār* (ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, 32, tr. Fagnan, 61) places the conversion to Islam of Kanem about 500/1106-7. According to a Hausa legend, Abū Zayd al-Fāzārī (end of 6th/12th and beginning of 7th/13th century) preached Islam in Kanem and Borku. Another tradition refers the introduction of Islam to the end of the 5th/11th century, under Sultan Oumé (1085-97), who was probably assassinated during a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Sultan Selma (‘Abd al-Djalīl) (1195-1220) enlarged the kingdom; his son Dunama I (1221-59) further extended it to Fezzān and Waday and in the west as far as Niger. During the latter’s reign, some Muslims from Kanem founded a Malikī school in Cairo (between 640/1242 and 650/1252), and in 657/1257 an ambassador was sent to the Hafṣid court in Tunis. The soi-disant descendants of Sayf remained in power as long as the kingdom existed. During a troubled period beset with the So and Būlala revolts, four kings of Kanem fell in campaigns against the Būlala. These latter, after a century of incessant battles, eventually conquered the country. Sultan Dāwūd (1377-85) was driven from his capital, Ndjimi. ‘Umar b. Idrīs (796/1394-800/1398) had to retire to the west bank of Lake Chad, where one of his successors founded the kingdom of Bornū [q.v.].

In the 16th century, the sovereigns of the new state took the offensive against the Būlala. ‘Alī Dunama (876/1472-909/1504) and his son Idrīs Katakarmabi (909/1504-932/1526) forced the Būlala to submit and regained their ancient capital of Ndjimi, but the sovereigns were represented there by an *alifa* (*khalifa*) and remained in Bornu, of which Kanem became a province. The submission of the Būlala, however, remained precarious; Idrīs Alaoma (978/1571-1011/1603) was compelled to send five expeditions against them. In spite of this victory, the weakening of Bornū soon enabled the Būlala to regain their independence. But towards the middle of the 17th century they were in their turn conquered by the Tundjur, who came from Wādāy, and settled in the west of Baḥr al-Ghazal, and then in Fitri. Meanwhile the Tundjur had to endure the attacks of the rulers of Bornu, who reduced them to the state of tributaries. Their chief settled in Mao as an *alifa*. In the second half of the 18th century, part of Kanem was conquered by Muḥammad al-Amīn, ruler of Bagirmi [q.v.]. In 1809 the king of Bornu, driven from his home by the Peuls, appealed to al-Amīn, who had a reputation for piety and energy. He crossed the lake and wiped out the Peul forces, but henceforward Bornu was no more than a protectorate of Kanem. Taking the title of *shaykh*, al-Amīn al-Kanemi made his capital at Kuka and, after numerous campaigns, subdued the Bagirmi (1817).

When the Ūlād Slimān Arabs arrived in the middle of the 19th century, the sultan of Bornū entrusted them with the defence of the frontier against Wādāy, but they seized this opportunity to pillage the country; by the time of Nachtigal’s visit to Kanem in 1871, they were its real masters.

‘Umar b. al-Amīn moved his capital to Kuka; on his death, he was succeeded by his three sons, Abū Bakr I, Ibrāhīm and Hāshim (1884-93). The latter was unable to prevent Rabah from seizing the fortified town of Mamfa and proclaiming himself sultan

of Bornu. ‘Umar Sawda, Hāshim’s eldest son, finally became in 1902 the sultan of German Bornū.

Kanem, which was included in the French zone of influence at the Anglo-French conference of 21 March 1899, was occupied between 1901 and 1905. European domination provoked the hostility of the Sanūsīyya [q.v.], but the capture of their *xāwīya* at Bi’r Alali in 1902 weakened the rebels and their chief, Shaykh Aḥmad, submitted in 1905.

*Bibliography*: H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London 1857-8, vol. v., Index, s.v. *Kānem, Kānembū*; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, Leipzig and Berlin 1879-1889, vol. ii, book v; H. Carbou, *La région du Tchad et du Ouadāi*, Paris 1912 (*Publications de l’École des Lettres d’Alger*, vols. xlvii and xlvi); Cornet, *Au Tchad*, Paris 1910; G. Destenave, *Le lac Tchad*, *Rev. Générale des Sciences*, 1903; Fouques, *Le Kanem*, in *Revue des troupes coloniales*, 1906; F. Foureau, *D’Alger au Congo par le Tchad*, Paris 1902; Mission Foureau-Lamy, *Documents scientifiques*, Paris 1902; A. Foureau, *Deux années dans la région du Tchad*, in *Bull. du Comité de l’Afrique française, Renseignements coloniaux*, 1904; M. Hartmann, *Schoa und Tundscher (Der islamische Orient, i)*; Cl. Huart, *Le Tchad et ses habitants*, in *La Géographie*, 1904; P. Joalland, *De Zinder au Tchad et conquête du Kanem*, in *La Géographie*, 1901; Labatut, *Le territoire militaire du Tchad*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de géogr. d’Alger et de l’Afrique du Nord*, 1911; C. Largeau, *Situation des pays et protectorats du Tchad au point de vue économique*, in *Revue Coloniale* 1903-1904; Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung*, pp. lxxx-lxxxviii; Becker, *Zur Gesch. des östlichen Sudan (Der Islam, i, 153 ff.)*; S. Passarge, *Zur Oberflächengestaltung von Kanem*, in *Petermann’s Mitteil.*, 1904; Jean Chapelle, *Nomades Noirs du Sahara*, Paris 1957; E. Gentil, *La Chute de l’empire de Kabah*, Paris 1902; Maillard, *Histoire de Kanem*, Mémoires CHEAM, 1951; A. Masson-Detourbet and J. P. Le Boeuf, *Les populations du Tchad au Nord du 10° parallèle*, Paris 1959; P. Gentil, *Les treize préfectures de la République du Tchad*, Chad Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1962; idem, *La conquête du Tchad 1894-1916*, Paris 1970; A. Le Rouvreur, *Sahariens et Sahéliens du Tchad*, Paris 1962; J. Le Cornec, *Histoire politique du Tchad 1900-1962*, Paris 1963; P. Hugot, *Le Tchad*, Paris 1965; Documentation française, *La République du Tchad*, Notes and studies, doc. no. 3411 of 18 July 1967; Ministry of Information, Fort-Lamy, *Annuaire Officiel du Tchad 1970*. [See also BAGIRMI, BORNŪ, WĀDĀY]. (G. YVER\*)

AL-KĀNEMĪ (AL-HĀDĪDĪ) MUḤAMMAD AL-AMĪN B. MUḤAMMAD NINKĀH), b. 1189/1775-6 1253/1837, a scholar of Kanembu origin who founded the Shehu dynasty of Bornū [q.v.]. Brought up in Murzuk (Fazzān) where his father had property, he received an Arabic education, travelled in Egypt and the Ḥidjāz, and eventually settled in eastern Bornū. There, his learning and the following he acquired among Arab and Kanembu tribesmen enabled him to play a decisive role in Bornuan politics at the time of the Fulani rebellion. Eventually the Mai Ibrāhīm (1818-46) came completely under his control, and he struck a seal in his own name in 1235/1819-20.

As the power behind the throne of the Mais, he succeeded in defending the ancient empire of Bornū from the serious dangers which faced it. His support of the Mai Dūnama ended the Fulani rebellion. Although he was unable to prevent the establishment of Sokoto emirates in the old western dependencies, he



engaged the Sokoto 'ulamā' in a famous correspondence which seriously weakened their resolve to continue *djihād* against Bornū, and he contained the emirates of Katagum and Hadejia by a great campaign in 1826 which carried him as far as Kano before he was forced to withdraw. He secured the eastern frontier south of Lake Chad by operations against Bagarmi in 1821-4. In the first of these he was assisted by the Ottoman *ka'im-makām* of the Fazzān [q.v.], and he later maintained the Fazzānī connection (of commercial importance to Bornū) by alliance with the Awlād Sulaymān, who also helped him strengthen his influence in Kānem as a buffer against Wadā'.

As well as this, he radically reformed the structure of government in Bornū, replacing the ancient and ineffective feudal levies of the Mais by a new army of Kānembu infantry and Shuwa Arab cavalry with a *mamlūk* officer corps owing personal loyalty to him. The old Kanūri fief-holding offices remained in existence, but fiefs were progressively transferred to supporters of al-Kānemi, and a new council of advisers dominated the government. These advisers, mainly non-Kanūri, represented a new and reforming element in Bornuan politics.

Al-Kānemi, though a scholar of considerable standing, was not a prolific writer, only one short work of *fiqh*, *Nashīhat al-hukkām*, and a poem, *Nasīm al-ṣabā*, being certainly attributable to him. A number of his letters, however, are preserved.

*Bibliography*: Muḥammad Bello, *Infāk al-maysūr* (1813), London 1951, Cairo 1960; D. Denham and H. Clapperton, *Narrative of travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London 1826; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire de l'empire du Bornou*, Paris 1949; L. Brenner, *The Shehus of Kukawa*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia 1968.

(ABDULLAHI SMITH)

#### KANGĀWAR [see KINKIWAR].

**KANGHLI**, **KANKLI**, the name of a Turkish people living in mediaeval times in the steppes of Turkestan and south-western Siberia. We do not find mention of the **Kanghli** in the oldest Arab and Persian geographers and travellers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, as we do of several other Turkish tribes. For Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *kankli* was not an ethnic designation, but was, as a proper noun, "the name of a great man of the *Ḳlṗčak*", and as a common noun, "a heavily-loaded cart" (*Diwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 379). In some early Turkish sources on the legendary origins of the Turkish tribes, e.g., the *Oghuz-nāma*, we find the story that the tribe got its name from the man who first constructed and used these heavy wagons for transport across the steppes (see Marquart, *Komanen*, 163); but Sir Gerard Clauson thought it equally likely that the wagon used by the Turks got its name of *kañli*/*kanghli* from the fact that it was introduced by the **Kanghli** people to the steppe Turks, see his *The name Uyghur*, in *JRAS* (1963), 147-8, and *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 638.

The **Kanghli** are most frequently mentioned in the sources pertaining to the century or so preceding the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century, and are often spoken of as part of the *Ḳlṗčak* confederation, i.e., they belonged ethnically to the south-western group of Turkish peoples. They are also associated with the *Kimāk* [q.v.], themselves apparently one of the tribal groups eventually forming the *Ḳlṗčak*. Concerning their habitat, Abu 'l-Ghāzī in his *Shah-jāra-yi Tarākima* retails a legend that the **Kanghli** had a *khān*, Gök-Toñll, whose centre was on the

Yayik or Ural River (Barthold, *Four studies*, iii. *A history of the Turkman people*, 132), but by the beginning of the 7th/13th century they and the *Ḳlṗčak* were also close neighbours of the Mongol *Nayman* on the *Irtish* (idem, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 151, Fr tr. *Histoire des turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 118). Minorsky read a passage in one of the manuscripts of *Djūz-djānī's Ṭabakāt-i nāsiri*, where there is mentioned a punitive expedition into the steppes in 615/1216 by the *Kh'ārazm-Shāh 'Alā'* al-Dīn Muḥammad, as referring to "Kādīr *Khān* *Yighur*, ruler of the **Kanghli** Tatars", whose lands stretched far north into the region of perpetual twilight in summer (see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 309). It seems that the **Kanghli** nomadised over an extensive area of western Siberia, but came as far south as the *Sir Daryā* and northern fringes of Transoxania, where *Djuwaynī* mentions them several times in his story of the irruption of the Mongols into Transoxania. **Kanghli** and *Ḳarluḳ* [q.v.] had been amongst the rebellious troops of the *Ḳarā Khānīd* ruler, and their unruliness had led the latter potentate to call in the *Ḳarā Khitāy*, with disastrous results to his line [see *ḲARĀ KHITĀY*].

At the time of the Mongols' appearance, the **Kanghli** had a settlement called *Ḳarākum* on the lower *Sir Daryā*, not far from *Djand* [q.v.], mentioned as the place to which the *Merkit* fled after *Čingiz Khān* had defeated them and the *Nayman* on the *Irtish* in 1208; it was also the place where in 617/1220 the Mongol general Čin Temür rested before going on to occupy *Djand* (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 361-2, 370, 415). Many **Kanghli** tribesmen obviously formed part of the *Kh'ārazmian* armies confronting the incoming Mongols, and they suffered heavy losses when *Bukhārā* and *Samarḳand* were stormed by the Mongols; there seems to have been some dynastic connection between the *Kh'ārazm-Shāhs* and the **Kanghli**, if *Djuwaynī's* report that *Sulṭān Djālāl al-Dīn's* mother *Terken Khātūn* was a **Kanghli** is true (see *Djuwaynī*, tr. Boyle, i, 91, 106, 121, ii, 370, 465, and Barthold, *op. cit.*, 415; *Nasawī*, however, makes *Terken Khātūn* from the *Baya'ut* branch of the associated tribe of the *Kimāk/Yimāk*). Those of the **Kanghli** not massacred by the Mongols must have melted into the Turkish hordes making up a large proportion of the Mongol armies; western travellers to the court of the Mongol *Khāns* like *John of Plano Carpini* and *William of Rubruck* mention them as the *Cangitae* and *Cangle* respectively. Thereafter, they disappear from recorded history. They can hardly have been touched by Islam; indeed, the only reference to their religious beliefs is that the Mongol general *Toluy Khān* or *Ulugh Noyan* employed a **Kanghli** versed in the art of using the *yay* or rainstone (i.e., he was a *shaman*) to conjure up rain during his campaign against the Chinese in 628/1231 (*Djuwaynī-Boyle*, i, 193; Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 37).

*Bibliography*: in addition to the references given in the article, see especially Marquart's detailed discussion of the **Kanghli** in his *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. F., xiii (1914), 163-72. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

#### KIANGHRI [see ČANKIRI].

**KĀNGRĀ**, the *Nagarkot* of Muslim historians of India, occasionally referred to as *Kōt Kāñrgā*, is also the headquarters of the *taḡšil* of the same name in the Indian *Pandjāb*. *Kāñgrā* lies between 30° 5' N. and 76° 16' E. on the northern slope of the

low mountain ranges which run through the district, facing Dharamsālā, a fine hill resort in summer, and commands a view of the verdant Kāngrā valley below.

The pre-Mughal history of the town is not definitely known. It was, however, a stronghold of the Kafoč Rāḍipūt rāḍjās who held sway over the entire valley and one of whom, Sansār Čand I, is mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription of c. 1430 A.D. found in the temple-wall of Dēvī Badirēshri which is dedicated to *Djāwālāmukhī*, the local fire-deity. This historic inscription was unfortunately destroyed in the severe earthquake of April 1905.

Firishṭa describes Nagarkōt while recounting the exploits of Firūz Tughluḳ (cf. Brigg's tr., i, 454-5). The fabulous riches of the temple of Nagarkōt had earlier tempted Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who in 399/1008 overran the valley, captured the fort, which stood on the lofty ridge south of the town and was surrounded on three sides by extremely steep and inaccessible hills, and is reported to have carried off as booty an incredible amount of gold and silver, jewels, pearls, diamonds and rubies. However, neither Sudjān Rā'i Bhandāri, the Hindu historian of the reign of Awrangzīb [q.v.] (cf. *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*, Delhi 1918, 71-2), nor Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī, the author of *Farḥat al-Nāzirin* (extracts published by Ayyūb Kādirī, Karachi 1972, 222-3) mention this plundering by Maḥmūd, although the latter mentions a *makān-i Sebūktigin* in the fort of Kāngrā. The temple sacked by Maḥmūd was not the temple of Badirēshri, still revered by the Hindus, but the one situated within the fort, now no longer in existence.

The town and fort were recovered by the Hindus in 436/1044 and they set up an imitation of the sacred image destroyed or carried away by Maḥmūd. Firūz Tughluḳ captured the town in 762/1360 and again plundered the temple, whose loss in riches had been made good by the pilgrims and votaries through their offerings and gifts. A unique library containing 1,300 ancient Brahmanical texts also fell into the hands of the sultan, who had some of them translated into Persian. One on philosophy, natural science, divination and omens was translated into verse and styled *Dalāl-i Firūzshāhi* (cf. Firishṭa, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhimi*, Lucknow 1281 A.H., 148). Maḥmūd Tughluḳ (796-814/1394-1411) found asylum in this hill fastness while a fugitive from Delhi before his accession to the throne. In 990/1582 it was visited by Akbar at the head of a large force *en route* to Sind. The town (citadel) was included in the *Khālīṣa* while the surrounding hills were restored to the native chief *Djāy* Čand. The Hindus seem not to have forgiven the Muslim violation of their temple, and twice rose in rebellion, to be ultimately starved into submission by an imperial force under prince *Khurram* (later *Shāh* *Djahān*) in 1030/1621. *Djahāngir*, writing of the conquest of Kāngrā by *Khurram*, boasts of his being the first Mughal emperor to have brought about the complete submission of the valley of Kāngrā to Muslim rule (cf. *Tūzūk-i Djahāngiri*, Urdu tr., Lahore 1960, 654-6). By way of thanksgiving for this unique victory, *Djahāngir* ordered the construction of a mosque within the fort, the sounding of the call to prayer, the recitation of the Friday *khutba*, and the slaughter, inside the fort, of a cow, so sacred to the Hindus (cf. *Tūzūk*, Urdu trans., 697). *Djahāngir* also intended to build a summer residence for himself in the cool, salubrious climate of the valley, but the idea was never carried out. Obviously, *Kashmīr* was the pleasure-seeking

emperor's first choice. *Djāgāt Singh*, the landlord of Nūrpur and *fawājidār* of Kāngrā, rose in rebellion during the reign of *Shāh* *Djahān*, but this was soon suppressed and the rebellious chief was pardoned and promoted in rank; his loyalty was thus secured. I'timād al-Dawla [q.v.] the father of Nūr *Djahān*, died in Kāngrā in the entourage of *Djahāngir*. *Shaykh* Farid Murtaḍā *Khān* *Bukhārī* also breathed his last near here while he was the governor of Lahore.

Nagarkōt formed a part of the Mughal possessions till its cession in 1167/1753 to Aḥmad *Shāh* Durrāni by the effete Mughal administration of Delhi. In 1188/1774 a Sikh chieftain, *Djāy Singh*, obtained it by a stratagem, but it was acquired by Sansār Čand of the line of the dispossessed Rāḍipūt princes of Kāngrā. In 1221/1806 the Gurkhas defeated Sansār Čand, who had attacked Bilāspūr and obtained possession of the valley. They perpetrated scarcely credible atrocities on the population. In 1224/1809 Kāngrā was captured by *Randjīt Singh*, Sansār Čand's overlord. It passed to the British in 1262/1846 after the first Sikh War. During the military uprising of 1857, some disturbances took place in and around the valley but these were soon firmly suppressed.

Kāngrā now forms part of the Indian Republic; its sacred temple of *Djāwālāmukhī* is visited by thousands of pilgrims every year. Awrangzīb is said to have brought a canal here from the river Beas; when a burning torch or taper was cast into the water, the flames were not extinguished (cf. Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī, *Farḥat al-Nāzirin*, extracts, Karachi 1972, 222-3).

The terrible earthquake of April 1905 resulted in irreparable damage to the fort and temples as well as harm to other buildings of archaeological importance. The place, apart from being a hill-station, abounds in game including several species of pheasants, partridges, quails, snipe and deer. Mango grows wild in abundance, but the fruit is poor. The handful of Muslims living in the valley, mainly members of the lower class, were expelled during the communal disturbances of 1947 in the wake of partition.

*Bibliography*: Firishṭa, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhimi* (*Tārīkh*), Lucknow 1281 A.H., 147 ff., Brigg's transl. i, 48-9, 454-5; Muḥammad Nāzim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 90-1 (where several other authorities, other than Firishṭa, are quoted); *Tūzūk-i Djahāngiri*, Eng. tr. Rogers and Beveridge, ii, 183, 223; *Šamšām al-Dawla Shāhnavāz Khān, Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, Urdu tr., Lahore 1968, 1969, i and ii, index (under Kāngrā); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xiv, Oxford 1908, 382-6, 397-8 (chronology inaccurate); Sudjān Rā'i Bhandāri, *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*, Delhi 1918, 71-2; Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī, *Farḥat al-Nāzirin*, Bodl. Ms. 119, extracts published by Ayyūb Kādirī, Karachi 1972, 222-3 (mainly summarises the account of Kāngrā given by *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*); *Cambridge History of India*, iii, iv, index; *Cyclopaedia of India*, London 1885, ii, 494-5; *Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'i, Zafarnāma-i Kāngrā or Shāsh fāh-i Kāngrā*, Ms. in the Panjab University Library, Lahore; Raza Husain, *The Zafarnāma-i Kāngrā, or an account of the conquest of Kāngrā during the reign of Jahāngir*, in *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, ii (1919), 56-62; *Shams Sirāḍj 'Afif, Tārīkh-i Firūzshāhi*, Calcutta 1890, 32, 90, 186-7; Muḥammad Šālih Kanbū, *'Amal-i Šālih*, Lahore 1958, i, 90 ff., ii, 266 ff.; Banarsi Prasad Saksena,

*History of Shahjahan of Dihli*<sup>2</sup>, Allahabad 1958, 93-102; *Khafī Khān, Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Calcutta 1869, i, 297, 306, 325-6, 583.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**KĀNĪ**, ABŪ BAKR, a prominent Ottoman poet and prose stylist of the 12th/18th century. He was a native of Tokad, and although Ebu 'l-Diyā gives the date of his birth as 1124/1712, this conflicts with Edib Efendi's statement that he was still a young man (*new-djewan*) when he left for Istanbul. He received his education in Tokad, where he also entered the order of the Mewlewi dervishes, becoming the disciple (*mürīd*) of *Shaykh* 'Abd al-Wāhid. Faṭīn relates that at some period of his early life he was employed as a secretary in Erzurum, yet it was from Tokad that he accompanied *Hekim-oghli* 'Ali Pasha to Istanbul early in 1168/1755 when the latter passed through that town on his journey from Trabzon to assume the office of Grand Vizier for the third time. In the capital he entered the Imperial *Diwān* as a secretary, rising rapidly to the high rank of *kh'wād-jegān*. When, and under what circumstances, he left Istanbul for the Danubian provinces is not known, but from the early 1180s the letters in the *Münshē'āt* show him to be in such cities as Silistra, Russe (Ruscuq) and Bucharest, serving as secretary to either the *voivods* of Wallachia or to Yegen al-Hādīdj Mehmed Agha (later Pasha; cf. the *dhayl* of Ahmed Djāwid to 'Othmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Hādīkat ul-Wūzerā'*, Istanbul 1271, 32). When the latter became Grand Vizier in 1196/1782, he summoned him to Istanbul; but once here Kānī's disrespectful attitude so angered his master that it was only through the intercession of the *re'īs ul-küttāb* *Khayrī* Efendi that he escaped being put to death and was sent instead into exile on the island of Lemnos. The date of his return to Istanbul is unknown, but he died there in Rabi' II 1206/Dec. 1791 and was buried near the *türbe* of Ferīdūn Pasha in Eyyüb. A portrait of him with the *voivod* Alexander is said to hang in the Peleş Museum in Sinaia, Roumania.

Kānī's poetical work is represented by two *diwāns*, both of which were collected posthumously. The first, and most important, was compiled by the *wak'a-nūwis* *Khālīl Nūri* Efendi on the instructions of the *re'īs ul-küttāb* Mehmed Rāshid (most probably during his second tenure of this office, *Dhu* 'l-Ḳā'da 1206-Muḥarram 1209/July 1792-Aug. 1794 and contains what may be regarded as his more serious work. The circumstances of the compilation of the second *diwān*, containing his humorous and satirical verses, many of which are extremely lubricious, have not been determined. Kānī's poetry is of such uneven quality that one should be cautious in accepting general appraisals of its value. Certainly there is throughout an intrusive facetiousness, a fondness for word-play and an unconventional recourse to the vernacular which often obscures the meaning; but there is, too, that same verbal inventiveness and freshness of imagery that marks his prose, and which must have had the charm of novelty to his cultivated contemporaries.

Kānī is generally more highly esteemed as a prose-writer than as a poet, and in the personal letters which are included in his *Münshē'āt* he does, indeed, show a highly individual style, and is himself presented as a personality of irrepressible wit and insouciance. The *Münshē'āt* is, however, for the most part a collection of the official correspondence written while he was secretary to Yegen Mehmed or the *voivods* of Wallachia, the letters therein being grouped in accordance with the social station of the

person addressed, and obviously intended to serve as models for this type of composition. Kānī, also, enjoys the distinction of having composed the first phrase-book in Ottoman Turkish, the *Bürūdj-i Fünūn*, divided into twelve chapters in honour of the Apostles (Ms. in Topkapı Sarayı, Emānet *Khazinesi*, no. 1158). It was commissioned by Constantine, the *Scarlat voivod* of Wallachia, for the use of his brother (*li-eb karindashim olan Aleksandri Beg-zāde*) and presents very interesting specimens of the formal polite language of the period. None of Kānī's works has yet been published, apart from a few extracts in anthologies.

*Bibliography*: Study of the *Münshē'āt* could greatly supplement the biographical information found in Ebu 'l-Diyā Tewfik, *Nümüne-i edebiyāt-i 'Othmāniyye*<sup>6</sup>, Istanbul 1329, 49-54, from which Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 159-74, derives. Of the *tedhkire*-writers, Faṭīn Efendi, *Khātīmet ul-esh'ār*, Istanbul 1271, 352, gives some erroneous details of his life, while 'Arif Hikmet ('Ali Emīri, no. 789, f. 55a) merely repeats the information found in *Djeldet Pasha, Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1309, v, 234, which was itself taken from the history of the *wak'a-nūwis* Edib Efendi; the brief notice on him in Silāhdār-zāde Mehmed Emln ('Ali Emīri, no. 795, f. 57a) is incorrect, and 'Abd ul-Fettāh *Shefkat* ('Ali Emīri, no. 770, 163-4) does no more than quote six *ghazels* and one *na't* from his poetry. The most recent study of Kānī is in the anonymous article in the *IA*, vi, 158-9, to the bibliography of which should now be added *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*, iii, Istanbul 1967, 862-6. (J. R. WALSH)

**KĀNĪ**, MİR 'ALĪ *SHER*, historian of Sind, son of 'Izzat Allāh al-Husaynī al-Shīrāzi, was born in Thāffā, the capital of Sind in the Mughal and pre-Mughal period, in 1440/1727 and died there in 1203/1788. His grave still exists on the nearby Maklī hills. He received his education from local scholars, some of whom are mentioned in his *Maḳālāt al-shu'arā'*<sup>7</sup> (Karachi 1957, 114, 150, 339, 359, 817). In 1175/1761 he was commissioned by the Kalhōfa ruler of Sind, Ghulām Shāh 'Abbāsī (1170-86/1757-72), to write a Persian history of the ruling dynasty on the lines of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [q.v.], but this was never completed. Five years later he began compiling his *Tuhfat al-kirām*, which he finished in 1181/1767.

A born poet, Kānī wrote many verses while still a boy of 12. In poetry he acknowledged as his teacher Mīr Abū Turāb Ḥaydar al-Dīn "Kāmil", a great-grandson of Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Namakīn, a poet of no mean achievement and a nobleman of the times of Shāh *Djāhān* [q.v.].

The most important works in his large output in prose and verse are: (i) *Tuhfat al-kirām*, a general history in 3 vols., of which the last is mostly biographical and devoted to Sind (Lucknow and Bombay 1304/1886); (ii) *Maḳālāt al-shu'arā'*<sup>7</sup> (composed in 1174/1727, alphabetically arranged lives of the poets of Sind who wrote in Persian (ed. Karachi 1957); (iii) *Maḳlī Nāma* or *Būstān-i bahār*, a poetic description in prose and verse of the tombs and social scenes on the Maklī hills, the necropolis of Thāffā (ed. Hyderabad 1967); (iv) *Mi'yār-i sālikān-i tarīkat* (1202/1787), lives of saints and *Ṣūfī* poets from the time of Muḥammad to the close of the 12th/18th century in 12 *mi'yars* (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1968); (v) *Ta'rikh-i 'Abbāsīya*, an unfinished history of the Kalhōfas, in prose and verse, undertaken at the command of Ghulām Shāh Kalhōfa, (Rieu, iii,

1061b); (vi) *Niṣāb al-bulaghā*<sup>2</sup>, an encyclopaedic work compiled in 1198/1783; the only copy known is in the private library of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Gaḥī Yāsīn (Sind); (vii) *Maḥnawīyyāt-wa Kaṣā'īd-i Kānīc*, ed. Karachi 1961 (a collection of his longer poems). A detailed list of his works is given in the *Maḥālāt al-Shu'arā*, 7-28 (Introduction).

**Bibliography:** Autobiography in *Maḥālāt al-shu'arā*, Karachi 1957, 531-62; *Mihrān*, Sindhi quarterly, Karachi, v/2 (1956), 131-167; C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 138, 656, 854, 1030-31. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**KANIK**, ORHAN VELİ (1914-1950), Turkish poet who introduced major innovations to 20th century Turkish poetry. Kanik's early poems, published under the pen name of Mehmet Ali Sel, were formal lyrics written in traditional metres. After 1936 he adopted free verse, which had first been introduced in the 1920s by Nazım Hikmet (1902-1963). Kanik's first collection of poems, *Garip* (1941) also contained poems by his colleagues Oktay Rifat (b. 1914) and Melih Cevdet Anday (b. 1915). These three poets published a joint manifesto which called for a vast transformation of the structure, function, and language of poetry, whereby poetry would be made to reflect and address itself to the tastes of the masses.

Kanik's later volumes—*Vazgeçemediğim* (1945), *Destan Gibi* (1946), *Yenisi* (1947), *Karşı* (1949)—sought to further the aesthetic principles set forth in the manifesto. His poetry, written in free verse without rhyme, utilized a straightforward style based on the natural rhythms and the idiomatic resources of colloquial Turkish, shunning conventional moulds and metres and avoiding the stereotyped metaphors which had characterized the work of most of his predecessors and some of his contemporaries. Kanik championed a form of poetic realism which often featured the man-in-the-street as the modern hero. His poems about the sea and the city of Istanbul are notable for mellifluous lyricism. Satire is a prevalent element in Kanik's poetry: some of his satirical lines and brief poems have become proverbial among Turks.

Kanik's complete poems were posthumously published in 1951 under the title *Bütün Şiirleri*, which had gone into eleven impressions by 1971. He was also a leading translator of French poetry and drama. In 1949 he published his poetic versions (in rhymed syllabic metres) of 72 selected anecdotes of Nasreddin Hodja.

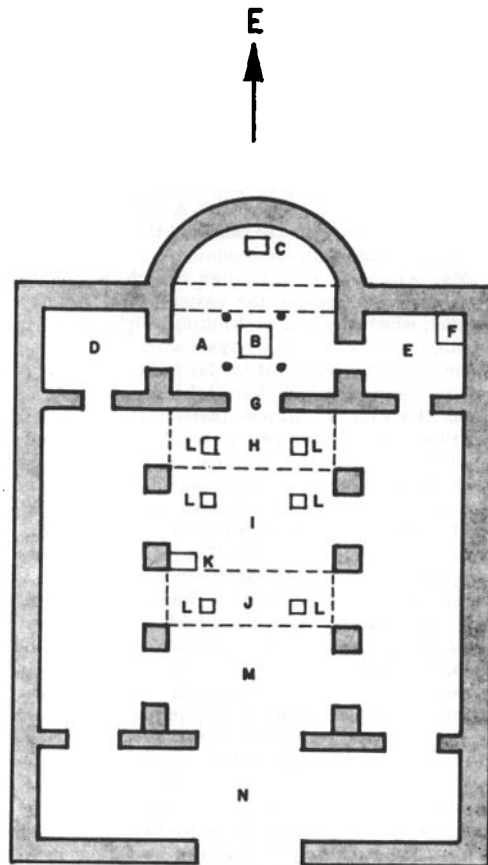
**Bibliography:** A. Bezirci, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Istanbul 1967; M. Uyguner, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Istanbul 1967; E. Heister, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Cologne 1957; Y. Pazarkaya-H. Mader, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Frankfurt 1966; T. S. Halman, *I am listening to Istanbul (Selected poems of Orhan Veli Kanık)*, New York 1971. Some translations also appeared in *Encounter*, March 1972, 31. (T. S. HALMAN)

**KANĪSA** (pl. *kanā'is*), synagogue, church, temple.

(i). Etymology and meaning. The word *kanīsa* is the Arabised form of the western Aramaic *kənīshā* (eastern Aramaic *kənūshā*), which means "meeting, assembly". Some Arab lexicographers (Ibn Manẓūr, al-Firzābādī and al-Zabīdī) give this etymology, but others (al-Khafājī, al-Bustānī) derive the word from the Greek ἐκκλησία, as does the 4th/10th century Coptic writer, Ibn al-Muḥaffa' (cf. J. Assfalg, *Die Ordnung des Priestertums*, Cairo 1955, 3). The word *kanīsa* is not found in the Qur'ān,

unlike its synonym *bī'a* (pl. *biya'*), which appears once (XXII, 40). On the other hand it is found in *ḥadīth*, archaic poetry, capitulation treaties made by the caliphs and their generals with the inhabitants of conquered cities, and also in papyri.

As used by Muslim authors, historians and geographers, the word *kanīsa* designates equally the cultic place (*muta'abbad*) of the Jews (synagogue), of the Christians (church) and of the pagans (temple).



Plan of an eastern church

A: Sanctuary — B: Altar with ciborium — C: Episcopal throne — D: Diaconicon or sacristy — E: Baptistry — F: Baptismal font — G: Main door — H: Dais, amongst the Chaldeans and Syrians — I: Choir, amongst the Byzantines and Copts — J: Gallery, amongst the Chaldeans and Syrians — K: Ambo, amongst the Byzantines and Copts — L: Lecterns — M: Nave — N: Narthex.

*Kanīsa* is an element of numerous church-names. The most famous of these is the *Kanīsat al-Kiyāma* (the Church of the Resurrection) in Jerusalem, which some writers twist into *Kanīsat al-Kumāma* (the Church of the Sweepings), making a play on the root *k-n-s*, which means "to sweep" in Arabic. In Egypt alone, the word *kanīsa* appears 187 times in al-Maḥrīzī's *Kitāb al-Khiṭāf*. In modern Eastern vernaculars, *knīse* is used for "church" and *knīs* for "synagogue".

In the work of Christian writers, *kanisa* means both the assembly of the faithful and their meeting-place. In Bible translations, both it and *bī'a* are used indiscriminately for the two Greek words ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή, or the two Syriac words ʿidā or *h<sup>o</sup>nūshā*. The relative adjective is *kanasi* or *kanā'isi*, "ecclesiastical" (*al-Sifr al-kanā'isi* = The Book of Ecclesiastes).

(ii). The Christian building. Despite some differences depending on periods and rites (Chaldean, Syrian, Byzantine, Copt), all churches are built on more or less the same plan, whether in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine or Egypt. The eastern church is rectangular in form, always orientated towards the east, and is divided into two main parts, the sanctuary and the nave.

The sanctuary (*haykal*) or Holy of Holies (*Ḳuḍḍ al-aḥḥas*) is separated from the nave in the Chaldean or Syrian church by a wall with two doors, and in the Byzantine or Coptic church by a marble or wooden screen with three doors. A veil (*sitr*) hangs over the main door. In the centre of the sanctuary is the altar (*madhbah*), surmounted by a ciborium (*kubba*), except in the Chaldean church, where the altar is placed against the eastern wall. A lamp (*hindil*), which must be kept burning night and day, is hung in front of the altar. Again with the exception of the Chaldean church, at the far end of the sanctuary, in the apse which forms the eastern wall, is found the bishop's throne (*kursi*); the Chaldean sanctuary, which is topped by a dome, has no apse. In all rites, entry to the sanctuary is strictly forbidden to the laity. At the left of the sanctuary is the diaconicon or sacristy (*bayt al-khidma*) and at the right the baptistry (*bayt al-ma'mūdiyya*), with the baptismal font (*ḏurn al-'imād*). The position of these two places relative to the sanctuary may be reversed.

The nave (*sahn*) includes a varying number of bays. In Chaldean and Syrian churches the dais (*minassa*) is situated in the anterior bay, where in Byzantine and Coptic churches is found the choir (*khurus*), often covered by a dome. The Chaldeans and Syrians place the pulpit (*bim*) in the central bay; on the left side is the site of the ambo (*anbil*) in Byzantine and Coptic churches. On the dais, in the choir on the pulpit two lecterns (*harrā'a*) are placed. The front of the nave is reserved for men and the rear, formerly separated by a wooden screen, for women. The nave may be preceded by a narthex on the western façade or bordered with a gallery on the north or south side.

In all rites, the church building is consecrated (*tadshin*), and the dedication of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem is celebrated on September 13. Oriental church symbolism is particularly rich, each part of the building having its own spiritual significance (cf. J. Perier, *La perle précieuse*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xvi, 68-70, 159-66).

After the Muslim conquest, the Christians were prohibited from building any new churches; all they could do was repair and restore existing buildings, which in theory they were permitted to keep. In fact, however, over the centuries numerous churches were confiscated and converted into mosques, or even destroyed (cf. A. Fattal, *Le statut legal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut 1958, 174-203).

*Bibliography*: S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 275; *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1970, i, 385 (very many refs.); J. M. Fiey, *Mossoul chrétienne*, Beirut 1959 (for Chaldean and Syriac rites); A. Couturier, *Cours de liturgie*

*grecque-melkite*, Jerusalem 1912 (for the Byzantine rite); O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, Cairo 1967 (for the Coptic rite).

(G. TROUPEAU)

**KANIZSA** (Turkish Kanizhe), a notable Hungarian fortress dominating the region between Lake Balaton and the River Mur. Kanizsa stood amidst marshes: "caenos palustrique loco sita est, fluviolo stagnante, et nullis coercito ripis, sed magis late diffuso ac carectis, multaue alno et arundine impedito, endique cincta" (Isthvanfius, 774). The Ottomans conquered the fortress in 1009/1600 after a wearisome siege, demanding the construction of approach roads across the marshes which were built of reeds and had to be renewed each day. Once taken, Kanizsa (with Szigetvár, Eszék, Siklos and Pécs) was entrusted to the care of Tiryāki Hasan Pasha. Alarmed at the loss of this important fortress, the Christians attempted to regain it in 1010/1601, but their attempts were foiled by the vigorous defence against them conducted by Tiryāki Hasan — a defence which became famous among the Ottomans and the details of which are recorded in the well-known *Ghazawāt-i Tiryāki Hasan Pasha* (cf. A. S. Levend, 99 ff.). Kanizsa remained under Ottoman rule until the war of the Sacra Liga (1648-99), yielding to the Christian forces in 1101/1690 and then passing definitively into the control of Austria.

*Bibliography*: Pečewi, *Ta'riḥh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 230 ff.; Şolāḳzāde, *Ta'riḥh*, Istanbul 1298, 656 ff.; Na'īmā, *Ta'riḥh*, Istanbul 1281-3, i, 226 ff.; 245 ff.; Hādīdji *Ḳhalifa*, *Fedhīleke*, Istanbul 1286-7, i, 137 ff.; 148 ff.; Silāhdār, *Ta'riḥh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 505 ff.; Hieronymus Ortellius, *Chronologia oder Historische Beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen und Belagerungen . . . in Ober un Under Ungern auch Siebenbürgen mit dem Türcken von A° 1395 biss auf gegenwertige Zeit denkwürtig geschehen*, Nuremberg 1620-22, 478 ff., 502, 517 ff.; Nicolai Isthvanfi Pannoni, *Historiarum De Rebus Ungaricis Libri XXXIV*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1622, 764 ff.; 773 ff.; A. Stauffer, *Die Belagerung von Kanizsa durch die Christlichen Truppen im Jahre 1601*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, VII (Innsbruck 1886), 265 ff.; K. Horvat, *Vojne Ekspedicije Klementa VIII u Ugarsku i Hrvatsku*, Zagreb 1910, 186 ff.; V. Errante, "Forse che si, forse che no". *La Terza Spedizione del Duca Vincenzo Gonzaga in Ungheria alla Guerra contro il Turco (1601) studiata su documenti inediti*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, Series 5, XLII, Part I, Milan 1915, 15 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, vii, 359 ff., viii, 9 ff.; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii (Gotha 1855), 609 ff.; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii (Gotha 1910), 334 ff.; F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 156; Agāh Sirri Levend, *Gazawāt-Nāmeler* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, XI. Seri, n°. 8), Ankara 1956, 99 ff.; L. A. Maggiorotti, *L'Opera del genio Italiano al Estero* (Serie iv, *Gli architetti militari*, 3 vols., Rome 1932-9), ii, 235-44; B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1963, 166-8. (V. J. PARRY)

**KANKARIDES** [see KURDS].

**KANKIWAR** [see KINKIWAR].

**KANNANÜR**, CANNANORE, a port on the Malabar coast of southwestern peninsular India in lat. 11° 52' N. and long. 75° 22' E.

Ibn Battūta sailed down this coast in 743/1342, and though he does not mention Kannanūr by name,

it seems that his mention of the powerful ruler of *Djurfattan*, whose ships traded with the Persian Gulf, 'Umān and South Arabia, refers to the local ruler there (*Rihla*, iv, 82-3). Aḥmad b. Māǧǧid (wrote ca. 895/1489-90) certainly speaks specifically of the "Bay of Kannanūr" in his account of the Malabar coastline (G. R. Tibbett, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 201, 457). In the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries the dominant power in Malabar was the line of Hindu rulers in Kalikat [q.v. in Suppl.] (Calicut), the Zamorins, whose authority extended from Kananūr in the north to Cochin in the south, and to whom the local Kolatirri Rāǧǧās in Kannanūr were tributary.

Islam must have come to Kannanūr with the arrival at an early date of Arab traders, one local tradition putting the origins of the family of Āli Rāǧǧās (Malayalam, "Lord of the Sea") at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. This family derived its name from its being admirals for the Kōlatirris, and these Āli Rāǧǧās were also heads of the local community of Malabar coast Muslims, the Māppillas [q.v.] or Moplahs, who were perhaps originally built round a nucleus of Arab merchants, but with increasing numbers of indigenous Malayali adherents; Kannanūr remains today an important Māpilla centre. From ca. 1500 onwards, the Kōlatirri Rāǧǧās of Kannanūr also exercised suzerainty over the Laccadive Islands [q.v.], and in the mid-10th/16th century they granted these to the Āli Rāǧǧās as a *djāgīr* [q.v.] or assignment in return for annual tribute; Kannanūr Māpilla merchants monopolised the lucrative coir trade of the Islands until the revolt in 1786 of the islanders against their harsh exploitation. The connection of the rulers of Kannanūr with the Maldive Islands [q.v.] comes also from an early date, with the king of the Islands being tributary to the Rāǧǧās by ca. 1500.

The arrival of the Portuguese in South India was at first welcomed by the Kōlatirri Rāǧǧās, who hoped to throw off the control of Kalikat. Vasco da Gama was at Kannanūr in 1498, and Cabral in 1500, and on his second voyage to India in 1502, da Gama made an agreement with the Rāǧǧā and established there a stockade and a garrison of 200 men. The first Portuguese viceroy, Francisco d'Almeida, established four forts on the Malabar coast, at Anjediva Island, Kannanūr, Cochin and Quilon, the Kannanūr stockade being erected into a proper defensive position, Fort St. Angelo, in 1505, probably on the site of an existing stronghold. In 1506 and 1507 the Portuguese garrison there fought off naval attacks by the Zamorins of Kalikat; Almeida made it the headquarters for his fleet, and it was from Kannanūr that the destruction of the combined fleets of the Egyptian Mamlūks and of the Zamorins at Diw (Diu) in *Shawwāl* 914/February 1509 was organised.

The Dutch captured Kannanūr and Cochin in 1663 and took over the Portuguese position on the Malabar coast. But by the end of the 17th century the trade of the Dutch East India Company in Malabar declined as that of the English East India Company grew, and the Kannanūr fort was reduced to one tower. Hence in 1771 the Dutch sold Fort St. Angelo and other forts to the Āli Rāǧǧās. In these decades, the latter showed themselves as generally unfriendly to the British East India Company, intriguing with the Dutch and French and consistently supporting the expansionist policies of Ḥaydar 'Alī [q.v.] (Hyder Ali) of Mysore. The Bibī of Kannanūr (sc. the female representative of the Āli Rāǧǧā line)

further supported Ḥaydar 'Alī's son Tipū Sulṭān; hence in December 1783 Kannanūr was occupied by a British force under Col. MacLeod, and again captured in December 1790 by General Ralph Abercromby, when the Bibī submitted and 5,000 of Tipū Sulṭān's troops surrendered. An agreement made in 1796 with the Bibī left her Kannanūr and the Laccadive Islands in return for an annual assessment of Rs. 15,000, an arrangement which continued in force down to the 20th century.

Kannanūr eventually became part of the Madras Presidency, with Kannanūr as the *chef-lieu* of the *tāluḳ* of Chirakkal, the northernmost *tāluḳ* of the District of Malabar. Its importance and size grew in the 19th century, especially as it was also till 1887 the military headquarters of British forces on the west coast of South India, and a cantonment was laid out, with Fort St. Angelo separating it from the Māppilla Old Town. In 1861 the Laccadive Islands were sequestered from the Bibī on account of misgovernment, and again in 1875, this time permanently. In modern India, Kannanūr is now in the northernmost part of Kerala state, and since the administrative re-organisation of 1958-9 has formed one of the eight constituent districts of that state; according to the *Census of India* 1961, Vol. vii *Kerala*, Pt. ii/A, 40, 118, Pt. ii/c, 152-3, the population of Kannanūr district was then 1,780,294 (including 1,237,254 Hindus, 418,832 Muslims, 123,575 Christians, and 551 Jains), and that of Kannanūr town (municipality plus cantonment) 48,960.

*Bibliography*: W. Logan, *Malabar*, Madras 1887-91, i, 295 ff.; F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India, being a history of the rise and decline of their Eastern Empire*, London 1894; C. A. Innes, *Madras District gazeteer. Malabar and Anjengo*, Madras 1908, 46-89, 493; *Imperial gazeteer of India*, ix, 298-9; *Camb. hist. of India*, v, index; *A handbook to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*, Murray's Guides, London 1968, 442-3.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KANNĀS** (A.), lit. sweeper, is a term synonymous with *kassāk*; other words used in the Arab Orient for the same occupation are *sammād* and *zabbāl*, which denote "dung collectors" or scavengers who collected garbage, such as animal dung, to be used as fertiliser. The *kannāsūn*, the sanitary workers, swept public squares (*riḥāb*) and other places such as prisons (*sudjūn*), dungeons (*maṭābik*) and latrines (*kunūf*), and transported garbage in boats or by other means to places outside the cities. The earliest known report in Islamic literature of scavenging is a tradition collected by Abū 'Ubayd b. Sallām [q.v.], who noted that the indigenous Arameans (known to the Arabs as *Anbāṭ*, sing. *Nabaṭ*) cleaned a dung-hill at Bayt al-Maǧḍis during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb. The *Anbāṭ* of Syria and 'Irāk are reported as having been used occasionally as forced labour by the Umayyad government.

There is evidence to suggest that the *kannāsūn* and the *kassākūn* were organized into guilds throughout the 'Abbāsīd period. *Djāḥiẓ* [q.v.] speaks of a certain 'arif al-kannāsīn who was the chief of the sweepers living in the Karkh quarter of Baghḍād in the 3rd/9th century. Al-Rāǧhib al-Iṣfahānī, writing in the 5th/11th and early 6th/12th century, also gives evidence that sweepers' guilds were found in Arab society during the later part of the 'Abbāsīd period. The bulk of literary evidence relating to workers of the 'Abbāsīd epoch gives the impression that the so-called "low crafts" such as those of the

dustmen, cuppers, weavers, leather workers, brokers and fishmongers, were stigmatized. Some of these groups of workers kept apart from each other and shared only a mutual dislike. In one anecdote, presumably not to be taken literally, a *kannās* was described as preferring to drink from a filthy pot used for conveying human excrement than drinking from the clean cup of a cupper. A proverbial saying of the Umayyad period says that there is nothing to choose between a cupper and a sweeper because they are equally worthless. Similar attitudes prevail today among different groups of low-caste workers in India.

It is interesting to note a contrasting view on the status of scavengers presented by the authors of the epistles (*rasā'il*) of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* [q.v.], who pleaded that the dustmen's rôle in urban society was of greater public utility than that of the perfumers ('*aḥḥārūn*). So the scavengers deserve honour (*sharaf*), the *Ikhwān* writers argued, although there is no evidence that such logic had any influence on public opinion. The general contemptuous attitude towards the *kannāsūn* was not confined to the society of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd periods; it is equally noticeable in Arab society under the Mamlūks. Some Muslim jurists, while discussing the law of *kafā'a* [q.v.], state that *kannāsūn* are not acceptable as marriage partners by other groups in society. Scavenging therefore tended to be a hereditary occupation and the *kannāsūn* lived as a closed, endogamous group.

*Bibliography*: Abū 'Ubayd b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, Cairo 1969, 226; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, Cairo 1931, i, 77; Ibn Kutayba, *K. al-Ma'ārif*, Göttingen 1850, 224; *Djāhiz*, *Rasā'il*, ed. Härūn, 1964, i, 389; idem, *Kitāb al-hayawān*, Cairo 1938, 111, 13; al-Tha'libī, *al-Tamhīl wa'l-Muhādara*, Cairo 1961, 201; idem, *Thimār al-kulūb*, Cairo 1908, 292; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *K. 'Iqd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1949, vi, 449-450; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muhādara al-udabā'*, Beirut 1961, ii, 460-464; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fi ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdād 1968, 167; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Cairo 1928, i, 220; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Beirut 1955, ii, 571, xi, 300; al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāgha*, Cairo 1882, 312; Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Leipzig 1866, i, 684; 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Lubūdī, *Kitāb Faḍl al-Ikhtisāb*, Chester Beatty Ms., 1791, f. 57-8; Ibn 'Abidin, *Radd al-muhtār 'alā durr al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1877, ii, 527; M. Hamīdullah, *Madimū'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya*, Beirut 1969, 481; A. A. Dūrī, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq al-ikhtisādi fi 'l-ḥarn al-rābi' al-hidiri*, Baghdād 1948, 88; B. Lewis, *An epistle on manual craft*, in *IC*, xvii (1943), 142-151; M. A. J. Begg, *The social history of the labouring classes in 'Irāq under the 'Abbāsīds*, Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge 1971, unpublished, 267-8 ff.; R. Brunschvig, *Métiers vils en Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, xvi, 41-60. See also 'ARIF.

(M. A. J. BEG)

**KANO**, a city in northern Nigeria situated in lat. 12° N., long. 8° 30' E. Its population was estimated to be 295,432 persons at the 1963 census. Kano State has an area of 16,630 square miles and an estimated population of 5,774,842.

**History and Politics**: Kano is reputed to have originated before the 4th/10th century as a pagan settlement at the foot of Dalla hill, a large rocky outcrop which dominates the present city. The traditional accounts of this early period suggest that the inhabitants adhered to an animist, spirit-possession cult similar to the *bori* cult which has

survived in northern Nigeria to the present day, and that the cult head combined his priestly functions with those of a temporal ruler.

In the 4th/10th century the city was visited by "strangers" under their leader, Bagauda, who are described as having come from the north under pressure of famine in their own country. They settled in Kano with the consent of the indigenous inhabitants and then, by superior skills and cunning, established mastery over them. Whether these immigrants were Muslims is uncertain, although according to the traditional account Bagauda also bore the name Dāwūd. But they clearly did not belong to the indigenous cult and the Kano Chronicle (see *Bibl.* below) records that some generations passed before they became integrated into it. Their contribution to the development of Kano seems to have been that they set up a city state, with fairly clearly defined territorial boundaries and an administrative centre within the walled city, where previously there had existed only a stateless, hunting and primitive agricultural society living in scattered open hamlets and clearings in the bush.

After Bagauda, the first Islamic name to occur in the king-list is that of Osumanu Zamnagawa, who reigned from 743/1343 to 750/1349 by the Kano Chronicle dating. According to the same source, his reign was followed by the arrival in Kano of the Wangarawa, that is Islamic missionaries from Mali, during the reign of Yaji (750-87/1349-85), but a recent account based on the discovery of a 17th-century chronicle of the Wangarawa (Muḥammad al-Hāǧǧī, *A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa*), in *Kano Studies*, i/4 (1968) suggests that this event took place in the 9th/15th century and not in the 8th/14th century. Other evidence also tends to support the view that the 9th/15th rather than the 8th/14th century was the point at which an Islamic presence became firmly established in Kano, even though some indeterminate Islamic influences may well have been abroad at an earlier date. For instance, it is between 793/1390 and 813/1410 that the quilted horse armour (Arabic *al-libd*, Hausa *lifidi*) together with mail shirts were introduced, a fact which suggests contacts with Islamic North Africa. Also, between 824/1421 and 841/1438 a "prince" and his followers arrived in the city from Bornū, a kingdom where Islam had already been established since, reputedly, the 5th/11th century. This was followed by the opening of trade relations with Bornu. By 856/1452 camels are said to have appeared in the city and slave-raiding in the country south of Kano had become a profitable occupation of the aristocracy. All of this suggests that Kano had, by the middle of the 9th/15th century, become involved in the trans-Saharan caravan trade and this, of course, offers a reliable indication for the chronology of Islamization.

The next major landmark in this chronology is the arrival in Kano of the well-known Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Maghīlī al-Tilimsānī (d. 909/1504), a Muslim 'ālim and missionary from North Africa. This personality became the focus of the Islamic tradition in Kano, and indeed in Hausaland as a whole. He is credited with introducing the *Shari'a* and *Ṣūfism* and indeed all things Islamic are said to go back to al-Maghīlī. No doubt he was personally important; but the true significance of his presence in the city is that it signals the time when, as a result of increasing involvement in the Saharan trade complex

and political contacts with Bornū, Kano became opened up to the surrounding Islamic areas of North Africa and Egypt.

A further step on the way toward fuller islamization took place during Muhamman Rumfa's reign (867-904/1463-99). He is said to have introduced Islamic segregation of the sexes, the public observation of Islamic festivals and he also appointed eunuchs to office, thus possibly copying a practice common in courts elsewhere in the Islamic world during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods.

Kano's relations with the other Sudanese and Saharan states during the period before the Fulani *djihād* are both involved and sometimes obscure. They are treated in Johnston (*op. cit.*, *Bibl.*) and Hogben and Kirk-Greene (*op. cit.*, *Bibl.*) and need only be reviewed in outline in an article essentially concerned with Islamic aspects. In the 9th/15th century Kano was probably subject to Bornū, to the extent of paying tribute. In the early 10th/16th century it was defeated by Songhai, but the native dynasty remained in power, paying tribute to Songhai but apparently otherwise undisturbed. Songhai control seems soon to have lapsed and later in the century Kano came under the domination of the Kebbi kingdom after a period of debilitating wars against its neighbour Katsine. Throughout the 11th/17th century both the city and the state of Kano were the targets for constant attacks by the warlike Kwararafa from the Benue area. During the first half of the 12th/18th century Bornū again became overlord of Kano, but its place was later taken by the Gobir kingdom, whose king, Babari (1155-84/1742-70), established mastery and levied tribute. These military defeats, however, seem to have had little detrimental effect on the wealth and prosperity of the city, while the rulers appear to have retained all their authority within their kingdom and to have increased in pomp and circumstance. For instance, Babba Zaki (1182-90/1768-76) introduced a uniformed bodyguard of musketeers into his court and is described as having deliberately imitated the ways of the Arabs—in the first instance presumably the life-style of the Arab merchants resident in Kano, but through them the ceremonial and protocol of North African and Egyptian courts. He ruled as an able but ruthless despot. There is evidence of some factional divisions in his court, however, while the account of the reign of one of his near predecessors, Kumbari (1143-56/1731-43), tells of popular resentment against excessive taxation. These scraps of evidence may point to a state of affairs that brought about the events of the reign of Muhamman Alwali (1195-1222/1781-1807), namely the successful Fulani *djihād* in Kano, the expulsion of Alwali and the installation of the first Fulani amir of Kano, Sulaymanu (1222-35/1807-19), who founded the Fulani dynasty which has ruled the emirate since that time. Sulaymanu was followed in 1235/1819 by Ibrahimu Dabo, a renowned warrior who earned the Hausa epithet *Ci gari*, "conquer city". During the following half-century frequent attacks on the city by the ousted Habe dynasty were defeated, while intermittent war was carried on against the Ningi pagans, a powerful group who still held an enclave on the southern border of the amirate which had not been pacified during the *djihād*.

During the reign of the amir Usuman (1262-72/1846-55) the German explorer, Heinrich Barth, visited the city. He describes it as a thriving centre of trade, with a market plentifully stocked with goods of European and North African origin. He

also provided a sketch map of the city as it was at that time and estimated its population at 30,000 (*op. cit.*, *Bibl.*).

In 1311/1893 a civil war broke out in Kano, occasioned by a succession dispute between two contenders for the throne, Yusufu and Tukur. Tukur, the nominee of the caliph in Sokoto, proved unacceptable to Kano, but at the root of the trouble lay Kano's resentment at Sokoto's interference. The civil war subsided on the death of the two principal protagonists but served to establish the limitations on caliphal authority. The tension between Sokoto and its powerful feudatory Kano has continued to be a factor in their relations ever since.

Kano figured prominently in the events leading to the British occupation of Hausaland early in the present century. It was visited at the end of the 19th century by the British missionary Canon C. H. Robinson and again early in the 20th century by a party of which Dr. Walter Miller was a member. Both gave somewhat unfavourable accounts of Islam and of the Kano administration, which probably contributed to the climate of opinion in the United Kingdom which made the occupation possible. On the eve of that occupation the amir of Kano, Aliyu (1312-21/1894-1903), gave asylum to the Magajin Keffi, the murderer of Sir Frederick Lugard's emissary, Captain Moloney. This provided Lugard with part of his justification for military intervention and in *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* 1320/February 1903 the city fell to a British force after a brief and ineffective resistance.

During the colonial period, Kano developed both as a centre of the newly introduced Western system of education and as the emporium of the new groundnut trade upon which the economy of northern Nigeria came largely to depend. It was the locale of the School for Arabic Studies, an institution set up by the colonial government to train teachers of Arabic and the Islamic sciences in modern pedagogic methods. Abdullahi Bayero College, a college of Ahmadu Bello University, was also founded in Kano.

The city has always been, and still is, an important centre for Ṣūfī activities. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḳarīm al-Maghīlī is traditionally supposed to have introduced Ṣūfism to Hausaland, and Kano and Katsina were the two centres he visited. It may be assumed that the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] was the first of the *ṭarīqas* to be established and it is still probably the *ṭarīqa* of the majority even at the present day. But the Tiḍjāniyya [*q.v.*] are also strong, reflecting, perhaps, the rivalry with Sokoto referred to above. The Sokoto ruling family is identified with the Ḳādiriyya and indeed bases its claim to political authority largely on the *silsila* of Shehu Usuman ḍan Fodio ('Uṭmān b. Fūḍī) linking him to 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī. This is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that the former *amir* of Kano, Muhammadu Sanusi, became at one time the official head of the Tiḍjāniyya in northern Nigeria.

During the closing era of the colonial period, which saw the rise of European-style political parties in northern Nigeria, the two *ṭarīqas* were deeply involved in the political struggle for power which the prospect of independence provoked. The Ḳādiriyya in Kano was, on the whole, identified with support for NPC, the party of the establishment led by the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, a scion of the Sokoto ruling house, while the Tiḍjāniyya tended to favour the northern Nigerian opposition party, NEPU, led by Malam Mainu Kano. While



the Kano ruling dynasty was bound by its essential interests to support NPC, the rivalry with Sokoto was by no means healed and in 1963 the reigning amir of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi, "resigned" under pressure from the central government headed at that time by the premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria, the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello. This event, symptomatic of the clash of interest between the traditional "given" authority of Sokoto arising out of the Fulani *djihād* in the early 19th century, and the rising economic and political power of Kano in a changing world, gave rise to agitation for an autonomous Kano state. This has, in some measure, been conceded by the present military administration. These tensions, which were real and which at times manifest themselves in a violent fashion, should however be seen in a proper perspective. They were inevitable in a society that has a long and sophisticated political tradition. But at a social and cultural level the people of Kano, and indeed their rulers, shared, and still share, with those of the rest of northern Nigeria, including Sokoto, a strong sentiment of their common Islamic identity and a corresponding sense of solidarity.

Learning and literature: The tradition of Islamic literacy in Kano goes back to the late 9th/15th century *‘ālim* and Islamic missionary, al-Maghīlī, who composed a set of *fatāwī* for the benefit of Muhammad Rumfa, ruler of Kano from 867/1463 to 904/1499. Later scholars such as, for instance, Ahmad b. ‘Umar b. Muhammad Aḳit and a certain ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Alī b. Ahmad al-Ḳaṣrī are said to have visited Kano shortly after al-Maghīlī, although the exact chronology of their visits is uncertain. No record of any composition from their pens survives but they may reasonably be supposed to have nourished the tradition of Islamic learning established in the city by this time. Later, ca. 937/1530, Makhlūf b. ‘Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bilbālī resided in the city and it is likely that, through his acquaintance with the *faqīh* al-‘Āḳib b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣamunī al-Massūfī, he was a link with the Egyptian polyhistor, Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [see AL-SUYŪṬĪ], the influence of whose writings is known to have been seminal in the development of an indigenous Islamic literature in Hausaland, both in classical Arabic and in the two main vernacular languages, Hausa and Fulfulde (see E. M. Sartain, *Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takkūr*, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 193-8).

As far as is known, the earliest extant work of a Kano *‘ālim* is al-‘Aṭiyya li ‘l-mu‘fi of ‘Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām, known in Hausa as Abdullahi Sikka. This work is a long *manzūma* of forty *abwāb*, in the *basīf* metre, on the *‘ibādāt* and matters relating to Islamic eschatology. Its importance lies in the fact that it demonstrates the thoroughness with which the basic religious sciences were established in Kano early in the 11th/17th century, when the author flourished. Moreover, certain of the *abwāb* such as *Bāb al-djūlūs min al-dunyā*, *Bāb ‘alāmāt ḳurb al-sā’a*, and the like, suggest the presence of Ṣūfī influences and the currency of Mahdist expectations even at this early date.

Kano was not subsequently remarkable for creative literary activity but seems to have relied on imported literary materials from peripheral Islamic areas and, later, on the writings of the prolific literary families of Sokoto. The first Kano scholar to have contributed to the vernacular Islamic literature which developed in Hausaland from ca. 1164/1750 onwards was Usuman, an *imām* of Miga,

in Kano amirate. Born in Sokoto, he came to live in Kano during the reign of Sulaymanu, composing there his long Hausa *manzūma*, *Mu san samuwar Jalla*, "Know the Existence of the Glorious God". This is a typical versification on *tawḥīd*, manifestly based on such classical Arabic sources as the well-known *Umm al-barāḥīn* of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī and the *Djawharat al-tawḥīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laḳḳānī.

Another, rather later contributor to the vernacular Islamic literature in Kano was Asim Degel, who flourished ca. 1262/1846. Also a native of Sokoto, he moved to Kano when he was a young man and composed a Hausa *naẓm* on astrology, drawn from the Arabic works of such locally popular North African authors as the 8th/14th-century Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ, known as Abū Mukrī and the 11th/17th-century ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl al-Raḍīrāḍī. Of greater literary interest is his *Wakar Muahammadu*, the "Song of Muḥammad", a long Hausa versification in the Arabic *ṭawīl* metre, giving great prominence to the *mi‘rādī* and displaying late accretional influences which seem to reflect his familiarity with the writings of Ibn ‘Arabī and such later popular writers on this sense as al-Ghayṭī and al-Dardīr.

Another well-known literary personality who was a native of Kano and received part of his schooling there before settling in Salaga, northern Ghana, was Alhaji Umaru Salaga (b. ca. 1271/1854; d. 1353/1934). One of his well-known Hausa works is *Wakar Nasara*, the "Song of the Christians", in which he gives an account of the British occupation of Hausaland as seen through Hausa eyes. Some also attribute to him the otherwise anonymous works *Wakar Bagauda* (see *Bibl.*), and *Bahandamiya*, also a Hausa versification on the occupation, but these attributions are uncertain. He composed a number of works in Arabic as well as in Hausa.

Among mid-20th-century authors in the Islamic tradition the best-known is probably Alhaji Muhammadu ḡan Amu, a writer of *madīḥ* in Hausa, whose long Hausa *manzūma* with the Arabic title *Manzūma fi bayān al-dīn* is widely read in Northern Nigeria. Much of this Islamic writing consists of panegyric to ‘Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī and Ahmad al-Tidjānī. Typical of this genre is the composition of Malam Abubakar Atiku, a well-known member of the Tidjāniyya in Kano, which bears the Arabic title, *‘Aybat al-fuḳarā’*, and is a macaronic poem in Arabic and Hausa praising al-Tidjānī.

An important part in the Islamic life of Kano City is played by the *makarantan ilmi*, the schools of higher Islamic learning. There are at least twelve substantial establishments of this type in Kano city, although in fact the total number is much greater than this, for any Muslim literate may set up such a school. In these institutions higher Islamic learning—*fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and such classical literary masterpieces as the *Mu‘allakāt*, the *Mahāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and the works of Ibn ‘Arabī—is taught. Kano is now well known for the excellence of its higher Islamic schools and is a centre to which students come from all over the western and central Sudan. The *makarantan ilmi*, which exist independently of the secular, state education system, foster a continuing and still vigorous tradition of Islamic scholarship in the city and it seems probable that Kano has now overtaken Katsina and Sokoto—both earlier centres of learning—as the focus of traditional Islamic education in northern Nigeria.

*Bibliography:* Two main sources for the

history of Kano are available in English translation: First, "The Kano Chronicle", in H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, iii, Lagos, 1928; an Arabic text of the chronicle is also preserved in Ibadan University Library, a prose work originally in Arabic, written down at an undetermined date but probably ca. 1298/1880 (see M. Hiskett, *The Kano Chronicle*, in *JRAS* (1957)), and quite clearly the record of a very old oral tradition; second, *Wakar Bagauda*, the "Song of Bagauda", a Hausa verse chronicle which is also a 19th-century record of an ancient oral tradition, broadly repeating the account given by the Kano Chronicle but diverging from it considerably in its early chronology, for the Hausa text, English translation and critical commentary see Hiskett, in *BSOAS*, xxvii/3 (1964); xxviii/1 (1965) and xxviii/2 (1965). An important source in Hausa is Alhaji Abubakar Dokaji Kano, *Kano ta Dabo Cigari*, Zaria 1959, the history of the city according to local tradition. In addition to these primary sources an Arabic *Ta'rikh Kano* is listed by Adeleye (*op. cit.*, below) under Ibadan, 82/212; an unpublished Arabic account of the Kano civil war by Muhammad Bukhārī, vizier of Sokoto (d. 1328/1910) is preserved in the Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna (Kadcaptory 2, 30). An unpublished Hausa versification in praise of Kano and its notable personalities by Aliyu ḡan Sidi, *amir* of Zaria from 1321/1903 to 1339/1920 circulates in Ms. in northern Nigeria; Alhaji Muhammadu ḡan Amu (see above) has also written an unpublished verse history of the city and its surrounding villages, a copy of which is held in the author of this article's personal microfilm collection.

Among the accounts of the 19th-century European travellers that of Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, London 1826, is the earliest and those of Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, London 1857, and P. L. Monteil, *De St. Louis à Tripoli par le lac Chad*, Paris 1894, are especially useful. For the views of Christian missionaries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries see especially C. H. Robinson, *Hausaland or Fifteen Hundred Miles through the Central Sudan*, London 1896, and W. R. S. Miller, *Reflections of a Pioneer*, London 1936. Early official accounts of the British administration include W. F. Growers, *Gazetteer of Kano Province*, London 1921; *Annual Reports on Northern Nigeria 1900-11*, London 1911 and many other official documents preserved in Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna, and the Public Records Office, London. A serving soldier's eyewitness account of the battle prior to the occupation of Kano City will be found in F. P. Crozier, *Five Years Hard*, London 1932.

The most comprehensive secondary account by a modern scholar of the general history of Kano is S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London 1966; much useful detail also in H. A. S. Johnston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, London 1967, and Mary Smith, *Baba of Karo*, London 1964. The Kano civil war is described in some detail by R. A. Adeleye, *Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906*, London 1971; another account of the British capture of the city which deals more fully with military aspects is D. J. M. Muffett, *Concerning Brave Captains*, London 1964.

Information concerning Kano in recent times

will be found in *Kano Survey*, Zaria 1950, and in the publications of the Ministry of Information, Kano State.

(M. HISKETT)

**KĀNPUR**, CAWNPORE, a city situated on the banks of the Ganges river in Uttar Pradesh province in the Indian Republic at lat. 26° 28' N. and long. 80° 20' E., and also the name of an administrative district of that province.

Until the later 18th century, Kānpur was little more than a village known as Kanbaiyāpur or Kanhpur, and since it was situated on the western frontiers of Awadh or Oudh [*q.v.*], the district of Kānpur was disputed in the middle decades of the 18th century by the Nawwābs of Awadh, the Mughal emperors in Dihli and the expanding power of the Marāthās. After the British victories of Baksar and *Djāḡimaw* (1764-6), the Treaty of Fayḡābād made in 1775 with the Nawwāb allowed the British to garrison two places in his territories. From 1778 onwards, Kānpur became one of these two garrisons, and after 1801, the Kānpur district and others were permanently ceded by the Nawwāb to the East India Company.

The most notorious event in Kānpur's comparatively uneventful history took place during the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8. The small British garrison was besieged by Dhondu Pant or Nāna Ṣāḡib, the Marāthā holder of the *djāḡir* or assignment of Bithūr, and surrendered on promise of a safe conduct to Allāhābād; in the event, however, the men were immediately massacred (27 June 1857) and the women and children later slaughtered and their bodies thrown into a well. Kānpur was occupied by General Henry Havelock on 17 July and only lost again for ten days in November when mutineers from Gwalior took it temporarily (cf. Sir George Trevelyan, *Cawnpore*<sup>4</sup>, London 1894; P. C. Gupta, *Nana Sahib and the rising at Cawnpore*, Oxford 1963). Lesser incidents worthy of note include the Plague Riots of 1900, when six policemen were killed by a mob which attacked huts in which plague victims were isolated, and the 1913 Mosque Riot, when there was a disturbance arising out of road-widening plans involving the demolition of a latrine attached to a mosque and 18 Muslims were killed (see M. Yanuck, *The Kanpur mosque affair of 1913*, in *MW*, lxiv (1974), 307-21).

Kānpur has since grown into the most populous city in Uttar Pradesh and one of the largest in India (population of the city according to the 1961 census, 973,907, of which the vast majority were Hindus, and of the district, 2,381,353 (including 2,059,930 Hindus, 286,147 Muslims, 24,397 Sikhs, etc.); 1971 census preliminary estimate, city 1,151,955, district 2,992,535). Situated as it is on the Grand Trunk Road connecting Dihli with Calcutta, and at a nodal point of the north Indian railway system, Kanpur has been well-favoured to become the modern industrial centre of the present day, with extensive textile, leather, food processing and general engineering plants (cf. D. N. Majumdar et alii, *Social contours of an industrial city: social survey of Kanpur*, 1954-6, New York 1960). Kānpur now has a university which includes the Indian Institute of Technology. The surrounding Kānpur district forms an extremely fertile part of the Ganges-Djāmnā Dōāb, and has flourishing agriculture and forestry.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the references given in the article, see *Imperial gazeteer of India*, ix, 306-20, and *District gazeteer of the United Provinces*, Allāhābād 1903-11. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KANŞ** [see ŞAYD].

**KANŞAWH AL-GHAWRĪ** (usually but incorrectly vocalized *Kānşūh al-Ghūrī*), the penultimate Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, was of Circassian origin and a *mamlūk* of Sultan *Kāʿitbāy*. He was trained in the military school (*ṭabaḳa*) named *al-Ghawr*, whence his *nīsba*. He became governor (*kāshif*) of Upper Egypt (886/1481-2), was appointed an *amir* of Ten (889/1484), and took part in operations against the Ottomans on the Syrian-Cilician frontier, during which time he was governor (*nāʿib*) of *Ṭarsūs*. In *Rabīʿ II* 894/March-April 1489 he was appointed grand chamberlain (*ḥādīb al-ḥudūdīyāb*) of Aleppo, where he suppressed a dangerous rising of the townspeople in 896/1491. Subsequently he became governor of Malatya, commander of the guard (*raʿs nawbat al-nuwab*) and finally (906/1501) secretary of state (*dawādār kabīr*) to al-ʿAdil *Ṭūmān Bāy*, who had proclaimed himself sultan in Damascus. A military revolt against al-ʿAdil broke out in Cairo at the end of Ramaḍān 906/18-19 April 1501. A junta of high *amirs* compelled al-Ghawrī to become sultan (1 Shawwāl 906/20 April 1501). His installation was probably intended as a temporary expedient: he was already about sixty years old, and he had not played an outstanding part in court politics.

Al-Ghawrī's situation at the outset was precarious. Two of his predecessors were still living. A more serious threat came from the veteran royal *mamlūks* (*ḥarāniṣa*), since their privileged status was weakened on the accession of a new sultan who would recruit his own *mamlūks*. In the first month of his reign, al-Ghawrī sought to anticipate trouble by ordering the *mamlūks* of al-ʿAdil to go to Upper Egypt. Nevertheless, in *Dhu ʿl-Hijjā* 906/June-July 1501 he was faced by a disturbance from *mamlūks* demanding the bounty traditionally paid on a sultan's accession. A further danger was represented by the two powerful *amirs* who had acted as king-makers at his accession. One of them, *Miṣr Bāy*, was arrested on 12 Muḥarram 907/28 July 1501, and although he escaped to organize a conspiracy against the sultan, this failed and he was killed (12 Ramaḍān 907/21 March 1502). The other, *Ḳayt al-Raḍiābī*, acted as al-Ghawrī's principal minister, but on 16 Raḍiāb 910/24 December 1501 he too was arrested on the grounds that he was plotting to have himself proclaimed sultan in Syria in alliance with the rebel governor of Aleppo, *Sībāy*. Thereafter al-Ghawrī relied chiefly on two ministers, neither of whom was likely to endanger him. *Zayn al-Dīn* (al-Zaynī) *Barakāt b. Mūsā*, the son of an Arab, was appointed *muḥtasib* of Cairo (*Shāʿbān* 910/January-February 1505) and became the leading financial official, retaining his position even after the Ottoman conquest. On 4 *Djumādā II* 913/11 October 1507, al-Ghawrī appointed his brother's son, *Ṭūmān Bāy*, as secretary of state. The loyalty of the Mamlūk élite was always doubtful, and on several occasions al-Ghawrī demanded from the *amirs* an oath on the *Kurʿān* of *ʿUṭhmān*. His own *mamlūk* recruits (*ḍiṭbān*) were untrustworthy, and revolted even in *Shawwāl* 921/December 1515, when war against the Ottomans was imminent.

Al-Ghawrī was confronted by formidable fiscal problems, resulting from prolonged economic decline and administrative ossification, and aggravated by natural calamities (such as the severe epidemics of plague in 910/1505 and 919/1513) and the maritime power of Europeans in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Payments to the soldiery fell into arrears, or were met by extraordinary levies.

Extortion, practised upon disgraced officials or after the death of rich persons, was another expedient to fill the treasury. The strain on the finances of the Mamlūk state was increased by al-Ghawrī's efforts to improve his forces and armament in the face of the growing external threat from the Portuguese, *Shāh Ismāʿīl* and Sultan *Selm I*. Al-Ghawrī organized (from 916/1511) a unit armed with handguns. Since such weapons were dispised by the genuine *mamlūks*, this Fifth Corps (*al-ṭabaḳa al-ḥāmisa*) was recruited from heterogeneous elements: Turkomans, Persians, *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*] and local artisans. The Fifth Corps was a cause of tension between al-Ghawrī and his *ḍiṭbān*. Al-Ghawrī also made a serious and sustained effort to build up a stock of artillery. He established a cannon-foundry, and was frequently present at the testing of the new pieces from 913/1507 onwards.

During most of the reign, Damascus was governed by *Sībāy*, who as governor of Aleppo had rebelled in 910/1504-5, but had subsequently made his peace with al-Ghawrī. Appointed on 17 Shawwāl 911/13 March 1506, *Sībāy* held Damascus until his death at *Mardj Dābiḳ*. Apart from operations against the local Bedouin, he led expeditions against *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanash*, the powerful *muḥaddam* of al-Biḳāʿ (*Muḥarram* 912/June 1506), the *Banū Lām* tribe in the region of *Karak* and al-Shawbak (*Ṣafar* 914/June 1508), and the chief of *Ḥawrān*, *Ibn Sāʿid* (*Rabīʿ II* 916/July 1510), the last two of which threatened communications with the *Hijjāz*. In 917-18/1511-12, friendly relations with each of these were established. As *Ṣafawid* and Ottoman power developed on the Syrian frontier, al-Ghawrī sought to ensure the continuing loyalty of *Sībāy* by the marriage of *Sībāy's* daughter to his own son (920/1514).

A revolt against the *Sharīf Barakāt* of Mecca, which broke out in 907/1502, was finally suppressed in 913/1507. An ominous new danger appeared in the Portuguese, who were establishing themselves on the coast of India and seeking to exclude Muslim shipping from the Red Sea. In *Djumādā II* 911/November 1505 an expeditionary force was sent to assist *Mahmūd Shāh*, the ruler of *Gudjarāt* [*q.v.*], against the Portuguese. It included royal *mamlūks*, *awlād al-nās*, negro archers (more probably, arquebusers) and Turkomans, under the command of the *amir* *Husayn Muṣhrif al-Kurdī*, who fortified *Djudda* [*q.v.*] against a Portuguese attack. *Husayn*, who, in combination with the fleet of *Gudjarāt*, won a naval victory off *Ḳawl* (Ramaḍān 913/January 1508), was heavily defeated by the Portuguese near *Diū* [*q.v.*] in *Shawwāl* 914/February 1509, and withdrew from the Indian Ocean.

Al-Ghawrī was meanwhile striving to construct warships in the gulf of Suez. He was obliged to obtain materials from the Ottomans. A gift of timber, iron and powder from *Bāyezīd II* reached *Būlāḳ* in *Shawwāl* 916/January 1511. When in *Muḥarram* 919/March-April 1513 the Portuguese attacked *ʿAdan* [*q.v.*], al-Ghawrī appointed *Husayn Muṣhrif* governor of *Djudda*, while a force of the Fifth Corps and royal *mamlūks* was ordered to Suez, to protect the fleet in building there. After prolonged procrastination the Fifth Corps left Cairo in *Raḍiāb* 921/August 1515. By that time about 2000 Ottoman sailors under the command of *Selmān Reʿīs* were at Suez. An expedition by *Selmān Reʿīs* and *Husayn Muṣhrif* coincided with the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate, and laid the foundation of Ottoman rule in the Yemen.

The rise of *Ṣafawid* power threatened Mamlūk control of northern Syria. A crisis occurred in the autumn of 913/1507, when the *Ṣafawids* invaded the *Dulgadr*

(*Dhu* 'l-Kadr, [q.v.]) principality, at that time, under 'Alā' al-Dawla, a dependency of the Mamlūk sultanate, to which it was of great strategic importance. Sibāy prepared an expedition from Damascus, but hostilities were averted. Thereafter for some years relations were peaceful.

The accession of Selīm I as Ottoman sultan dramatically altered the situation. Al-Ghawrī tried to profit from the developing crisis between Selīm and Shāh Ismā'īl. The Ottoman victory at Čaldırān [q.v.] on 2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514, however, alarmed al-Ghawrī and his *amirs*. Selīm's hostility towards 'Alā' al-Dawla of Dulgadlr, who had refused to help the Ottomans, immediately threatened Mamlūk interests. The Ottomans defeated and killed 'Alā' al-Dawla (Rabi' II 921/June 1515). The passing of the Dulgadlr principality under Ottoman domination alarmed the *amirs* in Cairo, while Sibāy and the governor of Aleppo, Khā'ir Bey (who was already in touch with Selīm), reproached al-Ghawrī for his delay in sending reinforcements. In spite of the serious financial situation and the demoralization of his forces, al-Ghawrī prepared an expedition, and on 15 Rabi' II 922/18 May 1516, he left Cairo. Tūmān Bāy was appointed viceroy (*nā'ib al-ghayba*), but the effective control of the administration was in the hands of Zayn al-Dīn Barakāt.

On 10 Djumādā II/11 July, al-Ghawrī reached Aleppo, where Ottoman ambassadors presented a conciliatory message from Selīm, to whom al-Ghawrī in turn sent peace proposals. Selīm, who intended another campaign against the Šafawids, decided, however, first to end the danger to his flank. Conflict was now inevitable, and a decisive battle ensued at Mardī Dābiq, north of Aleppo, on 25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516. The flight of the Mamlūk left wing, commanded by Khā'ir Bey (who was probably in secret understanding with the Ottomans), led to the break-up of the whole Mamlūk position. In the confusion, al-Ghawrī fell from his horse and died, apparently of apoplexy. His body was never recovered.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Iyās, *K. baḍā'i' al-zuhūr fi waḥā'i' al-duhūr*, in *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās*, iv (ed. Paul Kahle and Muḥammad Mušṭafā), Leipzig-Istanbul 1931; v, 2nd ed. (ed. Mohamed Mostafa), Wiesbaden-Cairo 1961, 3-102 (tr. G. Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, i, ii, 1-94, Paris 1955, 1960); Muḥammad b. Tūlūn al-Šāliḥī al-Dimashqī, *I'tām al-warā* (ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān), Damascus 1383/1964, tr. Henri Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1952, 77-143; Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-a'yān al-mi'a al-āshira* (ed. Djabrā'īl Sulaymān Djabbur), Beirut 1945, i, 294-7; Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nahrāwālī al-Makkī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī fi 'l-faḥ al-'Uḥmānī*, in *Gharawāt al-Djarākisa wa 'l-Atrāk fi al-Djazira*, Riyāḍ 1387/1967, 16-27; D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, London 1956; R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the south Arabian coast*, Oxford 1963.

(P. M. Holt)

**KANSU**, a province in the north-west of China, bounded in the south and east by the provinces of Szechwan and Shensi and in the west and north by the province of Chinghai and the Sinkiang Uighur and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Regions. The province, first formed under the Great Khan Kūbilāy in 1282 A.D., received its name from the towns in the extreme north-west, Kanchou (Changyeh) and

Suchou (Kiuchuan); both towns are already mentioned in the *Hudūd al-'ālam* and Gardizi, the former in the form Khāmḍjū (in the Mongol period Kamḍjū) and the latter as Sukḥḍjū or Sūkḍjū.

1. *To the end of the Mongol period.* Until the thirteenth century A.D. this territory was for the most part under the domination of foreign peoples of Turkish (Uyghur) or Tibetan (Tangut) origin; immediately before the Mongol conquest there was a Tangut kingdom here under the Hsai (or Hsi-hsia) dynasty (1032-1227) with their capital at Ningsia (Yinchwan). Rashīd al-Dīn, in giving a list of the twelve provinces (*shing*, Chinese *shêng*) of China, divides the Tangut region into two, with Kīndjānfū (now Sien, the capital of Shensi) and Kamḍjū (Kanchou) as their respective capitals. In actual fact, Kanchow was the capital of Kansu; Kansu and Shenn were then, as later, combined in a single government, the only difference being that the residence of the governor was then in the capital of Shensi and not, as later, in the capital of Kansu. The boundary between Kansu and Shensi was formed by the Hwang Ho, so that Lanchow, the present-day capital of Kansu, then belonged to Shensi. In connection with Quengianfu (*i.e.*, Kīndjānfū, Sian) Marco Polo mentions Prince Mangalay (d. 1280, the Mangqalā of Rashīd al-Dīn) Kūbilāy's third son, as ruler of Tangut, while Rashīd al-Dīn refers to his son Ananda; according to Rashīd al-Dīn, he was the founder of Muslim dominance in this area. Born about 1270 (at the beginning of the 14th century he was thirty years of age), he was brought up by Muslim foster-parents; but it was only after the conversion of the Il-Khān Ghazan (*i.e.*, ca. 1295) that he openly professed Islam. He converted the greater part of his army, numbering nearly 150,000 men to Islam, and the people of Tangut, except the peasantry, were likewise converted. Taken to task by his cousin the Great Khān Temūr Ōldjeytū (1294-1307) for his conversion, Ananda remained faithful to Islam and after a period of interruption was restored to his dominion. In 1307 a party wished to raise him to the throne of the Khānate, but he was put to death after the success of a rival candidate, Temūr's nephew Khayshān (1307-1311). It was not until 1323 that Ananda's son Örg-Temūr was appointed prince of Tangut.

As Marco Polo shows, there were already Muslims in Kansu before Ananda's time; however, he says nothing about the dissemination of Islam south of the Hwang Ho. The Turkish-speaking Salar, who live at the present day on the southern banks of that river, are mentioned as living there as early as the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and described as unruly subjects, although no Muslim risings are recorded during this period. The story which reached Timūr's territories about 1398 to the effect that the founder of the Ming dynasty had ordered the massacre of some 100,000 Muslims and had completely eradicated Islam in China finds no confirmation in any Chinese source.

*Bibliography:* *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 85, 232; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 484-98, 595-602; *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. J. A. Boyle, New York and London 1971, 281-3, 323-6; Waṣṣāf, *Tahrir-i Ta'rikh-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. 'Abd al-Muḥammad Āyatī, Tehran 1346/1967, 279-81; Marco Polo, ed. Yule and Cordier, i, 203, 319, ii, 24; V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, ii (*Ulugh-beg*), Leiden 1958, 49-50; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, s.v. Campcio. (J. A. Boyle)

2. *In the post-Mongol period.* After the collapse of the Yüan dynasty which took place in 770/1368,

Muslims in Kansu, as well as those of other provinces of China, were put under the rule of the newly-established Ming dynasty, which, at the beginning of the new régime, adopted a discriminatory attitude against non-Chinese. It oppressed *Hui-hui* or Muslims, and generally speaking, the *Hui-hui* under the Yüan dynasty were obliged to settle in China, and began to be assimilated to the Chinese way of life through intermarriage with native Chinese women. They were physically and linguistically sinicised as time went by; *Hui-hui* under the Ming dynasty gradually changed their original, Islamic surnames to Chinese ones (e.g., from Muḥammad to Ma, etc.), and adopted Chinese languages; nevertheless, they adhered strictly to Islam. This process also affected Kansu Muslims, with some characteristics different from those of China proper.

In the early Ming period there were many Muslims in Kansu, while some of them are reported to have returned to Samarkand, according to the *Ming Shih-lu* or the *Veritable Annals of the Ming Dynasty*. At Kanchou, Liangchou and Suchou there were some Muslims who had newly emigrated from Central Asian countries in the middle Ming period (*Ming Shih-lu*, sub anno 1527), and some from the Komül region, with which the Ming dynasty had had political relations. Apart from such new-comers, native Muslims originating from the Yüan period greatly increased in number and were distributed in south-eastern parts of Kansu as far as adjacent parts of Shensi. There were also Muslims in districts of Kung-chêng-fu, Chinchou, T'aouchou and Kuyüan in the Kansu Province, according to the *Ming Shih-lu* and local gazetteers of the Ming dynasty.

In 1604 Father Benedict Goës, who travelled from Agra through the Tarim Basin to Ming China in search of the historic Cathay and who reached Suchou, mentions "Saracens", that is to say, Muslims, who lived in Suchou segregated from the Chinese there. Though his description is in some parts ambiguous, we may conclude that there were Muslims at Suchou in the late Ming period.

Under the Ch'ing dynasty, which succeeded the Ming in 1644, the situation of Muslims in Kansu, Ninghsia and Shensi changed little; however, we have much more information on the Kansu Muslims under the Ch'ing, as seen in the *Ch'ing Shih-lu* and other historical sources and local gazetteers of the dynasty. In the Ch'ing period, Kansu had one of the densest concentrations of Chinese Muslims. Chinese-speaking Muslims of Ch'ing China were generally called *Hui-min* ("Islamic people") in Chinese. The main habitats of Kansu Muslims were Kanchou, Liang-chou, Lanchou, Kuyüan, Chingchou, Hochou, Chingyüan, Piliang, Fuchiang, etc.; other places adjacent to Kansu where they lived were Hsining, Hsünhua, Kueitê in Chinghai Province, and Ninghsia, Chin-chi-pao in Ninghsia Province.

The size of the Chinese Muslim population in Kansu is unclear: M. Broomhall (1910) estimated it at two or three millions. According to the statistics of the government of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, the Muslim population of Kansu is estimated at 1,086,597 (30% of the total population of Kansu Province in 1953), and that of Chinghai at 257,959; thus the total population is 1,330,000. The basis of Broomhall's estimate is not clear, but, as compared with the present situation, these seem to be acceptable statistics. Generally speaking, Kansu Muslims are more densely distributed in the southern part of Kansu, that is, south of the Yellow River.

Islam in Kansu as in other provinces of China,

is that of the Ḥanafî rite, with some influence from the Shâfi'î one, as is shown by investigations of D'Ollone on Islamic legal practices prevalent in modern Kansu (D'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois*).

The most important feature among the Muslims of Kansu is the prevalence of Sūfism, apparently originating in the middle of the 18th century. In contemporary Ch'ing sources, one of the Sūfî teachings of Kansu Islam is called *Hsin-chiao* (the "New Sect" or "New Teaching"), which was reported for the first time in 1761 immediately after the Ch'ing conquest of Eastern Turkistan. One Ma Ming-hsin, a native of Anting, Kansu, started to spread the so-called "New Teaching" in the district of the Salar tribes in Hsining after his return in 1761 from a period of religious study at Yarkand and Kâshghar in Eastern Turkistan. With the support of Sū-ssü-shih-san and Hu-ma-liu-hu, both Salar *mullas*, he founded the "New Sect" in 1762. This propagated a mystical ritualism characterized by: (1) loud chanting of religious songs, as opposed to the low chanting by the Old Sect or Old Teaching; (2) prayers with head-shaking and body movement in a dance-like manner—foot-stamping, hand-waving, and face turning up towards heaven; (3) belief in miracles, visions, apparition of spirits and prediction of good or bad omens; and (4) worship of Muslim saints and their tombs. Ma Ming-hsin was revered as the saintly founder of the sect. However, one cannot consider the "New Sect" founded by Ma Ming-hsin as a reform movement reacting against the traditional sects, generally called Ancient or Old Sects (*K'u-pai*, *Chiu-pai* and *K'u-hsing-pai*).

In ca. 1760-80 the centre of the *Hsin-chiao* was at Hsünhua, a town near Hsining, where *Hsin-chiao* adherents quarrelled incessantly among themselves in the 1760s and 1770s; and in 1781, Ma Ming-hsin and Sū-ssü-shih-san led an attack on the Muslims belonging to the Ancient Sect. Government suppression of sectarian strife led *Hsin-chiao* adherents to open rebellion against the Ch'ing dynasty in that year, and, though it was suppressed by the Ch'ing army, a second revolt broke out in 1783 at Shi-fêng-pao, Kansu. Since the 19th century, major centres of *Hsin-chiao* adherents have been in Chang-chia-chüan, Kansu, and in Chi-chi-pao, Hinghsia.

In 1862 a new revolt broke out at Chin-chi-pao, where Ma Hua-lung who came from the direct "apostolic" line of Ma Ming-hsin, maintained his quarters. Ma Hua-lung is reported to have been a mystical saint who was able to perform miracles; but his rebellion was suppressed in 1871 by the Ch'ing army. The mystic order of Ma Hua-lung was called *Djahriyya* from the 19th century onwards (D'Ollone); the headship of the Order passed to Ma Yüan-ch'ang, a disciple of Ma Hua-lung, who had his headquarters at Chang-chia-chüan, Kansu. Ma Yüan-ch'ang is mentioned by G. Andrew who visited him in the early 20th century; he died in 1920 during an earthquake which occurred in Kansu during that year.

Besides *Hsin-chiao*, another characteristic of the Sūfism of Kansu Islam is the institution of *mêng-kuan*. *Mêng-kuan*, especially the Four Great *Mêng-kuan*, was reported in Ch'ing sources for the first time in 1786; the Six Great *Mêng-kuan* were also reported in 1943. They are (1) the *Hu-fei-yeh* sect, including *Pi-chia-ch'ang kung-pei*, *Lin-t'ao kung-pei*, etc.; (2) the *Ka-ti-lin-yeh* sect, including *Ta-kung-pei*, *Yang-men*, etc.; (3) the *K'u-pu-lin-yeh* sect; (4) the *Sha tsü-lin-yeh* sect; (5) the *Sai-ai-lo-wo-lo-ting-yeh* sect; and (6) the *Che-ho-lin-yeh* *Djahriyya* sect.

According to the missionary D'Ollone, who made a study of aboriginal peoples in the borderlands of China in 1906-9, the tombs of three Islamic saints were revered among Kansu Muslims. Mêng-kuan adherents were also called *Kung-pei-chiao*, that is, "followers of Tomb Teaching". Thus, the *Djahriyya* sect of Kansu Muslims may be said to be one of *meng-kuan*, tomb-worshippers.

*Bibliography*: P. Dabry de Thiersant, *Le mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental*, Paris 1878; M. Broomhall, *Islam in China: a neglected problem*, London 1920; D'Ollone, *Recherches sur les musulmans chinois. Études de A. Visière, notes de E. Blochet et de divers savants*, Paris 1911; G. F. Andrew, *Crescent in Northwest China*, London 1921; R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations of the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago 1939; J. Trippner, *Islamische Gruppen und Gräberkult in Northwest-China*, in *WI*, vii (1961), 142-171; N. N. Čeboksarova, (ed.), *Narody Vostočnoj Azii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1965; Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Li crisis: a study of Sino-Russian diplomacy 1871-1881*, Oxford 1965; Wen-djang Chu, *The Moslem rebellion in Northwest China 1862-1878: a study of government minority policy*, The Hague-Paris 1966; M. Sushanbo, *Dungane (istoriko-etnografičeskij očerok)*, Frunze 1971; T. Saguchi, *An ethnic history of the Ch'ing-hai Salars, in Tarih Araştırmalar Dergisi*, vii, no. 10-11 (Ankara 1972), 225-30; T. Saguchi, *Jūhachi-jūkyūseiki Higashi Torukisutan shakaishi kenkyū* ("The social history of Eastern Turkistan in the 18th and 19th centuries"), Tokyo 1963; K. Tazaka, *Chūgoku ni okeru kaikyō no denrai to sono gutsū* ("Islam in China: its introduction and development"), Tokyo 1964. (T. SAGUCHI)

**KANȚARA**, pl. *kanātir*, means in Arabic (1) bridge, particularly a bridge of masonry or stone, one of the most famous of which is that of Sanġja [q.v.]; also (2) aqueduct (especially in the plural), dam, and finally (3) high building, castle (similarly *kaṣātil* = aqueduct from *kaṣtal* = castellum; see *KANĀT*); cf. *TA*, iii, 509; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 412; de Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 334; and particularly R. Geyer in the *SB Ak. Wien*, cxlix/6 (1905), 114-9. The original meaning of the word "arch, stone archway", is found in the earliest Arabic lexicographers; cf. Dozy-de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, 369, *Djīsir* [q.v.], a bridge of wood or boats, is the opposite of *kanȚara*, which is of stone; in time, however, the two words came to be used as synonyms (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 194).

No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the origin of the word. The oldest reference is found in a verse of Ṭarafa (iv, 22; see *The Diwans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, 1870, 55). On account of this early occurrence of the word, Yāqūt (iv, 187) considers the word to be genuine Arabic. But we may with considerable certainty regard it as a loan-word. Vollers and Geyer thought that it was borrowed from Latin or Greek. The former connected (*ZDMG*, li, 376; *ZA*, viii, 100-1) *kanȚara* with the mediaeval Latin word *cintrum* (French *cintré*, arch, vault), while Geyer (*op. cit.*, 118-9) sought the original either in *καυθήλος* = basket, *cantherius* = wickerwork used in the making of roofs and buildings, or in *κάμπτρα*, *κάμπτρον* = depository (cf. also *καμπτής* = rounding, curve), from which Vollers (*ZDMG*, li, 302) derived Egypto-Arab. *kimȚar*. But all these explanations are to be rejected, because there are phonetic objections to them and they partly rely for the meanings of the words cited on obsolete, farfetched glosses; cf. for objections to

these explanations, Fränkel in *ZA*, xix, 270-1, and Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 408. *KanȚara* is most probably to be derived from the Aramaic, and, as Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, thinks, in the first place from *kaṣārā* = hoop, arch (see Payne-Smith, *Thesaur. Syriac.*, col. 3591; note specially *kaṣartā* in Bar Bahlūl, *Lexic.*, col. 1768). The above-mentioned word *djīsir* also comes from the Aramaic (Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, 285 and D. H. Müller in *WZKM*, i, 31), but can actually be traced back to the Assyrian or Accadian (cf. Meissner in *ZA*, ix, 269, and Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, 31).

Al-*KanȚara* has survived in Spanish in the diminutives *alcantarilla* = little bridge, gutter and *alcantarillado* = arched aqueduct; see Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden 1869, 47; *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Espanola*, xiii, Madrid 1899, svv; J. Oliver Asín, *Historia del nombre Madrid*, Madrid 1959, index.

Al-*KanȚara* and al-*Kanātir* are frequently found—sometimes with descriptive additions, e.g., *Kanātir Firʿawn*—as names for places like quarters of a city (notably in *Baghdād*) in areas where Arabic was, or is, spoken in the mediaeval or modern East. In his geographical dictionary (iv, 180, 187-92, vi, 179-80) Yāqūt gives a dozen places named al-*KanȚara* and four called *Kanātir* (cf. also, for example, the indices to al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 759-60, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xiii, 790). For the numerous districts of *Baghdād* named after particular bridges under the Caliphate see the index to Guy le Strange, *Baghdād during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London 1900, 368.

Of the places named al-*KanȚara*, the following are worthy of special mention:

1. An oasis on the southern slopes of the Atlas in Algeria at the exit of a narrow pass through which run the road and railway from Constantine to the desert regions; it is a station on the Constantine-Biskra line, 35 miles north of the latter. This, the most northern oasis in Africa, consists of three villages with about 3,500 inhabitants and possesses a very dense date grove. From its situation it was an important military station and, as Roman inscriptions found there show, settled in ancient times. It is presumably identical with the station *Ad Calcem Herculis* of the Roman itineraries (see Dessau in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, 1345). The name al-*KanȚara* is derived from the Roman bridge, restored in 1862 by the French, which spans in one huge arch the ravine, the 150 feet wide Fumm al-*Ṣahārā* = the mouth of the *Ṣahārā* (so-called by the inhabitants), through which flows the *Wād al-KanȚara* (cf., for example, Vivien de St. Martin, *Dict. de Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1879, i, 66 and Kobelt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Algerien und Tunis*, 1883, 322).

2. *Alcántara*, a little town of great antiquity in the province of Cáceres (district of Estremadura) in Spain, near the Portuguese frontier, with 3,200 inhabitants. It receives its name from an imposing granite bridge, built in 105 A.D., which crosses the *Tagus* in six great arches to the northwest of the town. The place is also famous for the religious knightly order founded there in 1176 to defend the frontier against the Moors, which became called the Order of *Alcántara* after its headquarters were moved to this town in 1213 (see Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal*<sup>4</sup>, Leipzig 1912, 459).

3. A small town with a mosque in Egypt, on the Asiatic side of the Suez canal, half-way between Port *Ṣaʿīd* and *Ismāʿīliyya*, a station on the railway connecting these two towns. It lies on a low narrow

tongue of rising ground, which runs out between the large Menzaleh lake in the north and the little Balāḥ lake in the south. It is unlikely to take its name from this "land bridge", however, but from a bridge which already existed here probably in the early Middle Ages.

The Arab geographer Ibn Faql Allāh al-'Umārī, who wrote ca. 741/1340, mentions the arch of a bridge, called KaŦarat al-Djīsr, near the old caravan station of al-'Aḳūla, under which the superfluous water flowed into the desert at the time of the Nile's inundation. There was still a bridge here at the beginning of the 19th century, built over a canal connecting the two lakes already mentioned. The modern al-KaŦara arose on its present site after the making of the Suez Canal. The old settlement was a short half-hour's journey to the east and is marked by the mound of ruins Tell Abū Sēfe (on the maps also called Tell al-Aḳmar). This place may be regarded as the key to Egypt, for it has always been used by conquerors as the gateway to the Nile valley. Its strategic importance led to its being occupied in remote antiquity. Tell Abū Sēfe (with ruins of a temple of Ramses II and remains of the Ptolemaic and Roman period) marks the site of the ancient Egyptian town of Zaru (*T*, *r w*), the capital of the fourteenth district of Lower Egypt, which was already a fortress in the time of the Middle Kingdom. In the later classical and Byzantine literature it appears as Sile, Sele (Selle); according to a Latin inscription found here, it had a Roman garrison in 288 and was later also the see of a bishop. In the Middle Ages it was called al-'Aḳūla (on the name al-'Aḳūla = "the bend", cf. DAYR AL-'ĀḲŪL), a name which was temporarily supplanted by that of the castle of al-Kuṣayr during the Mamlūk period. In World War I al-KaŦara played an important part in the struggle for the Suez Canal. From November 1914 to March 1916 there were frequent encounters there between English and Turkish troops (cf. thereon, for example, Baer, *Der Völkerkrieg, Eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914*, Stuttgart 1914-5, iv, 220-24, viii, 367, xi, 318, xvii, 47-8, 128, 130, 132).

In remote antiquity as well as in the late Middle Ages and modern times, al-KaŦara was the point of departure for the caravan road from Egypt to Syria. After World War I a new railway line to Syria branched off there from the Port Sa'īd-Suez line, and ran from al-KaŦara via Kaṭya al-'Arīḡ and Ḡazza to Ludd, where it linked up with the line from Yāfā to Jerusalem. In the successive wars between Egypt and Israel from 1948 al-KaŦara continued to be a key strategic point, which suffered considerable damage.

*Bibliography*: Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*, 1913, 177, 171; C. Kūthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, Berliner Dissert., 1911, 38-49; R. Hartmann in *ZDMG*, lxiv, 688, 691, 696, lxx, 486-7, 511 and in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1916, lxii, 373-7; Alt in the *Palästinajahrbuch des deutsch. evangel. Instituts*, x, Berlin 1914, 60-3 and Dalman, *op. cit.*, xx, 1924, 44-6. On excavations and finds in the region of al-KaŦara see Clédat in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à l'archéol. égyptienne et assyrienne*, xxxvii (Paris 1915, 38-9, and xxxviii (1919), 1-2, 70-1.

4. A sanctuary among the ruins of the ancient Petra in the Sinai Peninsula; cf. Savignac, *Le Sanctuaire d'el Kantara* in the *Rev. Biblique*, N.S., iii (1916), 391-2.

5. KaŦarat Zaynab in the valley of the Nahr Bay-rūt in Syria, an ancient Roman aqueduct of which

considerable remains exist at the present day; according to Arab legend, it was built by Queen Zenobia (Zaynab); cf. Fr. Müller, *Studien über Zenobia und Palmyra* (Diss. Königsberg 1902), 14-15.

6. KaŦātir Fir'awn ("Pharaoh's aqueduct"), a great aqueduct in the south of Syria, which, beginning at Dillī, at the western foot of the lava plateau of Ledjā (west of Ḥawrān), runs in a south-western direction for some sixty miles as far as Mukēs (Gadara), providing many villages with the necessary drinking-water in the summer months. It is identified by Wetzstein—probably rightly—with the KaŦātir mentioned by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (*Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, 117). But the Ḡhassānīd Djabala b. al-Ḥārīṡ, who reigned about 500 A.D., can hardly, as Ḥamza says, be the builder of this marvellous piece of work (cf. Nöldeke, *Die ḡhassan. Fürsten . . . in Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, iv, 1887, 50). It certainly dates back to ancient times. For further information see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, Berlin 1860, 123-5.

The diminutive Kunayṭira (popularly Kuṇēṭra or Keṇētri) is occasionally used as a place name, e.g., a town in Syria in the Djawlān (Golān) district, to the north east of Jordan (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 1912, 268; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 387), and also a newly established town in Morocco, called Kuṇṭra, then Port-Lyautey, then Kuṇṭra again. The town was first a disembarkation area, then a fairly important port, on the River Sebou, some way from its mouth. This port superseded the ancient al-Mahdiyya situated on the mouth of the same river.

(M. STRECK\*)

**KĀNŪN**, pl. *kaḡānīn*, Arabic derivative from Greek κανών, which meant firstly "any straight rod", later "a measure or rule", and finally (in the papyri of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.) "assessment for taxation", "imperial taxes", "tariff" (Liddell and Scott, revised ed., London 1940; for its meanings in religious literature, see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek lexicon*, Oxford 1961). The word was adopted into Arabic presumably with the continuation, after the Muslim conquest of Egypt and Syria, of the pre-Islamic tax system (C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig 1924, 218-62; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 118-20). Whilst the word preserved in Islamic states in general its special meaning as a financial term belonging to the field of land-taxes, it acquired also the sense of "code of regulations" "state-law" (sc. of non-Muslim origin). The two senses must be discussed separately.

#### i.—LAW

In theory, the *shari'a* regulates the whole of the public and private life of the Muslim, but since works of *fiḡh* barely deal with the provisions of common law, and also since it became apparent very early on that the greater part of the Muslim penal system was inapplicable, the guardians of public order (especially the governors) took to issuing regulations (*kaḡānīn*) in these two fields, although they had no such legislative authority. At the time, these developments did not shock even the strictest of the 'ulamā', because in administrative matters there was no conflict between the *kaḡānūn* and the *shari'a*, the latter generally being silent on such matters. Similarly with penal law, the *kaḡānūn* did not appear to infringe on the *shari'a*, for the governors had the sense to restrict themselves to substituting the discretionary penalty of the *ta'sīr* [q.v.], fine or flogging, punishments laid down in works of *fiḡh*, for the seriously mutilating

punishments of the Qurʾān (*ḥudūd*, pl. of *ḥadd*), such as cutting off the hand or stoning.

Under the Ottoman sultans, the term *kānūn* came to be applied mainly to acts in the domain of administrative and financial law and of penal law. The first *kānūn-nāmas* promulgated under Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-1481) were indeed confined to this restricted field, but a century later, through the impetus of Abu ʿl-Suʿūd, grand *muftī* of Istanbul from 952/1545 to 982/1574 [q.v.], *kānūn-nāmas* began to offer legal solutions to questions which had hitherto been exclusively the province of the *shariʿa*, particularly property law. Abu ʿl-Suʿūd was a jurist of such great ability that this was done without the *kānūn* and the *shariʿa* ever coming into opposition with one another.

Nowadays, in all Middle Eastern countries, the term *kānūn* denotes not only those codes and laws which are directly inspired by western legislation, such as civil and commercial law, administrative and penal law, but also those laws and codes which are confined to reproducing, albeit simplifying, the provisions of the *shariʿa*. To name but a few examples, the Syrian Code (*kānūn*) of Personal Status (1953), the ʿIrāqī Code (*kānūn*) of Personal Status (1959) and the proposed Egyptian Family Code (also called *kānūn*) fall into this category. The Order in Council is designated by the neologism *marṣūm bi-kānūn*. However, the word *kānūn*, which, as we have noted, originally signified a ruling of the administrative authority, is not used in this sense today, being replaced by *lāʾiḥa* (pl. *lawāʾiḥ*) in Egypt and by *nizām* or *tartīb* elsewhere.

Whether it is inspired by western legislation or comprises only provisions adopted from Muslim law, the actual *kānūn* is prepared by a commission, passed by it or by the legislative assemblies if need be, and promulgated by the executive, the same procedure being followed in both cases. In addition, in the case of a *kānūn* concerning personal status or inheritance laws, and therefore one deriving from Muslim law, the discussions in the Assembly are no more than formalities. In such cases it is the preceding phase, the one developed by the commission, which is the most important.

Born in the East, the word *kānūn* as the designation of the superior form of legislation (Law and Code) is current only in the Middle East, or more precisely, in those countries which came, however partially, under the influence of Istanbul. It was rarely used in Saudi Arabia, which escaped Ottoman domination; there the secular preferred to cover the legislative work of the secular authority was *nizām*.

*Bibliography*: Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1945; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, ch. xii; idem, *Abu ʿl-Suʿūd*, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>; C. Chehata, *Droit musulman, applications au Proche Orient*, Paris 1970, 11-21. For the pre-Ottoman *kānūn*, see B. Lewis, in *BSOAS* (1954), 599; V. Minorsky, in *ibid.* (1955), 449 ff.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

## ii.—CADASTER

The administration of taxes usually comprised two sections, one dealing with assessment and one with collection. The assessment of taxes was based on various principles and resulted in a basis for calculation, the *asl*. *Kānūn* is used to refer both to these principles as a whole and to the resulting sum due from the taxpayer, either in the case of a single property or all the properties in one district taken together. The assessed value of the revenue on an estate was known as the *ʿibra*. In those provinces—

never the entire Muslim world—where many lands were assessed by the procedure of *kānūn*, this word came to mean a kind of fiscal cadaster.

In Egypt, traditionally subject to a special régime in which state control was particularly extensive and which is fairly well documented, the “cadaster” was made by measuring the area of each plot of land, placing it into a category according to its position in the Nile flood and thus determining the most suitable type of crop, and finally assessing the duty which, barring accidents, should result and could be fixed in advance. The general process of the cadaster is known as *rawk* [q.v.] (verb *rāka*). These administrative operations give rise to the following documents: a) an original (*aslī*) *kānūn* establishing the characteristics of a region so as to determine its *ʿibra* on a permanent basis—according to al-Makrizī, in his day this was revised every thirty years; b) an annual *kānūn*, established by a local *dalīl*, consisting, on the basis of the foregoing, of a statement of the characteristics of each plot after the flood, by which characteristics the *dalīl* decides which crops should be cultivated; c) a *kānūn* establishing the most suitable crops and the resulting fiscal distribution, listed both by holdings and by crops. Finally there was a series of other documents more specifically concerned with tax collection [see *KHARĀḌĪ*].

The measurements were made by a *kaṣāb* (from *kaṣaba*, unit of length); the *māsiḥ* (surveyor) calculated the areas on the basis of measurements taken. It would seem that sometimes he cheated in the geometry, and Ibn Mammāṭī takes great pains to remind his readers of the rules for calculating areas. The various kinds of land were classified according to type, degree of flooding and rotation of crops, and the vocabulary used for such terms appears to be in part non-Arab and pre-Islamic (see *JESHO*, v (1962), 259-60, from Ibn Mammāṭī and Makḥzūmī).

It would be useful to classify the published papyri in the categories listed above. Al-Nābulusī’s description of the Fayyūm (Ayyūbid period) in fact gives a detailed picture of taxes in general, but not precisely, of the cadaster for this province, locality by locality and category by category.

Far less is known of the methods employed in the rest of the Muslim world. However, the main outlines seem clear. There it was impossible to draw up for fiscal purposes a precise survey of crops, nor therefore of the return anticipated from them, since there was neither a regular flood nor a sufficiently close administrative control. It was, however, at least possible to measure area, and even to classify land according to average yield, thus allowing a tabulation of taxes, subject to last-minute modification in the light of the actual harvest. This was done in the majority of regions, where a definite sum in money was levied by area and crop, as against those where a proportion of the crop was levied. There were also, however, regions which followed the Roman tradition. In these the unit was not of area, which gives a variable yield, but one of labour or of exploitation, where a variable area produces a fixed yield. A traditional vocabulary less complex than that of Egypt also designates the different types of land. As in Egypt, the *ʿibra* was determined. Measuring was done by the *māsiḥ* sometimes with the help of a controller (*muʿābir*) or a divider (*ḥassām*). In fact, if not in law, their salary constituted an additional charge. However, even in Egypt, there continued to be many properties which for one reason or another were registered “without *misāḥa*”, and thus taxed outright without having been surveyed in



this way. On the documents see the article on *DAFTAR* and, following the *Ta'riḫ-i Kumm*, A. K. S. Lambton (*Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, 1953, ch. 2).

In the West, or at any rate in the Maghrib, cadastral survey seems to have been slower and less precise. It is possible that it was not introduced to Morocco before the time of the Almohads, when it was brought back by Ibn Tūmart from his voyage to the East. Here, even less than in the East, not all estates were covered.

*Bibliography*: Scattered references can be found throughout the sources; only the most important are mentioned here: Ibn Mammātī, *Kawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. 'Atiyya, 1943, tr. R. S. Cooper, *Ibn Mammātī's rules for the ministries*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley 1973, unpublished; *Ta'riḫ-i Kumm*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihirānī, Tehran 1934; the analyses of Maḫzūmī and Nābulusī in the articles by Cl. Cahen cited below; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, viii; Khwārazmī, *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. Van Vloten; and the papyri, especially the Cairo ones published by Grohmann where an index of technical terms facilitates consultation. Modern works: there is nothing systematic, but we may cite F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, index; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London 1953; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques problèmes économiques et fiscaux de l'Iraq buyide*, in *AIEO, Algiers* (1952); idem, *Les impôts du Fayyum ayyubide*, in *Arabica* (1955); idem, *Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans l'Égypte médiévale* in *JESHO* (1962); Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/ A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972; see also the articles *DAFTAR* and *KHARĀJ*. (CL. CAHEN)

### iii.—FINANCIAL AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1. From the earliest days of the conquest onwards, *Kānūn* preserved the meanings of "registers and lists recording land-taxes" (*Kānūn al-Kharājī*, also *djārā'id*) and the regulations there laid down (*al-kawānīn al-mukarrara*, cf. al-Māwardī, ed. Cairo 1386/1966, 215, tr. Fagnan, 462). This principle of assessment for tax can be traced back to the time of the second caliph 'Umar, to whom is attributed the measurement of the lands in the Sawād and the imposition of a fixed tax on a specified area of land (Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharājī*, Cairo 1302, 36-8, 48, 60, 85, 218; al-Māwardī, 148-52, 174-6; Løkkegaard, 106-25). This measure was considered to be the continuation of the Sasanian system of assessment for tax (Abū Yūsuf, 38, 57; al-Māwardī, 78, 148, 173-5; Ṭabarī, i, 962); and as in the old Iranian tradition so in the Islamic period strict adherence to the explicit entries and regulations of the official registers (*hiḫf al-kawānīn*, al-Māwardī, 215) was regarded as the foundation of sound and just administration (al-Māwardī, 151, 215-8). In the period of the classical caliphate the Persian terms *dastūr* and *awarājī* came to be used as synonyms of *kānūn* in the sense of "tax-list" (Løkkegaard, 179, 265). *Kānūn* also signified the conditions (*shurūt*) governing the levying of land-taxes by *muḫāla'a* [q.v.] (Løkkegaard, 107). The term *kānūn* must have spread only later into 'Irāq and the eastern provinces, since though it is frequently used by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) it is not used by Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798). After the 'Abbāsid period *kānūn* remained in use as a financial term with the same meanings in Egypt (Ibn Mammātī, *K. Kawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiyya, Cairo 1943, 305; 'Uthmān al-Nābulusī, *K. Luma' al-kawānīn*, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, S. I, 573); in Persia (Rāwan-

dī, *Rāhat al-sudūr*, ed. M. Iqbal, 356, 381, 398; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *risāla* published in *THITM*, ii (1932-9), and in *BSOAS*, x (1940-2), 759-62; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ta'riḫ-i Mubārak-i Ghazānī*, ed. Jahn, GMS, 306; 'Abd Allāh b. Kiyā, *Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1953, 23, 172, 182-4; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh al-Nakhḍjuwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, i, ed. A. Alizade, Moscow 1964, *faṣl dar kānūn wa yasā-mīshī*), in Anatolia (Karīm al-Dīn al-Aḫsarāyī, *Musāmarrat al-akhbār*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1944, 257, 298; Ibn Bibī, *al-Awāmīr al-'Alā'iyya*, Ankara 1966, 721), and in India (Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, London 1963, 186, 202; *kānūngo dastūr*, *ḡabfī*). In the *Resālā-ye Falakiyyā* (p. 182), "*kānūn-i mamlakat*" is described as the setting down in advance in a register of the taxes for each area according to clear amounts and proportions, the *taḫṣildārs* being required to collect the taxes according to this register. Finally, in the Ottoman state, the *taḫrīr* [q.v.] registers (*defters*, cf. al-Māwardī, 82: *daftar al-ṣawāfī*), which set out in detail particularly the land taxes and the methods of raising them, and the *kānūnnāmes* [q.v.] for the individual *sandjaks* are to be regarded as a continuation of the same system. The office in which such registers were kept was called in the Ilkhānid state *bayt al-kānūn*, and in the Ottoman Empire *defterkhāne*.

2. As a development from the meaning "financial regulations", *kānūn* came to mean legal prescriptions independent of the *sharī'a* laid down by the sultan by virtue of his authority as ruler. This implication is found already in the 'Abbāsid period (cf. al-Māwardī, 32: *al-kawānīn al-siyāsiyya*; and even, more broadly: (p. 33): *al-kawānīn al-sharī'iyya*). The following terms are synonymous with *kānūn* in this sense: (i) *ḫukm* or (pl.) *ahkām* (cf. al-Māwardī, 207: *ahkām al-kharājī*); (ii) *kā'idā* or (pl.) *ḳawā'id* (al-Māwardī, 215; Rāwandī, 166, 260, 382; Nizām al-Mulk, ed. Darke, 89, 95, 126; Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 304, 323; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh, 323; *Code de lois coutumières de Mehmed II*, ed. N. Beldiceanu, Wiesbaden 1967, facs. fol. 1 \*v.); (iii) *dastūr* (Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *K. al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, 78; *Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, 57; H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum isl. Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 85, 129; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, 176; Ottoman *deftūr*, as in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, 259); (iv) *dābiḫa* or (pl.) *dawābiḫ* (*Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, 23; Diyā' al-Dīn Bārānī, *Fatāwā-ye Dījhāndāri*, tr. M. Habib and A. V. Salim Khan, 64-71, 136-43; Ottoman *dawābiḫ*, as in *dawābiḫ-i mesāl-i 'urfīyye*, Istanbul, Un. Lib. MS 1807, 1); (v) *ā'in*, more particularly for regulations of non-Muslim origin regarding state-organization and ceremonial, as in the expressions *ā'in-i shāhān*, *ā'in-i shahriyārī*, *ā'in-i dījhānbānī* (see F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, 46; cf. Nizām al-Mulk, ed. Darke, 138, 209), but also more generally, as in *ā'in-i narkh-i adīnās* (*Ā'in-i Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, 60; and cf. *Code de lois* . . . , *loc. cit.*); (vi) *rasm* or (pl.) *rusūm* (al-Māwardī, 215; Nizām al-Mulk, 133; Rāwandī, 137). With the spread of Western influence in the 19th century, the word *kānūn* was employed for secular laws of all types based on European models (*Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 139-209), and the expression *kānūn-i esāsī* to express "constitution".

The word *kānūn* was employed also for the statutes regulating any organization, e.g., in Ottoman times, those of the guilds, which were drawn up by the guildsmen and registered with the *hāḏī* (cf. F. Dalsar, *Bursa'da ipekkilik*, Istanbul 1960, 274-6, 318). Finally, *kānūn* might imply "rules of conduct" (as in *kānūn al-sa'āda*: *Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, 2); and also

the general principles or the basic information in one of the non-religious sciences (as in *kānūn al-balāgha* or *kānūn fi 'l-fīb*).

3. *Kānūn* (in the sense of non-religious legal prescription) and its relation to the *shari'a*. Even from the time of the first caliphs there are records of legal prescriptions imposed solely at the will of the *ūlu 'l-amr* [q.v.], e.g., 'Umar's decision regarding the lands of the Sawād (Abū Yūsuf, 47-56, 97). Such prescriptions were usually incorporated into the *shari'a* as it took shape. Administrative regulations and practices [see 'AMAL, AMR] entered the *shari'a* just like 'urf and 'āda [qq.v.], because of the broad interpretation of the concept of *sunna* [q.v.] and thanks to recourse to the principle of *istihsān* [q.v.] (see J. Schacht, *Origins*, 99-112). But this process was ended after the time of al-Shāfi'i, and particularly of Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd b. Khalaf [qq.v.], with the narrower interpretation put upon *sunna* and the rejection of *istihsān*.

Matters of public law were treated within the framework of the *shari'a* firstly with regard to regulations concerning land-tax (as by Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, Abū 'l-Faraj Kudāma), and later (from the 4th/10th century) in connection with more general matters: the source of political authority [see IMĀM], administrative law [see WILĀYA, SIYĀSA, MAZĀLIM], market regulations [see HİSBA], and penal law [see TA'ZİR] (see al-Māwardī, Abū Ya'qūb, Ibn Djamā'a, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qāyim al-Djāwziyya, *passim*). After al-Shāfi'i, the boundaries of the *uṣūl al-fikh* were drawn so narrowly that new administrative regulations were left outside them and became the province of a new "state law" or "ruler's law". This process was encouraged also by political developments in the caliphate: in the "sultanates" establishing themselves in Persia (Būyids, Sāmānids, Ghaznavids, Saljūkids), the native bureaucracy [see KĀTİB] strove to revive the old Iranian traditions of the state and of state administration in order to strengthen the absolutism of their masters, and won for political authority and state law an independent status vis-à-vis the *shari'a*. The conflict between *kānūn* and *shari'a* in this period reflects the rivalry between *sultān* and *khalīfa*. It is in this period that al-Māwardī, 77-8, maintained the necessity of secular power (*Kuwwa al-saltāna*, or *amāra*) to ensure the implementation of the *shari'a* (*tanfidh al-aḥkām*) and the protection and survival of the Muslim community (*ḥirāsāt al-dīn wa-siyāsāt al-dunyā*). In other words, the public interest [see MAŞLAḤA] was recognized as the basic principle justifying an independent political authority and its competence to make laws and issue regulations. This argument was regularly repeated in Muslim sultanates (including the Ottoman, cf. Tur-sun, *Ta'riḫ-i Abu 'l-Felḥ*, 13) as the basis for the sultan's authority as law-giver. In this period too the concepts of 'ādāla [q.v.] and *kānūn*, linked to the Iranian view of the state, began to be treated as a separate subject in works written by *faḳīhs* upon politics (cf. al-Māwardī, 77-95).

As to the matters regulated by this "secular" law, they fell, naturally, within the field of public law—a field distinguished by the *shari'a* by the terms *al-a'māl al-āmma*, *siyāsa* [q.v.], and *ḥukūḳ Allāh* [q.v.]—and covered such questions as military and governmental organization, taxation, especially land-taxes [see KHARĀDĪ] and the closely-related land-law, matters concerning the *bayt al-māl* [q.v.], and penal law. The *shari'a* conceded to the *imām* authority to promulgate and implement regulations governing the scales of non-Muslim taxes, the use to which con-

quered land or *mawāt* [q.v.] land should be put, the severity of *ta'zīr* [q.v.] punishment, and the protection of the community's economic interests [see HİSBA]. The *shari'a* recognized also the authority of the *imām-sultān* to decide and to legislate, if the public interest required it, upon any matter not treated by the *shari'a*. It came to be agreed that the individual was under a religious obligation to obey the sultan's command in matters not regulated by *naṣṣ* [q.v.] (cf. the introduction to the *Kānūnnāme*, in Istanbul Un. Lib., MS. T 1807).

Furthermore, some *fuḳahā'* regarded decisions taken on the ruler's authority as essential for the solution of various problems which concerned the *shari'a* (cf. the *fatwās* in Abū'l-Su'ūd's *Ma'rūḍāi*, *MTM*, i, 337-48 = P. Horster, *Zur Anwendung des Islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1935). In cases where the *shari'a* permitted two solutions, the decision of the *ūlu 'l-amr* was decisive (Abū Yūsuf, tr. Fagnan, 103-4); again, in cases of serious *ikhtilāf* [q.v.] among the *fuḳahā'*, the ruler might, in public interest, in order to ensure uniformity of practice and avoid rifts within the community, decree that the precepts of one specific *madhhab* [q.v.] were to be followed: thus under the 'Abbāsids [see IBN AL-MUKAFFA'] and later under the Saljūkids [see MALIKSHĀH] and the Ottomans (cf. *Ma'rūḍāi*, 347) it was made obligatory for the *kādīs* to follow the Ḥanafī rules in their courts. Such a decision greatly affected the direction taken by later legal development: thanks to the broad principles characterizing the Ḥanafī *madhhab* [see ABŪ ḤANĪFA], a new stage began, a period when new legal rules could be made in the forms of *fatwās* [q.v.] on the one hand and, on the other, decisions of the *Kādīs'* courts and regulations promulgated by the sultans.

In the period following the Mongol invasions, the concept of independent state law was greatly strengthened: in the Ottoman Empire, in Central Asia, in India, and in the Timūrid dominions, decrees issued by the rulers on matters of state organization, military affairs, taxes, land-tenure and penal law created a rich corpus of state law, entirely independent of the *shari'a*.

In the Ilkhānid state, whilst the old Iranian concept of the state of law was making headway thanks to the efforts of Persian bureaucrats, the Mongol aristocracy was endeavouring to assure the supremacy of the legal system of the *yasa* [q.v.]. The traditions and beliefs current in the steppe empires of Central Asia encouraged the view that the state subsisted through the maintenance of the *törü* (Arabic *tūrā*, see TÜZÜK) laid down by the *kaḡhan* (see H. İnalçık, *Kutadgu Bilig'de Türk ve İran devlet ve siyaset nazariye ve geleneçleri*, in *Reşit Rahmeti Arat için*, Ankara 1967, 259-71). This view was brought by the Turkish and Mongol ruling houses into the Middle East and survived in the states that they founded there (the Ottoman state included: for the Ottomans, the establishment of their sovereignty over a region was dependent upon the introduction there of the *Kānūn-i 'Othmānī*). It should not be overlooked that some early Ottoman writers (e.g., Aḥmedī, see *TM*, vi (1936-39), 111) praised the *yasa* of Čingiz-Khān as having promoted justice, and that Ottoman state-regulations were often referred to as *yasaḳ* or *yasaḳ-nāme*. In Egypt and Syria, too, *yasa* merged with *siyāsa* (see D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.*, xxxviii (1973), 115), tended to be accepted as a legitimate source of law.

In these new states the conflict between state law and the *shari'a* overlay a politico-social struggle among the bureaucracy, the 'ulamā', and the military

class. In Persia and in Anatolia, after the collapse of Mongol rule there was powerful pressure to do away altogether with the Turco-Mongol state law ('Aziz Astarâbâdi, *Bazm u ruzm*, Istanbul 1928, 223; Z. V. Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 271, 320, 376; for the reign of *Shâhrukh*, see *MTM*, ii, 357; for Syria and Egypt, see D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.*, xxxii, 97-140; xxxiv, 151-80, xxxvi, 113-58; for Iran, see Spuler, *Mongolen*, Berlin 1968, 235-44). Some 'ulamâ' in state service attempted to prove the legitimacy of the principle of an independent state law by appeal to such Islamic principles as *istihsân*, *maşlahâ*, and especially 'urf [q.v.].

In later years, the states which, on the basis of these principles, developed furthest the domain of state law were the Ottoman Empire and the Turco-Mongol states of India. Ottoman legists, emphasizing these points, accepted the principle that state law, as having from of old been the concern of independent *yargu* [q.v.] courts, should be applied by the *kâdis*; all the same, the special courts of the political and military authorities continued—the *dîwâns* of the Grand Vizier, of the Agha of the Janissaries, of the Kapudan Paşha, of the Defterdâr.

In the Ottoman state, the conflict of the *shari'a* and the ruler's law manifested itself in various stages. Mehemmed II [q.v.], as the promotor of a centralized and absolutist imperial system, strengthened the principles of *kânûn* and 'urf and encouraged the independence of "secular" law. He promulgated the Ottoman *Kânûnnâme*, and brought the 'ulamâ' more closely into an integrated state-controlled hierarchy of offices. According to a contemporary historian belonging to the bureaucracy (Tursun, 13), the "good order" (*nizâm*) of this world necessarily require the absolute coercive authority of the sultan (*yasâgh-i pâdishâhi*) and the sultan's promulgation of decrees of his own single will. The early years of his successor Bâyezid II saw a strong reaction by the upholders of the *shari'a* against his untrammelled legislative activity. Selim I rejected the intervention of the religious authorities in state affairs (cf. 'Ali Djemâlî, cited in Bibl.). Although Süleymân I was inclined to assert the *shari'a*'s control over state law, the latter preserved its independence as being the province of the *nishândîj* [q.v.]. It seems that the relative influence accorded to *shari'a* and *kânûn* depended to a degree on distinctions of *madhhab*: thus Abu 'l-Su'ûd regarded the use of money to establish a *wakf* as entirely acceptable to the *shari'a*, on the ground of *istihsân*, whereas Mehmed Birgewî [see BIRGEWÎ] regarded it as utterly illegal; Birgewî and the *Kâdizâdelis* were no doubt following Hanbali doctrine. From the 11th/17th century onwards the scope of the *kânûn* evidently began to contract to the advantage of the *shari'a*. *Fatwâs* of the *muftis* progressively restricted the law-making powers of the *nishândîjs*, and the influence of the *Shaykh* al-Islâm in state affairs progressively increased—to such a degree that in 1107/1696 the use of the word *kânûn* side by side with the word *shari'a* was forbidden by a firman of the Sultan ('O. Nûrî, *Medjielle-i umûr-i belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 568).

Nevertheless, in the later periods of reform the activity of making *kânûns*, independent of the *shari'a*, increased once more, and the struggle between *kânûn* and *shari'a*, now exacerbated by social and political factors, revealed itself in overt collisions [see SELİM III, NİZÂM-I DJEDİD, MAHMÛD II, İŞLÂH]. These *kânûns* were, it is true, always presented as being acceptable, on grounds of *istihsân*, to the religious law and essential for the well-being of *din*

and *umma*, and often received the approbation of *fatwâs* given by the 'ulamâ'; yet the reform measures were introduced by the bureaucrat class, which regarded the interests of the state as ultimately overriding all other considerations, and found their inspiration in sources foreign to Islam (the traditional Irano-Turkish state, or the states of 19th century Europe). The disputations which arose in every Muslim society thus entering upon the path of modernization concentrated upon the question of the relationship between *kânûn* and *shari'a*. In the Ottoman state in the period of the *Tanzîmât* [q.v.], European laws, either modified or adopted unchanged, were introduced into those fields which had been the preserve of ruler-made law (administration, taxation, penal law, etc.) (see H. Veldet, *Kanunlaşturma hareketleri*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 139-209). As a result of the challenge of Europeanization and modernization, new movements arose in the second half of the century. On the one hand, young intellectuals and 'ulamâ' disputed the question of whether the "door of *idjtihâd*" could be opened [see NÂMIK KEMÂL, DJAMÂL AL-DİN AL-AFGHÂNÎ, MUHAMMAD 'ABDUH]; on the other, a section of the Ottoman intelligentsia [see YEŪNİ 'OTHMÂNİLİAR], influenced by the French school of sociology, maintained that the *shari'a* in regard to its *mu'âmalât* [q.v.] was a social and historical product of the decrees of *mu'âmalât* [q.v.] and could alter in accordance with the needs of society, and that these changing needs could be satisfied by new legislation within the framework of *naşş* through a national assembly, a *shûrâ* [q.v.]. These currents of thought facilitated a radical alteration in family law in 1917 and the placing of the *kâdis*' courts, removed from the control of the *Shaykh* al-Islâm, under the Minister of Justice. Later still, merging with the agitation for the abolition of the Capitulations [see İMTİYAZÂT], they produced the uncompromisingly secular legal system of the Turkish Republic. In other Muslim states, however, the desire to maintain the attachment to the Islamic sources of the law has continued into recent times [see İŞLÂH].

4. The procedure for making and promulgating *kânûns* in the Ottoman state. The source and justification for *kânûn*-legislation was the principle of 'urf [q.v.], in the sense of the Sultan's unrestricted executive authority (and its synonym, *yasâb*). Hence every sort of *kânûn* was issued in the form of a *hukm* [q.v.] of the sultan, the typical formula being: *Kânûn emr edüb buyurdum ki . . .*, "having ordered [the promulgation of a] *kânûn*, I have commanded as follows . . ." (cf. *Belleten*, xi/44 (1947), 700, doc. 10). In practice, the procedure was as follows: a clerk attached to the office of the *Nishândîj* or the Defterdâr drew up a *hukm* in the form of a firman or a *berât*. This draft, after being checked by the *Nishândîj* or the Defterdâr, was confirmed by the Grand Vizier, with the word *şahh* ("correct"). Important *kânûns* were confirmed by receiving the *khatf* (autograph minute) of the sultan. There is evidence that some *kânûns* were dictated personally by the sultan (cf. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Lib., MS. Reisülküttâb 1004, fol. 34 a). *Kânûns* relating to *îmârs* ("fiefs"), agricultural taxes and land law were the province of the *Nishândîj*; those relating to other financial matters were enregistered in the office of the *bash-muhâsebe*, under the Defterdâr. Copies of the *kânûns* were despatched to the officers responsible for their implementation—variously, the *kâdis*, governors, *mültezims*, *emîns* of the customs, etc. *Kâdis* and governors would register them and make the neces-

sary entries in the appropriate registers, either by a marginal note or by attaching a slip to the page. *Kānūns* which affected the populace in general were proclaimed by criers (*mūnādī*) in such public places as the market or the mosque courtyard or were read and explained by the *kāḍī* to the *a'yān* [q.v.] and the *ashraf*, who had been summoned to the court-room for that purpose. The original document was preserved in the *bedestān* of the city or in a chest under the *kāḍī*'s eye (cf. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. anc. fonds turc 41, p. 25). Since the *kānūn* was a personal edict of the Sultan, to remain in force it required the confirmation of each new ruler; even Mehemmed II accepted and stated that *kānūns* might require improvement and modification. The issuing of *kānūns* tended to intensify at such times as the carrying out of a *tahrir* [q.v.], an accession, the promulgation of an *'adāletnāme* (for these circular firmans issued in the attempt to rectify abuses, see *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 (1965), 49-145), or the promotion of reforms.

A *kānūn* might confirm *'āda* [q.v.] ("custom") or *amthāl* ("precedent"), or—with or without modification—the *kānūns* of a state newly occupied by the Ottomans. Appeal to "traditional practice" is a common feature of Ottoman *kānūns*.

An indication of the independent status enjoyed by *kānūns* in the Ottoman state is the fact that they were entirely under the supervision of the *Nishāndjī*. Their final and official promulgation lay in his hands, for he possessed the responsibility of affixing to them the *tughra* [q.v.] by which they were authenticated. It was he who determined whether a *kānūn* remained in force, and whether new *hukms* issuing from the various departments of the administration were in conformity with the existing corpus of *kānūns*. Since *kānūns* so largely dealt with land matters and the *timār*-system, with the decline of the latter the scope for *kānūn* activity contracted, and the *Nishāndjī* lost his former importance.

It is no accident that outside the Ottoman Empire, the principle of independent legislation by *kānūn* was established, particularly in India and in those Muslim states founded by Turkish dynasties who had migrated from Central Asia. There too the *kānūn*, or rather, to use the terms there current, the *qābiḍa*, *ā'in*, *dastūr*, or *shāhī farmān*, is to be traced back both to the Iranian concept of "justice" as the ruler's principal concern and to the central Asian *lōrū* or *tūsūk*. According to Diyā' al-Dīn al-Bārānī (writing c. 760/1359), a *qābiḍa*, or state law, is "a rule of action which a king imposes as an obligatory duty upon himself for realizing the welfare of the state and from which he absolutely never deviates" (tr. M. Habib and Salim Khan, *Political theories*, 6).

*Bibliography*: Y. Karayalçın ve A. Mumcu, *Türk Hukuk Bibliyografyası*, Ankara 1972; M. Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny, *Law in the Middle East*, Washington D.C. 1955; M. Khadduri, *The Juridical Theory of the Islamic State*, in *MW*, xli (1951), 181-85; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1959; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam*, in *SI*, x (1959), 79-109; N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance with an Introduction to Mohammedan Law*, 1916; C. H. Becker, "Steuerpacht und Lehnwesen", in *Isl.* v (1914), 81-92. On the literature on *Kharājī*, see I. Goldziher, *Deutsche Lit. Zeitung*, xvii (1896), 1514 f.; H. F. Amedroz, *The Mazalim Jurisdiction in the Ahkam Sultaniyya of Mawardi*, in *JRAS* (1911), 635-74; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Evolution of Government in Early Islam*,

in *SI*, iv (1955), 1-17; Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 242-70; Gibb, *The Fiscal Rescript of 'Umar II*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 2-16; M. J. Coulson, *Doctrine and Practice in Islamic Law*, in *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 211-26. 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāzīq, *l'islam et les bases du pouvoir*, tr. L. Bercher, in *REI*, iii-iv (1933); A. d'Emilia, *Roman Law and Muslim Law, a Comparative Outline*, in *East and West*, iv (1953), 73-80; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden in Iraq*, Beirut 1969, 131-88; I. Goldziher, *Les Bida'*, in *BEA*, ii (1942), 131-4; Aziz Ahmad, *The Nature of Islamic Political Theory*, in *IC*, xvii (1943), 39-48; V. Barthold, *Études sur la notion islamique de souveraineté*, in *RMM* (1925); Djelal Noury, *Le droit public et l'Islam*, Constantinople 1909; M. Hamidullah, *The Quranic Conception of the State*, in *Quranic World*, Hyderabad, April 1936; M. M. Siddiqi, *The Development of Islamic State and Society*, Lahore 1956; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Les institutions juridiques turques au Moyen-Age, y-a-t-il un droit public turc distinct du droit public musulman?* in *Congress of Turkish History*, 1937; P. Wittek, *Islam und Kalifat*, in *Arch. f. Sozialwiss. u. Sozialpolitik*, liii (1925), 370-426; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Paris 1954-6; idem, *Hist. de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Leiden 1960, 433-650. F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period*, Copenhagen 1950; M. Habib and Afsar Umar Salim Khan, *Political Theories of the Delhi Sultanate*, including a translation of Ziauddin Barani's *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, circa 1358-9, A.D., Allahabad-Bombay-Delhi, n.d. (esp. ch. iv); W. Husain, *Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India*, Calcutta 1934 (Qa'nūn-i shāhī and *Jus gentium*, 134-45); Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707)*, Bombay 1963; Abū'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, Calcutta 1867-77; *Persian Sources of Indian History*, ed. G. H. Khare, Poona 1937; D. Ayalon, *The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān, a re-examination*, in *SI*, xxx, 97-140, xxxiii-xxxiv, 151-80; xxxvi, 113-58, xxxviii, 107-56; R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, *Kānūnnāme-i Sulḫānī ber müceb-i 'Orf-i 'Osmānī*, Ankara 1956; R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich*, 2 vols. and Nachtrag, Istanbul 1943-5; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans ottomans, II: Les lois mimiers*, Paris-The Hague; *Kānūnnāme-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, ed. M. 'Arif, *TOEM supplement*, Istanbul 1329-30; *Kanuni i Kanunname*, in *Monumenta Turcica*, ser. I, no. 1, ed. B. Durdev and others; Paul Horster, *Zur Anwendung des islamischen Rechts im 16. Jhd.*, Bonner Orientalist. Studien, Heft 10, Stuttgart 1935; G. D. Galabov and H. W. Duda, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadī-amtes Sofia*, Munich 1960; Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ziraf ekonominin hukukl ve mall esasları*, I, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943; S. J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative development of Ottoman Egypt*, 1517-1798, Princeton 1961; Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Penal Law*, ed. V. L. Ménage, Oxford 1973; R. Mantran and J. Sauvaget *Réglements fiscaux ottomans, Les provinces syriennes*, Beirut 1951; A. S. Tveritina, *XVI. Yüzyıl Osm. İmp. mali ve idari sistemini ilgilendiren bazı belgeler*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları*, viii/12-13 (1969), 65-88; H. Scheel, *Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der ökonomischen Kirchenfürsten in der alten Türkei*, Berlin 1943; F. Selle, *Prozessrecht des 16. Jahrhunderts im osmanischen Reich*, Wiesbaden 1962;

*Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, in *MTM*, i/1 (1331), 49-112, i/3, 497-544; Ottoman collection of *kānūns* from 1839 onwards in *Dustūr*, first series: 4 vols., 1881-5, and 4 supplementary vols., 1937-44; second series: 12 vols., 1913-28; J. Schacht, *Sharī'a und Qānūn im modernen Ägypten*, in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 209-36; W. Padel, *La législation foncière ottomane*, Paris 1904; A. Heidborn, *Manuel de droit public et administratif de l'empire ottoman*, Vienna-Leipzig 1908-12; J. N. D. Anderson, *The Sharī'a and Civil Law*, in *IQ*, i (1954), 29-46; S. S. Ansay, *Das Türkische Recht*, in *Orientalisches Recht, Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Leiden 1964, 441-61; E. Pritsch, *Die Modernisierung des türkischen Rechts*, in *Juristische Monatschrift*, lv (1926), 28-35; L. Ostorog, *The Angora Reform*, London 1927; G. Jäschke, *Die rechtliche Bedeutung der in den Jahren 1909-1916 vollzogenen Abänderungen des türkischen Staatsgrundgesetzes*, in *WI*, v (1917), 97-152; G. Jäschke, *Die Entwicklung der türkischen Verfassung 1924-1927*, in *Orient-Nachrichten*, no. 9-10 (1937); Aristarchi Bey and D. Nikolaidis, *Législation ottomane*, Istanbul 1873-78; L. Ostorog, *Pour la réforme de la justice ottomane*, Paris 1912; A. du Velay, *Histoire financière de la Turquie*, Paris 1903; *Medent Kanunun XV. yıldönümü için* Istanbul 1944; E. Pritsch, *Die türkische Verfassung*, in *MSOS*, xxvi-xxvii (1924), 138-251; B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London 1961; N. Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964; H. İnalcık, *On the Secularism in Turkey*, in *OLZ*, lxiv/9-10 (1969), 438-46.

(HALİL İNALCIK)

#### iv.—BERBER USAGE

The word *kānūn* was adopted by various Berber groups, especially in Kabylia and the Aurès, to mean the customs, mainly as regards penal matters, pertaining to a particular village. A number of *kānūns* have been published, notably by A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux (*La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1872-3, 21893, vols. ii and iii). To the bibliography given in the article BERBERS (iv), C. Lacoste, *Bibliographie ethnologique de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris-The Hague 1962, 72-6, should be added; see also the articles 'ADA and 'URF. (ED.)

**KĀNÜN**, musical instrument [see MALĀH].

**KĀNÜN-I ESĀSĪ** [see DUSTÜR].

**KĀNÜNNĀME**, in Ottoman usage the term generally referred to a decree of the sultan containing legal clauses on a particular topic. In the 9th/15th century the term *yasaknâme* had the same meaning, and during the Arab caliphate *ḥawānīn* had the sense of "a code of laws". In the Ottoman empire *Kānūnnāme* was occasionally extended to refer to regulations which viziers and pashas had enacted (see *Kāsim Paşa kānūnnāmesi*, in M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa İvası*, Istanbul 1952, 434), laws which a competent authority had formulated (e.g., the *kānūnnāme* of the *nishāndī* Djelalzāde) or to reform projects (e.g., the *kānūnnāme* of İbshīr Paşa, see Na'īmā, *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1280, v, 199). However, a *kānūnnāme* was like any normal *kānūn* in that only a Sultan's decree could give it official authority. Just as a single decree (*fermān* or *berāt*) or a defined and limited topic could form a *kānūnnāme*, there were others applicable to the whole Empire or to a particular region or social group.

The practice in Islamic states of issuing official, codified *kānūnnāmes* has two apparent sources, one being the traditions of the old Middle Eastern cultures and the other the traditions of the Turco-Mongol

*khānates* (see KĀNÜN). To prevent abuses by officials, the old Iranian Empires established the practice of carrying legal clauses—particularly tax-laws—on stone, in places always visible to the public. This was possibly a tradition descended from the older Mesopotamian civilisations (see M. Tosun, *Sumer, Babil ve Asurlularda Hukuk*, in *Belleten* xxxvii/148 (1973), 565; W. Hinz, *Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen vorderen Orient*, in *Belleten*, xiii/52 (1949), 745-23). Similarly, in the era of the Caliphate, there must have been registers in *kānūnnāme* form containing decrees (*aḥkām*) and conditions (*shurūf*) connected with land tax. These decrees were officially transmitted to administrators and tax farmers (*multazim*) as a *dastūr* (see KĀNÜN) in the collection of taxes (Kiya Māzandarānī, *Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, ed. W. Hinz, 57). In the Mongol-Iranian Empire, the *yasā* [q.v.] of Čingiz Khān, known as *yāsā-yi ḥādīm-i Čingiz Khān*, *yarghūnāme* (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ta'rikh-i mubārak-i Ghāzān Khān*, ed. K. Jahn, 149) or *yāsāk-i buzurg*, served as a basis for the ordering of military-political affairs and the settlement of law-suits. Even in the days of the Muslim Ghāzān Khān, the observance of Čingiz Khān's *yāsā* was regarded as the foundation of the state's well-being (Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 304). Even after the fall of the Mongol régime and despite a powerful reaction of the 'ulamā' against the *yāsā*, the term *yasaknâme*, or simply *yasak*, continued as a name for collections of laws by the ruler. The efforts of the native officials led to the amalgamation of the *yāsā* with the Iranian-Islamic tradition of *maḡālim* [q.v.] jurisdiction (Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh-i Nakhdjevānī, *Dastūr al-Kātib*, ed. 'Alizāde, i, 212, 322, 325). It is significant that codified *kānūnnāmes* appeared only in Iran, Anatolia, 'Irāk and India—places with firmly established Turco-Mongol traditions and dynasties—and in regions of the Ottoman Empire where the typical Ottoman laws and administration were in force, sc. in Rumelia and Anatolia.

*Kānūnnāmes* covered the fields of public law, state organization, administration, taxation, penal law and *hisba* [q.v.] (*aḥkām-i dīwānī*; *istifā'ī mamālīk*, *taḥdīd ve siyāsat-i mudjrimān*, see Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh-i Nakhdjevānī, *op. cit.*, part I, ch. 1).

When the Ottomans first occupied a newly conquered territory, they usually maintained existing *Kānūns* or else adopted them with slight modifications. In this way the codes of the Mamlūk Kāyitbay, the Aḳ-koynlu Uzun Ḥasan and the Dulḳadrīlī 'Alā' al-Dawla have reached us in their original forms under the guise of Ottoman *kānūnnāmes*. An Aḳ-koynlu source confirms that Uzun Ḥasan [q.v.] issued a penal *kānūnnāme* for general use throughout his territory, whose application was compulsory (M. Schmidt-Dumont, *Türkmenische Herrscher . . . nach dem Tārīḥ al-Giyāṭī*, Freiburg 1970, 219; J. Woods, *From clan to empire, Aḳkoynlus . . .*, Dissertation, Princeton University, 1974). Uzun Ḥasan's *kānūnnāmes* or *yāsās* were current in eastern Anatolia, Ādharbāyḍiān, 'Irāk-i 'Arab and 'Irāk-i 'Adjam (Sharaf Khān, *Sharafnāme*, ii, 120, cited by J. Woods, *op. cit.*). The Ottomans confirmed those in force in eastern Anatolia, applying them from 922/1516 to 955/1548. Thus the Ottomans, while abolishing Şafarid *kānūns* after the conquest of 'Irāk, retained those of Uzun Ḥasan (see H. İnalcık, *Adāletnāmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 (1965), 140-2). The main purpose of these *kānūnnāmes* was to show the rates and methods of payment of 'urfī taxes and market taxes or *bādī* [see TAḠGHA]. The Dulḳadrīlī (Dhu 'l-Kādirīyye) *kānūnnāmes* are essentially

criminal *kānūnnāmes* (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, Istanbul 1943, 119-29). The Ottoman *kānūnnāmes* for Cilicia, Syria and Egypt comprise the *kānūnnāme* attributed to Kāyitbay [q.v.] dealing with 'urfī taxes, customs duties and gifts (see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 200, 223, 226, 361, 364, 365, 370). Certain Indian collections of Sultanī laws and regulations, such as the *Tuzūkhāt* attributed to Timūr (see *Tuzūkhāt-i Timūri*, ed. Major Davy, Oxford 1783), the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, or the *Ahkām-i Ālamgīrī*, are well known, but only the criminal code of Ālamgīr I is really comparable to Ottoman *kānūnnāmes*, since it was issued in the form of imperial decrees (see J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* 122-30; U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford 1973, 317).

The opposition of the 'ulamā' to such compilations usually made the Sultans reluctant to give *kānūns* a permanent character by publishing them in codified versions. They preferred to issue *Kānūns* in the form of single imperial decrees (*fermāns*) on a particular topic and, as a result, there are few codified *kānūnnāmes*. Mehemmed II [q.v.] appears to have been the first Islamic sovereign to issue a codified and officially promulgated *kānūnnāme* intended to be binding on posterity. In this he was perhaps conforming to the legal practice of the Turco-Mongol *kağhans*. He issued two *kānūnnāmes*, one for the *re'āyā* and one for state organisations.

Mehemmed II's *kānūnnāme* for the *re'āyā* aimed firstly to prevent the malpractices of the 'askerī [q.v.] class who gathered a number of taxes directly from the *re'āyā*, and secondly to fix the rates of taxes and money fines, and in this way to realise the state's ideal of bringing protective justice to the *re'āyā*. This *kānūnnāme* was issued as a code of practice for *kādīs* and governors in settling disputes. The *re'āyā kānūnnāme* is codified according to a particular pattern (for the theory that *kānūnnāmes* follow no set pattern, see Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.*, liv-lxiii). The first three chapters contain criminal clauses applicable to both Muslim and non-Muslim *re'āyā*. The arrangement of the subject matter is the same as in *fiqh* books. In particular, it fixes the amounts of fines due to the 'askerī class from the *re'āyā* (see İnalcık, *Osmanlı hukukuna giriş*, 117; U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 7-18; text edited by Fr. Kraelitz, in *MOG*, i (1921-22), 13-48; cf. İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüşümü*, in *Belleten*, xxiii/92, 576-78). Added to the end of the third chapter are the rates of some other taxes levied by *kādī*'s decree (see Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, clauses 11-18).

The fourth chapter of the *re'āyā kānūnnāme* lists the regular taxes which the *re'āyā* pay to the *sipāhīs*. It comprises seven sections based on the seven duties which the *re'āyā* have to perform for the *sipāhīs* and gives fixed taxes in lieu of these services (see İnalcık, *op. cit.*). This section again follows a clear pattern. It deals first of all with Muslim *re'āyā* liable to *cift* [q.v.] tax. Then a separate section shows the organisation and obligations of the *yürüks* (*kānūn-i yürükān*) who were exempted from all services. The next section shows taxes paid by Christian *re'āyā* liable to the *ispēnāje* (see İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüşümü*, 602-8). The final section lists the *bādī* taxes, payable in town markets (Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, clauses 9-28) and applicable to both Christians and Muslims.

In general, Ottoman *kānūnnāmes* were systematically drawn up according to the logic of the Ottoman tax and administrative system. Only *kānūns* added later went contrary to the system. The four chapters in the *kānūnnāme* of Mehemmed the Conqueror, setting out taxes and relations between *re'āyā* and

*sipāhīs*, follow the same system as the *sandīak kānūnnāmes* and *tahrīr* registers. These list, in turn, *ēfti* tax and similar imports, tithes (*a'shār*), orchard tax, beehive tax and the like, then taxes paid on animals and, lastly, fines (*djērā'im*) and irregular taxes (*bād-i havā*). Some *sandīak kānūnnāmes*, like the *kānūnnāme* of Mehemmed the Conqueror, contain a supplement showing *bādī* taxes (cf. the *kānūnnāme* of Aydın in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 6-18).

Most Ottoman *kānūnnāmes* can be classified, according to their form, under four main headings:

1. *Kānūnnāmes* in the form of decrees of the Sultān

These were issued as *fermāns* or *berāts* in answer to particular administrative problems or needs, and required governors and *kādīs* to put them into immediate effect. Most of them are in genuine *kānūnnāme* form and contain a number of clauses on a specific topic. Complete or abridged copies existed in official registers in the capital or in *kādīs'* registers in the provinces. Valid official copies of the decrees could be issued from these sources (see *Belleten*, xi/44 (1947), 693-703).

It is likely that such *kānūns* in the form of decrees were collected in book form to meet the needs of secretaries. The oldest known collection dates from the reign of Bāyezīd II (see R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık (eds.), *Kānūnnāme-yi sultānī ber müceb-i 'urf-i 'osmānī*, Ankara 1956. Other important collections, dating from the 10th/16th century are as follows: Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MSS. Revan Nos. 1935, 1936; Istanbul University Library, MS No. T. 2753; British Museum, MS Or. No. 9503; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ancien fonds turc, MSS Nos. 34, 85; Sarajevo, Orientalni Institut, MS Turcica No. 3; Istanbul Bayezid Library, MS Veliyüddin No. 1970; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Refsülküttāb, No. 1085).

2. *Sandīak kānūnnāmes*

The government of Ilkhānid Iran maintained separate registers showing taxes and regulations for each region, known as *Kānūn-i mamlakat*. The custom, no doubt, went back via the 'Abbāsids to ancient Iran. The Ottomans continued to practice with their regional *vilāyet* or *sandīak* (*livā'*) *kānūnnāmes*.

These *kānūnnāmes* were confirmed by the Sultān's cipher (*tughra*, [q.v.]) and placed at the beginning of the detailed (*mufasssal*) cadastral registers of each province. They existed for provinces where the system of state (*mīrī*) lands and *timars* [q.v.] was in force, with the primary aim of preventing and settling disputes between the *re'āyā* and the timar-holders.

They were like the *Kānūnnāmes* in the form of decrees in that they were official and in force at a particular date. The *beylerbeyis'* councils and *kādī*'s courts had to give judgement in accordance with these codes.

The arrangement of clauses in Ottoman *sandīak kānūnnāmes* follows a specific pattern (see above).

*Sandīak kānūnnāmes* followed well-defined principles in the formulation of *re'āyā* taxes and land laws. These principles probably took on the character of a system in the first half of the 9th/15th century, or perhaps a little earlier and, under the title *kānūn-i 'oḥmānī*, displayed the peculiarities of the Ottoman régime (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i (1969), 128-35). Mehemmed the Conqueror was the first to have these principles codified in his *re'āyā kānūnnāme* which was to be enforced throughout the Empire. Apart from occasional legal clauses, obviously summarized from

*kānūns* in the form of decrees, the detailed cadastral registers from Mehmed the Conqueror's reign contain no *sandjak kānūnnāmes*. The oldest surviving *sandjak kānūnnāme* is that of *Khudāvendigār* (Bursa), dated 892/1487 (see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 1-6).

The practice of placing at the front of the detailed cadastral surveys for each *sandjak*, separate *kānūnnāmes* showing the *kānūns* in force in the *sandjak*, dates from Bāyezīd II's reign. The *Khudāvendigār kānūnnāme* of 892/1487 appears to be a model for later ones. Some *sandjak kānūnnāmes* have been collected and published (Barkan, *op. cit.*, contains about 80 *sandjak kānūnnāmes*. Other collections are J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, i, Vienna 1815; *Kānūn-i kanun-name*, Monumenta Turcica, series I, No. 1, Sarajevo 1957).

Since Ottoman Law was in general based on precedent, it is possible to divide *sandjak kānūnnāmes* into related groups based on chronology and geography. Taking the rate of taxation as a basis, we find that the *kānūnnāmes* from the *eyālet* of Anadolu in western Anatolia form a group with the *kānūnnāme* of *Khudāvendigār*. Central Anatolia—Karamān, İçel and Ankarā—forms a second category, similar to the first, whereas the *sandjaks* of eastern Anatolia—Malātya, Diyārbekir, Erzurūm, Muşul, *Khārpūt* and Mārdīn—and Syria form two separate groups.

The Rumelian *sandjak kānūnnāmes* form a special group. Here clauses from the typical *kānūn-i 'othmānī* co-exist with Byzantine and Slav customary law and institutions. A number of laws are based entirely on pre-Ottoman practice: the *bashlīna* as a unit of land and the *ispēndje* [q.v.] as a *re'āyā* tax; the taxes on hay and wood derived from Balkan feudalism and the grain levy of two measures of wheat and two of barley. Other taxes on wine production—barrel tax, *obručuna* and *monopolya 'ādeli*—again ante-date Ottoman rule. The Rumelian *kānūnnāmes* also contain clauses relating to groups such as the *yürüks*, *müsellems*, *voynuks*, Vlachs, Tatars and *filoridjis*. Another peculiarity of Rumelian *kānūnnāmes* is that side-by-side with typical *sandjak kānūnnāmes* regulating affairs between the *re'āyā* and *sipāhis* (e.g. the 977/1569 *kānūnnāme* of Silistra, in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 278-89), there are others regulating affairs between members of the *'askerī* class only (e.g. the *kānūnnāme* of Nighbolu (Nikopol) in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 267-71).

The *sandjak kānūnnāmes* for Hungary are modelled on other 10th/16th century Rumelian *kānūnnāmes*, except that certain taxes and laws were retained from the days of the Hungarian kingdom. It thus becomes obvious that, after the conquest of an area, the Ottomans adopted the *sandjak kānūnnāmes* of adjoining regions as a model for the newly-conquered lands. Differences arose from the survival of certain local laws and taxes and from changes in Ottoman law which occurred at certain dates. However, it is important to realise that the principles of the *kānūn-i 'othmānī* always applied to questions of land ownership and the status of the peasantry.

### 3. *Kānūnnāmes* relating to specific groups

These can be treated in the same category as *kānūnnāmes* of provinces. Special *kānūnnāmes* were usually issued for *re'āyā* groups serving the state in a particular capacity (see İnalçık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsumu*, 295-300). These were principally groups performing auxiliary military service, the most important of which were *yaya* and *müsellem* (for *kānūnnāme*, see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 241-2, 259), *djānbāz* (for *kānūnnāme*, *ibid.*, 247-8), *eshkindji*

*yürük* and *eshkindji tatar* (for *kānūnnāmes*, see M. T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yürükler, tatarlar ve evlād-i fātihan*, Istanbul 1957), Vlachs (*eflāk*) (for *kānūnnāmes*, see B. Đurdev and others (eds.), *Kānūn-i kānūnnāme*, Sarajevo 1957, 12-14; N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Quatre actes de Mehmed II concernant les valaques des Balkans slaves*, Südost-Forschungen, xxiv, 1965, 115) and *voynuk* (for *kānūnnāme*, see *Osmanische-Türkische Quellen zur Bulgarischer Geschichte*, iii, Sofia 1943).

The *Kānūnnāmes* of these groups make it clear that their organisation was on the pattern of an auxiliary military corps, and that they were all, therefore, liable to tax exemptions (see İnalçık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsumu*, 594-601). In the 9th/15th century these groups had *'askerī* status, but as their military importance declined in the 10th/16th century, they descended to *re'āyā* status and became subject no longer to their own, but to ordinary *sandjak kānūnnāmes*.

Secondly, certain groups engaged in production for the state had their own *kānūnnāmes*, for example the rice-field workers (*celtükçü*) (for *kānūnnāme*, see Library of the Topkapı sarayı, Revan no. 1936) and the miners (*ma'dençü*) (for *kānūnnāmes*, see R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich*, 2 parts and supplement, Istanbul 1943-5; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans*, ii, *Règlements miniers*, 1390-1572, Paris-The Hague 1964). Most of the miners' *kānūnnāmes* are translations of local, pre-Ottoman statutes. Prisoners-of-war settled in a particular place (*ortakçi kullar*) occupied a special position among these groups (see Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun toprak işçiliğinin organizasyonu şekilleri*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, i/1-3). Similarly, the gypsies of Rumelia were subject to their own *kānūnnāme* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 249-50).

### 4. *Kānūnnāmes* relating to state organisations

These form a third category. Mehmed II's *kānūnnāme* dealing with state organisations (see M. 'Arif [ed.], in *TOEM* supplement, Istanbul 1330; A. S. Tveritonova [ed.], *Badā'ic al-Wakā'ic*, ii, Moscow 1961, 277b-283b) states at the beginning that it was written to regulate the affairs of the sultanate. Its pattern follows the logic of the Ottoman system of government, dealing in one place with matters of the Palace, government and protocol. Its claims deal in turn with the form of government, its notables and their sphere of authority, their relationship with the Sultan, their ranks and degrees, promotion, salary, retirement and punishment. Mehmed II's *kānūnnāme* is the only one of this type. Later Sultans did issue regulations for state organisations, but they are not comprehensive. Later *kānūnnāmes* and regulations on this topic are the compilations of statesmen and bureaucrats (among the most important are 'Aynī 'Alī Efendi, *Kawānīn-i āl-i 'Othmān der khulāṣa-yi meḍāmīn-i defter-i diwān*, Istanbul 1280; the *kānūnnāme* of Nishāndīl 'Abdurrahmān Pasha, in *MTM* i/5 [1331], 494-544; the *kānūnnāme* of Eyyūbī Efendi, Istanbul University Library, MS T 734; Hezārfenn Hüseyn Efendi, *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fi kawānīn-i āl-i 'Othmān*; see H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyn b. Ga'fer, genannt Hezārfenn*, Freiburg 1971; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (ed.), *Kānūn-i 'Othmānī meḥmūd-i defter-i khākānī*, in *Belleter*, xv/59 (1951), 381-99, and a longer version of this work, H. Hadzibegić, *Rasprava Ali čauša . . .*, in *Glasnik zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, ii, Sarajevo 1947, 146-73).

The Ottoman archives, however, contain the



manuscripts of several official *kānunnāmes* dealing with ceremonial (Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, *Teşrifât defterleri*), and there are also works written by officials concerned with ceremonial (e.g. Nâ'îlî 'Abdu'llâh Paşa, *Defter-i teşrifât*, Turkish Historical Society Library, MS no. Y 49, published in part in *TOEM*, xvi, 249-60; Es'ad Efendi, *Teşrifât-i kadîme*, Istanbul 1293; see also *Kānunnāme-yi teşrifât*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 220).

Some of the works written to recommend reforms or as handbooks for Sultans or Grand Viziers contain detailed facts about *kānūns* relating to state organisations (e.g. Luţfî Paşa, *Kitâb-i mustefâb*, ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1974; *Hîrz al-Mulûk*, MS. Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1612; see K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1973; Koçi Beg, *Risâle*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1239; Şarl Mehmed Paşa, *Naşâ'ih al-umarâ' wa'l-wuzarâ'*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935. Works concerning Palace statutes and organisation: Mehmed Khalife, *Ta'rikk-i ghl-mâni*, in *TOEM*, supplement, 1340; Ilyâs, *Letâ'if-i enderân*; A. 'Aṭâ', *Ta'rikk-i 'Aṭâ'*, Istanbul 1291-3).

There are also *kānunnāmes* for particular aspects of state organisation, the *Kawānîn-i yenileriyân* (Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MS Revan no. 1320; Istanbul University Library, MS no. T 3293), for example, dealing with the Janissaries. There are other *kānūns* and *kānunnāmes* dealing with *timars*, treasury affairs, *muḳāfa'as*, customs, the mint, currency, the *kaḫt kulları*, the '*ulamâ'*, cadastral surveys, military campaigns etc. (See Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MSS Revan nos. 1935, 1936, Bagdad no. 346; Süleymaniye Library, Relsülküttâb no. 1004, Es'ad Efendi no. 2362, Bayezid Library, Veliyüddin Nos. 1969, 1970; Şehid Ali Paşa, no. 3832; Istanbul University Library MS no. T 1438; Âtif Efendi Library, Istanbul, no. 1734; Staatsbibliothek, Vienna, Mixt. 478, H. O. 154; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ancien fonds turc, nos. 35, 85; Westdeutsche Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, Orient No. 2730; Staatsbibliothek, Munich, cod. turc. nos. 117, 118).

##### 5. General *kānunnāmes*

This type of *kānunnāme* was in force throughout the Empire. Mehmed II's *re'âyâ kānunnāme* formed the nucleus of the codes of the following Sultans. This *Kānunnāme* was promulgated under Bayezid II in ca. 907/1501 in a much enlarged and modified version, under the title *Kitâb-i kawānîn-i 'urfiyye-yi 'othmāniyye* (Koyunoğlu MS facsimile edition, N. Beldiceaneu, *Code de lois coutumières de Mehmed II*, Wiesbaden 1967). It contains the amendments of Hersekzâde Ahmed Paşa [q.v.] and forms the basis of the *kānunnāme* later attributed to Sulaymân I (see İnalçık, *Adâletnâmeler*, 56; *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 117-26; U. Heyd, *ibid.*, 18-24). Their introduction and chapter headings are identical. It falls into three large chapters. The first chapter is a version of Mehmed II's criminal code, extended and further systematized (Koyunoğlu MS, 1-9; M. 'Arif's edition, *TOEM* supplement, 1-10). The second chapter deals with the obligations of the *sipâhî* and laws affecting the *sipâhî* class. It then describes the *sipâhî*'s rights over the *re'âyâ* in their capacity of *şâhib-i ra'îyyet* and *şâhib-i arđ* and the taxes which they received. This chapter also contains a *bâdî kānūn* related to *khâşş* and *timar* incomes, and a supplementary *kānunnāme* for *yayas* and *müsellems*. The third chapter deals with the rights and obligations of the *re'âyâ* and the conditions of land tenure. Following this are special *kānunnāmes* for *re'âyâ*

groups performing military duties and subject to special statutes—'*asab*, *yürük*, *haymana* and *eslâk*. To conclude there are two special *kānūns* obviously issued during the compilation of the *kānunnāme*. One concerns illegal innovations (*bid'at*) in Konya, abrogated for contravening the *kānūn-i 'othmāni*. The other contains regulations for collecting Palace firewood.

The compilation of the *kānunnāme* seems to have followed this pattern. To start with, it makes large scale borrowings from the *Khudāvendigâr kānunnāme* of 892/1487, and similarly from the *kānunnāmes* of the *sandjaqs* of Anadolu, *Qarāmân* and *Rûm* (Ama-sya). It also has frequent references to the *kānunnāmes* of frontier *sandjaqs* such as *Vidir* and *Semendere* (Smederovo) in Rumelia, obviously because laws outside the *kānūn-i 'othmāni* were current in these regions. Clauses from the cadastral register of Semendere were added directly to the *kānunnāme* (see İnalçık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 120). Tax laws had a regional character, and for this reason the *kānunnāme* contains no general regulations on the subject. It was rather in the fields of land law, *timar* holdings and criminal law that the *kānunnāme* was of universal application.

Newly-issued *kānūns* in the form of decrees and new *sandjaq kānūns* led to later modifications and re-issues of this *kānunnāme* in the names of the Sultans following Bayezid II. Although Selim I's *kānunnāme* (for various versions see A. S. Tveritina, *Kniga zakonov Sultan Selima I*, Moscow 1969) has not been widely publicised, the later version promulgated under Sulaymân I has received widespread attention (for copies see U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 24-32). In this period the *nishāndî* Djelâlzâde made important changes in the general *kānunnāmes*, and a number of manuscripts contain *kānūns* collected under his name (e.g., Süleymaniye Library, Relsülküttâp no. 1004). During the era of decline following the 10th/16th century, the *kānunnāme* of Sulaymân I came to be idealised as the foundation of the classical Ottoman régime (see İnalçık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 105; Na'imâ, *Ta'rikk*, v, 101). Nevertheless, the decay of the *timâr* régime made much of it obsolete and in the 11th/17th century a new *kānunnāme* replaced it, called *kānunnāme-yi djedîd-i sullânî*. This was a detailed compilation widely used in Ottoman courts of the period. (There is no critical study of this text. Most versions end with a *fermân* dated 1084/1673 concerning taxes such as tithes ('*ushr*)—cf. *MTM*, i, 330. Some versions are shorter. One version, with additions, is printed: *MTM*, i, 49-112, 305-48. Other important versions: Istanbul University Library MSS T 398, 400, 475, 969, 2664, 2730, 3586, 4107, 5828, 5845, 5846, 9623, 9550, 9737; Bursa Public Library, no. 1996; Library of the Topkapı Palace, Bagdad no. 347, 404; Istanbul, Millet Library, Fatih, Ali Emiri no. 72, 76, 80; Tirana National Library no. 154 ff. 27-67; Vienna, Staatsarchiv, Krafft no. 470; Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, Flügel no. 149, ff. 1-43; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. turc. nos. 113, 114, 115; Marburg, Westdeutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hs.or. quart. nos. 1023, 1102, 1835, Hs. Or. oct. nos. 809, 843, 892; Sofia, National Library, Turkish MSS 1332/166, facsimile edition by G. Galabov, *Turski Izvori* . . . , Sofia 1961, 167-200; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, E. Blochet, supplement, 68, 71, 78, 79, 1311; British Museum, Rieu Add. 7834, 7840; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih no. 5424; Konya, Koyunoğlu Museum, nos. 12337, 11337, 12396, 12334, 12395; Ankara, Library of the Turkish Historical Society, Y 321, 325, 396).



The definite compilation of this *Kānūnnāme* dates from 1084/1673, obviously as an answer to the new problems of the age of decline, in particular to land problems. *Kānūns* which the *nishāndjī* Djelālzāde formulated in the classical age, and others formulated by *Nishāndjī* Ḥamza Paṣḥa, the author of many reforming *kānūns* in the late 16th century, occupy a large part of this *kānūnnāme*. Similarly, *kānūns* promulgated between the years 1012/1603 and 1019/1610 are among the new features of this *kānūnnāme* which also makes mention of a *Kānūnnāme-yi Sultān Aḥmed Khān*. Another important point distinguishes it from earlier collections. This is the inclusion from the time of Aḥmed I, of *mifṭīs' fetvās* on topics previously dealt with by the *nishāndjīs*, in particular problems of land law and sometimes the law concerning *sipāhīs* (see *MTM*, i, 320). The compiler obviously drew them mainly from the *fetvā* collections of Pīr Mehmed [q.v.] (see *Zāhir al-Kuḍāt*, MS, Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 1938; Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi, no. 1094; for details of the work see, Heyd, *op. cit.*, 189-90), *Sheykh* ül-İslām Yaḥyā (there are many copies of his *fetvā* collection, e.g. Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi, no. 1088; Beṣir Aḡa no. 332) and *Sheykh* ül-İslām Bahā'ī (one copy of his *fetvā* collection, Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 1938, ff. 151-166).

The *kānūnnāme-yi Qeḍidā* differed from the *kānūnnāmes* of the classical age which *nishāndjīs* prepared and the Sultan ratified, and which contained only *ḥurfi kānūns* [see KĀNÜN].

It has been claimed that none of the general *kānūnnāmes* was an official code to be enforced in the courts and offices of state (see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, xx-xxxiv; *Osmanlı imparatorluğu teşkilâtı ve müesseselerinin ser'liḡi meselesi*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xi/3-4 (1945), 214-15; art. *Kanunname*, in *İA*). It is true that the law valid for a particular subject at a particular date was always the most recent imperial *fermān* or a clause in the latest *sandjāk kānūnnāme*. Nevertheless, the *kānūnnāmes* showing all the laws current in the courts and *beylerbeyis'* councils at a specific period were a source and reference book for official decisions. Clauses in the general *kānūnnāmes* requiring amendment were either entered directly by the *kāḍī* or *beylerbeyi*, or sent for correction to the *nishāndjī* in the capital (see İnalçık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 120-3). However, it should not be forgotten that *kāḍīs* were as free to give decisions in accordance with unratified *kānūnnāmes* in their possession as they were in accordance with *shar'ī fiḡh* books. There are thousands of surviving *kānūnnāmes* which previously belonged to *kāḍīs* or clerks of court. On rare occasions, these officials arranged the legal clauses under chapters and sub-headings according to their personal system (e.g. Istanbul University Library, MS T. 1807). Several types of general *kānūnnāme* have survived. The 10th/16th century documents make it abundantly clear that these *kānūnnāmes* intended as general penal codes for the whole Empire were promulgated by the central government as official codes whose application in the courts was compulsory (see İnalçık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 115, 117; U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 171-80). An official *kānūnnāme*, whose application was enforced (*ma'mulün bihi*) remained in the possession of the *re'isülküttāb* as a reference work for the correction of other *kānūnnāmes* or for transactions and the drawing up of documents in the *diwān* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, 32). *Kāḍīs* entered the official *kānūnnāmes* into official registers and were henceforth

bound to act in accordance with them. The introductions to the codes of Meḡmed II, Bāyezīd II and Sulaymān I state that their publication was a decree of the Sultan, and that their application was compulsory. The expressions *ma'mulün bihi* or *mu'tabar* are used to make this clear.

The concept of an official code in the sense of European legal terminology entered the Ottoman Empire in the 13th/19th century. In this century European legal concepts predominated in the codification and promulgation of *kānūnnāmes*, *nizāmnāmes* and even of the *Meḡjelle* [q.v.] [see also TANZIMĀT]. This influence, apparent already in the military statutes of Selīm III's reign, grew stronger in the codes of the *tanẓimāt* epoch. Some of these are direct translations of European laws (see Hıfzı Veldet, *Kanunlaştırma hareketleri ve Tanzimat*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 139-209; *Dustūr, tertib-i evvel*, Istanbul 1279; Aristarchi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, Istanbul 1873-4).

*Bibliography* (in addition to works cited in the article): Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda sırai ekonominin hukuki ve malî esasları*, i: *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943; H. İnalçık, *Osmanlı hukukuna giriş*, in *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, xiii (1958); idem, *Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman law*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i (1969), 105-38; U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman criminal law*, ed. V. L. Ménage, Oxford 1973; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, Paris-The Hague 1960-4. (H. İNALÇIK)

**KANURI.** The name Kanuri, applied to both a language and to a people, appears to be of recent origin. The earliest known written occurrence is in the 18th century. The Kanuri language belongs apparently to the Teda-Daza group, mainly located east of Lake Chad. The most recent hypothesis is that Kanembu, the language of Kanem [q.v.], evolved from various older Daza languages, as speakers of these moved south into Kanem; and that Kanuri in turn developed, partly through the influence upon Kanembu of languages of the Chadic family spoken west of Lake Chad, among Kanembu-speakers as these gradually moved southwest into Bornū. Kanembu is still regarded as the classical language of *tafsīr* [q.v.] in Bornū. The Kanuri language achieved widespread importance through the political power of Bornū, the Islamic prestige of that state, and its position at the southern end of the ancient trans-Saharan highway to Tripoli.

The Kanuri people have undergone a similar development. Traditions speak of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [q.v.], the great Arab folk hero, becoming leader of the Magumi nomads, and of the Magumi gradually establishing their ascendancy over a number of other groups in the Kanem region. The emergence of some form of organized state, embracing disparate groups, in Kanem, which may be assigned to the 9th or 10th centuries A.D., is now seen less as the result of the imposition of rule by nomad immigrants upon disorganized local peoples than as the interaction between nomadic and settled. Early Sefawa rulers, i.e., reputed descendants of the perhaps legendary Sayf, who are probably more accurately to be regarded as heads of the Sefawa lineage of the Magumi clan, married women of various groups which were later to help make up the Kanuri, and the children of these non-Magumi women succeeded to the kingship, which was of the "divine" pattern. Sedentarisation advanced; the first towns in Kanem are mentioned in the 12th century.

Whether the name Kanuri may properly be used of the people of Kanem at this stage is a moot point, though many recent authorities do so. The further movement of people into Bornū, the region southwest of Lake Chad, had apparently begun early. Both Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa knew the name Bornū; and in the 1390s the ruler of Kanem and his court themselves fled into Bornū, driven from Kanem by their rivals, the Balula [q.v.]. Gradually Bornū, rather than Kanem, became the centre of gravity in the area, following this exodus; even when the old Kanem capital, Njimi, was recaptured in the 15th century, the Sefawa never returned to settle there. In Bornū, a remarkable process of amalgamation went on, facilitated by the absence of natural boundaries, and involving immigrants from Kanem, the local peoples (loosely called the So or Sao [q.v.], nomadic arrivals and others, and large numbers of slaves from various quarters. From this melting pot came the Kanuri proper, far more homogeneous by the 18th century that they had been in the 15th. The process of assimilation continues until today: the outward sign of it is the adoption of the Kanuri language. The Kanuri are thus, like the Hausa [q.v.], less a tribe in the customary sense than a group of people of diverse origins bound together by a common language. When, early in the 19th century, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amin al-Kānemi [q.v.] rescued Bornū from the threat of the Fulani [see FULBE] *dīhād*, his chief reliance was upon his Kanembu troops, and these were quite distinct from the Kanuri of Bornū.

The Lake Chad area has from a very early date benefited from the trans-Saharan route running north through Kavar and Fazzān [qq.v.] to Tripoli. Slaves were the principal export. Al-Ya'kūbī [q.v.], in the 3rd/9th century, refers to Zawīla, then the centre of Fazzān, where slave traders even from Asia were already established. Al-Iṣṭakhīrī [q.v.] in the 4th/10th century contrasts the slaves passing through Zawīla with those from eastern Africa, the Zandj [q.v.] among them, and finds those from the Central Sudan blacker and better than all the others. It is likely that the slave revolt in 'Irāq, in the late 3rd/9th century, particularly associated with Zandj slaves, may have occasioned a reaction in Middle Eastern markets in favour of other varieties. Al-Bakrī [q.v.] in the 5th/11th century mentions slave exports from Fazzān. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa comments upon the excellent slave girls from Bornū, their eunuchs (*fiṭyān*) and saffron-dyed fabrics. Leo Africanus [q.v.] gives an interesting description of trade in Bornū at the beginning of the 16th/16th century, Barbary merchants bringing horses for the king in exchange for slaves. Trade in slaves and other commodities continued until the end of the 19th century.

Islamic penetration in the Chad region came from the north, along the trade route. 'Uḫba b. Nāfi [q.v.] reached Kavar in 46/666-7. Al-Bakrī mentions the descendants of Umayyad refugees living in Kanem; legends of the Umayyad diaspora are, however, frequent, and should not always be taken seriously. The first Muslim ruler, or *mai*, among the Sefawa was Humai, probably in the late 5th/11th century. Al-Makrizī [q.v.], on the contrary, affirms that Dunama Dibbalemi, the famous 7th/13th century *mai*, under whom the Kanem empire reached its peak, was the first convert. Dunama Dibbalemi is said to have opened the *mune*, or sacred talisman, of Kanem, thus precipitating civil strife; it is possible, though the evidence is scanty, that he was trying to reform local Islam, hitherto too tolerant of non-Islamic survivals. Several *mais* made the pilgrimage, among

them Humai's successor (also named Dunama), who went twice to Mecca and was drowned on his third journey. In the 1240s, perhaps during the reign of Dunama Dibbalemi, a hostel for pilgrims and students from Kanem was established in Cairo. It is likely that two *mais* in the 8th/14th century were pilgrims. Idris Aloomā, towards the end of the 16th/16th century, renewed the tradition, which flourished particularly in the 11th/17th and 18th centuries.

After the shift to Bornū, the Kanuri began to influence their western neighbours, the Hausa. The Hausa words for writing and reading, as well as for gun, city wall, market, and a number of other key elements, are borrowed from Arabic through Kanuri, or from Kanuri itself. Constitutional patterns also spread; the title *galadīma*, for example, originally the governor of the western provinces of Bornū, was adopted in Sokoto, and may be found in places as distant as Fazzān and Adamawa. At the time of the Fulani *dīhād*, Kanuri Islam was harshly criticized by Fulani critics, but Sultan Bello of Sokoto nevertheless admitted that the earlier rulers had been good and devout Muslims, many among them pilgrims.

Kanuri-speakers are found in various adjacent areas, such as Mandara, Baghirmi and Kavar. In Kavar, frequented also by Tubu and Tuareg, Kanuri provide most of the 'ulamā'.

For further details, particularly on the later history of Bornū, see the article BORNŪ.

*Bibliography*: H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 5 vols., London 1857-8, the earliest extended and scholarly account of a European visitor, though preceding travellers, such as Denham and Clapperton, also provide valuable observations; R. Cohen, *The Kanuri of Bornu*, New York 1967, an anthropological account; J. H. Greenberg, *The influence of Kanuri upon Hausa*, in *Journal of African History* (1960), a brief linguistic study; J. E. Lavers, *Islam in the Bornu Caliphate*, in *Odu: A Journal of West African Studies* (April 1971) co-published by Oxford University Press; A. M.-D. Lebeuf, *Les Populations du Tchad*, Paris 1959; J. Lukas, *A Study of the Kanuri Language*, London 1937; B. G. Martin, *Kanem, Bornu and the Fazzan: notes on the political history of a trade route*, in *Journal of African History* (1969); G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, 3 vols., repr. Graz 1967, with an English translation now in process; H. R. Palmer, *Bornu, Sahara and Sudan*, London 1936; idem, *The First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Aloomā*, Lagos 1926; idem, *Sudanese Memoirs*, reprinted London 1967: all three books containing much valuable historical source material in translation; Abdullahi Smith, *The early states of the Central Sudan*, in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*, i, London 1972, the best modern statement, with many references; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire de l'Empire du Bornou*, Paris 1949.

(H. FISHER)

**KANZ, BANU 'L** (AWLĀD AL-KANZ), a clan descended from Rabī'a tribesmen who migrated to the region of Aswān in the 3rd/9th century, intermarried with Bedja [q.v.], and ultimately gained control of the gold-mines of al-'Allākī [q.v.]. The eponym of the clan, whose personal name was Abu 'l-Makārim Hibat Allāh, received in 397/1007 from the Fātimid caliph al-Hākīm [q.v.] the honorific of Kanz al-Dawla for his services in capturing the rebel Abū Rakwa. The title continued to be borne by his successors. As marcher-chiefs of the frontier of Islam

with the Bedja and Nubians, the Banu 'l-Kanz were not easily controlled by the rulers in Cairo. Both Badr al-Djamālī [q.v.] and al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn [q.v.] undertook operations against them in 469/1076-7 and 570/1174 respectively. During the Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods, the clan extended its power southwards into the Nubian kingdom of al-Muḥurra, which was (after 717/1317) ruled for a time by a Kanz al-Dawla. With the subsequent disintegration of al-Muḥurra, Banu 'l-Kanz appear to have directed their energies again northwards. In the late 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries they fought repeatedly against the Mamlūk governors of Aswān, and devastated the town and its vicinity. Their domination was countered only by another tribe, Hawwāra [q.v.], a fraction of which was established in Upper Egypt by Barkūk [q.v.], ca. 782/1380-1. The arabized Nubian tribe of Kunāz, living between Aswān and Kurūskū (with some branches also in the Sudan), claims descent from Banu 'l-Kanz.

*Bibliography:* al-Maḥrīzī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-i'rāb 'ammā bi-arḍ Miṣr min al-A'rāb*, ed. 'Abd al-Maḥdīd 'Ābidīn, Cairo 1961, 44-6; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, under notice of Aswān; H. A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, i, 148-51, ii, 99-100; Y. F. Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Edinburgh 1967, index. (P. M. Holt)

**KAPAN** [see ISTANBUL, MİZÂN].

**KAPĪ**, literally "gate" in Turkish, which by extension means "Ottoman Porte", that is, the sultan's palace, and is also used for the grand vizier's palace and the seat of government. The word *kaḥpt* was used concurrently with the Arabic *bāb* (e.g., *bāb-i 'ālī* [q.v.]) and the Persian *darīder* (e.g., *der-i devlet*, *der-i 'āliye*, *der-i se'ādet*). It appears, however, that in Ottoman the word *kaḥpt*, unlike *bāb* and *der*, was rarely used with a non-Turkish epithet or determinative. On the other hand, it is very frequently employed to designate military or civil functions directly subordinate to the "Porte", e.g., *kaḥpt kulları*, literally "slaves of the Porte", that is, the sultan's troops, and *kaḥpt kethüdası*, or *kaḥpt kāhyası*, an agent "close to the Porte" of a high dignitary of an Ottoman subject or vassal.

From 1654, the grand vizier lived in a private palace, separate from the imperial *saray*, where more and more frequently meetings of the *divān* were held. This palace, known as the *paṣha kaḥpti* (shortened to *kaḥpt*), was later called the *bāb-i 'ālī* (the Sublime Porte), and represented the effective seat of government. Westerners, however, confused the sultan's palace, the Ottoman court and even the Ottoman state, calling them all by the name of Porte. The expression was current in Işfahān in the form *'ālī kaḥpū*.

*Bibliography:* J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung...*, ii, 44, 137-8; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, passim; idem, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, 2 vols., Ankara 1943-4; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, passim. (R. MANTRAN)

**KAPĪ AĖHASĪ** [see KAPU AĖHASĪ].

**KAPĪ KULU** [see ORDU].

**KAPĪDĪJĪ**, "porter", "guardian" (cf. A. *bawwāb*, Pers. *derbān*), a term which, in the Ottoman empire, designated the guards placed at the main gates of the sultan's palace in Istanbul: the *Bāb-i hūmayūn*, *Orta kaḥpt* and *Bāb ūs-se'ādet*. The guards on the first two gates belonged to the same category, while those of the *Bāb ūs-se'ādet*, which gave access to the sultan's private residence and to the harem,

constituted a distinct category, the *hule sofuları*, subordinate to the *kızlar aĖhası*. The *kaḥptdĪjĪ* are first mentioned in the *kānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed I the Conquerer. They were recruited from the janissaries or were promoted from various barracks of the *saray*. The guards on the *Orta kaḥpt* were considered to belong to a superior echelon to those on the *Bāb-i hūmayūn*, a distinction which became evident in the second half of the 16th/17th century. The number of *kaḥptdĪjĪ* grew from 50 before 1500 to more than 350 in the 16th century and around 2,400 in the 17th century, then gradually declined. The guards on the *Bāb-i hūmayūn* were divided into 5 *bölüks* (companies), those on the *Orta kaḥpt* into 45 *bölüks* in the 17th century and then only 15 *bölüks* in the 18th century, while those on the *Bāb ūs-se'ādet* were formed into 7 *bölüks*. Apart from their service at the palace gates, the *kaḥptdĪjĪ* had to accompany the notables who participated in the *divān* to the council chamber on the days when they met. They also stood guard at the entrance to the imperial tent whenever the sultan embarked on expeditions.

In the time of Meḥemmed the Conquerer, there was only one *kaḥptdĪjĪ bāṣhĪ*, or leader of the guards. As time passed, they numbered 4, then 10, 13, 17, 12 and finally 60 in the 12th/18th century. The *kaḥptdĪjĪ bāṣhĪ* wore fur robes and carried as insignia a silver baton. Each night, one of them took his place at the *Orta kaḥpt*; on days when the *divān* met, two of them stood at the door of the council chamber; they accompanied the sultan whenever he went to the Great Mosque for the Friday prayers or the principal religious holidays; when the sultan received an ambassador, two *kaḥptdĪjĪ bāṣhĪ* obliged him to bow low and prostrate himself upon the ground. They were also employed to carry important firmans and secret orders to provincial governors and viziers.

The *kaḥptdĪjĪ bāṣhĪ* were entitled to a *tīmār* of 19,000 aspers at the end of the 16th century. The most important of them who bore the title of *bāṣhĪ kaḥptdĪjĪ bāṣhĪ*, received a *dirlik* of 400,000 aspers and were included among the *sandĪjāk beys*. They were responsible for all matters concerning the guards: nomination, retirement, transfer and promotion. Originally two in number, the *bāṣhĪ kaḥptdĪjĪ bāṣhĪ* were increased to 4, then to 6 in the reign of Meḥemmed III.

After the destruction of the janissaries in 1826, only 30 *kaḥptdĪjĪ bāṣhĪ* were retained, increasing to 40 in 1839 and subordinate to the imperial stable. Both title and function disappeared in 1908.

*Bibliography:* İA, s.v. *kapıcı* (by I. H. Uzunçarşılı); Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1791, vii, ch. 1; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 396-407 (numerous references to Turkish sources); M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, ii, 167-9 (art. *kapıcı*). (R. MANTRAN)

**KAPLAN GIRAY I**, Crimean Tatar *Khān*, the third son of ḤāḍĪdĪjĪ Sellim Giray [q.v.], born on Rhodes in *Shā'bān* 1091/July 1680. In 1108/1697 he became temporary commander of the military forces in BudĪjāk [q.v.] and made a successful raid into Poland. During the negotiations at Carlowicz, he remained in defense of Ferah-Kerman, but Örek-Timur, the *beg* of the rebel *Shirins*, forced him to take refuge in Kiliya (Rabī' al-ĀkḥĪr 1111/October 1699). He was afterwards appointed military commander of Circassia, where he fought the Kalmuks (1112/1700) and the Beslenny Circassians (*Dhu 'l-ḥĪdĪjĪ* 1112/May 1701). However, Dawlat Giray did not want to

promote him to the rank of *nuradin* (*nūr al-dīn*) [q.v.], so he fled to the Ottoman Pasha in Kefe (Feodosiya). Dawlat Giray's influence at the Porte was instrumental in the decision to exile him to Rhodes, but on his father's request he was sent to Yanbolu. When his father became *Khān* on 26 *Shā'bān* 1113/26 January 1702, he appointed him *nuradin*. Kaplan Giray marched against the former *Khān*, who had rebelled with the support of the *Noghay* tribes. The civil war came to an end when the *Nogay mirzās* deserted Dawlat Giray. On the death of Selīm Giray, his second son *Ghāzī* Giray became *Khān* and, on 3 *Ramaḍān* 1116/30 December 1704, he made Kaplan Giray *kaḡhay* [q.v.]. In contrast to Dawlat Giray and the new *Khān*, *Ghāzī* Giray, who followed the *mirzās* of the Crimea in pursuing a hostile policy towards Russia, Kaplan Giray was prepared to support the Ottoman government's policy of peaceful relations. It was for this reason that in *Muḡarram* 1119/April 1707 he was appointed *Khān*. Leaving the Russians free to act against Sweden, Kaplan Giray led a campaign against the Circassians, but was lucky to escape with his life when he fell into an ambush which they had set. The Sultan deposed him at once (*Shā'bān* 1120/November 1708), and his rival Dawlat Giray became *Khān* in his place. Eventually, the problem of the Swedish king Charles XII led to the deposition of Dawlat Giray and Kaplan Giray was brought back from Rhodes and again made *Khān* on 18 *Rabī' al-Awwal* 1125/15 April 1713. To secure a definitive peace treaty with Russia, he went to *Khotin* with the Ottoman commander-in-chief 'Abdī Pasha and supported the Polish defensive campaign in the summer of 1125/1713. He sent a force under the *nuradin* to the Ottomans' Morea expedition, but the rebellions of the Circassians and the *Noghays* prevented his taking part in the Austrian campaign of 1128/1716, and he was again deposed from the *khānate* in *Dhū'l-Ḳa'da*/November of the same year. The rebels who overthrew Aḡmad III [q.v.] in 1143/1730 secured his re-accession, but since he afterwards became a major force in ousting the rebels, he kept his influential position under Maḡmūd I [q.v.]. In 1145/1732 there were clashes with the Russians in *Daghīstān*. Crimean forces with the support of the *Čečens* [q.v.] repulsed a Russian attack. In 1148/1735, on the insistence of the Porte, the *Khān* personally campaigned in *Daghīstān*, but at this moment, Russian and Cossack forces advanced to *Or-kaḡl* (*Perekop*), threatening the Crimea with invasion. Kaplan Giray attacked this force, but he was compelled to retreat in the face of enemy artillery and resort to guerilla tactics. He could not prevent the enemy's invasion of the Crimea in *Ṣafar* 1149/June 1736, and it was only when they were withdrawing that he pursued them to *Or-kaḡl*. At this moment, a command came from Istanbul appointing *Feth* Giray *Khān* in place of the old and ailing Kaplan Giray (*Rabī' al-Ākḡr* 1149/August 1736), who was exiled to *Chios* where he died in *Shā'bān* 1151/November 1738.

*Bibliography*: 'Abd al-Ghaffār Kīrīmī, 'Umdat al-Tawārīkh, TOEM suppl., 142-78; Sayyid Meḡmed Riḡāḡ, al-Sab' al-sayyār, Kazan 1832; Rāshīd, Ta'rikh, iv, v, Istanbul 1282/1865; Şubḡī, Sāmī and Şhākīr, Ta'rikh, Istanbul 1198/1784; A. N. Kurat, XII Karlı'n Türkiye'de kalışı ve bu sıralarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Istanbul 1943; Meḡmed Giray, Meḡinler ve vesikalar, Istanbul 1943; Meḡmed Giray, Ta'rikh, Nationalbibliothek Vienna, MS O.H. 1080; 'Abdī, Ta'rikh, ed. F. R. Unat, Ankara 1943.

(HALİL İNALCIK)

**KAPLAN GIRĀY II**, Crimean Tatār *Khān* (*Shawwāl* 1183-*Shā'bān* 1184/February-November 1770). He was appointed *nuradin* (*nūr al-dīn*) in 1182-1183/1768-1769 and *Khān* in *Shawwāl* 1183/February 1770. He sent his *kaḡhay* and *nuradin* to the Crimea to defend it against the Russians, while the Ottoman commander *Ḳhalīl Pasha* appointed him to the campaign intended to expel the Russians from *Boḡhdān* (Moldavia). He was unsuccessful against the Russian artillery on the Prut, and retired to *Kalči*, whilst *Rumyantsev* crossed the Prut and routed the Ottoman-Crimean forces. The indiscipline of the soldiers prevented the commander and the *Khān* from carrying out their plans for a counter-attack; the fortresses of *Kiliya*, *Bender* (*Bendery*) and *Ismail* fell to the Russians, whom the *Noghays* then joined in *Budjāk*. After facing a siege in the fortress of *Özi* (*Ochakov*), Kaplan Giray was eventually able to reach the Crimea. Here, in the summer of 1184/1770, the *kaḡhay* *Islām* Giray and the Ottoman commander *Ibrāhīm Pasha* drove the enemy from before the fortress of *Or-kaḡl* (*Perekop*). However, the *Mirzās* of the Crimea, like the *Noghays*, were hoping, by remaining neutral, to escape invasion and were in contact with the Russians. Ottoman sources claim that Kaplan Giray supported this policy (*TV*, xiv, 138), but this does not seem to be true (*V. Smirnov*, ii, 127). He, in fact, requested military aid for the Crimea from Istanbul and tried to divert the *Kalmuks* from their alliance with the Russians. The Ottoman commander in the Crimea, *Ibrāhīm Pasha*, agreed with him in these policies, but in *Shā'bān* 1184/November 1770 a decree for the *Khān's* deposition came from Istanbul, and in *Rabī'al-Ākḡr* 1185/July 1771 Kaplan Giray died of plague at the age of 32.

*Bibliography*: *Enverī*, *Ta'rikh*, Ms. Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 1089; *Wāsiḡ*, *Ta'rikh*, *Bülāk* 1246/1830-1, 37, 50-60, 63, 69, 78; *Neḡdātī* Efendi, *Sefāretnāme*, ed. F. R. Unat, *TV*, xiii-xiv (1944); *A. Djevdet*, *Ta'rikh*, i, Istanbul 1271/1854-5, 47-49; *Ḳhalīm* Giray, *Gulbun-i Khānān*, Istanbul 1278/1861-2, 118-20; *A. Resmī*, *Khulāṣat al-i'tibār*, Istanbul 1286/1869, 33-47; *V. Smirnov*, *Krimskoe hanstvo pod verhovenstvom Ottomanskoy Porti v XVIII. stoletii*, Odessa 1889; *O. Retowski*, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905.

(HALİL İNALCIK)

**KAPLİDJA**, *kapludja* or *kaḡludja*, the general term used in Turkey for a place where a hot spring is roofed over, as in a bath house. Other terms used in Turkish are *kaḡnardja*, *akardja*, *ılsu*, *kuḡret ḡamāmī*, *čermik*, *ıllıdja* and *germābe* (see *XIII. Yüzyıldan beri Türkiye türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanıklarıyla Tarama Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1967, iii, 1942-3). *Ewliyā Čelebi* [q.v.], ii, 21, describes varieties of hot springs in different parts of the Ottoman Empire and in other Asian countries. In Anatolia and in *Türkistan*, he writes, the term *ıllıdja* was used to denote a hot spring, as was *bana* (from *bagno*) in Balkan countries, *germābe* in Persia, *ılsı* (*ılsu*) in the Crimea, *ḡammām* in the Arab lands and *kaplıdja* in Bursa. Today thermal baths in Turkey have been classified and numbered: there are 26 *kaplıdja*, 79 *čermik*, 67 *ḡammām*, 158 *ıllıca*, 3 *germāb* (see *Rıza Reman*, *Şifalı suları kullanma ilmi: Balneoloji, Türkiye'nin şifalı kaynakları*, Istanbul 1942). *J. von Hammer* (*Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinople nach Brussa und Demolypos und von da zurück über Nicaea und Nicomedien*, Pest 1818, 10 n.) claimed that *kaplıdja* was derived from Greek *kaḡnos*, meaning "smoke". Hot springs, however, were in

Turkish classified in two types: *üstü açk iltidja* (open hot springs) and *kapall iltidja*. It is possible that colloquial usage telescoped *kapall iltidja* (covered hot springs) into *kaplidja*.

Hot and mineral springs are found not only in Anatolia but also in Czechoslovakia and European countries formerly under Ottoman rule such as Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The medicinal properties of some of these *kaplidja* and mineral springs have been recognized from very early times; for this reason, miracles were attributed to them and it was believed that each hot spring was protected by its own deity. There were sacred cleaning and washing places in all Indian temples; the early peoples of Anatolia, the Greeks and the Romans made use of hot springs in different ways, even building special baths whose remains still exist today (K. Bertels and L. Huber (eds.), *Lexikon der alten Welt*, Zürich 1965, 3059-63). While this institution was neglected and the buildings fell into disrepair, in some countries the Turks who settled in Anatolia took advantage of the experience of earlier civilizations, repairing old baths and even building new ones. In time they evolved a special *kaplidja* architecture, a building divided into three parts: dressing room, cooling room and the bath proper.

Some *kaplidjas* in Turkey were built by the Anatolian Saljuks and are still in use today, for example Karakurt (Kuşehir) built in 529/1135, Yoncalı (Kütahya) built in 630/1233, Ilgın (Konya) built in 633/1236, and Eskişehir. Other *kaplidjas* in north-eastern Turkey were built by the Ak-Çoyunlu rulers late in the 8th/14th century, such as those in Erzurum (Ewliyâ Çelebi, ii, 203; İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *Erzurum Tarihi*, İstanbul 1960, 452-5) and Hasankale (in 1390: Ewliyâ Çelebi, ii, 223; İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *ibid.*, 464-70). The presence of a *kaplidja* (germâbe in the Persian text) in Ilgın (Konya) led to the foundation of a town there (Ibn Bibi, *Ta'rikh-i Al-i Saljuq*, *Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjucides*, iv, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1902, 150). A beautiful building was erected; among the people who came for treatment was Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, the famous mystic. There were around 300 thermal baths in Anatolia, attracting the sick and paralysed in search of a cure (Fr. Taeschner, *Al-Umarî's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masâlik al-abşâr fi Mamâlik al-amşâr*, Leipzig 1929, 43). Besides the *kaplidjas* in Anatolia, hot springs were known and used in other Muslim countries; for example in Kirman, Persia (*The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. H. Cordier, London 1929<sup>3</sup>, i, 110), and in Tiberias, Palestine, where the old Roman baths were restored by Muslims (*Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, repr. Beirut 1954, 335, 336). When Ibn Baţţûta visited Baghdâd, there was a famous hot spring there much favoured by the people.

*Kaplidja* architecture developed greatly in the Ottoman period; the building was now divided into four parts: dressing room, rest room (*djâmekân*), cooling room and the bath proper with private cubicles. These buildings were erected beside hot springs. Generally, the Turkish type of *kaplidja* contains large pools and hot water pours from a hole into the pool draining out by another hole. The *kaplidja* architecture of the Ottomans developed in Bursa where the first Turkish *kaplidja*, called Eski Kaplidja, was built by Murad I. Since it was established on the site of an old Byzantine *kaplidja*, it was believed (see A. Gabriel, *Une Capitale Turque Broussa* (Bursa), Paris 1958, 165-70) that Eski Kaplidja showed typical Byzantine architectural influence.

Pointing to the originality of its plan and technical construction, some Turkish art historians (Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinin ilk devri*, 630-850 (1230-1402), İstanbul 1966, 280, 281, 282, 283) reject this idea, asserting that the architecture of Eski Kaplidja is typically Turkish. Some *kaplidjas* built in the Ottoman period are still in use in Turkey and in countries previously under Ottoman rule. The most famous are in Hungary: Budin (Budapest), Yeshildirekli (Rudas) built in 1556, Hammâm of Veli Bey (Csarzar) and Tabakkhâne (Ewliyâ Çelebi, *loc. cit.*, vi, 242, 243, 249; V. Bierhauer, *Les Bains Turcs en Hongrie*, Budapest 1943). Some Ottoman *kaplidjas* can be seen in Bulgaria: near Sofia (J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 51, 88), İslimye, Yeni Zağra, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina (H. Krsevlaković, *Banya u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1462-1916, Sarajevo 1952).

An important function of the *kaplidja* in Ottoman society was its use as a meeting place by poets and literary men (see Nedjâti Beg, *Divân*, ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan, İstanbul 1963, 434, 435 "the *ghazal kapludja*" Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, *Zâif'nin Letâyifi*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xviii (İstanbul 1970), 7).

*Bibliography*: further to references given in the text, Neshri, *Djihannümâ*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 55, 83, 84; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular ve Türk-İslâm medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, 252, 253; A. Süheyl (Unver), *Selçuk tababeti*, Ankara 1940, 101-6; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri*, İstanbul 1932, 21; Kâmil Kepecioğlu, *Bursa hamamları*, Bursa 1943; Meral Güvenli, *Bursa hamam ve kaplıcaları*, Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi kütüphanesi no. 306 (B.A. thesis), 1970; Dr. Bernard, *Les Bains de Brousse*, İstanbul 1842, Turkish tr. 1848 (*Kaplıdja risâlesi terâjümesi*); Rıza Reman, *Kaplıca bilgileri*, Bursa 1937; Mehmed Ziya, *Bursa'dan Konya'ya seyâhat*, İstanbul 1328, 21-5, 89-112; S. Ragıp Atademir, *Konya Ilgın ılcası ve şifalı su tedavisinin esasları*, Konya 1948; Mustafa Hakkı, *Kaplıcalar hakkında genel bilgiler*, İstanbul 1935; Tayyar Kuşçu, *Haymana kaplıcası ve faydaları*, İstanbul 1946; Kerim Omer Çağlar, *Türkiye Maden suları ve Kaplıcaları*, Ankara 1950, fasc. 1-3. (C. ORHONLU)

**KAPU AGHASI**, KAPU AĞHASI (or *Bâb al-Sa'ade Aghasi*), the senior officer in the Ottoman Sultan's Palace, until the *dâr al-sa'ade aghasi* [q.v.] began to gain ascendancy in the late 10th/16th century. Like the other Palace *aghas* in continuous service, the Sultan himself selected him from the eunuchs. He had the authority to petition the Sultan for the appointment, promotion and transfer of Palace servants, *aghas* and *i' oghlans* [qq.v.].

As the sole mediator between the Sultan and the world outside the Palace, he sat at the gate known as the Inner Gate or *Bâb al-Sa'ade* ("Gate of Felicity") which divided the Inner (*enderûn*) from the Outer (*birûn*) Palace. His office lay to the right of this gate. It was through him that the Sultan transmitted his permission to anyone to enter the Inner Palace and his commands to the government (*Kâmünâme of Mehmed the Conqueror*, TOEM, suppl. 1330/1912, 23). The *kapu aghasi* had the rank of vizier and in ceremonies took his place below the Grand Vizier and the *şaykh al-islâm* [q.v.]. Nevertheless, his daily pay of 100 *ağkes* [q.v.] was well below the *agha* of the Janisaries' 500 *ağkes* (for other salaries see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 355).

In pre-Ottoman usage the post was known, in the

earliest Islamic states, as *hādīb*, *hādīb al-hudūdīyāb* or *amīr hādīb*. In later times it acquired the titles *shāhib al-sīrā*, *amīr-i pardādārān*, *zimāmādār* and *ishikākāsī-bāshī* (see M. F. Köprülü, *THİM*, i, 208-211; *ḤADİB* in *EI*; D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.* xxxviii, 107-56). In the Turkish states of Central Asia it was known as *aghadi* or sometimes *uluḡ hādīb* (for its importance in Turkish states see *Kuladgu Biliḡ*, ed. R. R. Arat, Ankara 1959, 181-7). In the Ottoman Empire this official never, as in the 'Abbāsīd and Mamlūk states, annexed the roles of commander of the Sultan's private troops and of supreme judge to hear non-*shar'ī* cases in the Sultan's name. Nor as in the Saldjūk administration, did he ever overstep his position as chief palace official or chamberlain. To ensure that the Ottoman Sultan's authority should remain inviolate, the commandership of his personal troops was delegated to the *agha* of the Janissaries and the duty of hearing complaints to the Grand Vizier. Great pains were taken to keep these functions separate.

Nevertheless, the *kapu aghası* must have exercised considerable influence in the state. He played a vital part in the accession of Sultans, and was the ruler's close adviser. Besides, he must have had some influence and authority as the one-time officer of the commanders and governors graduating from the Inner Palace. The *kapu aghası*'s power and influence in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries was compared to the Grand Vizier's (*Kitāb-i mustafāb*, ed. Y. Yücel, Ankara 1974, 44). His influence increased yet further when, in the reign of Süleymān I, the superintendence of the *wakfs* of Mecca and Medina and later of about 70 large mosques passed to an office under his control. However, their influence decreased at the end of the 10th/16th century when, at the instigation of the *wālide sultāns*, this superintendence passed to the *dār al-sa'āde aghası*. In 995/1587, this official became independent of the *kapu aghası*, eventually rising to the position of senior Palace officer. In 1116/1704, with the transfer of his powers to the *silāhdār* [q.v.], the *kapu aghası* declined into insignificance.

In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the *kapu aghası* could transfer to service outside the Palace and receive the highest governorships of the Empire such as the *beglerbegi*-ships of Rumelia or Egypt. *Khādīm 'Alī*, *Khādīm Sinān*, *Khādīm Sulaymān* and *Khādīm Aḥmad* [q.v.] who are reckoned among the great statesmen of the early period of Ottoman history, are famous examples. Two more, *Fürüz Ḥusayn* and *Merdjān*, are well known as founders of city quarters and charitable institutions during the reign of Bāyazīd II [q.v.] (for details of their *wakfs* see E. H. Ayverdi and Ö. L. Barkan, *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970). From the second half of the 10th/16th century, the *kapu aghası* began to intervene more and more in state affairs, and became a bitter rival of the Grand Vizier in the power struggle (Mehmed, *Ta'riḡh-i ḡhilmāni*, *TOEM*, suppl., 29, 39). *Gazanfer Agha*, who was *kapu aghası* for 30 years in the late 10th/16th century is particularly noteworthy.

*Bibliography*: *Defter-i aḡhayān-i dār al-sa'āde*, TTK Library, Ankara, Y86; *Dergāh-i 'ālī kapudūju bashī aḡhalatı defteri*, TTK Library, Ankara, Y 204; *Aḥmad Resmī*, *Khāmīla al-kubērā*, TTK Library Y 412; *Donado da Lezze*, *Historia Turchesca*, ed. I. Ursu, Bucharest 1909; Th. Spandouyn *Cantacassin, Petit Traicté de l'origine des Turczs*, ed. Ch. Schéfer, Paris 1896; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, vii, Paris 1824; *Ṭayyār-zāde 'Aṭā*, *Ta'riḡh*, i and ii, Istanbul 1291/1874; *Hāfız İlyās*, *Leṭā'if-i enderūn*, Istanbul 1276/1859-60; B. Miller, *The Palace School of Muḡammad the Conqueror*,

Cambridge, Mass. 1941; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri*, in *THİM*, i (1931); *ibid.*, *IA*, art. *Hācīb*; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945; *Eİ*, *ḤADİB*. (HALİL İNALCIK)

**KAPUÇA**, a small Muslim people of the Caucasus, (self designation: *Kapučias suko* or *Bezhtlas suko*; Russian: *Kapučinl* or *Bezhtinl*), whose language forms with *Dido* [q.v.], *Giनुkh* [q.v.], *Khunzal* [q.v.], and *Khvarshi* [q.v.], the *Dido* division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the northeastern Ibero-Caucasian languages. In 1926 the Soviet census gave the population as 1,448. The *Kapuča* inhabit the *awls* of *Bezḡiti*, *Khocharkhota*, and *Tliadal* in the upper basin of the Avar *Koysu*, *Tliarata* district, in the *Dāḡhistān* A.S.S.R. Living in isolated mountain valleys, they have escaped strong outside influence and have maintained many of the patriarchal customs. They are Sunnis of the *Shāfi'ī* rite. The traditional economy was based on sheep and goat herding and agriculture. The *Kapuča* also had some repute as craftsmen, especially as goldsmiths. The language is purely vernacular, and the people use Avar and Russian as their literary languages. They are being assimilated culturally and linguistically by the Avars, and appear as Avar-speaking Avars in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses. See also *AVAR*, *DĀḡHISTĀN*, *AL-KABK*.

*Bibliography*: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane: le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 7-56; Geiger et al., *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; *Narodī Kavkaza*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1962, i; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958. (R. WIXMAN)

**KAPUDAN PASHA** (KAPTAN PASHA, KAPUDAN-İ DERYĀ), title of the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman navy. Although the word evidently derives from the Italian term *capitano* (for its various uses see H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*, Urbana 1958, 139 ff.), it does not follow that the Ottoman navy [see *BAHRIYYA*, iii] was modelled upon any foreign naval organization (see M. F. Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine te'siri hakkında bazı müllāhazalar*, in *THİM*, i (1931), 205-7; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 389 ff.).

To judge from the entries in the *Mühimme Defteri*, the term *Kapudan Paşa* became current only towards 975/1567 (when 'Alī Paşa, the *beglerbegi* of Algiers, is referred to as *Djezā'ir beglerbegisi ve kapudan paşa*: see, e.g., *Mühimme*, vol. 7, nos. 502, 507, 587, 782). Strictly speaking, therefore, it is erroneous to refer to earlier naval commanders as *Kapudan Paşa*: 'Alī Paşa's predecessor, *Piyāle Paşa* (who was granted the rank of *vezir*, and thus had a seat in the *Divān*, see *IA*, s.v. *Piyāle Paşa*, by Ş. Turan), first bore the title *Kapudan Beg* (Başbakanlık Arşivi. Kâmil Kepeci, *Ruûs register* no. 214, p. 17); he is later referred to as *Djezā'ir beglerbegisi* and as *vezir ve Kapudan* (see, e.g., *Mühimme*, vol. 1, no. 276; vol. 6, no. 112; vol. 7 nos. 158, 160).

In earlier days, the commander of the fleet stationed at *Gelibolu* [q.v.] had had the title *Deryā Begi* [see *DARYĀ BEGİ*], being at the same time *sandjakbegi* of the *livā* of *Gelibolu*. The *Gelibolu register* of 924/1518 uses the term *re'is kapudan* to designate the commander of the fleet (F. Kurtoḡlu, *Gelibolu yöresi ve tarihi*, Istanbul 1938, 51). *Gelibolu* remained the principal naval base until the time of Sultan Selim I,

who ordered that a new fleet be constructed in the "new arsenal" at Istanbul (*Tersâne-i 'Amire*) in 923/1517 under the supervision of *Djā'far Kapudan* (cf. Ş. Tekindağ, *Halîc Tersanesinde inşa edilen ilk Osmanlı donanması ve Cafer Kapudan'ın arızası*, in *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, no. 7 (Nisan 1969), 66-70).

When Barbarossa (*Khayr al-Din [q.v.]*) entered the service of the Sultan in 941/1534, he was given the *beglerbeglik* of the *eyâlet* of *Djezâ'ir* (Algiers). This *eyâlet* later became the seat of the *kapudan paşas* (A. S. İltter, *Şimalı Afrika'da Türkler*, İstanbul 1936, i, 94 ff.). The *sandjaks* of *Kodja-eli*, *Sughla* and *Bigla* from the *beglerbeglik* of Anadolu, and those of *Eğri-boz*, *Aynabakhtı*, *Karlı-eli*, *Mizistre* and *Midilli* from the *beglerbeglik* of Rumeli were also added to the new *eyâlet* [see *DIJAZÂ'IR-I BAHR-I SAFİD*]. Gelibolu remained the *sandjak* of the *paşa*. Later on, two *sandjaks* of Cyprus and (in the time of *Güzelde 'Ali Paşa*, who was *Kapudan-i Deryâ* twice, in 1026/1617 and 1027/1618) the *sandjaks* of *Saklz*, *Nakşha* and *Mehdiye* were also attached to it. In the first half of the 11th/17th century, the *eyâlet* of the *kapudan paşa* consisted of twelve *sandjaks* (cf. Ş. Turan, *XVII. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun idarî tahsimatı*, in *Atatürk Üniversitesi 1961 Yıllığı*, 204).

The *kapudan paşa's* residence was the *Diwānkhâne* of the Arsenal in Istanbul. His main duties were to oversee the Arsenal, to supervise all matters relating to the Ottoman fleet, to govern the *eyâlet* of the *kapudan paşa* and to make all the necessary appointments in it. This entailed his visiting and inspecting each *sandjak* annually. He also had to protect merchant ships against the activities of pirates in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea (cf. *Tevkî'i 'Abdurrahmân Paşa Kânunnâmesi*, in *MTM*, iii (1331/1912), 536-8). If necessary, he co-operated with the land forces (see, e.g., *Mühimme*, vol. 104, no. 193; vol. 105, nos. 48-49).

The office of *Kapudan Paşa* carried great prestige. In the 11th/17th century it had an annual revenue of 885,000 *akçes* (*Ewliya Çelebi, Seyâhat-nâme*, v, 315; P. Rycart, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 54). It also received an income of 70,000 *hürush* when 33 islands of the *eyâlet* were granted to the *voivoda* for *iltizâm* (*Ewliya*, v, 316; D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, Paris 1791, 442); this sum was increased to 300,000 *hürush* in the late 12th-13th/18th-19th century. The success of the Ottoman naval forces always depended on the ability and the seamanship of its *kapudans*, particularly the *Kapudan Paşas*. In the 10th/16th century Ottoman supremacy in the Mediterranean seems to have been largely due to able *kapudans*. In the following centuries the empire lost its naval supremacy. Though in principle only an admiral (*Kapudan-i Hümayün*) or a chief of the Arsenal (*Tersâne Kethüdâst*) or, at the lowest, a *sandjak-beyi* of Rhodes was eligible to become *Kapudan Paşa*, appointments were now made regardless of the holder's ability. In 1014/1605 *Derwish Paşa*, who was Chief Gardener (*Bostândjî bashî*), was appointed *Kapudan-i Deryâ*, together with the rank of vizier (cf. C. Orhunlu, *Osmanlı tarihine aid belgeler: Telhisler*, İstanbul 1970, 118); in 1184/1170 a certain officer in the Janissary corps (*sekbân bashî*) was appointed *Kapudan Paşa*, although Hasan Kapudan was considered a better candidate in view of his earlier achievements (cf. Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, İstanbul, nos. E. 4846 and 10321).

With the naval reorganization of 1804, in the time of Selim III, the post of the chief of the Arsenal was abolished and the office of Superintendent of Naval

Affairs (*Umûr-i Bahriyye Nezâreti*) established (*Safvet, Umûr-i Bahriyye Nezâreti*, in *TOEM*, no. 21 (1329/1911), 1350-1). In 1863 the title *Kapudan Paşa* was altered to *Umûr-i Bahriyye Nâşiri*. Four years later the senior admiral (*baş amiral*) became the commander of the Ottoman navy, and naval affairs were supervised by the *Bahriyye Nâşiri* or Naval Minister.

*Bibliography*: The most authentic sources on the office of *Kapudan Paşa* are in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. Documents relating to the navy will be found within three classifications: *Cevdet*, *Kâmil Kepeci* and *İbnü'l-Emin*, covering the period from the 10th/16th to the 19th centuries. The *Mühimme* registers in the same archive, dating from 961/1554 to 1300/1882, are also of significance. For the documents in the Topkapı Palace Archive relating to the *Kapudan Paşa*, see *Arşiv Kılavuzu*, i-ii, İstanbul 1939 and 1940. Other sources: E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato* Series iii, Florence 1840-55, i, 20, 67, 136, 423, ii, 335, iii, 263; *Peçewî, Ta'rih*, İstanbul 1281-83/1864-66, i, 486, ii, 25, 91, 285, 292, 333, 344, 354, 460; *Kâtib Çelebi, Tuḥfat al-Kibâr*, İstanbul 1329/1911, *passim*; *Silâhdâr, Ta'rih*, İstanbul 1328/1910, ii, 253; *Marsigli, L'État Militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Amsterdam 1732, i, 146; *Ahmed Djewdet, Ta'rih*, 12 vols., İstanbul 1309/1891, *passim*; *Meḥmed Ḥafid, Safinat al-Wuzerâ'*, İstanbul 1952 (ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu); M. Şühürü, *Esfâr-ı Bahriyye-i 'Othmâniyye*, İstanbul 1306/1888; *Meḥmed Ra'îf, Mir'ât-i İstanbul*, İstanbul 1314/1896, 474 ff.; S. Nutkı, *Kâmûs-ı Bahri*, İstanbul 1917; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 414-22; N. Göyünç, *Kapudan-i Derya Küçük Hüseyin Paşa*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4 (İstanbul 1950-1), 35-50; H. Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Deniz tarihimize ait makaleler*, İstanbul 1965; S. Shaw, *Selîm III and the Ottoman Navy*, in *Turcica*, i (Paris 1969), 212-41; *İA*, sv. *Kapitan Paşa* (by İ. Parmaksızoğlu). (S. OZBARAN)

**KARĀ**, the Turkish word for "black" or "dark colour" in general. It is commonly used with this meaning as the first component of geographical names e.g., *Karâ Âmid* (on account of the black basalt of which this fortress is built), *Karâ Dağ* (on account of its dark forests), etc. Besides *Karâ* we find in place names the diminutive form *Karâdjâ*. In personal names, *karâ* may refer to the black or dark brown colour of hair or to a dark complexion. It has, however, at the same time the meaning "strong, powerful", and should be interpreted in this sense in names like *Karâ 'Othmân* or *Karâ Arslan*. It is also in this sense that we have the name *Karâ Khân* which the *Karâkhânids* or *Ilek-Khâns [q.v.]* assumed in Central Asia.

*Bibliography*: von Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, i, 80; *Kâshgharî, Diwân lughât al-turk*, iii, 167, tr. Atalay, iii, 221-2; O. Pritsak, «Qara», *Studie zur türkischen Rechtssymbolik*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'ın armağanı*, İstanbul 1950-5, 239-63; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 643-4; *İA*, s.v. (J. H. KRAMERS\*)

In order to preserve a logical alphabetical sequence and to place one after the other those words which comprise the element *karâ*, these last have been placed together in a somewhat arbitrary fashion, so that e.g. *karâba* comes after all the words beginning with *karâ*. Moreover, the transliteration of this term has been unified, and is always written as *karâ*, the second vowel -â being written with an *alif* in Arabic orthography; however, the modern Turkish orthography with a short *a* is indicated where relevant.

**KARĀ ĀMID** [see **DIYĀR BAKR**].  
**KARĀ ARSLĀN** [see **ARTUKIDS**; **KĀWŪRD B. DĀWŪD**].

**KARĀ BĀGH** (Turkish-Persian "black garden", allegedly because of the fertility of its upland valleys, but this is probably a folk etymology), the recent name of the mountainous region lying to the north of the middle course of the Araxes River in Transcaucasia, corresponding to the southern part of the mediaeval Islamic Arrān [q.v.]. The mountains of Karābāgh rise to over 12,000 feet, and the modern population (mostly Armenian, with some Shi'ī Azeri Turks) is concentrated in the deep valleys.

The original Armenian princes of Artzakḥ were dispossessed after the Saljdjūkh drive into Transcaucasia under Sultan Alp Arslan, and a gradual process of Turkish settlement began. In the Mongol period we meet the designation Karābāgh-i Arrān for the region. It subsequently fell within the domains of the Persian II-Khānids, of Timūr and of the Aq-Koyunlu. In the second half of the 9th/15th century Karābāgh was involved in the rise of the Šafawid movement, and by 893/1488 Shaykh Ḥaydar b. Djunayd [q.v.] had taken over much of the region. During the Ottoman-Šafawid warfare, Karābāgh and Gandja fell into the hands of Sultan Murād III (996/1588), until Shah 'Abbās I regained them. Karābāgh was at this period in the hereditary possession of the Turkish Djewānshīr family, who traced their origin back to the Oghuz Afshārid tribe; in 1165/1752 Panāh 'Alī Khān built the fortress of Shūsha and named it Panāhābād. His son Ibrāhīm Khān defied the Kādjar leader Āghā Khān Muḥammad, who nevertheless eventually captured Shūsha in 1211/1797, where he was shortly afterwards assassinated.

Karābāgh now became a buffer-region between Kādjar Persia and the expanding Russian empire. Ibrāhīm Khān submitted to the Russo-Georgian general Prince Zizishwilli in 1805. The last chief of the Djewānshīr line, Mahdī Kulī Khān, abandoned his principality to the Russians in 1822, but already in the Gullistan [q.v.] Treaty of 1813 the Kādjar had been forced to renounce all claims to Georgia, Daghistan, Karābāgh and the northern part of Tālish. For the remainder of the Czarist period, Karābāgh formed part of the "Muslim governorship" of Bākū till 1868, and thereafter part of the newly-established governorship of Elizavetpol or Gandja. During the short-lived Muslim republic of Ādharbāydzān (1918-20), Karābāgh enjoyed freedom from foreign control. Within the Soviet Union it now forms the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast within the Ādharbāydzān SSR, with a population in 1970 of 150,000 and its administrative centre at Stepanakert.

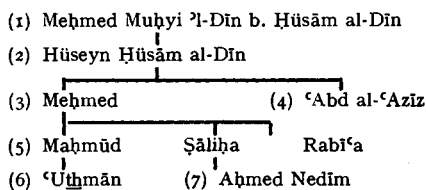
*Bibliography:* There is little specific information in the mediaeval Islamic geographers, excepting Hamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuḥat al-kulūb*, 181-2, tr. 173-4. A local history, the *Karābāgh-nāma* of Mirzā Djamāl, was utilized by the Ottoman historian Feridūn Beg. A full bibliography is given in Mirza Bala's *IA art. Karabağ*, to which should be added A. A. Alizade, *Sotsialno-ekonomičeskaya i političeskaya istoriya Azerbaidžhana XIII-XIV vv.*, Baku 1956, K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, and *BSE*<sup>2</sup>, xx, 92.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KARĀ BOGHĀN** [see **BOGHĀN**].

**KARĀ ĀAY** [see **KARĀĀY**].

**KARĀ-ĀELEBI-ZĀDE**, the name of a family of Ottoman 'ulamā' which became prominent during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.



The founder of the family, (1). Mehmed Muhyi 'l-Dīn Efendi, was given the *lakab* Karā-Āelebi-zāde after his maternal grandfather, Karā Ya'qūb. He held several positions as a *müderriis*, was the teacher of Sulaymān I's son Muḥṣafā. and *kādī* in Edirne and Istanbul. His pseudonym as a poet was *Hijrī*, and he is said to have left a *diwān* of poetry. He died in 965/1557. (2). Karā-Āelebi-zāde Hüseyin Hüsām al-Dīn Efendi was born in 940/1553 in Kütahya, was *kādī-asker* [q.v.] of Anadolu and of Rumeli, and died in Bursa in 1007/1598. His son (3) Mehmed Efendi (970-1042/1562-1632) held several posts as *kādī* and *müderriis*, and became *kādī-asker* of Anadolu in 1023/1614 and of Rumeli in 1029/1619. He wrote poetry under the pseudonym Zuhūrī and built a mosque in Bursa (Başvekalet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci, Defter no. 257, p. 22). (4). Karā-Āelebi-zāde 'Abd al-'Aziz Efendi, who was born at the end of 1000/September 1592, was brought up in Istanbul by his elder brother, Mehmed Efendi (3), and studied canonical law under the *shaykh al-Islām* Şun' Allāh Efendi. He was *müderriis* in *madrasas* in Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa and in one of the *madrasas* of the Süleymaniyye Mosque in Istanbul. Later he became a *kādī*, being appointed to posts in Yeñi-şehir, Mecca (1036/1626), Edirne (1040/1630) and finally, in 1043/1633, in Istanbul. He remained in this last post for only seven months before he was dismissed and sentenced to death; through the intervention of grand vizier Bayram Paşa, however, he was reprieved and exiled to Cyprus (1044/1634). Eighteen months later he returned to Istanbul and first became *kādī-asker* of Anadolu. On 15 Rādjab 1054/17 September 1644 he was nominated *kādī-asker* of Rumeli (Başvekalet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci, Defter no. 258, p. 57), a function he actually assumed on 19 Rādjab 1058/9 August 1648 (*Şadāret-i Rumeli defteri* no. 79, in the Şeriye Sicilleri Arşivi in Istanbul, is concerned with this period). In recognition of his role in Mehmed IV's succession to the throne, he was given the title of *shaykh al-Islām*, an award unprecedented in Ottoman history, in Ramađān 1058/October 1648; he in fact took up the post on 11 Djumādā I 1061/2 May 1651. While *shaykh al-Islām* he restored a number of old practices relating to this function, revealed some subtlety in distributing *kādī* and *müderriis* posts, and re-organized *wakf* matters. On 15 Ramađān 1061/1 September 1651 he was dismissed and a week later exiled to the island of Saqlz (Chios). He was transported to Bursa in Djumādā I 1062/April 1652 and died there in Rabī' I 1068/end October 1657.

'Abd al-'Aziz Efendi's periodic falls from grace were the result of his interference in the internal politics of the period. His extant poetry, written under the pseudonym 'Aziz, consists of a *diwān*, a *mathnawī* entitled *Gülşen-i niyāz* which contains details about his life as a *kādī* of Istanbul and as an exile on Cyprus, works on *fiḥh* (*Hall al-iḥtibāh* 'an 'aḥd al-iḥbāh, *Kitāb al-lghāz fi 'l-fiḥh al-Hanafiyya* and *Kāfi*) and on the life of the Prophet (*Mir'at al-ṣafā*), consisting of *ḥiṣāṣ*, which he dedicated to Murād IV, and *Hilyat al-anbiyā*) and translations, one in the field of ethics (Muḥsin's *Akhlāk*) and one



in *sira* (Kāzarūn's *Fawā'id al-nabawiyya*). His fame, however, rests on his historical works. Of these, the *Sulaymān-nāme*, a history of Sulaymān I's era which he dedicated to Sultan Ibrāhīm, and the *Rawḍat al-abrār*, dedicated to Meḥmed IV, have been printed (Bülāk 1248). The latter work contains a description of the events from Adam to the time of Sultan Ibrāhīm; the printed edition relies on a defective manuscript (O. Köprülü and İ. Parmaksizoglu, *Şeyhülislām Kara-Çelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi*, İstanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi, unpublished, doctoral thesis, 1944-5, no. 359, p. 18; this work is the most detailed study available of Karā-Çelebi-zāde and his family). According to M. H. Yinanç, *Türkiye tarihi, Selçuklular devri*, İstanbul 1944, 16, the *Rawḍat al-abrār* should consist in part of repetitions of 'Alī and Dījān-nābi. The *dhayl* of the *Rawḍat al-abrār* is more in the form of memoirs and narrates events down to 1068/1658. Another of his historical works is entitled *Ta'riḥ-i felḥ-i Revān ve-Baḡhdād* or *Zafer-nāme* and deals with Murād IV's campaigns to Eriwān in 1635 and to Baḡhdād in 1638. Many manuscripts of his works are extant in libraries in İstanbul and Europe (see *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih coğrafya yazmalar kataloḡu*, *Topkapı Sarayı Türkçe yazmalar kataloḡu*, and the catalogues of Flügel, Pertsch, Rieu and Tornberg).

'Abd al-'Aziz Efendi is known to have been short in stature, stout, with a high-pitched voice, and a ruthless and inflexible character. In Bursa he constructed works, the Muftu Şuyu, carrying water from the Ulu Daḡ to the town, and had the water distributed to forty different public fountains (O. F. Köprülü, *Şeyhülislām Kara-Çelebi-zade Abdülaziz Efendi ve Müftü Suyu*, in *Belleten*, xi (1947), 137-45).

(5). Maḥmūd Efendi (997-1063/1588-1653), the son of Meḥmed Efendi, was known by the *laḡab* Abu 'l-Faḡl. He rose to the positions of *ḡāḡi-asker* of Anadolu and Rumeli. In İstanbul he owned a *madrasa* in the *Şehzāde-baḡl* quarter (S. Eyice, *Kaḡasker Ebu 'l-Faḡl Maḥmūd Efendi medresesi*, in *Tarih dergisi*, x (1959), 147-62), and in Bursa a mosque in the *Set-baḡl* quarter (Başveḡālet Arşivi, *Divan-ı Humāyūn ruḡs defterleri* no. 28, p. 31) and a teachers' seminary (*mu'allim-ḡhāne* (*ibid.*, Defter no. 25, p. 183).

(6). 'Uḡmān Efendi (s. 1062/1651), son of the above, held several posts as *ḡāḡi*. (7). Aḡmed Nedīm [see NEDİM], the famous poet of the 18th century, is related to the family of the Karā-Çelebi-zāde through his mother.

*Bibliography*: *Dhayl al-Şaḡā'ik*, 419; Ismā'il Beligh, *Güldeste-i riyāḡ-i 'irfān*, 317-22; Rif'at, *Dawḡat al-maḡhā'ikh*, 58-62; *Ilmiyye sālnāmesi*, İstanbul 1334, 461-2; *Oḡmānli mü'ellifleri*, iii, 120-1; art. 'Abd al-'Aziz, *Kara-Çelebi-zāde*, in *ET*.

(NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ)

**KARADAGH**, the Turkish name for the land of Crna Gora (Montenegro), at present one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, located in the southwestern part of that country. It is the smallest republic in Yugoslavia, being 13,967 sq. km. in area with a population of 530,361 (census of 31 March 1971). The region is primarily mountainous, the inland area differing considerably from the coastal belt, both in natural features and in the way of life of the population. The capital is Titograd (formerly known as Podgorica). Until 1918 the capital of the principality (and from 1910 the kingdom) of Montenegro was the city of Cetinje.

The population of present day Montenegro is made up as follows (according to the Institute for Statistics

of Titograd): 66.55% Montenegrins, 1.81% Croatians, 7.51% Serbians and 13.43% Muslims. This is the part of the population which speaks Serbo-Croat and which declared a national or religious affiliation (0.14% of the population did not declare any national or religious affiliation and 0.22% gave a regional affiliation). In addition to other less numerous minorities, 6.55% of the population is Albanian, of which some are Muslim and some Catholic.

The Muslim religious organization in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro is an autonomous region of the Islamic Union (*Islamska Zajednica*) of the Yugoslavia S.F.R. which has four such regions with seats in Sarajevo, Priština, Skopje and Titograd. The supreme organ of the Islamic religious organization in Montenegro is — as in the other autonomous regions — the Islamic Union Council (*Sabor Islamske zajednice*) with an executive body (*Starješinstvo*) at its head. The Montenegrin Islamic Union Council has 16 members, and sends three delegates to the Supreme Council of the Islamic Union in the Yugoslavia S.F.R. which has 35 members. In Montenegro there are 70 mosques and 9 Boards of the Islamic Union which carry out the basic functions of Muslim religious organization in Montenegro (data of 1969).

Montenegro is so called from the region known as the Black Mountain (*Crna Gora*). Originally, this area belonged to the medieval Serbian state. On the disintegration of the latter in the 15th century, a separate Montenegrin state was formed under the Crnojević dynasty. From 886/1481 it was an Ottoman vassal state, and in 901/1496 came under Ottoman rule. Other parts of present-day Montenegro had already fallen under Ottoman domination, while most of the coastal belt was under Venetian rule.

Once it became part of the Ottoman empire, the country was officially named *Karadagh*. Within most of the country — as well as in certain outlying areas — there developed a tribal system which was the basis for development of a type of military democracy in the internal life of the country. From 919/1513 the *sandjak-beg* of *Karadagh* was Iskender Beg [*q.v.*], an islamized descendant of the Crnojević dynasty. At that time the country was granted certain privileges. The population was no longer required to pay the *ḡizya* [*q.v.*] nor to submit to the *'ushūr* and other taxes, but had to contribute only a gold coin (*filuri*) per house and field. After the death of Iskender Beg the land of *Karadagh* was no longer a separate *sandjak* falling mainly within the *sandjak* of Iskenderiyeye (Scutari), but even then the population had certain privileges. From the middle of the 10th/16th century the role of the Montenegrin bishop became stronger. In the 11th/17th century the autonomy of *Karadagh* was established under Ottoman rule headed by a native *sipahi* (Serb. *spahija*); however, the bishop played an increasingly important role, and in the second half of the 11th/17th century he became the only representative of the people vis-à-vis the Ottoman authorities. At the end of the 11th/17th century the people of *Karadagh* drew nearer to the Venetians, whose influence led to a swiftly suppressed revolt against Ottoman rule. In the 12th/18th century the people, led by bishops of the Petrović family from the village of Njeguš, overthrew Ottoman rule and defended their independence in many battles. In the 19th century, first under the Petrović bishops and then under lay rulers of the same family, the land developed into a state and gradually obtained international recognition. It was recognized as an independent principality at the Berlin Congress of 1878, and in 1910 was proclaimed a kingdom.

Owing to the tribal organization which predominated in the area and to the struggles against the Ottoman authorities, Montenegro acquired a warrior-like society and a strong notion of freedom. In the 12th/18th century a folk tradition developed according to which Montenegro had never been under Turkish rule. This tradition still survives in some measure and for a fairly long time prevailed in historiography too.

Montenegro participated in the Balkan War (1912-13) against the Ottoman Empire, and in World War I (1914-18) as an ally of Serbia on the side of the Entente. During World War I, it was occupied by the Central Powers, and in 1918 was unified with Serbia, becoming part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed Yugoslavia). During World War II Montenegro was under Italian occupation, and the people participated *en masse* in the struggle for liberation of the Yugoslavs.

*Bibliography:* *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, ii, Zagreb 1956, 398-488 (article *Crna Gora*); B. Đurđević, *Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori u XVI i XVII veku* ("The Turkish rule in Montenegro in the 16th and 17th centuries"), Sarajevo 1953; *Istorija Crne Gore* ("History of Montenegro") ii 2, Titograd 1970 (volume iii, covering the period of Turkish rule, is in preparation); *Ustav Islamske zajednice u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Jugoslaviji* ("The Constitution of the Islamic Union in the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia"), in *Glasnik Vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva u SFRJ*, xxxiii, 1-2 (Sarajevo 1970), 105-12.

(B. ĐURĐEV)

**KARĀ DENIZ**, name of the Black Sea in Turkish.

i. — The name. — The expression "Black Sea" is encountered from the 7th/13th century in the Arabic form of al-Baḥr al-Aswad (in Abū 'l-Fidā', tr., Reynaud, ii/1,38,316), in the Greek form in the treaty concluded in 1265 between Michael Paleologus and Venice (*Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Section ii, xiv, 63, Vienna 1857), and among the western sources in Schiltberger at the end of the 14th century. But other expressions have for long been employed in parallel with it ("Russian Sea", "Sea of Sinop", etc.) The most frequent has been "the Great Sea", "Mare Maius", in Odoric of Pordenone, ed. G. Strasman, Berlin 1968, 38; the same, in William of Rubruck, ed. Michel and Wright, Paris 1839, *Recueil de voyages et mémoires*, iv, 214; "Mare Magnum", in Plano Carpini, ed. d'Avezac, *ibid.*, 743), a form which appears dominant mostly in the 13th and 14th centuries in the western sources and which persisted in various aspects ("mare maggiore", "mer majour", etc., until the 17th century, from which date the term "Black Sea" finally becomes general, and very soon in widespread use in the eastern sources.

The origin of the Turkish expression thus poses a problem. The ingenious explanation of L. de Saussure (*L'origine des noms de Mer Rouge, Mer Blanche et Mer Noire*, in *Le Globe*, xliii, 23 ff.), calling attention to the coloured quality attributed to the cardinal points by the Chinese (and transmitted by them to the Turks), cannot be upheld. J. H. Mordtmann (KA RADAGH IN EI<sup>1</sup>) found the solution in its equation with the "Great Sea" of Western sources, remarking of it that the epithet *karā* frequently has the meaning of "great, powerful, terrible" in Turkish, particularly in the proper names. This would be the initial meaning of *karā* in Ka Rā Deniz, displayed in its mediæval western translation. The contamination of the two meanings in fact seems probable, but the explanation appears inadequate. In fact, the existence of the

doublet Ka Rā Deniz-Ak Deniz ("the White Sea", the Mediterranean) does not plead in its favour. Above all the expression Black Sea seems to have been well attested before the arrival of the Turks. Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.*, ed. Bonn, 132) in the 10th century, speaks of the Θάλασσα Σκοτεινή ("dark sea"). Doubtless one must accept the thesis of Aurel Decei (article Ka Rā Deniz in *IA*), who supposes the existence of an ancient Iranian name (from *aḥsaena* "dark, sombre"), Hellenized in Ἄξεινος by false etymology, then transformed because of superstition into Ἐξέλιος; this would have survived with its original meaning in the East-Pontic regions where the Turks came into contact with this geographical concept (see also BAHR BUNṬUS).

ii. — The Turkish conquest. — The development of the Turkish seizure of the Black Sea lands was spread over almost three centuries. Since the turmoil of the end of the 5th/11th century, Byzantium had succeeded in preserving all its fortresses on the coasts of the Black Sea, and the Saldjūkid Empire of Iconium (Konya) remained practically cut off from the sea. It was only at the very end of the 6th/12th century that the Turks gained a foothold there. When in 581/1185, Kılıdji Arslān II, divided his states between his sons, one of them, Rukn al-Dīn, received, with Tokat as its centre, the territory extending as far as the coast of the Black Sea. According to Nicetas, he laid hold on Sāmsūn. It was also without doubt before the death of Kılıdji Arslān in 588/1192 that the Turkish occupation of Sāmsūn took place, a process which developed alongside the Greek town of Amisos, which survived as a Greek, and then Genoese, city until the 14th century. In 611/1214, the capture of Sinūb (Sinop) by 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs I assured the Turks of Iconium of a second important base in this central sector of the Black Sea coasts, towards which the natural routes of penetration from the great valleys of the Kızıl Irmak and the Yeşil Irmak had guided the Turkish advance. On the other hand, the Greeks held on in the eastern part of the littoral, in the shelter of the mountainous and forested barrier of the East-Pontic chains which protected the independence of the Empire of Trebizond, and equally in the western sector of the coast, where Heraclius (Ereğli) was doubtless only sold to the Turks in 761/1360 (Heyd, ii, 358), while Samastri (Amasra) remained a Genoese colony until the 9th/15th century.

Sinop (Sanūb) and Sāmsūn also played their part in the regional export traffic of the products of northern Anatolia, sc. wool, fur, leather and mining products. But whereas the Black Sea trade remained up until then directed essentially towards Constantinople at the beginning of the 7th/13th century a considerable southern trade appears between the Turkish ports of the south and the Greek towns of the north, such as Soldaia (Sudak), an outlet for the steppes at that time held by the Kıpçak Turks, who were still pagans. From 602/1205-6 some merchants of Iconium, Syria and Mesopotamia banded together in caravans to go from Sīvās to Trebizond and, from there, to the eastern and northern coasts of the Black Sea (Heyd, ii, 93). The appearance of Turkish footholds on the southern coast stabilized this traffic to Sinop and Sāmsūn. From the north came furs and slaves in exchange for cotton goods, silk and spices (observations of William of Rubruck at Soldaia in 1253). The Mongol conquest and the ruin of Baghdad, in deflecting the trade of Inner Asia towards the north, made a powerful contribution to strengthening trans-Pontic relations in the second half of the century. They were essentially consolidated, following the Genoese en-

tente with the Paleologus dynasty, by a whole series of Genoese warehouses established in the first place on the southern coast of the Crimea between Caffa (doubtless from 1266) and Cembalo (Balaklava), including Soldaia taken by the Genoese in 1365. Some other establishments were added there around the Sea of Azov (Tana-Azov at the mouth of the Don, Copa-Kopil, etc.), and on the eastern coast of the Black Sea (Mapa-Anapa, Sebastopolis-Sukhum, Kal'ce etc.). The traffic in slaves (Turks and Circassians), fish and caviar, salt, cereals and furs was directed towards Constantinople and Europe, but certainly also in an appreciable proportion towards Asia Minor and across it as far as Egypt. Besides, Christian merchants passed via Trebizond as far as Sulṭāniyya in Persia. The part of the Muslim merchants cannot have been negligible in this trans-Pontic commerce, but is difficult to evaluate with precision. It was on a Greek ship that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa made his way from Kerç to Sinop in 1333 (tr. Defremery, ii, 345; tr. Gibb, ii, 468).

The capture of Constantinople, with the occupation of the Straits by the Ottomans, upset these relations. The Khān of the Tartars then diverted the merchandise and slaves sent to Sāmsūn or other ports towards the points of the coast situated outside the Genoese territory, such as Vosporo (Kerç) and Calamita (near Inkerman) (Heyd, ii, 387). Nevertheless, the policy of Ottoman expansion in the Black Sea did not begin immediately. The Bank of St. George, heir of the rights of Genoa, was able to maintain relations for some time. In 859/1455 its ships succeeded in forcing the passage of the Bosphorus and reaching Caffa and Samastri. Meḥammed II took this town in 863/1459, but the trade to Caffa, henceforth a tributary of the Sultan, continued during the following years. The corn of Caffa still passed to Genoa. It was only in 880/1475 that Meḥammed II made some incidents between the Khān of the Crimea and the Tartars in connection with the nomination of the governor who had jurisdiction over them a pretext for seizing the town, and the speedily, all the other Genoese towns.

iii. — The Ottoman Sea. — From that time, when the principalities of Rūm, the Crimean Tartars, the Nogay, and the western Caucasians were made vassals, the Black Sea became an Ottoman lake, for approximately three centuries, to which the Sublime Porte jealously forbade access to foreign ships. The Ambassador of France, Girardin who, in 1686, solicited authorization for French ships to trade there, received the reply that "the Grand Seigneur would sooner open the doors of his harem to foreigners" (P. Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1911, 638). A similar reply was made in 1699 to the Ambassador of Russia Ukraintzev (B. Nicolsky, *Le peuple russe: carrière historique 862-1945*, Neuchâtel 1945, 189). The Black Sea was to be the base for a policy of Ottoman expansion towards the steppes of Southern Russia and the Caspian, whose culminating point was the expedition of Astrakhan in 1569 with the project of a Don-Volga canal. This exclusive domination did not prevent, however, incursions of Cossacks in the 17th century, whose boats came at times to pillage the Anatolian coasts, for example at Giresun (Ewliyā Çelebi, *Seyahatnāmesi*, ed. Zuhuri Danişman, Istanbul 1970, iii, 81).

In the Ottoman period, Black Sea trade was organized at first essentially to provision the immense conurbation of Istanbul. The corporation of Black Sea merchants (numbering 8,000 in 2,000 shops, according to Ewliyā Çelebi (*ibid.*, ii, 246) played a principal role in the town's activity, as did the sailors of the Black

Sea (numbering 9,000, or 2,000 according to another passage, *ibid.*, ii, 240). Cereals (wheat, oats, barley), fish, fats (Eremya Çelebi Kōmürücüyan, *Istanbul tarihi: xvii asırda İstanbul*, Turkish tr. Hrand D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1952, 15) from the northern steppes, the wood of the Anatolian coasts, the slaves of the Caucasus, and furs, were in the 17th century the principal objects of commerce. The Ottoman administration devoted all its efforts to developing this internal Black Sea trade, and compelled the trade routes crossing it to be diverted via Istanbul in order to assure itself of control. Thus in 1095/1684 the trade of Ankara to Poland was compelled to pass via the capital (R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1962, 482), puréed plums from the Trebizond coast, as well as wood from the Anatolian coast and wooden objects (vases, plates) manufactured at Amasya. In return, the grain of Crimea frequently passed to Trebizond and Rize despite the prohibitions. The wines of Tripoli on the Anatolian coast, those of Aḳ Kırmān and of Mısevria on the coasts of Bessarabia and Bulgaria, were sent to the Crimea, to the Abkhazians or to the Cossacks of the South of Russia, who got their food supplies at Ocçakov. To these commercial currents were added migratory movements. The mountaineers of the East-Pontic chains of Anatolia had already migrated in large numbers towards Constantinople, and also to all the western part of the Black Sea. There was also in Moldavia an important Laz commercial colony (Peyssonel ii, 203-4).

iv. — European penetration. — The first breach in the Ottoman Black Sea system dates from 1107/1696 at the time of the capture of Azov by the Russians and the construction of the first Russian fleet on the waters of the Azov Sea. Some Russian ships also accompanied the plenipotentiary of the Tsar to Istanbul in 1111/1699. Retroceded to Turkey at the treaty of Pruth in 1713, Azov returned to Russia at the treaty of Belgrade in 1739, with a portion of the littoral of the Sea of Azov, but Article ix of the treaty stipulated that the Russians' trade in the Black Sea should be done exclusively by ships belonging to the Turks. On a parallel with the treaty of Passarowitz, the limit for the movement of Austrian ships on the Danube remained fixed at the mouths of the river. From 1163/1750 a first French factory was established at Caffa, where the French dragoman carried on trade from 1746, but it was done in ships flying the Ottoman flag (P. Masson, *op. cit.*, 641-3). It was only the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1187/1774) which opened the Black Sea to the Russian merchant ships, while the annexation of Kerç, Yeni Kal'ce and the mouths of the Dnieper considerably enlarged the sea coasts of the Empire of the Tsars. The conference of Aynalı Kavak in 1193/1779 completed it by according to the same ships the free passage of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The foundation of Kherson in 1778, the annexation of the Crimea and the occupation of Georgia in 1783, the capture of Ocçakov in 1788, and in 1789 that of Hoḍja Bey, where in 1795 the new town of Odessa was founded, mark the decisive stages of Russian installation in the Black Sea at the end of the 18th century. The Russian privileges were rapidly extended to the other European nations. In 1784 Austrian ships, in 1799 English ships, in 1802 French ships, obtained freedom of traffic.

European penetration entailed a considerable disturbance in the commercial currents. In 1781 the first Russian ship passed from Kherson to Marseille. In 1784 a French factory was established at Kherson. At the beginning of the 19th century several hundred

ships already participated in the trade of South Russia (an annual movement of 900 ships, of which 552 went to Odessa and 210 to Taganrog; 421 Austrian ones and 329 Russian ones, according to Anthoine, 262). Ottoman trade was progressively reduced to the West coasts of the Caucasus (with which the slave trade remained active throughout the first half of the 19th century) and to the north coasts of Anatolia. Sinop remained an important Ottoman naval base and a great centre of ship-building yards. The trans-Pontic trade of Russia to the Anatolian coasts survived on a restricted scale (fabrics from Aleppo and nuts sent from Trebizond: V. Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient . . . de 1830 à 1833, deuxième voyage en Anatolie*, Paris 1834, 225). But a new fact was the great rise in transit commerce from Persia via Trebizond and Erzurum, which was the normal access route from the Black Sea to Persia until the development of the traffic from Persia to Russia by land at the end of the 19th century and, more recently, the diversion of Persian trade to the Persian Gulf (C. Issawi, *The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route*, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1 (1970), 18-28). Since this date, the Turkish trade of the Black Sea has been essentially a coastal traffic, notably concerned with passengers, wood, the coal of the Zonguldak basin sent to Istanbul, to which are added some direct exports of nuts and tobacco to Europe.

v. — Political and naval history in the modern period. — If the freedom of commercial navigation has never been called into question since the end of the 18th century, the same has not been the case in regard to the naval status of the Black Sea. The treaty of Hunkiar Skelesi (1249/1833), by which the Porte undertook to close the Straits at Russia's request had practically conferred on this latter power the control of the Sea. The Conference of London (1840), in closing the Straits to all warships, caused Russia to lose this privileged situation, but left her assured of dominance in the Black Sea. But after the destruction of the Turkish naval forces by the Russians at Sinop in 1269/1853 and the victory of the Franco-Anglo-Turkish allied forces in the Crimean War, the treaty of Paris of 1856 provided for the neutralisation of the Black Sea (except for six steamships with a maximum length of 50m. at the water-mark and four light ships for each power, as well as two light ships per power at the mouths of the Danube). The Franco-German War of 1871 gave Russia the opportunity, through the Conference of London, to have this neutralization annulled and to regain her freedom of action, but the passage of the Straits remained forbidden to warships. The Conference of Lausanne in 1921, by according freedom of passage to warships of every nationality (provided that they did not constitute a force superior to that of the most important fleet existing in the Black Sea) and by demilitarizing the Straits, made the Black Sea practically a free sea, open to the outside powers. This arrangement was only ephemeral, and the Conference of Montreux (1936), by giving Turkey the right to fortify the Straits once more, by restricting freedom of passage to the fleets of the powers bordering on the Black Sea (with exceptions for light ships) and by according Turkey the right to close the Straits in event of a war in which she remained neutral, has made the Black Sea once more a half-closed sea.

*Bibliography* (apart from the works cited in this article): General: A. Decei, art. *Kara Deniz* in *IA*.—The Name: J. H. Mordtmann, art. *KARA DENİZ* in *EI*.—Pre-Ottoman period: W. Heyd,

*Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, repr. Leipzig 1923; G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1929.—Ottoman period and beginnings of the European penetration: On the expedition of Astrakhan: A. Nimet Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil Boyu*, Ankara 1966; on trade: de Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, Paris 1820; amongst descriptions of the coasts: P. Minas Bijişkyan, *Karadeniz kıyıları tarih ve coğrafyası 1819-19*, Turkish tr. Hrand D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1969; E. Taitbout de Marigny, *Hydrographie de la Mer Noire et de la Mer d'Azow*, Trieste 1856; F. Brunn, *Černoe More*, Odessa 1879-80.—Political and naval history: A. Slade, *Records of travels in Turkey, Greece etc. and of a cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha in the years 1829, 1830 and 1831*, London 1833; K. Rheindorf, *Die Schwarzmeer (Pontus)-Frage 1856-1871*, Berlin 1925; P. H. Mischef, *La Mer Noire et les détroits de Constantinople*, Paris 1899. (X. DE PLANHOL)

**KAİRÄ FADLİ** [see FADLİ MEHMED].

**KAİRÄ GÖZ** [see KARAGÖZ].

**KAİRÄ GÖZLÜ**, Turkish tribe in Iran. It is not mentioned in any 10th/16th or 11th/17th century sources. Originally a member of the famous Şhāmlu tribe during the Şafawid period, the tribe must have taken its name from one of its beys; it is probable that it originated in the Bey Dili sub-tribe of the Şhāmlu.

The homeland of the Kairā Gözlü was the Hamadān region, but in the mid-20th century there was a small branch known by the same name in Fars. The Kairā Gözlü had abandoned a fully nomadic life as early as the beginning of the 19th century, and lived in large and prosperous villages on the Hamadān plain. Nevertheless, they were foremost amongst those peoples who preserved tribal unity. Today they are divided into two branches, the 'Ashiklu and the Hāḡḡīlu. All European travellers who visited the region describe them as a numerous community. Dupré (1807-9) gives their number as 12,000 (*Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, ii, 460); Macdonald Kinneir (1810) records that they were able to field an army of 7,000 men (*A Geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 127); while Lady Sheil (mid-19th century) gives their number as 4,000 (*Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398). The population of the Kairā Gözlü was given as 300,000 in 1930. Travellers also describe them as one of the most warlike tribes. Macdonald Kinneir (*op. cit.*, 46) calls them the best horsemen in Iran. According to Muḡammad Hāshim (*Rustam al-tawārikh*, ed. M. Mushīrī, Tehran 1348, 105), Kairā Gözlü Sa'īd Beg was one of the most gallant amīrs of the reign of Sultan Husayn, the last Şafawid ruler. Although the Kairā Gözlü were a closely-knit community, they chose to remain subject to other ruling dynasties; for this reason they settled in the Hamadān plain as early as the 19th century, leading a prosperous life in comparison with other tribes. This can be explained by the fact, that as members of the Şhāmlu subtribe, they had had a long-established political tradition and experience.

Following the death of Nādir Şah Afshār, the tribe accepted vassalage to Karīm Khan Zand; but in the struggle between the successors of Karīm Khan and Ākā Muḡammad Khan Kādījar, the Kairā Gözlü promptly sided with the Kādījars, and played an important part in Ākā Muḡammad's accession to power. The tribe's loyalty to the Kādījar dynasty continued in later years, and as a result many important military and political figures were appointed from it.

Foremost among these was Muḥammad Husayn Khān (d. 1240/1824-5), who had rendered important service to Ākā Muḥammad in the creation of his state. He was also known as a just and benevolent ruler (J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia*. . ., London 1818, ii, 263). Rustam Khān, son of the above-mentioned khān, and Hādīdjī Muḥammad Khān, Naṣr Allāh Khān, ‘Alī Khān, Maḥmūd Khān and ‘Abd Allāh Khān were the most famous political and military figures of the Karā Gözlü during the periods of Faṭḥ ‘Alī, Muḥammad Shah and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah (Mirzā Muḥammad Taḳī, *Nāsikh al-tawārikh*, ed. Dīhāngīr Kā‘im Maḳāmī, Tehran 1337, ii, 84; iii, 123; Riḍā Kullī Khān, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri*, Tehran 1339, ix, 636, 648; 44-5, 211, 226-7, 238-40, 458, 459, 467, 529). Of these, Maḥmūd Khān and ‘Alī Khān were married to girls of the Kādījār dynasty (J. P. Ferrier, *Voyage en Perse dans l’Afghanistan*. . ., Paris 1860, i, 70-1). Chiefs of the Karā Gözlü were among those statesmen assimilated to Western European culture. One of these was Naṣr al-Mulk, educated at Oxford University, who was regent in 1914, while his brother Amīr Tūmān was ambassador in Washington.

*Bibliography*: For detailed information and bibliography of the Karā Gözlü see F. Sümer *Kararlar devrinde Türk oymakları, in Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, v (Ankara 1974). (F. SÜMER)

**KARĀ HİŞĀR**, “black castle, black fortress”, name of several localities of Asia Minor distinguished from one another by means of other names or epithets, but nevertheless still frequently confused. One finds them already enumerated in the *Mu‘djam* of Yāḳūt (iv, 44), in the *Nuḥat al-ḫulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (ed. Le Strange, 97), in the *Seyāhāt-nāma* of Ewliyā Āḫī (Istanbul 1314-18, ii, 384 = *Narrative of Travels by Ewliya Efendi*, London 1850, ii, 205), in the *Leḥdī-i ‘Oṭhmāni* of Aḥmed Wefīk, (Istanbul 1293, 911) and in the *Ta‘riḫ* of ‘Alī Dīewād (Istanbul 1313, i, 599); the enumeration is nowhere near complete. These localities all have in common their situation on heights, for the most part fortified and difficult of access, and owe their colour-epithet to some volcanic rocks of black colour (basalt, andesite or trachyte such as at Afyūn Karā Hīṣār). The majority of these fortresses were without doubt built in the Middle Ages to serve above all as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding area in case of unforeseen attack, as occurred frequently during the quarrels between the Byzantines on one hand and the Arabs and Salḍjūkids on the other, and also, later, during the wars between the small states that made up Asia Minor: many among them were abandoned during the domination of the Ottomans and are no longer found on our maps.

The most important localities of this name are:

1. **AFYŪN KARĀ HİŞĀR** (Afyon Kara Hisar); see the article that has been already devoted to it [q.v.]. (To add to the *Bibl.*: Süleyman Gönçer, *Afyon ili tarihi*, i, İzmir 1971).

2. **İSDİE KARĀ HİŞĀR** (İsçe Karahisar/İsçehisar), 22 km. to the north-east of Afyon Karahisar, evidently owes its name (= “black castle, of the colour of soot”) to the colour of its dwellings constructed of black lava; so it must be written thus and not as Eski Karā Hīṣār, as do Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 461, 467), L. de Laborde, (*Voyage de l’Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 68-9), Texier, (*Descr. de l’Asie Mineure*, i, 145-52), and Ritter who follows them (Kleinasien, i, 605, 642-3). Nor is it Itchki or Istya (Ramsay, in *Mitt. Deutschen Arch. Instituts in Athen*, vii, 132 ff.; x, 348), nor Ischtschi (Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1896, 88 ff.) or

Ishite (von Dienst, map accompanying the *Geogr. Mitteilungen*, of Petermann, Gotha 1860, suppl. fasc. no. 125). This small locality of around 4,000 inhabitants is situated in the neighbourhood of the quarries of ancient Dokimion, from which were extracted the Synnadx marble; these quarries have recently been worked by European contractors (*Sālnāma Brūsa*, 1325, 125).

*Bibliography*: L. Robert, in the *Journal des Savants* (1962), 24-5.

3. **SHĀBĪN OR SHEBĪN**, **Sheb Karā Hīṣār** (Şebın Kara Hisar) “the black castle of alum”, also called Karā Hīṣār-i **Sharḳī** or Karā Hīṣār-i **Shabḳhāne**, owes its name to the deposits of alum which are found in the vicinity; these deposits, which had already been mined in antiquity, were worked especially in the Middle Ages, and they furnished a product of a quality particularly esteemed in this mineral.

The town is built at about 1300 m. altitude, on the inner slopes of the Pontic chains, 120 km. to the South of Giresun, 190 km. to the north-east of Siwās. The ruins of the fortress which gave its name to the town are situated on an isolated hill to the east of the town, which they dominate from 50 m., being at an elevation of 200 metres on the other side at the top of a valley of a small tributary of the Kelkit Çay.

As Blau already demonstrated in 1865, relying on a Byzantine inscription, the town is the Colonia of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and it preserved this name until the modern period. According to the *Novellae* of Justinian, it belonged to Armenia Prima; in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, it figures as the episcopal seat of Armenia Secunda. In 162/778 the town fell into the hands of Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī at the time of an invasion of Pontus (Ghévond, *Hist. des Guerres des Arabes en Arménie*, Paris 1856, 106; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 493, and Ibn Khurrādāḥbih, in *BGA*, vi, 108). However, the Kalūniya, which according to Euty chius (ed. Selden and Pococke, 383), was conquered by the Sāsānid Shāpūr together with Cappadocia, and the Kalūniya that the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla took in the year 335/946-7 (*ZDMG*, x, 467; Yāḳūt, 168) must be without doubt the Colonia Cappadociae which, according to Niketas (72, 689) much later became Aḳsarāy. This powerful fortress must have been lost by the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert; soon after the Danīshmend-Oghullarī established themselves there (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 164); and much later we find it in the possession of the Saltūkids of Erzurum (Niketas Chon, *Ann.*, ed. Bonn, 185, 294) who in the year 598/1201-2 were dispossessed by the Salḍjūkids of Ḳonya; the latter established the Mengūdjids, vassals of Ḳonya, in their place; after the fall of the sultanate of Ḳonya, the descendants of Eretnā and different princes of the dynasties of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and Karā-Ḳoyunlu reigned there (cf. Sa‘d al-Dīn, i, 287 = ‘Alī, *Kūnh al-akhbār*, v, 178 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 474); in the year 878/1473, the town was taken by Meḥemmed the Conqueror, after the battle of Terḍjān, and was incorporated into the Turkish empire (‘Āshīḳ- Paṣḥa-Zāde, *Ta‘riḫ*, 378, 181, who designates the town as Karā Hīṣār of Kemākh, also Sa‘d al-Dīn, i, 541, 542; Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 589). It constituted a *sandīaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Erzurum (Ewliyā, *Travels*, ii, 205; Hādīdjī Khālifa, *Dījhānnumā*, 422, 424), but sometimes of Erzīndjan. Re-attached to Sivas in the 19th century, then after having been promoted to *chef-lieu* of a *wilāyet* at the beginning of the Republican era, it is today a *kaza* of the *wilāyet* of Giresun.

The old name of Colonia was adopted by the Saljuks under the Armenian form Kughüniya that we encounter in the chronicle of Ibn Bibi (ed. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, 151, 152, 306), in Hamd Alläh Mustawfi (*op. cit.*), where the readings of the manuscripts *Limüniya* or *Li'üniya* must be corrected to *Kighüniya*, and on the money of Eretnä (Aḥmed Tawḥid, *Meskhäi-i Kadime-i islamiyye*, iv, 439). If, as appears almost certain, the Mavro-Kastran mentioned by Michael Astaliota (ed. Bonn, 125) and by Skylitzes (679) as being "situated on a hill in Armenia difficult of access", can be identified with Colonia, it seems then that alongside the name of Colonia the name of Kaırä Hişär was already known at this period; likewise, we encounter among the Greeks of the 18th century, alongside Colonia, the form Garasaris which is a corruption of Kaırä Hişär.

The majority of the population seems to have remained Christian for a long time. A census of 935/1529 counted 213 Christian houses there as against 84 Muslim. In 1022/1710 there were still 240 Christian houses as against 217 Muslim. Ewliyâ Çelebi, who has left us a highly imaginative description, counted 1600 houses there, 750 shops, 42 mosques (1057/1647). There were 70 houses within the citadel, where the villagers of the Black Sea coasts, exposed to the ravages of the Cossacks, came to store their precious objects. A. D. Mordtmann (1858) counted 2,000 houses there, 500 of them Armenian and 100 Greek, and Vital Cuinet, 11,700 inhabitants (of whom 2,750 were Armenian and 1,650 Greek). Trade, judged to be in decline by Barth in 1858, appeared to have become active once more at the end of the century, according to Cumont and Cuinet.

The richness of the gardens and vineyards adjoining the town always formed a primary basis of this activity. Schilberger (*Reisebuch*, ed. Langmantel, 57) calls Karassere "a land rich in vines"; these vines, which still exist today, were always less famous than the rich mines of alum of the neighbouring village *Shäbkhâne*, mines from which was extracted the "alume de rocca di Colonna" (that is to say Colonia) that was so esteemed (Pegolotti, in Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii, 565); they are the *aluminis minera juxta Sabastiam quae valet unam argentarium* of Vincentius Bellovacensis, xxxi, c. 143; they are also mentioned by William of Rubruck (ed. Bergeron, 147). Meḥemmed the Conqueror took possession of them for the treasury (Sa'd al-Din, i, 542), and later, the pay of the garrison of the fortress was levied on the income from their rent (*Djihännumâ*, 424). In the middle of the 19th century 100,000 okes of ore were still being extracted from four shafts (Barth) and exported to Giresun. The working ceased at the end of the 19th century.

The town suffered greatly from the 1914-18 War, when it found itself close to the front in 1916 at the time of the Russian troops' advance, and was abandoned by a part of its population. After the disappearance of the minority population, there were no more than 7,091 inhabitants in 1927, and 7,600 in 1950. The castle, encircled by surrounding walls in which some old wells seem to indicate a pre-Hellenic settlement, is no longer inhabited; within these fortifications, on the summit of the mountain, there is a small keep with an octagonal tower. The fortifications date from the Byzantines and were completed by the Muslim governors of the town.

*Bibliography*: Ewliyâ, *Seyâhat-nâme*, ii, 384 ff. = *Travels*, ii, 204 = ed. Zuhuri Danışman, Istanbul 1970, iv, 81-5; C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i, 208 ff.; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, suppl.

fasc. to the *Geog. Mitteilungen* of Petermann, Gotha 1860, 14 ff. (with plan of the town), and the additional information of A. D. Mordtmann in *Ausland*, 1863, 406-7, 414-5, reprinted in A. O. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hanover 1925; C. Blau in Petermann's *Geogr. Mitteilungen* (1865), 252; Taylor in the *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.*, xxviii (1868), 293 ff.; P. Triantaphyllides, "H év Πόντος 'Ελληνική φυλή", Athens 1886, 113 ff.; X. A. Sideropoulos in the archaeological supplement to the xviii volume of the publications of the Greek Syllogos of Constantinople, 135 ff.; *Studia Pontica*, ii, F. and E. Cumont, *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont*, 296 ff. (with reproductions); H. T. Okutan, *Şebinkarahisar ve civari coğrafiya, tarih, kültür, folklor* (Giresun 1949), 464p.

4. KAİRÄ HİŞÄR-I BEHRÄMŞÄH (Bayrämsäh), already cited by Hamd Alläh Mustawfi, *Nuḣat al-kulüb*, 97; Sidî Re'is (16th century) visited this place at the time of his journey from Siwäs to Bozağ and Kırşehir (*Mir'at al-mamalik*, Istanbul 1312, 96). In the age of Ewliyâ Çelebi it was a jurisdiction (*kaḏâ*) of the *eyâlet* of Siwäs (*Djihännumâ*, 662). This locality is today the Karahisar Tatlısi marked by the *Meskân Yerler Kılavuzu* (Ankara 1946) as a parish of the *bucak* of Kara Mağara, between Yozgat and Akdağ Madeni (and not the Karahisar Kemalisi, a parish of the *bucak* of Kadışehri, *İlçe of Çeherek, wilâyet of Yozgat*, to the north-west of Akdağ Madeni and 30 km. to the north-east of the former).

5. KAİRÄ HİŞÄR-I DEMİRDI, locality situated in the *wilâyet* of Çorum, some hours to the north of the well-known field of ruins of Üyük, cited in the *Djihännumâ*, 625, among the *kaḏâ*'s of the *sandjak* of Çorum. W. Hamilton was, in 1838, the first of the European travellers who visited it and described it (*Researches*, etc., i, 379, 381, 403; Ritter relied on this book in his *Kleinasien*, i, 147, 149 ff.), then came H. Barth in 1859 (*Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, 42) and A. D. Mordtmann, (*Ausland*, 1863, 785; *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1861), 191-2). The place covers the ruins of Kaḏâ Sarây, which, as it lies on top of it, is also cited under this name in the *Djihännumâ*. It must be identified with the Kaırä Hişär that the old Ottoman chronicles cite in connection with Prince Meḥemmed's battles with the chief of the Yürüks Gözleroghlu in ca. 805/1402 (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 386; Sa'd al-Din, i, 200). Kiepert's map marks in this place, a little to the North of Alaca Höyük, two places with the name of Kaırä Hişär near to one another, one mentioned as a ruin, the other as a village. The Turkish 1/200,000 map marks in this place a ruin of a fortress on a hill at 1250 m. altitude, and two villages, to the north-west and to the north-east, called respectively Türk Kalehisar and Çerkes Kalehisar (surely for Kaırä Hişär).

6. KAİRÄ HİŞÄR-I TEKE (*Djihännumâ*, 638, Aḥmed Wefik, 'Ali Djewäd, *op. cit.*), also called Kaırä Hişär Adalia (Ewliyâ, *Travels*, ii, 705), already cited by Yâküt (iv, 44) as a place situated a day's journey from Antäkiya (actually Antäliya). At the time of Ibn Faḏl Alläh, a certain Zekeriyâ, formerly *mamlük* of the lord of Adalia, made himself independent and governed a small territory which comprised 3 towns and 12 strongholds (*Notices et extraits*, xiii, 372-3). Cited on several occasions in the pre-Ottoman texts, this place is still to be found in the accounts of the cadastral survey dating from Meḥemmed the Conqueror (*Revue Historique publ. par l'Institut d'Histoire Turque*, ii, 76), and is noted in the *Djihännumâ* (*loc. cit.*) as a jurisdiction of the *sandjak* of Adalia.

The identification of this town has given rise to

several mistakes. Following the information of Ahmed Wefik (*op. cit.*), who mentions Karā Hişār as the chief place of a *nāhiye* of the *kaḏā'* of Serik in the *sandjak* of Adalia, and the information of Ewliyā Celebi (*Seyāhaināmesi*, ix, 290) according to which the place was built at the foot of a mountain called Serek dađı, Mordtmann in *EI'* and Besim Darkot in *IA* have sought to identify it with the large village of Serik, a real centre of a *kaḏā'* in the plain between the Aksu and the Köprü Su, nearer to this last river. This identification of the locality is incompatible with the data of the same text of Ewliyā, which place it to the west of the Aksu, four hours' journey from Antalya and an hour to the north of the village of Kundu (still existing) on the one hand, and on the other with the information of the same, as well as of al-Kalkaşhandī (*Şubh*, v, 346), which places it on a lofty hill. Süleyman Fikri Erten (*Antalya vilayeti tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, 90) wished incorrectly to place it at the ancient town of Silyon, a hypothesis compatible with the data on the elevated site but not with the information on distance and placing in relation to the river. In fact, there is no doubt that it can be identified with the ancient town of Pergum in terms of the above characteristics. Recognized since the 19th century by Krause in his articles *Pamphylia* and *Perge* in the *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Sect. 3, vol. x (1838), 244, and vol. xv-xvi (1841), 435, but without comment and information on sources, then by X. de Planhol (*De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, 105, 123), it has been set out clearly in detail by Barbara Fleming (*Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxxv/1, 101-2; see equally the index, s.v. for the numerous mentions of this town).

7. DEVELI KARĀ HIŞĀR, i.e., the *Qarahişār* of Develü (*develeniñ Karāhişārı* in *Neshrī*, *ZDMG*, xv, 341, and Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, 334); also named after the district of Develü (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, 104) to distinguish it from other towns of the same name. This town, situated in Asia Minor, 45 km. to the south-west of Kaşariyye, is already frequently mentioned in the history of the Saldjūkids (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv, *passim*). It belonged afterwards to the possessions of the Banū Eretnā (cf. Max van Berchem, *Matériaux*, Pt. 3, 41 and 48), then to that of the Karāmān-oghulları and was conquered in 794/1391 by Bāyazid I (*Neshrī*, *loc. cit.*); at the time of the conquest of Karāmān by Mehemmed II in 879/1474, it surrendered to the Ottomans (Sa'd al-Dīn, i, 550). At the end of the 17th century, the district of Develi Karā Hişār formed a *kaḏā'* dependent on Kaşariyye (*Djihānnumā*, 620). The town then declined, without doubt due to the insalubrity of the swamps (Sultan Sazlıđı) which extend to the approaches of the town, and the consequence of this was the transfer of the centre of the *kaḏā'* to Develi (or Everek), to the south of Kayseri and 40 km. to the east, whereas Karā Hişār, at the end of the 19th century, was no more than a *nāhiye* of the *kaḏā'* of İndjesu. This transfer has been at the source of a whole series of confusions between the two towns (Ahmed Wefik, *Lehje*, 580, and Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 304, 320, give information which is quite obscure and false). The town, established anew as a *kaza* in 1946, took the name of Yeşil Hisar. Of the ancient fortifications of Develi Karā Hişār, only insignificant fragments remain; the town, known for its fruit production, is situated at the foot of some hills, in the midst of extensive gardens (Kinneir, *Journey*, 109; Hamilton, ii, 284).

There were several hundred houses at the end of the last century, with an increase to 5,800 inhabitants in 1950. In the neighbourhood of Develi Karā Hişār, 3 km. to the south-west, are the ruins of Zindjibar Ka'esi, considered formerly to be the ancient Nora (W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 210) and now identified with Cyzustra (W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean, *A classical map of Asia Minor*, London 1958).

*Bibliography*: Apart from the works already cited, I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr and N. Beldiceanu, *Deux villes de l'Anatolie pre-ottomane, Develi et Qarahisar, d'après des documents inédits*, in *REI*, xxxix (1971), 337-86.

8. KARĀ HIŞĀR in the land of 'Uḥmān (Yākut, iv, 45): perhaps this is meant to be the Karāđja Hişār, also named Karāđja Şehir, near İnönü in the territory of origin of the Ottoman Sultans, a place which is often described even in the ancient chronicles by the name of Karā Hişār.

9. KARĀ HIŞĀR, in the territory of Ibn Torghut (Ibn Faḏl Allāh, *op. cit.*, 350); this is, however, impossible to identify, unless it is an ancient name for Torghudlu Kaşabaşı near Mānisa.

10. KARĀ HIŞĀR, *chef-lieu* of the *kaḏā'* of Na'lu-khān (Nallihan), *vilāyet* of Ankara (Ahmed Wefik, *op. cit.*). One encounters several villages of this name in the boundaries of the said *kaza*.

11. HAMMĀM KARĀ HIŞĀR, village of the *nāhiye* of Günyünzi, *kaḏā'* of Sivri Hişār, *wilāyet* of Eskişehir, 17 km. to the east of the *chef-lieu* of the *kaza*.

12. VĀN KARĀHIŞĀRI (Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, iv, 275-6), which the traveller visited on the route from Van to Kotur, and of which he says that the Kurds call it Karāđja Kale; this is today a village of the *kaza* of Saray (newly called Özalp).

A certain number of other places of the name of Karā Hişār figure in the gazeteers of the Anatolian villages; none of them have any historical importance. See the article of Besim Darkot in *IA* for the enumeration of several of them.

(J. H. MORDTMANN-[X. DE PLANHOL])

KARĀ KALPAK [see KARAKALPAK].

KARĀ KHALİL [see QIANDARLI].

KARĀ-KHĀNIDS [see İLEK-KHĀNS].

KARĀ KHITĀY, the usual name in Muslim sources of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries of the Kitai people, mentioned in Chinese sources from the 4th century A.D. onwards as living on the northern fringes of the Chinese empire; during the course of the 6th/12th century a group of them migrated into the Islamic lands of Central Asia and established a domination there which endured for some eighty years.

In the Orkhon inscriptions of Outer Mongolia, the royal annals of the T'u-chieh or Turks (ca. 732 A.D.), the Kitai are mentioned as enemies of the Turks and as living to the east of the Turkish heartland on the Orkhon and Selenga rivers. Ethnically and linguistically, the Kitai were most probably Mongols rather than Tungus, as some earlier orientalist surmised, though there is a possibility that they spoke a language of their own, unrelated to the above two groups (see the discussions in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese society: Liao*, 21-3, and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turk, Mongol, Tungus*, in *Asia Major*, N.S. viii (1960), 120-1, 123). There must also have been considerable Uyghur Turkish influence on them when they were subject to the Kağhans of the Eastern Turks.

In Chinese sources, the Kitai are first called the Ch'i-tan (K'i-tan) and then, after 947, the Liao. In

the period of chaos after the downfall of the T'ang dynasty (907), the expansionist Kitai overran northern China and established there a ruling dynasty which, whilst retaining its basic steppe ethos, became at least superficially sinicized, so that Chinese annals account them a native dynasty; southern China, on the other hand, remained in the hands of the indigenous Sung dynasty (960-1279). The Liao empire stretched from the Pacific in the east to the Altai mountains and the Uyghur lands in the west, and their original name of Kitai, in the form *Khītā* or *Khātā*, was applied by the Muslims to northern China, whence older English Cathay, Russian Kitay, Greek Kitaia, etc. for the whole country of China (see Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1913-16, i, 146; in Muslim usage *Čin*, Arabic form *Šin* [q.v.] became the term reserved for southern China).

Between 1116 and 1123, however, the Liao of northern China were overthrown by a fresh wave of barbarian invaders from the north, the Tungusic Jurchen of the Amur-Ussuri basin and northern Manchuria, who formed the Chin ("golden") dynasty, Mongol Altun Khans. A part of the Kitai remained in China with the Chin and later, in the time of Čingiz Khān, were able successfully to rebel and restore the Kitai kingdom as a Mongol vassal state. Muslim sources mention raids westwards by the "Khitāy" on Islamic territories adjoining the Semirečye during the 5th/11th century (see Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 209-10, incursion of the *Khītā'iyya* in 408/1017-18), but these attacks may well have been made by Mongol groups, perhaps the Nayman, pushed westwards by the expansion of the Kitai proper in northern China (see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 95). It was the migration of ca. 519/1125 and thereafter by the Qarā ("black") *Khītāy* (in the Latin of John of Plano Carpini, 1246, *nigri Kitai*), Chinese Hsi ("western") Liao, which was really significant for the eastern Islamic world. One more southerly group moved into eastern Turkestan, but came up against the branch of Ilek Khānids or Karakhānids [q.v.] ruling in Kāshgharia. Arslan Khān Ahmad b. Ḥasan defeated them before they could reach Kāshghar and captured their leader. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 55, places this battle in 522/1128, which is perhaps too early, since in a letter from the Saldjūk sultan of eastern Persia, Sandjar, to the caliph's vizier, dated 527/1133, the victory is described as a recent event.

The adventures of the other group of *Khītāy* are described by Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 354 ff. It may be that we should regard these merely as the right wing of a general Qarā *Khītāy* advance along a broad front, successful in breaking through where the left wing thrust into Kāshgharia failed. At all events, this second group came westwards by a more northerly route, through the Kirghiz lands on the upper Yenisei, building the settlement of Emil to the east of Lake Balkhash, which they used as a base for intervening in the Karakhānid principality in the Semirečye. By this time, their numbers had swollen to 40,000 tents. The Karakhānid ruler tried to win the *Khītāy* over as allies against his own unruly Karluq and Qanghli tribesmen, but instead found himself deposed. The Qarā *Khītāy* leader, whose name appears in Chinese sources as Yeh-lü Ta-shih (d. 537/1143) now, after a half-hearted attempt to organize a revanche and regain the Liao homeland in China, made the town of Balāsāghūn [q.v.] in the Ču valley his base for a series of attacks on the surrounding Turkish tribes and principalities:

against the Kirghiz and Qanghli in the steppes, and against the Karakhānids in Khotan and Kāshghar, where Ibrāhīm b. Arslan Khān Ahmad probably died in battle against them. In 536/1137 Maḥmūd Khān b. Arslan Muḥammad of Samarqand was defeated at Khudjand in Farghāna.

After the Qarā *Khītāy* had halted for four years, internal disputes in the Samarqand Khānate laid open the whole of Transoxania to them. Nomadic Karluq tribesmen at odds with Maḥmūd Khān appealed to the Qarā *Khītāy* against their overlord. Maḥmūd had recourse to his own suzerain Sandjar, and the Saldjūk sultan now invaded Transoxania from Khurāsān with a large army. In Šafar 536/September 1141 a bloody battle was fought at the Kaṭwān Steppe in Ushrūsana to the south of the middle Syr Daryā. Despite a probable numerical superiority, the Muslims were routed with huge losses, and Sandjar and Maḥmūd Khān abandoned Transoxania and fled to Khurāsān; this clash between the conventionally organized Muslim army and the Qarā *Khītāy* nomadic horde was, indeed, a foretaste of what was to happen when Čingiz Khān's Mongols appeared in the Islamic lands. The Qarā *Khītāy* now occupied Samarqand and Bukhārā, and Yeh-lü Ta-shih sent an army against Khwārazm, compelling the Khwārazm-Shāh Atslz [q.v.] to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 *dīnārs*. The lands under Qarā *Khītāy* control came to stretch from the borders of the Kirghiz country in the north to Balkh in the south (occupied in 560/1165), and from Khwārazm in the west to the Uyghur lands of eastern Turkestan (see the maps in A. Herrmann, *An historical atlas of China*, Edinburgh 1966, 38-40, and Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 658). The news of the Qarā *Khītāy* victory over the Muslim forces at the Kaṭwān Steppe filtered through to the Crusaders in the Levant and thence to Christian Europe, giving fresh impetus to the legends about Prester John, the powerful Christian monarch who supposedly ruled in Inner Asia and who was attacking the Muslims from the rear (that these legends were in circulation before this time is suggested by C. F. Beckingham, *The achievements of Prester John*, Inaugural Lecture, University of London 1966).

The Qarā *Khītāy* leaders are called in the Islamic sources by the title *Gür-Khān*, and the personal names of the successive rulers are known only in their Chinese forms (see below). Djuwaynī, tr. i, 354, and Djuzdžānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, ed. Ḥabībī, ii, 96, tr. Raverty, ii, 911, explain that *Gür-Khān* means "Supreme Khān", *Khān-i Khānān*; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 97, n. 1, connected the first element with the old Turkish word *kür*, *kül*, "noble, courageous", found in names and titles of the Orkhon inscriptions, giving something like "Heroic Khān".

Pace Barthold's categorical assertion that "The Qara-Khitay kingdom was vastly different from the usual type of nomad empires" (*Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, 29), the Qarā *Khītāy* empire was in many ways typical of the steppe empires established by a Eurasian steppe confederation, despite the partial sinicization of the Qarā *Khītāy* themselves. It is probable that, like all nomadic confederations, they were not an ethnically homogeneous group; the successes of the first *Gür-Khān* doubtless attracted numbers of Turks, Tanguts and perhaps even Tungus to swell the original core of the Kitai. They were a military aristocracy of cavalrymen, spread thinly over the lands which they dominated, but with their main concentration at the *Gür-Khān's* ordu or army camp outside Balāsāghūn



in the Semirečye. The Chinese history of the dynasty, the *Liao Shih* (completed in 1344), mentions a census taken in 546/1151 by the Gür-Khān Yi-lieh. This enumerated 84,500 households with adult males in them, but this figure probably included the indigenous Muslim population of Balāsāghūn and its hinterland as well as the Karā Kḥitāy tribesmen; even reckoning two fighting men per household, the numbers of the Karā Kḥitāy cannot have been all that large (see Wittfogel and Fêng, 659-60).

Nor was there any administrative centralization, despite the fact that they did not follow the practice in other nomadic empires of granting out appanages to relatives and others of high rank; the first Gür-Khān is said not to have entrusted to any man command of more than 100 warriors. Except in Balāsāghūn, where, as noted above, the local Karā Kḥānid ruler was displaced (although the population of the town remained largely Muslim), local dynasties continued elsewhere to exist as the Gür-Khāns' vassals. In some places, there were appointed permanent representatives of the Gür-Khān (Chinese *chien-kuo* "state supervisor", Turkish *başkağ*, Arabic-Persian *shahna*) side-by-side with the local ruler; a province like Khwārazm was only visited periodically by the Karā Kḥitāy tribute-collectors; whilst at the beginning of the 7th/13th century the *šads* or religious leaders in Bukhārā of the Burhān family (on whom see O. Pritsak, *Al-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 81-96) took the tribute of the city in person to the Gür-Khān's *ordu*, just as later under the Golden Horde the prince of Muscovy took his tribute to the capital at Sarāy.

The Karā Kḥitāy administration was therefore primarily a fiscal one, and beyond the collection of taxes, the subject territories were left largely to their local rulers. Ibn al-Aṭḥir, xi, 56, says that the Gür-Khān imposed a tax of one *dīnār* per annum on each household of the conquered peoples, but we know that tribute in kind was also collected. Barthold thought that the *dīnār* levy on each family was a specifically Chinese feature, but it seems to have been only one method followed amongst several in a far-from-uniform system; one Chinese source says that the rural populace around Balāsāghūn paid a tithe on their crops to the Gür-Khān. The Gür-Khāns coined their own copper currency on the Liao and Chinese pattern, with the regnal period inscribed in Chinese characters, but the vassal states continued to mint their own Islamic-type coins, and as we have just seen, the unit of the *dīnār* was recognised by the Karā Kḥitāy for tax-collecting purposes (see Wittfogel and Fêng, 661-2, 664, 672-3).

Barthold also asserted in his *ET*<sup>1</sup> article KARĀ KḤITĀI that the "language of the government seems to have been Chinese", but the linguistic and cultural structure of Central Asia at this time was complex and reflected the *mélange* of races, cultures and faiths to be found there. The Karā Kḥitāy undeniably set a Chinese imprint on the administration and culture of the lands under their control, and Muslim authors noted a few Chinese words like *fu-ma* "imperial son-in-law" for the Gür-Khān's son-in-law (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 290, 292) and *pāyza*, Chinese *p'ai-tzū*, "tablet, insignia of a government official's authority" (*ibid.*, i, 158; 'Awfi, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Browne, ii, 385). The Gür-Khāns bestowed Chinese official titles and used the Chinese script for solemn decrees, but the number of Chinese litterati at their *ordu* can never have been very large. They must have called upon Muslim scholars and secretaries for their correspondence in Persian and the Arabic script with

their Muslim vassals, and probably upon Uyghur officials for correspondence in Turkish and the Uyghur script with vassals in eastern Turkestan.

The Karā Kḥitāy never adopted Islam, as did eventually the Mongol Khāns in the Islamic world, but they displayed the traditional tolerance of the steppes towards all faiths. Even though Islam was especially identified with the resistance in Transoxania by the Karākhānids and by Sandjar, they did not systematically persecute Muslims, as did their brief supplanter Kitičlūg (see below) in Kāshgharia. A contemporary Muslim author like Nizāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī gives an anecdote about the first Gür-Khān's boundless justice, his deference to the *šudūr* of Bukhārā and his removal of an oppressive representative of the Karā Kḥitāy administration there (*Cahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 24, revised tr. 24-5). Djuzdjāni, the historian of the Ghūrīds, is also remarkably enthusiastic about them; he praises the first Gür-Khān for his just rule and respect for Muslim sensibilities, and even purveys a tale that one of the later Gür-Khāns had secretly become a Muslim (*Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, ii, 96, tr. 911-12). Muslims retained leading positions in the Karā Kḥitāy administration; the wealthy merchant Maḥmūd Tay is mentioned by Djuwaynī, tr. i, 357-8, as being vizier to the last Gür-Khān.

However, the religious tolerance and impartiality of the Karā Kḥitāy undoubtedly permitted adherents of non-Islamic faiths to flourish more openly in Turkestan than under the orthodox Muslim Karākhānids. A great period of missionary activity and enterprise opened for the Nestorian Christian Church in Inner Asia; the patriarch Elias III (1176-90) founded a metropolitan see in Kāshghar whose jurisdiction also included the Semirečye; and the oldest of the Syriac-inscribed Christian gravestones from the Ču valley in the Semirečye stem from this period (see Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 57 ff.; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 99-101; the earliest inscription published by Chwolson dates from 1186). There were Chinese artisans working in Samarkand at this time, and the Jewish communities in Kḥiwa, Samarkand, etc. were flourishing, according to the evidence of a Jewish traveller in Persia like Benjamin of Tudela (see W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of Central Asia (Khorasan) in mediaeval Hebrew and Islamic literature*, in *Historia Judaica*, vii (1945), 29-50). Grousset commented with some justice that "the foundation of the Qara Khitay empire may be viewed as a reaction against the work of Islamization accomplished by the Qarakhanids" (*L'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1952, 221).

As for the Karā Kḥitāys' own religion, we can glean very little from the sources. Ibn al-Aṭḥir, xi, 55, calls the first Gür-Khān a Manichaean. Muslim writers usually, however, simply call them "idolaters", but we may surmise that Buddhism, which had overlaid the original shamanism of the Ch'i-tan in China, was widespread amongst them.

One may accordingly say that the receptiveness of the Karā Kḥitāy environment to differing cultural and religious traditions, and the consequent encouragement of the flowering of these traditions under the dynasty's relaxed rule, constitutes a certain achievement in human civilization, one which anticipates the better side of the succeeding *pax mongolica*. Thus the Chinese connections of the Karā Kḥitāy probably facilitated the journeyings of Muslim traders into Mongolia and perhaps even as far as northern China. Acts of violence and oppression towards the subject

peoples can never have been wholly absent, and these may have increased towards the end of their rule. Yet our admittedly fragmentary knowledge of the trends of the period allows us to go some way with Marquart's approbation of Karā Khitāy culture (*Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 209), and to regard Barthold's dismissal of the achievements of the dynasty as negligible (*Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 98-9) as unduly harsh.

The chronology of the line of Karā Khitāy Gür-Khāns can be pieced together from the *Liao Shih* and from odd items of information in the Islamic sources (e.g., the recording by Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 57, of the first Gür-Khān's death in Rajab 537/Jan.-Feb. 1143). In his standard *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Zambaur made no attempt to deal with the Karā Khitāy, although Marquart, *op. cit.*, 237-8, had given a substantially correct list of their rulers. After the death of the original Gür-Khān Yeh-lü Ta-shih (1124-43), his widow T'a-pu-yen (named in *Djuwayni-Boyle*, I, 356, as Kuyan, honorific title Kan-t'ien, regnal title Hsien-ch'ing) reigned 1144-50. There succeeded the Gür-Khān Yi-lieh, regnal title Shao-hsing (1151-63); and finally the last Gür-Khān, Yi-lieh's younger son Chih-lu-ku (1178-1211, d. 1213). The fact that the Karā Khitāy dominions were ruled by women for two out of these five reigns is significant evidence for the matriarchal trend in Karā Khitāy society; in China proper, the Liao empress-dowagers had traditionally wielded great influence in the state. See on these questions of chronology, Wittfogel and Fêng, 620-1, 627 ff.; 672.

The Khwārazm-shāhs from Il Arslan (551/1156 567/1172) onwards endeavoured at various times to throw off the yoke of the Karā Khitāy, but their withholdings of tribute were normally followed by Karā Khitāy invasions which re-asserted their overlordship. The Shāh Tekish (567/1172-596/1200) owed his throne to the help of the Gür-Khān Yeh-lü's son-in-law Fuma, but he later renounced his allegiance, adding the oppressiveness of the Karā Khitāy tax-collectors and raising the banner of *djihad* against the infidels; in the words of Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 248, he rebelled "out of zeal for the dignity of his throne and for the faith". The Karā Khitāy in turn now supported Tekish's younger brother and earlier rival for the throne, Sulṭān Shāh, and helped him to seize several towns in northern Khurāsān (576/1181). In the last decades of the 6th/12th century and the opening years of the 7th/13th century, the Karā Khitāy aided Tekish and his son and successor 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad in their rivalry with the Ghūrids of Afghānistān [q.v.]; thus in 594/1198 the Gür-Khān sent an army across the Oxus to recover the vassal city of Balkh from the Ghūrids; the Karā Khitāy were, however, defeated, and this led to recriminations between them and the Khwārazm-Shāh.

After his eventual crushing of the Ghūrids, 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad had ambitions to extend Khwārazmian control over the whole of Transoxania and to reduce the last vestiges of Karākhānid rule there. This necessarily involved clashing with the Karā Khitāy suzerains of the province. A general revolt flared up in eastern Turkestan amongst the Gür-Khāns' Muslim vassals, and it was on the crest of these disorders that the Nayman Mongol Küčlüg rose to power there after his flight westwards before Čingiz Khān [q.v.]. The last Karākhānid ruler in Samarkand, 'Uthmān Khān b. Ibrāhīm (600/1204-608/1212), attempted to throw off Karā Khitāy

control, offended by the Gür-Khān's refusal to grant him the hand of a daughter in marriage; but he had his capital temporarily occupied by a Karā Khitāy force (probably in 606/1209-10), and the marriage in fact later took place. 'Uthmān Khān then allied with the Khwārazm-Shāh to defeat the Karā Khitāy near Talas in 607/1210, and although the Gür-Khān defeated Küčlüg, the appearance of a Mongol force under Čingiz's general Kubilay Noyan compelled him to come to terms with Küčlüg (608/1211) and to surrender; he remained as nominal ruler only, and died two years later. Thus for a brief while, before the arrival of Čingiz in the west, the Karā Khitāy dominions were partitioned between the fiercely anti-Muslim Küčlüg in Kāshgharia and the Semirečye, and the Khwārazm-Shāh in Transoxania. The remaining members of the Karā Khitāy horde must have been caught up in the armies of the Mongols.

However, their rule was perpetuated indirectly in one corner of the eastern Islamic world. Shortly after the collapse of 608/1211, one of the Karā Khitāy commanders called Barak Ḥādīb entered the service of the Khwārazm-Shāhs and eventually founded the principality of the Kutluḡ-Khānids in Kirmān; see BURAK ḤĀDĪB, Zambaur, *Manuel*, 237, and Wittfogel and Fêng, 626, 655-7.

*Bibliography:* The chief Muslim sources include Ibn al-Athīr, *Djuwayni* and the standard *Saldjūk* sources (e.g., Rāwandī, *Bundārī*) for the establishment of Karā Khitāy power in Transoxania, and *Djuwayni* again and *Djūzdžānī* for the later phases. Some of the relevant Chinese sources were translated in E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, I, 208-35, but the Chinese sources are utilized directly by K. A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of Chinese society: Liao (907-1125)*, in *Trans. American Philosophical Society*, N.S. xxxvi (Philadelphia 1946), 619-74.

For other secondary sources, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*<sup>2</sup>, 323 ff.; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 94-101; idem, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, I. *A short history of Turkestan*, 26-30, *History of the Semirečyē* 100-8; J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 2. *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. Gött. Gesell. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.S. xiii/1 (1914); R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*<sup>2</sup>, 219-22; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 147-50, 187 ff. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KARĀ KIRGIZ** [see KIRGIZ].

**KARĀ-KÖL** (Turkish "black lake"), KARAKUL, the name of various lakes in Central Asia and of a modern town in the Uzbek SSR.

The best-known lake is that lying at the western extremity of the Zarafshān River in Soghdia (modern Uzbekistan), midway between Bukhārā and Čārdjūy (mediaeval Āmul-i Shāṭṭ, see ĀMUL. 2). The basin in which it lay was known as the Sāmdjan basin, see Iṣṭakhrī, 315, and Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. Kramers, 485, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 466. In Narshakhī's *Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Schefer, 17, tr. Frye, 19, the lake is given both the Turkish name of Karā-Köl and the Iranian one of Bārgin-farākh "extensive basin", and is said to have been 20 *farsakhs* long by one *farsakh* wide.

In history, this lake has been identified with the *ḡara köl* mentioned in the Old Turkish Orkhon inscriptions (8th century), Kültigin N 2, where it is described as the scene of a battle between the Tiu-kio or Eastern Turks under the prince Kültigin and the rebellious Az people (possibly the Türgesh), cf.

V. Thomsen, *Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, in *ZDMG*, lxxvii (1924), 154, and T. Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, Indiana 1968, 270. The lake was a celebrated wintering-place for migrating wildfowl, and therefore much frequented by hunters and fishermen. The Mongol princes Čaġhatay and Ögedey wintered there in 619-20/1222-3 (Djuwayni-Boyle, i, 140), and the Timürid Ulugh Beg apparently hunted there periodically (Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. T. and V. Minorsky, ii, 134). After the Tsarist Russian conquest of the Khānate of Bukhārā in the late 19th century, a Fort Karakul was built to command the Čärđjüy-Bukhārā road, and a modern town has now grown up there.

The steppelands and pastures of the Karā-Köl basin are especially famed as the original habitat of the Karakul breed of sheep, whose lambs produce a glossy, tightly-curved, rich black fur, commercially known as Persian lamb, and used for making Astrakhan fur; the full-grown sheep produce dark-coloured wool for carpet making. The Soviet Central Asian republics, Afghanistan and Persia are today important breeders of this sheep and exporters of its fur.

Other lakes with this toponym of Karā-Köl are found in the Pamirs (Tadzhik SSR) and in the mediaeval region of Semirechye near the Isik-Köl (cf. Barthold, in *Four studies*, i, 88, 91).

*Bibliography:* In addition to the references given in the article, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*<sup>2</sup>, 118, 455; Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 81, 85; *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 302. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

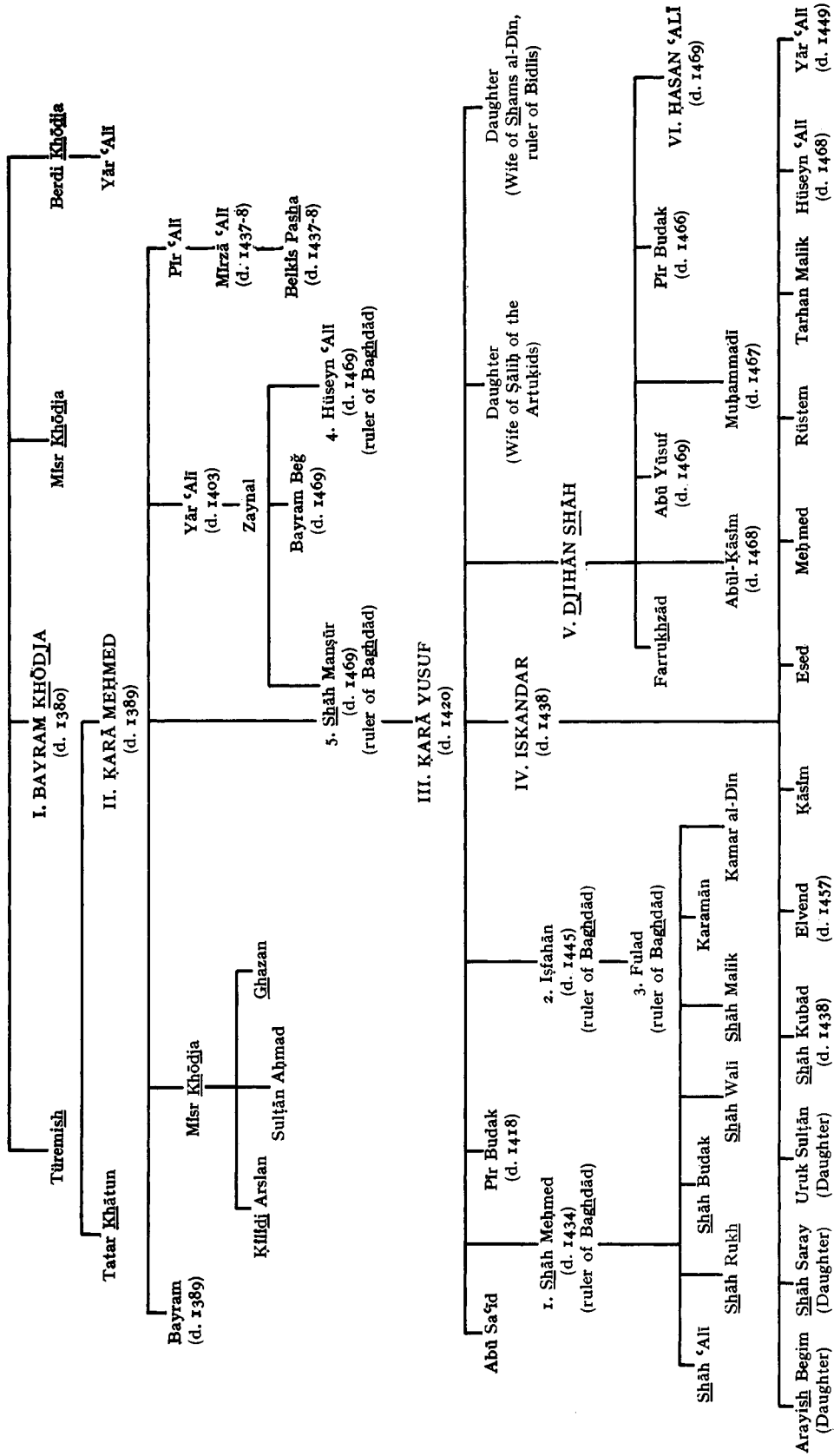
**KARĀ-ŶOYUNLU**, Turkish dynasty which ruled over parts of Eastern Anatolia, ‘Irāk, al-Djāzira, and most of Iran, also known as the Barāni (Bārānlu). It is not known why the dynasty was given this name. The Karā-Ŷoyunlu tribe was undoubtedly a sub-tribe (*oba*) of the Oġhuz. Minorsky's claim that this sub-tribe belonged to the Yīwa is probably true (*The Clan of the Qara Ŷoyunlu rulers*, in *Köprülü Armaġanı*, Istanbul 1953, 391-5). The political achievements of the dynasty led many tribes to enter the service of the Karā-Ŷoyunlu, notably the Sa‘dlu (Nakhđjivān region), the Dukħarlu (Erzurum-Bayburt region), the Alpāġut and Aġhaç Eri (Mar‘ash region), the Baharlu (Hamadān region during the reign of Djihān Shāh), the Karāmānlu (Gandja and Barda‘a region), the Djākirlu (Ardabil region) and the Āynlu. Besides these, a large community known as Karā Ulus was also subject to the Karā-Ŷoyunlu. Subsequently, these tribes took service with the Aġ-Ŷoyunlu and later with the Šafawids. During the Mongol period, the Karā-Ŷoyunlu's winter quarters were in the Mosul region, and their grazing grounds in the Van region (probably Ardjiġh), and they were subject to the Uyrat. When the Sutatyl occupied most of the eastern and south-eastern Anatolian territories belonging to the Uyrat in 737/1337, the Karā-Ŷoyunlu became their vassals. Pīr Muġammad of the Sutatyl was killed in 751/1350 by Ĥusayn Beg, son of Tay Bughā, one of his amīrs, who succeeded to his position. However, before long, he too was killed by Amīr Bayram Khōđja (752/1351), the man who was responsible for bringing the Karā-Ŷoyunlu on to the stage of history. Although he failed to capture Mosul from Ordu Bughā, Ĥusayn Beg's nephew, he succeeded in assuming the leadership of the group without much difficulty. Before long, however, Bayram Khōđja did capture Mosul, where he appointed Berdī Khōđja, his brother, as governor. Bayram Khōđja, like the Diyārbakr

governors of the Mongols, lived in the Mosul area in winter and moved to the Mušh-Aġhlāt region, and sometimes to Erzurum, in summer. Most of the local dynasties in the above-mentioned regions had been made either his allies or vassals, but although defeated, Malik Mañšūr, the Artuġid ruler of Mārdīn, refused to recognize Bayram Khōđja's suzerainty, and complained to Sulṭān Uways, the Djālāyir ruler, about him. Thereupon Sulṭān Uways left Bagħdād in the spring of 767/1366, took Mosul from Berdī Khōđja, and after passing the month of Ramađān in Mārdīn, marched against Bayram Khōđja, who was with his forces on the plain of Mušh. Defeating the amīr of the Karā-Ŷoyunlu there, Sulṭān Uways went to Tabrīz by way of Karā Kilise (Aġrı). After this defeat, Bayram Khōđja seems to have become one of the tribute-paying vassals of Uways. Nevertheless, the Karā-Ŷoyunlu beg continued his activities by besieging Mosul, which probably belonged to Uways, in 773/1371, and by capturing Sindjār in the next year.

When the Djālāyirid ruler died in the same year (744/1372), Bayram Khōđja severed his ties of vassalage, and, taking advantage of the situation, added Sürmeli, Ala Kilise, Khoy, Nakhđjivān and some other places to his territory. However, Shaykh Ĥusayn, successor to Uways, and particularly ‘Ādil Āġā, who held the real power, were not prepared to overlook his activities, and the Karā-Ŷoyunlu accepted vassalage under lighter conditions (779/1377). When Bayram Khōđja died in 782/1380, the territory extending from Mosul to Erzurum was directly subject to the Karā-Ŷoyunlu.

Bayram Khōđja was succeeded by his nephew Karā Mehmed, an energetic and capable amir. He gained an overwhelming victory against the Djālāyir army, which met him near Nakhđjivān in 784/1382 under the command of Šah-zāda Shaykh ‘Alī of the Djālāyirs and Pīr ‘Alī Bār Beg. Both the Djālāyir prince and the other commander were killed in the battle. This victory increased Karā Mehmed's status, and secured the Djālāyir throne for Aġmad, who probably married Karā Mehmed's daughter after this event. His vassalage to the Djālāyirs came to an end with the murder of Sulṭān Ĥusayn. After a series of successes—forcing the ruler of Djā‘bar, Döġer Sālim Beg, to take refuge with the Mamlūk sultan for robbing the pilgrims of Mosul; besieging Mārdīn; defeating Malik ‘Isā of the Artuġids and marrying his daughter; defeating the Aġ-Ŷoyunlu with their ally Muṭahhar, the ruler of Erzindġan, and compelling them to enter the service of Qādī Burhān al-Dīn—Karā Mehmed defended his country heroically against the attacks of Timūr in 789/1387. In fact, taking advantage of Timūr's return to Transoxania, he captured Tabrīz the next year. After leaving troops to guard Tabrīz, returning to eastern Anatolia, he was faced with the opposition of Pīr Ĥasan Beg, one of the amīrs in his service. Pīr Ĥasan was the son of Ĥusayn Beg, who had been killed by Bayram Khōđja, and he had distinguished himself particularly in the battles with Timūr. Encouraged by this, and determined to avenge his father, he severed his ties of allegiance to Karā Mehmed and attempted to capture his principality. His venture was successful; in a battle (Rabi‘ II 791/April 1389) Pīr Ĥasan killed Karā Mehmed and seized the principality. According to some Mamlūk historians (Ibn al-Fūrāt, al-‘Aynī) Pīr Ĥasan (Karā Ĥasan in their works) was Karā Mehmed's nephew, but this is not confirmed by other sources.

GENEALOGY OF THE KARĀ-KÖYUNLU



Pir Hasan Beg's rule did not last long, and an important part of the Karā-Koyunlu Turcomans gathered round Mīsr Khōdja, one of the sons of Karā Mehmed, and continued the struggle. But it soon became apparent that Mīsr Khōdja was a man of weak character, and he was replaced by his brother Karā Yūsuf. The bitter fighting between Karā Yūsuf and Pir Hasan led to heavy losses on both sides. Finally, Döger Sālim Beg intervened and stopped the hostilities. Although the death of Pir Hasan (793/1391) saved Karā Yūsuf from his enemy, shortly afterwards he had to resume fighting with his son Husayn Beg. The rule of Karā Yūsuf coincided with the expansion of Timūr's operations in the Middle East. Like his father, Karā Yūsuf opposed Timūr and tried to defend his country against his attacks. Taking advantage of Timūr's departure, he captured Tabrīz several times, and took prisoner Atlamīsh, governor of Awnik and one of Timūr's commanders, and sent him to Egypt (797/1395). However, when Timūr started invading Anatolia, Yūsuf Beg was obliged to take refuge with Bāyezīd I [g.v.] (802/1400). In fact, Bāyezīd's offer of shelter to the Karā-Koyunlu Beg was one of Timūr's pretexts for opening hostilities against the Ottoman ruler. When Timūr entered Ottoman territory, Karā Yūsuf left Anatolia (805/1402) and went to 'Irāk, where he helped Sulṭān Aḥmad to suppress his son's revolt, but upon Sulṭān Aḥmad's failure to keep his word, he attacked Baghdād (805/1403). Defeated in battle by the superior forces of Timūr's grandsons, he went to Damascus by the desert route. Karā Yūsuf and Djalāyir Aḥmad were imprisoned in Damascus on the order of the Mamlūk sultan, who sentenced them to death shortly afterwards, but Shaykh, the governor of Damascus, ignored his command.

The Mamlūk sultan's treatment of the refugees was due to pressure exerted by Timūr. Before returning to his homeland for good, Timūr wanted to be sure that these two minor enemies of his, particularly Karā Yūsuf, would not give his commanders and grandchildren any trouble in the future. In fact, if Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī's words are true, Timūr said to Amīr Doladay, commander of the fortress of Awnik, who had come to bid him farewell: "Don't worry about Djalāyir Sulṭān Aḥmad, because he has been assimilated by the Taḍjiks; but watch Karā Yūsuf closely, because he is a Turcoman". The refusal of Shaykh, governor of Damascus, to carry out the order for their execution had nothing to do with protecting the honour of the Mamlūk state, but was the outcome of his own political aims. He released the prisoners, supplying them with provisions in 807/1405, by which time Timūr had returned to Samarkand.

Shaykh, accompanied by Karā Yūsuf, advanced on Cairo. Although he won the first battle, in which he followed the advice of the Karā-Koyunlu Beg, he suffered defeat in a second, because most of his amīrs had defected, and he was forced to return to Damascus with a small force, consisting mainly of the Turcomans of Karā Yūsuf (807/1405). Karā Yūsuf returned to his homeland in eastern Anatolia at the beginning of the next year, contrary to the wish of Shaykh. Shams al-Dīn, amīr of Bidlis, provided him with all the supplies he needed. That 'Umar and Abū Bakr Mirzā, grandsons of Timūr, who had been appointed rulers over Aḍharbāyḍjān, Arrān, 'Irāk-i 'Arab and eastern Anatolia, were incompetent administrators and rivals, was a fortunate circumstance for the Karā Kōyunlu beg. By his victories over 'Izz al-Dīn Shīr, amīr of Van and

Hakkārī, and Doladay, who was made the commander of the fortress of Awnik by Timūr, he regained his territories in eastern Anatolia (809/1406). His victories over Abū Bakr Mirzā, Timūr's grandson, first in the Nakhḍjivān area (2 Djumādā I 809/15 Oct. 1406) and later at Sard Rūd near Tabrīz (16 Dhū'l-Ka'ḍa/13 April 1408) secured Aḍharbāyḍjān. He followed this by capturing Sulṭāniyya and Hamadān, then internationally important commercial centres. Karā Yūsuf's unexpected successes aroused the envy of the Djalāyir Sulṭān Aḥmad and many other amīrs, especially as it was mainly as a result of his achievements that Sulṭān Aḥmad became the ruler of 'Irāk-i 'Arab and Khūzistān. What is more, when in prison in Damascus, they had agreed that Aḍharbāyḍjān be given to the Karā-Kōyunlu and 'Irāk-i 'Arab to Sulṭān Aḥmad. In fact, the Djalāyir ruler had become the adopted father of Pir Budak, Karā Yūsuf's son born in Damascus. A battle fought between these two former allies at the village of Asad near Tabrīz (28 Rabī' II 813/30 August 1410) ended in the defeat and capture of Sulṭān Aḥmad, who was later put to death. His territories in 'Irāk-i 'Arab were incorporated into the lands of the Karā-Koyunlu, under the command of Shāh Mehmed, Karā Yūsuf's son. His other son, Pir Budak, was declared sultan of the Karā-Kōyunlu (814/1411). Letters bore the title *Sulṭān Pir Budak Khān yarllghādn . . . Abū Naṣr Yūsuf Bahādur Noyan sözüümüz*, and copper and silver coins were struck to commemorate the event.

Karā Yūsuf's successive achievements were watched with growing concern by Shāh Rukh, the Čaghatayid ruler and Shaykh, the ruler of Egypt. In a short space of time, he had leapt from the modest level of a tribal chief to the exalted position of ruler of a large country. From around this time onwards, Shah Rukh in particular encouraged Karā Yülük 'Othmān, the Aḳ-Kōyunlu ruler of Āmid, Urfa and Kamakh, the Shīrvān-Shāh Shaykh Ibrāhīm and others, in hostility towards Karā Yūsuf. The alliance of the Shīrvān-Shāh Shaykh Ibrāhīm with Arlat Sayyidi Aḥmad, the ruler of Shākī, and Köstendil (Constantine), the Georgian king, against the Karā-Koyunlu ruler, was also related to this situation. But in a battle fought on the banks of the river Kür, they were heavily defeated (Ramaḍān 814/December 1412); while Shaykh Ibrāhīm managed to save himself by paying a heavy ransom, the Georgian king was put to death.

The Karā-Koyunlu territory in Anatolia covered the Erzindjān area in the north, and the Mārdīn area in the south. Karā Yūsuf had captured Erzindjān from Shaykh Hasan, grandson of Muṭahhar (813/1410), and Mārdīn from Malik Šālīh of the Artukids (812/1409). However, the Karā-Koyunlu border could be extended no further in that direction because of the resistance of Karā Yülük 'Othmān Beg of the Aḳ-Koyunlu. Although Karā Yūsuf defeated this stubborn enemy many times, and even forced him to take refuge with the Mamlūks, he was never able to subdue him. Besides this, Karā Yūsuf's trespassing into Mamlūk territory in an effort to catch Karā Yülük, and the plunder and destruction he caused there, gave rise to hostilities between the two states. Deeply concerned that Karā Yūsuf, whom he knew well, would some day be a cause of serious danger, Shaykh felt compelled to support the Aḳ-Koyunlu Beg secretly. Returning to Mārdīn from Mamlūk territory (November-December 1418), Karā Yūsuf met with an unexpected disaster, the death of his favourite son Pir Budak; his death was

a source of deep sorrow to his father, who had returned to Tabriz. Shaykh could not forget the destruction wreaked on his territory by the Karā-Koyunlu and the threatening letter he had received from Karā Yūsuf and started preparing for war, although he was suffering from gout at the time and had to be carried. When he received the news of Shāh Rukh's attack on Karā Yūsuf, he cancelled his war preparations.

Shāh Rukh, who had brought under his rule the great part of the empire founded by his father Timūr, would not tolerate Ādharbāyḍjān, and in particular, a part of 'Irāk-i 'Adjam, remaining under the rule of Karā Yūsuf. He had already made a number of attempts to crush him in 812/1409 and 817/1414, but had not been able to carry these through because of family squabbles. Peace negotiations came to nothing. Shāh Rukh demanded that Karā Yūsuf return the cities of Sultāniyya and Kazwīn and agree to be his vassal. The Karā-Koyunlu ruler refused, and set out from Tabriz, his capital, to meet the Čaghatayid ruler. The news terrified the Čaghatayid army of 200,000 horsemen, although Karā Yūsuf's forces consisted of 50,000 horsemen at the most. As the historian Hāfiz-i Abrū noted, everyone from the Čaghatayid ruler down to the lowest-ranking soldier was doubtful of victory. Their fears turned to joy at the news of the death of the Karā-Koyunlu ruler. In fact, Karā Yūsuf had become seriously ill on his departure from Tabriz, but had insisted on being carried on a stretcher. His condition worsened when he was two leagues from Uḍjan, and he died soon after (7 Dhu'l-Qa'da 823/13 November 1420).

Karā Yūsuf's greatness transformed the Karā-Koyunlu dynasty. When he returned home in 807/1405, he and his retinue were in a miserable state, but at his death he left his successors a large country extending from Erzindjān to Kazwīn and from Shīrvān to Baṣra. He was buried at Arđjīsh, but the site of his lavishly-constructed tomb and *sāwiya* has not been found.

The panic caused by the death of their ruler and the arrival of the Čaghatayid army was short lived. Most of the Karā-Koyunlu rallied around Iskandar, one of Karā Yūsuf's sons, who was known for his bravery. Iskandar defeated Karā Yülük of the Ak-Koyunlu, who had attacked Mārdīn (Rabi' II 824/April 1421). This victory caused dismay among the forces of Shāh Rukh, then camped along the river Aras, but it raised the morale of the Karā-Koyunlu so much that they started preparing an army of 30-40,000 men for battle with Shāh Rukh on the Alashgird plain between Erzurum and Agrī. Knowing that elephants were employed in the Čaghatayid army, they trained their horses against elephants made of mud. Shāh Rukh would have preferred not to cross the shores of Lake Van and to return to Ādharbāyḍjān, but on the request of Karā Yülük and some local amīrs he resolved to march against the Karā-Koyunlu. The three-day battle (29-30 Radjab and 1 Sha'bān 824/30-31 July and 1 August 1421) fought on the Alashgird plain ended in victory for Shāh Rukh thanks to the numerical superiority of his forces. He could not, however, find anybody among his sons, amīrs or others, worthy to be appointed as governor of Ādharbāyḍjān (which made him an object of satire by some poets); no-one would accept the position for fear of Iskandar. The Čaghatayid ruler therefore returned to Khurāsān, leaving Ādharbāyḍjān to its former owners. Although Tabriz was occupied by Iṣfahān, brother of Iskandar,

who had commanded the left flank of the Karā-Koyunlu army in the battle of Alashgird, he evacuated the city and withdrew to the Pasin plain when he heard that Iskandar was on his way. Some time later he went to seek his fortune in 'Irāk-i 'Arab.

Iskandar spent the years 825/1422 and 827/1424 punishing the amīrs of Hakkārī and Bidlīs who had betrayed him by becoming vassals to Shāh Rukh, and annexing Van, Akhlat and Mush. Attacking the Shīrvān Shāh Khalīl Allāh, one of the vassals of Shāh Rukh, in 831/1428, he plundered his territory, and in the next year captured Sultāniyya, Zandjān, Kazwīn and Abhar, which were subject to Shāh Rukh. Concerned at these exploits, the Čaghatayid ruler marched into Ādharbāyḍjān with a large army. A two-day battle (17-18 Dhu'l-Hidjia 832/17-18 September, 1429) fought at Salmas ended in a Čaghatayid victory. In spite of this, Shāh Rukh realized that he would never be able to wipe out the Karā-Koyunlu; he therefore appointed Abū Sa'īd, the youngest son of Karā Yūsuf, as amīr of Ādharbāyḍjān and returned home in the spring of 833/1430. Before long, Iskandar seized his brother and put him to death. His relationships with his other brothers were also strained. Shāh Mehmed had broken off relations with his family after he had become ruler of Baghdād, while Iṣfahān, refusing to be subject to Iskandar, went to 'Irāk-i 'Arab and captured one by one the cities in the territory of the ineffective and foolish Shāh Mehmed. Finally capturing Baghdād in 836/1433, he effectively robbed his brother of all his lands. As for Djihān, whose fief was around Lake Van, he resented his brother's hostile attitude towards him. Through opening hostilities against his brother in 837/1433-34, he became, like Iṣfahān, a vassal of Shāh Rukh. The acquisition of these two vassals prompted Shāh Rukh to carry out the third Ādharbāyḍjān expedition, despite the opposition of most of his amīrs, allied to the bitter complaints of the Shīrvān Shāh, whose territories had been devastated (838/1434). Iskandar probably knew nothing definite of Djihān Shāh's action.

Calling Djihān Shāh to his presence at Rayy in 838/1434, Shāh Rukh declared him the head of the Karā-Koyunlu and sent a large army against Iskandar. Withdrawing towards Erzurum, Iskandar met the forces of Karā Yülük 'Othmān of the Ak-Koyunlu, defeated him in a bloody battle, and took refuge in Ottoman territory when pursued by the forces of the Timūrids. Iskandar probably thought that he could deal with Djihān Shāh as easily as he did with Abū Sa'īd, but he suffered defeat near Tabriz (841/1438) and took shelter in the impregnable fortress of Allndjak, which housed his family and treasury. Besieged by Djihān Shah, Iskandar could hope only for military aid from Egypt, but the news of the death of Sultān Barsbāy was received at Erzindjān and the Egyptian force returned. Iskandar was murdered one night by his son Shāh Kubād (841/1438). He was one of the most courageous rulers of his time, and few were able to withstand him. It was mainly through his courage that he was able to rule his country for 18 years. However, he was devoid of political wisdom, a deficiency which led to the destruction of his lands, the misery of his people, and the sad end of his reign.

During the reign of Djihān Shāh (843-72/1439-67), the Karā-Koyunlu territory grew into a large empire and enjoyed its most brilliant phase. On the death of Iṣfahān in 848/1445, Djihān Shāh annexed 'Irāk-i 'Arab (849/1446), and taking advantage of the death

in 850/1447 of *Shāh Rukh*, whose vassal he was, he attacked the cities of *Sultāniyya* and *Kazwin*. Not content with these victories, he later took the cities of *Rayy* and *Işfahān* and the regions of *Fārs* and *Kirmān*. Although his *Khurasān* expedition failed, mainly because of the revolt of his son *Ḥasan 'Alī* in 862/1458, he signed a treaty of firm friendship with *Abū Sa'īd* of the *Timūrids*, and thereby obtained confirmation of his sovereignty over the territories he had gained from the *Çaghatayid*. *Djihān Shāh* had reached the height of his achievements, and was the bearer of such titles as *khān*, *khākān* and *sultān*. During his reign, the *Ķarā-Ķoyunlu* territory had become one of the major Islamic powers. Parallel to his renown as a ruler, the political, military and administrative organization of his state also reached a high level of development. Culture and learning were encouraged by *Djihān Shāh*, who was also a great builder. A highly cultured man, he wrote poems in Turkish and Persian under the pseudonym of *Hakikī*.

*Djihān Shāh's* expedition against *Uzun Ḥasan Beg* of the *AĶ-Ķoyunlu* ended in disaster through his own carelessness. He and his son *Muḥammadī* were killed, while another son, *Yūsuf*, was blinded (872/1467). His son *Pir Budak* had been put to death earlier (870/1466) for rising against his father. His son *Ḥasan 'Alī*, who was in prison, was therefore placed on the *Ķarā-Ķoyunlu* throne. Deficient in intelligence and weak in character, he could not hope to hold out against *Uzun Ḥasan Beg*. In fact, he was defeated by him at *Marand*, and had to take refuge under *Abū Sa'īd*, whom he had called to his aid. When *Abū Sa'īd* was also defeated, *Ḥasan 'Alī* fled towards *Hamadān*, but killed himself when he realized that he could not avoid capture (*Shawwāl* 873/April 1469). Although his brother *Yūsuf*, who had been blinded, was taken to *Fārs* and placed on the throne by the begs of the *Bahārlu*, he was put to death by *Ughurlu Mehmed*, son of *Uzun Ḥasan Beg*, in 874/1469. In that year all the *Ķarā-Ķoyunlu* territories passed into the hands of the *AĶ-Ķoyunlu*, and *Ķarā-Ķoyunlu* power virtually came to an end.

The organization of the *Ķarā-Ķoyunlu* state was a continuation of that of the *Djalāyīrids*. The fact that the last members of the dynasty, as well as some tribal begs, had such names as *Yār 'Alī*, *Pir 'Alī*, *Ḥasan 'Alī*, *Ḥusayn 'Alī* and *'Alī Sheker* may be taken as evidence of the existence of a tendency towards *Shī'ism* among the *Ķarā-Ķoyunlu*. Moreover it is said that *Işfahān* (*Ispend*) had coins struck on behalf of the *Twelve Imāms*. On the other hand, the names of the *Four Caliphs* appear on the coins belonging to the reign of *Djihān Shāh*, and no contemporary historian has any record of his having had any inclinations towards *Shī'ism*. The tombstones carved in the form of rams that can now be seen in eastern *Anatolia* and *Iran* were normally erected in memory of men famed for their bravery and gallantry; some of these tombstones certainly belong to the *Ķarā-Ķoyunlu*.

*Bibliography*: Sümer, *Kara-Koyunlular*, (T.T.K.), i, Ankara 1967. (Full references in the forthcoming vol. ii). (F. SÜMER)

**KARĀ-KUM** [see **KARAĶUM**]

**KARĀ MAĦMÜD PASHA**, *ISHĶODRALĪ*, *BUSHATLĪ* (ca. 1155-1221/1742-96), and important representative of the powerful north Albanian *a'yan* family of the *Buḥatll* (Turkish: *Budjatl*), which achieved local prominence in the mid-12th/18th century as holders of large *mukāḥa'āt*. This family was able, between 1163/1750 and 1247/1831, to maintain itself in control of the *sandjāk* of

*IşĶodra* (*Iskenderiye*, *Scutari*, *Skadar*, the present *Shkodër*) and the surrounding territories as a hereditary quasi-principality.

The origins of the *Buḥatll* remain debatable: amongst other traditions, that of their alleged descent from *Stanisha*, the rebellious brother of the *vladika* *Gjuragj*, who, in the aftermath of the battle of *Ljeshkopolje* (865/1461), settled in the village of *Buḥat*, may be balanced by a claim (unsubstantiated) to a Venetian origin, while *Ķarā Maḥmūd* ascribed to himself, at a critical point in his career (1201/1787), descent from *Skanderbeg*. Be that as it may, from the later 9th/15th until the end of the 11th/17th century, the *Buḥatll* are found as *sandjāk-beyis* of *IşĶodra*. For example, ca. 1015/1604 a certain *Tāhir Bey Buḥatll* is found engaged as an auxiliary of the *pasha* against the *Klimentī*. After a period of confusion during the first half of the 12th/18th century, *Çhāzī Mehmed Pasha*, the restorer of *Buḥatll* power in *IşĶodra*, and the founder of their fortunes as *a'yan*, succeeded from ca. 1163/1750 in eliminating all opposition to his rule. On his death (15 *Djumādā 'l-awwal* 1189/14 July 1775—not, as commonly stated, in 1184/1770 or 1193/1779, or, as stated in *EI*<sup>2</sup> i, 657, in 1211/1796), power passed briefly to his eldest son, *Muḥtafā*, and then (1190/1776) to his second son, *Maḥmūd*, who came rapidly to exercise "presque impunément une autorité souveraine dans ce pays" (*Capriate*, Venetian consul at *Durazzo* (*Durrës*), 1782).

As *sandjāk-beyi* of *IşĶodra*, with the honorary rank of *nirmirān*, *Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha* found it possible to profit from the internal weakness of the Ottoman state and its involvement in successive wars with *Russia* and *Austria*, by reducing to obedience much of northern and central *Albania*, and engaging in incessant warfare with, e.g., *Okhrill Ahmed Pasha* to the east and the much better-known *Tepedelenli 'Alī Pasha* to the south. With the *wālis* of *Bosnia*, to the north, *Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha* also came into conflict, establishing his control over the fortresses of *Podghoridja* (*Podgorica*) and *Işhpuzi* (*Şpuz*). Internally, he consolidated his power by an alliance with the highland *Malisors* and by an economic policy of encouraging trade—especially Venetian trade—through *IşĶodra*. Like his father, he drew considerable financial advantage from this commerce.

It was believed in *Istanbul*—and possibly with reason—that the authority of the *kādīs* had lapsed and that the *Shari'a* was no longer enforced in the territories under *Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha's* control. The *Porte*, accordingly, declared him a rebel, sending (1199/1784-5) an expedition under the *kapudan pasha* *Djezā'irli Hasan Pasha* [q.v.]; *Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha* was forced to surrender, but was pardoned and reinstated as *sandjāk-beyi* of *IşĶodra*. Shortly afterwards (1785) he invaded *Montenegro*, and at the same time began to intrigue with *Austria* against the sultan in exchange for a promise of recognition as an independent ruler, an act which may have precipitated an unsuccessful second Ottoman expedition against him in 1200-1/1786-7, led by *Tepedelenli 'Alī Pasha* and the *wāli* of *Rumili*, *Aydoslu Mehmed Pasha*. Pardoned once more, in exchange for his rendering military assistance against *Austria*, and after having demonstrated his loyalty to the sultan by effecting the massacre of an Austrian mission under *Brugnard* in *Shā'bān* 1202/May 1788, *Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha* was invested with the titular *wāllikh* of *Anatolia* and appointed commander (*ser'asker*) of the Ottoman forces assembled at *Yeñi-*

pazar (1204/1789). The following year he acted as *ser'asher* at Widin, but was soon once more in revolt, being now dismissed from command.

Returned to *Ishkodra*, Ķarā MaĦmūd Pašha resisted successfully the new sultan, Selim III, who in 1208/1793 sent against him the *wālī* of Rumili, Ebū Bekir Pašha. A further attempt to remove him, made by Tepedelenli 'Alī Pašha, in 1209/1794, was also unsuccessful.

During these years Ķarā MaĦmūd Pašha had also engaged in hostilities with the *njegoš* Petar I Petrovič of Montenegro in a futile effort to bring the Montenegrins under his control. In the second of two expeditions undertaken against them in 1211-12/1796, Ķarā MaĦmūd Pašha's force was routed and he himself slain (Rabī' I 1211/September 1796) in circumstances which are commemorated by the Montenegrin epic ballad *Pjesen*. His head was for long preserved in a church at Cetinje; his body was eventually buried at Podgorica.

There is no doubt that, compared with e.g. Tepedelenli 'Alī Pašha, the impotence of the Bušhatli family in general, and of Ķarā MaĦmūd Pašha in particular, for the history of the Balkan *a'yanate* of the 18th-19th centuries, has been underestimated. Recent attempts, however, to read into the activities of Ķarā MaĦmūd Pašha an Albanian proto-national significance should perhaps be treated with considerable reserve.

*Bibliography*: Ahmed Djewdet, *Ta'rikkh* (n.p., n.d.), iii-iv, vi, *passim* (biographical sketch, vi, 206-10); brief references in the histories of Montenegro by Milorad Medaković, *Pobjestnica Crnegore od naistarijeg vremena do 1830*, Zemun 1850, 67 ff.; A. Andrić, *Geschichte des Fürstenthums Montenegro*, Vienna 1853; D. Milanović, *Istorija Crne Gore*, Zadar 1856, 70-1; P. Coquelle, *Histoire de Monténégro et de la Bosnie*, Paris 1895; more extended treatments in Dora d'Istria, *Gli Albanesi musulmani; Scutari e i Buchatli*, in *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, viii (1868), 221-42; S. Gopcevic, *Geschichte von Montenegro und Albanien*, Gotha 1914, 222-5, 245-80; S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new: the Ottoman Empire under Selim III*, 1789-1807, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 230-4. Cf. Mehmed Thurayyā (Süreyya), *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iv, 258, 328-9 (draws heavily on Djewdet); I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iv/1, Ankara 1956, 615-7; Ettore Rossi, *Saggio sul dominio turco e l'introduzione dell'Islam in Albania*, in *Rivista d'Albania*, iii/4 (1942), 200 ff.; S. Pollo, A. Buda and others, *Historia e Shqipërisë*, i, Tiranë 1959, chs. ix-x, *passim*. Recent detailed studies on part or all of Ķarā MaĦmūd Pašha's career are by N. P. Skerović, "*Pjesen*": *Crnogorska pobjeda nad Skadarskim pašom Mahmutom Bušalliom kao istorijski dokument*, in *Istoriski Časopis*, i/1-2 (1948), 167-80; T. Dukić, *Izveštaji o bojevima Crno-goraca s Mahmud pašom Bušalliom*, in *Istoriski Zapisi*, viii (1951), 480-7; B. Pavičević, *O prvom pohodu Mahmuda Bušallije na Crnu Goru* 1796, in *Istoriski Časopis*, vi (1956), 153-67; V. Vinaver, *Crna Gora, Skadar i Dubrovnik krajem XVIII veka*, in *Istoriski Zapisi*, ix/1-2 (1956), 42-77; S. N. Naçi, *Le pachalik de Scutari considéré dans son développement socio-politique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Studia Albanica*, iii/1 (1966), 123-44, supplemented by the same author's work in Albanian, *Pashallëku i Shkodrës nën sundimin e Bushatllive* . . ., Tiranë 1964. For further references to Albanian historiography see Naçi, *Pashallëku* . . ., 319-21, and K. Bozhori and V. Koka, *Historio-*

*grafia Shqiptare gjatë 25 vjetëve të pushtetit popullor*, in *Studime Historike*, xxiii (1969), 72, n. 6.

The official and private correspondence of the Bushatli family survives in part in the Albanian State Archives (see Selami Pulaha, *Matériaux documentaires en langue osmano-turque des archives albanaises* . . ., in *Studia Albanica*, iii/1 (1966), 187-98. For a Ms. once belonging to the family see J. Blasković, *Arabische, Türkische und Persische Hss. der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava*, no. 569. A few notices of what are doubtless far more extensive Başvekâlet Arşivi materials have been provided by I. H. Uzunçarşılı and S. J. Shaw, in their works indicated above; a number of Turkish documents (*sidjills* preserved in the Oriental Institute, Sarajevo) relating to Ķarā MaĦmūd Pašha have been utilized by M. Spaho, *Skadarski mutesarif Mahmud Paša Bušallija prema turskim dokumentima*, in *Istoriski Zapisi*, xx/3 (1963), 669-81. (C. J. HEYWOOD)

**ĶARĀ MUŠTAFĀ PAŠA**, MERZIFONLU, MAĶTŪL, Ottoman Grand Vizier.

According to the "official" Ottoman accounts (e.g., Rāshid, *Tā'rikkh*<sup>2</sup>, i, 430), Ķarā Muštafā Pašha was of Turkish origin, born in 1044/1634-5 into the Anatolian "feudal gentry", his father, whose name is given in this tradition as Uruđj Beg (but as Ḥasan Aĝha in S'Ō, iv, 402), being a member of the *a'yān-i sipāhiyān* and one of those who fell in the siege of Baghdād by Murād IV in 1048/1638. A friendship was said to have existed between his father and Köprülü Mehmed Pašha [q.v.], in whose household, accordingly, the son was brought up, educated with Köprülü's own son, Ahmed.

The relationship thus apparently established between the house of Köprülü and Ķarā Muštafā certainly determined, in large measure, the latter's subsequent political career, but other, and often conflicting, accounts of his origins and early years have survived from the time preceding his nomination to the Grand Vizierate in 1087/1676. According to a report prepared for the French ambassador de Nointel at some time between March 1675 and October 1676 (appended in Ch. Schéfer, ed., *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople* (1672-1673), Paris 1881, ii, 186-207), Ķarā Muštafā Pašha was at that time "aagé de quarante-huit ans ou environ" (i.e., born ca. 1036/1626-7) and the son of a *sipāhi* called Derwish Beg, of Merzifon. His father gave him, at the age of eighteen (? ca. 1054/1644-5), to Mehmed Köprülü, who made him an *iç-oghlan* in his service, promoting him to *silāhdār* on his own appointment as *müsellim* for the *eyâlet* of Şhām (Damascus) (cf. Silāhdār, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 225), and, subsequently, to be his *mühürdār* (seal-bearer). On the appointment of Mehmed Köprülü to the governorship of the *eyâlet* of Trablus al-Şhām (report *apud* Schefer, 186; in 1065/1654-5, cf. Silāhdār i, 226) he raised Ķarā Muštafā to be one of his *aĝhās*; shortly afterwards, on assuming the Grand Vizierate (1066/1655-6), Mehmed Köprülü summoned Ķarā Muštafā from Merzifon—where he had retired because of illness—and appointed him to his *telkhişdji*—"celuy que le Pacha despesche au Grand Seigneur lorsqu'il a quelque chose de consequence à lui faire scavoir" (cf. Rāshid<sup>2</sup>, i, 430-1).

A third conflicting early account of Ķarā Muštafā Pašha's origins is supplied in a *relazione* compiled c. 1680 by the Venetian *bailo* Morosini di Alvise (N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Relazioni*, Series v, *Turchia* i/2, Venice 1872, 207, and cf. 259), which seems to reflect a tradition current even in the 1660s



(cf. Roger North, *Life . . . of Sir Dudley North*, London 1744, 73). This relates that Karā Muştafā was born "among the dregs of the people" ("nato per castigo de' popoli") near Trabzon (? a dragoman's misreading of "Merzifon"). Karā Muştafā obtained a post as one of the lowest domestics of Mehmed Köprülü—who had indeed for a short time governed the *eyâlet* of Trabzon ca. 1054-5/1644-5 (cf. Silâhdâr, i, 225) (this providing some support to the chronology of the account published by Schéfer).

Amongst this conflicting evidence no clear path can be charted. The "official" account is circumstantially weak and appears to be a romantic *ex post facto* construction. Epigraphic evidence, however, confirms at least that Karā Muştafā was a native of Merzifon or, more precisely, of the nearby village of Marîndja (now Bahçekent), where he founded a mosque, a fountain, and a library (A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, ii, Paris 1934, 71; *Amasya İli yıllığı*, n.p., n.d., 187-8). Only upon the appointment of his patron, Mehmed Köprülü, to the Grand Vizierate in 1066/1656 does Karā Muştafā become a visible public figure.

He participated in the campaign undertaken by the Grand Vizier against Transylvania in 1068/1658, and, on the Ottoman capture of the important fortress of Yanova (Jenö) (3 Dhu 'l-Hiǧidja 1068/1 September 1658) he was employed—as *tekhîşdji* to Mehmed Köprülü—to convey the news of the success to Mehmed IV (Mehmed *Khalîfe*, *Ta'rikh-i Ghilmânî*, ed. A. Reffik, in *TOEM*, supp., 1340, 54) and as a reward was taken into the Outside Service of the Sultan, being appointed to the office of *küçük mirakhor* (Silâhdâr, i, 127, 140).

On 3 Djumâdâ II 1070/15 February 1660 Karā Muştafā "Aghâ" was appointed *beglerbegi* of Silistre, from which office he was removed on 26 Şha'bân 1071/16 April 1661 in order to superintend the removal of the *Wâlîde sultân* from Edirne to Istanbul. Shortly afterwards, he was raised to the rank of Vizier and appointed *wâlî* of Diyarbakr (Silâhdâr i, 181-2, 217; *Râshid* i, 13; ii, 430).

His dependence on the continuing ascendancy of the Köprülü family was also soon apparent. Shortly after the death of Mehmed Köprülü and the appointment to the Grand Vizierate of his son, Fâdlî Ahmed Köprülü (7-8 Rabî' I 1072/31 Oct.-1 Nov. 1661), Karā Muştafā Pasha was appointed *Kapudân Pasha* on 1 Djumâdâ I/23 December of the same year (Silâhdâr i, 221; *Râshid* i, 23). In this capacity he commanded the Ottoman fleet in the Aegean Sea, returning to Istanbul in Djumâdâ II 1073/January 1663, in time to take part in the great military parade held before the sultan at Edirne on 28 Şha'bân 1073/7 April 1663. In the official description of this event he ranked second in the list of participants—an indication of his steadily improving political fortunes.

He did not serve in the campaigns undertaken by Ahmed Köprülü in Hungary. On the departure of the army and the Grand Vizier from Edirne (5 Ramaǧân 1073/13 April 1663), he was appointed *kâ'immakâm* [q.v.], a position which allowed him to exercise an increasing influence on the sultan and on affairs of state. At the same time he was permitted to retain the office of the *kapudânlik-i deryâ*, administering it through a deputy (Silâhdâr i, 241; *Râshid* i, 26-7). During this period his duties, as recorded in the Ottoman sources, appear to have been largely only ceremonial, but it was rumoured among western diplomats that he was already aiming at the Grand Vizierate and intriguing with the sultan against

Fâdlî Ahmed Pasha (Silâhdâr i, 231 ff., *passim*; Knolles, *General History*, ii, 163).

As *Kapudân Pasha*, Karā Muştafā accompanied Mehmed IV on an inspection of the fortifications of the Dardanelles (Şafar to Rabî' II 1076/August to October 1665), and was subsequently put in charge of naval preparations for the planned final reduction of Crete. His actions at this time, in attempting to commandeer for transport purposes ships of the European maritime powers, were resisted by their representatives at the Porte, and contributed materially to the exaggerated accounts concerning him which became current in Europe.

In Şha'bân 1076/February 1666 he briefly resumed the post of *kâ'immakâm*, accompanying Mehmed IV on a hunting expedition to Çatalǧia. While there (1-14 Şha'bân/6-19 February) he was dismissed as *Kapudân Pasha* but received in compensation promotion to the rank of Second Vizier, as part of a complicated reassignment of posts (Silâhdâr i, 392-3). At this point, with the siege of Kandiye entrusted to the Grand Vizier, Karā Muştafā became once more *kâ'immakâm* (5 Dhu 'l-Kâ'da 1076/9 May 1666), a post which he retained until the return of the Grand Vizier to Edirne on 8 Şafar 1081/27 June 1670 (Silâhdâr i, 409, 558).

During these years Karā Muştafā Pasha remained in close attendance on Mehmed IV, but his ascendancy appears to have been threatened by the sudden rise to a position of influence of the sultan's boon companion Muştafā Agha, who was given the rank of Second Vizier on 28 Muḥarram 1077/31 July 1666 (thus causing Karā Muştafā's demotion to the rank of Third Vizier) and who was regarded in court circles as equal in rank to the *kâ'immakâm* (Silâhdâr i, 430).

In Şhawwâl 1078/March-April 1668 Karā Muştafā accompanied Mehmed IV to Yeñişehir-i Fenâr (Lárisa), in order to observe more closely the progress of the siege of Kandiye. Here he lived with great pomp and magnificence—his military band attracting the particular attention of foreign visitors—dividing his time between the reception of envoys and hunting with Mehmed IV in his frequent expeditions throughout Thessaly. It was on one of these excursions, while encamped at Livadya in Djumâdâ' I 1080/October 1669 that Karā Muştafā carried to the sultan the news of the capitulation of Kandiye (Silâhdâr i, 483 ff., 501 ff., 554-5).

In the interval of peace (1669-72) between the end of the Cretan campaign and the outbreak of war with Poland, Karā Muştafā Pasha, still with the rank of Third Vizier, remained close to the sultan (cf. Silâhdâr i, 562-8).

Karā Muştafā Pasha played an active, if subordinate, role in the Polish campaign of 1083/1672, this being the first time since 1068/1658 that he had seen service in the field. He was present at the siege of Khotin and later commanded the right wing at the opening of the siege of Kamaniçe (1083/1672). After the Ottoman capture of Buçash (Buczacz), an operation which he commanded, he was appointed chief plenipotentiary in the negotiations with the Poles and concluded with them the cessation of hostilities which transferred Podolia to Ottoman control and recognized the western Ukraine as an Ottoman protectorate (Silâhdâr i, 568 ff., 582-5, 592 ff., 610, 611 ff.).

It would seem that after his return from Poland Karā Muştafā Pasha was able further to establish his influence with the sultan. Having, earlier in his

career, married a daughter of Mehmed Köprülü, he was on 4 Rabi' II 1086/29 May 1675, as part of the ceremonies held at Edirne in honour of the circumcision of the sons of Mehmed IV, betrothed to the sultan's daughter, Küçük Sultan.

During the last illness of Fâdil Ahmed Paşa, Karâ Muştafâ was authorized by the sultan to take over the public functions of the Grand Vizier—functions which he exercised first at a *dîwân* held in the Oğ Meydânî at Istanbul on 17 Dîjumâdâ 1087/28 July 1676. On 2 Sha'bân/10 October of the same year he was appointed *yol kâ'immakâmî* for the journey of Mehmed IV from Istanbul to Edirne. The Grand Vizier himself, following behind, died on the road between Corlu and Karıştıran. The seals of office were brought on 26-7 Sha'bân 1087/3 November 1676 to the sultan, who invested Karâ Muştafâ Paşa with the Grand Vizierate (Râshid<sup>2</sup>, i, 332-4; Silâhdâr, i, 651-2).

Karâ Muştafâ Paşa occupied the Grand Vizierate for seven years (Sha'bân 1087/November 1676 to 6 Muḥarram 1095/25 December 1683. His domestic policies were conservative, frequently rapacious, and designed both for the exigencies of a war economy and for his personal enrichment. Morosini di Alvise, for example, described him as "tutto venale, crudele e ingiusto" (*op. cit.*, 207). Principle, nonetheless, was on occasion allowed to override the financial interests of the state: thus in Dhu l-Ka'da 1091/November-December 1680 he decreed the (temporary) abolition of the *kharr emâneti*, the excise on wine, it being argued that for the state to profit from the sale of wine was contrary to the *Shari'a*. In the same spirit he restored (1087/1676) the ancient custom that the Grand Vizier and his assistants should tour the markets of Istanbul on Wednesdays, and refused to admit to other than public audience the interpreters of western ambassadors, on the grounds that they were of *re'âyâ* status (Silâhdâr i, 735; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1962, 126, n; Knolles, *op. cit.*, ii, 264).

In his dealings with the envoys of Christian states and with the merchant communities in Istanbul and the other ports of the Ottoman Empire, Karâ Muştafâ Paşa seems to have been animated by an "intense xenophobia" (Mantran, *op. cit.*, 527), which had been remarked as early as 1074/1663 (cf. a harsh letter of that year to the English ambassador, omitting the customary salutations (Leicester, County Record Office), but which became more strongly marked after his assumption of the Grand Vizierate (*e.g.*, the exactions laid upon the Dutch for the renewal of their Capitulations, upon the French over their bombardment of Chios, and against the English in a constant stream of *avâniyas* during the years 1676-83). Despite this, the Dutch ambassador Colyer could describe him in 1677 as "een stout ende prompt, ondernemen man" (K. Heeringa, ed., *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, ii (1661-1726), The Hague 1917 (= Rijks-geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 34), 227, n.), and several observers spoke at this time of his deep interest in, and knowledge of, the affairs of Europe—a knowledge which he perhaps acquired in large part from the Phanariot Alexander Mavrocordato (cf. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on the MSS. of Allan George Finch, Esq.*, ii (London 1922), 62; Berchet, *op. cit.*, 187, 209; Schéfer, *op. cit.*, ii, 205).

In foreign affairs, Karâ Muştafâ Paşa continued, but with less careful statecraft, the policies of his two illustrious predecessors. Circumstances, and perhaps—as was at the time alleged—his personal

predilections, enforced a preoccupation with the northern frontiers of the Empire and with those Christian states—Russia, Poland and Austria—which lay beyond its borders. In his relations with these states he attempted, with little success, to make use of often refractory Ottoman vassals, such as the Cossack hetman Doroshenko, the Hungarian magnate Imre Thököly, and the then *khân* of the Crimea, Selim Girây II. His policy has been commonly regarded as war for its own sake, but some at least of his actions seem rather to have been attempts to consolidate or define the Ottoman presence in those disputed areas—most notable the Ukraine and Hungary—which formed buffer zones between the Ottoman state and the recognized lands of *dâr al-harb*.

The years from 1087/1676 to 1092/1681 were entirely taken up with the problem of the Dniepr frontier. The settlement between Poland and the Ottoman Empire, which had been concluded at Izvândja/Zurawno shortly before the death of Ahmed Köprülü, had opened the door to Russo-Ottoman rivalry in the Ukraine, but the defection from the Ottoman camp of the hetman Doroshenko led directly to Karâ Muştafâ Paşa's unsuccessful first Russian campaign (1088/1677). In a second expedition which was launched in the following year, the Cossack stronghold of Čehrin was taken (Radjab 1089/August 1687) and later demolished (Silâhdâr, i, 672-722; the *feth-nâme* celebrating the event, *ibid.*, 714). The essentially defensive nature of these campaigns was underlined by the construction (1090/1679) of new Ottoman fortresses on the Dniepr and Bug rivers, and by a third inconclusive campaign in 1091/1680, which led to a Russo-Ottoman truce (22 Şafar 1092/13 March 1681).

Ottoman relations with Russia and Poland being thus stabilized, Karâ Muştafâ Paşa was free to turn his attention to the affairs of Hungary and to the planning of offensive warfare against Austria. To this end he recognized (1093/1682) the Hungarian malcontent Thököly as puppet ruler and refused to renew except on the severest terms the twenty-year truce of Vasvár, due to expire in 1684. At the same time extensive military preparations were undertaken; finally, in Muḥarram 1094/December 1682, a large army with Mehmed IV and Karâ Muştafâ Paşa at its head departed from Edirne for a major campaign in Hungary and for the fateful second Ottoman attempt to capture Vienna (Silâhdâr, ii, 1 ff.).

This final, disastrous phase of Karâ Muştafâ's career—the progress of the campaign, the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, and the failure of the Grand Vizier to survive politically the consequences of military defeat—cannot be treated in detail here. It has, in any case, received considerable (if often uncritical) attention from contemporary and later observers (see Bibliography, below). Nor, perhaps, should the defeat of Karâ Muştafâ before Vienna be viewed in the totally apocalyptic light cast on it at the time and subsequently. In the context of Ottoman warfare it may be regarded as no more than the unexpected failure of a single campaign: after the siege was lifted (20 Ramaḍân 1094/12 September 1683) Karâ Muştafâ Paşa fell back on Yanlk (Raab, Györ) (22-25 Ramaḍân), and from thence retreated to Buda, where he arrived on 30 Ramaḍân/22 September. There he attempted to regroup his forces and to restore the shattered defences of the frontier, *e.g.*, by sending 6000 men from the Buda garrison

to reinforce Ujvár (Silāhdār ii, 85-96, *passim*). There is no evidence that while at Buda his authority as Grand Vizier was in any way questioned, or that his standing with the sultan was impaired by the failure at Vienna; what is clear is that having strengthened, to the best of his ability, the defences of the frontier, and having left Karā Mehmed Paşa as *serdār* in Hungary, Karā Muştafâ departed with the army for Belgrade, where he went into winter quarters on 28 Dhu 'l-Ķa'da 1094/18 November 1683 (Silāhdār ii, 107, 113).

It was at this time that his political fortunes began to ebb. On 29 Ramađān/21 September his *telhhişdi*, İsmâ'îl Ağa, had arrived at the sultan's camp before Belgrade with the news of the defeat of the Ottoman army and its retreat to Yanık. The Grand Vizier informed the sultan that he would remain at Buda until *rûz-i kâsim* (26 October, old style, i.e., 5 November) and would then go into winter quarters at Belgrade, from whence, in the following spring, a large and victorious army would, with the sultan's permission, attempt to regain the losses of the past campaign (Silāhdār ii, 117 f.). The result of this communication was a series of consultations among the officers attendant on the sultan; robes of honour and a bejewelled sword—signs of royal favour—were despatched to the Grand Vizier at Buda. But with Mehmed IV's own departure from Belgrade on 21 Shawwāl/13 October, and especially after the sultan's arrival at Edirne (16 Dhu 'l-Hiđidja/6 December), Karā Muştafâ's political enemies were able to turn the sultan against him. His execution was decreed (23 Dhu 'l-Hiđidja/13 December), and was carried out at Belgrade by officers sent from Edirne on 6 Muḥarram 1095/25 December 1683 (description in Silāhdār ii, 119).

*Bibliography*: Beyond the references given in the text, a necrology of Karā Muştafâ Paşa is provided by Rāşhid<sup>1</sup>, i, 430 ff. and an appreciation of his character and account of his pious foundations at Istanbul, Ķhalata, Edirne, Djiđda, Merzifon, *ibid.*, 431-2; cf., for further details, the article by M. Münir Aktepe in *IA*, s.v. Mustafa Paşa, Merzifonlu. The account given in *S'O* is erroneous in its chronology. For general treatments of the period of Karā Muştafâ Paşa see Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 334 ff.; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Hamburg-Gotha, 1840-63, v, *passim*; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* iii, Ankara 1951-4; cf. further the works by Ahmed Refik and Cevat Üstün (in Turkish) listed by Aktepe, *loc. cit.*

The epigraphic material connected with Karā Muştafâ Paşa has not been brought together. Cf., however, A. Gabriel, *op. cit.*, ii, *passim*, and also Oral Onur, *Edirne Türk tarihi vesikalarından kitabeler*, Istanbul 1972, 25: *leşme* erected by Karā Muştafâ in 1077/1667 (reproduced in Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, pl. 30) and Onur, *op. cit.*, 26: a further *leşme* of uncertain date. The mosque built at Marİndja by Karā Muştafâ Paşa for his mother is reproduced in Şehabeddin Uygun, *Merzifon İlçesi* (n.p., 1938), 7. The tombstone erected at the Şarİdja Paşa mosque in Edirne (where Karā Muştafâ's head was buried) is reproduced by H. T. Dağlıođlu, *Edirne mezarları*, in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, iii (1936), 167, 179. For his relations with the maritime powers see A. Vandal, *Les voyages du marquis de Nointel* (1670-1680), Paris 1900; and the reports of European travellers

listed in *ET*<sup>1</sup>, by F. Babinger, Cf. also K. Heeringa, *op. cit.*, *passim* (167 ff., *avania* levied on the Dutch ship *Keyser Octavianus*; 228 ff., the struggle over the renewal of the Dutch Capitulations); Roger North, *op. cit.*, 71-102: "A Relation of diverse Turkish Avantias, since [i.e., in] the government of Cara Mustapha Basha, Vizier Azem"; Knolles, cont. Rycout, ii, *passim*; Hist. Mss. Comm., *Report on Finch MSS.* (see *supra*), i (London 1913), 201 ff.; ii (1922), 62-166, *passim* (*avantias* on English trade as *Kapudan Paşa*, *kā'immaḳām* and Grand Vizier); G. F. Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, London 1920. For unpublished Turkish sources on the Čehrin campaign of 1089/1678 see Agah Sirri Levend, *Gazavāt-nāmelere*, Ankara 1956, 129-30 (an anonymous *relazione*), and 130: 'Abd ūl-Kerim, *Aḫvāl-i sefer-i Čehrin*; also J. Blašković, *Die arabische, türkische und persische Hss. der Universitätsbibl. in Bratislava*, 1961, 346-52: extended notice of *Ķhazānāme-i Čehrin*, by 'Ali Beg el-Ūzičevi, who dedicated it to Karā Muştafâ Paşa. The Ottoman sources, both published and unpublished, for the campaign against Vienna have been surveyed and analysed by Richard F. Kreutel, *Osmanische Berichte über Kara Muştafâs Feldzug gegen Wien*, in *WI*, NS xxi/4 (1969), 196-227. Numerous accounts of the siege itself exist in western languages: the most recent—John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna*, London 1964, and Thomas W. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent*, Albany, N.Y., 1967—have not entirely superseded earlier studies by Camesina (1865), Klopp (1882) and von Renner and Toifel (1883). The contemporary western pamphlet literature, much of it sensational and quite unreliable, is immense. For the *beyān-nāmes* (invitations to submit) issued by Karā Muştafâ Paşa in the course of the Vienna campaign see ᶘhallil Edhem [Eldem], *Kara Muştafâ Paşanın Şhophon ahālisine beyānnāmesi*, in *TOEM*, nos. 16-17; J. H. Mordtmann, *Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel im J. 1453*, in *BZ*, xxi (1912): *beyān-nāme* addressed to the people of Vienna; contemporary English translation in Knolles, cont. Rycout, ii, 290.

(C. J. Heywood)

**KARĀ 'OTHMĀN-OGHLĪ** (mod.: Karaosmanođlu), name of an *a'yān* [*q.v.*] family active in Manisa and district from the end of the 11th/17th century. The Karā 'Othmān who gave his name to the family was the son of Mehmed Çavuşh, a *müteferriĶa* [*q.v.*] of the Palace, known also as Kara Çavuşh, who founded a mosque in 1050/1640 at the village of Yaya, near Manisa and was later buried there (*TV*, IX (1942), 198; see *Bibl.*). Mehmed was the son of a certain Ḥasan Ağa, also a *müteferriĶa*.

Karā 'Othmān, a native of Yaya, on retiring from service as a *sipāhi*, acted as *keĶhūda* to the *mütesellim* and *emīn* for the *beyt ūl māl-i 'amme* and the *muĶāta'a* of the Imperial Domains (*Ķhāşşa*). In 1102-3/1691 he was ordered to seize for the state the property of the *timar*-holders and *za'ims* who had failed to present themselves for service on the Vienna campaign. This interlude left him extremely wealthy. He died in 1118/1706 in the village of Yaya (M. Çađatay Uluçay, *Karaosmanođullarına ait düşünceler*, III. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 1948, 245). There is thus a period of 72 years between Mehmed Çavuşh's death and Karā 'Othmān's death in 1118/1706. A newly discovered *wakfiyya* indicates that Karā 'Othmān could have had a father called 'Abd al-Rahmān (Münir Aktepe, *Manisa āyānlarından Kara Osman-ođlu Mustafa Ağa ve üç vakfiyesi hakkında*

bir araştırma, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ix (1971), 369, 370).

Karā 'Othmān-oghli amassed sufficient wealth and prestige for the members of his family henceforth to assume the name 'Othmān-zāde or Karā 'Othmān-oghli. After Karā 'Othmān's death, the headship of the family passed to Muṣṭafā, one of his four sons, the others being İbrāhīm, 'Abd Allāh and Aḥmad. During Aḥmad III's reign, Hādījī Muṣṭafā Aḥa increased his influence while seeking to avoid a direct clash with the government. The war with Persia led the state to neglect the Empire's internal problems, at the same time allowing influential and powerful men, such as Hādījī Muṣṭafā Aḥa, to oust the less successful contenders for power in the provinces and to extend their own influence. In 1152/1739 he assisted in the operations to remove Şarī Beyoghli Muṣṭafā and other brigands marauding in the regions of Denizli, Aydın, and Şarukhān. He was later to take part in other campaigns at the summons of the government. His support of the government helped the Karā 'Othmān-oghli dynasty to establish its hegemony in the region. Muṣṭafā Aḥa, already *emin* for the *beyt ül māl-i 'āimme* and for the *mukāfa'a* of the Imperial domains in Manisa, profited from his activity on the government's behalf to become *mütesellim* of Sarukhān in 1156/1743. He kept his position until 1167/1754, when the populace complained of his illegal activities as *mütesellim*. He was found guilty and executed in the same year (Wāṣif, *Ta'rīkh*, Bülāk 1243, i, 59).

The family's influence, however, did not end with Muṣṭafā Aḥa's execution. His eldest son, 'Aṭā' Allāh succeeded in becoming *mütesellim* of Şarukhān, but in 1174/1761 he was dismissed for incompetence and for improprieties committed during his term of office. He was recommended to retire to the village of Yaya, but chose instead to fight against the men who had played a part in bringing about his father's execution. He was defeated in the ensuing struggle and died in 1181/1767. The headship of the family soon afterwards passed to Hādījī Muṣṭafā Aḥa's other son, Aḥmad Aḥa, who gathered the other members around himself and succeeded, in 1183/1769, in becoming *vovodas* of Akhişar. After being forced out of the post he became, in 1184/1770, *vovodas* of İzmir and *muhafiz* of Sandjākburni (Sancakburnu). Close family ties and a sharp eye for opportunities enabled the Karā 'Othmān dynasty to extend the areas under its influence. In 1187/1773, Aḥmad Aḥa achieved the rank of *kapitān başı* [q.v.] at the Palace and in 1190/1776 became a *mültezim* of the *sandjāk*. The fact that his other brother Mehmed Aḥa was a *mütesellim* of the *sandjāk* of Şarukhān meant that the whole *sandjāk* now came under the control of the Karā 'Othmān-oghli family. The distinguished service of 'Ömer and 'Othmān Aḥas in the Russian war of 1201-6/1787-92 brought further benefits to the family.

With the weakening of the provincial government towards the end of the 12th/18th century, officials of the second rank, such as *mütesellims*, *muhassıls* or *vovodas*, came to dominate local administrations, thanks to the wealth which they had amassed. The Karā 'Othmān-oghli family is typical of these dynasties, which were now assuming a distinctive form under the general title of *a'yān* [q.v.]. Towards the end of the 12th/18th century, the Karā 'Othmān family extended its power beyond the boundaries of Şarukhān. Various members of the family were respectively *mütesellim* of Aydın and *vovodas* of Turgutlu, Menemen and Bergama. Hādījī Hüseyin

Aḥa became *muhafiz* of İzmir and *mubāya'adil* of the quay. It was during the time of 'Ömer Aḥa that the Karā 'Othmān-oghli family, who by now had acquired the *mütesellim*-ship of Isparta and the *vovodas*-ship of Gelenbe, became the most influential dynasty in western Anatolia. 'Ömer Aḥa was said to be the richest of the *a'yān* of the period. He was among the influential *a'yān* of Anatolia and Rumelia who received invitations during the reign of Selim III [q.v.] to discuss the government of the empire, and he put his signature to the document of agreement (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Meşhur Rumeli âyanlarından Tirsinikli İsmail, Yulkoğlu Süleymân Ağalar ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, İstanbul 1942, 142, 143, 144).

When Maḥmūd II attempted to establish a strong, centralised administration, he did not at first interfere with the powerful Karā 'Othmān-oghli family. Their turn came only when the others had been removed. However, the revolt in the Morea and the opening of the Russian campaign seem to have regained for the Karā 'Othmān-oghli family some of its former dignity, even if this was only for a short time. Then in 1244/1829 two members of the family died, one of whom was 'Ömer Aḥa, the *vovodas* of Bergama, and the other Hüseyin Aḥa, the *mütesellim* of Manisa. No other members of the family were appointed in their place, but instead the posts reverted to the government. When the central government re-established its authority in the provinces and the power of the *a'yān* diminished, the Karā 'Othmān-oghli family was quick to adapt to the new conditions, as the careers of Pülād Mehmed's sons Eyyüb Aḥa, and Ya'küb Paşa exemplify (Luṭfi, *Ta'rīkh*, İstanbul 1305, v, 96). In 1249/1833 Eyyüb Aḥa became *mütesellim* of Manisa and two years later achieved the rank of Chiet Equerry (*Istabl-i 'āmiri müdürlüğü*). His brother Ya'küb Paşa was many times *vālî* of Aydın (1249-52/1833-6, 1257/1841, 1261-3/1845-7). Eyyüb Aḥa was *muhassıl* of Manisa between 1255/1839 and 1258/1842, and died in 1261/1845 while *hâ'immaḥam* of Aydın. His son, Şādık Beg, was at various times *hâ'immaḥam* of Aydın and, like his father, became Imperial Equerry. With his death in 1277/1861, the influence of the Karā 'Othmān-oghli family in the district, already weakened, faded altogether.

Nevertheless, the family continued to produce some noteworthy members. 'Othmān Beg and Khâlid Paşa, for example, worked with the organisations established to fight the War of Independence. When the Greeks entered Manisa, Khâlid Paşa began to fight at the head of a guerilla group which he had formed, but met his death on 23 June 1919. Between 1923 and 1950, the family produced such noteworthy figures as Mehmed Rîdâ (Mehmed Rıza), Su'ād Kānî (Suat Kānî) and Nā'im (Naim). The family's most famous member in the Republican era is the writer and politician Ya'küb Kadri 'Othmān-oghli (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu), Kadri Beg's son and Ya'küb Paşa's grandson. Members of the family are still living at Manisa and Kırk-aḥaç (Kırkağaç).

*Bibliography:* (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Kara Osman oğullarına ait bazı vesikalar*, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, ix (İstanbul 1942), 193-207; x (İstanbul 1942), 300-8; xii (İstanbul 1943), 434-40; xiv (İstanbul 1944), 117-26; Münir Aktepe, *Kara Osmanoğlu Hacı Osman Osman Ağa'ya ait iki vakfiye*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ix (Ankara 1973), 161-8; Osman Bayatlı, *Kara Osmanoğullarından Hacı Ömer oğlu Mehmed Ağa vakfi*, İzmir 1957;

M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Manisa Ünlüleri*, Manisa 1946, 54-62; idem, *18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da eşkiyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Istanbul 1955, 17-20, 153, 154, 280-6; Meliha Tektaş, *Karaoşmanoğulları ailesi*, Istanbul 1946 (graduation thesis in the Faculty of Arts, Istanbul University); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, Istanbul 1929, ii, 96-101; Basri Edip Bayatlı, *Palamut nahiyesi*, in *Kurtuluş gazetesini*, 9 December 1941, 8 January 1942, nos. 299-315; Asaf Göksel-Hikmet Şölen, *Aydın ili tarihi*, Istanbul 1936, 199-202; Djevdet Paşa, *Tarih*, Istanbul 1309, v. 227, 240, 242, vi, 32, 146, 148, 216, 297, 305, viii, 64, 197, ix, 2, 3, 143, 283, x, 89; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 597-603; Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, Paris 1809, ii, 37-8; MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, London 1829, 163, 173, 177, 186, 193-4; M. Çağatay Uluçay and İbrahim Gökçen, *Manisa tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, 55-58, 63, 65.

(C. ORHONLU)

**KARĀ PAPAĞH** [see KARĀPAPAĞH].

**KARĀ ŞU** [see AL-FURĀT].

**KARĀ ŞÜ-BĀZĀR** [see KARĀŞÜ-BĀZĀR].

**KARĀ TAKĪN** [see KARATĪGIN].

**KARĀ YAZĪDJĪ** (?947-1011/?1540-1602), whose real name was 'ABD AL-HALĪM, is one of the best-known leaders of the Djeālī rebellions [see SUPPLEMENT, s.v.] in Turkey. It was previously believed that he started the rebellions, but investigations have proved that he appeared on the scene when they were at their height. Little is known about his life. Hüseyin Hüsam ed-Dīn (*Amasya tarihi*, iii, 348) states that he was the son of a Turcoman called 'Alī from Edessa. The 18th-century Armenian writer Arakel (see Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens: Arakel de Tauriz*, 359) described him as the son of a Turk from Çorum, which is historically accurate.

Karā YazdĪjī's civil function is obscure; little is heard of him until after he became a prominent rebel leader. Like very many Turkish youths of his time, he left home and joined the entourage of one of the *sandġak-begs* as a *sekbān* (soldier). In 972/1565 his name is recorded for the first time as one of the *şu-başı*s of Kāsim Beg, the *sandġak-beg* (governor) of Divrik. During Murād III's reign, Karā YazdĪjī, who had enrolled in one of the mounted *bölüks* (squadrons) of the Kapu-kulls, was garrisoned with his squadron in the fortress of Damascus. Shortly after, he returned to Anatolia and was given command of a squadron of the *sandġak-beg* of Malatya. When in 1003/1595 the *sandġak-beg* was summoned to join the campaign of Mehmed III to Eğri [q.v.], he stayed behind as his deputy. During the preparation of the campaign to Eğri, the Djeālī rebellions suddenly gained strength and spread in all directions. The government then formed voluntary squadrons consisting of timariots who had not joined the campaign and their dependents (the youths of each village), and sent them in pursuit of the rebels. Karā YazdĪjī and the voluntary squadrons of his *sandġak* also received orders to disperse the Djeālī rebels. In 1003/1595 he was ordered to join the forces that had been sent against the rebellious *medrese* students who had assembled in the mountain range between Tarsūs and Silifke. In the meantime the *sandġak* of Malatya had been given to another *sandġak-beg*, and Karā YazdĪjī and the former *sandġak-beg*, faced with retirement, refused to surrender their power to the man who came to accept it on behalf of the new *sandġak-beg*. Having thereby

resisted the order of the government (1598), Karā YazdĪjī joined the ranks of the Djeālī rebels. He enlarged the garrisons under his command, and within a short time rose to the position of an unchallenged Djeālī chief. Some who had become Djeālīs (the majority of them *kapu-kull* commanders [*süvaris*] who had moved to Anatolia because they could not longer live with the Janissaries in Istanbul and had become *kapu-ağhas* of the *sandġak-begs* and *beglerbegs*, i.e., controlling the *sekbāns*) began to join Karā YazdĪjī to escape from the persecutions of the government. Karā YazdĪjī, learning that the government was preparing a large campaign against the Djeālīs, retreated to the Mar'ash-Edessa region, which was densely populated with south-east Anatolian Turcomans who had lived lawlessly for a long time. There, the former *beglerbeg* Hüseyin Paşa, who was living as a rebel in the region of Karamān, joined him too. It has been estimated that Karā YazdĪjī had at his disposal a total of 20,000 *sekbāns*. Defeating the government forces sent against him from the *sandġaks* of Mar'ash and the surrounding area, he attained great fame. As he undertook to collect provisions by force so as to feed his men, many wealthy people fled to Istanbul and there organized a demonstration against the government. The government then sent the vizier Sinān Paşa-zāde Mehmed Paşa with a fairly large army against the rebels. In view of this, Karā YazdĪjī occupied the fortress of Edessa, where he was surrounded. As neither Mehmed Paşa nor Karā YazdĪjī proved able to gain the victory, the government made an agreement with the rebel chief and made him *sandġak-beg* of 'Ayntāb in exchange for the extradition of the rebellious Hüseyin Paşa. Shortly after, Mehmed Paşa attacked Karā YazdĪjī again. Both sides suffered heavy losses and the rebel chief retreated in the direction of Sivas. The government was reconciled with him once more, investing him with the added function of *sandġak-beyi* of Amasya. Sinān Paşa-zāde Mehmed Paşa was dismissed in 1009/1601 on the grounds that he should have admitted that his troops plundered the people and that they were becoming worse than the Djeālīs. As the people of Amasya began to complain more and more about Karā YazdĪjī, he too was transferred to Çorum as its *sandġak-beyi*, and received orders to join the forces raised to suppress the revolts of the students in the region between Tarsūs and Silifke. Once more he turned to rebellion. To feed the large masses of *sekbāns* whom he had assembled around him, he continued to collect provisions from the people, and to demand ransoms from the towns which he surrounded, as in Sivas in spring 1009/1601. He was contemplating seizing the fortress of Kaşamonu and quartering his men there, when the government, determined to put an end to his activities, sent the *wālī* of Baghdād, Soğollı-zāde Hasan Paşa [q.v.], against him. The nucleus of this commander's troops consisted of southern Kurdish and Arab soldiers with a strong tribal spirit. A large contingent of *Kapu-kull* soldiers was sent from Istanbul under the command of the former *wālī* of Aleppo, Hādġdġī İbrāhīm Paşa. But in the vicinity of Kayseriyye, before Hādġdġī İbrāhīm Paşa had found the time to unite with the main forces, Karā YazdĪjī mounted a surprise attack on him, inflicting heavy losses, so that he was forced to retire to the fortress of Kayseriyye. Hasan Paşa, who had great difficulty in maintaining peace among his Arab and Kurdish troops in Diyārbakr, came too late to be able to help Hādġdġī İbrāhīm

Pasha. The Djelâli leader ceased harrying Kayseriyye and moved to the Mar'ash-Göksun region, where he met Hasan Pasha. In this battle the Djelâli *sekbâns* suffered a heavy defeat. Karâ Yazıdjî thereupon fled with the remaining troops, took refuge in the mountainous region near Djânik (Samsun) and died there at the beginning of 1603. His brother Deli Hasan took command of the Djelâlis in his place.

Since he had succeeded in maintaining a large part of Anatolia under his control for three years, Karâ Yazıdjî was suspected by his enemies in Istanbul of intending to found a separate state, a rumour spread by the wealthy people who fled from Anatolia to Istanbul in order to rouse the authorities. He neither issued *fermâns* nor founded a corps like the Janissaries, and never chose for himself a grand vizier. After Karâ Yazıdjî's defeat, the *sekbâns* and the other Djelâli leaders who had helped the rebel chief scattered in all directions; statements from those who were captured and brought to trial, and the sealed and signed documents relating to Karâ Yazıdjî that were found in their possession, have proved that such assertions about his desire for independent power are fictitious.

*Bibliography:* Na'imâ, *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1280, ii; Mehmed b. Mehmed Edirnewî, *Nukhbet ül-tewârikh we 'l-akhbâr*, Istanbul 1276; Munadjim Bashî; Muşafâ Nûri, *Netâ'idj ül-wukû'ât*, Istanbul 1329; 'Âli, *Küh ul-akhbâr* (Nuruosmaniye library, 3407); 'Atâ'i, *Dheyli-i Şahâ'ih* (Nuruosmaniye library, 3314); Hasan Bey-zade, *Telkhiş-i Tâdj ül-tewârikh* (Nuruosmaniye library, 3134); Başbakanlık Arışvi, Divan kayıt defterleri no. 133, fol. 104; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, *Ahkâm defteri* no. 70, foll. 440, 494, 499, 639; Bursa şer'iyye sicilleri no. B 136/351, fol. 108; A. Tveritina, *Vosstaniye Kara Yazıdjî-Deli Hasan v Turisii*, Moscow 1946; M. Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları*, Ankara 1963; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iv, 304-5, 320. (MUSTAFA AKDAĞ)

**KARĀBA** (A.), kinship, from the root *k-r-b*, which has the meaning of closeness, proximity. As a technical term, *karāba* seems to be of post-Hidjra usage. It is found in the works of the Muslim exegetes, but not in the Qur'an itself, where the preferred word is *ḥurba*, also employed in pre-Islamic poetry (cf. ʿArāfa, *Mu'allaka*). In fact, in these cases it is less a question of kinship than of relatives, more particularly close relatives, such as *dhū*, *dhawū*, *ūlū 'l-ḥurba* (Qur'an, II, 83, 177, IV, 8, 36, V, 106, VI, 152, VIII, 41, IX, 113, XVI, 90, XVII, 26, XXIV, 22, XXX, 38, XXXV, 18, XLII, 23, LIX, 7). The superlative, *al-akrabūn*, is also found, with the meaning of the closest relatives, those who have a claim to inherit from a man (II, 180, 215, IV, 7, 33, 135). Kinship itself, however, is nowhere clearly defined. This was because Western Arabia was at that time under an essentially tribal system, dominated by patrilineal concepts. Thus the domestic community embraced all the members of the tribe, in whose veins, so they believed, the same blood flowed. Despite this extension of consanguinity, solidarity existed only within a relatively restricted group, the *'ashira* [q.v.], whose members did not exact blood vengeance on one another. This is why Muḥammad first called on his closest clan (Qur'an XXVI, 214). The same practices are still current among the Bedouins, who also call upon their true blood-kin, the *damawiyya*, to contribute towards blood-money.

What conception does the Qur'an have of kinship? Certainly it reflects, to a large extent, the notions of its era: patrilineal filiation, the superiority of men

over women, the solidarity of agnates and collective responsibility. It appears, nevertheless, that Muḥammad allowed a slight bias in favour of uterine siblings. From a purely patriarchal point of view, these latter are not part of the family and thus have no inheritance rights. Although Muslim doctrine concerning rights of succession follows paternal kinship, it is noteworthy that, in the absence of direct heirs, a part of the goods left by the dead man go to his uterine brothers (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Farā'id*, 14; Ibn Ruṣhd, *Bidāya al-mudjtaḥid*, Cairo 1335, ii, 207). Furthermore, according to one tradition "the maternal uncle is the heir of him who has no others" (Ibn Ruṣhd, *op. cit.*, ii, 205), while another states that "the son of the sister is part of the group" (al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 23). Finally, one should note that the prohibited degrees of marriage affect the same degrees of relationship on the father's side as on the mother's (Qur'an, IV, 23), and that foster-relationship creates the same prohibited degrees for marriage as does blood kinship (al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, 21). On the other hand, marriage between parallel cousins and cross cousins is permitted, and even recommended.

As a result, in the Islamic conception, kinship is bilateral. However, this position is affirmed very hesitantly, since in practice only agnates were considered true kin. Matters of blood-vengeance and the payment of blood-money or wergild concerned them alone. This is why the *diya* due for a wife is incumbent on her *'aṣaba*, although succession to her reverts to her children and her husband (al-Bukhārī, *Farā'id*, 10, *Diya*, 25). In the accounts of the heroic period of the *Djāhiliyya*, uterine siblings often bear the costs of a vendetta. Bedouin law adopts the same point of view with regard to the wife and the maternal nephew (cf. J. Chelod, *Le droit dans le société bedouine*, Paris 1971).

Did the extension of kinship to cognates go against pre-Islamic customs and meet with considerable resistance from them? In the thesis brilliantly presented by W. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*) precisely the opposite point of view is advanced. According to him, the patriarchal system was a late phenomenon in Asia, practically contemporaneous with the Hidjra, and it was preceded by a system of filiation through female descent. Following studies by Morgan and MacLennan, this hypothesis has been gradually abandoned. Nevertheless, it does still have a small number of supporters (M. Godefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 616; W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 378 f.; Lecerf in 'A'ILA), and must therefore be considered briefly. Smith was quite correct to reject the viewpoint of genealogists who saw the tribe as a large patriarchal family; he also rightly criticised the artificial nature of their neatly-organised structure. They can also be faulted for having lost sight of the tribal heterogeneity which is indicated by the structures of the *ḥabila* [q.v.]. It nevertheless remains true that unity of blood shows itself effectively at the higher levels of the social pyramid, such as the *fakhīd* and the *'ashira*. Besides, Robertson Smith's conclusions about the old system of filiation are based essentially on philological considerations and on later survivals. It is certain, however, that it is not through concentrating on a few isolated facts that we will be able to throw light on this problem. Rather, we need an approach based on a sound study of social and family structures before we can see to what extent they are compatible with matriliney. It would seem that warrior nomadism tends towards

patrilineal filiation and endogamy, while a life of settled cultivation encourages exogamy. Thus, to a large degree, the social system existing in pre-Hijra western Arabia contradicts Smith's hypothesis. If we actually examine the traditions which give credence to the notion of a matrilineal system in pre-Islamic Arabia, we can see that almost all of them apply to the Arabs of the south (from Medina, Ḥimyar and Saba<sup>3</sup>) that is, groups which had been settled for a long period, although some, like the Anṣār, had reverted to nomadism for a short time. In fact, any conclusions, even provisional ones, about these groups are no more than speculative before further documentation can be provided by archaeological research in the Yemen. The northern Arabs, on the other hand, were deeply imbued with desert traditions and their social system bears the stamp of patriarchy. This was the prevailing system in Mecca itself. Qur'anic reform took its inspiration mainly from this background, but it did make a few concessions to the customs of Medina in enlarging the concept of *karāba*. Principally, the latter was concerned with agnates, but nevertheless it did not completely reject cognates.

This timid overture in the direction of uterine siblings was allied to an important trend towards restriction in the realm of *karāba*. According to pre-Islamic beliefs, mystical kinship (through adoption, blood-ties, communal descent) created links equal to those of actual kinship. Muḥammad himself had recourse to such customs in making the *Muhādīrūn* the "brothers" of the *Anṣār* and thus each other's heirs (Qur'an, VIII, 72); but he reverted to a stricter concept of kinship, limiting it almost to true blood relations (LXVIII, 2, XXXIII, 3, 40, VIII, 75).

*Bibliography*: Many works deal with this topic. Apart from those cited in the article, bibliographical details can be found in J. Chelhod, *Le mariage avec la cousine parallèle dans le système arabe*, in *L'Homme*, v (1965), 113-73.

(J. CHELHOD)

**KARĀBĀDHĪN** [see AKRĀBĀDHĪN].

**KARABAÇ** [see KARĀ BĀGH].

**AL-KARĀBĪSĪ**, "clothes-seller", a name given to a number of people, of whom the following are of note:

1) AḤMAD B. 'UMAR, a mathematician. The date of his death is unknown. Among those of his works which have been lost, a commentary on the translation of Euclid was especially celebrated. The one work of his which is still extant is *K. Misāhat al-ḥalaḥ*, which is preserved in Oxford (Bodleian Lib., Mss. Or. i, no. 913) and in Cairo (*Fihrist al-kutub al-'arabiyya fi 'l-kutubkhāna al-khadiwiyya*, v, 204); see *Fihrist*, 265, l. 25, 282, l. 3; Ibn al-Kiftī, *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'*, Cairo 1326, 57, l. 5.

2) ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ B. YAZĪD AL-MUHALLABĪ, a traditionist and faḳīh. Initially, he was a member of the *ahl al-ra'*, but after al-Shāfi'i's arrival in Baghdād, he joined his group. In spite of this, he was an unreserved supporter of the doctrine of predestination, *djabr*. None of his works of criticism or *fiḥh* survive. He died in 245/859 or, according to some, in 248/862.

*Bibliography*: *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel), 181, l. 4; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* (facsimile ed. Margoliouth), fol. 476b; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), no. 180 (ed. Cairo 1299, i, 181); Shahrastānī, *Milal* (ed. Cureton), 96; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 774; Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, Cairo 1324, i, 251-6; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1303, vii, 29; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'riḥ*,

Istanbul 1287, ii, 439 (ed. Reiske-Adler, ii, 204); Ibn Taghrībirdī (ed. Juynboll), i, 753, 763.

3) AS'AD B. MUḤAMMAD, Ḥanafī faḳīh who died in 570/1174. His *K. al-Furūḥ fi 'l-furū'*, which Ḥādīdī Khallifa in *Kashf al-zunūn* (ed. Flügel), iv, 419, 904r, confuses with the *Talkhīḥ al-'uḳāl* of al-Maḥbūbī (Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 473, no. 34), is extant in Cairo: see *Fihrist al-kutub al-'arabiyya fi 'l-kutubkhāna al-khadiwiyya*, iii, 96.

(C. BROCKELMANN\*)

**KARĀÇAY**, a Turkic tribe of the North Caucasus. They call themselves *Karāçayl* and are known as *Karāçaylar* in Turkish and *Karāçaitsl*, or *Karāçaievtsl*, in Russian. The *Karāçay* language belongs to the *Kırpçak* branch of Turkic. According to the 1926 Russian census, ethnically there were 55,123 *Karāçay* and linguistically 55,349. In the 1959 census, the numbers recorded were 81,403 and 78,817 respectively. The *Karāçay* occupy the mountain valleys of the upper Kuban, Taberda, Zelenčuk, Laba and Podkumok rivers on the northern slopes of the Caucasus.

Little is known of their history. Their ancestry goes back to the Hunno-Bulgarian conglomeration which lived along the Kuban River in so-called "Black Bulgaria" during and after the downfall of the *Khazar* [q.v.] realm. They were Turkicized by the Turkic tribes, the *Pečenegs* and *Kumans*, which took over the *Khazar* kingdom in the middle of the 5th/11th century. In the high Middle Ages they lived as one group with the *Balkar* [q.v.] along the edge of the Caucasian mountain chain and mixed with local Ibero-Caucasian peoples. They later submitted to the authority of the Golden Horde. From the 7th/13th to the 9th/15th centuries they were slowly pushed by the *Kabards* [see *KABARDS*] towards the high chain. At this time, as a result of *Kabard* pressure, the *Karāçay-Balkar* separated into two groups, the *Balkar* going to *Dih-Tau* and *Koştan-Tau*. In the 9th/15th century the *Karāçay* became vassals of the *Kabards*, and from the 10th/16th century onwards, they also came under the influence of the Crimean *khānate*. Sunnī Islam, of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, was slowly introduced at this time by the Crimean Tatars, and in the 11th/17th and early 12th/18th centuries by the Ottomans. The *Karāçay* and *Balkars* did not play an active role in the Caucasian mountain-dwellers' resistance to the Russian conquest in the middle of the 18th century.

The social structure of the *Karāçay* was influenced by that of *Kabard*, but the feudal system was less developed. The head of the tribe was the *biy* (*bey*) or *tav-biys*, followed by the most numerous class of *özden* or *karāözden*, consisting of free men. The *kul*, or slaves, formed the lowest class. With the influence of Islam under Ottoman rule the *kul* were freed and became *azatlı*. The traditional economy of the *Karāçay* is based on cattle breeding, agriculture and handicrafts. Their land has important coal deposits and other mineral resources.

*Karāçay* was not a literary language until 1924, at which time, jointly with *Balkar*, a *Karāçay-Balkar* literary language was created which adopted the Latin script. In 1938-39 it was replaced by the Cyrillic. According to *Letopis' periodičeskikh izdanij S.S.S.R. and Pecat' S.S.S.R. v 1960 godu*, there were six newspapers published in *Karāçay-Balkar* in 1935; in 1960 the figure had dropped to one.

Administrative position. With the onset of the Soviet régime, the *Karāçay* became part of the Mountain Autonomous Socialist Republic (*Gorskaya A.S.S.R.*) on 20 January 1920, which included also

the Čerkes, the Balkars, the Ossetians, the Čečens and the Ingušes, and had its capital in Vladi-kavkaz. On 12 January 1922, they were joined with the Čerkes into the Karāčay-Čerkes Autonomous Oblast. On 26 April 1926, the administrative unit was divided into a Čerkes National Okrug and a Karāčay Autonomous Oblast with Mikoyanšahar as capital. In 1944, the Karāčays were deported to Central Asia and their national territory suppressed for alleged collaboration with the Germans during World War II. They were rehabilitated on 9 January 1957 and between 1957 and 1958 brought back to their original land, their deportation being termed a result of the "personality cult" of Stalin. They resumed their former status in the Karāčay-Čerkes Autonomous Oblast, which was reformed on 9 January 1957. The region occupies a territory of 14,200 sq. km. In 1959, the Karāčay and Čerkes made up 33.1 % of the population of the region, while 51 % were Russian.

According to the 1926 Russian census the mother tongue of 99.9 % of the Karāčay in their native area was Karāčay; none had Russian as their first spoken language. The figures for 1959 showed that their native language was the mother tongue of 99 % of the Karāčay, while the percentage of those who used Russian had risen from zero to 0.5 %.

*Bibliography:* U. Aliev, *Karāčevskaya Avtonomnaya Oblast' (Istoriko-etnogičeskie i Kul'turno-ekonomičeskie očerki)*, Rostov on the Don, 1927; M. Aminoff, *Le groupe musulman de Karachai*, in *RMM* (May 1910); B. Geiger, A. Kuipers, T. Halasi-Kun and K. Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1958; A. Inan, *La Littérature des Peuples Turcs du Caucase du Nord*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964; E. N. Kuševa, *Narod' Severnogo Kavkaza i ikh sfajazi s Rossiej, vtorojia polovina XVI-30-e Gody XVII veka*, Moscow 1963; *Kh.* O. Laypanov, *K istorii Karāčevtsev i Balkartsev*, Čerkesk 1957; K. Menges, *Turkic Languages and Peoples, Ural-Altische Bibliothek*, xv (1947); idem, *Turkic Peoples of the Caucasus*, in *Jean Denvy Armağani*, Ankara 1958; Mirza Bala, *Karāčaylar*, in *IA*; *Narod' Karāčevo-Čerkesii*, Stavropol 1967, 2 vols.; E. N. Studevetskaya, *K voprosu o rabstve i feodalizme v Karāčae*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografija* (Moscow 1937), no. 2; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografija Narodov S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958; S. Wurm, *Turkic Peoples of the U.S.S.R.*, London 1954.

(HÜLYA SALIHOĞLU)

**KARĀĀI** (Karachi), the most important commercial and industrial centre of Pakistan, situated on the Indian Ocean shores at 25° 51' latitude N. and 67° 04' longitude E. Its population was 360,000 at the time of the creation of Pakistan in 1947, and by 1972 was substantially over 3 millions, if one includes the new suburbs laid out over the last decade. From 1947 to 1960 Karāčī was the official capital of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, but it has gradually been replaced by Islāmābād [q.v.], a few miles away from Rawalpindi, where all the Pakistan government departments are to be established.

The name Karāčī does not seem to be very old. It may possibly derive from the settlement there of a Balūč tribe called Kulāčī, originally of Rāđipūt origin (*A glossary of Panjab castes*, Lahore 1911), which may also have given its name to the town of Kulāčī in the district of Dēra Ismā'īl Khān on the North-West frontier. An alternative explanation would derive the town's name from Kalāčī, the name of a humble fisherman who lived in the vicinity.

Whatever the case, we have the transition *l > r* according to an habitual rule in Sindhi (cf. Kōtlī in the Pandjāb and Kōtlī in Sind).

Being protected on the west by Cape Monze, the most southerly point of the Kirthar mountain chain, and sheltered from the force of the open sea and the monsoon squalls by the rocky island of Manora, Karāčī enjoyed an ideal situation for becoming a great port. The town itself is situated between the lower course of the Lyarī river to the west and the Malir river to the east, both of which come down from the Kōhistān or mountain region. Lt.-Gen. Haig, in his book on the Indus delta, thought that one could identify the port of Karāčī with the port of Alexander the Great which Nearchus reached on leaving the western mouth of the Indus and where he waited for 15 days, with his fleet at Manora, until a favourable wind might blow and enable him to continue exploring the coastland (326 B.C.).

It is shortly after 1137/1725 that Karāčī begins to become known as a port. The effective cause of its prosperity seems to have been the gradual deterioration of the port of Daybul [q.v.], which was very probably situated on the banks of the western mouth of the Indus. Although the historians disagree on the exact site of Daybul, it can nevertheless be asserted that this port was already flourishing when the Arabs, under their youthful general Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim, disembarked there in 93/712 in order to conquer Sind. During the 10th/16th century the maritime trade of the region relied on the port of Laribunder in the Indus delta, near Thatta, the then capital of Sind; but after 1060/1650, Laribunder lost all its value as a port, since navigation became very difficult through the silting-up of the Indus delta. During the 12th/18th century, the land encroached on the sea and left the port of Daybul cut off from access to the sea. Karāčī, situated outside the delta region and to the west, was not in such danger of a rapid silting-up, but it could not yet assume its later importance because of the uncertain political conditions prevailing in the province of Sind, where were confronted the divergent interests of Afghān power, the British East India Company and the Kalhōra rulers of Sind, who ceded Karāčī to the Khān of Kalāt. The Afghāns wished to avoid any trouble with the Sind officials and endeavoured to develop a line of communication starting from Karāčī and running through Makrān and Kalāt, well away from the Indus valley. All this favoured the expansion of Karāčī, both as a town and as a port, whilst Thatta inexorably declined on account of the constant changes in the Indus course.

After the fall of the Kalhōra rulers, the *amir* of Talpur, Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān, seized Karāčī from the Khān of Kalāt. In 1209/1795 he built a fortress on Cape Manora to protect the port, though this did not prevent the capture of Karāčī by British troops in 1839. The conquest of the province of Sind did not take place till four years later, when Sir Charles Napier used Karāčī as his port of disembarkation in 1843. But the British at first preferred to establish themselves at Ḥaydarābād, and it was only as a result of Capt. Richard Burton's report, which praised the much fresher climate of the "fishermen's village by the sea", that Sir Charles Napier came along to make Karāčī the capital, and civil and military centre, of Sind, and an important port suitable for trading equally with the Pandjāb as with Sind.

Sir Bartle Frere improved the port by constructing in 1854 the Napier mole connecting the island of



Kāmārī with the mainland. The Manora breakwater was finished in 1873. After 1861 a railway line connected Karācī with the town of Kōtrī, and then in 1878 with the Pandjāb, thus allowing the trade of Karācī to double in volume between 1864 and 1884. By 1900, it had become one of the greatest export outlets of the East, and the two World Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 contributed greatly to its prosperity.

But it was really 1947 which marked the turning-point in the development of this great city, which still had a provincial atmosphere at the time of the creation of Pakistan, and whose population increased almost tenfold within 25 years (1947-72), presenting successive governments with problems still not completely resolved. Suburbs like Nāzīmābād and Liyāqatābād on the right bank of the Lyarī river did not exist before 1947. Similarly, the satellite town of Korangī and the new industrial complex of Landī on the left bank of the Malir river have only been created in the last decade or so. A planned policy of urbanisation and industrialisation, together with the bringing of water supplies and a sewage system, was undertaken by a body called the "Karachi Development Authority" set up in 1958 by Field-Marshal Ayyūb Khān, the head of the Pakistan Republic.

The international airport of Karācī is considered one of the best-equipped in Asia; its runways will accommodate the most modern aircraft and its geographical situation makes it an important crossroads between Europe and the East. Pakistan International Airlines (P.I.A.) flights connect Karācī with London via Tehran, Beirut, Rome and Frankfurt or via Geneva or via Moscow, and a regular service also exists between Karācī and Shanghai via Dacca and Canton. Since 1955, a pipeline over 300 miles long has brought the natural gas of Sui in Sind to Karācī, where it is used both for industrial and private purposes.

Karācī has owed its great strides of recent times to its trade connections with the whole of north-western India and to its rôle as the natural outlet for the most important products of its hinterland, such as cotton, cereals, oil-yielding plants and hides. Karācī is the great industrial centre of Pakistan, thanks to an expanding iron-smelting industry, newly-built oil refineries (at Korangī), recent petrochemical installations, the traditional activities involving wool, timber and hides, the increasing production of cement (limestone being plentiful on the outskirts of the city), various food-processing industries (flour mills, confectionery factories, fish canning and preserving), and many other activities such as production of knitwear, soap-making and plastic objects.

*Bibliography:* J. de Thévenot, *Relation de l'Indostan*, Paris 1684; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Balochistan and Scinde*, London 1816; W. F. P. Napier, *The administration of Scinde*, London 1851; R. F. Burton, *Sind revisited*, London 1877; T. Wolsley Haig, *The Indus Delta country*, London 1887; M. B. Pithawalla and P. Martin-Kaye, *Guide to the geology and geography of Karachi*, Karachi 1946; M. B. Pithawalla, *An introduction to Karachi*, Karachi 1949; P. de Testa, *Le Pakistan*, Paris 1962, 2nd edn. 1968; O. K. H. Spate, *India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London 1967; *K.D.A. Development decade, 1958-1968*, Karachi 1968; S. R. Lewis, *Pakistan, industrialisation and trade policies*, Paris 1970; Hanif Raza, *Karachi*, Karachi 1971.

(A. GUIMBRETIERE)  
**KARADĀĠ** [see KARĀ DĀĠH].

(AL-)KARADĠ (KARAH) OR KARADĠ ABĪ DULAF, an ancient town in the Džibāl province [q.v.] of Persia; the actual site is unknown, but it was situated to the south-east of Hamadhān, almost half-way between that city and Isfahān. It derives its second name from al-Kāsim b. ʿIsā al-ʿIdjīlī [q.v.], better known by his kunya of Abū Dulaf, who probably enlarged (*maššara*) an existing settlement and constructed a fortress there; during the wars between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, this commander carved out for himself a fief in Džibāl and secured the privilege of paying in return a tax for this concession (*šghār* [q.v.]; add to the *Bibl.*: Ibn Khur-radāhbih, 241; *Mafātīh al-ʿulūm*, 60; Yākūt, s.v. al-Ighārān'; and correct Mardj to al-Burdj) of the district surrounding (al-)KaradĠ and al-Burdj, whence the name of al-Ighārān' by which it is known. (Al-) KaradĠ became the *chef-lieu* of this district and the residence of the Dulafids [q.v.]; add to the *Bibl.*: M. Canard, *H'amdānides*, 311-13 and the references cited there). The line of Dulafids ended in 284/897; town and district then reverted to dependence on the central government and soon became an autonomous administrative district.

Nothing is known of the town beyond the information in the geographers that it was built of unfired brick, had two markets, numerous baths and a crowded population, even though it extended over two parasangs; the sources stress the absence of orchards, but mention the fertility of the surrounding countryside, where stock-raising was practised. Various poets who frequented the Dulafid court celebrated the town, but Ibn al-Fakīh found it crowded-together, dirty, cold and poverty-stricken.

*Bibliography:* Ṭabarī, index; Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 314; Ibn al-Fakīh, 237, 239, 261; Ibn Ḥawqal-Wiet-Kramers, 352; Mas'ūdī, index; Muḥaddasī, 394; Bakrī, 1123; Maḥdisī, *Bad'*, iv, 74; Yākūt, i, 420, 548, iii, 873, iv, 250, 270; Kalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 372; Le Strange, 197-8; Schwarz, *Iran*, 577; Canard, *H'amdānides*, 311. (ED.)

**KARADJA** [see KARĀ].

**KARADJA HIŞĀR**, KARA HIŞĀR, also known as KARADJA SHEHIR, probably the Byzantine Melangeia, one of the first places in which the Ottomans settled after coming to the Eskişehir region. The district around Karadja Hişār was given by Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykōbād as winter quarters to Ertoghul's followers; the town was occupied by 'Othmān Ghāzī, traditionally in 687/1288 ('Ashītkpasha-zāde, ed. 'Alī, 18; Neşhri, ed. Taeschner, i, 26, 87). In order to make the town prosper, 'Othmān invited all those who wished to come and live there; he consequently settled in the town those coming from Germiyān and other places, the churches in the town were converted into mosques, and a Friday mosque was built. 'Othmān entrusted the administration of Karadja Hişār to his son, Orkhān Bey.

In the sources of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the town is usually referred to as Karadja Shehir. In the second half of the 9th/15th century it belonged to the *sandjak* of Sulṭānōñū. In the 10th/16th century reference is made to the *nāhiye* of "Eskişehir with Karadja Shehir" which still belonged to the *sandjak* of Sulṭānōñū (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Maliyeden Müdevver defterler, no. 27, p. 2). The *nāhiye* of Karadja Shehir (11 villages with an annual revenue of 58,739 *akḫes*) formed part of the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjakbeği* Sulṭānōñū (Sulṭānōñū sancağı tahrir defteri, no. 515,

p. 13), Eskişehir then being under Karadjaşehir; in the 11th/17th century, however, Karadjaşehir had become a *nâhiyye* of Eskişehir (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 166 pp. 124-6). According to the census of 1830, the population of Karadja Şehir consisted of 3,725 Muslims and 575 non-Muslims (E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı*, 1831, Ankara 1943, 110).

Karadja Hişar, today bearing the name Karacaşehir, is a village belonging to the central *kaza* of the *vilâyet* of Eskişehir.

*Bibliography*: further to sources mentioned in the text: Ibn Kemâl, *Tawârikh-i Âl-i 'Othmân*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1970, 97-9, 111-13; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Munich 1967, 65, 75-7; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, i, 74-6, 82; Kâtib Çelebi, *Dihânnümâ*, Istanbul 1145, 543; Ahmed Refik, *Fâtih devrinde Sultânönü*, in *TTEM*, iii/80 (Istanbul 1340), 130-2; *Eskişehir İl Yılığ*, 1967, Ankara. (C. ORHONLU)

**KARADJA OĞHLAN**, Turkish folk poet, the greatest and most typical representative of the *'âshîks*. In many ways, the *'âshîks* continued in the Ottoman period the pre-Islamic and early Islamic tradition of Turkish musician-poets (*ozan*), who often improvised their poems, singing them to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially the *kopuz*. *'âshîk*, a term originally applied to popular mystic poets of various dervish orders, was later taken over by wandering minstrels (*saz şâ'irleri*), who gave up the old secular term of *ozan*. The influence of Şûfism on the *'âshîks* was only superficial and did not substantially alter their realism. The impact of *madrâsa* and Palace School-trained court poets was greater, growing increasingly from the 10th/16th century onwards, and they adopted many classical verse forms, particularly the *ghazal* and *murabba'*, and introduced many patterns of *'arûd*, preferably those reminiscent of syllabic metre (*hedje*). Many common themes, motifs and stereotyped concepts found their way into folk poetry. The continued impact of the hackneyed forms and concepts of court poetry eventually caused folk poetry to degenerate into a sterile cliché of the former, and caused many *'âshîks* to become unskilled imitators of classical poets.

In this general picture, Karadjaoğhlan is a brilliant exception. He was not trained in a city atmosphere like many others, but belonged to the small group of bards who came from the countryside and from nomadic tribes. His life is shrouded in legends like that of the great popular mystic poet Yunus Emre. Following the impetus given by Ziya Gökalp to research into Turkish popular literature and culture many scholars (particularly M. F. Köprülü, A. R. Yalçın, S. N. Ergun, I. R. Isitman, A. K. Tecer, P. N. Boratav and C. Öztelli) have made remarkable contributions to Karadjaoğhlan studies (for a complete bibliography up to 1940, see F. A. Tansel, *Karacaoğlan hakkında tenkidi bir bibliyografya*, in *Ülkü*, xv, no. 85, 1940). In spite of this intensive research, several problems concerning the life, time and identity of the poet himself, and concerning many of his poems, continue to be controversial. The claims that these are finally solved put forward in a recent publication (Cahit Öztelli, *Karaca Oğlan, Bütün Şiirleri*, Istanbul, 1970) are not altogether convincing, in spite of the author's many important contributions to the subject. Vague references in Karadjaoğhlan's poems to the capture or re-capture of Aleppo and Baghdad and to the Austrian cam-

paign of "Ahmed Pasha" have been differently interpreted by various scholars and more explicit mention of the poet's name both in 10th/16th- and 11th/17th-century sources gave rise to the theory that two different poets of the same name may have lived in different centuries (for details of the controversy see Cahit Öztelli, *op. cit.*, intro., and Cemil Yener, *Karacaoğlan üzerine*, in *Türk Dili*, xxv, no. 244, Ankara 1972, 291-4).

At the present stage of research, we can cautiously state that Karadjaoğhlan, whose real name was Hasan and whose family is referred to as Sayll Oğhlu, belonged to the Varsak clan of the Üç Ok Turcoman tribes who had their winter quarters at the foot of Taurus mountains and moved to high summer pastures in early spring. He seems to have travelled extensively in southern Anatolia and perhaps in many other parts of the Ottoman Empire. There are indications that he took part in a campaign against Persia. It is not certain whether he was ever in Istanbul although two of his *türkü*s are included in a musical anthology of popular songs prepared for the Ottoman court under Sultan İbrâhîm (see C. Öztelli, *Ali Ufki, Karaca Oğlan ve İstanbul*, in *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, no. 239). Except for a few motifs and expressions common to Muslim culture, Karadjaoğhlan completely ignored the *art poétique* both of court poetry and of popular mystic poetry of the dervish orders, and wrote all his poems (numbering nearly 500) in the traditional Turkish syllabic metre (mostly in 6-5 and 4-4 patterns), and in the unsophisticated spoken Turkish of his time, coloured with occasional provincial words and expressions. These dealt with nomadic life and the natural beauties of the Taurus Mountains environment. The poet's own exuberant feelings of love and *joie de vivre* are also described in his unparalleled *koşmas*, *semâis*, *türkü*s and *destans*. In the "National Literature" (*Millî Edebiyat*) movement of the post-1908 Constitution period, and again during the early Republican era up to the late 1930s, Karadjaoğhlan was the most loved folk poet, inspiring many young poets in their endeavours to renew and make more indigenous the form and content of Turkish poetry. According to local traditions, Karadjaoğhlan is buried on a hill in the village of Çukur near Mut in the province of İçel (Mersin), and his tomb became a frequently visited shrine in the area. In 1958 a film was made of a legendary version of his life based on a script by the novelist Yaşar Kemal (b. 1922), who later wrote a short story on the same theme (in *Uç Anadolu Efsanesi*, Istanbul, 1967).

*Bibliography*: Köprülüze Mehmed Fu'ad, *Bir Varsağı*, in *Yeni Medjmu'a*, no. 31, 1918; Sa'd al-Din Nüzhet (Ergun), *Karadja Oğlan* (important pioneering monograph), Konya 1927; Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Karacaoğlan, Hayatı ve Şiirleri*, Istanbul 1933, 18th revised edition with many additions, Istanbul 1963; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Saz Şairleri*, Istanbul 1940, 2nd edition, Istanbul 1962, ii, 317-77; Ali Rıza (Yalman, later Yalçın) *Cenupla Türkmen Oymakları*, 5 vols., Ankara 1933, *passim*; İshak Refet (İşıtman), *Karacaoğlan*, Ankara 1933; P. N. Boratav, *Halk Edebiyatı Dersleri*, Ankara 1942, *passim*; A. K. Tecer, *Karacaoğlan'a yeni bir bakış*, Istanbul, 1954; Cahit Öztelli (ed.), *Karaca Oğlan, Bütün Şiirleri*, (with an introduction summarizing his previous research; includes all known poems of Karadjaoğhlan and those attributed to him), Istanbul 1970. (FAHİR İZ)

**AL-KARADJĪ**, ABŪ BAKR MUHAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN (and also al-Ḥusayn), Arab mathematician and engineer, a native of al-Karadjī (in the Djibāl, Iran) as G. Levi Della Vida has demonstrated (in *RSO*, xiv (1933), 250) and not from the al-Karkh district of Baghdād, as was long believed. While still young, he went to Baghdād where he held high positions in the administration and composed, towards 402/1011-2, his works *al-Fakhrī*, *al-Kāfī* and *al-Badī*, in which he attempted to free algebra from the tutelage of geometry. He returned afterwards to his native land, where he must have died after 410/1019, the probable date of the composition of his *Inbāṭ al-miyāh al-khafiyya*. ʿĀdil Anbūba, in the introduction of his edition of the *Badī* (Beirut 1964), lists 12 works of this author, most of which have been lost. The following are of interest here: (1). *Al-Fakhrī fi ʿl-djabr wa ʿl-mukābala*, studied by F. Woepcke (*Extraits du Fakhrī, traité d'algèbre*, Paris 1853), who demonstrates the agreements between this work and the *Arithmetica* of Diophantes, which al-Karadji must have known through the partial translation (the first three books and a part of the fourth) of Ḳustā b. Lūkā (d. 296/912), and concludes that "more than a third of the problems of the first book of Diophantes, the problems of the second book beginning with the eighth one, and almost all the problems of the third have been inserted by Alqarkhi into his collection" (p. 21). On this basis it can perhaps be established that problems 1-7 of Book ii of Diophantes, which might be spurious, are missing in the Arabic version (cf. E. Vereecke, *Diophante d'Alexandrie*, repr. Paris 1959, xxvi). Diophantes' work must have been in vogue among the contemporaries of al-Karadji because we know that Ibn al-Haytham and Abu ʿl-Wafāʾ devoted commentaries or scholia to it. In the *Fakhrī*, al-Karadji attempted the study of the successive powers of a binomial, developed it further in the *Badī*, and concluded it in a work now lost but preserved in fragments in the *Bāhīr* of al-Samawʾāl b. Yahyā al-Maghribī (d. ca. 570/1174), through the discovery of the generation of the coefficients of  $(a-b)^n$  by means of the triangle which is now named after Pascal or Tartaglia; (2). *Al-Badī fi ʿl-hisāb*, in which are developed the fixed points treated by Euclid and Nicomachus and in which an important place is accorded to algebraic operations; the author expounds for the first time the theory of the extraction of the square root of a polynomial with an unknown; he resolves the systems  $x^2 + 5$  and  $x^2 - 5$ , likewise treated by Leonardo of Pisa in his *Liber Quadratorum*, and  $x^2 + y$  and  $y^2 + x$ , which are found in Diophantes, ii, 20 and which much more slowly gained the attention of Euler and others. In these problems, he often utilizes the expedient of changing the variable, the auxiliary variables or the process through substitution; (3). *Al-Kāfī fi ʿl-hisāb*, written on the use of functions, and as such a summary of arithmetic, algebra, geometry and the register based on the processes of mental calculus (called *hawāʾi*, "aerial", in Ibn al-Samh d. 426/1034) as opposed to "Indian" calculus; this work has been edited and translated into German by A. Hocheim, 1-3, Halle 1877-80; (4). *Inbāṭ al-miyāh al-khafiyya*, printed in Ḥaydarābād in 1359/1945, an excellent manual on hydraulic water supplies; it contains some autobiographical notes, as well as a discussion of a series of conceptions relative to the geography of the globe; he describes a certain number of surveying instruments [see *MIẒĀN*], the geometrical bases of which he demonstrates, and ends with very concrete

details on the construction and servicing of *kanāts* [*q.v.*], subterranean tunnels (he makes an express allusion to those of Iṣfahān, 31) for providing water in arid places. He likewise discusses the basis of the *Shariʿa*, the legality of the construction of wells and hydraulic conduits and in what circumstances these might be prejudicial to the people.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the references in the text, Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 718; H. Suter, *Mathematiker*, 84; Brockelmann, I, 219; S I, 389; J. Vernet and A. Catala, *Un ingeniero arabe del siglo XI: al-Karayī, in Al-Andalus* (forthcoming). (J. VERNET)

**AL-KARĀFA** [see AL-KĀHIRA].

**KARAFERYE** (in earlier sources also KARAVERYE), Ottoman name for Bérroia, Béroia (mod. Gk., Véria, Véria; Slavonic, Ber), a small town in Macedonia, 60 km. WSW of Salonika, 8 km. from the left bank of the Aliakmon (Vistrítza; Tk. Indje Kara Şu), near the foot of the eastern slopes of the Olympene range (Tk. Aghustos Daghl) and overlooking a broad and fertile plain: "one of the most agreeable towns in Rumili" (Leake). The Turkish epithet *karā* [*q.v.*] was prefixed perhaps in order to distinguish it from Bérroia in northern Thrace, Tk. [Eski] Zaghra [cf. Jorga, *GOR*, i, 213]. According to Byzantine sources, the neighbourhood was pillaged by Turks from Karasī [*q.v.*] as early as 1331 (Hammer-Purgstall, i, 127). The district for a time belonged to the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dušan (Ostrogorsky, *History*, 524) and, after his death (1355), to a Serbian princeling, Hlapen (Jireček, *Gesch. d. Serben*, ii, 105, 107).

The Ottoman chroniclers report that the town was taken (? by Lālā Shāhīn) in 787/1385 (Giese, *Anon.*, 26, 13, whence ʿĀshīkḡpashazāde (§ 55), *Neshri*, etc.; cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 91-2, with the date 776/1374-5). The Greek Short Chronicles give the precise date 8 May 1387 (cited by P. Wittek, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 661, n. 3); but the definitive occupation may have occurred only under Bāyezīd I, who from there directed extensive raids into the Peloponnese (Giese, *Anon.*, 28-9; Hammer-Purgstall, i, 249).

According to a tradition preserved by Yazīdīloġhlu ʿAlī [*q.v.*], some time after the Saldjūk sultan of Rūm Kay-Kāʾūs II [*q.v.*] had taken refuge with the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII his two younger sons were made governors of Béroia; the grandchildren of one prince embraced Christianity, and it was one of his descendants, a certain Lyzikos, who surrendered Béroia to the Ottoman sultan (? Bāyezīd I); thereupon he and his family were transferred to Zīkhna. And indeed Karaferye (and Zīkhna) are among the districts inhabited by Gagauz [*q.v.*] Turks, *i.e.*, "followers of Kay-Kāʾūs" (P. Wittek, *Les Gagaouzes = Les gens de Kaykāsūs*, in *RO*, xvii (1951-52), 12-24; idem, *Yazīdīloġhlu ʿAlī in the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68; E. A. Zakhariadou, *Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοὶ τοῦ Ἰεζεδδὴν Καίσαρος Β΄ στῆ Βέροια*, in *Μακεδονικά*, vi (Salonika 1964), 62-74).

By the end of the 9th/15th century there were extensive rice-fields, state-run, in the meadows to the south and west of the town (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livāsi*, Istanbul 1952, 135-7; cf. *FILĀHA*, p. 907). In the 11th/17th century (and presumably also before) Karaferye was administered as a *kaḡāʾ* of the *sandjāq* of Selānik [*q.v.*]. Ewliyā Čelebi described it as unwallied and ungarrisoned, but with the remains of a citadel; it had 4,000 houses, in 16 Muslim and 15 Christian quarters, with two Jewish *djemāʿats*. In 1885 the *kaḡāʾ*, together with the *nāhiye*

of Aghustos (Náoussa), comprised 46 villages and *çiftlik*s (IA, art. *Selânik*, p. 347a).

In the First Balkan War (Oct.-Dec. 1912), Karaferye fell to the Greeks on 25 October, and since the Treaty of Athens (14 Nov. 1913) it has belonged to Greece.

**Bibliography:** Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Beroia (1) (and references there given); *Belgeler*, i/1 (1964), 91 (*djizya* returns for 894/1489, for Karaverye, Serfiçe [Sérvia] and Vodana [Édessa]); Hâdjîdî *Khalifa*, tr. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 86; Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, viii, 181-6; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*<sup>2</sup>, Paris 1826-7, iii, 94; W. M. Leake, *Travels in northern Greece*, London 1835 (repr. 1967), iii, 290 ff.; M. F. Thielen, *Die europäische Türkei*, Vienna 1828, 130-1; 'Alî Djewâd, *Memâlik-i 'Othmâniyyeniñ ta'rikk ve djughrâfiyâ lughall*, İstanbul 1313-17, 605; Sâmi, *Kâmûs al-a'lâm*, v, 1314/1892, 3639-40; Semavi Eyice, in *TM*, xii (1955), 206-7; I. K. Vasdravelli, 'Ιστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Ἐκλογαί, Salonika 1942 (= Μακεδονική Βιβλιοθήκη, no. 3; 92 Turkish documents, A.D. 1595-1822); idem, 'Ιστορικά ἄρχεῖα Μακεδονίας. Β'. Ἀρχεῖον Βεροίας-Ναούσης (1598-1886), Salonika 1954 (= Μακεδονική Βιβλιοθήκη, no. 19; 414 documents). (V. L. MÉNAGE)

**KARAGÖZ** (Tk. "black eye"), the principal character in the Turkish shadow play, and also the shadow play theatre itself; the shadow player is called a *karagözçü* or *khayâlî*.

The *karagöz* theatre is played with inanimate actors and flat, two-dimensional figures (*şuret*, *taşvir*), manipulated by the shadow player who, as in the puppet theatre, makes them move and talks from behind a screen whilst he himself remains out of sight. The characters are presented in caricature; as well as human figures, there are also schematised representations of certain animals, plants and objects, as well as fantastic beings and some rudimentary scenery. All the figures are made from leather (the superior ones used formerly to be made with camel hide), prepared in a special way and painted in bright colours. The human figures are jointed at one point (rarely at two points) in order to permit the required movements. The size of the figures varies between 7.5 cm. and 46 cm. in height for objects, animals and scenic features, and between 21 cm. and 40 cm. for the humans.

A stick (two sticks for the figure of Karagöz and for a few other characters) 50 cm. long and as thick as a human finger has its pointed end inserted into a hole made in the figure's or object's body. The showman stands behind a screen made from muslin and one m. long by 0.60 m. high, and with the aid of the stick keeps the whole surface of the figure up against the screen and makes it move along it according to its movements in the play. He also makes the upper part of the figure's body move slightly in order to mark each character's replies, at the same time imitating the voice and accent appropriate to that character. The screen is illuminated from below by a lamp placed between the shadow player and the figures of the play. The shadow player retails the monologues and dialogues, and sings the songs; his assistant or apprentice passes the figures to him, does the sound effects and shakes a tambourine to mark the appearance of the characters on stage.

The *karagöz* theatre was played before a very restricted public only. It used to be staged in the cafés during Ramađân or else in the salons of private

houses during circumcision festivities or during the winter evenings.

The shadow play figures can be divided into three groups: (1) Inanimate objects. These are either pieces of scenery and accessories directly connected with the play's theme, such as the shop where Karagöz functions as a grocer, the pickaxe which Ferhâd uses to excavate a water channel in the mountain, etc.; or else a tree, a section of landscape, a group of figures, etc. without any direct connection with the play and called *göstermelik*, but shown on the screen before the actual play in order to attract the interest of spectators and fire their imagination. (2) Animals which may on occasion have a rôle in a play, such as Karagöz's ass, Ferhâd's horse, etc. (3) Fantastic beasts and beings, such as dragons, sorcerers, a magic poplar tree, etc. (4) Human characters, the actors in the play. Some of these appear only in a single play, when the latter is drawn from a work of popular literature, e.g., Ferhâd and Şîrin, Tâhir and Zühre, but also in cases like that of 'Âşîk Hâsan and his son Muşlî, who only appear in the play *The bloody poplar tree*. Other characters may appear in all the plays, such as Karagöz and Hađjîvad, the two central characters; the Zenne ("ladies"), women of various types and ages; Çelebi ("young man"); Matiz or Tuzsuz-Deli-Bekir ("the strong man"), often portrayed with the characteristics of a drunkard, but occasionally in the guise of a judge or arbiter; various types of provincials and foreigners (e.g., the Frank), of Muslim minority groups (the Arab, the Laz) and of non-Muslim minority groups (the Jew, the Armenian, the Greek); persons depicted in caricature because of their physical or moral defects (e.g., Beberuhi "the dwarf", Tiryâki "the opium smoker"); and so forth.

Hađjîvad represents the petit bourgeois, the educated man, temperate, highly opportunist and universally respected; people often come to him for advice and help and often ask him to arrange complicated matters. His partner Karagöz combines within himself all the minor vices; he is illiterate, greedy, ill-behaved and scandalously outspoken. He calls himself a gypsy; although he is a blacksmith by trade, he is often out of work and in perpetual financial difficulties, leading to frequent quarrels with his wife and necessitating the intervention of Hađjîvad in order to find him a job. Hađjîvad appears in two introductory scenes in the finale, holding the stage then for as long as his partner, whereas his presence in the action of the play proper is briefer. Karagöz, on the other hand, is present all through the proceedings; he is involved in intrigues, even in those plays originating from outside genres. Whatever the origin of the play, it is always set in a place called by the shadow players *Küşteri meydanı* "Küşteri square", which derives its name from the learned Şhaykh Küşteri, who lived in Bursa and died there ca. 767/1366; the invention of the *karagöz* theatre is attributed to him in popular legend. The right-hand side of the screen (sc. the right-hand side as seen by the audience) is considered to be Karagöz's house; he always enters the scene from there, and he alone occupies this half of the screen. The left-hand side is reserved for Hađjîvad and all the other characters. All told, Karagöz himself takes up a good half of the whole performance.

The text of a traditional play comprises four sections: (1) The prologue. Hađjîvad comes in, chanting a *semâ'i* and then a *ghazel*, the so-called "screen *ghazel*", a poem couched in pseudo-philosophical terms, stressing the profound meaning of

the shadowplay and the lessons which the spectator may derive from it. Then he proclaims his desire to amuse himself by shouting for his "friend" Karagöz. The latter, disturbed by the noise, comes down into the street and beats Hadjivad. (2) The dialogue (*muḥāwvere*) comprises either a discussion on any subject whatsoever between Hadjivad and Karagöz, whose comic effect comes from the contrast in character and the cultural levels of the two participants, or else it is the embellishment of an extravagant adventure of one of the two companions, usually Karagöz. The spectators are amused by the remarks and questions of the listener of the dialogue, and the verbose replies of the narrator; very often, the adventure turns out to be a dream or a delusion of hashish-taking.

The text of the dialogue may well be improvised, and the *karagözdjüü*, according to the circumstances and according to his creative powers, may prolong it as he likes. However, there are some traditional plot outlines, and it seems—on the basis of the texts which have been collected—that the artists always followed them. Some 60 texts of these dialogues have been counted, some of them clearly later versions of a basic original. In the most recent and most complete edition of *karagöz* texts (Cevdet Kudret, *Karagöz*, 3 vols., Ankara 1968-70), 53 are given. Certain of these *muḥāwveres*, of the type comprising a narration of extravagant adventures, are variations of the *tekerleme* stories (see P. N. Boratav, *Le "tekerleme"*, Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, xvii, Paris 1963, 106-14, 174-5, types 51 I, 51 J, 51 K, 52, 53). Tradition permits the *karagözdjüü* the freedom of prefixing a *muḥāwvere* of his own choice to the play of his programme, whence the fact that in many editions of texts one finds different plays accompanied by the same "dialogue", or even the same play preceded by different "dialogues" in the various versions. When the dramatic section (sc. the "play" proper) is only short, or when the shadow player wishes, for some reason or other, to extend the show, he may add a second *muḥāwvere* after the first one; this is called an *ara muḥāwveresi* "intercalated dialogue". (3) The play proper (the *faşlı*). There are two main categories of theme elaborated in this dramatic section: (a) Subjects drawn from popular romances, such as *Ferhād we Shirin*, or *Tāhir we Zühre*. A certain number of themes have also been enumerated as stemming from the popular stories of the *meddāhs*, such as *Handjierli Hanım*, and *Tayyārşāde*, or from modern novels like *Hüseyn Fellāh* and *Hasan Mellāh* of Ahmed Midhat, but the texts of these are not extant. Cevdet Kudret, *op. cit.*, ii, 244-64, has edited an adaptation of Molière's comedy *Le Médecin malgré lui*. (b) Sketches inspired by everyday life in the towns, and peculiar to the *karagöz* theatre. Georg Jacob, in his *Türkische Literaturgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, I. Das türkische Schattentheater*, Berlin 1900, 46-54, has classified the plays in this second category thus: (i) Karagöz is out of work; Hadjivad finds him a job which looks like being agreeable and profitable. The ensuing farce revolved round the blunders, mistakes and extravagant behaviour of Karagöz in this job, for which he is totally unfitted. Plays in this group include *Karagöz the cook*, *K. the grocer*, *The see-saw*, *The druggist's shop*, *K. the poet*, etc. (ii) Karagöz tries to insinuate himself, or actually succeeds in doing so, into some forbidden or dangerous place, by mere curiosity, interest or chance, and this brings about a series of awkward situations and unpleasant confrontations. Examples of this group are *The bath*, *The garden*, *The bloody poplar tree*, etc.

(iii) Karagöz embarks, unwittingly and without foreseeing the unpleasant consequences, on various complicated adventures. Through improvised actions, he astounds and disarms his opponents, turns tragic situations into comic ones, and emerges completely unscathed. The themes of plays like *The excursion to Yalova*, *The tavern*, *The lunatic asylum*, *Karagöz the hashish smoker*, etc., are built around these themes.

Several of the plays in both these categories belong equally to the repertoire of *karagöz* and to those of two other types of Turkish popular theatre, the *kukla* or marionette theatre and the *orta oyunu* or traditional theatre with living actors.

The number of "plays" (*faşlı*) so far counted is 47. Kudret has edited 36 of them, choosing one text for those attested in several versions; for three other texts he has been unable to give more than the titles. It has also been possible to draw up two lists of "older plays" and "newer plays". Out of the 47 plays enumerated, 27 are known to be "plays from the older repertoire". It was formerly the practice to stage a different play for every evening of Ramaḍān, with the exception of the evening of the 26th-27th, the "Night of Power" [see RAMAḌĀN], when there was a break, out of respect for the especially sacred character of that evening. The conclusion is, therefore, that the traditional repertoire comprised 28 or 29 plays. It seems, too, that we should add to the total enumerated of 47 *karagöz* plays a large number of texts put together by "scholarly" authors, see Kudret, i, 45 and 56-9, bibliography nos. XXIV, XXX-XXXI, XXXIV-XXXVII, XL, XLII, and Aziz Nesin, *Üç karagöz oyunu*, ed. Düşün, Istanbul 1968.

Although scholars do not yet agree about the country of origin of the shadow theatre, it is generally recognised that it spread from eastern and south-east Asia towards the Near East and Europe. With regard to its appearance in the Ottoman territories, it was long believed that it had come from China through the mediation of the Mongols and via the traditional route through Central Asia and Iran. However, it has now been realised that scholars have been in error through the incorrect interpretation of a technical term: the *khayāl* of Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources does not mean "shadow figure" (whose equivalent is *Khayāl-i zill*, [q.v.]), but rather "figure" *tout court*, i.e., it is not connected with the shadow theatre at all, but with three-dimensional marionettes. Thus whilst the puppet theatre has been known from an early date amongst the Mongols and Turks of Central Asia, as also among the Iranians, the shadow theatre has only existed among them in recent centuries.

In the Near Eastern lands, the shadow theatre goes back to the 6th/12th century, see Ritter, art. *Karagöz in IA*, and Metin And, *Geleneksel türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1969, 113. This is certain with regard to Egypt. Ibn Dāniyāl [q.v.] (7th/13th century) has left three texts for performance in this theatre, those themes have striking affinities with the plays of the traditional *karagöz* repertoire. Furthermore, some actual figures of the Egyptian shadow theatre, probably of 7th/13th or 8th/14th century construction, have come down to us; these too have many features in common with the Turkish *karagöz* figures.

The tradition of the Turkish *karagözdjüüs* purports to trace the origin of their art to the time of Sultan Orkhan, and its invention to *Shaykh Kushi*terî. Ewliyā Celebi (11th/17th century) records a legend which would make the two main characters of the

theatre contemporaries of the Saldjüks of Anatolia, and which makes the gypsy Karagöz a messenger for the Byzantine Emperor Constantine. These legends lack historical foundation. The oldest piece of evidence for the appearance of the shadow theatre in Ottoman territory comes from the 10th/16th century. The Egyptian chronicler Ibn Iyās speaks of a shadow theatre performance at Djizza in 923/1517 in front of Selim I after his victory over the Mamlüks; the Ottoman sultan, delighted by this performance, wished to bring the shadow player to Istanbul. It is known from another source that under Ahmed I (1012-26/1603-17) an Egyptian shadow play artist came to practice his art in Istanbul. From the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, we have extensive information about the *karagöz* theatre, both in the travel narratives of western writers and also in Ottoman sources of various kinds; the most interesting details are given in the *sürnâmes*, works describing festivities of various kinds, such as marriages, circumcisions, etc.

From the 11th/17th century, Karagöz is clearly mentioned as the chief character of the shadow theatre. In all the regions to which this theatre spread, including lands with such diverse non-Turkish populations as Greece, Tripolitania, Tunisia and Algeria, it is called by various metamorphoses of the word *karagöz*. Similarly, the Turkish *karagöz* came to Egypt from the Ottoman homeland and was in the last century a favourite form of entertainment; it also gave the name *aragöz* to a type of Egyptian puppet.

It was probably only in the 11th/17th century that the *karagöz* theatre acquired its actual technique and style. Ewliyâ Çelebi gives details of certain amusing dialogues of Karagöz and Hađjivad and of several other characters, as well as outlines of a few plays in the classical repertoire.

The *karagöz* theatre was an art form of the big towns in the Ottoman empire. In particular, it described the distinctive types and the manners of the motley peoples of the capital. It retained this emphasis even in the large provincial towns like Bursa and Izmir and in eastern Anatolia. Ewliyâ Çelebi speaks of some famous shadow players of Erzerum; one wonders whether the *karagöz* theatre might have acquired peculiar local features in the regions from the capital. Notes published on the *karagöz* at Kars by Fahrettin Kırziođlu, *Kars şehrinde karagöz oyunu*, in *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, no. 112 (Nov. 1958), show this as possible, since the repertoire and the characters of the *karagöz* in that town display some local peculiarities.

*Bibliography*: In addition to those works cited in the article, see Metin And, *A history of theatre and popular entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara 1963-4, 34-52; idem, *Various species of shadow theatre and puppet theatre in Turkey*, in *Atti del secondo Congresso internazionale di arte turca*, Naples 1965, 7-12; idem, *Byzantine theatre and Turkey in The Oxford companion to the theatre*, London 1967; A. Bombaci, *On ancient Turkish dramatic performances, in Aspects of Altaic civilisation*, Ural-Altaic Series xxiii (1963), 87-117; P. N. Boratav, 100 soruda türk halkedebiyatı, Istanbul 1969, 209-24; H. W. Duda, *Das türkische Volkstheater, in Bustan, Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft der islamischen Länder*, ii (Vienna 1961), 11-19; Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk temaşası: Meddah, Karagöz, Orta oyunu*, Istanbul 1942, 45-110; P. Kahle, *Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Ägypten*, in *Isl.*, i (1910),

264-99, ii (1911), 143-95; T. Menzel, *Schatten-theater und Orta oyunu*, Monographien des Archiv Orientalni, Vol. X, Prague 1941; H. Ritter, *Karagöz, türkische Schattenspiele*, i, Hanover 1924, ii, Istanbul 1941, iii, Wiesbaden 1953; Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz, psiko-sosyolojik bir deneme*, Istanbul 1941. There are numerous further bibliographical references in the works cited here by And, Jacob, Menzel, Bombaci, Kudret, Ritter and Siyavuşgil. For the Arab world, see J. M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, (French tr. Paris 1965, 27-59), and 'Adil Abū Şhanab, *Masrah 'arabi kadim, Karaküz*, Damascus n.d., and the bibliographies in these two works.

(P. N. BORATAV)

**KARAITES**, a Jewish sect which does not recognize the authority of the post-biblical tradition incorporated in the Talmud and in later rabbinic works. It is the only Jewish sect (not counting the Samaritans) which has survived for over 1200 years and is still in existence. The name (in Hebrew *kārā'im*, *bēne* (or *ba'āle*) *Mikrā'*; in Arabic *kārā'iyyūn*, occasionally *aşhāb 'Anān wa-Binyāmīn*) is variously explained as "readers (*kārā'*) of Scripture (*Mikrā'*)" and as "callers (to the true faith)", from the alternate meaning of *kārā'*, "to call, to invite", (cf. the *Shi'i* "callers", *du'āt*, sing. *dā'i*).

(1) History. Although Karaism as we know it, and as the Karaites themselves have always known it, is essentially the product of the intellectual and social ferment in the Jewish community of the Muslim empire, the influence of several historical factors can be discerned in the early period of its development. The basic factor was probably the ancient and uninterrupted resistance on the part of some segments of Jewry to the growing oral tradition (the Oral Law) and to the authority of its tradents and interpreters, which resulted in a number of dissident sects antedating or contemporary with the Talmudic era (Sadducees, Essenes, Qumran sectarians), all insisting on the monopoly of the Bible as the sole source of divinely inspired law. Contributing factors probably were: (1). The collapse of the messianic hopes which had been inspired by the spectacular fall of Persian and Byzantine rule and rise of the Muslim empire in the 1st/7th century, and sorrowful realization that the redemption of Zion and the end of the exile were not at hand; (2). The growing social unrest in the most populous autonomous Jewish settlement, that of 'Irāk (Babylonia), where the poorer classes of rural tenant-farmers and urban artisans and labourers felt themselves grievously oppressed by the official bureaucracy of the exilarch (*ra's al-ḡālūt*, the official representative of 'Irāki Jewry before the caliph's court) and of the *geonim* (sing. *gaon*; the presidents of the 'Irāki talmudic academies); (3). The consolidation of the vast Muslim empire, which resulted in the opening of the sparsely populated mountainous lands to the east and north of 'Irāk to settlement by discontented emigrants, both gentiles and Jews.

It was no doubt these malcontents who formed the nucleus of what later became Karaism. The earliest known sectarian leader, Abū 'Isā Obadiah ('Abd Allāh) al-Işfahāni q.v. of Isfahan, in Iran, organized an armed revolt against the government of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (65-86/685-705), but was quickly defeated and slain, although some of his followers asserted that he did not die but went into hiding, meaning that he would in due time reappear, like the *Shi'i* hidden *imām*. His successor, Yūđghān, was

likewise thought to continue in hiding until his eventual reappearance [see 'Iṣāwīyya].

By the middle of the 2nd/8th century the schism penetrated back into 'Irāk, particularly into the newly-built capital city of Baghdad, where it was joined by 'Ānān b. David, a member of the highest echelon of the rabbinic aristocracy. The traditional rabbinic account (quoted by the 6th/12th century Karaite author Elijah b. Abraham) designates him as the actual founder of Karaism and gives as his motive for secession his bitter resentment at his failure to be elected to the office of exilarch. This oversimplified story would seem to be true only to the extent that 'Ānān had lent his aristocratic and scholarly prestige to the budding schism, and what is even more important, composed the first code of schismatic law (*Sefer ha-mišwot*), which is the earliest extant Karaite literary document. His followers, called Ananites ('*Ānāniyyim*, '*Ānāniyya*), styled him exilarch, and his lineal descendants bore the title of Karaite prince (*nāšī'*); few of them, however, distinguished themselves as either leaders or scholars.

The 3rd/9th century produced several schismatic teachers, some of whom sharply criticized 'Ānān's views: Ismā'il and Miṣḥawayh al-'Ukbarī (of 'Ukbarā, in 'Irāk), Benjamin al-Nahāwandī, in Iran; the first to use the collective term Karaites), and Malik al-Ramlī (of Ramla, in Palestine). Mūsā al-Za'farānī (of the Za'farān district in Baghdad) migrated with his followers to Tiflis, in Armenia, and became known as Abū 'Imrān al-Tiflīsī. With Daniel al-Kūmisī (a native of Dāmghān, in the Iranian province of Kūmis), Karaism reached the 4th/10th century.

The surnames just listed indicate the fairly rapid territorial expansion of Karaism during this early period. Daniel al-Kūmisī was the first eminent Karaite scholar known to have settled in Jerusalem, and other Karaite communities were established in Damascus, Cairo, and other smaller towns. Zealous Karaite preachers undertook missionary journeys to seek converts among rabbinic audiences, but apparently with little success, for with the exception of 'Ānān, not a single early Karaite scholar is stated to have been a convert from rabbinism, and early Karaite writings are replete with sad complaints about the smallness and poverty of their communities. In any case, a more or less amicable *modus vivendi* prevailed for a long time between the schism and the rabbinic mother-synagogue, but in the first half of the 4th/10th century this peaceful situation came to an abrupt end. Saadiyah al-Fayyūmī (882-942 A.D.), president of the rabbinic academy at Sūrā (in 'Irāk), an exceedingly brilliant and influential scholar, published a series of polemical writings in which he condemned the Karaites as outright heretics who had cut themselves off completely from rabbinic Judaism. The effect of this sudden and unexpected blow upon the Karaites was cataclysmic: it deprived them of the only missionary field open to them, and it extinguished forever their cherished hope of eventually persuading their rabbinic cousins to return to the true—that is, Karaite—faith. No wonder their reaction was most bitter, and polemics against Saadiyah run like a scarlet thread through Karaite literature from that time on down to the 19th century.

On the other hand, the necessity to combat Saadiyah's scholarly criticism ushered in the golden age (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries) of Karaite scholarship, and brought about not only the consolidation

of the various schismatic groups into a more or less unified sect, but also some modest but highly necessary reforms which softened to some extent the rigorous burden of Karaite practice. At the same time, 'Irāk and Iran gradually lost their primacy as Karaite centres and were superseded by Jerusalem and Cairo, and new settlements were established in the Balkans (then under Byzantine rule; first half of the 5th/11th century), Cyprus (6th/12th century), Spain (where Karaism, under the leadership of Ibn al-Tarās, 5th/11th century, endured for a while but eventually disappeared entirely), Crimea (7th/13th century), and Lithuania (end of 8th/14th century). The First Crusade (1099 A.D.) put an end to all Jewish activity in Palestine and much of Syria, and the Karaite academy in Jerusalem, which had trained scholars from many countries, went out of existence. Some Karaite scholarly activity shifted to Cairo, but most of it moved to Constantinople where Greek-speaking Karaite translators turned some Arabic Karaite classics into Hebrew, thus making them accessible to later generations of Western Karaites who knew no Arabic. The liquidation of the Byzantine empire with the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 A.D. gave a new impetus to Karaite scholarship, and the Istanbul community, now Greek and Turkish-speaking, gave its spiritual support to the Crimean and Lithuanian settlements, where a Tatar dialect was, and still is, spoken. The decline of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries resulted in the rise in importance of the latter settlements, which by the end of the 18th century came under Russian rule. Soon thereafter the Russian Karaites succeeded in obtaining from the Czarist government full rights of citizenship, thus escaping the crushing restrictions which were imposed upon their rabbinic cousins. During World War II the Crimean, Polish and Lithuanian Karaites were left unmolested by the German occupational authorities, on the ground that they were ethnically not of the Jewish race. In the post-war period, however, many Karaites in Egypt and 'Irāk, including the entire ancient community in Hit (on the Euphrates), found themselves compelled to emigrate to Israel, where they settled in several compact colonies (Ramla, Ashdod, etc.). No accurate statistics of the Karaite population of the world are available; an approximate figure is 12,000—13,000.

(2). Literature. No writings by pre-Ananite schismatics have been preserved, although at least one of them, Abū 'Isā al-Iṣfahānī, reputedly illiterate (cf. Muhammad's epithet *ummī*), is said to have miraculously produced books and volumes. 'Ānān's code, written in Aramaic (the language of the Talmud), is the earliest Karaite document of which fragments have survived. Benjamin al-Nahāwandī also composed a code of law, written in Hebrew, of which only a portion has survived, as well as commentaries on some biblical books. Daniel al-Kūmisī wrote a code of law and a commentary on the Bible, likewise in Hebrew, known only in fragments. The overwhelming bulk of later literature, composed by Karaite authors resident in Muslim countries (except Turkey) down to the 15th century, was written in Arabic. After the First Crusade, the Balkan Karaite translators used a clumsy Hebrew heavily interlarded with Arabic and Greek loanwords. Later Karaite authors in Turkey, Crimea, Lithuania, and Poland, down to the 20th century, wrote in a more idiomatic Hebrew, and occasionally in the spoken Karaite-Tatar dialect, which was written in Hebrew characters.

The golden age of Karaite literary activity opened with the works of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Kirkisānī (or al-Karkasānī, of Kirkisiyā [Circesium] on the Euphrates, or Karkasān near Baghdād), a man of encyclopaedic learning and a keen analytic mind who wrote two voluminous works entitled *Kitāb al-anwār wa'l-marākīb* (code of law) and *Kitāb al-riyād wa'l-hadā'iq* (commentary on the non-legal portions of the Pentateuch). The former also provides the earliest, most detailed, and most reliable information on the sectarian leaders and groups which eventually coalesced into the unified Karaite sect, and has probably served as the chief source for all subsequent accounts, both Jewish and Muslim. His smaller works, not yet recovered, include commentaries on Genesis, Job, and Ecclesiastes, a refutation of Muḥammad's claim to prophecy (*Kitāb fī ifsād nubuwwat Muḥammad*), essays (*ḥawl*) on textual interpretation ('*ala 'l-lafsīr wa-sharḥ al-ma'ānī*) and on the art of translation ('*ala 'l-tarjūma*), and others. His younger contemporary, Salmon b. Jeroham (Sulaym, or Sulaymān, b. Ruhaym) wrote a violent tract against Saadia (only the Hebrew version, entitled *Milḥamōt ha-Shēm*, has been preserved) and commentaries in Arabic on several biblical books. The end of the 4th/10th century produced the foremost Karaite Bible-commentator, Japheth b. Eli (Abū 'Alī Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Baṣrī), who was still living in 395/1004-5 and wrote a commentary on the entire Bible, in Arabic, with a very literal and often grammatically awkward Arabic rendering of each Hebrew verse. Karaite study of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, necessitated by the Karaite preoccupation with biblical exegesis, resulted in the monumental Hebrew-Arabic dictionary (*Djāmi' al-alfāz*) by David b. Abraham al-Fāsi (of Fez, in Morocco). A zealous and expert Karaite missionary, Abū 'l-Surrī Saḥl b. Maṣliāh, wrote a long epistle in Hebrew (in which he promises to write an Arabic version also) in answer to his rabbinic opponents with whom he came in conflict, probably in Cairo. Japheth b. Eli's son, Abū Sa'īd Levi b. Japheth, followed his illustrious father in composing a series of brief exegetical glosses (*mukat*) on the Bible, as well as an authoritative code of law (composed in 397/1006-7), the latter known only under the Hebrew title of *Sēfer ha-mišwōt*.

The 5th/11th century saw the Karaite academy in Jerusalem, presided over by Joseph b. Noah (Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Nūh), in full flourish and produced a number (reputedly 70) of eminent scholars. Joseph b. Noah himself wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and a Hebrew grammar. His pupil, Aaron b. Jeshuah (Abu 'l-Faradj Hārūn b. al-Faradj), composed a grammatico-lexicographical work entitled *al-Muḥtamil*, another grammatical work entitled *al-Kāfi*, and a commentary on the Pentateuch. Another pupil of Joseph b. Noah, Joseph ha-Rō'eh (Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Baṣrī; "the Seeing", euphemistically for "the Blind"), the foremost Karaite philosopher of the 5th/11th century, composed an adaptation of the Mu'tazilī *kalām* entitled *al-Muḥtawī* (abridged by the author under the title *Kitāb al-tamyīz* or *al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī*), and a code of law entitled *Kitāb al-istibṣār*. Joseph ha-Rō'eh's advocacy of the relaxation of the suicidal severity of the original Karaite law of incest was developed further by his pupil Jeshuah b. Judah (Abu 'l-Faradj Furkān b. Asad) in a work known only in its Hebrew translation entitled *Sēfer ha-'ārāyōt*; he also composed several theologico-philosophical works.

The First Crusade marked the transfer of the

centre of Karaite literary activity to the Balkans, where Hebrew was the literary vehicle, with a secondary branch in Egypt, where Arabic continued to be the literary language. The two most eminent Byzantine translators, Tobiah b. Moses and Jacob b. Simeon, turned a number of Karaite Arabic classics into Hebrew. Judah Hadassī (of Edessa, the modern Urfa, in Turkey, near the Syrian border) compiled a large encyclopedia (begun in 1148 A.D.) of early Karaite learning entitled *Eshkōl ha-kōfer*. Jacob b. Reuben wrote a commentary on the Bible, mainly compiled from older Arabic-writing authors, entitled *Sēfer hā-'ōsher*. In Egypt, Karaite efforts to write Hebrew poetry produced (about the middle of the 6th/12th century) the most eminent poet of the earlier period, Moses Dar'ī (of Dar'a, in Morocco, but born in Alexandria, Egypt), who imitated, not very successfully, the great rabbinic poets of the Spanish school, and left an extensive *diwān* of poetic pieces, both religious and secular. Japheth (Hasan b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan) al-Barkamānī, who lived in the middle of the 7th/13th century, wrote in Arabic a medical work (*al-Makāla al-Muḥsiniyya fī hiṣṣ al-ṣiḥḥa al-badamiyya*) and a polemical treatise. Israel ha-Ma'ārābī (al-Maghribī), an eminent theologian and jurist in Cairo (first half of the 8th/14th century), wrote a number of works in Arabic. Samuel b. Moses al-Maghribī completed in 837/1434 a concise code of law entitled *al-Murshid* (the last Karaite code written in Arabic), and David b. al-Hitī (of Hit, on the Euphrates), his younger contemporary, wrote a brief but valuable Arabic chronicle of Karaite scholars from 'Ānān down to his own time. Some eighty years earlier a lesser poet, Moses b. Samuel of Ṣafad, in Palestine, left a *diwān* of Hebrew poems, in which the most interesting piece is a long epic poem describing his troubled career as clerk (*ḥātib*) in charge of the private estates of the amir of Damascus and his forced conversion (in 755/1354) to Islam and pilgrimage to Mecca; he finally escaped to Egypt, where he seems to have returned to his ancestral faith.

In Byzantine Karaism, the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries marked a substantial literary revival. Aaron b. Joseph (Aaron the Elder) wrote (after 691/1292) a much esteemed philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch (*Sēfer ha-mibḥār*), but is equally renowned also for his redaction of the official Karaite liturgy, in which he included a number of poetic hymns, many of his own composition. Another Aaron, Aaron b. Elijah (Aaron the Younger, of Nicomedia, the modern Izmit, in Asia Minor; d. 770/1369), produced a complete *summa* of Karaite theology, in three parts, philosophical ('*Eṣ ḥayyim*, obviously intended as the Karaite counterpart of Maimonides' *Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn*), legal (*Gan 'Eden*), and exegetical (*Keter Tōrah*). In the 9th/15th century, Elijah Baṣḥyā'ci, *ḥāḥām* (rabbi) of the Istanbul Karaite community, died in 895/1490, leaving behind him an unfinished code of law entitled *Adderet Eliyyāhū*, which was continued, but not completed, by his brother-in-law Caleb Afendopolo (d. after 1522 A.D.), an encyclopaedic scholar in his own right. It was recognized by most Karaites as the most authoritative manual of their law and ritual.

The decline of the Ottoman empire once more shifted the centre of Karaite literary activity, this time to the Crimea, Lithuania and Poland. The town of Troki (near Wilna, in Lithuania) produced its most famous Karaite son, Isaac b. Abraham (d. 1594 A.D. [1586?]), whose tract against Christianity, entitled *Hizzūḥ emūnāh*, evoked Voltaire's praise for



its skill and acumen. The interest shown in Karaism, from the middle of the 17th century onward, by Protestant theologians (Johann Rittangel, Gustav Peringer, Johann Puffendorf, Lewin Warner, Jacob Trigland and others) resulted in several works by their Karaite informants, setting forth, of course from the partisan Karaite point of view, the history of the Karaite secession from the mother-synagogue, the elements of Karaite belief, and the history of Karaite literature: *Appiryōn*, by Solomon b. Aaron of Troki (d. 1745 A.D.); *Dōd Mordekay* and *Lebūsh malkūt*, by Mordecai b. Nisan of Kukizōw (near Lvōv, in Polish Galicia). The Karaite community of Lutsk, in Volhynia, produced the first Karaite bibliographer, Simḥah Isaac b. Moses (d. 1766 A.D.), whose *Ner (Orah) ṣaddīkīm*, a history of Karaism, has an appendix containing a list of Karaite writers and their works. He also wrote an extensive commentary on Aaron the Younger's philosophical 'Eṣ ḥayyim.

The most eminent Karaite author of the 19th century was Abraham Firkovič (1785-1874). Armed with the official authorization of the Russian government, he travelled extensively in the Crimea, the Caucasus, Syro-Palestine and Egypt, gathering original materials for the history of the Karaites. Unfortunately, in his zeal to prove that the Karaites had left Palestine before the advent of Jesus and therefore had no part in his crucifixion, he permitted himself to tamper with dates in manuscripts and on tombstones, and thus blemished his otherwise well-founded reputation for scholarship. The mass of manuscripts he collected (sometimes, to be sure, in a rather highhanded fashion) was later acquired by the Leningrad Public Library, and forms one of the largest, though least utilized, Karaite manuscript collections in the world. His older contemporary, Mordecai Sultansky (d. 1862), composed a number of works, the best known being *Zēker ṣaddīkīm*, valuable as a detailed specimen of the present-day official Karaite version of the sect's history and its relationship to the rabbinic mother-synagogue.

(3). Dogma and Practice. Aside from the rejection of the authority of the post-biblical tradition, there is no basic divergence between Karaite and rabbinic dogmatics. The Karaite creed, as formulated in ten articles by Elijah Bashyāčī (9th/15th century), postulates the existence of God, Creator of the world and all that is in it, the divine inspiration of all the biblical prophets, the authority of the Torah and the duty of the believer to study it, the certainty of the resurrection of the dead and of the final judgment, the responsibility of each human being for his own deeds, and the eventual advent of the Messiah. An earlier Arabic creed ('*Aḥā'id*'), formulated by Israel ha-Ma'ārābī (8th/14th century), still adhered to by the Egyptian Karaites, has only six articles, and omits all mention of the Messiah—a puzzling peculiarity for which no satisfactory explanation has so far been suggested. None of these articles of faith conflicts with rabbinic teachings.

In fact the Karaite rejection of postbiblical tradition and the cry "Back to the Bible!" already proved impractical as early as the time of 'Ānān, who found himself compelled to deduce new laws from the biblical text by the method of analogy (Hebrew *hekkēsh*, Arabic *kiyās*), supposedly borrowed by him from the *imām* Abū Ḥanīfa, whom he is said to have met in prison. Life in the social and economic milieu of the Muslim empire simply could not, as a practical matter, be governed by a code of law enacted in Palestine a thousand or more years

earlier. 'Ānān's successor as the second *pater synagogae*, Benjamin al-Nahāwandī, freely borrowed from talmudic law. In this manner the monopoly of the Bible was gradually extended into the three official basic sources of Karaite law; the scriptural text (Hebrew *kātūb*, Arabic *naṣṣ*), analogy based on it, and the consensus of the successive generations of scholars (Hebrew *ḥibbūš*, 'ēdāh [inspired by the Arabic 'āda?], later *sēbel ha-yērūshāh*, "burden of inheritance"; Arabic *idimā'*), the latter term covering laws which have no direct or indirect root in the Bible, but which are not contrary to it or to reason and logic, and have been accepted by the generality of scholars after exhaustive study (*naṣar*, *baḥth*). The early Karaite leaders developed a strong centrifugal tendency, expressed in the maxim attributed to 'Ānān, "Search thoroughly in the Torah, and rely not on my opinion", and recognized the right of every individual, within certain limits, to draw his own conclusions from his own study of Scripture and to abide by them. But time and experience modified this tendency, too, and produced more or less general obedience to prevalent scholarly opinion, at least in the particular country or region. In matters of philosophy of religion, the earlier Karaite scholars chose to accept the Mu'tazilī *kalām* almost in its entirety, and the later philosophical writers felt duty-bound to stand by their predecessors and permitted themselves only as few deviations from them as possible. There was thus in Karaism no such further progression to Neo-Platonism and Aristotelianism as occurred in rabbinic philosophy.

The intense and impatient nationalistic-messianic tendency which inspired Abū 'Isā's armed revolt (1st/7th century) against the Muslim authorities subsequently subsided into a no less intense but more peaceful longing for an end to the exile and for the restoration of Zion in all its glory. One result of this was the unceasing and rather touching effort on the part of the Karaites to maintain at least a small representative community of pious individuals in Jerusalem, who by prayer, fasting, and other devotional exercises besought God to "hasten the end". Some of these Karaite pietists belonged to the ascetic order of "Mourners for Zion" (Hebrew *Ābēlē Ṣiyyōn*), which included rabbinic members as well. Another consequence of this powerful messianic feeling was the rather sombre and cheerless tone of the Karaite way of life, in which the elements of joy and pleasure inherent in such ancient institutions as Sabbath and Passover were as far as possible excluded, as incompatible with the sad plight of Israel in exile. Yet at the same time the usual concomitant of messianism, mysticism, which eventually came to flourish in rabbinic intellectual circles, was roundly condemned by Karaite scholars as impious and wicked.

It is in practical theology that Karaism parts ways with rabbinic usage, and here the earmark of Karaism is greater rigour and rejection of such relaxations or extensions of biblical law as were introduced by the rabbis in order to conform with changing public opinion and changing circumstances—for example, the replacement of the *lex talionis* by monetary compensation, the extension of the interdict of seething a kid's flesh in its mother's milk into an extensive dietary legislation, the substitution of a fixed mathematical calendar for the visual observation of the phases of the moon, etc. Hence radical reform, in the modern sense, could never gain a foothold in Karaism. The only change resembling such basic reform was the modest

liberalization by Jeshuah b. Judah (5th/11th century) of the suicidal so-called catenary (Hebrew *rikkûb*, Arabic *tarkîb*) theory of incest, which by endless compounding of analogy upon analogy to the forbidden relatives listed in the Bible had made it increasingly difficult for Karaites to find mates whom they could lawfully marry. A few other milder reforms were vigorously resisted and were adopted only locally under the pressure of practical conditions of life—for example, the relaxation of the biblical prohibition of all fire on the Sabbath, to permit lighting of the synagogue on Sabbath eve and leaving fire in ovens (kindled before the onset of the Sabbath) for heating of homes and keeping food warm during the Sabbath day, matters of vital necessity during the severe winters in Poland and Russia; or the introduction of a mixed visual and mathematical calendar, in order to secure at least some uniformity of holy days in the northern climes, where observation of the new moon is often impossible. Even with all these minor reforms, Karaite law still remains far more restrictive than rabbinic law in matters of marriage (levirate marriage is forbidden), inheritance (the husband has no right to his deceased wife's estate), diet, Sabbath rest, ritual cleanliness, dates of holidays (Pentecost is fixed invariably on a Sunday, a custom which appears to be one of the most ancient earmarks of Jewish sectarianism), etc. Mixed marriages between Karaite and rabbinic parties seem, curiously enough, to have been quite frequent in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries in Egypt and Syria, even among the upper echelons of Jewish society, and in such instances clauses were added in the marriage contract to safeguard the right of each party to observe the customs of his or her faith. Later on, however, the practice dwindled and such mixed marriages became quite rare. Polygamy was never explicitly forbidden by Karaite law (as it was by western rabbinic law), but seems to have been quite rare even in Muslim countries, and was certainly impossible in the West, where the law of the land (recognized by both Karaites and rabbinic Jews as binding) forbade it.

The codification of the Karaite liturgy by Aaron the Elder (7th/13th century) has been mentioned above. Originally Karaite rigorism led to an insistence that all formal prayer must consist exclusively of biblical psalmody, and the rabbinic practice of complementing biblical prayers with prose prayers and versified hymns composed by later authors was therefore condemned. But the passage of time and the example of the elaborate and poetically rich rabbinic prayerbook made their influence felt, and Aaron's order of prayer, supplemented by later additions in prose and verse, has finally developed into the voluminous liturgical corpus that it is today.

The relationship of Karaism to the older Jewish sects, particularly the Sadducees and the Dead Sea community, on the one hand, and to Islam, particularly Shi'ism, on the other, is still very obscure. Similarities and dissimilarities can be easily cited in both respects. The nature of Karaism as we know it, as the product of the Muslim milieu, makes it highly likely that, while it represents another link in the ancient chain of Jewish heterodoxy, it is certainly not, at least chronologically, a direct heir to its Jewish sectarian predecessors. Nor has it ever made any visible attempt at *Gleichschaltung* with Islam—every feature of Karaism is, at any rate as far as we can judge in the present state of our knowledge, a genuine product of Jewish history, Jewish tradition and Jewish thought.

(4). Printing. Unlike the rabbinic Jews, who eagerly seized upon Gutenberg's invention and produced a flood of printed books from the 1470s down to the present day, the Karaites ignored the printing press until well into the 18th century. The earliest Karaite printed book, an edition of the liturgy, was set up by rabbinic typesetters in 1528-9 A.D. at the Christian press of Daniel Bomberg in Venice. The second Karaite book was an edition of Bashyâcî's *Adderet Êliyyâhû*, printed at Istanbul in 1530-1 A.D. by Gershom, a member of the great rabbinic family of masterprinters, the Soncinos. Two smaller Karaite books appeared in 1581-2 A.D., likewise in Istanbul, from an unnamed but probably rabbinic press. In the 17th century only one Karaite book was published, that in 1643 A.D. by the rabbinic press of Manasseh ben Israel (the correspondent of Oliver Cromwell) at Amsterdam.

The first Karaite printers were the brothers Afdah (Afidah) and Shabbethai Yērākā, who in 1733 issued a few sample sheets of the liturgy at Istanbul, but subsequently moved to Çufut-Kale in the Crimea, where they published a few books in 1734-41, whereupon they apparently went out of business. In 1804, soon after the Crimea was annexed by Russia, a new press was organized, likewise in Çufut-Kale, and four more books were issued from it in 1804-6. The first more or less successful Karaite press was established in 1833 at Eupatoria (Gozlow), also in the Crimea, and published a series of important old texts.

The reason for this neglect of the printing press by the Karaites can only be conjectured. Presumably it was their traditional dislike of innovations, however beneficial, and the very limited circle of prospective purchasers of books, which made printing a philanthropic undertaking rather than a minimally profitable business.

*Bibliography:* No authoritative general history of Karaism is in existence, and the older works by J. Fürst (*Geschichte des Karäerthums*, Leipzig 1862-9) and W. H. Rule (*History of the Karaite Jews*, London 1870) must be used with great caution. Z. Cahn's *The rise of the Karaite sect*, New York 1937, is devoid of any value. The only reliable general sketches are those of S. Poznanski in *Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, vii, 662-72, and I. Markon in *Encyclopaedia judaica*, ix, 923-45, revised and augmented by L. Nemoy in *Encyclopaedia judaica* [in English], x, 761-85. S. Pinsker's *Likkûê haâmōniyyōt*, Vienna 1860, is still valuable only for the original texts published in it for the first time. J. Mann's *Texts and studies*, ii: *Karaitica*, Philadelphia 1935, is a veritable thesaurus of documents and studies, but the major portion of it is devoted to the modern period after 1500 A.D. R. Mahler's *Karaimer*, New York 1947, is a Marxist-oriented interpretation of Karaism as a movement for political and socio-economic liberation; it is, however, a timely counterweight to the older predominantly theological view of Karaite history, and points out the great need to investigate more fully the social and economic factors in the sect's history. The history of the Arabic literature of the Karaites is included in M. Steinschneider's *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfurt-on-Main 1902 (addenda by Poznanski in *OLZ*, vii, 1904), which obviously does not include a number of important texts published after that year. Karaite anti-Saadian polemics are sketched in S. Poznanski's *The Karaite literary opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, London 1908. B. Revel's *The Karaite halakah*, i

(all published), Philadelphia 1913, is somewhat antiquated. L. Nemoy, *Karaite anthology*, New Haven 1952, offers an annotated English translation of extracts from some of the most important texts prior to 1500 A.D. The principal Karaite philosophical writers are discussed in I. Husik's *A history of medieval Jewish philosophy*, New York 1916. P. S. Goldberg's *Karaite liturgy and its relation to synagogue worship*, Manchester 1957, is a useful comparative study, but is based solely on Hebrew Karaite sources, leaving the Arabic sources (particularly al-Kirkisānī's order of the liturgy; L. Nemoy, *The liturgy of al-Qirkisānī*, in *Studies . . . in honor of I. Edward Kiev*, New York 1971) entirely out of consideration. See also S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*, New York 1957, v, 209-85, 388-416 (for further references to Karaism see index to volumes i-viii, New York 1960); Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, New York 1959; N. Wieder, *The Judean scrolls and Karaism*, London 1962; A. Paul, *Écrits de Qumran et sectes juives aux premiers siècles de l'Islam: recherches sur l'origine du Qarāisme*, Paris 1969 (defends more or less the traditional role of 'Ānān as the founder of Karaism and the direct connexion between Karaism and Qumran); S. Poznanski, *Karaische Drucke und Druckereien* (unfinished), in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, xxi-xxii (1918-20). The Arab accounts of Karaism (in the works of al-Birūnī, al-Shahrastānī, al-Makrizī and others) are all based on uncritical data supplied by Karaite informants and often misunderstood and distorted, and are therefore of little if any historical value.

(L. NEMOY)

(5). The Karaites in Eastern Europe. Apart from Karaite settlements in the Byzantine empire, from around the 9th century Karaism began to disseminate in the western areas of the Khazar Kaghānate. In the early years of the 20th century, there were still members of the confession among the Slavs, in a group of Kuban Cossacks. The main bulk of the Karaites in these areas, however, was of Turkic origin, the name of their creed having become at the same time an ethnonym (qaray, pl. qaraylar; karaim, karaimi, karaml in Polish and Russian; the language is called qaray tili, qarayča, karaimča). Since the 11th century the Karaites lived for the most part in the south of Crimea; as farmers, artisans and merchants, they enjoyed a privileged position in the Crimean Khānate, both from judicial and economic aspects. Their communities at Mangup and Kırk-yer were described in 1666 by the famous Turkish traveller Ewliyā Çelebi [q.v.]. In the late 14th century Vitold, Grand-Duke of Lithuania, settled some of the Crimean Karaites in his lands during his wars against the Tatars. They served in his guard in his capital, Troki, and were garrisoned in his strongholds on the border; here, too, they were granted land and privileges as well as an autonomous communal organisation. There are good grounds for believing that they spread from Lithuania southwards, settling at Luck, Lvov, and Halicz. By the end of the 17th century, the Polish and Lithuanian areas comprised 32 communities in all. Without severing their ties with the Crimea and Istanbul, Karaites here (mainly in Lvov and Halicz) were engaged also in ransoming Polish prisoners of war from Muslim captivity and in trade with the East. The epidemics and wars of the 17th and 18th centuries gradually reduced their smaller settlements. At the present day, compact Karaim communities

survive at Luck, Halicz, Panevežys, Troki, and (since the 19th century) in Vilna.

For many years the main Karaite centre was at Kırk-yer, where in 1731 a Karaite printing-press was established. When the Crimean Khānate fell, contacts between the Crimean communities and those in Lithuania and Poland became stronger, resulting in the gradual Europeanisation of the Crimean Karaites. In the 19th century their main centre was at Gözleve (Eupatoria), where in 1837 the Tauridian Karaite Religious Board was established, and later a Karaite religious college and library. On Lithuanian territories (integrated from the end of the 18th century with the Crimea), a separate Karaite religious board was established in 1857 at Troki. When, with the end of World War I, Poland regained its independence, Troki maintained its sway over the Panevežys community in Lithuania and extended it to Halicz, a centre formerly isolated from the others (under Austrian rule). The Troki and Crimean Karaites resumed regular relations after World War II, while on the other hand a separate Karaite Religious Board was established in 1945 in Poland (Warsaw). After World War I, groups of Crimean Karaites went to settle in other European countries (chiefly in Paris). One outstanding leader was S. Szapszal (1873-1961), elected head of the Religious Board at Troki (1927), who contributed largely to the organization of Karaite communal life.

Anthropological research carried out on Karaites in Poland and Lithuania (mainly by C. Gini, 1936) revealed their resemblance to the Tchuvas, evidence supporting the recognition of the Karaites of Eastern Europe as a Turkic nation converted to Karaism. Their language belongs to the Kıpçak sub-group of the Turkic family. West-Karaim, somewhat different from that of Crimean Karaim, has two dialects; the northern (Troki, Panevežys, and Vilna), and the southern (Luck and Halicz). Both in its vocabulary and syntax it shows numerous borrowings from Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Slavonic languages and Lithuanian. In Karaite folklore there are visible traces of historic relations with the Khazars [q.v.] (Hazar oghlu and Hazar biy[i] in Crimean songs) and many wholly Turkic elements, such as the initial formula bir bar edi in a lullaby, many riddles and proverbs. In their general culture there are also similar vestiges of a Khazarian past (talkı, an original dough-kneading device; the dishes hazar helväs̄l or hazar kaymağhl "Khazar helvā", served at times of mourning occasions; qatlama, a seven-layered cheese cake, etc.).

For centuries the main intellectual interest of the Karaites has been their religion. Apart from Hebrew, their scholars also wrote in the Karaim language: translations of the Bible, remarkable for their omission of anthropomorphic definitions of the divine attributes, and also original works. In the cultural field, the influence of the Christian world (in Poland) and of the Muslim (in Crimea) was felt. Towards the end of the 19th century secular works also began to appear, the most prominent Karaite authors writing in Karaim being I. Erak (Crimea, 19th century), Z. Abrahamowicz (Halicz, 1878-1903), S. Kobecki (Troki, 1865-1933), A. Mardkowicz (Luck, 1875-1944), J. Lobanos (Vilna, 1878-1947), and S. Firkovič (Troki, b. 1897). There were several Karaite periodicals, published in Russian (*Karaimskaya Zhizn'*; *Karaimskoe Slovo*), Polish (*Mysł Karaimska*) and Karaim (*Sahyszymyz*, "Our Thought", Vilna 1927; *Karaj Awazy*, "The Karaim Voice", Luck, 1931-38; *Onarmach*, "Development",

Panevežys, 1937-39). Several Karaites in East Europe devoted themselves to Turkic studies (S. Szapszal, A. Zajaczkowski, and others).

*Bibliography*: Ewliya Ćelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, vii, Istanbul 1928, 584-5, 588-9; Z. A. Firković (ed.) *Sbornik starinnikh gramot i uzakoneniy Rossiyskoy Imperii kasatel' no prav i sostoyaniya russko-poddannikh karaimov*, St.-Petersburg 1890; C. Cini, *I Caraïmi di Polonia e Lituania*, in *Genus* ii/1-2, Rome 1936, 1-56; J. Grzegorzewski, *Ein türk-tatarischer Dialekt in Galizien*, in *SB Ak. Wien* cxlxvi (1903), 1-80; T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*, Cracow 1929; A. Mardkovicz, *Karaj Sez-bitigi—Karaimisches Wörterbuch*, Luck 1935; K. M. Musayev, *Grammatika karaimskogo yazyka*, Moscow 1964; O. Pritsak, *Das Karaimische*, in *PTF* i, 318-40; W. Radloff, *Proben der Volklliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, vii, St.-Petersburg 1896; D. Sidersky, *Le Caraïsme et ses doctrines*, in *RHR* cxiv (1936), 197-221; S. Şapszal, *Kırım Karai Türkleri*, in *Türk Yılı*, Istanbul 1928; A. Zajaczkowski, *Karaims in Poland*, Warsaw-The Hague-Paris 1961; idem, *Die karaimische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 793-801; idem, *Krótki wykład gramatyki języka zachodnio-karaimskiego (narzecze luchohalicckie)*, Luck 1931. (W. ZAJACZKOWSKI)

**AL-KARAK**, a fortress situated to the east of the Dead Sea, in the ancient Moab and at an altitude of ca. 3,000 feet. The name comes from Aramaic *karḥhā* "town" and is found in the form *καραχωββα* in Ptolemy (v, 16, 4), on the mosaic map of Mādaba and in Stephen of Byzantium. Its situation on a steep-sided spur, separated from the mountain by a narrow and artificially-deepened moat, makes it an extraordinarily strong site. It is remarkable that we do not hear of it at the time of the Muslim conquest of the lands east of the Jordan, nor in the ensuing centuries. It is only at the time of the Crusades, when in 1142 it was fortified by King Fulk's former cup-bearer Payen, that it began to play a role, but this was now a very prominent one. The Franks of that time, being little versed in geography, sought to localise the ancient Petra there and called it *Petra deserti*. Since this stronghold dominated the pilgrim route from Damascus and the caravan way between Syria and Egypt, it caused the Muslims much trouble. It was during the period 1176-87, when it was in the hands of Reynaud of Châtillon, that it constituted a particular menace for the Muslim lands; it was at this time that Reynaud sent his expedition southwards towards Arabia, and although this failed, it caused great anxiety to the Muslims, who saw in it an attack against the Holy Cities, when it was rather an action impelled by economic motives.

From 565/1170 the fortress began to suffer siege by Nūr al-Dīn and the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who aimed at restoring the authority of the Muslims in al-Karak. They had no success until finally, as a result of starvation, the garrison surrendered in 584/1188 to Saladin's brother al-Malik al-Ādil, and it again fell within the latter's share of territory in the division of Saladin's possessions after his death. It then belonged to various members of the Ayyūbid family, and even after the various Ayyūbid principalities had gradually disappeared, the *amir al-Mughith* 'Umar still held out in al-Karak until Baybars captured him by treachery and had him executed in 661/1263.

The Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir found refuge within the fortress's mighty walls in 708/1309 when he fled

from Cairo in order to make firm his royal power. Al-Karak was at that time the *chef-lieu* of one of the *mamlakas* into which Syria and Palestine were then divided. The descriptions of Arabic authors show us how powerful the fortress was at that time; the local inhabitants were still in part Christian. Al-Karak lost its importance under Ottoman rule. In 1840 it was occupied by Ibrāhīm Paṣḥa, who had part of the ramparts destroyed; thereafter it was re-occupied by the Ottomans, who after 1893 erected there various public buildings. As the centre of an administrative district, al-Karak had in 1973 ca. 10,000 inhabitants. It is at times difficult to distinguish, both in the town and in the adjacent fortress, the traces of the Crusaders and of subsequent Islamic constructions, both of which are built upon ancient substructures. However, it is certain that the donjon and the external wall surrounding the lower courtyard are Muslim in origin and date to the time of Baybars.

*Bibliography*: Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration a la Mer Morte*, Paris 1871-6, i, 99 ff., ii, 106 ff.; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1907-8, i, 45-62; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1938, ii, 418-19; *Blue Guide, the Middle East*, Paris 1966, 555-6; P. Deschamps, *Les châteaux des Croisés en Terre-Sainte*, ii. *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem*, Paris 1939, 35-98; W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter im heiligen Land*, Munich-Berlin 1966, 49-50; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, index; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany 1972, index; N. Eliséeff, *Nur ad-Din*, Beirut 1967, index; H. L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, index; *RCEA*, nos. 3801, 3965, 4733, 4734.

Arabic sources: A. S. Marmadji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, s.v.; Yākūt, iv, 622; Ibn D̄jūbayr, *Rihla*, index; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, index; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, Cairo 1953-60, index; 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, tr. H. Massé, Paris 1972, index; *Dimashki*, ed. Mehren, 213; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i, 255; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, index; *Khalil al-Zāhiri, Zubdat kaṣf al-mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1894; R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Ḥalil al-Zāhiris Zubdat kaṣf al-mamālik*, Tübingen 1907, 44-5; J. Gaulmier, *La Zubda Kachf al-Mamalik de Khalil al-Zahiri*, Beirut 1950, index. (D. SOURDEL)

**KARAK NŪḤ**, a village in the Biḳā' of Lebanon, situated at the foot of Mount Lebanon not far from Zahlé on the road to Ba'labakk. Authors of the Ayyūbid period call it al-Karak, but then in the Mamlūk period it was called Karak NūḤ. It was actually considered as the locality of the prophet NūḤ's tomb, which is still shown and which was apparently already mentioned in the 4th/10th century by the geographer al-Muḳaddasī. The structure which is considered to contain the stone cenotaph of NūḤ and which is unusually long, adjoins an oratory with three bays, on the walls and columns of which have been carved, at the end of the 8th/14th century, various Mamlūk period inscriptions recording the construction of the building and also decrees concerning the abolition of taxes. The presence of these last is explicable by the fact that Karak NūḤ was in the Mamlūk period the *chef-lieu* of the district of the two Biḳā'.

*Bibliography*: J. Sourdél-Thomine, *Inscrip-*

*tions arabes de Karak Nūh*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-50), 71-84 (with references to the geographers and travellers). (D. SOURDEL)

**AL-KARAKĪ**, NŪR AL-DĪN 'ALĪ B. AL-HUSAYN B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-'ĀLĪ AL-'ĀMILĪ, Imāmī scholar, born probably not later than 870/1466 into a family of scholars. His *nisba* al-Karakī refers to Karak Nūh in al-Biḳā', where he studied religious sciences, chiefly under 'Alī b. Hilāl al-Djazā'irī. He also visited Egypt and heard some Sunnī scholars there. Around 909/1504 he settled in al-Nad̄jaf, and in winter 910/1504-5 he was probably present at the court of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl in Iṣfahān. Along with other Imāmī scholars from al-Nad̄jaf, in 916-17/1510-11 he accepted an invitation to Harāt and Mashhad extended Shāh Ismā'īl with the purpose of enlisting their help in propagating Imāmism in the newly conquered eastern provinces of Persia. Shāh Ismā'īl is reported later to have sent him 70,000 *dīnārs* annually to al-Nad̄jaf for expenditure on teaching and for distribution among students. Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who succeeded Ismā'īl in 930/1524, he paid at least two extended visits to the Ṣafawid court. Shāh Ṭahmāsp recognized him officially as the Seal of the *Mudjtahids* (*Khātām al-mudjtahidīn*) and the Deputy of the *Imām* (*nā'ib al-imām*) and gave him full authority to direct the government in matters of religion. Al-Karakī instructed the governors concerning the assessment of the land tax, ordered the removal of Sunnī scholars and the appointment of Shī'ī *imāms* to lead the prayers and instruct the public everywhere, and had the *ḳibla* rectified in several Persian towns in accordance with his views on geodesy. He defended these latter views in a dispute with the *ṣadr* Ghīyāth al-Dīn al-Daṣhtakī. Shāh Ṭahmāsp, taking the side of al-Karakī, dismissed Ghīyāth al-Dīn in 938/1531-2 and on the recommendation of al-Karakī appointed a student of the latter, Mu'izz al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, in his place. During the interim before the arrival of Mu'izz al-Dīn at the court, al-Karakī acted as *ṣadr* and appointed his deputies and agents. This situation is perhaps reflected in a *firmān* of 939/1532-3 quoted in the sources in which Shāh Ṭahmāsp granted him the exclusive authority of appointing and deposing religious officials in the Ṣafawid kingdom and conferred on him as a hereditary *wakf* extensive land holdings in the area of al-Nad̄jaf valued at 700 *tūmāns* annually. Al-Karakī died in Dhu 'l-Hiǧd̄jda 940/July 1534 in al-Nad̄jaf.

Some of al-Karakī's commentaries on earlier legal works, like al-Muḥaḳḳīk al-Hillī's *Sharā'i' al-islām*, became popular books of instruction. His *Risālat al-Dja'fariyya*, on the rules of the ritual prayer, had commentaries written on it by several scholars during his lifetime and was translated into Persian. Other of his writings aroused controversy. In his *Risālat ḳāfi'at al-laǧǧādī fi taḳḳīk ḳill al-ḳharādī* he upheld the legality of government grants of *ḳharādī* land and thus defended himself against criticism levelled at him for accepting such grants. The treatise was refuted by his sharp-tongued opponent in al-Nad̄jaf Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaṭīfī, who also wrote refutations of some of his other treatises, among them the *Risāla fi ṣalāt al-ǧum'a* in which al-Karakī upheld that the congregational Friday prayer was obligatory during the absence (*ghayba*) of the *Imām* if a qualified legal scholar was present. In his *Risālat nafaḳāt al-lāhūt fi la'n al-ǧibt wa 'l-fāghūt* he asserted the permissibility of cursing Abū Bakr and 'Umar, thus defending the early Ṣafawid practice, though other Imāmī scholars objected to this practice as a breach

of *taḳīyya*. With the exception of this last question, later Imāmī opinion generally upheld his views against his critics and gave him the honorary surname of al-Muḥaḳḳīk al-Thānī.

Sunnī anti-Ṣafawid polemics singled him out among Imāmī scholars for attack and variously accused him of being a Druze, of having concocted a new religion from the heresies of all other erring Muslim sects, of having converted Shāh Ismā'īl to his "false religion", and of having abolished the canonical prayers in Persia; but these accusations are without foundation.

*Bibliography*: Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C. N. Seddon, i, Baroda 1931, 190, 253-6, 304, 313, 398; al-Tafrīshī, *Naḥd al-rijāl*, Tehran 1318, 238; Nūr Allāh Shushṭarī, *Madjālis al-mu'minīn*, Tehran 1299, 34, 241, 340 f.; al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-āmīl*, ed. Aḥmad al-Husaynī, Baghdād 1385, i, 121 f.; al-Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm, al-Nad̄jaf 1386/1966, 151-4; al-Kh'wānsārī, *Rawḳāt al-djānnāt*, Tehran 1367, 390-4; Muḥsin al-Amin, *A'yān al-shi'a*, xli, Beirut n.d., 174-87; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dhari'a ilā taṣāniḳ al-shi'a*, v, Tehran 1363, 72 f. Several of his *idjāzas* are published in al-Mad̄jisi, *Bihār al-anwār*, cviii, Tehran 1391, 40-84. See also J. Matuz, *L'accession au pouvoir des Safawides, en Iranica*, iv (1966), 33 f.; E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg i. Br. 1970, index s.v. 'Abd al-'Alī; E. Glassen, *Shah Ismā'īl I. und die Theologen seine Zeit*, in *Isl.* xlviii (1972), 262-8. (W. MADELUNG)

**KARAKALPAK** (Turkic "black hat"), a Turkic people of Central Asia. In the Russian annals, a people of this name (Černiye Klobutsi) is mentioned as early as the 12th century A.D.; but whether these "black hats" are identical with the modern Karakalpak cannot be definitely ascertained. It is not until the end of the 11th/17th century that there are records of the Karakalpak in Central Asia. According to the embassy report of Skibin and Troshin (1694), they then lived on the Sīr Daryā, 10 days' journey below the town of Turkeṣtān. There they are again mentioned in the 12th/18th century as neighbours of the land of the Khāns of Khīwa; in ca. 1722 a treaty was concluded by the ambassador Vershinin between Peter the Great and the Khān of the Karakalpak, Abu 'l-Muzaḳfar Sa'ādat 'Ināyat Muḥammad Bahādūr (*Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonov*, 1722, no. 4101). At that time the Karakalpak lived not only by herding and raiding but also by agriculture—with artificial irrigation of their fields—and by fishing in the Aral Sea. They are said to have migrated to Central Asia from the Volga region. About the middle of the 12th/18th century the winter quarters of a group of Karakalpak were on the central course of the Sīr Daryā at Khawās (north of Ura-Tūbe); the prince (*tura*) of these Karakalpak entered into an alliance in 1168/1755 with the Atalk of Buḳhārā, Muḥammad Raḥīm; 3,000 Karakalpak families were settled at Samarḳand. The Karakalpak are said to have been driven out of the lower valley of the Sīr Daryā by the Qazaḳ towards the end of the 12th/18th century; they are still mentioned in the 19th century a little farther south on the Yeñi Daryā in connection with the campaigns of Muḥammad Raḥīm, Khān of Khīwa, against the land of the Kungrat (1222-6/1807-11). The Karakalpak were then subject to the Khān of Kungrat. After the union of Kungrat with

**Khīwa** (1226/1811) the Karakalpak too had to submit to the **Khān** of **Khīva**. They made frequent attempts to throw off this yoke; in 1827 they even captured and held the town of Kungrat for a time. After the suppression of this uprising, a body of them migrated to Farghāna. In 1855 the leader of the rebel Karakalpak, Ir-Nazar-bi, adopted the title of **Khan**, building a fortress near where the **Qazak** river flows into the Aral Sea.

After the Russian conquest of **Khīwa** in 1873, when the **Khān** had to cede to Russia all his possessions east of the main arm of the Amū Daryā and the most north-westerly arm of its delta, the land of the Karakalpak became Russian. The area, then separated from **Khīva**, was first administered as a separate department (*otdyel*), and later as part of the "government" of Sīr Daryā. On 11 May 1925 the Karakalpak Autonomous Oblast' was formed as part of the Qazak A.S.S.R.; on 20 March 1932 its status was changed to an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (A.S.S.R.); and on 5 December 1936 this A.S.S.R. was transferred to the Uzbek S.S.R.. The capital of the Karakalpak A.S.S.R. is Nukus. The Karakalpak, who at the time of the Revolution were on the verge of being totally assimilated by the Qazak (and to a lesser extent by the Uzbek), were preserved as a distinct group by the Soviet régime. Linguistically the Karakalpak language is merely a dialect of Qazak; their tribal divisions are the same as that of the Qazak. Karakalpak was first written (*i.e.*, established as a literary language) in 1925 using the Arabic script; in 1928 this was changed to a Latin script; and since 1940 it has been written in Cyrillic. The 1970 Soviet census lists 236,009 Karakalpak in the U.S.S.R. Of these 230,258 (97.6 %) live in the Uzbek S.S.R.; and of these latter, 217,505 (92.2 % of the total Soviet Karakalpak population) live in the Karakalpak A.S.S.R., 8,668 in **Bukhāra Oblast'**, 1428 in Tashkent, and 732 in Farghāna Oblast' (the Farghāna Karakalpak are rapidly being assimilated by the Uzbek).

*Bibliography:* Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1885, 373; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow Univ., 1958; *Narodī Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1962, i. For their language: K. H. Menges, in *PhTF*, i, 434-88 (*bibl.* at p. 438), and cf. ii, 761. (W. BARTHOLD-[R. WIXMAN])

**KARAKAY**. The cross-reference to this from CARUCUEL is erroneous; see QARĀ-KÖL, KARĀKUL.

**KARAKOL**, modern Turkish term for "police-station", "[military] patrol", a popular etymology ("black [*i.e.*, ominous] arm [of the authorities]" or "patrol"); for Ottoman *karāghul*, *karāvul*, a loan-word from Mongol (attested from the 8th/14th century), see *Tarama sözlüğü*, Ankara 1969, iv, 2283 ff. The Mongol word also passed into Persian as *karāvul*/*karā'ul*. For full references and details of the diffusion of the word (as far as Swahili), see Doerfer, i, no. 276.

In the Ottoman Empire the maintenance of security and order in different quarters of Istanbul was entrusted mainly to the Janissaries [see **YEŇİ-ÇERİ**], and the *ortas* (companies) patrolling the city were called *kulluk*. During the military campaigns, apart from the *Çarkhadjil* (vanguard) forces, the Ottoman army used to send out small units called *karāvul müfrezeleri*. In the same way the Ottoman navy, when at sea, sent out two mail ships as *karāvul sefineleri*, with the task of preventing any sudden

attack on the fleet. About ten ships under the command of the *tersâne kethüdāsi* (Intendant of the Admiralty) brought up the rear as *ard karāvul* to help ships in trouble when necessary.

After the suppression of the Janissaries in 1826, public security in Istanbul became the responsibility of the *ser'asker* [*q.v.*]; an autonomous administration, the *Dab'iyye Müshiriyeti*, which was founded in 1846 to take charge of police functions, was changed into a *nezāret* (ministry) in 1870 and in 1909 attached to the Ministry of the Interior as a directorate with authority extending over the whole country [see **PAŞTİYYA**]. At that time, a police-station was called *karakol-khāne*, and later *karakol*. The word *karakol* was used also in the Turkish army and navy to designate a unit charged with security or observation duty (*istinād karakolu*, *ileri karakol*, *nizām karakolu*, etc.).

*Bibliography:* **Sh.** Sāmi, *Kāmūs-i türkī*, Istanbul 1317, s.v.; Kātib Çelebi, *Tuhfat al-kibār fi asfār al-bihār*, Istanbul 1329, 148; M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1824, vii, 348; İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından Kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, index; see also **ĀA**, s.v. (by R. Rahmeti Arat).

(E. KURAN)

**KARAKOL DİJEM'İYYETİ**, a secret society founded in Istanbul towards the end of 1918 by a group of former members of the Union and Progress Committee [see **İTTİHĀD VE TERAKKİ DİJEM'İYYETİ**]. Its aim was to organize guerilla resistance bands against the Allied forces which had occupied strategic points in Turkey following the armistice of Mudros on 30 October 1918. After the organization of the Nationalist Movement in Anatolia under the leadership of Muştafā Kemāl Paşa, the Karakol society supplied the movement with intelligence, officers and arms. The society tried to gain control over the nationalists of Anatolia, and Karā Wāşif, one of the founding members, became their representative in Istanbul. However, Muştafā Kemāl succeeded in checking the activities of the Karakol society and ordered its dissolution in the spring of 1920, on the grounds that a delegate of the society had signed a pact of military assistance with the Bolsheviks on 10 January 1920 without the authorization of the nationalists. Nevertheless, the Karakol society seems to have continued its underground activities until the end of the Turkish War of Independence.

*Bibliography:* Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, Istanbul 1934, i, index; Ali Fuad Cebesoy, *Milli Mücadele hatıraları*, Istanbul 1953, 347 ff.; Kāzım Karabekir, *İstiklāl harbimiz*, Istanbul 1960, 509, 628 ff.; Tarık Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede siyasî partiler*, Istanbul 1952, 520 ff.; Muharrem Giray, *İstanbul'un işgalinde gizli bir teşkilât, Karakol Cemiyeti*, in *Yakın Tarihimiz*, Istanbul 1962, i, 345 ff.; George S. Harris, *The origins of communism in Turkey*, Stanford, Cal. 1967, index; A. A. Cruickshank, *The Young Turk challenge in postwar Turkey*, in *MEJ*, xxii (1968), 18 f. (E. KURAN)

**KARAKÖRUM** (QARAKÖRAM), a chain of mountains in the centre of Asia lying north of and almost parallel to the Himalayas. The range extends westwards as far as 73° long.; it has not yet been definitely ascertained how far it runs eastwards. At one time the eastern limit was thought to be the pass of the Qarakorum, the plateau of Depsong and the upper part of the **Shayok**, but, according to the views of several famous geographers, the range runs much farther into Tibet, and the Tang-la (to the north of upper Saluën) should, they think, be re-

garded as a part of the Karakorum. This idea was first put forward by Klaproth in 1836 and was held by Burrard, Sven Hedin and others who further regarded the Trans-Himalaya as belonging to the Karakorum system. If this is accurate, the whole system would be about 2,000 km. long.

The highest elevations are found in the part west of the pass of Karakorum. There we find several peaks over 8,000 m. high and countless summits over 7,000 m. The highest peak—probably the second highest in the world—is K 2, which seems to have been long known as Chogo-ri among the natives. This giant attains a height of 8,611 m.

This western part of the Karakorum possesses a wild and imposing natural beauty; a large part of it is covered with perpetual snows over a considerable extent. The snow line runs from 4,770 m. north of the principal chain to 5,203 m. in the south. The inhabitants are Baltis, a mixed people with Tibetan language, Ladakhis, who are Tibetans, and Hunzas.

If we exclude the polar regions, the largest glaciers in the world are found in this part of the Karakorum. The Siachen glacier is 68 km. long and covers a surface of about 2,500 sq. km. The Baltoro, Hispara and Biafo glaciers are only a little less than the Siachen. The plateau out of which rises the Karakorum has an average height of 3,070 m. The whole region is excessively dry because the rain (snow, hail) falls almost exclusively on the high mountains. The vegetation in the valleys is very slight and is confined to the vicinity of torrents and streams. At the terminations of the glaciers we find—very often on a little plain—a very beautiful alpine flora.

The Karakorum is the most important watershed in Central Asia, dividing the rivers which running northwards, empty their waters into the deserts of this part of the world, and those running southwards into the Indian Ocean.

The principal pass is the col of Karakorum (5,574 m.), through which runs the important trade route between Chinese Turkestan and Kashmir. It is difficult and dangerous. In their long journey countless beasts of burden perish of exhaustion or in the avalanches. The mountains take their name from the pass. But as Karakorum means "black debris", the name is not very appropriate. It is found for the first time in a map by Elphinstone published in 1815. On this map the range in question is indicated by the name Moor Taugh (instead of Mur Tagh, "Ice Mountain") or Karrakoorum Mountains.

The first traveller to write on the mountains now called Karakorum was Mirzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, à propos of his journey from Yarkand to Leh, capital of Ladakh, in 960/1553. The exploration proper of the Karakorum only began in 1808 when Elphinstone visited these regions. The more systematic and detailed exploration of the high mountains proper was only begun in 1892 by Sir Martin Conway's expedition, which was followed by many others (including 5 expeditions of Ph. C. and J. Visser between 1922 and 1935).

*Bibliography:* M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, London, 1815; H. von Schlagintweit, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien*; Jena, 1871; F. von Richthofen, *China*, Berlin 1877; Georg Wegener, *Versuch einer Orographie des Kwen-lun*, Marburg 1891; F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1890-95, 1898; Martin Conway, *Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas*, London 1894; J. L. Dutreuil de Rhins, *Mission Scientifique dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1897; S. G. Burrard and

H. H. Hayden, *A sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet*, London 1907; F. B. and W. H. Workman, *Ice-bound Heights of Mustagh*, London 1908; idem, *Two Summers in the Ice-wilds of Eastern Karakorum*, London 1917; F. Frech, *Aus der Vorzeit der Erde*, Leipzig 1911; Filippo de Fillippi, *Karakoram and Western Himalaya* 1904, London 1912; A. Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, London 1913; Jacot Guillarmod, *Six mois dans l'Himalaya, le Karakorum et l'Hindu-Kush*; Ph. C. Visser, *Naar Himalaya en Kara-korum*, Rotterdam 1923; idem, *Zwischen Kabul und Hindukusch*, Leipzig 1928; idem, *Wissenschaftl. Ergebnisse des Niederländ. Expeditionen in den Karakorum*, Leipzig 1935-8; E. Trinkler and H. de Terra, *Wiss. Ergebnisse der Trinklerschen Zentralasien-Expedition*, 2 vols., Berlin 1932; K. Mason, *Above the snow—a History of Himalayan exploration and mountaineering*, London 1953; G. O. Duhrenfurth, *Himalaya-Chronik*, 1953-68; H. J. Scheider, *Die deutsche Karakorum-Expedition 1959, in Berge der Welt*, 1960-61; A. Gansser, *Geology of the Himalayas*, London 1964; *The Himalayan Journal* (annually since 1929).

(PH. C. VISSER-B. SPULER)

**KARAKORUM**, a town in the *aymak* of Övör Khangay in Central Mongolia, now in ruins; in the 7th/13th century it was for a short time the capital of the Mongol World Empire. The fullest accounts of the town are given by the European traveller William of Rubruck and the Persian historian Djuwaynī [q.v.]. The ruins were first discovered in 1889 by N. M. Yadrentsev; they were visited and described by the members of the Russian expedition of 1891 led by Radlov; and in 1948-49 an expedition jointly organized by the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic investigated the palace of the Great Khān Ögedey, the handicraft workshops at the crossroads of the main thoroughfares of Karakorum and some places near the southern gate of the town. Though walled by Ögedey only in 1235, Karakorum had been chosen by Čingiz Khān as his capital as early as 1220. The name, which is Turkish and means "black boulder", was, as Djuwaynī expressly remarks, originally applied to the mountain region around the sources of the Orkhon. According to William of Rubruck, the city of Karakorum, exclusive of Ögedey's palace, was "not as big as the village of Saint Denis", while the monastery of Saint Denis was "ten times larger than the palace". There was, however, much building in Karakorum during its brief period of splendour, and William of Rubruck as well as Djuwaynī give full descriptions of the imperial palaces built in the city and around it, some by Chinese and others by Muslim architects. According to the European traveller, Russian and Western European craftsmen also shared in these operations. To the east of Karakorum, in a village called Tuzghu-Balik (from the Turkish *tuzghu*, "offering of food to a traveller", and *balik* "town") built in 1238, there was a palace with the Chinese name of Ying chia tien ("Welcome Carriage Hall").

After the Mongol emperors had removed their residence to China, Karakorum was only the seat of the governor of Mongolia. It changed hands temporarily during the long war with Kaydu, but generally remained in the possession of the emperor. When the Mongol dynasty was expelled from China (1368), the emperors returned to Karakorum, but after the extinction of the dynasty in the 15th

century the town lost all importance. At the present day, the Buddhist monastery of Erdeni-Dzu is adjacent to the site.

*Bibliography: The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55, as narrated by himself, ed. and tr. W. W. Rockhill, London 1900; Djuwayni-Boyle; Rashīd al-Dīn, The Successors of Genghis Khan, tr. J. A. Boyle, New York and London 1971; S. V. Kiselev, L. A. Evtyukhova, L. R. Kizlasov, N. Ya. Merpert and V. P. Levashova, Drevnemongol'skie goroda, Moscow 1965; F. W. Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346, in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, xv/1-2 (1952); P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, I, Paris, 1959, s.v. CARACORUM; J. A. Boyle, The Seasonal Residences of the Great Khan Ögedei, in Central Asiatic Journal, xvi (1972), 125-31.*

(W. BARTHOLD-J. A. BOYLE)

**KARAKUL** [see KARĀ-KÖL].

**KARAKUM** (Turkish "black sand"), a desert in Russian Turkestan, between the Amū Daryā, the Üst Yurt and the ranges of hills on the Caspian, contrasted with Kızıl-Kum ("red sand"), the desert between the Sīr Daryā and the Amū Daryā. The Karakum (area ca. 300,000 sq. km.) is a still more dreary waste and possesses even fewer fertile areas than the Kızıl-kum. The sandy stretches north of the Sīr as far as Lake Çalkar are called "little Karākum"; cf. F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921, 15 f., 285, and index. A good deal of the Karākum is still used by Turcoman nomads as pasture for sheep and camels. In the south, the Karākum is traversed (since 1883-6) by the railway from Kızıl Suw (Russ. Krasnovodsk) to Čahār Djūy (Russ. Čardjou) and the very important Karākum canal from Bozaghā on the Amū-Daryā via Marw (Marī) and the delta of the Tedjien to 'Ashkābād and to Arčman on the northern slope of the Köpet Dagh (since 1962). The Karākum mentioned by Djuwayni in the *Ta'rikh-i Dihān Gushāy* as populated by the Kankli [see KANGHLI] is, in the opinion of the editor, probably identical with the little Karākum (the readings of the Mss. are not certain; cf. edition by Mirzā Muḥ. Kazwīnī, *GMS*, xvi/I, 69 f., ii, 101 f., and *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 309 f.).

*Bibliography: W. Leimbach, Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, index; Th. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, index; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*<sup>3</sup>, 415 f.

(W. BARTHOLD-B. SPULER)

**KARAKÜŞH**, BAHĀ' AL-DĪN B. 'ABD ALLĀH (i.e. son of an unknown father) AL-ASADĪ (*mamlūk* of Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh) AL-RŪMĪ AL-MALIKĪ AL-NĀŞIRĪ, officer of Malik al-Nāşir Yūsuf (i.e. Saladin), a eunuch, received his liberty from Shīrkūh and was appointed an *amir*. By the time of Shīrkūh's death (564/1169) he was already playing an influential part; it is said that it was due to him and the *hādī* 'Isā al-Hakkārī that the caliph al-'Āqid appointed Saladin vizier. After the suppression of the rebellion fomented after al-'Āqid's death by his chamberlain, the eunuch Mu'taman al-Khilāfa, Karākūsh was appointed chamberlain. In this capacity he had the surveillance of the family of the late caliph and is said to have administered his office with great strictness. To prevent the family of the caliph increasing, he separated men and women. Saladin gave him the task of building the citadel of Cairo and extending the city walls to include Cairo and Fustāt; later he was asked to fortify and defend 'Akkā. When the town fell in 587/1191 after eighteen months fighting, he was taken prisoner; Saladin

ransomed him a few months later for the high sum of 20,000 *dinārs*. After the death of Saladin in 589/1193 he entered the service of his son al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Uthmān and was appointed to represent the Sultān when the latter was out of Egypt. When the Sultān felt his end approaching (in 595/1199), he designated his son al-Malik al-Manşūr his successor and Karākūsh his regent. In keeping with this wish, the young ruler appointed him *atābeg*, although Karākūsh was now very old. He only held his post for a very short time as most of the *amirs* and the head of the chancellery, Ibn Mammāti, declared him incapable of ruling, presumably on account of his great age.

His supporters, who considered him the most worthy, consulted Saladin's adviser, al-Kādi al-Fādil [q.v.], but the latter, who had retired from political life, would not be drawn into the question. Finally the *amirs* asked al-Manşūr's uncle, al-Malik al-Afdal, to take over the regency. After this we find only one mention of Karākūsh, when Sultān al-'Ādil, who had seized the throne in 596/1200, had two of his nephews taken to the house of Karākūsh as prisoners. He died a year later. Contemporary historians, like 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Işfahānī, bestow the highest praise upon him, as do later writers, like al-Makrīzī and Ibn Taghribirdī, and describe him as the ablest man of his day. They give him particular credit for his activity as a builder. Besides the buildings already mentioned, his house, his hippodrome and the bridge at Gizeh, which he built out of stones from the Pyramids at Memphis, are mentioned.

In the same period a "Karākūsh" became notorious as a byword for stupidity. A series of absurd verdicts are related in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Ahkām Karākūsh*, "the book on the stupidity in the judgments of Karākūsh". According to Hādīdī Khalīfa, the above-mentioned Ibn Mammāti was the author of this book. Casanova (see *Bibl.*) in his elaborate study on Karākūsh quotes three manuscripts: (1) a Cairo manuscript which contains a brief selection from the *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh*; the author is there given as Ibn Mammāti; (2) a Paris manuscript the author of which is given as al-Sūyūṭī, certainly wrongly, as in the introduction Ibn Taghribirdī is wrongly quoted and given a wrong praenomen, which one can hardly credit of al-Sūyūṭī; (3) a Cairo manuscript which is a later version, in which Karākūsh is called a sultān and the number of his "judgments" is increased, by 'Abd al-Salām al-Lakānī, dating from 1200/1786. These "judgments" have nothing to do with statecraft but are court verdicts; they are typical, well known anecdotes, current among other nations also. A special investigation has not yet been made of the problem. Casanova endeavours to show that the work is a pamphlet against Karākūsh, whom, he says, Ibn Mammāti hated as an exceedingly severe man. It is not known whether Ibn Mammāti collected and published these anecdotes in the life-time of Karākūsh. Ibn Khallikān rightly points out that it is impossible that a man such as is described in the anecdotes could have held high offices of state. Nor is anything known of a particular feud between Ibn Mammāti and Karākūsh, except that Ibn Mammāti had protested in 595/1199 against the appointment of this then very old man; Karākūsh is described by the Frankish chroniclers as advanced in years even in 585/1189 at the siege of 'Akkā; he is said even to have known Godfrey de Bouillon. One thing is clear from Ibn Khallikān's observation: the



anecdotes given by Ibn Mammāṭī were referred to our *Karākūsh*.

*Bibliography*: Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, Cairo 1287-88, ii, 244, containing an appreciation by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Ṣfahānī of *Karākūsh*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, n° 544, ed. Ihsān ‘Abbās, iv, 91-2 (tr. de Slane, ii, 520); ‘Abd al-Latif al-Baghḍādī, *al-Ifāda wal-‘Iṭbār*, Cairo 1286, 23 (Fr. tr. de Sacy, as *Relation de l’Égypte*, Paris 1810, 171-2, 206-13, passim). A general account in P. Casanova, *Karākoûch, sa légende et son histoire*, communication faite à l’institut égyptien, Cairo 1892; idem, *Karākoûch* in the *MMAF*, Paris 1897, vi, 447 ff.; the other references to him are given in H. Derenbourg, *Ousama ibn Mounkidh*, 432, n. 4, Paris 1889, and in A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany 1972, index.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

**KARĀKŪSH**, SHARAF AL-DĪN AL-ARMANĪ AL-MUZAFFARĪ AL-NĀSIRĪ (and also al-Taḳawī and al-Ḡhuzzī), Armenian *mamlūk* of Saladin’s nephew al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taḳī al-Dīn, who conducted military operations in Tripolitania and southern Tunisia and for a certain period of time occupied Tripoli, Gabès and other towns. Taḳī al-Dīn, who had personal ambitions, had to renounce the idea of conquering Ifrīkiya, where the authority of the Almohads was not yet firmly established, and it was his *mamlūk* who undertook this enterprise (most probably with Saladin’s blessing) from 568/1172 onwards. He first of all made various raids (cf. Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1956-62, i/2, 548) on Barḳa, Tripoli and Awḍjīla, and then returned to Cairo, where he was thrown into prison; but he soon began his activities once more (572/1176-7). Returning once again to Tripolitania (cf. Abū Shāma, *op. cit.*, i/2, 692) at the head of a force of *Ḡhuzz* [q.v.], he occupied the eastern and southern parts of the country as far as Fazzān, and then, with the aid of bedouins of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaym, seized Tripoli. It seems to have been at this point that he was rejoined by Taḳī al-Dīn’s *silāhdār*, a person whose rôle and even personal name remain obscure (Gaufrey-Demombynes, *Une lettre de Saladin au calife almohade*, in *Mélanges Rene Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 290-1, put forward the idea that Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Ibrāhīm b. Ḳarātakin and Abū Zāba and variants [= Yāzabā = Joseph] were three names for the one person).

After having made an alliance with ‘Alī b. Ishāḳ b. Ḡhāniya [see ḠHĀNIYA], who had declared his allegiance to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph and was fighting the Almohads in southern Tunisia, *Karākūsh* extended his territories towards the *Djabal Nafūsa* and of Gabès, without however reaching Tunis. Finding himself at Gafsa at the time of the Banū Ḡhāniya’s defeat of the Almohad army near that town (15 Rabi‘ II 583/24 June 1187), he put to the sword the survivors who had placed themselves under his protection. But the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Ya‘ḳūb al-Manṣūr [q.v.] immediately assumed charge of operations and gained the victory of al-Hāmma on 10 *Shā‘bān* 583/15 October 1187, thus expelling *Karākūsh* from Gabès. Whilst the latter fled through the desert with ‘Alī Ibn Ḡhāniya, his possessions and troops were handed over to al-Manṣūr, who sent his *Ḡhuzz* troops to Marrakesh [see *ḠHuzz*, and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi, 343-4]; soon afterwards (*Dhu l-ḳa‘da* 583/January 1188), Gafsa also fell, and the *Ḡhuzz* in the town suffered the same fate. It is possible that even before the capture of

Gafsa, *Karākūsh* may have offered his submission to the Almohads and that in Tripoli, the *silāhdār* may have done likewise (Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres almohades*, 198, and *Recueil*, 62), but it is equally possible that this manoeuvre took place some time later. Whatever may have been the case, Saladin, who had rejoiced at *Karākūsh*’s successes (cf. Abū Shāma, i/2, 547), at this time needed the support of the Almohad fleet against the Franks, and there is extant the text of a letter drawn up in his name by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [q.v.], dated 585/1189 and addressed to al-Manṣūr, asking for his intervention (*apud* al-Ḳalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 526 ff., tr. and comm. in Gaufrey-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 279-304). *Karākūsh* had then to pretend to rally to him, probably on Saladin’s orders, who in the following year (28 *Shā‘bān* 586/30 September 1190) sent an embassy to al-Manṣūr with a letter (*apud* Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, in *RHC*, Hist Or., iv, 497-505) in which he unequivocally disowned the reprehensible actions of the *silāhdār* and the *mamlūk* (according to Abū Shāma, *ibid.*, ii, 508, the former was handed over at Tunis by *Karākūsh*, whilst according to *Istibṣār*, III, this person, here called Abū Zabā al-Fārisī, was expelled from Tripoli and sent to Marrakesh). After having stayed for some time with the governor of Tunis, *Karākūsh* took to flight and successfully regained Gabès and Tripoli with the aid of some turbulent tribes (586/1190).

However, after the death of ‘Alī Ibn Ḡhāniya (584/1188), *Karākūsh*’s relations with his brother and successor Yaḥyā Ibn Ḡhāniya had deteriorated. In 591/1195, Yaḥyā, who was in possession of the *Djarīd*, seized Gabès and Tripoli; at this latter place, *Karākūsh* left his lieutenant Yaḳūt and fled for safety to Waddān. Driven out of Ifrīkiya in his turn, Yaḥyā also fled to Waddān (606/1209) and besieged the former ally of the Banū Ḡhāniya, who was unable to withstand him; Yaḥyā had him and one of his sons executed in 609/1212. Thus there came to an end the life of an adventurer who had carried on warfare for forty years as much for Saladin’s benefit as for his own. The presence at Waddān is further mentioned of another of his sons who fled there after betraying the Ḥafṣīd al-Mustanṣir (647—75/1249-77); he was eventually put to death by the king of Kanem.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the sources and studies mentioned in the article (especially Abū Shāma and the letter studied by Gaufrey-Demombynes), see also Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān*, iii, Tetouan 1963, *passim*; Marrākūshī, *Mu‘dḍīb*, index; Tiḍjānī, *Rihla*, ed. H. H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1337/1958, 103 ff., 111 f. and index (tr. Rousseau, in *JA*, 1852; text given by al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḍī, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, ed. M. H. al-Hilla, i, Tunis 1970, 358 ff.); Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi, index; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. Sa‘d Zaghūlū ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 110-11; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, Rabat 1941, *passim*; idem, *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, in *Hespéris*, 1941 (Paris 1942); Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 138, 161, 281, ii, 91, 95, 210, 211, 220, iv, 260; A. Bel, *Les Banou Ghāniya*, Paris 1903, index; H. Derenbourg, *Ousama ben Mounkidh*, i, Paris 1889-93, 444-64; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index; S. Z. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, in *Bull. Fac. of Arts Alexandria*, vi-vii (1952-3), 84 ff.; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany 1972, index s.v. Sharaf al-Din. (CH. PELLAT)

**KARAM**, generosity [see Supplement].

**AL-KARAM**, Banū [see ZURAY‘IDS].

**KARAM, YÜSUF** [see YÜSUF KARAM]

**KARĀMA** may be considered as the *maşdar* of *karūma* "to be generous, be beneficent, be *karīm* (one of the "99 Most beautiful names of God" [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ]). The root KRM appears frequently in the Qur'ān, and God is called there *al-Karīm* "the Generous One"; the actual term *karāma* is not however found there. If it was later adopted as a synonym of the *maşdars* of forms II and IV (*takrīm* and *ikrām*), this seems very likely to have come about through phonetic assimilation to the Greek *χάρισμα*. In the technical vocabulary of the religious sciences, *karāma* (pl. *karāmāt*) from now onwards assumes the sense of "charisma", the favour bestowed by God completely freely and in superabundance. More precisely, the word comes to denote the "marvels" wrought by the "friends of God", *awliyā'* (sing. *walī*), which God grants to them to bring about. These marvels most usually consist of miraculous happenings in the corporeal world, or else of predictions of the future, or else of interpretation of the secrets of hearts, etc.

The notion of *karāma* differs from that of *mu'djizā* [q.v.]. Each involves a "breaking of the natural order of things" (*khārīk li'l-'āda*), that is, an extraordinary happening which breaks this "divine custom" (*sunnat Allāh*) which is the normal course of events. But whilst the *mu'djizā* is a public act, preceded by a "proclamation" (*da'wa*) and a "challenge" (*taḥaddī*), by means of which the prophet demonstrates incontrovertibly the "impotence" (*'adīz*) of his hearers to reproduce likewise the miracle thus brought about, the *karāma* is a simple, personal favour. It should be kept secret, and is in no way the sign of a prophetic mission. There is a risk of ambiguity if one translates both terms by "miracle" (of a prophet, of a saint). If *mu'djizā* is rendered, as has become common, by "miracle of a prophet", it seems preferable — taking into account the difference of the respective Arabic roots — to translate *karāma* by "marvel of a saint".

Are the *karāmāt* attributed to the *awliyā'* — often in great abundance — to be regarded as authentic? If not, then why not? And if so, in what sense? These questions presented themselves very early to the Muslim mind, and gave rise to diverse, and even contradictory, interpretations. We shall deal here with four main types of answer.

(1) The Mu'tazilī schools of thought. The generality of the partisans of *i'tizāl* denied the reality of *karāmāt*. The most prominent argument from scripture is that put forward by al-Zamakhsharī commenting on Qur'ān, LXXII, 26-7, "He (sc. God) knows the Mystery, but does not reveal to anyone His Mystery, except to the one whom he designates as His messenger". This text is understood as justifying the miracles which God performs openly "by the hands" of the prophets in order to demonstrate the truth of their missions, but as setting aside all other supernatural happenings. Al-Djubbā'ī says that if the *awliyā'* possessed this power, how would one be able to distinguish them from the prophets?

A detailed exposition of the Mu'tazilī interpretations of these "miracles of a prophet" will be found in the article *MU'DJIZĀ*. Briefly, if the heresiographers (al-Isfarā'īni, al-Baghdādī, al-Shahrastāni, etc.) can be believed, al-Nazzām and al-Murdār for example regarded as doubtful every miraculous happening traditionally attributed to the Prophet, and did not attribute any miraculous nature to the inimitability of the Qur'ān (cf. A. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Mu'tazila*, Beirut 1956, 318 and refs.). But this statement must be strongly qualified. Al-Khayyāt, for instance, in his *Kitāb al-Intisār*, ed. Nyberg, 28-9,

tr. Nader, Beirut 1957, 25-6, states that for al-Nazzām, the Qur'ān is certainly "the proof of the Prophet's mission". Moreover, Ibn Mattawayh says that the *mu'djizāt* merely confirm a teaching (sc. the Qur'ānic revelation) which is conformable to reason, and it is this fact which justifies them. They are bound up with the missions of the prophet-messengers who are, like all mankind, responsible for their own actions. Nevertheless, the Mu'tazilīs are unanimous in denying the authenticity of *karāmāt*, which they stigmatise as "charlatans' tricks". 'Abd al-Djabbār's attack on al-Ḥallādī is well-known. His *Mughnī*, xv, 270 ff., relates in detail many "marvels" of al-Ḥallādī; following al-Djubbā'ī, he makes them out as feats of prestidigitation, performed with the help of accomplices and by using faked houses and rooms. The tone of the *Mughnī* is extremely polemical, and goes so far as to attack the very morals of al-Ḥallādī (*ibid.*, 270-1), turning into a personal attack. But the conclusion is clear (*ibid.*, 275): the *karāmāt* are all tricks, and the accounts which later repeat them are only restating popular superstitions.

(2) *Falsafa* (Ibn Sīnā). To illustrate the position taken up by *falsafa*, we shall take the example of Ibn Sīnā, who dealt with this question on several occasions. Ibn Sīnā's cosmology undertakes to place *mu'djizāt* and *karāmāt* within the existential determinism of the "necessary and consciously-willed" emanation. It is because of the perfection of their human nature and the power which their soul possesses as a fact of nature over external matter that the prophets confirm their coming by miracles. (One should note that Ibn Ruṣḥd, in his *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, 515, makes a distinction here: only those miracles can be regarded as such where a change "in regard to quality" (*istihāla*) is involved, because this is in itself possible, though impossible to the ordinary man; on the other hand, a change in substance is fundamentally impossible.) Now this justification of *mu'djizāt* is equally valid, more or less, for *karāmāt*. In his *Risāla fī aḳṣām al-'ulūm* (in *Tis' rasā'il*, Cairo 1326/1908, 14), Ibn Sīnā tells us that *karāmāt*, in regard to their nature, "resemble" *mu'djizāt*, and in his *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 120) he insists that the person whose soul has, by virtue of its spiritual intensity, the power to act upon external matter, and who uses this power for good and according to the righteous way, possess the gift of *mu'djizā* if he is a prophet, or that of *karāma* if he is a *walī*. The only difference is that the prophet is such by his very nature, through the innate, triple perfection of his intellect, his imaginative power and his factibile, whereas the saint (*walī*, *ṣiddīk*) or the "initiate" (*'arif*) acquires this perfection by following the appropriate path of asceticism, though at a lower level, at least in regard to his imaginative power. Furthermore, Ibn Sīnā mentions the possible additional factors of certain hypnotic processes "stemming from the Turks" (very rapid gyrations, fixation on a shining or a black object, etc.), and which are capable, in that they cause a withdrawal of the normal senses, or of bringing about the power of divination. He is distrustful towards them, and points out the dangers from them for those of feeble constitution, but he does not deny their reality.

Whether dealing with *mu'djizāt* or *karāmāt*, there is no question, among the leading figures in *falsafa*, of gratuitous favours freely bestowed by God; these "powers" are the end product of the highest stage of perfection to which the human soul can attain in the determining lines of its own nature. In the light of this perspective of existential determinism, a recogni-

tion of the possibility of "prophetic miracles" leads logically to admitting the possibility of *karāmāt*. The explanation is common to both, the differences lying essentially not in the deeds as such, but in the superiority which raises the prophet over the saint.

(3) The Aṣḥ'arī reply. It seems that some Aṣḥ'arīs, such as al-Isfarā'īnī and al-Ḥalīmī, shared the severe judgment of the Mu'tazilīs in regard to *karāmāt*. The generality of the school, however, recognised their authenticity on the following grounds: (a) Rational probability. The *raison d'être* of a *mu'djizā* is not the moral perfecting of a prophet, but the freely-exercised will of God, who brings about this miracle "by the hands of the prophet", a public miracle, preceded by a "proclamation" and a "challenge". It is therefore possible (*djā'iz*) for God to create, through the intermediacy of a saint, a supernatural occurrence without either a proclamation or a challenge. (b) Existence of the occurrences. They are authenticated above all by the miraculous happenings which are mentioned in the Qur'ān and whose beneficiaries have not in any way received a prophetic message to proclaim. Thus sūra III, 37, tells of a marvel brought about for Mary, mother of Jesus, and XXVIII, 9 ff., stress the "marvel" of the story of the Seven Sleepers, in themselves "miraculous signs" (*āyāt*) from God. Finally, XVII, 40 ff., mention the extraordinary happenings which came about at Solomon's request, whether through an *'ifrit* or through "The one who had knowledge of the Book", particularised by tradition as the vizier Āsaf. (c) *Karāmāt* are therefore possible, but should not be confused with *mu'djizāt*. God grants the former to saints in order to honour them and to confirm them in piety and God-fearing reverence, but He brings about the second ones "by the hands of the prophet" as a proof of his mission. The former should be kept hidden, but the second ones proclaimed before all men. Both should, in any case, be carefully distinguished, not only from acts of trickery (*hiyal*), but also from divinatory acts (*kihānāt*), those of (permitted) magic, *sihr*, and those of sorcery (*nārandjūt*). Al-Bākillānī devotes a whole work, his *Kitāb al-Bayān* (ed. R. McCarthy, Baghdad-Beirut 1958), to defining the various kinds of "signs", some of them authentic and the rest deceptive and illusory, and to tracing back to their subject the rules for the "discernment of spirits". It is virtually the Aṣḥ'arī thesis which Ibn Khaldūn sums up in his *Muḥaddīma* (ed. Cairo N.D., 67, 332, tr. de Slane, i, 191-4, iii, 111-12, tr. Rosenthal i, 188-91, iii, 167-8).

(4) The Ṣūfī attitude. The existence of "saints' miracles" (*karāmāt al-awliyā'*) is affirmed. In Sunnī *taṣawwuf*, the explanation given is in general terms very close to the Aṣḥ'arī position. There is a freely-given stress on the distinction between *karāmāt* and *mu'djizāt*; the saint who performs marvels cannot accordingly be recognised as a prophet, and must remain subject to the religious law laid down by the Messenger of God. However, whilst the Aṣḥ'arīs insisted on the objective difference of the two types of "signs", the Ṣūfī texts deal with the differences in spiritual attitudes.

The problem comes up in almost all the Ṣūfī manuals, e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Luma'* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādjī (ed. Nicholson, GMS, 1914, chs. 113-18, Kalābādhi's *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf* (ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, ch. 26), the *Risāla al-kushayriyya* (ed. Cairo N.D. 158 ff.), Hudjwiri's *Kashf al-mahdijūb* (tr. Nicholson, GMS, 1911, 218-39), etc. The "signs" (*āyāt*) of saints resemble externally those of prophets, but whereas these last bring them about publicly (and with a "challenge" hurled forth), the saints strive to

keep them secret. One of the charges made against al-Ḥallādjī was just this "divulging of marvels" (*ifshā' al-karāmāt*) by means of which he could apparently aspire, in the eyes of contemporaries, to the role of prophet.

Subjectively, *mu'djizāt* are an aid to the prophet-messenger, in that they confirm his mission; *karāmāt* on the other hand can become a subject of disquiet for the saint, who may be afraid of being the dupe of an illusion (cf. al-Sarrādjī, *loc. cit.*). Al-Kalābādhi, *op. cit.*, 44, relates that according to Abū Bakr al-Warrāk, it is not the power of working miracles which constitutes a prophet, but the mission with which God has entrusted him. Saints able to perform charismatic acts do not take any offence at this mission, once they recognise it and remain faithful to the message proclaimed. Also, when they receive the gift of working marvels, according to al-Kalābādhi, 46, "they display towards God all the more humility, submission, godly fear, abasement and self-contempt, and all the more promptness in responding to God's claims over them". This humility and abasement on the saint's part are a sign of the authenticity of the *karāmāt*, whilst the "enemies of God" who work apparently similar deeds, become puffed up and attribute the merit to themselves alone (*loc. cit.*); in this respect they become the dupes of "God's plotting" (*makr Allāh*), who has allowed these swindles in order the better to confound them. We find the same teaching in al-Hudjwiri, who stresses the impeccability of prophets but the fallibility of saints. He adds that the *karāmāt* accomplished over the ages by the Muslims are precisely a *mu'djizā* of the Prophet of Islam: the Qur'anic law, necessarily permanent, thereby acquires a proof of authenticity also permanent (*Kashf al-mahdijūb*, tr. 222). The remainder of the text gives a series of examples of *karāmāt*, some Qur'anic or contemporary with the Qur'ān, others post-Qur'anic, including those of *inter alios* Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz, Dhū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣri, etc.

On one side, the Ṣūfīs often teach that saints must not seek after this gift of marvel-working, but must even mistrust it, and that to become attached to it would make a serious obstacle of the road to union with God; on the other side, however, the biographies of the leading Ṣūfīs abound in marvellous acts and supernatural charismatic deeds. This dual note is for example found all through the *Laṭā'if al-minan wa 'l-akhklāk* of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (ed. Cairo N.D.) studied by Asín Palacios.

It should be finally noted that in general Ṣhī'ism also admits *karāmāt* and distinguished them from *mu'djizāt*. The great Imāms, since they are endowed with impeccability and perfect knowledge, can work "marvels". Strict Imāmī thought accords this power to them alone, or at most, will only admit the possibility of *karāmāt* performed under the influence or through the intermediacy of the Imāns.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(L. GARDET)

**KARĀMĀN**, the name of a Turkoman leader, founder of the Anatolian dynasty of the Karāmānids or Karāmān-oghullarī [q.v.]; hence the name of the Ottoman province into which the territories of this principality were subsequently formed, with Konya as its administrative centre, see below. Karāmān was also the later Ottoman name for the town of Laranda [q.v.]. The term *Karāmānli*/Karāmāntü was applied to the turcophone Greek Orthodox Christians of the Karāmān region, and *Karāmānliḍja* (Grk. *Karamanlidhika*) to their dialect of Turkish and their literature (written in Greek characters). Emigrants from this

ethnico-religious group (who were not Greeks, but probably descendants of the ancient Lycaonians) were brought to Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest and gave their name to a quarter near Yedikule [see *ISTANBUL*, i, vii]; in the early years of this century, the Ḳarāmānlī community in Istanbul published its own newspaper, *Nea Anatoli*. See A. M. Scheider, *Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels in XV. Jahrhundert*, in *Nachr. der Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen* (1949), 238 ff. (Tk. tr. in *Bell.*, xxi (1952), 35 ff.); S. Salaville and E. Dalleggio (eds.), *Karamanlidha, Bibliographie analytique . . .*, i, Years 1584-1850, ii, Years 1850-65, Athens 1958-66; S. Vryonis Jr., *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, index; and *TURKS*, section on languages. Emigrants from the Ḳarāmān region have further given their name to some 19 other places in Turkey, see *Son teşkilat-i mülkiye'de köylerimizin adları*, Istanbul 1928, and *Türkiye'de meskun yerler kılavuzu*, Ankara 1946-50.

What follows relates only to the administrative province of Ḳarāmān under the Ottomans and after the definitive disappearance of the Ḳarāmānid dynasty.

In 888/1483, the Ḳarāmānid lands became a *beglerbeglik* divided into two parts: the first comprised the *sandjak* of İc-il(i) [q.v.] in the eastern part of the area adjacent to the coast (see the map in *ANADOLU*) and included Mut and the administrative centre Ḳonya, whilst the second comprised the interior regions, called *Khāridj*. In the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *sandjak* of İc-il(i) was separated from it. In the 11th/17th century, the province (*eyālet*) of Ḳarāmān comprised the *sandjaks* of Aḳsaray, Aḳshehir, Beyshehir, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Ḳonya and Niğde [q.v.]. With the administrative reform of 1281/1864, the former *eyālet* became the *wilāyet* of Ḳonya. See *Hādīdī Khālifa, Djihān-nümā*, 614-15; Von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 254 ff., ii, 256-7; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 39 ff.; N. and I. Beldiceanu, *Le province de Qaraman au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *JESHO*, xi (1968), esp. 39; Tekindağ, in *TD*, xiii, *passim*, xiv, 74; I. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi . . .*, Istanbul 1967, *passim*; Kramers, in *EI*<sup>s.v.</sup> (H. A. REED)

**ḲARAMĀNĪ MEHMED PAŞHA** [see MEHMED PAŞHA, ḲARAMĀNĪ].

**ḲARAMĀNLĪ**, family of Turkish origin, of whom several members governed Tripolitania from 1123/1711 to 1251/1835, constituting themselves into a real dynasty. Its founder was Ḳaramānlī Aḳmad Bey, of whose origins scarcely anything is known apart from the fact that he himself or his father or an ancestor came from Anatolia, probably from the town or the region of Ḳarāmān, to serve as a soldier in the *ođiāk* of Tripoli; certain authors put forward the view that one of his ancestors may have come to Tripolitania with the corsair Turghūt (Dragut). The chronicler Ibn Ḡhālbūn, who lived at the time of Aḳmad Bey, calls him Aḳmad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Muştafā.

In 1122/1710, and for several years earlier, the Ottoman province of Tripolitania had been plunged into anarchy due to rivalries that brought into opposition Janissaries, *ḳulughlls* and Arab notables. Aḳmad Ḳaramānlī, then *‘āmil* or governor of the region of the *Manşhiya* and of the *Sāhil*, had succeeded at the end of 1122/1710 in restoring order there and making himself appreciated by the local population. Resolved to put an end to the disorder, and supporting the Arabs against the *ḳulughlls*, Aḳmad seized Tripoli, took the title of *bey* (commander of the troops) and in fact exercised control over the province (13 *Dju-*

*mādā* II 1123/29 July 1711). Shortly afterwards, he had *Khālil Paşha*, the governor sent by the sultan, executed, and had a large number of Turkish officers and functionaries assassinated, at the same time sending a delegation to Sultan Aḳmad III in order to justify himself. Finally, the Sultan accorded him the title of *beylerbey* (governor), recognizing him also as chief of the province; but it was only in 1134/1722 that the Sultan bestowed on him the title of *Paşha*, making him his official representative.

Having little confidence in the Janissaries, Aḳmad Bey created an indigenous militia and favoured the corsairs. He had to face several local revolts from 1125/1713 to 1135/1723 in the south-east of Tripolitania, in Cyrenaica and Fazzān. Following these revolts, he took under his direct control the whole province by making terror reign when necessary: he had a number of people put to death, including dignitaries and notables, and even, over a libel, the chronicler Ibn Ḡhālbūn, who nevertheless had written his work for his glory. While encouraging piracy, Aḳmad Ḳaramānlī avoided entangling himself with the great Western powers and concluded or renewed, notably with England and France, treaties of peace and commerce. He had the fortifications of Tripoli restored and the mosque and *madrasa* which bear his name constructed in that town. He died (he probably committed suicide) on the night of 26th or 27th *Ramādān* 1157/3rd or 4th November 1745; he was approximately 60 years old.

His son Meḳmed (Muḥammad, 1158-67/1745-54) was proclaimed governor and recognized without difficulty by the Sultan. He maintained the country in peace and renewed the agreements with England and France, although piracy had at that time enjoyed a great prosperity, which led to several incidents with Venice and Naples. He died in *Şhawwāl* 1167/July 1754. His son ‘Alī succeeded him (1167-1207/1754-93) and received the agreement of the Sultan. Until 1171/1758 he had to face several revolts, notably in the *Manşhiya* and the *Sāhil*, revolts which were drowned in blood. However, after this, the country enjoyed a sufficiently long period of calm until 1204/1790.

From the middle of the reign of Aḳmad Ḳaramānlī, Tripolitania saw its economic activity increase and became an important staging post of commerce in the Mediterranean; but a serious epidemic in 1181/1767, and then the plague and famine in 1198-1200/1784-6, led to a certain decline of Tripoli and its commerce. During this period, the authority of the Ḳaramānlīs was incontestable: they had a firm grip on the central power (*bey*, *āghā* of the Janissaries, *khāya*, *ra’isal baḥr*, *khaznadār*, *şaykh al-balād*, *dirwān*) and on the provinces where they were represented by the *khā’id*; the military forces comprised about 400 Janissaries, 200 to 300 renegades, 500 Albanians and 600 Arabs; the navy was composed of Albanians and Arabs.

The situation deteriorated with the old age of ‘Alī Paşha; in 1790 his elder son, Ḳasan Bey, was assassinated and his second son, Aḳmad, then became bey, but had to face the hostility of his brother Yūsuf, who was supported by the Arabs. In view of this situation, the notables of Tripoli and some military leaders intervened with the Sultan and asked him to name another governor, to which Yūsuf replied by having himself proclaimed governor with the support of the Nuwayr (1207/1792-3); he then undertook the siege of Tripoli (June 1793). Shortly afterwards there arrived unexpectedly ‘Alī Bulghūr, a high dignitary ousted from Algiers, who claimed to have been invested with the governorship by the Sultan: he bene-

fited from the gathering of notables and officers of Tripoli and entered the town (July 1793), while Yūsuf and 'Alī Paṣha retired to Tunisia. 'Alī Bulghūr having seized the island of Djarba, the *bey* of Tunis Hamūda then favoured the action of the Karamānli to regain power. Finally, the vanquished 'Alī Bulghūr fled to Egypt (February 1795), while 'Alī Paṣha, resident at Tunis, renounced the governorship in favour of his son Aḥmad. In Sha'bān 1210/November 1796, profiting from the departure of Aḥmad for Taḍjūra, Yūsuf entered Tripoli and had himself proclaimed governor there; Aḥmad did not persist in his claims and retired to Malta. The following year, Yūsuf received from the Sultan the investiture *firmān*; he then took severe measures to repress disorder, reinforced the fortifications and increased the corsairs' fleet.

During Bonaparte's expedition in Egypt, Yūsuf Paṣha refused to break off relations with France; constrained to do so, following an English threat, he hastened to conclude a treaty with France as early as 1799. In 1800 an incident occurred with the United States of America, which resulted in the severing of relations, and then in acts of hostility. The Americans were on the point of reintroducing Aḥmad Bey to Cyrenaica and having him proclaimed governor, but English mediation put an end to these events; a new treaty was concluded with the Americans, while Aḥmad Bey retired to Egypt (June 1805).

From 1806 to 1830, numerous revolts broke out in different regions, repressed with more or less success; in 1810, the region of Ghadamès was once more joined to Tripoli. In 1819 a Franco-English fleet arrived before Tripoli and, under threat, had the slaves and Christian prisoners freed. From 1823 to 1826 at the request of the Sultan, Yūsuf Paṣha sent a Tripolitanian fleet to participate in the operations of the Ottoman fleet on the coasts of Morea and returned by the same route, but this provoked severe reactions by the Kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples (1825-6). The assassination of Major Laing, son-in-law of the English Consul Warrington, who held the French Consul Rousseau responsible, placed Yūsuf Paṣha in a delicate situation: he had finally to sign a new treaty with France (August 1830). In 1832, having imposed taxes on the inhabitants of the Man-shiya and the Sāhil in order to recover his debts, they revolted, proclaimed a grandson of Yūsuf, Meḥmed (Muḥammad) Bey governor, and besieged Tripoli. On the 5th August 1832, Yūsuf abdicated in favour of his son 'Alī; the latter could count on the support of Cyrenaica and the good will of the French, whereas Meḥmed Bey enjoyed the favour of the English. An emissary of the Sultan, Meḥmed Shākīr Efendi, tried in vain to arrange an agreement between the parties. He returned in September 1834 with a *firmān* of investiture for 'Alī Bey that the rebels and England refused to recognize. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Government took careful note of that what was necessary, in view of the French pressure that was being exerted on the Karamānli and on account of the presence of the French in Algeria which constituted a serious threat, to display more energetically the suzerainty of the Sultan over Tripolitania; in February 1835 the Ottomans decided to send a fleet and troops to Tripoli under the command of Muṣṭafā Naḍjīb Paṣha. This fleet arrived before Tripoli on the 26th May and the disembarkation of the troops took place on the 27th; the next day, 'Alī Paṣha and a certain number of Tripolitanian dignitaries were arrested, while Muṣṭafā Naḍjīb Paṣha had the imperial *firmān* read, naming him governor of the province and decreeing the removal of 'Alī Paṣha. Meḥmed Bey com-

mitted suicide, his brother Aḥmad took refuge in Malta, and all the other members of the Karamānli family were sent to Istanbul with the exception of Yūsuf Paṣha who, owing to his great age was authorised to live in Tripoli; he died there on the 4th August 1838.

Thus the dynasty of the Karamānli came to an end. Its initial originality lay in its support for the Arabs of Tripolitania against the Turks and the *ḥulughlīs*, without however rejecting Ottoman suzerainty. Later, the Karamānli did not escape the rivalries and internal quarrels that rendered null and void the efforts of the first members of the dynasty, and facilitated the province being taken once more into control by the Ottomans, aided in this by the implications of the "Eastern Question". Like the Ḥusaynids in Tunisia, but to a lesser degree on account of the extent and disparity of the land, the Karamānli were able momentarily to cut a figure as a local dynasty, but not as a national one.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Ḡhalbūn, *al-Taḍkhār fi man malaka Tarābulus wa-man kāna bihā min al-akhḡyār* (MSS. Paris, BN no. 1889; Tripoli, library of the *awḡāf*; Istanbul, Umūmi kütüphanesi no. 3423; résumé in Muḥammad Nāhidj al-dīn, *Ta'rīkh-i Ibn Ḡhalbūn dār bayān-i Tarābulus-i ḡharb*, Istanbul 1284/1868; partial tr. E. Rossi, *La cronaca arabotripolitana di Ibn Ḡhalbūn* (sec. xviii), Bologna 1936); Aḥmad Beg al-Nā'ib al-Anṣārī, *al-manhal al-'adhb fi ta'rīkh Tarābulus al-ḡharb*, Istanbul 1317/1901; Ḥasan Ṣafī, *Tarābulus ḡharb ta'rīkhī*, Istanbul 1328/1912, 53-84; Meḥmed Nūrī and Maḥmūd Nāḍjī, *Tarābulus ḡharb*, Istanbul 1330/1914; A. S. Ilter, *Şimalī Afrika'da Türkler*, Istanbul 1933, ii, 229-44; D. Badia y Leblich, *Voyages d'Ally Bey*, Paris 1814, ii; Lady Mary Wortley Montague, *Narrative of a ten years residence at Tripoli*, London 1816; G. F. Lyon, *A Narrative of travels in Northern Africa in the years 1818, 1819, 1820*, London 1821; E. Pellissier de Reynaud, *La Régence de Tripoli*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xii (1855), 5-48; D. D. Porter, *Memoirs of Commodore David Porter of the United States Navy*, New York 1875, chs. 2, 3, 4; N. Slousch, *La Tripolitaine sous la domination des Karamanli*, in *RMM*, vi (1908), 58-84, 211-32, 433-53; G. Medina, *Les Karamanli de la Tripolitaine et l'occupation temporaire de Tripoli par Ali Boulogour*, in *RT*, no. 61 (Jan. 1907), 21-32; E. Dupuy, *Américains et Barbaresques*, Paris 1910, 132 ff.; G. Ferrari, *La spedizione della marina sarda a Tripoli nel 1825*, Rome 1912; F. Nani-Mocenigo, *Tripoli e Veneziani (1714-66)*, Citta di Castello 1914; R. Vadalà, *Essai sur l'histoire des Karamanli, pachas de Tripolitaine de 1714 à 1835*, in *Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises*, vii (1919), 177-288; J. Serres, *La politique turque en Afrique du Nord sous la Monarchie de Juillet*, Paris 1925; C. Bergna, *Tripoli dal 1510 al 1850*, Tripoli 1925; C. Ferraud, *Annales tripolitaines*, ed. A. Bernard, Tunis-Paris 1927; E. de Agostini, *Una spedizione americana in Cirenaica nel 1805*, in *Rivista della Colonia Italiana*, ii (1928), 721-32, iii (1929), 41-56; Ismail Kemali, *Documenti inediti sulla caduta dei Karamanli*, in *Riv. delle Col. Ital.* iv (1930), 1-24, 178-216; R. Micacchi, *I rapporti tra il regno di Francia e la Reggenza di Tripoli di Barberia nelle prima metà del sec. xviii*, in *Riv. delle Col. Ital.*, viii (1934), 65-81, 159-82, 247-76; G. Cappovin, *Tripoli e Venezia nel secolo xviii*, Verbania 1942; C. Bergna, *I Karamanli*, in *Libia*, iii (1953), 5-59; S. Bono, *I corsari barbareschi*, Torino 1964, 52-66, 158-79; R. Mantran, *Le statut de l'Algérie, de la Tunisie et de la Tripolitaine dans l'Em-*

*pire ottoman, in Atti del I, congresso internazionale di studi nord-africani, Cagliari 1965, 205-16; E. Rossi, Storia di Tripoli e della Tripolitania della conquista araba al 1911, Rome 1968, 221-94 (many bibliographical references); JA, art. Karamanli (M. Fuad Ezgü).* (R. MANTRAN)

**KARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ** (KARAMĀNIDS), a Turkish dynasty which ruled over the regions of İĀ-II, Konya and Niğde [q.v.].

The claim made by Yazıdjı-oghlu 'Alī [q.v.] that the Karamān-oghullarī belonged to the Avshar [see AVSHAR] tribe is plausible. It is probable that they were settled in Arrān [q.v.] prior to the Mongol invasion, that because of it they had to immigrate to the Sivas region, and that after taking part in the Babā'ī [q.v.] revolt they moved to the Ermenek region and established their home there. The Ermenek-Mut-Anamur region was conquered in 622/1225 during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubād.

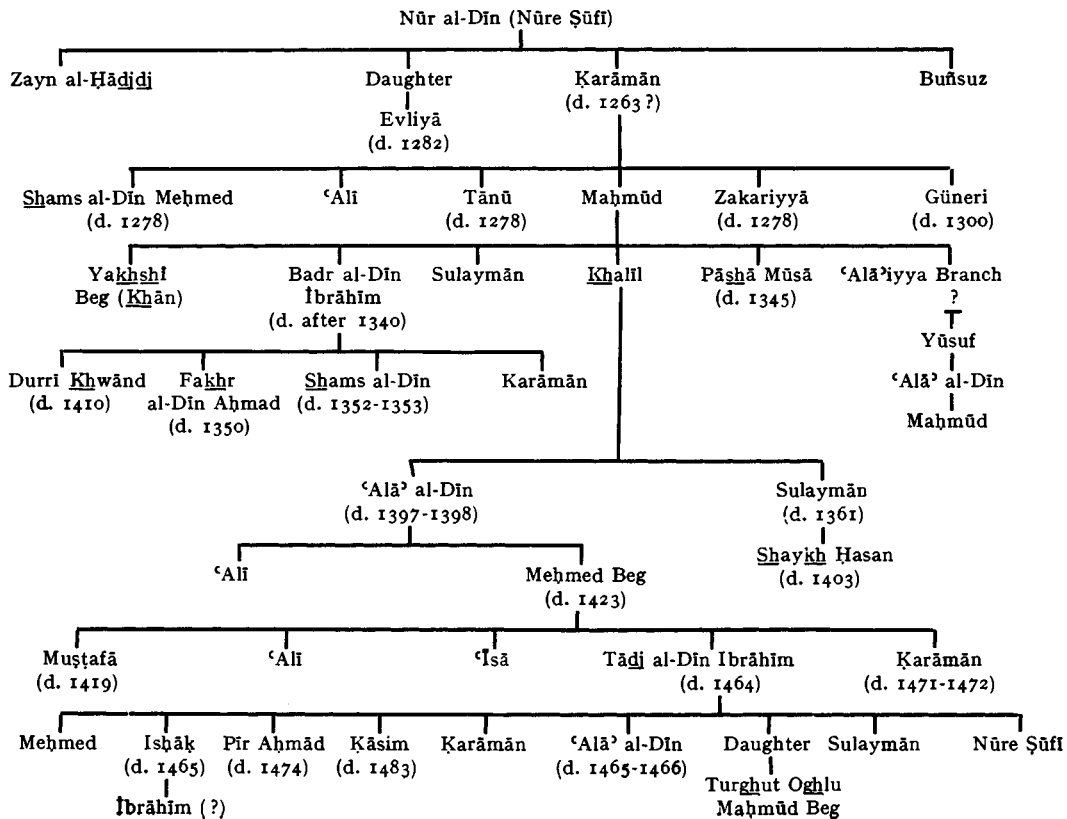
The principal tribes over which the Karamānids ruled were: Iğdir (one of the 24 Oghuz tribes), Boz Doghan (possibly a sub-tribe of Iğdir), Turghudlu, Bayburdlu, Bozkırlu, Oghuz-Khānlu, Khwādja Yūnuslu, Yapa-oghullarī, Adalı-oghullarī, Shāmlu, Khodjantlu (Khodjantī = from Khudjand in Türkistan?), Yıva and Beğ-Dilī. Some of these tribes are patently named after clan-leaders (*boy-beği*). To these we can also add the Gökez-oghullarī and the Gödjer oghullarī. We also know that tribes living on the Bulghar Daghi (Bulgharlu), and such tribes as Kūsh Temürlü, Kuşunlu, Elwānlu and Ulaşlu, which belonged to the Warsak confederation, were in the service of the Karamānids. Some small Mongol tribes that were left behind after Timūr's invasion may also be added to these.

The defeat of the Saldjūk army for the second time by the Mongol commander Baydjū in 654/1256, and the beginning of a struggle between Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāvūs and Rukn al-Dīn Kılıdji Arslan, his brother and rival, allowed the Turkmen peoples living along the frontier regions to enjoy greater autonomy and gain greater political importance. Karamān Beg's emergence in the Ermenek-Mut region was part of this development.

According to Shikārī [q.v.] and to some later chronicles, inscriptions and archival records, Karamān's father was Nūr al-Dīn Şūfī or Nüre Şūfī. Shikārī claims that Nüre Şūfī was interested in religious matters rather than in state affairs and was a follower of Bābā Ilyās; leaving the administration of his principality to his son Karamān, he led a life of seclusion. He is buried at Değirmenlik, in the Sinanlı district of Ermenek. Like the majority of the Turkmen begs, Karamān was a supporter of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāvūs. It is, therefore, probable that he took part in the battle between 'Alī Bahādūr, commander of the army of Kaykāvūs, and Rukn al-Dīn Kılıdji Arslan near the Altunpa (Altun Apa) caravanserai to the west of Konya in 660/1262. Zayn al-Hādjdī, one of his brothers, was killed in this battle.

The Parwāna Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān, who held administrative authority in Anatolia with the support of Rukn al-Dīn Kılıdji Arslan and the Mongols, put many *amirs* who had sided with Kaykāvūs to death and pacified Karamān, whom he was unable to seize, by granting him an amirate (possibly the governorship of Ermenek). He also appointed his brother Buñsuz as Amīr Djāndār. Karamān made frequent attacks on the territory of the neighbouring Kingdom

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KARAMĀNID DYNASTY



of Little Armenia. In fact, according to contemporary Armenian chroniclers, in a battle fought between Karāmān and the Armenian king Hethoum at the fortress of "Maniaun" (probably Mennan castle near Ermenek), his brother Buñsuz and his brother-in-law were killed. Karāmān also died after a time from the wounds he received in the same battle. The claim by the Armenian chronicler that Buñsuz was killed in battle is not correct. *Şhikārī*, 33, claims that Karāmān was buried in Ermenek. However, the text of the inscription attributed to Karāmān in the village of Balkasun (*Khalil Edhem, Karāmān Oghulları hakkında wethā'ik-i mahkrūke*, in *TOEM*, ii, 699; İ. H. Konyalı, *Karaman Tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, 693) makes it clear that the inscription belongs to his son Mahmūd Beg, the builder of the tomb, in which he also is buried.

Although the Saldjūk Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Kılıdī Arslan was enraged at Karāmān's refusal to obey his orders, he left him unmolested. When he heard of his death, however, he imprisoned his brother Buñsuz, who was in Konya as Amīr Dīāndār. Karāmān's young children were taken into custody in the castle of Gevele, near Konya. His sons were transferred to other castles after Kılıdī Arslan's death (663/1265), and were later released by the Parwāna; one of them, 'Alī Beg, was still held hostage in Kayseri. The Beglerbegi Khaṭīr-oghlu Şharaf al-Dīn, who had revolted against the Mongols in 675/1276, dismissed the governor of Ermenek, Badr al-Dīn İbrāhīm, the son of Kāḏī Khuteni, and appointed in his stead Karāmān's son Şhams al-Dīn Mehmed Beg. Mehmed Beg occupied İç-II down to the sea, and started raiding the Mongol detachments. Following the dismissal of Khaṭīr-oghlu, the Parwāna sent the former governor Badr al-Dīn İbrāhīm against the Karāmānids, but he suffered a heavy defeat in a battle with the forces of Mehmed Beg. Following this, Saldjūk forces under the command of the Nā'ib al-Salṭana Amīn al-Dīn Milkhā'īl and Şāhib Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's sons failed to gain any victory over the Karāmānids. At about this time, the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars had defeated the Mongols on the Albistan plain (10 Dhū'l-Ḳa'da 675/15 April 1277) and entered Kayseri.

Baybars gave Karāmān's son 'Alī Beg—at his own request—amirates and "sandjaks" for himself and his elder brothers. The Karāmānids, taking advantage of this situation, began hostilities under the command of Mehmed Beg, supported by 'Alā' al-Dīn Siyāvūsh, the Saldjūkid prince, who was called "Djimirī" ("miserly"). He was one of the sons of 'İzz al-Dīn Kaykāvūs. Mehmed Beg first came to Aḡsarāy with a fairly small army (a contemporary source gives this as 3,000); because of the few forces at his disposal, he turned towards Konya. He captured Konya (9 Dhū'l-Hiḏḏja 675/15 May 1277), ineffectually defended by the Nā'ib al-Salṭana, and put 'Alā' al-Dīn Siyāvūsh on the Saldjūk throne; the *khutba* was read in his name, and coins were struck; one of these is still extant (O. F. Sağlam, *Şimdiye kadar görülmeyen Cimri sikkesi*, in *III. Tarih Kongresi zabıtları*, Ankara 1943, 224-8). Mehmed Beg became 'Alā' al-Dīn Siyāvūsh's vizier. One of the first decrees passed at the first meeting of his council was that no language other than Turkish should thenceforth be spoken in government offices and the court.

Mehmed Beg, learning that the sons of Şāhib Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī were moving towards Konya with a large army, went to Aḡ Şehir, taking 'Alā' al-Dīn Siyāvūsh with him. In the ensuing battle he defeated and killed the sons of Şāhib. Although Sivri-Ḥişār opened

its gates to him, he met with resistance at Kara Ḥişār (Afyon) and therefore returned to Konya. He declared that he would go to Erzurum to fight the Mongols, but as he could not raise the necessary troops he abandoned the plan. When he heard that a Mongol army was approaching, he returned to İç-II. In fact, the Mongol ruler, Abaḡa, sent the vizier Şhams al-Dīn Muḡammad Djuwaynī and some Mongol commanders to Turkey at the head of a large army for the purpose of establishing peace, and applying the Mongol financial system in the country (Rabī' II 676/September 1277). Djuwaynī came to the country of the Karāmānids along with the Mongol troops. After some plunder and destruction he moved to Kaz Ova (in the Tokat region) for the approaching winter. As a precaution, a Mongol unit was left under the command of Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw. In spring, the sultan and the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī marched against the Karāmānids with the Saldjūk and Mongol forces under their command, and reached Mut. Mehmed Beg, who had taken up a position near the fortress of Kurbagha for the purpose of reconnaissance, encountered a Mongol detachment and was killed together with two brothers and a cousin. Upon this unexpected success the sultan and the vizier swept down to the Mediterranean in order to put an end to the Karāmānids (676/1277). Meanwhile, 'Alā' al-Dīn Siyāvūsh succeeded in gathering a considerable force in the west, to which he had escaped, but he was defeated and killed by Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw (Muḡarram 677/May 1278). This success, far from wiping out the Karāmānids, helped to strengthen their will to fight.

Following this, they were headed by Güneri Beg, who seems to have been a member of the Karāmānid dynasty. The defeat of the Mongol army by the Mamlūks at Ḥimş in 680/1281, and the death of Abaḡa following this, led to disturbances in Turkey. Karāmān Oghlu Güneri Beg carried out frequent acts of plunder in the Konya region, while Ashraf Oghlu Sulaymān Beg started making raids from Beg Şehri on Konya and Aḡ Şehir. Finding himself helpless in the face of the raids of the Turkmen begs, Sulṭān Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw sought help from Aḡmad, the successor of Abaḡa. Aḡmad sent his brother Kōnghurtay to Anatolia at the head of a large army. After plundering Aḡsaray in a manner without precedent, Kōnghurtay arrived in Karāmānid territory. Great destruction was caused there by forest fires, pillage and plunder, and massacre. Large numbers of people were killed. Women and children were captured and sold as slaves. The savage destruction wrought by Kōnghurtay in Karāmānid territory created deep sorrow and anger among the Mamlūks, and in a letter written to the İlkhān Aḡmad, the savagery was described as something incompatible with Muslim brotherhood. The fact that Aḡmad summoned Kōnghurtay and had him executed (682 Şhawwāl/January 1284) may be related with feelings of anger at a brother in the faith's cruelty. In spite of this, Kōnghurtay's acts of violence could not break down the resistance of the Karāmānids. The new sultan, Ghīyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd, was a weak man who preferred to live in Kayseri as he did not feel safe in Konya. The invading Mongol troops were stationed in eastern parts of central Anatolia; taking advantage of this, the wife of the former sultan, Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw, had her two sons acclaimed as rulers in Konya. To gain their support, Karāmān Oghlu Güneri Beg and Ashraf Oghlu Sulaymān Beg were given a *beglerbegilik* and regency respectively (684/1285). Shortly afterwards, the two children were put to death by the orders of

Arghun Khān, but neither Sultan Mas'ūd nor the Mongols were able to establish peace and order in the western part of central Anatolia.

After the Ķarāmānids and the Ashraf OghullarĪ, the Germiyānids appeared on the scene in the Kūta-hya region. In the meantime, Güneri Beg took Laranda (modern Karaman: see LARANDA). In 686/1287 a certain Ķarāmān Oghlu marched against Ţarsūs, causing destruction around the city. It is almost certain that this "Ķarāmān Oghlu" was Güneri Beg. Maḥmūd Beg, one of the sons of Ķarāmān ruling somewhere in the İç-il, accepted Güneri Beg as suzerain. Sultan Mas'ūd and the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, by order of the Shāhzāde Gaykhatu marched against the Ķarāmān territory at the head of a joint Saldjūk and Mongol army in the same year. However, they could not engage the Ķarāmānid forces, which had withdrawn into the rugged mountains, and were unable to do more than destroy some of the town of Laranda and its surroundings. In the next year (687/1288), Ķarāmān Oghlu and Ashraf Oghlu came to Ḳonya to express their submission to Mas'ūd, while Güneri Beg, accompanied by his brother (and possibly also by Maḥmūd Beg), came before the sultan with a large army and kissed his hand (Djumādā II/May-June 1289). Güneri Beg sent his brother (Maḥmūd Beg?) to visit Gaykhatu, the Mongol governor who had come to Ḳonya. However, Gaykhatu's return to Iran on the death of Arghun (690/1290) gave rise to disturbances everywhere. At this time, the Ķarāmānids attacked Ashraf Oghlu and entered Beg Shehri, but they were driven back. As Sultan Mas'ūd lived in Kayseri and there was no competent governor in Ḳonya, the Ķarāmānids were emboldened to carry out frequent raids and acts of plunder in and around the city. On one occasion, under the command of Khalīl Bahādur, they raided and plundered the city for three days in succession. Sultan Mas'ūd thereupon requested help from Gaykhatu, who had recently succeeded to the İkhānid throne, Gaykhatu came to Anatolia with a large army, which also included Georgian soldiers. Laranda and Ereğli and the villages around these cities were destroyed with particular savagery. The number of captives taken from the lands of the Ķarāmānids and Ashraf OghullarĪ alone (690/1292) was 7,000. The Mongol ruler carried destruction as far as Ladik (modern Denizli, ancient Laodicia) and the newly created Menteshe principality; he did not even spare the citizens of such cities as were obedient to him. He then returned to İrān with the abundant booty seized in Anatolia. Gaykhatu, the perpetrator of many cruel acts such as these was essentially an incompetent ruler. He was unable to resist Baydu, and eventually lost both his throne and his life in 694/1295.

In spite of heavy losses, the Ķarāmānids renewed action as soon as Gaykhatu returned, while Ashraf Oghlu captured Gevele Castle near Ḳonya. Taking advantage of this situation, Henry II, King of Cyprus, landed troops at 'Alā'īyya, but they beaten back by the Ķarāmānids led by Maḥmūd Beg.

Mongol dominion in Anatolia during the time of Ghāzān Khān was in its weakest phase. The city of Ḳonya was under the rule of Akhī Ahmad Shāh. Henceforth, the Akhīs had a considerable say in the administration of the city for many years to come. When Baltu (696/1297) and Sülemīsh (698/1299), two of the Mongol commanders in Anatolia, revolted against Ghāzān, they were in collusion with the Ķarāmānids; in fact, a large number or perhaps all of the Turks in the army of Sülemīsh belonged to the Ķarāmānids. Nevertheless, Ghāzān Khān declined to

take any action against them. Referring to the Ķarāmānids, he is reported to have said, "I was seeking the enemy in the east and west, while he was hiding beneath my clothing. If it had not been for the Ķarāmānids, Turkmens and Kurds, the Mongol horsemen would have reached the place where the sun sets", indicating that the Mongols regarded the Ķarāmānids as the main barrier to their domination of the whole of Anatolia. Shortly after the revolt of Sülemīsh, the brave and competent Ķarāmānid leader Güneri Beg died (28 Rādīab 699/20 April 1300).

The first half of the 8th/14th century constitutes the least-known period in the history of the Ķarāmānids, owing to the scarcity and contradictory nature of the available historical evidence, Güneri Beg was succeeded by his brother Maḥmūd Beg, who is known to have built a mosque in Ermenek in 702/1302 and a turba for himself and his father, Ķarāmān Beg, in the same year. According to Neshrī, Maḥmūd Beg died in 707/1307-8 (*Djihān-numā*, ed. F. R. Unat—M. A. Köymen, Ankara 1949, i, 48, 49). Although he gives no source, İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (*Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara 1969), refers to an inscription on a mosque dated 711/1311 mentioning Maḥmūd Beg. In the same year the Ķarāmānids and Aldum (?), a powerful Turkmen Beg, defeated and killed Kazāndjūk, a Mongol commander, in one of the passes of the Taurus Mountains. Neshrī mentions that Maḥmūd Beg had two sons, Yakḥshī and Sulaymān, and that Yakḥshī succeeded to his father's title in Ermenek (*ibid.*). The Yakḥshī Beg referred to by Neshrī is the Yakḥshī Khān mentioned in other sources as the successor of Maḥmūd. Maḥmūd had several other sons, named Badr al-Dīn İbrāhīm, Pāshā Mūsā, Khalīl (and perhaps Yūsuf), but nothing is clearly known of their political lives, and not even the dates of their deaths. It is understood that Yakḥshī Khān, who succeeded to his father's title in Ermenek, overthrew Akhī Muṣṭafā, ruler of Ḳonya, and captured the city. It is probable that this event occurred during the early months of 714/end of 1314, because it is suggested that the main reason for Čöbān Beg's being sent to Turkey was the capture of Ḳonya by the Ķarāmānids (Ķāshānī, *Ta'rikh-i Ulū'āyatı*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran 1969, 168-70). According to the same historian Ķarāmān Oghlu, who ruled Ḳonya for some time, fled to Laranda during a famine which broke out in the city; he was pursued and forced to come before Čöbān, who pardoned him. After leaving officials in Ḳonya and appointing his son Demir Taşh (Timūr Tāsh) as his regent in Anatolia, Čöbān returned to İrān. Before long Ḳonya was recaptured by the Ķarāmānids. According to Neshrī, Yakḥshī Beg died in Ermenek in 717/1317-18, and was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān Beg. It is presumed that Neshrī's source for this was an old calendar (*İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1954, 32, 33), which mentions that Yakḥshī Beg was killed. The next year, "Ķarāmān Oghlu" İbrāhīm Beg's ambassador came to Cairo, stating that his master had read the *khutba* in the name of the sultan and also struck coins in his name. This statement might confirm that Yakḥshī Khān was killed in the year already mentioned, and that Badr al-Dīn İbrāhīm had replaced him, but Yakḥshī Khān is referred to in other calendars as living at a later date. The date of his death accordingly remains uncertain.

Pāshā Mūsā Beg, one of the sons of Maḥmūd Beg, restored Laranda, which had been destroyed by Gaykhatu, in 711/1311-12 and took up residence there. The city may possibly have been in the hands of Badr al-Dīn İbrāhīm Beg prior to 718/1318. We know that



at this time Nađim al-Din Demir Khān b. Qarāmān was in the service of the Mamlūks, being either the commander or one of the commanders of the Mamlūk forces sent to Mecca as early as 715/1315; he died in Damascus in 734/1333-34. Three years earlier 'Alī Bahādur b. Qarāmān had been appointed to one of the *ḥabl-khāna* amirates. Unfortunately we do not know the names of the fathers of these Qarāmānid princes.

The appointment of Demir Taṣh, Cōbān's son, as commander of the Mongol forces in Anatolia led to the strengthening of Mongol domination in Anatolia, and to the expansion of the territories under Mongol occupation. Demir Taṣh took measures to establish the long-awaited peace and order in central Anatolia, and was so popular with both villagers and townsmen that he was called "Maḥdī-i ākḥir zamān". His aim was to bring the Turkmen begs under his control and to become the sole ruler of Anatolia. According to Aflākī (*Manāḥib al-'arīfīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1964, ii, 977), Demir Taṣh took Qonya from the Qarāmānids in 720/1320. It is more probable, however, that this conquest took place, as recorded in the anonymous *Salḍjūknāma*, 94, in 723/1323, or that he conquered the city for the second time on the latter date. As well as conquering Qonya in 723, he also captured Mūsā Beg and the Ḥamīd-oghlu Dündar Beg, but is understood to have set Mūsā Beg free. Although Demir Taṣh wiped out the principalities of Aṣḥraf Oghullarī, he was more lenient to the Qarāmānids, and pursued a policy of friendship towards them. When he fled to Egypt in 727/1327, his lieutenants Eretna and Sunḡur Āghā escaped to Laranda, where Badr al-Din Ibrāhīm Beg was living. Quick to grasp this chance, the Qarāmānids re-took Qonya, the fortress of Gevele and Bey Shehri in 729/1328-29. It is to be assumed that in 735/1334-35 Badr al-Din Ibrāhīm Beg was in Laranda, his son Aḡmad Beg was in Qonya, Yakhshī Khān was in Ermenek (?), Khalīl Beg in Bey Shehri and Mūsā in Mecca. As Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited neither Qonya nor Laranda, he did not meet the Qarāmānid begs, and what he wrote about them is based only on hearsay, Mūsā Beg, who stopped at Cairo on his way to and from Mecca, was entertained and even offered a high position by the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, but he refused the sultan's offer on the grounds that he could not live away from his people and country. While he was returning to his country under the protection of Mamlūk amirs, partisans of the Armenian king tried to capture him, resulting in further destruction and plunder of the Cilician Armenian kingdom by the Mamlūk forces.

Mūsā Beg was probably the builder of a *madrasa* (the Tol Madrasa) in Ermenek in 740/1339-40; he probably died in Ramaḡān 745/January 1345. Ī. H. Konyalı believes that the Amīr Mūsā Madrasa, which no longer stands, was built in Laranda by "Karaman Oghlu" Mūsā Beg (*Karaman Tarihi*, 720). Yet this is highly improbable, because there was, during the reign of 'Alā' al-Din Kayqubād, a Salḍjūk governor by the name of Amīr Mūsā in Laranda, who had a *madrasa* built in the city for the father of Djalāl al-Din al-Rūmī (Aflākī, i, 25-8, 303). It is therefore more likely that the Salḍjūk Amīr Mūsā was responsible for the *madrasa* in Karaman.

Badr al-Din Ibrāhīm Beg is known to have been alive in 741/1341. His ambassador to Cairo departed with the standards sent by the caliph and the sultan and the moulds for minting silver and gold coins on behalf of the sultan. It is difficult to assess why Ibrāhīm Beg accepted the suzerainty of the Mamlūk sultan. Historical calendars record that Khalīl Beg, one of the sons of Maḡmūd Beg, came from Bey

Shehri to Konya, where Aḡmad Beg was living, and fought with Yakhshī Beg (or Khān). The date of this event is given as 742/1341-2 and 743/1342-3 in two calendars (Nurosmāniye no. 5080, f.4a, ed. O. Turan, 32, 33), while in two other calendars we have the dates of 761/1360 and 762/1361 (ed. Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 22, 23; ed. O. Turan, 49). Of these dates, 742 or 743 is approximately correct. It is probable that Khalīl Beg killed Yakhshī Khān (Beg) in this battle. The fact that, like Güneri Beg, Yakhshī Khān is not mentioned by Shikārī, is puzzling. Khalīl Beg is understood to have built a mosque in Ermenek, *zāwiya* in the villages of Ermenek, and a *zāwiya* in Laranda. There is a copy of a *wakfiyya* dated 745/1344-45 made by him. The year of his death is not known, but it must have been between 745/1344-5 and 750/1349-50.

Fakhr al-Din Aḡmad Beg, the son of Badr al-Din Ibrāhīm Beg, was then left as the sole ruler. Shikārī's claim that he was killed in one of the endless battles with the Mongols is acceptable, because the adjective *al-shahid* appears on a burial inscription dated 750/1349. Fakhr al-Din was succeeded by his brother Shams al-Din Beg, who died in 753/1352. According to Shikārī (p. 60), Shams al-Din Beg was poisoned by his brother Qarāmān. The word *al-shahid* occurs in his inscription (Ī. H. Konyalı, *op. cit.*, p. 460). Sulaymān Beg, one of the sons of Khalīl Beg, succeeded to the throne. Konya was then under the rule of the Eretna Dynasty, and Bey Shehri seems to have been in the possession of Ismā'īl Āghā, one of the Qarāmānids lost Qonya during the time of Eretna (d. 753/1352). The various Mongol tribes settled by Demir Taṣh (Timūr Taṣh) in the western parts of Central Anatolia became a continuous source of trouble for the Qarāmānids, a situation that endured until the tribesmen were taken back to Turkiṣtān by Timūr. Although a kind, good-natured and religious ruler, Sulaymān Beg was killed in a plot organized by begs of his family (762/1361). The titles of "Ṣāḡib al-Dawla al-Nāṣir, Sayf al-Dawla wa'l-Din", which occur in the inscription of the Hāđđijī Begler Djāmi' dated 757/1356, refer to Sulaymān Beg.

Sulaymān Beg was buried in the Akḡhī Mehmed Beg or Kalamiyya *zāwiya*, and his tomb was built by his brother 'Alā' al-Din Beg in 772/1370-71. According to Shikārī (p. 90), Kāsim, one of the organizers of the plot, succeeded to the throne, but later he and his supporters were killed by 'Alā' al-Din Beg, who obtained the throne. As this Qarāmānid Beg is referred to merely as 'Alā' al-Din in inscriptions, coins, *wakfiyyas*, historical calendars and in reliable contemporary foreign and native chroniclers, calling him "Alā' al-Din 'Alī" is simply the perpetuation of an error in some historical works. 'Alā' al-Din Beg differed from his predecessors (perhaps with the exception of Mūsā Beg) in being an educated ruler. Yarđđānī's *Shāḡhnāma* on the Qarāmān dynasty, which was Shikārī's principal source, was written at his command. During the reign of 'Alā' al-Din Beg the borders of the Qarāmānid state were extended in every direction, and the Qarāmānid rulers were no longer mere "rulers of the Anatolian mountains" (*Ṣāḡib đjibāl al-Rūm*), as Mamlūk chroniclers used to call them. During this period the Mamlūks occupied the whole of Cilicia, bringing to an end the Armenian kingdom (777/1375). The Eretnas were also in a state of confusion. Taking advantage of this situation, 'Alā' al-Din Beg captured certain Armenian castles, and took Qonya in 767 or 768/1366-67 and later Aḡ Saray, Nigde, Karaḡiṣār (Yeṣil Hisar), Aḡ Shehir,

Iğhīn, Ishāklu and even Kayseri. The latter, however, was soon recovered by the Eretnas. Following on these successes, the Babuk Oghullarī, Ata Beg, Devlet Shāh and other Mongol begs entered the Karāmānid service. If Bey Shehri and even Seydī Shehri were taken by 'Alā' al-Dīn Beg, they must have been captured following the death of Ismā'īl Āghā (780/1379). It must, however, be noted that 'Alā' al-Dīn Beg's rule, like that of his successors, was devoid of consistent diplomatic principle. He abandoned the traditional alliance with the Mamlūks, and became a supporter of the rebellious Ramaḍān Oghullarī against Sultan Barkūk, while pursuing a hostile policy against Kādī Burhān al-Dīn, his natural ally against the Ottomans. This led to a loss of territory, and damaged his prestige, particularly among the Mongol tribes. His encouragement of Timūr's attack on the Ottomans and the Mamlūks, probably motivated by a desire for revenge for the defeat he had suffered, left him completely isolated against Bāyazīd.

The Karāmānid territory included the following regions and cities in 782/1380: Gülnar, Anamur, Silifke, Mut, Ermenek, Hādīm, Bozklr, Laranda (the capital), Ereğli, Ulukshla, Niğde, Kara Hişār, Aḡ Saray, Aḡ Shehir, Iğhīn, Sa'īd ili (Kadīn Khānī) and Konya (see map in ANADOLU). We do not know definitely whether Bey Shehri and Seydī Shehri were under Karāmānid rule. It is clear that 'Alā' al-Dīn Beg considerably enlarged Karāmānid territory, whence his names "Sultān" and "Abū l-Fath". Nevertheless he was unable, contrary to Shikārī's claim, to capture Corycos (Klz Kulesi) on the Mediterranean coast, which was held by the Kingdom of Cyprus.

His relations with the Ottomans were uneasy. He was a son-in-law of Murād I, but when Murād bought part of the Hamīd Oghullarī territory, 'Alā' al-Dīn was offended because he was planning to capture the area himself; the Hamīd Oghlu had in fact sold a part of his lands to the Ottomans because he had discovered 'Alā' al-Dīn Beg's intention. 'Alā' al-Dīn Beg's occupation of Kara Aghaḥ and Yalvaḍī, while Murād was engaged with his expeditions in the Balkans, was a cause of war between the two states. Murād defeated his son-in-law easily (789/1387), and made peace through the mediation of his daughter, on the condition that Bey Shehri be given to him. However, 'Alā' al-Dīn Beg regarded this as a temporary peace only, and hoped that an opportunity would arise for him to renew hostilities. In fact, when he heard that his father-in-law had been killed at Kosova (791/1389), he captured Bey Shehri and encouraged the begs of western Anatolia to fight against the new ruler Bāyazīd. But this act proved to be against his own interests. He sent an ambassador to his brother-in-law from the Ermenek region, from which he had withdrawn, and sued for peace. Köshk Bükü, one of the villages of Bey Shehri, was accepted as marking the border and peace was made (793/1391). In spite of these successive defeats, the Karāmānid never abandoned his struggle against the Ottomans. He attacked Anḡara at the time of the battle of Niğbolu, and imprisoned Sarf Demir Taşh Pāshā, governor of the city. But he was again defeated by Bāyazīd and retreated to the citadel of Konya castle. The people of Konya demonstrated their feelings about the Karāmānids by handing over their ruler to Bāyazīd. The Ottoman ruler, who had decided to annex Karāmānid territory, then had his brother-in-law put to death (800/1397-8). Mehmed Beg and 'Ali Beg, sons of the Karāmānid, were taken to Bursa and imprisoned. Bāyazīd gave the conquered Karāmānid lands to his son Muştafā. İç-il was placed under the rule of Shaykh Hasan, son

of Sulaymān Beg, who had earlier taken refuge with Kādī Burhān al-Dīn.

Following the battle of Anḡara (804/1402), Timūr gave back to Mehmed Beg and 'Ali Beg their father's territory, as well as Kayseri, Klr Shehri and Sivri Hişār. But Mehmed Beg was not content with these. This energetic new Karāmānid ruler annexed Hamīd-ili, and taking advantage of the weak rule of the Mamlūk sultan Farādī, took Ṭarsūs and occupied Kara Hişār (Afyon) and Kütahya. It is recorded in some calendars that "Karāmān Oghlu" even captured Antalya. Mehmed Beg went even further and besieged Bursa (816/1413). Before long, however, it was apparent that Mehmed Beg's achievements were the result of favourable prevailing conditions rather than of his personal qualities. He was forced to make peace with Mehmed I Çelebi by handing over Bey Shehri, Seydī Shehri and Aḡ Shehir (812/1414). The following year he and his son Muştafā were taken before the Ottoman ruler as virtual prisoners: their lives were spared in return for an oath that Mehmed Beg would never again break the peace. Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, the new Mamlūk sultan, demanded that Karāmān Oghlu return to him Ṭarsūs, which the Karāmānid had captured for the second time. Believing that the Mamlūk sultan could not touch him, Mehmed Beg ignored this demand. Furthermore, he gave his daughter to the Ramaḍānid Ibrāhīm Beg and protected him against al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. But when he heard that a large Mamlūk army under the command of Ibrāhīm, son of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, was marching against Karāmānid territory, he realized his mistake. Unwilling to risk the battle with the Mamlūk army, Mehmed Beg withdrew into the mountains. Kayseri was given to the Dulkadrlr Oghullarī while the territory of Karāmān was given to 'Ali Beg, brother of Mehmed Beg (822/1419). As soon as the Mamlūk army had left, Mehmed Beg regained authority in most of his lands, but his son Muştafā was killed in a battle fought with the Dulkadrlrds near Kayseri, while he himself was captured and taken to Cairo as a prisoner (822/1419). Although 'Ali Beg was protected by the Mamlūk sultan, he was unable to establish his authority throughout the Karāmānid territory. He failed to capture Konya in the face of a strong defence by Sunghur, a loyal commander of Mehmed Beg; unable to withstand the attacks of Ibrāhīm, one of the sons of Mehmed Beg who was being helped by the Ottomans, he returned to Niğde. Having been released upon the death of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in 824/1421, Mehmed Beg had no difficulty in re-establishing his authority over his country. Despite the many setbacks with which he had suffered, he lost none of his ambition. Taking advantage of the newly-crowned Ottoman sultan's struggle with his uncle Muştafā, he besieged Antalya at the suggestion of the Teke Oghlu 'Uthmān Beg, but was killed by a shot fired from the castle (826/1423). His sons took his body to Laranda and buried him there. A man of great energy, Mehmed Beg observed moderation in his private life and showed great respect to men of learning. He was not, however, popular with his subjects, as he frequently levied heavy taxes. Upon his death his brother, 'Ali Beg, became the ruler of the entire Karāmānid territory, but his rule was shortlived. Unable to fight against Ibrāhīm Beg, who was again aided by Murād II, and, like his grandfather, was related to the Ottomans by marriage, 'Ali Beg retreated to Niğde. Following the death of his uncle, Ibrāhīm Beg captured Niğde as well.

Tāḡī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg was the last great ruler of the Karāmānid state. An energetic and warlike

man like his father and grandfather, he was over-ambitious. After making an agreement with the Serbs and Hungarians, he captured Eğridir and Isparta (837/1433), but was forced to sue for peace from Murād II, who had marched against him. Murād wanted to give the Karāmānid territory to 'Īsā, a brother of Ibrāhīm Beg in his service. But as he had failed to overcome Ibrāhīm Beg on a previous occasion (830/1426-7), he made peace with his brother-in-law on the condition that the territory belonging to the Ḥamīd Oghullarī would remain under Ottoman rule (838/1435). However, Ibrāhīm Beg won a great victory against the Dulkadrī Oghlu Nāşir al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg, and took Kara Hişār, Develi, Uç Hişār, Ürgüb and Kayseri. This achievement had been possible through the approval and aid of the Mamlūk sultan Bārsbay. Ibrāhīm Beg continued his policy of hostility towards the Ottomans. In concert with the Hungarian attack on the Ottomans in 846/1442, he sent an army under the command of his son-in-law Turghut Oghlu Hasan Beg, effecting large-scale destruction and plunder in Anḳara, Beg Pazarı, Kütahya, Kara Hişār (Afyon), Bolvadin and Ḥamīd İli, but sharp Ottoman retaliation followed. When Murād heard that the Hungarians had broken the Treaty of Szege-din, he accepted Ibrāhīm Beg's peace offer, but the ensuing treaty contained some of the harshest terms that the Karāmānids had ever had to accept and reduced them to vassals of the Ottomans. (For the text of this treaty see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Karaman oğulları devri vesikalarından İbrahim Bey'in Karaman emareti vakfiyesi*, *Belleten* i/1, 120-1). In 1448 Ibrāhīm Beg captured the fortress of Corycos, which his grandfather 'Alā' al-Dīn Beg had failed to take. However, this conquest did not worsen commercial relations between Cyprus and the Karāmānids; on the contrary, Ibrāhīm Beg granted the Venetians special trade concessions within his country.

Of the many sons of Ibrāhīm Beg, Pīr Aḥmad, Kāsim and 'Alā' al-Dīn were born of Celebi Meḥmed I's daughter. According to early Ottoman chroniclers, Ibrāhīm Beg disliked these children because they had Ottoman blood in their veins and he made İshāk, son of another wife, his crown prince. Upon his father becoming seriously ill, Pīr Aḥmad Beg declared himself ruler in Konya. Realizing that he could not hold the city, Ibrāhīm Beg fled with his son İshāk, but died on the way to the fortress of Gevele (869/1464). His body was taken to Laranda and buried in his tomb near his 'imāret. Ibrāhīm Beg, an active and brave ruler, was also a great builder: apart from the 'imāret in Laranda, he constructed numerous public buildings, mosques, *madrasas*, bridges and irrigation canals. He was also a patron of artists and scholars. Yet he was also a man of violent temper, and had many of his viziers put to death.

Following the death of Ibrāhīm Beg, İshāk and Pīr Aḥmad between them divided the country into two principalities, İshāk ruling İç-il with capital at Silifke, and Pīr Aḥmad ruling the larger part of the country with his capital at Konya. Before long İshāk, with the help of Uzun Ḥasan, the Aḳ Koyunlu ruler, forced Pīr Aḥmad to take refuge under the Ottoman sultan Meḥmed II, but Pīr Aḥmad defeated İshāk with the reinforcements he had received from the Ottoman ruler and brought the entire Karāmānid territory under his rule (870/1465). İshāk again took refuge under Uzun Ḥasan, and died in 870/1465-6.

Meḥmed II was determined to put an end to the separate Karāmānid political existence. He fulfilled his objective after numerous expeditions, and Karāmān finally became an Ottoman province in 880/

1475. Pīr Aḥmad died in the same year. His brother Kāsim Beg remained as beg and as a vassal of Bāyazid II in Gülnar and Silifke. Upon his death (888/1483), the Karāmānid begs made Maḥmūd, son of Turghut Oghlu and the grandson of Ibrāhīm Beg, their chief. But as he supported the Mamlüks in the Ottoman-Mamlūk warfare, he was forced to flee to Aleppo in 892/1487. When disaffection broke out among the Karāmānid feudal forces by the Ottoman tax assessment carried out in 906/1500-1, Muştafā, nephew of Kāsim Beg, was called from Iran and declared prince. But Muştafā could not resist the Ottoman forces: he took refuge with the Mamlüks, and died in Cairo in 919/1513.

Together with other Anatolian tribesmen, various groups in the Karāmānid state, such as Turghudlu and Bayburdlu, took part in the foundation of the Şafawid state. There was also an 'Alā'iyya branch of the Karāmānid dynasty, which came to the fore in 692/1293, but little is known about the history of this branch.

The fact that the Karāmānids were able to oppose the Ottomans for so many years was largely due to the geographical features of their territory, for they possessed strong fortified points in rugged country. There is no doubt that the use of firearms by the Ottomans played an important role in the extinction of their independence. As heirs of the Salḡūks, the Karāmānids had a firm military and administrative organisation. They valued culture and learning, and as early as the time of Maḥmūd Beg, they built many public buildings such as mosques, *zāwiyas*, *madrasas*, 'imārets, caravanserais and baths, many of these buildings of considerable artistic value. Karāmānid works of art reflect Salḡūk characteristics, with most distinguishing features of Karāmānid art being its decorative quality.

Although taxes on land and animals constituted the main source of revenue in the Karāmānid state, customs duties collected at the ports and gates in the south were also considerable. The Karāmān horses raised on the Konya plain between Konya, Aḳsaray and Laranda were famous and were valued not only in Turkey, but also in the Arab lands and Europe, whither many were exported. The Turkish tribes raising these horses used to be called *Atteken* until one or two centuries ago. Carpets and rugs were formerly exported from Karāmān lands, and of these, the Aḳ Saray carpets were particularly in demand in foreign markets.

*Bibliography*: A.—Inscriptions: Kh. Edhem, *Karāmān Oghullarına dâ'ir vethâ'îk-i mahkûka*, in *TOEM*, ii, 697, 712, 741-60, 820-36, 847-81 (some errors in the readings of inscriptions); İ. H. Konyalı, *Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, 230-1, 294-5, 413-5, 459-60, 466, 512, 520, 644, 693, 706, 716, 754; idem, *Konya tarihi*, Konya 1964, 422, 457, 639-40, 765-6, 914, 960. B.—*Vakfiyyas*: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *İbrahim Bey'in Karaman emareti vakfiyesi*, in *Belleten*, i/1, 56-127; idem, *Niğde'de Karaman Oğlu Ali Bey'in Vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 45-69; for the *wakfs* during the Karāmānid period see: *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyaleti vakıfları fihristi*, compiled by F. N. Uzluk, Ankara 1958, esp. 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 51, 56; İ. H. Konyalı, *Karaman tarihi*, 233, 235, 252. C.—Coins: I. Ghālib, *Takvīm-i Meskûkât-ı Saltûkiyya*, Istanbul 1309, 110-12; A. Tevhîd, *Meskûkât-ı kadime-i İslâmiyye katalogu*, Istanbul 1321, i, 441-7. D.—Collections of letters (*Munsha'ât Mađimû'alarl*): Es'ad Efendi 3369, pp. 327, 329; Ferîdun, *Munsha'ât al-salâfin*, Istanbul 1274, i, 80-82, 83-4, 90-1, 95-6, 101-3, 104-7, 109-13,

147-50, 157-8, 168-70, 186-8, 333-4 (the authenticity of some ascribed to Orkhan and Murād Beg is questionable); *Munsha'at Mađimū'a'si*, ed. N. Lugal and A. Erzi, Istanbul 1956, 38-40, 57, 58, 62-3; E.—Registers: Başbakanlık Arşivi, no. 1, 32, 40, 63. F.—Calendars (*Tarihî Takvimler*): *Tarihî takvimler*, ed. O. Turan (T.T.K.), Ankara 1954, 32-41; ed. N. Atsız, Istanbul 1961, 23-9; idem, 3080 numaralı tarihî takvim, Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi, iv, 1973. G.—Chroniclers: (a) In Persian—Ibn Bîbî, *al-Awāmîr al-'alā'iyya fi'l umûr al-'alā'iyya*, facsimile (T.T.K.), 1956, 687-706 (abridged version), *Tawārîkh-î al-i Saldjûk*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, Leiden 1902, iv, 321-31; Akşarâyî, *Musâmarat al-akhbâr*, ed. O. Turan, T.T.K., Ankara 1944, 71, 102, 110, 111, 311, 312, 324; anonymous *Saldjûk-nâme*, facsimile edition and Turkish tr., F. N. Uzluk, Ankara 1952, 60, 75, 77, 78, 82, 89, 92, 93, 94; Rashîd al-Dîn, *Ta'rih-î mubârah-î Ghâzânî*, ed. K. Jahn, The Hague 1957, 84; Abu'l Kasîm Kâshânî, *Ta'rih-î Uldjaytu*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran 1969, 168-70; 'Azîz b. Ardâshîr Astarâbâdî, *Basm u Razm*, ed. K. Rifât, Istanbul 1928, index; Şhukr Allâh, *Bahdîat al-tawârîkh*, Turkish tr. N. Atsız, Istanbul 1939, 31, 32, 35, 36; Abû Bakr-i Tibrânî, *Kitâb-î Diyâr-bakriyya*, ed. Lugal and Sümer, T.T.K., Ankara 1964, ii, 369-70, 554, 567-8. Aflâkî's work should also be added to these; *Manâkîb al-'arîşîn*, ed. T. Yazıcı (T.T.K.), Ankara 1961, ii, 841, 906. (b) In Arabic—Ibn Şhaddâd, *Sîrat al-sultân malîk al-Zâhir Baybars*, Turkish tr. Ş. Yaltkaya (T.T.K.), Ankara 1941, 90-91; Yûnînî, *Dhayl Mir'ât al-zamân*, Hyderabad 1960, iii, 167, 182, 183, 185; Ibn Dawâdârî, *Kanz al-âdurar*, ed. H. R. Roemer, Cairo 1960, viii, 398-9; *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamluken-sultan*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen, Leiden 1919, 55; al-Djazarî, *Djawâhir al-sulûk*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. arab. no. 679, p. 91; Mufaddâl b. Abî'l-Fadâ'il, *al-Nahdî al-sadiâ*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. arab. no. 4525, p. 187; Ibn Baţţûta, *Tuhfat al-nuzzâr*, Cairo 1320, 222 (this author did not visit Karâmânid territory); al-'Umarî, *Masâlik al-absâr*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 48; idem, *al-Ta'rif bi'l-muştalah al-sharîf*, Cairo 1312, 40-41; Kâkashandî, *Şubh al-'â'sha*, Cairo 1915, v, 346-7, 365-6, viii, 17-18; al-'Aynî, *'Ikâd al-djumân*, Ms. Veliyeddin Efendi, no. 2396, 404-670; al-Makrîzî, *Kitâb al-sulûk*, ed. M. Muştafâ Ziyâda, Cairo 1934, i, 630, 841, 854, 876, 932, 947, ii, 259, 293, 295, 854; Fatih no. 4385, ff. 79b, 82a-b, 83b, 84b, 92b, 108b, 165a; Ibn Kâdî Şuhba, *Dhayl duval al-Islâm*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. arab. no. 1599; Ibn Taghribirdî, *al-Nudjûm al-zâhira*, ed. W. Popper, Berkeley 1915-27, vi, index; vii, index; idem, *Hawâdîth al-duhar*, ed. W. Popper, Berkeley 1931-42, index; Ibn Iyâs, *Badâ'iy' al-zuhûr*, ed. Paul Kahle and Muḥammad Muştafâ, Istanbul 1932-36, iii-vi, index, unpublished pages of the chronicle of Ibn Iyâs, Cairo 1951, index. (c) In Turkish—Şhikârî, *Karaman Oğulları tarihi*, Konya 1946 (should not be used without confirmation through other sources); Aḥmadî, *Tawârîkh-î mulûk-î âl-i 'Uthmân*, ed. Atsız, Osmanlı Tarihleri, Istanbul 1949, 339, 345, 533; Yazıcı Oghlu, *Tawârîkh-î âl-i Saldjûk*, Bibl. Nat. Ms. turc. no. 737, ff. 401a, 404b; Nishândjî, Mehmed Pâsha, *Tawârîkh al-salâfîn al-'Uthmâniyya*, Turkish tr. I. H. Konyalı, Osmanlı Tarihleri, index; Dursun Beğ, *Ta'rih-î Abu'l-Fatih*, in *TOEM*; 'Ashîk Pâshâ, *Tawârîkh-î âl-i 'Othmân*, ed. Atsız, Osmanlı Tarihleri, index; Neshri, *Çihânnumâ*, *Die alt-osmanische*

*Chronik des Mevlânâ Mehmed Neschri*, facsimile ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, index; ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen (T.T.K.), Ankara 1949-57, i-ii, *passim*; Ibn Kamal, *Tawârîkh-î âl-i 'Othmân*, ed. Ş. Turan (T.T.K.), Ankara 1954, vii, index; Sa'd al-Dîn, *Tâdj al-tawârîkh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 218-518; (*Tawârîkh-î âl-i Karâmân* is an apocryphal work compiled in our time. H.—Studies: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri* (T.T.K.), Ankara 1969, 1-38; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques textes négligés concernant les Turcomans de Rûm du moment de l'invasion Mongole*, in *Byzantion*, xiv, 131-39; idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, index; J. H. Kramers, *Karâmân Oghlu*, in *ET*; M. S. Tekindağ, *Karamanlılar*, in *IA*, vi, 316-30; idem, *Karamanlıların Gorigos seferi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ix (1954), 161-74; idem, *Son Osmanlı Karaman münessebeleri hakkında araştırmalar*, in *op. cit.*, xvii-xviii (1963), 43-76; M. Zeki Oral, *Karaman'da Hoca Mahmud Mescidi*, in *Belleten*, xxiii, 213-27; F. Sümer, *Anadolu'da Moğollar*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i (Ankara 1969), 1-147; Mah. Latrîe, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, Paris 1852, iii, 64; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge 1948, ii, 320, 478 n., 493, iii, 499, 511, 518-20, 522, 623; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, Paris 1959, i, 550, ii, 326, 350-7; S. Lloyd and D. S. Rice, *Alanya (Alâ'iyya)*, London 1958; E. Diez, O. Aslanapa and M. M. Koman, *Karaman devri sanatı* (Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınları), Istanbul 1950. (F. SÜMER)

**KARĀMAT 'ALĪ**, born (date uncertain, early in the 19th century?) at Djawnpūr [q.v.], of a family of *shaykhs*, which had held the office of *khatib* under Muslim rule; his father was *sarıştadâr* in the Djawnpūr Collectorate. He studied theology and other Muslim sciences under various celebrated teachers of the time, especially Şhâh 'Abd al-'Azîz, *muḥaddîth* of Dihli, who was also the teacher and afterwards follower of Sayyid Aḥmad of Brêlwi. Between 1820 and 1824, Sayyid Aḥmad made a tour through Bengal and Northern India, collecting a band of disciples, and Karâmât 'Alî was one of the most devoted of the younger men who followed him, but he does not appear to have taken part in the *dîkhâd* against the Sikhs [q.v.], in which Sayyid Aḥmad was slain in battle in 1831. The Sayyid's old master, Şhâh 'Abd al-'Azîz, now became his *khalîfa*, and an active propaganda for the revival of Islam was organised in Bihâr and Bengal; with this peaceful propaganda Karâmât 'Alî was now identified. In 1252/1836-7 Hâdjidjî Şharî'at Allâh [see FARĀ'IRIYYA] met Karâmât 'Alî in Calcutta. By 1855 the two schools had made some progress towards a rapprochement, and in the meeting then held at Barisal, Karâmât 'Alî was able to agree on several points with the representative of the other movement, Mawlawî 'Abd al-Djabbâr, though on the question of the lawfulness of *Djum'a* and *'Id* prayers in British India, he could not overcome the stubborn opposition of 'Abd al-Djabbâr (*Hudjdjat-î kâfi'a*, 29-32).

Karâmât 'Alî's life was a double struggle: firstly, against the Hindu customs and superstitions which had crept into the practise of Islâm in Eastern Bengal, against which he wrote a book, entitled *Radd al-Bid'a*; and secondly, he tried to bring back into the fold of orthodoxy the new heterodox schools, and he devoted a special book, *Hidâyat al-Râfiqîn*, to this subject. He kept in touch with the Muslims of Bengal, and distributed to the needy all the presents that he received. He was a trained *kârî* and an expert calligraphist.

Garcin de Tassy (ii, 162) says that he competed for the prize offered by Sir Charles Trevelyan for the best Hindustani essay (see *Bibl.*) on the influence of the Greeks and Arabs on the Renaissance in Europe, but that his essay was not accepted for want of an English translation. He was thus interested, unlike the majority of contemporary Indian Mawlawis, in the relation of Islām to the wider questions of the world at large. He died on 3rd Rabi' II 1290/30th May 1873, and was buried in Rangpūr (*Tadjallī-i-Nūr*, ii, 136), in the province in which he had laboured for the regeneration of Islām all his life. He was succeeded in his work by his son, Mawlawī Hāfiẓ Ahmad (d. 1898), and his nephew, Muḥammad Muḥsin. His following was so large that there was hardly a Bengal village without his disciples.

He wrote chiefly in Urdū. Rahmān 'Alī (*Tadhkirat-ulamā'-i Hind*, Lucknow 1894, 171-2) gives a list of 46 of his works, without claiming that it is exhaustive. One of his works, *Miftāh al-Djannat*, has run through numerous editions and is accepted in India as a correct statement of Islamic principles. His writings may be divided into four classes: (1) general works, like *Miftāh al-Djannat*; (2) works on the reading and interpretation of the Qur'ān, and formal prayers and ablutions; (3) works on the doctrine of spiritual preceptorship (*Piri Muriḍī*), the cornerstone of orthodox Islām in India; in accepting this doctrine, Karāmat 'Alī stands in sharp opposition to the Wahhābī sect and merges insensibly into the *Taşawwuf* schools, which he brings into relation with the traditional religious orders; (4) polemics against Sharī'at Allāh, Dūda Miyān, the Wahhābis, etc.

The common conception that Karāmat 'Alī was a Wahhābī is refuted by the detailed exposition of his own views as set forth in *Mukāshafāt-i Rahmat*; he had not seen any Wahhābī books, but had made oral enquiries and found that they were so fanatical (*ḍiddī*) that they called all who did not agree with them *mushrik* (38-9); he and his school carefully distinguished between *shirk*, which was the negation of Islām, and *bid'ā*, which was only an error in doctrine (39). In his *Hudūdīyat-i kāfī'a* he draws a clear distinction between a *fāsiq* (sinner) and a *kāfir* (infidel), and inveighs against those sectaries who would deny funeral prayers to those who did not pray but repeated the *kalima* (21); if non-Muslims conquer Islamic lands, the *Djum'a* prayer and the two '*Id* [q.v.] prayers were not only lawful but obligatory (13 bis). He based his doctrine on the orthodox Sunnī books of the Ḥanafī school (*Mukāshafāt-i Rahmat*, 37). He accepted the six orthodox books of tradition (*Ṣiḥāh sitta*), the commentaries (*tafāsīr*), the principles of ceremonial law as interpreted by the masters, and the doctrines of *taşawwuf* and *piri muriḍī* (38, 45), even basing the mission of Sayyid Ahmad on a *hadīth* from Abū Hurayra (p. 32); in every century a teacher is born to revivify the faith: Sayyid Ahmad was such a teacher for the 13th century and should be followed until another teacher arises for the 14th century (34). All this was in direct antithesis to Wahhābī teaching, and the "reform" amounted merely to the abolition of rites and ceremonies introduced through ignorance (36), or to a revival of Islām according to the accepted orthodox schools (50). The political effects of Sayyid Ahmad's life brought his followers into conflict with the authorities, but the writings of the school show that there was no connection, political or doctrinal, with the sect founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in Arabia.

*Bibliography*: The European accounts of Karāmat 'Alī are unsatisfactory, being based on secon-

dary information and failing to distinguish between this school of reform and Wahhābism, and in some places there is confusion between the subject of this article and Mawlawī Sayyid Karāmat 'Alī of Djawnpūr (1796-1876), who represented the British Government at the court of Dōst Muḥammad Khān at Kābul, 1832-1835, and was superintendent (*mutawallī*) of the Hughlī Imāmbāra, 1837-1876 (*Nineteenth Century*, May, 1905, cf. 780-2; Sir W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Muslims*, 114; C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 229; Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī, *Tadjallī-i-Nūr*, ii, 139); *Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi. part 1 (Bengal, 174) Calcutta 1902; *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, lxiii, part 3, 54-6, Calcutta 1894; Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, ii, 162, Paris 1870); (it is doubtful whether the *Mu'djiza-i rashk-i Ma-shīha*, Dihlī 1868, mentioned there, was a work by the subject of this article); Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī, *Tadjallī-i-Nūr* (biographies of the famous men of Djawnpūr), Djawnpūr 1900, 135-6.

A correct appreciation of Karāmat 'Alī's doctrines can only be gained by a study of his own writings, the most important of which are the following: *Miftāh al-Djannat*, Calcutta 1234 (frequently reprinted); *Kawāb-i durri*, Calcutta 1253 (translates passages from the Qur'ān); *Bay'at-i Tawba*, Calcutta 1254, various practices of the religious orders; *Zinat al-kāri'*, Calcutta 1264 (on reading the Qur'ān); *Fayd-i 'amm*, Calcutta 1282 (a tract on the doctrines of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī); *Hudūdīyat-i Kāfī'a*, Calcutta 1282 (a polemical tract against the school of Sharī'at Allāh and his son Dūda Miyān; *Nūr al-Hudā*, Calcutta 1286, on the doctrines of *taşawwuf*, of the *mu'djaddidiyya* school, apparently the new school of Sayyid Ahmad Brēlwi); *Mukāshafāt-i Rahmat*, Calcutta 1286, (gives an account of the life and work of Sayyid Ahmad Brēlwi, and discusses and disowns the Wahhābis); *Zinat al-Muṣallī*, Calcutta 1259; *Zād al-Takwā*, Calcutta 1287 (the beliefs and practices of Islām and *taşawwuf*; accepts the Naqshbandiyya teaching).

(A. YUSUF ALI)

**KARĀMĪD** [see KHAZAF].

**KARĀMĪTĀ** [see KARMAṬĪ].

**KARANFUL**, the clove. According to the Arabic dictionaries, varying names were given to this plant, including *karṣful* and *karṣūl*, whilst popular pronunciations included *karānsful* and *karānsūl*.

It seems that before the end of the Middle Ages the clove had not yet spread beyond the Moluccas, and since the Muslims who sailed towards China left these islands on their right hand, the old Arab writers could not pin down the origin of the clove. Ibn Khurradādhbih thought that it came from "Salāhiṭ", but he also mentions the island of Waḳwāk [q.v.]; Salāhiṭ was probably the southern part of the Malayan peninsula. On the other hand, al-Mas'ūdī says that it comes from the kingdom of the Mahārādja called Zābaḍj situated in the islands of the Sea of Annam (Şanf); this must be the kingdom of Śrivijaya, of which Palembang in southeastern Sumatra was the centre. Later Arab geographers, such as al-Idrīsī and al-Kazwīnī, merely repeat these items of information. However, al-Kazwīnī also relates that the clove grows in Sumatra, in Ceylon and in the other islands of the Indonesian archipelago. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa claims to have seen it in Sumatra and Java, but the description which he gives makes one suspect that he confused it with other trees. The stories in mediaeval Arabic literature about cloves being obtained by

"dumb barter" further point to uncertainty about the origin of this spice.

The clove, sc. the dried flower-buds of the tree, were employed in cooking as a spice, but above all, in pharmacy. In Morocco it is also used for perfuming milk. Arab physicians, such as Ishāk b. Ḥunayn and Ibn Sīnā, recommend it as a medicament for sharpening the faculty of vision. Ibn Sīnā, and before him Ishāk al-Isrā'īlī (Isaac Israeli) further considered the clove as good for the digestion, since it strengthened the stomach and liver. The celebrated physician Ishāk b. 'Imrān notes its effect on powers of procreation; like other medical authorities, he says that it strengthens the sexual powers, and brings about, or lessens, according to the procedure followed, obesity. The clove was also used by the Arabic physicians as a specific against diabetes and other diseases. The instructions of various physicians concerning its use are cited *in extenso* by the Spanish botanist and pharmacologist Ibn al-Bayṭār in his *al-Di'āmi* ' *li-mufrādāt al-adwīya wa 'l-aḡḡdiya*. Because of its pleasant smell, it was used for chewing and as an ingredient in perfumes; the Bedouins (and their women-folk) in Morocco use it as part of necklaces.

Thus the clove was an important item in the spice trade. From caliphal times onwards, it was imported into the Middle East via the Red Sea, whence consignments were conveyed to Cairo and Damascus. In the later Middle Ages, some of these cargoes were resold in Alexandria and Beirut to Italian merchants. Nevertheless, the clove did not play as big a role in the Indian trade as pepper or ginger, on the evidence of what we know of the cargoes of Venetian, Genoese and Florentine ships. Moreover, the clove was a very costly spice, costing two or three times more than pepper; 100 *manns* were generally sold at Alexandria in the 9th/15th century for 70-80 ducats, though the stems were cheaper.

*Bibliography*: LA and TA, s.v.; Ibn Khurrah-dāḡhibh, 66, 70; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, i, 341, iii, 56 (tr. Pellat, i, 139, ii, 338); Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, i, 54, 82, 89, 91; Kazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, i, 262, ii, 18, 53, 55; Ibn Battūṭa, iv, 228, 240, 243; *Tuhfat al-aḡḡbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, 153; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Bülāk* 1291, iv, 7 ff. (tr. von Sontheimer, Stuttgart 1840-2, ii, 281 ff.); E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 254 ff. (annotated text of Nuwayrī); E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 334, 417 ff.; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 603 ff.

(E. ASHTOR)

**KARAPAPAKH** (Turkish, "black hat"), a Turkic people whose language belongs to the western Oghuz division, and differs little from Azeri and the Turkish of Turkey. In the Georgian S.S.R. it is often confused with Azeri, and in Turkey itself Karapapakh is no longer spoken (having been replaced by Turkish). In 1828, the Karapapakh emigrated from the region along the Debeda or Borçala river in eastern Georgia partly to the region of Kars (where they formed about 15% of the population) and partly to the Sulduz region of Persia, south of Lake Rīdā'yīya (Urmiyya). In 1883 they numbered 21,652, of whom 11,721 were Sunnis and 9,931 Shī'īs (K. Sadovskiy, *Krakhaya zametka o Karshoy oblasti*, in *Sbornik Materialov... Kavkaza*, iii, 315-50); according to the Russian census of 1897 they numbered 29,879 (in the Russian Empire); in 1910 their population was given as 39,000 (*Kavkazskiy Kalendar*, 1910, 546) living in 99 villages in the Kars territory, of which

63 were in the Kars district, 29 in Ardahān, and 7 in Kaḡtzman. In 1926, however, the Soviet census listed only 6,316 Karapapakhs, this sharp decline reflecting the loss of the territory of Kars to Turkey after World War I. The distribution of the Karapapakh was given in the mid-1920s as 30% in the U.S.S.R. and 70% in Persia (those of Turkey probably being considered simply as Turks). The Karapapakhs of the U.S.S.R. are being assimilated culturally and linguistically by the Azeris, and they appear as Azeris in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses.

The traditional economy of the Karapapakhs was based on sheep-rearing and some agriculture.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(W. BARTHOLD-[R. WIXMAN])

**KARAR** [see MŪSİKĪ].

**KARASI** (or KARASĪ). 1. The name of a Turkish chief in Asia Minor and of the dynasty arising from him; his territory has retained this name until the present time (sc. the ancient Mysia, the coastland and hinterland of the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles). Only unsubstantiated hypotheses have so far been put forward for the sense and etymology of the name. Indeed, the whole history of the dynasty, the first of those which were to be suppressed by the Ottomans, is wrapped in obscurity.

The Byzantine historian Ducas, who wrote 150 years after the events in question, classes Karasī amongst those dynasties which established themselves in western Anatolia in the reign of the Emperor Andronicus II (1282-1328); this clearly provides no exact or firm chronology. On the contrary, the name's absence from Muntaner's account of the Catalan expedition (1304-6) and from the list of principalities laid down by Pachymeres (d. 1313), leads one to conclude that Karasī was established—as one would expect—somewhat later than its sister-states further to the south and east. Muntaner, Pachymeres himself and the very well-informed historian of half-a-century later, Nicephorus Gregoras, certainly testify to the presence of Turks who were infiltrating into the region from the beginning of the century, but only the second authority, whose pieces of information are of various dates, is familiar with the name of the dynasty (the equation of the Lamisai of Pachymeres with the Kalamēs, father of Karasī, of Gregoras, put forward by Mordtmann is improbable, because of the geographical order followed in Pachymeres' list, which would place the Lamisai in southern or central Anatolia; the list also omits Şarūkhān).

Whatever the solution may be, the most important thing is to determine the origin of the Turks settled in Mysia. Later authors include the dynasty amongst the Turcoman ones of Anatolia, but this blanket designation in fact covers several possible distinctions. On the basis of a funerary inscription, in which a person with the name Karasī claims descent from the Dānīshmendids [q.v.], an attempt has been made to connect the famous 6th/12th century central Anatolian dynasty with the petty principality of the 8th/14th one; but this inscription is at Tokat, in the former Dānīshmendid territory, and not in Karasī-Ili, homonymy does not imply identity, and the genealogical pretensions of the party concerned point more to the undeniable fame of the Dānīshmendids. It is true that ca. 600/1200 we hear of the Dānīshmendids on the western fringes of Anatolia, but there is nothing to allow us to suppose any more links with the new Turcoman formations at the end of the 7th/13th and beginning of the 8th/14th centuries than those links of other ancient families. Moreover, if there was apparently, in the case of the

Turks of *Karasi*, infiltration from the east, as in the neighbouring principalities, it is also clear that one element amongst them is of an entirely different origin. Thus it is known that, at the time of the collapse of independent *Saljuq* Anatolia in the face of the Mongols, certain Turks and Turcomans fled with Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kay-Kawus into Byzantine territory and were finally established in the *Dobruja* [q.v.], where, mixed with other people coming from South Russia, they were more or less Christianised. During the troubles of the opening years of the 8th/14th century, some of these, either called in by the contending parties or else acting on their own initiative, banded together under a certain *Khalil* and returned to Thrace and Mysia, in the end constructing some kind of bridge across the Dardanelles. With the recovering of contact with other Muslim Turks, those of Mysia at least became absorbed once more into the fold of Islam; some memories of these happenings can still be discerned in the legend of their great saint and mystic *Sarî Saltuk*.

We are on much firmer ground with the information of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and of al-'Umarī, who both bring us up to ca. 1330. There must at that time have been two principalities in the hands of two brothers (the discussion on this relationship arose from the inadequacies of old editions of al-'Umarī), *Demir Khān* and *Yakhshī Khān*, the former at *Balikesir* (of which al-'Umarī records the ancient name *Akiras*) and the latter at *Bergama*. Al-'Umarī also gives the name of the dynasty's founder, their father *Karasi*, and not that of *Kalamēs* (*Kalam-shāh* or 'Ālam-shāh?), which is nevertheless not that of the real founder. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa further attributes to *Demir Khān*'s father (not named by him) the foundation (*sic*) of *Bergama*, which in that traveller's time had no real mosque of its own. The two names are confirmed by *Cantacuzenos*. The Ottoman sources, on the other hand, all of them more or less connected with 'Ashlḳpashazāde and none of them really concerned with *Karasi* until the time of Ottoman intervention in its affairs, call the prince who died ca. 735/1335 'Adilān Beg son of *Karasi*; he is said to have left two sons, who quarreled. One of these two, *Dursun*, together with his vizier *Hādīdīl Ilbegi*, called in the help of *Orkhān*, promising him part of his territory; then, when *Dursun* had been killed by his brother, *Orkhān* annexed the whole principality. The chronology of the Ottoman sources is for this period vague and tends to simplify events. One might infer that 'Adilān was *Karasi*'s title, for the unnamed son, allegedly of bad reputation, might well be (despite the bias of the sources) equated with the *Demir Khān* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who also describes him in unfavourable terms. In this context, *Yakhshī Khān* (which is also a title, "the good khān") could well be *Dursun*. Furthermore, it is certain that the Ottomans' annexation of the *Karasi* territory was not so immediate as the sources allege, since a further prince called *Sulaymān* retained certain places—perhaps as a vassal ruler—until around the time of *Orkhān*'s death, and intervened in the Turco-Byzantine struggles of this period. However, the principality did then disappear, and unlike its neighbours, absorbed by the Ottoman state at a later period, was not subsequently revived by *Timūr*. It had nevertheless left sufficient mark on the region for its name to be perpetuated there.

Because the Ottoman province of *Karasi* more or less retained the boundaries of the former principality, *Münedjdim Bashi* in the 12th/18th century and we today can largely establish its precise limits. After

the absorption of certain Byzantine towns which had remained unconquered longer than the open countryside, it embraced a rectangle of territory bounded on the north by the western half of the *Marmara* Sea and the *Dardanelles* straits, on the west by the *Aegean*, on the south by the valley of the *Bekir Çay*, and on the east by the *Simav Su* and *Susurlu*. The island of *Mytilene* or *Lesbos* (*Midilli* [q.v.]), which lay opposite the province of *Bergama*, always remained in the hands of the Byzantines or their *Genoese* vassals,

Until now, except in error, no coin, inscription or *wakf* of the rulers of *Karasi* has been recorded, although al-'Umarī mentions coinage of theirs, on the strength of information derived from a well-informed *Genoese* merchant. It may well be that the multitude of small coins found here and there contain some *Karasi* ones, but this is for the moment pure hypothesis.

The historical significance of the principality of *Karasi* lies in the fact, deliberately obscured by the Ottoman historians, that it paved the way for the crossing of the *Dardanelles*, attributed by those historians exclusively to *Murād*. Al-'Umarī already mentions the naval raids made by the rulers of *Karasi*, and in this regard, their seamen were tutors of the Ottomans. Several *Karasi* chiefs rallied to the Ottoman side and then served them; amongst these should probably be included the celebrated *Evrenos* [see *EWRENOS*], whose name possibly recalls an origin from *Varna*/*Evren* temporarily Hellenised.

*Bibliography*: 1. Primary sources. *Pachymere*, ii, 316, 389; *Nicephorus Gregoras*, i, 214, 761; *Ramon Muntaner, Crònica catalana*; *Ducas*, ed. Bonn, 13-14, ed. *Vasile Grecu*, *Bucharest* 1958, 34; *Cantacuzenos*, i, 339, ii, 276, 507; al-'Umarī, ed. *Taeschner*, 43-4; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 281, 316, tr. *Gibb*, 449; *Insā*, Paris Ms. 4437 (in which *Demir Khān* is given the *laqab* or honorific of *Shudjā'* al-Din); *Ismā'il Haḳḳi, Kitābeler*, *Istanbul* 1927, 43; *Neshri*, ed. *Unat-Köymen*, 164-70; 'Ashlḳpashazāde, ed. *Istanbul* 1332, 43-5; *Münedjdim Bashi*, iii, 36. 2. Secondary sources. *Ahmed Tevhid, Balikesirde Karasi oghullari*, in *TOEM*, ii, No. 9, 654; *J. H. Mordtmann, Über das Türkische Fürstengeschlecht der Karasi in Mysien*, in *SB Pr. Akad.* (1911), 1-7; *J. H. Kramers*, in *ET*, s.v.; *İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Anadolu beylikleri*, *Ankara* 1937, 33-5; idem, in *IA*, s.v.; *P. Wittek, Yashtyoghlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68; *P. Lemerle, L'Émirat d'Aydın, Byzance et l'Occident*, *Paris* 1957, 204 n. 1; *İ. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Les actes des premiers Ottomans*, 101-3 and index. (CL. CAHEN)

2. An administrative division carried the name of *Karasi* for more than five centuries after the end of the dynasty (see above) and its annexation by the Ottomans. However, the *sandjak* of *Karasi* did not correspond exactly to the old area which was under the rule of the *Karasi Oghullari*. The region of *Çanak-çal'e* and the *Dardanelles* was detached as a separate district, an indication of the Ottomans' pressing interest in the control of the Straits. The *sandjak* of *Karasi*, centred on the plain of *Balikesir*, had therefore only one opening to the sea, on the gulf of *Edremit* and *Ayvalık*. Its attachment to the *kadā'* of *Erdek* in 1846 provided another outlet, on the *Marmara*, which was gradually enlarged at the expense of the province of *Bursa*. From 1926, the *vilayet* of *Karasi* took the name of the *vilayet* of *Balikesir*, and comprised the *kadā'*s of *Ayvalık*, *Bur-*

haniye, Edremit, Havran, İvrindi, Savas tepe, Balya, Gönen, Erdek, Bandırma, Manyas, Susurluk, Balıkesir, Bigadic, Sındırgı, Kepsut, and Dursunbey.

*Bibliography*: I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Karasi vilâyeti tahrîci*, İstanbul 1925; idem, *Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara 1969, 102-3; maps showing modifications in the administrative district in the contemporary period in R. Stewig, *Batı Anadolu bölgesinin kültürel gelişmesini gösteren kartografik bilgiler*, İstanbul 1968, pls. XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII; recent descriptions and geographical analyses of the area in Bedriye Tolun-Denker, *Balıkesir ovasında yerleşme ve iktisadî faaliyetler*, İstanbul 1970; X. de Planhol, *Notes sur la région du coude du Simav*, in *Revue Géographique de l'Est*, iv (1964), 399-413. (X. DE PLANHOL)

**AL-KARASTÜN**, probably Armeno-Persian in origin, denotes etymologically an instrument made up of a long beam which has at one of its ends a stone as a weight. It is certainly not Greek in origin, and even less does it derive from a Greek personal name, that of the instrument's inventor, as certain authors have believed. If the Armeno-Persian origin of the word is correct, the *karastün* must be a kind of lever or balance, very similar to the *shādūf*, the contrivance used for raising water and still in use in certain eastern countries.

The word figures in Greek and Arabic texts. In Greek, the first reference to it is in the commentaries devoted to Aristotle's *Physics* by Simplicius. The second and last reference is in the poem written by the 12th century Byzantine grammarian Tzetzes to celebrate the mechanical devices brought to bear by Archimedes at the time of the siege of Syracuse by Marcellus's armies. In the first of these two texts, the word *καρῆστιον* denotes a balance which must be, it is generally agreed, the so-called Roman balance. In the second citation, all the evidence seems to point to a straight lever.

This sense of lever is also found in the writings of Muslim scholars, although some of them used it as a synonym for *kabbān*, which specifically means the Roman balance or steelyard. However, it is the first sense, sc. of lever, which appears in the sole surviving work dealing with this instrument, the *Kitāb al-Karastün* of Thābit b. Qurra. Moreover, this seems to be the basic meaning of the word in Islamic literature, and its application to the Roman balance—which is itself nothing but a straight lever—must be a derived sense.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Kifī, Muslim scholars devoted three works to the *karastün*, sc. that of the Banū Mūsā, that of Kuṣṭā b. Lūkā and that of Thābit b. Qurra. As late as 1911, three manuscripts existed of this last work, those of the Stadtbibliothek in Berlin, of the Library of the Jesuit Fathers in Beirut and of the India Office; today, only the latter manuscript exists (Arabic No. 767, vii, fols. 198-208).

In this work, Thābit b. Qurra treats of the theory of the *karastün*, sc. in brief, of the equilibrium of a beam of homogenous substance suspended at a point away from its centre of balance and to which weights, variously placed along the beam, have been attached. The work is extremely interesting from a twofold point of view. From that of statics, it is the first work really opening the way to what later became the principle of displacement operations; Thābit b. Qurra in effect determines here the conditions of equilibrium of a lever, basing himself on principles of dynamics going back to Aristotle's *Physics* and to the *Mechanical* problems falsely

attributed to him. From the mathematical point of view, the demonstration of proposition 4 in Ibn Qurra's work is an important point in the history of the integral calculus. For the first time, certain methods used by Archimedes for calculating areas are now for the first time adopted for calculating the static momentum of a homogenous beam.

Yet in spite of the importance of Ibn Qurra's work, this does not seem to have directly influenced the science of statics in the West. Its main themes were certainly rediscovered by the mediaeval and Renaissance theorists, but in a form modified and attached to Archimedes' principles of statics, from which Ibn Qurra's diverge fundamentally.

His work was translated into Latin, probably by Gerard of Cremona, under the title *Liber karastonis*. This translation differs in certain respects from the manuscript surviving today. In particular, the meaning of proposition 4 (proposition 6 of the *Liber karastonis*) completely escaped the translator. Ibn Qurra's work has also been translated into German in 1911 by E. Wiedemann; this is a good translation, although the order of the propositions is not clearly indicated and the German orientalist was mistaken concerning the number of propositions in the work. A French translation, differing substantially from the two others, has been made by K. Jaouiche (to be published shortly).

Ibn Qurra further mentioned the *karastün* in his more popular work *Fī ṣifat istiḳwā' al-waḥn wa 'khtilāfihī* ("Concerning the equilibrium and disequilibrium of weights"). This book is intended for workmen who had no mathematical knowledge and is more about the balance with two pans than the lever proper; it has only come down to us in the version transmitted by al-Khāzin [q.v.] in his *K. Mizān al-hikma*, ed. Ḥaydarābād 1359/1940, 338.

*Bibliography*: F. Buchner, *Die Schrift über den Qarastün von Thābit b. Qurra*, in *SBPMS Erl.*, lii-liii (1920-1), 141-88; M. Clagett, *The science of mechanics in the Middle Ages*, Madison 1959; idem and E. Moody, *The mediaeval science of weights*, Madison 1952 (for the Latin text of the *Liber karastonis*); H. Diels, *Über das Wort Qarastün*, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 577-8; P. Duhem, *Les origines de la statique*, Paris 1905; K. Jaouiche, *Le Kitāb al-Qarastün de Thābit ibn Qurra*, Arabic text, French tr. and commentary (Paris doctoral thesis, 1972); A. Mazahéri, *Les origines chinoises de la balance romaine*, in *Annales ESC*, xv (1960), 833-51; M. Steinschneider, *Interno al Liber karastonis*, in *Annali di Matematica pura ed applicata*, v (1863), 54-9; E. Wiedemann, *Zur Mechanik und Technik bei den Arabern*, in *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 181-2, 236; idem, *Die Schrift über den Qarastün*, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, xii (1911-12), 21-39; see also MIZĀN. (K. JAOUICHÉ)

**KARĀ-ŞU** [see AL-FURĀT].

**KAĞAŞU-BAZAR** (Byz. Mavron Kastron; Soviet, Belogorsk), an important commercial centre in the Crimea, particularly under the Giray [q.v.] dynasty of the Kırım Tatars (826/1423-1197/1783). Situated on the well-watered meadows of the northern slopes of the Yayla Mountains, Kağuşbazar (Turk. "Blackwater market") took its name from the Kağuş river, a source of the Salghir. From Byzantine times, the Crimea was subjected to a recurring geo-political pattern of importance for all Crimean towns: imperial powers such as Byzantium, the Genoese and the Ottomans held the southern shoreline up to the Yayla range, while the khāns of



nomadic states (Khazars, Pečenegs, Kumans, the Golden Horde (Batu'ids [q.v.]) and the Kırım Tatars [q.v.]) controlled the Crimean steppe (and often the steppe of the mainland) and dwelt in the attractive towns between steppe and mountain such as Bağhçesarây [q.v.], Akmescid [q.v.] (Russ. Simferopol), and Karasubazar.

Politically, Karasubazar was important as the seat of power of the senior Crimean tribe of Shırin, whose leaders controlled the district from the Karasu to the Strait of Kerç. Seldom was a khân powerful enough to rule without the support of the Shırin begs, who had easy access to the Ottoman governors at Kaffa (Russ. Feodosia), the centre of Ottoman power in the Crimea and a city so prosperous in the 10th/17th century that it was called "little Istanbul". Generally the Shırin begs and the Ottomans exercised power on the side of conservatism and against the centralizing tendencies of the khân.

The valley of Karasubazar was enclosed on all but the north side by hills and to the north-west imposing white limestone cliffs (*aķ kayya*) towered above the town. At these sacred cliffs the Kırım Tatar tribal leaders (*mirzās*) customarily met to coordinate important Crimean affairs such as the choosing of a rival khân or preparing for war. Because of the hills, the town was easy to defend from nomad and Don Cossack raids, a factor of decisive importance for a trade centre close to the steppe. Moreover, a Kırım Tatar vizier, Sefer Ghāzī, had built in 1065/1654-55 a fortress-like covered bazaar with its own water supply, mosque, bath and iron gates in which merchants could safely store their merchandise and defend it. Karasubazar was chiefly an entrepôt and manufacturing centre for Tatar pastoral and handicraft products. It lay on the main east-west caravan route 45km. east of Akmescid and 60km. west of Kaffa via Eski Kırım. It probably served also as a way station for slaves in transit to the huge slave market in Kaffa.

According to A. L. Yakobson (*Sredne-vekovyy Krym* ("Crimea in the Middle Ages"), Moscow 1964), Crimean towns in proximity to the Genoese coastal towns enjoyed high prosperity until the Ottoman conquest of 880/1475. They then experienced a period of readjustment in the 10th/16th century, but enjoyed great prosperity in the 11th/17th century. At first the artisan classes consisted mainly of long-established Karaites [q.v.] Jews, Armenians, Italians and Greeks. This situation changed gradually in the 11th/17th century as Kırım Tatars joined the craft guilds. Travellers in the 12th/18th century (e.g. M. Guthrie, *A Tour Performed in the Years 1795-96 . . .*, London 1802, and Yakobson, 139 ff.), make a distinction between Kırım Tatars who had become cultivators and craftsmen and the Nogay elements who continued their pastoral life. The chief products of the Karasu region were fruit and vegetables, grain, mostly millet and wheat, Moroccan leather made from the hides of Tauric goats, woollen products and some wine. Dyestuffs, such as madder, sumac, saffron etc. grew wild and there were also close at hand forests of oak, beech, linden and poplar. The town boasted a good number of craft guilds including armourers, coppersmiths, tinkers, dyers, felt processors, weavers and others.

Ewliyā Celebi (*Seyāhatnāme* vii, 644-9) in the mid-11th/17th century observed in the town 8 wooden bridges, a number of water mills, 28 mosques, 5 *madrasas*, 8 Kur'an schools, 4 large *hammāms*, 1140 shops, 10 coffee houses and 40 taverns (*meykhāne*). Apart from the less elegant houses of the poorer Christians and Jews, he estimated that the town

possessed 5,500 two-storey houses with tiled roofs (at 6 persons per house about 33-35,000 inhabitants). These figures contrast sharply with the estimated 15,000 inhabitants, 12 mosques, 2 Christian churches and a synagogue recorded by Demidoff in the 13th/19th century (M. Anatole de Demidoff, *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée*, Paris 1854, 394).

By the late 11th/17th century, Don Cossack raids had become a common occurrence, but the town prospered even after 1150/1737 when Karasubazar served as a temporary capital after the burning of Bağhçesarây and thus invited an attack by the invading Russian and Kalmuk [q.v.] troops of General Münnich. The town was damaged but the raid was beaten off by Ottoman artillery. In 1185/1771 during the Russo-Turkish war (1182/1768-1184/1774) the town was partially destroyed by Russian troops. After the Russian annexation in 1197/1783, thousands of Kırım Tatars fled to the Caucasus and to Istanbul. Periodically new exoduses occurred as Russia oppressed the Crimea further.

The decline in Tatar population and the influx of cheap manufactured goods made serious inroads upon the prosperity of Karasubazar in the 13th/19th century. Henceforth the town shared the fate of the Kırım Tatars as a whole. The first stirrings of Tatar nationalism and Turanian [q.v.] ideas swept the peninsula at the end of the 13th/19th century under the tutelage of Ismā'il Gasprall [q.v.]. This movement led to the publication of newspapers, the founding of modern schools, and the formation of political parties, prior to World War I.

After the Russian Revolution, between 1348/1929 and 1360/1941, the Kırım Tatars were killed or deported by the thousands as national consciousness and the traditional social cohesion of Tatars came into direct conflict with Stalin's plans for the Sovietization of the Crimea. Thereafter, caught between Hitler's concept of *Untermenschen* and hatred for Soviet injustices, the Kırım Tatar remnant was partly executed and partly deported to Siberia in 1363/1944 by the USSR after the German army was expelled (E. Kirimal, *Der Nationale Kampf der Krimtürken*, Emsdetten 1952, *passim*).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the sources mentioned, cf. the bibliography to the articles BAĞHÇESARAY, GIRAY and KİRİM, and the article KARASUBAZAR in *IA*, vi, 335-36 (Mirza Bala); see also the study and bibliography of A. W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970, particularly with reference to the Treaty of Karasubazar of 1772 (pp. 44-51).

(C. M. KORTEPETER)

**KARATA** (self designation, *Kirtle*, pl. *Kirtlei*; Russ. *Karatai*, *Karatin(tsi)*, *Kirdli*; Avar *Kalatal*; other *Kirdi Kalal*), along with Andi [q.v.], *Akhwakh*, Bagulal, Botlikh, Çamalal, Godoberi and Tindi forms the Andi division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages; the Karata-speaking peoples.

According to an estimate of 1886 (*Dagestanskaya Oblast'*) there were 7,217 Karata at that time; in 1926 there were 5,305 and in 1933 (estimate by Grande) 7,000. The Karata inhabit the northern part of *Akhvakh* district, in the valley and on the right bank of the Andi Koisu, and two outlying areas in Andalal and Vedeno districts, an isolated territory of high, rugged mountains in the western part of the Dāghistān A.S.S.R., in seven *auls*: Karata, Archo, Ançikh, Tokita, Mashhada, Raçabaldal and Çabakoro.

Islam was introduced through the Avar country, probably at the end of the 5th/11th century. The

Karata are Sunnī of the *Shāfiʿī* rite. According to the testament of Andunik, *mutṣal* Gruler of Avaristan (*Khāsaev, Obščestvennii Sroy Dagestana v XIX Veke*, 135), in 890/1485 the Karata country was one of the seven territories owned by the rulers of Avaristān, and enjoyed at this period a semi-independence. At a later period it was annexed by the Avar *Khānate* and remained part of it until the destruction of the *Khānate* by *Shāmil*. Like almost all Andi peoples, the Karata took an active part in the *Shāmil* movement.

In the 18th and early 19th century, there were periodic wars between the Karata and *Akhvakh*, and the Karata and Avars over land and pastures. Occasional alliances existed between the Karata and *Gidatl* against the *Akhvakh* society "Ratlub-Akhvakh". Although part of the Avar *Khānate*, the Karata maintained their own independent social structure, which differed greatly from the feudalistic Avar society. Like all Andi peoples, the Karata had no feudal hierarchy; their patriarchal-*clanic* democratic system was ruled by the *ʿadat* (see *Pamyatniki Običnogo Prava Dagestana XVII-XIX VV*, Moscow Academy of Sciences 1965, 143-52, text of the *ʿadat* of Karata *naibat*). The basic social structure was the joint extended family (*tukhum*).

The traditional economy was based on herding (sheep and goats) with a transhumance system, agriculture and home industries. The Karata women were well known for their weaving of woollen cloth.

The Karata language has three dialects: Karata proper, *Ančikh* and *Tokita*. The Avar language is genetically closely related to Karata, which is a purely vernacular language. The Karata use Avar as their first literary language, and second (sometimes first) spoken language. Avar is the language used in the first few years of education. Russian is the second written and third spoken language.

The Karata are being linguistically and culturally assimilated by the Avar: "Asked the question, 'what is your nationality?' a Karata will answer, 'if a stranger asks us what is our nationality, we answer Avar. If they ask where from, we say Karata. On our own land we call each other by *aul*'" (*Narodī Dagestana*, 67). (See also *ANDI, AVAR, DĀGHISTĀN, AL-KĀBK, SHĀMĪL*)

*Bibliography*: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une République Soviétique Musulmane: le Dāghistān, Aperçu Démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 7-56; *Dagestanskaya Oblast', Svod Statisticheskikh Dannikh Izvlečennikh iz Posemeynikh Spiskov Naseleniya Zakavkaz'ya*, Tiflis 1890, vii-xiv; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus*, 's-Gravenhage 1959; B. Grande, *Spisok Narodnostey S.S.S.R., in Revolutsiya i Natsional' nosti*, no. 4 (1936), 74-85; *Kh. M. Khāsaev, Obščestvennii Sroy Dagestana v XIX Veke*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1961; *Narodī Dagestana*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1955; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow University 1958.

(R. WIXMAN)

**KARATIGIN**, a district on both sides of the middle course of the *Wakhsh* or *Surkhāb* (Turk. *Qizil Sū*), one of the rivers which form the *Āmū Daryā*, called *Rāsh̄t* by the Arab geographers (Ibn *Khurra-dādhbih* 34, 211 f.; Ibn *Rusta*, 92 f., 290; *Ya'qūbī, Buldān*, 260). The principal place (or "the fortress", *al-Kalʿa*, *al-Iṣṭakhrī*, 340) of *Rāsh̄t* corresponded as regards its situation perfectly with the modern *Garm* or *Harm*, the only town in *Karatigin*. *Rāsh̄t* then formed one of the frontier lands of *Islām* and was

defended on the east against the inroads of the Turks by a wall built by *Faḍl b. Barmak* [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn *al-Faḳh*, 324 f.). In ancient times there ran through this region the road from western to eastern Asia described by Ptolemy. *Karatigin* is frequently connected with the "highlands of the *Komeds*", *Κομηδῶν ὄρεινη* [see *Κυμίδης*] (e.g., as recently as E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux*, 164, on the authority of *Sewertsov* in the *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, part iii (1890), 420-31). In the Middle Ages the name (Arabic *Kumīdh* or *Kumādh*, Chinese *Kiumi-t'ō*) was borne by the country below *Rāsh̄t*. In the Middle Ages and later, the valley of the *Wakhsh* seems to have had no great importance for trade. As has been so far ascertained, only the embassy sent by *Shāh Rukh* to China (822-51/1419-22) used on its return journey the road between *Farghāna* and *Balkh* described by Ptolemy.

Like all the highlands on the upper course of the *Āmū Daryā*, *Karatigin* also was under its own rulers down to quite modern times; in the pre-Mongol period only one amīr of *Rāsh̄t*, *Dia'far b. Shāmānkū* (*Gardīzi*, ed. M. *Nāzim*, 36), is mentioned. Under *Timūr* and later the name of the country *Qayir Tigin* (or *Tigīn*) is found (in the edition of *Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī's Zafar-nāma* by *Mawlawī M. Ilāhdād*, i, *Calcutta* 1885, 189, erroneously *Tir Tegīn*). When and how the present form arose is unknown. In the manuscripts of the *Bāburnāma* (ed. *Beveridge*, f. 33<sup>b</sup> and f. 63<sup>b</sup>, *Karātigin*, f. 69<sup>b</sup> and f. 81, *Qayyirtigīn*), and of the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* (tr. *Ross*, esp. 241) both forms are found. *Karatigin* is popularly explained as a Turkish word for "blackthorn" (cf. *W. Radloff, Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, ii, 135, Ottoman *Kara diken*) or as the name of the two first *Qirghiz* tillers of the soil (*I. Minayew, Svyedeniya o stranakh po verkhoviyam Amu Daryi*, St. Petersburg, 241, following *Arendarenko*). As is narrated in the *Bahr al-Asrār* of *Maḥmūd b. Walī* (*India Office Ms.*, *Éthé*, *Cat.* no. 575, f. 277<sup>a</sup>, in *Radjab* 1045 (Dec. 1635-Jan. 1636) 12,000 families of *Qirghiz*, then still pagans, went through *Karatigin* to *Hiṣār*. At the present day the *Qirghiz* (*Qara* (*Qirghiz*) form a part of the population of *Karatigin* along with the *Tādjik* (and a small number of *Özbegs*).

In the 19th century, the princes of *Karatigin*, like the princes of *Badakhshān* [*q.v.*], claimed descent from *Alexander the Great*. *Karatigin* was then under the suzerainty of the *Khāns* of *Khōkand*; their subjection is said to have taken place under *Muhammad 'Alī Khān* (1238-58/1822-42) in 1250/1834 (*V. P. Nalivkin, Kratkaya istoria Kok. Khanstva*, *Kazān* 1886, 134 f.). Already under *'Alim Khān* (beginning of the 19th century) we find men from *Karatigin* forming a considerable part of the standing army founded by this *Khān* (*Ta'rikh-i Shāhrukh*, ed. *N. N. Pantusov*, *Kazān* 1885, 42 f.). A campaign from *Khōkand* against *Karatigin* in 1275/1858 under *Malla Khān* (1858-62) is also mentioned (*Nalivkin, op. cit.*, 190); the ruler of *Karatigin* was at this time *Muzaffar Khān* (later also called *Muzaffar Shāh*). In 1869 *Karatigin* was occupied by the troops of the amīr of *Bukhārā* and *Muzaffar Khān* taken as prisoner to *Bukhārā*; the conflict was only settled by the verdict of the Russian governor-general, (*K. P. von Kauffmann*), and *Muzaffar Khān* again restored to his principality. After his death, *Karatigin* was definitely incorporated in *Bukhārā* as a district of 10,792 sq. km. with (about 1890) 60,000 inhabitants (mostly *Tādjiks*, the others *Qirghiz*). *Karatigin* also became involved in the last fighting in *Farghāna* before the final subjection of this country by the

Russians (1874-76). The frontier between Farghāna and Karatigin (on the heights east of the valley of Kičik Karamuk Su) was defined by a treaty concluded between M. D. Skobelev and another brother of the Beg, Süfi Khān on Sept. 9 (new style), 1876.

It was not till 1878 that Karatigin was for the first time visited by a European (V. Oshānin). In the following decade a mountain road, one of the best in Central Asia, was built through Karatigin on the right bank of the Wakhsh, which made Karatigin much more accessible. Oshānin and later travellers (especially A. Regel, 1881-3) describe Karatigin as a fertile country with numerous villages and orchards, and as one of the most prosperous provinces in the kingdom of the amir of Bukhārā. It was said (Logofet, 322) that in Karatigin all the inhabitants without exception made a living by agriculture (including gardening), and that there were no landless proletariat there. Anyone who neglected his piece of land for three years lost any right to it. On the other hand Rickmers (p. 340) says that many peasants went from Karatigin to Farghāna, worked there as day-labourers and servants and brought their savings home. The only town is Garm; as regards the number of inhabitants, estimates are very contradictory: according to Oshānin 2,300 houses, to Masal'skiy 4,000 people, to Logofet 15,000. Information regarding administration, taxes, etc. is given in particular by A. Semēnow (journey of 1898).

*Bibliography:* Down to 1878, the best authority is Abramow in the *Izv. Russkago Geograf. Obšč.*, vi, 108 f., and Arendarenko in the *Voyenniy Sbornik*, May 1878, 116 f.; after him Minayev in the *Svedeniya o stranakh*, etc., 196 f., 233 f.; notes from Oshānin's journal in the *Izv. R. Geogr. Obšč.*, 1880-81; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, ii, 197 f.; also *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.* (1880), 575, quoted by W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 22. Later travellers: A. Semēnow, *Etnograf. ozerki Zarafshanskikh gor, Karategina i Darwala*, Moscow 1903; D. Logofet, *V gorakh i na ravninakh Buchart*, St. Petersburg 1913, 322 f.; W. R. Rickmers, *The Duab of Turkestan*, Cambridge 1913, 325 f. (journey of 1906); cf. W. Masal'skiy, *Turk. Kray*, 735 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*<sup>9</sup>, 70 f., 201, 203 (s.v. Rāsh̄t); *Enciklopedičeskij Slovar' Brokhaus-Efron*, xiv/27, 460.

(W. BARTHOLD-B. SPULER)  
AL-KARAWIYYĪN (MASDĪD), a celebrated mosque and Islamic university at Fās, in Morocco.

#### i.—ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY

The architectural history of the mosque, already sketched by the late H. Terrasse, in the article Fās [q.v.], heading "Monuments", is sufficiently well-known. It has been revised by the same author in a comprehensive work: *La Mosquée al-Qarawiyyin à Fès*, avec une étude de G. Deverdun, sur les inscriptions historiques de la mosquée, Paris 1968. Three stages can be distinguished there (Pl. 1).

A. The first edifice was built, on the left bank of the Wādī Fās, in 245/859 and was the work of a pious woman, Fāṭima bint Muḥammad al-Fihri, who came from Kayrawān to Fās with her family. She very probably received the authorization to build from the Amīr Yaḥyā b. Idrīs, grandson of Idrīs II. The first oratory measured on the inside 46.60 m. from east to west and 17.20 m. from north to south and included a prayer hall with four parallel bays in the *qibla* wall. The *miḥrāb* was on the site of the present great chandelier, the minaret in the place of which is today that of the 'anaza; it was later in the centre of the mosque. The Idrīsid bays are larger

than those of later extensions (4.10 m. as against 3.70 m.) and contain 12 archways: 5 on the west of the axial nave and 6 on the east. There has been no success in finding the motive for this abnormal arrangement; perhaps it should be connected with the alteration suggested by the inscription of 263/877 (G. Deverdun, *Une nouvelle inscription idrisite*, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*, ii, *Hommage à G. Marcais*, Algiers 1957), and whose author would be the amīr Dāwūd, a grandson of Idrīs I. The eastern and western boundaries of the initial oratory are marked in the present monument by a line of cruciform pillars which separate it from the extension of the 6th/12th century. The court (*ṣahn*) extended in front of the prayer hall. It was of meagre dimensions. So it is established, by its overall lay-out and its exterior, that this first mosque resembles the sanctuaries which were erected in the 3rd/11th century in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā and of which al-Bakrī gives us information.

B. The population of Fās having greatly increased, the Karawiyyīn was enlarged in 345/956, a century after its foundation. In 307/919, it had already become the *khūṭba* mosque of the Kayrawānis' quarter, whose name it has preserved. This was the work of the Zanāta amīr Aḥmad b. Abī 'l-Sa'īd who acknowledged his holding the land as a vassal of the Umayyad caliph of Cordova 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir. The latter sent large sums of money levied on the fifth taken from the Christians, and these allowed the extension of the prayer hall by basing the enlargement on the Idrīsid nucleus. The four existing bays were lengthened on the west to four arcades, and, naturally, on the east, to five. On the site of the first *ṣahn* and primitive minaret, three other arcades were added. The oratory was then almost doubled, in depth as well as in breadth; it included from that time seven bays and twenty-one naves. The roofs remained set in the direction of the original bays, i.e., parallel to the *qibla* wall. The minaret, that is still seen today (pl. xv of the art. Fās), was constructed of hewn stone, protected later by a facing of carefully polished lime. It is a square tower 4.95 m. wide and 26.75 m. in total height. The walls are 0.95 m. thick. The stairway, 0.85 m. wide, opens out in straight flights around the central nucleus; it is covered with rampart vaults, as were the Cordovan minarets. It is lit by loopholes and by two bays (north and south) of a different style. At the top of the minaret lies a platform for the call to prayer; its parapet forms a straight band in relief and the whole is crowned, not by a lantern-place, but by a hemispherical cupola in the fashion of Ifrīkiya. The choice of the minaret's site remains without explanation, just as the dimensions of the *ṣahn* which has become asymmetrical and which extends at its feet, remain imprecise.

When in 388/998 al-Muẓaffar, son of the famous chief minister of Cordova, al-Manṣūr, conducted an expedition as far as Fās, he attempted to embellish the Karawiyyīn. A beautiful cupola was constructed at the entrance of the axial nave of the oratory. A *minbar* was set up and a cistern was laid out, but neither have been rediscovered.

At the end of the 4th/10th century the mosque was an edifice of fine proportions. The texts tell us nothing of its decoration, but the Karawiyyīn was without rival in the Maghrib.

C. In the age of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] Fās had become the most populous city in the Maghrib, and the Karawiyyīn became too narrow for the faithful. The *ḥādī* Ibn Mu'ṣṣha al-Kināni

obtained from the *amīr* 'Alī b. Yūsuf, the great builder of the dynasty, the authorization to enlarge once more the famous oratory. The funds were gathered together, thanks to the correct resumption of the mosque's revenues, which had been fraudulently diverted by some administrators, and doubtless with the help of the state treasury. About 528/1134 the work was begun. As early as 531/1136 two new cupolas received their final inscription, but the construction was not completed until 537/1143. As for the new *minbar*, it was not finished until 538/1144. It may then be concluded that the work lasted fifteen years, at the end of which the mosque was augmented in the direction of the *qibla* by three supplementary bays, which, as in all the rest of the building, preserve the arch as a thoroughly-exaggerated curve providing a new and magnificent *mīhrāb*. The arcades of the enlargement, for the twenty-one naves, take on once more exactly the dimensions of these of the Idrīsid oratory, such as it had been transformed by the Zanāta prince. It was traditional in the mosques of the west to mark the pre-eminence of the axial nave which leads towards the *mīhrāb*. The Almoravids wanted to mark it exactly on the outside, and they built a raised principal nave that dominates the roofs of the bays with a doublesloped tiled roof. This high nave, richly decorated, allows for the arrangement of a luxurious series of five cupolas. The first, on a square plan, is situated in front of the *mīhrāb*; then a huge dome covers the two other bays corresponding to the enlargement. Some very beautiful Kūfic inscriptions attribute the work to the reign of the *amīr* 'Alī b. Yūsuf. "The seven ancient bays of the axial nave were reshaped and decorated: today there are still five cupolas to be found; the three bays which antedate the Almoravid extension are covered by two domes with stalactites forming a flanged cupola; another dome with stalactites has taken the place of the cupola of al-Muzaffar; on the three remaining bays a flanged 'Alawite cupola is situated between two doubly-sloped roofs" (H. Terrasse). Finally, at the same time there was erected behind the *mīhrāb* a mosque of the dead (*djāmi' al-djanā'iz*), the first without doubt in Morocco of this genre of edifice, and the most beautiful. This annex, like the median bays of the prayer hall, presents an elegant cupola with stalactites, sheltered beneath a roof in a pavilion, in accordance with the Andalusian method. Also, to reconcile the pious desire to pray over the dead in the mosque itself and the necessity of not polluting the oratory by the presence of a corpse, the mosque of the dead connects with the mosque of the living by three doors, each bearing a twin arcature. If the work of the Almoravids was conceived with the greatest respect for the ancient parts of the building, one must recognize there the desire to magnificently ornament the Ḳarawiyyīn in the manner of the great mosques of the Empire, those of Tlemcen (Tlīmsān) and Marrākash in particular. The ornamental richness that they brought together in the axial nave testifies to the expertise of the artists of the time and to the opulence of the Hispano-Moorish art of the 6th/12th century. But all these decorations were to be covered again in plaster, towards 1150, for fear that the Almohad conquerors would get rid of them, as happened at Tlemcen and Marrākash where this precaution against the rigour of the partisans of God's Unity was not taken in time.

For the study in detail of the Almoravid decoration, the epigraphy of the bronzes, the *minbar* etc., one should consult the work of Terrasse, mentioned at the beginning; this has served as a basis in the

preparation of this article.

Later, the dynasty of the Almohads [see *AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN*], doubtless satisfied by the arrangements made to erase the name of the abhorred and cursed 'Alī, brought to the mosque some utilitarian arrangements and above all an admirable reconstruction of great splendour.

The dynasty of the Marīnids [*q.v.*] respected the work of the past, built the present *'anaza* [*q.v.*], enriched the liturgical furniture, added several splendid mountings on the bells taken from the Christians and proceeded to undertake numerous restorations. Finally, what was an illustrious feat, they created the Library. The Sa'dids [*q.v.*] had two fountain-pavilions constructed which survive today in the *ṣahn*, in imitation of those which still exist in the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra of Granada. No concern for utility explains their construction (pl. xv of the art. *FĀS*).

The 'Alawīs were not sparing in their care for the venerable mosque. It is under their reign that the exceptional competence of H. Terrasse allowed the rediscovery, with their original freshness and sometimes colour, of the riches of the Almoravid décor that was believed to have been destroyed for ever and which had remained choked with plaster for eight centuries.

Al-Ḳarawiyyīn is thus not only the great sanctuary of the town of Fās, but an eminent witness of the Hispano-Moorish art in architecture as in the decorative arts.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the sources given at the beginning of the article and to those that are found in the art. *FĀS*, one should add that the two essential Arabic texts for the history of the mosque in the Middle Ages are the *Rawḍ al-kirtās* of Ibn Abī Zar' and the *Zahrat al-Ās* of al-Djazznā'ī. The comprehensive plan of the mosque and its annexes was sketched and published by E. Pauty, *Le plan de l'Université Ḳarawiyyīn à Fès*, in *Hespéris*, iii/4 (1923) (pl. I). The mosque of the dead has been studied by B. Moslow, *Les Mosquées de Fès et du Nord marocain*, P.I.H.E.M.T., xix, Paris 1938; whilst G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 387-8, has given what is essential on the Sa'did portions of the *ṣahn*.

For the Arabic inscriptions, see the *RCEA*, iv, No. 1478; vi, No. 2099; viii, Nos. 3031 and 3061; ix, No. 3545; xv, No. 5626; xvi, Nos. 6080 and 6081. See also the critical article of 'Abd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, *Ta'rikh binā' al-Ḳarawiyyīn*, in *Djāmi'at al-Ḳarawiyyīn, al-Kitāb al-dhahabī*, Muḥammadiyya 1379/1959.

## ii.—ORGANIZATION OF THE TEACHING

At exactly what date can one speak of higher education of the Ḳarawiyyīn? It is really difficult to answer this question with precision. Muḥammad al-Manūnī, *Ta'rikh al-Ḳarawiyyīn*, in *Djāmi'at al-Ḳarawiyyīn, al-Kitāb al-dhahabī*, Muḥammadiyya 1379/1959, thinks that it is in the reign of the Almoravids that the University really became attached to the mosque; but the Ḳarawiyyīn was not the only place of worship where there was teaching.

From the beginning of the 6th/12th century until our own time, the glory of the Ḳarawiyyīn was its body of scholars (*'ulamā'*). It attracted a host of students from all the regions of Morocco, North Africa, Andalusia and even the Sahara, and the Moroccan dynasties and the people of Fās were actively concerned with housing them, in order to be

able to provide instruction; the Marinids in particular erected the charming *madrasas* [q.v.] which still excite the admiration of visitors. The university attained its apogee in the 8th/14th century, but, later, the masters, in devoting their efforts to reconciling the requirements of custom and those of the religious law, could not prevent the decline of the intellectual and teaching methods, above all after the definitive rupture with Spain, and, consequently, with Europe. When, under the Sa'dids, Fās lost its rank of capital in favour of Marrākash, al-Ķarawiyyīn remained turned in on itself and set in its traditional teaching. It continued to exist, without damage but without progress, by virtue of the Islamic institutions which took centuries to disappear. In reading Leo Africanus, as also Marmol, references are to be found that lack neither interest nor pungency. Finally, some reforms were imposed under the dynasty of the 'Alawids. In 1203/1788 the Sultan Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh decided to limit the authors, programmes and hours. The essence of this regulation is to be found in the work of Ibn Zaydān, *al-Durar al-fākhira bi-ma'āthir al-mulūk al-'Alawiyyīn bi-Fās al-sāhira*, Rabat 1356/1937, 60-1. But fifteen years later, if one believes a Spaniard who travelled under the name of 'Ali Bey al-'Abbāsi, things were going no better. Nevertheless, it is reported that the Sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān (1207-38/1793-1822) used often to visit the classes, question the students and reward the best replies. Mawlāy 'Abd al-Rahmān, nephew of the above, devoted himself to new reforms and, by a *ḡahir* dated Muḥarram 1261/January 1845, reorganized the teaching of the Ķarawiyyīn (see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 79-82). In the present state of our knowledge, we have few means of attempting to evaluate the results attained by this new regulation of the studies, inspired by a sound and clear teaching method.

The general organization of the university before 1912 is described in R. Le Tourneau, *Fās avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949 (book vi). It aimed at giving to the faithful as perfect a knowledge as possible of the truths of belief and of the line of conduct to adopt in the light of these truths. Dogmatism and conformity were the dominating factors in the teaching, which no longer embraced the universality of human knowledge, as before; it was reduced to the strictly religious disciplines. Among the branches of learning professed, certain had gradually disappeared; such was the case of Ḳur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), of which the classes must have ceased in the reign of the Sultan Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, of astronomy (*tanjīm*), dialectic (*kalām*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), which disappeared in 1906, lexicography (*luḡha*), philology (*taṣrif*), geography (*djughrāfiyā*), medicine (*ṭibb*), divination (*djadwal*).

The university was not organized in the European manner, nor even in that of Cairo or Tunis. It was placed under the control of the chief *ḡādī* of Fās, a kind of rector, but without a proper specialised administration. The scholastic year was unknown. No registration was imposed; the teaching was free; the duration of studies was not fixed, but custom demanded that classes be pursued for five years at least. No examination ratified the studies, a simple certificate (*idjāza* [q.v.]) being handed by the professor to every student who had given proof of application and of a certain ability. Three weeks of leave were accorded on the occasion of the great Muslim festivals, and a month on the occasion of the Spring festival, during which the Sultān of the *ṣalba* (plur. of *ṣalīb*, student) was chosen (see E. Doutté, *La Khutba burlesque de la fete des Tolba au Maroc*, in *Recueil de*

*mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905).

It is impossible to know the number of students at the end of the 19th century—a thousand perhaps, but certainly less at the beginning of the following century. They were divided into two categories: the Fāsīs by origin and the strangers at Fās (*āfākiyyūn*), who lived, especially the poor ones, in the *madrasas*. The two groups mixed together little.

Nomination to the rank of professor (*mudarris*) depended on the Sultan following an empirical process which seems to have been always accepted by all. The salaries were only small, but, each year, the government made some gifts in kind; it was well understood that in return one had to demonstrate loyalty towards it. The professors enjoyed the most complete freedom, although tradition demanded that they give at least one lesson a day. The first-class professors, numbering 17 in 1904, enjoyed great renown and were called the "Great Scholars" (*al-'ulamā' al-kibār*). It cannot be said that the masters of the Ķarawiyyīn formed a genuine body, except for granting investiture to a new sultan, along with other personages, or for replying to the consultations that the sovereign sometimes demanded of them. Fās held its doctors in high esteem, but there is no doubt that they were no longer as their illustrious predecessors had been. In their social milieu, their influence, however, remained considerable.

After the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912, the Sultan Mawlāy Yūsuf signed, on 23 Dju-mādā II 1332/19 May 1914, a *ḡahir* which created a council of improvement charged with looking again for means to improve the studies and their administration, as well as to study the situation of the teaching personnel. Some years later (1918), the university had been entrusted to a Council of Direction and reattached to the Ministry of Justice. In 1346/1927, the professors were submitted to progress and received a fixed salary corresponding to the class in which they were ranked (for further details, see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 133-8).

After many plans, often keenly contested by the conservative milieux of Morocco and especially of Fās, an important reform was introduced to the Ķarawiyyīn by two *ḡahirs* of the future King Muḥammad V, the first dated 12th Dhū 'l-Ķa'da 1349/1st April 1931, the second 15th Muḥarram 1352/10th May 1933. The teaching was divided into three cycles: elementary, secondary and final or higher. The last comprised two sections: the first was reserved for the Religious Law, the sources of this law, *ḡadīth* and *tafsīr*; the second entirely modern, was devoted to literature, Arabic language, history and geography. The hours were imposed on the professors as on the students, some examinations were organized and the vacations regularized. The masters received professional recognition, general supervision was reinforced, discipline enjoined, etc. (see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 146-66). The old university, now rejuvenated, became a State institution in 1947.

After independence, al-Ķarawiyyīn was thoroughly reorganized by the royal decree No. 1.62.249 of 12th Ramaḡān 1382/6th February 1963. Now a public establishment, endowed with a civil corporate nature, the university was placed under the control of the Ministry of National Education. It is before all "charged with (1) assuring the education of specialists in the Islamic disciplines and Arabic language; and (2) promoting academic research in the fields of the *shar'* and the Arabic language". It comprises: (1) the Faculty of the *Shari'a* (Muslim law) which was opened

in Fās in October 1960; (2) the Faculty of Arabic Studies, whose centre is at Marrākash; (3) the Faculty of Theology (*Uṣūl al-dīn*) created at Tatwān; and (4) some institutes attached to it, of which the most important is the *dār al-hadīth*, at Rabat, which produces scholars in the Islamic sciences. Each faculty is directed by a dean, assisted by a deputy, both of them appointed by the Directorate of Higher Education of the Ministry. The university at present (1972) comprises about a thousand students and each year grants an ever-increasing number of degrees (110 in 1970). Each academic year also produces a generation of educated young people who find a place less and less easily in modern Morocco. The Moroccan Government is not unaware of the problem, for which there is no easy and satisfactory solution.

Today, the university no longer functions at the foot of the pillars of the ancient mosque; it has been transferred to an old French barracks where the students no longer lead the mediaeval life of yesterday. Meanwhile the professors, even the less aged, continue to teach in a traditional spirit and, consequently, to form young people who do not move in the same atmosphere as their companions in modern education.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the sources given in the text and those which are to be found in the article FĀS, see for further details: Marmol (16th century), *De l'Afrique*, tr. d'Ablancourt, ii, Paris 1667; Badia y Leblich ('Ali Bey), *Voyages d'Ali Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et l'Asie*, 3 vols., Paris 1814 (see on Fās, i, ch. viii); G. Delphin, *Fas, son université et l'enseignement supérieur musulman*, Paris 1889; A. Pérétié, *Les madrasas de Fès*, in *AM*, xviii (1912); P. Marty, *Le Maroc de demain*, Paris 1925, ch. i; L. Brunot, *Le personnage de Barabbas dans la fête du sultan des Tolba à Fès*, in *Mélanges Gaudéfroy-Demombynes*, Paris 1935; Leon l'Africain (16th century), *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i; *Ḍjāmi'at al-Ḳarawīyyīn, al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī fī dhikrāhā al-mi'a ba'd al-alf* (245-1379/859-1960), Muḥammadīyya 1959, numerous articles of very unequal documentary value, and a bibliography of some European publications, especially in French (232-4); R. Le Tourneau, *Évolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962; J. J. Waardenburg, *Les Universités dans le monde arabe actuel*, The Hague 1966; Abd el-Hadi Tazi, *Al-Qarawīyyīne*, Beirut 1973 (in Arabic, with French summary).

### iii.—THE LIBRARY

The library of al-Ḳarawīyyīn is not situated within the mosque, but in an annex building. As the inscriptions preserved in the building itself and published (RCEA, xvi, Nos. 6081-2) indicate, it was created in 750/1349 by the Marinid Sultan Abū 'Inān Fāris [q.v.], and enlarged by the Sa'did Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [q.v.].

Its richness, once famous, attracted to Fās European scholars in search of ancient works. But in the 19th century it had fallen into a pitiable state of abandonment, dilapidation and pillage. The supervision of the library was in principle incumbent on the *naḳīb* [q.v.] of the university's pious foundations, but he shifted the responsibility onto a student agreed by a higher authority. No catalogue or register of loans has been discovered, as in Marrākash at the Library of the Mosque of Ibn Yūsuf. Many borrowers must have neglected to return the works, to such an extent that at the beginning of the 20th century the number

was estimated at no more than 1600 manuscripts and 400 printed books. Some are very valuable or very rare, in particular the 5th volume of the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* of Ibn Khaldūn, with a dedication in the famous historian's own hand. There are also some volumes there bearing the acts of donation of certain Moroccan princes. The most ancient manuscripts date back a thousand years, and the most numerous of them result from gifts, in the form of *habus*, of the Sa'did Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. The Ḳarawīyyīn also received an important part of the library of the 'Alawī Sultan Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh at the time when it was dispersed among the towns of Morocco.

In 1918, the catalogue was published and provoked a certain sense of disappointment, but, later, some valuable manuscripts were discovered in unlisted files. In the reign of Muḥammad V the Library was enlarged and modernized, its administration remodelled, supervision of it reinforced and its departments enriched. Today it counts, in addition to very numerous printed books, more than 4,000 manuscripts, and has resumed its activity and its secular role.

*Bibliography*: See the works of Pérétié, Marty, Le Tourneau and Ibn Zaydān, cited above; also A. Bel, *Catalogue des livres arabes de la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée d'El-Qarawīyyīne à Fès*, Fās 1918; E. Lévy-Provençal, *Note sur l'exemplaire du Kitāb al-'Ibar offert par Ibn Khaldūn à la Bibliothèque d'al-Qarawīyyīn à Fès*, in *Hespéris* (1923); H. P. J. Renaud, *Un prétendu catalogue de la Bibliothèque de la Grande Mosquée de Fès daté de 1268/1851*, in *Hespéris* (1934); G. Deverdun, *Un registre d'inventaire et de prêts de la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée Ali b. Youssef à Marrakech, daté de 1111/1700*, in *Hespéris* (1944); J. Luccioni, *Les bibliothèques habous au Maroc*, in *Bull. écon. et soc. du Maroc* xix/66 (1955); 'Abid al-Fāsi, *Khizānat al-Ḳarawīyyīn wa-nawādiruhā*, in *RIMA* i (1959), 8-16. (G. DEVERDUN)

**KARAY, REFİK KHĀLID** (modern Turkish REFİK HALİT KARAY), Turkish essayist, humorist and novelist (d. 1888/1965). He was born in Beylerbeyi on the Bosphorus, Istanbul. His father, Mehmed Khālid of the Karakayışh Oğulları (later shortened to Karay by Refik Khālid), was chief treasurer at the Ministry of Finance. Trained at the Galatasaray lycée (1900-6), which he left before graduating, Karay became a clerk in a department of the Ministry of Finance and at the same time attended the school of law (*Mekteb-i Hukuk*) until the restoration of the Constitution in 1908; he then abandoned both job and study and became a journalist. After contributing to various papers, he founded in 1909 his own shortlived *Şon Hawādith*. In the same year he joined the new literary group *Fedj-i Aṭī* (Dawn of the Future), formed for a brief period by the young generation of poets and writers, which was no more than the closing phase of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* movement.

His real personality as a writer took shape in 1910 when he began to contribute, under the pen-name *Kirpi* ("hedghog"), to the humorous magazines *Kalem* and *Djem*, of which he soon became a leader writer. His powerful satirical essays, mixed with subtle humour, were written in a masterly style and were directed against the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, the party in power, and these immediately established his unchallenged reputation. Following the assassination of Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Şewket Paşa in June 1913, Refik Khālid, although he did not belong to any party and was not a militant, was arrested together with several hundred opposi-

tion "suspects" and banished to Sinop, on the Black Sea. Tal'at Paşa himself, who had been the target of one of his ruthlessly sarcastic articles, included his name in the list of people "to be punished" (R. H. Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, Istanbul 1964, 36). He spent the following five years in exile in Sinop, Çorum, Ankara and Bilecik, during which time he remained silent except for a few essays and short stories which were published, under the pen-name *Aydede*, in the Istanbul daily *Peyam*, and later, under his own name, in Gökalp's famous *Yeñi Medjümû'a*.

On his return from exile towards the end of World War I, he contributed to the newspapers *Zamân* and *Şadâh* (of which he became later a leader writer). When in 1918 the war was lost and the Unionist leaders fled the country, Refik Khâlid's satires against them and the committee became more vitriolic. He joined the Liberal Union Party (*Hürriyet ve İ'tilâf Fırkası*) and became increasingly involved in the anti-Nationalist politics and activities of the Istanbul governments of the 1919-22 period. His many articles and satirical essays, in which he tried to discredit the resistance movement in Anatolia led by Muştafa Kemâl Paşa, depicting it as a resurgence of Unionist ambitions, and his efforts to disrupt the telegraphic communications of the Nationalists while he was Director-General of Posts and Telegraph during the collaborationist governments of Dâmâd Ferîd Paşa, made him *persona non grata* in the eyes of the Ankara government. His arrest and trial was one of the conditions put forward by the Nationalists for any compromise with the sultan's government in October 1919 (S. Selek, *Anadolu İhtilâli*, Istanbul 1968, 304). Following the victory of the Nationalists in Anatolia in September 1922 and soon after the arrival in Istanbul of Ref'et Pasha (Bele) as their special representative, the writer and journalist 'Ali Kemâl, a close friend and collaborator of Refik Khâlid, a leading opponent of the Nationalists and former Minister of the Interior, was kidnapped and murdered in Izmid on the way to his trial in Ankara (F. R. Atay, *Çankaya*<sup>2</sup>, Istanbul 1969, 341-42). On learning this, Refik Khâlid joined a group of leading members of the Liberal Union Party, most of whom had collaborated with the army of occupation in Istanbul, and took refuge in the British Embassy. He was taken later to Tashkışla barracks with other refugees, but managed to slip away from there and left Istanbul on a French ship on 9 November 1922. (Later he was included among the 150 "undesirables" (*Yüzellilikler*) excepted from the amnesty provisions of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923). He went to Djüniyya in the Lebanon where he wrote his political memoirs; their serialization in the Istanbul daily *Akşâm* in 1924 caused a great furore and it was consequently suspended. In the same year he moved from Djüniyya to Aleppo, where the editors of the Turkish newspaper *Doghru Yol* invited him to work. He published his essays, short stories and articles in this paper and published his books in Aleppo, remaining there until the general amnesty of 1938 when he returned to Turkey. During the last 27 years of his life he lived in Istanbul, carefully avoiding politics, devoting all his time to contributing to many papers and magazines and writing a great number of essays and sketches and many popular novels. He was the president of the Turkish P.E.N. club when he died in Istanbul on 13 July 1965.

As he confessed in a famous interview (Rüşen Eşref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1334/1918, 247-59), Refik Khâlid was completely ignorant of classical Turkish literature and of the works of the mid-19th

century modernists (*Tanzimât* School). He avidly read everything the *Therwet-i Fünûn*, his immediate predecessors, published at the turn of the century. He admired their technique but rejected their French-inspired themes and characters and their artificial and precious style (excepting, however, some writings of Khâlid Diyâ<sup>2</sup>, Mehmed Ra'ûf and Hüseyin Dîhâhid). Thus he started his epoch-making career from scratch. Apart from one or two forerunners at the end of the 19th century, he pioneered realism in the novel and short story and switched his attention from the over-exploited capital (Istanbul) to the Anatolian countryside; he specialized in subtle social and political satire without having recourse to gross and obscene language. He advocated and practised the use of spoken Turkish as a literary medium as early as 1909, i.e., before Ömer ('Umar) Seyf ed-Din and his associates inaugurated the movement of *Yeñi Lisân* (New Language) which aimed at the simplification of written Turkish. Refik Khâlid's published works, numbering 37, can be divided into the following categories:

(1) Humorous and satirical essays, on incidents of everyday life, topical events or political personalities, which reveal his real personality. These have been put together in the following volumes: *Kirpinin dedikleri* ("What the Hedgehog said"), containing essays published between 1909-19, second enlarged edition, Istanbul 1336 (1920), in Roman script 1940; *Tanıdıklarım* ("My Acquaintances"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1941; *Sakın aldanma, inanma, kanma* ("Don't be deceived, don't believe, don't be taken in"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1941; *Agho Paşanın Khâitraları* ("Memoirs of Agho Pasha the Parrot"), Istanbul 1338 (1922), in Roman script 1939; *Ay peşinde* ("In Pursuit of the Moon"), Istanbul 1339 (1923); *Ghughuklu sâ'at* ("The Cuckoo Clock"), Istanbul 1341 (1925), in Roman script 1940; *Bir avuç saçma* ("A Handful of Nonsense"), Aleppo 1932.

(2) Short Stories. Refik Khâlid's short stories have been collected in *Memleket Hikâyeleri* ("Stories from the Country"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1939 (French tr. Belkis Tavad, *Contes turcs*, Istanbul n.d.), sometimes considered as his masterpiece. Except for a few stories which belong to his early period (1909-12), these stories were written during his five-year exile in Anatolia where he was able to study closely the types and customs of villagers and provincial townspeople. An invaluable documentary on everyday life of pre-World War I Central Anatolia, these stories are told with a rare virtuosity of natural style unprecedented in modern Turkish literature. He observes and describes landscape, provincial towns and local types—peasants, shopkeepers, notables, teachers, *khodjas* and civil servants—with powerful realism, without always seeking to penetrate the soul of his characters. His *Gurbet Hikâyeleri* ("Stories of Exile"), Istanbul 1940, contain mainly sketches using much autobiographical material, a feature of his later works.

(3) Novels. Refik Khâlid wrote only one novel between 1909 and 1929, *Istanbul'un İki Yüzü* ("The inside Story of Istanbul"), Istanbul 1336 (1920), in Roman script as *Istanbul'un Bir Yüzü* ("One Face of Istanbul"), Istanbul 1939, perhaps his best. Written in the form of a diary of a woman of humble origin, brought up in the mansion (*konak*) of a Hamîdian pasha, this novel is a series of masterly sketches of Istanbul "society" between 1900-20, where the last vestiges of the old régime, the influential magnates of the all-powerful committee of Union and Progress and the degenerate nouveaux-riches of the war years

are depicted with scintillating and merciless sarcasm. After 1930 and particularly after his return from exile in 1938, he serialized in newspapers and magazines a great number of popular novels (19 of which were published in book form and some also filmed) of mediocre literary value, written mainly for the purpose of making a living, as he himself admitted (Mustafa Baydar, *Edebiyatçılarımız ne Diyorlar?*, İstanbul 1960, 108). But some of these novels, particularly *Sürgün* ("Exile"), İstanbul 1941, *Anahitar* ("The Key"), İstanbul 1947 and *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* ("This is our Life"), İstanbul 1950, are worth mentioning for many important autobiographical data and period descriptions. Among his non-political and non-satirical essays the volume *Üç Nesil Üç Hayat* ("Three generations, Three ways of Life"), İstanbul 1943, contains lively sketches of everyday life in İstanbul from the 1860s onwards. A considerable number of his essays and articles published in his very popular humorous magazine *Aydede* (from January 1922, 90 issues, and again in 1948-49, 125 issues) have not been collected in book form.

(4). Plays. Refik Khālid wrote two plays: *Tiryāki Hasan Paşa*, a historical play about the famous defender of the fortress of Kanizsa in Hungary in 1601. The play, which had a great success at the time (1909), has not been published. He wrote his second play, a one-act comedy, while in Syria: *Delî* ("The Madman"), Aleppo 1931, in Roman script, İstanbul 1939. It is the story of a mental patient restored to health who, on experiencing the effects of the radical social reforms of the 20s, goes irrevocably mad again. Kemal Atatürk stated on reading the play that "it did not satirize the reforms but emphasized them" and on his suggestion, Refik Khālid (together with the remaining survivors of the 150 "undesirables") was included in the amnesty for the 15th anniversary of the republic in 1938 (Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları*, Ankara 1969, 87-90).

Refik Khālid has been almost unanimously accepted as the unchallenged master of modern Turkish prose (Occasional reservations appear to be motivated by personal bias, e.g., Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler*, İstanbul 1968, 50-53). It has been said that no other writer wrote a more natural, spontaneous Turkish, based on the spoken language. This judgement is still held by many critics to be true even for contemporary literature. It is no doubt correct for the period 1908-28; but it has not been sufficiently noticed that the profound transformation of the language and style and literary taste which took place from the 1930s onwards is beginning to "date" his language and style, which was truly unmatched during the pre-reform period.

*Bibliography:* İsmâ'il Hâbib, *Türk Tedjeddüdü edebiyatı ta'rihi*, İstanbul 1340 (1924), 634-7; Edmond Saussey, *Prosateurs turcs contemporains*, Paris 1935, 215-27; Münici Enci, *Kendi Yazıları ile Refik Halit*, İstanbul 1943; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman*, Ankara 1970, ii, 159-86; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü*, revised 7th ed., İstanbul 1972, s.v.

(FAHİR İZ)

**KARBALĀ'**, a place in 'Irāk some 60 miles SSW of Baghdād celebrated by the fact that the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed and his decapitated body buried there (*Kabr al-Ḥusayn*). For all these events, see AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ. When it became a place of pilgrimage, Karbalā' became known as Mashhad (al-) Ḥusayn.

The name Karbalā' probably comes from the Aramaic Karbelā (Daniel, III, 21) and from the Assyrian

Karballatu, a kind of headdress; see G. Jacob, *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi, 35, n. 2. It is not mentioned in the pre-Islamic period. Khālid b. al-Walīd camped there after the capture of al-Ḥira (Yākūt, *Buldān*, iv, 250). At al-Ḥā'ir, where al-Ḥusayn was buried, the Kabr al-Ḥusayn was built and very soon began to attract pilgrims. As early as 65/684-5 we find Sulaymān b. Ṣurad going with his followers to Ḥusayn's grave where he spent a day and a night (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 545 ff.). Ibn al-Aṭṭār, v, 184, ix, 358, mentions further pilgrimages in the years 122/739-40 and 436/1044-5. The custodians of the tomb at quite an early date were endowed by the pious benefactions of Umm Mūsā, mother of the Caliph al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 752).

The Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 236/850-1 destroyed the tomb and its annexes and had the ground levelled and sown; he prohibited under threat of heavy penalties visiting the holy places (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1407; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 32). Ibn Ḥawqāl (ed. de Goeje, 166), however, mentions about 366/977 a large *mashhad* with a domed chamber, entered by a door on each side, over the tomb of Ḥusayn, which in his time was already much visited by pilgrims. Ḍabba b. Muḥammad al-Asadī of 'Ayn al-Tamr, supreme chief of a number of tribes, devastated Mashhad al-Ḥā'ir (Karbalā') along with other sanctuaries, for which a punitive expedition was sent against 'Ayn al-Tamr in 369/979-80 before which he had fled into the desert (Ibn Miskawayh, *Taḏjārīb al-Umam*, ed. Amedroz in *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 338, 414). In the same year, the Shī'ī Büyüd 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q.v.] took the two sanctuaries of Mashhad 'Alī (= al-Nadīaf) and Mashhad al-Ḥusayn (M. Ḥā'iri) under his special protection (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, viii, 518; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *loc. cit.*).

Hasan b. al-Faḍl, who died in 414/1023-4, built a wall round the holy tomb at Mashhad al-Ḥusayn (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, ii, 123, 141), as he also did at Mashhad 'Alī (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, ix, 154).

In Rabi' I 407/Aug.-Sept. 1016, a great conflagration broke out caused by the upsetting of two wax candles, which reduced the main building (*al-ḥubba*) and the open halls (*al-arwiḥa*) to ashes (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, ix, 209).

When the Saldjūk Sultān Malik Shāh came to Baghdād in 479/1086-7, he did not neglect to visit the two Mashhads of 'Alī and al-Ḥusayn (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, x, 103). The two sanctuaries at this time were known as al-Mashhadān (al-Bundarī-al-Iṣfahānī, *Zubdat al-nuṣṣa*, ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil des textes...*, ii, 77) on the analogy of the duals al-'Irāqān, al-Baṣratān, al-Hiratān, al-Miṣrān, etc.

The Ilkhān Ghāzān in 702/1303 visited Karbalā' and gave lavish gifts to the sanctuary. He or his father Arghūn is credited with bringing water to the district by leading a canal from the Frāt (the modern Nahr al-Ḥusayniyya) (A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Ḥusayn zu Kerbelā'*, Berlin 1909, 40).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 99, visited Karbalā' in 727/1326-7 from al-Ḥilla and describes it as a small town which lies among palm groves and gets its water from the Frāt. In the centre is the sacred tomb; beside it is a large *madrasa* and the famous hostel (*al-zāwiya*) in which the pilgrims are entertained. Admission to the tomb could only be obtained by permission of the gate-keeper. The pilgrims kiss the silver sarcophagus, above which hang gold and silver lamps. The doors are hung with silken curtains. The inhabitants are divided into the Awlād Rakhkīk and Awlād Fāyīz,



whose continual feuds are detrimental to the town, although they are all *Shī'īs*.

About the same date, Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (*op. cit.*) gives the circumference of the town as 2,400 paces; he mentions there also the tomb of Hurr Riyā (b. Yazīd), who was the first to fall fighting for Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.

The Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl I (d. 930/1524) made a pilgrimage to al-Nadījaf and Mashhad Ḥusayn.

Sulṭān Sulaymān the Magnificent visited the two sanctuaries in 941/1534-5, repaired the canal at Mashhad al-Ḥusayn (al-Ḥusayniyya) and transformed the fields which had been buried in sand into gardens again. The Manārat al-'Abd [*q.v.*], formerly called Engušt-i Yār, was built in 982/1574-5. Murād III in 991/1583 ordered the Wālī of Baghdād, 'Alī Paṣḥa b. Alwand, to build or more correctly, restore, a sanctuary over the grave of Ḥusayn. Soon after the capture of Baghdād in 1032/1623, 'Abbās the Great won the Mashhads for the Persian empire. Nādir Shāh visited Karbalā' in 1156/1743; while he is credited with gilding the dome in Mashhad 'Alī, he is also said to have confiscated endowments intended for the priests of Karbalā'.

The great prosperity of the place of pilgrimage and its large number of inhabitants is emphasised on the occasion of the pilgrimage of 'Abd al-Karīm, a favourite of Nādir Shāh. Radiyya Sulṭān Bēgum, a daughter of Shāh Ḥusayn (1105-34/1694-1722), presented 20,000 *nādiris* for improvements at the mosque of Ḥusayn.

The founder of the Kādjār dynasty, Āghā Muḥammad Khān, towards the end of the 12th/18th century, presented the gold covering for the dome and the *manāra* of the sanctuary of Ḥusayn (Jacob, in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 65, 4).

In Dhu 'l-Ḥijjā 1215/April 1801, in the absence of the pilgrims who had gone to al-Nadījaf, 12,000 Wahhābīs under Shaykh Sa'ūd entered Karbalā', slew over 3,000 inhabitants there and looted the houses and bazaars. In particular they carried off the gilt copper plates and other treasures of the sanctuary and destroyed the shrine. But after this catastrophe contributions poured in for the sanctuary from the whole *Shī'ī* world.

After a temporary occupation of Karbalā' by the Persians, Nadījib Paṣḥa in 1259/1843 succeeded by force of arms in enforcing the recognition of Turkish suzerainty over the town; the walls of the present old town were now for the most part destroyed. The governor Midḥat Paṣḥa in 1288/1871 began the building of government offices, which remained incomplete, and extended the adjoining market place (documents on the history of Mashhad Ḥusayn are given in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 35-50).

In 1965 Karbalā' had 81,500 inhabitants (1970 estimate, 107,500), a number swollen to well over 100,000 during Muḥarram with its influx of pilgrims. Karbalā' has always been a particularly rich town, not only because of its possession of the shrine but also because it has been a starting-point for Persian pilgrim caravans to Nadījaf and Mecca and a "desert port" for trade with the interior of Arabia. The old town with its tortuous streets is now surrounded by modern suburbs. About half of the resident population is Persian, and there is a strong mixture of Indian and Pakistani Muslims; there have long been Indian connections through the shrine's benefiting from the former ruler of Oudh's bequests. Of the remaining *Shī'ī* Arabs, the most important tribes amongst them are the B. Sa'd, Sa'lāma, al-Wuzūm, al-Tahāmza and al-Nāṣiriyya. The Dede family has been especially

prominent; it was rewarded with extensive estates by Sulṭān Selīm I for constructing the Nahr al-Ḥusayniyya.

The name Karbalā' strictly speaking only applies to the eastern part of the palm gardens which surround the town in a semi-circle on its east side (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 41). The town itself is called al-Mashhad or Mashhad al-Ḥusayn.

The sanctuary of the third Imām lies in a court yard (*ṣahn*) 354 × 270 feet in area, which is surrounded by *liwāns* and cells. Its walls are decorated with a continuous ornamental band which is said to contain the whole *Qur'ān* written in white on a blue ground. The building itself is 156 × 138 feet in area. The rectangular main building entered by the "golden outer hall" (picture in Grothe, *Geogr. Charakterbilder*, pl. lxxviii, fig. 136) is surrounded by a valued corridor (now called *dī'āmi*; A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 20, l. 3) in which the pilgrims go round the sanctuary (*ṭawāf*) (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*<sup>2</sup>, 109-12). In the middle of the central domed chamber is the shrine (*ṣandūka*) of Ḥusayn about 6 feet high and 12 long surrounded by silver *mashrabiyya* work, at the foot of which stands a second smaller shrine, that of his son and companion-in-arms 'Alī Akbar (Mas'ūdi, *Kutāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, BGA, viii, 303).

"The general impression made by the interior must be called fairy-like, when in the dusk—even in the daytime it is dim inside—the light of innumerable lamps and candles around the silver shrine, reflected a thousand and again a thousand times from the innumerable small crystal facets, produces a charming effect beyond the dreams of imagination. In the roof of the dome the light loses its strength, only here and there a few crystal surfaces gleam like the stars in the sky" (A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 25-6).

The sanctuary is adorned on the *Kibla* face with magnificent and costly ornamentation. Two *manāras* flank the entrance. A third, the Manārat al-'Abd, rises before the buildings on the east side of the *ṣahn*; south of it the face of the buildings surrounding the court recedes about 50 feet; on this spot is a Sunnī mosque. Adjoining the *ṣahn* on the north side is a large *madrasa* the courtyard of which measures about 84 feet square with a mosque of its own and several *mīhrābs* (on the present condition of the sanctuary: cf. A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 5-26, on its history 35-50 and on its architectural history, 51-66).

About 600 yards N E of the sanctuary of Ḥusayn is the mausoleum of his half-brother 'Abbās. On the road which runs westward out of the town is the site of the tent of Ḥusayn (*khaymagāh*). The building erected there (plan in Nöldeke, pl. vii; photograph in Grothe, pl. lxxxvii, fig. 145) has the plan of a tent and on both sides of the entrance there are stone copies of camel saddles.

On the desert plateau (*ḥammād*) west of the town stretch the graves of the devout *Shī'īs*. North of the gardens of Karbalā' lie the suburbs, gardens and fields of al-Bkēre, to the north-west those of Qurra, and to the south those of al-Ghādhiriyya (Yāqūt, iii, 768). Among places in the vicinity, Yāqūt mentions al-'Akr (iii, 695) and al-Nawāyih (iv, 816).

A branch line diverging north of al-Ḥilla connects Karbalā' with the Baghdād-al-Baṣra railway. The sanctuary of Ḥusayn still has the reputation of securing entrance to Paradise for those buried there, hence many aged pilgrims and those in failing health go there to die on the holy spot.

*Bibliography*: al-Ṭabarī, indices; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, indices; al-Iṣṭakhrī, BGA, i, 85; Ibn Ḥaw-

kal, *BGA*, ii, 166; al-Makdisi, *BGA*, iii, 130; al-Idrisi, *Nuzha*, iv, 6, tr. Jaubert, ii, 158; Yakūt, *Mu'djam*, ii, 189, iii, 695, iv, 249; al-Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, *BGA*, viii, 303; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 162, 456, 471; al-Zamakhsharī, *Lexicon geogr.*, ed. de Grave, 139; Ḥamd Allāh al-Muṣṭawfī al-Kazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 32, tr. 39; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, ed. Deffrémery-Sanguinetti, ii, 99 f.; O. Dapper, *Umständliche und eigenliche Beschreibung von Asia*, Nürnberg 1681, 137; Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u. a. umliegenden Ländern*, ii, Copenhagen 1778, 254; J. B. L. J. Rousseau, *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 71; C. J. Rich, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iii, Vienna 1813, 200; J. L. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Bedouinen und Wahaby*, Weimar 1831, 390, 444, 452; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, Berlin 1844, 837 ff., 842; M. v. Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus, in Persien und in der Asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1875, 309-401; Nolde, *Reise nach Inner-Arabien*, Braunschweig 1895, 113; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, Berlin 1900, 274, 278, 281; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, repr. 1930, 78; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelā*, Berlin 1909 (= *Türkische Bibliothek*, ed. G. Jacob, xi, 30-4, with further references); H. Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1909, xiii and pl. lxxvii-lxxxiv, with figs. 136, 138-45; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie (1907-1908)*, i, Cairo 1910, 48 (= *MIFAO*, xxvii); Lambert Vannutelli, *Anatolia meridionale e Mesopotamia*, Rom 1911, 361-3; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 159-66; St. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, Index; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 40-2, 279, 351 (= *American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies*, No. 3). (E. HONGMANN)

**KARBIYYA** the cross-reference to this heading under ḤAMZA B. 'UMĀRA is an error, since the subject in question of the Kaysāniyya is called in the sources Karbiyya or Kuraybiyya [q.v.], the *kunya* of its founder being Abū Karib or Abū Kurayb.

**ḲARDĀ** and **BĀZABDĀ**, ancient districts of Upper Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra), often mentioned together. The first place derives its name from Bēth Ḳardū, the land of the Carduci, which became Bāqardā; according to Yāqūt, s.v., this form is found "in the books", but the local people say Ḳardā. The district comprised ca. 200 villages, the most notable being al-Djūdī and Ṭhamānīn, and the district of Faysābūr; it produced mainly corn and barley. The original *chef-lieu*, Ḳardā, lost its importance and was replaced by Bāsūrīn.

Bāzabdā, for its part, is the name of a district in the region of Djazīrat Ibn 'Umar [q.v.], lying to the west of the Tigris, and also of a village lying opposite the latter town.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 118; Ibn, *Khurradādhbih*, 95, 245, 251; Bakrī, 222; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, index; idem, *Tanbih*, 47; Maqdisi, *Bad'*, iii, 25; Ibn Hawqal-Wiet, 211, 212; Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 176; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 158; Le Strange, 93; Šūli-Canard, ii, 123; M. Canard, *H'amdānides*, 110-12. (ED.)

**AL-KARDŪDĪ**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-KĀDIR B. AḤMAD AL-GULĀLĪ AL-ḤASANĪ AL-IDRĪSĪ, Moroccan legal scholar and author (1216-65/1801-49) who was for some time *ḥādī* of Tangier. He is the author of the following works:

(1) a *fahrasa* in which are recorded the names of his masters and also the *idjāzas* given by certain of them, such as al-Kūhīn and al-Damnātī; (2) a commentary on the *Iṣṭilāḥ al-ḥamūs*; (3) another commentary on the introduction (*khūṭba*) of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*; (4) a history of the 'Alawī dynasty called *al-Durr al-munaqqad al-fākhīr fi mā li-abnā' mawlānā 'Alī al-Sharīf min al-mahāsīn wa 'l-mafākhīr* (unfinished); and (5) a treatise on the need for modernising the army, *Kashf al-ghumma fi bayān anna ḥarb al-niṣām wādīb 'alā ḥādīth al-umma* (lith. Fez 1303/1885).

He died at Fez, where he was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūh, near the tomb of Yūsuf al-Fāṣī.

*Bibliography*: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 217 and n. 1; M. al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*; 'A. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 149, ii, 288, 324, 471.

(M. LAKHDAR)

**KARĪM KHĀN ZAND** (MUḤAMMAD KARĪM), (ca. 1164-93/ca. 1751-79), the founder of the Zand dynasty and the *de facto* ruler of the greater part of Persia. Having no claim to the title of *shāh*, he instead, assumed, that of *wakīl*, "regent, lieutenant". Brought up during exile of the Zand tribe imposed by Nādir Shāh Afshār, on the latter's death he succeeded in conducting the Zands from their exile in northern *Khurāsān* to the village of Piriya, modern Parī, 30 km. south east of Malāyir, where the clan, originally a lateral branch of the Lakk [q.v.], had had their settlements prior to their deportation. In the course of clashes with neighbouring chieftains, he displayed great military skill. In alliance with the *Bakhtiyārī* 'Alī Mardān Khān [q.v.], he seized Iṣfahān; there, in 1164/1751, they placed on the throne a Ṣafawid boy of eight, whom they styled Ismā'īl III. In his service Karīm held the office of commander-in-chief, and 'Alī Mardān that of guardian of the sovereign, *wakīl*. Fearing 'Alī Mardān's duplicity, Karīm captured Iṣfahān, took Ismā'īl III under his own guardianship, assumed the title of *wakīl* and put 'Alī Mardān Khān to flight. When the latter's attempt to win support for a new Ṣafawid puppet failed and the *Bakhtiyārī* chief was assassinated by a Zand commander, Karīm found himself obliged to defend Iṣfahān and Shīrāz against other claimants, including the Ḳaḍjār Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, the Afshār Faṭḥ 'Alī, and the Afghān Āzād Khān. At the end of a fierce struggle for the vacant throne, during which Muḥammad Ḥasan was assassinated by his own tribesmen in 1172/1759, Faṭḥ 'Alī and Āzād Khān had no option but to join forces in 1176/1763 and in 1179/1765; Karīm, already more popular than the other contestants, emerged as the undisputed ruler over the whole of Persia except *Khurāsān*, which he purposely left in the hands of Nādir Shāh's descendants. Although subsequently he had repeatedly to suppress local revolts, such as those of the Ka'b tribes in *Khūzistān*, the Līrāvī nomads in *Kūh-i Gilūya*, of Taḳī Durrānī in *Kirmān*, Naṣīr Lārī in *Fārs*, Mīr Muḥannā in the Persian Gulf region, and Ḥusayn Ḳulī Ḳaḍjār in *Astarābād* and *Māzandarān*, on the whole his rule brought a period of sorely needed peace to Persia. When Ismā'īl III, who had deserted Karīm in 1165/1752, returned in 1172/1759, he formally deposed him as incompetent, holding him, however, in honoured captivity with a large pension in Ābāda [q.v.]. Karīm did not drop the title of *wakīl*, using it thereafter in the sense of *wakīl al-ra'āyā* ("regent for the people") rather than that of *wakīl al-dawla*. He established his capital in Shīrāz, enriching it with magnificent buildings, some of which stand to this day. Through prudent husbandry he developed commerce, handi-

crafts and agriculture, encouraged foreign trade, and granted some commercial privileges to European companies in the Persian Gulf, mainly in order to utilize their power to enforce order and security on the coasts. His sole expedition beyond the Persian frontiers was the capture of Baṣra in 1190/1776, which was a challenge to the commercial supremacy of this Ottoman port rather than an attempt to destroy Ottoman rule in Mesopotamia. Karīm's last years were darkened by the loss of a young son, the death of a beloved wife, and a series of illnesses (colic, tuberculosis, etc.), which ended in his death in 13 Ṣafar 1193/2 March, 1779. He was buried in Shīrāz, whence the hostile Kādjārs transferred his remains to Tehran and later to Naḡjaf. Karīm's rule was a paternal monarchy, based on tribal traditions common among the Lakk and Lur nomads. His bodily strength, his skill in arms, his sense of humour, his concern for his people's welfare, and his anxiety to secure prosperity for the inhabitants of Shīrāz, have provided materials for a series of folk tales, specimens of which can be found in *Taḡribat al-Ahrār*, *Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣiri*, *Rawḡat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri*; cf. also J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*.

*Bibliography*: Ṣādiq-i Nāmi, *Ta'riḡh-i Giti Guṣhā*, ed. Sa'īd Nāfisi, Tehran 1317, index; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḡhaffāri, *Gulshan-i Murād*, unpublished, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, ii 2, 331; Luṭf-'Alī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, Calicut 1249, 481-8; A. Gulistāna, *Muḏjmal al-Tawāriḡh-i Ba'd-i Nādirī*, Tehran 1320, index; Rūz-Nāma-yi Mirzā Muḡammad-i Kalāntar, Tehran 1325, 41-68; Muḡammad Ḳhallī-i Mar'āshī, *Madīma' al-Tawāriḡh*, index; Rustam al-Ḥukamā', *Rustam al-Tawāriḡh*, Tehran 1969, index (most of this author's account is barely credible); Riḡā Ḳulī Hidāyat, *Rawḡat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri*, litho. Tehran 1270, ix, 6-50; Ḥāḡiḡi Mirzā Ḥasan-i Fasā'i, *Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣiri*, Tehran 1313, i, 205-12; 'Abd al-Razzāk-i Dunbulī, *Taḡribat al-Ahrār*, Tabriz 1971, ii, index; Muḡammad Ḥasan Ṣani' al-Dawla, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣiri*, Tehran 1299, 298-317; A. A. Vazīrī, *Ta'riḡh-i Kirmān*, Tehran 1340, 321-9; A. Kasravī, *Ta'riḡh-i Pānsād Sāla-yi Ḳhūzistān*, Tehran 1312, index; A. Navā'i, *Karīm Khān-i Zand*, Tehran 1344; Ch. Picault, *Histoire des revolutions de Perse*, ii, 328-68; A. J. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, repr. London 1954, index; P. M. Sykes, *A history of Persia*, ii, repr. 1951, index (contains several mistakes); J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, index; J. R. Perry, *Karīm Khān Zand: a critical history based on contemporary sources*, Cambridge Ph. D. thesis, 1970, unpublished. For other references, including some consular and travellers' reports see Cl. Huart in *EI*<sup>1</sup> (despite its brevity and errors), and Mehdi Roschanzamir, *Die Zand-Dynastie*, Hamburg 1970, index.

(A. H. ZARRINKOOB)

**KĀRİMĪ**, name of a group of Muslim merchants operating from the major centres of trade in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk empires, above all in spices. No satisfactory etymology has yet been given of the word *Kārimī*, *Kārim* or *Akārim*. Quatremère follows al-Ḳalkāshandī's statements and maintains that the name derives from *Kānim*, a territory in Western Sudan, which was altered into *Kārim*. Al-Ḳalkāshandī commented that the word occurred as such in the *diwāns* and had no meaning in Arabic, and Ibn Māḡjiḡ [q.v.] does indeed mention the ancient (*ka-dīmān*) pepper route from the *Bilād al-Kānim* (Western Sudan). Littmann proposes an Amharic origin,

deriving it from the word *Kuararima*, a spice imported into Ethiopia by the *Kārimī*.

It is certain that the *Kārimī* were in the first place merchants of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, so that Littmann's idea that the word *Kārimī* may be connected with the name of some kind of merchandise is suggestive. From al-Maḡrīzī's description of the Cairene markets it is clear that the amber (= *kārim* or *kahramān*) market was very active. Yellow amber is still named *kārim* in Egypt, and the origin of the term *Kārimī* may thus be explained. Blochet also advocates this derivation. G. Wiet remarks that the source of yellow amber is to be sought in the Baltic region and not in the merchandise of the Indian Ocean. Wiedemann, who did not occupy himself with the *Kārimīs*, cites Nuwayrī, who mentions the import of amber from the Byzantine empire, i.e. through Byzantine markets. Fischel, Goitein, Ashtor, Naura, R. de Miglio, Darrag, Sublet and Cahen on the other hand concentrated more on the development of the *Kārimī* corporation than on the origin of the term.

It is evident from the Arabic documents that the word *Kārim* was also used to design a fleet, especially a merchant fleet. The Geniza documents point to a similar meaning of the term.

In any case, the term *Kārim* occurs for the first time in a text transmitted by al-Ḳalkāshandī. It relates that the Fāṭimids established a special fleet (of five, later of three ships) to protect the *Kārimī* ships on their journeys between 'Aydḡāb and Sawākin against the pirates of the neighbouring islands, especially the Dahlak group. The command was committed to the *wālī* of Ḳūṣ [q.v.], sometimes however to an emir in direct contact with the government in Cairo. Saladin lent growing support to the *Kārimī* trade, which yielded high revenue from the taxes imposed. Al-Maḡrīzī reports that Saladin demanded beforehand the taxes for four years when the *Kārimī* merchants (*Tuḡiḡiār al-Kārim*) came from Aden in 577/1181. It is worthwhile noting that al-Maḡrīzī speaks of "merchants" and not simply of "*Kārimī*", in the sense of a trade or a fleet.

One year later (578/1182) the *Kārimī* encountered their most serious crisis, with the attempt of the Crusaders to establish themselves into the Red Sea. This constituted a very great danger to Islam, for the Crusaders would thus threaten the sacred territory of the *Hidjāz*, but Saladin's greatest concern was the danger to the Egyptian monopoly of the transit traffic in the Red Sea. However, Saladin's victory over Renaud de Châtillon enabled him to keep the Frankish powers and merchants away from this most important trade route between the West and the Far East, and promoted the expansion of the *Kārimī* merchants.

In 579/1183 Saladin's nephew and deputy in Egypt, Taḡī al-Dīn 'Umar, built the famous *funduḡ al-Kārim* in al-Fuṣṭāṭ, the port district of Cairo. At this period both Jewish and Coptic merchants had more or less to abandon their major enterprises in the Red Sea. They were replaced by Muslim merchants, principally the *Kārimī*.

Lack of sources makes it difficult to write the history of the *Kārimī* during the Ayyūbid period after the death of Saladin. The Mamlūk sultans, however, maintained the commercial policy of their predecessors and thus promoted the expansion of the *Kārimī* enterprises.

The transition from Ayyūbid to Mamlūk government in Egypt was full of interior and exterior problems: the crusade of Saint Louis and the advance

of the Mongols on the one side, and on the other the revolts of the Arab tribes settled in Egypt. During this critical period the Kārimī and other wholesale merchants thought it wise to reduce imports into Egypt, especially when al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḳuṭuz [q.v.], to help finance his campaigns, imposed such drastic levies on the merchants of Egypt that they lost one third of their wealth. Baybars I [q.v.] abolished these measures, and ordered his *wālī* in Ḳūṣ and ‘Aydḥāb to treat the merchants well, so that ships sailed without delay from Yemenī ports to ‘Aydḥāb. Ibn Wāsīl [q.v.] reports that no one took action against them and that their property did not suffer any losses at all.

The activities of the Kārimī started a new chapter in the history of the development of the Egyptian capital and of commercial financing. If the capital of a wholesale merchant, Muslim or *dhimmī* in Egypt is estimated before the Kārimī period at 10,000 to 30,000 *dīnārs*, the fortune of a Kārimī-merchant amounted to one million *dīnārs* or more. Because of his financial capacity, the reputation of the Kārimī Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Musallam al-Bālīsī (d. 776/1375), whose fortune was calculated to amount to ten million *dīnārs*, went beyond the boundaries of the mercantile circles of Egypt. Muslim merchants from India, who carried on trade in Egypt, Mecca and Aden, confirmed that no Indian possessed such a huge fortune, except one (Indian) unbeliever,—and he was associated with Naṣr al-Dīn. Tāḍī al-Dīn al-Kārimī, known as al-Damāmīnī (d. 731/1331) left 100,000 *dīnārs*, a more credible figure than the one reported about al-Bālīsī. Describing the enormous wealth of the Saha, the unbelieving Indian merchants from Dawlatābād [q.v.], Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remarks (iv, 49): “They resembled the Kārimī-merchants in Egypt”. Elsewhere (iv, 259) he compares the Sati of China with the Kārimīs.

The Kārimīs earned higher profits than the third of the purchase-price allowed by Muslim law. Besides bartering, they paid both in cash and by cheque. Indeed, through their network of markets and transactions, the Kārimīs operated a kind of banking institution, the most important clients of which were sultans and amirs whom they assisted not only with credits but also by supplying troops and arms. The Mamlūk sultan was not the only ruler to borrow money from the Kārimīs. The king of the Yemen also was given credits when he found himself in financial difficulties. Even Mansā Mūsā, the king of Mālī who owned the gold-mines in western Sudan, borrowed money from a Kārimī-merchant before he left Mecca to return home.

The Kārimī commercial houses were primarily family-owned firms, each generation inheriting the experience, assets and clients of the preceding one, and the younger members being sent away for training to the various markets of the huge enterprise. Freemen as well as slaves represented the firms, studied the markets, brought in clients, imported and exported merchandise. One Kārimī is reported to have sent his slaves as representatives to the markets of the Indian Ocean and in the western Sudan in order to trade and carry through transactions in his name. Of the Kārimī Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Musallam, whose father, grandfather and paternal uncle had also been merchants, it is reported that none of his slaves died while they were trading on his behalf in India, the Yemen, Ethiopia, Mālī and Bilād al-Takrūr, so that his affairs had not sustained any loss on that account.

During the reign of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥ. b. Ḳalā-

wūn [q.v.] the Kārimī-merchants numbered two hundred, owning at least a hundred slaves authorized to make important business-tours.

Al-Asadī (Ibn Ḳāḍī *Shuhba* [q.v.]) is evidently not exaggerating when he remarks that the activities of the Kārimī merchants reached from the Maghrib to China. Some were as powerful and rich as “kings”, with their own armed caravans, and with guards, commissioners, partners, slaves and servants. They had the *ḥūsāi* (cymbals) sounded before the gates of their palaces, usually the prerogative of high state-officials.

A considerable amount of the merchandise imported from the Orient by the Kārimīs and other merchants was transported from the Yemen to the Ḥijāz and Syria, but mostly to Cairo and also to Alexandria and Damietta, the two most important Egyptian ports on the Mediterranean, where Frankish merchants, especially Venetians, came to trade. The Egyptian merchant regarded these Italians as his opponents, both as businessmen and as capitalists. The Venetians, it is true, tried to extend their commercial and financial activities over Europe and the Byzantine Empire, while Asia and Africa were left to the Kārimīs. However, the friendly relations between the Mongol Empire and the Occident enabled the Italians, for almost a century (ca. 1250-1350), to travel inside Asia as far as China, but the Kārimīs also remained in these areas, where both met. More important however was that the caravan-trade by land and sea across the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea did not lose its position during the period of the “Pax Mongolica”.

Both the Frankish merchants and the Kārimī had to solve the problem of piracy, the former in the Mediterranean, the latter in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and also to face similar difficulties on the desert routes in Africa and Asia. Both also pursued business in the towns, but in this connection there was a fundamental difference between the two. The towns of the Christian West in the Middle Ages were struggling to free themselves from feudal lords, whereas the oriental, Muslim towns were, during that period, under the control of central authorities and their governors. Thus the political rôle of the Kārimī-merchant can hardly be compared with that of his opponent, the occidental merchant. The Kārimī took part in politics only indirectly, since the authorities set bounds to his capital and his freedom of trade.

Nevertheless, the stability of the government and the good relations between the sultan of Egypt and the countries on the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Indian Ocean enlarged the Kārimīs’ activities and crowned with success their endeavours to establish trade-relations between Egypt and these countries and even beyond, as far as western Sudan and China.

During the period of the Crusades the Kārimīs were by far the most important wholesale-merchants. The most prominent among them, in financial, political and religious respects, was granted the official title of “leader” or “chief” (*ḥabīr*, *raʿīs*), and in all the territories under Egyptian domination, as well as in the sultan’s palace itself, he was treated with esteem and honour. Although contemporary sources do not enable us as yet to establish the way in which a *raʿīs* or *ḥabīr* was elected or how he exercised his power, we can form a general idea thanks to a story told by Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-Asḳalānī [q.v.]. In his Annals he relates that the great Kārimī-merchant Zakī al-Dīn al-Ḳharrūbī, on his return from the Ḥijāz

to Egypt in 786/1384, had made costly gifts to sultan Barkūk and the leading emirs. He was attacked by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Fāriḳī, an influential Yemenī merchant resident in Egypt (possibly the head of the Yemenī Kārimīs and brother of the contemporary Yemenī vizier al-Aṣḥraf). Al-Kharrūbī then produced a letter addressed to him by the Yemenī king, in which was cited a letter by al-Fāriḳī, alleging that corruption was rife in Egypt since there was no effective ruler; al-Fāriḳī had therefore suggested to the Yemenī king that he should send no more tribute, because the ruling Egyptian sultan was one of the basest and most contemptible of the Mamlūks. Barkūk ordered that al-Fāriḳī should be imprisoned, have his tongue cut out, and his property confiscated; al-Kharrūbī on the other hand was presented with a costly robe of honour and granted the title *Kabīr al-Tudjājār*. This passage tells us something about the conditions required to obtain this title: it was a symbol of the most privileged position among the merchants, acquired by loyalty, unimpeachable religious and political behaviour and wealth.

Government policy was to favour the Kārimī-merchants. The *nāzīr al-bahār wa'l-kārim*, inspector of spices and Kārim-merchandise, was responsible for the interests of the Kārimīs in the Red Sea and Egypt and collected customs and taxes from them. This function was so esteemed that it was sometimes assigned to the vizier or the *nāzīr al-khāṣṣ*. The final decision however was with the sultan since the dues levied on Kārimī merchandise accrued to his treasury. Under al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh the importance of this function is demonstrated in a diploma of appointment, the text of which has been transmitted by Ibn Ḥiḍjāja al-Hamawī [q.v.] and in which the post is offered to the *Shāfi'ī faḥīb* Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bārizī. Since Upper-Egypt was during a long period the ordinary trade-route for the import of oriental merchandise, another letter of appointment emphasized that the chief *wālī* of Upper Egypt, *Wālī Wulāt al-Ṣā'id*, should pay special attention to the commercial aspects of his post, as being "the gate to the Yemen and Ḥiḍjāz". A third letter of appointment mentions the great importance of Kārimī activities in Upper Egypt: it is the chief *wālī*'s duty to treat them well and to promote their interests.

In 832/1429 Barsbāy [q.v.] introduced his monopoly of pepper and a rigid supervision of the market. He bought pepper in Djudda on his own account and even forbade the merchants to deal in it before he had concluded his own affairs. He also curtailed the pepper and spice trade with the Franks in Alexandria by fixing prices. The Franks were hard hit since they had to acquire the pepper at a price which was about 50 dīnārs above the market-price. They were forced to limit their purchases and often had to return home without having sold their merchandise. The Egyptian merchants also sustained losses. When the Kārimī-merchants tried to trade clandestinely with the Franks, Barsbāy threatened in 833/1430 to bar them completely from trade. Two years later he forced them not to trade at all without his permission. In 838/1435 he curtailed the spice-trade in Djudda and fixed the prices for the trade with the Occident. The ensuing difficulties between Egypt and the western traders were further increased by the Catalan and Turkish pirates. Çakmak (841/1438-756/1453) restricted the period of residence of the Frankish merchants in Egyptian ports to six months at most.

The deteriorating situation of the Kārimī-merchants during the 9th/15th century was however due not only to the policy of the Mamlūk sultans, but

also to increasing economic crisis in Egypt, and to the policies of the Yemenī king al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, who tried to extend his power over the Ḥiḍjāz and to oust Egypt from its privileged position there, while in the Yemen he established a reign of terror. The Kārimīs fled to India or Djudda, leaving part of their fortunes behind in Aden. Also the merchants and ships' captains from China sustained losses. When despatching a gift in 823/1421, the emperor of China made a strong protest against the measures of the Rasūlid ruler. The Egyptian government meanwhile not only tried to lure the merchants and captains from Aden to Djudda, but to establish a state-monopoly.

On the northern frontiers of the Mamlūk domains the political situation remained tense during the 9th/15th century and necessitated continuous Egyptian expeditions, which burdened the state-finances. By increasing the prices of monopoly merchandise, Kā'itbay [q.v.] financed sixteen military expeditions, which cost altogether 8 million dīnārs, besides the soldiers' pay. Since the rural economy was not able to cover these expenses, they had to be borne by imposts on trade, which caused a set-back to the Kārimī-merchants. From then on they started losing their lucrative business. Many of them entered the sultan's service, and became the wholesale merchants of Egypt *par excellence*. Others emigrated to India, especially to Kalikāt [q.v.] and Cambaya, and many turned to monetary transactions, less profitable to themselves but causing many difficulties to the State. They exported so many copper coins, that the sultan in 832/1429 strictly forbade their export to Djudda. The prohibition, however, had to be repeated in 839/1437. How difficult the merchants' position was during Barsbāy's reign is clearly indicated by a contemporary's note that a merchant had to contract a loan in order to cover his expenses while he possessed a stock of merchandise valued at 10,000 dīnārs.

The Red Sea merchants, in contradistinction to their colleagues in Cairo, tried openly and expressly to assert their rights with the sultan. Even Shāh-Rukh, the Timūrid ruler, became involved in this quarrel. He denounced the collection of taxes in Djudda which were not in accordance with the *sharī'a*, and called the *fuḥāhā'* and *fatwā*-experts in Cairo "the riding animals of their master's wilfulness". Shāh-Rukh tried to intensify the tension between the Mamlūk sultan and the oriental merchants, but did not succeed in forcing the sultan to abandon his monopolizing policy or to collect taxes solely according to *ḳur'ānic* prescriptions. The short-lived penetration of the Chinese fleet to the East African coast and the Gulf of Aden in the first decades of the 9th/15th century could not avail the Kārimīs against the arbitrary behaviour of the sultans, nor could the establishment at this period of close relations between Ethiopia and Europe alter the policy of the sultan of Egypt towards the Kārimīs. Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Tawrīzī, the son of a Kārimī Muslim of Persian origin, who sold arms and European cloth in Ethiopia, was arrested on the charge of high treason. He was accused of having gone to Europe via the Maghrib by order of the Negus in order to incite Alphonso of Aragon against the Muslims. He was convicted and executed in Cairo in 832/1429. Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-'Asḳalanī and his pupil al-Sakhāwī questioned the legality of this verdict and were of the opinion that al-Tawrīzī had promoted the cause of Islam in Ethiopia where he was said to have been in high esteem because of his activities. The envoys of Negus Yeshāk did indeed reach the court of Alphonso V (C. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au*

moyen âge, ii, 116; F. Cerone, *La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona*, in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, xxvii (1902), 39-43, 65-66), who accepted the alliance with Ethiopia. The Negus wanted to start trade in the Red Sea, with Sawākin taking over the leading position of al-Djudda. Barsbāy however tried to secure its monopolizing position by ordering ships not to call at the port of 'Aydhāb [q.v.]. A revolt of the local tribes, who turned pirates, was crushed and the town was destroyed in 829/1426. According to Leo Africanus 4,000 inhabitants were killed while the rest emigrated to Dongola or Sawākin, the port of Ethiopia. The Mamluk sultans extended their power over both Massawa and Sawākin, the prince of the latter becoming a vassal of the sultan and receiving his diploma from the chancellery in Cairo.

According to Ibn Taghribirdī, the Kārimis did not appear on the Egyptian markets in 859/1455, and after 889/1484 they are no more mentioned in contemporary sources. So far as we know, the last two Kārimis in Egypt, 'Alī b. Muḥ. b. Yūsuf Ḳalyūbī and 'Alī b. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. 'Ulayba, died in 897/1491-92.

Not only the Kārimis but the merchant-class as a whole lost their high entrepreneurial position. Shortly before the Ottomans took over in Egypt, two mere butchers acted as representatives of the merchant-class. The Egyptian wholesale trader had lost his international business connections, which he did not win back till the late 19th century. During Egypt's confrontation with two strong foreign powers, the Portuguese and the Ottomans, the Kārimis and other Egyptian merchants neither joined the Venetians against the new competitors from the West, nor did they try to combat the mismanagement of the Mamlūks. Adhering to the deeply rooted conception according to which state authority belonged to the military, they did not think of seeking political power. It is true that many Mamlūks, from the 8th/14th century onwards, had sold their *ikfā's* [q.v.] and had thus enabled merchants to acquire land, notwithstanding the opposition of the government and the *fuḳāhā's*. Thus the Kārimī merchant Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Musallam (d. 775/1373) is said to have come into possession of 3,438 *jaddāns*, for which a land-tax of 10,000 *ḍīnār*s was due. This situation influenced the Egyptian *ikfā's* system, but cannot be said to have been the Kārimis' expression of "Wille zur Macht". The Kārimī and other people who acquired *ikfā's* never succeeded in stepping into the political and military power of the Mamlūks. They submitted to them, although this brought about their own decline.

*Bibliography*: E. Ashtor, *The Karimi Merchants*, in *JRAS* (1956); A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, London 1938; E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi*, in *ROL*, viii (1900/1901), 540; Cl. Cahen and R. B. Serjeant, *A fiscal Survey of the Medieval Yemen*, in *Arabica*, iv (1957); A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbāy*, Damascus 1961; R. R. di Miglio, *Il commercio Arabo con la Cina dal X secolo all'avvento dei Mongoli; Il commercio Arabo con la Cina dall'Avvento dei Mongoli al XV secolo*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xv (1965), xvi (1966); W. Fischel, *Über die Gruppe der Karimi-Kaufleute: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Orienthandels unter den Mamluken*, in *Studia Arabica I* (Rome 1939); idem, *The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt*, in *JESHO*, i (1958); S. D. Goitein, *New Light on the Beginnings of the Karim Merchants*, in *JESHO*, i (1958); idem, *A Mediterranean Society; the Jewish Community in the Arab World*, 2 vols., University of California Press

1967-71; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1885-6; S. Labib, *At-Tujjār al-Kārimīyya*, in *Bulletin of the Egyptian Society for Historical Studies*, Cairo, iv (1952); idem, *Geld und Kredit*, in *JESHO*, ii (1959); idem, *al-Asadī (= ibn Kādī Shuhba) und sein Bericht über Verwaltung und Geldreform in 15. Jhd.*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965); idem, *Les Marchands Karimis en Orient et dans l'Océan Indien*, in *Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime, présenté par M. Mollat*, Paris 1970; idem, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1965; Fr. C. Lane, *The Mediterranean Spice Trader*, in *The American Historical Review* (1940); E. Littmann, *Besprechung des Beitrages von W. Fischel über die Gruppe der Karimi-Kaufleute*, in *Orientalia*, viii (1939), 174-6; R. Naura, *Les Karimis aux Archives de Venise*, in *JESHO*, i (1958); J. Sublet, *Abd al-Latif al-Takriti et la famille des Banu Kuwayk*, *Marchands Karimi*, in *Arabica*, ix, (1962); M. Weber, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte; Abriss der universalen Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1958; G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'épices sous les sultans mamlouks*, Cairo 1955. (SUBHI Y. LABIB)

**KARİN** (A.) means "companion" in the largest sense (synonym of *muṣāḥib* in *LA* and the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, and of *ḵhidn* in al-Bayḏāwī on Ḳur'ān, XLI, 24/25). However, for people in pre-Islamic Arabia and for Muḥammad, the word also suggested a man's spirit-companion or familiar, and this is the commonest usage in the Ḳur'ān, where *ḵarīn* is used eight times. If a human companion is meant in XXXVII, 49/51, *Shayḫān* is a *ḵarīn* in IV, 42/38, and the use of the plural *ḵuranā'* in XLI, 24/25, together with the context, shows that tempting spirits are meant here. In this verse and in XLIII, 35/36, 37/38, a *shayḫān* is assigned (*ḵuyyīḏa*) by God as a *ḵarīn*; al-Bayḏāwī on L, 22/23, is dubious whether by *ḵarīn* a *shayḫān* or an angel is meant, but for L, 26/27, he is sure that a *shayḫān* is involved. In this he follows the oldest exegetical tradition as already related by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 93-4. Every human being has a *ḵarīn* at his side, that is, a *shayḫān* and an angel to accompany, the first of whom tempts him into evil and the second induces him to do good. The *shayḫān*, sometimes called a *djinnī*, will be thrown into hell-fire at the Judgment along with the human companion whom he has led astray. These two *ḵarīns* are therefore different from the recording angels who accompany each human being (Ḳur'ān, LXXXII, 10-12).

Even the prophets have such a *shayḫān*, but that of Muḥammad was converted by him to Islām; a great many traditions bearing on this are given in the *Ākām al-mardjān* of al-Shiblī, ed. 1326, 26-7. A very suggestive and full ethical-theological treatment of the whole subject is in the *Iḥyā'*, Book xxi, of al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb 'adī'ib al-ḵalḵ*, ed. with comm. *Iḥyā' al-sāda*, vii, 264-5, where the traditions are given in detail; cf. D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, 274-5. At the other extreme is the folkloristic development in popular Islām; for it see S. M. Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, ch. vi.

Another use of *ḵarīn* in old Arabia was for the *djinnī* who accompanied a poet and brought to him his verses [see *SHAYḤĀN*, *TĀBĪ'Ā*]. This use has been transferred in Islām to the angel who consorted with the Prophet and brought him his revelations (*LA*, s.v.; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 5-6; D. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 19-20).

*Bibliography*: in addition to the references in the article, see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 385,

397-8, 401, 460, ii, 323; al-Dārīmī, *Musnad, Riḥāḥ, ʿab* 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Ṣiḥāḥ al-Munāfiqīn*, trad. 69 (ed. with al-Nawawī's commentary, Cairo 1283, v, 362; Constantinople 1334, viii, 138).

(D. B. MACDONALD\*)

**KĀRĪNIDS**, a local dynasty of Ṭabaristān, who reigned over a part of the mountainous regions from the age of *Khusraw* (Chosroes) I (531-79 A.D.) until 225/840.

*Origins.* The Kārinids claimed descent from Kārin son of Sūkhṛā, whose ancestor was none other than the legendary blacksmith Kāwah [*q.v.*]. According to the Arab and Persian chronicles, Sūkhṛā was the most powerful among the great men of the Sāsānid Empire at the time of Kawādh I (488-531 A.D.), but the conflict of sources with which A. Christensen concerned himself in *Le Règne de Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*, 94-5, led him to ask himself whether Sūkhṛā and his elder son Zarmihr are not in reality one and the same person. The Kārinids traced the origin of their power to the age of *Khusraw* I, who allegedly rewarded Zarmihr and Kārin son of Sūkhṛā for the help they brought him to repel an attack of the Turks (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 93-5; Zahr al-dīn, 37). In fact, it is probably a case of a legend invented for the glory of Kārin, confused furthermore with a namesake, the chief of the great noble family of Kārin (Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*, 98-9). Kārin son of Sūkhṛā received as domains Wandā-Ummīd Kūh (to the south of Āmul; Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 2), Āmul, Lafūr (on the eastern source of the River Bābul, which then passes by Māmṭīr, see Minorsky in *EI*, art. *Māzyār*) and Firrīm, which is called Kūh-i Kārin: "Ṭabaristan was also partitioned between Kārin and the chiefs established at Tamīsha, and Kārin became Ispahbad" (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 95; Zahr al-dīn, 31-5; Bal'āmī, ii, 297-8). Kārin was allegedly confirmed in his post by Hurmizd IV (579-90 A.D.).

According to the local historians of Ṭabaristān, Kārin reigned 37 years and was replaced by his son Alanda for 52 years (Zahr al-dīn, 167, 321), but these chronological data are fanciful and do not appear to correspond with the age of these persons (cf. below). The actual centre of the Kārinid principality has not been precisely determined, being situated according to some at Firrīm (cf. Ibn Ḥawqal, 377, tr. 367; Casanova, *Les Ispahbads de Firrīm*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, 117-22), and according to others elsewhere (Minorsky in *EI*, art. *cit.*). In any case, at the time of the Arab conquest the Kārinids must have lost Āmul, which was the capital of Prince Farrukhān Gīlānshāh, ancestor of the Dābūyids [*q.v.*] and of the Bāduspānids [*q.v.*] and they recognized his suzerainty (Bal'āmī, iii, 493). They sent some troops to help the governor of al-Rayy to resist the Arab advance after the battle of Nihāwand (21/649), but in vain (Bal'āmī, iii, 489-91; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2653-4). The submission of the local chiefs of Dunbāwand, Kūmis and Gurgān on condition of tribute led the different *ispahbads* and *marzubāns* of Ṭabaristān to surrender in their turn. Given the difficult character of the land, Suwayd b. Muḥarrin accepted the conditions of their capitulation: to pay 500,000 dirhams and remain tributaries of the Arab Empire, but without obligation to send military contingents in case of war and without the interference of the Arabs in the internal affairs of these principalities (Bal'āmī, iii, 492-3; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2659-60). But even these slight dues (compared with the tribute paid to the Sāsānids; Ibn Isfandiyyār, 118)

were not to be discharged regularly or in full, judging by the evolution of the proportionate forces maintained by the central power and the local princes (al-Balādhuri, 337-8), for numerous expeditions were launched against these regions to restore the caliphal authority.

We know scarcely anything of the Kārinid princes before the revolt of Wandād-Hurmuzd in 165/781, and we must have recourse to the history of Ṭabaristān and of other local princes for some incidental references. According to the local historians (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 98), a new dynasty was created about 45/665 in the Sharwīn Mountains situated in the south-east of Ṭabaristān (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 305) with Firrīm as centre (*Hudūd al-Ālam*, 135-6); it is very difficult to recognize in these different names mountains that form the eastern chain of the Elburz, for they have changed in name or their names may be easily confused, even when one does not come across several names for one and the same mountain (Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 2). Always according to the local historians (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 98-9, 237; Zahr al-dīn, 206-7, 323-4), the inhabitants of Kūh-i Kārin helped Surkhāb son of Bāw to regain his throne from the usurper Aḍhur-Walāsh (the Zarmihrīd?), who had assassinated his father ca. 59-60/679-80 and had maintained himself for 8 years. Surkhāb was crowned *Pādshāh* at Firrīm, which would suggest a return to the Kārinid patrimony, but the suzerainty remained with the son of Farrukhān Gīlānshāh, Gīl Gawbarā, who took the title of King of the Mountains (Farshwādgarrshāh; Ibn Isfandiyyār, 97; Zahr al-dīn, 42).

It was not until 97/716 that Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab, strengthened by his success at Gurgān, tried to annex Ṭabaristān also to the Umayyad empire, but he fell in his turn in an ambush (like Maṣḥala b. Hubayra in 54/674, Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath in 55/675), and had to content himself with imposing a tribute sufficiently heavy for him to turn back against Djurdjān, which had revolted in his absence (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1320-1, 1327-9; al-Balādhuri, 336-8 etc.). Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Ṭabaristān revolted afresh under Hīshām (105-25/724-43); (al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 381), then under Marwān II (al-Balādhuri, 338; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 308). The 'Abbāsids were meanwhile recognized in the course of their rebellion (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 2016; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 275-7), and al-Manṣūr himself succeeded in imposing on the local chiefs the payment of the tribute they had paid to the Sāsānids, following their complicity in the revolt of Sunbādīh in 137/755 (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 118). The conquest of Ṭabaristān was achieved in the course of the years 142-3/759-60 and resulted in its annexation to the 'Abbāsīd empire, which led to the installation of military garrisons in the mountainous regions, notably at Firrīm and at *Khurramābād* (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 122-3). The Bāwandids profited from the disappearance of the Dābūyids by taking the title of *Pa'dīsh-wārharshāh* (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 126), indicating by it their pre-eminent position in Kūhistān. The local princes appear to have adapted themselves poorly to 'Abbāsīd tutelage, and they revolted in 165/781, when the governor of Ṭabaristān tried to apply an increase in the taxes ratified by the jurist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, arguing that Ṭabaristān had surrendered by force (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 125). The inhabitants of Ummīdvar-Kūh (to the South of Āmul) went to find the Kārinid prince Wandād-Hurmuzd, who lived near Dunbāwand (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 129), and promised him their help, if he would revolt (Ibn Isf., 126).

The Revolt of Wandād-Hurmuzd. Wandād-

Hurmuzd assured himself of the alliance of the other local princes (Sharwīn the Bāwandid in the Sharwīn Mountains, Shahrīyār the Bāduspānid in the Bāduspān Mountains, Masmughān Walāsh (the Zarmihrīd?) at Miyāndurūd near Sāriya, Wandād-Safān the Kārinid in the Wandād-Safān Mountains to the west of Ṭabaristān), and proclaimed a revolt, which began with a massacre of the Muslims (Ibn Isf., 122-3). Exploiting the lie of the land, Wandād-Hurmuzd held the mountainous regions for several years (165-8/781-5) and inflicted numerous defeats on the caliphal armies. Al-Mahdī had to organize four expeditions, each of growing importance, at the head of which he placed generals of ever-greater renown (Sālim al-Farghānī, the Amīr Firāsha, 'Umar b. al-'Alā' in 167/783, Taym b. Sinān), but in vain. He had to send the heir to the throne, al-Hādī, in person, accompanied by the general Yazīd b. Mazyad, to obtain the surrender of Wandād-Hurmuzd (Ibn Isf., 44-5 126-31; Ṣāhīr al-Dīn, 155-9; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 517-8, 551, 705; Ibn al-Fakīh, 304). The latter was imprisoned in Baghdād (al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 487), and his brother Wandād-Safān had sought his own destruction in executing a client of the caliph, Bahrām b. Fīrūz, recently converted to Islam. Wandād-Hurmuzd was meanwhile freed after having promised to give up his brother to the caliph, but once in his mountains, he did nothing about it (Ibn Isf., 131-2; Ṣāhīr al-Dīn, 160). His hostility to Islam persisted as before (Ibn Isf., 140), and he profited by acquiring 1,000 *dīarīb*s of demesne lands in the environs of Sāriya that had been put up for sale (Ibn Isf., 132; Ibn Rusta, 150, tr. 173). Wandād-Safān continued his opposition to 'Abbāsīd penetration by having executed Dja'far b. Hārūn, sent by the caliph in 187/803 to carry out again the cadastral survey (Ibn Isf., 141-2). These multiple acts of insubordination forced Hārūn al-Rashīd, at the time of his move to Rayy in 189/805, to summon Wandād-Hurmuzd and to reaffirm solemnly the sovereignty of the caliphate and to exact guarantees of submission: Wandād-Hurmuzd had to join in paying tribute, to send troops in event of war, and at the same time was constrained to "offer" some domains to the caliph (the Ma'mūnī lands) and to send his son Kārin as hostage to the court. In exchange, he was reinvested as "*Ispahbad* of *Khurāsān*" (Ibn al-Fakīh, 304; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 705; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 514; Ibn Isfandiyyār, 44, 142-3). Despite the fame of the revolt of his grandson Māzyār, it seems to us that the personality and movement of Wandād-Hurmuzd merit more consideration on the part of historians, for he effected a coalition that only Ḥasan b. Zayd was able to recreate in 250/864, and opposed with success the attempts to repress his revolt, whereas Māzyār collapsed without fighting in 225/840.

Kārin was sent back to his father in 192/808 (al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 520; Ibn Isf., 143). In the course of the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān in 195/811 offered some presents to the "princes of Daylam, the mountains of Ṭabaristān and the neighbouring regions" and made them promise that he would cut the route from Khurāsān to Baghdād (which was dominated by the mountains of Ṭabaristān) and that he would hinder the arrival of reinforcements for Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, commander of the troops of al-Ma'mūn. The local princes promised their help (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 820), but 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān was killed near al-Rayy.

According to the local historians, Wandād-Hurmuzd died in the time of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33) after having reigned 50 years. His son Kārin suc-

ceeded him for 40 years (Ibn Isf., 144-5; Ṣāhīr al-Dīn, 321), but this information is certainly false, for, if one adds the 30 years of a reign that these same sources attribute to Māzyār, one cannot see how these two princes could have reigned 40+30 years, when there were 27 years between the accession of al-Ma'mūn (in 198/813) and the execution of Māzyār (in 225/840). Besides, Ibn Isfandiyyār (145-7) recounts the participation of Kārin in the campaign of al-Ma'mūn against the Byzantines (the first dating from 215/830), whilst further on he contradicts himself in saying that Māzyār profited from this campaign to eliminate his adversaries.

The fact remains that Kārin lost his possessions bit by bit, following the attempts of his rival Shahrīyār to nibble them away. Then, when he succeeded his father, Māzyār found himself at the head of a diminished principality (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 146). He even lost his possessions completely following a battle against Shahrīyār, who annexed his domains. Māzyār took refuge with his cousin Wandād-Ummīd, son of Wandād-Safān, but the latter was constrained to give him up to the Bāwandid (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 146-7). Whilst, according to Ibn Isfandiyyār, Māzyār escaped from prison and made his way to Baghdād and to the caliph al-Ma'mūn (*ibid.*), al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1015) attributes to the governor of Ṭabaristān, 'Abd Allāh b. Khurhādhab, the victory over Shahrīyār the Bāwandid and the sending of Māzyār to al-Ma'mūn in 201/816-7 (then at Marw, since the Caliph did not return to Baghdād until 204/819; cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vi, 253; Bal'amī, iv, 518). Whatever may be the case, Māzyār had to become a convert to Islam and received the name of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Kārin, with the title of "*mawla* of the Commander of the Faithful" (al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 582; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298; Ibn Isf., 147). He was afterwards named, in 207/822-3, co-governor of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and Dunbāwand with Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ, and charged specially with the control of the mountainous regions that he knew best (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1066, 1096; Ibn Isf., 148). On his return to Ṭabaristān, Māzyār appears to have begun by eliminating the other local princes, both his own kinsmen, notably his brother Kūhyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295; al-Balādhuri, 339) and his nephew, Kārin, son of Shahrīyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283), as well as his rivals, the Bāwandids: ca. 210/825-6, he invaded the Sharwīn Mountains, defeated Shāpūr, son of Shahrīyār, and even had him executed on learning that he would become a convert to Islam and a "*mawla* of the Commander of the Faithful" like himself (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1093; Ibn Isfandiyyār, 148). He annexed the Sharwīn Mountains and added the title of *Malik al-Djībāl* to his already pompous titulare: "*Gil-Gilān, Ispahbadh of Khurāsān, Padishkhwārgarshāh*" (al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 276, tr. 81), which is identical to that of Farrukhān Gilānshāh at the time of the Arab conquest (cf. Bal'amī, iii, 493). These titles do not indicate any claim to Khurāsān, in contradiction to what several historians have thought (Azizi, 186; Minovi, 24; Minorsky, in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, art. *Māzyār*), otherwise al-Ma'mūn would not have used this titulare in his correspondence with Māzyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298 gives the variant *Ispahbadhān*).

This policy of concentrating power for his own sole profit is at the origin of the "treason" of his own kinsmen in 225/840, who saw in it the only means of their being restored as princes (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283, 1291, 1295).

Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ died in 211/826-7 and was replaced by his son Muḥammad (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vi, 286), but



Māzyār seems not to have had a high opinion of him (Ibn Isf., 148). He sought to extend his control over the plains of Ṭabaristān with brutal methods, which alienated the Muslim population of the towns against him after already attracting the hostility of the local Zoroastrian landowners (Ibn Isf., 148-9). Complaints were then addressed to the Caliph, but Māzyār refused to go to Baghdād for fear of being removed from office on this occasion. On the insistence of al-Ma'mūn, he sent the *kādīs* of Āmul and Rūyān to inform the Caliph of his actions. The *kādī* of Āmul claimed that Māzyār had abjured the faith, but the Caliph did not believe this accusation (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1270-1). Despite his ever more independent bearing (he called himself 'ally' and no longer 'client' of the Caliph; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫh*, ii, 582), al-Ma'mūn named him later as sole governor of Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isf., 150-1), and al-Mu'taṣim confirmed him in his post in 218/833. Having also become a veritable petty king, with an administration modelled on the central power and a considerable personal strength (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1292), he reached a new degree of insubordination in refusing to send his *kharādjī* to the Ṭāhirids of Khurasān, to whom he was administratively subject. The Caliph agreed to spare him (probably against the advice of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir), and his agents received the *kharādjī* from Māzyār at Hamadhān and sent it on to the Ṭāhirid agents (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1268).

According to a version of al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1269), "Māzyār was also in correspondence with Bābak; he encouraged him (in his revolt) and proposed to help him", but this sentence is perhaps truncated like the sentence on the stirring-up of the peasants (also 1269), whose correct reconstruction (1278-9) gives a completely different meaning. Let us note that there is no question anywhere else of any complicity of Māzyār with Bābak, although the rumours and accusations hurled against al-Afshīn are very numerous. Towards the beginning of 223/end of 837, there was planned an expedition of al-Afshīn against Māzyār, but only because of his tyranny and his insubordination (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269-71; al-Balādhurī, 339; Ibn Isf., 152; Ṭāhir al-Dīn, 167). The thesis of a vast "anti-Arab plot" fomented by Bābak, al-Afshīn, Māzyār and the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus at this period is only a fabrication made up by the historians (M. Minovi, 26; M. Azizi, 212, 364, etc.).

Feeling himself threatened also, Māzyār ordered the cadastral survey to be carried out again and the *kharādjī* to be levied before the end of the month of Tir/August 838, and his agents surveyed in two months what had usually been surveyed in twelve months and in three sessions (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1270-2). Besides, the tension between Māzyār and the Ṭāhirids worsened the more 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir succeeded in setting the Caliph against this "tyrannical and insubordinate prince-governor", the one who led Māzyār to rebel, revolt, refuse the *kharādjī* and impose his ascendancy over the mountains of Ṭabaristān and its adjacent parts (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269). Certain sources even assert that this insubordination was encouraged by al-Afshīn, who urged Māzyār to revolt (al-Ṭabarī, 1269, 1305, etc.). If it is undeniable that one meets with this accusation against the rival of the Ṭāhirids, who had become ambitious after his victory over Bābak in 222/837 and over Theophilus in 223/838, it is not certain that it corresponds to reality, for as al-Ya'qūbī suggests (*Ta'riḫh*, ii, 583), when al-Afshīn addressed himself in these terms to Māzyār: "By God, your falsehood will not save you from death. Don't perpetrate a falsehood to end your life",

then Māzyār regained his composure and protested 'By God, he has not written to me or entered into correspondence with me . . .'. The position of al-Afshīn is made clear by the sources: having heard of the conflict that set Māzyār in opposition to the Ṭāhirids, he "hoped that this conflict would be at the root of the dismissal of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir from the government of Khurasān" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269), for "he believed that, if Māzyār revolted, he would hold out for a long time against 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir and would resist until al-Mu'taṣim was obliged to send him, as well as others, to combat him, and that he would dismiss 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, and appoint him in his place and charge him with the suppression of Māzyār" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1305). All this allows us to reject the theses of "anti-Arab" revolt leading to the restoration of the power of the Persians, that several historians have freely adopted (notably M. Minovi and M. Azizi, although Gh. H. Sadighi had refuted these assertions as far back as 1938).

The Revolt of Māzyār. Māzyār revolted openly "after six years and several months of the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim" (al-Balādhurī, 339), i.e. the end of 224/839. Certain sources (al-Balādhurī and Ibn Isf., 152) use the word *kafara* which has led several historians to maintain that he apostatised (Minovi, 24; Azizi, 187). This interpretation is erroneous, for all the other chroniclers use the verb "to revolt" or a synonym, and al-Balādhurī himself uses the word *kafara* as a synonym of "to revolt".

He compelled the inhabitants to offer him the oath of allegiance, and in order to assure himself of them, he put their goods under sequestration and made them surrender hostages (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269, 1273). In addition, he had imprisoned "all those whom he believed to hate him in secret" (*Kitāb al-'Uyūn*, iii, 399; Miskawayh, vi, 504), from amongst the inhabitants of Sāriya, Āmul, Rūyān and western Ṭabaristān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1273-4, 1278, 1283). He had the ramparts of Āmul, Sāriya and Ṭamisha demolished, which alerted 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (Ibn Isf., 150-2; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1274-5). However, the inhabitants of Āmul solicited the intervention of al-Mu'taṣim, who decided finally to put an end to this prince-governor who had revolted (Ibn Isf., 153-4).

Ṭabaristān was surrounded on all sides by five armies sent by 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (to the east and south-east) and al-Mu'taṣim. Māzyār believed himself secure, for he had recalled his brother Kūhyār, to whom he had entrusted the defence of the Kārin Mountains (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295), and his nephew Kārin b. Shahrīyār, charged with defending the Sharwīn Mountains and the eastern chain as far as Djurdjān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283). As for the rest of the routes of entry into Ṭabaristān, his confidants Sarkhāstān and al-Durrī had to prevent the entrance of troops, the first from Djurdjān, the second from al-Rayy (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295-6).

Seeing himself surrounded, Māzyār tried to disencumber himself of the prisoners by rousing *al-akara al-mukhtārīn min bayn al-dahākīn*, but his manoeuvre miscarried (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1278-80 and not 1269, which has inspired more than one commentary of it as a social, agrarian, Mazdakite movement etc.). The collapse of Māzyār was quick; some soldiers of Sarkhāstān brought in some soldiers of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn with whom they had fraternized, and not Ṭamisha was taken by surprise (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1278-80). Kārin b. Shahrīyār surrendered all the heartlands of his possessions and the Sharwīn Mountains to Ḥayyān b. Djabala in exchange for the promise of his restoration as prince (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1282-3). Two

brothers, Muḥammad and *Dja'far b. Rustam*, rallied the soldiers of Rūyān and some fortresses of Kalān and Shālūs against their commandant, the brother of al-Durri, who had surrendered to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). Having learnt of these successes and the execution of Sarḫāstān and al-Durri, who had both tried to take flight, the inhabitants of Sāriya and of Marraw rebelled the same day, the 13th *Shā'bān* 225/18th June 840 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). The decisive blow was struck against Māzyār by his brother Kūhyār, who was solicited by all the generals to deliver Māzyār to them in exchange for his own restoration (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1286-8, 1291, 1296-7). Kūhyār delivered him finally to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn in *Shā'bān* or in Ramaḍān 225/June-July 840 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). Māzyār was escorted to Sāmarrā, where he arrived in *Shawwāl*/August (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303). Al-Afshīn was not arrested until 4th Dhu 'l-Qa'da/5th September, not after having been denounced by Māzyār, but on the pretext of having been the instigator of the revolt of Mankdjūr in *Ādharbaydjān* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1305). His trial took place the very next day (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303) and Māzyār was cited as witness for the prosecution. It is remarkable that Māzyār was only reproached in the course of his interrogation for having revolted and not for having abjured the faith. Māzyār accused al-Afshīn of being the instigator of this revolt, but his statements seem inconsistent and most sources say that he retracted (al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 583; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 363). Māzyār was condemned to be flogged, and expired after having received several hundred blows (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303). The Ḳarīnids disappeared as a dynasty, more especially as Kūhyār was executed by the Daylamī guards of Māzyār for his "treason" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1293-4). Ṭabaristān was thereafter administered by the Ṭāhirids (Ibn Hawkal, ii, 381, tr. 370).

*Bibliography:* Sources: Apart from the chronicles of Ya'qūbī, Balādhuri, and Ṭabarī—whose information is taken up by the *Kitāb al-Uyūn: Historia Chalifatus al-Motacim*, Leiden 1849—Miskawayh, Bal'ami, Ibn al-Athīr, etc., one should note above all: Ibn Isfandiyyār, *An abridged translation of the History of Ṭabaristān*, Leiden 1905 (Persian text completely edited at Tehran 1933), and Zahir al-Dīn, *Geschichte von Ṭabaristān, Rāyān und Māzandarān* (Persian text), St. Petersburg 1850. Studies: H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London 1928; idem, *Les dynasties du Māzandarān*, in *JA* (1938); M. Minovi, Māzyār, Tehran 1933 (2nd ed. 1954); Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au II<sup>e</sup> et au III<sup>e</sup> siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1938; M. Azizi, *La domination arabe et l'épanouissement du sentiment national iranien*, Paris 1938; J. M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Ṭabaristan*, Paris 1938; M. Rekaya, *La place des provinces sud-caspiennes dans l'histoire de l'Iran de la conquête arabe à l'avènement des Zaydites* (16-250 H./637-864 J.C.): *particularisme régional ou rôle "national"?*, in *R.S.O.*, xlviii (1974), 117-52; idem, *Māzyār, résistance ou intégration d'une province iranienne au monde musulman au milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.C.*, in *Studia Iranica*, ii/2, (1973), 143-92. (M. REKAYA)

**KĀRĪZ** [See *ḲANĀT*].

**KARKADDAN**, preferable to *Karkadann*, and **KARKAND** (fem. *karkanda*, Maghribī, *kerkedān*) are arabicized forms of the Persian *kargadān* from Pahlavi *karg*. They denote primarily the Rhinocerotidae of India and the East Indies including (a) the Indian

rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), also called *mirmīs*, *ḫiba'rā/sib'arā* and *sinād*; (b) the rhinoceros of Java (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*), which al-Bīrūnī calls by its Sanskrit name *kunda*; and (c) the rhinoceros of Sumatra (*Didemnoceros sumatrensis*), which is Persian *nishān*, becoming *nisyān* and *nūshān*.

Well before Islam and the Muslim conquest of Persia, the Arabs knew the African species of rhinoceros through Ethiopia. They kept the local names and arabicized them, so that the Black Rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*) becomes *ḫarish*, *ḫaris* (from *arwaharis*, *wārwahris*, "a large horned beast"), *ḫhīrtīl* and *ḫharīḫī*; Burchell's Rhinoceros or the White Rhinoceros (*Ceratotherium simum*) became *hirmīs*, *abū ḫarn*, *umm ḫarn* and *'anasa*. These pachydermata were known to the Romans; first, Pompey offered one to the circus games in 55 B.C. and Later, the Emperor Domitian depicted them on his coins. An excellent picture of one is preserved in the celebrated Palestrina mosaic. In Islam, with the arrival of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, the term *karkaddan* seems to have become synonymous with *ḫarish*.

Because they live in the same habitat, the rhinoceros is often found in literature associated with the elephant (see *ḫĪL*). They are both known for their weight and prodigious strength, but the elephant, long subjugated to the service of man in the Indies and Persia, was familiar to all, while the fierce and sensitive one-horned beast (*wahīd al-ḫarn*, from the Greek *μονόκερος*) was almost unknown in the Near East. In fact, it became the source of a group of fabulous legends which resulted in the myth of the Unicorn, not only in Islam but also in Christianity. Popular credulity soon served to place it among the fantastical animals, and the *Ikkhwan al-safā'*, preserving this mysterious atmosphere in their *Rasā'il* (Beirut 1957, ii, 258-62), suppose it to be the vizier of the phoenix (*'anḫā' muḡhrib*) in the course of the animals' law-suit against man.

It should be remembered that the more or less extravagant accounts about China, the east Indies and this Asiatic animal which were already known in Persia had been channelled through India or heard from the mouths of merchants. It was highly praised for the special virtues of its nasal spur, which was believed to be a horn. In fact, it is only an excrescence of the skin made of compressed hair and without any bony support. It was, therefore, in simple good faith that one of the ancient Greek doctors, Ctesias, became the propagator of a fable which he had told to him. He had been in the service of Artaxerxes, and on his return to Cnide about 398 B.C. he compiled his *Persica* and his *Indica* (summarized 1300 years later by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople) in which he mentioned the "white donkey", the unicorn of the Indies (ἰνδικὸς ὄνος). The name is taken up again by Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.*, I, 118) and translated *himār hindī* by al-Djāhīz (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 123).

From the description given by Ctesias arose the perpetual confusion on the part of most subsequent authors, whether Muslims or not, between two animals: the single-horned rhinoceros and the swift Antelope Cervicapre with straight spiralling horns. This animal took pride of place in Hindu mythology. The confusion was carried over into Arabic by cosmographers, naturalists and lexicographers with the terms *ḫarish* and *karkaddan*. With certain writers these terms denoted only the rhinoceros, and then with others only the Cervicapre (so al-Ḳazwīnī and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī—see the margin of al-Damīrī, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 233). Finally, with a third group the two animals blended into a famous

quadruped figure like that already presented in Greek by the Latin zoologist Aelian (*De natura animalium*, XVI, 20) under the hellenized Indian name of *καρτάζωνον/καρχάζωνον*. The Persian *kargadān* can be recognized in this word, and some philologists would see the Sanskrit *kartajan* (in the sense of "master of the wilderness"). By contrast the same Aelian speaks in another chapter (XVII, 44) of a *ρινόκερως*, "horned nose", a formidable enemy of the elephant which he impales on his horn, but Aelian makes no comparison with the previously described "monoceros". Later, Pliny the Elder and then Julius Solinus (*Polyhistoria*, tr. A. Golding, 1587) augmented the unicorn's monstrosity by giving him a horse's body, elephant's feet, swine's tail, a deer's head and a long slender horn, with a terrifying appearance, in the middle of the forehead.

In the end, the animal became the terror of man and every beast in his vicinity fled "a hundred parasangs away". Such an animal had been supposedly produced by the crossing of an elephant with a mare, and it was the only horned soliped. It was famed for the speed of its running. According to the sources, the fertile female of the species carried its young from three to seven years, and the young acquired all its teeth in the first year so that it could push its head from its mother's womb and browse on the foliage in passing. As soon as it was born, it ran away swiftly to escape the licking of its mother's tongue which bristled with prickles, and this formidable licking was one of the "Chinese tortures" inflicted on condemned men.

The *karkaddan* could live 700 years, but was not able to reproduce until the age of 50. Its impenetrable leather was used by the Chinese to cover their breastplates, yet the monster was moved by the cooing of a turtle dove, whose company it sought. Similarly, it would dart to the side of a young virgin positioned in the forest to attract it. Pretending to suck at the milkless bosom, it would drop intoxicated (*nishyān*) and give itself up to the hunters all around, who would kill it and remove its precious horn. This last fable suggests the famous "Lady of the Unicorn" story of mediaeval Christianity. But the main interest of this zoological rarity remained that single horn, with its special extraordinary properties (*khawāṣṣ*).

In Arabic, one of the earliest if not the earliest occurrences of the *karkaddan* is found in the important anonymous chronicle [see AL-SIRAFI and SULAYMĀN] on India and China (*Al-khbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, § 28), on which most of the Muslim geographers and cartographers, especially al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 430-2), have largely drawn. Sauvaget translates as follows: "The *vichān* recorded in the region of Dharmā is none other than the rhinoceros. It has on the front of his forehead a single horn and in this horn is a mark [which is] the representation of a creature like [for example] a picture resembling a man. The horn is entirely black and the picture placed in the middle is white. This rhinoceros is smaller in height than the elephant and it is almost black in colour. It resembles the buffalo but is so strong that no other animal has strength like it. It has no joint in the knee or the ankle; from its foot to its haunch is just one single member. The elephant turns tail before it. It chews the cud like oxen and camels and it is permitted [to consume] its flesh; we have eaten it. It is numerous in this Kingdom, in the jungle, and is found in every region of India; the horns which come from these beasts are very beautiful. In the horn there may happen to be the picture of a man, a peacock, a

fish or even other pictures. The Chinese make belts of these and the price of them in China reaches 2,000-3,000 dīnārs or more according to the beauty of the picture." The *Chronicle* further adds that there were imported into China "ivory, incense, copper ingots, sea shell . . . and this *vichān* which I have described and which is the rhinoceros".

The reason for the fame in China of the rhinoceros horn, itself called *karg/kark*, *khritū*, *khartū*, and *khutū* (see Ibn al-Akfāni, *Nukhbat al-dhakhā'ir*, in *Machriq*, xi (1908), 764 f.), which is given here, is not the only one. Indeed, the alchemists and magicians of antiquity in Ethiopia as well as in the Indies had noticed a chemical reaction, in that this organic matter swelled when brought into contact with certain poisonous products. This property immediately aroused the interest of eminent persons. Those who were ceaselessly exposed to intrigues and plots saw in this the "touchstone" to reveal poisoned drinks and dishes. The Chinese and Abyssinian princes then became accustomed to fashioning bowls, goblets and even the handles of knives from it, imagining that they would thus protect themselves from the treacherous intentions of their enemies. To plunge again into the realm of the fabulous, it was but a short step for the therapeutists from the idea of a poison test to suggesting it as an antidote, and from there they did not hesitate to attribute exceptional properties to the horn, whole or pulverized. From east to west it was presented as a panacea which was sought after at great expense.

The one who possessed this sovereign remedy was protected from the evil eye and spells; he escaped all accidents, including his horse falling; mere contact with the horn instantly cured colic and a woman in childbirth was instantly delivered by it; powdered and diluted it could be administered to cut short an epileptic fit and the convulsions of a maniac; it could even neutralize the effects of venom. Finally, and above all, this powder, called *obat* among the Asiatic pharmacists, was the most effective of a number of aphrodisiacs and was able to overcome senile impotence. In short, the product had such success that the apothecaries, druggists, healers and charlatans were not able to meet the demand and had recourse to substitute products, introducing not only *unicornum verum* but also *unicornum falsum* to the drug market. For most of the time, both of them were in fact no more than the long tooth on the spur of the narwhal (*Momonodon monoceros*) *harish al-bahr*, the tusks of the walrus (*fil al-bahr*, *faṣṣ*) or even those of the mammoth exhumed from the Siberian soil. All this ivory would arrive from the far north by the fur-traders' route; Bulghār [q.v.] was one of the chief exchange centres. The true rhinoceros horn actually reached China by caravans from the kingdom of Assam (*Kāmarisa*), or by Muslim coasters which obtained it from the ports of the Irrawadi delta, from the gulf of Siam (Kirdangj), in Cambodia, Champa (Annam), Malaya [see BAHR AL-HIND] and in the Red Sea from Ethiopia. Considering the fact that the traffic was so intense, if there had not been some falsification in the rhinoceros horn trade, this not very prolific animal would certainly have totally disappeared from all the countries which knew it for many centuries, as is the case in Borneo. A census of 1937 showed that only 70 were recorded in the whole of Malaya.

In the west, confusion persisted until the 12th/18th century about the identity of the one-horned beast/unicorn and this confusion had been reinforced by the way the Septuagint translators in their transla-

tion of the Bible into Greek had translated the Hebrew term *re'em*. The term occurs seven times in the Bible, three in the Psalms of David, and designates a fierce and dangerous desert animal they rendered as *monkerôs*, after hesitation, without any other precise details. The Latin Vulgate took over the name as *unicornus* and so established the unicorn in vulgar Latin.

Meanwhile, there were some clear minds on the Arab side which could not accept all these extravagant ideas about the position of the *karkaddan-harish*; they were certain that they recognized in this term the true pachyderm, the Asian species as well as the African. Among these was the geographer al-Ya'qûbî (*Buldân*, tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 191). Of course, al-Djâhîz himself does not allow himself to tell stories about the animal, and he denounces the ridiculous credulity of the scholars of his time on this subject (*Hayawân*, vii, 124); but he was not able to draw the parallel between the *himâr hindî* of Aristotle and the *karkaddan-harish*. His suggestion about the route followed by the horn-traders is particularly imaginative (op. cit., vii, 129). According to him, it arrived by caravans in Baghdâd and left again by sea from Baṣra for China. Unfortunately, he does not say from where it came, and so it is not clear whether he is discussing the true horn from India or Abyssinia or the false horn from Lapland.

Two centuries later the naturalist and Christian doctor 'Ubayd Allâh b. Djibrîl Ibn Bukhtîshû' [see *BUKHTIŠHŪ'*], a polyglot like his ancestors, removed all ambiguity by affirming that "... the *karkand* is the animal which the Arabs call *harish* and the Armenians *ri'm/rim* ..." (in *Ikâd al-âjumân*, ms. *Dâr al-kutub*, Cairo). It must be made clear that the Biblical *ri'm/rim* has no connexion with the white gazelle (*Gazella leptoceros*) to which the Arabs later gave this name [see *GHAZAL*]. With these far-sighted authors can be included other "debunkers" of the fabulous one-horned beast, invented by some traveler-explorers who had encountered the rhinoceros in the course of their wanderings in Asia. Among the Christians there was Marco Polo, who saw the pachyderm in Sumatra in 1291 and who gave an accurate description of it, though slightly permeated with disappointment (*Description du Monde*, French version by L. Hambis, Paris 1955, 243). Ca. 40 years later the Muslims had the evidence of the Moroccan Ibn Baṭṭûṭa [q.v.], who had had the opportunity of observing the beast three times in the Punjab in 734/1333 (*Rihla*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 4). He was impressed by the size of its head and quotes the local saying that "the *karkaddan* is all head". Mounted on an elephant, he even had to take part in a hunt, together with the Sultan of that place, and he was able to see the rhinoceros brought down and the trophy with its horn displayed in the prince's encampment. But the traveller does not say whether or not he tasted the flesh of the animal, as did the writer of the Chronicle.

As the legends surrounding the *karkaddan* were gradually forgotten, the question of the permissibility of eating its flesh no longer met with any objection, for the animal was recognized as an herbivore. But in the Middle Ages, in an atmosphere charged with the miraculous, certain strict legal writers were able to envisage a prohibition on its consumption if it could be shown that the beast resulted from the cross-breeding of a mare and an elephant. The question has been resolved in time with more exact knowledge of the pachydermata. In our own time, in Islam as elsewhere, the rhinoceros is no longer

regarded as a curiosity except in a zoo, and there are only but a few small Muslim tribes in black Africa who hunt it as meat.

**Bibliography:** Besides the references cited in the text: Amīn al-Ma'ûf, *An Arabic Zoological Dictionary/Mu'djam al-hayawân*, Cairo 1932, s.v. Rhinoceros; Ed. Ghaleb, *al-Mawsû'a fi 'ulûm al-fabi'a*, *Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, Beirut 1965, ii, s.v. *karkaddan*; B. Heuvelmans, *Sur la piste des bêtes ignorées*, Paris 1955, i, 140-7; Ibn Sîda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 58; Kaḷkaṣhandî, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 37-8; W. Ley, *Exotic Zoology/Animaux Fabuleux*, Paris 1964, 7-23; P. Loevenbruck, *Les animaux sauvages dans l'histoire*, Paris 1955, 75-84; M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse dans le monde musulman, VIII-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Annales E.S.C.*, 1959/3, 572-93; Dr. Odell Shepard, *La légende de la licorne*, Boston 1930.

**Iconography.** In the plastic arts of Islam, the rhinoceros has not aroused the interest accorded to many other better-known animals, especially the elephant [see *PL*]. Without the legends and the wonderment provoked by its nasal excrescence the *karkaddan* would have remained completely unknown to Muslim artists in Arab countries, and so it is rather in the works of Persian, Moghul and Indian artists that almost true-to-life representations of the formidable pachyderm are to be found.

Arab painting itself seems to have been limited to imaginary interpretations of the fabled one-horned beast without defining it in any greater detail than the unicorn was defined in Christian iconography. It can be found depicted in the most varied of guises—antelope, equida, bovida, feline and, above all canida; this last is perhaps due to a linguistic type of confusion arising from the similarity of spelling in Pahlavi of *gurg* "wolf" and *karg* "rhinoceros". The "Histories" of Guṣṭâsp and Isfandi-yâr, as well as the accounts of Iskandar and Bahrâm [q.v.], give examples of word plays between *suturg* (= "large"), *buzurg* (= "big"), *gurg* (= "wolf"), *targ* (= "helmet"), *tagarg* (= "hailstone"), *marg* (= "death") and *karg* (= "rhinoceros") which are often difficult to explain. Further, these four creatures are believed to have succeeded in the exploit of killing a *karg* (= *karkaddan*), an exploit to be compared with one of the twelve tasks of Hercules (see W. Ley, op. cit., 19). The rhinoceros can be discovered in very rare 'Irâqî manuscripts of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries included among the monsters and the fantastic animals. These are illustrated and describe various types of beast and cosmography like those of al-Kazwînî (*Adjâ'ib*, in ms. B.N. Paris, no. 2775, 682/1283; ms. Bayer. Staatsbibl. Munich, C, Ar. 464, 678/1280; ms. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, no. 5451, ca. 782/1380); of Ibn Bukhtîshû' (*Manâfi' al-hayawân*, ms. Pierpont Morgan Libr., New York, no. 500, ca. 694/1295); of the anonymous *Naṣṭ al-hayawân* (ms. Brit. Mus., no. OR. 2784); of Ibn Durayhim al-Mawṣilî (*Manâfi' al-hayawân*, ms. Escorial, Madrid, no. Ar. 898, dated 755/1354; see E. de Lorey, *Le Bestiaire de l'Escorial*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xiv (1935), 1-11); of al-Djâhîz (*al-Hayawân*, ms. unic. Bibl. Ambros., Milan, no. Ar. A.F.D. 140; see C. J. Lamm and O. Löfgren, *Ambrosian fragments of an illuminated manuscript containing the Zoology of al-Gâhiz*, in *Univ. Ars.*, Uppsala 1946); and of Ibn Ghânim al-Maḳdisî (*Kashf al-asrâr*, ms. unic., Süleymaniye, Istanbul, Kara Ismail 565).

With the initiative of the non-Arabic styles from the second half of the 7th/13th century, and with the Persian schools which followed them up to the

12th/18th century, pictorial art took on a much more realistic approach in its treatment of animal subjects. In it the rhinoceros again became simply a large game animal, a trophy which every prince would like in his bag and which he tracked from high up on his elephant, rounding them up in great droves like the Sāsānid monarchs. The *Bābur Nāma* [q.v.] in its Persian translation of the 10th/16th century by 'Abd Raḥīm Khān (ms. Brit. Mus., no. Or. 3714, fol. 352; [see *FL*], pl. XXIII, and S. I. Tulajev, *Miniatures from a 16th century manuscript: Bābur Nāmah*, in *Marg*, xi (1958), 45-8), offers a typical example of a return to the more accurate forms of the animal (see Eletr M. Riad, *Birds and animals in Mughal painting*, in *Bull. Coll. Arts, Baghdad Univ.*, i (1959), 12-18). The miraculous element has remained and it is a very commonplace animal, worthy of popular imagery, in what can be made out to be the rhinoceros in certain miniatures of the 10th/16th century, like the one which H. R. d'Allemagne has reproduced on the frontispiece of his fine work on Persia (*Du Khorassan au pays des Backhtiaris*, Paris 1911). He has taken it from a Persian manuscript (Collect. Verver), and it represents the animals coming in a delegation up to the mullah Djāmi [q.v.] to complain of their ill treatment at the hands of man, and the rhinoceros which walks beside the elephant has rather the profile of a bear. But it is interesting that the miniaturist has dressed it with the same elaborate ornaments as its noble neighbour, wishing thus to put them both on an equal footing and giving the impression that the *karkaddan* too was in the service of man. Also distinctly ingenious are the animal figures illustrating a copy of the *Cosmography* of *Shaykh* Aḥmad Miṣri (*Kānūn al-dunyā wa-'ad jā'ibū-hā*, ms. Bibl. Musée Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, Revan 1638, 970/1563) as are those of a copy of al-Qazwīnī *'Ad jā'ib*, ms. Bayer. Staatsbibl., Munich, no. C Ar. 463, of the 12th/18th century), both designed for the intellectual curiosity of a very wide-ranging public.

Apart from the miniatures, the rhinoceros appears in the animal compositions of great woollen Indian carpets woven in the 11th/17th century and intended seemingly to decorate the mosques and palaces of the great Mughals. The technique is Persian, but the motif is typically Indian, like the fragment preserved at the Musée du Louvre (Legs Jeuniette) and reproduced by G. Mignon (*Manuel d'Art musulman*, Paris 1927, ii, 383). Quite a fantastic faun can be seen there in dark tints, among which in lighter shades elephant and rhinoceros heads stand out clearly and with astonishing reality. Probably in an allusion to some legend, a hare rises from the mouth of the pachyderm towards its horned nose. Scenes like this evoke a mythology which is very strange to the Muslim world.

Investigations into modes of artistic expression other than the miniature and tapestry, by their negative results, lead to the certainty that these two techniques alone have given a place to the rhinoceros—and a very modest place in the light of those occupied by lions, panthers, cheetahs, gazelles and elephants, not to speak of the world of birds—in all the industrial and plastic arts of the Muslim world.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the references cited in the text, see Collection *Les Trésors de l'Asie*, ed. Skira, Geneva 1962, with (a) R. Ettinghausen, *La peinture arabe*; (b) B. Gray, *La peinture persane*; (c) M. Bussagli, *La peinture de l'Asie centrale*; and (d) D. Barrett and B. Gray, *La peinture indienne*. (F. VIRÉ)

**KARKANA** (Kerkennah; local pronunciation: Karkna) is an archipelago lying off the eastern coast of Tunisia, 15 miles from the Sfax coast (between 11° and 11° 20' E. and between 34° 36' and 34° 50' N.). It consists of two main islands; to the north-east is the larger one of Kerkena (Cercina to the ancient world, *Sharḳī* to the geographers) and to the south, Mellita (Cercinitis). The first stretches from north-east to south-west in the shape of a spear head 27 km. long and averaging 7 km. in width. The second assumes the shape of a triangle with a base of 14 km. and a height of 7-8 km. Formely it was linked to the larger island by a causeway built by Romans, but it has long been separated from it by a narrow strait, al-Qanṭara, 800 m. wide and fordable at low tide; a narrow channel had been cut out to allow boats to pass through. To-day a road, which has replaced the ancient causeway, reconnects the two islands. The archipelago also includes seven inhabited islets, four of which border the northern coast.

The total area above sea-level is about 69 sq. miles of more or less arable land. The archipelago is supported by an immense underwater shelf which extends from Ras Kapoudia (La Chebba) in the north to the Mahārès parallel in the south. It is partially separated from the "Channel of Kerkennah" where the depth of the water is almost 20 m. Otherwise, to find depths of 10 m. it is necessary to go up to 40 miles north of the archipelago. The depth of the water around these islands varies from zero to 5 m. with long, inshore stretches of one metre. Al-Bakrī (*Descrip. de l'Afr. Sept.*, 51) remarked: "In the sea around Sfax there is an island called Karkina, which occupies the centre of El-Casir. It is situated ten miles from Sfax beyond a sea which is dead and not very deep, and the surface of which is never rough." El-Casir here denotes the broad sandbanks, and because of these numerous banks it is possible to reach the south and south-east of the islands only by the "holes" (*baḥira*—light depressions of 3-4 metres surrounded for several feet by shallows) and by the "wādīs". These underwater wādīs are vast depressions hollowed out in the middle of the sandbanks; they can be from 5-12 m. deep and as much as 300 m. wide. These wādīs never occur just on the coast and are all south of the islands or on the southern slope of a bank; they have been formed by swell currents and are maintained by the interplay of the ebb and the flow. An incoming wave is partially absorbed by the sand and it goes out again in "a little river in the shape of a hair". This then develops into a large wādī of which one or the other branch merges into a hole where the current carries away the silt.

The islands are very low-lying and the highest points of these little pieces of land, which hardly rise from the sea, scarcely exceed 13 m. But the "land" of the Kerkenians is not restricted to the 36 km. on which their archipelago is stretched, from the marabout of Sīdī Yūsuf (Mellita) to Bordj Inf al-Rakīk or to the little island of Roumedia. Their "land" also includes the many banks which surround the archipelago where they have "sown" their fisheries. Their maritime life is largely governed by the underwater geography.

The south-south-eastern coast is flat and almost rectilinear and the villages along it are numerous, but the north-north-eastern coast is very jagged and the water penetrates into the many *sebḥas* which alternate with arable beds on the larger island. There are no wādīs to irrigate an already mediocre soil or to alleviate the insufficiency of the rain (less than 200 mm. per annum). A few wells are used for the live-

stock and for watering the ground and most of these give brackish water. Before the sinking of an artesian well in 1953, the Kerkenians used cisterns for their drinking water.

History. The Greek authors scarcely mention Cercina (Herodotus, *Hist.*, IV, 195; Agathemerus, *Hypotyposis*, V.21,22; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.*, V.12,4; Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, Dion, 25, Marius, 40; Strabo, *Geogr.*, bk. II, ch. 5,20 and bk. XVII, ch. 3,17). Polybius, (*Hist. Gen.*, III, 96,12), states clearly that at the time of the second Punic war the consul Cn. Serv. Germanus landed at Cercina (217 B.C.) after he had ravaged Menynx (Djerba), and spared it only on the payment of a ransom of 10 talents of silver.

There are numerous details in Latin writers. In 195 B.C. while trying to flee towards Antioch from Syria to escape from the Romans, Hannibal took refuge at Cercina. But fearing lest he be followed by the boat-owners from the port, he had tents pitched for himself and his retinue, using yards and sails. He offered his hosts a sumptuous feast and leaving them to enjoy their libations seized the opportunity to flee (T. Livy, *Hist. Rom.*, bk. XXXIII, ch. 48). In 88 B.C. Marius and his son took refuge there in a fishing boat. At the time of the civil wars between Pompey and Caesar, Sallust received the order to take refuge with his vessels on the island of Cercina for "the republicans had laid up some provisions there". (*Bell. Afr.*, VIII, 2, 3 and XXXIV, 1-3). Towards the beginning of the Christian era, as a punishment for his culpable relationship with the daughter of Augustus, C. Sempr. Gracchus was sentenced to be deported there for fourteen years and he was executed in the year 15 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 53 and IV, 3). Under Diocletian the archipelago paid allegiance to Byzantium under the supervision of officials living in Hadrumete (Sousse). There were two cities there; Cercina on the larger island and Cercinitis on the little island of Mellita, of which there are still some remains on the northern coast. A type of Christianity seems to have developed there (*Notic. episc. Byz.*, 47), for ruins of Christian sanctuaries have been brought to light.

No more mention is made of the archipelago until the 5th/11th century. In 491/1098 it was in the hands of the Zirids (that is to say, greater KarĀna, for Mellita was used for pasture by the Sfaxians who sent their animals there (Yākūt, IV, 66-7). For the five centuries that KarĀna was to be used as a place of refuge or a beachhead, it was raided several times and its population dispersed or carried off captive.

Taking advantage of the rivalries which separated the Hammārides and the Zirids, Roger II of Sicily imposed his sovereignty on Mahdiyya and undertook a raid on KarĀna: "It is certainly a fine island and is well populated, although there is no town there". (al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afr.*, ed. Dozy 1866, text 126-7, tr. 150). He took possession of it in 548/1153, but from 1158 he had to face a revolutionary movement. KarĀna was recaptured from the Normans of Sicily by the lieutenants of the Almohad prince 'Abd al-Mu'min. A hundred years afterwards Peter of Aragon attacked Djerba (1284) and the islands of KarĀna (1287). When Roger of Lauria captured them they were conceded to him "in fief to the Holy See with an hereditary title and under an annual rent of fifteen ounces of gold". It was conceded to Ramon Muntaner, the memorialist captain, by Frederick of Sicily from 1311 until 1315 with "all rights and revenues and the power to do as he wished with it for three years" (*Cronica* (1265-1336), ch. 265). Twenty years later, the islanders rose against the Christian powers and recovered their independence (1335). Under the reign

of Abū Fāris, there were in 1423 fresh sightings of the men of Aragon. The Kerkenians could not resist; their population was decimated and a great number were taken prisoner—3,450 to judge from the *Fragment. Hist. Siculae*, (cols. 1095-6). In 1510 the archipelago became the bone of contention between the Turks and the Spaniards, and Peter of Navarre led an unfortunate expedition there against an island which he found almost empty "with a few poor Berber hamlets" (Marmol, *l'Afrique*, 536-8). For a time it became a vassal to the Spanish, but it was taken again by the Turks in 1560. It had to suffer a new Spanish invasion in 1576 in which 1,000 Kerkenians were taken captive, and 15,000 sheep were carried off. Other raids occurred in 1596 and 1611.

The people who remained in the seven villages mentioned by the *Relación anónima de los meritos y servicios de D. Alvaro Basan* (1576) "live on the produce of the palms and by fishing, raising numerous sheep, weaving wool and growing vines, figs and olives".

The KarĀna islands were gradually repopulated. One account from the beginning of the 19th century mentions ten villages on the larger island and the small town of Mellita on the smaller one. The successive influxes of population were of very varied origin. Many came from eastern Tunisia, a few marabout families must have been of southern Moroccan origin, others came from little Syrte (Djerba, Zuwaġha), but the houses, clothing customs and language all point especially to a sub-Saharan influence. The case of Mellita must be examined separately, because this island was only recently populated by people from *blād el-a'rāb*, from semi-nomadic regions of the Sahelian or the Sfaxian hinterland. While the inhabitants of greater KarĀna pronounce their words like city dwellers, those of Mellita have a bedouin type of speech.

The population of the archipelago scarcely exceeds 13,000 inhabitants, but more than 25,000 live on the mainland. Kerkenian emigration is beginning to develop since KarĀna is no longer isolated. Indeed, for a long time the inhabitants were forced by isolation to be self-sufficient within a limited economic pattern and at village level there was a strong social cohesion.

Kerkenian life. As islanders the Kerkenians seek their subsistence and find their livelihood primarily from the sea. Isolated by the shallows which encircle the archipelago, these sea-folk try to take full advantage of them by erecting barrages to catch fish and establish fishing grounds (*sharfiya*) there. The palm tree is very extensive on the archipelago, and its branches mark the paths in the fishing grounds and serve as hurdles in the fishing traps. They hang up their nets (*drina*) on the projecting points of the trunk. As lagoon fishermen, they also know how to take advantage of the natural habits of the fish like the flying mullet. To kill it they use the water falling from a simple channel (*dammāsāt el-barr*) which is discharged into the sea in the direction of the flow. Overpopulation necessarily drove the workers more and more to the sea. A man by purchase or by hiring would lay claim to an area for fishing, such as the very smallest part of a sandbank, where it was possible to establish a fishing ground, set bait for the octopus or gather sponges.

The shallows extend very far out to sea. To travel among them the Kerkenians have devised a boat, the *lād*, which is broad and without a keel and therefore well adapted to the contours of the sea-bed. They use it for going to sell their fishing produce on the coast and for going even far as Greece to deliver and trade

in dried octopus. Renowned as sailors, they have tackled the business of transporting goods from port to port along the coasts and they have crossed the sea as far as the Orient on board their two-sailed *santel*, which is well suited to them.

The coastal trading with the stops made on land gives them the opportunity to learn new techniques here and there and to bring back working materials, together with a useful replenishment of supplies. They obtain esparto (*ħalfa maħbūla*) in this way, and to gather this they have to go to the Sahelian hinterland or the gulf of the lesser Syrte.

The Kerkenian sea is not really sufficient to guarantee a food supply, so they have to look for complementary activities in the limited agriculture the archipelago permits or as craftsmen. They use everything from the palm-tree: the fibres of the trunk, the tigelles, the palm branches and the stem. Taking advantage of the magnificent retting bed for the esparto offered by the shallows, they undertake there the twisting of alfa for ropes or for plaiting baskets and camel panniers.

The day comes when the islander's ease of adjustment to difficult circumstances, his connexions with the coast, his success in his studies—Kerkena benefits from an exceptional percentage of children attending school—give him the chance to emigrate, and then he will leave the archipelago, but not without leaving some of his family there. Doing seasonal activities or employment in the fishing or shipping companies, being a minor civil servant in the large towns, holding important management posts—almost 30,000 Kerkenians live in this way in Sfax, Sousse, La Goulette, Tunis, outside the archipelago to which faithfully they love to return: “*yā karkna, yā karkhāra*”, “O Kerkena, you always bring back your children to yourself!”

**Bibliography:** A very rich bibliography has appeared in A. Louis, *Les Îles Kerkena (Tunisie), étude d'ethnographie tunisienne et de géographie humaine*, Tunis 1961-3, 3 vols.; see also A. Louis, *Documents ethnographiques et linguistiques sur les îles Kerkena*, Textes en arabe dialectal avec trad., commentaire et glossaire, Algiers 1961-2.

Apart from these works and the references cited in the article see: A. d'Avezac, *Îles de Qerqenēh*, in *Îles d'Afrique*, volume of *l'Univers Pittoresque*, Paris 1858, 76-85; De Mas-Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce et Documents divers concernant les relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique Septentrionale, au Moyen Age*, Paris 1866; H. Von Maltzan, *Reise in den Regenschäften Tunis und Tripolis*, Leipzig, iii, 76-93; J. Servonnet and F. Lafitte, *En Tunisie, le Golfe de Gabès en 1888*, Paris 1889, 332-402 and pls. I, IV-VII; A. Allemand-Martin, *Les Îles Kerkenna. Essai de colonisation agricole*, in *La Géographie*, x (1904), 201-22; P. A. Hennique, *Une page d'archéologie navale. Caboteurs et pêcheurs de la côte de Tunisie. Pêche des Éponges*, Paris 1888; A. Guibert, *Le périple des Îles*, Tunis 1937, ch. ii: *Les Îles Kerkena ou le dernier paradis*, 47-98; J. Despois, *Les Îles Kerkenna et leurs bancs* in *Revue Tunisienne*, 1937, 247-301, 10 plates and 3 maps out of the text; A. Bouysonnie, *Dans les parages de la petite Syrte: des hauts fonds marins et de certains problèmes juridiques qui s'y rapportent*, Sfax 1945; A. Cateau, *Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie: technologie du lād*, in *R.Afr.* (1946), 140-83; O. Kaak, *Djazirat Karkna fi 'l-adāb wa 'l-ta'rikh*, Sfax 1955. (A. Louis)

**KARKARN** [see BISBARĀY].

**AL-KARKH**, a loan word from Aramaic *karka* meaning “fortified city”, “city” (Fraenkel,

*Fremdwörter*, xx; Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 2122, 2124; *Supplement*, i, 275, 283). In Islamic times, the word is associated with various towns. Found in areas of Aramaic culture before the Islamic conquest, such towns are distinguished from one another by adding the name of their geographic location, e.g., *Karkh Baghdād*, *Karkh Sāmarrā* (cf. Yāqūt, *Muḥṭārīk*, 368-70; *Mu'ǧjam*, iv, 252-7).

In *Baghdād*, *al-Karkh* refers to a specific area (Bāb *al-Karkh*) and more generally to the whole of the west side below the Round City of Caliph al-Manṣūr, the founder of Islamic *Baghdād* (cf. Iṣṭakhṛī, 84; also Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. Kramers, 241-2). According to Ya'qūbī, whose account reflects conditions of the 2nd/8th century, the limits of *al-Karkh* in length were Kaṣr Waḍḍāh (north) and the Tuesday Market (south). The limits in width were the fief of *al-Rabī'* (west) and the Tigris (*Buldān*, 246; see Le Strange, *Baghdād*, Maps III, IV and VII).

As the Aramaic name shows, the *al-Karkh* quarter was already in existence before the foundation of *Baghdād* by al-Manṣūr (145/762), as a small independent township said to have been founded by the Sasanid Shāpūr II (309-379 A.D.), and which like the other earlier settlements on the site of the future capital of the caliphs was no doubt mainly inhabited by Aramaic Christians.

Before the building of the city of al-Manṣūr, the old market of the west side (Sūḵ *Baghdād*) was situated in *al-Karkh*, and there is reason to believe that the *Karkh* markets continued to service the large population of that area when the Round City was built (Ṭabarī, ii, 910, 914). Towards the end of his reign, in 157/774 al-Manṣūr decided to redevelop the commercial districts to the south of the Round City and re-locate certain markets that had been situated there. To this end government funds were allocated to various entrepreneurs to build their own establishments in *al-Karkh*. The government on its part also widened the network of roads leading in and out of the suburb (Khaṭīb *al-Baghdādī*, Cairo, i, 79-82; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii, 323-4; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 241).

*Al-Karkh* was watered by the Nahr 'Isā [q.v.], the most northerly large canal of the Euphrates in 'Irāk, as well as by its branches, the Sarāt and the *Karkhāyā*. The latter is the “*Karkhian Canal*” which left the Nahr 'Isā below the small town of al-Muḥawwal near the village of *al-Barāthā* (see Yāqūt, i, 665) and supplied the southern part of the western half of *Baghdād*, i.e., the mercantile quarter and its neighbourhood, with its branch channels, which in places ran underground. Numerous bridges carried the busy traffic over it. On the *Karkhāyā* and its canal system see Ibn Serapion, ed. Le Strange in *JRAS* (1895), 17-26, 286-8, 292-3; Suhrāb, *ʿAdǧā'ib*, ed. von Mzik, 123-4; *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Cairo, i, 79-82; Yāqūt, ii, 252; Streck, *Babylonien*, 85-90; Le Strange, *Baghdād*, 52-56, 63-80; Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, ii, 110. What made *al-Karkh* commercially advantageous was this intricate network of canals, the most important of which was the Sarāt, a waterway large enough to allow for the passage of deep boats, and which connected the Euphrates and the Tigris, the major river systems of 'Irāk.

The suburb, which had its own Friday mosque, was probably considered a municipal entity unto itself, one of several urban aggregations which made up the general metropolitan environment (J. Lassner, in *JESHO*, x, 53-63). Detailed descriptions of the various locations in *al-Karkh* are preserved by *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Ya'qūbī, and the unedited *Mashhad Ms.* of Ibn al-Faḳīh, *K. al-Buldān*. The most systematic

presentation is that of Suhrāb, *A'ḏjā'ib* = Ibn Serapion, which is arranged according to canalization.

Al-Karkh was heavily populated by *Shi'is*, and beginning in the 4th/10th century, frequent altercations took place between *Shi'is* and Sunnis, particularly from the neighbouring Bāb al-Baṣra and Bāb al-Muḥawwal quarters. The area suffered considerable damage during the period of Būyid decline and that of the Saldjūks which followed, as the government found neither the inclination nor the funds to sustain the markets (M. Canard, *Baghdād au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire*, in *Arabica*, ix (1964), 268-87; G. Makdisi, *The Topography of Eleventh Century Baghdad: Materials and Notes*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 178-97, 281-309). Under the Būyids, who had 'Alid sympathies, the already frequent encounters and frictions between the Sunnis and *Shi'is* of the capital became more and more serious. Bloody street fighting between the two hostile sects, often accompanied by pillaging and incendiarism, was the order of the day. Al-Karkh was usually in the very centre of this civil strife; its inhabitants were always at daggers drawn with the Sunnis of the adjoining quarters (Bāb al-Baṣra, etc.). *Djalāl al-Dawla* (416-35/1024-44), under whom the situation had become unusually serious, was even on one occasion, in 422/1031, reduced to take refuge with his *Shi'i* co-religionists in al-Karkh. In 445/1053 a considerable part of al-Karkh was laid in ashes as a result of these feuds. A great fire had previously devastated al-Karkh under the Caliph al-Wāṭḥik (227/842-232/847), but the destruction was very soon made good. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (5th/11th century) observes that much of the canal system had become silted up in his time and no trace of them can be found today. By the modern period, this once great urban area had been reduced to a truncated section along the river bank.

In course of time, numerous mosques and tombs arose in the area of al-Karkh in the wider sense, by which the whole southern half of Baghdad west of the Tigris was often meant. The most celebrated is the tomb-mosque of the local saint Ma'rūf b. al-Fayzurān al-Karkhī (d. 200/816) and the alleged tomb of Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, barely 300 yards south of it. Both mausoleums still exist and are important starting points for studying the topography of old Baghdad. In their present form they were renovated by Caliph al-Nāṣir (575/1180-622/1225), but they have been frequently restored since then. On the tomb of al-Karkhī, which as early as the 3rd/9th century was one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in Baghdad and which lies in the middle of an impressive cemetery as in the 'Abbāsīd period, cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, 159; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 98-100, 350; Massignon, *Mission*, 49, 108; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 172-3. For the so-called grave of Zubayda, see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 100, 161 f., 350 f.; Massignon, *op. cit.*, 108 f.; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 173. On other mosques and tombs in the west side of Baghdad see Massignon, *op. cit.*, 64 f., 94 f.

Al-Karkh was not only the largest but also the most long-lived quarter of the western half of Baghdad. When the quarters around it had gradually fallen into ruins, it stood quite isolated—as early as Yāḳūt's day for example (beginning of the 7th/13th cent.)—like a separate town, as it had been in the earliest period after the foundation of Baghdad. It was a mile distant from the then still inhabited quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra (in the southeast of the old Round City of al-Manṣūr). In the later Middle Ages (cf., for example, Ibn Baṭṭūta in the 8th/14th century) the name of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter was not infrequent-

ly extended to all the quarters of western Baghdad still standing, *i.e.*, even to include al-Karkh; cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 336; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 114 f. We may point out here that the topography of al-Karkh and its vicinity in Yāḳūt is not quite in agreement with the other sources. It appears that the local knowledge of the author of the *Geographical Dictionary* at the time of writing was no longer quite reliable, as many of the places had disappeared with no trace. This situation continued into modern times with al-Karkh consisting of but a fraction of its mediaeval environment (cf. Le Strange, 84, 159).

The other important Karkh was that of Ṣāmarrā, the second imperial capital which was built some 60 miles up the Tigris from Baghdad by the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim in 836. It was known as Karkh Ṣāmarrā and also Karkh Djuddān (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv, 255-6). The site, which is older than Ṣāmarrā, was originally situated at some distance from the palace area; however, as the city grew towards al-Mutawakkil-iyya, it became part of a continuous line of occupation extending some 20 miles along the river front. Unlike Karkh, Baghdad which was entirely a commercial district, and was the only area of Baghdad that was entirely devoid of a military colony, Karkh Ṣāmarrā was a military cantonment housing some of the caliph's Turkish guard under the command of General Aṣḥnās (Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldām*, 258-9; Yāḳūt, iv, 256). Moreover, the Turkish forces were isolated from the general populace. They were permitted to marry only women chosen for them, and no commercial establishments other than a distributive outlet for foodstuffs was to be found there. With the decline of Ṣāmarrā many areas were abandoned, but al-Karkh continued to be occupied.

*Bibliography*: BGA, indices; al-Ṭabarī, indices. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, Cairo ed. (= G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdad*, Paris, 1904); index to the Arabic text in J. Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, index; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den Arab. Geographien*, Leiden 1900, 92-7; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, indices; idem, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, indices; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, Paris 1912, i, 49, 99, 108; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, Berlin 1920, 105, 110, 112, 114 ff.; E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Berlin 1948.

(M. STRECK-[J. LASSNER])

**KARKHA** (KERKHA), a river in Luristān and Khūzistān, whose source lies in the region of Nihāwand. Its upper and middle course is strictly a tributary of the mountain system of the Zagros, where the valleys run in the same direction as the chains, the watercourses passing at times from one to the other by short transverse gorges. From which results the uncertainty over nomenclature, the rivers changing name with the divided regions that they traverse.

The Karkha is made up of the union in the region of Nihāwand of a certain number of watercourses: Čaṣm-i Kāzīm, Sura Kunč, Kar Sara, Āb-i Kulan and Sīrwān Rūd. On the first part of its course in a north-west direction the river bears the name of Gamasāb or Gamasiyāb (corrupted to Garasiyāb). Then begins the crossing of some of the folds of the Zagros in a general south-west direction, during which the river receives its name of Karkha; in this region around Bisutūn it is swelled by the *Shādū*,



which itself receives the Kangarshāh, then by the Kara Šu from Kirmānshāhān and finally by the Āb-i Karind. Then striking the chain of the Kabīr Kūh, the river turns towards the south-east, taking the name of Āb-i Šaymara and receiving its first important tributary from the left bank, the Kašgan, swelled itself by the Maydan, the Khorramābād and the Kūlkū. On the right bank it is joined by the Laylum and the Āb-i Zāl.

After the confluence with this last, the river, having become the Karkha again, begins its lower course towards the south, its powerful alluvia contributing, with those of the Kārūn, to the obstruction of the Tigris's course. All this region constitutes a genuine delta formed by the convergence of the Karkha, the Kārūn and the Āb-i Diz. As soon as the Karkha reaches the region of Pā-i Pul, the canals begin which link it to the Āb-i Diz and its tributaries, such as the Nahr Tabal Khān and the Nahr Daḡdarī. The ruins of Susa lie on one of its eastern branches, which later takes the name of Shāwr. The Karkha ends in the region situated to the south of Nahr Hāshim, where it receives the Shaṭṭ al-Djamūz, but one of its branches, thrown back towards the north-west by the thrust of the alluvia of the Kārūn, continues as far as the region of Sūsandjird and the marshes of the Hor al-Hawīza (al-Huwayza).

In antiquity, the river was called the Choaspes, a tributary of the Tigris on the left bank, whose waters were so pure that they alone had the honour of being drunk at the table of the kings of Persia. The Arab geographers refer to it without giving it a particular name, except, on occasion, that of "river of Susiana" (*nahr al-Sūs*). Ibn Khurradādhbih locates its source in the district of Dīnawar and makes it a tributary of the Duḡjayl (Kārūn). Al-Ya'qūbī, while recapitulating this last source, makes the river rise in the region of Hamadhān and gives it the name of Hinduwān. Ibn Rusta speaks of a great river running at the foot of Mt. Bihistūn (Bisutūn), with an important source driving five mills. On the two banks in the region of Nihāwand a black sealing-clay of excellent quality was extracted, according to Ibn al-Fakīh. On the map of al-Iṣṭakhrī-Ibn Ḥawḳal, the Nahr al-Sūs is marked as watering the town of Susa and finishing near a watercourse (or canal), the Nahr Tirā; in the riverbed lies the tomb of the Prophet Daniél, an object of veneration and procession on the part of the People of the Book, particularly during the periods of dryness. Al-Mukaddasī, also speaking of the tomb, refers, with regard to the town of Bašinnā, to a river called Tigris (Diḡjila), which is without doubt the Karkha; the river in question ran within a bowshot of the town and drove seven mills set up on some boats. As for the *Hudūd al-Ālam*, it tells us that the river of Shūsh rises in "the environs of Karkha on one of the spurs of the mountains of al-Djibāl" and then runs towards the regions of Shūstar (Tustar) and Shūsh (Susa) which it irrigates; however, before reaching the boundaries of the land of Bašunnay (Bašinnā), this irrigation exhausts completely the waters of the river.

As a final note the bridge situated between al-Šaymara (Šaymere) and al-Ṭarḥān (cf. Yākūt, iii, 439, Schwarz, *op. cit.*, iv, 472), considered as a masterpiece of construction, may well correspond to the Pul-i Khusrāw on the Karkha.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Khurradādhbih, 176; Ya'qūbī-Wiet, 72-3, 228; Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 193; Iṣṭakhrī, ed. M. G. 'Abd al-Āl al-Himī-M. Sh. Ḡharbāl, Cairo 1381/1961, 64 and map at p. 62; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 251, 255, tr. Wiet, Paris-Beirut 1964,

248, 252-3; Muḳaddasī, 407-8; *Hudūd al-Ālam*, 75, 214 (under the name of Shā'ūr, Shā'ūr); Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 382; Yākūt, Beirut 1374-6/1955, i, 442 (Tigris of Bašinnā: Diḡjila B.), iii, 281; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 314-5; Rawlinson in *JR Geog. S.*, ix, 189; M. Besnier, *Lexique de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1914, 208; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 327; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, iv, Leipzig 1921, 304-5, 364-5, 393, 453, 472, 488, 501; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 233, 240; R. Blanchard, *Asie occidentale*, in *Géographie Universelle*, viii, Paris 1929, 130, 224; *The Times Atlas of the World*, London 1968, pl. 32.

(P. SCHWARZ-A. MIQUEL)

AL-KARKHĪ [see AL-KARADJĪ].

**KARKĪSIYĀ** (also KARKĪSIYA), a town in al-Djazīra on the left bank of the Euphrates, close to the confluence of the Khābūr, a little above 35° N. Lat. Karkīsiyā is simply an Arabic reproduction of the Graeco-Roman name (τὸ Κίρκησιον, τὸ Κίρκησιον κάστρον or Κίρκησιον (Κίρκησιον in the *Notit. episcop.*, ed. Parthey, 87), Circesium, Syriac Kerkusion, Latin = castrum Circense, "the castle with the circus"; cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 3. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī in Yākūt, iv, 65, ll. 21 ff., still knew the etymology of the place-name (Karkīsiyā, arabicised from Kirkīsiyā, from *kirkīs* = Ar. *ḥalba*, hippodrome). The name Circesium for the place at the mouth of the Khābūr in any case first appeared, when a Roman military station was built there. This perhaps may have been even before Diocletian. It was, however, this Emperor who first made the place of great importance by making it a powerful fortress on the extreme frontier of the Roman Empire in Southern Mesopotamia. From this it seems quite impossible that Circesium could have been a latinisation of the Aramaic Karkā = town [see AL-KARKHĪ], as Moritz, *Palmyrene*, 37, supposed; for the opposite view, see Streck, in *ZA*, xxvii, 259.

In the fourth century A.D. Circesium passed into the hands of the Persians by the shameful treaty made by the Emperor Jovian (363). The Arabs next captured it in the conquest of al-Djazīra. The occupation by the Muslims, which took place, apparently without fighting, under the commander Ḥabīb b. Maslama who was sent by 'Iyād b. Ḡhanm, probably happened in the year 19/640, not 16/637, as many sources say. Cf. al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 176, and also III, 175, 178, 179; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2478; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii, 409 ff.; Yākūt, *Mu'adjam*, iv, 65 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 402, iii, 732, 755 f., 799. Karkīsiyā became the capital of the district of Khābūr in the province of Diyār Bakr. On account of its very characteristic situation, Karkīsiyā is mentioned by all the Arab geographers in their descriptions of the river-courses and roads, but no detailed account of it is given. The place probably did not attain any great size in the Islamic period either. The high percentage of Jews (500 families) found by Benjamin of Tudela in the second half of the 12th century there is remarkable; see his travels ed. and tr. Grünhut and Adler (Jerusalem 1903, Frankfurt a/M. 1904), i, 49, 21 f. and ii, 47.

In the history of the wars of mediaeval Islām, we find Karkīsiyā often mentioned. When 'Abd al-Malik was engaged in his campaign against Muṣ'ab, governor of 'Irāq and brother of the anti-caliph 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he had to devote his attention to

Karkīsiyā in 71/690, where the Ḳaysī Zufar b. al-Ḥārith was ruling independently and had successfully resisted the governor of Ḥims who had been sent against him. After a siege of some length, Zufar had to submit to the caliph's army; cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iv, 275 f.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 431; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 115-6, 119-120, 126; Canard, *H'amaḍnides*, 138. In the wars fought in the 5th/10th century on Mesopotamian soil in the Ḥamdānid epoch, we find Karkīsiyā playing a part along with al-Raḥba, a day's journey down the Euphrates from it; cf. Canard, *op. cit.*, 492, 545-7. The rulers of Egypt repeatedly extended their power as far as Karkīsiyā, for example the Ṭūlūnid Aḥmad, from whom, however, the Caliph al-Muṭamid's vigorous brother al-Muwaffaq was able to retake it in 268/881; see Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, in *Abh. GGW* (1876), xxi, part 3, 20. Several centuries later the Egyptian Sulṭān Baybars again advanced his frontier up to the *Khābūr*, when he took Karkīsiyā from the Mongols in 663/1264; cf. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv, 96.

At the present day, the site of Karkīsiyā is marked by a miserable village of 30-40 houses and hovels of clay and an extensive ruined site adjoining it. It is now called Busayra (Besēra; sometimes written Buṣeyra); older travellers give the form Abū Seray etc. Busayra is probably a corruption of Abū Seray (as, along with other authors, Moritz, *op. cit.*, 37, thinks); it has been with less probability taken as a derivative from Basīr, the older name—recorded by Abū 'l-Fidā' for 732/1331—of the present Dayr al-Zōr, as believed by Herzfeld. According to Herzfeld, the old name Karkīsiyā still survives locally in the form Karkīsa.

Busayra lies on an irregularly-shaped tongue of land formed by the *Khābūr* at its junction with the Euphrates and is about half an hour's journey distant from its mouth. Communication with the hinterland is broken by a ditch so that we have a well-marked peninsula. The plan of the old fortress can still be easily recognised; it forms a rectangle, the longer side of which runs along the *Khābūr*, while the shorter faces the Euphrates from which it is now about 1,000 yards distant. Four more or less well preserved towers and a fort-like building (praetorium, serai) can still be seen, from which Moritz (*op. cit.*) suggests that the modern name Abū Seray (Busayra) may be derived. The fairly extensive town lay to the northeast of the fortress and is still marked by numerous walls of earth. Descriptions of the modern ruins are given by Sachau, Moritz and Herzfeld; Sachau and Herzfeld also give plans.

The important part once played by Karkīsiyā as a trading centre as a result of the important roads which meet here—from Syria to Babylonia, Mawṣil to Syria—has in modern times been to a great extent regained by the town of Dayr al-Zōr [q.v.] on the Euphrates above mentioned, a few hour's journey above the mouth of the *Khābūr*.

*Bibliography:* on the town in the pre-Islamic period, see Pauly-Wissowa s.v. and s.v. Chabora; Ritter, *Eräkunde*, x, 15, 139, 236, 1129, xi, 266-74, 695; Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, London 1853, 283 f.; Chesney, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, 250; Nöldeke in *Nachr. GGW*, 1876, i, 1 f.; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.*, Leipzig 1883, 286-8; Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene = Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1889, 37-9; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris 1907, 294-7; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i, Berlin 1911, 172-4. Arabic

sources: *BGA*, *passim*; Ibn Serapion, ed. G. Le Strange, in *JRAS* (1895), 10, 51; al-Ṭabari, *Indices*; al-Bakrī, *Mu'dīam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 528, 739; Idrīsī, *Nuḥat al-muḥṣṭāk*, tr. Jaubert, ii, 138, 142, 145, 150; Yāqūt, *Mu'dīam*, iv, 65; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Index*; al-Dimishqī, *Nuḥbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 191; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske-Adler, i, 235, iv, 51, 509, v, 17; idem, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 273, 281, and tr., ii, 49, 57. (M. STRECK\*)

**KARKŪR**, more exactly *karkūr* (the word is only known in Maghribī colloquial Arabic, cf. Berber *akarkur*), "a heap of stones", and more especially "a sacred heap of stones". The cult of heaps of stones is extremely ancient and distributed all over the world. It seems to come not from an act of litholatriy in the strict sense but from a rite of transference or expulsion of evil; the individual, picking up a stone, causes the evil of whatever kind that afflicts him to pass onto it—as the case may be, fatigue, physical or moral suffering, sin, the dangerous power that attaches itself to a man in certain sacred neighbourhoods, or all these things together—and gets rid of it by throwing it or depositing it with the stone on a place suitable for absorbing it; the accumulation of these expiatory pebbles forms the sacred piles of stones which rise all along the roads, at difficult passes and at the entrances to sanctuaries. Alongside of these, the throwing or placing of a pebble or the building of a little pyramid of stone often becomes one of the obligatory rites of the pilgrimage and the rite losing its primitive character has been sometimes taken for a true offering-rite. The piles of stones are often built at the place where a man has been killed and buried; this has been explained from the desire to bury more deeply a dead man whose spirit might be tempted to come out and avenge itself or, less plausibly, as a kind of homage to the dead; but this casting of stones can also be explained rather as a rite for the expulsion of evil (a dangerous place, the infection of death, proximity of disturbing magical forces). It appears, therefore, that we always find rites of purification as the origin here (a general view in J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*<sup>3</sup>, Part VI, *The scapegoat*, 8-30, with a certain number of references relating to the Islamic world; French tr. *Le bouc émissaire*, Paris 1925).

Pre-Islamic Arabia knew the rite of casting stones and sacred heaps of stones. The rites of the *ḥadīdi* have preserved evidence of this, but several varying interpretations have been made [see *DIAMRA*, *ḤADĪDI*, *RAḌĪM*], and the sources give other examples (see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 188-95).

Islam found the cult of piles of stones in all or almost all the lands that it conquered and although orthodoxy looked askance at it, it had to accommodate itself, as to so many other popular practices, which owed their origin to paganism in the remote past. Piles of stones are especially numerous in certain regions [see *RAḌĪM*], but nowhere has their cult been so developed and is so vigorous as in North Africa, especially in the south of Morocco, where it has been especially studied by E. Doutté (*Marrakech*, Paris 1905, 58-108; *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, ch. x; see also E. Westermarck, *The Moorish conception of holiness (Baraka)*, Helsingfors 1916, 26 ff.). There, one may say, there is not a pass, or ravine or cross-roads which has not its little pyramids of stones or its great *karkūr* to which every passer-by adds his pebble, not a rustic sanctuary but has its sacred piles of stones.

Sometimes the *karkür* itself, as in other cases a spring, a tree or a rock, has given rise to a sanctuary which has become islamised in a marabout fashion. It is also very common to find under the aegis of a saint several of these cults combined—strange sanctuaries which perpetuate the ancient rites of paganism, still vigorous after twelve centuries of Islam.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(H. BASSET\*)

**KARLI-ILI**, also KARLO-ILI, "the land [see *İL*] of Carlo", Ottoman name for a district of north-west Greece (Acarnania and most of Aetolia), as corresponding approximately to the territories of Carlo Tocco I (1381-1430).

Carlo's father, Leonardo, had been created count of Cephalonia in 1357; he had extended his original dominions of Cephalonia, Zante and Ithaca to embrace the island of Leucas (Leucadia, Santa Maura; Turkish: Aya Mavra) and, on the mainland, Vonitza (1362). Laying claim to the Despotate of Epirus, in 1417 Carlo made himself master of the regions of Arta (Ambracia, Larta; Turkish: Narda) and Ioannina (Turkish: Yanya [q.v.]). At his death his territories extended to the south to the Gulf of Patras (Lepanto, Turkish *Aynabakhl* [q.v.], remaining in Venetian hands); he had also acquired a foothold in the Morea with the port of Clarentza. When he died at Ioannina in 1430, leaving no legitimate heir, Memnon, one of his five bastard sons, appealed to Murād II against Carlo's nephew Carlo II (1430-48). As soon as Thessaloniki (Selānik [q.v.]) was taken, Murād sent Sinān Paṣḥa, the *beglerbegi* of Rümeli, against Ioannina, which surrendered (October 1430); Carlo II retained the rest of his dominions against the payment of an annual tribute. On his death (September 1448), the guardians of his son Leonardo, a minor, appealed to Venice for protection. The sultan thereupon took Arta (1449), and in 1460 Angelokastron was lost, leaving to Leonardo on the mainland only Vonitza. In 1479 Venice, annoyed at Leonardo's approaches to the king of Naples, did not include Leonardo in the treaty concluding the war of 1463-79. Mehemmed II was already planning his descent on southern Italy, and found the pretext for attacking Leonardo's island principality in an alleged slight to an Ottoman *sandjakbegi* (probably a member of the Tocco family). Upon the approach of the fleet under Gedik Aḥmed Paṣḥa [q.v.], then *sandjakbegi* of Valona (Turkish: Awlonya [q.v.]), Leonardo fled, and Aḥmed Paṣḥa occupied Vonitza, Santa Maura, Cephalonia and Zante. (In 1481 Cephalonia and Zante were recovered by the Tocchi, only to be lost to Venice; Venice retained Zante (until 1797); she had to cede Cephalonia to Bāyezid II in 1485 but recovered it in 1500).

The earliest references to "Karli-ili" in Ottoman sources are confused. The statement in 'Aṣḥkpaṣḥazāde (§ 56) that in 787/1385 Timürtash Paṣḥa raided "as far as Karli-ili" has been condemned as a misreading (for "the land of Kraljević", i.e., Prilep; see, most recently, Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes* . . . , Munich 1967, 197-8), though H. Inalcik suggests that the reference is to "the land of Carlo Thopia" (see ARNAWUTLUK, col. 653b). 'Aṣḥkpaṣḥazāde seems again to be in error when, in describing (§ 130) Mehemmed II's campaign of 864/1460 in the Morea, he calls certain fortresses there (Mistra, Leondári, ? Astros) "Karli-ili", a statement repeated by Neshri, Ibn Kemāl, Sa'd al-Dīn, etc.; nevertheless, southern Aetolia was evidently occupied by the Ottomans in the course of this

campaign: see Hopf, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 136, and cf. Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, 124 (a *subash* in Angelokastron in autumn 1460).

When Karli-ili was formally constituted a *sandjak* (with Angelokastron as its *chef-lieu*) is not clear. It is not named by Promontorio de Campis (ca. 1475, ed. Babinger) among the 17 *sandjaks* of Rümeli; but the *dizya* returns for 894/1489 mention "liwā-i Karlo" (Belgeler, i/1 (1964), 101), and a *sandjakbegi* ("mir-i liwā-i Karli") is named for 909/1503 (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livāsi*, Istanbul 1952, 481). (For slightly later appearances of Karli-ili in lists of the *sandjaks* of Rümeli, see *Ikt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 303; *Bell.*, xx (1956), 253, 260, and n. 170; and cf. *IA*, art. *Rumeli* (H. Inalcik), 771-2. For the number of households, overwhelmingly Christian, about this time, see *JESHO*, i (1957-8), 32).

The "Beglerbegilik of the Sea" [see *DIJAZL'IR-I BAHR-I SAFID*], created for Khayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa) [q.v.] in 940/1534, comprised at first, besides Gelibolu, only Rodos, Eghriboz and Midilli [q.v.] (see Ramberti, in A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire* . . . , Cambridge, Mass. 1913 (repr. New York 1966), 256, 259, and cf. for Ramberti's reliability, 314); Karli-ili was added later, perhaps in 957/1550, when Turghud Re'is [q.v.], entering Ottoman service, was appointed its *sandjakbegi* (see Aziz Samih İltter, *Şimali Afrika'da Türkler*, ii, Istanbul 1937, 189 and 194, discussing Peçevi [i, 346-7] and Hādīdī Khālifa, *Tuhfat al-kibār* [Istanbul 1329, 67-8]); it certainly figures among the *sandjaks* of this *eyālet* in the 11th/17th century, e.g., *apud* 'Ayn-i 'Alī, ca. 1018/1609 (*JA*, ser. 6, xv (1870), 266); Koçl Beg, ca. 1050/1640 (ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 110); and Hādīdī Khālifa, ca. 1056/1656 (*Tuhfat al-kibār*, 147; his inclusion of Karli-ili in "Rümeli" in the *Djihānnumā* is an anomaly: he was perhaps here using a list of the 10th/16th century, see *IA*, art. *Rumeli*, col. 772b).

Hādīdī Khālifa (J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 127-9) names seven *kaḏā's*: Prëveza (an error?), Aya Mavra, Vónitsa, Angelokastron, Xerómeron, Váltos and Vrakhóron. Evliyā Çelebi travelled through the region in 1081/1670. His itinerary is not easy to follow. He names six *kaḏā's* (omitting Prëveza) (viii, 626). The eastern boundary of the *sandjak* (p. 623) is the Yllan Cayl = R. Phidharis/Évinos. He describes further the townships of "Zebān" (Zapandi), "B.hūr" (Bokhóri, Hypokhorion), Mesolónghi, Anatolikó = Etolikón, and "Kālīve" (Kalivia).

Aya Mavra and Vonitsa, falling to Morosini in 1095/1684, were ceded to Venice by the Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlofča [q.v.], 1110/1699) (see further, for the history of the Ionian Islands, *YEDI ADALAR*). At the end of the 18th century, Karli-ili came under the sway of 'Alī Paṣḥa Tependelenli [q.v.]. In the very first weeks of the War of Greek Independence (1821-9), Mesolónghi and Vrakhóri had joined the revolt, and the district was the scene of much fighting. The northern frontier of the new kingdom, as finally drawn (1832), left all Karli-ili to Greece.

*Bibliography*: W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908 (repr. 1964), index, s.v. Tocco; Fr. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Qarly-eli vornehmlich aus osmanischen Quellen*, in *Είς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου*, i, Athens 1933, 140-9 (= *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* . . . , i, Munich 1962, 370-7) (on members of the Tocco family in Ottoman service); Piri Re'is, *Kitābi Bahriye*, Istanbul 1935, 317-24; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 620-37; I. G. Giannopoulou,

‘Η περιήγησις τοῦ Ἐβλιᾶ Τσελεμπῆ ἀνὰ τὴν Στερεάν Ἑλλάδα in Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Στεροελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν, ii (1969), 139-98, esp. 182-92; idem, Ἡ διοικητικὴ ὀργάνωσις τῆς Στερεᾶς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν (1393-1821), Athens 1971, esp. pp. 73-89, with further references; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, Paris 1826-7, iii, 438 ff.; J. C. Hobhouse, *A journey through Albania...*, London 1813, i, 193-211; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835 (repr. 1967), i, 106-75, iii, 488-578, iv, 1-43; D. Urquhart, *The spirit of the East*, London 1838, i, 45 ff.; *Grèce* (Guides-Joanne, Hachette), Paris 1911, 321-5.

(V. L. MÉNAGE)

**KARLOFÇA** (in modern Turkish, Karlofça; Carlowicz in common western usage), a town, now Sremski Karlovci, in northern Yugoslavia. It lies close to the Danube on the northern slopes of the Fruška Gora in Sirmium (Serbo-Croat Srem, Ottoman Sirem), 45½ miles by rail north-west of Belgrade. It has a population (1961 est.) of 6,390.

The first notice is of A.D. 1308, when it was known as Karon. In the later middle ages under Hungarian rule—its castle (*kaḷ'a*) was, as the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Ewliyā Čelebî pointed out, the work of the kings of Hungary—Karlofça came under Ottoman rule in *Shābān* 927/ July 1521, in the course of the campaign which culminated in the conquest of Belgrade. Its reduction was the work of the Bosnian *ghāzīs* under the future *beglerbegi* of Belgrade, Yahyā Pāshā-zāde Küçük Bālî Beg (F. Tauer (ed.), *Histoire de la campagne du Sultan Suleyman 1<sup>er</sup> contre Belgrade en 1521*, Prague 1924, 47, n. 152; cf. Feridūn, *Munsha'āt*, i, 508-10).

In Ottoman sources, the encountered forms of the name are: in a late 10th/16th century *deftē-i mufaṣṣal*, Kārlovčī/Kārločī (? = Hung. Karlócza); in the mid-11th/17th century, Kārlofča; by the early 12th/18th century (Rāshid), Kārloviče (this last form perhaps reflecting the by then current Austrian (*i.e.* German) usage of Karlowitz).

Under Ottoman rule, Karlofça came initially under the authority of the *beglerbegi* of Belgrade; later, after the conquest of Budin and the formation of that *eyālet* (948/1541), Karlofça became and remained subject to that place. Within the *sandjāḳ* of Sirem it formed a *niyāba* of the *kaḷā* of Varadin (Peterwardein). In the later 10th/16th century, according to a *deftē-i mufaṣṣal* from the reign of Selim II (B. McGowan (ed.), *Deftē-i Liwā-i Sirem*, unpubl. Columbia Ph.D. thesis, 1967, 241-9 [= text, ff. 65v-68r]), Karlofça possessed the largest Christian population in the *sandjāḳ*. Within the five quarters of the town was a civilian population of 487 households, all Christian. By the time Ewliyā Čelebî visited Karlofça the population was partly Christian and partly Muslim. The collection of the *ḵharāj* and *bādj-i bāzār* taxes was in the hands of Ottoman officials from Budin; the *kaḷ'a* contained a garrison of about fifty officers and men.

Karlofça's subsequent fate, and its sole claim to historical significance, were both determined by the course of the war of 1094-1110/1683-99 between the Ottoman Empire and Austria and her allies—Poland, Venice, and, belatedly, Russia—of the *Sacra Liga*. After the Ottoman defeat at Mohács (1687), Karlofça passed under Austrian rule. Its historical significance, however, lies in its almost fortuitous selection as the site for the diplomatic gathering generally known as the Congress of Carlowicz which assembled there in October 1698 and by the end of January 1699 had

brought laboriously to birth a series of agreements regulating the territorial and other adjustments consequent upon the war.

Within the limits of this article no extensive treatment of the Congress of Carlowicz can be attempted. Lacking as we do not only a corpus of documents for the congress and for its essential diplomatic “pre-history”, but even a satisfactory edition of the Turkish and Latin or Italian texts of the treaties themselves, recent attempts to place the Ottoman side of the congress proceedings on a more secure basis must be regarded as (in some ways) provisional. Some general remarks concerning the significance of the settlement may however be made.

Congress diplomacy, which had evolved rapidly in Europe after the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648) was for the first time applied to a settlement involving an Islamic state. Thus was brought about the simultaneous culmination and incipient erosion of the Islamic concepts of *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* which had determined in large measure the settlement of, *e.g.* previous conflicts between the Ottomans and the Austrian Hapsburgs. With the unwilling Ottoman acceptance of (a) diplomatic mediation (*tawassuḫ*) by the representatives at the Porte of England (Lord Paget) and the United Provinces (Colyer) and (b) the provisions in the treaties for a demarcated frontier, the assumptions which had hitherto determined the Ottoman state's relations with the lands of *dār al-ḥarb* were no longer tenable, and the military and diplomatic balance for the first time tipped steeply against them.

The Ottoman negotiators at Carlowicz—the *ra'īs ul-kuttāb* Rāmī Mehmed Efendi and the chief dragoman Alexander Mavrocordato—were well aware of this long before the congress opened; indeed, there is much to recommend the view that the real transformation of Ottoman attitudes took place in a series of secret negotiations between 'Amudja-zāde Ḥusayn Köprülü, the Ottoman grand vizier, and the Austrian chancellor, Kinsky, with Mavrocordato and Paget serving as intermediaries, during the latter part of 1697 and the early months of 1698. The basis for the settlement which was then worked out was that of *ulī possidetis/alā ḵālīhi*, *i.e.* that each side should hold what it possessed at the conclusion of hostilities. Ottoman diplomatic objectives, which went some way beyond the strict application of this principle, were to be achieved only in part at the congress, despite skilful diplomacy by Rāmī Mehmed Efendi and Mavrocordato. The Ottomans failed to obtain the evacuation by Austria of Transylvania and its restoration to the rather ambiguous status which it had enjoyed before 1683, but were able to maintain their authority over the strategic salient of Temeshvar (Timișoara) as far as the Mureș and Tisa rivers. They were also able to hold the immediate hinterland of Belgrade in Sirmium and to retain a foothold in Slavonia and Croatia. Conversely, against Poland the Ottomans were obliged to relinquish the strong fortress of Kamaniče, which had never surrendered, and thus lost control of Podolia in exchange for Polish abandonment of claims to Moldavia. No permanent settlement with Russia was reached at Carlowicz: a truce for two years was regularised at Istanbul in 1112/1701. The latter stages of the congress were mostly taken up with the imposition of terms on Venice, the weakest of the *Sacra Liga* powers, who was in the end forced to give up her conquests north of the Morea.

No conclusive assessment of the Carlowicz settlement should yet be attempted. Diplomatically it was

perhaps less of a defeat for the Ottoman Empire than has been commonly accepted, and the Ottomans were able to withdraw from a disastrous war with their pride, if not their territories, intact. Within governing circles of the Empire the settlement nonetheless was to generate considerable opposition, particularly from military elements, and it is probably in these internal repercussions, leading up to the Edirne Incident of 1115/1703, as much as in the actual territorial adjustments, that its significance lies.

*Bibliography*: Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, vii (Istanbul 1928), 144-5. Mehmed Râşid, *Ta'rihk* (Istanbul 1282), ii, 415-74 (texts of treaties at pp. 449-73; western-language versions were published in *Flugschriften* soon after the conclusion of the congress, in Vienna, Venice and elsewhere; cf. also R. Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, iii, London 1700, *ad finem*, for the first English edition of the treaties). For important Ottoman works still in MS. form, cf. the references given in the article by İ. Parmaksızoğlu, s.v. *Karlofça*, in *IA*. The account by J. von Hammer, *GOR*, vi (Pest, 1828), 636-78, is based in part on these, and is still useful on that account. The studies on the Congress of Carlowicz by Popovic (1893) and Munson (1940) are now superseded; the results of recent research by R. A. Abou-El-Haj are to be found in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton 1963) and in articles in *JAOS*, lxxxvii/4 (1967) and lxxxix/3 (1963), and *Islam*, li/i (1974). (C. J. HEYWOOD)

**KARLUK**, early Arabic form *Kharlukh*, Persian *Khalukh* (whence frequent confusion in the sources with the *Khaladj* [*q.v.*], Chinese Ko-lo-lu (north-western Middle Chinese \*Kâr-lâ-luk), a Turkish tribal group in Central Asia. They were originally a small federation of three tribes (whence the name given to them in the Uyghur Shine-usu inscription ca. 760 of Uč Karllk; the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 98, on the other hand, mentions seven tribes of the Karluk), and comparatively unimportant. Their paramount chief never bore the title of *khaghan* or  *Khan*, but in the 7th and 8th centuries had that of *elteber* (perhaps "possessor of a land or people"), one of only moderate rank (see A. Bombaci, *On the ancient Turkic title Eltäbär*, in *Proceedings of the IXth meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, Naples 1970, 24, 57-8), and *Kāshghari* does not mention them amongst the twenty Turkish tribes listed in the introduction of the *Diwān lughāt al-turk* (tr. Atalay, i, 28). *Kāshghari* does, however, mention the Karluk in connection with certain Turkish words or phrases, and defines them as a nomadic tribe, distinct from the Oghuz, but, like them, counted as Turkmen (tr. i, 473, cf. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, *A history of the Turkman people*, 78).

Our first information on the Karluk comes from Chinese sources, which mention them as having been subjugated by the Western T'u-chüeh or Turks ca. 640-50. At this time they were a pastoralist people located on the upper reaches of the Irtysh River and north of the T'ien Shan. In the early years of the 8th century they passed under the control of the Eastern T'u-chüeh empire, and the Orkhon inscriptions mention the rebellion of the Karluk against the *Khaghan* in 711-14 (see Sir Gerard Clauson and E. Tryjarski, *The inscription at Ikhe Khushotu*, in *RO*, xxxiv/1 (1971), 27-8, 29). The Karluk took part with the Basml and Uyghur in the general upheaval which brought about the disintegration of the Eastern T'u-chüeh empire (743-5), but were in turn defeated by the Uyghur and compelled to move westwards to-

wards Transoxania (on all these events, see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1900; Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesische Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-kiie)*, Wiesbaden 1958; L. N. Gumilev, *Drevnie Tyurki*, Moscow 1957; J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouigours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, Paris 1955).

They now come within the orbit of Muslim writers. According to *Iṣṭākhri*, 290, the boundary between the Karluk and the Oghuz was the region of *Isfidiāb* on the middle Syr Darya, and the *Hudūd al-'ālam* (372/982), 97, cf. Map v, 279, places them south of the Issik-Köl, i.e., on the southern fringes of the Semirečye. Their ruler now appears in Muslim sources with the title of *yabghu* (Arabic form *ḡabbūya*, probably reflecting a western Turkish dialectical pronunciation of the word), adopted equally by the chief of the Oghuz [see *GHUZZ*]. There were also Karluk who had penetrated southwestwards into the upper Oxus basin and *Tukhāristān*, where Arabic sources mention them in connection with the Arab campaigns against the epigoni of the Hephthalites in this region; the prince of the Karluk here also bore the title of *yabghu*.

These Karluk on the northern fringes of Transoxania were long a refuge for political and religious dissidents and refugees fleeing before the Arab advance into Central Asia; thus the *Yabghu*, together with the local Soghdians and the ruler of Tibet, supported the rebellious Arab governor in Samarkand, Rāfi' b. Layth, against the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashid. Such contacts, however, probably disposed the Karluk to reception of the Islamic faith and culture, whereas the more westerly Oghuz remained at a perceptibly lower cultural level. The campaign of the Sāmānid Amīr Ismā'il b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] against Talas in 280/893 struck into the heart of their lands, and commercial and religious penetration must have followed; the geographers of the 4th/10th century mention the existence of mosques in several towns east of Talas. The comparatively advanced state of the Karluk at this time is reflected in the statement of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* that they were a pleasant-natured people, near to civilized folk in their living standards; the same source describes several of their settlements in the southern part of the Semirečye where some of the Karluk practiced agriculture and whither merchants resorted (97-8, 286 ff.).

The royal family of the *Karakhānides*, who put an end to the Sāmānid amirate in Transoxania at the close of the 4th/10th century and divided its lands with the *Qhaznavids*, may conceivably have sprung from the Karluk (this thesis is maintained by O. Pritsak, *Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 270-300); but equally possible candidates are such groups as the Čigil, *Yaghma*, *Türğesh*, etc., and it is strange that *Kāshghari*, who sprang from the *Karakhānid* milieu, does not mention a Karluk origin for the dynasty [see *ILEK-KHĀNS*]. Some Karluk tribesmen certainly remained as a nomadic tribal group within the *Karakhānid* dominions, for in the 6th/12th century we hear of tension between them and the *Karakhānid khāns*; it was the pretext of help for the Karluk at odds with *Čaghrl Khān* of Samarkand which enabled the *Kh*arāzmi-*Shāh* II Arslan to invade Transoxania in 553/1158 (see *Djuwaynī-Boyle*, i, 288-9; Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 148-9, 187-8).

At the opening of the 7th/13th century there were Karluk rulers in the region to the north of the Ili River and eastwards from their earlier centre in the southern Semirečye, e.g., in *Almallgh* and *Qayallgh*,

where these Khāns were under the suzerainty of the Kara Khitāy [q.v.] (Djuwayni-Boyle, i, 74-5; Barthold, *Four studies* . . . i. *History of the Semirechye*, 103-4). Karluk tribal contingents joined the army of Čingiz-Khān in 616/1219 and took part in the invasion of Transoxania, but after the Mongol period, the name of the Karluk becomes less frequent in the history of Central Asia, without ever disappearing completely. Thus the *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi* of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, tr. Elias and Ross, 309, mentions a commander (*sirdār*) of the Karluk tribe in Transoxania involved in warfare of the early 9th/15th century. At the present time, various Turkish groups of northeastern Afghānistān, in the regions of Badakhshān and Kattaghān, call themselves Kaluk or Karluk; see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, an attempt at a preliminary classification*, in *Lunds Universitets Arsskrift*, N.F. xxxv/4 (Lund-Leipzig 1939), 71-3 and index.

*Bibliography*: In addition to works cited above, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, index; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, chs. iii-v; Bosworth, *The Turks in the Islamic lands up to the mid-11th century*, in *PhTF*, iii, Wiesbaden 1970; *IA* art. *Karluklar* (Rahmeti Arat). The information of the Islamic geographers is utilized in Minorsky's copious commentary to the section on the Karluk in *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 97-8, 286-97.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KARM** (A.), the vine. To one who knows the official attitude of Islam towards wine [see **KHAMR**], the vitality of the cultivation of the vine in the majority of mediaeval Muslim countries may appear paradoxical. Nevertheless, it is incontestable, and is explained by the force of tradition in some countries where the vine has long been established, by the multiple uses of the grape (fresh fruit, dried raisin, vinegar, pharmaceutical uses, the lees as fertilizer, etc.), by the survival of non-Muslim communities, and also by the laxity of many Muslims themselves. This vitality is attested in particular, perhaps due to the written tradition, by the very considerable and exceptional place that the Muslim agronomists accord to the vine in comparison with the other species studied, from the easterner Ibn Waḥshīyya or the *Calendar of Cordova* to the Andalusians of the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries, to whom we owe the essential part of that which will be summarized below. Their knowledge resulted from the combination of the data of the ancient authors, rediscovered and assimilated (with, in Spain, Junius = Columella added to the sources known in the Orient) with the intensive day-to-day experience constantly renewed.

To summarize this knowledge is difficult, since one of the principal characteristics of the cultivation methods described is precisely the meticulousness of their application and the multiplicity of the methods followed. Nevertheless, it appears generally that the vines cultivated, more numerous than in our days and transported by the Arabs from one end of their conquered lands to the other, did not remain stabilized and were the object of experiments of selection and acclimatization that we know particularly with regard to Spain (between the plain and the mountain, for example), but that were also tested in the East, where Ibn al-Faḳīh (*BGA*, 125) and the Persian agronomists of the Mongol period in particular preserve for us the names of various kinds of vines. The vegetative cycle of each vine-plant being different, the agronomists, applying the principle of the complementary nature of a defect and a quality (such as adaptation to dryness or humidity,

etc.) mainly made use of the diversities of the climates and soils of the Mediterranean zone and the Near East.

Some systems of cultivation predominate in the Andalusian treatises: (a) The low vine, planted in holes or trenches (recommended, but little practised) about 1.40 m. apart, supported or in low clumps, thinned out very little in order to protect the grape against the sun: a method of cultivation reserved for warm sites; (b) The climbing vine, classical in the Mediterranean region, where the creeper was used as support for the fruit trees with shallow roots, whose height had to be controlled so that they did not injure the vine; in contradiction to the ancients, the Andalusians rejected the intercalary cultivation that exhausts the vine, and especially the association of the vine and the fig-tree. The best soils were alluvial, humid, but not saturated, according to the westerners, and also sandy according to Ibn Waḥshīyya, but one might also make use of the rich soils for the species that derive nourishment easily; the principle of complementarity took the place of the modern idea of forced cultivation. The choice of sites was adapted to the vines' wants; slopes and hillsides for the low vines, valleys and plains for the climbing ones, mountains in order to test the quality of a vine-plant; it was banned from the marshlands, sources of the vine's diseases. The preparatory work was a deep tillage with the spade, with trenches larger than the furrows of tillage in the earth of mediocre quality and holes for the good localities with a depth of at least 2 cubits (almost a metre) for protection against the sun. The surface work of the end of the first year was a loosening with the pruning knife to spare the roots, those nearest to the surface meanwhile being cut back to strengthen the deepest.

Reproduction in the nurseries was done in the form of taking cuttings, layering (*takbis*) and sowing in a manner conforming to the practices of our days. The stratification was systematic. As for the shoots, cuttings and layered branches, it is often pointed out that they should not be planted together in the same hole, which proves that it was done. Most authors agree in recommending planting in spring, although the early species might be planted in autumn (hesitations that one would still encounter today); the Egyptian fiscal treatises speak of planting in February or March. The vinestocks, once tested for three years in very poor soil, they were transplanted in the vineyard chosen to receive them.

Well spread out fertilization was especially necessary in the planting and pruning, above all when vines were made to follow another vegetable insufficiently treated with animal manure, usual in the Middle Ages; it was reduced to a powder, and, according to an Aristotelian principle, the ashes of the stems of the plant itself were preferred; this preference for dry fertilizer is a particularly modern aspect of Andalusian viticulture. Irrigation depended on the climate, the soil and the plant chosen; watering by hand was frequently carried out in order to proportion better the quantity of water needed to obtain really syrupy and not-too-full grapes.

Among the measures taken to increase the vine's productivity, pruning (*zabr*) was the principle practised in winter with the iron pruning knife (*mindjal*) already described by Columella; the aim was to draw the sap towards the best developed wood. Grafting, already known to the ancients, was the subject of descriptions and experiments infinitely more varied among the Muslim agronomists. Everything was taken into consideration, form and colour of the

grape, the syrupiness of the juice, the early or late quality of the vine-plant, the degree of alcohol, etc. In order to improve the species for the achievement of precise needs, fantastic means were sometimes adopted (e.g., grafting the vine on the olive-tree). On the technical level it was grafting by terebration (*taḥā'ama* according to Ibn Ḥadīdjādī cited by Ibn al-'Awwām).

Like today, the protection of the vine against diseases and bad weather distressed the vine-grower, who was impotent before the scourge. More than the Romans, the Andalusians feared the proximity of the sea and, with good reason, drizzle. The symptoms of diseases, very exactly described by Ibn Waḥshīyya, correspond to anthracosa, rust and jaundice; the remedy prescribed drew its inspiration from the curative panacea, namely a mixture of oil, wine and water applied to the stock of the exposed level; Ibn Ḥadīdjādī added straw there, which moreover protected against frosts.

Without our being able to furnish for all the Muslim countries the same precise details as for Spain and 'Irāk, we can assert, thanks especially to the geographers' information, the presence almost everywhere of the vine, at least until the nomad invasions of the later Middle Ages, and often later: in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Iran, Central Asia, Syria, Egypt; in the Mongol period, Mustawfi Kazwīni was still to see in Turkish Asia Minor the vines inherited from the Armenians and Greeks. The princely courts never had difficulty in providing wine, and the poets who used to sing of it must have had some acquaintance other than theoretical. The Crusaders must have developed the vine on the Syrian coast. There is no doubt, however, that the vine declined at the end of the Middle Ages, as much through the growth of strictness and conversions as through the interference of nomads. On the other hand, without it being possible here to make more than one passing allusion, it is known that the conditions of European colonization and international modern commerce led in certain Muslim lands, in particular in North Africa, to the development of new vineyards on some almost completely new bases, whose monocultural character, often excessive, in its turn presents some difficult problems of readaptation today.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Waḥshīyya, *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (uned., see IBN WAḤSHIYYA; the Egyptian sources analysed by Miller-Wodarg, in *Islam* (1953); on Andalusian agronomy see FILĀḤA, ii; the vine is dealt with by Ibn Wāfid, Spanish tr. and ed. Millás-Vallcrosa, in *al-Andalus*, viii (1943), 281-332; Ibn Baṣṣāl, Spanish tr. by idem, in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 397-430; Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī, MS. Paris B.N. 4764, fols. 64 ff.; Ibn al-'Awwām, ed. Bianquiere (mediocre edn.), Madrid 1802, French tr. Clement-Mullet, Paris 1864-7, chs. ii (fertilizing), vii (tillage), ix (pruning), xiv (diseases), xvi (preservation). (See Lucie Bolens, *Les méthodes culturales au Moyen Age d'après les traités d'agronomie andalouse*, Genève 1974.) and pharmacological and botanical works, such as the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, new ed. and French tr. Ch. Pellat, Leiden 1961. See also *passim* the principal Arab geographers, Ibn Dījūbayr, etc. Among the modern works, see the general ones on the principal countries, such as, for Spain, that of Lévi-Provençal, for the Maghrib those of Brunshvig and Idris, for Iran that of Spuler, and the chapter of Petrushevsky in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v. For non-Hispanic Muslim agronomy, see Cl. Cahen, in *JESHO*, 1971. (L. BOLENS and CL. CAHEN)

**KARMAṬI**, pl. *Qarāmiṭa*, name given to the adherents of a branch of the Ismā'īliyya [q.v.]. Originally it is generally reported to have referred to the followers of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ [q.v.], an Ismā'īli leader in the *sawād* of al-Kūfa, whose surname Qarmaṭ (also Qarmaṭūya) is variously explained in the sources as meaning short-legged or red-eyed. It is to be noted, however, that the Imāmī scholar al-Faḍl b. Shādhān of Naysābūr, who died in 260/873-4, already wrote a refutation of the Qarāmiṭa (*al-Radd 'alā 'l-Qarāmiṭa*). Thus either the missionary activity of Ḥamdān must have commenced long before the year 261/874-5 or 264/877-8, which the sources give as the date of its beginning, or his surname was itself derived from the name of the sect. The movement directed by Ḥamdān was, in any case, merely part of the general Ismā'īli movement of his time whose leadership he recognized. After Ḥamdān's revolt against the leadership in 286/899 and his subsequent disappearance, the term Qarāmiṭa was generally used for those Ismā'īli groups which joined this revolt and consequently refused to recognize the claims of the Fātimid caliphs to the imāmate. Sometimes it was pejoratively applied also to the Ismā'īlis supporting the Fātimid imāmate. The present article, however, will deal only with the history of the former groups and their relationship with the Fātimid Ismā'īli movement.

From the schism until ca. 300/913. The split of the movement in 286/899 left the Ismā'īli communities which repudiated the claim of 'Ubayd Allāh, the later Fātimid Caliph al-Mahdī, to the imāmate without united leadership and in a doctrinal crisis. In Mesopotamia Ḥamdān and his chief assistant 'Abdān [q.v.] discontinued all missionary activity. 'Abdān was consequently murdered by another *dā'i*, Zikrawayh [q.v.], at the instigation of a relative of 'Ubayd Allāh residing in al-Ṭāliḳān. Zikrawayh, threatened with revenge by the followers of 'Abdān, had to go into hiding. In 289/902 he sent his son al-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan), known as the *Ṣāhib al-Shāma*, to the Syrian desert in order to convert the Banū Kalb. Al-Ḥusayn succeeded in winning the support of the clan of Banū 'l-'Ulayṣ and some of the Banū 'l-'Aṣbagh, who adopted the religious name al-Fātimiyyūn. He was joined then by the *Ṣāhib al-Nāqa*, who according to the account of al-Ṭabarī was al-Ḥusayn's brother Yaḥyā, while according to the account of the *sharīf Akhū Muḥsin*, he was the aforementioned relative of 'Ubayd Allāh. The *Ṣāhib al-Nāqa* assumed the leadership, claiming to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. After he was killed during a lengthy, unsuccessful siege of Damascus in Sha'bān 290/July 903, the *Ṣāhib al-Shāma* succeeded him as the leader. He, too, claimed to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and assumed the titles *Amir al-mu'minin* and *al-Mahdī*. After vainly attacking Aleppo he occupied Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Ba'labakk, and Salamiyya, the former residence of the leaders of the Ismā'īli movement, where he ordered a general slaughter of the Hāshimis and other inhabitants. According to a Fātimid Ismā'īli source, he had at first tried to lure 'Ubayd Allāh, who had left Salamiyya earlier in fear of the Qarmaṭis, to return and assume the leadership. When his attempts failed, he pillaged 'Ubayd Allāh's palace in Salamiyya and killed all members of his family and his household who had remained there. After a severe defeat, the *Ṣāhib al-Shāma* left his followers and tried to reach Mesopotamia, but was captured and executed in Baghdād in Rabi' I 391/Jan. 904. In 293/906 Zikrawayh sent another *dā'i*,

known as Abū Ghānim Naṣr, to his followers among the Banū Kalb. They sacked Buṣrā and Adhri'āt, again attacked Damascus, pillaged Ṭabariyya and the suburbs of Hīt. In Ramaḍān 293/July 906 Naṣr was killed by some of his supporters who wanted to gain amnesty from the government. Zikrawayh now sent another messenger to his remaining supporters announcing to them that the day of triumph and of his personal appearance was near. Joined by Zikrawayh's supporters in the *sawād*, they entered al-Kūfa in a surprise attack, but were driven out again. In Dhū 'l-ḥiǧǧja 293/Oct. 906, Zikrawayh came forth from his hiding place in al-Ṣawwān near al-Kādisiyya. They defeated an 'Abbāsīd army and overwhelmed the caravans of Khurāsān and western Persian pilgrims on their return from Mecca killing most of the pilgrims. In Rabi' I 294/Jan. 907 Zikrawayh was wounded and captured in a battle and died a few days later. Many of his supporters were rounded up and executed. The Karmaṭī revolts in Syria came to an end. Some of Zikrawayh's followers in the Sawād denied his death and expected his return. In 295/907-8 a *dā'i*, Abū Ḥātim al-Zuṭṭī, was active among the Karmaṭīs in the Sawād. He forbade them to eat certain vegetables and to slaughter animals. His followers were therefore named Bakliyya [q.v.], a nickname which was subsequently applied to the Karmaṭīs in the Sawād in general. Most of the Karmaṭīs there clung to their earlier belief that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was alive and would return as the Mahdī.

In al-Bahrayn, Abū Sa'īd al-Djannābī [q.v.], sent by Ḥamdān and 'Abdān, had begun his career in 273/886-7 long before the schism. After the murder of 'Abdān he sided with the rebels against 'Ubayd Allāh and killed Abū Zakariyyā' al-Ḍamāmī, a *dā'i* with whom he had previously cooperated. Abū Zakariyyā' had been sent before him, probably by Ibn Ḥawshab, the *dā'i* in the Yaman (the *nisba* al-Ḍamāmī seems to refer to Ḍamām, a market town in Lā'a where Ibn Ḥawshab first resided), and like Ibn Ḥawshab remained loyal to the Fātimids. According to the *ḵāḍi* 'Abd al-Djabbār, Abū Sa'īd, after killing Abū Zakariyyā' claimed to represent the Mahdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, who would appear in the year 300/912-3.

In the Yaman the two *dā'is*, Ibn Ḥawshab [see MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN] and 'Alī b. al-Faḍl, working separately in the region of Djabal Maswar and in the Bilād Yāfi', at first remained faithful to 'Ubayd Allāh, though the loyalty of Ibn al-Faḍl was not above suspicion and his relations with Ibn Ḥawshab, the senior *dā'i*, were at times strained. As both endeavoured to expand their territories, Ibn al-Faḍl proved more successful. After reoccupying Ṣan'ā' in Ramaḍān 299/May 912 he repudiated his allegiance to the Fātimid caliph, abolished the *shari'a*, and claimed to be the Mahdī. Rejecting the reproaches of Ibn Ḥawshab he demanded the latter's submission and besieged him on the Djabal Maswar for eight months. The siege ended in failure, though Ibn Ḥawshab was forced to surrender one of his sons to Ibn al-Faḍl as a hostage. Ibn al-Faḍl then turned Ṣan'ā' over to the Ya'furid As'ad b. Abī Ya'fur, who recognized his suzerainty, and returned to his residence in al-Mudhaykhira. After his death in Rabi' II 303/Oct. 915 his son al-Fa'fā' (?) succeeded him and killed many of his associates. As'ad b. Abī Ya'fur revolted and took al-Mudhaykhira after a long siege in Raǧǧab 304/Jan. 917. Four months later he ordered the execution of al-Fa'fā' and other Karmaṭī leaders and sent their heads to Baǧhdād, thus extinguishing the movement of Ibn al-Faḍl.

In the area of al-Rayy, the Ismā'īlī community, known locally after its first *dā'i* Khālaf al-Ḥallādī as Khālafīyya, was well established before the split. Circumstantial evidence indicates that it did not recognize the imāmate of 'Ubayd Allāh and continued to expect the return of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as the Kā'im. The *dā'i* Ghīyāth, after engaging in disputations with the Sunnis, was forced to flee to Khurāsān, probably during the last decade of the 3rd century/903-13. There he predicted the coming of the Mahdī at a certain date. As the date passed without the prediction having come true, Ghīyāth, who had returned to al-Rayy, lost the support of his followers and disappeared soon afterwards.

Information about the early Ismā'īlī movement in Khurāsān and Transoxania is extremely fragmentary. Anti-Ismā'īlī sources state that the first two *dā'is* there were sent successively by 'Ubayd Allāh after his rise to power in the Maghrib in 297/909 and were active in Naysābūr. Yet there is evidence that Ismā'īlī activity was important in eastern Persia from an early date. The fact that the Imāmī al-Faḍl b. Shādhān in Naysābūr found it necessary to write a refutation of the Karāmiṭa may indicate their presence there before 260/874. At the time of the split al-Fālikān was a centre of Ismā'īlī propaganda from where *dā'is* were sent to other eastern regions. A notice of the Imāmī author Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kummī writing ca. 290/903 indicates that at this time 'Ubayd Allāh's doctrine, which traced the imāmate after Dja'far al-Ṣādiq through his son 'Abd Allāh, rather than Ismā'īl, had numerous adherents in Khurāsān. On the other hand, Ghīyāth, the *dā'i* of al-Rayy upholding Karmaṭī doctrine, during his stay in Khurāsān converted the amir al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Marwazī in Marw al-Rūdh. As a result, Ismā'īlism spread throughout the provinces of al-Fālikān, Maymana, Harāt, Ghardīstān, and al-Ghūr, where the amir al-Ḥusayn was powerful. It is thus likely that both Fātimid and Karmaṭī Ismā'īlism were strongly represented in eastern Persia during this period.

From ca. 300/913 to the accession of the Fātimid caliph al-Mu'izz (341/953). In the first decade of the 4th century/912-23 the Karmaṭī movement appears to have regained its ideological unity which prepared it for the great outburst of activity during the following decade. An important role in this process was played by the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* of the Transoxanian *dā'i* al-Nasafī [q.v.], which introduced a Neoplatonic cosmology into Ismā'īlī gnosis and reaffirmed the imāmate of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, who was to return as the Mahdī. The book evidently soon gained wide acceptance in Karmaṭī circles. Equally important was the activity of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [q.v.], a disciple of Ghīyāth, who took over the leadership of the *dā'wa* in al-Rayy during this decade, dislodging the descendants of Khālaf. Abū Ḥātim displayed great energy, sending *dā'is* to Ṭabaristān, Iṣfahān, Aḍharbaydjan, and Djurdjān and carrying on a correspondence with Abū Ṭāhir, the leader of the Karmaṭīs in al-Bahrayn. He seems to have claimed to be the lieutenant (*ḵhalīfa*) of the absent imām having superior authority to all other *dā'is*, a rank that was also later held by the *dā'i* of al-Rayy. Aḥmad b. 'Alī, governor of al-Rayy 307-11/919-24, the Daylamī leader Asfār b. Shīrawayh, and Mardāwīdī, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty, came at least temporarily under his influence. The success of Abū Ḥātim's *dā'wa* among the Daylam is also indicated by the conversion of Siyāhčashm (killed ca. 316/928), Djūstānid king of Daylam, in Alamūt.



In al-Baḥrayn, the Ḳarmaṭis, after the murder of Abū Saʿīd in 300/913, remained peaceful until 311/923. In this year they began under the leadership of Abū Saʿīd's son Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī [q.v.] a series of devastating campaigns into southern ʿIrāk during which they sacked al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa repeatedly and raided pilgrims' caravans. Like Abū Ḥātim, Abū Ṭāhir at this time was predicting the appearance of the Mahdī for the near future, interpreting the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 316/928 as a sign for the end of the era of Islam and the advent of the final religious era. In 313/925 some thirty Ismāʿīlis, whose *dāʿi* kept up a correspondance with Abū Ṭāhir, were arrested in the mosque of Barāthā [q.v.] in Baghdād. With them were found white clay seals bearing the inscription: "Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the imām, the Mahdī, the friend of God". In 315-6/927-9 Abū Ṭāhir led a new campaign threatening Baghdād itself, which he apparently expected to take. While he pushed as far as al-Raḥba, the Ḳarmaṭis of the *sawād* of al-Kūfa, joined by the Arab tribes of the Banū Dhuhl, Rifāʿa and ʿIdjīl, rose under their *dāʿis*, among them ʿIsā b. Mūsā, a nephew of ʿAbdān. They ravaged the area of al-Wāsiṭ and entered al-Kūfa by force, but were soon subdued by an ʿAbbāsīd army. Those escaping joined Abū Ṭāhir as he returned to al-Baḥrayn. They stayed there and were known as the ʿAḍjamiyyūn. Abū Ṭāhir's activity reached its climax in his conquest of Mecca during the pilgrim season in 317/930. The Ḳarmaṭis committed a barbarous slaughter among the pilgrims and inhabitants and carried off the Black Stone of the Kaʿba, thus palpably demonstrating the end of the era of Islam.

In Ramaḍān 319/Sept.-Oct. 931, Abū Ṭāhir handed the rule over to a young Persian from Iṣfahān in whom he recognized the expected Mahdī. However, events took a different turn from what had commonly been expected for the advent of the Mahdī. The date was evidently chosen to coincide with the passing of 1,500 years after Zoroaster (= end of the year 1242 of the era of Alexander) for which prophecies attributed to Zoroaster and Djamāsp predicted the restoration of the reign of the Magians. The young Persian was said to be a Magian and a descendant of the Persian kings. Iṣfahān, his home town, had long been associated by the astrologers with the rise of a Persian dynasty which would overthrow the Arab caliphate. The chief priest of the Magians, Isfandiār b. Adharbād, was executed a few years later by the caliph al-Rādī for his complicity with Abū Ṭāhir. The Persian ordered the cursing of all the prophets and the worship of fire. He then encouraged various extravagant abominations and put some prominent Ḳarmaṭi leaders to death. After some 80 days Abū Ṭāhir was forced to kill him and admit that he had been duped by an impostor. The episode severely demoralized the Ḳarmaṭi movement. The Ḳarmaṭis from ʿIrāk left al-Baḥrayn and many, among them the chief of the ʿIdjīl Abū ʿI-Chayṭh b. ʿAbda, apostatized, disclosing the secrets of the *daʿwa*. Tribal Arab Ḳarmaṭis came to offer their service in the armies of Sunnī rulers. A group of seventy of them is mentioned for the first time in 320/932 in the army of the ʿAbbāsīd general Muʿnis. Later sizable Ḳarmaṭi contingents served in ʿAbbāsīd, Barīdīd, Ḥamdānīd and Būyīd armies.

The leading *dāʿis* were shocked by the episode in al-Baḥrayn, which hurt the reputation of the movement by the accompanying manifestations of libertinism and anti-Arab sentiment and by its disastrous end. The tendencies of Abū Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-islāh*, in which he criticized certain aspects of al-Nasafī's

*Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, are best understood on the assumption that it was written after the events in al-Baḥrayn and was meant partially as a veiled censure of them. It uncompromisingly repudiates antinomian tendencies in the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, insisting that the sixth era, that of the prophet Muḥammad and Islam, had not been closed with the first coming of the seventh imām, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* implied. Only after his return would he open the seventh, lawless era. Abū Ḥātim's criticism of the *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* was repudiated by other *dāʿis*, among them Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sidjīstānī [q.v.], who in his *Kitāb al-nuṣra* defended most of al-Nasafī's views, including their antinomian implications. Despite such internal dissension the *daʿwa* soon regained strength, though engaging more in literary than in revolutionary activity. ʿIsā b. Mūsā, who had been captured by the government troops suppressing the Ḳarmaṭi revolt in the Sawād in 316/928, escaped from prison in 320/932 and remained in Baghdād writing philosophically-tinged books which he ascribed to ʿAbdān. This was also the practice of other *dāʿis* in ʿIrāk in this period, like the brothers Abū Muslim and Abū Bakr b. Ḥammād in al-Mawṣil and ʿAlī b. Waṣīf, who resided in al-Raḳqa and later in al-Mawṣil. The sons of Ḥammād in al-Mawṣil and Ibn Nafis in Baghdād were, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, high-ranking *dāʿis* subordinate to Abū Yaʿqūb, the *ḫalīfa* of the imām residing in al-Rayy. This Abū Yaʿqūb was the successor of Abū Ḥātim (d. 322/934) and may well be identical with Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sidjīstānī who at this time did not recognize the Fāṭimid imāmate, as is evident from his *Kitāb al-nuṣra*. The Ismāʿīli missionary activity in northwestern Persia remained successful in this period. The Sallārid al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad, ruler of Āḡharbaydjān (330/941-346/957), and his brother Wahsūdān, ruler of al-Ṭarm, were both converts. On his accession al-Marzubān took ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar, an Ismāʿīli *dāʿi*, as his vizier and permitted him to preach the doctrine openly. A coin of Wahsūdān minted in 343/954-5 attests his adherence to Ḳarmaṭi Ismāʿīlism. There is no tangible evidence that the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīli *daʿwa* during this period made any progress in winning over the dissident communities in the east. The story related by the anti-Ismāʿīli polemicist Ibn Rizām that the *dāʿi* al-Nasafī, who during the last years before his execution in 332/943 was active at the Sāmānid court in Transoxania, imposed a fine on the ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad, whom he had converted, to be sent to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḳāʿim, must be viewed with reserve.

The Ḳarmaṭis in al-Baḥrayn also returned to their former beliefs, claiming that they were acting on the orders of the hidden Mahdī. Abū Ṭāhir carried out raids on a minor scale to southern ʿIrāk and the coast of Fārs and continued to obstruct the pilgrimage. After the failure of earlier negotiations, he reached an agreement with the ʿAbbāsīd government in 327/939 under which he promised to protect the pilgrimage in return for an annual tribute and a protection fee to be paid by the pilgrims. The aggressiveness of the Ḳarmaṭis now subsided. After the death of Abū Ṭāhir in 332/944 his surviving brothers, ruling jointly, continued his peaceful policy. In 339/951 they finally returned the Black Stone of the Kaʿba for a high sum paid by the ʿAbbāsīd government, after having rejected earlier offers, including one by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr.

After the accession of the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz (341/953). The fourth Fāṭimid caliph, al-Muʿizz, from early in his reign made determined

efforts to regain the support of the dissident Ismāʿīlī communities in the east for the Fāṭimid cause. For this end he revised the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī doctrine so as to accommodate some of their tenets. Thus he re-affirmed the central Karmaṭī belief that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was the Kāʾim, whose acts, he maintained however, were to be carried out by his lieutenants (*khulafāʾ*), the Fāṭimid imāms, who were his descendants. These efforts were to a good extent successful, though few specific details are known. Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sidjīstānī, now the chief representative of Ismāʿīlī Neoplatonism, was won over and in his works written after the accession of al-Muʿizz fully supported the Fāṭimid imāmate. Al-Muʿizz permitted the introduction of the Neoplatonic cosmology into Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī doctrine, including the works of its earlier representatives, al-Nasafī and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. Others of the dissidents, however, resisted his efforts. Ibn Ḥawkal, writing ca. 367/978, refers to the numerous Ismāʿīlī community in *ʿAdharbaydjan* as Baḳliyya, indicating their Karmaṭī persuasion. The *sharīf Akhū Muḥsin* shortly after 372/983 states that the school of ʿIsā b. Mūsā in *Baghdād* conserving the doctrinal heritage of ʿAbdān continued to exist in his time. Most notable, however, was the failure of al-Muʿizz to win the allegiance of the Karmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn.

The encyclopaedia of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* [q.v.], composed in al-Baḥra about the middle of the 4th century/ca. 960 by a group of secretaries and scholars, should be regarded as an attempt to reunite the non-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs on a common doctrinal basis countering the ideological offensive of the Fāṭimid. While adopting the Neoplatonic cosmology, the authors avoided touching on the points which had previously provoked controversy among the *dāʿīs*. They put their teaching under the auspices of the hidden seventh imām whose reappearance in glory they predicted for the future. They expressly affirmed that the descendants of the seventh imām had "fallen from his rank", thus repudiating the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate. Written in al-Baḥra, at this time practically a dominion of the Karmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn, the encyclopaedia must have had at least their passive approval if it was not actually encouraged or commissioned by them.

The latent antagonism between the Karmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn and the Fāṭimids erupted into an open clash after the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969. The Karmaṭīs had before demonstrated their interest in the Syrian political scene by establishing friendly relations with the Ḥamdānids and the *Ikhshīdids*. In Rabiʿ II 353/May 964 they had pillaged Ṭabariyya. In 357/968 al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam [q.v.] invaded Syria at the head of the Karmaṭī army, took Damascus and, after defeating the *Ikhshīdid* al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughdī, sacked al-Ramla. That the campaign had not been undertaken on behalf of the Fāṭimids is proved by coins minted in al-Ramla immediately after the withdrawal of al-Aʿṣam, on which the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph together with the Karmaṭī rulers of al-Baḥrayn is recognized. In Dhū ʿl-ḥijja 358/Oct.-Nov. 969, three months after the Fāṭimid army had occupied Egypt, a Karmaṭī army under al-Aʿṣam's cousins Kisrā and Ṣakhr again attacked and defeated al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh at al-Ramla, but then a peace was concluded under which the *Ikhshīdid* promised to pay annual tribute. As the main body of the Karmaṭī army withdrew, a small force was left and was defeated together with al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh by the Fāṭimid army conquering al-Ramla in 359/970. In 360/971 al-

Aʿṣam, aided by the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dawla and the Ḥamdānīd Abū Taghlib with arms and men, retook Damascus and al-Ramla, expelling the Fāṭimid army, and everywhere proclaimed the ʿAbbāsīd suzerainty. He then besieged Cairo, but after a minor setback in Rabiʿ I 361/Dec. 971 he withdrew and returned to al-Aḥsā, probably because important internal decisions were pending there. By Ramadān 361/June 972 he reoccupied al-Ramla, defeating a strong Fāṭimid army. After the arrival of the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz in Cairo (Ramadān 362/June 973), he proceeded to attack Egypt by sea and by land while an ʿAlid ally invaded Upper Egypt. After a defeat before Cairo in Raḳiāb 363/April 974, al-Aʿṣam returned to al-Aḥsā and then concluded a truce promising obedience in order to secure the release of his secretary Abū ʿl-Munaḳḳidjā who was captured by the Fāṭimid army in Damascus. The truce, under which al-Muʿizz agreed to pay the tribute formerly paid by the *Ikhshīdids*, was kept until the death of al-Muʿizz in Rabiʿ II 365/Dec. 975, but immediately after the accession of al-ʿAzīz a Karmaṭī army under *Djaʿfar*, Kisrā, and Ishāk, cousins of al-Aʿṣam, joined the rebel Alftakīn (Alptegīn) in Damascus and then occupied al-Ramla. Before the advancing Fāṭimid army under *Djawhar*, they fell back to Damascus. Strengthened by the arrival of al-Aʿṣam, Alftakīn and the Karmaṭīs besieged *Djawhar* first in Zaytūn al-Ramla and then in ʿAskalān for about 17 months, finally permitting him to withdraw to Egypt. They were defeated by a massive Fāṭimid army under al-ʿAzīz near al-Ramla in Muḥarram 268/Sept. 978. The Karmaṭīs under *Djaʿfar*, who had taken over the command after the death of al-Aʿṣam in Raḳiāb 366/March 977, left for al-Aḥsā and agreed to a peace under which al-ʿAzīz paid a sizable annual tribute to them.

After the death of the Būyid ʿAḳud al-dawla (372/983) the Karmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn sought to reassert their hold over southern ʿIrāk. In 373/983-4 they attacked al-Baḥra and had to be bought off by a tribute. In 375/985 a Karmaṭī army under Ishāk and *Djaʿfar* occupied al-Kūfa. As the Būyid government tried to reach a peaceful settlement, they began to confiscate crops and money in the country. The government, forced to act, inflicted two humiliating defeats on the awesome enemy near al-*Djāmiʿayn*. The Karmaṭīs were forced to withdraw and were permanently deprived of their influence in ʿIrāk. In 378/988 al-Aṣfar, chief of the Banū ʿl-Muntafiḳ of ʿUḳayl, defeated the Karmaṭīs severely, laid siege to al-Aḥsā and pillaged al-*Kaṭīf*, carrying off the booty to al-Baḥra. The Karmaṭīs lost their privilege of escorting and taxing the pilgrims' caravans, claimed now by al-Aṣfar and other tribal chiefs, and were reduced to a purely local, self-contained power. Little is known about their later history. In 382/992 they renewed their nominal allegiance to the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz, presumably in return for a resumption of the Fāṭimid tribute, which had been cut off after the victory of al-Aṣfar. These ties cannot have lasted long. During the reign of al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021) their relations with the Fāṭimid caliphate were hostile. Nothing is known about their relations with the later Fāṭimids. In religious doctrine they remained permanently apart from the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Outside al-Baḥrayn, Karmaṭī communities after the decline of the Karmaṭī state were rapidly absorbed into Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism or disintegrated. No information definitely concerning such communities after 378/988 is available, though reports about a wealthy sectarian leader named al-*Shabbās* (d. 444/

1052-3) and his family, who had numerous followers in the *Sawād* of al-Baṣra, among the "Qarāmiṭa" and scattered tribes, may indicate a survival of some form of Qarmaṭī Ismā'īlism in southern 'Irāq.

In ca. 459/1067 the Qarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn lost control of the island of Uwāl after an insurrection of the inhabitants and a defeat of the Qarmaṭī fleet. Soon afterwards, al-Ḳaṭīf was taken from them by a local rebel. In 462/1069-70 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-'Uyūnī, chief of the Banū Murra b. 'Amir of 'Abd al-Ḳays residing in the northernmost part of the province of al-Aḥsā', rose against them. After a victory over the Qarmaṭīs and their tribal allies, he laid siege to al-Aḥsā' for seven years. Aided by a troop of 200 Turkoman horsemen from 'Irāq, he took the town in 469/1067 and subdued a revolt of the Qarmaṭīs and the Banū 'Amir b. Rabī'a in 470/1077-8, putting a definite end to the Qarmaṭī reign. Probably in order to strengthen his rear against his Turkish allies, he had recognized the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid al-Mustansīr, who in Rabī' II 469/Nov. 1076 appointed the Ṣulayḥīd 'Alī b. Muḥammad as his overlord and protector.

The Qarmaṭī state in al-Baḥrayn. Qarmaṭī religious propaganda, though promising the replacement of the injustices and oppression of established Muslim society with a rule of justice and equity, did not elaborate a specific social programme. Some early experiments with communal ownership of property remained ephemeral. Historical factors and a concern for the welfare of Qarmaṭī subjects combined to produce a state in al-Baḥrayn whose order and justice evoked the admiration of non-Qarmaṭī observers like Ibn Ḥawqāl, al-Muḳaddasī and Nāṣir-i Ḳhusraw.

Abū Sa'īd al-Djannābī conferred in major decisions with a ruling council known as *al-'Iqdāniyya*, which comprised the most important officials of the government. Most prominent among them was al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar (or Ṣhanbar), the head of a powerful family from al-Ḳaṭīf who had become an early supporter and father-in-law of Abū Sa'īd. After the latter's death, his seven sons joined the ruling council. In accordance with the will of Abū Sa'īd his eldest son, Sa'īd, at first succeeded to the leadership and was replaced by the youngest son, Abū Ṭāhir, when the latter reached maturity in 310/922-3. Abū Ṭāhir ruled with the aid of his brothers and a council of seven viziers, most prominent among whom was Sanbar, the son of al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar. After Abū Ṭāhir's death the leadership was held collectively by his surviving brothers, known as *al-sāda al-ru'asā'*. The sons of Abū Ṭāhir, though highly regarded and property owners, remained excluded from the rule. In 358/969 Sābūr, the eldest son of Abū Ṭāhir, demanded the rule in succession to his father, was arrested by his uncles and died, probably murdered. Partisan strife within the ruling family persisted after the incident and in 360/971 the caliph al-Muṭīf is reported to have endeavoured diplomatically to restore concord. Numismatic evidence suggests that at least after the death of Sa'īd in 361/972 grandsons of Abū Sa'īd came to be admitted to the ruling council, though a position of pre-eminence was retained by Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, now the only surviving son of Abū Sa'īd. When Yūsuf died in 366/977, six of Abū Sa'īd's grandsons succeeded to power, perhaps representing the descendants of the six sons of Abū Sa'īd other than Abū Ṭāhir, whose descendants seem to have been permanently excluded. When Nāṣir-i Ḳhusraw visited al-Aḥsā' in 443/1051, the ruling council continued to consist of six descendants of

Abū Sa'īd, presumably co-opted, and six viziers, now apparently all descendants of Ibn Sanbar (Sanābira). Descendants of Abū Sa'īd called *sāda* were still known in al-Aḥsā' in the early 7th/13th century.

In the time of Ibn Ḥawqāl, the income from the fruit and grain estates in al-Baḥrayn was assigned to the members of the Qarmaṭī community (*mu'aminūn*). This arrangement probably dates back to the time of Abū Sa'īd. The revenues from the customs received on the island of Uwāl on all ships passing through the Persian Gulf was distributed among the male and female descendants of Abū Sa'īd (ca. 400). All other revenues from taxes and fees, the tribute of 'Umān, the protection fees paid by the pilgrims and governments, booty from military campaigns was disposed of by the ruling sons of Abū Sa'īd in agreement with Sanbar. Whatever was not used for purposes of government was divided up annually. One fifth was put into the treasury of the Mahdī, three fifths were distributed among the male descendants of Abū Sa'īd according to a fixed ratio, and one fifth was given to Sanbar for distribution among the members of his family (ca. 20). In Büyid times there was a Qarmaṭī customs house at the gate of al-Baṣra besides the one of the Büyid government. Permanent representatives of the Qarmaṭīs resided in al-Kūfa and al-Djā'fariyya, a town in the desert near al-Baṣra which they had occupied. They were granted extensive land holdings in the region of Saḳy al-Furāt by 'Izz al-Dawla and in the area of al-Wāsiṭ by 'Aḍud al-Dawla. During the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawla and the beginning of the reign of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla a permanent representative of the Qarmaṭīs, Abū Bakr b. Ṣhāhūya, resided in Baghdād and wielded considerable political influence.

The able-bodied Qarmaṭī sectarians living in al-Aḥsā' were well trained militarily and constituted the backbone of the Qarmaṭī army. In addition Arab tribal auxiliary troops regularly joined the Qarmaṭī campaigns. They belonged chiefly to the Banū Kilāb, who gradually seem to have been fully integrated into the Qarmaṭī community, and the Banū 'Uḳayl. In the last phase of the Qarmaṭī state the 'Amir b. Rabī'a of 'Uḳayl were charged with the external defence of al-Aḥsā' and were paid for their services by a share of the crops of the Qarmaṭī farms.

In the time of Nāṣir-i Ḳhusraw, 30,000 purchased negro slaves were employed by the council on the farms. No taxes or tithes were paid by the inhabitants of al-Aḥsā'. Anyone impoverished or indebted could obtain a loan until his affairs were re-established. No interest was taken on loans, and all local business transactions were carried out with token money of lead. Any artisan newly arriving in al-Aḥsā' was given a loan for the purchase of tools and material needed to establish himself. Repairs of houses were carried out by the slaves of the rulers free of charge. There were mills maintained by the government where grain was ground for the inhabitants without cost. Since the time of Abū Sa'īd prayers, fasting and other Muslim rites had been abolished. A foreign merchant had, however, been allowed to build a mosque for the use of Muslim visitors. People strictly abstained from drinking wine. Fine fabrics were woven and exported to al-Baṣra and elsewhere.

*Bibliography:* Besides the chronicles relevant for the period the following sources are important: al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shī'a*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 61-4; Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳūlāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Djawād Maṣḥkūr, Tehran 1963, 83-8; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*,

104 f., 380-7, 389-96; Ibn Ḥawqāl, 25-7, 295 f., 349; *Fihrist*, 186-90; *Mudhakkirāt fī harakat al-Mahādī al-Fāṭimī (istitār al-īmām wa-sirat Dīa'far al-Ḥādī)*, ed. W. Ivanow, in *BFac. Ar.*, iv (1936), Ar. sec., 89-133. Substantial extracts from the lost anti-Ismā'īlī polemical work of the *sharīf* Akhū Muḥsin, which is well informed about the Ḳarmaṭī movement in 'Irāq but often unreliable concerning other branches of the movement, are given by Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kans al-āwarar*, vi, ed. Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munadjjid, Cairo 1380/1961, 44-156; al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, i, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1387/1967, 151-202; idem, *al-Khūṭat*, Būlāḡ 1280, 391-7; and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, partially translated by S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, introd., 74-238. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Taḥbīt dalā'il al-mubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uṭmān, Beirut 1966, 386-99, 594-614. *Ta'rikh al-ḥabbār al-Ḳarāmīya*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut 1391/1971, contains relevant extracts from the history of Ṭhābit b. Sinān, from *Bughyat al-ṭalab* by Ibn al-'Adīm and *al-Muḳaffā* by al-Maḳrīzī. Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āṭhār al-bāḡiyya*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 212-14; Nāṣir-i Ḳhusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāḡi, Tehran 1335, 109-12; Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Hammādī, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār, Cairo 1357. The account of Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, Beirut 1958, iv, 181-95, which describes the leaders of the Ḳarmaṭīs in al-Baḡrayn as vassals of the Fāṭimids, is a historical construction without source value. Modern scholars have expressed widely varying views on the relationship between the Ḳarmaṭī movement and the Fāṭimids. See in particular: M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, Leiden 1886; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940; W. Ivanow, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *JBRAS*, xvi (1940), 43-85; idem, *Ismaili Tradition concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ṭaha Aḥmad Ṣharaf, *'Ubayd Alāh al-Mahādī*, Cairo 1947; A. E. Bertels, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailism*, Moscow 1959, 80 ff.; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Bahraïnqarmatien*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 34-88; idem, *Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 43-135; S. M. Stern, *The Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 56-90; idem, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 99-108. For Ḳarmaṭī coins, see G. T. Scanlon, *Leadership in the Qarmatian Sect*, in *BIFAO*, lix (1960), 29-48. M. J. de Goeje, *La Fin de l'Empire des Carmathes*, in *JA* ser. 9, v (1895), 5-30. (W. MADELUNG)

**KARMĪSĪN** [see KIRMĀNŠĀH].

**KARMŪNA** (today CARMONA), town in Spain situated 40 km. to the North-East of Seville and numbering 24,738 inhabitants. The ancient Roman Carmo was conquered by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 93/712 (Ibn al-Shabbāt and others say that it was occupied by Ṭārik b. Ziyād), and Ḳarmūna was the name given to a *madīna* and a *kūra* adjacent to those of Iṣhbīliya and Ḳurṭuba. Of ancient construction, Ḳarmūna was endowed with strong, stone walls, and its fortress was almost impregnable. According to al-Ḳimyārī (*Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, text 158-9, tr. 190), it possessed an arsenal, public baths and a great mosque with seven arches supported by marble columns. Situated on a hill, it dominated an extensive and fertile *vega*, amply provided with water and populated with numerous

villages; the fields of the *vega* produced wheat and barley; there existed—and still do in our days—some quarries of limestone and clay, as well as garnets “which sparkled there in the night as though they were lamps” (Fagnan, *Extraits*, 62). The mountains of Ḳarmūna being populated by Berbers, the territory felt the effects of the great rebellions which affected the south of al-Andalūs, notably that of the Yemenīs who supported the pro-'Abbāsīd al-'Alā' b. Muḡhīth and who, in 146/763, besieged 'Abd ar-Raḥmān I in the town for two months. In 229/844 Ḳarmūna was the refuge of the Sevillians fleeing the Madiūs [q.v.], and, during the years of the agitation against the Muwallads, Berbers and Arabs of Seville against the Amīr 'Abd Allāh (end of the 3rd/9th century), it was one of the centres of the insurrection, and fell in 300/913 and 301/914 to the power of Muḥammad b. Ḥadīdjādī, who held it until the ḥādīib Badr was able to subdue in 305/917. Even before the fall of the Caliphate, it was governed by the Berber Banū Birzāl, who made it into a practically independent principality in 414/1023-4. During the war against al-Mu'ṭaqid, Ḳarmūna was for some time, probably in 459/1066-7, in the hands of al-Ma'mūn of Toledo, who restored it by error to the petty kingdom of Seville. Occupied by the Almoravids in Rabi' I 484/May 1091, it passed to the power of the Almohads in 542/1147. For a certain time (555-6/1160-1) it was dominated by Ibn Hamuṣhk. After its fields had been ravaged by the Christians in the time of Alphonso VIII, it was conquered and repopulated by Fernand III of Castille during the summer of 645/1247.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the sources cited in the article, see Ibn Ghālib, *Farḡat al-anfus*, partially ed. Luṭfi 'Abd al-Badi', in *RIMA*, i (1955), 292. Itineraries and other information in Rāzī-Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne"*, in *al-And.*, xviii (1953), 94, 95; Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, text 174, 206, tr. 208, 253-4 (very brief reference); Yāḡūt, iv, 69, calls it Ḳarmūniya; Fagnan, *Extraits*, 105, 106; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Peninsula Ibérica en los autores árabes*, in *Rev. Centro Est. Hist. de Granada y su Reino*, ix (1919), 126, x (1920), 142; Cl. Sanchez Albornoz, *Itinerario de la conquista de España por los musulmanes*, in *Cuadernos de Hist. de España*, x (1948), 31, 50; E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *Una crónica anónima de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir*, Madrid-Granada 1950, index; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; Ibn al-Shabbāt, in *RIEI*, xiv (1967), 110; H. R. Idris, *Les Birzalides de Carmona*, in *al-And.*, xxx (1965), 49-62; J. Bosch-Vilá, *Los almorávides*, Tetouan 1956, index; A. Huici Miranda, *Hist. política del imperio almohade*, Tetouan 1956, index; J. González, *Las conquistas de Fernando III en Andalucía*, Madrid 1946, 104, 105; idem, *Repertorio de Sevilla*, Madrid 1951, index; Simonet, *Hist. de los mozárabes*, index; a long description of Carmona, with numerous bibliographical references, in *Diccionario geográfico de España*, Madrid 1958, vii, s.v.

(J. BOSCH-VILÁ)

**KARNĀL**, town and district of the province of the Pandjāb.

1. The town is situated a few miles W. of the Djamnā R. in 29°41' N. 76°59' E. and 73 miles (117 km.) north of Dihli. It was in British times the administrative centre of a district of the Pandjāb, but historically and ethnologically it belongs to Hindustān rather than the Pandjāb. It is now in the Ambiala division of the Haryana province of the Indian Republic. In 1961 its population was 72,109.

The language commonly used by the inhabitants is a dialect of Western Hindī. It is no doubt a place of great antiquity, and the name is traditionally derived from Karnā of the *Mahābhārata* (Karnālaya = Abode of Karnā). But it was not of great importance in early times, and it is not mentioned in the accounts of the invasions of India by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī and Muʿizz al-Dīn. Its prosperity seems to have commenced with the construction of the canal from the Djamnā by Firūz Shāh Tughluḳ (see Shams-i-Sirāḍī, *Tarīkh-i Firōz Shāhī*, in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, iii, 300). The country became productive and rich, and being on the direct road to Dihli from the north became an object of attention to invaders and rebels. Thus in 980/1573, while Akbar was engaged in Guḍjarāt, Karnāl, Pānīpat, and Sōnpat were plundered by Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mirzā. Djahāngīr halted at Karnāl in 1013/1604 during his pursuit of his rebellious son, Khūsraw (Elliot and Dowson, vi, 296, also Beveridge's tr., *Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, i). In 1120/1708 during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, Karnāl was attacked and plundered by the Sikh rebels (Elliot and Dowson, vii, 419). But the most noteworthy event in its history was the great victory of Nādir Shāh over Muḥammad Shāh in 1152/1739 which was fought just outside the walls of the town. The imperial army was before the battle encamped on the banks of the canal, where it was re-enforced by the 30,000 cavalry of Burhān al-Mulk, Nāzīm of Awadh (Oudh). But Nādir Shāh's army was better disciplined and provided with abundant artillery, and the defeat of Muḥammad Shāh's forces was sudden and complete. After the break-up of the Mughal empire following on this invasion (and those of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and the Mahrāttas), Karnāl and the surrounding district again became a prey to the Sikhs. Gaḍīpat Singh of Dījīnd took possession of it in 1763 after the battle of Sirhind, but Naḍjāf Khān recovered it in 1775. After this the Sikhs and Mahrāttas contended for its possession with varying results. The intrepid adventurer, George Thomas, drove out the Sikhs in 1798, but only held it for a short time. Gurdīt Singh, the Sikh chief of Lādwa, then held it for a space until driven out by a British force under Skinner in 1803, after Lake's defeat of the Mahrāttas at Dihli.

After these events, Karnāl became the headquarters of a British district and was until 1841 the most advanced military post towards the north-west. When the mutiny of 1857 broke out, Karnāl was held by the British with the assistance of the Sikh Rāḍīā of Dījīnd and the Muslim Nawwāb of Karnāl, and remained an important link in the chain of communications between the Panḍjāb and Dihli. Its later history is uneventful. The canal originally constructed by Firūz Shāh and afterwards extended by 'Alī Mardān (whose name it bore) in the reign of Shāh Dīahān I, was entirely remodelled by British engineers and now irrigates a very extensive tract. The only building of importance is the tomb of the Saint Bū 'Alī Kalandar (d. 725/1323), locally said to have been built by Ghiyāth al-Dīn (probably Tughluḳ), but the actual construction is a much more modern building. Both Pānīpaṭ and Karnāl claim to have this saint's tomb.

2. The district is in the Ambiala division of the province of Hariāna lying between 29°11' and 30°15' N. and 76°11' and 77°17' E. Its area is 3,062 sq. miles (7,930 km.<sup>2</sup>), and its population in 1961 was 1,490,430. In addition to the Djamnā, the small rivers called Čitāng and Saraswati flowing from N.E. to S.W. traverse part of the district. Towards the end of the

6th century A.D. it became the centre of a powerful kingdom to which Harshavardhana succeeded in 606. He spread his rule over Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Satlajī and Gūḍjarāt and was an enthusiastic supporter of Buddhism. After Harsha's death his empire rapidly broke up. The district was sacked by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and traversed by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām whose defeat and subsequent victory over Prithwī-Rāḍī took place at Tirāori, a small town farther to the south near Karnāl in 588/1192. This place is called Tarāin and Talāwarī by the chroniclers. At this place there is a fine *sarāy* of the Mughal period converted into a fort by the Sikhs in the 18th cent. A few miles from Karnāl is also the small town of Kundīpura founded by Niḍjābat Khān, an Afghān claiming Ghorghuḥṭī descent, in the time of Muḥammad Shāh. It was a fort in a marsh, and was called by its founder Kundī-pura, or the Crane's town; hence the family takes its present name of Kundīpuria. Niḍjābat Khān afterwards took the side of Nādir Shāh but fought against Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. All the sovereign powers of the Nawwābs were taken from them in 1849. The Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān upheld the authority of the British Government during the mutiny of 1857. The Nawwāb Aḥmad 'Alī Khān did good service to the British Government in 1857, and received substantial *ḍāgīrs*.

In the southern part of the district the principal place is Pānīpat [*q.v.*].

The other principal Muslims of the district of Karnāl are Rāḍīpūts of the Čawhān, Mandhār, Ghōrēwāha and Jurīwar clans. Some of these clans have sections which still retain the Hindū religion. The conversion to Islam is generally asserted to have taken place in the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluḳ.

*Bibliography*: Ibbetson, *Settlement Report of Karnāl and Pānīpat*, Lahore 1883; idem, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography*; Douie, *District Gazetteer of Karnāl*, Lahore 1890; idem, *Settlement Report. Karnāl and Ambāla*, Lahore 1891; V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1915; Oldham, *The Saraswati, Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1893; Skinner, *Military Memoirs*, London 1851; Massy, *Chiefs and families of note in the Panjāb*, Allahabad 1890; Crooke, *Popular Religion of Northern India*, i, 219, Westminster, 1896; Watters, *On Yuan Chuang's Travels in India*, Orient. Transl. Fund, xiv, London 1904, s.v. Sthānēswara; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, iii, London 1871.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

**KARNĀTAK**, properly the Kanārese (Kanādā) speaking district of southern India, Sanskrit *karnāṭaka*; the word seems to be derived from Dravidian roots meaning "black country", i.e., the country with the "black cotton soil" which characterizes the south Deccan plateau. The region is approximately that of the modern Mysore (Mahisur) state; but it was already applied in mediaeval times to part of the Telugu-speaking region as well, as in the time of the Viḍḍayanagara [*q.v.*] kingdom. After the Deccan confederacy had defeated the Viḍḍayanagara forces at the battle of Tālikoṭa in 972/1564-5 the Muslims took over the Viḍḍayanagara Karnāṭak lands, and used the term to apply not only to the plateau lands but also to the coastal lands on the east coast below the Ghāṭs; with European involvement in south India in the 18th century the term came to be erroneously applied, as "Carnatic", to the coastal region alone. In this sense it figures in the title of the *nawwābs* of the Carnatic, more correctly called *nawwābs* of Arkāt.

The town of Arkāt (12°54' N., 79°20' E.) became a hereditary holding in the family of Sa'ādāt Allāh Khān in the early 18th century; Sa'ādāt Allāh was a Nawā'it (a Muslim tribe of southern India reputed to be of Ḥāshimite descent, driven from 'Irāq by al-Ḥadīdī in the 2nd/8th century) who had commanded Awrangzīb's forces in the operations against Mysore. His nephew, Dost 'Alī Khān (1145-53/1732-40), is usually recognized as the first *nawwāb*, nominally a dependent of the first Nizām of Ḥaydarābād but in practice exercising considerable independence. The town and its surrounding district changed hands many times between Ḥaydarābād, English, French and Ḥaydar 'Alī's armies, still held by the latter when the *nawwāb* Muḥammad All, an ally of the British, assigned the revenues of "the Carnatic" to the East India Company in 1781. In 1801 the full sovereignty of Arkāt and "the Carnatic" was ceded to the company by the *nawwāb* 'Aẓīm al-Dawla. The title of *nawwāb* was abolished under the governor-generalship of the Earl of Dalhousie in the 1850s.

The region is poor in Muslim monuments, except for the ruins of the fort at Arkāt and the *nawwāb*'s palace, the *maḥbara* of Sa'ādāt Allāh Khān (inscr. 1145/1732-3) and the *Djāmi'* *masjīd* in the same town the tombs of Tipū's family at Vellūr ("Vellore") and the palace of the Viḍḍayanagara rulers at Čandra-giri, where their capital was moved after their defeat at Tālikoḥa, which contains much evidence of the Muslim influence in Viḍḍayanagara building styles [see HIND, Architecture].

*Bibliography:* See bibliography to ARCO; further references in Pearson and Supplements, s.v. *Nawabs of Arcot*. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

**KARRĀMIYYA**, a sect which flourished in the central and eastern parts of the Islamic worlds, and especially in the Iranian regions, from the 3rd/9th century until the Mongol invasions.

(1). Origins. The founder, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (thus vocalized by Sam'ānī, who says that his father was a vine-tender, *karrām*, but there is some support for the readings Karām or Kirām), is known from biographies, in e.g. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fols. 476b-477a; Dhahabī, *Mizān al-'itidāl*, Cairo 1325/1907, iii, 127; idem, *Ta'riḫ al-Islām*, sub anno 255/869 (abridged version in Leiden Ms. 1721, fols. 73b-75a); Subkī, *Tabakat al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, ii, 53-4; and Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, iv, 375-7. A prime source for all these, ultimately, was al-Ḥākim al-Bayyī's *Ta'riḫ Nayshābūr*, which gave biographies of the 'ulamā' of that city.

Allegedly of Arab descent (his remoter ancestry is given in his obituary notice in Ibn al-Aṭṭār, vii, 149, year 255/869), Ibn Karrām was born ca. 190/806 near Zarang in Sīstān, whence his *nisba* al-Sīdīstānī. From there he travelled to Khurāsān in search of knowledge, studying under Aḥmad b. Ḥarb the Ascetic in Nīshāpūr, Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Mākiyānī in Balkh, 'Alī b. Ḥudjir in Marw, and 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik b. Sulaymān in Harāt. He himself related traditions on the authority of Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Djuwaybārī and Muḥammad b. Tamīm al-Firyānānī, whom he later discovered to be unreliable transmitters; because of his reliance on suspect authorities, the later opponents of the Karrāmiyya asserted that the sect allowed the fabrication of *ḥadīths* for inculcating the fear of God (*tarḥīb*) and the desire for Paradise (*tarḥīb*).

After five years in Mecca as a *muḍī'awir*, Ibn Karrām returned via Jerusalem to Nīshāpūr and then to Sīstān, where he sold all his possessions in favour of holy poverty and adopted the ascetic garb of rough

skins, spreading the doctrines set forth in his treatise *'Aḥḥāb al-ḥabr* (see below). The local governor expelled him from Sīstān for stirring up the common people, so he went to preach to the masses in Ghūr, Gharcīstān and the rural areas of Khurāsān, denouncing both Sunnīs and Shī'īs. Hence when he arrived in Nīshāpūr again with a following of weavers and others from the lower classes, the Ṭāhirid governor of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh (248-59/862-73), was justifiably suspicious; the Persian countryside had for long been disturbed by various politico-religious agitators and sectaries. Ibn Karrām was accordingly jailed by the governor for eight years until he was released in 251/865 (some sources state that he had already been briefly imprisoned during his first stay in Nīshāpūr by Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad's predecessor as governor). He then left Nīshāpūr and ended his days in Jerusalem, where he died in Ṣafar 255/January-February 869, being buried near the Bāb Arīḥā or Jericho Gate (see Muḍjir al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-'ajālīl*, Cairo 1283/1866, i, 263).

(2). Doctrines. Ibn Karrām's theological ideas were set forth in his *'Aḥḥāb al-ḥabr* (Punishment of the grave), referring to the questioning of the corpse in its grave by the two angels Munkar and Nakīr, whose identity with the two guardian angels over each living person Ibn Karrām taught [see 'ADHĀB AL-ḤABR]. The work attained considerable currency in its day, but is now known only from citations, principally in Baghdādī's *al-Farḥ bayn al-firaḥ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 202-14, tr. A. S. Halkin, Tel Aviv 1935, 18-30; cf. also Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Mīlāl wa'l-nihāl*, Cairo 1381/1961, i, 108-13, and Ṣhaharastānī, *al-Mīlāl wa'l-nihāl*, ed. Cureton, 79-85, tr. Haarbrücker, i, 119-27. Baghdādī personally disputed with an adherent of the Karrāmiyya, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥādīr, before the Sāmānid commander-in-chief in Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr, in 370/980-1, and exposed, so he claims, his abysmal errors. Another of Ibn Karrām's works, the *Kiṭāb al-Sirr*, is known only from two citations by Ibn al-Dā'ī, a later author.

A salient feature of Ibn Karrām's doctrines was, according to his orthodox opponents, that of literalism and anthropomorphism, so that many heresiologists counted his sect amongst the Muḍjassima or Muḥabbīha (though Aḥḥārī, *Maḥalāt al-islāmiyyīn*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 205, made it a sub-sect of the Murdji'a [q.v.]). Ibn Karrām considered that God was a substance (*djāwhar*), thus approaching, in Baghdādī's view, the beliefs of the Christians, and that He had a body (*djism*) finite in certain directions when He comes into contact (*mumāssa*) with the throne, thus interpreting the much-discussed kur'ānic verse XX, 5, *al-Rahmān 'alā 'l-'arsh istawā*, "the Merciful One has sat down firmly on the throne"; some of his adherents later substituted the more ambiguous term *mulāḥāt* ("contiguity") for *mumāssa*. Ibn Karrām was also exercised by the questions of the eternity of the world and the kur'ānic act of creation, which he reconciled by subtle reasoning. In accordance with the difference between substance and accident, God is subject to certain accidents, such as willing, speaking, perceiving, coming into contact etc., over which He has power, but not over the world and the created object in it, which come into existence not by His power and will but by the divine fiat *kun!* Baghdādī holds this limitation of God's power over created objects which originate in His essence to be an innovation of Ibn Karrām's and to be especially abhorrent. Ibn Karrām also held that God has been eternally qualified by the names attributed to Him

from His acts, *i.e.* that He has been eternally a creator and sustainer of mankind because of an innate, even if unexercised, power of creation (*khālīkiyya*) and of sustaining (*rāziḳiyya*).

Concerning God's justice, Ibn Karrām held the moderate view that He does not permit the killing of children or of infidels who might come to embrace Islam at maturity or at some later point in their life. He also adopted a moderate view over the Imāmate, allowing that 'Alī and Mu'āwiya could exist side-by-side as *imāms* requiring the obedience of their partisans, even though 'Alī was *imām* in conformity with the *Sunna* and Mu'āwiya an usurper. He regarded faith (*imān*) as constituted simply by a single utterance of the double *shahāda*, enduring for ever and only rendered null and void by apostasy; a person thus declaring his faith remains a *mu'min* even if he is an unbeliever in Muḥammad's apostleship or is a hypocrite (*munāfiḳ*). Nor were those holding heretical views (*aḥl al-ahwā'*) to suffer punishment in hell eternally.

Finally, Ibn Karrām held distinctive views on certain legal points, most of these being in the direction of greater flexibility. He taught that the *ṣalāt* could be validly performed in dirty garments and with a dirty body, and he did not require the lesser ablution for contact with unclean objects, *andjās*; furthermore, he regarded the washing of the dead and prayer over them as only a custom (*sunna*) and not an obligation (*farḍ*) like enshrouding and burial.

The ascetic and pietistic strain was very strong in Ibn Karrām's teaching and practice, and did much to win over adherents in *Khurāsān*; it remained, indeed, a prominent characteristic of the *Karrāmiyya* all through the sect's existence. This emphasis on *tahashshuf*, self-mortification, and *tawakkul*, utter dependence on God for all aspects of life, derived from his master Aḥmad b. Ḥarb (176/792-234/849), saint and ascetic, and author of a *Kitāb al-Du'ā'* mentioned by Ḥādīdjī *Khālifa*, so that Ibn Karrām himself acquired the by-name of *al-'Ābid*, "the devotee". His preaching in the courtyard of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem attracted large crowds, the nucleus of the later strong *Karrāmi* community there; after his death, his tomb became a retreat-centre for his disciples, the forerunner of a special hermitage (*muta'abbad*) in Jerusalem, called by the Persian *Ṣūfī* term *khānakāh* (see Yākūt, *Buldān*, ii, 393, s.v. *al-Khāniḳa*).

In their later theological development, the *Karrāmiyya* were, like other Islamic sects, to a certain extent fissiparous, without however these sub-sects departing significantly from the central teaching of Ibn Karrām. *Baghdādī*, 202, tr. 18, enumerates three sub-sects, the *Ḥaḳākiyya*, the *Ṭarā'ifiyya* (read thus, rather than *Ṭarā'iḳiyya*) and the *Ishākiyya*, but says that they do not regard each other as heretical. *Shahrastānī*, 79-80, tr. i, 119, says that there were twelve sub-sects, and names six of them as the *Ishākiyya* again, the 'Ābidiyya, the *Nūniyya*, the *Zarībiyya*, the *Wāḥidiyya* and the *Ḥaysamiyya*. Finally, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* in his *I'tihādāt firāḳ al-muslimin wa'l-mushrikīn*, Cairo 1375/1956, 67, numbers the sub-sects at seven. The founders of some of these groups are amongst the later scholars of the *Karrāmiyya*, such as Aḥmad b. 'Abdūs al-Ṭarā'ifī (d. 347/958) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaysām (d. 407?/1016-17), who is described by *Shahrastānī*, 80 ff., tr. i, 120 ff., as the *mutakallim* of the sect, elaborating its theology and its technical vocabulary. The *Ishākiyya* presumably relate to Abū Ya'qūb Ishāḳ b. Maḥmashādh (d. 383/993), whose family

became the mainstay of the *Karrāmi* cause in *Niṣhāpūr* (see below).

It is not easy to give a just appraisal of the significance of the *Karrāmiyya* in the development of Islamic religious thought, but the movement was clearly an important one. It is regrettable that we know only of the sect through the eyes of its opponents; the sole surviving *Karrāmi* work appears to be an anonymous collection of ethical and mystical traditions, British Museum Or. 8049, which *Massignon*, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1954, 267-8, tentatively attributed to the *Karrāmi* leader of *Niṣhāpūr*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāḳ b. Maḥmashādh (d. 421/1030). Many *Sunni* divines, including *Ḥanbalis* and *Zahiris*, were strongly opposed to the sect, and the *Shāfi'i ḳādi* Abū *Dja'far* Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāḳ compiled a polemical work on the errors of its leader, the *Faḍā'ih Ibn Karrām*. However, the geographer *Maḳdisī*, who in the course of his travels had many contacts with *Karrāmi* groups, came down firmly on placing them within the bounds of orthodoxy, calling them "an ascetic and God-fearing folk" who derived from Abū *Ḥanīfa* (*Aḥsan al-takāsīm*, 365).

It seems that we should consider the *Karrāmiyya* as a *Sunni* group engaged in defending a central position against the *Mu'tazila* on one side and the *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* on the other; a later authority like *Maḳrīzī* considered them to be essentially opponents of the *Mu'tazila* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 357). *Massignon*, *op. cit.*, 263-4, speaks of Ibn Karrām as one of the great thinkers in Muslim scholasticism, who supplied a new and profound examination of the theological questions raised by *Mu'tazilism*, one which was not purely theoretical but which was formed in the light of mystical and moral experience. Notable is Ibn Karrām's introduction of a new philosophical-theological terminology, *e.g.*, *ḳayfūfiyya*, "the quality of God" and *ḳaylūthūthiyya*, "the ubiquitousness of God", stigmatized by *Baghdādī* as "ibārāt saḳḳiḳa", "ridiculous expressions" but which nevertheless show Ibn Karrām's inventiveness and his awareness of need here. Certainly, the sect flourished for some three centuries, and it was suggested by an older generation of orientologists, including *Van Vloten* and *Ribera y Tarragó*, that the *khānakāhs* and *madrasas* of the *Karrāmiyya* which sprang up in widely-separated parts of the Islamic world (see below) were centres for instruction and evangelism as well as for the ascetic life, and that they formed a model and stimulus for the *Ash'arī*, *Ḥanafī* and *Ḥanbalī madrasa*-building movement of the 5th/11th century; this link remains, however, unproven (see also *KHĀNḲĀH*).

(3). Subsequent history. During the course of the 4th/10th century, the *Karrāmiyya* spread over many parts of the central and eastern Islamic world. In Jerusalem, they had a numerous representation, with their own *khānakāhs* and sessions for *dhikr*, and in *Fustāt* or Old Cairo they had a special quarter of their own; but the sect was unrepresented in the *Maghrib* (*Maḳdisī*, 179, 182, 202, 238). It was *Khurāsān*, *Transoxania* and the eastern Iranian fringes which became the most enduring stronghold of the sect, and their *khānakāhs* were to be found in *Gūzgān*, *Khuttal*, *Farghāna*, *Marw* and *Samarkand* (*Maḳdisī*, 323). In *Harāt*, the main 'asabiyya or factional strife (probably with some social as well as religious basis) was at this time between the *Karrāmiyya* and the 'Amaliyya.

We know most about the *Karrāmiyya* in *Niṣhāpūr*, where they were a strong and bellicose faction under

the leadership of the Banū Maḥmaṣḥādh (see above). Here as elsewhere, the hold of the Karrāmiyya on the populace doubtless stemmed from the exemplary ascetism of their leaders' lives and their evangelistic and teaching activity; Abū Ya'qūb Ishāḥ b. Maḥma-  
**shādh** is said to have converted large numbers of *dhimmis* and Zoroastrians by his trenchant preaching. Supported by the secular power, in the shape of patronage from the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty Sebūktigin and then from his son Sultān Maḥmūd, the Karrāmiyya enjoyed a temporary ascendancy over their opponents in Nīshāpūr, comprising the Ash'ari-  
**Shāfi'ī** 'ulamā', the 'Alids and, as appears from the biography of the famous **Shaykh** Abū Sa'īd al-Mayhanī, the Šūfīs. They fell from power, however, after 402/1011-12, when Maḥmūd withdrew his patronage, but they nevertheless continued to be an appreciable element in the city. The local historian of Bayhaḥ, Ibn Funduḥ, and Ibn al-Aṭṭir record civil strife in Nīshāpūr and Bayhaḥ during 488/1095 or 489/1096 between the local Karrāmiyya on one side and the Hanafīs and Shāfi'īs on the other, and this ended in Nīshāpūr with the killing of the Karrāmī leader Maḥmaṣḥādh and the razing of their *madrasa* (see on all these events Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*<sup>2</sup>, 289-90; C. E. Bosworth, *The rise of the Karrāmiyyah in Khurasan*, in *MW*, 1 (1960), 5-14; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 185-9; R. W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur, a study in medieval Islamic social history*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, index).

The last stronghold of the Karrāmiyya was in Ghūr, the mountainous region of central Afghānistān, one not long converted to Islām. According to the historian of the Ghūrīds, **Djūzdjānī**, the Ghūrīd sultans **Ghiyāth** al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 599/1202-3) and his brother Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 602/1205-6) were originally adherents of the Karrāmiyya, in conformity with the beliefs of the masses of their subjects, but transferred their allegiance to the Shāfi'ī law school. Sultan **Ghiyāth** al-Dīn's favour to the great Shāfi'ī scholar **Fakh** al-Dīn al-Rāzī [q.v.], who disputed in the Ghūrīd capital Firūzkūh with the popular Karrāmī divine Ibn Qudwa, caused a popular uprising there, compelling Rāzī to return to Harāt. Rāzī's polemics with the Karrāmiyya are important evidence for this last phase of the sect's existence, and contain much information on Karrāmī theology. After the Mongol invasions, we hear nothing of the sect, which must have been submerged in the general holocaust in *Khurāsān*; when later authors like Ibn Taymiyya write against the Karrāmiyya, they are merely drawing on material in the older authorities (see Bosworth, *The early Islamic History of Ghūr*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961), 128-33, and A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djām, la découverte de la capitale des sultans ghorides*, Paris 1959, 49-50).

*Bibliography*: largely given in the article. The most complete and sympathetic account of Ibn Karrām's thought is given in Massignon's *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*<sup>2</sup>, 260-8, 318-19; see also A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines . . . d'Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 81, 159; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, index; W. M. Watt, *Islamic philosophy and theology*, Edinburgh 1962, 79, 184; A. M. A. el-Galli, *The history and doctrines of the Karrāmiyya sect, with special reference to ar-Rāzī's criticism*, Edinburgh M. Litt. thesis 1970, un-

published; F. E. Peters, *Allah's commonwealth, a history of Islam in the Near East 600-1100 A.D.*, New York 1973, 426-7, 462-3. The older view of the Karrāmiyya as ignorant anthropomorphists is expressed in D. B. Macdonald, *The development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory*, New York 1903, 170-2, 195, 291-2.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**ḲARRI** [see **KERRI**].

**KARS**, a garrison town and administrative centre in Eastern Turkey, situated on 40°37' N. and 43°06' E., *chef-lieu* of the *il* (province) of the same name, which is bounded by the U.S.S.R. and the *ils* of Artvin, Erzurum and Ağrı and contains the *iļces* (districts) of Posof, Hanak, Çıldır, Ardahan, Göle, Susuz, Arpaçay, Selim, Digor, Sarıkamış, Kağızman, Tuzluca and Aralık, with that of Kars itself. In 1960 the population of the provinces of Kars was 543,000; in 1965 (provisional), 606,521, of which 20% was urban and 80% agricultural or rural (*Kars Il yillığı* 1967, Ankara n.d.).

The etymologies suggested tentatively by Barthold (EI<sup>1</sup>)—Georgian—and by Kırzioğlu (*İ.A.*)—Turkish—for Kars cannot be sustained. In mediaeval Armenian sources the forms *Karuç* (*Karuts*) or *Karuç* *berd* are encountered (A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, Cambridge Mass. 1969, index; N. Adontz, *Armenia in the period of Justinian*, Lisbon 1970, 206). A 16th-century identification of "Chars" with the Chorsa of Ptolemy should perhaps be noted (G. T. Minadoi, *Historia de bello inter Turcas et Persas*, in P. Bizarus, *Rerum persicarum historia*, Frankfurt 1601, 516; cf., however, C. Müller (ed.), *Claudii Ptolomaei geographia*, Paris 1883-1901, i/1, 941 and n.). Byzantine usage (Τὸ Κάρρι) is supplied by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. xlii; Muslim forms are *Ḳars* in Ibn al-Aṭṭir (ed. Tornberg, x, 27; xii, 169, 295, 300, 306), *Ḳarṣ* or *Ḳārs* in Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 57), *Ghars* in al-Fāriḳī (quoted in V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 90-1) and in *Djuwaynī*, *Ta'rikh-i Djahān-Gushā* (ed. Mirza Muḥammad), ii, 161. Ottoman usage favoured the form *Ḳarṣ*.

From Umayyad times the region of Kars lay on the frontiers of the Muslim world. The decline of Arab power after the middle of the 2nd/8th century gave more independence to Armenia under the Bagratid dynasty and early in the 3rd/9th century the Armenian prince Smbat (held hostage at Sāmarrā<sup>2</sup> from 190/806 to 210/825 and called Abu 'l-Abbās al-Ḳāris by the Muslims) ruled over Kars as a vassal of the 'Abbāsīds (J. Laurent, *Arménie entre Byzance et Islam*, Paris 1919, 290-1 and n.; cf. the *De administr. imperio*, ii (Commentary), ed. R. H. J. Jenkins, London 1962, 158). In 222/837 Ishāḥ, the amir of Tiflis, halted in the vicinity of Kars an army sent by the Byzantine emperor Theophilus as part of an unsuccessful attempt to detach Armenia from Muslim suzerainty (Laurent, *op. cit.*, 211-2).

The importance of Kars in the 4th/10th century derived in part from its situation on the important trade route Ānī-Kars-Ḳālīkalā (= Erzurum) - Trebizond (Minorsky, *Studies*, 105): Kars shared with Ḳālīkalā and Malātya the commerce of Armenia and, according to Aristakēs of Lastivert (tr. and ed. E. Prud'homme, Paris, 1864, 89), its inhabitants "lived peacefully in the midst of riches of all kinds gathered together by land and sea". Under the ruler Abas (reigned 929-51 (*De adm. imp.*, ii, 179))—and not, as in *ibid.*, i, ch. xlii, under *Ashot*, who died in 890—Kars became the seat of the Bagratid dynasty. From



962 it served as the capital of the Armenian kingdom of Vanand, which was erected by the ruler of Ānī, Aḡhot III, for his younger brother Muṣhegh, and his successors (cf. *EI*<sup>4</sup>, ĀNĪ).

By 1022 the kingdom of Vanand was surrounded on three sides by Byzantine territory (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 173); its last ruler, Gagik (1028-64), continued to hold his position even after Ānī had been incorporated into the Byzantine Empire (1044). In face of the Salḡūḡ threat—in 446/1054-5 Tuḡrll Beg had destroyed the forces of Gagik and besieged Kars for three days (Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 181)—he was induced to renounce his rights voluntarily in favour of the Emperor Constantine X Ducas, receiving in return a town in the Cilician Taurus.

The early history of Kars as a Muslim town is confused. In 456/1064 its inhabitants appear to have submitted voluntarily to Alp Arslān (Ibn al-Aḡḡr, x, 27); ten years later, however, in 1074, King Giorgi II of Georgia received Kars from one of his vassals. In ca. 472-3/1080 he was attacked by a Turkish force under the amīr Aḡmad, who "shortly before" had conquered Kars; subsequently, for much of the 6th/12th century, Kars lay within the Ṣalḡūḡid amirate (cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, 84, n. 1). In 548/1153 Kars was occupied and destroyed by the Kīpčāk Turks, but in the same year it was retaken by the Ṣalḡūḡid Mālik 'Izz al-Dīn (cf. the Arabic inscription, commemorating the reconstruction of the citadel in that year, discovered by the Ottomans in the course of their own rebuilding in 987/1579. The text is provided by Ewliyā Ćelebī, *Seyāhat-nāme*, ii (Istanbul, 1314), 330). During the mid-6th/12th century Kars also lay within the sphere of influence of the Ṣhaddādid amīrs of Ānī: in Ṣhā'bān 556/August 1161 troops furnished by "the lord of ḡhars and Surmari" assisted in an attempt by the Ṣhaddādid amīr Faḡlūn b. Minūčīr to regain his capital from the Georgian king Giorgi III (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 88-91, quoting al-Fārīkī).

Kars remained in Muslim hands until 603/1206-7, when it was taken by the Georgians (Ibn al-Aḡḡr, xii, 169). It was besieged in vain by the Kh̄wārazm-Ṣhāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 623/1226; in 636-7/1239 it was occupied by the *noyon* Čormaghun and incorporated into the Mongol Empire. Hethum, king of Little Armenia, who visited Kars ca. 649/1251, found there the Mongol camp, from which Baydu governed the territories under his command. According to ḡamd Allāh al-Kazwīnī (*Nuḡhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 93), at a later period Kars belonged, with Ānī, to the İlkḡhānid province of Georgia (Gürdjīstān wa Abḡhāz): it was described at this time as one of the chief towns of Georgia (Le Strange, 181).

In 759/1358 Kars passed to the Djalāyirids; and in 782/1380 to the Karā-Koyunlu. In 788/1386 the region of Kars, at that time under the local ruler Pirūz-bakḡt, was devastated by Tīmūr and turned into a wilderness (cf. Sanjian, *op. cit.*, 152), while Kars itself, it is said, was levelled to the ground (cf. *Zaḡfar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, index). The years 796/1394, 802/1400 and 805/1403 again saw Tīmūr pass by Kars en route for summer pasture in the Bingöl area of Ćīldīr, but soon after his death the Tīmūrid province of Ānī, within which Kars was situated, reverted to Karā Kōyünlu control. The local ruler Pīr ḡusayn b. Saḡat is said by Armenian sources to have rebuilt and restored Kars in 815/1412; later, in 871-2/1467, Kars passed into the hands of the Ak-Kōyünlu ruler Uzun ḡasan.

Kars suffered much from the strife which accompanied the rise to power of the Ṣafawids: for example, in 920/1514, when the Ottoman sultan Selīm I en-

camped close by Kars on his return from the victorious Ćaldirān campaign, the town was said to be once more in a ruinous condition.

By 940/1534 Kars was in Ottoman hands, and in 955/1548 the sultan Sulaymān I ordered work to be done on the fortifications. It was not until the renewal of the Ottoman-Ṣafawid conflict in the late 16th/17th century, however, that Kars fully came into its own as a fortress of vital strategic importance for the Ottoman state, as both a bastion against Ṣafawid incursions into north-eastern Anatolia, and a base forward of Erzurum from which the difficult task of keeping open the road to Tiflis and holding the new Caucasian conquests could be supported.

In the opening campaign (Djumādā II 986/August 1578) of the long Ottoman-Ṣafawid struggle for the Caucasus, Kars was the scene of the first engagement—"una fiera scaramuzza"—between Ottoman forces under Lālā Muṣṡafā Pāṣḡa, and those of the Ṣafawids (Cesare Campana, *Compendio storico, delle guerre . . . tra Christiani, & Turchi . . .*, Venice 1597, f. 20). On 2 Djumādā 'l-Aḡḡir 987/27 July 1579 an Ottoman army under Lālā Muṣṡafā Pāṣḡa encamped at Kars, and proceeded rapidly, in the face of acute difficulties caused by a lack of suitable workmen and by the dense fogs and bitter cold which set in after 2 Rādīab/25 August (Minadoi, *op. cit.*, 557), to fortify the town for use as a base from which to relieve Tiflis (Campana, *op. cit.*, f. 25; Pečevi, *Ta'riḡḡ* ii (Istanbul 1281), 56; Selānikī, *Ta'riḡḡ*, Istanbul 1283, 153-4. For the relevant European *Flugschriftenliteratur*, see C. Göllner, *Turcica* ii (Bucharest - Baden-Baden 1968), nos. 1706-1835, *passim*).

Under Ottoman rule Kars was raised (988/1580) to be the administrative centre of an *eyālet* of six or seven *sandīāḡs*. Ewliyā Ćelebī, who visited Kars in 1057/1647, variously lists (*op. cit.*, i, 185, 192; ii, 329) the *sandīāḡs* and their revenues (for other statistical accounts of the revenues and divisions of the *eyālet* of Kars, dating from the mid 11th/17th century, and giving alternative readings, see P. Rycout, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*<sup>3</sup>, London 1670, 54, and J. von Hammer, *Osm. Staatsverfassung*, ii, 259). The town and its principal monuments at this time are described by Ewliyā Ćelebī, *op. cit.*, ii, 329-33, which can be supplemented by J.-M. Thierry, *A propos de quelques monuments chrétiens du vilayet de Kars*, in *Revue des Études arméniennes*, n.s. iii (1966), 73-90, and by the several works of K. M. Fahrettin (= F. Kirzioḡlu). According to Ewliyā Ćelebī, the Ottoman forces in Kars, together with those of Vān and Akḡiskḡa, were renowned for their courage and bravery as borderers (*op. cit.*, ii, 331), and in the Ottoman chronicles of the 11th/17th century Kars figures prominently and frequently in the accounts of the wars with the Ṣafawids during this time.

European travellers to Kars were few before the 19th century. G. F. Gemelli-Carreri, who was there in May 1694, described Kars as a "large, but not populous city", with two walls of earth and a good garrison, which sent out forty horse every night to patrol the border with Ṣafawid territory (*A collection of voyages . . .*, iv, London 1704, 109).

During the campaigns of Nādir Ṣhāh, Kars was besieged several times (1735 twice; 1744) (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, *passim*; cf. also the despatches of Stanhope Aspinwall, London, Public Record Office, S. P. 97/32). By the end of the 18th century the *eyālet* of Kars had become one of the poorest in the Ottoman Empire, and was one of several provinces unable to provide sufficient revenue

to support a *wesir*—i.e., a pasha of three *fuhs* (S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new...*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 168-9; cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau générale*<sup>3</sup>, vii (Paris 1824), 306-7).

As part of the administrative reforms of the *Tanzimat* period, the *eyâlet* of Kars was reduced to the status of a *sandjak* in the *wilâyet* of Erzurum (cf. *Sâl-nâme* for 1292), but the military and strategic importance of the fortress itself was underlined once more by the Russian expansion southward through the Caucasus during the early 19th century. Kars was besieged successfully by Russian forces three times: in 1828, 1855 and 1877 (details and bibliography in W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, Cambridge 1953). Kars at this time took on a considerable, if specious, significance for both British diplomacy and English public opinion, which regarded it as the "traditional bulwark against Russian expansion southwards" (B. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans 1870-1880*, Oxford 1937, 516), and for the Russians themselves, as a war objective (*ibid.*, 623-4). By the terms of the abortive Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878) and article 56 of the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878), the *sandjaks* of Kars and Ardahan, and the port of Batum, were ceded to Russia.

The number and composition of the inhabitants of town and province of Kars were seriously affected by the Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century and by the events of World War I. As early as 1828 the majority of the original Armenian population were said to have deserted Kars after the Russian evacuation, while in the years after 1877 a steady migration of Muslims into Ottoman territory was counter-balanced by the settlement of Armenians and Russians in Kars itself and by massive colonization of the vacated rural districts (the statistics in *Brokhaus-Yefron Entsik. Slovar'* (1895) *svv.* Kars', Karsskaya Oblast', were adapted by Barthold for the *ET*<sup>1</sup> version of this article).

Kars was the scene of fierce fighting in World War I. By the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) it was returned to the Ottoman Empire, but in fact remained in the hands of the Armenian nationalists until Turkish troops entered the town on 25 April 1918. Under the terms of the Mudros armistice (30 October 1918) the Turkish armies were obliged to withdraw to the west of the 1914 Russo-Turkish frontier. The Turks of Kars, however, established (6 November 1918) a provisional government under Fakhr al-Din Pirioglu (Fahrettin Pirioglu), which claimed suzerainty over the province of Kars and the surrounding Turkish-speaking or Muslim districts as far as Batum and Gümrü (Aleksandropol'). After a period of confused fighting against Armenian, Georgian and British units, the Turkish régime in Kars was overthrown by a British expedition from Batum (19 April 1919) and some of its leaders were deported to Malta. During May 1919 Kars reverted to Armenian control, while the local Turkish leaders who survived took the hills and began to look to the Kemalists for aid. With the British withdrawal from Transcaucasia, and the Turco-Soviet rapprochement (1920), the independent Transcaucasian republics were quickly liquidated, and with the rapid collapse of Armenia the Turkish XVth Army Unit under Kâzım Karabekir Pasha recaptured Kars on 30 October 1920. The *kadās* of Çıldır and Posof (23 February 1921) and Ardahan (7 March 1921)—all nowadays within the *il* of Kars—also soon came under Turkish control.

By the Treaties of Gümrü (Aleksandropol') with the Armenian Republic (2 December 1920), of

Moscow (March 1921) with the Soviet régime, and of Kars (13 October 1921) with the Soviet Armenian, Georgian and Adharbaydjani republics, the present boundary between Turkey and the U.S.S.R. was established. By this time, after seven years of warfare and enforced migration, the non-Muslim population had disappeared, and the province and town of Kars had taken on their present ethnic characteristics.

*Bibliography*: (in addition to the works mentioned in the text), Na'imâ, *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1147, *passim*; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte*<sup>1</sup> (repr. Graz 1964), i, 269, ii, 420, iv, 75, 358, 477, 619, v, 82, viii, 57. For recent Turkish works and the productions of local historiography see K. M. Fahrettin, *Kars Tarihi*, i (Istanbul 1953) and the same author's article *Kars (Tarih)* in *IA*. The numerous Russian and western works which deal with the military history of Kars in the 19th century are given by W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff in their work cited above. Cf. also for the events of 1914-21, H. Bayur, *Inkilâp Tarihi*, Ankara 1943-67, and K. Karabekir, *İstiklal Harbimiz*, Istanbul 1960. (W. BARTHOLD-[C. J. HEYWOOD])

**KARSANA** [see KURSĀN]

**KARSHI**, word for "castle", already attested in ancient Turkish and Uygur (Turfan, the *Kutadghu Bilig*) and perhaps connected with "Kerdjiye" in Tokharian B. It was later adopted with this meaning by the Mongols. The town of Nakhshab, or Nasaf [*q.v.*], was called *Qarshi* after a castle built two parasangs from the town by the Çağhatay ruler Kebek Khān (1318-26). The stream which flows through the steppes was called *Qarshi-daryā*. The town is mentioned in Bābur's [*q.v.*] memoirs and a popular etymology of the name exists. The town was formerly an important trade-centre with more than a thousand houses, sixteen mosques, three caravanserais and twelve *madrasas*; it produced carpets, saddles, bronze wares and later tobacco.

*Bibliography*: Sharaf al-din 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafarnāme*, ed. M. Ilāddād, i, Calcutta 1885, iii; G. Le Strange, 470 ff.; R. Rahmeti Arat, in *IA*, s.v. (B. SPULER)

**KARSHÜNI**, name of the Syriac script used by the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia for writing Arabic. The origin of the word is obscure, and neither the place nor date of its first appearance is known. None of the etymologies which have been proposed seems tenable, but it does seem that the original Syriac form of the word was *garshūni* and that since the Arabic alphabet had no letter corresponding to the Syriac *gomal*, it was transcribed with an initial *kāf*. Since the Arabic alphabet has 28 characters and the Syriac one only 22, each of the following Syriac letters was used to transcribe two Arabic characters: *taw* = *tā'* and *thā'*; *gomal* = *ḡīm* and *ghayn*; *koph* = *kāf* and *khā'*; *dolath* = *dāl* and *dhāl*; *teth* = *tā'* and *ṣā'*; and *soḡhe* = *ṣād* and *ḡād*. In order to avoid confusion, certain of these characters could be written with a superscript or subscript point, but usage here was not constant. From the 10th century A.D. till the present day, all the Syrian Christians, whether western or eastern, Maronite, Jacobite or Nestorian, have used this writing system, although it seems that the Melkites have never employed it. In India, the name *Karshūni* is also applied to the Syriac script used for writing Malayalam, the vernacular language of the Malabar Christians.

*Bibliography*: R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, Oxford 1868, i, 790; R. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, Paris 1881, 11; C. J. David, *Grammaire de la langue araméenne*, Mosul 1896,

149-55; A. Mingana, *Garshūnī or Karshūnī?*, in *JRAS* (1928), 891-3; M. Cohen, *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution*, Paris 1958, 165, 177. (G. TROUPEAU)

**KART** (possibly **KURT**), the name of a dynasty which ruled Herāt from 643/1245 to 791/1389. It was founded by **Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad I Kart**, who was descended from the **Shansabānī** house of **Ghūr**, the family to which the brothers **Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad** and **Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām** belonged. As Herāt recovered from the devastating raids of the armies of Čingiz **Khān**, **Shams al-Dīn** gradually gained power, and by 643/1245 had established himself as ruler of the state, and used the title of **Malik**, borne by his descendants. In 649/1251 the Great **Khān Mōngke**, when reorganizing the administration of his empire, confirmed **Shams al-Dīn Kart** as governor of Herāt, **Balkh** and the country lying between those provinces and the Indian frontier. During the latter part of **Shams al-Dīn's** reign his son **Rukn al-Dīn** acted as his coadjutor, but predeceased him, dying in 682/1283, and when **Shams al-Dīn** himself died in 684/1285, he was succeeded by **Rukn al-Dīn's** son, **Fakhr al-Dīn**. As the power of the Mongol **Il-Khāns** of Persia declined, that of the **Kart Malik**s of Herat increased, and they governed for the first time nearly the same territory as modern **Afghānistān**, which was protected by them against Mongol devastations. **Fakhr al-Dīn** befriended the powerful amīr **Čoban**, who had been regent of Persia during the minority of **Abū Saʿīd**, the fourteenth **Il-Khān**. When **Abū Saʿīd**, apprehensive of the growing power of his family, attacked it, the amīr **Čoban** sought asylum with **Ghiyāth al-Dīn**, who received him, but in 727/1327 treacherously put both him and his son **Djalaw Khān** to death. **Ghiyāth al-Dīn** himself died in 728/1328 and his two elder sons, **Shams al-Dīn II** and **Hāfiẓ**, who succeeded him in turn, died in 729/1329 and 731/1331. The historian **Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī** attributes their deaths, following one another at such short intervals, to the divine displeasure incurred by **Ghiyāth al-Dīn's** treachery towards amīr **Čoban**.

**Hāfiẓ** was succeeded by a third brother, **Muʿizz al-Dīn**, who sent an army to the assistance of **Malik Kuṭb al-Dīn** of **Kirmān**, driven from his capital by the amīr **Mubārīz al-Dīn**. This army was defeated and a second army sent to the aid of **Kuṭb al-Dīn** was shut up in **Kirmān** and compelled, at the end of 741/1340, to capitulate. **Muʿizz al-Dīn**, who died in 771/1370, left two sons, **Muḥammad**, who held the government of **Sarakhs**, which he retained after his father's death, and **Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī**, who succeeded him in Herāt. In 782/1380 the **Timūr** sent an envoy to Herāt to claim the allegiance of its ruler and his presence, with a contingent, at the forthcoming muster of his army; but **Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī** detained him on various pretexts while he provisioned the city and completed its defences. The envoy was obliged to return to **Samarqand** and report the failure of his mission, and in the spring of 783/1381 **Timūr** marched to Herāt and captured the city, its ruler and his eldest son, **Pīr Muḥammad**, after a few days' siege. Some of its leading citizens were deported to **Shahr-i Sabz** and its defences were dismantled, but the **Malik** and his two sons, the younger of whom had been induced to surrender the strong fort of **Ishkalča**, were pardoned, and **Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī** was permitted to retain Herāt as a vassal of **Timūr** until 791/1389, when the dynasty was extinguished.

*Bibliography*: B. Spuler, *Mongolen*<sup>2</sup>, esp.

155-61 (with references to the sources, esp. **Djuwaynī**; **Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī**, *Taʾrīkh*; **Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī**, *Zafarnāma*; **Ibn ʿArabshāh**, *ʿAdiāʾib*); A. Janata, *Die Bevölkerung von Ghor*, in *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, xvii-xviii (1962-63), 123-9. (T. W. HAIG-[B. SPULER])

**KARTĀDJANNA**, a name by which three places are known: Carthage, Cartéia (**Kartādjannat al-Djazira**) and Carthagenā. This synonymy seems to be the cause of numerous confusions between the ancient Punic capital and **Kartādjannat al-khālfāʾ** (and not **al-khuladāʾ** as **Yāqūt** interprets it). These confusions have been studied by **J. Vallve**, *Carthage et Carthagène au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. The name of the town, seat of a bishopric, must be the translation of **Cartago-Spartaria**, alluding to the abundance of esparto grass in the region.

According to **al-Ḥimyārī** (*Rawḍ al-miʿfār*, no. 139, who copies **al-Idrīsī**), "Carthagenā is the port of Murcia. It is an ancient town, which dates from antiquity. It possesses an anchorage where large and small ships can anchor. Provisions abound there and are sold there permanently at a cheap rate. In its dependencies is a district by the name of **al-Fudūn**: there are few places where the soil is of such good quality, and it is reported that a single fall of rain is sufficient to assure the next harvest, and the grain which grows there is excellent. By land it is 40 miles from the town of Carthagenā to Murcia. It is near this town of Carthagenā that **ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr** defeated **Tudmīr b. ʿAbdūs**, who has given his name to the *kūra* of **Tudmīr**." The text of the treaty between **ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz** and **Tudmīr** is the only one of Muslim Spain which has been preserved *in extenso* and of which we have several versions.

The town, in so far as it was one, does not seem to have enjoyed much importance, despite the enthusiasm of the description which **Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Kartādjannī** gives of it in the 12th-13th centuries (cf. his *Ḳaṣīda maḥṣūra*; a summary analysis in **E. García Gómez**, *Observaciones sobre la Qaṣīda . . .*, in *al-And.*, 1933/1, 81-103) and the Arab sources—geographical as much as historical—are exceptionally laconic. A part of the *djund* of Egypt was installed there by **Abu ʿl-Khaṭṭār [q.v.]** in the district of **Tudmīr [q.v.]**, of which we may have a reflection in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* which placed it under the governorship of **ʿAbd al-Malik b. Kaṭān**. It is in this region that **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šiklabī** disembarked (in 143/763, following the orders of the **ʿAbbāsīd al-Mahdī**), in his attempt to overthrow the **Umayyads**, at the time of the alliance of **Ibn al-ʿArabī [q.v.]** with **Charlemagne**. Subsequently, the confrontation for power between the descendants of **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān** made this place the domain of **Sulaymān** and later of **ʿAbd Allāh al-Balansī**. When the continual feuds between **Muḍarīs** and **Yemenīs** wearied **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [q.v.]**, the latter profited from them to found in the year 216/831 an administrative centre, **Murcia**, which marks the real beginning of his ascendancy over the region.

After the fall of the caliphate, Carthagenā always followed the lot of its administrative capital and passed successively in to the hands of the slaves **Khayrān** and **Zuhayr**, of **ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Manṣūr** and of **Muḍjāhid** of **Deniā**. According to the *Mémoires of the amīr ʿAbd Allāh*, during the siege of **Aledo [q.v.]**, it would appear that the dispute for the possession of the **Murcian-Carthagenan** region was the apple of discord that made **Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [q.v.]** resolve to dethrone the petty kings. The province was subdued by **Ibn ʿĀʾisha [q.v.]**.

It then passed into the power of Ibn Hamuṣḥk and of Ibn Mardaniṣh [q.v.] and, after its submission to the Almohads, it followed the general decadence and became part of the domains of Sayyid al-ʿĀdil when he rose up in the Levant. It then belonged to Ibn Hūd and finally to Zayyān b. Mardaniṣh who, after the loss of Valencia in 635/1238, took refuge in Murcia, from where he was pursued by Bahāʾ al-Dawla. In 1243, the whole region of Murcia-Carthagena surrendered to the future Alphonso the Wise, but there was an uprising there in 1246 and the last indomitable rebels were not exterminated until 1274. Carthagena, judged too coastal in situation and exposed to the attacks of the corsairs and Turks, does not seem to have had so many Moriscos [q.v.] as one would reasonably suppose, by contrast with Murcia where there must have been a heavy enough immigration of Granadans deported to Castille, at least those from the region of Cuenca. The port of Carthagena was one of the points via which the expulsion of the Moriscos was effected in 1611.

*Bibliography:* Apart from the works in the article, cf. the geographical sources and ʿUdhri, *Masālik*; among the chroniclers, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān* (above all the volume published by A. Huici), the old monograph of M. A. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetouan 1956; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del imperio almohade*, Tetouan 1957; idem, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región*, Valencia 1969-70; E. Canabate Navarro, *Historia de Cartagena desde su fundación*; J. Vallvé, *La división territorial en la España musulmana*, ii, *La cora de "Tudmūr" (Murcia)*, in *And.*, xxxvii (1972), 161-6.

(P. CHALMETA)

**KARŪKH**, a town in the region of Bādghīs [q.v.] of modern northwestern Afghānistān and, according to Ibn Ḥawkal (4th/10th century), the biggest town of the region after the capital Harāt. It had a Friday mosque and was famed for its fruits, especially apricots and raisins. Its particular claim to fame in mediaeval times was as an enduring centre of the *Khawārijī* on the eastern Iranian fringes. In 259/873 the *Saffārid amir* Yaʿqūb b. al-Layṭh had to cope with a serious rebellion of the eastern *Khawārijī* centred on Karūkh under their "commander of the faithful" ʿAbd al-Raḥim al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllāh; over a century later, according to Muḥaddasī, Karūkh was still a *Khawārijī* centre. A modern village with the same name survives at Karūkh.

*Bibliography:* *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 105; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 410; C. E. Bosworth, *The armies of the Saffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 543-4. (ED.)

**KĀRŪN**, the Biblical Korah (Num. XVI), is mentioned three times in the *Kurʿān* (XXVIII, 76-82, XXIX, 39/38, and XL, 25/24). In the latter two verses, he appears with Hāmān as a minister of Firʿawn, and all three of them behave proudly towards Moses, stigmatising him as a magician and impostor. In the first passage (XXVIII, 76-82), Kārūn is one of Moses' people, but treats them in an insolent fashion because of the immense riches which have been given to him, as he believes, because of the knowledge which is in him (ʿalā ʿilmīn ʿindī). He makes a great public display of his wealth, and is swallowed up by the earth with his palace (*dār*), an example of those who prefer the fleeting wealth of this world to the recompense of Allāh in the next world awarded to those who believe and do good works.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV

This tale, which alludes vaguely to the rebellion of Korah and, more explicitly, to his punishment (Num. XVI, 31-3, XXVI, 10), is probably an echo of some moralising story. The commentators and the writers on the *ḫiṣāṣ al-anbiyāʾ* have added to it a lengthy legend, in part derived from rabbinical literature (see *Jewish encyclopedia*, vii, 556 ff.; Sale's notes to his *Kurʿān* tr.; and al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḫiṣāṣ*, Cairo 1314, 120 ff.). In this legend, Hāmān and Kārūn are bracketed together because of their riches and their avariciousness, thus explaining why the latter has become Pharaoh's minister.

In Islam, the legend of Kārūn has had two divergent developments: (1) In order to explain the origin of his proverbial riches, and because of his special "knowledge", he has become one of the founders of alchemy. This role appears early; see, e.g., al-Djāhīz, *Bukhālāʾ*, 41, tr. Pellat, 67, and an allusion in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 177 = ed. Pellat, § 3312. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 352, tr. in M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, Paris 1893, iii, 27, states that the revelation of the "process" was "made by God to Moses and Aaron [sc. in order to gild the *Tābūt al-Tawrāt*, al-Kisāʾī, *Ḫiṣāṣ*, 229] and that it was Kārūn who operated in their name. The latter accumulated a vast horde of gold and silver, but at the request of Moses, was punished by God for his arrogance, his pride and the evil behaviour which his recently-acquired riches had led him into". According to al-Ṭabarī, Zotenberg, i, 382-4, he was originally a goldsmith, and according to al-Kisāʾī, *op. cit.*, 229, Moses' sister was Kārūn's wife, and it was she who learnt about alchemy in order to teach her husband (according to the commentators, he was Moses' nephew). (2) In Egypt, his name is associated with various lakes. Thus what is left of Lake Moeris in the Fayyūm bears his name (Birkat Kārūn; see Guides Bleus, *Égypte*, 1956, 241-2, where a popular etymology Birkat al-Kūrūn "Lake of the Horns" is erroneously given), and a *Madīnat Kārūn* has recently been begun in the neighbourhood. Also, beside the Birkat al-Fil to the south of Cairo, near the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, there was formerly a Birkat Kārūn which had evidently associations of supernatural legend. Al-Maḳrīzī describes it (*Ḫiṣāṣ*, Būlāk 1325, iii, 261-2) and tells that Kāfūr [q.v.] who built beside it a house was said to have been driven from it by djinn. It figures also in the Story of *Djudhar the Fisherman* in Zotenberg's (cf. *Not. et Extr.*, xxviii, i, 167 ff.) Egyptian Recension of "The 1001 Nights" (Nights 606-24) as a place where spirits take refuge from magicians. Von Hammer suggested (*Der Tausend und Einen Nacht noch nicht übersetzte Märchen*, tr. Zinserling, ii, 32; tr. Trébutien, i, 291) that Kārūn had here become confused with the Egyptian Charon.

*Bibliography:* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xx, 62 ff.; *Taʾrīkh*, index; Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Cairo 1308, vi, 421 ff.; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, index; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-uyūn*, Cairo 1964, 51-4; *Shibli*, *Aḫām al-marǧān*, 218; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902, 153; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes* . . ., Paris 1933, 95-7.

(D. B. MACDONALD\*)

**KĀRŪN**, the largest river in southern Persia. It rises in the north-eastern part of the district of ʿArabistān (earlier called *Khūzistān*), a little above Lat. 32° N. on the Zarda-Kūh, which belongs to the *Bakhtiyārī* mountain system or, to be more accurate, on one of the ranges named Kūh-i Rang, one of the highest mountains in south-western

Persia (estimated at 13,000 feet). The actual source of the river, according to Sawyer (*Bibl., op. cit.*, 486, with a picture), is about 10 miles above the place called Ser-i Česhme-i Kurang "main source of the Kurang (Kuran)". The Zāyinda-Rūd likewise rises on the Zarda-Kūh and flows eastwards towards Işfahān. As the source of the Kārūn is only about 100 miles from Işfahān, Shāh 'Abbās I thought of leading the Kārūn into the Zāyinda-Rūd by a tunnel through the mountains. Although almost finished at his death, the work was not continued by his successors; the remains of it may still be seen (cf. Layard, *Bibl., op. cit.*, 50 f.).

The upper part of the river's course extends from its source to its exit from the mountains at Shustar, and the middle course from Shustar to al-Ahwāz or Naşriyya, where it breaks through the spurs of the Djabal Ḥamrīn; its lower course runs through the alluvial plain formed by the Kārūn system. As a result of its very meandering course, the river covers about 500 miles from its source to its mouth in the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, although a straight line between the two points is only about 150 miles. In its upper course the Kārūn makes two great loops in about 32° N. Lat.

A little above Shustar, the Kārūn divides into two navigable arms which unite again about thirty miles away at the village of Band-i Kīr (near the mediaeval 'Askar Mukram) and thus form an island. The western arm is the main stream, the Kārūn proper; it is now called Āb-i Shuṭayṭ (Shuṭayṭ = little river) and further down also Āb-i Buzurg Shustar (= great water of Shustar). The eastern arm is artificial in origin, and is now called Āb-i Gargar; the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages know it by the name of Masrukān (Mashrukān, Musrukān) which is explained as a corruption of the Persian Ardashīr-Kān (= "Ardashīr's trench"). The form Ardakhshīragān is noteworthy: it occurs in a Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi in the *Actes du 8<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1891, 32 (and cf. thereon Nöldeke in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxviii (1893), Abh. ix, 42). The first Sasanian king is said to have been the maker of this water-course. The Persian geographers of the 9th/15th century call the western branch, which carries the bulk of the water, Čahār Dānika ("four-sixths"), the eastern Dū Dānika ("two-sixths") (cf. Le Strange, 236). These names are still known locally, according to Layard (*op. cit.*, 27). In the 4th/10th century, according to Arabic sources, the Masrukān canal did not enter the main stream, the Kārūn proper, at 'Askar Mukram, but ran parallel to it and reached the Persian Gulf by a course of its own.

The Kārūn delta begins a little above the village of Sābla. Three channels break off from the main arm, which continues its course till its junction with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab at Muḥammara; these all run South-east to the Persian Gulf and finally end their course in estuaries (*khawr*, *khōr*), which are at times swamps. Their names are: (1) The Shaṭṭ (or Rūd) al-Qadīmī (= "the old stream"), which leaves the Kārūn about an hour's journey above Sābla and broadens out into the Khōr Mūsā (also called Khōr Moi Allāh). This is probably the oldest course of the Kārūn; (2) The Shaṭṭ "al-Amaya" (as it is usually written on maps) or al-A'mā (= the blind stream), probably so called because its bed is usually choked with mud. It is also called Shaṭṭ Kōbān (Goban) from the district which lies on its right bank; Portuguese writers of the 17th century reproduced the name as Rio de Gabão (cf. Tomaschek, 75 f.). This second arm begins at Sābla and finally expands into the Khōr

Silidj (Selige in Kinneir, 292); it is perhaps the second oldest arm of the Kārūn; (3) The Shaṭṭ Bamishīr (Bahmishīr, Behemshīr), which leaves the Kārūn 6 miles below Sābla and expands into the Khōr Bamishīr before entering the sea. This third branch of the Kārūn is considerably wider and holds more water than the other two. According to the *Persian Gulf Pilot*, 284, it is 54 miles long (40 as the crow flies). This may now be regarded as the natural mouth of the Kārūn.

The two western branches of the Kārūn, the Shaṭṭ al-A'mā and the Bamishīr, form two long islands with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, which runs parallel to them, the main Kārūn in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south. The eastern one, bordered by the Shaṭṭ al-A'mā (Kōbān) and the Bamishīr, is called Kōbān (Gobān, Gobbān); the western, between the Bamishīr and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, is now usually called Djabīrat 'Abbādān, a name it already had in the Middle Ages, from the town of 'Abbādān [q.v.], which probably originally lay at the mouth of the delta. The latter island is also called Djabīrat al-Khīḍr after the prophet al-Khīḍr [q.v.], highly revered in Muslim popular belief especially in 'Irāk as a patron of water, who had or still has a sanctuary near 'Abbādān ("Chodder Abbadan" in Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, Copenhagen 1778, 206), which is mentioned as early as the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries by al-Dimashqī (*Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 97, 18) and Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii, 19). Alongside 'Abbādān, the most important place in the Middle Ages seems to have been al-Muḥriẓa (Muḥriẓā) and the island seems occasionally to be called after it. For Muḥriẓā see Yāqūt, i, 502, 712, iii, 598, iv, 709; al-Dimashqī, 97; al-Qazwīnī, *Aḥḥār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 280. The Persians gave this island the name Miyān Rūdān (= "between the rivers", "Mesopotamia"; see, e.g., Yāqūt, iv, 708, and Le Strange, 48).

As has been noted, the Kārūn at an earlier period probably entered the sea through the Shaṭṭ al-A'mā, apart from the riverbed represented by the Shaṭṭ al-Qadīmī, which is perhaps the oldest bed. According to the mediaeval Arab geographers, the different branches and tributaries of the Duḡjayl (Kārūn) united at a place called Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī. Whether the Nahr Sidra (= Lotus-river), which also enters there, must be considered the main arm of the Kārūn from al-Ahwāz onwards is doubtful: cf. Le Strange, 237; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 306. The reunited Kārūn, called Nahr Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī (see Schwarz, *op. cit.*), then enters its estuary (Fayḍ Duḡjayl), which ends at Sulaymānān on the coast (for Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī and Sulaymānān cf. Le Strange, 48, 243, and in *JRAS* (1895), 302; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 306, 329-330, 400). Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī perhaps lay in the neighbourhood of the present Sābla; Sulaymānān is perhaps to be located somewhere in the region of the Khōr Silidj; the end of the course of the Kārūn in the Middle Ages would thus practically coincide with the modern Shaṭṭ al-A'mā. In the Middle Ages there must have been several other separate smaller mouths of the river. In these topographical investigations it should not be forgotten that southern 'Irāk and Khūzistān, the delta of the great rivers, have undergone far-reaching changes in their hydrographic structure in the course of thousands of years. In ancient times the Persian Gulf extended much farther into the present mainland, so that the Kārūn, Karkhā, Euphrates and Tigris all had separate mouths; cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1394, 2811. During the Middle Ages and in modern times the coastline has steadily advanced southwards.

The bed of the Kārūn from Sābla to Muḥammara seems to be the work of human hands. In the 4th/10th century the Būyid 'Aḩud al-Dawla [q.v.] constructed a canal, which was called 'Aḩudī after him, to secure direct communication between the Tigris and Kārūn (from al-Baṣra to al-Ahwāz). As in those days the Kārūn apparently flowed into the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-A'mā, in its main lines the 'Aḩudī probably corresponded with the present course of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara. It is very doubtful that that work was something entirely new; more probably he undertook the restoration of an older channel which had fallen into neglect. A century earlier we have evidence from the Arab geographers of the existence of a canal called Nahr al-Djadīd (= New Canal) which led from Ḩiṣn al-Mahdī (near Sābla?) to the Tigris and may well have coincided with the 'Aḩudī. From a still earlier period we have the Bayān canal, the course of which may wholly or in part have coincided with the 'Aḩudī or Nahr al-Djadīd. Whether there was in ancient times—about the period of Alexander—an artificial channel connecting the Kārūn and Tigris and following the same direction cannot be ascertained with certainty; on this question, see Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1394. In modern times, the name Ḩaffār (= "digger", usually spelled Hafar in books of travel and in maps) has come into use for the stretch of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara, and the name suggests that here too we have the work of human hands, not a natural bed. At the present day, however, this name is limited to the short stretch, only about an hour's journey long, from the beginning of the Shaṭṭ Bamishīr (the mouth proper of the Kārūn at the present day) to Muḥammara. It should also be noted that in the second half of the 12th/18th century, Sulaymān, the powerful *shaykh* of the tribe of Ka'b (on him see below), destroyed the connexion between the Kārūn and the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab by placing a dam (*band*) across the Ḩaffār at Sābla and leading the water into the Shaṭṭ al-A'mā. The district of Koḩān thereby soon became very prosperous. But during Karīm Khān's [q.v.] second invasion, the dam in the Ḩaffār was destroyed (cf. Kinneir, *op. cit.*, 90). On the communication between the Kārūn and Tigris by the 'Aḩudī, Nahr al-Djadīd, Bayān and Ḩaffār canals see Kinneir, 90, 293-294; Layard, 55-56; Tomaschek, 76-77; Ainsworth, I, 174, 184; *Persian Gulf Pilot*, 296; Le Strange, 48, and *JRAS* (1895), 308-9; Schwarz, 309, 311, 390.

While still in the mountains, the Kārūn receives a number of abundant tributaries, for example, above Sūsan the Āb-i Bāzuft on the right and the Āb-i Bars (Bors) on the left. A little above Čamani Yorgha the Talak joins it. The most important tributary is the river of Dizfūl, the Dizfūl-Rūd or Āb-i Diz. It and its tributary, the Shāwūr, were at one time (and in part still are) connected with the Karḩhā and the Kārūn by canals. On the Dizfūl-Rūd and Shāwūr, see Ḩamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 215, II; 218, 13, 15; Le Strange, 233, 239, and *JRAS* (1895), 312; Schwarz, 303-305; Ritter, IX, 193 f.; Layard, 56 f.; see also von Bode, II, 193; Loftus, 329, 342, 346; J. Dieulafoy, *passim*; Sawyer, 490 f.

The Kārūn is not only connected with the Tigris and Karḩhā in the west, but in the east it is linked up with the Djarrāḩ of Kurdistān-Rūd or Āb-i Kurdistān (the Ṭāb of the Arab geographers; see Le Strange, 270; Schwarz, 5 f.). At Sābla a canal navigable by boats leaves the Shaṭṭ al-A'mā and runs to Dawrakī (Dōrak-Fallāḩiyya [see DAWRAKĪ]) on the Djarrāḩ.

The more important towns on the Kārūn in mediaeval as in modern times lay on its central course between Shustar and al-Ahwāz. At the two termini of this stretch stood the two capitals of the mediaeval province of Khūzistān, al-Ahwāz and Tustar (Shustar). Al-Ahwāz [q.v.], formerly the capital proper of this district, is situated at the important point where the Kārūn, breaking through its last barrier, the Djabal Ḩamrīn range, enters the plain. For Tustar see SHUSTAR, and on the site (particularly the bifurcation which begins there) Graadt van Roggen, 174 f.

The lower course of the Kārūn from al-Ahwāz to Muḥammara has no places of great importance on its banks. Muḥammara, at the junction of the Kārūn and the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, is, however, a place of unusual importance. It was at the beginning of this century the best harbour in Persia, easily accessible at any time.

In the mountainous upper course there are no longer any towns of importance. In late antiquity and in the Middle Ages the most prominent were Sūsan (also called 'Arūdī or 'Arūh and Djābaliḩ) on the right bank, and Iḩḩadī [q.v.] or Māl-Amīr opposite. Along the upper course in parts runs a road protected by many forts, now mostly in ruins. The Kārūn in general is historically one of the most interesting rivers in Persia owing to the numerous ruins from ancient times which are everywhere found on its banks.

In the military history of the Middle Ages the Kārūn basin only occasionally occurs as the scene of fighting; cf. Schwarz, 299-300. During World War I possession of this territory became very important on account of its oil-fields; cf. Schweer, 140-4.

As early as the Sasanians, powerful dams (*shadhrawāns*) with the necessary sluices had been erected at various places to enable the water thus dammed to be led by numerous small canals to fields on a higher level, especially on the central stretch of the Kārūn. Throughout the Middle Ages this irrigation system was kept in excellent repair and transformed the land it watered into flourishing gardens. Since then, however, most of these works have fallen more and more into ruin as a result of neglect, and great stretches of once fertile country have become desert again. The most celebrated was the gigantic dam at Shustar, which was regarded in the east as one of the wonders of the world. Its erection is ascribed to the Sasanian king Shāpūr I (241-272 A.D.). On this great system of dam and sluices here, which after considerable restoration is still partly in use to-day, see Ritter, IX, 186 f.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, 33; Justi, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, II, Strassbourg 1896 f., 318; Le Strange, 235; Schwarz, *Iran*, 296. At Wā'is, a few hours' journey below Band-i Kīr, the ruins of a great dam may still be seen (cf. Herzfeld, 76). In al-Ahwāz, at the rapids there, considerable remains of a triple ancient system of dams still exist. Band-i Kīr (= "Bitumen-dam") took its name from the ancient dam coated with bitumen.

The Kārūn is the only river of Persia that admits of navigation. Communication is maintained with the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab and the Shaṭṭ Bamishīr. There is evidence that as early as the Umayyad period there was regular traffic up the river as far as al-Ahwāz (cf. Schwarz, 300). The Kārūn was into the 20th century navigable as far as Shustar. The only obstacles were the rapids caused by the gypsum rocks below al-Ahwāz (see the very full description by Wells, 156 f.), which make unloading

and reshipment necessary. Movement along the river has since expanded. The valley possesses rich oil fields in modern times. In 1888 the Kārūn was opened to international navigation.

*Bibliography:* BGA, *passim*, especially the Indices s.vv. (Nahr) Dudiayl and (Nahr) Masrukān; Ibn Serapion, in *JRAS* (1895), 30; 32, I f. (text) and 307-313 (tr. and notes); Yākūt, ii, 555; iv, 527, f.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 195; 215; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 23-4; Le Strange, 207, 232-247; P. Schwarz, 295-308, 310-11; J. M. Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 87-90, 96-99, 102-105; H. C. Rawlinson, in *JRGS*, ix (London 1839), 64 f., 73-78, 81, 88 f.; Selby, in *JRGS*, xiv (1844), 219-46; Layard, *ibid.*, xvi (1846), 27-28, 44, 50-65; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 46, 162-204, 219-220, 225-227, x, 26, 28, 31, xi, 1021-25, 1028-30; C. A. von Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, ii, *passim* (especially 162 f., 193, 273 f.); W. K. Loftus, *Travels and research in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 289-93, 298-300, 329, 343, 346, 423-31; Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, 108-11; A. Arnold, *Through Persia by caravan*, London 1877, ii, 39 f.; A. Houtum-Schindler, in *Z.G.Erdk. Berl.*, xiv (1879), 307 f.; H. L. Wells, in *Proc. RGS*, v; Bateman Champain, *ibid.*, (1883), 121-38, 146-9, 152; Stolze and Andreas, in *Pet. Mitt.*, Suppl. fasc., no. 77, Gotha 1885, 48, 56; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887; W. F. Ainsworth, *A personal narrative of the Euphrates expedition*, London 1888, ii, 168-89, 205 f., 219-32; idem, *The River Karun*, London 1890; H. B. Lynch, *Karun valley*, in *Proc. RGS*, xii (1890); Tomaschek, *Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxi (1890), Abh. viii, p. 73-84; G. N. Curzon, *The Karun River*, in *Proc. RGS*, xii, 509-32; idem, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, *passim* (see the Index; especially ii, 314 f., 330 f., 336); Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1892; H. A. Sawyer, in *GJ*, iv (London 1894), 481-501 (with notes by Lynch and Mackenzie, 502 f.); T. E. Gordon, *Persia revisited*, London 1896, 100 f.; *The Persian Gulf Pilot* (originally compiled by Constable and Stiffe), London 1898, 284-93, 296-9; Billerbeck, in *Mitt. V.A.G.*, iii (1898), part 2, 29-34, 46-50; Graadt van Roggen, in *Mém. de la Délégation en Perse*, vii (Paris 1905), 167-207; E. Hertzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, liii (Gotha 1907), 73-79, with route map on Plates vi and vii (Kārūn from Shustar to Ahwāz-Naṣriyya); W. Schweer, *Das türkisch-persische Erdölorkommen Hamburg 1919* (= *Abh. des Hamburg. Kolonial-instituts*, xxx), 22, 57-72, 110-117, 140-142, 177-219, and map 3 (Kārūn valley). Schweer also gives (pp. 153 f. and 165 f.) further references to the literature and maps to be consulted.

(M. STRECK-[J. LASSNER])

**KĀRWĀN**, a word ostensibly of Iranian origin, later arabicized, whence Eng. "caravan", Fr. "caravane", Ger. "Karawane", etc. Its early form *kārbān*, meaning "supervising work", probably evolved in the Pahlavi period. The Pahlavi form may have been *kārbānde*, in which case it would be a noun made up of *kār* meaning "army" or "war" plus the suffix *-van*, signifying a group of travelling merchants; convoys of provisions, goods and animals also were called *kārbān*. However, this may well be a popular etymology for a word of uncertain origin. The more widespread meaning dates from the early

Islamic period (M. Muḥn, *A Persian dictionary*, iii, 2817; caravans are described in the works of the 5th/11th century poets Firdawsi and Farrukhī [qq.v.]).

Caravan routes demonstrate the distribution and direction of trade routes, although the latter existed before the caravan system was developed. Journeys of various kinds were undertaken in caravan-like "convoys". In the pre-Islamic period the Arabs had for long used the word *ḥir*, and later the more usual word *kāfila*, as the equivalent of *kārwan*; the word *kāfila* was current at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. for gatherings of traders (cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, Cairo 1936, i, 253, 312). In Turkish, the word *arkış*, meaning caravan, is attested from the 8th century A.D. (Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 216-7).

Caravans were composed of horses, mules, donkeys, and especially camels. Camel-caravans were used over open plainland and deserts, while in the mountainous regions mules, donkeys, and more rarely horses were used. In some regions, however, the nature of the caravan was quite different: in India, caravans made up of 100-200 carts each pulled by 10-12 oxen were used for the bulk transport of grain (J.-B. Tavernier, *The six voyages* . . ., London 1678, ii, 28 ff.; Peter Mundy, *Travels* . . ., ii, pp. xxxvii, 45, 249, 250, 281, 283).

#### HISTORICAL SURVEY

Camel caravans became widespread because of the greater load that the animal could carry (on the domestication of the camel, see *بادو*). The size of the load a camel can carry varies according to the climate: in hot countries such as India the camel can carry only a small load of 600-650 lbs, whereas those employed between Tabriz and Istanbul and accustomed to the cold, could carry 1000 lbs (Tavernier, i, 49-50).

The oldest feature in the history of the western Asiatic caravan trade is the so-called "Silk Route". This route connecting China and Central Asia was extended to Farghāna and thence to southern and western Asia, and provided a means of transporting the products of distant countries by means of large caravans consisting of hundreds of camels. In the Islamic middle ages, Baghdād was the point of departure for routes to east and west, the principal itineraries being: (1) From Baghdād northwards along the Tigris to Mosul - Hatra - Harrān - or Sindjār - Nisibis - Raḡka - Manbidī - Aleppo - Hamā - Hims - Ba'labakk - Damascus - Ramla - Cairo - Alexandria, and thence by ship to North Africa; (2) From Baghdād the route along the west bank of the Euphrates, which it crossed at Hit, and thence to Damascus, was the shortest route across the desert; and (3) The eastbound route went from Baghdād to Hamadān, thence to Rayy - Nishāpūr - Marw - Bukhārā and Samarkand, and so to the western terminal of the silk route at Farghāna, by which China could be reached. One route ran from Khīwa in Kh'ārazm to the mouth of the Volga, and thence up the Volga to the Baltic countries; another passed north of the Caspian Sea to the northern ports of the Black Sea.

The organization and marching arrangements of a caravan may be illustrated by the account of one consisting of about 600 camels and 400 mules which made the journey from Diyārbakr to Mawṣil in 1838. The camels, tied together with rope in groups of ten or twenty, walked in single file; their owners rode small donkeys or horses, travelling in front, while the servants walked. The camels would not move un-

less led by the donkey. When the caravan came to a site where it was to spend the night, the leader of the caravan would move on ahead and point out the camping-place. The cargo was unloaded and the large bales were arranged to form a rectangular enclosure, within which each traveller prepared his own sleeping quarters. Then the camels and mules were untied and driven out to graze, but the horses were fettered. As it grew dark, the camels were rounded up and tethered in line within the enclosure (*Lettres du Maréchal de Moltke sur l'Orient*, Paris 1872, 229-30).

From early times, commercial journeys had been made at set periods, so that several important cities grew up at the terminals of regular routes: most notably, Mecca's existence depended entirely upon the caravan-trade. Once a year, a caravan was organised to set out in a specific direction, such a caravan comprising some 2500 camels, as well as horses and mules. At this period, a caravan of 1000 camels was regarded as medium-sized, while a caravan of 450 camels and 100 mules and donkeys, operating between Baghdād and Aleppo, was considered small. The camels in a caravan might be used as mounts, but generally were beasts of burden. The distances covered each day varied according to the climate. On average, caravans travelled 6, 8, 10 or 12 hours each day, each day's journey being made in two stages: from 3 or 4 in the morning until 10, and in the afternoon from 2 or 3 o'clock until 8. Since a single camel can carry a load equivalent to that of three, four, or even five horses, it was a much cheaper mode of transport. In the Mediterranean region, caravan journeys were closely linked to maritime traffic; during the winter months, when transport by sea was impossible, three caravans, setting out from Siǧilmāsa on the northern Saharan fringe, would travel to Cairo via Kayrawān, Tripoli and Barqa. Such caravans operated also in the summer months, covering the distance between Tunis and Cairo in two or three months. Caravans covering long distances were known as "seasonal" (*mawsim*) caravans, in India "monsoon" caravans (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1968, 303). Caravans operated in the summer months in Anatolia, in the Balkans and in Aǧharbāy-djān: thus caravans arrived at Izmir between February and June and in October (Tavernier, i, 46-7); but Anatolia and the Balkans lie outside the desert regions—caravans would arrive in Egypt and in other countries of North Africa in September-October, and even in April, May and June. During the summer, it was quite impossible to cross the desert between Baghdād and Aleppo. In ca. 1640, caravan traffic out of Hormuz operated between December and March. In north-west Africa, caravans arriving south of Oran (Algeria) in November were of importance in this century (F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean . . .*, Eng. tr. London 1972, i, 259-60).

#### CARAVAN ROUTES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARAVAN TRADE

There were along the caravan routes fixed points at which the caravans halted for the night, and in desert regions there were furthermore water cisterns at intervals of 15 km. These halting-places were regarded as "guest-houses", and were often organized by the pious as *wakf*-foundations, the usual designation for them being *ribāʿ* [*q.v.*]. The establishment of such *ribāʿ*s dates from the 4th/10th century and reached its peak under the Great Saldjūks. In various works composed in the 6th/12th century, the word

*ribāʿ* is used as a synonym for "caravanserai" and spread to Central Asia as a result of the Mongol invasions. The caravanserai reached its highest development in Saldjūk Anatolia, especially in the 7th/13th century; caravanserais or *khāns* were built at intervals of 30-40 km. along the north-south and east-west routes as international trade increased. Their strong walls and towers provided security; and their facilities might include sleeping-quarters, kitchens, store-houses, baths, mosques, and even hospitals for the sick (O. Turan, *Selçuk kervansarayları*, in *Bell.*, x/39 (1946), 477-95). In this period, the central authorities appointed to each caravan an official entitled *Amir-i Kārbānsālār*, under whom was an escort commanded by a *rāhdār* or *tutkavul*.

Whatever the object of the caravan, whether trade or the fulfilment of the pilgrimage, its rate of travel varied from period to period. A pilgrimage caravan of 30-40,000 camels could travel from Cairo to Mecca in forty days, helped on its way by its military escort. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, in spite of the Portuguese development of the Cape maritime route, trans-Saharan trade developed considerably, although there was some modification of the traditional routes (Braudel, *op. cit.*, i, 181-2). In the 11th/17th century the route between Persia and Izmir was popular, although it took 100 days: the journey to Işfahān via Mawşil and Hamadān took 58 days; the busiest route to Persia, that from Aleppo via Bire-djik, Diyārbakr and Tabrīz, took 42 days, and 66 days to Işfahān. Towards the middle of the 11th/17th century, however, the importance of the Ottomans trading between Persia, India and the Ottoman Empire diminished, as a result of the formation of English and Dutch trading companies operating by sea; the only major commodity left for overland transport was silk. The spice trade continued, but the old spice routes were abandoned (N. Steensgaard, *Caracke, caravans and companies*, Odense 1973, 174, 192).

With the development of other means of communication, the composition of the caravans changed and the number of animals decreased. Yet although the number of animals employed in a single caravan might decrease, the number of caravans organized each year might increase. Commercial caravans travelled between Baghdād and Başra four times a year in the 10th/16th century and small caravans travelled regularly between Syria and southern ʿIrāq: there were three caravans a year between Damascus and Baghdād. The Baghdād caravan went to Damascus once a year and to Aleppo twice. This situation continued unchanged until the end of the 12th/18th century. In Anatolia, caravans were organized on a smaller scale; because of the broken terrain, mules and donkeys were used in some regions instead of camels, as was the case in northern ʿIrāq.

#### ORGANIZATION

Security was a vital consideration. Caravans usually had an armed escort, sometimes of professional soldiers, and at every halting-point would be joined by new groups of travellers. During the night a continuous look-out had to be kept against raids by bandits, and at intervals the sentinels would call to one another *khāberdār!* and a drum was beaten (P. Mundy, *Travels*, ii, 41-2; Thévenot, part 3, 19). A leader responsible for organizing the whole caravan was known as the *kervān-başı* (in Persia and India, *kārvān-kesh* or *kārbānsālār*), and he had one or two assistants. Each group of 15-20 camels under its own leader was under the general supervision of the main leader, who determined the route to be followed, the



halting-places, and the order of the constituent groups in the caravan, and who was responsible for the general security. To travel in a caravan was slower, but safer, since special, additional guards, supplied by the government, were available in desolate areas. In the mid-11th/17th century, the leader of the caravan was sometimes elected by the merchants. If a merchant had six camels, one of the six beasts, and if he had three, one of the three, carried his essential gear. For every horse or camel in the caravan its owner paid a fixed fee to the leader; thus, if the caravan was a large one, the leader might make a great deal of money, part of which he paid to the guards and part of which he spent on necessities along the way. At places where customs duty was collected, 4 *kurush* was taken for every camel-load and 2 *kurush* for a horse-load (Tavernier, part 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 45, 46; *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803*, London 1814, i, 112-13).

In desert areas, where water was scarce or unobtainable, paid scouts called *takshif* were employed to find water. When the wind obscured the track, the *takshif* had to go on ahead to find the way, so that occasionally he was the first to die (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 381-3; cf. Leo Africanus, *The history and description of Africa*, London 1898, i, 173-4). In some places, such as the Western Sudan, blind scouts were used, who found the way by their sense of smell. Caravan-leaders in the Sahara had links with the Berber tribes; here four main routes connected north and east Africa: (1) the route by Sidjilmāsa and Walata to Senegal and the upper Niger; (2) the Ghadamēs-Ghat route to Hausaland and Air; (3) the Tripoli-Fezzān-Kawar route to Bornu and Lake Chad; and (4) furthest east, the route Cyrenaica-Kufra-Wadai. The first three routes were completely under the control of the Berbers, who dug wells along them and supplied the needs of passing caravans. These long and dangerous journeys were made only once a year, but by large caravans; thus in 1805 a caravan of 2000 persons and 1800 camels, travelling from Taghaza to Timbuktu, perished of thirst (E. W. Bovill, *The golden trade of the Moors*<sup>2</sup>, London 1958, 52, 235, 236). The traditional caravans continued to operate in Africa into this century: thus in 1908 a caravan of 20,000 camels set out from Air to travel via Ghadamēs and Ghat (Bovill, *op. cit.*, 236, 238).

Records of the late 19th century give detailed accounts of caravan travel in the desert. In Tripoli (North Africa), after several merchants who wished to organize a caravan had reached agreement among themselves and obtained permission from the provincial authorities, they would, by the intermediary of a *shaykh* known to be competent and trustworthy, conclude agreements with the *shaykhs* through whose tribal lands they would pass. If the *shaykh* accepted the proposal, he would come to the provincial capital accompanied by men armed *raḥḥāṣūn*, skilled at picking up stragglers, and *ḥhabīr*, who knew the routes and the places where water was to be found. In the capital all details of the wages to be paid, etc., were settled, committed to writing, and confirmed by the provincial authorities; a *manshūr* or formal document incorporating these conditions was given to the *shaykh* who was to act as conductor of the caravan; he was empowered to take all measures to protect the lives and goods of the participants and to determine any legal or criminal questions that might arise. The promoters of the caravan would cause public proclamation to be made. Not all who re-

sponded were necessarily professional merchants; private individuals might take part as a speculation, informing the *shaykh* that they needed six camels (three for the goods that they hoped to sell at a profit, one to ride on, one for water, and one for food). On the basis of this information, the *shaykh* would arrange the disposition of the caravan (Müsevvid-zāde Derviş, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna ait vesikalar*, in *Istanbul Dergisi*, n.s. 1/10-12 (Istanbul 1940), 393-4). The *shaykhs* of the caravan and the leaders of the armed guards were each given a burnous according to rank. Such a caravan travelling to Central Africa, where coinage was unknown, would carry goods for barter.

#### CARAVAN TRADE BETWEEN THE 9TH/15TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

In the Ottoman Empire, an extensive caravan network satisfied all the requirements of transport and communications. Towards the end of the 9th/15th century the most important caravan route across Anatolia was that between Bursa and Tabrīz; it began with a northern and a southern branch (Kastamonu-Bolu; Ankara-Çorum) and then traversed Amasya, Tokat, Erzindjān, Erzurūm and the Aras valley. This was principally a silk route (H. İnalçık, in *Bell*, xxiv/93 (Ankara 1960), 45-96). A document of 1019/1610 gives the following information about the composition of a caravan travelling from Baghdād to Aleppo: its 120 merchants had baggage amounting to 942<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> *yüks*, one *yük* being the two bales slung across a beast of burden (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdür-lüğü, MM 7499). There were also smaller caravans operating between cities; termed *makkāri* ("for hire"), they would transport merchants and travellers for a fare. In Istanbul in the time of Murād IV, 3000 people were engaged in this business (Ewliyā Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, i, 520; H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın 1 numaralı şer'iye sicilli*, Ankara 1958, 64; see, for the *makkāris* operating between Damascus and Baghdād, Mustafā Diyā, *Rehnumā-yi Baghdād*, Damascus 1314, 4-5). Most of the people comprising a caravan were merchants engaged in trade with foreign countries, but travellers would also join a caravan in order to enjoy its security: in the late 11th/17th century it was impossible for small groups of travellers to move about in the Ottoman Empire otherwise, because of the threats from Arab tribesmen and bandits (C. Le Bruyn, *Travels*, London 1718, ii, 329; Başbakanlık Arşivi, MD no. 115, pp. 285, 306). Caravan operations were carried on also in the European territories of the Ottoman Empire, numerous *khāns* surviving in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and elsewhere (cf. Hamdija Kreševljakovic, *Hanovi i Karavansaraji u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1957). Regular journeys were made between Istanbul and Belgrade by what was known as the "Belgrade caravan"; it continued to function into the 19th century (for a document of 1803, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Cevdet tasnifi, iktisat no. 2029; see also S. Dimitrijevic, *Les caravans de Dubrovnik dans la Serbie du sud au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Belgrade 1958).

Mule caravans operating in Anatolia had their own special characteristics. The leading animal, which kept some way ahead of the others and carried a smaller load, was called *peşkek*, the next was called *djindār*, and the next again *peşdār*. All the animals carried small bells around their necks, which could be heard an hour's distance away. Halts were made at *khāns* either to deliver the goods carried or to transfer them to other animals. Cameleers and muleteers formed a trade-guild (see C. Cahit Güzelbey,

*Gaziantep'te hervancılık*, in *Gaziantep Kültür Dergisi*, v/79 (Gaziantep 1962), 79, 80, 94).

Whereas caravans travelled in Persia by night, in the Ottoman Empire travelling was done by day, for protection against bandits. A leader of a caravan could determine the hour by the position of the stars. He was followed by a *bayrakdār* "standard-bearer", who had a standard wrapped around a staff which he would wave at times of danger in order to warn the musketeers protecting the caravan. The Baghdād-Aleppo caravan also included coffee-makers, a *çavuş* who transmitted the leader's orders, a *mu'adhdhin*, and various tradesfolk—shoemakers, barbers, farriers and carpenters. The group of people at the rear was termed *hamla* (J. B. L. J. Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep* (1808), Paris 1899; cf. Tavernier, *Voyages*, 47, 60).

According to Peter Mundy (ii, 45), a caravan travelling from Surat to Agra in India in 1630 contained 250-300 carts and about 1800 people; the number increased as it proceeded, since inhabitants of famine-stricken regions would join it in order to escape starvation. There were no *khāns* in India, but in the cities there were public buildings termed *sarāy*. According to Peter Mundy again (ii, p. xxxvii), the last caravan of the season contained 268 camels and 109 carts.

#### PILGRIM CARAVANS

Caravans of pilgrims travelling to the Holy Cities were under the supervision of the *Amir al-hadīdī* (Ewliyā Çelebi, x, 424-5, 435, etc.). It was the regular practice to make money payments to the Bedouin chiefs through whose territories the caravan passed (Tavernier, 62-3). In Ottoman times, the provisioning, watering and protection of the pilgrim-caravans was a major enterprise (the Cairo caravan consisted of 40,000 people). The Cairo caravan was in two sections; 10,000 people from North Africa formed the rear in the outward journey, but came back first. For descriptions of the pilgrim caravan, see H. Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697*, Beirut 1963, 171-3; F. Hasselquist, *Voyages and travels in the Levant in the years 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752*, London 1776, 77-83; E. W. Lane, *The manners and customs . . .*, chs. 24, 25; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 247-8; and see MAHMAL.

#### DECLINE

The caravan trade declined as a result of the great changes in the technology of transport which occurred in the 19th century. In some regions, caravan journeys were discontinued after the introduction of steamships. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought a swift decline, yet caravans continued until the First World War. Later still, motor transport began to displace the camel. Although the great desert route was scarcely used after the mid-19th century, Damascus continued to be the centre for what remained of this trade—no longer a matter of thousands or hundreds of camels, but small numbers meeting local needs (C. P. Grant, *The Syrian Desert: caravans, travel and exploration*, London 1937, 156-7). The construction of railways also dealt a severe blow to caravan trade in some areas, e.g. in Anatolia, from 1859 onwards. Yet so late as 1918, five great caravan routes to the Holy Cities were still travelled—from Baghdād and neighbourhood; from Syria; from the Persian Gulf area; from the 'Umān district across Arabia; and from Egypt. Three factors may be said to have accelerated the decline: (1) the requisitioning of animals by governments and local authorities; (2)

attacks from bandits; and (3) lack of bridges and the foul road conditions after rain.

*Bibliography* (in addition to references given in the text): Muḥammad b. Hindū-Shāh Nakhčīwānī, *Dustūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātīb*, ed. A. Ali-zade, Moscow 1964, i, 228-9, 552-3; Piero Tafur, *Travels and adventures, 1435-1439*, London 1926, 83; O. Turan, *Selçuklular ve Türk-İslām medeniyeti*, Ankara 1964, 262; J. Jomier, *Le Mahmal et la caravane égyptienne . . .*, Cairo 1953; H. Sahillioğlu, *Bir tüccar hervamı*, in *BTD*, ix (Istanbul 1968), 63-9; A. Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız rekabeti (1858-1911)*, Erzurum 1970; P. Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant*, London 1718, ii, 180, 325; W. C. Brice, *Caravan traffic across Asia*, in *Antiquity*, xxviii (1954), 78-84; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Amsterdam 1962; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz . . .*, Leipzig 1924-6; J. Sauvaget, *Les caravanserais syriens du Hadj de Constantinople*, in *Ars Islamica*, iv (1937), 98-121; K. Müller, *Die Karavanserais im Vorderen Orient*, Berlin 1920; S. F. Mouhtar, *Travels and transportation in the Ottoman Empire during the XIXth century* (unpublished thesis, Cornell 1928); anon., MS description of caravan routes from Istanbul into Arabia, Ist. Un. T.Y. 93638; J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, London 1856, 53; A. L. Salvator, *Caravan routes between Egypt and Syria*, 1881; H. Schreiber, tr. S. Thomson, *The history of roads*, London 1961, 24-51; F. Taeschner, *Die Entwicklung des Wegenetzes . . .*, in *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, i/1 (Istanbul 1959), 169-93; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 461-72, Eng. tr. 492-505; M. I. Rostovtzev, *The caravan cities*, London 1932; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest Africain au moyen âge*, Dakar 1961, 398-403. (CENGİZ ORHONLU)

**KARWASHA**, originally the name of the argot of the Maghribis practising the trades of sorcerer and treasure-seeker in Egypt, today applied to the *Dakārna* (sing. *Dakrūmī*) of Sudanese origin installed in the Village of the Sudanese close to Madāmūd in Upper Egypt and elsewhere. They are scribes manufacturing amulets at the markets. These are carried under the armpit wrapped in a square red leather case. They are effective, it is said, against the evil eye or diseases, to attract customers into a shop, to obtain the favours of a woman, to keep or regain the love of a husband and to speak "without fear" in front of the judge, the mayor or any another magistrate. The *Dakārna* make use of a secret language among themselves (*rufaynā*, in the spoken Arabic of Upper Egypt *rufāna*) which is called *karwashā* (from the verb *karwash* "to speak" or again *balhama* from the verb *balham* "to speak in an incomprehensible fashion"). A part of the vocabulary is of Maghribī origin: *mizyān* "good", *bizzāf* "much", *sibsā* "cigarette". They sometimes even affect the Moroccan accent: *kimlīma* "head" and not *qimlīma*. The grammar is that of the spoken language of the region of Luxor. The man is called *diyāblu* pl. *diyablāt* (of Spanish origin: *diablo* "devil"). *Budd-i* "I want". *Esh budd-ak* "what do you want?". *Diyāl* (after a vowel *dyāl*), used for forming a possessive genitive, is in current use: *el-yūsufa dyāl-u* "his wife", *el-kabbāri dyāl-ha* "her husband", *es-sutra dyāl el-muksa* "the door of the house". *Bi-dyāl* has become a preposition; *diyayyim es-sibsā bi-dyāl en-nūra* "light the cigarette with the match"; *nūḍ bi-dyāl-i* "leave me"; *diyayyim el-mimāt min ed-diyāblu lli bi-dyāl-ak* "take the money from

the man who is with you." The prefix *ka* of the verb tends to disappear: *lamma ka-ykūn el-wāḥid fi l-lammām* "if anyone is in the market".

A large number of terms are artificial creations: *alif* "reed, pen" (because of the elongated form which recalls that of the letter *alif*), *mim* "ink-well" (round like the letter *mim*), *ajim* "excellent" (abbreviation of *ajayyid*) with the polyvalent verb *ajayyim* "to do, take, cook, manufacture", originally "to do well". Water is called *rāwiya* "that which waters", the "market" *lammām* is the "gatherer" (of people) and *nawwāḍa* (f.) the "road" is the "walker" (from *nāḍ*, *yinūḍ* "to go off, walk"). *Yūsfa* "woman" recalls *Yūsuf*, the ideal of a "young and handsome man". The dog is called *nabbāḥ* "that which barks", the pigeon *ṣayyāra* "that which flies", and the female donkey *ḍjarrāya* "that which runs". Several terms come from the slang of the Ḥalab: *'adwān* "meat", *baṣṣāsa* "eye", lit. "that which looks", *ṣana* (*yifni*) signifies at the same time "to beat" and "to kill", *inṣana* (*yinṣini*) "to die". *Kabbāri*, among the Ḥalab "sheikh" or "mayor", here also designates the "husband". The *ḥarwaṣha* is enriched by adopting numerous *dakūni* words: *ḍjagur* "king", *murtā* "horse", *lāl* "donkey", *fattā* "white". The origin of several words remains uncertain: *'abbu* "fellāḥ" and *'abbūwa* "fellāḥa", *ṣarbūn* or *kir* "black man", *iḍiḥ* "small", *wūtiḥ* "to sit down" and *wattāḥ* "to bring". This small vocabulary of several dozen words very frequently employed has ended up in becoming a real professional argot.

*Bibliography*: Vycichl, *The slang of the Ḥalab of the Sudan, in Kush*, vii (Khartoum 1959), 223-8; idem, *Qarwasha, in Actes du Congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère*, Malta 1972. (W. VYCIHL)

**KARYA**, A., pl. *ḥurā*, "town, village". The various forms used in the Semitic languages to indicate a "dwelling-place, a place where people meet" are best derived from an original biliteral root *ḥ-r*. Phoenician *ḥart*, as in *ḥart-ḥadašt*, "Carthage", represents this basic root with a feminine ending. The same is true of the Hebrew *ḥeret* and the emphatic state *ḥarta* (with *alef*), which occurs in Targumic, Samaritan and Christian-Palestinian texts. In Syrian and in Christian-Palestinian *ḥerē*, a *y* is added to the basic root without the feminine ending, whereas *ḥ-r-y* + *t* is found in the Hebrew construct state *ḥiryat*, Arabic *ḥarya* and South-Arabic *ḥirya*. In Hebrew this construct state often occurs in such place names as *Ḳiryat Arba'* (Hebron, *Ḳhalil* [q.v.]), *Ḳiryat Ye'arim*, *Ḳiryat Sefer*, the plural being *Ḳiryot*. A connection with *Cirta* is rejected by Nöldeke, who argues that a Phoenician place-name is not likely to be found as far inland as Constantine (*Ḳustantīna* [q.v.]); moreover, Polybius (37, 3, 11) has *Σχίρα*.

In the *Ḳur'ān*, the singular *ḥarya* indicates an important town. Mecca (XLVII, 14), Medina (II, 5), Sodom (e.g., XXI, 74, XXV, 42), Nineveh (X, 98) and the coastal town (VII, 163: *al-ḥarya ḥāḍirat al-bahr*) are so called. Except for the reference in XII, 82, both singular and plural stand for a town that has been or will be destroyed by Allāh for its inhabitants' rejection of the message of the Prophet or of his predecessors. The dual *al-ḥaryatayn* (XLIII, 30) indicates Mecca and Medina, whereas *umm al-ḥurā*, "the mother of towns" (VI, 91, XLII, 5), designates Mecca. This term was probably already used before Islam because of Mecca's leading position in the religious and economic life of the *Ḥiḍjāz*. The expression is likely to be a translation of the Greek *metropolis*. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azharī [q.v.] states in his

*Tahdhīb* that every city is the *umm* of the towns around it. Ibn al-Kalbī [q.v.], cited by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih [q.v.] (*al-'Iḥd al-farīd*, ed. Cairo 1321, iii, 97), mentions six *ummaḥāt al-ḥurā al-'arabiyya*: *Yathrib*, *al-Ṭā'if*, *Ḳhaybar*, *Wādī al-Ḳurā*, *Dūmat al-Djandal* and *al-Yamāmā*.

*Karya* may also be used to indicate a *madīna* [q.v.], but only if it is qualified by an epithet denoting greatness. Arab philologists derive the word from the roots *ḥ-r-y* or *ḥ-r-w*, "to collect", "to store", or from *ḥarā*, "to collect people for hospitality", "to investigate a country in order to choose a residence" and "to head for some place".

*Bibliography*: J. Barth, *Vergleichende Studien*, in *ZDMG*, xli (1887), 605; idem, *Die Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1894, 20b; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin 1895, 142; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsematischen Epigraphik*, Weimar 1898, 365; Le comte de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabe Méridionale*, I, *Ḥaḍramout*, Leiden 1901, 689; Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Bildung des Plurals beim aramäischen Nomen*, in *Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1904, 61-62; idem, *Zweiradikalige Substantive, in Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1910, 131; Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 16th ed., Leipzig 1915, s.v.; Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953, s.v.; Gesenius-Brown, *A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford, repr. 1957, s.v.; Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic textbook*, *Analecta Orientalia* 38, Rome 1965, no. 2278; Ch.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden 1965, 266. (A. N. AL-WOHAIBI)

**KARYA AL-SUFLĀ**, a village in north-eastern Arabia (27° 29' N, 47° 52' E), about 165 m. above sea-level and having a population of about 970 (1958 estimate). It is popularly known as *Ḳurayya*, after its larger twin village, *Karya*, or *Ḳarya al-'Ulyā* [q.v.], 19 km. to the west-north-west. The settlement of the site as a *ḥidīra* of *Ikḥwān* [q.v.] was contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the founding in 1338/1919 of *Ḳarya al-'Ulyā*. The colonists were *Muṭayr* tribesmen led by *Ḥayif al-Fuḡḡm*, chief of the *Dhawu 'Awn* section of that tribe's 'Ilwa division. For notes on events connected with the founding of both villages and for a bibliography, see **KARYA AL-'ULYĀ**. (J. MANDAVILLE)

**KARYA AL-'ULYĀ**, a village in north-eastern Arabia. Situated at 27° 33' N, 47° 42' E about 170 m. above sea-level and having a population of 2,200 (1963 estimate), it was founded as a *ḥidīra*, or colony of the *Wahhābi Ikḥwān* [q.v.] by members of the ruling clan of the *Muṭayr* tribe. From about 1930, it has been a minor Bedouin market centre. It is often called simply *Ḳarya*, the full name being used to differentiate it from neighbouring *Ḳarya al-Suflā* [q.v.]. The two are sometimes referred to together as *Ḳarayāt* (a vernacular plural). The establishment of *Ḳarya* was a major incident in the 1919-20 boundary dispute between 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Āl Su'ūd, known as Ibn Su'ūd, and the ruling house of *Kuwayt*; it led to the bloody battle of al-Djāhrā' (*Muḥarram* 1339/October 1920), when the *Ikḥwān* attacked the forces of *Sālim b. Mubārak Āl Ṣabāḥ* at al-Djāhrā', 30 km. west of *Kuwayt* town.

*Karya al-'Ulyā* was a well-known watering place of *Muṭayr* long before 1338/1919, when *Turayḥīb b. Bandar b. Ṣuḳayr* of the *Dūḣān* clan, *Muwaha* sec-

tion, of that tribe founded a *hiđira* there with the approval of Ibn Su'ūd. Relations between Nađid and Kuwayt had already been strained in 1337/1919 by news of Sālim's plans to build a fort at Dawhat Bilbūl, 110 km. east of Ķarya on the Gulf coast. Ibn ŞuĶayr's building activities at Ķarya, probably encouraged by Ibn Su'ūd as a counter-measure, led to protests from Kuwayt and finally the dispatch of a 400-man Kuwaytī force, which was routed by Muţayr at the wells of Ħamađ, north-east of Ķarya, in Şha'bān 1338/May 1920. Ibn Su'ūd, whose İĶhwān led by Fayşal b. Sulţān al-Dawīşh had attacked before arrival of a letter from their sovereign urging restraint, agreed to return loot taken from Kuwaytī tribes but maintained his territorial claim. The İĶhwān marched on al-Djāhrā' as negotiations and British mediation broke down and after an abortive move toward Ķarya by Kuwaytī forces reinforced by Şhammar tribesmen. Both Ķaryas in 1928-29 were important military bases of Muţayr in raids against Kuwayt and 'IrāĶ; they were also dissident centres during the concurrent İĶhwān rebellion against Ibn Su'ūd.

After the collapse of the aggressive İĶhwān movement in early 1930, Ķarya remained as a market for Bedouins and as a customs station on the main motor track between Kuwayt and al-Riyāđ. A large mud fort which the Saudi Arabian Government ordered to be built there in 1355/1936-37 was in good repair in 1974. The track gradually fell out of use, but the village continued to serve Bedouins on a route into the wells, pastures, and settlements of al-Şummān [q.v.]. The village is administered by an *amir* who reports to the governor of the Saudi Arabian Eastern Province in al-Dammām.

*Bibliography*: Amīn al-Riĥānī, *Ta'riĥh Nađid al-ĥadıth wa mulĥabātih*, Beirut 1928, 244-46; 'Abd al-Raĥmān b. Nāşir, *'Umwān al-sa'ad wa'l-mađād*, Mss.; H. R. P. Dickson, *Kuwait and her neighbours*, London 1956, 54, 251-53, index; Su'ūd b. Hudĥlūl, *Ta'riĥh mulūk Āl Su'ūd*, al-Riyāđ 1380/1961, 122-26; Ħusayn Ķhalaf al-Şayĥ Ķhaż'al, *Ta'riĥh al-Kuwayt al-siyāsi*, Beirut 1962-65, pt. 4, 222-58. (J. MANDAVILLE)

**AL-KAŞĀB**, a town in South Arabia in the Wādī Bayĥān and the main town of the area called Bayĥān al-Ķaşāb [q.v.]. As the population has grown and the inhabited area extended, the town itself has come to be known as Bayĥān al-Ķaşāb or Bayĥān al-Ķaşab, and it is now usually mapped under one of these names. At the end of the 19th century the town had 12 citadels and 400 houses and was surrounded by palm-groves. Cotton was, and is, an important crop and is used for the manufacture of high-grade cloth in great demand in the area. Indigo has long been extensively cultivated and is used in local dyehouses to produce the dark-blue cloth popular in South Arabia, and is sold for use on the body. The town had a large Jewish quarter, its habitants, as elsewhere in Southern Arabia, specializing in working silver and leather. These people have now gone, emigrating between 1948 and the independence of Southern Yemen. The soil in and around the town is fertile and, in addition to cotton and indigo, it produces barley, red millet, summer millet, grapes, dates and vegetables. Since the end of the Second World War wells have been bored and agricultural development generally has been fostered. Educational facilities have been expanded and health centres opened in the town and the area generally.

*Bibliography*: C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, Leiden 1898, 30-34; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirt-*

*schaftsgebiet*, i, Vienna 1922, and ii, Vienna 1933 (index); Ħusayn b. 'Alī al-Waysī, *al-Yaman al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1962. (T. M. JOHNSTONE)

**KAŞĀB, TEODOR** (Mod. Turkish TEODOR KASAP), Ottoman Turkish writer, journalist and playwright (1835-1897). He was born in Kayseri, the son of Sarafim Kasaboghlu, a Greek draper. He lost his father at the age of eleven and moved to Izmir where he attended a Greek school and at the same time worked as an apprentice in the store of a relative. A French officer, a nephew of Alexandre Dumas *père*, who was on his way home at the end of the Crimean War, met him there (1856). Struck by his honesty and intelligence he arranged for his further studies in Paris. There Ķaşāb became Alexandre Dumas' private secretary and accompanied him on various trips, particularly in Italy during the Garibaldi campaign (1860). He introduced Namık Kemāl and other Young Ottomans to Alexandre Dumas. Early in 1870 he was in Istanbul, where he taught French in various schools and founded *Diogene*, a French and Greek language humorous magazine. In November 1870 he began to publish *Diyojen*, the Turkish edition of the same paper and the first humorous magazine in Turkish. Started as a weekly, *Diyojen* was published later twice and finally three times a week. Several leading writers of the time such as Namık Kemāl, Abu 'l-Ħiyā' (Ebüzziya) Tewfik and 'Alī Bey (Direktör), contributed regularly to it. The articles and cartoons evincing subtle social and political satire made it a very popular journal but also a target for censorship and *Diyojen* was suspended four times and finally closed in January 1873 after two years of publication. One of the main themes of social satire was ridicule of the westernizing snob, a theme which was taken up and elaborated later by several writers like Aĥmed Midĥat, Redjā'ī-zāde Ekrem and Ħusayn Raĥmī [see *HIĐJĀ'*]. In April 1873 Teodor Ķaşāb began to publish a new humorous journal, *Ķingĥıraĥıl Tatar*, which was soon suppressed, and in October of the same year a third, *Ķĥayāl*, in which he continued his satirical essays. In August 1875 he founded a political daily, *Istikbāl*, which lasted until September 1876. In both journals Ķaşāb bitterly criticized the patently pro-Russian policy of the grand vizier Maĥmūd Nedīm Paşa. While the First Constitution was being debated in Turkey, Ķaşāb published several articles criticizing its various clauses, and after its promulgation on 23 December 1876, a famous cartoon in his *Ķĥayāl* ridiculed the clause limiting the freedom of the press. 'Abd al-Ħamīd II, who bore a personal grudge against him because of an earlier incident (see below), had him tried and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. He fled to Paris, where he published *Lettres à Saïd Paşa* (1879) in which he criticized 'Abd al-Ħamīd's authoritarian régime. From Paris he moved to Naples where, in collaboration with the Young Turk 'Alī Şheĥatī (d. Paris 1896), he continued to publish *Istikbāl* lithographically. When the court of appeal quashed the sentence and the sultan pardoned him, he returned to Istanbul and was later (1882) given a position in the Imperial Library at Yildiz Palace, where he worked and translated reading material for the sultan "safely" away from press and politics until his death in 1897.

One of his sons, ALEXANDRE, who entered the Ottoman diplomatic service, rose to be head of department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the government of Istanbul which came to an end in 1922.

Apart from his contributions to Turkish humorous

journalism and the literature of political satire, Teodor Kaşab played an important part in the development of Turkish theatre in the 1870s, through his skilful adaptations of French plays and his numerous articles in which he discussed the principles and techniques of the developing modern Turkish theatre. He is the author of the following adaptations: (1) *Pinti Hamid* ("Hamid the Miser"), Istanbul 1290/1873, a successful adaptation, superior to Aḥmed Vefik Pasha's better known *Azarya*, of Molière's *L'Avare* (1668). Although Pinti Hamid is a well known popular character who symbolizes stinginess, the prince Hamid Efendi (the future 'Abd al-Ḥamid II), suspicious as he was and known to be rather close, tried unsuccessfully to stop the performance of the play at the last minute (for details see the letter of Kaşab's son Diogenes to İsmâ'il Ḥabib Sevük quoted in the latter's *Tasimattan beri*, i, Istanbul 1940, 218). (2) *İşkilli Memo* ("Memo the Suspicious"), Istanbul 1291/1874, from Molière's *Sganarelle ou le cocu imaginaire* (1660), in Roman script *İşkilli Memo*, Istanbul, 1965, ed. Cevdet Kudret with an introduction on Teodor Kaşab; (3) *Para Meselesi*, Istanbul 1292/1875, translated from Alexandre Dumas fils' *La question d'argent* (1857); (4) *Lükresya Borđiyya*, Istanbul 1292/1875, from Victor Hugo's *Lucrèce Borgia* (1833). He also translated many novels, the best known among them being *Monte Kristo*, Istanbul 1288/1871, from Alexandre Dumas père's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1845), the popularity of which inspired Aḥmed Midḥat's famous novel *Ḥasan Mellâh* (1292/1875).

Teodor Kaşab contributed considerably to the liberal and reformist movement of the Young Ottomans and advocated a larger use of the techniques and concepts of the traditional Turkish theatre, such as *Karagöz* and *Orta oyunu*, in modern plays. Both in his articles and his plays, Kaşab used colloquial speech and avoided a flowery style.

*Bibliography*: M. N. Ozön, *Namık Kemal ve İbret Gazelesi*, Istanbul 1933, *passim*; M. C. Kuntay, *Namık Kemal I*, Istanbul 1944, 586-96; İhsan Sungu, *Diyojen*, in *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, Istanbul 1945, s.v.; N. Moschopoulos, *Theodoros Kasapēs*, in *Megalē Hellēnikē Enkyklopaideia*, s.v., Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi*, III, *Tanzimat Tiyatrosu*, Istanbul 1961, 85-86 and *passim*; F. A. Tansel, *Namık Kemal'in mektupları*, i-ii, Ankara 1967 and 1969, see indices. (F. İz)

**KAŞAB** (A.), noun of unity *kaşaba*, any plant with a long and hollow stem like the reed (*Arundo donax*), to which the term is especially applied (see *Mukḥaṣṣa*, xi, 46). The bamboo is called *khayzurān*, but *kaşab* is a component of certain expressions denoting in particular the sugar cane (*kaşab al-sukkar*, etc.) [see following article] and the sweet flag (or fragrant rush, *kaşab al-dharira*; see H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin, *Tuḥfat al-ahbāb*, Paris 1934, 152; M. Levey, *The medical formulary . . . of al-Kindī*, Madison-London 1966, 316), or even the papyrus reed (*kaşab al-bardī* or just *al-bardī* [see PAPHYRUS]).

The reed had various uses: for making hurdles and wattles; lattice-work mats, pens [see *ḲALAM*] and children's toys (e.g. see Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira*, i/1, 165). It is further known that it was used in many places for making light huts; at Baṣra, when it was first laid out as a military camp, even the mosque and the governor's residence were made from reeds, which were rolled up before departure in an expedition and used again on return (Ibn al-Fakih, 188; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 346-7; al-Ṭabari, i, 2384; Yāqūt, i, 640). These structures, susceptible to fire

(al-Ṭabari, i, 2487), were later replaced by ones out of sun-dried brick. It should be noted that reeds were especially abundant in the neighbouring Baṭīḥa [q.v.], and their value was such that it was said to Ziyād that "a reed is more valuable than a palm-tree". Al-Djāhiz, who recounts this saying (*K. al-Buldān*, ed. Pellat in *Machriq* (1966), 200-1; ed. Ş. al-ʿĀli, Baghdad 1970, 504), adds that "I did my utmost to catalogue the advantages of different kinds of reeds, their uses and the things that can be made out of them, but failed and had to abandon the idea"; it is regrettable that he in fact gave up this plan, since he could have certainly composed a whole monograph about the reed in civilisation.

Amongst the numerous other meanings of *kaşab* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), one should note that it denotes a coloured linen cloth manufactured at Tinnis, or a white one made at Damietta, or sometimes a cotton cloth made at Kazarūn (Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 461-2), out of which women's fine veils were woven (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, *Ḥikāya*, 54), some set with precious stones (*ibid.*, 53). Dozy further mentions a silken material, as well as a kind of brocade encrusted with little strips of gold or silver.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article. (ED.)

**KAŞAB AL-SUKKAR**, sugar cane, also called *kaşab al-maṣṣ*, because one sucks it (see below), and *kaşab ḥulw* (Gloss. Idrisi). Cultivated sugar cane may be from a wild variety, but the attempts which have been made to cultivate the wild species which is related to it have not been successful. The country of origin of sugar cane cultivation is Bengal, from where, in the 7th century B.C., it must have passed to China. Herodotus did not know of it, nor did Ctesias, physician of Artaxerxes Memnon (ca. 416), but in the age of Alexander the Great, Nearchos, his admiral, and Onesicritos, who composed a history of this ruler's expedition, speak of a reed of India producing "honey without bees", as does Megasthenes, who was the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator. Theophrastos, author of a history of plants who died in 287 B.C., speaks of a *meli kalamion*, an expression that is translated as "reed honey". Pliny did not know of sugar cane, but Dioscorides mentions a kind of coagulated honey from India and Yemen that is gathered from a reed.

It is not known exactly when the cultivation of sugar cane passed from India to Persia. The scholars of the celebrated School of Medicine of Djundaysābūr, which flourished between 532 and 579 A.D., knew of sugar cane through their relations with India. It is not impossible that they had a part in the introduction of sugar cane into Persia, where it found favourable ground for its cultivation in the hot and humid swampy land of Lower Mesopotamia and *Khūzistān* (cf. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, ii, 680-1). After the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, the cultivation of sugar cane was developed by them fairly rapidly, wherever the conditions of the climate responded to the needs of the plant, and it reached as far as the Muslim West.

#### I. — MUSLIM EAST

The zones of cultivation of sugar cane in the Eastern Muslim world are quite numerous, for several regions have low ground enjoying a hot and humid climate favourable to its cultivation and able to be irrigated easily. The cultivation of sugar cane has also developed:

in *Khūzistān* or Ahwāz, in the region of Tustar, watered by the Masrukān canal diverted from the Dūdjayl, in that of Djundaysābūr, that of Sūs (Susa)

on the banks of the Karkha, a tributary of the Dūdjayl (see al-Iṣṭakhṛī, ed. Cairo 1961, 65; Ibn Ḥawqal<sup>2</sup>, 253-4, 257; *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, 130; Le Strange, 236-46; Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii, 680-1);

in the region of Baṣra, in the 4th/10th century, according to Bayhaḳī, who wrote in the age of al-Muḳtadir (*Kitāb al-Mahāsīn wa'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, 623);

in Ṭabaristān to the south of the Caspian, in the region of Mila (*Hudūd*, 134);

in Fārs, Makrān, Kirmān (see Ibn Ḥawqal<sup>2</sup>, 302-3, 232, 313, 325; Le Strange, 329; *Hudūd*, 124; cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 6, 346, at Sābūr and Shahrastān);

in Khurāsān, in the region of Balkh (*Hudūd*, 108); in Sind (al-Iṣṭakhṛī, 102; Ibn Ḥawqal, 320; *Hudūd*, 91);

in ʿUmān (cf. *ET*<sup>1</sup>, art. ʿOMĀN; Lippmann, 151);

in Syria-Palestine, at Kābūl, Tyre, Beirut, cf. Ibn Ḥawqal<sup>2</sup>, 176 (Beirut); al-Muḳaddasī, 162 (Kābul), 180; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-Nāma*, 40 (Tripoli); Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, ii, 368 (Tyre, plantations in the hands of the Venetians at the time of the Crusades); Foucher de Chartres, at Bulunyas (in Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie*, 473; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 410, 439); in the Ghawr of the Jordan valley (Yāḳūt, iii, 822; al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 87); at Tiberias (al-Muḳaddasī, 161; cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine*, 17; Heyd, ii, 685);

in Egypt, the cultivation of sugar cane has been attested there by some papyri in the 2nd century A.D. (see Mez, *Renaissance*, 410 and n. 2); yet, if this cultivation was not exactly introduced there by the Arabs, it was in fact they who developed it, along the length of the Nile, from Upper Egypt to its mouth, the best ground being the low-lying land watered by the branches of Rosetta and Damietta (Heyd, ii, 678-8, citing Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 123 ff. and Abu'l-Fidāʾ, ii/1, 140). Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 21, notes the great richness of Egypt in sugar and al-Kalkashandī, iv, 87, says that production far exceeded that of the Ghawr. It may be seen in the article SUKKAR how much this production was developed in the time of the Mamlūk Sultans (see Ibn Ḥawqal<sup>2</sup>, 137, 138 (Sanhur), 142 (Ṣāfiyya, Damidjamil), 164, cf. Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, 51; Lippmann, 138, 140);

in Sinḳjar, the word *kaṣab* in al-Muḳaddasī really seems to designate the sugar cane there (cf. Le Strange, 124; but Ibn Ḥawqal is silent on this subject, 220);

in the Yemen, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-Arab*, ed. Müller, 198;

according to al-Zuhri, a geographer of the 6th-7th/12th-13th century, edited by Hadj-Sadok (*B. Ét. O.*, xxi, 184, no. 333), it was also cultivated in Abyssinia.

Sugar cane was cultivated in several of these regions, not only for the manufacture of sugar, as was practised in Khūzistān and Egypt [see SUKKAR], but also to be chewed or sucked, hence the term *kaṣab al-maṣṣ*. It is this that al-Muḳaddasī, 161, notes at Tiberias where, he says, the people spent two months of the year "playing the flute", i.e. sucking the cane (*yazmirūna: yamuṣṣūn al-kaṣab*), cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 510.

It is curious that the Arab geographers do not mention at all the cultivation of sugar cane in a region where it is grown at present, sc. Cilicia; in Tarsus for example, in September, sugar cane is sold in the streets.

In the work *Nuzhat al-anām fī mahāsīn al-Shām* (see below), 355, mention is made of a *ḥadīth* reported by ʿAffān b. Muslim (on this personage, see Brockelmann, I, 157) who says: "The one who sucks sugar cane after his meal will have joy throughout

the day". The Prophet doubtless did not know of sugar cane; the author also adds, *wa-llāh aʿlam*. See also in this opusculum, 356, some verses on sugar cane.

Beyond the regions indicated as belonging properly to the Muslim East, the cultivation of sugar cane was introduced by the Arabs, or in imitation of them, not only into the West (North Africa, Morocco, Spain, see below), but also into the following countries:

into Cyprus, where the cultivation of the cane was highly developed in the environs of Limassol, in the south of the island, and at Bafa (Paphos) in the West. In the period of the Crusades, the family of Cornaro, the King and the Knights of St. John had plantations in the region of Colossi (Heyd, ii, 9 and 687-91); into Rhodes, Crete (Candia) and even Greece in the Morea (Heyd, ii, 689);

into Sicily. The Arab geographers and al-Idrīsī do not speak of the cultivation of sugar cane in this land (the *kaṣab fārisī* that Ibn Ḥawqal, 122, mentions there may not be sugar cane, see BGA, iv, 325, although Lippmann, 110, thinks that it does designate sugar cane). Nevertheless, it is certain that, towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, sugar was already being manufactured in Sicily and this sugar was being consumed in Ifriḳiya, for the *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* of al-Mālikī, dedicated to the scholars of Qayrawān, mentions that a *faḳīh* called Abu'l-Faḳl al-ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā, who died between 331/943 and 335/947 in the war against Abū Yazīd, refused to eat a cake that he believed to have been made with sugar from Sicily, as a result of rights conceded by the (Fāṭimid) usurper. It is certain that Roger II and his successors encouraged the cultivation of sugar cane in Sicily, and the diploma cited by Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia*, ii, 509, iii, 808, show that this cultivation was flourishing in the 6th/12th century and that sugar was being manufactured at Palermo. This cultivation continued until the end of the 9th/15th century.

We are informed about the cultivation of sugar cane and its complicated technique (repeated ploughing and harrowing, division of the field into small squares — *ahwād* — which the water reaches by channels, planting, irrigation, measures to bring on growth, struggle against weevils by means of tar, the two successive harvests, the first called *al-raʿs*, the second *al-khīlfa*, which usually gives better sugar than the first, etc.), by the Arab treatises on agriculture, and the works relative to financial administration, especially on Egypt. We are unable to give the details here and to explain the technical terms. We will only say that the planting was done in February-March (month of phamenōth) and that the harvest took place in November-December (month of koyak), that three kinds of cane were distinguished, the black, the white and the yellow of which only the two last were pressed (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Mufradāt al-adwīya wa'l-aghḍīya*, ed. Bülāḳ, 1291, ii, 304; al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-nabāt*, cited in Abu'l-Baḳāʾ ʿAbd Allāh al-Miṣrī, *Nuzhat al-anām fī mahāsīn al-Shām*, Cairo 1341, 354). The details on the cultivation of sugar cane are to be found in the following works:

Ibn al-ʿAwwām, French translation in J. J. Clement-Mullet, *Le Livre d'agriculture d'Ibn al-ʿAwwām*, Paris, i (1865), 365 ff., German translation in E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers . . .*, Leipzig 1890, 147 ff.; Makrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, ed. Bülāḳ, tr. in D. Müller-Wodarg, *Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen Abbasidenzeit, in Islam*, xxxi-xxxii, 45-8; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab*, viii, 264 ff.; Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Kawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, 221, 226, 242 ff., 246 ff., 266-7; Nābulusī, *Kitāb*

*Luma' al-ḥawānīn* . . ., ed. Cl. Cahen in *B.Ét.O.*, xvi (1958-60), and tr. in *Quelques aspects de l'administration égyptienne médiévale*, in *Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 1948, 116-7; Makḥzūmī, Ms., tr. in preparation.—For the cultivation at the end of the 12th/18th century in Egypt, whose methods were essentially the same as those of the Middle Ages, see *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd ed., xvii, 173 ff., cf. M. Jomard, *Recueil d'observations et de mémoires sur l'Égypte*, Paris, n.d., 6 vols., iv (bearing the date 1830). See also A. Mazahéri, *La Vie quotidienne des Musulmans au Moyen-Age* (X-XIII<sup>e</sup> s.), 1951, 227 ff.

**Bibliography:** Apart from the works cited in the article and the *Geschichte des Zuckers* of v. Lippmann, see also S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i, 276, ii, 7; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii, 186-7, 200; I. Löw, *Der Zucker, Ein Kapital aus der Flora der Juden*, in *Chemische Zeitung*, li (1927); P. Schwarz, *Die Zuckermühlen von Aḥwāz*, in *Islam*, vi (1915), 269 ff.; E. Wiedemann, *Ueber den Zucker bei den Muslimen*, in *Beiträge*, 52, and *Nachträge zu dem Aufsatz über den Zucker*, 55; J. Ruska in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, art. SUKKAR; A. K. S. Lambton in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. FILĀḤA (for Iran). (M. CANARD)

## II. — MUSLIM WEST

Sugar cane, reached the West (Maghrib, Spain, Sicily, the Balearic Islands, Provence, etc.) in the wake of the Arab expansion in the Mediterranean. Greek and Roman antiquity seems, in fact, to have recognized it as a botanical curiosity only (Dioscorides, Pliny, Strabo, etc.). The exact dates of its first appearances in the various Mediterranean lands are not known precisely. It can, however, be presumed that they followed closely on the advance of the Arabs, who had discovered its cultivation in the East (Mesopotamia) and encouraged it for economic and fiscal reasons. The first allusion to it in the Maghrib is found in the "Book of Plants" (*Kitāb al-Nabāt*) by the eastern botanist Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895). From the 4th/10th century, its presence is noted by as many of the principal Muslim historians, geographers or voyagers as of European ones. As a result, we have precise evidence in Ibn Ḥawqal for the 4th/10th century, al-Bakrī for the 5th/11th century, al-Idrīsī and the *Kitāb al-Istīḥṣār* for the 6th/12th century, al-ʿUmarī for the 8th/14th century, and Leo Africanus and Marmol for the first and second half of the 16th century.

In Spain, where it is described in the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahman I (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 165-7), during the Muslim period the growing of sugar cane extended from Valencia and Castellón de la Plana to the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Its cultivation suffering from the expulsion of the Moriscos; it was henceforth limited to the area between Malaga and Almería, which it still occupies at the present time, the principal areas being found around Motril, Almuñecar, Nerja, etc.

In Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, it was noted at Algiers, Awdjila, Surt, Kaštīliya and Tozeur.

In Morocco, it spread from north to south, from Tangiers and Ceuta (Balyūnaṣh) to Goulemine and to Kṣābī along the Atlantic coast, with Uldja of Salé, Ḥawz of Marrakush and Sūs as the main localities. For this country, textual evidence can be cross-checked with tradition and especially with recent research and discoveries in archaeology. Fifteen sugar-refinery foundations, of which six have been excavated, have been identified in the Ḥawz of

Marrakush under the Tensift (Sidi Shīker), the Ksob water course (Suwayra ḡadīma) and Shīshawa (where two foundations were found), as in Sūs.

The variety cultivated must have been hardy, and because of the region's geographical situation in a semi-arid marginal zone, the cane could only have prospered with the aid of a massive irrigation system and very elaborate cultivation techniques (cf. Ibn al-ʿAwwām). Indeed, some vast irrigation networks comprising numerous remarkable works of art have been uncovered in Morocco at the same time as the sugar refineries. In all regions, canals for carrying water, aqueducts and recovery basins have been uncovered, indicating a use of water both skilful and economical, for it was also used to drive the mills. Today sugar cane cultivation has completely disappeared from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. In Morocco, however, a "sugar-refinery plan" envisages the revival of its cultivation alongside that of sugar-beet in regions where water has been dammed up, not necessarily in those where sugar cane was formerly grown. There are various reasons for the disappearance of this plant but, for the whole of the Mediterranean, the primary cause was the disruption of the sugar market following the discovery of new territories and subsequent increasingly valuable investment in the West Indies and America. Burdened by the onerous need for irrigation, only in Spain cane production could withstand the competition of the New World lands; yet it should not be forgotten that sugar cane contributed to the economic prosperity of the Muslim lands of the West for almost eight centuries.

**Bibliography:** A complete bibliography will be found in P. Berthier, *Les anciennes sucreries du Maroc et leurs réseaux hydrauliques*, Rabat 1966, as well as an account of the research and excavations carried out in Morocco from 1948 to 1960. (P. BERTHIER)

**KAŞABA.** 1. General. Originally the essential part of a country or a town, its heart, and later (a) fortified castle, residence of an authority in the centre of a country or a town; and (b) principal town, chief town.

In the first sense the word occurs especially in the Muslim West, where it designates, outside the towns, the residence of an important personage (particularly in the Atlas) or a garrison billeted in a fortress and, within the towns, the citadel seat of government; in the latter sense it corresponds to the *kaʿa* of the East.

A particularly interesting development of the word, always in the West, is furnished by its application to the most ancient part of a town; in relation to the later urban developments this old town, encircled by walls, has come to be considered as the town "par excellence", the heart of the whole town: *al-madīna*, *al-kaşaba* (*kaşba*, *kaşbah*). A final stage in this development is represented by the colonial epoch, which designates by these words the native town as against that of the Europeans.

In the sense of chief town, the best definition of the term is furnished by the geographer al-Muḥaddasī. If the *miṣr*, in relation to the *iklīm* (province), or the *madīna* (city), in relation to the *kūra* (district), effectively perform the role of chief town, this role is not conceivable outside the relationship of each of these towns with the district dependent on it. The *kaşaba*, on the contrary, is the chief town in general, the administrative centre whose administrative or geographical entity does not matter; the word then refers to a general function, and not to an exact

situation, which al-Muḳaddasī translates figuratively by saying that if the *amṣār* are like the kings and the *mudun* like the army, the *kaṣabāt* are like the chamberlains. The insistence on the function, and not on the actual situation of the town, is so strong that one finds, on occasion, the word *kaṣaba* to designate, as in the West, the heart of a town, as in connection with Palmyra where it refers to the central quarter situated in the ruins of the temple of Baal.

*Bibliography*: Muḳaddasī, tr. A. Miquel, Damascus 1963, 18, 19, 24, 92, 135 (and n. 90), 160 and *passim*; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 52, 60, 363, 374; *ET*, s.v. (A. MIQUEL)

2. North Africa. The term in the sense of "fortress-citadel", in the dialectal form *kaṣba*, plural *kaṣābi* (diminutive *kaṣība*), is widespread in the whole of Northern Africa as far as Timbuktu (Mali). It was none the less so in the Iberian Peninsula where it has survived, until our own days, in the form *alcazaba* (Spanish), *alcaçova* (Portuguese). The word has been gallicised for a long time, in several forms, of which the most commonly accepted by the dictionaries is *casbah*.

Essentially, in origin, the *kaṣaba* is a citadel which, while being attached to the wall surrounding a fortified town, remains sufficiently independent to constitute a keep capable of continuing the resistance, even after the fall of the city, or to serve as a refuge for the governor if the population revolts against his personal authority or that of the prince that he serves.

Its position is naturally fixed according to the best strategic situation, and is sometimes blended with that of an older military establishment. It proudly dominates the town from the height of a hill and may be situated on a watercourse, a cliff, a sea front. According to the countries and local means of construction it may be of hewn stone, rubble or puddled clay (*tābya*). If on a plain, its plan is generally a fairly regular quadrilateral; if on a mountain it espouses practically all the facilities for defence furnished by the topography and relief. A door, generally the sole one and with a single angle, joins the *kaṣaba* to the town that it defends or from which it holds itself aloof. Frequently, an emergency escape postern, called the Gate of Treason (Bāb al-Ḡhadr), would in the old days connect the citadel directly with the country. It allowed the reception of information, reinforcements and provisions or the secret abandonment of the *kaṣaba*, so as to have no need of surrender.

Such were the *kaṣabāt* of the network that the caliphs of Cordova set up in Spain or the Maghrib, and such were those that the Almoravids built for the defence of their empire in the Atlas and the Rif and, in particular, at Marrakesh.

Under the Almohads in the 6th/12th century and under the dynasties succeeding them, the Ḥafṣids at Tunis and Marīnids at Fās, the sense of the term was enlarged in proportion to their creations. Al-Kalkaṣhandī (*Ṣubḥ*, v, 103) and al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-abṣār*, French tr. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, ii, Paris 1937, index) definitely insist that the Maghribi *kaṣaba* is equivalent to the Eastern *kaṣ'a* [q.v.], but the term is applied to every fortified town and even to the imperial towns of Marrakesh, Tunis and Fās al-Djadid. These enclosed in their walls not only the palace of the sovereign and his confidants and the dwellings of his dependents, but one or more mosques, the fiscal services, the guards' barracks, baths, prisons, shops and even markets. They also had great main squares (*āsārāk* from the Berber *asarag*)

where the people could assemble for the festivals and the army participate in ceremonies. Finally, some gardens more or less large (*āgdāl* [q.v.], and, then, some princely or private cemeteries completed the new urban complex. The great gates with a single angle, which were then constructed between town (*madīna*) and citadel (*kaṣaba*), are among the finest monuments which remain to us from this brilliant period (at Marrakesh: Bāb Agnā; at Rabat: Gate of the Wūdāya).

Under the Sharīfian dynasties of Morocco, the Saʿdids in the 10th/16th century and especially the ʿAlawids from the 11th/17th century to our own days, the word serves currently to designate small fortresses of a very simple plan erected in places and analogous with the Turkish *burdjs* and *kunaks* of Algeria, but more solidly constructed. Mawlay Ismāʿil [q.v.] must have had sixty-six *kaṣabāt* constructed and had many others restored. Some constituted fortified outposts against hostile tribes, and frequently Berbers, whilst the others, in being spread out the length of the principal roads of the empire, watched over crossing points and bridges and sheltered travellers at the end of a stage (a list of them and the strength of their garrison is to be found in the study of Lt. de la Chapelle, *Le Sultan Moulay Ismāʿil at les Berbères Sanhadja du Maroc Central*, in *AM*, xxviii (1931), 25, 29). Finally, in the neighbourhood of certain towns (Meknès, Salé) some fortified surrounding walls had been built which served as a dwelling for the black slaves (*ʿabīd*) or which were reserved for the contingents furnished by the tribes of whom military service was required. A certain number of these *kaṣabāt*, after the final disbanding of the troops, have today been transformed into residential quarters.

A very large number of Moroccan agglomerations bear the name of *kaṣba*, or its diminutive *kaṣība* (P. Lancre, *Répertoire alphabétique des tribus... et des agglomérations de la zone française de l'Empire Chérifien...*, Casablanca 1939). The most important is Kasba-Tadla, a small town of 12,000 inhabitants on the Wādī al-rabīʿ, whose bridge has made its fortune.

By extension the Europeans apply the word more or less legitimately to the beautiful and sometimes immense half-civil, half-military dwellings of the important *kaṣāʿids* of the Moroccan Atlas and the Saharan oases. These vast *kaṣabāt* express in a material form the power that some powerful chiefs had acquired during the 19th century at the expense of the petty Berber republics, weakened by the strife of the opposed *leffs* [q.v.]. The Europeans have in the same way Arabised as *kaṣabāt* the *liḡhremtīs* and *āḡādīrīs*, defensive forts or fortified granaries of the same regions. These magnificent pieces of architecture, some of which go back to the 18th century, have been judiciously studied by H. Terrasse, Dj. Jacques Meunier and R. Duru (see *Bibl.*). They testify to the vitality of the rural Moroccan civilization, but the fragility of their construction and their decoration and the decadence of the Berber institutions render their conservation difficult.

In certain cities, Algiers for example, all the quarters of the ancient town combined bear the name of Casbah. This toponym, due to historical circumstances, has since 1830 enjoyed a great literary, cinematographic, and especially journalistic fame.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the references given in the art., see BINĀʿ, BURDJ, ḤISN, and the details given for all the large towns in the Muslim West in the collection Guides Bleus (Hachette-Paris). G. Salmon, *La Oaṣba de Tanger*, in *Archives Nationales*, i (1904); Capt. Maitrot, *Une*



*vieille Kasbah* (Médiouna in Morocco), in *Recueil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département de Constantine*, II (1917-18), with plan; P. Ricard, *Pour comprendre l'art musulman dans l'Afrique du Nord et en Espagne*, Paris 1924; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, Collection Hespéris, v, Paris 1932; H. Terrasse, *Kasbas berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis*, Paris 1938 (with illustrations); *La Kasba, Acropole de Tanger*, special no. of *Tanger-Riviera*, Tanger 1939; R. Brunschvig, *Hafsides*, index; F. Hernandez, *The Alcazaba of Mérida*, in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, Oxford 1940; L. Torres Balbas, *La alcazaba almohade de Badajoz*, in *al-Andalus*, VI (1941); idem, *Excavaciones y obras en la alcazaba de Malaga*, in *ibid.*, IX (1945); J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1949, index; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Paris 1949; J. Caillé, *La ville de Rabat jusqu'au Protectorat, histoire et archéologie*, Paris 1949, 3 vols.; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1950, index; Ch. Allain and J. Meunie, *Recherches archéologiques au Tasghimout des Mesfjoua*, in *Hespéris* (1951); R. Duru, *Une qasba berbère au pied du versant sud de l'Atlas*, in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, No. 35 (1951) with plans; J. Meunié, H. Terrasse and G. Deverdun, *Recherches archéologiques à Marrakech*, Paris 1952; H. Terrasse, *La forteresse almoravide d'Amerno*, in *al-Andalus*, XVIII (1953); G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'occident*, Paris 1954, index; R. Ricard, *Recherches sur la "Porte de la Trahison" dans la forteresse hispanique*, in *al-Andalus*, XX (1955); J. Caille and J. Hainaut, *La Qasba des Gnaoua*, in *Hespéris* (1955); J. Meunié and Ch. Allain, *La forteresse almoravide de Zagora*, in *Hespéris* (1956); R. Duru, *Une qasba des Aït Quarrab* (plans and photographs), in *Hespéris-Tamuda* (1960); G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959-66; Dj. J. Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc*, Paris 1961, 2 vols., idem, *Architectures et habitats du Dades, Maroc pré-saharien*, Paris 1962; F. Nasser, *Emprunts lexicographiques du français à l'arabe*, Beirut 1966, No. 754; M. Morsi, *Moulay Ismâ'il et l'Armée de métier*, in *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, XIV (1967), 2; R. Landau, *The Kasbas of southern Morocco*, London 1969.

(G. DEVERDUN)

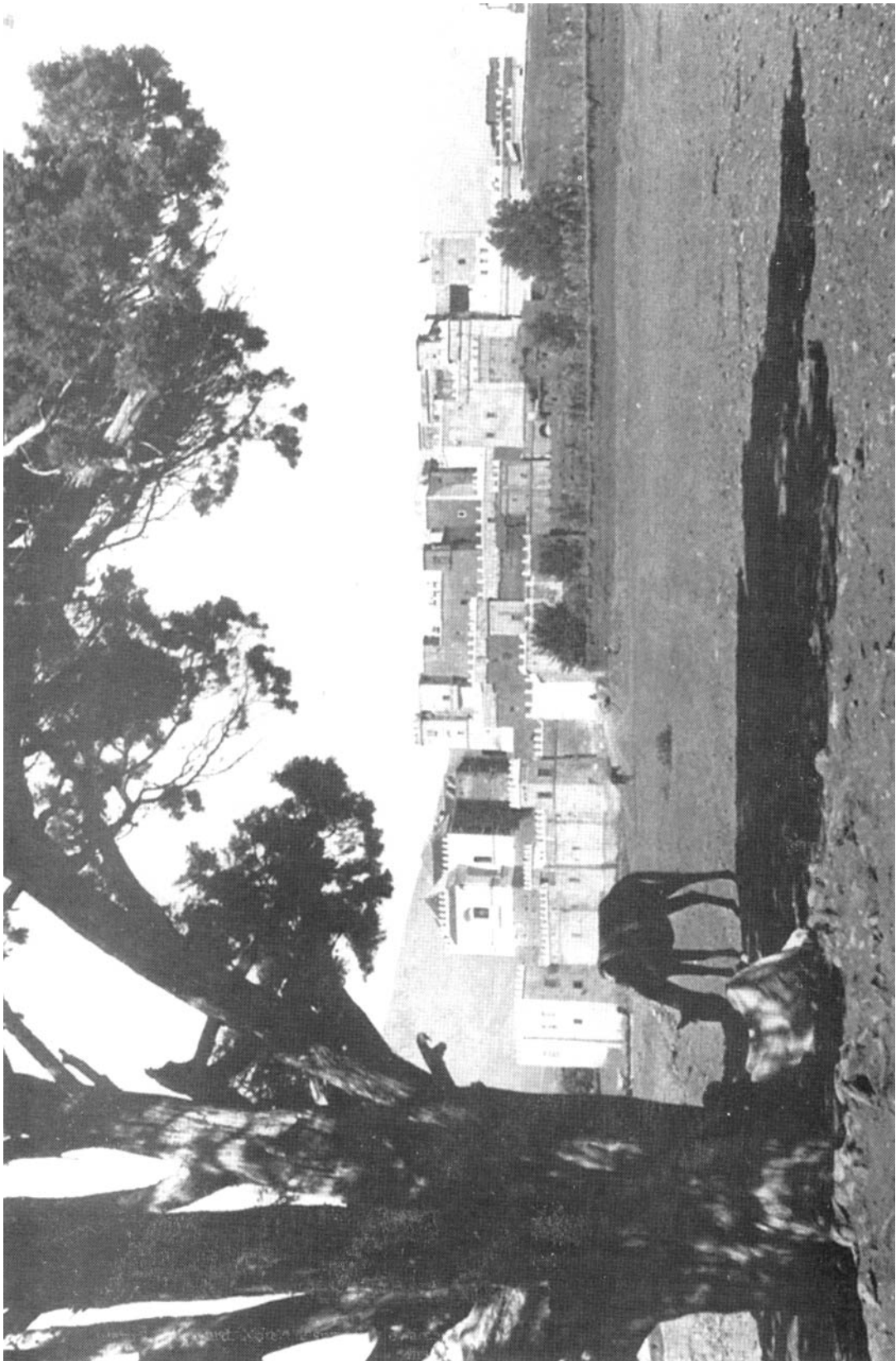
**KAŞAK** [see ÇERKES].

**KASALA** (variant, Kasalâ; conventional spelling, Kassala), a town and province in the east of the republic of the Sudan, extending from the frontier of Egypt to that of Ethiopia. Geographically, the province contains five distinct types of country. (1) A rough triangle in the south, bounded by the railway, the river Rahad and the Ethiopian frontier, where al-Qallâbât (Gallabat) is the principal town, is a westward extension of the central clay plains of the Sudan. (2) North of this is the Buţâna, a plain lying between the Blue Nile, the main Nile and the river 'Aţbarâ, which provides grazing for nomadic and semi-nomadic Arab tribes, of which the *Shukriyya* is the most important. The town of al-Kaşârif (Gedaref) on the border between this and the previous region originated as the market of the *Shukriyya*, and was called Sûk Abû Sinn from the name of the tribal chief. A section of the *Beđja* [q.v.] tribe of Bishârin [q.v.] has been established in the eastern Buţâna and on the 'Aţbarâ since the 12th/18th century. (3) The 'Atbâ consists of the plains lying east and north of the 'Aţbarâ and fringing the Red Sea Hills. This is mostly nomad country, inhabited by *Beđja* ranging from Ummarâr

(Amarar) in the north through Bishârin and Hadanduwa to Banû 'Âmir in the south. It includes, however, the fertile cotton-producing delta of the river *Kâsh* (Gash), at the head of which, beneath the spectacular isolated *Djabal Kasala* (2,791 ft.), is the town of Kasala, the provincial capital. To this area, inhabited by the *Halânka* tribe of *Beđja*, the now obsolete name of al-Tâka was formerly given. (4) The Red Sea Hills, a northern extension of the Ethiopian Highlands, are sparsely inhabited by nomadic *Beđja*. Sinkât (*Beđja*, *Ökâk*) is a market-town and administrative centre occupying a strategic position on the route (now followed by the railway) between the Red Sea and the Nile. (5) The coastal plain, while supporting a nomadic *Beđja* population, has been the site in succession of the ports of Bâđîç, 'Aydihâb [q.v.], Sawâkin (Suakin) and Port Sudan. The town of Tûkar (Tokar) lies in the delta of the Baraka. Traditionally the granary of the region, it now produces cotton.

Until the 19th century, most of what is now the province of Kasala was tribal territory, open to trade and cultural influences through the Red Sea ports, and, from the 10th/16th century, within the sphere of influence (rather than the effective control) of the *Fundj* [q.v.] sultanate of Sinnâr. Holy men played an important part in the region. Hasan b. Hassûna (d. 1075/1664-5), the grandson of an immigrant from the Maghrib, established a patriarchal lordship in the central Buţâna, based on the herding of flocks and the export of horses to Sinnâr and other Sudanese states; he maintained a slave-household and army (see Yûsuf Fađl Hasan (ed.), Muḥammad al-Nûr b. Dayf Allâh, *K. al-ţabaḩât fi khusûs al-awliyâ' wa'l-şâliḩîn wa'l-'ulamâ' wa'l-shu'arâ' fi 'l-Sûdân*, Khartoum 1971, 133-48; cf. S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 194-99). In the 12th/18th century, the holy clan of the *Madjâdhîb*, propagators of the *Shâdhiliyya ʿarîka*, acquired great influence among the eastern tribes from their centre at al-Dâmir at the junction of the 'Aţbarâ with the Nile. Burckhardt in 1814 noted the security that they afforded to travellers passing between al-Dâmir and Sawâkin (J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 268). The devastation of al-Dâmir in 1822 by the Turco-Egyptian commander, Muḥammad Bey *Khusraw* al-Daftardâr, and the flight to Sawâkin of the chief of the clan, led to a further strengthening of *Madjâdhîbî* influence among the Hadanduwa. In the later 12th/18th century, on the disintegration of the *Fundj* sultanate, the *Shukriyya* emerged as the dominant tribe in the Buţâna. (See H. A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, I, 250-3.)

The establishment of Turco-Egyptian rule in the riverain areas made possible the conquest of the nomadic tribes. Although the Hadanduwa were raided in 1823 and again in 1831-2, their effective subjugation was achieved by the *hükümdâr* (governor-general) Aḩmad Paşa Abû Widân, who invaded al-Tâka in 1840 and established a garrison-post, from which developed the town of Kasala. The resistance of the Hadanduwa was finally broken by his successor, Aḩmad Maniklî Paşa, who made a punitive expedition in 1844. Meanwhile, a new *Sûfi ʿarîka*, the *Khatmiyya*, was being propagated among the *Beđja* by al-ḩasan, the son of its founder, Muḥammad 'Uḩmân al-Mirghânî. He established his headquarters at al-Khâti-miyya, near the town of Kasala, where he died and was buried in 1869. In 1864-5 he played an important part as a mediator during serious mutinies of Sudanese (i.e., black) troops at Kasala. (See J. S. Trimming-



*Kaşaba* of Telouet (Morocco). Photograph by courtesy of Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié

ham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, 231-5.)

The Red Sea littoral, and more specifically the ports of Sawākin and Maṣawwa', had been part of the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century. The two towns were granted to Muḥammad 'Alī Paṣḥa on an annual lease in 1846 but reverted to the *vilayet* of the Ḥiǧāz in 1849. In 1865 they were assigned to the Khedive Ismā'īl for life, a concession which in the following year was made hereditary. This grant coincided with the boom in cotton resulting from the American Civil War, and the khedivial governor of Sawākin, Aḥmad Mumtāz Paṣḥa, established an experimental cotton plantation at Tūkar. Appointed in 1870 general governor of the Red Sea Littoral (*i.e.*, Sawākin, Maṣawwa', the Somali coast and al-Tāka) he projected a very extensive development of cotton production in his province, which at first appealed to the Khedive but proved impracticable.

There were no significant developments in the region in the early phase of the Mahdia. The Beǧja were initially uninterested in a movement promoted by Arabic speakers, while the *Shukriyya* were on friendly terms with the khedivial administration, to which their chief (*nāẓir*), 'Awaǧ al-Karīm Aḥmad Abū Sinn, gave loyal support. In May 1883 the Mahdī sent as his emissary 'Uṯmān b. Abī Bakr Dikna al-Sawākinī (Osman Digna), a member of a trading family of Sawākin and of partially Beǧja descent. Rivalry between the Madǧādhīb and the *Khātmiyya* gave him an ally in the head of the former group, *Shaykh* al-Tāhir al-Ṭayyib al-Madǧādhīb, who brought over to the Mahdist cause his own adherents among the Hadanduwa. Sinkāt and Tūkar were besieged and fell in February 1884. Lacking sea-power, 'Uṯmān Dikna was unable to capture Sawākin, which, garrisoned and commanded by the British, remained an enclave in Mahdist territory. Of the Egyptian garrisons in the interior, al-Ḳaḍārif surrendered in April 1884, and Kasala in July 1885 after a long siege, while al-Kallābāt and al-Ǧīra near the Abyssinian frontier were successfully evacuated.

Two military provinces with their headquarters at 'Afāfīt near Tūkar and al-Kallābāt (subsequently al-Ḳaḍārif) guarded the heartlands of the Mahdist state against a hostile periphery—the British in Sawākin, the Italians in Eritrea, and the Christian power of Abyssinia. The effectiveness of the Mahdist forces was diminished by mutual ill-feeling between 'Uṯmān Dikna and his Beǧja followers on the one hand and the Arab commanders and warriors on the other. In spite of a successful Mahdist raid under Hamdān Abū 'Anǧja, which penetrated to Gondar (January 1888), and the death of the Abyssinian ruler, John IV, after a battle at al-Kallābāt (March 1889), the position on this frontier was virtually a stalemate throughout the Mahdia. On the other sectors the situation of the Mahdists deteriorated. A British force took 'Afāfīt in February 1891, dislodging 'Uṯmān Dikna and ending the threat to Sawākin. In July 1894 the Italians captured Kasala by prior agreement with the British, but retroceded the town to Egypt in December 1897. The last effective Mahdist army in the region was withdrawn from al-Ḳaḍārif by Aḥmad Faḍīl, who joined the *Khālifa* 'Abdallāhi after the decisive defeat of Karārī (September 1898) and died with him at Umm Diwaykarāt (24 November 1899).

Under the Condominium (1899-1955) and the independent republic of the Sudan, the history of the region has increasingly been merged in the general development and modernization of the country. The province of Kasala as originally formed did not in-

clude the northern and coastal districts until it was amalgamated with the Red Sea Province in 1930. While the intractable Beǧja remained a difficult problem for administrators, economic and educational progress assisted their integration into the Sudanese community. Factors of economic change in the province have been the construction of Port Sudan (1906-9) and the extension of cotton cultivation in the *Qāsh* and Baraka deltas after the First World War. Ancillary to the latter development was the construction of a railway link between Port Sudan and Kasala (1924) and the subsequent extension of this line to Sinnār.

*Bibliography*: See the bibliography under *BEǦJA* and add the following: K. M. Barbour, *The republic of the Sudan*, London 1961; Richard Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820-1881*, London 1959; P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898*, Oxford 1970; D. C. Cumming, *A history of Kassala and of the province of Taka*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xx/1 (1937), 1-45; xxiii/1-2 (1940), 1-54, 225-69. (P. M. Holt)

**KASAM** (A.), from the verb *akṣama*, designates the oath in general. The word has two other synonyms, *yamīn*, and *ḥalf*. Ibn Ruṣḥd (*Bidāyat al-Muǧtāhid*, i, 394), wishing to emphasize their equivalence from the point of view of terminology, uses the three words without differentiation in the first paragraph of the *kitāb al-aymān* of his *Bidāya*. In fact, when he deals with the judiciary oath, custom has imposed the word *yamīn* [*q.v.*] and the verb *ḥalafa* almost exclusively. But even in that which concerns the extrajudiciary oath, with which the discussion that follows is concerned, the word *yamīn* has a tendency to supplant *kasam*. It is also a fact that, in the treatises of *fiḥh*, whichever school is considered, and in the collections of *ḥadīth*, the chapter dedicated to [extrajudiciary] oaths is almost always entitled *bāb* or *faṣl al-aymān*.

In the lines that follow, the judiciary oath will not be discussed; nevertheless, there will be occasion to consider, in the field of penal procedure, the *kasāma*, an oath pronounced fifty times, which, although connected with the judiciary oath, derives etymologically from the word *kasam*.

The extrajudiciary oath is that by which a person binds himself to do or not to do a certain specific physical or juridical act, by invoking the name of God or one of the divine attributes (*al-Raḥmān*, *al-Ḳādir*, *al-Nāṣir*, etc.). At least, that is the definition that the works of *fiḥh* give of it, for, in the *Ḳur'ān*, the word *kasam* or the verb *akṣama*, which figure expressly in the *sūras* of the Meccan period (vi, 109; xvi, 38; lvi, 75; lxxviii, 17; lxxxix, 15; lxxxix, 5; xc, etc.) or which are implied in many of the other *sūras* of the same period, apply, in general, to the oaths pronounced by God himself, which are known to cause some difficulties for commentators of the *Ḳur'ān*. Already in the Medinan *sūras*, the word *yamīn* is frequently substituted for *kasam* (ii, 225; v, 89) and marks the first stage of an evolution leading to the concept which becomes that of *fiḥh* with regard to extrajudiciary oaths which bring about voluntary bonds, while the verb *akṣama* is still to be found in these Medinan *sūras* (for example, v, 53).

The bond undertaken under oath is not, in general, a juridical obligation, in the sense that the one who has sworn to perform an act cannot be constrained judicially to carry it out. In a case where he did not respect his oath, he would be perjured (*ḥinṭh*), but it is then a matter of sin, a moral fault, for which he must account to God alone. Nevertheless, *fiḥh*, following very close to the *Ḳur'ānic* text (v, 39) pro-

vides him, in the hypothetical case where he has involuntarily broken his oath, with a means to put his conscience in order, that is, by expiation, *kaffāra*. Expiation for a broken oath may be to give sustenance to 10 paupers, to distribute clothing to them or to free a slave; and, if, through lack of resources, any of these expiations is not possible, the perjured man must fast for 3 days. These regulations, having been laid down in the Qurʾān, are evidently common to the teaching of all the Schools. The latter are all divided, however, on the methods of application of each of them. For example, should the fast last for 3 consecutive days? Yes, reply the Ḥanafīs and the Ḥanbalīs, but no, according to the Mālikīs and the Shāfiʿīs (Dimashqī, *Rahmat al-Umma*, ii, 79-80). The same divergences are found in that which concerns the quantity of food to be given to the poor, or the quality of the clothing which is distributed to them. It must be emphasized that, as with the oath itself, the expiation, which sanctions its non-execution, has no characteristic of juridical obligation, and no-one, not even the public authority, can constrain the perjured man to perform expiation. All this is laid out on a strictly moral and religious plane.

The *fukahāʾ* were asked if it was not possible for someone, who had sworn to accomplish a certain act deliberately, to substitute the expiation for the performance of his oath, although nothing prevented him from accomplishing his vow. Strangely enough, the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs refuse him this option, a prohibition that is not in accordance with the character of vows freely consented to as with the oath and expiation.

The statement of the jurists with regard to oaths (*aymān*) is, in form, very close to that which they adopt in that which concerns a real juridical act. Necessary capacity, conditions of form and substance, null and void formulas, moment of performance of the vow undertaken, effects of the suspensive condition, expédients (*hiyal*) to change the law, all would let us suppose that it was concerned with vows which, although unilateral, bound their author by strict juridical obligation. Certainly, a careful examination of the dispositions of each school on the question, and especially the non-judicial sanction, which consists of *kaffāra*, quickly restores to these dispositions their real character of strictly religious and moral rules. That is not to say that all the works of the jurists on the question were devoid of practical interest. Throughout the centuries, the pious Muslim did not generally attach great importance to the distinction, familiar to specialists, between moral and juridical sanction. His concern was to know whether his conduct here below was reprehensible or not, and whether it would bring him chastisement in the next world. So it was that the long discussions dedicated in the books of *fiqh* to oaths (*aymān*) often associated with vows, *nudhūr* [q.v. NADHR] presented him with a very great interest.

It is not possible to enter into detail on the solutions proposed by authors (different, moreover, according to the schools) for particular cases of oaths and all the kinds that were imagined.

Only one example will be given because of the long discussions that the works of *fiqh* dedicate to this particular case. It concerns the oath called *ḡihār*, which may be translated very vaguely as "incestuous comparison". The word is derived from *ḡahr*, "back". Presumably the husband says to his wife: "You are for me like my mother's back", *ka-ḡahri ummi*, or any other comparison of a part of the body of his wife with that of a woman he could not marry without

committing incest. In pre-Islamic Arabia it was a general form of repudiation, but the Qurʾān condemned everything of that kind (xxxiii, 4 and lviii, 2-3). Its pronunciation constituted nothing other than a sin, and a serious one, which could only be wiped out by expiation. This is different from the ordinary expiation for oaths not respected, and consists of freeing a slave, or in default, fasting for 2 months (during the day only, of course). If not, the husband would have to distribute the midday and evening meal to 60 paupers.

In a general manner, the solutions of *fiqh* hinge on two essential points. In the first place, it is concerned with knowing when one may consider that an oath has been respected, the expressions used by the one who swore being borne in mind. On this point, the replies are very often of a lexicological order and baffle all systemization. The second point concerns expiation; this is not automatically incurred by the simple fact that the oath has not been performed. There are actually some oaths which, due to an actual or theoretical fault, do not call for expiation, although they have not been respected. It is in this category that one places the *yamin al-ghamūs*, or oath to perform a deed that one knows to have been already performed. There would not be any *kaffāra*, except in the Shāfiʿī school. In the same way, the *laghw al-yamin*, an oath taken by mistake (through a slip of the tongue) or in a thoughtless manner, does not require expiation (Dimashqī, *op. cit.*, ii, 73). The same applies, if one follows an oath with an *istiḥnāʾ*, a reservation, of which the most usual is "If God wills". No more can someone who is not *mukallaḡ* (fully capable) bind himself validly by oath, but the majority of the schools (except the Ḥanafī school) admit that the oath of the unbeliever (*kāfir*) is valid, and that he will be held liable to expiation if he does not carry out his vow.

During the centuries, the usages, variable according to the regions, have added different ceremonials to the very simple form of the oath that was foreseen by *fiqh*, in order to render the vow more solemn, and to bind further its author. There were also oaths pronounced in sacred places such as the Kaʿba at Mecca, or simply within a mosque, which conferred on them a higher value in popular belief.

In the same fashion, oaths are sworn by touching the tomb of a saint or holding bread and coffee in the hand, or placing on the heart an excerpt from the Qurʾān or the *Ṣaḡīḡ* of Bukhārī. Sometimes this supplementary ceremonial represents a pre-Islamic practice, still strongly marked by paganism, such as pronouncing the oath and throwing salt in the communal fire of the tribe, or within a circle in which cinders and pieces of fabric have been scattered. There are some moments of the day when oaths acquire a particular importance, such as that which follows the evening prayer.

On all these practices which are unknown to *fiqh*, see Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, 338, 342; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 311; Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 133-4; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 306; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, i, 168, 470.

Oaths judicially sanctioned. As has been stated and repeated above, the whole theory of the extrajudicial oath is placed on a moral and religious plane, and consequently very often means that the question may be treated in the first part of the works of *fiqh*, dedicated to ritual (*ʿibadāt*). Nevertheless, in two fields of law, i.e. enfranchisement and repudiation, the oath involved in the past (and sometimes today) a juridical sanction, in the sense that

the one who swore to free his slave or repudiate his wife was held liable to carry out his vow, without being able to substitute a *kaffāra* or expiation, through which he would have been able to free himself from his obligation.

In the matter of enfranchisement, every declaration to this effect, even not dependent on the fulfilment of an act by the master or the slave or any other person, had the validity of an oath of enfranchisement, *al-ḥalf bi'l-ʿit̄k* and this oath (which did not, however, mention the name of God) irrevocably entailed the liberty of the slave or the slaves alluded to in the master's declaration.

Ancient *fiḳḳ* had set up two institutions both based on an oath which, although not having as principal object the breaking-up of marriage, led indirectly to this result. The first of these institutions is the *liʿān*, or "oath of anathema", by which the husband accuses his wife of adultery or disowns the child that she carries in her womb. To this end, the husband prayed five times an oath in the form *ashhadu billāhi*, and the last oath was followed by the formula "may I be cursed, if I lie".

The *ilāʿ* was an "oath of continence", the husband swearing in the name of God not to have sexual relations with his wife for at least 4 months. When this time had passed without a resumption of conjugal relations, the marriage was not automatically broken up except in Ḥanafī law, the other schools allowing the wife to judge the occasion for the severance, which would take place by a repudiation that the husband would pronounce, or that the *ḫāḍi* would formulate in his place.

Very soon the rules of precedent, especially those relating to the *ilāʿ*, had fallen into desuetude. The jurists do not dedicate very long discussions to them, except on account of the importance of the scriptural evidence relating to these two institutions, and not for their usefulness, which had become practically nil.

The oath of repudiation. On the other hand, the oath of repudiation, *al-ḥalf bi'l-ḫalāk* or still more *al-yamin bi'l-ḫalāk*, has always been in very current usage among the Arabic-speaking Muslim populations. In certain circles, notably that of the small traders, it is not rare in the course of a conversation for one of the speakers to swear two or three times, in order to assert his determination or his good faith: "May my wife be repudiated if such a thing does or does not happen, if I am right or if I am wrong, etc.". The matters are of no consequence, each one knowing that he is uttering idle words, pronounced mechanically and without attention being paid to them. The moralists have always severely reproved this bad habit, for, in any case, it leads to a blameworthy result, whether the one who has sworn does not respect his oath on the pretext that he had formulated it without a serious intention to repudiate and he finds himself perjured, often several times a day, or whether he respects it and separates from his wife, from whom he had no intention to separate and whom he had no occasion to reproach.

What juridical validity did the jurists attach to these oaths of repudiation? Only the *Ḍjāʿfarīs* (and the *Zāhīrīs* in the past) have always denied them all legal validity, for the reason, among others, that they do not contain the name of God in their formulation. The other juridical schools regard them as conditional repudiations, and as such, involving the break-up of the marriage, when the condition is realized. Whether the wife avails herself or not of the oath or the husband respects it in separating from his wife or does not respect it in continuing to live

with her, are questions of fact, which do not modify at all the principle itself, *i.e.* the oath of repudiation determines, in law, the repudiation of the wife, if the tacit or explicit condition that it contains is realized. This troublesome solution of the jurists is still applied today in a certain number of Muslim countries.

Egypt is the first Muslim state to have attempted to restrain the execution of the rule of precedent. The Egyptian law of 10 March 1929 declares as null and void conditional repudiations and oaths of repudiation, when these are dependent on an act being done or not done by the wife; but if the condition is different (*i.e.* if it is not dependent on the will of the wife) the oath of repudiation is valid. Several Muslim countries (Sudan, Jordan, Syria) have adopted in their turn the Egyptian distinction. One must turn to the Moroccan Code of the Personal Statute of 1958 and the Iraqi Code of the Personal Statute of 1959 to find a radical condemnation of every oath of repudiation, whatever may be the nature of the condition on which the repudiation is dependent.

**ḲASĀMA.**—Derived etymologically from *ḳasam*, this differs from it in its mode of being taken and its strict field of application. It is concerned with an oath repeated 50 times, either by the *ʿaṣaba* of the victim of a murder (Mālikī rite), or by the inhabitants of the place of the crime (Ḥanafī rite) an oath by which is asserted the guilt or, on the contrary, the innocence of an individual presumed to have killed someone. This oath dates from the pre-Islamic period, when it always constituted a procedure of accusation, a weapon in the hands of the members of the victim's tribe, seeking to make use of retaliation (*ḫiṣāṣ*) against the man presumed to be guilty. The juridical schools of Islam, in adopting this pre-Islamic custom, do not make it produce the same result. Actually, in *fiḳḳ*—merely quoting the Ḥanafī and Mālikī doctrines which are clearly opposed—the *ḳasāma* is, in the first of these systems, a procedure for the defence of the one presumed guilty, and, in the second, a procedure of accusation.

According to all the early Ḥanafīs (sc. those of Kūfa), when in a non-public place (which excludes the mosque), quarter of a town, house, boat, etc., the corpse of a person was discovered, when there were not two male witnesses to point out the murderer, and when the *walī al-dam*, the nearest *ʿaṣīb* relative of the victim, came to demand justice, 50 people had to be made to swear to having found it in this place, that they were not involved in this crime and that they did not know the murderer. If 50 people could not be gathered (if the crime was committed in a house, for example), it was possible to make the same person swear several times, in such a manner that the total of 50 oaths was reached. In the light of this, the *walī al-dam* could not apply retaliation and had to content himself with the pecuniary compensation (*diyya*) provided in such a case.

The Mālikī school, following the teaching of the scholars of Medina, has kept the characteristics of the *ḳasāma* which it had in pre-Islamic Arabia, that is to say, those of a procedure of accusation. It is also a fact that in the hypothetical case of a murder of which the author is unknown, the *ʿaṣaba* relatives of the victim swore a total of 50 oaths (the same person could swear several times provided that this was not more than 25 times) that such an individual, against whom is weighted serious presumptive evi-

dence, was the one who committed the murder. The notion of serious presumption (*lawṭh*) has acquired thereby in this school, and in those that have adopted the same conception of *kasāma*, a fundamental importance. Serious presumptive evidence was held to be not only the fact that the victim, before dying, had accused the presumed murderer, but also the presence of this last person, with his blood-stained clothing, not far from the victim, or even the testimony of a single witness to the murder. With these conditions combined, the *walī al-dam* would bring retaliation against the one presumed guilty, such that he could then, as a result, have him put to death. The Mālikī version of the *kasāma*, in which oaths liable to bring about death were taken by the relatives of the victim who, *ex hypothesi*, were not present at the murder, has formed the subject of some criticisms on behalf of one party, that has nevertheless remained a minority, of the ancient doctrine (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, ii, 419).

Finally, it does not appear that this institution functioned much, even in the past when the penal law of Islam had a certain practical application.

*Bibliography*: See the chapter *aymān*, in the works of *fiqh*, e.g. Marghinānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1936, ii, 54-5; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-muḥīṭahid*, Cairo 1952, i, 394; Ibn Kudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1367, viii, 676-7; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strasbourg 1914; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris - The Hague 1965, ii, nos. 1001 to 1011, 1021.

On the *kasāma*, see al-Kāsānī, *Badā'i' al-ṣanā'i'*, Cairo 1910, vii, 286-7; Khalīl b. Ishāk, *Mukhtaṣar* (tr. Bousquet) nos. 298-9; R. Brunschwig, *Considérations sur le droit musulman ancien*, in *Studia Islamica*, iii (1955), 69-70; N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh 1964, 93-4; J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 184.

(J. PEDERSEN-[Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS])

AL-KĀSĀNĪ, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR B. MAS'ŪD, called MALĪK AL-'ULAMĀ' "King of Scholars" was one of the greatest jurists of the Ḥanafī law school. His *nisba* stems from Kāsān, in Farghāna, to the north of the Syr Daryā in Central Asia. He was the pupil of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 539/1144), the author of a treatise regarded as authoritative in the Ḥanafī school, sc. his *Tuḥfat al-fukahā'* (printed at Damascus in 1964), and married this scholar's daughter Fāṭima, herself well-versed in the legal sciences. Appointed to a position in Aleppo in 543/1148, he taught there till his death in 587/1189, in the famous Madrasa Ḥalawiyya. In Aleppo, he was always treated with respect and consideration by the authorities, who recognised his deep legal knowledge and the orthodoxy of his teaching; he frequently attacked the Mu'tazila and heretical innovators (the *ahl al-bid'ā*).

His main work, and the one which made him famous, is the *Kitāb Badā'i' al-ṣanā'i' fi tartīb al-ṣharā'i'* (Cairo 1327-48, 7 vols.). According to his biographers, this work is a commentary on the *Tuḥfa* of al-Samarqandī; but in reality, neither in form nor content is this a commentary in the usual sense of the term. As the author explains at the outset of his work, he wished to "imitate" the work of his predecessor; this is why each of its chapters begins by stating the plan of the subject matter, a plan to which al-Kāsānī is then rigorously faithful. He also owes to al-Samarqandī a certain tendency towards systematisation. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that the "imitation" is far superior to

the original model. In Ḥanafī legal literature, the *Badā'i'* constitutes a master-piece of a quality which was never reached subsequently. The term "commentary" has been attached to al-Kāsānī's work simply because his biographers wished to stress an aspect of his life which they thought worthy of remark, and said *ṣharāḥa Tuḥfatahu wa-tazawwajja bintahu* "he wrote a commentary on his *Tuḥfa* [of al-Samarqandī] and married his daughter".

Despite his qualities of clarity, methodicalness and learning, al-Kāsānī's work nevertheless did not exercise any great influence on the later development of Ḥanafī law. It does not seem that legal scholars of his own time were particularly impressed with his importance; thus properly speaking, he had no disciples, and the *Badā'i'* was not made the starting-point for numerous commentaries, as was the case with the *Hidāya* of his contemporary al-Marghinānī (d. 593/1197). At a later date, his ideas are hardly mentioned in the great compilations of Ḥanafī law, and even then with no more weight attached to them than to those of other Ḥanafī jurists. The appearance at the beginning of this century (1328/1909) of the first edition of the *Badā'i'* quickly gave rise to a real excitement over this work amongst contemporary jurists, and it can be said that the teaching of Ḥanafī law became then completely polarised around it. Apart from the *Badā'i'*, al-Kāsānī apparently wrote a work called *al-Sulṭān al-mubīn fi usūl al-dīn*, apparently lost; and Brockelmann mentions a Qur'ān commentary called the *Kitāb al-Ta'wīlāt* which exists only in manuscript.

*Bibliography*: Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ii, 295-6; al-Kurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḥīṭa*, ii, 244-6; Ibn Kuṭlubughna, *Tāḍī al-tarāḍīm fi ṭabakāt al-Ḥanafīyya*, Baghdad 1962, 84-5; Tashkōprüzāde *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, ii, 135; Brockelmann, I 375, S I 643; Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1928, col. 1540; Y. Meron, *The development of legal thought in Ḥanafī texts*, in *St. Isl.*, xx (1969), 87 ff.

(W. HEFFENING-Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

KASĀS [see KĪṢṢA].

KASB (A.), in economic life, gain. As is well known, in its main trends Islam is not a doctrine of renunciation of the world, but one of respect for the commandments of God according to the uses of the world, which He has given to man for his benefit. There is therefore no objection whatsoever to a man's realising, as long as it is by legal means, the gain necessary to improve his life and that of his dependents. The Prophet was born into a society of merchants, to whom he often spoke in their own language. He himself had been a merchant and never denigrated this period of his life. Among his disciples were many merchants, whose revenues were increased for the maintenance of the young community. Of course, the Prophet did attack the Qurashīs of Mecca, striking specifically at their economic interests, but this was because of their egoism and denial of his Message and was not a condemnation of their commercial activity as such (Qur'ān, II, 193-4, VII, 28, XII, 9, LXII, 9-10, etc. tr. Blachère, index to the word "fortune"; cf. also Rodinson (ch. 2), W. Ule, Heffening, etc. cited in the Bibl.). In the process of being fixed during the first centuries after the Hidjra, the *Ḥadīth* developed the same line of thought, although bypassing some secondary doubts that concealed real problems. This very general article will be restricted to pointing out various directions in teaching and practice, referring for more detailed analysis to the various methods

by means of which a "gain" might be realised.

Ibn Khaldūn, considering the problem of gain or profit at the end of the classical Muslim period, as it might be presented to a sociologist (although in accord with the Book of God), enumerates (tr. de Slane, ii, 223 f. = Rosenthal, ii, 311 f.) the different means of obtaining it and the two different forms it can take: gain for simple subsistence, or true profit, premium, each resulting to some extent from the application of human effort to the gifts of nature. They can thus be procured, apart from by force or through political power (taxes), by means of agriculture, industry and commerce. This last source is far and away the most respected in Islam.

As would be expected, reflections on the legitimacy of gain became more common from the time of the great economic leap forward of the 3rd/9th century; in fact, it was nearly always the legitimacy of commercial gain which was considered. The affirmation of the legitimacy of gain, as long as it was the fruit of honest toil, was underlined in the face of the ascetic tendencies of some spiritual groups outside Islam, and inside it of the nascent Sūfism, which sometimes preached a strict ideal of poverty and sometimes relied on God, that is on begging, on the charity of the faithful, in fact of the efforts of others and not of oneself (unless preaching or intercession with God can be so called) for the acquisition of whatever is necessary for oneself and one's family. It is symptomatic that it was among the Ḥanbalis, who had most contact with poorer people and with the petite bourgeoisie, that the reaction against anti-economic trends is most pronounced. "Two kinds of food taste best", says a celebrated *ḥadīth* widespread in this milieu, "those produced by your own hands and those carried on your own back". Here, subsistence is in question, but even so, true profits are permitted, though under the strictest regulations. A polemic discovered by S. D. Goitein is highly relevant here. Deriving from a Ḥanafī milieu (always in this period closest to practice), it is a tract attributed, perhaps wrongly, to al-Shaybānī, but one which certainly dates from the 3rd/9th century; it is true that it has come down to us through the medium of a successor, but it is sufficiently clear. In essence, it gathers together all the relevant *ḥadīths* and therefore all the guarantees legitimising gain. This indicates that the problem was indeed one faced by pious men, but that their conclusion was frankly positive, as it has been in all religions during periods of economic development. The attitude remained the same after the great expansion. H. Ritter has recently drawn attention to the contributions of various authors to the subject, al-Ghazālī in particular (end of the 5th/11th century). As would be expected, al-Ghazālī stresses spiritual values and condemns the dishonest merchant, but he equates the honest merchant with a fighter in the *djihad*, thereby demonstrating his regard for commerce.

Teachings from other sources were combined with those of Islam *stricto sensu*. Ritter and Plessner have demonstrated the importance of the ideas of Neopythagorean Bryson, whose work was translated into Arabic at a fairly early date, in the economic thinking of Islam, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, and of Judaism. Through his works were channelled Platonic and Aristotelian traditions. Incidentally, although this was not their own perspective, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* also admit work as a source of gain, at least for subsistence (cf. Y. Marquet, in *Arabica*, vii (1961), 225 f.).

Without wishing to lay stress on this aspect, which

will be more amply covered elsewhere, we must consider practice alongside doctrine. As has been noted, this is mostly concerned with commerce. The conception of merchants entailed here is one of a permanent accord, which can be traced right back to antiquity: the purpose of commerce, as expounded by the author of the *Tabaṣṣur bi'l-tijāra* (3rd/9th cent., 'Irāk), by Abū'l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī (probably 5th/11th century, Fātimid region), and by Ibn Khaldūn, is to realise a profit through the difference between the purchase price in one area and the selling price elsewhere. It has therefore an essentially speculative aim; commerce certainly needs production, but it is not its conscious aim to stimulate it, even though only agriculture and industry are, in the material sense, properly productive. Here we must introduce the ideas developed in Islam concerning prices: in one sense they are willed by God and must therefore be left free, but even so a Muslim ruler is obliged to preserve them from excessive speculation, particularly in the case of basic commodities, just as he is obliged to regulate manufacture, weights and measures, currency, etc.

As in all ancient and mediaeval societies, lending an interest, in all the guises by which it was then known, was highly unpopular and officially forbidden. Early Islam stigmatised *ribā*, a term whose exact meaning is unknown. It entailed, evidently, a condemnation, from a moral point of view, of those who grew rich through the misery of others, without the loan granted helping the borrower in any way to retrieve his fortunes, such as lending dates to a starving man, etc. However, as is often the case with sacred texts, this was applied literally to quite different circumstances, especially in proportion as the economic decline of later Islam drew attention to its faults without their being sufficiently analysed. It was therefore concluded, right up to the present day, that all lending at interest was forbidden. In fact, in periods of economic expansion, in the Islamic world as elsewhere, the interdiction was twisted, in the most transparent fashion, by being applied to non-Muslim communities. Thus it was generally accepted that lending at interest was prohibited amongst coreligionists but not between one faith and another, which in the practical life of a multi-confessional society amounted to its reinstatement (see further *RIBĀ*). Above all, Islam knew, practised and officially ratified customs aimed at securing a profit for money put to work, principally by means of investments in commercial enterprises or domains. This could be done through partnership, *shirka* [q.v.], or through capitalist merchant commenda, *ḵirāḍ*, *mudāraba* [q.v.], the money placed acquiring part of the profit in reward for the service rendered or in compensation for the risk taken. Muslim practice, whatever the original reasons behind it, was considered by merchants of all confessions as preferable to previous traditions (A. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in Medieval Islam*, Princeton 1969). It was in continual usage, which attests the fact that the Muslim economy certainly relied on profit. The forms it took were those which in large measure soon became general in the Mediterranean and Western world. At the end of the Middle Ages, only the latter gradually outdistanced the Muslim economy.

*Bibliography*: it is impossible to give here a general bibliography of a subject so amply treated at an elementary level; see the specialised articles, particularly *TIDJĀRA* (in *EI*<sup>1</sup> by Heffening), *RIBĀ*, *ḴIRĀḌ*, *BAYʿ*, etc.; to the first, while awaiting the new edition, add E. Bussi, *Il concetto*



*di commercio e di commerciante nel pensiero giuridico musulmano*, in *Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni*, iii (1938), 7-53; A. K. S. Lambton, *The merchant in medieval Islam, in A locust's leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 121-30.

For bibliography of quite a general nature, see C. Becker, *Islam und Wirtschaft, in Islamstudien*, i, 54-65; H. Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft, in Der Islam* (1917) (where the author discusses the statements of various writers, al-Ghazālī in particular, on economic themes); M. Plessner, *Der Oikonomikos des neupythagoriers Bryson*, 1928; S. D. Goitein, *The rise of the Middle Eastern bourgeoisie, in Cahiers d'Histoire mondiale | Journal of world history* (1957); idem, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 1966; M. Rodinson, *Islam et Capitalisme*, 1966 (chs. 2-4); Subhi Labib, *Capitalism in mediaeval Islam, in Journal of Economic History* (1969); *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970 (1967 symposium); W. Ule, *Islam und Wirtschaft, in Der Islam* (1971), 136-67 (on its origins).

(CL. CAHEN)

As a theological term *kasb* means "acquisition", "appropriation". The verb *kasaba*, usually in the 1st form and sometimes in the 8th (*iktasaba*), is frequently found in Qur'anic vocabulary, mainly with the sense of "acquiring" those rewards or punishments which are the fruit of moral acts, and so a loose translation could render *kasaba* here as "carrying out an action". Therefore, "Each soul is paid a fair price for whatever has accrued to it" (Qur'an, II, 281; cf. *inter alia*, XIV, 51, XL, 17, LXXIV, 38, etc.). According to the text, this is the very reason for the creation of the world, "God created the heavens and the earth in truth (*bi'l-haq*), and so that each soul could be rewarded for whatever it had acquired" (XLV, 22). *Kasaba* alludes to the "acquisition" (of the fruit) of each act, good or evil; *iktasaba*, which is very close in meaning, is used in the Qur'an only for human actions in general (IV, 36), or for acts which merit punishment (II, 286, XXIV, 11, XXXIII, 58). Verse II, 286 says: "To each soul (is given) that which it has acquired (*kasabat*) and against each (is recorded) that which it has acquired (*iktasabat*). It should be noted that when discussing this verse, al-Zamakhsharī, followed by al-Baydāwī, stresses the meaning contained in the 8th form.

The *maṣḍars* of these two verbal forms, *kasb* (pl. *aksāb*) and *iktisāb*, have had a long history in the *ʿilm al-kalām*, especially in the Aṣḥ'arī school, where they were employed to define that which reverted to man in a "freely" accomplished and morally qualified act. The Aṣḥ'arī *kasb* is a narrow margin in which is inscribed the relationship between the act created by God and human responsibility. The school's subtle analyses tend to safeguard both the notion of "free choice" (*ikhtiyār* [q.v.]) strongly expressed within the subject, and the just, frequent retribution augured in the Qur'an, while at the same time taking nothing away from God, who "created you, you and that which you do" (Qur'an, XXXVII, 96). Some writers prefer to use *iktisāb* (al-Ghazālī); the majority use one term or the other indiscriminately. According to al-Zamakhsharī, commenting on Qur'an, II, 286, it appears that *iktisāb*, in its reflexive connotation, lays stress on psychologically proven reality. The discussions about *kasb* were famed for their very elaborate dialectic, as witness the maxim of their opponents (notably the Ḥanbalīs): "more tenuous than al-Aṣḥ'arī's *kasb*", *adaḥḥ min kasb*

al-Aṣḥ'arī. But perhaps this subtlety, or obscurity, can be clarified when the historical evolution of the committed arguments is taken into consideration.

1. Pre-Aṣḥ'arī *kalām*. It was, in fact, from his predecessors that al-Aṣḥ'arī took the concept of *kasb* as the "acquisition" of acts (see W. Montgomery Watt, *The Origin of the Islamic doctrine of acquisition*, in *JRAS* (1943), 234-7; idem, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, *passim*; idem, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, index).

It seems to have been in Ghaylān's teaching and in Murdījī circles that the root *k-s-b* first took on a technical meaning: to distinguish between science and knowledge "acquired" by man's efforts, *ʿilm muhtasabī*, and "necessary" science or knowledge, *ʿilm ḍarūrī*. *Kasb* here remains very close to its initial sense of acquisition of profit. *Muhtasabī* (associated with *naṣarī* "discursive", "speculative") and *ḍarūrī* (associated with "immediate" and "self-evident") became traditional distinctions in the study of the sources or "channels" (*asbāb*) of knowledge (cf. Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*<sup>2</sup>, Paris 1970, 375-83).

Dirār b. 'Amr was the first to employ the root *k-s-b* in analysing human action, applying it to the problem of man's free choice in the face of divine omnipotence. According to Dirār, human action arises from "two agents": God, who creates it, and man, who acquires it (see text *apud* al-Aṣḥ'arī, *Maḥālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1369-73/1950-4, i, 313). The stress Dirār lays on the two agents (*fā'ilān*) tends to indicate that this "acquisition" arises from an intrinsic efficacy of human action, but one which cannot exist without a divine motion operating at that moment. A little later, al-Nadīdīār divorced this union of causes and opposed *khāliq* (creator, always God) and *fā'il*, "agent" (*ibid.*, i, 315). Action comes under God's power in the sense that God wills it at the moment that it is accomplished and does not wish it when it is not brought about, but its actual execution belongs to man. Therefore, man possesses "power over the *kasb*", he is *ḥādīr 'alā'l-kasb* (*ibid.*, ii, 218). One of al-Nadīdīār's disciples, Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Burghūth, emphasised, on the basis of Qur'anic texts, that the same term could not be applied to man, and to God (*ibid.*, ii, 198): whether *fā'il* is the province of man, as the texts of the *Maḥālāt* seem to indicate, or whether, as al-Baghdādī says in *al-Farḥ bayn al-firaḥ* (ed. Cairo 1328, 197), God is Agent, the same term cannot be applied to man, who remains no more than the "acquirer", of his action. The Rāfiqī Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, and after him Dja'far b. Ḥarb, also used *kasb* and *iktisāb* to describe the relationship between man and his voluntary actions: it can be said that human action is "free" (*ikhtiyārī*) in the sense that man wills it and acquires it (*iktisābī*); but it remains "constrained" (*idḥḥārī*) in the sense that man plays no part in its efficient cause, which is created by God (*ibid.*, i, 100).

These early *mutakallimūn* therefore tried, by employing the concept of "acquisition", to retain for man his own part in the act he accomplished. But while for Dirār this part remained a positive action, a participant in the single divine creator Action and thus subordinate to It, al-Nadīdīār and al-Burghūth, anxious to preserve the division between Creator and creature, would not allow of such a conception. For them, man possessed nevertheless a "power" (*ḥudra*) over the acquisition of his actions. Judging from this evidence, al-Shahrestānī's dubbing such scholars



*Djabariyya* in his *Kitāb al-Milāl wal-nihāl* (ed. Badrān, Cairo 1370/1951, 138-9) must be revised.

The thesis of man "the acquirer" (*mukhtasib*) was certainly opposed to the Mu'tazilī thesis of man "the creator" (*khālik*) of his actions. Al-Djubbā'ī questioned the very notion of *kasb*. His arguments have been preserved, scattered throughout the *Maḳālāt* and more concisely in the writings of 'Abd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uṭmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 363-79).

2. *The major trends of Aṣḥ'arī kalām.* Aṣḥ'arism, on the other hand, developed "acquisition" as one of his main directives against the *I'tizāl*. There is no mention of it as such in the credos of the *Maḳālāt* or the *Ibāna*, which would suggest that the "theory of *kasb*" was propounded by his disciples rather than by al-Aṣḥ'arī himself. However, the concept does appear in the *Maḳālāt* and the *Ibāna*, and it re-emerges in *Kitāb al-Luma'*, several times in chapter v (on *ḳadar*) and at the beginning of chapter vi (on *istiḳā'a*): cf. R. McCarthy's ed. and Eng. tr. in *The Theology of al-Aṣḥ'arī*, Beirut 1953, 37-58/53-81, *passim*. This was one of the school's constant themes, and when 'Abd al-Djabbār (*loc. cit.*) reported al-Djubbā'ī's strictures, he added his own refutation of all the early Aṣḥ'arī formulations. Al-Bākillānī died in 403/1013 and 'Abd al-Djabbār in 415/1025. Right up to the present day, the Aṣḥ'arīs defend the "theory of *kasb*" and refute Mu'tazilī objections to it, both in their major treatises (al-Djuwaynī, al-Ḥazālī, al-Djurjānī, etc.) and in their basic manuals (al-Sanūsī, al-Bādījūrī, etc.). Their definitions and analyses appear always to be linked to the ideas of *ḳudra ḥāditha* (the "contingent power" created by God) and *istiḳā'a* ([*q.v.*], the ability to act).

Aṣḥ'arī *kasb* and *iktisāb* are undoubtedly heirs to the first trends of 'ilm al-*kalām*, those predecessors whom al-Aṣḥ'arī liked to call the *ahl al-iḥbāt*. But the preoccupation with combatting the *I'tizāl*, and with allowing man nothing that was not subject to the immediate and sole power of God, which was what al-Dirār for example saw as the real and positive nature of *kasb*, or even with al-Nadīdjār's "power over *kasb*", gave way to a pure "attribution" or "imputation" extrinsically created by God in the human subject. The extreme subtlety or obscurity imputed to Aṣḥ'arī *kasb* by opponents like Ibn Taymiyya perhaps derived from the fact that in the direct reference to an act freely completed, which is the basic meaning of the root *k-s-b*, became no more than a psychological semblance, without any reality *ab intra*. In Dirār and al-Nadīdjār, *kasb* and *iktisāb* can still be translated as "acquisition" or "appropriation"; but the strict Aṣḥ'arī concept demands that we speak of "extrinsic attribution" and "juridic imputation".

To sum up: Aṣḥ'arī *kasb* or *iktisāb* is the link between the "contingent power" to act and the accomplished action, but with no concomittant intrinsic effect of the first on the second (e.g. al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, ed. and Fr. tr. Luciani, Paris 1938, 119/191-2). The power, action and *kasb* are directly created by God within the human subject, which is, as al-Djurjānī states (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 48), no more than the receptacle, the place (*maḥall*): an expression frequently found in the manuals of this school. Subsequently, *kasb* was conceived of as pure "connection" (*ta'alluḳ*; al-Sanūsī, *Muḳaddimāt*, ed. and Fr. tr. Luciani, Algiers 1908, 70-1), or, following Ibn Ḥazm, as the "positioning in annexation" (*istiḳāfa*, cf. al-Fiṣal fi'l-milāl, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 48) of the effect produced and the subject

from which it derives, without a man having any efficacy over his act, "without even his being assured of the production of that act" (al-Bādījūrī, *Hāshiyā 'alā . . . Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 61). In strictest Aṣḥ'arism, this concept of *kasb* attributes to "acquisition" an "imputation" deriving solely from the inscrutable divine Will.

Other analytical essays, perhaps influenced by the legacy of Dirār or al-Nadīdjār, or by Māturidī elucidations (see below), suggest that *kasb* should be defined as a "wish" (*irāda*) which is created as it were by accident (*araḍ*), but always acknowledging that the three conditions present—contingent wish, contingent power and effect produced—are directly created by God, without their being an intrinsic subordinate link between them. The Mu'tazilīs objected that an accident (the *kasb*) could not be inherent within another accident (the human act). In reply, Ibn Ḥazm asserted that this inference was possible (*op. cit.*, iii, 51-2). Al-Bādījūrī (*loc. cit.*) discussed both trends and their respective definitions, acknowledging both as valid, but declaring that the theory of *kasb*-will was less "reliable" than that of *kasb*-relation.

3. *The Hanafī-Māturidī tradition (including some Aṣḥ'arī thinkers).* The earliest discussions which form the basis of the trends known as Māturidī ignore the problem of *kasb*. Neither the *Fikḥ Akḥbar I* nor the *Waṣīyyat Abi Ḥanīfa* makes any mention of it. However, probably influenced by the first Aṣḥ'arī speculations, the *Fikḥ Akḥbar II* (a.7; Eng. tr. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 191, where the text is reported at the end of a.6) affirms that all men's actions are in truth their "acquisition" (*kasb*). The later text called the *Fikḥ Akḥbar* of al-Ṣhāfi'ī, edited by Wensinck as *Fikḥ Akḥbar III*, states (a.18, *ibid.*, 266) that "God created in man the power of *kasb*".

Just as Aṣḥ'arī *kasb* was related to the school's opinions on the general problem of divine omnipotence and human freedom, so the concept of *kasb* expounded by the *kalām* scholars whom al-Māturidī refers to was dependent on their explanation of human action. For them, the (ontological) root of an act arises from the power (*ḳudra*) of God, and its (moral) qualification, which obeys or disobeys divine Law, arises from the power (*ḳudra*) of the individual (cf., for example, the brief summary of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn 'Alī, *Naẓm al-farā'id*<sup>2</sup>, Cairo n.d., 72). *Kasb* is precisely this qualification, and therefore derives from human "power". Subsequently, some measure of an effect by man on his action was acknowledged, which was a return, beyond al-Aṣḥ'arī, to the older views of Dirār and al-Nadīdjār. The definition of *kasb* as *ṣifa*, a moral quality (*ibid.*, 73), is the usual response in tracts of a Māturidī bent (cf. al-Nasafī, al-Taftāzānī, al-Lakānī, etc.). Some Aṣḥ'arīs, while adhering to their school's viewpoint on the analysis of human action, especially on the "capacity to act" (*istiḳā'a*), opted for a theory very close to *kasb-ṣifa*. Among these latter, the Hanifis-Māturidīs are fond of citing al-Bākillānī (*ibid.*); Fakḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo n.d., 143) can also be included here.

Thus we have three appreciably different concepts, all three permitted in the official doctrine of 'ilm al-*kalām*: *kasb*-relation (strict Aṣḥ'arism), *kasb*-will (secondary Aṣḥ'arī trend) and *kasb-ṣifa* (Māturidīs and some Aṣḥ'arīs). It should be noted that through their theory of *kasb*, however it was defined precisely, the Aṣḥ'arīs, like the Māturidīs-Hanifis, deliberately opposed *Djabariyya* as well as Mu'tazilā, and on this based their belief in man's responsibility for his own

actions. Whether as pure relation, contingent will or moral quality, it was, they stated, in proportion to *kasb* that God, on the day of judgement, would reward or punish accomplished actions.

*Bibliography*: given in the article. To this can be added Faḵḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb* on Qurʾān, II, 286; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Munich, Paderborn, Vienna 1959-62, 103 ff.; L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane: Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 60-4. (L. GARDET)

**KASBAH** [see KAṢĀBA].

**KASF** [see KUSŪF].

**KASH**, the modern *SHĀHR-I SABZ* ("green town") on account of the fertility of its surroundings), a town in Özbekistān on what was once the great trade route between Samarḳand and Balkh. According to Chinese authorities, *Kash* (Chinese transcription K'ia-sha or Kié-shuang-na, also K'iusha, as a town Ki-she) was founded at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.; cf. J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alt-türkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 57; *Erānshahr* etc., Berlin 1901, 304; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 146. In 372/982 it is mentioned by *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, 113 (§ 25, 15) as well-irrigated and protected by a citadel; it exported mules, manna and red salt. Yāqūt's statement (*Muʿājam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 274; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict.*, 488 f.) on the authority of Ibn Makūlā, who died in 473/1080-1, that in Transoxiana the name was everywhere pronounced *Kiss* is very doubtful. For the later period the pronunciation *Kesh* (Kishsh) is proved by the frequently recurring expression *Kesh-i Dilkesh*. The accounts of the Arab conquest are discussed by Marquart in particular (*Erānshahr*, see Index). The *Kesh* of the Sāmānid period is described very fully by the Arab geographers (al-Iṣṭakhḥī, 324 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 501 f.; al-Muḳaddasī, 282). The town in those days was a third of a *farsakh* (about a mile) in length and breadth. The old city (*madīna*, Persian *shahristān*) as well as the citadel (*kuhandiz*) were already deserted, and only the outer town (*rabad*) was inhabited; in the vicinity of the earlier *Kash* a new town was arising. This suggests that the modern town has a site different from that of the *Kash* which existed before the Muslim conquest. Nothing is known of other transferences of the site. *Kash* is never mentioned in the history of the Mongol conquest, so that it must have submitted to the Mongols (617/1220) without resistance. The name *Shahr-i Sabz* first appears—on coins also—about the middle of the 8th/14th century. Many buildings were erected in *Kash* by Tīmūr, who was born in the district of *Kash*, and his contemporaries; thereon, cf. W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. old. arkh. obshe.*, xxiii, 1 f. Especially famous is the palace Aḳ Sarāy built at the end of 782/beginning of 1380 by builders from *Khwārazm*; cf. Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Zafar-Nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, i, 301 f., and the notices by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī and ʿAbd al-Razzāk Samarḳandī, in Barthold, *Ulugbeg i ego vremya*, Petrograd 1918, 23, Eng. tr. Minorsky, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 26; very little survives of this palace; on the inscriptions cf. N. Sitnyakowsky in *Protokoll Turk. Krūzka Lyub. Arkh.*, v, 114 f. As late as the 10th/16th century *Kash* or *Shahr-i Sabz* is described by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tānīsh (*ʿAbd Allāh-Nāma*, Ms. of the Asiatic Museum, 574 age, f. 87b) as an important town usually governed by a prince of the ruling house, while the administration of Nasaf or *Qarshī* [q.v.] could be

left to a military official (*Darughā*). In the 10th century, the amīr Naṣr Allāh of Bukhārā (1826-60) tried during the whole of his reign to subjugate the town; he succeeded only in 1860, but his successor lost *Kash* as early as 1865. In 1870 it was ceded by the Russians to the amīr of Bukhārā. At the present day the situation is reversed and *Shahr-i Sabz* is an unimportant town in comparison with *Qarshī*, the result of the political changes in the 12th/18th century. The district of *Shahr-i Sabz* is surrounded to the N. by the Ḥazret-Sultān hills, to the S. by the Bay Suntaw-mountains and irrigated by the *Qara-Daryā* with its affluents.

*Bibliography*: Le Strange, 469 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index, esp. 134 f.; idem, *K Istoriia orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 125 f.; B. Spuler, *Iran*, index; idem, *Geschichte Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1966, index (s.v. *Shahr-i sabz*). (W. BARTHOLD/B. SPULER)

**KĀSHĀN** (Kāsān, Kāshān; 33°59' lat. N., 51°27' long. E.), a town of the *Djibāl*, on the ancient N. — S. axial route of central Iran, chief town of a *shahristān* of the central province (*Ustān-i markazī*); it gives its name to an oasis adjoining the *Dasht-i Kavir* on the N.E. and on the E., closed on the W. and on the S. by the buffer of the median chain of central Iran (3,900 m. at the *Kūh-i Karkas*). Despite its altitude (945 m.), the town has a warm climate (average of 38° C. in July, obs. 1881-4), has a bad reputation for scorpions and suffers from lack of water. This has been supplied by the perennial spring of *Fin* and by the traditional systems of *kanāts* and *āb anbārs* (cisterns); constructed under Shāh ʿAbbās the Great, the *Qurūd Dam* also supplied the town; and likewise from the *Ṣafawid* period, the *Qamsar Dam* served for irrigation until the floods of 1958. Today, the sinking of deep wells and water supply works allow a much greater provision of water for drinking and for irrigation. Apart from its craftsmanship and textile industries, the district is renowned for its natural products (figs and pomegranates from *Fin*, rose water from *Qamsar*, melons, grapes etc.).

At the S.W. exit of the town, the site of *Tepe Sialk/Sialg* testifies to the ancient occupation of the oasis (3 periods from the 5th to the 3rd millennium; a small Indo-European "state" destroyed around the 8th C. B.C.; objects preserved in the Louvre and Tehran Museums; see R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, i-ii, Paris 1938-9; idem, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam*, Paris 1951). The region abounds in Sāsānid remains (*ḥahār tāḳ* of *Niyāstar/Niyāsar* and *Naṭanz*). Although the name *Kāsān/Kāshān* may not be attested before the 4th/10th C. and its origin remains uncertain, the importance of the Sāsānid town is proved, notably by its resistance to the Arab invasion (anecdote of the scorpions: see al-Muḳaddasī, 390; the town furnished soldiers for the Sāsānid army: see H. Narāḳī, *Ta'riḳh-i idjtimā'i*, 28; the legend of the Magian kings having left from *Kāshān* for Jerusalem was circulated in an early period: see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, Vatican 1952, 83 ff. and index s.v. *Qāshān*). According to various authors, the Islamic city was founded (or fortified) by Zubayda *Khātūn*, wife of *Hārūn al-Rashīd*, and then claimed by the Imāmī *Shi'is*, who are said to have constructed a fortified surrounding wall to protect the town from the attacks of the *Daylamīs* (*Mir'āt-i Kāsān*, 6-7). Subsequently attached to the governorship of *Iṣfahān*, it then formed with *Kumm* its own governorship, or at times two distinct governorships. Renowned from the *Saljūqīd* period for its *madrasas*, its

scholars, its calligraphers, its administrators (known by the *nisba* Kāshī, Kāshānī, Fīnī, Rāwandī, etc.) and its glazed ceramics (*haft rang* or *minā'i*), it was relatively spared by the Ilkhānids, the Timūrids and the Turcomans, who derived profit from its craftsmanship (pottery, brassware, textiles). It enjoyed its greatest prosperity under the Šafawids; a true cultural capital of Islamic Iran in the 10th/16th century, it was favoured by Šhāh 'Abbās and his successors who embellished it with a palace, gardens, avenues and covered bazaars. From 4,000 to 5,000 hearths in 1524 (Tenreiro), it counted 5,000 to 6,000 in 1565 (Mestre Afonso), and Chardin enumerates 6,500 houses in 1673 (counting 5 to 6 persons per hearth or house). The town was then renowned for its gold brocades (*zar baft, zari*), its silks (thread and fabric), its velvets (*makhmal*), its wool or silk carpets (sometimes embroidered with gold and silver), its painters and calligraphers, its scholars and theologians and above all its famous *kāshī* [q.v.] widespread in the Islamic world. After having suffered the Afghān and Afshārid domination, with their massacres and exactions, the town was destroyed by an earthquake in 1192/1779 in the time of Karīm Khān Zand. Although reconstructed by this sovereign and "embellished" by Fath 'Alī Šhāh Kādjar, it has only recently recovered a part of its prosperity (modernization of the textile industry, improvement of the roads and railways, of which the Tehran-Zahidan line is in the process of completion). After the depression of the 18th century (ca. 15,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century), the city was repopulated (ca. 30,000 inhabitants in 1840, ca. 50,000 in 1908). Nevertheless, the development of the oasis has been checked, mainly due to the transfer of the axial N. — S. route to the W. of the median chain. While the census of 1956 reflects the exodus towards Tehran (ca. 46,000 inhabitants), that of 1966 seems to indicate an improvement (58,468 inhabitants). Numerous authors have stressed the enthusiasm for work and natural disposition of the Kāshīs for the arts, literature and philosophy, as well as their spirit of independence. Although their devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the twelve Imāms may be generally attested since the Saldjūkid period, the majority of the settlements of the district were Sunnī at the time of the conquest of Šhāh Ismā'īl, and the faith of the people of the town itself also poses a problem (see B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *AIUN* (1969), 263-8; M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Šafawids, Sī'ism, Šūfism and the Ġulāt*, Wiesbaden, 1972, 31, n. 3). The ancient Jewish community of the town, which served as a refuge to the Jews of Iran under Nādir Šhāh, is now in decline (2,000 persons in 1907, 525 in 1956). As elsewhere in Iran, factionalism divided the social body there, practically until the end of the Kādjar period. Despite natural destructions and sackings, the town has preserved a part of its historic architectural appearance: from the Saldjūkid period, a minaret of the Djum'a Mosque dated 466/1074, the solitary Zayn al-Dīn Minaret with a height of 47 m, the remains of the Djalālī fortress and a part of the fortified double surrounding wall; from the Mongol period, the Khwādja Tādī al-Dīn Mausoleum; built in 867/1463, the Masdjid-i Mīr 'Imād or Masdjid-i Maydān-i Fayḍ (constructed over a more ancient building, of which the *mīhrāb* dated 632/1235 is in the Berlin Museum); from the Šafawid period, the Imāmzāda Ḥabīb b. Mūsā shelters the tomb of Šhāh 'Abbās the Great (*mīhrāb* of the ancient mausoleum dated 668/1270 in the Tehran Museum); from the Kādjar period, the Madraša-i Sulṭānī or

Masdjid-i Šhāh, the Mosque and the Madraša-yi Ākā Buzurg, the present garden palace of Fīn. Among numerous *imāmzādas*, the town notably shelters the mausoleums of the Šhī'ī poet Muḥtašam Kāshānī (d. 996/1588) [q.v.] and of the Šhī'ī theosophist Mullā Muḥsin-i Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680).

*Bibliography*: Apart from the works cited, see for the Arab geographers Schwarz, *Iran*, repr. Hildesheim — New York 1969, 568-76 and index; Le Strange, 209; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, 434-5. Persian sources: *Ta'riḫ-i Kum*, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tihirānī, Tehran 1313 šh., 74 ff. and index; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 133; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuṣṣa*, 67-8 and index; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḫlīm*, ed. Djalwād Fāḍil, Tehran, ii, 445-6; 'Abd al-Djalīl Kazwīnī Rāzī, *Kitāb al-naḳḳ*, ed. Muḥaddith, Tehran 1331 šh., 168-70 and index (*Kilīd-i naḳḳ*, Tehran 1336 šh.); Mirzā 'Abd al-Karīm Darrābī, *Mir'āt-i Kāsān yā Ta'riḫ-i Kāshān*, ed. Irādī Afshār, Tehran 1341 šh. Travellers: A. Baiao, *Itinerários de Índia a Portugal po terra*, Coimbra 1923 (Tenreiro, 23; Mestre Afonso, 164); Michele Membré, *Relazione di Persia* (1542), ed. G. Scarcia, etc., Naples 1969, 52; T. Herbert, *Some years travels . . .*, London 1665, 232-3; Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii, 461-3, iii, 1-11; Olivier, *Voyage*, Paris 1807, iii, 94-7; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819-23, iii, 86-94; Morier, *Second Journey*, London 1818, 161-2; Mme. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, Paris 1887, 194-212; De Sercey, *La Perse en 1839-1840*, Paris 1928, 226-9; Watson, *A History of Persia*, London 1866, 130-1; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 263-8. Studies: L. Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, London 1960, 120-6; Minorsky, *Calligraphers and painters*, Washington 1959, 30-1 and index; *Farhang-i Djuḡhrāfiyā'i-yi Irān*, Tehran iii, 222-4; H. Narāki, *Ta'riḫ-i idjtimā'i-yi Kāshān*, Tehran 1345 šh.; idem, *Athār-i ta'riḫi-yi Shahristānhā-yi Kāshān wa Naḥanz*, Tehran 1348 šh. (J. CALMARD)

**KĀSHĀNĪ**, ĀYATULLĀH ABU 'L-KĀSĪM, an Iranian *mudjtahid* who played a role of some importance in the events of the early post World War II period. Born in the late 19th century, Kāshānī went at an early age to Nadjaf, where he studied under two of the *mudjtahids* prominent in support of the Iranian constitutionalist cause, Muḥammad Kāzīm Khurāsānī and Mirzā Ḥusayn Khallīlī Tihirānī. In 1919 he was sentenced to death *in absentia* by the British for opposing the mandate in 'Irāk, but escaped to Iran. Throughout the reign of Riḍā Šhāh he abstained from political activity, but was exiled in June 1942 by the British military authorities for alleged contacts with German agents. His postwar political career began in 1948 with the organization in Tehran of demonstrations against the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. With the beginning of the campaign for the nationalization of the oil industry, Kāshānī's importance grew as he came to be one of the chief organizers of mass support for Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddīk's National Front. He had, too, a number of representatives in the Madjlīs, a group known as the *Mudjtahidīn-i Islām*. Personal differences arose between Kāshānī and Muṣaddīk, and Kāshānī became alarmed, moreover, at the militant irreligiosity that showed itself in the last days of Muṣaddīk's rule. He therefore supported the royalist coup d'état of 19 August 1953 that overthrew Muṣaddīk. Kāshānī's remaining years were uneventful, and his death in 1962 passed largely unnoticed.

*Bibliography:* Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *Tabaḥāt a'lām al-shī'a*, Najaf 1375/1956, i/1, 75-6; L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *Persian Oil: A Study in Power Politics*, London 1955, 195-6; Richard W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, Pittsburgh 1964, 152-5; Hamid Algar, *The Oppositional Role of the Ulama in Twentieth Century Iran*, in *Saints, Scholars and Sufis*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972, 231-55. (H. ALGAR)

**KĀSHĀNĪ**, HĀDJĪJĪ MĪRZĀ DJĀNĪ, the Bābī historian, was a merchant of Kāshān who, with two of his three brothers, Hādjījī MīrZā Ismā'īl Ḍabīḥ and Hādjījī MīrZā Aḥmad, was among the earliest disciples of MīrZā 'Alī Muḥammad, the Bāb[q.v.]. When in 1847 the Bāb was being conducted from Iṣfahān to his prison at Mākū, the brothers bribed his escort to allow him to be their guest for two days and two nights at Kāshān. In the following year Kāshānī, with Bahā' Allāh, Ṣubḥ-i Azal and other prominent disciples, attempted to join the Bābī insurgents of Shaykh Ṭabarsī near Bārfurūsh in Māzandarān, but was captured by the royal troops and imprisoned for some time at Āmul, until ransomed by two merchants of Kāshān. "We find him always impelled, as it would appear, by religious zeal, now at Bārfurūsh, now at Mashhad, now at Tīhrān." The Bāb was put to death on July 9, 1850, and Kāshānī occupied the next two years in writing his history of the movement, for which task he was qualified by personal acquaintance not only with the Bāb, but with Ṣubḥ-i Azal, Bahā' Allāh and almost all the early apostles of the Bābī religion, and by his detailed and accurate information on every event connected with the movement during the first eight years of its existence. His history (which, for some mystical reason not readily comprehensible he styled *Nuḡḡat al-Kāf* "the Point of Kāf"), is accurate, but is disfigured by fulsome and almost idolatrous adulation of his hero and by coarse abuse of his persecutors. When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh resolved to strike a blow at the adherents of the new religion, Kāshānī was forcibly removed from the shrine of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm, about six miles south of Tīhrān, where he had taken sanctuary, and thrown into prison, where he shared the cell of Bahā' Allāh. On Sept. 15, 1852, he was put to death at Tīhrān in company with twenty-seven of his co-religionists. As an act of policy, in order to divert vengeance from himself and his minister, the Shāh handed the heretics over to various communities for execution and Kāshānī was delivered to Ākā Mahdī, *Malik al-Tudjījī* ("chief of the merchants"). According to one account he suffered death by the bowstring, and according to another the merchants and shopkeepers of the city inflicted wounds on him until he perished.

Of his brothers Ismā'īl died at Tīhrān and Aḥmad, who, after the death of the Bāb, recognised Ṣubḥ-i Azal as his successor, was slain at Baghdād by some Bahā'īs [q.v.], followers of Bahā' Allāh.

*Bibliography:* Hādjījī MīrZā Djānī, *Nuḡḡat al-Kāf*, ed. E. G. Browne in GMS; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Bab*, Cambridge 1891; idem, *The Ta'riḫ-i-Jadīd, or New History of MīrZā 'Alī Muḥammad the Bāb*, Cambridge 1893.

(T. W. HAIG)

**AL-KĀSHĀNĪ**, AL-KĀSHĪ, Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī, called Ibn Bāba or Bābā, Persian author of the Saldjūq period, and boon-companion or *nadīm* by profession. He apparently flourished in the second half of the 5th/11th century and early years of the next one; Bagdathī Ismāil Paṣa, *Idāḥ al-*

*makhnūn*, i, 546, says that he died in 510/1116-7, and this is approximately confirmed by Yāqūt, who says that he died at Marw. Only Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ff. 80a, 437b, and Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 412, iv, 296-7, have any significant information on him. It seems that he worked in his homeland of Dījībāl, then travelled to Baghdād, and ended up in Kḥurāsān, probably at the court of the Saldjūq amīr Sandjār.

His only surviving work is the *Kitāb Ra's māl al-nadīm* "The boon-companion's stock-in-trade", dedicated to a so-far unidentified patron, the Amīr and Ra'īs Sa'd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Bahrām, who was most probably a member of Sandjār's court circle. This *adab* work contains material useful for boon-companions and story-tellers, and draws heavily on such earlier authors as Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kushāḏīm* and *Tha'ālībī*; the long, closing historical section, however, has valuable and unique information on the Ghaznavids (tr. and comm. in Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids: splendour and decay* (forthcoming)). Ibn Bāba was also the author, according to Yāqūt, of a book on the sects of the Shī'a, so far lost.

*Bibliography:* In addition to references given in the article, see V. A. Hamdani, *Some rare manuscripts in Istanbul*, in *JRAS* (1938), 562-3; C. E. Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid Sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 17-18; *GAL*, I, 140, S I, 586 (here wrongly called Ibn Bānī); critical ed. with introd. of the *K. Ra's māl al-nadīm* by M. S. Badawi, Manchester Ph.D. thesis 1975 (unpublished). (C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KASHF**, the act of lifting and tearing away the veil [which comes between man and the extra-phenomenal world]. Al-Djurdjānī's *Ta'rifāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 193) states that, according to the Arabic lexicon, *kashf* means "to take away the veil", but in technical terminology (*iṣṭilāḥ*) it means "to make appear in a complete and actual realisation the mysterious senses and the realities which are behind the veil". It is worthy of note (see below) that this definition copies word-for-word a text of the Imāmi scholar Ḥaydar Āmulī, some twenty years the senior of al-Djurdjānī. Experience of *kashf* works within and brings about *mukāshafa*, which may be translated as "unveiling" in the sense of "illumination" or "epiphany". Their opposing correlatives are *satr* and *istitār*, the acts of veiling and occultation.

The technical environment of the word's use, as evoked by al-Djurdjānī, is essentially that of *taṣawwuf* and of Shī'i theology. The verb *kashafa* (but not the *masdar kashf*) occurs several times in the Qur'ān in its current sense of to uncover (part of the body) and to take away (misfortune, evil, danger, torment). However, two texts serve as the basis for future elaborations: "We have lifted thy covering off thee (*kashafnā*), and today thy sight is sharp" (L, 22) and "The portending [Last Day] is near at hand, Short of Allāh, there is no-one can lift it away" (LIII, 57-8). The first of these two texts is cited by al-Ghazālī at the opening of his *Munḫidh*.

1. *Some examples of Ṣūfī elaborations:*

(a) al-Kalābādhī. It seems that in the first centuries (e.g. in al-Ḥallājī) the opposite (*mukābal*) of *satr* or *istitār* was not so much *kashf* as *tadjīllī* "[divine] irradiation". Al-Kalābādhī, *K. al-Ta'arruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, 90, headed his ch. lviii *Fī 'l-tadjīllī wa 'l-istitār*. He distinguishes three types of *tadjīllī*: that of the essence, that of the attributes of the essence and that of the status

(*ḥukm*) of the essence. He then goes on to state precisely that the *taḍjalli* of the essence is *mukāshafa*.

(b) al-Ḳuṣhayrī. This last idea is more clearly set forth by al-Ḳuṣhayrī and according to the distinctions which subsequently became the classic ones (*al-Risāla al-kuṣhayriyya*, Cairo n.d. 39-40). He says that there are three stages in the progression towards Reality. The first, *muhādāra*, is getting oneself into position vis-à-vis the objective sought. It remains "behind the veil", and pre-supposes the presence of the heart and the transmission of the proof (discursive, *burhān*); the person who restricts himself within the guidance of the intellect (*ʿaql*) can only apprehend God through His miraculous signs (*āyāt*). The second stage is that of *mukāshafa*, the lifting of the veil. There is no further need to search for the way; reasoning (*burhān*) gives way to evident proof (*bayān*), and the indirect indications of God disappear before His attributes. But this stage is still only an intermediary one, a kind of "raising of the curtain" on to the world of mystery. It inevitably leads to the third stage, *mushāhada*, direct vision, the "presence of the reality" (*ḥaḳīka* [q.v.]), without the intermediacy of proof, even intuitive proof (*bayān*), and which opens on to the divine Essence.

(c) al-Anṣārī. *Kashf* and *mukāshafa* are thus like an entrance to an "illuminative" way. This category of an intermediary stage or "entrance to the way" occurs again in other texts. Thus in al-Anṣārī's *Manāzil*, each "halting-place" (*manzil*), or almost each, comprises three progressive degrees. Now in many instances, *kashf* is mentioned in connection with the second degree. E.g. it is at the second degree of *tabattul* ("consecration to God") that he comes back from "watching for the lightning-flash of the unveiling", *shayma bark al-kashf* (*K. Manāzil al-sāʿirīn*, ed. and Fr. tr. S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 25/67). A third degree goes beyond this. There are similar observations (*ibid.*, 37/76; 54/90; 64/97) in regard to *taslīm* ("total submission"), *uns* ("intimacy") and *firāsa* ("sagacity"). But in regard to *ʿazm* ("determination"), *kashf* appears right at the first degree (*ibid.*, 51/87), because there cannot be authentic *ʿazm* except after having seen "the lightning-flash of unveiling". On the other hand, *kashf* marks the ascent to the third degree of *yaḳīn* ("certainty"): for the first degree of certainty (or "certain knowledge") is acceptance of the Word of God; the second degree (or "certain vision") goes beyond the sphere of argument; but the third degree or "real certainty" presupposes "the sudden breaking of the dawn (*subḥ*) of unveiling", which seems to be, in its turn, the first of the three stages of this third degree (*ibid.*, 54/90). "Lightning-flash" or "dawn" is always like an irruption of light coming from "outside" which thus appears in the various stages and spiritual states of the phenomenon of *kashf*. It marks the entrance into a new manner of apprehending reality, a superior manner, the effect of divine *taḍjalli*, an immediate and certain knowledge which goes beyond all discursive argument and all argumentative proof, rational or traditional.

(d) al-Hudjwīrī. The writings of *taṣawwuf* almost all evoke the "lightning-flash of *kashf*": in some cases as a first perceiving of the "world of mystery" where argument based on *burhān* gives place, as al-Ḳuṣhayrī insists, to the "evident proof" of *bayān*, and in other cases, as the definite entry into this very world itself, where there is no longer any need for the intermediacy of proof of any kind whatever. Accordingly, al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 245)

defines *mukāshafa* as "a state which *bayān* cannot in any way describe". *Kashf* and *mukāshafa* are thus freely put into connection with the superior worlds, those beyond the senses, *djabarūt* and *malakūt*, beyond *mulk* [see ʿĀLAM]. Also, some of the general treatises on Ṣūfism employ the term *kashf* in their very titles, as in the famous *Kashf al-mahdījūb* of al-Hudjwīrī, written in Persian (Eng. tr. by R. A. Nicholson, GMS, Leiden-London 1911). The spiritual steps forward envisaged by al-Hudjwīrī are the destroying of the veils which hide reality. The raising of the veil will be the supreme state of enjoyment in Paradise, and it is only the state of *kashf* "which is the degree of closeness (*ḥurb*)" which makes possible the miracles of saints (*ibid.*, 111, 226). There is thus no question now of any intermediary stage. Al-Hudjwīrī seems to place himself more in the line of al-Sarrādjī than in that of al-Ḳuṣhayrī, and does not hesitate to bend into a new sense the borrowings which he makes (without naming any source) from the latter. Thus when he compares *muhādāra* and *mukāshafa* (*ibid.*, 374-5), he defines the first as "the presence of the heart in the subtleties of *bayān*", and the second as "the presence of the inner secret (*sirr*)" in the field of intuitive vision (*ʿiyān*). If *muhādāra* definitely refers to the miraculous signs (*āyāt*) of God, as al-Ḳuṣhayrī says, then *mukāshafa* is already open to glimpses of direct vision (*mushāhada*); contrary to the analyses of the *Risāla al-kuṣhayriyya*, he no longer seems to distinguish them apart. It is described as a continuous and admiring *tremendum* in face of the infinite grandeur of God. A little later, al-Hudjwīrī compares the diurnal state of *kashf* to the nocturnal one of *sair* ("occultation") and suggests that a divine meeting (*wadīd*) cuts across, but according to very different activations, the troubled and burning desire for an "other place", which is that of the *ḥāl al-ḥidjāb* (lit. "state of the veil"), and also the peaceful vision of the *ḥāl al-kashf*.

#### 2. A certain usage in theology: that of al-Ghazālī.

*Kashf* occurs frequently in this scholar's vocabulary. But it is a question here of a usage not merely "mystical" of this term, but of a "theological" one, seeing that spiritual experience becomes for al-Ghazālī in effect an article of faith. References to *kashf* are to be found not only in the *Iḥyāʾ*, but equally in the *Iḥtishād*, the *Mustasfā* and the *Munḳidh*; *kashf* lays the foundation for *yaḳīn*, the assured certainty of genuine faith (as opposed to faith received purely by being handed down, *taḳlīd*). The *Munḳidh* states that "The key to most of the branches of knowledge is the light (*nūr*) which God shines into the heart". Also, "Whoever imagines that *kashf* depends on logically-arranged arguments reduces the immensely-wide mercy of God to narrow proportions. . . *Kashf* must be sought from this [divine] light" (*Munḳidh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Halīm Maḥmūd, Cairo 1372/1952, 55). *Kashf*, the unveiling of the world of mystery, is mentioned several times in the *Iḥyāʾ*; see the main references in Farid Jabre, *Essai sur le lexique de Ghazālī*, Beirut 1970, 244. Also, the *Iḥyāʾ*, ed. Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 218, doubtless in conformity with the tradition from al-Ḳuṣhayrī, places *kashf* and *bayān* in connection with each other.

If *kashf* appears in many of al-Ghazālī's works, *mukāshafa* is found in the vocabularies of the *Iḥyāʾ* and the *Fayṣal* only. As Jabre notes, *op. cit.*, 245-6, this second term is used in a double sense: (a) subjective, an interior state brought about by *kashf*, and (b) objective, meaning "the truths, the objects

of the act of unveiling'. Al-Ghazālī's famous distinction between 'ulūm al-mu'āmalā (ritual observances, social customs and ethical rules) and 'ulūm al-mukāshafa, by means of which realities are apprehended, is well-known. The *Ihyā'*, i, 18, says that the 'ilm al-mukāshafa is the knowledge of what is concealed (*bāṭin*), and is the aim of all the sciences. It is the science of the saints (*siddīkūn*) and those "brought near to God". It is a light which shines into the heart if the latter is purified and freed from its reprehensible qualities, a light which bears upon God, His essence, His angels, His acts, the prophets and the future life (cf. *ibid.*, i, 48). It is not argumentation, nor simple acceptance, but an intuitive and sure grasping of the subject. "By 'ilm al-mukāshafa, we mean the pulling-aside of the veil so that the Real One shows Himself in all his splendour; and this is effected with a clarity which sets the object present right before the eyes, without any possible grounds for doubt" (i, 18; see other references in Jabre, *op. cit.*, 246, and *idem*, *La notion de certitude selon Ghazālī*, Paris 1958, index, s.v.). *Mukāshafāt* and *mukāshaf* appear equally all through the *Ihyā'*.

Hence for al-Ghazālī, *kashf* is a light, a freely-bestowed grace from God, which at the same time alone bestows its quality of certain knowledge. In so far as the later 'ilm al-kalām was open to influences from al-Ghazālī (or directly from Ṣūfism), *kashf* and *mukāshafa* were sometimes freely accepted; but the most classic treatises hardly ever refer to them.

3. *Brief references in Shī'ism*. In Shī'ism, the spiritual experience of *kashf* inevitably came to form a theological (or "theosophical") dimension. The apprehension of the "hidden meaning" (*bāṭin*), which is the perfection of Islam and which is the prerogative of the great Imāms, led to a high value being placed on *kashf*. To give only one significant example, the two treatises of the Imāmī Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, ed. Henry Corbin and Osman Yahya as *La philosophie shī'ite* (Tehran-Paris 1969), deal with *kashf* as a manner and a method of knowledge. The *Djāmi' al-asrār* mentions it, after *wahy* (revelation though angelic intermediacy) and *ilhām* (divine, interior inspiration), as a participation stemming from the universal intellect and the universal soul (*La philosophie shī'ite*, 448-53). When Āmulī defines *kashf* (*ibid.*, 462), it is in the same lexicographical and technical terms as were to be copied from him by al-Djurjānī, as already mentioned above. The ending of the chapter distinguishes, among other things, (a) *kashf suwari* (the "imaginal" perception of reality) whose irradiations (*tadji'aliyyāt*) reach the senses of sight and hearing; mention is made in this connection of the master Ibn 'Arabī; and (b) *kashf ma'nawī*, which is of the spiritual order (*rūhī*); the text emphasises strongly *mukāshafāt* revealed in this fashion (*ibid.*, 464-72). In his *Risāla . . . fi ma'rifa al-wudūd*, Āmulī enumerates three modes of knowledge: by the intellect (*'akl*), by transmission (*naql*) and by *kashf* (*ibid.*, 623), and only the last one leads to the apprehension of Reality.

Hence it is with some justification that, in regard to Ḥaydar Āmulī, the phrase "the method of *kashf*" has been used (cf. Peter Antes, *Zur Theologie der Schī'a*, Freiburg 1971, 49, 68), this method being an intuitive one in which certainty is sought from spiritual illumination. Āmulī's admiration for Ibn 'Arabī and for the latter's deliberate scheme for "reconciling" the Ṣūfis and the Imāmīs, is well-known. Āmulī's work was to influence all later

Twelver theology, and is in fact the applying of the Ṣūfī *kashf* to the Shī'ī search for the hidden meanings of things. If we bear in mind that his definition of *kashf* was adopted as it stood by the Sunnī al-Djurjānī, we can accordingly discern, despite the divergencies of various climates of thought, a continuity of viewpoint.

Ismā'īlī writings put the accent on the idea of the "state" of *kashf* from a double point of view, both gnostic and cosmic. The title chosen by al-Hudīwīrī in the 5th/11th century, *Kashf al-mahdīyūb*, designates equally the 8th/14th century treatise of the Ismā'īlī scholar Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijīstānī, and *kashf* now introduces an ontology and cosmology of gnostic type. Furthermore, the classic opposition or *mukābal* of *kashf-satr* is frequently found, this time set forth according to wide cosmic perspectives, in the Ismā'īlī cycles of metahistory. The *aeua* of "proto-history" (Corbin) and of post-history are unfolded according to alternate phases of "unveiling" ("epiphany", as tr. Corbin) and "occultation". The length of these cycles may vary, and may refer indifferently to the "preordial Adam" (the "Perfect Man"), to the "partial Adam" (the Qur'ānic Adam) or to the "spiritual Adam" for the intelligible realities. According to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, a Yemenī *dā'i* of the 6th/12th century, the cycle of unveiling (*dawr al-kashf*) is 50,000 years, and the cycle of occultation (*dawr al-satr*) is seven millenia. The present age, since the creation of the "partial Adam", is the fourth millenium of a cycle of occultation, which has been preceded and will be succeeded by a cycle of unveiling (cf. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, *Risālat al-mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*, ed. and Fr. tr. Corbin, *Trilogie ismailienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, 121-3/181-3).

An exhaustive study of *kashf* in Shī'ī thought—Imāmī and Ismā'īlī—would in fact require an extensive exposition.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(L. GARDET)

**KĀSHGHAR**, a town in Chinese Turkeṣtān (Sin Kiang); the same name is still used in Chinese official documents. The name *Kāshghar* first appears in Chinese transcription (K'iu-cha) in the *T'ang-shu*; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 121 f. On the pre-Islamic *Kāshghar* and the ruins of Buddhist buildings in the vicinity, see A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, i, 52 f.; *idem*, *Serindia*, Oxford 1921, 80 f. Arab armies did not reach *Kāshghar*; the story of Kutayba's campaign in 96/715 is, as shown by H. A. R. Gibb in *BSOS*, ii (1923), 467-8, a mere legend. Since ca. 132/750, *Kāshghar* was under Karluḡ rule and turkicized by them. On the flight of a prince of Farḡhāna to *Kāshghar* in the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) see the article FARḠHĀNA. In the Sāmānīd period a *Dihkān* of *Kāshghar* with the name or title Ṭuḡhān Tigin is mentioned (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 37), with whom the rebel prince Ilyās b. Iṣhāḡ took refuge; whether this *Dihkān* had already adopted Islam is not mentioned. At a later date Satuḡ Boḡhrā Khān is mentioned as the first Muslim Khān of *Kāshghar*; in the oldest reference to him that we have (Djamāl Qurashī in Barthold, *Turkestan*<sup>3</sup>, 255, 257) the date of his death is given as 344/955-6. This story already contains features which are certainly legendary; in the story of the building of the first mosque we have the well-known folklore motif of the cutting of an ox-skin into strips. The later legend, reproduced by F. Grenard (*JA*, Ser. 9, vol. xv, 1 f.), has not this feature but

contains many other legendary traits and absolutely false dates. The year 344 A.H. is perhaps too early, as probably the story of the adoption of Islam by a numerous Turkish people (200,000 tents) in 349/960 must be referred to the Turks of Kāshghar; this story is found not only in Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 396) but also in Ibn Miskawayh (*The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. Margoliouth and Amedroz, Oxford 1921, text, ii, 181, tr. v, 196); the original source is probably Thābit b. Sinān al-Šābi' (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 476, 491; *The Eclipse etc.*, Index). The tomb of Satuḡ Boghṛā Khān is in Artūc (now pronounced Artush) north of Kāshghar, where it is still shown.

Under the rule of the Ilig-Khāns [see ILEK-KHĀNS], who confessed Islam since ca. 950, Kāshghar was politically the most important town in the Tarim basin; perhaps it was also the most important from the point of view of culture. In the 5th/11th century there was already in existence a work in Arabic on the history of the town, composed by Abu 'l-Futūḡ 'Abd al-Ghāfir (or 'Abd al-Ghaffār) b. Ḥusayn al-Alma'ī al-Kādīgharī (*sic*); the author's father, who survived his son (according to al-Sam'ānī by about ten years), died in 486/1093. On father and son and the works of the latter, see al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1912, ff. 470a, 472a; *Djamāl Qurashī* in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 123 f. The rulers—since 1130 under the overlordship of the Karakhitay—were in a special mausoleum (Arabic *al-djumbadha al-khākā-miyya*) on the bank of the Tūmen; the first prince buried there died in Muḡarram 424/Dec. 7 1032-Jan. 5 1033, and the last in Radjab 601/22 Feb.-23 March 1205. During their rule, Maḡmūd al-Kāshgharī [q.v.] wrote his great Turkish dictionary in Baghdād, and Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥadījib his *Kutadghu bilig* in Kāshghar. During Mongol rule a *madrasa* was built in Kāshghar by Mas'ūd Beg (see BUKHĀRĀ); in its library was the copy of the *Šihāḡ* of al-Djāwharī used by *Djamāl Qurashī* for his translation (E. Sachau and Éthé, *Cat. of the Persian. . . Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, col. 983). Kāshghar was later under the rule of the Dughlāt Amīrs [see DUGHĻĀT]; the last of them, Abū Bakr, reigned till 920/1514, according to the statement of his relative Ḥaydar Mirzā [q.v.] for forty-eight years (Mirzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. Denison Ross, London 1895, 253, 326); but this is contradicted by the author himself, who says that Kāshghar was not conquered by Abū Bakr till 885/1480-1. Abū Bakr is the founder of the modern town. He destroyed the old fortress and in the last years of his reign rebuilt it on a new site, on the other side of the Tūmen on the tongue of land between this river and the Kīzlī Šū (*ibid.*, 286-7, 295).

Under the rule of the "Mongol" Khāns (cf. the *Bibliography* to ČAGHATĀY-KHĀN) and later under that of the Kalmūcks and Chinese (since 1759) the capital of the district was no longer Kāshghar but Yārkand. It was only since the reconquest of the country by the Chinese in 1877 that Kāshghar again attained considerable importance as the residence of the Tao-T'ai, who was over the western and southern part of Chinese Turkestan as far as the oasis of Čerčen, and as the one-time residence of the Russian and English consuls. On Kāshghar in 1873 see H. W. Bellew in Sir T. D. Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkand in 1873*, London 1875. On conditions at the turn of the present century, see especially L. Kornilow, *Kashghariya*, Tashkent 1903 (review by Barthold, in *Zapiski vost. oid. arkh.*

*obshč.*, xv, 131 f.) with plan of Kāshghar on p. 268, and M. Hartmann, *Chinasisch-Turkestan*, Halle a/S. 1908, especially 45 f., 89 f., with a plan of the town from Kornilow. The most important building in Kāshghar and vicinity is Ḥaḡrat Apāk, the tomb of the famous saint of the 11th/17th century. Kāshghar has now approximately 70,000 inhabitants (mostly Sunni Uyghur Turks).

*Bibliography*: *Hudūd al-'alām*, 96 (§ 131r), 280 f.; Yāqūt, ed. Beirut (1957), iv, 430 f.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, 258; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; B. Spuler, *Iran*, index; idem, *Geschichte Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1966, index; A. Schultz, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Geographie der Univ. Hamburg*, 1921.

(W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

AL-KĀSHGHARI, MAḡMŪD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḡAMMAD, Turkish scholar and lexicographer of the 5th/11th century whose work, the *Diwān lughāt al-turk*, is one of the most significant records of the Turkish languages and also an important source for the history of the Turkish peoples. The only information which we possess on his life comes from his own work, and that much is only fragmentary. It seems that he came from Barsghān on the southern shores of the Isik-Köl (cf. *Hudūd al-'alām*, tr. Minorsky, 98, 292-3), and was born into a noble family connected with the Karā-Khānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS]. Kāshgharī was deeply grounded in Islamic culture and learning, and he himself states that he had travelled extensively and visited many of the Turkish lands before journeying to Baghdād. It may well be that internal conflicts within the Karā-Khānid confederation led him to undertake these travels and to go to Baghdād. In the latter city he mingled with the circles of scholars, and realised that there was a great interest in the Turkish peoples and their languages; hence he was stimulated to compose two works on them. He began to write his *Diwān lughāt al-turk* in 464/1072. According to the information in the book itself, he wrote four redactions of it during the period 464-76/1075-94). The original of the *Diwān* is lost, but the unique surviving manuscript, dated 27 Shawwāl 664/1 August 1266, is a good copy, though not entirely free from errors. Kāshgharī's second work, a Turkish grammar called the *K. Djāwāhīr al-naḡw fi lughāt al-turk*, has been lost, and is known only from the author's own reference to it.

Kāshgharī's work is of particular importance for the Turkic languages, and also for the history, geography and folklore of the Turkish peoples, for this linguistic corpus consists not of coherent texts in one particular Turkic language, but of a comparison-oriented explanatory dictionary and a modest grammatical outline of the language. In fact, it represents the first scholarly approach, and thus the first description of the linguistic material by a particular method, to these languages. At the same time, both in its introduction and in the individual entries, Kāshgharī's work contains a number of facts and remarks—occasionally supported even by personal experience and observation—about the process of the differentiation and spread of Turkic languages, cited in order to elucidate the situation in the 5th/11th century. The information he gives on the writing of Turkic peoples (sc. the Uyghur script) is also useful from a linguistic point of view.

Although he aims at a fairly comprehensive coverage of the Turkic languages, and includes several of them in his dictionary, the linguistic material in the work is primarily a record of the 5th/11th century

Turkish spoken in Kāshghar, which he terms *Khākānī* Turkish. Kāshgharī's work is related essentially to Karakhānid linguistic records. Aside from the material on Kāshghar, the linguistic date from the Oghuz and Kıpçak are of considerable value. The dictionary was originally designed as a language-manual for scholars in Baghdād who had some contact with Turkic peoples. Hence he deliberately adopted the methods of Arabic grammar and lexicography in describing his linguistic material. While Arabic grammar served, to some extent, as a guideline, the products of Arabic lexicographic literature also furnished him with a complete entry-word list, a sort of lexicographic questionnaire, with which he confronted the Turkic word-stock, his own mother-tongue. It is highly probable that this starting point considerably enlarged the word-stock in his work. The fact that the Turkic linguistic material had to be fitted into the categories of Arabic grammar certainly impelled Kāshgharī carefully to study his material. Yet the fact that the work was prepared in Baghdād—at a great distance from the homeland of the Turkic peoples—made him unable to complement and control his linguistic material to the fullest extent; and it is open to question how far he grasped those modest opportunities for such control which were probably available in Baghdād. Also questionable is the extent to which the—assumed—repeated reductions of the work enhanced or diminished the authenticity of the linguistic material. Since we do not possess the autograph manuscript of the work and the copyist was not a Turk, the relation of the copy to the original raises similar questions.

Kāshgharī's dictionary pays particular attention to place names, tribal names, proper names, ranks and titles. Explanatory notes in the work include historical data and personal experiences as well as specimens of Turkic folklore, verses, proverbs, etc., which make the work an important source for these last, which are of particular significance as coherent Turkic texts, in addition to their historical-folkloristic value. Kāshgharī's comparative remarks are also highly instructive, though his material is less rich in this respect. The elements in the author's mother-tongue included in his work should be regarded as a record of the standard usage of local scholars, for, as we have noted, Kāshgharī's main aim was to make Arab scholars acquainted with the Turkic languages. He rightly regarded his mother-tongue as one representative idiom of this language-group. At the same time, and understandably enough, he refused to include those Arabic loan-words which he considered irrelevant in this context. However, those words already played an important role in the *Ḳutadghu bilig*, the most significant literary monument of the period, and it seems highly probable that they had also found their way into the spoken language. One major merit of Kāshgharī's work, however, lies precisely in the fact that he tends to focus his attention on the word-stock of the "everyday" spoken Turkic languages. His dictionary thus complements our knowledge of the Karakhānid language, obtained mainly from the *Ḳutadghu bilig*.

Although Kāshgharī's knowledge of the difference between the individual Turkic languages moves within certain objective bounds and his remarks are sometimes contradictory, he must be given credit for using the comparative approach to the full in his work. His main concern is with the language of Kāshghar, the Oghuz and Kıpçak areas; he established as fact the separation of these two

language groups, and the related data may well be considered as the first surviving evidence of them. In the case of certain extinct Turkic languages without any written record, his data are their only documentation.

Though in evaluating Kāshgharī's facts and data, certain errors (the background of the manuscript, the author's knowledge, etc.) must always be taken into account, comparative linguistic folkloric, historical and geographic studies have often emphasized the particular value of the work as a source. His dictionary is a product of the intellectual sphere of the early Arab-Turkic symbiosis, when the methods of Arab linguistics were applied to the material of Turkic languages, which until then had been barely documented, thus creating a source of unprecedented value to comparative and historical linguistics and to the study of the history of the Turkic peoples in this period. As well as contributing greatly to the extension of our knowledge of the early Turkic word-stock and of the various Turkic languages, the work is also a valuable guideline in the chronology of the early Turkic records, the majority of which are chronologically uncertain Uyghur texts. Like the other Karakhānid linguistic records, Kāshgharī's dictionary is classified chronologically as Middle Turkic—a term deriving from the practical classification of the Common Turkic linguistic monuments—on the basis of its chronological place between the runic inscriptions, the early Uyghur texts and the later Turkic linguistic records.

*Bibliography*: 1. Total and partial editions and translations of the *Diwān*: Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Kāshgharī, *Kitāb diwān-i lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Mu'allim Rif'at Bilge, Istanbul 1915-7; B. Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tercümesi*, Ankara 1939-41, see A. B. Taymas, in *TM*, vii-viii (1940-2), 212-52, xi (1954), 75-100; idem, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tıpkıbasım*, Ankara 1941; idem, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk dizini*, Ankara 1943; D. Dilçin, *Arap alfabesine göre Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk dizini*, Ankara 1957; Maḥmūd Koshgariy, *Turkij slovar devoni (Devonu lûgotit turk)*, ed. S. M. Mutallibov, Tashkent 1960-3; G. Abdurakhmonov and S. Mutallibov, *Devonu lûgotit turk (Indekslugat)*, Tashkent 1967; Mutallibov, "Divanu lûgat-it-turk" *Maḥmûda Kashgarского (Perevod, kommentarii, issledovanie)*, thesis, Tashkent 1967.

2. Dictionaries including the vocabulary of the *Diwān*: C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharis Diwān luyāt al-Turk*, Budapest-Leipzig 1928; idem, *Zu meinem mitteltürkischen Wortschatz. (Eine Erklärung)*, in *KCSA*, ii (1926-32), 390-1; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972; V. M. Nadelyaev et. al., *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, Leningrad 1969.

3. General works: W. Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk ta'rihi hakkında dersler*, Istanbul 1927, 83-5 = *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 92-5; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 81-106, Fr. tr. *Histoire de la littérature turque*, Paris 1968, 68-76; M. F. Köprülü, *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934, 33-4; idem, *Çagatay edebiyatı*, in *İA*, Caferoğlu, II. *Türk dili tarihi notları*, i, Istanbul 1943, 42-5; idem, *İlk Türk dilcisi Kâşgarlı Mahmut*, Ankara 1938; idem, *Kâşgarlı Mahmut*, Istanbul 1970; idem, *La littérature de l'époque des Karakhanides*, in *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 267-75;



Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1954; M. Mansuroğlu, *Das Karakhanidische*, in *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*, I, Wiesbaden 1959, 87-112; Ülkütaşır, *Büyük Türk dilcisi Kâşgarlı Mahmud*, Ankara 1972 (124-56: detailed bibliography).

4. Studies on various subjects relating to the *Diwān*: Brockelmann, *Mahmūd al-Kāshghari Darstellung des türkischen Verbalbaues*, in *KSz*, xviii (1918-9), 29-49; idem, *Allturkistanische Volksweisheit*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschr.*, viii (1919-20), 50-75; idem, *Mahmūd al-Kāshghari über die Sprachen und Stämme der Türken im XI. Jahrh.*, in *KCSA i/1* (1921), 26-40; G. Bergsträsser, *Das Vorbild von Kāshghari's Divān lugāt al-turk*, in *OLZ*, xxiv (1921), 154-5; Brockelmann, *Allturkistanische Volkspoesie i-ii*, in *Asia Major*, i (1923), 1-22, (1924), 24-44; F. Hommel, *Zu den alttürkischen Sprichwörtern*, in *ibid.*, 182-93; Brockelmann, *Naturlaute im Mitteltürkischen*, in *UngJb*, viii (1928), 257-65; idem, *Hofsprache in Allturkistan*, in *Donum natalicum Schrijnen*, Nijmegen-Utrecht 1929, 222-7; A. Z. Validi Togan, *Divān-i Lugāt üt-Türk'ün telif senesi hakkında*, in *Atsız mecmuası*, ii, no. 16 (1932), 77-8; idem, *Mahmūd Kāshghari'ye ait notlar*, *ibid.*, ii, no. 17 (1932), 133-6; O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streiffragen 1-4*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 210-28; idem, *Mahmūd Kāshghari kimdir?*, in *TM*, x (1953), 243-6; E. Rossi, *A note to the manuscript of the Divān Lugāt al-Turk*, in *Charakteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia* (Joanni Ryfka... sacrum), Prague 1956, 280-4; L. Bazin, *Les dates de rédaction du "Divan" de Kāshghari*, in *Acta Or. Hung.*, vii (1957), 21-5; S. Ahally, *Slovar' Makhmuda Kashgarskogo i turkmenskij jashk*, Ashkhabad 1958; T. Banguoğlu, *Kāshghari denotlar: I-III*, in *Türk dili araştırmaları Yıllığı belleten* (1958), 87-113, (1959), 1-26, (1960), 23-48; *Kh. Khasanov, Makhmud Kashgarskiy (Zin' t geograficheskoe nasledie)*, Tashkent 1963; T. A. Borovkova, *Otnositel'no pervogo izdaniya slovarya Makhmuda Kashgarskogo*, in *Narodi Azii i Afriki*, 1964, no. 5, 133-5; idem, *Grammaticheskiy oçerk yazika "Divānu lugāt-it-turk" Makhmuda Kāshghari*, thesis, Leningrad 1966; K. Czeglédy, *Kāshghari földrajzi neveihez. Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv életrajza köréből*, Budapest 1964, 60-5; J. M. Kelly, *On defining Dhū al-Thalāthah and Dhū al-Arba'ah*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971), 132-6; idem, *Remarks on Kāshghari's phonology. I. Linguistic terminology*, in *UJb*, xlv (1972), 179-93; Z. Korkmaz, *Kāshghari Mahmud ve Oğuz Türkçesi*, in *TD*, xxvii, no. 253 (1972), 3-26; G. G. Musabaeu, *Kāshghari Mahmud'un yasamı üzerine yeni veriler*, in *ibid.*, 110-20 = *Nekotoriye svedeniya o žizni Makhmuda Kaşgari*, in *Issledovaniya po tyurkologii*, Alma-Ata 1969, 48-62. The Soviet Turcological Journal (*Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya*) has since 1970 contained a large number of articles on the *Diwān*.

(G. HAZAI)

**KĀSHĪ**, a Persian word designating the tiles or trimmed pieces of faience serving to cover completely or partially the main fabric of buildings in a design principally decorative but also, at times, to protect them against humidity. This term, which also exists in Turkish, is an abbreviation of *Kāshāni*; the town of *Kāshān* [q.v.] was in effect the most important and most famous centre of production in Iran. It appears already in Abū'l-Kāsim, author of the first treatise dedicated to this subject (ca. 700/1300) in the form *kāshī-garī*, which means literally "the art of making the *kāshī*", but for

this author it had a wider sense and designated the art of faience. (See J. W. Allan, *Abū'l-Qāsim's Treatise on ceramics in Iran*, xi (1973), 111-20). In the Arab authors this term becomes *kāshī* (Yāqūt, iv, 15) or *Kāshāni* (Yāqūt, *ibid.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 415, 463, ii, 130, 225, 297, iii, 79).

The origin of the *kāshīs* is linked with the techniques of pottery and with that of baked brick. So it has connections with a very ancient art. The excavations of Çuḡhā-Zanbil (*Khūzistān*) have brought to light several types of dappled tiles (13th century B.C.). (See P. Amiet, *Elam*, Paris 1966, pl. 261). There have also been discovered (*ibid.*, pl. 383-92) some polychrome-coated tiles with zoomorphous decoration at Susa (ca. 8th and 7th centuries B.C.). The famous Frieze of the Archers (Louvre, 5th century B.C.) is a well-known example of the enameled brick of the Achaemenids (M. Rutten, *Les arts du Moyen Orient ancien*, Paris 1962, pl. xxx) that the Assyrians and Babylonians also knew about (Assyrian Palace of *Khorsābād*, 722-705 B.C.; Gate of *Ištār* at Babylon 6th century B.C.). Later on, in the period of the Parthians and Sāsānids, this art experienced a certain decline and appears to be represented only by mosaics (Bīshāpur, 2nd half of the 3rd century, see R. Ghirshman, *Parthes et Sassanides*, Paris 1962, pls. 180-6).

Moreover, it is this technique which prevailed at the beginning of the Muslim period and the mosaics of this era are of Hellenistic or Byzantine inspiration. They were also much used for floors (rest room of the bath of *Khīrbat al-Mafḡjar*; D. and J. Sourdell, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, Paris 1968, pl. 124), as well as on the walls (Dome of the Rock, dated 691, above, art. ARCHITECTURE, pls. IV-VI; Great Mosque of Damascus, dated 775, Sourdell, *op. cit.*, pl. iv), but the use of *kāshīs* in the form which later spread seems to emerge in the 5th/11th century. One of the first examples of its tentative appearance is to be found at the top of the minaret of the *mas'jid-i djamī'* of Dāmghān (2nd half of the 5th/11th century, C. Adle and A. S. Melikian Chirvani, *Les Monuments du xi<sup>e</sup> s. du Dāmghān*, in *Studia Iranica*, i/1 (1972), pl. xxvii). The enamel was also applied, according to A. Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 366, to render the characters of the inscription more visible, i.e. more legible, on the exterior of buildings (cf. also *ibid.*, pl. 132; M. B. Smith, *The Manārs of Isfahān*, in *AI*, 1936/2, fig. 212). Approximately at the same period points of turquoise blue enamel appeared on buildings (Gonbad-i Surkh, dated 1147 at Marāgha, A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, repr. Tokyo 1964, viii, pl. 341). This new type of insertion of quite small enameled tablets drew its inspiration from the embossed joints of plaster which are already in existence on the buildings of the 5th/11th century. The arrangement of these small tablets then developed without interruption and various decorative schemes were adopted (funerary tower of Mu'mina *Khātūn*, dated 1186, at *Nakhjavān*, *ibid.*, pl. 345; *Gūr-i Amir*, dated 1405, at *Samarqand*, *ibid.*, ix, pls. 541-3). Emanating from these first productions, two techniques saw the light of day: that of the faience mosaic or *kāshī-yi mu'arraḡ-kārī*, and that of the faience tile or *kāshī-kārī*.

*Kāshī-yi mu'arraḡ-kārī* (or simply *mu'arraḡ-kārī*): this technique consists of cutting, according to precise forms, pieces of monochrome *kāshī* of different colours to compose a polychrome design (technique described by Godard, *op. cit.*, 383-4; H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge Mass. 1966, 121-5, figs. 188-94; Pope, *op. cit.*, pl. 546). One of the

first examples of the use of this process in Iran is the Imāmzāda Djā'far (dated 1325) at Iṣfahān (Godard, 384). Perfection was achieved at the Imāmzāda Darb-i Imām (dated 1453), situated in the same town (*ibid.*, 386) and especially at the Blue Mosque (Masjīd-i Kabūd, 1453) of Tabriz (*ibid.*, pls. 145, 146; Pope, *op. cit.*, viii, pls. 452-6).

*Kāshī-kāri*: by contrast with the above, in this process the design is reproduced on tiles of baked earth which are then painted, generally with different metal oxides, to become polychromatic, then rebaked. This technique, which varied widely according to periods and places, has given birth to two great schools, the *kāshī-yi falazzi-rang* (glazed) and the *kāshī-yi haft-rang* (polychrome/seven colours).

The first are from the 3rd/9th century at Baghdad and at Sāmarrā. They were even exported as far as Qayrawān (D. Talbot Rice, *Islamic Art*, London 1965, fig. 35) to be used in the Great Mosque (ca. 862). But it was the *kāshīs* manufactured principally at Kāshān, from the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries, that were the most famous. Their metallic glints were produced by "a thin film of metal obtained by reducing in the kiln a metallic oxide applied on the enamel" (J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'étude de la céramique musulmane*, Paris 1966, 36-8; Wulff, *op. cit.*, 119-20). Two categories of glazed tiles exist: first, the flat *kāshīs* in the form of a star or a cross (cf. panel of the Louvre dated 1267; *Art de l'Islam, catalogue de l'exposition de l'Orangerie des Tuileries*, Paris 1971, pl. and no. 58), and then much greater *kāshīs*, often modelled in a manner to constitute the elements of a *mihrāb* (cf. that of the sanctuary of the Imām Ridā at Mashhad, dated 1215, and that of the Mosque of the Maydān of Kāshān, dated 1226; M. Bahrami, *Recherches sur les carreaux de revêtement lustré dans la céramique persane du xiii<sup>e</sup> au xv<sup>e</sup> s.*, Paris 1937; Pope, *op. cit.*, iv, 1569-90, x, pls. 702, 704, 721-7).

The *kāshī-yi haft-rang* were particularly in favour from the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (1588-1629). This sovereign, a great builder, judged the *kāshī-yi mu'arraḥ* too slow and costly to produce, and replaced them on certain buildings with painted tiles (interior of Masjīd-i Shāh, dated 1612-28, at Iṣfahān; Godard, *op. cit.*, 393-4; *Iran-Shahr*, ii, 1827-31; Pope, *op. cit.*, ix, pls. 547-9; A. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, London 1971, pl. 63).

The manufacture of *kāshī* fell into decline from the 17th-18th centuries onwards, and the notable productions were not numerous (Madrasa Mādar-i Shāh, Iṣfahān, dated 1706-14; Masjīd-i Sipahsālār, Tehran, dating from 1879). At present, this art has experienced, in Iran, a certain revival. Some architects have attempted, sometimes successfully, to incorporate this fundamental element of Iranian decoration in the new architecture of the country (tomb of Khayyām at Nishāpūr, constructed by Sayhūn).

The Persians also took this industry to Syria. These *kāshānīs* were produced at Damascus. However, it is in the Turkish lands that this art experienced a great development; the Saldīūḳid Palace of Kubādābad (7th/13th century) had very fine faience tiles in the form of stars and crosses (Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, fig. 185; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, figs. 61-2). The Mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn (dated 1220) at Konya displays a very elaborate technique of faience mosaic (Lane, *op. cit.*, 39). The Ottomans were also interested from the beginning in this art (Yeşil Cami at Bursa, 1419-24; Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, fig. 189). The best *kāshīs* were produced at Iznik, which was an ex-

remely important and active centre from about 1490 to the beginning of the 18th century (see, e.g. Mausoleum of Sultan Sulaymān (dated 1566) at Istanbul; *ibid.*, figs. 194-5; see also A. Lane, *op. cit.*, 39-65, pl. 32; C. E. Arseven, *Les arts décoratifs turcs*, Istanbul 1952, 148-75; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London 1971, 270-8).  
*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(C. ADLE)

AL-KĀSHĪ OR AL-KĀSHĀNĪ, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN DIJAMSHĪD B. MAS'UD B. MAHMŪD, Persian mathematician and astronomer who wrote in his mother tongue and in Arabic. Few biographical details are available, but it is known that during his lifetime he witnessed three eclipses of the moon, the first being visible at Kāshān on 14 Dhu 'l-Hijja 808/2 June 1406. Dates occurring incidentally in his works mark a few stages in his life; in 809/1407 he finished his *Risāla hamāliyya* or *Sullam al-samā'*, which deals with the size or distances of the celestial bodies; in 816/1413 he completed the *Zīd-i khākāni*, perhaps dedicated to Shāh Rūḳh at Harāt, in which he improves the Ilkhānid tables of Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī, employing differences of the second order in the case of interpolation of *buhṭ* (see E. S. Kennedy, in *Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 117-20).

The year 819/1419 seems to have been the most decisive of his life: it was then that he completed a brief treatise on astronomical instruments (ed. and tr. E. S. Kennedy, in *JNES*, xx/2 (1961), 98-108), dedicated to Prince Iskandar of the Qara-ḳoyunlu, in which he describes briefly but accurately many of the instruments mentioned in the *Almagest* (5, 1; 5, 2, etc.) as well as others devised by earlier Muslim astronomers. In this same year he finished the first version of his *Nuzhat al-hadā'iq* and, accepting the invitation of Ulugh Beg [q.v.], probably proffered at the instigation of Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, he settled in Samarḳand. From this town he wrote to his father (Eng. tr. E. S. Kennedy, in *Orientalia*, xxix/2 (1960), 191-213) describing the lifestyle of the court, his relationship with Ulugh Beg and Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, and the problems with which the latter was particularly concerned. This document is of exceptional scientific interest; in some passages he brings to mind, in quite a different context, the tests undergone by poets when they were admitted to the sovereign's court. He assisted in the establishment of Ulugh Beg's tables and took part in the construction of the great observatory, the ruins of which can still be seen and which, in the opinion of Sayılı (The *observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960, 260-89), probably influenced the first European observatories.

In 826/1423 he completed his *al-Risāla al-Muḥīṭiyya* (ed. with Ger. tr. by P. Luckey, *Der Lehrbrief über den Kreisumfang*, Berlin 1953; Russ. tr. by B. A. Rosenfeld, V. S. Segal and A. P. Yushkevič, Moscow 1956) in which he established the value of  $\pi$  with extraordinary exactitude, so that  $2\pi = 6; 16, 59, 28, 1, 34, 51, 46, 14, 50$  in sexagesimal notation and 6.2831853071795865 in decimal notation. Allied to the algorithmic methods of this work is the determination of sine  $1^\circ$  worked out by an iterative method (cf. A. Aaboe, in *Scripta Mathematica*, xx (1954), 24-9). This problem, one with which Qāḍī-zāda was preoccupied, was recorded by his grandson, Miram Çelebi, in his commentary on the tables of Ulugh Beg entitled *Dastūr al-'amal wa-taṣṭih al-djādwal*. It can be seen here that al-Kāshī employed the equation:  $\text{sine } d = 3 \text{ sine } d - 4 \text{ sine } 3d$ , which was used in the Western world by F. Viète (1540-1613)

and established the value of  $\sin 1^\circ = 0.017452406437283571$ .

In 829/1426, he completed the second version of the *Nuzh al-hadā'iq*, in which he described an equatorium similar to that of Chaucer (see D. J. Price, *The equatorie of the planets*, Cambridge 1955); this, which he called a *ṣabak al-manāfiḥ*, was designed to determine the position of the planets by manual means; the first references to such an instrument appear in the work of the Hispano-Arab Azarquiel [see AL-ZARQĀLĪ]. In the same year he composed a *Lawḥ al-itṭiṣālāt*, enabling the rapid calculation of linear interpolations. These two works are edited and translated by E. S. Kennedy, *The planetary equatorium*, Princeton 1960.

In 830/1427 he dedicated to Ulugh Beg's library his *Miftāḥ al-hisāb* (ed. with Russ. tr. B. A. Rosenfeld, V. S. Segal and A. P. Yushkevich, Moscow 1951). In the prologue to this work he gives an (incomplete) list of his works and in the explanatory part expounds the arithmetical operations, teaches the method of extracting roots by the system which today is called after Ruffini-Horner, calculates the Tartaglian triangle [see AL-KARĀDĪ], demonstrates that he knew the proof by 9, works out the sum of series up to the fourth power of natural numbers (cf. F. Woepcke, *Sommations de séries*, in *Journal de mathématiques pures et appliquées*, x/2 (Paris 1865), 32-6), develops, like the ancient Babylonians, the absolute sexagesimal system, and devises decimal fractions which, despite the endeavours of Emmanuel Bonfils of Tarascon (14th century), were not recognised in Europe before Stevin of Bruges (1585); he also indicates the rules for passing from one system to another, gives auxiliary tables for various computations, deals with trigonometry and algebra and solves some undetermined systems [see AL-KARĀDĪ].

Al-Kāshī died on 19 Ramaḍān 832/22 June 1429 at Samarḳand.

*Bibliography*: Apart from references in the text, Brockelmann, II, 231, S II, 294; Suter, 173, no. 429; Kakhāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifin*, iii, 158, viii, 43. (J. VERNET)

**KĀSHIF**, MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF B. SHAMS AL-DĪN AL-SHRĀZĪ (ca. 1001/1592-after 1063/1653), a Persian prosewriter and poet with the *takhalluṣ* Kāshif (the forms Kāshif-i Kumayt, cf. Rosen, loc. cit., and Sharfā Kāshif, cf. *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādi* in the synopsis by A. Sprenger, *Cat. Oudh*, 91, are also mentioned). He lived in Isfahān and later in Ray, where he was a *kāfi* for 15 years. His brothers Ismā'īl Munṣif and Muḳīma were also known as poets. Only two works by Kāshif seem to have survived. Both deal with ethical questions and were written in the ornate style current in the Ṣafawid period. *Sirādj al-Munir*, completed in 1030/1621 or slightly earlier, is modelled on Sa'dī's *Gulistān* but is more religious in character than the latter work. *Khazān u Bahār* is chiefly an adaptation of the Persian version of al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faradj ba'd al-shidda* by Husayn b. As'ad al-Mu'ayyadī al-Dihistānī (7th/13th century). These works were still frequently copied in the 13th/19th century and have been lithographed several times both in Iran and India (cf. Khānbābā Muṣḥar, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i ḥāfi-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337-1342 sh., i, 945, ii, 2138). Other works, recorded in the *Khātima* of *Khazān u Bahār* are the prose works *Durr-i Maknūn* and *Hawāṣṣ-i baṣīn*, the *mathnawīs Laylā u Madjūn*, *Haft Paykar* and *'Abbās nāma*, and lyrical poetry.

*Bibliography*: autobiographical notice in the epilogue (*khātima*) of *Khazān u Bahār*, cf. the

description in V. Rosen, *Les manuscrits persans de l'Institut des langues orientales*, St. Pétersbourg 1886, 285 f.; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, 861 f., *Supplement*, 250 f.; al-Shaykh Ākā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānif al-Shī'a*, Naḍīaf-Tehran 1355 ff., vii, 151 f., viii, 108, xii, 161 f.; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaffī-i fārsī*, ii/2, Tehran 1349 sh., 1601 f., 1628 ff. (J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

**KĀSHIF AL-GHIṬĀ'**, surname of the Imāmī scholar SHAYKH DJA'FAR B. KHIDR B. YAḤYĀ AL-MĀLIKĪ AL-DJANĀDĪ AL-NAḌJAFĪ. Shaykh Dja'far was born in al-Naḍjaf in 1154/1741 or, more likely, in 1164/1751, according to conflicting records. His father, whose family belonged to the Arab clan of Banū Mālik, had come from Djanādiyyā (Kānākiyā), a village in the region of al-Ḥilla, to al-Naḍjaf, where he won a high respect for his piety and religious learning. Shaykh Dja'far studied in al-Naḍjaf and Karbalā' under the most famous Imāmī scholars of the time, among them the Ākā Muḥammad Bākīr al-Bihbihānī and the Sayyid Mahdī Baḥr al-'Ulūm al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī. After the death of the latter in 1212/1797, Shaykh Dja'far was recognized as his successor in the leadership of the Imāmī community.

Shaykh Dja'far was actively engaged in the local affairs of al-Naḍjaf as well as in the concerns of the Imāmī community at large, and entertained close relations with both the Ottoman authorities in Baghdād and the Kādjār ruler Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (1212-50/1797-1834) of Persia. In reply to a pamphlet of the Wahhābī ruler al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd (d. 1218/1803) espousing Wahhābī doctrine and attacking Shī'ism, he wrote a rebuttal *Risālat manḥadī al-rashād li-man arāda al-sadād*. During the siege of al-Naḍjaf by the Wahhābīs in 1220/1805, he led the successful resistance of the inhabitants. In 1221/1806 he served the Ottoman governor of Baghdād, 'Alī Paṣḥa, as an envoy to the Persian army advancing on that city and brought about a peaceful settlement. To Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, during whose reign he visited Persia frequently, he dedicated his general *fiḥḥ* work *Kashf al-ghīṭā' 'an mubḥamāt al-sharī'a al-gharrā'*. The book became popular with students of Imāmī law and earned him his surname Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'. He repeatedly authorized Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh to lead *djihād*.

In treatises and in public debates in 'Irāq and Persia he vigorously supported the Uṣūlī doctrine of *idjtiḥād* [q.v.] against the Akhbārī position. This brought him into sharp conflict with the Akhbārī leader Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī al-Akhhārī. When the latter found refuge at the court of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh in 1223/1808 and tried to defame him personally, he wrote a scathing attack on him entitled *Kashf al-Ghiṭā' 'an ma'āyib Mīrzā Muḥammad 'aduww al-'ulamā'* and sent it to the shah. Towards the end of his life he became involved in a bloody conflict between the Zuḳurt and the Shīmirt, two factions of the inhabitants of al-Naḍjaf, which led to a feud lasting over a century. He died at the end of Raḍjaf 1227/early August 1812 and was buried in al-Naḍjaf. Several of his descendants have distinguished themselves in scholarship.

*Bibliography*: Al-Kh'wānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, Tehran 1367, 152-4; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, Tehran 1318, iii, 397 f.; Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-'ulamā'*, Tehran n.d., 183-98; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-'Āmillī, *A'yān al-shī'a*, xv, Damascus 1359/1940, 413-47; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran 1785-1906*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, index s.v. Najafi, Shaykh Ja'far. (W. MADELUNG)

**KĀSHIFĪ**, KAMĀL AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ, sur-named al-Wāʿiẓ ("the preacher"), Persian writer and preacher. Born at Bayhaq or Sabzawār, where he spent part of his youth, Kāshifī then lived in Nishābūr, Mashhad, and for about 20 years at Harāt, during the reign of Abu 'l Ghāzī Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāykarā [q.v.]. There he received encouragement from the sultan and from ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [q.v.]. He was well-known as an eloquent preacher with an exceptionally beautiful voice and as a prolific writer of Persian prose. Kāshifī lived to a ripe old age, dying in 910/1504-5 at Harāt. Because he was born at Bayhaq, a Shīʿī centre, he was regarded as a Shīʿī in Harāt, but his relationship with Djamī [q.v.] and his companionship with ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī resulted in his being considered a Sunnī in Bayhaq. His famous son, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī (d. 939/1532-3) in his *Rashahāt ʿayn al-hayāt* (lith. Lucknow 1308/1890) mentions his father's adherence to the Naqshbandīs [q.v.], who were Sunnīs. However, some of Kāshifī's works, such as his *Rawdat al-shuhadāʾ*, attest that the author was an Imāmī Shīʿī. In any case, the *Laṭāʾif al-jawāʾif*, written by Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī (Tehran 1336/1957), and different works by Kāshifī, express the authors' devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt* [q.v.] "the family of the Prophet". In some of Kāshifī's books, such as *al-Risāla al-ʿaliyya fi'l-ahādīth al-nabawiyya* (Tehran 1966) and *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sulṭānī* (Tehran 1971), his tendency towards Ṣūfism is obvious. Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ occasionally wrote Persian poems under the pen name of Kāshifī. His only known child was the above-mentioned Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī, the author of several books, who succeeded his father as a celebrated preacher in Harāt.

The following list of Kāshifī's works is not in chronological order, as the dates of many of his writings have not been established. Of the author's works, the best known are the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* and *Rawdat al-shuhadāʾ*: (1) The former, which is the basis of Kāshifī's fame in the East and the West, is a new version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q.v.], translated into Persian by Abu 'l Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh. Kāshifī's aim in recasting these fables, done at the suggestion of Niẓām al-Dīn Amīr Shaykh Aḥmad al-Suhaylī (d. 907 or 908/1501-3), a Turkish amir at the court of Sultan Ḥusayn, was to simplify the difficult style of Abu 'l-Maʿālī. Kāshifī omitted Abu 'l-Maʿālī's first two chapters, reducing the book to 14 chapters. But the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, "The Lights of Canopus" or rather "The Lights of Suhaylī", written in a very decorative style, cannot compare with the first Persian translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and Kāshifī did not achieve his object. The book has been published several times: in Calcutta 1804 etc.; Hertford (by Ch. Stewart) 1805, (by J. W. Ouseley) 1851; Bombay 1853; and repeatedly since then in India, Iran and Europe. A versified version of the work exists, entitled *Shakaristān* and made by Amīr Khusraw Dārāʾī (Tehran 1947). The Ottoman Turkish translation of the work, entitled *Hümāyūn-nāma* by ʿAlī Celebi (d. 950/1543-4), became widely known in Europe; its translation into French is one of the sources of La Fontaine's Fables. The *Anwār-i Suhaylī* has also been translated into English (by E. B. Eastwick, Hertford 1854, and by A. N. Wollaston, London 1878). Parts of the book have been printed in text and translation in Europe (see Ethé, *Cat. Pers. Mss., India Office*, No. 757). Having achieved fame in India, the work found an imitator, Abu 'l Faḍl b. Mubārak, minister of the Emperor Akbar and author of the *Āyin-i Akbarī*, who com-

posed the *ʿIyār-i dānish* (996/1588); (2) *The Rawdat al-shuhadāʾ*, "Garden of the Martyrs", a Persian martyrology of ʿAlī and his family, particularly of the Imām Ḥusayn [q.v.], was written at the wish of Prince Murshīd al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, called Sayyid Mīrzā, in 908/1502-3. It comprises ten chapters (*bābs*) and a conclusion (*khātma*). It has been published many times; abridgments entitled *Dah madjlīs* and *Muntakhab-i Rawdat al-shuhadāʾ* are also available (see Storey, i, 212, 1261). Popular among Shīʿīs and used in the commemorative speeches of Muḥarram, the book has left a lasting mark on the mourning ceremonies called *rawda*. The work was translated into Turkish, with additions, by Fuḍūll [q.v.] of Baghdad (d. 970/1562-3) under the title *Hadīkat al-suʿadāʾ* (see Storey, i, 213; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 90). There is a metrical paraphrase in Dakhanī: the *Rawdat al-shuhadāʾ* by Walī, composed in 1130/1718 (Storey, i, 213). Translations in Urdu and Hindī also exist (see Ḥaydar-Bakhsḥ Ḥaydarī, *Gul-i maghfirat*, Lahore 1965, Introduction by Nāzīr Ḥasan Zaydī, 8, 9, 19).

Other works are: (3) *Djawāhīr al-tafsīr li-tuḥfat al-Amīr*, an extensive Persian commentary on the Qurʾān, written at the request of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī in 890/1485. Kāshifī intended to compile it in four volumes, but discontinued his work after finishing the first volume, which included the first three *sūras* and part of the fourth. Later, he wrote a shorter commentary. *Djawāhīr al-tafsīr* has a detailed introduction dealing with the 22 branches of Qurʾānic sciences. Manuscripts of the work are extant (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss., British Museum*, i, 11; Ethé, No. 2680; Storey, i, 12, 1195; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhāhā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Fārsī*, Tehran 1969, i, 42); (4) the *Mawāhib-i ʿaliyya* is a shorter commentary on the Qurʾān, composed in 897-9/1491-4 and dedicated to ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, from whose name the work's title is derived. It is also called *Tafsīr-i Ḥusaynī*, after the author. The book has been lithographed several times in India (Storey, i, 13), Iran, and printed in four volumes in Tehran 1938-50. There is a Turkish translation by Abu 'l Faḍl Muḥammad b. Idrīs Bidlīsī (d. 982/1574-5) and also an adaptation, *Mewākib tefsīri*, by Ismāʿīl Ferrukh Efendi (d. 1256/1840), Istanbul 1959. Urdu and Pashtu translations also exist (Storey, *loc. cit.*); (5) the *Akhlāk-i Muḥsinī*, a book on ethics, was completed in 900/1494-5 as an offering for Abu 'l Muḥsin, a son of Sultan Ḥusayn. It comprises 40 chapters, and has been published several times in India, Tehran, Hertford, London, etc. Translations exist in English by H. G. Keene, Hertford 1851; in Turkish, under the title *Anīs al-ʿarifīn*, by ʿAzmi, 974/1566-7; and extracts from the latter translated into German, published by R. Peiper, Breslau 1848, *Das Kapitel von der Freigebigkeit*, etc.; (6) *al-Risāla al-ʿaliyya fi'l-ahādīth al-nabawiyya*, a Persian commentary in eight chapters on the 40 *hadīths*, compiled in 875/1470-1. It was influenced by the *Maṣābīḥ al-kulūb* of Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sabzawārī (d. 854/1450), one of the Shīʿī ʿulamāʾ, and dedicated to Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l Maʿālī ʿAlī al-Mukhtār al-Nassāba al-Nakīb. A Turkish translation was made by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Taḣḥkōprüzāde (d. 1030/1620-1) for Sultan Aḥmad I (see ʿOM, i, 349-50; A. Karahan, *İslam-Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadīs*, Istanbul 1954, 109-11 and index s.v. Ḥusayn Vāʿiẓ; (7), (8) Two anthologies from Rūmī's *Mathnawī*: the first entitled *Lubāb-i maʿnawī fi intihāb-i Mathnawī*, and the second a rearrangement of this entitled *Lubb-i Lubāb-i maʿnawī*. The latter was

compiled at the suggestion of Musayyib, one of the eminent officials at the court of Harāt, in 875/1470-1 (lith., Bombay 1885, Lucknow; printed, Tehran 1940); (9) *Risāla-yi Ḥātimīyya*, a short Persian treatise including the story of Ḥātim Ṭāʾī [q.v.], compiled for Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyqarā in 891/1486 (printed, Ch. Schefer, *Chrest. Pers.*, Paris 1883, i, 174-203; Tehran 1941); (10) *Makḥzan al-inshāʿ*, a treatise on the art of Persian epistolography, containing all a secretary must know: forms of address, forms of answer, topics which must be stated, forms of prayer used in letters. It was completed in 907/1501-2, in the name of Sultan Ḥusayn and the author's patron, Mir ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī; (11) *Ṣaḥīfa-yi shāhī*, another treatise, including some epistolary writings in Persian and a few in Arabic, is dedicated to Sultan Ḥusayn (lith., Lucknow 1844, Cawnpore 1848); (12) *Badāʾiʿ al-afḥār fī sanāʾiʿ al-ashʿār*, a work on figures of speech and errors, particularly in poetic usage (see A. Munzawī, iii, 2126); (13) *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sulḥānī*, printed in Tehran 1971, is one of Kāshifī's most valuable works. As well as having a fluent style, the book is the most detailed of all the Arabic and Persian treatises written on *futuwwa* [q.v.]. Kāshifī compiled all the information about *fityān* handed down from earlier generations and never before mentioned in books. At the same time, he used important written sources. Some special aspects of the mediaeval history of Iran, i.e. about the *fityān* and their social organisation, are fully described; (14) the *Asrār-i Kāsimī*, a short Persian treatise on witchcraft, spells and alchemy, in five parts, is written in the name of Amīr Sayyid Kāsim, one of the eminent personalities of the period (lith. Bombay 1872, etc.). Kāshifī's son wrote a commentary on this book, entitled *Kāshf-i Asrār-i Kāsimī* (lith., Bombay 1894, 1910; printed in Berlin); (15) *Tuḥfat al-ṣalāt*, with eight chapters and a conclusion; (16) *Marṣad al-asnā fī istiḥrāḍi asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* (lith., Bombay 1893, 1905); (17) *Zād al-musāfirīn* (*mathnawī*, lith., Lucknow 1885); (18) *Sabʿa Kāshifīyya*, completed in 878/1473-4, containing seven treatises on astronomy and astrology, entitled *Mawāhib al-Zuḥal*, *Mayāmin al-Muṣṭarī*, *Kawātib* (or *Sawātib*) *al-Mirrikh*, *Lawāmiʿ al-Shams*, *Mabāhidī* (or *Mafātiḥ*) *al-Zuhra*, *Manāhidī* *al-Uḥarid* and *Lawāʾiḥ al-Kamar* (or *Iḥtiyārāt-i nuḍjūm*); (19) *al-Tuḥfa al-ʿaliyya fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-bayān asrārihā*, compiled in the name of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Naqshbandī; (20), (21) Two more commentaries on the Qurʾān, entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Djāwāhir*, "abridged from *Djāwāhir al-tafsīr*", and *Djāmiʿ al-sillīn*, Kāshifī's dictated commentary on the *Sūrat Yūsuf* (ch. xii), which is probably identical with the *Tafsīr-i sūra-yi Yūsuf* by Tādj al-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd of Tūs (Tehran 1967; see Storey, i, 29, 1195, 1210; A. Munzawī, i, 38); (22) *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*; (23) *Risālat al-ulwiyya*; (24) *Risāla dar ʿilm-i aʿdād*; (25) *Risāla dar aʿrād-u adʿiyya*; (26) *Fayḍ al-nawāl fī bayān al-zawāl*; (27) *Mafātiḥ al-kunūz* on alchemy; (28) *Mayāmin al-ikhtisāb fī ḥawāʿid al-ikhtisāb*; (29) *ʿĪna-yi isḥandari* or *Djām-i Djām*; (30) *Mā lā budda fī ʿl madḥhab*; (31) *Minhādī al-wilāya*; (32) *Faḍl al-ṣalāt ʿala ʿl-nabī*; (33) *Mirʾāt al-ṣafā fī ṣifāt al-Muṣṭafā*; (34) *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-Surūr fī ʿilm al-ṣanʿa* by Sufyān al-Thawrī (lith. Bombay); (35) *al-Nakāwa fī ādāb al-tilāwa*, on the method of reading the Qurʾān (A. Munzawī, i, 120); (36) *Diwān-i Kāshifī* (*ibid.*, iii, 2490); (37) *Ṭabaḳāt-i Khwādja-gān-i Naqshbandīyya* (*ibid.*, ii, 1274); (38) *Maʿārif al-Yaḳīn* (*ibid.*, ii, 1394); (39) *Manāḳib al-awliyāʾ*

(*ibid.*, ii, 1423; Storey, i, 213); (40) *Madjālis-i waʿḍ* (A. Munzawī, ii, 1678), etc.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the works and sources mentioned in the text: ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-maṣāʾis*, Pers. tr., Tehran 1944, 93, 268-9; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tehran 1373/1953-4, iv, 345-6; Ḥādīdī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, i, 199, 204, ii, 230, 319, 360, 363, 641-2, iii, 43, 421-2, 461-2, 500-1, iv, 485, v, 239, 353, 376, 466, 483, vi, 244, 280-1, 643; N. Shūshṭarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1375/1956, i, 113-4, 547-8; Maʿsūm ʿAlī-Shāh, *Tarāʾiḥ al-ḥakāʾiḥ*, Tehran 1960-66, iii, 114; Browne, iii, 441-4, 463, 503-4 (Pers. tr., *Az Saʿdī tā Djāmī*, by ʿA. A. Hikmat, Tehran 1960, 639-41, 643-5, 734-8); Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *al-Dhārīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shiʿa*, Najaf and Tehran 1936 etc., cf. relevant titles; M. R. Djalālī Nāʾīnī, Introduction, in *Mawāhib-i ʿaliyya*, 7-132; ʿA. A. Dihkhudā, "Kāshifī", in *Lughatnāma*, Tehran 1946 etc.; ʿA. Khayyāmpūr, *Farhang-i suḥanwarān*, Tabriz 1961, 479; Kh. Muṣṭarī, *Muʾallifin-i Kutub-i ʿĀppī* "Fārsī-yu ʿArabī", Tehran 1961, ii, 810-16; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, index s.v. Ḥusayn Wāʿiz, and p. 600 (bibl.), Eng. tr. *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, index s.v. and p. 789. (GHOLAM HOSEIN YOUSOFI)

**KASHISH-DAGHĪ** [see ULU DAGHĪ].

**KASHINĀ, KASHNĀ** [see KATSINA].

**KASHKĀY**, the name of a Turkish people living in the Fārs province of Iran. Persian works refer to this people as *Kashkāʾī*. The exact origin of the name is not known. In western Turkish *kaşka* is the name given to a blaze on the forehead of animals such as horses, sheep and cattle; in *Çağatay* the word also means "brilliant" and "gallant". It is probable that the name *Kashkāy* is related to one of these meanings, especially the former, i.e. a blaze. It is impossible to agree with the claims of the chroniclers of the *Kādjār* period that the word is derived from *kačmak* "to flee, escape". The *Kashkāy* are a comparatively recent community, not referred to in works earlier than the 18th century. A branch of the *Khaladj* [q.v.], whose original territory was the Sāwa region, used to live in Fārs during the 19th century, and whilst we have no knowledge of the causes leading to the formation of the *Kashkāy*, it is probable that many Turcoman communities living in Fārs gathered around the strong *Shāhīlu* tribe of the *Khaladj* during the Afghan invasion, thus forming this people. It seems also that some small tribes belonging to such peoples as the Lurs, Kurds and *Shuls* also joined this union.

The territory of the *Kashkāy* extended from the northwest of Fārs to the southeast, comprising *Shash Nāhiya*, *Čahār Danke*, *Kāmfirūz*, *Ardahān*, *Kāzarūt*, *Farrāshband*, *Maḥall Arbaʿa*, *Firūzābād*, *Maymand*, *Afraz*, *Khundj* and *Mahūr Milānī*. Of these, the first five were their grazing grounds, while the rest were their winter quarters. The *khāns* generally wintered in *Firūzābād*. Until recently the territory of the *Kashkāy* was considered a separate administrative region under the name of the *Vilāyat-i Kashkāʾī*.

The tribal organization of the *Kashkāy* was similar to that of other Turkish peoples, i.e. they were divided into the *boy* (*tāʾifa*), the *boy* into the *oba* (*tira*), and the *oba* into families (*odjak*). The tribal ruler was the *ilkhān*, while the *boy* was headed by the *kalantar* (*boy begi*), and the *oba* by the *katkhuda*. The *il begi* was the deputy *ilkhān* and the actual ruler. He was elected from among the close relatives of the *ilkhān*, such as his son or brother. The *ilkhān*,

always a member of the ruling family of **Khāns**, was appointed by the **Shāh**. Among the many boys and *obas* of the **Kāshkāy** people, the following were of the greatest historical importance: Bayāt (from the **Oghuz** tribe), Igdir (**Oghuz** tribe), Beg Dili (**Oghuz** tribe), Čarīkhlu (Čarīklu, an **Oghuz** tribe?), **Shāmlu**, **Aghā-Eri** (of the **Karā-Koyunlu**), **Khaladī**, **Musullu** (of the **Ak-Koyunlu**), and **Oryad** (**Mongol**?). These sub-tribes were not very populous. One characteristic of the **Kāshkāy** people was that it had a strict tribal code, which determined all conduct and was obeyed by every member, from the **Khān** down to the simplest member of the community.

The great majority of the **Kāshkāy** led a nomadic life, raising horses, camels and cattle. An important number of these nomadic people, however, had fields near their pastures, which were watered and protected by peasants living in the neighbourhood. In return for these services, the peasants, called *ra'iyyat-i Kāshkāy*, received two sheep and some share of the crop each year. Being servants of the **Kāshkāy** was regarded as good fortune by the peasants of **Fārs**, for in this way they enjoyed the help and protection of the **Kāshkāy** and were free from the molestations of government officials. The **Kāshkāy** exported sheep, longhaired lambskins similar to the **Kara Köl** sheep of **Bukhārā**, wool, carpets and rugs. **Kāshkāy** carpets woven from pure wool, decorated with traditional motifs and dyed with natural dyes, are still in high demand both in **Iran** and abroad.

The **Kāshkāy** women occupied an important place in the social life of their community, and as among the ancient **Turks**, the **Kāshkāy** observed the rule of demanding *bashlik* (*bashluk*) in marriage.

**Kāshkāy** Turkish is a dialect of **Oghuz**, i.e. south-western, **Turkish**. Like the *ozans* of the **Oghuz**, the **Kāshkāy** had their *‘ashiks*, who sang songs of love and bravery and recited the legend of **Köröghlu**.

Dupré (1807-9) gives their number as 12,000-15,000 (*Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, ii, pp. 463-4), while Lady Sheil (mid-19th century) writes that they had 30,000-40,000 tents (*Glimpses of life and Manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398-9). Curzon (1889), on the other hand, gives their number as 25,000 (*Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 112-3) but he mentions that formerly they had comprised 60,000 tents and were capable of raising 120,000 horsemen. This figure is greatly exaggerated, since the **Kāshkāy** were in fact never able to raise more than 15,000 horsemen. They put 5,000 horsemen in the field against the **British** during **World War I**.

Their first important chiefs were **Hasan Khān** and his brother **Ismā‘il Khān**, who both lived during the time of **Karīm Khan Zand** [q.v.] (d. 1193/1779), but for reasons unknown, **Hasan Khān**'s hand was cut off, and **Ismā‘il Khān**'s eyes put out towards the end of the **Zand** period. **Djānl Khān** (d. 1239/1823-4), the son of the latter, and **Muhammad ‘Alī Khān** (d. 1268/1851-2), the son of **Djānl Khān**, his brother **Muhammad Kulī Khān** (d. 1867-8), and his son **Sultān Muhammad Khān**, were the most prominent **Kāshkāy** chiefs during the 19th century. Of these, **Muhammad ‘Alī Khān** and his son **Djihāngīr Khān** took wives from the **Qādījārs**. One of the main rivals of the **Kāshkāy** dynasty was the **Hādīdī** **Ibrāhīm** family living in **Shīrāz**. This family ruled over the five large tribes (**Khamsa**) in **Fārs** with the support of the government. Another enemy of the **Kāshkāy** were the **Bakhtiyārī**, their northern neighbours. When constitutional monarchy was established in **Iran**, by law the **Kāshkāy** were

represented in parliament by **Hādīdī Karīm Khān** of the ruling family. Although the **Kāshkāy**, with the secret encouragement of the government, fought the **British** in **Fārs** towards the end of **World War I**, they were defeated. Like the other tribes, the **Kāshkāy** were disarmed by **Ridā Shāh** in 1930 and brought under government control. During the operations carried out for this purpose, the **Il-Khān** **Şawlat al-Dawla** was brought to **Tehran** and imprisoned there, and his sons were forced to leave **Iran**. During **World War II**, and after the removal of **Ridā Shāh** from the throne, the sons of **Şawlat al-Dawla**, who had himself died in prison, returned from exile. Of these, **Nāsir** was elected **Il-Khān** and started administering the **Kāshkāy**. When the **Kāshkāy**, according to their tribal tradition, refused to surrender to the **British** the **German** agents who had taken refuge in **Kāshkāy**, they were faced with the danger of being crushed as a possible consequence of an armed expedition against them. They were fortunately saved from this plight by the intervention of the **Turkish** ambassador (1943). In 1963 the government of **Iran** decided to carry out land reform in **Kāshkāy** territory and to subject the **Kāshkāy** people to the authority of the central government. **Kāshkāy** resistance was overcome by force, the tribesmen disarmed and the family of **khāns** forced to leave **Iran** for the second time.

*Bibliography*: For detailed information and bibliography on the **Kāshkāy** see **F. Sümer**, *Kaçarlar devrinde Türk oymakları*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, V, **Ankara** 1973. (**F. SÜMER**)

**KASHKŪL**, a Persian word denoting an oval bowl of metal, wood or coconut (calabash), worn suspended by a chain from the shoulder, in which the dervishes put the alms they receive and the food which is given them. The etymology of this word is obscure; a popular one is given by the Persians: *kash* "draw" (imperative) and *kūl* "shoulder", "what one draws over the shoulder"; but as we find a form *khatkūl* attested in the older poets (**Anwārī**, **Sayf Isfarangī**), this explanation can hardly be accepted. The dictionaries give as the first sense "beggar" and then "beggar's bowl"; it seems impossible to decide how correct they are.

This term passed at a late date into **Arabic**, and appears in the title of the *Kitāb al-Kashkūl* of **Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī** (953-1030/1547-1621) [see **AL-‘ĀMILĪ**], which is a collection of passages taken from various sources. It is sometimes used in modern **Arabic** in this sense, in which, as well as denoting "beggar's bag", it denotes a kind of album or collection of press cuttings. In **Algerian** colloquial **Arabic**, it has retained the sense of "begging bowl, bowl made of wood or of esparto grass" (**Beaussier**, s.v.); in **Dozy**, *Supplément*, s.v., we also find the forms *kashkul* and *kashkala*.

*Bibliography*: *Farhang-i Rashīdī*, s.v. *Khatkūl*; *Burhān-i Kāfī*, s.v. *kashkūl*; **R. du Mans**, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. **Schefer**, 217; **Ricaut**, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, figure in ch. xvii; **Lane**, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, i, 337; **A. von Kremer**, *Topographie von Damascus*, ii, 4; **E. G. Browne**, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 52. (**CL. HUART\***)

**KASHMĪR** (Sanskrit: **Kashmīra**; Persian: **Kashmīr**; **Kashmīrī**: **Kashīr**), a region of northern **India**.

#### I. BEFORE 1947

1. Geography. It is situated in the western **Himālayas** about 5,000 ft. above sea-level, and is shaped like an elliptical saucer with a similarly-shaped level

valley in the centre. This valley, comprising an area of 1,800 or 1,900 sq. miles, is about 84 miles in length, from south-west to north-east, while its width varies from 20 to 25 miles. It is surrounded by high mountain ranges, whose highest peaks rise up to 18,000 ft. The inner slopes of these mountains possess lateral valleys, some quite large and very picturesque. The whole area within the mountain boundaries is about 3,900 sq. miles. Through the central plain flows the *Djehlam* (*Vitastā*), which is joined by numerous rivers and streams which drain the slopes of the mountains. The high mountains which surround the valley are pierced by a number of passes through which it has, over the ages, maintained contact with the outside world. The most important passes are the *Bānihāl*, the *Būdīl*, the *Pir Panđjāl*, the *Tōshmaidān*, the *Hādjdji Pir* and the *Zōdji-Lā*. According to an ancient legend mentioned by *Kalhaṇa* and the *Nilamata*, *Kashmīr* was once a lake; there is a certain geological basis for this in the lacustrine deposits found in the alluvial plateaus called *karṭwas* or *uḍars*.

The name *Kashmīr* does not occur in Vedic literature. Its earliest reference is found in *Pāṇini's* grammar. Later the *Mahābhārata* and some of the *Purānas* also refer to it. There is no mention of *Kashmīr* by *Herodotus* or in the accounts of *Alexander's* invasion, but *Ptolemy's* use of *Kaspeiria* definitely refers to *Kashmīr*. It is not clear when the Chinese first used it, but when *Hiuen Tsiang* visited *Kashmīr* in 631, he called it the kingdom of *Kia-shi-mi-lo*. Muslim historians and geographers like *Abu 'l-Fidā* and *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* omit mention of *Kashmīr* altogether. *Al-Muḳaddasī* and *al-Idrīsī* refer only to its geographical location. *Al-Mas'ūdī's* account of *Kashmīr*, which he calls *Kashmīr* and its capital the "town of *Kashmīr*", is on the other hand long, but not always reliable. It is, however, *al-Bīrūnī* who gives a detailed and authentic description of *Kashmīr*. Although he never visited *Kashmīr*, he obtained his information in the *Pandjāb* and in *Ḡhazna* from reliable sources, and describes the habits and customs of the people of *Kashmīr*. He refers to the passes leading out of the valley and traces the course of the river *Djehlam* with considerable accuracy.

Nothing is known of the aboriginal inhabitants of *Kashmīr*. The present *Kashmīris* are probably a mixture of different races—*Aryan*, *Mongol*, *Turkish* and *Afghān*. The total population of *Kashmīr*, according to the 1971 census, is 2,435,701, out of which the Muslims are 2,289,530.

The staple food of the inhabitants of *Kashmīr* is rice, which is also the most important crop. The winter in *Kashmīr* is very severe, but from May to October it is very pleasant. This, combined with the picturesque scenery of the Valley, attracts tourists from all over the world.

The *Kashmīrī* language, according to *Grierson*, belongs to the *Dardic* group, though it has been considerably influenced by *Sanskrit* and *Persian* and, latterly, by *Urdū*; it is now written in *Persian* characters. *Kashmīr's* language of court and culture was *Sanskrit* until it was replaced by *Sulṭān Zayn al-'Ābidīn* in the 9th/15th century. *Persian* then continued to flourish, but in 1889 *Urdū* was made the court language. Although efforts are being made to develop *Kashmīrī*, *Urdū* remains the official language as well as the language of culture.

2. History to the 14th century. The early history of *Kashmīr* is shrouded in legend until we come to the time of *Aśoka* the Great who, according to the records of the Chinese pilgrims, erected many monasteries and stupas and *Śaivite* shrines in the Valley.

It was also he who laid the foundation of *Srinagarī*, which was near the present *Srinagar*, and which has given a name to it. However, the medieval Muslim chroniclers of *Kashmīr* refer to *Srinagar* as the "town of *Kashmīr*" (*Shahr-i Kashmīr*).

*Kashmīr's* history again assumes a legendary character until the time of *Kaṇiṣka*, the *Kuṣhan* ruler of north-western India, who was a *Buddhist* and who organised the Fourth *Buddhist* Council in *Kashmīr*. In 178 A.D. the *Kuṣhan* rule was replaced by the *Gonanda* dynasty, under which *Buddhism* declined because of the policy of persecution followed by some of its rulers.

Ca. 528 A.D., *Kashmīr* came under the rule of *Mihirakula*, the *White Hun* ruler, who, according to the tradition preserved by the Chinese pilgrim *Hiuen Tsiang*, encouraged *Brahmanism* and persecuted *Buddhism*. Towards the middle of the 6th century, the *Kashmīr* ruler *Matruguṭa* acknowledged the sovereignty of *Harsha-Vikramāditya* of *Uḍḍiayn*. But beyond this, nothing is known of *Harsha's* connection with *Kashmīr*.

In 627 was laid the foundation of the *Kārkō'ta* dynasty (the origin of this designation is uncertain) by *Durlabhavaradhana*, a man of obscure origin. *Hiuen Tsiang*, who arrived in *Kashmīr* during his reign, says that *Buddhism* was in decline but that the country was peaceful and prosperous. The greatest ruler of the *Kārkō'ta* dynasty was *Lalitāditya-Muktāpīda*, who reduced *Kāng'ra*, *Pūñč*, *Radjaurī* and *Djammū*, but *Kalhaṇa's* account of his conquests round the whole of India is legendary. In 733 *Lalitāditya* sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor *Husan-tsuang* (713-55), seeking help from him against the Arabs who were pressing from the south and the Tibetans and Turkish tribes from the north. He was a great builder, his greatest building being the temple of *Mārtand*, which owes a great deal to the *Gandhāra* school and which became a model to all subsequent temples in the valley. *Lalitāditya* also carried out extensive drainage works, reclaimed large areas for cultivation and established law and order. *Ou-K'ong*, who visited *Kashmīr* a few years after *Lalitāditya's* death, found *Buddhism* in a flourishing condition.

Since the successors of *Lalitāditya* were worthless, his dynasty was replaced by the *Utpala* dynasty founded by *Avantivarman* (855-83), grandson of *Utpala*, who was related by marriage with the *Kārkō'tas*. *Avantivarman* founded the town of *Avantipūr*, which still bears his name, and built great temples there. His able engineer *Suyya*, whose name still survives in the modern town of *Sōpūr* (old *Suyyapura*), constructed irrigation channels, and by measures designed to prevent floods, reclaimed land from the river and marshes and thus made *Kashmīr* prosperous. *Avantivarman's* son and successor, *Shamkaravarman* (883-902) imposed heavy taxes, and introduced the system of forced labour (*bēgār*) which remained, until recent times, a characteristic feature of *Kashmīr* life. He was succeeded by weak rulers who were puppets in the hands of *Tantrins* or feudal chiefs. In 950 *Kshēmagupta* ascended the throne. But he too was weak and the real authority was exercised by his wife *Diddā*, who was the daughter of the ruler of *Lohara*. On her husband's death, she herself ascended the throne in 981 after destroying her son and her grandson one after another. She ruled ably until 1003, when she appointed *Samgrāmarāja*, her nephew, as her successor.

Under the *Lohara* kings, who were mostly incompetent, social and political conditions in *Kashmīr*

greatly deteriorated; the people were subjected to corvées and to all kinds of oppressive taxes. The Damaras or feudal chiefs grew powerful and by their constant revolts plunged the country into confusion. Since Rāmadeva (1252-73), the last ruler of the dynasty, had no child, he adopted Lakshmanadeva, the son of a Brahman, as heir-apparent. It was under Lakshmanadeva's son, Sūhadeva (1301-20) that the Mongols, led by Zuldjū, invaded Kashmīr in the spring of 720/1320. The origin of Zuldjū is obscure, but he appears to have been a Mongol from Turkistān. He entered Kashmīr by the *Djehlam* valley route; Sūhadeva did not offer any resistance but fled to Kishṭwār. The Mongols continued their ravages in the valley for 8 months and then withdrew before winter. The anarchy that followed the invasion and withdrawal of the Mongols paved the way for the establishment of the Islamic Sultanate.

3. The foundation of the Sultanate. It was in the 2nd/8th century that Kashmīr came for the first time in contact with the Muslims. Two governors of Sind, *Djunayd* and *Hishām* b. Amr al-*Taghlibi*, attempted to invade the fringes of Kashmīr, but they could only reach as far as the southern slopes of the Himalayas.

Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 404/1014 and again in 412/1021 tried to conquer Kashmīr but did not succeed. When finally Muslim rule came to be established, it was not the result of a foreign invasion but of a palace revolution. Taking advantage of the chaos into which Kashmīr was plunged after the Mongol withdrawal, Rīfchana (Lhachen rGyalbu Rīfchana), the son of a *Ladākhi* chief, who had sought refuge in Kashmīr, made himself master of the country. He embraced Islam under the influence of a Suhrawardī saint, Sayyid *Sharaf* al-Dīn, commonly known as *Bulbul Shāh*, and adopted the name of *Ṣadr* al-Dīn. He was the first Sultan of Kashmīr.

At the death of Rīfchana, his widow *Kō'tā Rānī*, on the advice of the nobles, married *Udayānadeva*, the brother of *Sūhadeva*, and made him king; and when he died, she herself became ruler. But her authority was challenged by *Shāh Mīr*, a soldier of fortune, who was most probably of Turkish origin.

Turkish adventurers began to enter the Valley from the end of the 5th/11th century, and were employed by Hindū kings in their armies. *Shāh Mīr* also came in search of fame and fortune and was employed by *Sūhadeva*. He gradually became so powerful that when *Udayānadeva* died, he refused to acknowledge *Kō'tā Rānī's* authority. He defeated her and, in 739/1339, ascended the throne under the title of *Sultān Shams* al-Dīn, thus laying the foundations of his dynasty which ruled Kashmīr until 968/1561.

4. The Sultanate Period. Very little is known of the two successors of *Shams* al-Dīn, *Djamshīd* and 'Alā' al-Dīn. But the latter's son *Shihāb* al-Dīn (755-75/1354-73) appears to have been an able ruler. After consolidating his position at home, he was able to reduce *Djammū*, *Pūnc*, *Radjauri*, *Čamba*, *Baltistān* and *Ladākhi*; but the accounts in the Kashmīr chronicles that he conquered *Multān*, *Kābul*, *Badakshān* and *Samarqand* and that he defeated *Firūz Shāh Tughlūq* are apocryphal. An important event that had considerable impact on the social and religious life of Kashmīr was the arrival of Sayyid 'Alī *Hamadhānī*, a *Kubrawī* saint, once during his reign in *Rabi'* 1 774/September 1372 and again in the reign of his younger brother and successor *Ḳuṭb* al-Dīn in 781/1379 and 785/1383. Sayyid 'Alī is said to have come with 700 Sayyids and to have made large-scale conversions to Islam.

During the reign of *Ḳuṭb* al-Dīn's son, *Sikandar*

(792-816/1389-1413), there came Sayyid *Muḥammad*, the son of Sayyid 'Alī *Hamadhānī*. Under his influence, *Sikandar* tried to enforce the *Shari'ā* and established the office of the *Shaykh* al-Islām, and he began to persecute the Hindus by forcibly converting them to Islam and destroying their temples. But the accounts given in the chronicles of the wholesale destruction of temples have been greatly exaggerated, for there is evidence to suggest that the massive temples of *Mārtand* and *Avantipur* were destroyed by earthquakes and not by *Sikandar*, for gunpowder was unknown in Kashmīr in the 8th/14th century.

The policy of religious persecution pursued by *Sikandar* was reversed by his son, *Zayn* al-'*Ābidīn* (823-75/1420-70), who is popularly called "*Budshāh*" or the Great King. He virtually abolished the *dizya*, gave money to Hindus to rebuild their temples, and allowed those who had been forcibly converted to Islam to return to their old religion. This, however, did not check the progress of Islam because, although the successors of *Zayn* al-'*Ābidīn* followed a policy of religious toleration, yet through the efforts of *Ṣūfis* and *rishis* conversions continued, so that by the end of the 9th/15th century, a majority of the inhabitants of Kashmīr had embraced Islam. But at the same time, Islam itself became diluted with non-Muslim usages and practices, and it has retained this character to this day.

History and tradition combine to credit *Zayn* al-'*Ābidīn* with the introduction of various arts and crafts for which Kashmīr has become famous. He sent Kashmīris to Iran and Turkistān to learn the arts of book-binding, wood-carving and paper-māché, and those of making shawls, carpets and paper. He also invited craftsmen from these countries to instruct his people in various skills. Of all the arts in which the Kashmīris achieved excellence, that of book-binding and paper-making has since the 19th century disappeared, but the other crafts are still flourishing and provide employment to a large number of people.

The Hindu *rājās* had built their temples in stone, but the *Sultāns* popularised the constructional use of wood. *Sikandar's* two buildings which have survived, the *Khānkāh-i Mu'allā* (Mosque of *Shāh Hamadhān*) and the *Djāmi'* *Masjid*, are constructed in wood. *Zayn* al-'*Ābidīn*, on the other hand, built both in wood and brick. His mosque of *Madanī* is constructed in wood, but the tomb of his mother and the tomb of *Madanī* represent the masonry style, and their chief feature is the use made of Persian tiles. The chief feature of the wooden style of architecture is that the pyramidal roof projecting over the whole structure is built in three tiers, and is surrounded by an open pavilion for the *mu'adhḍhin*, over which rises the steeple with its final.

Under *Zayn* al-'*Ābidīn*, the *Shāh Mīr* dynasty reached the zenith of its power and glory. But after his death, succession disputes, incompetent rulers and refractory and intriguing nobles brought about its downfall. In consequence, Kashmīr was subjected to foreign invasions. In *Rajab* 947/November 1540, *Mirzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt*, a cousin of *Bābur*, who was in *Humāyūn's* service, invaded Kashmīr and seized power. At first he ruled with ability and justice, but later he failed to protect the Kashmīris from the high-handedness of the *Mughals*. Moreover, he banned *Shi'ism* and all *Ṣūfi* orders, and compelled every Muslim to accept the *Ḥanafī* law school. The result was that the Kashmīr nobles united against him and brought about his defeat and death in *Ramaḍān* 958/October 1551. But this did not bring peace to the Valley, because a struggle for power began among the



nobles belonging to the Raina, Māgre and Čak families. In the end, the Čaks emerged victorious. They had migrated from Dardistān in the reign of Sūhadeva, and were, according to al-Bīrūnī, of Turkish origin. They were converted to Shī'ism by Mīr Shams al-Dīn, a Nūrbakhshīyya dervish, who visited Kashmīr from Persia in 886/1481 and 907/1502. The Čaks ruled the Valley from 968/1561 to 994/1586, when it was conquered by Akbar.

The Mughals had invaded Kashmīr in the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Akbar, who claimed Kashmīr because it had been conquered by Mīrzā Haydar on behalf of Humāyūn, had also sent an army to the conquest of Kashmīr in the summer of 968/1561. But it had been defeated by Sultān Ghāzī Shāh Čak (968-70/1561-3). It was not until 993/1585 that Akbar found himself sufficiently free to direct his attention once again to Kashmīr. On 3 Muḥarram 994/20 December 1585 he despatched Rādjā Bhagwān Dās to invade the valley. The Kashmīr forces offered serious resistance at the pass of Būliāsa. But Sultān Yūsuf Shāh (988-94/1580-6), being weak and indolent and convinced that it would be impossible to defeat the Mughals, secretly visited the Mughal camp on 3 Rabī' 1 994/14 February 1586 and concluded a treaty with Bhagwān Dās. By this treaty he was to retain his throne, but coins were to be struck and the *khutba* recited in the name of the Emperor. Akbar, however, did not honour the treaty, and when Yūsuf Shāh was presented to him he ordered his imprisonment.

Meanwhile, betrayed by Yūsuf Shāh, the Kashmīr nobles set up his son, Ya'qūb Shāh, on the throne. Ya'qūb was brave and resourceful, but he was a religious fanatic and tried to make Shī'ism the state religion. In consequence of Ya'qūb's intolerance, a number of Sunni nobles, headed by Shaykh Ya'qūb Šarfī, proceeded to Akbar and requested him to annex Kashmīr. Akbar sent a large army, first under Kāsim Khān and then under Yūsuf Khān Rīdwi. Ya'qūb carried on a valiant struggle, but, betrayed one by one by his followers, he finally surrendered towards the beginning of Ramaḍān 996/end of July 1588, whilst Akbar had arrived in the Valley in Djumādā II 996/May 1588.

5. The Mughal Period. Akbar visited Kashmīr three times. During his first visit, he abolished the *ḡizya* and corvée and deputed officers to assess land revenue. But as the assessment was heavy, the Čaks, who had not reconciled themselves to Mughal rule, caused an abortive rising. Akbar, who arrived in Kashmīr for the second time in Muḥarram 1001/October 1592, treated the rebels generously, and tried to conciliate the Kashmīris by reducing the taxes and by entering into matrimonial alliances with the Čak nobles. But in spite of this, the Čaks remained sullen and rebellious.

Djahāngīr and his queen Nūrdjahān loved Kashmīr and visited it eight times. They built palaces and laid out beautiful gardens at Ačabal, Vērñāg, Nišhāt and Šhālimār. Twice during Djahāngīr's reign the Čaks, anxious to recover their lost power, took up arms but they were crushed. In 1044/1632 Shāhdjahān appointed Zafar Khān governor of Kashmīr. Zafar Khān laid out gardens and ruled with justice. He secured a *farmān* from the Emperor, abolishing all oppressive taxes, and this was inscribed on a stone-slab and fixed on the southern gate of the Djāmi' Masjid in Srinagar. Kishṭwār had been occupied under Djahāngīr, and now Zafar Khān conquered Baltistān and Ladākh.

The rule of the Great Mughals, from Akbar to Aurangzīb, was, on the whole, just and benevolent.

Kashmīr, at the time of the Mughal conquest, was torn by religious strife and feudal rebellions. The Mughals gave peace and promoted trade, industry and agriculture. Kashmīr, however, lost her separate identity and became like any other province of the Empire. The Kashmīri ruling families of the Čaks, Māgres and Rainas were replaced by a hierarchy of Mughal officers who were responsible for the administration of the country. Moreover, Kashmīr, which had achieved a high degree of culture under the Sultāns, was intellectually impoverished: because of the absence of local patronage, poets, painters and scholars left the valley and sought employment at the Mughal Court.

6. The Afghans and the Sikhs. Mughal rule after the death of Aurangzīb became inefficient and corrupt and failed to maintain law and order. Hence in 1160/1747, some of the Kashmīri nobles wrote to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī Durrānī [*q.v.*] inviting him to annex Kashmīr. He accordingly despatched a large force in 1165/1752. The Mughals were defeated and Kashmīr passed into the hands of the Afghāns. The Afghān rule was harsh and oppressive, however, and the burden of taxation was heavy. The Shī'is were persecuted by the Afghān governors and there were constant Shī'ī-Sunni riots.

In 1819 Kashmīr was conquered by Randjīt Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Panḍjāb. The Sikh rule, which lasted from 1819 to 1846, was also oppressive. The famous Djāmi' mosque of Srinagar was closed to public prayers and, in addition, several mosques were declared to be the property of the state. The slaughter of cows was declared punishable by death. Butchers, bakers, boatmen, scavengers and even prostitutes were taxed. Heavy taxation of the shawl trade led to the decay of this industry. The effect of all this was the impoverishment of the people and their emigration to the Panḍjāb and northern India.

7. The Dōgrās and Modern Kashmīr. Sikh rule over Kashmīr came to an end after their defeat in the First Anglo-Sikh war. By the treaty of Amritsar (16 March 1846) the British transferred Kashmīr for a sum of 75 lakh of rupees to Rādjā Gulāb Singh, the Dōgrā ruler of Djammū. Gulāb Singh's rule was better than that of the Sikhs, but no improvement took place in the condition of the people. The high price of rice, which was made a government monopoly, and the high-handedness of officials brought great suffering to the people. The Muslims, who formed over 90% of the population of Kashmīr, had to pay a tax for the Dharmarth, a Hindū religious trust, established by the Mahārādjā. They could not slaughter cows and some of their mosques continued to be in possession of the government.

Ranbīr Singh, who succeeded his father Gulāb Singh in February 1856, was an able ruler. He tried to revive the shawl industry which had been declining. He began the construction of the cart road between Srinagar and Rāwalpīndī and built a track between the Valley and Djammū. A telegraph and postal service was also introduced. However, he made no efforts to redress the grievances of the Muslims.

At the death of Ranbīr Singh on 15 September 1885, his eldest son, Pratāp Singh, succeeded him. Since Pratāp Singh was an imbecile and strong government was necessary in view of the threat of a Russian invasion of India, he was deprived of all authority, and his state was placed in the hands of a Council of Regency under the control of the British Resident. It was not until March 1921 that Pratāp Singh was restored to full powers. During this period, valuable reforms were introduced under the direction

of the Resident. But in one respect they were deficient. The interests of the Muslims were ignored. The Muslims, influenced by the pan-Islamic, *Khilāfat* and Non-co-operation movements, had become politically conscious and were demanding their rights. In 1924, when the Viceroy, Lord Reading, visited Srinagar, some members of the Muslim community submitted a Memorial demanding the complete abolition of *corvée*, larger representation of Muslims in government service, and the restoration of mosques in possession of the government. The Mahārādjā's response to this was to exile the signatories of the Memorial and to confiscate their property. This, however, only served to increase the discontent among the Muslims. On 13 July 1931, open demonstration against the despotic rule of Hari Singh, who had succeeded his uncle Pratāp Singh in 1925, took place under the leadership of *Shaykh* Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, who from now onwards begins to play a dominant role in Kashmīr politics. Hari Singh's government replied by floggings, arrests and shootings in various parts of the Valley. However, owing to the pressure of the Government of India, a Commission was appointed under the presidentship of B. J. Glancy to inquire into the grievances of the Muslims. The report of the Commission did not, however, satisfy them. In October 1932 the *Djammū* and Kashmīr Muslim Conference was set up, and in March of the next year it launched a Civil Disobedience Movement, demanding a constitutional government. This led the Mahārādjā to appoint a Constitutional Reforms Commission under the presidentship of Glancy. But since its recommendations, too, failed to satisfy the Muslims, the agitation against the government continued.

Meanwhile, *Shaykh* 'Abd Allāh and his close associates realized that in order to achieve their goal, it was necessary to win over the Hindu and Sikh inhabitants of Kashmīr. So they converted the Muslim Conference into the National Conference. But some members did not approve of this and decided to keep the old organisation alive and drew closer to the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. The National Conference on the other hand, subscribed to the aims and aspirations of the Indian National Congress. In October 1939 it passed a resolution demanding responsible government and in May 1946 it launched the "Quit Kashmīr Movement" under the leadership of *Shaykh* 'Abd Allāh. The Kashmīr government arrested 'Abd Allāh and his colleagues and unleashed a reign of terror.

*Bibliography:* Kalhaṇa, *Rājataranginī*, tr. M. A. Stein, London 1900; *Nilatapurāna*, ed. K. S. J. M. De Vreese, London 1936; Kshemendra, *Lokaparakāsha*, ed. Jagaddhar Zadoo *Shāstrī*, Srinagar 1947, German tr. A. Weber, in *Indische Studien*, xviii, 289-412; Abu'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥkīk mā li'l-Hind*, tr. E. G. Sachau as *Al-Bīrūnī's India*, London 1888; M. A. Stein, Notes on *Ou-Kong's Account of Kashmīr*, Vienna 1896; S. Khosla, *History of Buddhism in Kashmīr*, Delhi 1972; J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Shaivism*, Srinagar 1911; S. C. Ray, *The Early History and Culture of Kashmīr*, Calcutta 1957; R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmīr*, London 1933; Jonarāja, *Rājataranginī*, ed. S. Kaul, Hoshyārpur 1967; *Shrīvāra* and *Shuka*, *Rājataranginī*, ed. S. Kaul, Hoshyārpur 1966. The Sanskrit chronicles of Jonarāja, *Shrīvāra* and *Shuka* deal with the reigns of the Sultāns of Kashmīr and Akbar's conquest of Kashmīr. These have been tr. by J. C. Dutt as *Kings of Kashmīra*, 3 vols., Calcutta

1879-98; Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, tr. H. Beveridge, iii, London 1939; Niẓām al-Dīn, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, iii, Calcutta 1935; Mirzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Ta'rikh-i Kashmīr*, tr. E. D. Ross, ed. N. Elias, London 1895; Muḥammad A'ẓam, *Ta'rikh-i A'ẓamī*, ed. Muḥammadī Press, Lahore 1303/1885, Urdu tr., Munshī Aḥraf 'Alī, Delhi 1846; G. M. D. Śūfī, *Kashmīr*, Lahore 1948; Mohibbul Ḥasan, *Kashmīr under the Sultāns*, Calcutta 1959; R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmīr*, New Delhi 1969; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, London 1942; W. H. Nicholls, *Muslim Architecture in Kashmīr (Archaeological Survey of India Report 1906-7)*, Calcutta 1909; G. Grierson, *The Wise Sayings of Lallā-Vālyānī*, London 1920; P. N. K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmīr*, Delhi 1962; P. N. Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmīr*, New Delhi 1954; W. H. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, London 1895; J. Erwin, *The Kashmīr Shawl*, London 1955; M. A. Stein, *Memoir on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, in *JASB*, lxxviii, 1899 (Extra no. 2), 1-232; H. De Terra and T. T. Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, Washington 1939. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

## ii. SINCE 1947

The project of partitioning the Indian Peninsula announced on 3rd June 1947 by the British Prime Minister affirmed that the ancient princely states should be free to choose their future destiny; yet on 25th July 1947 Lord Mounbatten, Viceroy and Governor-General, advised the princes to ask to be joined to India or Pakistan, while taking into consideration the religious distribution of the populations and the peoples' wishes.

With regard to Kashmīr, two factors militated in favour of annexation to Pakistan: the population having a Muslim majority (77% in the census of 1941) and the geographical situation of the region. However, the Mahārādjā refused to choose, although he consented to sign a provisional agreement with the Pakistani Government which was to take effect on and after 15th August 1947.

In October 1947, some men of the Pathan tribes who had come from Pakistan began to give aid to the Muslims who had revolted in the region of Pūnc and approached within a short distance of Srinagar, capital of Kashmīr. On 26th October, the Mahārādjā requested military aid from India and signed the annexation of Kashmīr to the Indian Union. The Indian Government accepted, while stipulating that this accession of Kashmīr to India should be ratified ultimately by popular consultation. Yet, since 1947, this consultation has never taken place.

The war which followed between India and Pakistan came to an end on 1st January 1949, and, on 17th July 1949, agreement was reached on the demarcation of the ceasefire line in Kashmīr.

In the part under Indian control, the constituent Assembly elected in October 1951 adopted a project for a constitution which safeguarded, thanks to the ability of *Shaykh* 'Abd Allāh, the autonomy of the State of *Djammū* and Kashmīr, but abandoned to the central government of Delhi the fields of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. On 9th August 1953, *Shaykh* 'Abd Allāh was arrested and his government replaced by that of Bakḥshī Ḡhulām Muḥammad, who sought to reinforce the links with the Indian Union. On 17th November 1956, the Assembly adopted the definitive Constitution of the State which declared its integration with India. This

Constitution, accepted by the central government, took effect on 26th January 1957. In October 1963, the Indian Government forced the resignation of **Bakhshī Ghulam Muḥammad**, accused of the mis-handling of administrative and social affairs. The year 1964 was marked by the accession to power of G. M. Šādīk and the freeing of **Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh**.

In the part of Kashmīr under Pakistani control (Āzād Kashmīr), Sardār Muḥammad Ibrāhīm took charge of the local government on 24th October 1947; he was replaced in May 1950 by Ghulām ‘Abbās, who retired at the end of the year 1951 to make way for Colonel **Shēr Ahmad Khān** in June 1952. The latter resigned in June 1956. There then succeeded to the Presidency of the local government Mīr W. Yūsuf **Khān** for a very short time; ‘Abd al-Kayyūm from 1956; Sardār Muḥammad Ibrāhīm from 1957; and K. H. **Khurshīd** from 1959.

Relations between India and Pakistan on the subject of Kashmīr worsened seriously after an agreement on the delimitation of the frontier between Sinkiang and Pakistani Kashmīr was signed on 26th December 1962 between China and Pakistan. Despite a certain détente during the year 1964, the situation became critical from the beginning of 1965. Incidents multiplied in the month of August in the territory of Kashmīr. On 5th September, the Pakistanis crossed the ceasefire line in the direction of the town of **Djammū** and the Indians replied on 6th September by launching an attack on Lahore (in the Pakistani **Pandjāb**). Hostilities came to an end on 22nd September 1965, the two belligerents accepting the ceasefire order imposed by the United Organization. Thanks to the repeated efforts of the U.S.S.R., India and Pakistan signed on 10th January 1966 the Tashkent Agreement which stipulated the withdrawal of troops to their positions prior to 5th August 1965 and which envisaged negotiations to resolve the differences which brought India and Pakistan into opposition over Kashmīr. Since this date the situation has not developed much and the theses of the two contestants have not changed.

In Kashmīr under Pakistani control the President of the Government of Free Kashmīr, ‘Abd al-Ḥamid **Khān**, promulgated in September 1968 a new constitution fixing the method of electing the head of the government and the composition of the council of ministers. In Kashmīr under Indian control, which has become a State of the Indian Union, G. M. Šādīk, head of the local government was deposed on the 12th December 1971 and was replaced by S. M. Kāsim in the post of Prime Minister.

The Indo-Pakistani conflict of December 1971, which led to the independence of **Banglā Desh**, has had scarcely any repercussion on the problem of Kashmīr, although India wishes to take advantage of her recent victory and intends to ask Pakistan to proceed with some readjustments of the ceasefire line.

*Bibliography:* Aziz Ahmad, *The Kashmir Dispute*, Karachi 1959; Prem Nath Bazaz, *Āzād Kashmir: a democratic socialist conception*, Lahore 1951; idem, *The History of struggle for freedom in Kashmir*, New Delhi 1954; idem, *The Shape of things in Kashmir*, New Delhi 1965; Lord Birdwood, *Two Nations and Kashmir*, London 1956; A. Guimbretière, *Le Problème du Cachemire, in Orient*, Paris 1966; Sisir Gupta, *Kashmir, a study in India-Pakistan relations*, New York 1966; M. M. R. Khan, *The United Nations and Kashmir*, Djakarta 1955; J. Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton 1954; B. L. Sharma, *The Kashmir Story*, Bombay 1967. (A. GUIMBRETÈRE)

**KASHMĪRĪ** is the most important member of the Dardic sub-group of Indo-Aryan languages, with 2,000,000 speakers in Jammū and Kashmīr in India and about 250,000 in the adjacent region in Pakistan in 1961. While prolonged cultural influence from Northern India has brought KashmĪrĪ closer than the other Dardic languages to the rest of Indo-Aryan, it exhibits many of the characteristic phonological features of Dardic resulting from the separate development of the group in the Middle Indian period. KashmĪrĪ has also developed a complex vocalic system, involving vowel-harmony, which has made the satisfactory adaptation of the Perso-Arabic script difficult. This script is now, however, in standard use for writing the language, which is officially recognized under the Indian constitution.

There are minor phonetic differences between the language of Hindus and that of Muslims, who constitute the majority of KashmĪrĪ speakers; educated Muslim speech is distinguished by the preference for Arabic and Persian rather than Sanskrit words. Muslim KashmĪrĪ literature, less extensive than the Hindu in the earlier period, reached its first flowering only in the 19th century with adaptations of Persian themes: later, the influence of Urdū predominated, and is still to be observed in the increasing quantity of KashmĪrĪ writing produced since 1947.

*Bibliography:* G. A. Grierson, *A manual of the KashmĪrĪ language*, Oxford 1911; Braj B. Kachru, *A reference grammar of KashmĪrĪ*, Illinois 1969; B. A. Zakhar'in and D. I. Edel'man, *Yasuiik KashmĪrĪ*, Moscow 1971. (C. SHACKLE)

**AL-KASHSHĪ**, ABŪ ‘AMR MUḤAMMAD B. ‘UMAR B. ‘ABD AL-‘AZĪZ, Imāmī traditionist flourishing in the first half of the 4th/10th century and author of one of the basic Imāmī *riḍjāl* works dealing with the reliability of the transmitters from the imāms. Though his place of origin is not specified in the biographical sources, it can safely be identified as **Kishsh** in Transoxania [see **KASH**] since most of the informants from whom he transmitted were from this or other towns in Transoxania and the neighbouring regions. His *nisba* thus should more properly be read al-Kishshī, though traditionally it was later read al-Kashshī in accordance with the less correct reading of the town's name as **Kashsh**. He studied in Samarqand under Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd al-‘Ayyāshī, the outstanding Imāmī scholar and disseminator of Imāmism in Transoxania in the early 4th/10th century. There is evidence that he visited ‘Irāk, since he related directly from some western Persian and ‘Irākī transmitters and some Imāmī scholars in **Baghdād** transmitted his book from him without an intermediary.

Like his teacher al-‘Ayyāshī, al-Kashshī was later criticized by Imāmī scholars for relating on the authority of weak (*du‘afā’*) transmitters and of non-**Shī‘is** (*‘amma*). His *Kitāb ma‘rifat al-nāḥiḥīn ‘an al-‘amma al-šādīḥīn*, which differs from other early *riḍjāl* works in that it fully quotes the biographical reports of earlier sources with their chains of transmission, was abridged and expurgated by the **Shaykh** al-Ṭā‘ifa Abū **Djā‘far** al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). Only this abridged version of the book is extant. Along with the *Kitāb al-riḍjāl* and the *Kitāb fihrist kutub al-šī‘a* of **Shaykh** al-Ṭūsī and the *Kitāb al-riḍjāl* of al-Nadījāshī, it is considered one of the four basic Imāmī *riḍjāl* works.

*Bibliography:* al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-šī‘a*, ed. Sprenger, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, and Ghulām Kādīr, Calcutta 1855, 309; idem, *al-Riḍjāl*, ed. Muḥammad Šādīk Āl Bahr al-‘Ulūm, al-Nadījāf 1381/1961,

497; al-Nadījāshī, *al-Riḍāʾil*, Tehran n.d., 288; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās Ikbāl, Tehran 1353, 90-1; *Ikhṭiyār maʿrifat al-riḍāʾil al-maʿrūf bi-riḍāʾil al-Kashshī*, ed. Hasan al-Muṣṭafawī, Mashhad 1348 (critical edition).

(W. MADELUNG)

**KASHTĀLA**, Arabic name for Castile in Spain. The first, and not the least problem, is that of the original name of the territory called, from the 9th century onwards, Castilla. This name appears to be derived from Latin *castellum*, and would have been given to the region because of the abundance there of fortified places. Arabic *al-Kilāʿ* would accordingly be the expected translation, but many sources (Yāqūt, al-Idrīsī, al-ʿUdhri, al-Ḥimyarī, Ibn ʿIḍhārī, al-Maḳḳarī, etc.) have *Kashṭāla*, *Kashṭilla*, or *Kashṭīliya*. Above all, al-Rāzī on several occasions mentions enemies *min aḳṣā Banbalūna wa-Alaba wa ʿl-Kilāʿ wa-ahl Kashṭīliya* (cf. al-ʿUdhri, *Masālik*, who also uses *al-Kilāʿ* and *Kashṭilla*). This excludes the identification *al-Kilāʿ/Kashṭīliya* explicit or implicit in modern historians (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musulmane*, I, 143, 204); hence one must seek another etymology, different from the Spanish late Latin (which uses predominantly *castrum*) and look for an Arab-Islamic borrowing.

One thinks naturally of the Tunisian *Kashṭīliya* [*q.v.*], and it seems that one should follow the opinion of J. Oliver-Asín in his *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla, su toponimia en relación con los árabes y beréberes*, Madrid 1974, who cites, with phonetic equivalences, the frequency of Arabic and Berber toponyms in a region whose ancient centre was called Medina Castella. This hypothesis is partly confirmed by the frequency of "Ifriḳiyan" toponyms in al-Andalus, cf. idem, *Les Tunisiens en Espagne à travers la toponomie*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, xviii (1970), 15-20. Hence according to Oliver-Asín, there must have been an "African latinisation" of the region, brought about by the latin-speaking Berbers of Tunisia (which would explain the peculiarities of this "Castilian", different from other Hispanic Roman dialects).

Al-Rāzī's text points to a juxtaposition of *al-Kilāʿ* and *Kashṭīliya* under the rule of the Count Fernan Gonzalez (Fardhīland Gundīshalb), which makes investigation of the relationship between the two toponyms necessary. The first known mention in Christian sources is in a Castilian document of the Abbot Vitula in 800, in the Mena valley, who speaks of the *territorio Castelle*, whilst the *Crónica Albeldense* speaks specifically of *Bardulia qui nunc vocatur Castella*. This is a region which is progressively extended, as it becomes organised as an autochthonous unit, on the topographical and juridical margins of the kingdom of Oviedo; this has led S. de Moxó, *¿Castilla, principado feudal?*, in *RUM* (1970), 229-57, to speak of an "autonomous territory". This situation away from the centre of royal power led to its constitution as a "frontier march" and the need for an immediate and local authority in the shape of a *comes* or Count (Alava, Mijangos, Oca, Barga, Pancorbo, Cellorigo, Castrogeriz, Lara, Cerezo). We now have a document drawn up in 852 in *territorio Castellense* which speaks of a *Rodericus comite in Castelle*. Castile had to fight in order to expand. This fighting comprised mainly attacks, but also replies to expeditions by the Banū Kaśī [*q.v.*] and the Banū Dhū ʿl-Nūn [*q.v.*], as well as the campaigns of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III [*q.v.*] in 917, 920 and 924 (San Esteban de Gormaz, Mitonia, Valdejunquera). On the other hand, the famous *ghazwat al-khandak* of 939 was repulsed with heavy losses by a coalition of Leonese,

Castilians and Navarrese. It was at this time that Fernán Gonzalez, *comes totius Castelle*, either carried along by a feeling of Castilian autonomy or himself provoking it, obtained from the king of Leon the right to pass on his country hereditarily to his descendants. The campaigns of Ibn Abī ʿAmir [*q.v.*] ruined the region of Leon and the Catalanian-Aragonese region, but largely spared Castile, then in revolt against Garci Fernandez, and in vassalage to Cordova; this in part explains why, after the fall of the ʿAmirids, the initiative passed almost wholly to this region.

This primitive region of Bardulia, Castella Vetula, was to pass on not only its dialect of Spanish and some of its institutions to the neighbouring regions (above all, New Castile), but also an ideology of conquest (reflected by the "chansons de geste") which in the end monopolised in effect the war against the Hispano-Arabs and imposed a political supremacy which involved the extinguishing of the "mudéjar" [*q.v.*] tolerance of Aragon. At one and the same time, Castile brought about, to its own profit, the unification of Spain.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works cited above, see J. Perez de Urbel, *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, Madrid 1945; idem, *Los primeros siglos de la reconquista*, in *Historia España* of Menendez Pidal, Madrid 1964, vi, 3-348; J. M<sup>o</sup> Ruiz Asensio, *La rebelión de Sancho Garcia, heredero del condado de Castilla*, in *Hispania Sacra*, xvii (1969), 31-7; Cl. Sanchez-Albornoz, *Alfonso III y el particularismo castellano*, in *CHE*, xiii (1950), 19-100; P. Chalmeta, *The clash between ʿAbd al-Rahmān III and the Christians at Simancas-Alhandega: a new interpretation*, in *Islam and the Medieval West*, conference held at Binghamton, New York, 1975 (proceedings forthcoming). (P. CHALMETA)

BANŪ KAŚI, one of the important *mawālī* families who figure prominently in the history of al-Andalus. Together with the Banū Ṭawīl and the Tuḍjībids [*qq.v.*], they divided between them effective power in the region of Aragon. The history of this region only becomes clear when considered in the light of the centripetal-centrifugal struggles which are a constant feature of Spanish history. The Banū Kaśī followed an opportunistic policy in order to preserve their virtual autonomy, but they were at the same time relatively faithful to the Umayyads and served in a very real fashion as a shield against pressure from the Christians of the North in the period of the beginning of the Reconquista and from the Carolingians. Their heyday was thus in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.

According to Ibn Ḥazm, *Dīamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 502, "Kaśī was Count of the [Upper] March in the time of the Goths. When the Muslims conquered al-Andalus, he went to Syria and became a Muslim at the hands of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a bond of patronage of which he was very proud. This is the reason why the Banū Kaśī always took the side of Muḍar in their fights with Yemen. This Kaśī gave birth to Fortūn . . .". The first really well-known member of this family was Mūsā b. Fortūn, who vanquished Saʿīd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī who had rebelled against Hishām I in the region of Tortosa and Saragossa in 172/788-9. On his death, his widow remarried with Iñigo Arista, the first ruler of Pamplona. One can readily discern in the links arising from this union a major cause of the intermediary role played by Mūsā b. Mūsā, kinsman to the Basques, who gave himself out as the "third king of Spain" (see on him Cl. Sanchez Albornoz, *La auténtica ba-*

*talla de Clavijo*, in *CHE*, ix (1948), 96-116, and idem, *El tercer rey de España*, in *ibid.*, xlix-1 (1969), 5-49).

In ca. 226/840-1, Mūsā b. Mūsā, at that time at Arnedo (as governor?) was ill-treated by the *wālis* of Saragossa and Tudela (thus according to al-‘Udhri’s version) and rebelled, capturing the commander Ḥarīth b. Bazī. An expedition sent by ‘Abd al-Rahmān II forced him to submit, but he retained Arnedo, and in this peace agreement the *amīr* confirmed his half-brother Yannaḡo b. Yannaḡo (= Iñigo Iñiguez) in possession of his lands for a tribute of 700 *dīnārs* per annum; this marks the birth *de jure* of the kingdom of Pamplona. The raids which followed with the aim of bringing him to submission were systematically directed against his Basque allies, showing the importance of their support. In 230/844 Mūsā marched down with his troops as far as Seville in order to repulse an invasion of the Northmen. In ca. 236/851 he captured Emenon, Count of Périgord and the Duke of Gascony, in what seems to have been a “proto-Crusade” and in what was fierce fighting. This important victory explains to a considerable extent why the succession of Muḡammad I in 238/852 marks a new stage in relations with the central government and why Mūsā became governor of Huesca, Tudela and Saragossa. In 242/856 he raided the region of Barcelona on the *amīr*’s orders and conquered Tarrasa. It is at this time that he began to style himself “*tertium regem in Spania*”. According to the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, between 243/857 and 245/859 the rebels in Toledo involved Mūsā’s help, and he sent to them his son Lubb as governor. But ca. 245/859 he was decisively defeated by Ordoño I of Leon and lost the fortress of Albelda which he had just built; hence the *amīr* deposed him from the governorship of the Upper March in 246/860-1. The end of Mūsā, mortally wounded by his son-in-law Azrāḡ b. Mantil, is given in detail by Ibn al-Kūṭiyya.

For ten years after 248/862-3 the Banū Qaṣī were completely quiescent. Then in 257/870-1 Lubb b. Mūsā b. Mūsā occupied Saragossa, Tudela and Huesca. After his death in 258/872, his brother Ismā‘īl b. Mūsā seized the town, whilst Fortūn b. Mūsā occupied Tudela. The *amīr* Muḡammad sent several unsuccessful expeditions against him. The rebel was captured in 270/883 by Muḡammad b. Lubb, who then took his place, but who had to sell the town in the following year to the Umayyads because he was unable to withstand the pressure from the *Tudjībids* stirred up by the *amīr*. In exchange he received the governorship of Arnedo, Tarazone and *Djarīsh*, and later that of Tudela. He was killed whilst besieging Saragossa in 276/890; it has been suggested that he was conniving with ‘Umar b. Ḥaṡṡūn [q.v.], but al-‘Udhri says nothing of this. His son Lubb b. Muḡammad was governor of Tudela and Tarazone and died fighting the Navarrese in 294/907. The decay of the Banū Qaṣī henceforth became accentuated. Muḡammad b. Lubb occupied Lérida, but was expelled by its inhabitants in 315/927, and in 317/929 he was murdered as a result of the ambitions of his brother-in-law Raymond, lord of Pallars.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works cited above, see Ibn al-Kūṭiyya, *Iftitāh*; Ibn ‘Iḡḡārī, *Bayān*; García Gomez and Lévi-Provençal, *Textos inéditos del “Muqtābis” de Ibn Ḥayyān sobre los orígenes del reino de Pamplona*, in *And.*, xix (1954), 295-315; Ibn al-‘Aḡḡir, Afīf Turk, *El reino de Zaragoza en el s. XI*, Madrid 1956; M. Ocaña Jimenez, *Banū Qasī*, in *Diccionario historia de España*; and above all, al-‘Udhri, *Nuṡṡṡ masālik*, partial tr.

F.Granja, *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-‘Udhri*, in *Est. E.M. Aragón*, viii (1966). (P. CHALMETA)

**KAṢĪD** [see **SAḤĪR**].

### KAṢĪDA.

1. In Arabic. — *Kaṣīda* collective *kaṣīd* is the name given in Arabic to some poems of a certain length. It is derived from the root *kaṣada*, “to aim at”, for the primitive *kaṣīda* was intended to eulogize the tribe of the poet and denigrate the opposing tribes. Later it was concerned with the eulogy of a personality or a family from whom the poet was soliciting help or subsidies. Although the funerary elegy (*marṡhiyya* or *riṡhā’*) does not seem to have been included originally under the same designation, the form of the *kaṣīda* may nevertheless be classified in this poetic genre. On the other hand, the poetic satire (*hidjā’*), which, furthermore, does not go beyond insult in verse, is often called *kaṣīda* by the ancient poets, even though it does not present all the characteristics of the *kaṣīda*.

The classical *kaṣīda*, represented ideally by the pre-Islamic or at least archaic poems [see *MU‘ALLA-KĀṬ*], collected and perhaps also given their form during the first centuries of Islam, has been defined by Ibn Kūṭayba in a famous passage many times translated and commented upon (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Introduction au Livre de la poésie et des poètes*, Paris 1947, xvi-xviii, 13-15, 54-55), and then by the various literary critics who pronounced their judgments (particularly Ibn Raṡṡīk, see A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, *passim*). It contains a series of successive developments whose conventional character implies a tradition already immemorial. The *kaṣīda*, which numbers at least seven verses, but which generally comprises far more, consists essentially of three parts of variable length: (1) a prologue in which the poet sheds some tears over what was once the camping place of his beloved now far off (*bukā’ ‘alā ‘l-aḡlāl*), then describes the charms of the latter, which he forebears to pursue (the *naṡīb* [see *GHĀZAL*]). (2) The poet’s narration of his journey (*raḡīl*) to the person to whom the poem is addressed. This part of the *kaṣīda* is a pretext for descriptions of the desert and the hero’s mount, as well as for lyrical flights of eloquence, for example on the insignificance of man. (3) As a general rule, this *raḡīl* leads without any great transition into the central theme, constituted by the panegyric of a tribe, a protector or a patron, or in satire of their enemies.

The Arabic *kaṣīda* is a very conventional piece of verse, with one rhyme, whatever its length, and in a uniform metre. Consequently, the charm and originality of certain of the themes employed cannot prevent boredom and monotony from reigning over these never-ending poems. These formal constraints were moreover resented by the poets themselves; they are without doubt the cause of the fragmentary character of many of the pieces, which took a particularly long time to compose. Tradition reports numerous examples of poets paralysed by the tyranny of the form. Furthermore, this situation can no doubt provide a good explanation for the hesitations with regard to the original structure of a given poem: a poet could well have recited a *kaṣīda* on different occasions with more or less important variants, additions or suppressions. A number of *kaṣīdas* have doubtless never contained all the essential parts of the ideal piece, and it is always very unwise to assert that such a poem has been lost or truncated on the pretext that one knows only a part of the work. Certain ancient pieces, nevertheless describable as *kaṣīdas*, do not even contain the essential part, praise or satire.

At the end of the 2nd/8th century, the classical *kaşida*, while it continued its triumphant reign among poets with a classical tendency, on the other hand bursts forth among the "modern" poets and gives birth to a whole series of autonomous poetic genres, which are however already present in embryo form in the themes employed by the classical *kaşida*; thus the *nasib* gives birth to the erotic-elegiac genre, directly associated with the Bacchic genre; the description of the desert becomes description of nature and gardens; the description of the mount and the ride results in the poetry of war or hunting; etc.

All these genres are represented in independent pieces, to which the name of *kaşida* continues often to be given, even though incorrectly. The long classical metres become shorter, and lend themselves better to musical adaptation.

The tripartite form of the *kaşida* survived through the agency of the post-classical poets who did not always observe it strictly (see notably R. Blachère, *Abou l-Tayyib al-Motanabbi*, Paris 1935, *passim*), until the modern period in its neo-classical form. The Bedouin or partially sedentarised societies—as in Mauritania—still cultivate it with delight.

The classical or neo-classical *kaşida* can in certain cases be a vehicle for information of a historical nature. It is always advisable to use it in this respect only with the greatest prudence (see further M. Canard, *Les allusions à la guerre byzantine chez Abū Tammām et Buhturī*, in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, Brussels 1935, 397-403).

The collective *kaşid*, designating in the aggregate these ample and elaborate pieces, was in ancient times opposed to the *radjaz* [q.v.] which is a rough and everyday verse form, in a rudimentary metre of constant structure.

**Bibliography:** The classical bibliography is immense. It is to be found, in an almost exhaustive state, in R. Blachère, *HLA*, as much in the "general references" I, XVIII-XXXIII, as at the end of the chapters or paragraphs dedicated to archaic poetry; see especially I, 82-186, II, 243-453, III, 455-716. See also, 'ARŪD, *GHAZAL*, *HIDIĀ*, *SHĪ'R*.

Among the more recent studies, one should see especially: M. C. Bateson, *Structural continuity in Poetry*, Paris-The Hague 1970; R. Jacoby, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qasida*, Wiesbaden 1971; J. E. Bencheikh, *La création poétique à Bagdad de 200 à 250. Modes et procédés* (forthcoming).

On contemporary survivals, see M. el-Moktar Ould Bah, *Introduction à la poésie mauritanienne, in Arabica*, xviii (1971), 1-48.

(F. KRENKOW-[G. LECOMTE])

2. In Persian. — The Persian *kaşida* is a lyric poem, most frequently panegyric, which appears in this form in the earliest Persian poetry (G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, I, Paris 1964, 12). Later theorists of this poetry codified its forms with undeviating constancy. In their view, the *kaşida* is one of the realisations of the rules they imposed on poetry, which, according to Naşr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*Mi'yar al-ash'ar*, written in 649/1251, ed. Tehran 1942, *faşl* I of the introd.), consists of metre and rhyme, which provided him with the sections of his treatise. His predecessor Shāms-i Kāys (*al-Mu'djam fi ma'a'ir ash'ar al-'adjam*, completed after 630/1232, ed. Tehran 1960, 196) even insisted: "even if the discourse has a metre, if it is not in rhyme it is not poetry". The first theorists whose work is extant (al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, written in the 5th/11th century, Istanbul 1949; Raḥīd al-Dīn

Waṭwāt, *Hada'ik al-sihr fi dahā'ik al-shi'r*, written in the 6th/12th century, Tehran 1961; for the others, see Kazwīnī, intro. to the *Mu'djam* of Shāms-i Kāys, 11) were still rhetoricians, and their writings reveal the essential norms imposed on the Persian panegyric lyric. More than a mere knowledge of rhyme, prosody and rhetoric were needed for the composition of a *kaşida*: the author had to be well-versed in the learning of his day so that he could make timely use of it and had to possess, above all, what Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī called *badiha*, the ability to improvise (*Čahār maḳāla*, written in the mid-6th/12th century, Tehran 1963, 48), which was worth a fortune to many of the poets at court. The golden age of the *kaşida* was also the great era of poetic theory, so much so that each found in the other its main field of activity. The theoretical works produced after the 7th/13th century, which are still best known in the West through translations (by Blochmann, Garcin de Tassy, Gladwin and Rückert), have little to teach us about the *kaşida*.

The theorists of Persian poetry borrowed their terminology from Arabic, but none, at least of those whose work has been cited, ever omitted to point out the difference between the two types of poetry of which they were aware. The 'arūḍ, that is the ending of the first hemistich (*mişrā'*) of the first distich (*bayt*) of the *kaşida*, had to supply the one single rhyme for the whole poem. The rhyme was repeated in each *darb*, the final part of the second hemistich of each distich, according to complex rules. No study has yet been made of these rules, but fortunately we do have P. N. Kḫānlari's basic study of Persian metre (*Wazn-i shi'r-i fārsī*, Tehran 1969). Quantitatively, a poem cannot be a *kaşida* unless the number of its distichs exceeds 15 and does not exceed 30. As a general rule, the poet must ensure that the meaning of each *bayt* is independent of its neighbours; in Persian poetry, *taḍmīn* [q.v.] is an error unless it is dictated by a rhetorical figure. The *kaşida* comprises three parts; The first, the exordium, must command attention by touching the hearts of the listeners, an effect which is often achieved by a *ghazal*, a courtly song, either by describing the beauty of the beloved and the state of the lover (*nasīb*), or through the amorous poet making his listeners share in his condition (*tashbib*); by the time of Shāms-i Kāys, these distinctions no longer existed, as he himself remarks (*Mu'djam*, 413), because of the wealth of the subjects treated in the exordium: mainly love, nature and wine. The *kaşida* is first and foremost a poem composed for a princely festival, especially the spring festival (*nawrūz*) and the autumn one (*mihriḡān*); it can also be a poem on the occasion of a funeral, a victory or an earthquake, the themes being adapted according to the circumstances. The *madh*, eulogy for a prince or protector, is the central portion of the *kaşida*; put into a sensitive frame of mind by the exordium (*tashbib*), the listener will be carried away by the poet's skill; all that is required is a degree of rhythm in the eulogy, a strong effect of *balāgha* (a wealth of meaning in a few words) but an uncontentious one, and the transport of the soul out of its ordinary element (cf. *Čahār maḳāla*, 42). After the eulogy comes the petition: the poet must know how to "wrap up" his request, says al-Rādūyānī (*op. cit.*, 128), stirring the person being praised to reward him by the charm of his poem and the renown it engenders. Three *bayts* require particular care: the first (*maḳla'*), because it opens the poem and signals all the areas of expression; the transitional *bayt* (*maḳhlaş*) between *tashbib* and *madh*, which must

skillfully introduce the name of the person being eulogised; and the last *bayi* (*makla*'), which must be of a quality that redeems any mediocrities in the work.

Among the variations in the *kaşida* and its components with which have emerged through the ages two types of poem that appeared very early on are especially significant: the *tardji*'s, a *kaşida* (cf. *Mu'âjam*, 400) written in a single metre composed of parts which each have their own rhyme and are separated by a distich (*tardji*'s *band*) that often serves as a refrain; and the *musamma*, a *kaşida* (cf. *Tardjumân*, 104-5) made up of rhyming figures.

From the outset, the *kaşida* was connected with courtly life in Iran, where it perpetuated poems recited in honour of the Sāsānid kings, and it had almost as many schools as there were important dynasties, at any rate until the arrival of the Mongols. This latter precipitated a group of phenomena which had begun earlier, principally the breaking up of the "feudal" system and a liberalisation of city life and the extension of the religious way of life and expression to differing sectors of society. The *kaşida* was in turn philosophic, mystic, meditative, then hymnodic under the Şāfawids, and panegyric once more when it returned to the ancient style under the Kādījārs. In fact, it ceded to the *ghazal* [q.v.] its privileged place in Persian lyric poetry.

The Persian *kaşida*, a homogenous phenomenon of a great culture, is a largely unexplored field open to the modern study of mediaeval poetry. Its authors were acutely aware that the poetic ethos was embodied in form (in the sense employed by P. Zumthor); regardless of its later destiny, the *kaşida* made a definitive mark on Persian poetry.

*Bibliography*: Apart from works cited in the article, M. Bahār, *Ta'rikh-i ta'awwur-i shi'r-i fārsi*, Tehran 1956; A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 298-9, 307-526; C.-H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane au XI<sup>e</sup> s.*, Paris 1969; R. Levy, *An introduction to Persian literature*, New York 1969, 27-33; B. Reinert, *Hāqāni als Dichter*, Berlin 1972; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 94-5, 913; Dh. Şafā, *Gandj-i sukhān*, I, Tehran 1961, intro. 45-59. (C.-H. DE FOUCHÉCOUR)

3. In Turkish. — It was under the influence of classical Iranian literature that the Muslim Turks adopted and developed the *kaşida*, a verse form very different from their own traditional poetry. The Turkish *kaşida* has the same rhyme scheme and metric patterns as the *kaşida* in Arabic and Persian and at first appears very similar, though in fact, a study of the subject matter, the *nasibs*, and the organisation of the poems shows that there are considerable differences. At first the Turks tended to use the *mathnawī* and quatrain (*hi'ā*) which, to some extent, resembles their own older verse forms, rather than the *kaşida* and *ghazal*. The fact that the earliest verse works in Islamic Turkish literature, such as *Kutadgu bilig*, *Atabat al-ḥakā'iq* or *Diwān-i hikmat*, are written in the *mathnawī* and *hi'ā* forms, supports this view.

Variation in the form and nature of the *kaşida* were inevitably the reflection of the geographical, social, economic and cultural differences between the Arab, Iranian and Turkish worlds. It is easy to see these differences in the first and best-known section of the *kaşida*, the *nasib* or the *tasbit*. In this opening section, the Arabs usually chose love themes or descriptions of desert life, while the Persians and above all, the Turks tended to rhapsodise on the

beauties of their native lands or to describe geographical phenomena or social events.

Theoretically, a complete Turkish *kaşida* should contain six sections: *nasib*, *taghazzul*, *girişgāh*, *madhiyya*, *fakhrīyya* and *du'ā*. The *nasib* is the *kaşida*'s longest section, and the subject which it describes often gives its name to the whole poem. A great variety of subjects is possible: religious fervour, love, nature, wise or moralising thoughts, buildings, war or peace, descriptions of towns, holy days and festivals, mourning or rejoicing. If a *kaşida* has a section embracing subjects more often found in *ghazals*, such as love or wine, then this section is called *taghazzul*. The passage marking the transition from the *nasib* to the main part of the *kaşida* consists of one or more couplets and is called *giriz* or *girişgāh*.

The couplets known as the eulogy or *madhiyya* comprise the central part of the *kaşida*, and it is here that the poet praises the person to whom the *kaşida* is addressed. The recipients of *kaşidas* were usually men who held high office in the state, such as sultans, viziers or *shaykh al-islām*s or they might be palace officers, men of religion or men of wealth. This section is always fairly long, and usually comprises the real reason for writing the poem. In cases where the poet hopes to ingratiate himself with influential people and receive in return favours or office, then the exaggerated praise usually exceeds reasonable bounds and detracts from the sincerity of the works. The *fakhrīyya* is the last but one section of the *kaşida* where the poet praises himself; and in the final section, the *du'ā*, the poet implores God for the prosperity of the Sultan or person to whom the *kaşida* is addressed, and expresses his thanks for the completion of the work.

However, Turkish *kaşidas* do not invariably contain all these sections. Very often, one or more are left out, the most frequent omissions being the *taghazzul*, *fakhrīyya* and *du'ā* sections. For example, the greatest Turkish *kaşida* writer, Nef'i of Erzurum ([q.v.], 979/1572?-1044/1635) wrote some *kaşidas* which contain all these sections, and so did Fighānī of Trabzon ([q.v.], 920/1505?-937/1532) and Nedīm of Istanbul (1092/1681-1142/1730). Nevertheless, the *diwāns* of these and many other poets contain *kaşidas* with no *taghazzul* or *fakhrīyya* and some even with no *nasib*. The subject and arrangement of the Turkish *kaşida* has thus varied according to the poet, the era, the place, and the social conditions.

In Turkish, as in Arabic and Persian *kaşidas*, the first couplet is *muşarra*', that is, the first two hemistiches are rhymed. Thereafter, the second hemistich in each couplet rhymes with the first couplet. The first couplet is called the *malla*' and the one towards the end where the poet reveals his pen-name (*makhlās*) is called the *tādī bayi*. Turkish also adopted the term *bayi al-kaşid* for the couplet considered the finest in the poem. The usual length of a Turkish *kaşida* is between 15 and 99 couplets, but in fact, some longer ones exist.

*Kaşidas* may take their name from the general subject matter. One inspired by the unity and existence of God and describing His qualities and acts is called *tawhid*, while a supplication and prayer to God is called *munādīāt*. *Na't* is the name for a *kaşida* praising and expressing devotion to the Prophet Muḥammad. A *kaşida* in praise of a great man describing his virtues and achievements is called *madhiyya*, while a satirical *kaşida* attacking an enemy or someone of whom the poet disapproves is called *hidwiyya*. Also, it is common in classical Turkish literature to name the *kaşida* after the subject of the

*nasīb*. Hence *kaşidas* describing spring, summer, autumn or winter are called *bahāriyya*, *şayfiyya* (or *tammūziyya*), *khāsāmiyya* and *shītā'īyya* respectively. If the *nasīb* describes a festival or New Year's Day, then the *kaşida* is called *bayramiyya* (or *'idiyya*) or *nawrūziyya*. A Ramađān *kaşida* is a *Ramađāniyya*; *kaşidas* commemorating a royal accession, circumcision or wedding, or a death are *đjulūsiyya*, *sūriyya* and *marthiyya*. *Kaşidas* can also take their name from the letter of the rhyme or from the word repeated after each rhyme (*radif*). If, for example, the rhyme letter is *lām*, *mīm* or *rā'*, then the *kaşida* is a *lāmiyya*, *mimiyya* or *rā'īyya*. Similarly, if the *kaşida* has a *radif* such as *şu*, *sūnbül* or *kerem*, then it would be named accordingly. Some *kaşidas* describe particular cities which then gave their name to the poem, such as the Edirne, Istanbul or Baghdād *kaşidas*. Others describe things, places or events such as appointments or removals from office, and hence one finds the *Nile kaşida*, the *Polish Campaign kaşida*, *kaşida on the return from the German Campaign*, *kaşida on the building of the mosque or pavilion*, the *halwā-party kaşida*, congratulatory *kaşidas* (*tabrikiyya*), appointment *kaşidas* (*tauđi'īyya*) or dismissal *kaşidas* (*'azliyya*). Even after the Tanzīmāt, *kaşidas* continued to be written in accordance with modern thoughts and feelings, cf. Nāmlk Kemāl's [q.v.] *Freedom kaşida*.

*Kaşida* writing in Turkish began to develop in the 7th/13th century with Dehhānī and in the 8th/14th with Aḥmadī, Aḥmad-i Dā'ī and Shaykhī. In the 9th/15th century, with such poets as Aḥmad Paşa, Mīhrī Khātūn, Neđjāti and Meşihī, it became a widely accepted and popular form. In the 10th/16th century, the golden age of classical Turkish verse, it reached a high level of accomplishment through the efforts of such poets as Revānī, Lāmi'ī, Fighānī, Ḥayretī, Dḥātī, Khayālī, Fuđūllī, Fevri, Nev'ī and Bākī. But the greatest Turkish *kaşida* writer, Nev'ī, lived in the following century. The other famous 11th/17th century poets—Waysī, 'Azmi-zāde, Hāletī, 'Aṭā'ī, Şabrī, Nā'īlī, Neşhātī and Nābī—never reached the same standard as Nev'ī, but nevertheless show great maturity in technique and in handling of the subject matter. In the 12th/18th century, the *kaşida* partly managed to retain its old status, thanks to the poetic genius of Nedīm at the beginning and Shaykh Ghālīb at the end of the century, but in general it lost its old artistry, scope of subject matter and novelty of expression. Poets like Thābitī, Naẓīm, Sāmi, Sayyid Wehbī and Hāmī-yi Amīdī kept the form alive, but the *kaşida* was by this time becoming outmoded; it was a form tied to a single rhyme and could hardly help being repetitious. In these circumstances it could only die out.

However, the generation following the Tanzīmāt (122/1839) continued to express the new thought in this form. Şhināsī ([q.v.], 1239-1288/1824-1871), Diyā Paşa ([q.v.], 1240-1297/1825-1880) and Nāmlk Kemāl all occasionally wrote *kaşidas*. Today the form has disappeared; modern social and cultural conditions are hardly favourable.

*Bibliography*: Djemāl al-Dīn, *'Arūz-i Türki*, Istanbul 1291/1874; E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i, London 1900, 83-87; Mu'allim Nāđjī, *İştilāhāt-i edebiyā*, Istanbul 1307/1889-90, 161-68; Mehmed Şalāhī, *Kāmūs-i 'Othmāni*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 217; 'Alī Ekrem, *Naẓariyyāt-i edebiyā*, Istanbul lithograph 1333/1915, i, 254; Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Istanbul 1926, 161-64; Tāhir Olgun, *Edebiyyat Lügati*, Istanbul 1936, 62-63; Zeki Pakalın, *Türk deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1951, ii, 206-9;

*Istanbul kütüphaneleri türkçe yazma divanlar katalogu*, Istanbul 1947-65, catalogues of the manuscripts of various Turkish *divāns*; Abdülkadir Karahan, *Nef'ī*, Istanbul 1967, 24-32; Abdülkadir Karahan, *Nef'ī divanından seçmeler*, Istanbul 1972, introduction; *IA art. Nasīb*; Nihad Sāmi Banarlı, *Resimli Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1971, fasc. 3 (1972), 186-90. (ABDÜLKADIR KARAHAN)

4. In Urdu. — In Urdu poetry, it is the *ghazal* that takes pride of place, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the *kaşida* is less important. It is the generally accepted view that only two Urdu poets, Sawdā and Dhawḳ [q.v.], composed *kaşidas* of a standard comparable with that achieved in Persian by Anwarī and Khākānī [q.v.]. Most Urdu *kaşidas* are, formally speaking, encomia addressed by the poet to his actual or intended patron; in this aspect, they are designed above all else to display both his virtuosity in the craft of poetry and the range of his learning. A more lasting value derives from the fact that the form also offers the poet scope for the extended expression of his feelings on any poetic theme that inspires him; and some *kaşidas* are definable as such only in terms of form (length and rhyme-scheme). Thus one of Sawdā's most famous poems in *kaşida* form is a *shahrāshūb*, a bitter and indignant commentary on the political, social, economic, cultural and spiritual degeneration of society in the Mughal Empire of his day. Ghālīb [q.v.] who, however, wrote most of his *kaşidas* in Persian and only a few in Urdu, in general dispenses with the praise of his patron in a few lines, and devotes the bulk of the *kaşida* to the elaboration of his views on life and love and poetry.

(R. RUSSELL)

**KĀSİM**, the name of several Ottoman princes.

1. KĀSİM, son of the second ruler of the Ottoman dynasty, Orkhān. All that is known of him is that he died in 748/1347.

2. KĀSİM ÇELEBİ or Kāsim Yūsuf, one of the seven sons of Bāyezid I, b. 792/1390. Since he was too young to take part in the battle of Ankara (1402), he remained at Bursa. After the defeat and capture of his father there began a struggle for power amongst his elder sons, Sulaymān, 'Isā, Muḥammad and then Mūsā. When Sulaymān retreated towards the Ottoman territories in the Balkans, he passed through Bursa and took with him Kāsim and his sister Fātima. Shortly afterwards Kāsim was sent as a hostage to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II and remained at Constantinople till his death in 820/1417. According to certain traditions, he was buried in the church of the monastery of St. John of Studion (which became the Imrahor Djāmi' after the Ottoman conquest).

3. KĀSİM, son of Sultan Mehemmed I, died in 809/1406 at the age of one or two years only.

4. KĀSİM, son of prince Aḥmad and grandson of Bāyezid II. Born ca. 906/1501, died in 924/1518. Soon after his accession, in March 1512, Selīm I put to death his brothers, but met the resistance of two of his nephews, Murād and Kāsim, sons of Aḥmad. They speedily fled abroad, Murād to the Persian ruler Shāh Ismā'īl I (he may have been one of the causes behind Selīm I's Persian campaign; he escaped from him after the battle of Çaldırān, and died in 1517, possibly poisoned or possibly murdered; certain accounts further identify him with the Ottoman pretender who suddenly appeared at Amasya in 1519). Kāsim (whom Von Hammer calls 'Alā' al-Dīn and whom he makes die of the plague soon after his arrival in Cairo) fled to Egypt and the Mamlūk sultan; after the conquest of Egypt, Selīm tried to seize Kāsim, and although he succeeded temporarily in eluding the



Ottoman sultan, he was captured in January 1518 and immediately killed.

5. KĀSİM, one of the nine sons of Sultan Aḥmad I, born in 1022/1613 of the same mother as Sultans Murād IV and Ibrāhīm I, the famous Kösem Māhpeyker; he lived in confinement within the Palace till his death. Murād IV, afraid of the possibility of his brothers' seizing power or being raised to the throne in a revolt, had them all killed successively, with the exception of Ibrāhīm; Kāsim was executed on 2nd Shawwāl 1047/17th February 1638.

*Bibliography:* Von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tr. Dochez, Paris 1844, bk. viii, 149, bk. xxii, 410, 414, bk. xlvi, 479; Ismail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, Istanbul 1947, 131, 133, 135-6, 148, 153; ii, Istanbul 1948, 5, 8, 50-1; iii, Istanbul 1950, 269, 312, 325, 353, 366, 371, 387; A. D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index.

(R. MANTRAN)

AL-KĀSİM, a district in northern Naǧīd in the central part of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Lying west of the northern end of the long scarp of Ṭuwayḳ [q.v.], the district is intersected by the lower reaches of Wādi 'l-Rumāh [q.v.] shortly before that great watercourse loses itself in the eastern sands.

In classical Arabic the term *kaşim* (nom. unit.: *kaşima*) is applied to sandy areas where the *ghadā* bush abounds. This description fits the district, which has large masses of sand to the north ('Irḳ al-Maẓhūr), the east (Nafūd al-Ṭuwayrāt), and the south (Nafūd al-Sirr), all of which curve round the contour of the Arabian Shield [see *DIJAZIRAT AL-ARAB*, ii]. The district also contains smaller stretches of sand running contrary to the Shield's contour, such as Nafūd al-Ḡhamis, which trends from west to east.

The twin cities of Burayda (the present capital) and 'Unayza [qq.v.] form the heart of al-Kāşim. Farther up Wādi 'l-Rumāh is al-Rass, the main outpost of the district on the side towards al-Hidjāz. North of al-Rass are al-Khabrā', al-Bukayriyya with its neighbour al-Hilāliyya (both originally colonies of the tribe of Subay'), al-'Uyūn ('Uyūn al-Djīwā') and Kuşaybā'. Along the eastern edge of al-Kāşim in a line from north to south are the oasis settlements of Aba 'l-Dūd, al-Tannūma and 'Ayn Ibn Fuhayd, which, along with other places, are known collectively as al-Asyāh ('the Plains'). This line is continued farther south by al-Şhamāsiyya, al-'Awsadjiyya (or al-'Awşhāziyya) and al-Miḏhnab.

Among the districts of Naǧīd, al-Kāşim stands out for the relative richness of its natural and human resources. When stockraising was one of the principal occupations of Arabia, al-Kāşim was known abroad for the fine quality of the horses brought to market there by the nomad breeders. The Kuşmān (pl. of Kaşimi) are a talented and industrious people whose trading branches as far away as Egypt and India made them for a long time the most cosmopolitan of the inhabitants of Naǧīd (on the caravaneers of al-Kāşim, see 'UḲAYL).

References in the Arab geographers and the old poets indicate that the district has borne the name of al-Kāşim since pre-Islamic times. The inhabitants supported Khālīd b. al-Walīd as Islam established its ascendancy in central Arabia. Among the tribes once roaming there were 'Abs of Ḡhaṭafān, Banū Asad and Tamīm [qq.v.]. Of these, only Tamīm is still present in force, the others having been succeeded by members, sometimes settled, of Subay', Muṭayr, Ḥarb, Banī Khaḍīr, etc.

In the 5th/11th century Dārim of al-Rass built up

a state including other parts of Naǧīd as well, but its decline was fairly rapid after his death. No authentic records attest to the founding of any of the main towns now existing before the 10th/16th century. The district was preoccupied with local affairs and petty conflicts until 1182/1768-9, when Āl Su'ūd of al-Dir'iyya in al-'Ariḳ [q.v.] to the south, bent on securing the adherence of the rest of Arabia to the doctrines proclaimed by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb [q.v.] by force of arms if necessary, dispatched the first expedition into al-Kāşim. Many of the Kuşmān enthusiastically accepted Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's interpretation of Islam, but others stubbornly clung to their ingrained beliefs and practices. A leading figure in the ultimate winning over of al-Kāşim to the unitarianism (*al-da'wa ila 'l-tawhīd*) of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb was Ḥudjajlān b. Ḥamad of the 'Anākīr of Tamīm, governor of Burayda for Āl Su'ūd from the late 12th/18th century until the invasion of Naǧīd by Ibrāhīm Paşa of Egypt. On his way back home in 1234/1818 Ibrāhīm took Ḥudjajlān to Medina, where he died an octogenarian.

After the destruction of Āl Su'ūd's capital al-Dir'iyya [q.v.] by Ibrāhīm's forces, its place was taken by al-Riyāḍ [q.v.]. For nearly a century afterwards al-Kāşim, as the key intermediate district, was the bone of contention between Āl Su'ūd of al-Riyāḍ and the new rival power of Āl Rashīd with its base at Ḥā'il in Djabal Şhammar [q.v.] northwest of al-Kāşim. Whichever side held al-Kāşim tended to dominate the other side, and the tide of battle kept flowing back and forth. Internal dissensions in al-Kāşim, particularly between Burayda and 'Unayza as well as between contending aspirants to political control in both cities, prevented the district, despite its resources, from effectively resisting for long the hegemony of one or the other of the opposing houses. The issue between the two protagonists was finally decided in the early 14th/20th century with the defeat of Āl Rashīd in al-Kāşim by 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Su'ūd, even though Āl Rashīd then had the support of regular Ottoman troops.

In recent times many of the Kuşmān, above all the people of Burayda, have been among the most devout and energetic proponents of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's unitarianism. Great progress in communications, education and other fields has, however, somewhat tempered the severity of the puritanical spirit of the Kuşmān.

*Bibliography:* *Tādī al-'arūs*, s.v. *kaşim*; Yāqūt (*al-Kāşim*, *Burayda*, 'Unayza, al-Rass, al-Rumma [= al-Rumahl]); Ḥusayn b. Ḡhannām, *Rawḍat al-afkār*, Bombay n.d.; 'Uthmān b. Bişhr, 'Unwān al-maǧīd, Cairo 1373; Ḥamad b. La'būn, *Ta'riḳh*, Mecca 1357; Ibrāhīm b. 'Isā, 'Iḳd al-durar, Cairo 1954-5; idem, *Ta'riḳh ba'd al-hawādiṭh*, al-Riyāḍ 1966; Muḥammad b. Bulayhid, *Şaḥiḥ al-akḥbār*, Cairo 1951-3; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Şharīf, *Minḥakāt 'Unayza*, Cairo 1969; G. Rentz, unpublished dissertation on Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Berkeley 1947; C. Guarmani, *Northern Najd*, London 1938; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1936; A. Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Najd*, London 1881; A. Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, New York 1928; H. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928; idem, *Saudi Arabia*, London 1955; M. v. Oppenheim et al., *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden 1939-68.

(G. RENTZ)

KĀSİM B. AŞBAGH B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. NĀŞIḤ B. 'AṬĀ' AL-BAYYĀNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, famous traditionist, philologist, historian and genealogist, *mawlā* of the Spanish Umayyads,

who was born at Baena (Bayyāna) in the *hūra* of Cordova in 244/859 or 247/862 and died in the capital in 340/951-2. At Cordova, he was the pupil of Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ, al-Khushānī and other noted scholars. In 274/887, he made an extended trip to the Orient, and in Mecca, Baghdād, Egypt, Kayrawān and other cities acquired an education in tradition, the Qur'anic sciences, poetry and history from the various renowned specialists in these subjects; amongst his masters were a son of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Tha'lab, al-Mubarrad and Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Tāhartī. He acquired also a knowledge of the numerous works of Ibn Kutayba. On his return to Spain, people flocked to him from all parts to hear his instruction; 'Abd al-Rahmān III and his son al-Ḥakam were amongst his numerous pupils.

Kāsim b. Aşbagh introduced into Spain the works of Ibn Kutayba and other *adab* works, including the *Ma'ārif*, the *Adab al-kuttāb*, which was highly regarded and much commented upon, as well as the *Ḥarīb al-Kur'ān* and *Muḥkil al-Kur'ān*. For his part, he wrote a *muṣawwaḥ* based on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and following the plan (*abwāb*) of Ibn al-Djarūd's *al-Muntakā*, and an abridgement of this last called *al-Mudjtanā*, dedicated to al-Ḥakam and containing 2,490 traditions divided into 6 volumes. He also wrote a fine work on genealogies, one on the honorific titles of the Umayyads, Quraysh and Kināna, a *Kitāb fi'l-nāsikh wa'l-mansūkh*, and another work on the rare *ḥadīths* of Mālik b. Anas not found in the *Muwaffa*?; but none of these seem to have survived. Accordingly, the most important of Kāsim b. Aşbagh's works is for us his translation of Orosius's *Historiarum libri septem adversus paganos*, which he did in collaboration with a Mozarab; this work, of both historical and geographical interest, was of immense importance in the development of geographical literature in al-Andalus, and Aḥmad al-Rāzī, Kāsim b. Aşbagh's disciple, utilised it to a considerable extent.

*Bibliography*: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 491-3 and index; Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 1068; Ḍabbī, no. 1298; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 154; Ibn Bashkuwāl, 96; Bencheneb, *Étude . . . Idjāza*, 281; Ḥumaydī, *Djāḥwa*, Cairo 1953, no. 769; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādī*, 222; Pons Boigues, 59-61; Ḥ. Mu'nis, *al-Djuḡhrāfiya wa'l-djuḡhrāfiyyūn fi 'l-Andalus*, Madrid 1386/1967, 30-1, 55-7, 418; H. Monès, in *St. Isl.*, xx (1964), 71; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Ḥazm . . .*, in *al-And.*, xix (1954), 77-8, 86 (= tr. of Maḳḳarī, ii, 116, 118-19); G. Levi della Vida, *La traduzione . . . di Orosio*, in *al-And.*, xix (1954), 257-93; M. 'Alī Makkī, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la Espana musulmana*, Madrid 1968, especially 199-200, 207-8, 272-4. (J. BOSCH-VILÁ)

AL-KĀSIM B. 'ĪSĀ B. IDRĪS, ABŪ DULAF, Arab military commander, poet and musician, d. at Baghdād between 225/840 and 228/843. His tribe of the 'Idjil was part of the great confederation of the Bakr b. Wā'il and of the Rabl'a group. The fortunes of the family seem to have been linked to the spread of the 'Abbāsīd propaganda by an accident of birth, in that Abū Muḥsin [q.v.], the future *dā'i* for the dynasty, first saw the light in the house of 'Īsā b. Ma'ḳīl, brother of Idrīs, the grandfather of Abū Dulaf.

This family settled at Karadj [q.v.], near to Nihāwand, where it possessed vast estates. Abū Dulaf's father began to construct the palaces and fortresses of a compact 'Idjil fief, of which Abū Dulaf himself was to be the brilliant representative at the caliphal court in Baghdād. However, we know comparatively little about his military career. On 15 Djumādā II

195/15 March 811 he commanded, on the orders of the caliph al-Amin, the right wing of the army led by 'Alī b. 'Īsā against Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn; but this army dispersed without fighting when its commander was killed in an assassination incident. This participation clearly affected adversely Abū Dulaf's interests. When al-Ma'mūn became caliph, he gave orders for measures against him; later, he reproached him for allowing panegyrics considered semi-blasphemous to be addressed to himself by the poet 'Alī b. Djabala al-'Akawwak [q.v.], who was executed. This hostility had at least one further motive behind it; the 'Idjil chief was a fervent partisan of the 'Alids. At a time when the régime was taking up an attitude well away from the Shī'ī ideology, it was obviously disturbed about the existence of a vassal firmly installed in a difficult region.

Abū Dulaf is then found as governor of Damascus for al-Mu'taṣim. He led against Bābak a contingent of volunteers raised from his dependents. He was part of the group of Arab chiefs whom the Iranian general al-Afshīn attempted to eliminate in order to gain an ascendancy over the caliph and to retain power. On this occasion, the caliph's attitude was extremely ambiguous; he gave his agreement to al-Afshīn, but at the same time warned Ibn Abī Du'ād about what was afoot, and the chief *ḥādī*, who was allied on the maternal side with the 'Idjil, intervened in a decisive fashion.

Abū Dulaf has left behind the reputation of being a warm, intelligent and extremely generous personality. Himself a littérateur, musician and poet, he managed to form around himself an important circle of scholars and artists. From amongst his own poetry, there is extant only a small number of short poems written in a simple but powerful language, and in his *fakhr* poems, in a style with elements of nobility and strong martial touches. He was also the author of works on hunting, military and political themes, none of which have survived.

Abū Dulaf was a much-sought after Maecenas, and he entrusted the presidency over his salon to his brother Ma'ḳīl, himself a poet and impassioned music-lover, a man of great refinement and sensibility. He brought into his elder brother's circle 'Alī b. Djabala and Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāh, and he secured invitations for Abū Tammām and Di'bil and for such celebrated singers as Muḳḥarīk. Many other poets and artists of lesser fame also found a welcome in Djabal and a congenial environment, e.g. Dju'ayfirān al-Muwaswas, the powerful satirist Manṣūr b. Bāḫhān al-Işbahānī and Muḥammad b. Wubayb. An examination of this list confirms the fact that membership of this circle revolved round either tribal alliances or adhesion to Shī'ism. For these professional poets, the attraction of largesses was multiplied here by an assurance of finding with a powerful patron a mind occupied with common sympathies and feelings.

The historical sources record several descendants of Abū Dulaf. His grandson Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz tried to recover the principality of his forefathers, but was put to flight and then poisoned in 285/898 during the caliphate of al-Mu'taḍid; Abū 'l-Kāsim Hibat Allāh b. 'Alī was vizier to the Imām al-Kā'im bi-amr Allāh; Hibat Allāh's brother Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was chief *ḥādī* of Baghdād; and his son Abū Naşr 'Alī b. Hibat Allāh, known under the name of Ibn Mākūlā, was a learned traditionist and author of highly-esteemed works.

*Bibliography*: *Aghānī*, viii, 246-55, notice, xix, 289-91, xx, 153-5, and index; Şūlī, *Akhbār*

*Abi Tammām*, 121-4; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 478; *Djāhīz*, *Bayān*, i, 111-12, ii, 217; Yāqūt, ii, 99, iv, 446; *Fihrist*, 175, 240; Ibn Hazm, *Djamhara*, 312-14; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Ikd*, i, ii, iii, vi, in the index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 367, iii, 1172-3; Ibn Tayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, 132-9; Ya'qūbi-Wiet, 74; Marzubānī, *Mu'ājam*, 216; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdi*, vii, 4-7; *Washshā'*, *Muwashshā'*, 283; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharrāt*, ii, 57; Bakrī, *Simt al-la'ālī*, 331 and index; Ṭabarī, index; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, no. 6869, xii, 416; Khalidiyyān, *al-Tuḥaf wa'l-hadāyā*, 15-16, 109; Ibn Khallikān, no. 538, iv, 73; Ibn al-Djarrāh, *Warāqa*, 106-8; Husrī, *Zahr*, iv, 147-8, 197-8. See also *divāns* of Abū Tammām and Di'bil.—'Abd al-Karīm al-Aṣḥtar, *Di'bil*, Damascus 1967, 96-102 and index; J. E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1971, 98-104; S. Boustany, *Ibn al-Rūmī*, Beirut 1967, 240; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, i, 259-60.

(J. E. BENCHEIKH)

**KĀSİM** (QASSEM), 'ABD AL-KARĪM (1914-63). 'Irāki officer and dictator, born in Baghdād of poor parents. His father was a Sunni Arab and his mother possibly of Fayli (Shī'i-Kurdish) descent; he himself claimed to be purely Arab. After working as a teacher Kāsim entered military college and was commissioned in 1934. By 1955 he was a brigadier. Early in the 1950s he set up one of the cells then proliferating in the army in clandestine opposition to the Western-orientated monarchy, and in perhaps half-conscious imitation of the Egyptian example. By dint of his shrewdness, his gift for dissimulation and, most important, his independent operational command (of a brigade group near Baghdād) he became chairman of the Free Officers Central Committee in about 1956—though he never reached anything like the position of 'Abd al-Nāṣir at a comparable stage of his career. An army movement ordered in support of Jordan gave Kāsim his chance. In the night of 13-14 July 1958 a brigade taken over by Kāsim's protégé 'Abd al-Salām 'Arif occupied the capital almost without opposition. King Fayṣal II, the crown prince 'Abd al-Ilāh and, a day later, Nūrī al-Sa'īd were killed and the republic proclaimed. Immediately afterwards a "Republican Decree" declared Kāsim commander-in-chief, prime minister and acting minister of defence, with 'Arif as his deputy and minister of the interior. The cabinet was mainly civilian and represented most shades of political opinion—proof of the initial popularity of the revolution. From then and until his murder Kāsim was virtual dictator, though a provisional constitution was promulgated within a fortnight of the revolution.

Kāsim's one fixed political principle was his jealous regard for the independence of 'Irāk, vis-à-vis Arab unity. In the summer of 1958 this meant disappointing an important sector of 'Irāki opinion headed by his own deputy, as well as deeply offending 'Abd al-Nāṣir then at the peak of his career. By August the fronts were clear; by the end of September 'Arif had been ousted from all his posts (and was under suspended death sentence three months later). Further escalation of Arab nationalist resentment led in March 1959 to a revolt led by the commander of Mosul garrison, Brigadier 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shawwāf. Kāsim rode the storm, chiefly through a working alliance with the Communists who, on the Syrian precedent, stood to lose all through the absorption of 'Irāk into the United Arab Republic. With the revolt crushed, and the nationalist menace temporarily suppressed, Communist ambitions became a threat to

Kāsim's rule. In the following confrontation Kāsim proved infinitely superior to the Communists in determination and tactical ability; moreover, in this contest he could count on solid army support. After the summer of 1959 the Communist situation deteriorated until they had been edged out of every position of consequence they had acquired during their advance, and they became a barely tolerated marginal group. Kāsim had first staved off the Communists' importunities by promising the legalization of political parties. The law was duly promulgated in January 1960, but after a brief spurt its effects petered out, and ultimately none remained legally active except a phantom pseudo-Communist Party tolerated by Kāsim. From about the spring of 1960 all genuine political life degenerated into disgruntled torpor, plotting or, in the case of the Kurds, open warfare (from September 1961). Externally, Kāsim upset the West by his disputes with the oil companies and by his inept attempt to seize Kuwayt after it had become independent (June 1961). Relations with the Soviet Union cooled because of Kāsim's treatment of the Communists, though not before he had virtually re-equipped the army with Soviet supplies. On the Arab front Kāsim never lived down his reputation as an enemy of the nationalist cause. Kāsim may be fairly described as politically bankrupt long before a coup, engineered by a combination of Ba'ṯist and nationalist anti-Communist officers (not all of them committed to 'Abd al-Nāṣir) put a bloody end to him and his régime on 8-9 February 1963.

For all his failures, Kāsim cannot be written off as negligible. He was comparatively chary of violence. He was genuinely interested in social progress, at least at the beginning of his rule; the Agrarian Reform Law of 30 September 1958 is a milestone in the social history of 'Irāk. He was one of the most secular-minded rulers in the Arab world in recent times. Though he occasionally paid lip-service to the excellence of Islam, religion really had no place in his scheme of things, and his usual adroitness deserted him when he dealt with men and matters of religion. This trend of his was well known. It is instructive that Kāsim's "atheism" caused in all probability deeper resentment among far wider circles than more narrowly defined issues of a more "modern" nature. His Personal Status Law (1959), applicable to Sunnis and Shī'is alike, was repealed after his overthrow.

*Bibliography*: 'Abd al-Karīm al-Djidda, *Thawrat al-ra'im al-munḳiḳh*, Baghdad 1960 (eulogistic); U. Dann, *Iraq under Qassem*, Jerusalem 1969; M. Khadduri, *Republican 'Iraq*, London 1969. (U. DANN)

**KĀSİM AGHA**, b. ? 978/1570 architect-in-chief at the Ottoman court. His proper name was Meḥmed Kāsim but he was known as Koḍja. He was born in a village between Awlonya (Valona) and Berat (Byelograd) in Albania (Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, viii, 695). Collected through the *devshirme* and brought to the Imperial Palace, he was accepted in the courts of gardeners of the Imperial Household (*khāṣṣ-bāghche khulāmī*) where he grew up. During the great promotion (*ēlīkma*) which took place at Meḥmed III's accession to the throne, he was made an apprentice with the court architects (Zarif Orgun, *Hassa mimarları*, Istanbul 1939, 7). In 1032/1623 he was made court architect-in-chief (*Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iv, 49). He became good friends with the Grand Vizier Kara Muṣṭafā Paṣha, an Albanian like himself. On the latter's execution he was dismissed as court-architect-in-chief, an office until then conferred for life, and

was exiled to Gelibolu. However, through the solicitations of *kādi-asker* Djinđji Husayn Efendi, he returned to Istanbul and was again appointed court-architect-in-chief in Rabī' al-Ākhir 1055/June 1645 (Na'imā, *Tārikkh*, v, 35, 112, 167). In Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1061/October-November 1651 he was made *kedkhūdā* of the Wālide Sulṭān (Na'imā, *Tārikkh*, v, 51). However, at the instigation of the *dār ul-se'āde aghası* Sarı Süleymān Agha, he was dismissed in Muḥarram 1062/December 1651-January 1652 and exiled to Cyprus, but through the intervention of the Wālide Sulṭān enabled to return to Istanbul (Na'imā, *Tārikkh*, v, 179). After long service, he died in Istanbul at ca. one hundred years of age.

Kāsim Agha is known both as an artist and as a politician. As court architect-in-chief he built the Çinili Djami' in Üsküdar, the pavilion of the Balṭadıls in the Palace of Üsküdar, the Sepetçiler Kaşrı of the Palace of Topkapu and the Yeñi Wālide Djami'i in Istanbul. His mastery as an architect is apparent from the Çinili Djami' and from the 'Atik Wālide Djami'i. The pavilion of the Balṭadıls and the Sepetçiler Kaşrı no longer exist. As a politician, Kāsim Agha was one of the influential personalities of the 12th/18th century, with activities falling in the reigns of Sultans İbrāhīm and Meḥemmed IV. He established friendships with prominent people, such as Kara Muştafā Paşha, the *Sheykh ul-Islām* Bahā'ī Efendi [q.v.], Çelebi Kedkhūdā Bey, Sarı Süleymān Agha, Djinđji Husayn Efendi, Khadije Turkhān Wālide, and his recommendations and suggestions influenced the affairs of state. With Kösem Wālide Māhpaykar Sulṭān and Melek Ahmed Paşha, he was on bad terms, and his meddling in political affairs caused his exile on two occasions. However, his most important function in Ottoman political history was to pave the way for Köprülü Meḥmed Paşha to become Grand Vizier and obtain power.

*Bibliography*: Na'imā, *Tārikkh*, Istanbul 1281, iv, 35, 52, 72, 112, 117; v, 169, 178, 250; vi, 218, 220. Ahmed Refik, *Alimler ve şan'atkarlar*, Istanbul 1924, 205. For Kāsim Agha's Sepetçiler Kaşrı, see TOEM, v. (İSMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU)

**KĀSİM AMİN**, Arab publicist and writer on social topics, was the promoter, in Egypt, of the emancipation of the Arab woman and upheld her right, as well as her corresponding obligations, to participate in the renaissance of the Arab-Islamic world which saw the light of day at the end of the 19th century.

He was born in Alexandria in 1863 (cf. Aḥmad Bahā' al-Dīn, preface to *Tahrir al-mar'a*, ed. Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo 1970, 10; but the sources do not all agree as to the date and place of his birth), of an Egyptian mother and a father of Turkish origin; his family settled in Cairo, where Kāsim, after his secondary studies, registered at the Khedival school of law (*Madrasat al-hukuk al-khudawiyya*) and gained his "licence" in 1881. After a period of instruction by a great lawyer of the Egyptian capital, he went to complete his studies of law in Paris where he continued to follow, with the passion and restlessness that had been his since the first signs of them appeared in Cairo, the new developments of the Egyptian political reality, i.e. the British intervention of 1882 which led to the occupation of Egypt by the English and the failure of the revolt of 'Urābī Paşha [q.v.].

Kāsim Amīn made his first contribution to the programme of reform already partially put into practice in Egypt and the most advanced regions of the Arab-Islamic world, by renewing contacts already

established in Cairo with the two greatest reformers of modern Islam, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and his disciple Muḥammad 'Abdūh [q.v.]; these latter had taken refuge in Paris where they had undertaken the publication of the Arabic language weekly *al-Urwā al-wuthkā*, financed by a secret Muslim society of the same name, of which only eighteen issues appeared and in which Kāsim Amīn offered his collaboration.

Kāsim Amīn died when still young, in 1908, without having had the satisfaction of seeing realised the reforms in favour of the Arab woman for which he had fought and which continued to be the object of the struggle in Irāk of the poet Djamīl Sidkī al-Zahāwī [q.v.], in Tunisia of al-Tāhir al-Haddād [q.v.] and in Egypt, notably, of the woman writer Malak Hifnī Nāṣif [q.v.], surnamed Bāḥiṭat al-Bādiya.

It was during his stay in Paris that, thanks to his contacts with a milieu always very clearly oriented towards socio-cultural progress, and perhaps equally, according to certain sources, under the influence of a sentimental attachment to a young Frenchwoman, his conviction matured that it was necessary to awaken public opinion, in Egypt and in the Arab world in general, to one of the most urgent social problems, that of raising the living conditions of women. It is evident that every attempt at reform in this field involved a persistent struggle against the partisans of the traditionalist current in the country, enemies of every change, even if it had a clearly social character, because they considered every innovation as an affront and outrage to tradition and the memory of the ancestors.

Kāsim Amīn fully realised the difficulties of the task and worked towards the achievement of his objective by using not only the weapons of juridical dialectic with which his profession as a lawyer supplied him abundantly and effectively, but also an argument of an emotional and moral character to which he was predisposed by his own temperament; this action aimed at assuring women of a more dignified social situation by means of instruction, equality of rights with men, abolition of the wearing of the veil, and revision of the matrimonial law with its two scourges of polygamy and repudiation.

The resistance of Egyptian conservatism was so obstinate that it was only in ca. 1922 (about a quarter of a century after the appearance of *Tahrir al-mar'a*, and solely in the upper classes) that the suppression of the veil was allowed and, in 1925, that the first secondary school for girls was created with a programme and subject matter similar to those of the equivalent for boys.

His patriotic feeling is to be found in his book *Les Égyptiens*, Paris 1894, that he wrote in French in reply to the Duc d'Harcourt who, in *L'Égypte et les Égyptiens* (1893) judged the country, and especially its social structure, from an exaggeratedly "colonialist" point-of-view, and he attempted to discredit him; but it is his two works, *Tahrir al-mar'a* ("The emancipation of women") and *al-Mar'a al-djadida* ("The new woman"), that he dedicated to the social advancement of the woman. The first provoked the reaction of the most ardent representatives of Egyptian conservatism, among them Ṭal'at Ḥarb and 'Abd al-Madīd Gharyān, who replied, the first in his *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fi'l-mar'a wa 'l-hidjāb* (Cairo n.d.) and the second with *al-Daf' al-matīn* (Cairo n.d.). The other work by which Kāsim Amīn intended to answer precisely the attacks of these despisers of every innovation, gave rise to a reply not only from the same Ṭal'at Ḥarb, in *Tarbiyat al-mar'a wa 'l-hidjāb*, but also from the scholar and publicist Muḥammad Farīd

Wadīdī in *al-Mar'a al-muslima* (Cairo 1319/1901).

It is with these two works that Kāsim Amīn's name has been linked, as an apostle of the rights of the woman, far more than with the Parisian work which has been discussed above and with the collection of meditations and maxims entitled *Asbāb wa-natā'iqi wa-akhḫāḫ wa-mawā'iz*, Cairo 1898 (reprinted 1913 under the title *Kalimāt fi'l-akhḫāḫ* in an appendix to the edition of the *Risāla fi Mudāwāt al-nufus* of Ibn Ḥazm (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 696-7).

*Bibliography:* *Tahrir al-mar'a*, Cairo 1899 (German trans. of O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1928); *al-Mar'a al-djadida*, Cairo 1901; the two works have been made the subject of numerous other editions whose prefaces supply biographical information on Kāsim Amīn and his social activities. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the study of R. Paret, *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt*, Stuttgart 1934, for the historical account of the social situation of the woman in Islam, a fundamental work. For specific bibliographical information on most of the works mentioned in Brockelmann, S III, 330-1, see I. Y. Kračkovskiy, *Kasim Amin, sovetskii appellyatsionnogo suda. Novaya ženshchina. Perevod so 2-go arabskogo izdaniya i predislovie*, in *Mir Islama*, I (1912), app., 119 ff.; *OM*, v (1925), 606, ix (1929), 237-42 *passim*; Ḥusayn Haykal, *Tarāḫīm miṣriyya wa-gharbiyya*, Cairo 1929; Doria Ragaï (Shafik), *La femme et le droit religieux de l'Égypte contemporaine*, Paris 1940; A. Khāki, *Kāsim Amīn*, Cairo 1944; F. S. Fu'ād, *Ta'riḫ ḥayāt al-marḥūm Kāsim Amīn*, Cairo n.d.; U. Rizzitano, *La funzione della donna orientale*, in *Oriens* '44, ed. J.T.L.O., Rome 1945. Some pages of *Tahrir al-mar'a* have been translated in Anouar Abdel-Malek, *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, II (Les essais), Paris 1965. (U. RIZZITANO)

**KĀSIM-I ANWĀR**, the *laḫāb* of MU'ĪN AL-DĪN 'ALĪ ḤUSAYNĪ SARĀBĪ TABRĪZĪ, mystic, poet and leading Ṣafawid *dā'ī*.

Born in 757/1356 in the Sarāb district of Tabrīz in Ādharbāyḏjān, Mu'īn al-Dīn 'Alī became at an early age the disciple (*murīd*) of the *shaykh* of the Ṣafawid *ḫarīka* Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā [q.v.], who bestowed on him the *laḫāb* of Kāsim-i Anwār, "Distributor of Lights", as the result of a vision experienced by his disciple. Mu'īn al-Dīn 'Alī saw himself standing in the Masjid-i Dījami' at Ardabil, holding in his hand a great candle from which the members of the congregation lit their own candles, the light of which illumined the whole mosque (a fuller, and variant, version of the vision is contained in the *Madjālis al-'Ushshāḫ*; see Nafīsī, cited in bibliography, 23 ff.). Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā, who had recognized at an early stage the peculiar intensity of the devotional powers of Kāsim-i Anwār, interpreted this vision to mean that his disciple was destined to distribute among the other novices the divine light with which he was endowed.

After the completion of his training at Ardabil, Kāsim-i Anwār received from the hands of *Shaykh* Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā the *khirka* which entitled him to proselytize and give spiritual guidance (*irshād*). At some later stage, Kāsim-i Anwār is said, by Dījami' [q.v.] and sources based on Dījami', to have become the disciple of a certain Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī Yamānī (for reasons for doubting the authenticity of this tradition, see the article of Savory cited in the bibliography). After a period of missionary activity in Gilān, Kāsim-i Anwār went to *Khurāsān*. Opposition from the 'ulamā' forced him to move from

Nīshāpūr to Harāt, which became his base of operations for half a century. According to his own statement, Kāsim-i Anwār was established at Harāt by 779/1377-8, and he remained there until his expulsion from the city in 830/1426-7.

In that year, Kāsim-i Anwār was implicated in the attempted assassination of the Timūrid ruler, *Shāhruḫh* [q.v.], by a Hurūfī [see ḤURŪFIYYA] named Aḥmad the Lur. Kāsim-i Anwār was not, himself, a member of the heretical Hurūfī sect. In the present writer's view, his alleged complicity in the assassination plot was a convenient excuse for the Timūrid political and religious authorities to rid themselves of a man whose missionary activities had become a source of embarrassment to them. The sources alternatively allege that Kāsim-i Anwār was expelled from Harāt because (a) Mirzā Bāysunqur b. *Shāhruḫh* [see BĀYSONGHOR, GHIVĀTH AL-DĪN] bore him a personal grudge; (b) he did not show proper respect toward *Shāhruḫh* and his sons; (c) the majority of the young men of Harāt had become his disciples, and his popularity with these elements constituted a source of possible mischief. (A) and (b) may be dismissed; (c) more probably goes to the heart of the matter (the charge of moral turpitude made against Kāsim-i Anwār in connection with his association with these young men is unlikely to have been the sole reason for his expulsion). The Timūrid authorities took action against Kāsim-i Anwār because his activities as a *dā'ī* had been too successful; he had become too popular with admittedly heterodox elements, and *Shāhruḫh* was fearful of a possible revolt. There is no doubt that Kāsim-i Anwār was closely associated at Harāt with followers of the *Khalwatī* [q.v.] *ḫarīka*, and the *Khalwatīs*, together with the Ni'fat Allāhīs, Naḫshbandīs [qq.v.] and other Sūfī *ḫarīkas*, played an important part (not yet adequately investigated) in preparing the ground for the Ṣafawid revolution. There is evidence that Kāsim-i Anwār's success as a proselytizer was not confined to the young men of Harāt. Many notables of the city, and sons of Timūrid *amīrs*, are also said to have become his disciples; this, of course, would have given *Shāhruḫh* additional grounds for anxiety. After his expulsion from Harāt, Kāsim-i Anwār resided at the court of *Shāhruḫh*'s son, Ulugh Beg, at Samarkand. Some years later, he returned to *Khurāsān*, and died at *Khurdjird* in Rabī' I 837/Oct.-Nov. 1433.

Kāsim-i Anwār was the author of a number of mystical treatises, and of a *diwān* comprising *ghazals*, *rubā'īs*, several *mathnawīs*, and occasional pieces. Some of his poems are in Turki, and others in the local dialect of Gilān. E. G. Browne claimed to have found "unmistakable" traces of Hurūfī influence in one of his poems, but such a connection cannot be proved on the evidence of his poems. The language of these is rather the conventional stock-in-trade of Sūfīs, and the style reminds one of Dījalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [q.v.]. Like Rūmī, he was more concerned with meaning than with elegance. Kāsim-i Anwār normally used the *takhalluṣ* (*nom-de-plume*) Kāsim or Kāsimī, but sometimes also the full form of his *laḫāb*, Kāsim-i Anwār.

*Bibliography:* For further details, and a fuller discussion of the problems involved, see R. M. Savory, *A 15th-century Ṣafawid propagandist at Harāt*, in the *Semi-Centennial Volume of the Middle Western Branch of the American Oriental Society*, Bloomington, Indiana 1969, 189-197. For a full bibliography of the Persian sources, and a valuable analysis of the historical and literary evidence, see

Sa'îd Nafîsî's introduction to his edition of the collected poems (*Kullîyyât*) of Kâsim-i Anwâr, Tehran 1337/1958. On Kâsim-i Anwâr's Turkish poems, see G. M. Meredith-Owens, *The Turkish verses of Qâsim al-Anwâr*, in *BSOAS*, xxv/1 (1962), 155-61. (R. M. SAVORY)

**KĀSİM PAŞHA**, DJAZARÎ, Ottoman officer and poet of the 9th/15th century; he belonged to a family who had come from Egypt and entered Ottoman service. His father was Mehmed Djazarî, who had worked in the Imperial Divân and had become *nîshândî* in 869/1464-5. (*Küllîyât-ı Divân-ı Kabûlî*, ed. İ. Hikmet Ertaylan, Istanbul 1949 p. 304 f.). Kâsim, like his father, entered the Divân-ı Humâyûn and served in various offices, rising to the position of *defterdâr*, and was for a time in Amasya with Bâyezîd II (before his accession) and served as his *defterdâr*. Djazarî Kâsim, who is known to have been *nîshândî* in 886/1481, attained the rank of vizier, holding the post for about three years; he also served for a time in Salonika. He died in 887/1485, and was buried beside the *medrese* which he had built near the tomb of Emîr Sultân in Bursa.

Djazarî Kâsim Paşa achieved fame in his own day as a competent poet, using the *makhlâş* Şâfi. Although it is known that his poems were collected in a *diwân*, no manuscript has yet come to light; however, an incomplete text of his versified discourses exists in the Ali Emîri library in Istanbul (*manzum eserler*, no. 1000/1). 'Ashîk Çelebi [*q.v.*] states that he was influenced by Ahmed Paşa [*q.v.*] and that he wrote competent *ghazals* (ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, p. 214 a).

He established several pious foundations: a mosque in the Çaghaloğlu quarter of Istanbul (*Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, 953/1546 tarihli, ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul, 1970, p. 53); a *medrese* and bath in the Emîr Sultân quarter of Bursa (*Güldeste*, 66); a mosque at Kefe (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kefe tahrir defteri, no. 370).

*Bibliography*: Bibliographical works have confused three Kâsim Pashas: Djazarî, Ewliyâ, and Koçja (for whom see 'Atâ'i, 104); thus Mehmed Thüreyyâ makes Djazarî Kâsim live until 950 (SO, iv, 47; cf. also Aywânsarâyî, *Hadîka*, i, 79, 80, 280). According to Sehi, 24, Djazarî Kâsim died and was buried in Salonika.

Additional information may be found in the following works: 'Ashîkpaşa-zâde, ed. 'Ali, Istanbul 1332, 192, 193; Neshrî, ed. Taeschner, i, 231; Sa'ûd al-Dîn, *Tâdî al-tawârikh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 216; Koçja Husayn, *Badâyi' al-wakâyi'*, ed. I. S. Tveritina, Moscow 1961, ii, fol. 414 a; Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, i, 335, 340, ii, 17; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 153, 433, 434; Koyunluoğlu Memduh Turgut, *İzmit ve Bursa Tarihi*, Bursa 1935, 155, 164, 196.

(C. ORHONLU)

**KĀSİM PAŞHA**, EWLIYÂ, Ottoman officer of the second half of the 9th/15th century. It is conjectured that he was the son of Todor Muzak, the great Albanian lord ('Ashîkpaşazâde, ed. 'Ali, Istanbul 1332, 191; Neshrî, ed. Taeschner, i, 230; H. İnalıcık, *Fatih devri üzere tetkikler ve vesikalar*, Ankara 1954, 162). It is not known at what date he was taken by the *devşirme* to be brought up in Ottoman service; however, as he came to prominence during the reign of Mehemmed II, this probably occurred towards the end of Mehemmed I's reign. The most important post he had was that of Beglerbegi of Rûmeli, and it is known that he spent a part of

his life at Edirne. In 883/1478, he caused to be built a domed mosque, a hospice (*'imâret*) and a double *hammâm* near the district of Selkhâne on the Tundja river (Hibrî, *Anis al-musâmirin*, ed. S. İlgürel, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Istanbul 1972, 33, 41, 67; for the *wakfiyye* dated 1 Şha'bân 883/28 October 1478 relating to this pious foundation, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 7744/B). Kâsim Paşa died in 890/1485 and was buried near his mosque. His *lağab* Ewliyâ is attributed to the fact that he had previously had a dervîsh convent built in Edirne.

*Bibliography*: in addition to works mentioned in the text: Oral Onur, *Edirne kitabeleri*, Istanbul 1972, 129; Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, 66, 67, 145; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 48 (n. 58), 434 (n. 688), 524; Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Tapu-tahrir defteri, no. 370, p. 546. (C. ORHONLU)

**KĀSİM PAŞHA**, GÜZELDE, Ottoman vizier in the reign of Süleymân the Magnificent, after whom a quarter of Istanbul is called. The facts given about his life in historical records are few and scanty. The earliest historical reference to him concerns his appointment to Hamâ as *sandjak beg* following the victory of Mardj Dâbiş. During his term of office, Kâsim Paşa suppressed the revolt of Ibn Hafsh, a rebel Arab amir. Having been appointed *Anadolu beglerbegi* on Süleymân's succession to the throne, Kâsim Paşa took part in the expedition against Rhodes (928/1522), and was made governor of Egypt in 930/1524. As he was unsuccessful in this office he was dismissed, but before long he was appointed *kapudan-ı deryâ* (commander of the navy), and then governor of Istanbul (*muhâfiz*) during the Hungarian expedition in 932/1526. He was later appointed *Rumeli beglerbegi*, and the third vizier in 935/1529. As such, he took part in the siege of Vienna in the same year, and the 'Irâk expedition in 941/1535. His prestige, however, did not remain high for long; for unknown reasons, he was dismissed from office as third vizier and was appointed *sandjak beg* of the Morea, a position of lesser rank, before 944/1537. Kâsim Paşa remained in this office until 948/1541, when he retired, but he was not allowed to return to Istanbul, indicating that he was still held in disfavour by the sultan. Contemporary historians do not give his year of death, but he probably died after 959/1552. Although more recent writers claim that he is buried in Gelibolu (Gallipoli), his grave has not been located.

Among his contemporaries, Kâsim Paşa was no more than second-rate. He rose rapidly in office, but his fall was equally abrupt. However, he was interested in both building and charitable concerns. He started reconstructing the quarter of Istanbul named after him during his term as third vizier, and had the architect Sinân build a mosque a *madrasa*, an *'imâret* and a bath-house. He is also known to have built a mosque at Boz Burun. He had a daughter called Nafisa Khânüm, who built a *masjid* and a school in the quarter named after her father.

*Bibliography*: given in İA s.v. (F. SÖMER)

**KĀSİMİYYA**, a neo-Mamlûk household and faction in Ottoman Egypt in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. The eponym, Kâsim Bey the Defterdâr, is an obscure figure, who apparently flourished in the early 11th/17th century, although an origin-legend given by al-Djabarî places him in the reign of Sultan Selim I. The household, in which there appears to have been originally a Bosniak element, emerged as an effective force in politics about the middle of the 11th/17th century, its power

resting on accumulated wealth and an alliance with the older indigenous faction of Ḥarām, just as its opponents, the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya [q.v.], allied with the rival faction of Sa'd. Hostility between the two groups manifested itself in 1057/1647, when the Ottoman viceroy combined with the two leaders of the Kāsimiyya, Kānṣawh Bey and Māmāy Bey, to overthrow the powerful amir al-ḥadīdī Ridwān Bey al-Faḳārī. A counter-coup by the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya was, however, successful, and in the resulting proscription of the Kāsimiyya, Kānṣawh and Māmāy were put to death. After Ridwān's death in 1066/1656, the fortunes of the Kāsimiyya gradually revived under their leader, Aḥmad Bey the Bosniak. In a revolt of the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya in 1071/1660, Aḥmad Bey gave strong support to the viceroy Gūrdjū Muṣṭafā Paṣḥa, and was personally responsible for the killing of three beys who had received a safeconduct. His own assassination was procured by the next viceroy (1072/1662). Thereafter until the early 12th/18th century, factional hostility between Kāsimiyya and Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya was unimportant. In 1123/1711 a clash between rival corps of the Ottoman garrison in Cairo, the Janissaries and 'Azabs ('*Azabān*), involved the Mamlūk factions, the Kāsimiyya supporting the 'Azabs. By their victory in this insurrection they re-established their ascendancy in Egypt, but at the same time reopened the fatal vendetta with the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya. Ismā'īl Bey b. Iwāz Bey, the head of the Kāsimiyya, as the holder of supremacy (*al-ri'āsa*) was entitled "commander of Cairo" (*amīr Miṣr*), a term synonymous with the better known *shaykh al-balad*. Conflicts between the adherents of Ismā'īl, the Iwāziyya, and a rival Kāsimi household, the Shana-biyya, resulted in the assassination of Ismā'īl in 1136/1724, and gave the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya an opportunity to gain the supremacy. In 1142/1730 they finally broke the power of the Kāsimiyya. Surviving members of the faction took service under Shaykh Humām of Hawwāra [q.v.], who at this period dominated Upper Egypt, and they became assimilated to his tribesmen. The last Kāsimi notable, Ṣāliḥ Bey, played a part of some importance in the relations between Humām and 'Alī Bey [q.v.], who procured his assassination in 1182/1768.

*Bibliography*: See the bibliography under DHU 'L-FAḲĀRIYYA, and add the following: Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī, *Tarāḍīm al-sawā'ik fi waḳ'at al-ṣanādīk*, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS. arabe 1853, which gives a detailed account of the revolt of 1071/1660; P. M. Holt, *The beylicate in Ottoman Egypt during the seventeenth century*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv/2 (1961), 214-48; idem, *Al-Jabarti's introduction in the history of Ottoman Egypt*, in *BSOAS*, xxv/1 (1962), 38-51; idem, *The career of Küçük Muḥammad (1676-94)*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi/2 (1963), 269-87; idem, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922*, London 1966, 80-95. (P. M. HOLT)

**KĀSIMOV**, the chief town of a district of the province of Ryazan (USSR), which was the capital of a khānate whose sovereigns bore in Russian the title of "tsar" or "tsarevitch" and whose existence is a historical curiosity.

The khānate of Kāsimov was founded between 856/1452 and 860/1456 by Kāslm, the son of Khān Ulugh Muḥammad of Kāzān, who was driven from his ulus by his brother Maḥmūdek in 850/1446. Kāslm escaped to Moscow and entered the service of Grand Prince Vasili II, who conceded to him the small town of Gorodeṭs (or Gorodok Meshčerskiy), which later received the name of

Kāsimov (in Tatar, Khān Karmān) in his honour.

It was a small principality—a feudal, Tatar vassal of Moscow, whose tsar nominated or confirmed the khāns; their position vis-à-vis Moscow was comparable to that of the khāns of the Crimea vis-à-vis their overlords, the Ottoman pādīshāhs, but their autonomy was more limited. The internal affairs of the khānate were in fact administered by a Russian *voyvoda* named by the *Posol'skiy Prikaz*. The khāns received a salary from Moscow and collected the *yasak* of the local population, composed mostly of Finns, Mordvins and Meshčerans and some Russian colonists; the Muslim Tatars formed only a minority. Kāslm remained a Muslim, but served the grand prince of Moscow faithfully; this was the first time that a Čingizid had become his vassal. After this, and almost throughout its entire history, Kāsimov served as a place of refuge for the various Čingizid princes driven from their ulus. They were used by the Russians against their cousins and co-religionists of the Golden Horde and of Kāzān.

In 872-3/1468, after the death of Maḥmūdek in Kāzān, Kāslm, at the head of a Muscovite army, tried to seize power in Kāzān, but failed. His son Dāniyār succeeded him in 873/1469 and reigned until 891/1486. He took part, on the side of the Muscovites, in the war against Aḥmad Khān of the Golden Horde. At his death, Ivan III offered the ulus of Kāsimov to Khān Nūr Dawlat Girāy, who had been chased from the Crimea in 883/1478. Nūr Dāwlat reigned at Kāsimov until his unexpected death between 903/1498 and 908/1503; like Kāslm, he was a loyal subject of the grand prince of Moscow, whom he served devotedly. After his death, the throne of Kāsimov was occupied for some time by his sons, Saṭlghan and Djanay. Ca. 918/1512, the Girāy were replaced by another Čingizid branch. The first ruler was Shaykh Awliyār (grandson of Khān Küçük Muḥammad, descended from Orda, brother of Batu and the first khān of the "White" (or "Blue") Horde and cousin of Khān Sayyid Aḥmad). In 922/1516, his young brother, Shāh 'Alī (the "Shigaley" of Russian sources), succeeded him and remained intermittently the khān of Kāsimov until his death on 10 Shawwāl 974/21 April 1567.

The period between 927/1521 and 959/1552 is that of the struggle between Moscow and the Crimea for the possession of the ulus of Kāzān. In this conflict, Shāh 'Alī played a very active role. Twice he was placed by the Russians on the throne of Kāzān—between 925/1519 and 927/1521, then again in 953/1546. While he was governing Kāzān, he was replaced at Kāsimov by his brother Djān 'Alī—who also was khān of Kāzān between 938/1532 and 941/1535 (he died in a popular uprising).

Shāh 'Alī, who died childless, had as a successor a distant cousin, Sāyin Bulāt, the great-grandson of Khān Aḥmad of the Golden Horde, who was converted to Orthodox Christianity in 981/1573, took the name of Simeon Bekbulatovič and reigned in Kāsimov until almost 991/1583. In 982/1574, Ivan the Terrible named him in his place "tsar and grand prince of all the Russias". The next two years, during which Russia was ruled by a Čingizid prince was a period unique in Russian history.

Simeon Bekbulatovič died in 1616; but between 981/1573 and 991/1583, he had been replaced in Kāsimov by Muṣṭafā 'Alī, another Čingizid prince, who was also descended from Khān Aḥmad of the Golden Horde. During the period of troubles, the throne of Kāsimov was occupied by other Čingizids: at first by a member of the dynasty of the khāns of

Kirgiz Qazaq, Uraz Muḥammad, who took part in the civil war and was killed in 1610, and then, under the Romanovs, by the descendants of Kučum, the last khān of Siberia. His grandson Arslān is mentioned as "tsar" of Kāsimov in 1023/1614; the son of the latter, Sayyid Burhān, seems to have ascended the throne towards 1036/1627. This prince was baptized under the name of Vassili and ruled until his death, which occurred suddenly in 1678. He was the last sovereign of Kāsimov. For a few years after his death until 1092/1681, his mother, Fāṭima Sultān, who apparently remained a Muslim, was still mentioned as "princess" of Kāsimov. The town was then annexed administratively to the crown domains.

*Bibliography:* Velyaminov-Zernov, *Issledovaniya o Kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevichakh*, St. Petersburg 1863-87, 4 vols.; N. I. Shishkin, *Istoriya goroda Kasimova s drevneyshikh vremen*<sup>2</sup>, Ryazan 1891; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 249; Reşid Rahmeti Arat, *Kasım Hanlığı*, in *IA*, vi, 380-6.

(A. BENNINGSEN)

**KĀSIYŪN** (Djabal), mountain which forms part of the Anti-Lebanon and rises to the north-west of Damascus [see DIMASHK]. Two tributaries of the Baradā [q.v.], the Nahr Thawra and the Nahr Yazid, up until the middle of the 20th century used to irrigate the orchards of Nayrab, which rose in tiers on its southern flank.

This mountain has a sacred character because God is said to have spoken to it and also due to ancient traditions which relate to some grottoes opening in the midst of the slope. Three of them, Muşallāt al-Khiḍr, Maḡhārat al-Djaw' and Maḡhārat al-Dam, which marks the place where the blood of Ḥabīl was shed and where people used to come and pray for rain, today constitute a modern oratory known by the name of Kuḡbat al-'Arba'in in memory of forty prophets—seventy according to certain traditions—who died of hunger there; a legend speaks of Yahyā b. Zakariyyā having allegedly stayed there forty years with his mother. Slightly to the south-west of this oratory, is situated the Grotto of Adam, also called Kahf Djabril or al-Kahf, an oratory dedicated to the Aşhāb al-Kahf, the Seven Sleepers of Sūra XVIII. This grotto is a place of pilgrimage frequented in our own time.

There existed formerly on the slopes of Kāsiyūn two famous Christian monasteries, Dayr Murrān and Dayr Sam'ān. In the 6th/12th century some refugees, who had come from Jerusalem after the capture of the Holy City by the Crusaders, founded the quarter of al-Şālihiyya; then mosques, *madrasas* and cemeteries multiplied there. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the Kurds established there the suburb of al-Akrād. After 1898, some Muslim refugees from Crete had the quarter of al-Muḡāḍjūn constructed in its western part. In our days, these suburbs, which have become integrated with the city, continue to develop, while a radio-television station functions at the summit of the mountain.

*Bibliography:* Ruba'i, *K. Faḡā'il al-Shām wa-Dimashk*, ed. S. D. Munadidjid, in *MMIA* (1951), 56-8, 62-8; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḡh madīnat Dimashk*, i, Damascus 1954, 102-4, 112-3, tr. N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, Damascus 1959, 63, 184-7, 198; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdell-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 11, tr. 26-7; Ibn Şhaddād, *al-A'īn al-khaḡira* (Description of Damascus), ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1956, index; Yāqūt, s.v.; Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Şāliḡi, *Ta'riḡh al-Şālihiyya*, ed. A. Duhmān, 2 vols. Damascus, 1949-52, index; Ibn Kannān, *Murūḡ al-sundusiyya*, ed.

A. Duhmān, Damascus 1947, index; M. Kurd 'Alī, *Ghūfat Dimashk*, Damascus 1952, index; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, index; H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA* (1894-6) (see general index of E. Ouéchék, Damascus 1954); R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie*, B.A.H., iv, Paris 1927, 291-310; R. Thoumin, *Géographie Humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, Tours 1936, 54, 89, 174, 228, 240; L. Dubertret, *Aperçu de Géographie Physique sur le Liban, l'Antiliban et la Damascène*, in *Notes et Mémoires*, iv (1945-8), 199; H. Zayyāt, *Les couvents de Damas et de ses environs en Islam*, in *Mashriḡ* (1948-9), 403-11, 425-48; L. Massignon, *Le culte des VII Dormants d'Ephèse*, in *Opera Minora*, iii, Beirut 1963, 153-4.

(N. ELISSÉEFF)

**KASKAR**, the name of a town in 'Irāk. When al-Ḥādīdjādī [q.v.], the governor of 'Irāk appointed by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik had put down the rebellion there, he began in 83-6/702-5 to build a new town which was called Wāsiṭ ("centre") because it was midway between the two older Arab capitals of this province, al-Kūfa in the north and al-Basra in the south. For the site of the town he chose the vicinity of Kaskar, on the Tigris, which had played a not unimportant part in the Sāsānian period. The new Muslim town was built on the east bank of the Tigris, while Kaskar lay opposite it on the west side; a bridge of boats linked the two halves of the city. Neither Wāsiṭ nor Kaskar exist at the present day, and until modern times their exact situation was uncertain as the Tigris bed has changed its course, bypassing the sites and rendering them obsolete by the 8th/14th century. The exact relationship between Kaskar and Wāsiṭ is not clear. Recent excavations at Wāsiṭ indicate the administrative importance of the city as the centre of Umayyad rule (F. Safar, *The Sixth Season's Excavations*, Cairo 1945). The remarkable similarity of the administrative buildings to those of the Round City at Baghdad (O. Grabar, *Al-Mushatta, Baghdad, and Wasit*, in *The World of Islam, Studies in Honor of Phillip K. Hitti*, London 1959, 98-108) raises the question of whether Kaskar was originally intended to serve as the residential area for the general populace as distinct from Wāsiṭ, which would then have housed the administration and perhaps military garrison. A similar situation apparently prevailed at al-Rakka-al-Rāfiqa (Yāqūt, *Mu'ājam*, ii, 734). In the course of time, Kaskar was subsumed by the more famous site. For further information on WĀSIṬ, see the article.

Kaskar probably dates back to the Assyrian period. A Babylonian town, Ka-as-ka-ri, appears to be mentioned in a fragment of an inscription probably of the time of Assur-banipal in the British Museum ([18] 82:3-23:128; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, 1824; cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, pp. lxxxviii, 790). The place is perhaps also mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (*Yōmā*, fol. 10a, where Baḡkar should probably be amended to Kaḡkar; see Marquart, *Erānshahr*, *Abh. G. W. Göttl.*, New Series, iii/2, Berlin 1901, 164). In any case Kaskar, called Kaḡkar in Syriac and Christian Arabic sources, is one of the oldest Christian towns in Babylonia. It frequently appears in the ecclesiastical history of this region. The episcopal diocese of this name was considered second in importance within the Nestorian church. Its occupant was the right arm of the patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon [see AL-MADĀ'IN] and his representative when the office was vacant.

Among the signatories to the acts of the Syriac councils from the period 410-790 were bishops of



Kashkar (Guidi in *ZDMG*, xliii, 411, and Chabot in *Notices et extraits*, xxxvii (Paris 1902), 675). According to the Syriac "Chronicle of Arbela" there was a bishop in Kashkar as early as the first half of the 3rd century A.D. The Christian Arabic "Chronicle of Se'ert" also mentions an occupant of the episcopal see there of the period before 410 A.D. On the bishopric of Kashkar and for a list of its occupants, see J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris 1904, passim (see the index s.v.); Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1915, no. 6), 21; Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1919, no. 1), 30-1.

The town of Kashkar, like the bishopric which bore its name, was the home of many founders of monasteries, as may be seen from the work compiled in the 8th century by Yeshū'denah, entitled *K'ābā de Nahpūtā* (ed. Chabot in *Mélange d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, xvi (Paris 1896), 225 f.); the Great Abraham (d. 588) was especially famous (see Yeshū'denah, no. 14; Labourt, *op. cit.*, 315; A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, 130). One of the most influential personalities at the court of the Sāsānian King Khusrāw II Parwēz (590-628) was Ābā of Kashkar; on him see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 123. On other Syriac writers who belonged to Kashkar ('Abdišō', Grighō, Eliyā) see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 30, 128, 420. For the Syriac sources on Kashkar, see also the indices in Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1870, and idem, *Cat. of the Syriac Manuscripts in Cambridge*, Cambridge 1901, 1284, also in Sachau, *Katalog der syrisch. Handschr. in Berlin*, Berlin 1899, 923.

In the Arsacid period, there seems to have been a little kingdom of Kaskar, which was destroyed by the first Sāsānian, Ardāshīr I; cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Arab. und Perser zur Zeit der Sāsāniden*, Leiden 1879, 13 n. 5. In the Sāsānian province of 'Irāk, Kaskar is mentioned as one of the 72 administrative districts; see Streck, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), 15, 18. It probably—as later under the Muslims—comprised roughly the district east of the Tigris, from the modern Kūt al-Amāra in the north to the region of the mouth of the Tigris. Sometimes it is mentioned as equivalent to the district of Maysān [q.v.]. On this, cf. Schaefer in *Isl.*, xiv (1924), 17 f. The bishopric of Kashkar must have coincided pretty much with the Sāsānian district of the same name; cf. the map in Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, 16.

Kaskar is also given as the name of the capital of Daylam, which was usually called Dūlāb; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Cal.*, 174; de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, i, Paris 1894, 276.

*Bibliography*: BGA, passim; al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 582; Yākūt. *Mu'djam* iv, 274; al-Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 299; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, GMS, xxiii/i, 162, 6; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 39, 43, 80; idem in *JRAS* (1895), 44 ff.; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, ii, Leiden 1902, 318 f., 321 f.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 191.

(M. STRECK-[J. LASSNER])

**KASR**, from the root KSR, with the sense in Arabic of "to break", as a mathematical term means "fraction". Ibn al-Bannā' [q.v.] in his *Talkhīṣ a'māl al-ḥisāb* gives the following definition: "A fraction is the relationship between two numbers when it is a part or several parts. The relationship between

the part and the number which bears the same name is called a fraction". The part or the numerator is called *basī*; the number with which it is in relationship (*samī*) is called *imām* (*Talkhīṣ*, *Kashf al-djībāb*). Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmilī (9th/15th century) uses the terms *šāra* and *maḥām*, as do al-Kāshī (ms. Tunis 2039, f. 7a) and the *Revue de l'Académie du Caire*, 1957; *makhrađī* or *mukhṛađī* is also found (the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*), connecting the idea of the fraction to that of division (*khāriđī*), the term being specialised to translate "quotient". The idea of the part, by definition less than the whole, led the Arabic authors to consider the fraction as being, by its very essence, inferior to the idea of the unit; at the base of this is the concrete idea of dividing up a given amount. Ibn al-Bannā' is very explicit here: "The addition of fractions stops when one arrives at a fraction whose numerator is less by a unit to its denominator". Al-Ḳāṣāđī says in a precise fashion that "One does not say four fourths or five fifths" (*Kashf al-astār*, ms. Tunis 3292, f. 39b).

For denoting fractions whose denominator lies between 3 and 10, the paradigm *fu'ul* or *fu'ul* is used; for "half" or "equal part", however, *niṣf* is used. This category of fractions is called *muntak* "pronounceable" or *maftūḥ* "open", cf. al-Kāshī, *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 10301, ff. 73b-74a. The rest are called *aṣamm* "deaf"; they are expressed by using the expression *djuz' min*... ("a part of..."), "a part from amongst...".

For the notation of fractions, it was al-Ḳāṣāđī who first used the symbols still in use today, sc. writing the numerator above the denominator and separating the two terms by a horizontal line (*Kashf al-asrār*, f. 17b). Since this notation was new, al-Ḳāṣāđī seems to stress its explanation, using the expressions *'alā ra'sihi* ("placed above it") and *mā faḥḥ al-khaṭṭ* ("that which is above the line"); see the commentary on the *Talkhīṣ*, ms. Tunis 307R, f. 111b.

From the time of Ibn al-Bannā' onwards, the Arab mathematicians distinguish five kinds of fraction:

- (1) simple or ordinary fractions (*muḥṛađ*);
- (2) fraction of relationship (*muntasiḥ*), as in this example from al-Ḳāṣāđī

$$\frac{3 \cdot 1 \cdot 4 \cdot 5}{4 \cdot 3 \cdot 7 \cdot 9} \text{ which is written in modern notation:}$$

$$1 + \frac{3}{4}$$

$$4 + \frac{\quad}{3}$$

$$5 + \frac{\quad}{7}$$

$$\frac{5 \times 7 \times 3 \times 4}{9} \times \frac{4 \times 3 \times 4}{7} \times \frac{1 \times 4 \times 3}{3} = \frac{480}{756}$$

- (3) disjunct fractions (*mukhtalif*), which do not have the same denominator

- (4) subdivided fractions (*muba'aa*), or fractions of fractions, noted by al-Ḳāṣāđī

$\frac{6}{7} \frac{4}{5} \frac{1}{3}$  or  $\frac{6}{7} \times \frac{4}{5} \times \frac{1}{3} = \frac{24}{105}$ , the numbers making up the numerator and denominator being separated, but without using any dots

- (5) excepted fractions (*mustathnā*), separated by the subtraction sign.

In geometry, the idea of the fraction is usually conveyed not by *kasr*, but by the terms *nisba* "relationship" or *tasmiya* "denomination". However, words derived from the root *KSR* are used to translate the concept of area: *ḥassara*, *takṣīr* "area", *mukassar* "square of a unit of linear measure" (al-

Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī, *Kitāb al-Djabr wa 'l-mukābala*, 55; *Murshida*, ms. Tunis 2042, f. 28b; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, 60). This usage may be connected with the idea of the fraction; thus in effect, in order to calculate the area of a field, it is divided up into a certain number of squares equal to the unit of surface. It may be accordingly noted that the Arab authors made a distinction between the concept of area (number, arithmetical concept) and that of surface (geometrical concept).

In the work of al-Kāshī (d. 840/1436), *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya fi 'l-ḥawā'id al-ḥisābiyya*, known as the *Makālāt Djamshīd* (mss. Tunis 169, 2039), we have the first text concerning the introduction of decimal fractions (*kusūr a'shāriyya*). Al-Kāshī, writes W. Hartner, "anticipates by more than a century and a half the theory of these fractions, introduced into Europe, no doubt independently, by the Flemish scholar Simon Stevin in 1585".

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works cited above, see Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī, *K. al-Djabr wa 'l-mukābala* Cairo 1939; Ibn al-Bannā', *Talkhīṣ a'māl al-ḥisāb*, ed. M. Souissi, Tunis 1969; idem, *Raf' al-ḥidjāb 'an 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, mss. Tunis 10301, 206a, 184a; Ibn Haydūr, *Risāla fi usūl 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 90R; Kāshī, *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 10302; idem, *Makālāt Djamshīd*, mss. Tunis 169, 2039; Ḳalaṣādī, *Kaṣf al-astār 'an ḥurūf al-ghubār*, ms. Paris 5350, mss. Tunis 3292, 3934, 4775; idem, *Commentary on the Talkhīṣ*, ms. Paris 2764; J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra*, Heidelberg 1917, 20, 54; M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, Tunis 1968, 303-7.

(M. SOUISSI)

**KAŞR** [see Suppl., s.v. BALĀṬ].

**KAŞR FIR'AWN** [see WALĪ].

**KAŞR AL-ḤAYR AL-GHARBĪ**, Umayyad castle in the Syrian desert at 60 km. SSW of Palmyra (Tadmur [q.v.]) on the track connecting this oasis to Damascus via Ḳaryatayn and the one leading from Ḥimş [q.v.] to al-Djawf [q.v.] through the pass of Harbaḳa. The whole of the Umayyad ruins include a *ḥammām*, a *khān*, a large garden (*bustān*), a zone of cultivable lands irrigated by canalizations connected with a *birka* and with the Roman dam of Harbaḳa, and a residential palace which occupies an important place in the history of Umayyad architecture and environment in the Near East.

Before the organization of this *bādiya* [q.v.], sedentaries had already settled there in the Roman period. In the middle of the 6th century A.D. al-Ḥārith, the Ghassānid phylarch, ordered the construction of a Jacobite monastery, the dam was repaired and the site was occupied again. In 109/728, four years after his accession to the caliphate, Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.] had a residential palace constructed by workmen from Ḥimş on this site, which could be al-Zaytūna (the olive-garden). He lived there before constructing Kaşr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [q.v.] to the east of Tadmur. During the 'Abbāsīd period the site was abandoned, but it was reoccupied under the Ayyūbīds and the Mamlūks.

The dam of Harbaḳa, constructed by the Romans in the 1st century A.D., brought about the development of a rich oasis. The Roman construction is situated at some 16 km. south of the site of the northern slopes of the Djabal al-Rawāk, at a distance of 1500 m. from the well of 'Ayn Barda. A lake 1550 m. long and 800 m. wide, fed by water flowing down from the mountains, was held back behind a massive rectilinear wall, closed in between two facings formed by large steps of huge stones running from the base

to the top. This artificial reservoir is now filled up. Through three inlets the water flowed into a mainly subterranean canalization which brought it to a cultivated area where was found, at about 600 m. to the west of the palace, a *birka*, 60 m. long and 3.65 m. deep, surrounded by an embankment and fed by the canal. Further on the water arrived at the *bustān* to the east of which there was a dam that retained the water. The orchard measured about 45 hectares in area and was surrounded by a large enclosure of bricks, whose substructure consisted of limestone and which had semi-cylindrical buttresses, built alternately inside and outside the wall. The orchard, provided with an irrigation system consisting of water-distributors and sluices, had two entrances. The traces of the watchman's house can still be seen. Upstream, on a lateral drain, are the ruins of a water-mill. Close to the *birka* rise the vestiges of an almost square construction, about 55 m. long, none of its angles is a right angle. This is the *khān al-milḥ*, "whose walls had been of mud brick resting on a base of well cut stone." On the eastern side was a large gateway which has now been removed to the National Museum at Damascus. Its lintel carried an inscription dated Radjab 109/Oct.-Nov. 727. The entrance was framed by two wings which stood out 18 m. from the façade along the northern and southern walls. In the southern wing was a mosque, as can be concluded from a still-existing *mihrāb* with small columns; the northern wing contains a drinking-trough. Inside there is a central court-yard 22.50 by 23 m., surrounded by a portico 2.50 m. deep. On the northern, western and southern sides are three rooms 48 m. long and 4.80 m. wide, possibly stables or cattle sheds. On the eastern side there are six rooms of various size and a vestibule.

Lying 30 m. north of the palace there was a bath of classical type, dating from the Roman-Byzantine period. It had four cool rooms, the southern one containing a *mihrāb*, and a suit of three warm rooms constructed over hypocausts.

Externally the palace was of a square construction 70 m. long—the equivalent of 200 Roman feet—, with a wall of limestone of 2 m. surmounted by mud brick which rests upon a zone of burnt brick. This wall has a semi-circular buttress in the middle of each side, except the oriental one, where two half-towers flank the entrance-gate. The corners are protected by round towers, except at the north-western angle, where the enclosure incorporates a Byzantine tower, which on its southern side has a machicolation defending a gate. Later, this tower served as watch- and relay-tower for the fire-signals between Bayḳa and Ḳaryatayn. The rounded buttresses of the wall, unknown in Roman and Byzantine fortifications, are Sasanian elements.

Through a round-arched gate, 3 m. wide, provided with a semi-circular tympanum built in brickwork covered with cubes of glass and two jambs of 4 m. decorated with leafwork of vine-tendrils, one enters a large entrance passage 11 m. long, cradle-vaulted and provided with small benches on each side. It leads into a courtyard of 37 m. square, paved with a small basin in the centre. The portico has columns with Corinthian capitals, the bases of which consist of Doric capitals. At the angles of the portico, which is 4 m. deep, are square-sectioned piers.

The palace is a residence on two floors. The ground-floor consists of six independent sets of rooms (*bays*), accessible through the portico. According to Creswell, their disposition originates from the palace of the Roman governor at Boşrā [q.v.]. The plan of the

upper floor repeated that of the ground-floor, with which it is connected by two staircases. All around ran a gallery with small columns and balustrades. The residence, which had no windows on the outside, received light through the doors and through stucco grilles in the tympanums of the doors, none of which was found undamaged on the spot during the excavations. It has been possible to replace a great number of these window-grilles (*claustra*), made in stucco and then bored out with a trepan. They now give an idea of the richness and variety of the geometrical and floral motifs. Creswell has remarked that Kaşr al-Ĥayr is the first example of the use of stucco ornament in Muslim architecture.

It has been possible to reconstruct many elements of figurative art: human beings or animals in bas-relief in one of the divisions of the semi-towers of the entrance, and on the panels of the interior balustrade. There are even genuine sculptures, among which figures the statue of a man, almost life size, sitting on a throne, with a crown (*tādīj*) on his head, knees wide apart and heels close together, generally identified as Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik. Human beings and animals are also represented in the large compositions which are painted in fresco on the floor of the two staircase rooms of the palace. One, 5 by 4.58 m., is divided horizontally into three parts. On the upper one two musicians are depicted, on the second one a hunting scene, representing “the caliph on horseback with bow and arrow and using stirrups, which is almost the oldest known record of their use” [see ARCHITECTURE, I, 613a]; on the lower part, badly preserved, one can distinguish animals and a human being leading a bovine. On the second painting, 5.24 by 4.43 m., there is in the centre a great medallion with a large bust of a woman on a background of foliage, with on upper side there are marine centaurs and on the lower animals, including a fox and two crested stilt-legged aquatic birds.

On the walls of the rooms on the ground floor there have been discovered simple geometrical motifs, in which the lozenge dominates, and imitations of marble facing, painted in fresco-colours and executed schematically. The central part of the eastern wing, the most decorated of the palace, has been reconstructed in the National Museum of Damascus.

Kaşr al-Ĥayr is particularly important, not only because it has the characteristics marking Umayyad castles, as defined by Henri Stern (*Note*, 81): “A rectangular fence with rounded, buttressed towers and *bayts* within it and a mosque are the centre of an area of agricultural exploitation irrigated by means of a big dam”, but the variety of its various architectural elements and the riches of its decorations make it a first-class piece of evidence for the study of art and civilization in the Umayyad period.

*Bibliography*: A. Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le Désert de Syrie*, in *BAH*, xviii (1934), 187-9; D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936-38), Rapport préliminaire*, in *Syria*, xx/3-4 (1939), 195-238, 324-73; id., *Deux fresques omeyyades*, in *Syria*, xxv (1946), 86-102; H. Stern, *Note sur l'architecture des châteaux omeyyades*, in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii (1946), 72-97; S. Abd ul-Haqq, *Reconstruction of a wing of Kasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi in the Damascus Museum* (in Arabic), in *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, i (1951), 5-57; M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinaï, Sites et Monuments*, Beirut 1956, 142-5; H. G. Franz, *Die Stückfenster im Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbi*, in *Wissenschaftliche Annalen*, v (1956), 465-83; V. Strika, *Sull' interpretazione da hayr nel periodo ommiade*, in *AIUON* (1968), 139-

49; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford 1969, i/2, 506-21; A. F. al-‘Ush, *Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*, Damascus 1969, 155-64; see also the article ARCHITECTURE.

(N. ELISSÉEFF)

**KAŞR AL-ĤAYR AL-SĤARKĪ**, important Umayyad agricultural settlement in the Syrian desert at the foot of the Djabal Bişhrī, about 100 km. NE of Palmyra and 65 km. S of Ruşāfa-Sergiopolis. It lies at the intersection of the road joining Mayyadīn on the Euphrates to Palmyra and Ĥimş with the one leading from Ĥalab to Ruşāfa and permitting to reach Baghdād and Başra by crossing the pass of Tayyibe, situated at 14 kms. to the N-NE. The village of Tayyibe is usually identified with Oriza mentioned in the Annals of Assurbanipal (“Urū of the Middle Ages).

Many travellers who took that route between the 14th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, have been able to see the ruins of Kaşr al-Ĥayr. Later, towards 1840, the desert route to India was abandoned in favour of the “Overland Road” and the site was mentioned no more.

The ruins, visited by A. Musil in 1908, were rediscovered and studied on the surface by Albert Gabriel in 1925 and by K. A. C. Creswell in 1928 and 1930, before being excavated by Oleg Grabar in 1964, 1966 and 1969.

The whole of the settlement covers an area of over 6 × 3 km., surrounded by a wall 17 km. long. The southern part comprises a curious system of canalizations and openings which have been variously interpreted. At the northern angle, down stream from a large artificial *wadī*, are two square enclosures, reinforced by semi-circular towers, the small one being called *al-Kaşr*, the big one *al-Madīna*. Their fronts are orientated perpendicularly to the cardinal points, whereas the eastern and western axes are not in even line with each other, there being a difference of 10 m. These are the oldest fortified Muslim enclosures that exist.

The small enclosure has a side-line of 70 m., the eastern front not being parallel to the western front, which is the only one to have a gate. The wall, 2.03 m. thick and ca. 14 m. high, is built with pieces of limestone, in courses 0.35 m. thick and strongly joined with gypsum. Each angle of the wall is reinforced by a round tower 4.43 m. in diameter and two semi-circular towers on each front; altogether 12 towers all covered with a small cupola of bricks. On the western front the disposition is different because of the monumental gate which is flanked by two semi-towers 4.15 m. in diameter, jutting out 2.95 m. The entrance, 3 m. wide, is surmounted by a round arch and a tympanum of masonry. The higher parts of the towers have a decoration of bricks and of stucco panels with vegetative motifs, representing the oldest decoration of this kind in Islam. In the centre above the entrance a parapet consisting of three consoles form the oldest Muslim example of a machicolation (*sakḳāta*) being used as an element of defence and no longer as latrine.

To enter the inner side of the fence, one passes through a flagged vestibule 5.30 m. wide and 7 m. deep, flanked by two rooms facing a courtyard with sides of 37 m., and is surrounded by a portico 5 m. wide with arcades resting on columns 0.55 m. in diameter and a shaft of 3.70 m., surmounted by capitals of acanthus leaves. This portico gives access to many rooms with cradle vaulting, 12 m. deep but of different width. On the upper floor, under the gallery, are rooms with flat wooden ceilings whose

disposition corresponds to the plan of the ground floor. Nothing is known about the use of these rooms. The building was constructed at two periods: begun under Hishām [q.v.] and finished in the early 'Abbāsīd period. Fragments of ceramics indicate that it was occupied from the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries.

The big enclosure with sides of 160 m. has a stone wall 2.12 m. wide which is in a very bad condition. On each front are towers with rounded corners 4 m. in diameter, and 6 semi-circular towers, altogether 28 towers, standing at a distance of 26.25 m. from axis to axis, except those which flank the entrance constructed in the middle of each front. To be noted are two sally-ports on the eastern front and some incised staircases which lead one to imagine that there was once a gallery facing the interior front of the wall. At the top of the towers, which are crowned with a cupola in bricks, is a room with three loop-holes permitting shooting to the front and sideways. The entrances are all identical: 3 m. wide, surmounted by a lightly broken arch, with a tympanum in masonry and a parapet with two openings. The parapet of the northern gate has five machicolations and covers the space between the two flanking towers. In the middle of the enclosure extends a vast open space, the *Midān*.

At the southeastern corner survive the vestiges of eight big pillars, some of which support arcades. Creswell has discovered there a mosque, the plan of which shows close analogy with that of the Great Mosque in Damascus. This sanctuary is dated by an inscription of 110/728-9. The prayer-room, 22 m. deep and 37 m. wide, has a central nave with pillars in T-form while the remains of arcades mark off three aisles. The room faces a courtyard with a cistern fed by water from a canalization.

The arch at the southeastern corner of the courtyard is slightly broken and in shape a Norse arch: it is the oldest example of this type actually known.

According to O. Grabar there is, to the southwest of the mosque, an official building, the *dār al-imāra*, with a courtyard surrounded by a portico, rooms and a reception-hall, the back wall of which leans against the enclosure wall.

To the north of the mosque, in the extension of the western wall, a street 3.50 m. wide is bordered, on its eastern side, by installations with ovens and presses, that reveal the existence of soap-works. In the same area, a bath faced the *midān* and not towards the south-west; an enormous cistern should also be noted there.

The vestiges of the northwestern part of the enclosure suggest that it may have been destroyed during the Ḳarmaṭī expeditions of the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

In the space of 42 m. which separates the two enclosures there rises a square tower with sides of 2.94 m. and 10 m. high. An entrance on the south side gives access to a spiral staircase. The analysis of the construction permits us to date it to the same period as the enclosures, with a post-Umayyad reconstruction. Why does the tower stand isolated? There is no minaret attached to the mosque, hence possibly it served as minaret for both enclosures. If so, it would be the third known minaret in the history of Islam.

To the south of the *Kaşr* and the *Madīna*, a vast polygonal enclosure 17 km. long covers an area of 850 hectares. One can distinguish a wall to retain water, alternately reinforced on both sides with four rows of stone 0.30 m. high, above which there are rows of mud bricks at a height of about 2 m. and

a row of stone to protect it. There is also a wall for lock-gates, the buttresses of which have a diameter of 2 m. and are at 10 m. distance from each other; they frame a series of four locks, 1.11 m. wide and 1.55 m. high, with double vaults of bricks. The locks worked through a system of sliding-doors. The water arrived from the region of Tayyibe through two subterranean aqueducts. This enclosure poses problems of interpretation: accordingly some have considered it a lake to store water for irrigation, others that it was a reserve for animals. H. Seyrig considers it to be a large garden protected against Bedouin razzias.

To epitomise the history of the site: it may be recalled that an installation, dating from the 7th century B.C., is mentioned in the contemporary texts; the Roman occupation in the Palmyran period was followed by a Christian period, the Umayyad constructions and finally building activities at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period. Destroyed by the Ḳarmaṭīs in 289/1002, the complex became part of the *ihkā'* [q.v.] of Shirkūh and his successors, the *amirs* of Ḥimş; it was devastated by the Mongols in Radjab 702/March 1303. It was certainly reoccupied before being ruined in 1048/1638 by order of Murād IV, in order to prevent the creation of a Bedouin centre of rebellion. From the end of the 19th century onwards, the ruins have been giving shelter to nomad encampments.

The site of Kaşr al-Ḥayr poses identification problems: most of the authors identify Tayyibe with Oriza-ʿUrđ while Kaşr al-Ḥayr, according to Ptolemy, followed by A. Musil, is identified with Adada, an ancient Roman camp. In 1939 J. Sauvaget positively identified the ruins with Ruṣāfat Hishām, built on the site of al-Zaytūna; later he abandoned this hypothesis which had already been weakened by the excavations of K. Otto-Dorn at Ruṣāfa-Sergopolis in 1952. O. Grabar proposes to identify the site with 'Urđ and to consider the vestiges of the "castle" as being those of a caravanserai, which in that case would be the oldest *khān* [q.v.] of Muslim architecture.

*Bibliography:* A. Gabriel, *Kaşr el-Heir*, in Syria viii (1927), 302-29; R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 247 f.; A. Musil, *Palmyrena. A Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1928, 72-9; H. Seyrig, *Les jardins de Kaşr el-Heir*, in Syria, xii (1931), 316-8; id., *Retour aux jardins de Kaşr el-Heir*, *ibid.*, xv (1934), 24-32; A. Gabriel, *A propos de Kaşr el-Heir*, in Syria, xiii (1932), 317-20; K. A. C. Creswell, *Another word on Qaşr al-Hayr*, in Syria, xviii (1937), 232-3; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les Monuments omeyyades*, in JA, ccxxxi (1939), 1-13; id., *Notes de topographie omeyyade*, in Syria, xxiv (1944), 96-112; M. Dunaan, *De l'Amanus au Sinai, Sites et Monuments*, Beirut 1953, 145-6; O. Grabar, *Qaşr al-Hayr, Preliminary Report*, in *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, xv (1965), 107-20; xvi (1966), 29-46; id., *Preliminary Report on the Third season of excavations at Qaşr al-Hayr* (1969), in *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, xx (1970), 45-54; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 1969, i/2, 522-44. (N. ELISSÉEFF)

**KAŞR IBN HUBAYRA**, town in 'Irāk. Situated half way between al-Kūfa and Baghdād, the town was founded by Yazid b. 'Umar b. Hubayra, the last Umayyad governor of 'Irāk (Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 287; Muḳaddasī, 53, 115, 121, 130; Iṣṭaḳhūrī, 85; see also Ibn Ḥawkal, 166, ed. Kramers, 243; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv, 946 (confused with Madīnat b. Hubayra: Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, Leipzig 1912, 49). The site should not be confused

with Madīnat b. Hubayra, which was situated closer to al-Kūfa, where the same Yazīd began building until forced to abandon the site by order of the Umayyad caliph Marwān II (Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 287; Ṭabarī, iii, 80, 183; Yākūt i, 680; 3, 280; 4, 123, 946; see also Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 6 n. 1; *Lands*, 71). Yākūt reports that the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Saffāh established his capital at Kaşr b. Hubayra, completing the construction begun by Yazīd, and named it al-Hāshimīyya, but as the populace persisted in calling the town by its original name, he felt compelled to abandon the site for a location nearby. This account apparently confuses the report of Balādhurī which indicates that al-Saffāh settled at Madīnat b. Hubayrah (Yākūt, iv, 546; Balādhurī, 287; see also AL-HĀSHIMĪYYA, where Yākūt's account is given greater credence). The 4th-5th/10th-11th century geographers report that it was the largest town between Baghdād and al-Kūfa and was situated close to the Euphrates and the bifurcation of various water channels which brought wares to its many markets. With its decline some time before the 6th/12th century, al-Hilla became the major town of the area (see AL-HILLA). (J. LASSNER)

AL-KAŞR AL-KABİR, Alcazarquivir, a town in Northern Morocco, about 50 miles south of Tangier on the right bank of the Wādī Lukkus; at one time, this ran through it, but the course of the stream was diverted to prevent inundations. Lying in a vast plain commanded on the east by heights, it is divided into two parts, al-Şharī'a in the north and Bāb al-Wād on the south, between which lies the market-place. The only buildings of any importance are the great mosque which is pre-Almohad, the mosque of Sidī al-Azmīrī and the *Ḍjāmi'* al-Sayda, finished in 1100/1689. Within and around the town are many *kubbās* dedicated to local saints. The most venerated marabouts are Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kurşhī (Kurashī), a native of Spain who came towards the end of his life to teach in al-Kaşr, where he died in 568 or 573/1172-73 or 1177-78; Sidī Ben Aḥmed, Sidī 'Alī b. *Khlef* b. *Ghālib*, usually called Mūlay 'Alī Bū *Ghālem* and regarded as the patron saint of the town; and lastly Sidī Bel-'Abbās, who is really a Jewish rabbi, Yūda Yabalay.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the population was about 9,000, belonging for the most part to the *Khlot*, *Ṭliḳ* and *Djibala*. It also included Rifans, a few families originally from Tetwān and Fās as well as Algerians who left Tlemcen and Oran as a result of the French occupation. The Jews numbered 2,000. Industry, at one time flourishing, is limited to the manufacture of cloths for local needs. Agriculture, on the other hand, is prosperous in the country around as a result of the system of co-operation between townsmen and tribesmen. Al-Kaşr is thus a busy market for corn, barley, beans and flax.

History. The site of al-Kaşr perhaps corresponds to that of a Roman town (*Oppidum novum?*) which had already disappeared by the time of the first Muslim invasions. In the 2nd/8th century a fortress was built in these regions by the Danhādja, a branch of the Kutāma. According to al-Ziyānī, it was built in 102/720-721 by the Amīr 'Abd al-Karīm al-Kutāmī, whence the name Kaşr 'Abd al-Karīm (al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text 78; tr. 89; *Kitāb al-Istibşār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, 78; tr. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, 140; also Ibn *Khaldūn*, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 401; tr. ii, 323) or Kaşr Kutāma, which the town kept for several centuries. Al-Bakrī, how-

ever, makes a distinction between Sūk Kutāma "a large and magnificent town situated on the river Lukkus with a *Ḍjāmi'* and a very busy market" and Kaşr Danhādja "a castle built on a hill and commanding a large river". Ibn *Khaldūn*, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, text i, 188, tr. ii, 291), connects Kaşr Kutāmī with the Danhādja (cf. also *Kitāb al-Istibşār*). Sūk Kutāma was the capital of the state governed by Idrīs b. al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Mukaddasī, 219, ed.-tr. Pellat, 7, mentions Sūk al-Kutāmī among the towns dependent on Fās (al-Sūs al-adnā). Although eclipsed by the rapid development of Fās, al-Kaşr seems to have retained a certain amount of commercial importance. Al-Idrīsī mentions its very busy bazaars. But it was only under the Almohads that the town rose out of the semi-obscurity in which it was vegetating. Ya'kūb al-Manşūr surrounded it with a fortified wall and made a hunting-ground and a hospital called *Hārat al-Mudjārīn*. This is perhaps why he was regarded by Leo Africanus and Marmol as the actual founder of al-Kaşr. Under the Marīnid dynasty, the town was given a *madrasa* by Abū 'Inān which attracted many students and was still frequented in the 10th/16th century. Al-Kaşr recognised the authority of the Marīnids from 620/1223-1224 onwards. In 687/1288-1289 the latter appointed as its governor the *Ra'īs* Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. *Aşhkilūla*, whose descendants for long remained lords of the town. The memory of this local dynasty, whose members, in alliance with the Banu 'l-Aḥmar of Granada, distinguished themselves in the holy war, is still alive to-day.

The period following the disappearance of the Banū *Aşhkilūla* was one of calamities. The Portuguese, established on the coast, threatened the town. The inhabitants did not dare to cultivate the soil more than six miles from the walls. In 1503 the governor of Aḳila, Don Juan de Menecez, attempted to take it but without success. In the century following, al-Kaşr became the most advanced post of the "volunteers of faith" (*Mudjāhidīn*) who harassed the Christians settled on the coast. During the period of anarchy that preceded the establishment of the 'Alawī dynasty, the town became the residence of the *Kā'id Ghilān*, who had gained possession of all *Gharb*. Driven from his capital by Mūlay al-Raşhīd in 1078/1668, *Ghilān* was able to return to it on the death of this prince. He held out there till 1084/1673 when he was defeated and killed by Mūlay *Ismā'īl*. Al-Kaşr fell again, this time finally, into the hands of the *Şharīf*, who dismantled its walls.

*Bibliography*: Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, text 110, tr. 250; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, 252-4; *Description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society, London 1896, 496; Marmol, *Africa*, ii; Moulieras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii, 358 ff.; Ch. De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, 14 sqq.; de Cuevas, *Estudio general sobre geografía del bajalato de Larache*, n.p. 1882; J. Costa, *El-Ksar el-Acabir*, Tangier 1887; G. Le Châtelier, *Notes sur les villes et tribus de Maroc en 1890*, Paris 1902; Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, 333 ff.; Frances MacNab, *A Ride in Morocco*, London 1902, 83-110; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, *El-Qçar el-Kebir, Une ville de province au Maroc septentrional*, in *Arch. marocaines*, 1904; A. Peretié, *Le raïs el-Khadir Ghailan in ibid.*, 1911.

(G. YVER)

AL-KAŞR AL-ŞAĖHİR, a town in Morocco, low in ruins. It lay on the south bank of the Straits of Gibraltar, 14 miles W. of Ceuta, 23 miles

E. of Tangier, at the head of a bay sheltered by a spur of the *Djebel Ghomāri* at the mouth of a navigable river.

In ancient times this site was perhaps occupied by a Phoenician factory and then by a Roman town (Lissa or Exilissa of Ptolemy). A fortress was erected there quite early in the period of Muslim occupation, in 90/708-9, according to al-Ziyānī, in *Archives Marocaines*, vi, 494, on the territory of the Maşmūda, whence the name of Kaşr Maşmūda (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 280, 13, tr. ii, 134) which is given it by the author of the *Kitāb al-Istibşār* and by al-Idrīsī. Al-Bakrī calls it al-Kaşr al-Awwal to distinguish it from al-Kaşr al-Kabīr [q.v.]. According to him, it was inhabited by the Banū ʿArīf and surrounded by great plantations. Under the Almohads it took the place of Marsā Mūsā as the port of embarkation for Spain. Many authors call it therefore Kaşr al-Mađjāz (*Geogr. d'Aboul-féda*, tr. Reinaud, II/i, 185; Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*), or Kaşr al-Djawā "Castle of the crossing" (Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-Kirfās*, ed. Tornberg, 138, 143, 146). The Almohads erected important buildings in it and established naval dockyards there. But the prosperity of the town declined in proportion as the rulers of the Maghrib lost their hold on Spain. Deprived of the income which the transport of the armies had assured them, the inhabitants turned to piracy. Al-Kaşr therefore became one of the first towns that the Portuguese sought to capture. In 1458 King Alfonso V attacked it with a fleet of 80 ships and an army of 17,000 men; after repelling two assaults, the Muslims, overwhelmed by the Christian artillery, capitulated. They were, however, granted permission to retreat with their arms and baggage. Alfonso V entered the town on Oct. 19, 1458. The great mosque was turned into a church, the fortifications were strengthened and a garrison installed under the command of Don E. de Minecez. Two attempts made by the Sultān of Fās in 1458 and 1459 to recapture the town did not succeed. In 1463 the tribes of Anđjerra recognised the suzerainty of Portugal and in 1471 Sultān Mūlāy Sa'īd signed a treaty by which he ceded al-Kaşr to the king of Portugal.

Al-Kaşr remained in Christian hands till 1540 but during this period it was continually being attacked by the Moors. John III therefore decided to evacuate it after previously dismantling it. Some years later (1559) a French prince, Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, obtained al-Kaşr in exchange for the men-at-arms that he was to supply to the Sharīf of Fās, but the intrigues of the king of Spain, Philip II, prevented the treaty from being carried out. Since that date no attempt has been made to rebuild the town. The inhabitants abandoned it and the harbour became silted up and no longer used except by smugglers. The site is marked by the ruins, still imposing, of the Portuguese fortress, by ditches, and by the remains of the wall and the ruins of the gate through which the citadel communicated with the town proper.

*Bibliography:* Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, 104-105, tr. 243; Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique* etc., ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text 166, 167, 168; tr. 199, 200, 201; *Kitāb al-Istibşār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, 24; transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, 48; Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de Sennor Rey D. Alfonso V*, ch. lxxxviii; *Collecção de livros ineditos de historia portuguesa*, i, 454-467, Lisbon 1790; Pienot Deseilligny, *Traité d'Antoine de Bourbon avec le chérif de Fez*, Ma-

roes 1891; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, 265; *Description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society, London 1896, 508, 514, 629; E. de La Primaudaye, *Villes maritimes du Maroc*, in *Revue africaine*, 1872; Michaux-Bellaire and Peretié, *El-Qaşr eç-Çeghir*, in *RMM* (1916), 329 ff.

(G. YVER)

**KAŞR-I SHİRİN**, town in the south-western part of the district of Ardilān or Persian Kurdistān in 34°30' N. lat. and 45°30' E. long. (Greenwich) on the right bank of the Hulwānrūd. To the west and south-west of Kaşr-i Shīrīn lies the great range of Agh-Dagh; in the S.E. also on the left bank of the river run imposing mountain chains. Kaşr-i Shīrīn was an important caravan station from the earliest times. The most important route through it is the very old road from Baghdād to the Iranian highlands—the ʿArīk Khurāsān of the Arabs of the Middle Ages. Kaşr-i Shīrīn lies about half-way between the two stations of Khānikīn [q.v.] in the south-west and Sar-i-pul (in mediaeval times Hulwān, south of Sar-i-pul) in the east. Less important roads also branch off here to the north, north-west, and south-east.

The modern Kaşr-i Shīrīn (1600 feet above sea-level) is an insignificant town surrounded by a wall of earth and stone. Outside the walls on the east is a commodious caravanserai; to the west is a fort in modern style which, according to Aubin (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*), Djowān Mir built at the beginning of the 19th century, using it to plunder passing pilgrims to Karbalā' and merchants. Opposite the town on the left bank of the river lies the Bāgh-i Shāh, "King's Gardens", a park laid out with date-palms and orange and pomegranate trees by Naşr al-Dīn Shāh on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Karbalā'.

The most remarkable feature of Kaşr-i Shīrīn, which makes it one of the most interesting places in Persia to the historian or archaeologist, is the extensive system of ruins dating from the Sāsānian period in its vicinity. The name Kaşr-i Shīrīn, "Shīrīn's Palace", dates from the later period of the Sāsānian empire. Shīrīn, a Christian, was the favourite wife of Khusrāw II Parwēz (560-628 A.D.), who called the great palace he built as a summer residence after her. Kaşr-i Shīrīn and the neighbourhood was the scene of the unhappy love-story of Shīrīn and the royal architect Farhād [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN]. A rock tomb south of Kaşr-i Shīrīn is popularly known as Ūtāk-i Farhād, "Farhād's chamber"; see Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 10. The famous lute-player, Bārbud (on him see Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, i, 168, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 63), also spent some time at the imperial court at Kaşr-i Shīrīn.

The period of Kaşr-i Shīrīn's glory was only brief. Ten years after the death of Khusrāw II the Sāsānian empire collapsed before the Arabs, and in the Muslim period the palaces of Kaşr-i Shīrīn seem no longer to have been inhabited. They fell quickly into ruins. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 270, mentions the ruins as early as 278/891. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 388, mentions that as a result of an earthquake in 345/956 the walls of Kaşr-i Shīrīn cracked. Such Arab and Persian authors as Ibn Rusta, Yākūt, al-Kāzwīnī and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi emphasize the great scale of Kaşr-i Shīrīn, with its halls, hermitages, treasure houses, etc. and the splendid gardens containing very rare animals, but give no detailed descriptions. Yākūt and al-Kāzwīnī give especially the story of the origin of the palace, which the former (iv, 113) actually regarded as one of the wonders of the world.

We owe the most accurate description of the modern ruins to the French expedition of J. de Morgan. The main ruins lie on a broad plateau north-east of the modern town. Near the latter is the rectangular citadel flanked by six round towers (called Kal'a or Kaşr-i Khusrav, also Kal'a-i Khusravī) surrounded by a ditch. North of the Kal'a are further mounds of ruins whose object is unknown. About 500 yards to the N.E. is the wall of a gigantic park, enclosing the summer-residence proper of the king, which measures, according to de Morgan, 300 acres. The wall round it, which also served as an aqueduct, reaches 20 feet at the highest part and is about 6,000 paces in extent. Another aqueduct-wall divides the park into two parts. The water for the irrigation of the gardens was brought from the Hulwān-Rūd; the aqueduct can still be traced in the Hulwān-Rūd valley until it is lost in the maze of ruins of Hawsh Kurī. In the centre of the whole scheme is the main palace, now called 'Amārat-i Khusrav ("house of Khusrav") or Hādīdī Kal'asi ("pilgrim's palace"). In front of the palace still exists a 600-yard long stretch of the aqueduct flanked by two kiosks. West of the 'Amārat-i Khusrav stands a smaller, similar vaulted building with four doors and a square principal chamber. It is now called *Čuār Kapu* or *Čār Darvāza* "Four Doors", or *Kal'a-i Čuār Kapu*, "Palace of the four "Gates"." The purpose of this building is obscure.

About 3 miles E. of Kaşr-i Şhīrīn is another late Sasanian ruined palace, popularly believed to have contained the stables belonging to the palace of Kaşr-i Şhīrīn. These ruins, which consist of a palace 600 feet long with annexes and another mound of ruins, are the latest of all the palaces of Parwēz so far known.

Kaşr-i Şhīrīn is, of course, a site of much greater antiquity, but it has not been ascertained what ancient city stood here.

*Bibliography*: BGA, *passim*, especially vii, 164 (Ibn Rosta); Yāqūt, iv, 112 f.; al-Ķazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 295-7; Ħamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 43 ff.; Le Strange, 63; Pietro della Valle, *Reise-Beschreibung*, Geneva 1674, ii, 4; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, v, Paris 1807, 8; Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 305-6; Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1830, i, 64-78; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii, 212-19; G. Keppel, *Personal narrative of travels in Babylonia, Assyria*, London 1827, i, 297 f., ii, 306 f.; C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, ii, 263-72; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 438-88, 509; J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia . . .*, London 1840, ii, 175 ff.; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, ii, 81 f., 111; iv, 341-59 (with a general plan of the ruins on Pl. xl and plans of the three palaces of Kaşr-i Şhīrīn on Pl. xlii, xlvi, xlix and that of Hawsh Kurī on Pl. li, and also excellent pictures). Justi, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 540; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 351 f.; E. Herzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, lii, 52-3; idem, in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910, 131, 236-40; idem, *Die Aufnahme des sasanidisch. Denkmals von Paikuli* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1914, no. 1, 6-8; Mrs. Bishop, *Journey in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, 1, 79.

(M. STRECK-[J. LASSNER])

**KAŞR YĀNĪ** [see KAŞRYĀNNĪH].

**KASRA**, the Arabic grammatical term denoting the vowel *i*: *kasra* designates the

written sign itself, *kasr* the sound in question (Wright, *Ar. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, I, 8A). This distinction corresponds, for example, with the text of al-Dānī, *al-Muĥkam fi naĥṭ al-maṣāḥif*, Damascus 1379/1960, 42, ll. 4-7, and *Kitāb al-Naĥṭ* (Bibl. Isl., 3, 1932), 137, ll. 8-11, but *kasr* can also have another interpretation: the verb *kasara* (*i*) "to break", can be used to mean: "to provide [a *ḥarf*] with a *kasra*", the mouth being considered "broken" at the time of the pronunciation of the *kasra* (according to Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'ālī, see below). *Kasr* can also be the infinitive (*maṣdar*) of the verb, as in genealogical works, for example, al-Suyūfī, *Lubb al-lubāb*, Leiden 1840, 211, l. 11: *al-Ķifī bi 'l-kasr wa-sukūn al-fā'*, "al-Ķifī, with the *kasra* [under the *ḥāf*] and the *sukūn* of the *fā'*". The verbs *fataḥa* (*a*) "to open" and *ḍamma* (*u*) "to bring together the parts [of a thing]" have been similarly used, the first for the *faiḥa*, the second for the *ḍamma*, with the same remark for the *faiḥ* and *ḍamm* and likewise referring to the words of Abu 'l-Aswad (see below).

The first notation of the *kasra* and the two other *ḥarakāt*, *faiḥa* and *ḍamma*, was made by means of full points (al-Dānī, *Muĥkam*, 23, l. 11; 42, l. 12), in order to remedy the deficiencies of ḳur'ānic script and at first to indicate the *i'ṛāb*, and its invention is invariably attributed to Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'ālī (d. 69/688-9 [q.v.]): "When you see that I have opened (*fataḥtu*) my mouth with the *ḥarf*, mark a point above the *ḥarf*. If I bring together (*ḍamamtu*) [the lips of] my mouth, mark a point before the *ḥarf* [on the left, in the middle]. If I break (*kasartu*) [my mouth], put the point under the *ḥarf*. And if I make one or the other follow a nasal sound (*ghunna*) [nutation], place two points instead of one point" (al-Sīrāfī, *Akḥbār al-naḥwīyyīn*, Bibl. Arabica, ix, Algiers 1936, 16, ll. 8-12). This legendary account at least shows some degree of observation of the physiology of the mouth during the pronunciation of the *ḥarakāt* and favours a purely Arabic origin for the technical terms applied to them [see ḤARAKA WA-SUKUN]. The Muslim references agree in crediting the readers of Baṣra, Naṣr b. 'Āsim and Yahyā b. Ya'mur with the invention of the vowel points (see R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*<sup>2</sup>, Paris 1959, 80-2, 89-90); this innovation was not imposed without long resistance (*ibid.*, 95-98), but at the time of al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) it was still in use (*ibid.*, 98).

Care must be taken in distinguishing the vowel points in the body of ḳur'ānic script. They are characterized by the use of red points; a green point is used for the *hamza* (the unvoiced glottal occlusive); and a yellow point for the *tashdīd* (gemination) (Abū Bakr b. Muḍjāhid, cited by al-Dānī, *Muĥkam*, 23, ll. 9 ff.; see also, *ibid.*, 19-20, for other old practices in the use of colours). All these points constitute *al-ṣaḥl al-mudawwar*. But the diacritical points of the *ḥurūf* are *bi 'l-sawād* "in black" (*ibid.*, 22, l. 11; 43, l. 15), like ḳur'ānic script, and according to al-Dānī (43, l. 16) serve to establish a distinction between the diacritical marks and the *ḥarakāt*; see his chapter (35-41) on the diacritical marks. In matters of *i'ṛāb*, the *kasra* was the sign of *ḍjarr* (or *ḥaṣḍ*) [see I'ṚĀB]. On the nature of the *kasra* and the other *ḥarakāt*, see ḤARAKA WA-SUKUN. For the way in which the presence of the *kasra* is explained, in the second term of the *idāfa*, see IDĀFA.

Some further points: (1). The points indicated concern *al-ḥarakāt al-muṣḥabā'āt*, the normal ones (literally "satisfied"). The latter are opposed to the *ḥarakāt*, not *muṣḥabā'āt*: sounds reduced by the *ikhtilās* or the *raḥm* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, 36 f.,

49 g), or deviations through *ishmām*: *innamā huwa imālat al-kasra nahwa l-damma kalīlan* (al-Dānī, *K. al-nukat*, 136, l. 13), "it is merely a weak inflexion of the *kasra* towards the *damma*", i.e. an inclination of *i* to *ū* (see also H. Fleisch, *ibid.*, 1 36 g, 49 h). For the notation of these particular sounds, see the chapter of al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 44-8, more briefly: *K. al-Nukat*, 136, l. 10 - 137, l. 3.

(2). In the first three chapters of the *Muḥkam* (2-13), al-Dānī has collected the Muslim traditions on the first form of the Qurʾān, the inventions of vowel points, and the resistance to that innovation or the concessions to it.

(3). Why were points employed? *Al-īdīz wa 'l-taklīl*, "concision and brevity" was sought (al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 43, l. 17). In fact, there was very likely an influence of the usage of non-Islamic communities (see R. Blachère, *loc. cit.*, 79). For the Syriac, "the vowel point or the diacritical point known from the 4th century has served as the vocalization in most manuscripts" (L. Costaz, *Grammaire syriaque*<sup>2</sup>, Beirut 1964, § 11).

*Bibliography*: In the text. (H. FLEISCH)

**KASRAWĪ TABRIZĪ**, SAYYID AḤMAD, Iranian historian, linguist, jurist and ideologist. Born on 29 September 1890 and educated in Tabriz, he entered the theological profession in 1910, but soon left it because of his liberal ideas and modernistic tendencies. In 1919, he entered the Ministry of Justice, which he left in 1929 to practise law, soon after returning a verdict against Riḍā Shāh's royal court in favour of a group of peasants. He also taught history in the University of Tehrān, which he left in 1934 on an issue involving academic freedom.

Kasrawī wrote several books on history and on language and linguistics. Among these are his history of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, in which he had been a participant; a detailed study of the pre-Salḍjūq dynasties of north-western Iran (*Shahriyārān-i gummān*, 3 vols., Tehrān 1928-30), and a monograph on the Āḍharī language. He also expounded his views on "reforming" the Persian language—in grammar as well as vocabulary.

In 1933, Kasrawī began a critical study of life and society, with particular emphasis on the Iranians, whom he found decadent, morally corrupt and unfit as citizens. They were, he believed, ignorant of the "truths of life", because of centuries of "evil teachings" (*bad-āmūzi*), whose harmful effects should be shown to them so that they could perceive the truths, thus finding salvation. He tried to accomplish this task in the periodicals *Paymān* (7 vols., 1933-42) and *Parḥam* (1941-2), some sixty books, and frequent lectures. A book in four parts, *Wardīāwand bunyād*, was to sum up his views, but only three parts appeared (Tehrān 1943).

Kasrawī's strongest attack was on Shiʿism, which he considered the source of much evil, on the grounds that it teaches *taḥīyya* and *tabarruʿ* [q.v.], the *imāms'* power of intercession, and belief in an ever-living hidden *imām*; that it places undue and destructive emphasis on past issues and events irrelevant to current life, e.g., the succession to Muḥammad, and the martyrdom of Ḥusayn and others; and that it encourages harmful acts, such as pilgrimages to the graves of the *imāms* and others and the Muharram rituals. All this, he maintained, makes the Shiʿi unfit for a useful and constructive life. For similar reasons, he combated Bahāʾism, Šūfism, materialism (i.e. the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest" and its implications), and superstitions (fortune-telling, belief in good and bad omens, amulets, divination, etc.).

He also attacked much of Persian poetry, concentrating on Khayyām, Saʿdī, Rūmī, and particularly Ḥāfīz. This poetry, he asserted, is replete with doctrines such as fatalism, Šūfism and *khārābātīgarī* (as in Khayyām's ideas), with excessive praise of wine and shameless talk of homosexuality. It encourages beggary, flattery, cowardice, hypocrisy and the like.

As an act of confession, and to draw attention to their activities, Kasrawī and his supporters instituted a festival, on the first day of winter, to destroy harmful writings which they had owned before joining the group. Called *Djashn-i Kitāb-sūzān*, "festival of book-burning", this activity attracted considerable hostility.

In Kasrawī's view, there are two opposing forces or "essences" (*gawhar* or *sirīsh*) within each individual. *Djān* is the source of egoism; from it emanate self-interest, greed, injustice, jealousy, etc. *Rawān* is the source of altruism; from it emanate self-sacrifice, justice, sympathy, honesty, truth-seeking, etc. Related to *rawān* is *khīrad*, the faculty of distinguishing right from wrong, good from evil. *Djān* and *rawān* are constantly at war. The duty of religion, and of similar institutions, is the strengthening of *rawān*. Religion means "learning the truths" and living by the dictates of the *khīrad*. It should help man to subdue his *djān*, and find happiness. Recent progress in science and technology should be matched by progress in the "way of life", especially religion. Islam has lost its effectiveness, cannot meet the challenges of modern times, and needs to be brought up-to-date.

Among Kasrawī's constructive teachings were those on government, economics, education, and the status of women. He advocated representative government and a modified capitalism. Each individual should partake of the pleasures of life, including its material rewards, in proportion to his merit and his labour. The individual's working capital should be limited, to prevent unfair competition, and to assure the priority of merit over money. Machines should be small enough, where possible, to be operated by individual owner-operators. Large enterprises should be owned only by partnerships. "Land should be owned by him who tills it, who keeps it cultivated". Failing this, he should sell it or hand it over to others. Few middlemen should intervene between the producer and the consumer. The government's functions should be limited chiefly to legislation, national security and defence, foreign relations, education, public health. It should not engage in agriculture, commerce, and, in general, industry.

Education means preparing for life, and the strengthening of *rawān*. Compulsory education should include literacy and basic science, in the elementary school, and the "truths of life", including civics. Vocational and professional education and work in advanced science should follow. "Evil teachings" should not be taught under any circumstances, unless they are clearly exposed as harmful.

Women should not enter certain professions, e.g., law, engineering and politics, but should vote. Bigamy should be permitted only when the first wife is barren. Those with contagious diseases should not marry. *Kābīn* ("marriage portion"), *shīrbahā* (bride price), and *djahīz* ("dowry") should be eliminated. Divorce should be available to women as well as to men, and on the same grounds.

Kasrawī denied that he claimed to be a prophet (*payghāmbār*). He termed his ideology *Pākānī* "purity-of-religion" (occasionally *Āzādīgī*), and referred



to it as a *rāh*, "road, path", not a *dīn* "religion". "*Pākdīnī* is Islam's successor and its continuation", although he was rarely very explicit on the relationship between the two.

Kasrawī's writings created a widespread intellectual movement, particularly among the youth. He formed a fraternal organization, called the *Pākdīnān*, "the pure of religion", or the *Āzādīgān*, preaching this doctrines with missionary zeal and in the teeth of intense antagonism. The numerical strength of his followers is not known.

Kasrawī's bold and outspoken views, particularly those on religion and literature, met with vehement and violent opposition: some of his books were banned; his supporters were often persecuted and socially ostracized; and, finally, charges of "slander of Islam" were brought against him. On 11 March 1946, at the last session of the preliminary hearings on those charges held in the Palace of Justice in Tehrān, he was assassinated by the *Fidā'iyyān-i Islām* [q.v.], who had only wounded him in an earlier attempt in April 1945. His followers continue, however, to be active.

*Bibliography*: The only detailed account of Kasrawī's life is found in his own *Zindigānī-yi man* (Tehran 1945) and *Dah sāl dar 'adliyya* (Tehran 1945), covering his life up to about 1929. A bibliography (neither complete nor always accurate) of his books is found in *Khānbābā Mushār, Mu'allifīn-i kutub-i cāpī-yi fārsī wa 'arabī az āghāz-i cāp tā kunūn*, i, Tehran 1961, cols. 437-46; and a partial bibliography of his articles on language and history is in *Irādī Afshār, Index Iranicus*, i, Tehran 1961. A selection of his scholarly articles has been collected by Yahyā Dhukā<sup>3</sup>, in *Čihil makāla-yi Kasrawī*, Tehrān 1956. (M. A. JAZAYERI)

**KĀṢRYĀNNIH**, Arabic version of the mediaeval Sicilian place name *Castrum Ennae*, itself already deformed in local speech usage; the Arabised form itself gave rise to *Castrum Iohannis* and thence the Italian *Castrogiovanni* (modern Enna). Situated at the altitude of 2,950 ft./988 m. in the centre of Sicily, it is the highest town of the island. Amongst numerous versions of the name given in the Arabic sources, *Kāṣryānnih* seems to be the most acceptable; it appears in Yāqūt's *Muštariḥ*, with the exact pronunciation, including the geminated *nūn*, specified, although it does not appear in his *Mu'ġjam*.

It was besieged from 214/829 onwards by the Arab-Berber army of Asad b. al-Furāt [q.v.], who had landed two years previously at Mazara, and this fortified rock became the symbol of Christian resistance in the island after the capitulation of Palermo in *Radjab* 216/August-September 831. For a period of thirty years, the town and citadel underwent various vicissitudes, and the fortunes of war went backwards and forwards until the Byzantine stronghold surrendered in *Ramaḍān* 243/January 859. The concluding military operations were prepared and led by al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl, *amir* of Sicily 236-46/851-61, who during the preceding years had sapped the resistance of the defenders by continuous assaults. Nevertheless, according to the sources, it was a Christian captive who brought on the surrender through his showing the Muslims, in order to save his own skin, a secret way into the fortress. Certain Arabic chronicles say that al-'Abbās celebrated this victory by building a mosque in *Castrogiovanni*, and immediately afterwards, he went on to restore the citadel's fortifications.

The rule of the Kalbid *amirs* came to an end ca.

431/1040, and in the general state of anarchy which followed and which continued to rack the island till the arrival of the Normans, *Kāṣryānnih*, together with *Girgenti* and *Castronuovo*, formed part of the possessions of the *ka'id* Ibn al-Ḥawwās [q.v.]. Some months after the Normans landed in Sicily (*Muharram* 453/February 1061), Robert Guiscard laid siege to the fortress, whose garrison had meanwhile been reinforced by new troops sent by the *Zirids* from Africa, but difficulties made him give up the attempt. The Count Roger made a fresh attempt, and after some temporary successes, he finally compelled it to capitulate. Western chroniclers place the capture of the stronghold, thanks to *Altavilla*, at dates which vary between the middle of 480/1087 and the opening months of 481/1088, whilst the Arabic chroniclers place it three years later. The local ruler Ibn Ḥammūd surrendered himself without resistance, and according to the Norman historian *Malaterra*, became a convert to Catholicism.

The Arabic sources all agree that *Kāṣryānnih* constituted not only a stronghold which was powerfully fortified and difficult to dismantle, but was also an important town in a fertile and well-irrigated region, with commodious markets, a lively commercial activity, abundant provisions and an excellent urban organisation.

*Bibliography*: The Arabic sources with information on *Kāṣryānnih* have virtually all been brought together by M. Amari in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Ar. text, Leipzig 1857, Ital. tr. Turin-Rome, i-ii, 1880-1; see also for other details Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*<sup>2</sup>, Catania 1933-9, index, and see further U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-mi'tār fi ḥabar al-aqtār di Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyari*, Cairo 1958, also in *Bull. of the Fac. of Arts, Cairo University*, xviii/1 (May 1956), 170-1.

(U. RIZZITANO)

**KĀṢṢ** (A.), pl. *kaṣṣās*, "popular story-teller or preacher, deliverer of sermons" whose activity considerably varied over the centuries, from preaching in the mosques with a form of *kuṛ'ānic* exegesis to downright charlatanism. This term does not appear in the *Ḳur'ān*, although the verb *kaṣṣa* is quite often used (see Flügel, *Concordantiae*) always, except in VI, 57, with the meaning "to recount, to relate, to report" a generally edifying narration [see *kaṣṣa*] and frequently in the first person, when the narrator is God Himself. The *LA* (root *kaṣṣ*) reproduces *ḥadīṯ*s in which appear the word *kāṣṣ* (*al-kāṣṣ yantazir al-maḥt*) and the verb *kaṣṣa*, in the absolute use, with the meaning "to tell, to recount stories" and also "to preach" (*kaṣṣa 'alā l-nās*); the Prophet is reported to have said "None but an *amir*, a subordinate [of an *amir*] or a proud man shall preach" (*lā yakuṣṣu illā amir aw ma'mūr aw mukhlāl*), where we have translated *kaṣṣa* by "to preach" because it probably concerns the *ḥuṭba* [q.v.]. It would be difficult to date precisely the intransitive use of the verb in the sense of "to perform the function of a popular story-teller or deliverer of sermons" which was to become current (e.g. al-Djāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 24-5 and *Bayān*, i, 367-9) for it seems likely that the *ḥadīṯ*s cited in the *Lisān* may be later and may date from the time when the men of religion and the mystics had reacted against the *kaṣṣās*.

Indeed, if it is reasonable to suppose that all pious Muslims early deemed it their duty to improve the religious sentiments of the uninformed majority, the function of the *kāṣṣ* did not yet exist at the

time of the Prophet; according to al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 253-4, there was a distinction between the private *ḥāṣṣ* and the official one, instituted by Mu'āwīya who, after morning prayer, was supposed in particular to curse the enemies of Islam and all the infidels and, after the *ḥuḥūba* on Fridays, to explain the Qur'ān; however, only in Egypt are there traces of the existence of this function, which was occupied firstly by the *ḥādī*, then little by little fell into disuse. From the 4th/10th century onwards this *ḥāṣṣ* was replaced by the *mudhakkir* and by the *wā'iz* [q.vv.].

Otherwise the office was loosely defined. At its inception it was supposed to consist of commenting on the Qur'ānic narratives concerning the fates of extinct peoples, the example of biblical characters and on the whole, the edifying features scattered among the *sūras*, not without, in the case of certain "sermonisers", going as far as real exegesis. The tradition according to which Tamīm al-Dārī (d. 40/660) was allegedly the first to dedicate himself to this activity is subject to caution because Tamīm [q.v.] became a legendary figure. On the other hand, in his chapter on the *awā'il* (*Ma'ārif*, 557; copied by Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 225), Ibn Ḳutayba hesitates between 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr al-Layṭhī (d. 68/687-8) and al-Aswad b. Sarīf al-Tamīmī (d. 36/656), whom al-Djāhīz quotes chiefly in his exposition on the *ḥuṣṣās* (*Bayān*, i, 367-9).

The first popular preachers were certainly admitted to the mosques to carry out their activity, particularly in 'Irāk, since 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is said to have expelled them from the one in Baṣra, nevertheless making an exception in favour of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (al-Makkī, *Kūṭ al-ḥulūb*, Cairo 1310, ii, 21, 25, 28; Ibn al-Ḥādīdjī, *Madkhal*, Cairo 1348, ii, 13, 145); this last detail is, however, suspect, for al-Ḥasan was only fifteen years old when 'Alī entered Baṣra, and it is probable that the later Ṣūfis who quote him as their authority, but do not, however, number him among the *ḥuṣṣās* (whom they detested), wanted to claim in this privilege further evidence of his prestige and of the quality of his preaching. Wherever the truth may lie, it is conceivable that the 'Alī's decision, if it was real, was inspired by the desire not to make in any way official ideas foreign to Islam. Even those *ḥuṣṣās* motivated by the best intentions would mix in with their commentary the edifying narratives drawn from the Qur'ān, Judaeo-Christian legends and stories from the *Djāhiliyya* (cf. Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Min ḥadīth al-shī'r wa'l-nathr*, Cairo 1936, 48-9), before beginning to falsify the concepts of the first religious authorities and to appeal to the ideas of the Iranian tradition in order to make a greater impression on their hearers. Eventually prohibitions followed (see al-Makkī and Ibn al-Ḥādīdjī, *op. cit.*), and there are more attestations of this in 279/892 and 281/894 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2131, 2165) in a period, it is true, when the function of the *ḥāṣṣ* had changed in character.

The repetition of official measures would lead one to believe that they were ineffective; even if they were banished from the mosques, the "sermonisers" in fact enjoyed great success with the uneducated masses, and gathered round them a more attentive, more eager and often denser audience than that of the *fuḥahā'* and other scholars, who tended to adopt a disdainful attitude towards them, more especially as in any discussion they were sure of carrying the day, thanks to their easy flow of speech. There were, however, among them men of great learning

and Ibn al-Djawzī, who is still nevertheless hostile towards them, very rightly stresses this (*Talbis Iblīs*, Cairo, 1340, 131); the list which al-Djāhīz provides (*Bayān*, i, 367-9; used by L. Massignon, *Essai*, 141 ff. and Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 108 ff.) is instructive in this respect. It includes, among others, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, his brother Sa'īd and his son Dja'far, Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, and in particular, Mūsā b. Sayyār al-Uswārī (see *Lisān al-Mizān*, vi, 120, 136; al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 37), who commented on the Qur'ān in Arabic and Persian, as well as another *ḥāṣṣ*, Abū 'Alī al-Uswārī (d. after 200/815; see *Lisān al-Mizān* iv, 372-3), who at the age of 36 did not manage to exhaust his flow of commentary and who, in addition, expressed himself in very correct language. These two people are described as Ḳadarīs [see ḲADARIYYA], as was another well known *ḥāṣṣ*, Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī (d. 172/788-9; cf. Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, Cairo 1351-6/1932-7, vi, 165-77); the *Rakāshīs* equally distinguished themselves by their talent in this field.

L. Massignon (*Essai*, 143-4) considers that the 2nd/8th century is "especially at Baṣra, the century of "sermonisers" who, without any official mandate, and before the 'Abbāsīd rules and regulations for the Friday sermons, delivered *ḥuḥūbas* to arouse the fervour of the faithful. This spontaneous movement... is the origin of the apologetic catechesis in Islam". Probably the activity of a great number of *ḥuṣṣās* was quite disinterested to begin with, each *sāhid* or *nāsik* feeling an obligation to preach, even to the point where later mystical theology claimed several of them; but if some strove by their narrations to edify the faithful, and to arouse their religious zeal, others were not slow to be employed by the supporters of the various political and religious doctrines, which were emerging at that time.

From the year 65/685, in the course of the affair of the Tawwābūn [q.v.], there were in the crowd gathered to avenge the murder of Ḥusayn, three *ḥuṣṣās*. Al-Ṭabarī (ii, 559) records their names and their speeches designed to sustain the zeal of the fighters; other examples have been collected by Goldziher (*Muh. St.*, ii, 162), who thought, however, (ii, 168-9) that these "sermonisers" had no partisan tendencies. Again in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, *Shī'īs* and *Hanballs* did not overlook this useful means of reaching the masses (cf. G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, Damascus 1963, 323); it is true that the representatives of the two rival factions sometimes came together and shared the takings (*Muh. St.*, ii, 165-6). The names of three Ḳadarīs are cited above, and it seems legitimate to believe that from the 2nd/8th century the Mu'tazilīs themselves had used "sermonisers" to spread abroad their opinions. This partly explains that interest which al-Djāhīz takes in them, who was, moreover, always ready to admire eloquence even in the common people.

It appears therefore that the prohibitions were also justified by the care which the authorities were taking to limit propaganda carried on by word of mouth by the opposition parties, knowing well that they were provoked in the first place by the complaints of religious figures anxious to put an end to these abuses. Indeed, to enliven their narratives, the *ḥuṣṣās* did not hesitate to quote the apocryphal traditions (and it is probable that they contributed to the propagation of the *ḥadīths* put together from all sorts of different fragments), fabulous deeds and marvellous stories which the credulous masses took for gospel truth, thus placing

the authentic Islamic tradition in real jeopardy. Because of this conduct, they incurred the theoretical and practical condemnation of the religious authorities. Al-Ġhazālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, xix/3) protests against the reprehensible doings of *kuşşās* and the *wuʿāz* [see *wāʿiz*] who mixed heresies with their subject-matter; Ibn al-Djawzī (*Talbis*, 131) and the mystics gave strong advice not to join their congregations because they lacked integrity. In Spain, where they were less numerous (al-Muḥaddasī, 236), for the Mālikīs would scarcely tolerate them, the word *kāşş* had become synonymous with "storyteller", and the authors of works of *ḥisba* do not fail to express a desire that the activity of the *kuşşās* should be limited. Ibn ʿAbdūn (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Seville musulmane*, Paris 1947, § 54) wished to forbid them, as fortune tellers were forbidden, to install themselves in the cemeteries, and they were also prohibited from telling stories in which the Prophet was mentioned. Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʿūf (cf. R. Arié in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/3 (1960), 362) calls the *kāşş* a mere story-teller of the streets.

At this period, and already for a long time in the Orient, it was indeed difficult to distinguish a "sermoniser" from one of those narrators of whom al-Masʿūdī speaks (*Muruʿat*, v, 86; viii, 161 ff.); al-Djāhiz himself (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbi, 129) shows the poor and the *kuşşās* begging at the doors of the mosque, whilst Ibn Ḥanbal is reported to have said, "the most mendacious of men are the *kuşşās* and the beggars" (al-Makkī, *Kūf*, ii, 25; Ibn al-Ḥādīdī, *Maḍḥal*, ii, 146); The author of the *Kitāb al-Tāđī* (40; tr. *Le livre de la Couronne*, 68) speaks of the "wiles of *kuşşās* and men who go round with performing monkeys". So, after having been a popular exegete of the Kurʿān and a "sermoniser", the *kāşş* became a sort of buffoon who mainly replaced edifying narrations by comical and often improper stories especially ridiculing biblical characters (see for example the story of the wolf that did not eat Joseph; Ibn Abī l-Ḥādīd, *Sharḥ Nahđi al-balāgha* iv, 260). Some became veritable mountebanks, who contrived to "play to the gallery", provided that the collection afterwards produced a substantial reward. From the rivalry among these comedians sprang the *muwallad* proverb "a *kāşş* loves not another *kāşş*" (al-Maydānī, ii, 76). It is understandable therefore that the discredit thrown on an otherwise respectable function rebounded on the serious preachers of popular sermons, and they were replaced by more or less official preachers.

All things considered, passing from edifying narrations to profane stories was very easy, and the *rāwī* [q.v.] or the *meddāh* who narrates the episodes of *The Thousand and One Nights* or chivalric romances—not without playing the rôle of a political agent if the opportunity presents itself—is easily comparable to the later *kāşş*, whereas the *muhaddī* [q.v.] who recounts his own adventures and foreshadows the Spanish *pícaro* is not far removed from him. [See also *MAĶĀMA*].

*Bibliography*: Largely given in the text.

I. Goldziher (*Muh. Studien*, ii, 161-70; tr. L. Bercher, 198-208) has largely exploited the *K. al-Kuşşās* of Ibn al-Djawzī, and the pages which he devoted to the "sermonisers" represent the most thorough study of this social group. See further, L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu* (on the *kuşşās* of Baṣra); A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index; M. S. Swartz, *Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb al-Quşşās wa'l-Mudhakkirin*, ed., Eng. tr. and introd.,

Beirut 1971; C. E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*. i. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 24 et seqq.; see also Suyūfī, *Taḥḍīr al-khawāşş min akāḥḥib al-kuşşās*, éd. Muḥ. Şabbāgh, Beyrouth 1973. (CH. PELLAT)

**KASSALA** [see *KASALA*].

**KASSĀM**, the title given in Ottoman law to the trustee who divided an estate between the heirs of a deceased person. Ottoman law recognised two types of *kassām*, those under the *kāđiʿasker* [q.v.] and the others employed locally in each *kāđi*'s [q.v.] court (*Kānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi 1970, ff. 66 a-b). The earliest references to the post date from the 9th/15th century.

The *kassām* received a fee from the heirs called *resm-i kismet* in payment for the trusteeship of the estate. *Resm-i kismet* levied from a member of the military (*ʿaskeri*, [q.v.]) class was entered in the *kāđiʿasker*'s accounts, so that in places where the military class was numerous, *kassāms* appointed by the *kāđiʿasker*s divided inheritances (*Kānūn-nāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, *TOEM* suppl., Istanbul 1329/1911, 40). These military *kassāms* recorded their transactions in separate registers, called *kassām* registers (*kassām defterleri*) (Ö. L. Barkan, *Eđirne askeri kassamına ait tereke defterleri 1545-1659, Belgeler*, in *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, iii/5-6, Ankara 1966). The local *kassāms*, called *şehri* or *beledi* and acting in the name of the *kāđi*, kept registers recording the *resm-i kismet* levied from non-military townspeople and villagers. There was a separate *kassām* register for each *kāđi*'s district. In the division of inheritance *kassāms* were obliged to respect the rights of orphans and the law forbade them to overvalue goods or to levy *resm-i kismet* where this was not the legal requirement (*Kānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi 1970, f. 66b; cf. also the *Kānūn-nāme* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Paşa, *MTM*, iii, Istanbul 1331/1913, 541). The *kassām*'s register of 924/1518 from the court of Bursa shows the procedure in the division of inheritance. The belongings of a deceased person were first examined in the presence of the *kassām* and entered in the register. An expert then valued their worth which was recorded on each item, before the *kassām* assessed the proportion to which the husband, wife or others heirs were entitled. After the deduction from the total of the *kassām*'s fees and the deceased's funeral expenses, the remainder was handed over to the heirs (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmîye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 124).

Occasionally, the government appointed inspectors to examine the proceedings of the military *kassāms* and to collect the *resm-i kismet* levied in the name of the *kāđiʿasker*s. *Kassāms* from the three wings of the cavalry (*süvārî*) divisions were despatched to Anatolia and Rumelia for this purpose. These mounted inspector-*kassāms* took delivery from the *kāđi*'s treasury of the *resm-i kismet* that had been raised, and had the registers sealed by the *kāđi* or deputy who transferred the money. The mounted *kassāms* had the authority to remove a local military *kassām* and appoint another in his place (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 121 ff.).

The question of who had the right to the *resm-i kismet* led occasionally to disputes between the local and the *kāđiʿasker*'s *kassāms*. A major factor in these disputes was the tendency of the military *kassāms* to extend the military class in order to increase the revenue on the *kāđiʿasker*'s account for which they worked. To prevent this, the government intermittently issued decrees to define who belonged to the military class, but they were never able to stop

the practice altogether (Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, *Diwân-i hümayûn mühimme defteri*, vol. iv, 120; vol. lxx, 35). There was a *kassâm* in the covered market in Istanbul and another in Galata, whose duty it was to deputise for the *kâdî'asker* of Rumelia in settling disputes concerning the division of inheritances (Hezârfenn Hüsayn, *Talkhîş al-bayân fi kawânin-i Al-i 'Othmân*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f. 140 a).

The functions of the *kassâms* began slowly to diminish in the 19th century. After the Tanzîmât [q.v.] the separate offices of the *kâdî'askers*' and *kâdîs*' *kassâms* were abolished, to be replaced by a single office in Istanbul called the Treasury *kassâm's* office (*bayt al-mâl kassâmlıghı*), which combined the functions of all the others (Lutfi, *Ta'rihk*, Istanbul, 1290/1873, vi, 30). The court concerned with inheritance, known as the *kismet-i belediye mahkemesi*, was, at about the same time, united with the lower *bâb* court. Thereafter, the *bâb* courts supervised the division of inheritance among the heirs (*Diwân-i hümayûn mühimme defteri*, no. 261, serial nos. 36, 440).

In the years 1333-34/1915-16 there was a section called the general *kassâm* (*kassâm-i 'umûmî*) in the Courts Department of the Office of the *Shaykh al-Islâm* [q.v.]. At the head of the section was an official called the General *kassâm* (*kassâm-i 'umûmî*) with two assistants as first and second advisory *kassâm* (*'Ilmiye teshkilâtı*, Istanbul 1334/1916, 155 ff.). With the abolition of the *shari'a* courts under the Turkish Republic, the civil section of the court of first instance (*asliye mahkemesi hukuk dairesi*) replaced the *kassâm* court.

*Bibliography*: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, *Diwân-i hümayûn mühimme defterleri*, no. 80, p. 160 serial no. 408, p. 335 serial no. 816; no. 131 p. 147; L. Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterhazy, 1606-1645*, Budapest 1932, 470; Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nın I numaralı şer'îye sicil defteri*, Ankara 1958, index; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.), *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, 953 (1546), Istanbul 1970 (for a list of the *kassâms*, see *Mahkeme kadı ve nâibleri indeksi*, 467-69); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinde kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 318; H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, i/2, London 1957, 124, 125, 130 n; M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, ii, 209, 210; Ahmed Wefîk Pasha, *Lehçe-i 'Othmânî*, Istanbul 1293/1876, 914. (CENGİZ ORHONLU)

**AL-KAŞŞÂR**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLÂH MUHAMMAD B. KÂSİM B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ALÎ AL-ANDALUSÎ, MOROCCAN scholar of Kaysî origin and born in Fâs in 938/1531-2. He is said to have been called al-Kaşşâr ("the fuller") because one of his ancestors had had a fuller as his tutor.

He became *Muflî* of Fâs and preacher at the Karawiyîn mosque, and was very well versed in the sources of *hadîth* and the science of genealogy. He had numerous, outstanding pupils, including for instance Abu 'l-'Abbâs al-Murâbî, who wrote a book about him called the *Tuhfat al-ikhwân*. Al-Kaşşâr left behind several valuable collections of papers, and there are attributed to him hagiographical works on Idrîs I and Idrîs II, two *fahrasas* and a biography of Abū 'Abd Allâh Muhammad Tâhir al-Şikillî al-Husaynî, called *al-Rawq al-zâhir fi nasab sayyidi Muhammad Tâhir*.

He died whilst travelling from Fâs to Marrâkush in either Sha'bân or Ramađân 1012/January-February 1604, and was buried near the mausoleum of Abu'l-'Abbâs al-Sabtî in Marrâkush, one of the seven saints of that city.

*Bibliography*: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Shorfa*, 101 and n. 4, 244-5, 394; M. al-'Arabî al-Fâsî, *Mir'ât al-mahâsin*, 148; Ifrânî, *Nuzha*, ed. Houdas, 192, tr. 312; Şafwa, 16; Kâdirî, *Nashr*, i, 62; idem, *al-Nashr al-kâbir*, i, ff. 22b-25a; Muhibbî, *Khulâsa*, iv, 121; Kattâni, *Salwa*, ii, 62 and the references cited; Ibn al-Muwakkît, *al-Sa'âda al-abadiyya*, i, 89; M. Ben Cheneb, *Idjâza*, § 19; 'A. al-Kattâni, *Fihris al-fahâris*, ii, 317-19; 'A. Ibn Sûda, *Dalîl*, i, 139, ii, 312, 401. (M. LAKHDAR)

**KAŞŞÂRA**, ABU 'L-HUSAYN 'ALÎ B. IDRÎS B. 'ALÎ AL-HIMYARÎ, jurist, poet and historian of Morocco, who was born and lived in Fâs, where he put together a *Diwân*, in one volume; a history called *Tahkîk al-akhbâr 'amman mâta min 'ulamâ' al-karn al-thâlith 'ashar*; and above all, three commentaries, the most important being the one on the *Sharh Bannâni 'alâ Sullam al-Akhbârî*, the second on Ibn Hishâm's *al-Muwaddih* and the third on the *Bahrâm al-Şaghîr*. He died at Fâs on 13 Radjab 1259/9 August 1843, and was buried in that city.

*Bibliography*: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 369 and n. 4; Kattâni, *Salwa*, ii, 265; 'A. Ibn Sûda, *Dalîl*, i, 255, ii, 390. (M. LAKHDAR)

**AL-KAŞTALLÂNI**, ABŪ 'L-'ABBÂS AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. ABÎ BAKR AL-KHAṬĪB SHIHÂB AL-DĪN AL-ŞHĀFI'Ī, an authority on tradition and theologian, born on 12 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 851/20 January 1448 in Cairo, where he spent his life as a preacher — apart from two stays of some duration in Mecca — and died on Friday, 7 Muḥarram 923/31 January 1517. He owed his literary fame mainly to his exhaustive commentary on the *Şahîh* of al-Bukhârî entitled *Irshâd al-Sâri fi Sharh al-Bukhârî*, which exists in numerous manuscripts and printed copies; of these latter, the earliest may be that of Bulâk of 1267 and next the Lucknow edition of 1869 (others in Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 262-3). The Cairo edition in 1325-6 gives the glosses of Yahyâ al-Anşârî and the Cairo edition of 1279 those of Hasan al-'Idwî (d. 1203/1887). In the field of *Hadîth* he wrote a *Muḥaddima* which was printed at Cairo (n.d.) with the commentary of 'Abd al-Hādî al-Abyārî (d. 1305/1883). Great popularity is enjoyed in the Muslim world by his history of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawâhib al-laduniyya fi 'l-Minaḥ al-Muhammadiyya*, which he completed on 15 Sha'bân 899/21 May 1474 and which caused him to be accused of plagiarism by al-Suyûfî. It exists in numerous manuscripts and has also been printed several times, e.g. Cairo 1281, several times commented on, e.g. by al-Zurkânî (d. 1122/1710), printed in 8 vols., Bulâk 1278, 1291, and translated by 'Abd al-Bâkî into Turkish, printed Istanbul 1261; al-Nabhânî published a synopsis of it entitled *Al-Anwâr al-Muhammadiyya min al-Mawâhib al-Laduniyya*, Beirut 1310-12. Finally in the same field, he prepared a commentary on the *Kitâb al-Shamâ'il* of al-Tirmidhî (Brockelmann, I, 170, S I, 268). Besides studying the science of tradition, he worked also at the readings of the Qur'ân. His principal work on the subject is entitled *Laṭâ'if al-Ishârât li-Funûn al-Kirâ'ât*. He also wrote a biography of the teacher of Qur'ân reading, Abu 'l-Kâsım al-Şhâṭibî (Brockelmann, I, 520, S I, 725), and a commentary on the *Muḥaddima* of al-Djazarî on *Tadwîd* (op. cit., II, 259). Finally, he also wrote on mysticism and

personal piety; among his works in this sphere are his *Maḥāmāt al-‘Arīfīn, Masālik al-Ḥunafā’ ilā Mashāri‘ al-Salāt ‘ala ‘l-Nabī al-muṣṭafā*, and his commentary on the *Burda* of al-Buṣīrī (Brockelmann, I, 310).

*Bibliography*: ‘Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭā‘ al-tawfiḳiyya*, Bülāk 1306, vi, 11; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 509; Brockelmann, II, 87-8, S II, 78-9.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

**KAŞTALLĀNĪ** (KESTELĪ, KEŞTELLĪ), MUŞLIḤ AL-DĪN MUŞTAFĀ, Ottoman theologian and Ḥanafī jurist, d. 901/1495-6. He was a native of Kestel (Latin *Castellum*), a village near Bursa, where later in his career he built a mosque; from this village comes his *nisba* of Kestel(l)ī or, more grandiloquently, Kaşallānī. He studied at Bursa under the famous scholar *Khīḍr* Beg, *mudarris* at the Sulṭān *madrasa* there, and after concluding his legal and theological studies became himself a teacher in Mudurnu, in the Urudī Paṣḥa *madrasa* at Dimetokā (Demotica), and then in one of Mehemmed II’s newly-founded “eight *madrasas*” in Istanbul. Later he became *kādi* in Bursa, Edirne and (in 886/1481) in Istanbul. In this latter year he also became *Kādi-‘Asker* [q.v.] of Rūmeli, the first man to hold this office after the division of this important post into two, *Hādījī* Ḥasanāde Meḥmed Efendi becoming *Kādi-‘Asker* in Anatolia. He was dismissed with a pension in 891/1486 during the reign of Bāyezīd II, and died in 901/1495-6 in the capital, being buried in the Eyyüb cemetery.

Kaşallānī was the author of a number of highly-esteemed legal works in Arabic, including glosses to al-Taftazānī’s commentary on the ‘*Aḥā’id* of Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (cf. *Hādījī* Khalīfa, iv, 226, Brockelmann, I, 549); a work on seven difficult problems (*ashkāl*) in al-Djurdjānī’s commentary on al-Idjī’s *K. al-Mawāḳif fī ‘ilm al-kalām* (*Hādījī* Khalīfa, vi, 240); an epistle on the orientation of the *qibla*, *R. fī Dīḥāt al-kibla* (*ibid.*, iii, 387); and a work called *Yakaḗa dhawī ‘l-‘itbār* (*ibid.*, vi, 511).

*Bibliography*: Tashköprüzāde, *Shahā’iḳ al-mu‘maniyya*, Tkish. ed. by Meḍjī, Istanbul 1269/1853, 161 ff.; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ‘Othmānī*, iv, 491 f.; ‘Ashlḳpashāzāde, *Ta’rīḳh*, Istanbul 1332/1914, 224.

(F. BABINGER)

**KAŞTAMŪNĪ**, modern Turkish form KASTAMONU, a town (pop. 1970, 29,338) situated in the western Pontic zone of northern Turkey (41°22’N, 33°47’E), the provincial capital (*il merkezi*) and a busy market town for the surrounding region. The *il* (province) of Kastamonu—an area roughly equivalent to the ancient Paphlagonia—which is divided at present into fourteen administrative sub-divisions (*ilçe*), is bounded by the Black Sea on the north, and by the *ils* of Zonguldak, Çankırı (Kaḅḅr), Çorum and Sinop, and had a population (1970) of 446,601.

The town of Kastamonu lies on both sides of a narrow valley (Kastamonu deresi or Kara-çomak deresi) which has been formed by a minor tributary of the upper Gökırmak. The centre of the town, situated on the left (west) bank, is dominated by the precipitous mass of the citadel. This, the “lofty stronghold of the Turkomans” of Ibn Sa‘īd, is a congeries of Byzantine, Saldjūk, Çandarid and Ottoman work, lacking in inscriptions, un-garrisoned and deserted since the reign of Mahmūd II, and finally almost destroyed by an earthquake in 1943.

The toponym of Kastamonu remains obscure in

its origins. As Ramsay long ago pointed out, although Kastamonu was situated on “the most important Roman road in the north of Asia Minor” (sc. Nicomedia Iznikmid/Izmit)—Pompeopolis (Tashköprü, near Kastamonu)—Amaseia (Amasya)), and was evidently an important city in later Byzantine times, it is never mentioned in Roman or early Byzantine documents. Consequently attempts to identify Kastamonu with, e.g. Germanicopolis (Ainsworth, Boré, and many later writers) or with Sora (Doublet, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1889), or to supply specious derivations from even the Hittites (Gas-tumanna > Kastamonu) (Yücel, ch. vii) or from its known association with the Comneni, must founder on the fact that no form earlier than the 11th century Byzantine usage of *καστάμων* has yet been traced.

From this form (or, rather, as commonly in such direct transfers, from the accusative *κασταμόνα*—cf. P. Wittek, *BZ* (1935), 49-50) derive the various forms of Arabic and Turkish usage. Most commonly, from the Saldjüks down to and throughout the Ottoman period, the name is given as Kaştamūnī. Cf. however, the variants Kaştamūnī (Iḍrīsī, cf. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae* i/2, sheet 4; iii/1, p. 4); Kaştamūniyā (al-Dimaşḳī, *K. Nukhbat al-Dār*, ed. Mehren, 228); Kaştamuniya (al-‘Umārī, ed. Quatremère, 340; ed. Taeschner, 23, 39-40), and also the various western corruptions: civitas Constames (Albertus Aquensis); Castamea (Clavijo); Castamina, Castamena (Promontorio de Campis (c. 1475), ed. Babinger); Chastarmina, Casstimana (Benedetto Dei); Castemol (Menavino); for the 19th century: Castemboli, Castemouni (Boré, 1838); Costambone (Murray, *Handbook for Asia Minor* [c. 1870]).

The political history of Kastamonu during the four centuries which lie between its first seizure by the Turks in the aftermath of Manzikert (463/1071) and its second and final absorption into the Ottoman state, as a *sandjāk* in the *eyālet* of Anadolu (866/1461-2), is often confused, and the establishment of the exact sequence of political authority has not, despite efforts by Cl. Cahen and others, been satisfactorily achieved. Until the expansion of the Ottoman state in the first part of the 8th/14th century, and the consequent shift westwards of the frontier between *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*, the town and fortress of Kastamonu formed the centre of a vast province, which was dominated by the Turkomans of the *udī*, and formed a battleground for the conflicting and successive claims of Byzantine, Dānīshmend and Saldjūk rulers, and of various more or less local autonomous dynasties, of which the Isfendiyār-oghullarī or Çandarids [q.v.] were the most significant.

As early as 1073-4 the Byzantine emperor Alexis Comnenus had great difficulty in escaping from some Turkomans in the vicinity of Kastamonu: according to a dubious tradition the city is said to have been conquered by a certain ‘Othmāndīḳ Beg, one of the commanders of the Dānīshmend Malik Aḥmad Ghāzī, shortly before the latter’s death (Ḥusayn Hezārfenn, *Tanḳīḥ al-tawārīḳh*, tr. A. D. Mordtmann, *ZDMG*, xxx (1876), 470)—a tradition which attributes to Kastamonu the former name of Aklanos. A slightly different version is given by Kātib Çelebi, *Djāhān-numā*, 629. In 1101 the Lombards and Turks clashed near and at Kastamonu, but Dānīshmend rule seems to have endured until the invasion of Paphlagonia by John Comnenus (?1126 or 1132), by the winter of which latter year Kastamonu was again in Muslim hands. By the latter

part of the 6th/12th century, Kastamonu had passed under the control of the Salḡiūks of Rūm. Clearly Kastamonu belonged to the dynasty, who established there—possibly as early as 608/1211, and certainly by 625—the enigmatic figure of Ḥusām al-Dīn Čupan (Čoban) as their *beglerbegi*. The political role of the Turkomans during this period is a matter of conjecture; one possibility is a *de facto* division of authority between the provincial authorities of the Salḡiūks, controlling the town itself, and the Turkoman amīrs, in virtual control of much of the hinterland of the province. At a lower level, it is clear that a Greek or Hellenized (and Christian) population continued to exist under Salḡiūk rule; the province was also a source for Greek slaves, obtained in razzias on the *udī*, and destined for the Salḡiūk army.

The history of Kastamonu during the period of İlhānid domination in eastern and central Anatolia is also not entirely clear. At first under the rule of one Yavtash, as *beglerbegi*, by c. 660/1262 the town was controlled by a creature of the Mongols, one Tādī al-Dīn Mu'tazz, to whom it was secured as an *iḡfā'*. He died in 676/1277: his son Muḡjīr al-Dīn Amīrshāh (d. 701/1302), succeeded to his offices. Also during this period, Kastamonu was held at times, and for short periods, by the son (Ḥusām al-Dīn Alp Yörük) and the alleged grandson (Muḡaffar al-Dīn Yavlaḡ Arslan) of Ḥusām al-Dīn Čuban. The grandson certainly founded the second oldest surviving Muslim monument in Kastamonu, the so-called Atabeg Dījami'ī (672/1273), held political power before 679/1290, and died in the disturbances of 691/1292. Furthermore, before 671/1271 Kastamonu had been administered by a son of the *pervāne* Mu'īn al-Dīn, whose son Mehmed Beg once more reconquered it in 1295-9.

Cahen has argued that there was no connexion between the descendants of Čupan and the family which, in the last years of the shadowy Salḡiūk sultanate of Rūm, founded the most notable of Kastamonu's dynasties, the Isfendiyyār oḡullar!/Čandarids. By 715/1314 Čandar's son, Sulaymān Pasha, was already master of Kastamonu, apparently as a vassal of the İlhānid ruler Abū Sa'īd. Certainly İlhānid coins were struck there in 725/1325 (Lane-Poole, *Cat. B.M.*, vi (uncertain); Yaman i, 105) and apparently as late as 740/1339 (Zambaur, *Münzprägung*, 195). Around this time Kastamonu was visited by Ibn Baṡṡūṡa (winter of 1331/2 or 133/4), who stayed there forty days and described it as one of the largest and finest cities [?of Rūm], where commodities were abundant and prices low. Ibn Sa'īd (*apud* al-Kālkashāndī, *Ṣubḡ*, v, 342) described Kastamonu as a stone-built town of medium size, possessed of mosques, markets and baths, but without walls, and situated in a region of streams and abundant gardens—terms which have been applied, *grosso modo*, by most Muslim travellers and their western successors down to the 20th century.

Kastamonu was incorporated into the Ottoman state by Bāyezīd I in 794/1392; restored to its native dynasty by Timūr after Ankara, and once more conquered, this time by Mehmed II, in 866/1462. The supersession of the old dynasty was symbolised by the appointment of Dījem Sultān as provincial governor of Kastamonu in Raḡjab 873/January 1469, a post which he held until the middle of Sha'bbān 879/late 1474. What seems to be the earliest (ca. 1469-74) notice of Kastamonu under restored Ottoman rule—the “Capitaneati dui di

Castamina”—is given by the Genoese man of affairs Promontorio de Campis: “magna citta; . . . provincia degna et utilissima”, with revenues of 14,000 ducats and the obligation of sending 2550 men into the field.

The geographical position of Kastamonu in relation to the Ottoman military and courier road network—it lay to the north of the great road of the *orta kol* from Ūskūdar to the east, which, linking Gerede, Tosya and 'Oṡmāndīḡ (Osmançık), left Kastamonu relatively isolated on the far side of the lofty Ilgaz (Olygassus) range—perhaps explains in part its relative obscurity under Ottoman rule and the paucity of travellers to it until the 19th century. Evliyā Čelebi's description of the town is lacking, and in the 12th/18th century Kastamonu seems to have been unvisited by any major traveller, although it is known that Ahmed Pasha Bonneval was briefly exiled there in the middle of the century.

The first report by a western visitor is that of J. M. Kinneir, who passed through in 1814. He computed the town to possess 30 mosques with minarets, 25 *hammāms*, six *khāns* and a Greek church. The bazars were well-supplied, but the inhabitants were described as being frequently exposed to famine, particularly after a severe winter had impeded local agriculture. A more extensive description was given by the French traveller Eugène Boré (1838), who was the first to give an account of the *ka'fe*, “*élevant hardiment dans les airs ses tours et ses remparts en lambeau*”, and who found the local administration in the hands of the new men of the Tanzimāt. More scrupulous in his observations, in the year following Boré, was W. F. Ainsworth, who laid down a plan of the fortress.

The population of Kastamonu, in later centuries at least, was preponderately Muslim. According to Ainsworth the Christian inhabitants were expelled ca. 1730 to a village on the Gökīrmak, but were later permitted to return. Ainsworth speaks of 160 Greek and 20 Armenian households out of a total of 12,000 and a manifestly exaggerated population of 48,000; Kinneir, a quarter of a century earlier, had estimated 300 Greek and 40 Armenian families in a population of 12,000. At the end of the 19th century Cuinet, working on published Ottoman statistics, estimated the population to be 13,200 Muslims, 1,795 Greeks and 572 Armenians.

By the early 19th century Kastamonu, like much of Ottoman Asia, had fallen into economic decay. Kinneir regarded the commerce as “trifling”, and noted the lack of manufactures; Boré, likewise, “L'appauvrissement et la gène” of the inhabitants, and the great decline in trade, with only tanning being carried on actively. Ainsworth, however, one year later, speaks of “the crowded and bustling city” of Kastamonu, with a large trade in wool of a quality almost equal with that of Ankara; in copper wares, and in cotton cloth. The cotton was brought up from Adana and worked up in the town.

The economic and political collapse of Turkey after the First World War reduced the fortunes of Kastamonu to a low ebb. Not lying on a railway, it had not shared in the opening up of Anatolia at the end of the 19th century. More recently, however, the rapid expansion of road transport in Anatolia has brought a new prosperity to the Kastamonu, which now presents an appearance reminiscent of Ainsworth's description, in a setting still little changed from those days.

*Bibliography:* Apart from works cited in the text, Mehmed Behcet, *Kastamonu āṡḡār-i*

*kādimesi*, Istanbul 1341; T. M. Yaman, *Kastamonu tarihi*, I, Istanbul 1935; A. Gökoğlu, *Paphlagonia . . . eski eserleri ve arkeolojisi*, I, Kastamonu 1952; V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 462 ff.; J. M. Tinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor . . .*, London 1819, 28 ff.; Eugène Boré, *Memoire d'un voyageur en Orient*, Paris 1840, 273-82; W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and researches in Asia Minor*, 1842, i, 76 ff.

A map of the sanjāk of Kastamonu, and a panoramic photograph of the town as it appeared at the end of the 19th century, were tipped into some examples of the *Kaştamüni vilâyet sâl-nâmesi 1310* (Kastamonu, n.d.).

In the absence of any exhaustive published survey of the monuments of Kastamonu (cf. the three works in Turkish, at the head of this bibliography, and the summary description of the monuments included by B. Darkot in his art. Kastamonu in *IA*), reference must be made to unpublished sources. A modern survey, at a scale of 1:1000 (three sheets), and showing in detail all historical sites, is in the possession of the Kastamonu *Belediye* (municipal authority). Cf. also an unpublished *Rapor* of 20 Ocak 1975 on the (Muslim) antiquities of Kastamonu, drawn up for the Eski Eserler ve Müzeler section of the Turkish Ministry of Culture. An extensive photographic survey of the monuments was undertaken by Besim Çeçener, Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü, Fındıklı, Istanbul. Reference should also be made to a report by Doğan Kuban (*Kastamonunun tarihi yapısı . . . ilgili rapor*, Istanbul, 1967, 218 pp., duplicated. All this material is in the custody of Bay Hüseyin Aydın, Fen işleri müdürü, Belediye Sarayı, Kastamonu, who kindly allowed reference to be made to it.

Cf. further *RCEA* xii, 178, 188; xiii, 46; xvi, 43, 133, 183-4 (all taken from Behcet and Yaman); C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London, 1968 (consolidates recent research on the pre-Ottoman period); and, to supplement the bibliography s.v. Çandar, the articles by M. Yaşar Yücel, *AÜDTCFD* xxiii/1-2 (1966) and *Belleten*, xxxiv (1970).

(C. J. HEYWOOD)

**KAŞTILIYA.** 1. A district, and originally, the *chef-lieu* of the *kūra* of Ilbira in Muslim Spain, which should not be identified and confounded with Granada (Ilbira). The Arab authors who describe Granada, Ilbira and Kaştiliya (*hādīrat Ilbīra*) stress the fertility of its soil, comparing it to the *Ghūta* of Damascus and mentioning the existence of marble quarries; these descriptions all apply to the zone including Granada and its *vega*, bounded on the north by the Sierra Elvira. The exact identification of Kaştiliya, the *hādīrat Ilbīra* of Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and before them, probably of al-Rāzi, has been a subject of sharp contention since the 19th century (see Fray Angel Custodio Vega, in *España sagrada*, liii and liv; *De la Santa Iglesia Apostólica de Iliberri (Granada)*, Madrid 1961, and especially the conclusions noted on pp. 63-4). We believe that Kaştiliya was an ancient fortress which became the first residence of the *wālī* or *‘āmil* of the *kūra* of Ilbira and which remained there from the conquest till 400/1010, when it was destroyed by the Berbers, causing the displacement of the political centre of the *kūra* to Granada. Its site must therefore lie between Atarfe and Pinos Puente, in any spot or spur of land at the foot of the Sierra Elvira.

The Kaştiliyas of Ifrikiya [see below, 2] and al-Andalus—not to be confused with Kaşhtāla, Kaşhtīla

or Kaşhtīliya, the Castile of the Christians [see KAŞHTĀLA]—must be connected with Latin *castella* (pl. of *castellum*), since there existed strongholds in the *Djārid*, a land of *kušūr*, just as in the *Municipium Florentinum Iliberritanum*, which became the diocese of Iliberri (Granada); the Iberian etymology put forward by Dozy in his *Recherches*, i, 335, looks improbable.

*Bibliography*: (in addition to the references in the article, and especially Fray Angel Custodio Vega's book and the bibliography there): Rāzī-Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne"*, in *And.*, xviii (1953), 66-7; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ihāfa*, ed. ‘Inān, Cairo n.d., i, 99, 104; Yākūt, iv, 97; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muhtabis*, ed. M. M. Antuña (mentions p. 55 Kaştila (*sic*), and p. 100 Kaştila, *hādīrat Ilbīra*); F. J. Simonet, *Descripción del Reino de Granada*, Madrid 1861, 27-37; although Kaştiliya is not expressly mentioned there, see also Him-yārī-Lévi Provençal, *al-Rawḍ al-mi‘jār*, text 24, tr. 30; art. GHARNĀTA. For Kaştiliya in both al-Andalus and in Tunisia, see now especially J. Oliver Asin, *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla: su toponimia en relación con los árabes y los berberes*, in *And.*, xxxviii (1973), index. (J. BOSCH-VILÀ)

**KAŞTILIYA**, or KAŞTILIYA, or KAŞTILA. 2. A place name of Tunisia which in the Middle Ages sometimes designated a town (Tawzar or Tūzar), but more often the district of which this town was the chief centre. It is the modern region of the *Djārid*, which now forms part of the governorate of Kaşa [q.v.] (population 321,000, density of pop. 17.45 per km<sup>2</sup>, according to the 1966 census), and forms the region of the Shotts. As in the past, the region's main resource is the date palm: one million trees, of which 31% are of the highly-esteemed "degla" variety (1962 enquiry). Tourist development of the Sahara, helped by the provision of hotels which are sometimes most luxurious, has brought to this region, at present a somewhat deprived one, an additional resource.

History. Kaştiliya was probably first reduced to submission by ‘Uqba b. Nāfi‘ [q.v.], and definitely conquered for Islam *şulḥ*<sup>80</sup> and without resistance, by Ḥassān b. al-Nu‘mān [q.v.], whence the relatively favourable status awarded to its Christian inhabitants. In its subsequent history, it naturally suffered from the troubles which racked the rest of Ifrikiya, and especially from the *Khāridjī* rebellions of the mid-2nd/8th century, the revolts of the *‘ajund* under the *Aghlabids*, the warfare against the *Fātimid dā‘ī* and the rising of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [q.v.]. As a result of these troubles, Ibrāḏism gained numerous followers there, and *Shī‘ism* had some success, especially at Naḫḫa. The invasions of the Banū Hilāl in mid-5th/11th century, moreover, favoured the rise of a little independent principality, which was soon absorbed by that of the Banu ‘I-Rand of Kaşa. Kaştiliya was then disputed and the Almohad position there attacked by the adventurer Karākūsh and the Banū Ghāniya [qq.v.]. Under the *Ḥafṣids*, there was constituted at the beginning of the 8th/14th century another petty principality, governed by the Banū Yamlūl and an assembly of notables (*mashyakha*), which had a highly-troubled existence until it was finally eliminated, at the same time as were other local dynasties, by Abū Fāris (802/1400). Later on, the anarchy of the 19th century much aggravated the misery of the region, which was left virtually unprotected against the exactions of the nomads and the oppressive taxation of the central government.

Historical geography. The toponym Kaştiliya is not found exclusively in Tunisia. Apart from the variant Kaşhtāla for Castile, Yāqūt, iv, 347-8, cites Kaştaḷla in Spain, and Kaştiliya in the district of Elvira [see preceding art.]. He also mentions al-Kaşṭal, a place name between Aleppo and Damascus. The ancient citadel of Mesarfelta, between Tobna (Thubunae) and Biskra (Vescera) also bore the name of Kaştiliya. We have here clearly a toponym of Latin origin, derived from *castella*, pl. of *castellum* "citadel". The incoming Arab conquerors used it to denote first of all Tūzar (= Thusuros), the main fortress of the *limes* backed by the oasis, and then the whole region dependent upon it.

According to al-Ya'qūbī (d. ca. 282-92/895-905), this region comprised four oases: "The main one is called Tūzar, and is the residence of the governors the second is Hāmma; the third, Takyūs; and the fourth, Naḫṭa" (tr. Wiet, *Les Pays*, 212). Only Takyūs (= Thiges) has now vanished today and given place to Dégache. This division is given by most of the later Arab geographers, and especially by al-Bakrī and Yāqūt. Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Muqaddasī and al-Idrisī merely give descriptions of the towns without giving information on the extent and boundaries of the region. But in later authors, Kaştiliya, now called the Bilād al-Djarid, spills over to include Kaḫṣa in the north and the region of Nafzāwa to the south of the Shotts (Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vi, 199), and even Biskra, Gabès and the island of Djerba (John-Léo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ii, 442-3). The place name Bilād al-Djarid ("Land of the Palms"), or simply al-Djarid, appears for the first time after the middle of the 8th/14th century, from the pen of Ibn Khaldūn, who henceforth uses it as much if not more than Kaştiliya to designate this region. The ancient term of Kaştiliya gradually disappeared, and is today completely unknown except to specialists. Already al-Tidjānī (wrote in ca. 706/1306), Ibn Abī Dīnār (ca. 1110/1698) and al-Wazīr al-Sarrādjī (1149/1737) only use it when citing material from earlier authors. John-Léo Africanus, who visited Tunisia in 1517, knew nothing of the term.

Until the 3rd/9th century, there was no appreciable Arab element in Kaştiliya. Al-Ya'qūbī writes that "The inhabitants are non-Arabs, descendants of the ancient Romans, Berbers and Afāriqa" (*loc. cit.*), i.e. Latinised and Christianised Berbers. Ibn Khaldūn, speaking of the disturbances of 224/839, mentions Zuwāgha, Luwāta and Miknāsa Berbers (*Ibar*, iv, 428). The ethnic map cannot have varied much till the middle of the 5th/11th century, sc. till the Hilālian invasions which brought into the region the Sulaym, and especially the Ku'ūb section of this latter tribe. From this moment, the ethnic picture began to change noticeably, and Christianity, which had maintained itself there, began to disappear. In 706/1306 al-Tidjānī noted a large number of ruined and abandoned churches (*Rihla*, 162), and he also commented with horror on the practice of eating dogs, which had not yet quite disappeared.

Mediaeval Arabic authors unanimously describe Kaştiliya as a rich and prosperous land. According to al-Bakrī, the tax-yield reached 200,000 *dīnārs* in the middle of the 5th/11th century, compared with a mere 50,000 for Kaḫṣa. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Khaldūn marvelled at the density of population there (*muṣtabḫirat al-umrān*, *Ibar*, vi, 199). There was there an ingenious irrigation system, which struck all observers, and the region produced a vast quantity of dates. Al-Ya'qūbī mentions an important cultivation of olives, subsequently vanished. In the

4th/10th century, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, sugar cane was one of the richest products of the region, but by the next century, says al-Bakrī, was yielding only a mediocre crop, nor was the banana flourishing very well. On the other hand, citrus fruits (*al-muḥammadāḥ*), and above all the citron (*al-utrudī*), were of unsurpassed quality. Also cultivated were flax, henna, cumin and caraway, and the fenecfox, esteemed for its fur, was trapped. Ibn Ḥawqal further states that Kaştiliya was in his time an important commercial focal point, bustling with merchants from all countries. Its main import was corn, traditionally fetching a high price, and it exported dates, at the rate of a camel's load for two *dirhams*, says al-Muqaddasī, and wool—implying the existence of extensive sheep-rearing—and all sorts of woollen products. Trans-Saharan trade to the countries of black Africa was certainly one of the reasons for the region's prosperity in the Middle Ages, and it is known that Abū Yazīd al-Nukkari's father, who was originally from Takyūs or Tūzar, took part in this (Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, iv, 84).

*Bibliography*: 1. Sources (classified chronologically): Ibn 'Abd al-Halam, *Futūḥ*, ed. and partial tr. A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, Algiers 1942, 64/65 et n. 66, p. 156; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*; Ibn al-Fakīh, *Buldān*, ed. and partial tr. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb...*, Algiers 1949, 6/7, 31; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Cairo 1937, 212; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Ard*, Beirut n.d., 92; Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḫāsim*, ed. and partial tr. Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident...*, Algiers 1950, 4/5, 26/27, 60/61, 64/65; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, Paris<sup>2</sup> 1965, 14/35, 48-9/102-5, 71/146, 74-5/152-3, 148/284; Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, partial ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 75; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1957, ii, 57-8, iv, 347-8; Tidjānī, *Rihla*, Tunis 1958, index s.v. al-Djarid; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, Beirut 1956-9, index to vols. iv, v, vi, and vii, s.v. Kaştiliya, Kaştiliya, Bilād, al-Djarid and al-Djarid; John-Léo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 442-3, 470; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mu'nis*, ed. M. Shammān, Tunis 1967, index s.v. Kaştiliya and al-Djarid; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādjī, *Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, index s.v. al-Djarid; V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, i, 250-70; V. Mayet, *Voyage dans le Sud de la Tunisie*, Paris 1887, 187-243. 2. Studies. H. Attia, *Modernisation agricole et structures sociales. Exemple des Oasis du Djerid*, in *Rev. Tunisienne de Sc. Sociales*, no. 2 (Féb. 1965), 59-93; R. Brunshvīg, *Ḥaḫṣides*, index s.v. Qaştiliya, Djerid and Tozeur; S. Ferchiou, *Différentiation sexuelle de l'alimentation au Djerid*, in *L'Homme* (1968); J. Ganiage, *Les Origines du Protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1959, index s.v. Djerid; H. R. Idrīs, *Zirides*, index; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, ii, index s.v. Djerid et Qaştiliya; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970, 117, 125, 135-6, 216; M. N. Lejri, *Le recensement général de la population (Mai 1966)*, in *Rev. Tunisienne de Sc. Sociales*, nos. 17-18 (June 1969), 127-71; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, Paris 1965, index s.v. Chott et Djerid; M. Rouissi, *Le fait migratoire au Djerid*, in *Rev. Tunisienne de Sc. Sociales*, nos. 17-18 (June 1969), 567-86; M. Seklani, *La mobilité intérieure dans le Sud tunisien*, in *Rev. Tunisienne*



de Sc. Sociales (Dec. 1970), 163-74; S. M. Stern, *Three North-African Topographical Notes (Islamic-Roman)*, in *Arabica*, I (1954), 343-5; M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, index; Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1884, ii, 30-1, 682-4. (M. TALBI)

**KASTORIA** [see KESRIYE].

**KAṬ** (A; the form *djāt* is also found, Amharic *ḳāt*), the name of a smooth-stemmed shrub (*Catha edulis*, Forskål; *Methyscophyllum glaucum*, Ecklon and Zeyher) which reaches a height of 12 feet and belongs to the family of Celastraceae. It grows in the eastern part of Africa, from the Cape to north of Lake Tānā (Šānā), and in southwestern Arabia. The leaves and the young shoots of this shrub contain an alkaloid, katin, which produces a euphoric, stimulating, exciting but finally depressing, effect when chewed or drunk in a decoction. It is widely used in Ethiopia, Djibouti, East Africa and the Yemen. The bunches of twigs or shoots (*kilwāt*, pl. *kalāwūt*) of the *ḳāt* shrub can only be utilised a short time after being gathered, hence in order to transport them and to keep them fresh as long as possible, they are bound up in fresh, moist foliage. *Ḳāt* addicts choose young and tender leaves and branches, and chew them up to form a ball about as big as a nut; they then keep on chewing this for hours, especially during social gatherings. In this respect, *ḳāt* is a factor making for social cohesion and peace, but this is outweighed by its harmful effects. Whilst the state of euphoria induced may be accompanied by a certain feeling of intellectual expansion, this happy feeling is soon succeeded by a state of anxiety which is alleviated by drinking a decoction of coffee husks (*ḳiṣṣr*); all reports state unanimously that the habitual use of *ḳāt*, despite its supposed prophylactic qualities, ruins the physical and mental health of people and, from an economic point of view, causes widespread damage. The 7,900 lbs. of it officially exported by air every year from Ethiopia to Djibouti (not counting the large quantities of *ḳāt* shoots smuggled illegally) take up 40%-60% of people's salaries (J.-C. Guillebeau, in *Le Monde*, 2 April 1974). It has been calculated that in the Yemen, 300 million dollars' worth of it is consumed each year, with the price of a bunch of ca. 250 gr. taking up roughly the salary of a skilled workman, in a land where 90% of the men and almost 60% of the women are more or less regular addicts. The ravages caused by this narcotic have engaged the attention of the World Health Organisation (cf. *Medical aspects of the habitual chewing of khat leaves*, Doc. APD/127, Rev. I, 1964), and some economists have put forward remedies which seem, however, hard to apply (see M. S. el-Attar, *Le sous-développement économique et social du Yémen. Perspective de la révolution yéménite*, Algiers 1964).

Because of the widespread consumption of *ḳāt* leaves, the raising of this shrub, which is propagated by means of cuttings, plays a great role and gives a considerable income to its cultivators on the plateaux, and above all to the middlemen dealing in it.

*Ḳāt* is mentioned for the first time in a work dating from 1332-3 A.D. (see A. Dillmann, *Die Kriegsthaten des Königs 'Amda Šion*, in *SB Ak. Berlin* (1864), 1012-13); al-Makrīzī (d. 846/1442) cites in his *Ilmām bi-akḥbār man bi-ard al-Ḥabash min mulūk al-Islām*, ed. Rinck, Leiden 1790, II, *ḳāt* as a plant found at Awfāt (Eth. Ifāt, in eastern Shoa) and whose leaves are eaten. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djazīrī, who wrote in 996/1587, says that 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Šādhūlī al-Makḥāṭī (d. 827/1424) was said to have

introduced coffee [see KAḤWA] into the Yemen, and this took the place of *kafta*, sc. *ḳāt* leaves, which had previously been used; however, the use of the latter soon revived, when coffee began to be exported on a large scale. A document called the *Ḳānān Šan'ā'* (given in *RIMA*, 1964) and containing two decrees regulating the town in 1164/1748 and 1234/1819 respectively, shows that in the interval between these two dates, the price of a bunch of ca. 280 gr. and of the best quality went down by a half and corresponded at the beginning of the 19th century to one-quarter of a workman's salary, i.e., it was comparatively cheaper than today. This document also shows that the consumption of *ḳāt* was officially authorised, although Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-Haythamī (d. 974/1567) had written—in reply to questions about its use which had come from people in Šan'ā' and Zabīd, and without taking up a definite attitude towards the contradictory opinions of reputable scholars on the effects of *ḳāt*—that its use fell into the category of *shubuhāt* which ought to be avoided (*Taḥḍīr al-thiḳāt min ahl al-kafta wa 'l-ḳāt*, in *al-Fatāwī al-kubrā al-fikḥiyya*, Cairo 1308, iv, 223-34).

*Bibliography*: In addition to references in the article, the works of European travellers include: La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse*, Amsterdam 1716, 275; Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Paris 1779, ii, 240 (his colleague the botanist Forskål was the first to study *ḳāt*); Botta, *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Yémen*, Paris 1841, 45-6, 83, 90, 98-9; idem, in *Arch. du Muséum d'histoire naturelle*, ii (1841), 71-2; Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 213, 347, 400; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yémen*, Paris 1889, 90, 121-2; idem, in *Jnal. de Pharmacie et de Chimie*, xxii (1890), 174-5. See further: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 795-8; Barbier de Meynard, in *PELOV*, 1883, 108-9; Beitter, *Pharmacogn.-chem. Untersuchung der Catha edulis*, Strasburg 1900; G. W. Bury, *Arabia infelix*, London 1915, 113-14, 152-4; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, 253-6; M. Manciole and A. Parrinello, *Il qat* (*Catha edulis*), in *La clinica terapeutica*, xliii/2 (1967), 102-72 (with bibl.); M. Le Bras, *Le problème du kat*, in *Pount*, ii (1967), 17-27; J. Guedel, *Incidences médico-sociales de la consommation habituelle du kat*, *ibid.*, 29-37; M. Charpin, *Incidences chirurgicales de la consommation habituelle du kat*, *ibid.*, vi (1969), 25-9; J. Chelhod, *La société yéménite et le kat*, in *Objets et mondes*, xii/1 (1972), 2-33 (with bibl.); M. Rodinson, in *JA* (forthcoming). (J. J. HESS\*)

**KAṬ** (A), cutting off. The Arabic verb *kaṭa'a* has been very widely used in a variety of literal and metaphorical senses; this diversity is often of interest for both religious and cultural history.

The infinitive *kaṭ* does not occur in the Qur'an, but the finite verb occurs both in the literal and in a rather metaphorical sense: Sūra V, 42 (38): "Cut off the hands of the thief and the female thief"—the well-known prescription which has passed into *fiḳḥ* and is sometimes briefly designated as *kaṭ al-ḥiṣṣ*; Sūra VIII, 7: "and [Allah] may cut off the root of the Infidels", i.e., extirpate them. Sūra II, 25 and XIII, 25 (27) "[those who] cut up what Allah has ordered to join"; Sūra XXIX, 28 (29) "will you cut the road?" i.e., commit highway robbery; Sūra XXVII, 32 "I decide nothing".

To the early reciters of the Qur'an (*ḳurrā*), *kaṭ* or *wakf* was the pause in reading, based on the sense or otherwise. Later a distinction was made between the short pause for breath, and the other pauses,

based on the sense; according to some, *kaṭ'* indicated only the first; according to others only the second.

The grammarians use *alif al-kaṭ'* for the disjunctive *hamza* which, opposed to the so-called *hamzat al-waṣl*, cannot be elided [see ALIF]. *Kaṭ'* further indicates the deliberate cutting, for a special purpose, between elements of a sentence which syntactically are closely connected, e.g. instead of *al-Ḥamdu li 'llāhi 'l-Ḥamīdi* one might say *al-Ḥamdu li 'llāhi 'l-ḥamīdu* (= *wahuwa 'l-ḥamīdu*), or . . . *'l-ḥamīda* (= *a'ni 'l-ḥamīda*).

In prosody, *kaṭ'* indicates cutting short the ending of certain metrical feet, e.g., the shortening of the metrical foot *fā'īlun* to *fā'īl* = *fa'īlun* or of *mustaf'īlun* to *mustaf'īl* = *maf'īlun*. This shortened form is then called *makṭū'*.

For mathematicians, *kaṭ' al-makḥrū'*, the conic section, is of importance; specifically *kaṭ' xā'id* is the hyperbola, *kaṭ' nākīs* the ellipse, *kaṭ' mukāfi* the parabola and *kaṭ' mukāfi mudjassam* the paraboloid.

In astrology, *kaṭ* indicates scission = *ἀνάρρασις*, specifically *κλιμακστήρ*, climacteric.

*Kaṭ'* (*al-warak*), in the sense of format of paper, has had a certain importance in the history of official administration. The Arabic papyri are of many different formats, but according to Grohmann the Arabs seem to have adopted both the dominations and sizes from the Greeks. In any case, one can recognize a certain continuity in the dimensions of the format. An ordinary roll of papyrus of 20 leaves, about 5 metres long, was called *kirtās* (from Greek *χάρτης*, Aramaic *קִרְטָס*) and the sixth part of it, *tūmār* or *tūmār kirtās* (τομάρτιον χάρτου). In the papyrus texts parts of the roll are mentioned frequently, e.g. 2/3 roll (*thuluthay kirtās*), 1/3, 1/6 (*tūmār*) and also 1/2 and 1/3 of a *tūmār*. The surviving documents emanating from the Egyptian provincial chancellery of Kurra b. Sharik (90-96/709-714) [q.v.] are distinguished by an exceptionally large format and wide spacing between the lines. Documents emanating from the government chancellery of the Umayyads in Damascus have apparently not survived but it seems that as early as Mu'awiya's reign distinctions of format were known according to the rank of the addressee. This information comes from a lost *Kitāb al-kalam wa'l-dawāt* of Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Madā'īnī, who is perhaps identical with Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Madā'īnī (d. 581/1185, Brockelmann S I, 604, 10c). According to this work, caliphs were addressed on 2/3 *tūmār* (*li 'l-khulafā' fī kirtās min thuluthay tūmār*), governors on 1/2, finance directors and secretaries on 1/3, merchants on 1/4, bookkeepers and geometers on 1/6. Apart from these distinctions, it is worth noting that literary papyri have an almost square format whereas an oblong format, later on called *safīna*, was reserved for the Kur'an. According to a statement by Ibn 'Abdūs (d. 331/942), al-Walīd I (86-96/705-715) was the first Umayyad caliph who was addressed on *ṭawāmīr* and who introduced a larger format and a more elegant writing (*wa-amara bi-an tu'azzama kutubuhu wa-yudjallala 'l-khaṭf*). But 'Umar II (99-101/717-720) was opposed to such extravagance and ordered the clerks to write closely (*bi-djam' al-khaṭf*); his own writings were only one span wide (*fa-kānat kutubuhu innamā hiya shibrān*).

The state chancellery of the 'Abbāsids had also a distinction of formats, described by al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946); he mentions the sizes of the sheets (*al-makādīr allatī yuktab fihā min al-karāfīs*). The formats are the same as those used under the Umayyads, to which was added a 2/5 format for special (*khāṣṣ*)

documents, autographed or dictated by the vizier. Al-Ṣūlī's informant on this point was Aḥmad b. Ismā'il b. al-Khaṣīb al-Anbārī, an intimate of the caliph of one day al-Murtaḍā (296/908) = Ibn al-Mu'tazz [q.v.].

From the Mamlūk period we have no less than three lists which show some development in the formats. The oldest is that preserved by Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349) in which he describes the sizes of the formats of the sheets (*makādīr kaṭ' al-warak al-ladhi yuktab fihī*). Here also there are five formats, which however include only three of the early ones: 2/3, 1/2 and 1/3. The largest is an in-folio (*al-kaṭ' al-kāmil*) used for treaties and the smallest is an ordinary format (*kaṭ' al-'āda*) used for decrees and appointments of the lowest rank. The latter was therefore the format most commonly used and corresponded with the two early formats 1/4 and 1/6. The author adds that the formats are thus sufficiently explained and that the rest may be inferred by analogy (*tafsīl lā'ik kis 'alayhi wa-bi 'llāhi 'l-tawfīk*).

Al-Kalkāshandī (d. 821/1418), the greatest authority on the secretarial art, also deals thoroughly with the formats and their history. His lists contain nine Egyptian and six Syrian formats. Besides the five ancient Egyptian sizes, he mentions three in-folios: two from Baghdād, a larger and a smaller, and a third from Syria. He also adds a particularly small size for use with carrier-pigeons (*al-kaṭ' al-ṣaḡīr min warak al-ṭayr*). The four Syrian sizes were intended for the chancelleries in the province of Syria: *kāmil*, 1/2 *ḥamawī*, *'āda* and *warak al-ṭayr*. From al-Kalkāshandī's explanations, it is clear that he does not conceive the names of the format as indicating parts of the sheet, but as indicating the width in Egyptian ell as used for measuring cloth, e.g., 2/3 = *thuluthā dhirā' bi-dhirā' al-kumāsh al-Miṣrī*.

After al-Kalkāshandī, the number of formats increased still further and resulted in an excess of formats too numerous to systematize. An anonymous description of Egyptian chancellery procedure, dating from the end of the 9th/15th century, is preserved in a Paris manuscript under the title *Diwān al-inshā'*. Quatremère used this in his introduction to his *Histoire des Mongols*, while Karabacek used it to try and introduce some order into the scattered data. In assuming that the Egyptian textile ell was 48.886 cm. and that the relationship of breadth to height was on average two to three, he was able to calculate all the formats in centimetres. His findings are put together in a table comprising fifteen formats, including the classical five formats, and in addition, no less than seven folio formats. Despite the enormous effort involved, the findings are somewhat uncertain, and an edition of the text would be desirable. This Egyptian development came to an abrupt end with the Ottoman conquest in 1517. As an Ottoman province, Egypt had no state chancellery.

Ottoman documents, according to Fekete, were always long and narrow, but the so-called Imperial Letters to foreign rulers had very varied and sometimes huge formats. The Arabic formats were apparently not known, but many styles of writing had names like *sūlūs* and *tūmar*. In the Mongol state chancellery also, paper was long and narrow, on the Chinese model. In the Arab east, *kaṭ'* as a format is still not entirely forgotten (cf. the dictionaries of Belot, Elias, Wehr), while in Turkish the word *kiṭ'a* is in common use (cf. Samy, Heuser, Ağakay).

In religious history, the expression *kaṭ'a yamīnan* = "to swear an oath", which Pedersen (*Der Eid bei*

den Semiten, 46 and 12 n. 5) compares with the Hebrew *kārat berit* = "to make a covenant". As in other Semitic languages, *kaṭa'a* acquires the meaning of "resolve", "decide". In logic, it means "to assert something decisively or refute someone completely" or, e.g. *'alima kaṭ'an* or *'ala 'l-kaṭ'fi*, "to know something with absolute certainty", *dalil kaṭ'fi*, "a conclusive proof". Compare further titles of books listed in Brockelmann, such as *al-Burhān al-kaṭ'fi*, *Kawāfi' al-burhān*, *al-Barāhīn al-kaṭ'fi'a* or *al-Kaṭ'iyya*.

A small Shī'ī sect is known as the *Kaṭ'iyya* because they "cut off" the line of Imāms with the death of Mūsā al-Kāzim.

**Bibliography:** Apart from the general dictionaries, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; M. A'lā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s.v. Mathematics: *Thābit b. Qurra al-Harrānī, Fi Kaṭ' al-makhrūṭ alladhī yusammā 'l-mukāfi* ("On the parabola"), by H. Suter, in *SBPMS*, xlviii and xlix (1916-7), 65-86; Ibrāhīm b. Sinān b. Thābit, *Fi masāhat kaṭ' al-makhrūṭ al-mukāfi*, tr. and comm. by H. Suter in *Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, lxiii (1918), 214-28.—Astrology: C. A. Nallino, *Del Vocabolo kaṭ' nell' astrologia araba*, in *RSO*, viii/4 (1921), 739-43.—State affairs: T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic book*, London 1929, 56 ff.; A. Grohmann, *From the world of Arabic papyri*, Cairo 1952, 32, 43, 45; idem, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyriuskunde*, Prague 1955, 65, 68, 78; N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, 1957, 2, ii, 1967, 8 f.; Ibn 'Abdūs al-Dīahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā' w'al-kuttāb*, ed. H. v. Mžik, Leipzig 1926, fol. 22a, 24b; J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretäre von Ibn 'Abdūs*, Walldorf-Hessen 1958, 35; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Šūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, Cairo 1341, 148; Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umari, *al-Ta'rif bi'l-muštalaḥ al-šarif*, Cairo 1312, 89 f.; al-Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-a'sha*, vi, 189; *Dau' al-subḥ*, i, 412-5; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg, 1928, 114; Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, I, Paris 1836. CXXXIII-VII; J. Karabaček, *Das arabische Papier*, in *Mitteilungen aus den Papyri Erzherzog Rainer* ii-iii, 148 ff.; Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, i, 442; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie*, i, 1926, XII; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Wiesbaden 1955, 290.—The *Kaṭ'iyya*: al-Šahraṣṭānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Nihal*, ed. Cureton, 127. (W. BJÖRKMANN)

**KAṬ' AL-ṬARIḶ** [see *KATL*, *ŠU'LŪK*].

**KATĀ** (A.) is a collective noun (noun of unity: -a, pl. *kaṭawāt*, *kaṭayāt*) denoting the ornithological family of Pteroclididae or, with their Spanish name, *gangas* (English, sandgrouse), but without distinguishing species. This term, onomatopaeic for the cry of these birds, is a typical example of the language ingeniously adapting itself to the norms of Semitic trilateralism. It is given the root *K-Ṭ-W/K-Ṭ-Y* from which is derived the diminutive *kaṭayy* and to which are connected all the dialectal forms like *kaṭayyaḡāya*, *kaṭawiyyaḡawiyya*, *gaṭwa*, *gāṭū*, *gaṭṭū*.

In Islamic lands six species of sandgrouse are known; they are scattered among a score of geographical races but confined to the semi-desert and steppes. Out of six types the Arabs have dis-

tinguished just three, to which the others have been assimilated. The rather precise descriptions which encyclopaedists have given to these three different species make them easily identifiable (see al-Damīrī, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 252-6; *Kuṣḥādīm*, *Maṣāyid*, Bagdad 1954, 277-9; al-Kalkashandī, *Subḥ*, ii, 71). First of all they identify the *kudrī* (pl. -*iyya*, *kuḍr* and rarely *kadārī*, also called 'arabī and *awraḳ*) corresponding to Lichtenstein's or the Close-Barred Sandgrouse (*Pterocles Lichtensteini*) which is the smallest of them. It has black spots and lacks a pointed tail. The male has a double yellow pectoral band clearly defined by a black bar. It lives not only in Africa (in the Ahaggar, the Aīr, the Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia) but also all along the western seaboard and in the south of Arabia as far as 'Umān. It is unknown in central Arabia, but reappears in 'Irāq and in Iran. Very similar to this sandgrouse is the Crested Sandgrouse (*Pterocles coronatus*) which has the same distribution in Africa apart from Ethiopia and Somalia. It reappears from the south of Sinai to the south of Palestine and from 'Irāq as far as Balūcīstān.

The second type recognised by the desert peoples is the *djūnī* (pl. *djūn*; also called *ghaḍaf* and *ghalmā'*, Persian *siyāh sīnah*, Turkish *bākir karā*, Maghribī *guffār*, *gaṭā hurr*, Berber *tigernāḡ*), which is the Black-bellied sandgrouse (*Pterocles orientalis*). It is found only in a zone between the 30th and 40th parallels north; in Africa only in the Maghrib from the Atlantic to the frontier of Cyrenaica (it is evenly distributed throughout southern Spain); in the east from Turkey to India; and in the north as far as the Tarbagatai. It is not recorded in the Sahara or Arabia. This sandgrouse, which is about the size of a large pigeon, and perhaps a third bigger than the *kudrī*, is recognizable by the velvety black of its abdomen, its dark wing quills, its cream pectoral band, its short tail and its light rasping cry, very different from the hoarse and sonorous "kata".

Two other sandgrouse have a dark belly, and from a back view may be confused with the former. They are on the one hand the Chestnut-bellied or Small Pintailed Sandgrouse (*Pterocles exustus*), which is found in Egypt, from Fayyūm to Luxor; in Africa, from Senegal to the Red Sea; in the south of the Sahara in a narrow band as far as Somalia; then in the South of Arabia except in the Yemen. In the north it is common in the Near East, and in the east, from Palestine to India. On the other hand, the Spotted Sandgrouse (*Pterocles Senegallus*; Sahara *gaṭṭū*, *gāṭū*) occupies broadly all the African Sahara between the lines Tiznit to Gabès in the North and Cape Juby to Somalia in the south; it is absent from the Maghrib. To the east of the Red Sea it occurs in all of Arabia, and in the north it is recorded from Jordan to Afghānistān and to the Punjab. It is the most widely distributed of the sandgrouse and is distinguished by the absence of a pectoral band and has, like the Black-bellied Sandgrouse, a blue supercilium. In the Sahara the Touareg population who, not without reason, liken the sandgrouse to the Columbidae, confuse under the same names the Crested Sandgrouse and Lichtenstein's Sandgrouse: *tamahakḳ*, from *tikadiw* pl. *tikadewin*, (= "little stone") in the Adrar; *tagidūk* in the Aīr; and *idebir/ tidebir* pl. *idbar/tidbar*, *idberen/tidbirin* in the Ahaggar.

The last of the species of sandgrouse and the third distinguished by the Arabs is the *ghaṭaf*, (from its guttural cawing), the Large Pintailed Sandgrouse (*Pterocles alchata*, a taxonomic preservation of the

Arabic generic name). Its geographical distribution is the same as that of the Black-bellied Sandgrouse but extending also to Cyrenaica. As big as the latter, the cata has a white belly with a broad bright red band bordered by a black stripe across the chest. In the female, this breast plumage is bright yellow transversely crossed by a black streak like that of the male Lichtenstein's Sandgrouse. Both sexes have their eyes camouflaged with black.

The nomads could well be excused for having differentiated only three species of sandgrouse out of six, on account of the close similarity of the plumage of each one. All are predominantly sandy-yellow, with fine speckles giving a pearl-grey tone (*māriyya*) which assures complete mimesis, and all the species also display identical behaviour. With the added factor of sexual dimorphism, only a skilled ornithologist could draw up an inventory of this rather homogeneous family. On the other hand, few observers other than these desert people have known in detail the biology of the sandgrouse which, placed between the Columbidae and the Gallinaceae, are essentially granivorous and live principally at ground level. On the ground they look like little partridges with short legs, but in flight they resemble pigeons (see above, the Touareg names, which apply to the Columbidae also). Because their habitat is the semi-desert regions they are obliged to cover long distances (sometimes 50 km. or more) in order to quench their thirst. For this purpose they assemble in large flocks (*sirb*, pl. *asrāb*, *ra'la* pl. *ri'al*) and reach the watering place in a great turmoil of cries in order to keep in contact; they cleave the air rapidly and some bathe while the mothers gorge themselves with water so that on their return they can regurgitate it into the parched gullets of their chicks. Their stop at the water source is very short and the birds hurry to get back to their own grounds.

From the earliest times in their life in solitary places, the Bedouin have had the time to notice all the details of the behaviour of the sandgrouse and to incorporate them into the dicta which the pre-Islamic poets turned to account (see al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 110; al-Damīrī, ii, 252-6; al-Djāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, v, 217, 287, 573-81 and index). The sandgrouse, which is very fierce, flees at the slightest alarm and cries out in its distinctive manner. Therefore it is said: *ansab min al-kaṭā*, "more easily recognisable than the sandgrouse" or *aṣḍaḥ min al-kaṭā*, "more plainly revealing itself than the sandgrouse". At night they are always alert and it is difficult to surprise them in their sleep; hence the nickname *ghadāra* (after Ibn Siduh) and the adage *law turika l-kaṭā laylan la-nām*, "if you leave the sandgrouse at peace at night, he will go back to sleep".

Kur'ānic law recognises the delicate flesh of this bird as licit for consumption, and it is a choice prey for the flesh-eaters and rapacious predators who relentlessly search it out, as another dictum demonstrates: *biḍ al-kaṭā yahḍunu-h l-aḍḍal*, "It is the Saker falcon which sits on the eggs of the sandgrouse". The back hallux of the foot of the sandgrouse is very atrophied, hence to describe something very minute it can be said *aḥṣar min ibhām al-kaṭā* "shorter than the sandgrouse's thumb". The female lays her eggs right on the ground, in a tuft of grass (*ufhūsa*), two or three eggs speckled with brown (*urm*), from which comes her nickname *umm thalāth* "mother of three eggs". This extraordinary instinctive ability to come straight back

to her nest, among the hundreds of nesting-places of the colony, after each "watering party", and then to recognise her own hatched chicks (*djawzal* pl. *djawzāl*) in order to give them water, this maternal solicitude joined with the attachment of the mate which shares all the tasks of educating the young, were such good examples that the admiration of the nomad was expressed in the saying *aḥdā min al-kaṭā* "with a better sense of direction than the sandgrouse". Exposed and defenceless in a hostile world, where "the survival of the fittest" is the rule, these little chicks of the sandgrouse are unable to do without the protection and experience of their parents, from whom they have much to learn in the art of self-preservation, amid the many perils which threaten them; but in such a good school, they soon manage to acquire this permanent mistrust which is the secret of survival of the species. The tent dwellers, in their laconic way, knew how to crystallise all the wisdom to be drawn from this contrast of powerful and weak in this saying: *laysa kaṭān miḥl kaṭayy* "Sandgrouse old and sandgrouse young make a pair".

It is of course round these watering points that man has at all times lain in wait for and captured the sandgrouse as a source of food, using in the process all the tricks and inventions born of his ingenuity in the art of birdcatching. Nooses, tripnets, snares and all kinds of booby-traps are set up for them at the watering place, as a number of pre-Islamic verses prove. Very few poets indeed of the *Djāhiliyya* and the beginnings of Islam have omitted to cite the sandgrouse and its daily visit to the pool, which exposed it to the greed of the stalker. There are, first of all, these verses poignant with reality from the famous *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* (verses 36-42) attributed to Ṣhanfarā. The poet, having returned to a life close to nature, overtakes at the watering place the parched flights of sandgrouse and contends with them for the vital element. Ḥumayd b. Ṭhawr knew how to present the bird in its habitat (*Diwān*, Cairo 1371/1951, 53 no. 6, verses 16-27), while Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā shows it fleeing before the attack of the falcon (*Diwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, 36 no. 10, verses 13-24), a theme taken up again by al-Akḥṭal (*Maḍjānī ḥadīṯha*, ii, 96). Also touching is the composition variously attributed to the Maḍjūn of the ʿĀmir, to Qays b. Dhariḥ and to Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir (al-Damīrī, ii, 253; Aghānī, ii, 40; *Ḥayawān*, v, 577), which is thus conceived: (metre *wāfir*, rhyme *-āḥū*): "My heart, on the evening when it learned that he should go away with Laylā of the ʿĀmir on the morrow, in the morning or in the evening, was like a sandgrouse which had fallen into a snare and which struggled ceaselessly throughout the night, but in vain, its wing caught fast in the mesh."

The treachery of the nets did not escape Zuhayr when, comparing the speed of his charger with that of the sandgrouse in flight, he said (*Diwān*, Tunis 1323/1905, 44 verse 13, metre *baṣīf*, rhyme *-kū*): "He is as swift as one of these [untiring] sandgrouse of the pools, but one which the drawers of water have chased, and whose companion the snares have ravished." In his turn, 'Ubayd (d. 90/709) evokes the same picture in this verse (*LA*, s.v. *SH-B-K*, metre *baṣīf*, rhyme *-dū*). "Or a flight of sandgrouse of Fayḥān which the snares and stalkers chased from the watering place of Yaḥribā".

Another characteristic of the sandgrouse which the poets have brought into relief is its embarrassed gait, caused by the smallness of its feet; it walks,

waddling along with measured step, head and tail erect and with its chest thrown out, evoking rather well the portly and majestic bearing of the woman of ample form, the ideal of feminine beauty for the Arabs. Al-Kumayt, among others, knew how to exploit this comparison (see *Ḥayawān*, v, 576); but it would not be possible to mention here all those who include the sandgrouse in their rhymes without making the list too long.

In the more concrete domain of the hunt, with the development under the 'Abbāsids of the sport of hawking [see BAYZARA], an attempt was made to attract the goshawk to the sandgrouse, but without great success. Access to the grounds of this bird was already difficult, and the sandgrouse was little inclined to fly off individually. It was impossible to dislodge it from the dense thickets where it took refuge without recourse to a hunting dog (*zaghāri*); bustards, partridges and francolins were put to flight more easily. As for falcons, they were too noble for this low flying. On the other hand they perfected the methods of capture with the net by joining to the swinging trip net the contrivance of a live calling bird (*da'wā*) with a young pigeon disguised as a sandgrouse. 'Isā al-Asadī (7th/13th century) indicates in his vast cynegetic encyclopaedia (*al-Djāmhara fī 'ulūm al-bayzara*, ms. Escorial, Ar. 903, fols. 159b-160a) the way to transform this pigeon by dyeing its plumage with saffron or henna, and by docking its tail, to make it look like a sandgrouse. The stalker at the hut (*hawwākh*) would set up his net upwind on days of high wind and place the pigeon a few metres in front, being able to make it move with the aid of a leash. When the flock of sandgrouse arrived flying very low in the wind, the hunter would make the calling bird jump about. To complete the resemblance, he would make the cry of the young sandgrouse by means of a decoy call made with a fine tongue of leather which vibrated between two wooden plates with the wind. The birds would begin their descent and would immediately see themselves covered by the clap net which dropped down. This method of hunting was very much in favour in 'Irāk, and al-Asadī adds that the bird-netters of Baghdād rivalled each other in exploits, sometimes going so far as to capture in this way more than fifty sandgrouse at a stroke.

Finally a third procedure, rather less sporting, consisted of going to the nesting sites, stretching above each nesting group a little net which was firmly fixed all around, only leaving a narrow access corridor to the eggs. The sitting bird (it was the male by day), which had fled on the arrival of the hunter, would come back very quickly to the nest to pursue its task and would reach the breeding place by using the corridor. The stalker, hiding not far away, would wait until all the nests were occupied again and getting up suddenly would come running and shouting loudly; the sandgrouse, panic-stricken, would rush into the meshes which stopped their flight. In modern times, firearms in most Muslim countries have supplanted most of these stratagems. As for the Touareg, they neither hunt nor eat the sandgrouse or even the pigeon any more; to them, catching this game is an amusement left to the children.

All things considered, it must be recognised that if it had not been for the ancient desert poets and the sporadic attention which they accorded the sandgrouse in their animal descriptions, which served as a setting for their *ḥaṣīdas* (see R. Blachère,

*HLA*, ii, 449), this bird would have been completely unknown in literature.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the references mentioned in the text: E. B. Allouse, *al-Tuyūr al-'irākiyya, Birds of Iraq*, Baghdad 1960, ii, 185-93; F. O. Cave and J. D. Macdonald, *Birds of the Sudan*, London 1955, 162-4; F. Hue and R. D. Etchecopar, *Les Pteroclididés*, in *Rev. Fr. Ornithol./L'Oiseau*, xxvii (1957) 35-8 and bibliography; the same, *Les Oiseaux du Nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1964, 298-306; the same, *Les Oiseaux du Moyen Orient*, Paris 1971, s.v. *Pterocles*; Ibn Siduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, vii, 171 f.; L. Lavauden, *Les Vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926, 105-6; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touareg*, Paris 1951, 161; A. Ma'louf, *Mu'djam al-ḥayawān, An arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932, 215; Col. R. Meinertzhagen, *Birds of Arabia*, London 1954, 455-65; G. Mountfort, *La vie d'un désert*, Paris 1966, 92, 134; M. D. Show, *Voyages...*, The Hague 1743, i, 327. (F. VIRÉ)

**KAṬĀBA**, a small town close to the southern boundary of the Yaman Arab Republic (Northern Yaman) in the administrative district of Ibb [q.v.]. A short distance to the south of the other side of the boundary lies al-Dālī', formerly the capital of the 'Amirī amirate [q.v.] and now a forward base of the People's Democratic Republic of the Yaman (Southern Yaman).

Kaṭāba is located between the upper reaches of the Wādīs Tuban and Banā. Terraced fields in the surrounding rocky terrain produce cereals, fruit, coffee and *kāf* [q.v.]. At an altitude of over 1200 m. Kaṭāba is still much lower than Djabal Djihāf to the south and "the mighty rampart of the Yemen mountains" to the north. Although travellers can go from Aden to Ta'izz via Kaṭāba, the main route swings westwards before reaching al-Dālī' and Kaṭāba. The way north from Kaṭāba towards Yarim and Ṣan'ā' is very difficult to traverse. Kaṭāba's importance derives primarily from its position as a border stronghold.

Kaṭāba is not mentioned by the older geographers such as al-Hamidānī, though they speak of the tribe of Dja'da [q.v.] as dwelling in this region. In the 12th/18th century Kaṭāba was fought over by Yāfi' [q.v.] and other peoples in the vicinity. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1286/1869, the Ottoman government reinforced its authority in the Yaman and stationed a garrison in Kaṭāba. British influence having spread from Aden into the hinterland, a joint Anglo-Ottoman commission worked from 1319/1902 to 1323/1905 in demarcating a boundary line that left Kaṭāba just inside Yamanī territory. This line still divides Northern Yaman from Southern Yaman.

During World War I, Ottoman forces advanced from the Yaman against Aden, which they failed to capture after a long siege. After the close of the war, the Turks withdrew from the Yaman, and the Imām Yahyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Dīn [q.v.] acquired full sovereignty over the country. As Yahyā claimed that the areas under British protection south of the boundary rightfully belonged to the Yaman, clashes took place along the line, with Kaṭāba being one of the most sensitive spots. Although Yahyā and Britain concluded the Treaty of Ṣan'ā' in 1352/1934, providing for the maintenance of "the situation existing in regard to the frontier [*al-ḥudūd*]", the troubles did not cease. Yahyā was assassinated in 1367/1948. When a revolution overthrew his grandson Muḥammad al-Badr in 1382/1968, the new Yaman Arab Republic adopted the old territorial claims of the imamate,

but the republican government was diverted by the civil war against al-Badr and his supporters.

In 1383/1963 the National Liberation Front, a leftist party in Aden and its hinterland, began an armed struggle against the British in Ḍjabal Radfān south of Kaṭaba. This struggle culminated with the Front seizing power when the British evacuated Aden in 1387/1967 and establishing what is now called the People's Democratic Republic of the Yaman. Relations between the two Yamans have been strained, and the Aden government has charged that Northern Yaman uses Kaṭaba and other places as bases for subversive activities against its territory.

*Bibliography:* Hamdānī; al-Wāsiʿī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1366/1947; al-Ḍjirāfi, *al-Mukhtaf min taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1370/1951; Admiralty Handbook, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946; G. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915; idem, *The Land of Uz*, London 1911; W. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, London 1893; E. Macro, *Yemen and the Western World*, London 1968; J. Plass and U. Gehrke, *Die Aden-Grenze in der Südarabienfrage*, Opladen 1967. (G. RENTZ and W. BOSWELL)

**ḲATABĀN**, a pre-Islamic people of southwest Arabia, for knowledge of whom we are dependent on the ancient native inscriptions. They were known to the Greek and Latin geographers, under the names Κῤῆβαῖνῖται, Cattabanens and other variants, but the data available from that source need to be controlled against the background of the primary epigraphic sources. Muslim writers had no knowledge of them as a people, though Yāqūt records Ḳitbān as a simple place-name "in the region of Aden".

The distinctive culture of pre-Islamic southwest Arabia was that of a settled farming population, having at the base of its social structure the village community. A plurality of such communities formed a social unit described by a term corresponding to the Arabic word *shaʿb*; the cohesion of this unit was fundamentally economic, secondarily political and social, but it was not a kinship-group. At a third level of grouping we find cases where one *shaʿb* gained a dominance or hegemony over several neighbouring *shaʿb* groups. Finally, there is a fourth level of differentiation within the culture area as a whole, based on linguistic criteria: the language of the inscriptions is classifiable into four main dialects, and when the Greek geographers tell us that there were four principal "nations" in the area, it is clear that they are using the linguistic criterion of differentiation.

The existence of these various levels of grouping has led to some confusion in the use of the term Ḳatabanian, for scholars have not always been careful in distinguishing the levels at which the term is applicable. It is certain from the inscriptions that Ḳatabān was a *shaʿb*, whose territory consisted of the present-day Wādī Bayḥān [q.v.], and probably also the Wādī Ḥarīb [q.v.] parallel to it on the west; in ancient times, Bayḥān had been the name ineluctably of one of a number of village communities which together constituted the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān. At certain periods in its history, however, the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān was the dominant element in a hegemony which extended over the highland plateau south of the Wādī Bayḥān (now the Yemeni province of al-Bayḏāʿ, anciently Awsan), and beyond that into *Dathīna* [q.v.], the lowland area at the foot on the escarpment which forms the southern boundary of the plateau. The classical geographers tell us that the Ḳatabanians extended as far as the Red Sea and Indian Ocean coasts: but in so doing they were probably referring to the linguistic

"nation", i.e. the ethnic group which used the same dialect as the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān, for there is no epigraphic evidence to show that the latter ever exercised real political control over so wide an area. The most we can say is that there were certain social linkages between the Ḳatabanian heartland and the isolated highland massif in the extreme southwest of the peninsula of which today Taʿizz is the administrative centre, for the township of *Harbat* in the Wādī Ḥarīb was founded by immigrants from Sawwa, not far from Taʿizz.

There are some indications that, in the earliest phase of our historical records, it was the *shaʿb* Awsan which was the dominant partner in a confederacy covering to some extent the same area as the later Ḳatabanian confederacy. This is the most probable interpretation of the Ṣirwāh inscription (RES 3945), which records that Saba crushed Awsan and liberated Ḳatabān from Awsanian domination. F. Hommel supposed this to mean that Awsan then vanished completely and finally from the map, which is certainly wrong, since mention of Awsan occurs again much later—probably when the Ḳatabanian confederacy had in its turn broken up.

The chronology of Ḳatabān is still in some dispute. An American school, of which the protagonists are W. F. Albright and A. Jamme, hold that its history stretches from the 6th century B.C. or even earlier, down to the early years of the Christian Era. A continental school, headed by J. Ryckmans and J. Pirenne, dates the whole process some two centuries or so later. The only taint of uncertainty at the moment is that there is no mention whatever of Ḳatabān in inscriptions from the 4th century A.D. onwards; and we are forced to believe that by this time Ḳatabān had disappeared from the political and social map. This is why Muslim writers knew nothing of it as a social entity, for such knowledge as they had of pre-Islamic affairs extends only to the couple of centuries immediately preceding Islam. It could also be surmised that it was the disappearance of Ḳatabān that paved the way for the rise of Bayḥān from being a mere village community to a social entity giving its name to the whole Wādī, but at the same time speaking of the king of Ḥaḍramawt as overlord: this suggests that Ḳatabān may have been overthrown by a Sabaeo-Ḥaḍramī alliance, which assigned the former lands of the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān to Ḥaḍramī overlordship.

Apart from the uncertainty of the absolute chronology, a diversity of attempts have been made at establishing an internal relative chronology; but it is doubtful whether even the best of these can yet be regarded as definitive.

*Archaeology.* In this respect, the Wādī Bayḥān is better known than any other area of comparable size in the culture area, thanks largely to the intensive research campaigns of 1950-51 under the auspices of the American Foundation for the Study of Man. These concentrated much of their attention on a site now known as *Ḥaḍjar Kuḥlān*, anciently Θοῦμα, Thomna, etc., and inscriptionally *Tmn*. It lies at the far northern end of the Wādī, and though now engulfed in desert sands, was formerly a highly prosperous settlement. There was a rectangular walled town, one quarter of the area of which was an open market space, wherein stands a stela of ancient date containing the market regulations; a temple outside the walled town; and a burial ground at a small rocky outcrop now called *Ḥayd Bin ʿAḳīl* some few kilometres north-east of the town. This site was the metropolis of the Ḳatabanian confederacy in its

heyday; but it came to a violent end, being destroyed by fire. There are, however, indications that the original headquarters of the *ṣhaʿb* Ḳatabān, before it emerged into paramountcy over the confederation, may have been at the site now called Ḥaḍjar Bin Ḥuneyd, approximately halfway between Ḥaḍjar Kuḥlān and the present administrative centre at Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, for the stratigraphic evidence here seems to indicate a very high antiquity indeed for the site.

Three possible routes link the Wādī Bayḥān with the Wādī Ḥarīb. One can skirt the northern end of the mountain range separating the two wādīs, but this route must always have been insecure, exposed as it is to attacks from desert tribesmen. Somewhat further there is a pass known as Naḳd Maḳkaḍ, devoid of inscriptional records but having on the eastern approach two stone walls which start from the sides of the valley and gradually converge, as they ascend, to a narrow opening at the summit of the pass; this ensures that caravans could only cross the pass at that precise point, thus facilitating customs control. Further south again there is a much more impressive relic. Due west of Ḥaḍjar Bin Ḥuneyd, the Wādī Mablāḳa strikes up into the dividing mountain chain. At the head of this, one ascends by a steep zigzag climb up the mountainside, along a finely paved path of pre-Islamic date; at the very summit of the col, a way has been cut deep into the natural rock. The construction of the whole route is recorded in an inscription at the summit.

Another portion of what was evidently the same plan crossed a similar pass-road named Ṣr in an inscription; the exact location of this is unknown, but it certainly led westwards out of the Wādī Ḥarīb towards the Wādī Dǰūba and Mārīb.

The whole Wādī Bayḥān was in ancient times agriculturally exploited by an elaborate irrigation system which has been studied in detail by a member of the 1950-51 expedition, G. van Beek.

In the Wādī Ḥarīb, the only site that has been inspected (though not yet systematically excavated) is that of the previously mentioned township *Harbat*, now called Ḥaḍjar Ḥinu al-Zurayr, slightly north of the western exit from the Mablāḳa pass. The part of the Wādī further north has for political reasons been, until quite recently, inaccessible to scientific research. The same is true of the Wādī Maḳkaḍ, to the east of the Wādī Bayḥān, with its important site of Ḥaḍjar al-Nāb, from which one could hope for considerable accretions to our knowledge of Ḳatabān.

Other sites in the Wādī Bayḥān itself which might repay further investigation include Maryama, situated at a point where the Wādī bifurcates some 8 km. south of Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, and just west of a pass leading towards the Wādī Maḳkaḍ.

The market regulations of *Tmn*<sup>c</sup> attest the keen interest of Ḳatabān in trade. A further index of this interest is the existence of a well-documented series of Ḳatabanian coins, starting in the 3rd century B.C. with imitations of Athenian "owl" coinage, and later developing into native types. *Tmn*<sup>c</sup> must to some extent have been a centre of international trade, for the Minaeans, who seem to have monopolized the traffic in aromatics, had a resident colony there supervised by their own official called the "*ḳabir* of the Minaeans in *Tmn*<sup>c</sup>"; and one type of Ḳatabanian coinage has a legend not in the usual "monumental" script of the settled populations, but in a north Arabian script style.

Ḳatabān in its later phase showed a very high de-

gree of artistic achievement; and its art is manifestly greatly influenced by Greek models.

Religion. The History of Ḳatabān lies wholly within the polytheistic period, and its pantheon, as elsewhere in the culture area, was dominated by a triad of principal deities. Firstly, a lunar god called in the Ḳatabanian speaking territory by the name ʿAmm (in the other linguistic nations he had different names). Secondly, ʿAḥtar, so named throughout the culture area, the male counterpart of north Semitic Ashtaroth/Astarte, and usually considered to be the Venus-star. Thirdly, a solar goddess with no distinctive name but referred to simply as "sun", or by one or more of a series of feminine epithets. All the major deities, in fact, embrace a number of hypostases distinguished by varying epithets. There were also minor deities, whose functions and characteristics it is difficult to define.

About actual religious practices we know very little, for the Ḳatabanian language texts are as a whole markedly more secular in tone than the Sabaean ones. One interesting sidelight is that part of *Dathīna* was farmed by *mētayers* of the *ṣhaʿb* *Khḍ*, while the proprietorial rights were vested in two clans of the *ṣhaʿb* Ḳatabān; and this landlord-tenant relationship expressed itself in a common allegiance to a hypostasis of ʿAmm with the distinctive epithet "of Labaḳh" (this last the name of a prominent mountain on the west side of the Wādī Bayḥān)—see Beeston, *Qahtan*, ii.

Institutions. The titular head of the *ṣhaʿb* Ḳatabān was a king, *malik*; but he was by no means an autocrat. Legislative enactments were passed in the name of the king together with other functionaries having a variety of titles impossible to interpret with any precision, but who may have been grouped together under a name etymologically related to Arabic *sayyid*. The composition of the body probably varied according to the business in hand; in the market regulations a prominent role is played by the "overseer" (*ḳr*) of the market, in irrigation texts by the landlords. The king was not supreme legislator but rather chief executive. His functions were to register, promulgate and secure the carrying out of the acts of the legislative body; to initiate major public works; and to act as commander in war.

He had moreover a dual role. By virtue of being head of the *ṣhaʿb* Ḳatabān he was also head of the confederacy in which the *ṣhaʿb* Ḳatabān was the dominant member—in rather the same way that the Queen of England is also "head of the British Commonwealth". As head of the confederacy, he used formally the title *mḳrb* (vocalization unknown) of Ḳatabān, *i.e.* in this context, the Ḳatabanian confederacy. It must be stressed that a theory propounded by F. Hommel, and still unfortunately being given currency, has in the last few decades been proved conclusively to be unfounded and is not now believed by any expert: namely, that *mḳrb* was the title of the "priest-ruler" (Accadian *ensi*) of a theocratic state anterior to the establishment of a secular state headed by a king.

The crucial evidence on this point is the inscription at the head of the Mablāḳa pass. This is in two parts: in the first (RES 2550) the credit for sponsoring the work is claimed for an individual styling himself *mḳrb* of Ḳatabān; in the second (Ryckmans 390, not published until 1949), the director of public works states that he superintended the work "on behalf of his lord the king of Ḳatabān". King and *mḳrb* are the same individual. It is clear that, to a member of the *ṣhaʿb* Ḳatabān, his superior was simply "king of

Ḳatabān", but the latter, in sponsoring a major public work for the benefit of, and probably financed by, the whole confederacy, used the title *mkrb* which stressed his position as head of the confederacy and not merely of the *sha'ab*.

While it is possible that every *mkrb* may have been also a king, the reverse is not true. There are several instances of two brothers, or a father and son, being designated "joint kings of Ḳatabān", but the title *mkrb* never occurs in dual or plural. It would be safe to conclude, at least provisionally, that when there were two joint kings of the *sha'ab*, only one could be formal head of the confederacy.

Certain holders of the *mkrb* office list and elaborate series of other formal titles, among which two phrases deserve note. The *mkrb* is tax-collector (*qzr*, cf. Tigrinya *taq'āsāri*), chief administrator (*qyn*), and priest, of the tutelary deity of the confederacy, 'Amm; he was thus responsible for federal tax-collection and other administration, and for the maintenance of the federal cultus. Further, he is "first-born" (*bkr*) of that deity: this expression has to be evaluated in the context of the fact that all members of the Ḳatabanian confederacy are collectively the "children of 'Amm", that is, under the special protection of the tutelary deity of the confederacy; there is no reason to think that "first-born" implies anything more than the primacy of status enjoyed by the head of the confederacy in relation to the other "children of 'Amm".

One institution which emerges with greater clarity in Ḳatabān than elsewhere is the *corvée*. The maintenance of the great irrigational installations which served a number of properties was the responsibility of the landowners concerned, and the latter were obliged to provide for this purpose one day's *corvée* labour in each period of fifteen days (RES 3854 as reinterpreted in Beeston, *Calendars*, 6-7).

Language. The dialects of the culture area constitute an independent language within the southern branch of the Semitic languages, as distinct from Arabic as is, on the one hand Aramaic, and on the other Ethiopic (albeit in the later, post-Ḳatabanian, phase a good many Arabic lexical items begin to creep in). Of the Ḳatabanian dialect itself, the most noteworthy features are: (a) the prefix of the causative verb-system, and the base of the third person independent and affixed pronouns, are sibilants, as they are in Minaean and Ḥaḍrami, whereas Sabaeen has *h* in these forms; (b) the imperfect indicative of verbs has a *b*-prefix, contrasting with absence of the prefix in subjunctive and jussive.

The script is the South Semitic alphabet used throughout the culture area (either directly ancestral to, or at all events closely related to, Ethiopic script), but with a fairly distinctive Ḳatabanian ductus, which in the earlier phases resembles Minaean ductus and in the latter phases evolves its own characteristic style of great beauty. The alphabet contains 29 consonantal symbols, representing the 28 consonant phonemes of Arabic plus an extra unvoiced sibilant phoneme.

*Bibliography*: W. F. Albright, *The chronology of ancient South Arabia*, in *BASOR*, cxix, 5-15; A. F. L. Beeston, *Qahtan*, fasc. i, *The mercantile code of Qataban*, fasc. ii, *The Labakh texts*, London 1959-71; idem, *Epigraphic South Arabian calendars*, London 1956; idem, *Descriptive grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian*, London 1962; idem, *Kingship in ancient South Arabia*, in *JESHO* xv (1972), 256-68; R. L. Bowen, F. P. Albright et al., *Archaeological discoveries in South Arabia*, Baltimore 1958; B. Doe, *Southern Arabia*,

London 1971 [excellent photographs and descriptions of sites, but unreliable on history and epigraphy]; M. A. Ghul, *New Qatabāni inscriptions*, in *BSOAS*, xxii, 1-22, 419-38; G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, London 1922; M. Höfner and H. von Wissmann, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Sudarabiens*, Wiesbaden 1953, 35-77; A. Jamme, *Le panthéon sudarabe préislamique*, in *Le Museon*, lx (1947), 57-147; idem, *Pièces épigraphiques de Heid bin Aqil*, Louvain 1952; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie*, s.v. KATABANI; J. Pirenne, *Paléographie des inscriptions sudarabes*, i, Brussel 1956; idem, *Le royaume sudarabe de Qatabān et sa datation*, Louvain 1961; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, tom. 6-7, Paris 1935-50; G. Van Beek et al., *Hajar bin Humaid*, Baltimore 1969; J. Walker, *A mysterious South Arabian coin-legend*, in *NC*, 6th ser., viii, 39-42.

(A. F. L. BEESTON)

**KATĀDA B. DI'ĀMA B. KATĀDA AL-SADŪSĪ**, ABŪ'L-KHAṬṬĀB, a Successor, who was blind from birth and who became proverbial (see, e.g., Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 2) for his prodigious memory and his knowledge about genealogies, lexicography, historical traditions, Ḳur'ānic exegesis and the readings, and *hadīth*. Of Bedouin origin, he spent his life in Baṣra, where he is said to have gone about without a guide. He was the pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibn Sīrīn, and also transmitted the Ṣaḥīfa of Ḍjābir b. 'Abd Allāh (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 10, Eng. tr. ii, 23). He was considered to be a proponent of the doctrine of free will [see *QADARIYYA*], and it was he who gave their name to the Mu'tazila, but it is also said that he later renounced his Qadari views. His exegetical teaching was written down by Sa'īd b. Bashīr (*Fihrist*, 51), who died in 168/784-5, according to Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 265-6. He was supposedly born in 60/680, and died of plague at Wāsiṭ in 117/735, but the information on the place and date of his death is contradictory.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Baṭṭa-Laoust, 31; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 462 and index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 514 (= ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, iv, 85-6); Ḍḥahabī, *Huffāz*, i, 115-17; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 153-4; Ibn Sa'd, vii/2, 1-3; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 509-11; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 333-45, no. 198; Ibn Ḍjazarī, *Ḳurrāṭ*, ii, no. 2611; Ṣafadī, *Nakh*, 230; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, viii, 351; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xvii, 9-10; Massignon, *Essai*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

**KATĀDA B. IDRĪS**, usually known as Abū-'Uzaiyyiz, the ancestor of the *sharīfs* of Mecca from the beginning of the 7th/13th century. He was born in the district of Yanbu', probably soon after 540/1145-6. Yanbu', a fortress, on the Mecca-Medina road, was then dominated by the Ḳatāda family, one of the 'Alawī families which belonged to the branch of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century Mukaththir b. Ḳāsim, *sharīf* and ruler of Mecca, died. He was succeeded by his son Muhammad, the last *sharīf* of the ruling family of the Hawāshim. Ḳatāda b. Idris, who had earlier succeeded in uniting his tribe with the other tribes of the district of Yanbu' under his leadership, captured Mecca and killed Muhammad b. Mukaththir. The last *sharīfs* of the Banū Hāshim had lived in an atmosphere of constant family strife and quarrels. Meanwhile, Ḳatāda had established himself in Yabhu' and extended his power southwards in the direction of Mecca, thus preparing his attack on the holy city.



Katāda was a man of political genius. He pursued the idea of founding an independent state in Arabia, recognizing the weakness of both the 'Abbāsids of Baghdād and the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria. Since neither they nor the Zaydīs of Yaman presented any real threat, he endeavoured to capture the whole of the Ḥijāz. After repairing the ruinous walls of Mecca, he captured al-Ṭā'if and brought the Ṭhaḳīf tribes under his dominion. Katāda rebuilt the fortress of Yanbu', organized his army and then tried to capture Medina, but Sālim b. Kāsim, the *sharīf* of Medina, and a member of the Ḥusaynī branch of the 'Alawī family, thwarted his purpose.

Although Katāda was a *Shī'ī*, he acknowledged the suzerainty of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir. On the whole, however, his relations with the caliph were frequently strained and sometimes broke into open hostility. Nevertheless, the caliph, who was working to reunite the Muslim world under his leadership, once invited him to visit Baghdād. It is said that Katāda started on his journey to the capital, but returned to his own country when he was met by an embassy of the caliph which had in its train fettered lions. Be this legend or fact, this much is certain, that Katāda embodied his idea of the "splendid isolation of Ḥijāz" in verses which are a typical illustration of his negative attitude towards foreign powers. Probably his encouragement of the Zaydī occupation of Yaman is to be viewed in the same light.

In 609/1212-13, the mother of Djalāl al-Dīn, leader of the Assassins, lord of Alamūt and the ally of al-Nāṣir, the 'Abbāsīd caliph, went to Mecca on the pilgrimage. Her visit coincided with the murder of Katāda's cousin. Katāda, who greatly resembled his cousin, was sure that he himself was the intended victim and that the murderer was an Assassin sent against him by the caliph. Greatly angered, he attacked and looted the 'Irāḳī pilgrims and imposed a heavy fine on them, much of which was paid by the lady of Alamūt.

In his last days Katāda undertook an expedition against Medina. Illness, however, induced him to return to Mecca, where he was killed in 618/1221 by his son Ḥasan, who suspected him of favouring one of his relatives as candidate for the throne. His descendants were ruling *sharīfs* in Mecca until 1916, when Ḥusayn converted the sharīfate into a kingdom.

*Bibliography:* Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'at al-zaman*, Hyderabad 1952, viii, 617-8; Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-Harām*, Cairo 1956, ii, 198-9; Yāfi'i, *Mir'at al-dīnān*, Hyderabad 1339/1920-1, iv 39; Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, Cairo 1956, i, 206; 'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-'awālī*, Cairo, iv, 207-14; Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ii, 69, 214, 260 ff.; iii, 14, 83; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 134, 169, 261 ff.; al-Sindjārī, *Manā'ih al-Karam*, fols. 121 ff., in Snouck Hurgronje's Ms.; Ahmad Zaynī Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-Kalām*, Cairo 1305, 23; idem, 'Umdat al-Tālib, Bombay 1318, 121 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, 'Ibar, Bülāk 1284, iv, 104 ff.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1286, ii, 137; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 73 ff.; idem, *Qatadah's policy of splendid isolation of the Hijaz*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 439-44, where Katāda's poem is discussed (= *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, iii, 355 ff.).

(A. S. WENSINCK-[S. ZAKKAR])

**KATAHR**, a district of India to the east of Dihli lying between the Rāngangā and Shāradā rivers and hence the eastern part of the tract which, in

the first third of the 18th century, came to be known as Rohilkhand [q.v.]; but in Mughal times the name seems to have been applied loosely to the whole of that tract. The name (*Katahr* in the oldest Muslim sources, but *recte Katahr*) is variously derived: W. Crooke, *Tribes and castes of the North West Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta 1896, iii, 176, takes it as the name of the common soil of the tract, "a brownish loam of a thirsty tenacious nature requiring copious rain for irrigation"; others from the Kafehriyā Rādjipūts of the region, who may derive their name from the characteristic soil, although a local tradition takes it from their putative original home in Kāthīlāwār.

The Hindū tribes of the region had a reputation for turbulence and intransigence, and there are several accounts of operations against them in the sultanate period: in 652/1254 by Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd, as a reprisal for the murder of a Muslim officer (Minhādī al-Sirādī Djuzdjānī, *Tabahāt-i Nāṣiri*, s.v. 9th regnal year); by Balban in 665/1267, after reports that the inhabitants were plundering all around them without restraint and that the local *ikhṭā'dār* could no longer control them—his severe measures are said to have kept the region quiet for the next 30 years (Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rikh-i Fērōz Shāhī*, ed. Bib. Ind., 55-9); Baranī (*op. cit.*, 288) includes the whole of Katahr in the regions affected by 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī's revenue reforms (ca. 701/1301); in about 779/1377-8 the murder of the governor of Badā'ūn by Rāy Khargū, the chief of the Kafahriyā Rādjipūts, led to a terrible vengeance by Fērōz b. Rādjab ("Fērōz Shāh Tughluk"), who laid waste the district, slaughtered thousands of Hindūs and enslaved some 23,000 more, and issued an order of regular punitive raids for the next five years, himself hunting regularly at Sambhal, "leaving nothing but the game" (Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, 140). Under the weak "Sayyid kings" of Dihli, especially Khidr Khān and Mubārak Shāh [q.v.], Katahr was in practically a continuous state of rebellion (*Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, *passim* after p. 182). Thereafter Katahr seems to have changed hands frequently between the Dihli sultanate and the Shārkī [q.v.] sultanate of Djanpur, although it appears seldom in the chronicles. The last recorded rebellion from the region is that of one Kanbar Beg, shortly before Humāyūn's death, in 963/1555.

Under Akbar the *sarkār* of Badā'ūn, the principal town in the Katahr region, became part of the *ṣūba* of Dihli; later the importance of Badā'ūn declined, and under Shāhdjahān the chief town of the region was Bareilī ("Bareilly"). Awrangzēb later included the more western town of Sambhal in the *sarkār*, thus extending the connotation of "Katahr" to the region now generally known as Rohilkhand. For its later history, see s.v. ROHILKHANĀ. See also HIND, above, map facing p. 428; BADĀ'ŪN; SAMBHAL.

*Bibliography:* given in the article.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

**KATAK** [see ORISSA].

**KATANGA** (now Shaba), region in the south-east corner of the modern Republic of Zaīre, formerly Congo (now Kinshasa). Here, between the Congo-Zambesi watershed and the forests of the central Congo basin, the land slopes gently down, hundreds of miles of open bush country, relatively heavily populated, producing corn, rice, sugarcane and other crops. Falls on the Lulaba River cut Katanga off from water transport on the Congo; the

region's main avenues of approach were from Benguela via Bihé on the west, and from Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa on the east. The principal highway of Islamic penetration in eastern Africa, however, from the coast to Lake Tanganyika, where by 1840 a permanent trading centre had been established at Ujiji, continued thence due east to Maniema and the Luapula valley, where Islam has struck its deepest roots in Zaïre. Only a branch route turned southwards. Tippu Tip, the most outstanding of the so-called "Arabs" from the east coast of Africa, in the Congo, may perhaps for a time, about 1870, have operated in conjunction with Msiri, ruler of Katanga, against the Lunda of Kazembe; but later it was reported that Msiri had plundered one of Tippu Tip's lieutenants. Tippu Tip travelled through Urua, in northeast Katanga, early in his career, but found the area disappointingly sparse in ivory, the main export item, together with slaves, to the east coast, and his attention was finally diverted northwards. For these reasons, the story of Islam in Katanga remains but a minor theme in the general development of Islam in Zaïre.

A state called Garenganze had grown up in the Katanga region under Msiri, a Nyamwezi immigrant. Nyamwezi trade with Katanga may have begun as early as 1800; Msiri's father, Kalasa, had often visited the region to buy copper. Msiri was once able, with the aid of a few guns, to render valuable help to the local Sanga chief, and became his heir. Both the Sanga and the Lamba over whom Msiri also became ruler, had been vassals of neighbouring Kazembe; Msiri successfully beat back an attempt by Kazembe to re-assert his authority. Msiri, strengthening his position as much as possible by encouraging immigration, welcoming refugees, amassing slaves, and building up an armoury, came to rule an area the size of Great Britain, from the Lualaba to Lake Mweru and the Luapula, and from the Luvua to the Congo/Zambesi watershed.

Such a state was attractive to traders, and these came from all quarters, Zanzibar, Uganda, Nyamwezi country, the Zambesi, Lake Nyasa, Angola and the Congo basin. Some of the incoming traders Msiri tempted to stay on, with gifts of land and women. Ivory, salt, slaves, iron and copper were exported. Copper, crosses of which served as currency in the region, was particularly important. The Arabs introduced brassworking at Ujiji, one part of zinc from the coast to two of Katanga copper. Arab influence grew at Bunkeya, Msiri's capital; the "Arabs" had reception days at court, when their master traders presented Msiri with gifts. Msiri depended upon these traders, above all for his arms supply; but he was envious of their wealth and fearful of their power. When in 1886 the first Christian missionary, F. S. Arnot, arrived, Msiri welcomed him, in part as a counterweight to the "Arabs". At Arnot's first interview with Msiri, he was introduced to several "Arab" traders from Zanzibar. The "Arabs" had evidently promulgated infamous stories about the English, to prejudice Msiri against them, but he suspended judgment, remarking that he did not yet know the English while he did know the "Arabs". Arnot visited a camp of "Arab" traders at the capital, where he saw numerous slaves, mostly full-grown men and women. He watched a man being bought for ten yards of calico, and was told that a woman or a young lad might fetch from twelve to sixteen yards. Grown men, untameable and liable to escape, were less valuable. Slave sticks were in use. Slave babies were often killed. Arnot, of the Plymouth

Brethren, was followed by other Brethren missionaries. Rivalry grew between the missionaries and the "Arabs": the latter ridiculed reading the Bible from left to right, the material poverty—in accord with strict Brethren principles—of the missionaries, and their failure to supply Msiri with munitions. The extent of Islamic religious influence in Katanga is hard to gauge, but was almost certainly very slight: Muslim written charms were evidently prized for healing; some immigrants from the east recommended that Msiri punish theft by amputating the hand, but he demurred, preferring the death penalty; he did prohibit smoking and snuff. But these are only scraps of evidence, and may not all even reflect Islamic influence.

Until the end of 1891, Msiri steadfastly refused to acknowledge the claim of the Congo Free State of King Leopold of the Belgians, to the territory, and in December of that year he was killed by a State agent. These events happened in relative isolation from the mainstream of Muslim development further north. There, in 1887, Tippu Tip accepted appointment as governor by the Congo Free State, placing his domains nominally under the State. This rapprochement did not last long: in 1892 war between the State and the "Arabs" broke out, and by 1895 the power of the latter was broken, their main leaders dead or fugitives. In Katanga, there was confusion, unchecked "Arab" slave-raiding and famine; Msiri's authority had begun to crumble even before his death, and the State was only very gradually able to impose control. The State introduced, incidentally, a new Islamic element, for some of the State troops were Hausa Muslims.

Following the consolidation of the Congo Free State, later the Belgian Congo, the natural links eastwards of Congolese Muslims were for a time dislocated. The Belgian authorities were generally more suspicious of, and hostile to, Islam than were French and British colonial governments in several other, more Muslim, part of black Africa. Contacts with East Africa recovered, partly as a result of German employment of coastal Muslims as government servants in the interior of German East Africa. In 1932-5, the *Qādiriyya ḡariba* was observed spreading among the Muslims of the Congo. The first national Muslim Congress met in Kasongo in March 1964.

*Bibliography:* F. S. Arnot, *Garenganze*, London 1889; Ruth Slade, *King Leopold's Congo*, London 1962; C. Young, *The Congo*, in J. Kritzeck and W. H. Lewis, *Islam in Africa*, New York 1969, with many further references.

(H. FISHER)

**KAṬANIYA** [see *ŞIKILIVVA*].

**KAṬAR**, in the local pronunciation *Giṭar*, a peninsula of some 4,000 square miles in area which juts out into the Arabian Gulf. It is about 115 miles long and 55 miles broad at its widest part. The discoveries of the Danish archaeological expeditions from 1956 to 1964 show that Kaṭar had been inhabited since prehistoric times, the earliest object found, a pair of hand-axes, dating from about 4,000 B.C. The earliest Arabic prose source to mention it is the *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of Ibn Khurrādādhbih, who notes it briefly as one of the stops on the route from Baṣra to 'Umān; this despite the fact that it is believed to have provided the *nisba* of the Azraqī Khāridījī Kaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a. It is briefly mentioned by al-Hamdānī in a list of Arabian place-names and elsewhere as a halt on a route. Even much later, neither Yāqūt nor Ibn Manẓūr gives significantly more information

on Kaṭar. It is mentioned in Umayyad poetry; indeed, Yāqūt cites a reference from Djarīr. Ibn Hawqal makes an early mention of Kaṭarī pirates, and Maṣ'ūdī mentions the waters of Kaṭar as a source of pearls.

For such a prominent physical feature, it attracted strangely little notice from European travellers in the Gulf area. Early maps show Kaṭar only as a slight bulge on the mainland and the first representation of it as a peninsula is on Arrowsmith's map of 1825. Although by 1825 two ships of the Indian Navy had surveyed this whole area, it was not until comparatively recently that the complete outline of Kaṭar was accurately mapped.

Yāqūt mentions Kaṭar as a settlement (*ḥarya*) and Pedro Teixeira at the end of the 16th century calls it "a port of Arabia". Whether or not it was a "settlement" or a "port", much of the history of Kaṭar does centre around settlements on or near the sea rather than round a country. It was only under the ruling Āl Thānī dynasty that the various city states were finally united.

In 1766 the Āl Khalifa clan of the 'Utūb immigrated from Kuwait and occupied Zubāra on the western shore of the peninsula. With their arrival begins the modern period in the history of the country and the only one for which we have adequate information. At this time there were already settled in Kaṭar the Āl Musallam clan of the Banū Khālid in Huwayla, the Ma'ādiq and other Āl b. 'Alī in Fuwayriṭ, and in Dawḥa (then called Bid' (cf. above), Suwaydī refugees (Sūdān) from that part of eastern Arabia later called Trucial Oman.

A little later, 'Utbi kinsmen of the Āl Khalifa, the Djalāhima, joined them at Zubāra. Dissension arose between them, and the latter removed to Ruways where they took to piracy. Although they were later nearly exterminated by the Āl Khalifa and their allies, their piracies combined with their feud with the Āl Khalifa were an important factor in the history of the area.

The occupation of Baṣra by the Persians from 1776-9 brought an influx of merchants to Zubāra and it became for some time the centre of the pearl trade and of trade in general in eastern Arabia. It successfully defended itself against a number of Persian attacks and after the failure of the 1783 expedition, the Āl Khalifa, together with 'Utūb from Kuwait, mounted a successful expedition against Baḥrayn and Aḥmad b. Khalifa became the first 'Utbi ruler of those islands.

The Djalāhima, by this time at Khawr Ḥassān (now called Khuwayr), began to play a dominant role in Kaṭar and, by 1809, under the famous Raḥma b. Djābir, then in alliance with the Wahnābī power, they controlled even Zubāra. Indeed in 1810-11, through the alliance with the Djalāhima, a Wahnābī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Ufayṣān, governed Kaṭif, Kaṭar and Baḥrayn. In 1811 after a successful expedition by Sayyid Sa'īd of Muscat against Zubāra and Khawr Ḥassān, the Wahnābīs withdrew from Baḥrayn and Kaṭar and the Āl Khalifa returned to power. Raḥma withdrew to Dammām and pursued his feud with the Āl Khalifa from there and from other centres in the Gulf. During all of this time he was careful in his piracies not to attack British ships, and this policy gave him immunity from their reprisals. Indeed, in 1817 he fought successfully against the Kawāsīm, the pirates of Ra's al-Khayma and al-Shāriḳa, who so successfully harried the ships of the area, including those of the British.

Meanwhile Bid' (later Dawḥa) was destroyed by a

British cruiser in 1821 as a reprisal for acts of piracy committed by some of its inhabitants, but by 1823, under the Āl Bū 'Aynayn, was still the only port in the peninsula to possess trading ships. Though still in this period and until 1840 nominally subject to the Shaykh of Baḥrayn, in fact, though not openly contested, his suzerainty was not accepted, though for a time Shaykh 'Abd Allāh did indeed reside in Kaṭar.

It is a feature of all of the earlier history of Kaṭar that the inhabitants of its city-states would remove or be removed within the area. Many of these migrations are of importance later when they are used as proofs in the kind of territorial disputes which were important to the area after 1918. Thus in 1828 the Āl Bū 'Aynayn were removed after a revolt to Ruways and Fuwayriṭ and the inhabitants of Huwayla were re-settled in Baḥrayn after a revolt in 1835. More important for Kaṭar, however, were movements of the Banī Yās from the area of Abū Zabī [q.v.]. The Banī Yās under Suwaydān, by their maritime depredations from Dawḥa, brought the then ruler of Abū Zabī close to war with Baḥrayn. This raiding ceased when Suwaydān returned to Abū Zabī in 1828, but the Banī Yās had fines for piracy laid on them in 1835 and many emigrated to Khawr al-'Udayd to avoid payment of these, leaving only in 1878. In this period this group was the cause of much friction between Kaṭar and Abū Zabī. The piracies of one of these emigrants, Djāsīm b. Djābir, continued despite energetic attempts to apprehend him. In 1841, however, his ship was seized and burnt at Dawḥa, although Djāsīm himself escaped.

The Kaṭaris were also involved to some extent in the hostilities of 1840-9 between the rival Baḥraynī shaykhs, 'Abd Allāh and Muḥammad. The Kaṭaris went to the aid of Muḥammad, who had seized Murayr and Fuwayriṭ in Kaṭar, when he used them as a base for the successful attack on Muḥarraḳ in Baḥrayn, which established him firmly there in 1843. But for the peace agreed in 1851 between the Shaykh of Baḥrayn and the Su'ūdī Amīr, Fayṣal b. Turkī would have occupied Dawḥa, Wakra and Fuwayriṭ. He was in the position to do so and it seems sure that their inhabitants would have preferred this to the Baḥraynī connection. Certainly, after this time the shaykh of Baḥrayn paid a yearly tax to the Su'ūdīs to ensure the safety of Kaṭar from attacks by tribes within their sphere of control. However, late in 1867 Baḥrayn and Abū Zabī launched a joint attack on Dawḥa and Wakra, totally destroying them and removing their population. From then to the present day, relations between Kaṭar on the one hand and Baḥrayn and Abū Zabī on the other have remained uneasy.

One of those who had fled from Dawḥa was Muḥammad b. Thānī of the Āl Thānī of the Ma'ādiq. He was induced, because of his great influence, to sign an agreement in September 1868 with the British, by the terms of which he was virtually established in Dawḥa. Although this was in effect the beginning of the rule of the Āl Thānī, little is known of them before this date other than that a kinsman, 'Isā b. Ṭarīf, had emigrated from Kays Island to Dawḥa in 1843 and was killed in battle four years later near Fuwayriṭ.

In mid-1871 a deputation was sent to Dawḥa by the Turks, who had recently occupied Kaṭif, and Shaykh Djāsīm (perhaps better Kāsīm) b. Muḥammad of the Āl Thānī was persuaded to accept the Turkish flag. Despite this Bedouin and Wahnābī forces

driven out of al-Hasā began to use Kaṭar as a base for military harassment of the Ottomans. The Turks as a result landed troops and guns at Dawḥa in 1872 and stationed themselves nearby; but the Āl Thānī nevertheless remained the paramount *shaykh*s: in 1876 D̄jāsīm was appointed *kā'im-makām* of Kaṭar, and in 1879, after the death of his father, governor of Dawḥa. Relations were no longer good, however. By 1890 D̄jāsīm had attempted to resign his responsibilities and there were outbreaks of hostilities between the big tribal alliances.

In 1878, however, D̄jāsīm was able to evict the Na'īm from Zubāra, which they had settled some years earlier, their repeated piracies having provided adequate pretext. This action had far-reaching repercussions, since the Na'īm were the last tribal group in Kaṭar to accept the writ of Bahrayn consistently, and this acceptance of their suzerainty gave substance to Bahraynī claims to rule all or part of Kaṭar. Zubāra remained an uninhabited place long after this engagement. This event caught the imagination of the Kaṭarīs and they have much oral literature on this theme and on the theme of the hostilities between Kaṭar and Abū Zābī in the years immediately following.

The Banī Yās had left 'Udayd in 1878; then in 1880 the Ḳubaysāt removed to Abū Zābī, and the consequent loss of Kaṭarī influence in 'Udayd caused further bitterness in D̄jāsīm. The next ten years were marked by some maritime raids but more by raids on land between these two principals. The raids increased in scale and one of the engagements, a raid against Dawḥa in 1888, ended in the death of *Shaykh* D̄jāsīm's son 'Alī.

Relations with the Turks were also worsening, and in early 1893 D̄jāsīm refused a summons from the visiting *wālī* of Baṣra. The Arabs were provoked into an engagement to the north of Dawḥa. In this, however, the Turks were forced to withdraw in poor order, although their losses were much lighter than those of the Arabs. Peace was soon restored, and a later rising in 1898 seems to have been a small affair in comparison. The jurisdiction of the Turks still extended not much beyond Dawḥa.

In 1895 two *shaykh*s of the Āl b. 'Alī, Sulṭān b. Salāmah and Nāṣir b. Mubārak, made an attempt to seize Bahrayn. These *shaykh*s had removed from Bahrayn and gathered a sizeable armada in the north of Kaṭar. They had the support of the local Ottoman *mudār* and also apparently of *Shaykh* D̄jāsīm, though the latter claimed that he was not concerned. Peace was made only after a large number of ships had been seized or destroyed by the British.

*Shaykh* D̄jāsīm died in 1913, shortly after the conclusion of the convention by which Turkey renounced any claims to Kaṭar. Then during 1916 Britain's relations with Kaṭar were regulated by a treaty on the same lines as those with Bahrayn and Trucial Oman. Some of its clauses, however, were not put into effect at that time; and no resident Political Agent was appointed, responsibility falling to the Political Agent in Bahrayn.

The status of Zubāra would still seem to have been a matter of dispute. *Shaykh* 'Abd Allāh (1913-49) occupied it in 1937, and though this was not accepted by Bahrayn, the matter has been left largely in abeyance. In 1949 Saudi Arabia raised a claim to a strip of land in South Kaṭar, but although these claims were discussed in 1952 they were not pursued. Boundary disputes in Eastern Arabia have assumed a different complexion since the discovery of oil in the area. Oil was discovered in Kaṭar in 1940, the

discovery well having an estimated production capacity of 5,000 barrels a day. War shortages, however, inhibited further development. By 1969 output had however reached nearly 17 m. tons and there has been considerable development, especially off-shore, since 1969.

Meanwhile the population of Kaṭar, although it has increased greatly, is still relatively small (about 150,000 in 1970) and concentrated largely around the capital Dawḥa. The British role in Kaṭar after the end of hostilities in 1945 was related increasingly to specialist and technical aspects of external and defence affairs and the country has been since September 1971 an independent Arab country.

*Bibliography*: J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908 and 1915 (repr. 1970); C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, 5th (rev.) ed., Calcutta and Delhi 1929-33; J. A. Saldanha, *Précis of correspondence regarding the affairs of Persian Gulf, 1805-53*, Calcutta 1906, *Précis of Nejd affairs, 1804-1904*, Calcutta 1904, *Précis of Bahrein Affairs, 1854-1904*, Calcutta 1904 and *Précis of Katar affairs, 1873-1904*, Calcutta 1904; R. H. Thomas, *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, New series XXIV, Bombay 1856; C. R. Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, London 1877; *Annual administrations reports of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency*, Calcutta 1875 onwards; W. G. Palgrave, *Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865; *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, NID, 1944; J. B. Kelly, *Eastern Arabian Frontiers*, London 1964; idem, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968; B. C. Busch, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1894-1914*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967; S. Özbaran, *The Ottoman Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, 1534-1581*, in *Journal of Asian History*, vi I (1972), 45-87; A. Abu Hakima, *History of Eastern Arabia, 1750-1800*, Beirut 1965; Muṣṭafā Murād al-Dabbāgh, *Kaṭar—Māḍihā wa-hāḍiruhā*, Beirut 1961; *Khalīfa* b. Hamad al-Nabbānī, *Al-tuḥfa al-nabhāniyya fī tārikh al-djazira al-'arabiyya*, Cairo (various dates); Muḥammad Sharīf al-Shaybānī, *Imārat Kaṭar al-'arabiyya bayn al-māḍī wa'l-hāḍir*, I, Beirut 1962; Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *Tārikh Najd*, Cairo 1924; Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb al-djazira al-'arab*, Cairo 1933. (T. M. JOHNSTONE)

**KAṬARĪ B. AL-FUDJĀ'A**, the last chief of the Azrakī *Kharijīs* [see AZARIKA], celebrated both as poet and as orator. He belonged to a clan of the Tamīm (the tribe which furnished one of the most noteworthy contingents to these rebels), the Banū Kābiya b. Ḥurḳūṣ b. Māzin (Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel, Tab. 82). The name of his father, al-Fudjā'a, is said to have been a surname and his real name was Dja'wana. Like other Arab chiefs, al-Kaṭarī had a double *kunya* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 267, Eng. tr. i, 242): Abū Muḥammad in peace and Abū Ma'āma in war (Djāhiz, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, i, 342, iii, 264). Of his youth we only know that he took part under the command of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura, along with several other chiefs, among whom was al-Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī, destined later to become his bitter enemy, at the submission of Sijīstān in 42/662 (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 396; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318, 405; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, iv, 161). He must have reached a fairly mature age when, in 69/689,

he was acclaimed "Caliph" of the Azraḳīs when the latter, defeated by al-Muhallab and his lieutenants, were passing through a very serious crisis. Kaṭarī, endowed with tremendous energy and indifferent to danger, was able to arouse the enthusiasm of his partisans, and after leading back the remnants of the army into the mountains of Kirmān, reorganised them; he then went down again into 'Irāk, occupied Ahwāz and threatened Baṣra. Kept for a long time in check by al-Muhallab, he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining his position on the left bank of the Duḡjayl even after 'Irāk, as a result of the defeat of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr at Maskin (72/691), had fallen into the hands of 'Abd al-Malik. Finally al-Ḥaḍḍijādī b. Yūsuf, appointed governor of 'Irāk, decided to reappoint al-Muhallab to the command against the Azraḳīs, in which he had been replaced without success by other chiefs. Al-Muhallab soon drove the rebels across the Duḡjayl and assuming the offensive, pursued them into the very centre of their power, Kirmān. Kaṭarī nevertheless was able to hold out for a long time in his lines (it is to this period that a silver coin with a legend in Pahlavi and Arabic of the year 75/694 struck in the name of Kaṭarī as *Amīr al-Mu'minin*, refers [see ZDMG, xii (1858), 52, no. 303]). The dissensions that broke out within the Azraḳī army between Arabs and *Mawālī* resulted in a split: Kaṭarī had to leave the town of Dīruft which was the Azraḳī headquarters and take refuge along with the Arabs in Ṭabaristān, while the *Mawālī* continued to hold Dīruft under the command of their chief, 'Abd Rabb or 'Abd Rabbihi (there are two individuals of this name among the *Mawālī*, distinguished by the epithets *al-Kabīr* and *al-Saghīr*, and the sources give the rank of commander sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, or even distinguish two groups of the *Mawālī* which separated successively from al-Kaṭarī and were led by 'Abd Rabbihi the Great and the Less respectively). This division proved fatal, for al-Muhallab had no difficulty in routing the *Mawālī* and killing their chief; al-Ḥaḍḍijādī sent the Kalbī warrior Sufyān b. al-Abrad against Kaṭarī: or rather the latter (according to a tradition recorded by al-Ya'qūbī) as governor of Rayy received the appeal which the *īshāhbādh* [q.v.] addressed to him on behalf of the people of Ṭabaristān who were exasperated by the rigid application of the *ajīziya* by Kaṭarī. The Azraḳīs, surprised by Sufyān's troops in a defile in the mountains, suffered a decisive defeat. Kaṭarī, who fell under his horse and was abandoned by his followers, was discovered and killed by a local inhabitant. His head was cut off and borne in triumph to Kūfa and then to Damascus to be presented to the caliph. The remnants of the Azraḳīs under 'Abidā b. Hilāl al-Yashkuri fled to Sadḥawwar, a stronghold near Kūmis (Yāqūt, iii, 62) where they sustained a long siege from Sufyān; having exhausted their supplies, they made a desperate sortie and were wiped out. The chronology of these events is far from certain: the sources which say that Kaṭarī was in command for 13 or even 20 years are of no value. According to Wellhausen (see *Bibl.*), the election of Kaṭarī as caliph probably took place at the end of 69 A.H. and his death in 78 or 79.

Kaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a represents in striking fashion the type of *Khāridjī* intransigent and also that of Arab *sayyid*, half-cavalier and half-brigand. Like the other Azraḳīs, as a result of his fanatical zeal, he preached and practised *istī'rād* [q.v.] and declared the *ka'ada* or quietists to be infidels. On the other hand, he was proud of his Arab blood and of his Bedouin character.

Like several other illustrious *Khāridjīs*, he had a real talent as orator and poet. One of his alleged orations is recorded by Dajāziz, *Bayān*, ii, 126-9; 'Iḥd', ii, 195-6, *Fihrist*, 125, but R. Blachère (*Hist. de la Lit. arabe*, iii, 734) thinks that it might have been written in the 3rd/9th century. A few pieces in which he celebrates his wife Umm Ḥākīm, who was also a convinced and brave *Khāridjī*, have been preserved. But amongst the most famous of his poems is the fragment given in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (i, 333, see also i, 44, 286), and often cited with numerous variants. His poems of a politico-religious character are remarkable for the elevated style and a heroic contempt for death and place their author in the first rank of *Khāridjī* poets.

*Bibliography*: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 764, 823, 829, 944, 1003, 1017-20, 1032, al-Dīnawarī, *al-Aḥbār af-Ṭiwāl*, 285-9, 311; al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historias*, ii, 229-30; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, xi, 122-5; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'arif*, ed. 'Ukāsha, 411, 431, 600; Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭihāk*, 126, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, s.v. (No. 555 Wüstenfeld); al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, iv, 261; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 89-90; 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḥ bayna 'l-Firāk*, Cairo 1328, 65-6; R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884, 44-6; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., 1901, v/2), 36-41. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA\*)

**KĀTH**, the ancient capital of *Khwārazm* [q.v.], situated on the east bank of the main channel of the Amū Daryā or Oxus a short distance from modern *Khiwa*. According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, iv, 222, *Kāth* meant in *Khwārazmian* a wall or rampart within the steppe, even if it enclosed no buildings, but there is nothing in what we know of *Khwārazmian* to confirm this; it is conceivable that there is some connection with Sogdian *kath*, *kantū*, "town", though this is wholly conjectural. The site of *Kāth* was affected by changes in the channels of the river, and was accordingly moved at various times.

Little is known of *Kāth* in the pre-Islamic period. Markwart conjectured that in the early 5th century A.D. Bahrām Gūr's brother Narseh may have been established in *Kāth* as *marzbān* or warden of the northeastern Iranian territories newly conquered from the Turkish *Qaghan* (*A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Erānshahr*, ed. G. Messina, Rome 1931, 44-5). It became the capital of the Afrighid dynasty of *Khwārazm-Shāhs*, and at the time of Kutayba b. Muslim's invasion of *Khwārazm* in 93/712 it is described, under the name of al-Fīl, as one of the three cities of that region (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 423; Ṭabarī, ii, 1237-8). As well as being the centre of the old *Khwārazmian* culture—a culture impaired by the destructions of the Arabs—it was also, according to an 8th-century *Notitia episcopatum*, the seat of a bishopric of the Christian church, *χουάλης*; this bishopric was probably Orthodox or Melkite, and had links with the *Khazar* lands on the lower Volga (see Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, 246-7, 359). The caliphal envoy Ahmad b. Faḍlān came to the *Khwārazm-Shāh's* court at *Kāth* in 309/921-2 en route for Gurgāndj and the journey across the steppes to Bulghār (A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, §§ 7-8).

It is to the geographers of the 4th/10th century that we owe the most detailed descriptions of *Kāth* at the time of its florescence, in particular to Iṣṭakhārī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Maḳdisī and the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*.

Maḳḳisī, 287-8, calls it *Shahristān*, i.e., the capital of the province, and describes its splendid bazaars and Friday mosque and its community of scholars, whilst commenting unfavourably on the filthiness of its streets, which were probably often waterlogged because of the numerous canals or *arīks*. The city had been dominated by the ancient citadel, with its triple enceinte and palaces, of the Afrighids called *Fil* or *Fir* (the latter form in *Birūnī*), but this fortress and the older city itself were gradually undermined by the river waters and in the early 4th/10th century had to be abandoned. The vestiges were, however, still visible in 384/994 to *Birūnī* [q.v.], himself a native of the *birūn* or environs of *Kāth* (*al-Āthār al-bākiyya*, ed. Sachau, 35). A new town had therefore to be built further eastwards, away from the encroaching river. The *Hudūd al-Ālam* (completed 372/982), tr. 121, cf. 370-1, spells the city's name as *Kāzh* and calls it "the gate of the Turkistān of the *Ghūz* and the emporium of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxania and the *Khazars*". The author mentions amongst its products textiles and mailed or quilted coats, and names one of its exports as snow; its people, he says, are celebrated for their warlike qualities and their zeal as *ghāzīs* or fighters for the faith against the pagan Turks.

The end of *Kāth*'s great days as the political centre of *Khwārazm* came in 385/995 when the Afrighids were overthrown by the Ma'mūnid amīrs of *Gurgāndj* [q.v.], long the political and commercial rival of *Kāth*; *Kāth* was now eclipsed and sank into a subordinate position (on these events, see *Khwārazm* and *Khwārazm-Shāhs*). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through *al-Kāt*, as he calls it, in 732/1332-3, and describes it as a small place and as being the only settlement on the road from the city of *Khwārazm* (sc. *Kunya-Urgenč*, older *Gurgāndj*) to *Bukhārā* (*Rihla*, iii, 20, tr. Gibb, iii, 549-50). During the early 8th/14th century, *Kāth* and *Khīwa*, one day's journey from it, fell within the *Čaghatayid Khānate*; and in 773/1372 *Kāth* was devastated by *Timūr* during his warfare with *Toḳtamīsh*, but subsequently had its walls restored by him. By the 11th/17th century it was on a dry canal, hence the 'Arabshāhid *Khān* of *Khīwa*, *Anūsha* b. Abī 'l-*Ghāzī* (1074-98/1663-87) built a new *Kāth* on the western side of the Oxus. The ruins of old *Kāth* became known as *Shaykh* 'Abbās *Walī*, after a local saint, and are now known as *Shabbaz* (Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren*, 83); a modern village and fort occupy part of the ancient site.

*Bibliography*: For general history, see E. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārazm*, in *SBWAW*, lxxiii (1873), 489 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 144-6, 185, 275 ff.; and S. P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der alchoremsischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 246-7, 253 ff. The accounts of the Islamic geographers are resumed in Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 446-8. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KĀTHIYAWĀR** [see *UNUNAGĀKH*].

**KĀṬI**, MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤĀDJĪ AL-MUTAWAKKIL, Soninke scholar and *kāḏī* who died at *Arkiya* near *Tinbukṭū* on 1 Muḥarram 1002/27 September 1593. His date of birth is not known, though he is said to have been born during the reign of *Askia al-ḤādjĪ Muḥammad I* (898-934/1493-1528). The few details we have of his life appear in scattered references in the *Ta'rikkh al-fattāsh* and *al-Sa'adī's Ta'rikkh al-Sūdān*. Among his teachers was *Aḥmad* (b. Muḥammad) b. Sa'īd (d. 976/1568), who was active in *Tinbukṭū* from 960/1553. He received favours from

*Askia Dāwūd* (reigned 956-90/1549-82) and married one of his daughters. In 996/1588 we hear of him as *kāḏī* of *Tindirma*, a town on the Niger south of *Lake Fati*.

*Maḥmūd Ka'ti* wrote a work of history concerned with *Songhay* (and perhaps also the earlier states of the Western *Sūdān*). His historical interests were inherited by his sons, *Ismā'il* (also a *kāḏī*), *Yūsuf* and *Muḥammad al-Amīn*, who appear to have made some written notes, perhaps adding to their father's work. *Maḥmūd's* son-in-law, *al-Mukhtār Gombele* (? - text *k-n-b-l*), also shared these interests and passed them on to an unnamed son who drew on the *Ka'ti* family's materials and other sources written and oral in compiling the *Ta'rikkh al-fattāsh* some time after 1075/1654-5.

The *Ta'rikkh al-fattāsh* may have been begun by an earlier *Ka'ti* (also called *Maḥmūd*) in 925/1519, but *Levtzion* has argued that the attempt to link the work with the reign of *Askia al-ḤādjĪ Muḥammad I* arises from the 19th-century manipulation of the text by (or at the behest of) *Ahmadu Lobbo* [q.v.]. The historicity of the earlier *Maḥmūd Ka'ti* and the precise history of the text itself remain problems as yet unsolved.

*Bibliography*: The *Ta'rikkh al-fattāsh* was published with a French translation by O. Houdas and M. Delafosse, Paris 1913-4 (Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, V<sup>e</sup> série, vol. X). Problems of the work's authorship and textual history have been studied by J. Brun, *Notes sur le Tarikh el-Fettach*, in *Anthropos*, ix (1914), 590-6; J. O. Hunwick, *Studies in the Ta'rikkh al-Fattāsh: (1) Its authors and textual history in Research Bulletin* (Centre of Arabic Documentation, Ibadan) v (1969), 57-65; N. Levtzion, *A seventeenth-century chronicle by Ibn al-Mukhtār: a critical study of the Ta'rikkh al-fattāsh*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 571-93; idem, *Maḥmūd Ka'ti fut-il l'auteur du Ta'rikkh al-Fattāsh?*, dans *Bull. IFAN*, xxxiii/4 (1971), 665-74. (J. O. HUNWICK)

**KĀṬĪ'A**, pl. *kaṭā'ī'a*; a Muslim administrative term designating, on the one hand, those concessions made to private individuals on state lands in the first centuries of the *Hijra* (see *ḌAY'Ā*), and, on the other hand, the fixed sum of a tax or tribute, in contradistinction to taxation by proportional method or some variable means. The verb *kaṭā'a* is also used to mean "to impose", normally followed by *kaṭā'atan*. (C. CAHEN)

**KĀTIB** (A.) pl. *kutīb*, secretary, a term which was used in the Arab-Islamic world for every person whose rôle or function consisted of writing or drafting official letters or administrative documents. In the Middle Ages this term denoted neither a scribe in the literary sense of the word nor a copyist, but it could be applied to private secretaries as well as to the employees of the administrative service. It can denote merely a "book-keeper" as well as the chief clerk or a Secretary of State, directly responsible to the sovereign or to his vizier. The use of *kātib* is therefore essentially allied to the institution of the *diwān* [q.v.], which mainly derives from the administrative traditions of the Sasanid and Byzantine empires.

#### i. IN THE CALIPHATE

There were probably already secretaries in Arabia at the time of the Prophet. A "merchant republic" could not do without its accountants, and the mention of "documents" in the *Qur'ān* confirms that writing was used. The recension of the *Qur'ānic* text could not have been effected without the help of men capa-

ble of writing down the message conveyed by the Prophet. This explains why the lists of *kuttāb* which have been handed down to us generally begin by referring to the secretaries of the Prophet. Finally, the lists of fighting men with the right to an allowance, which were instituted from the reign of Caliph 'Umar, could have been drawn up only by secretaries.

However, it was only after the first conquests and after the establishment of the capital at Damascus that administrative services, chancery and finances developed, as much in the capital itself as in the provinces controlled by the central authority. It is known that in the first years of the Umayyad caliphate they continued to use the language of the conquered country; Greek in Syria and Pahlavi in 'Irāk and Iran. This implies that the secretaries working in these offices, whether converted to Islam or not, were autochthonous. Moreover, the rôle played by the Christian administrators in Damascus at the time of the first Umayyad caliphs is well known; Sardjūn, the father of John of Damascus, was in all probability chief of the Treasury in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik.

When the *diwāns* were arabicised at the time of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, the secretaries were still recruited from the local population, among whom the Muslims were becoming more and more numerous. This Arabicising and Islamicising movement, far from pushing the indigenous peoples out of public service, confirmed their position. The development of bureaucracy in its different aspects compelled the Umayyad rulers and then the 'Abbāsids to use the *mawālī*. They most certainly had an excellent knowledge of Arabic, but had picked up from their forefathers a whole administrative tradition connected in particular with calculating the taxes due from the different types of land, irrigated or un-irrigated. The land tax [see *KHARĀDJ*] instituted by Muslim law seems really to have been very closely inspired by the previous financial system and the administrative practices adapted by the nascent Muslim state were also inherited from the states which it had supplanted.

Only when a scribe made a career on account of other qualities and capabilities did his functions begin to gain in an importance which was independent of his person. Such a *kātīb* was, e.g. Ziyād b. Abihi. His high intelligence and great talent for organisation had drawn people's attention to him as scribe and registrar (Tabarī, I, 2465). When later he made himself responsible for the security and the government of 'Irāk, he introduced there, with the help of a group of *kuttāb* whom he himself taught and controlled (Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'* Cairo 1357/1938, 22), a system of administration which was considered exemplary. As in Sasanid times, the rank and position of the secretaries begin to be marked by certain privileges, and discernible in a certain standard of dress, residence and food and also in social intercourse. This improved situation, however, was mostly acquired through the relationship of dependency. The *kātīb* had to submit himself to his master and comply with his moods. A beautiful hand, a faultless orthography and a correct text after dictation were postulated. In accuracy, offences against the language, errors in writing or understanding might result in loss of position (J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretäre von Ibn 'Abdūs al-Ġahshiyārī, Anfänge und Umayyadenzeit*, Bonn 1958, 38-46). The scribe as such played a subordinate rôle.

In reality, little is known of the secretaries who were the direct assistants of the Umayyad caliphs. During the Umayyad period the caliphs, who had no viziers in their employ, administered the central services directly by means of secretaries of state. Certain of these had the privilege of presenting the letters to the sovereign and of thus playing a political rôle. Of these the one about whom most is recorded is the *mawlā* Sālim, the secretary of the caliph Hishām [q.v.], to whom is attributed a treatise about *siyāsa*, which is probably the oldest one of its kind written in Arabic and proves the strength of the Iranian political traditions. But the personal secretary of the last caliph, Marwān II [q.v.], called 'Abd al-Ĥamīd [q.v.], is equally well-known for his literary activity and is thought to have been one of the founders of Arabic prose.

Out of this situation two types of clerks and secretaries began to develop, according to function, talent and character: on the one hand there was the secretary who, in his quality of expert official and linguist, gave the written documents the form as required by the orders received; on the other hand there was the secretary who, on top of that, exerted on his own account an influence on the contents, being his master's adviser and right hand. While the latter was preparing the way for the functions of the later vizier, the former became the main representative of literary culture (*ādab*). Already during the period of the first 'Abbāsids this public secretary was considered the *adīb* par excellence. The undeniably subtle sense of linguistic expression and its nuances, already natural to the Arabs, had found a vast field of activity in the governmental and administrative correspondence, continuously increasing with the growing expansion of the chancellery's activities within a complex system of government. Official documents were increasingly often judged by the elegance of the wording and the allusions and references hidden behind this. Peculiar distinction was thus imparted to the writings because they presented instructions, enactments, orders or notices in a form which aroused surprise and admiration in the receiver. It is evident that specialists in this branch were called upon, and also that the *kātīb* needed the qualities not only of a diplomatic stylist but also of an encyclopaedist in order to cope with these and similar requirements. It was essential for him to possess what was later formulated and commented upon by the well-known critic, vizier and head of a chancellery Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭṭār (d. 637/1239) [q.v.] in eight concise phrases at the beginning of his *al-Mathal al-sā'ir* (2nd *faṣl*): 1. a thorough knowledge of the 'arabiyya, its grammar and 2. its vocabulary; 3. a familiarity with the proverbs, the accounts of the *Ayyām* and similar stories; 4. wide reading in all branches of prose and poetry; 5. sound knowledge of the theory of state and administration; 6. absolute familiarity with the *Qur'ān* and 7. the traditions going back to the Prophet; 8. command of prosody and poetics (see G. E. von Grunbaum, *Der Islam im Mittelalter*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1963, 323 ff.).

In the 'Abbāsīd era, when the seat of central administration had been moved to 'Irāk, the secretaries of Iranian origin undeniably played an ever more important rôle. The typical example of these Iranian *mawālī* who, according to certain accounts, thronged the courts of the first 'Abbāsīd caliphs, was the famous Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q.v.]. He did not have a position in the central administration, but at the caliph's wish drew up a memorandum in which he showed his

perfect knowledge of the problems of government which prevailed at that time of change. He also composed a treatise for the courtiers on the art of pleasing the sovereign, a treatise directly inspired by Iranian or Indo-Iranian literature and one which highlighted the personal nature of relations existing at that time between the secretaries and the sovereign.

If in the 'Abbāsīd era (as indeed already in the Umayyad one) the *kuttāb* were for the most part non-Arab, they did not form a closed corps. The *kātib* needed a solid training as much in the art of letter-writing as in the world of finance. At an early stage, families of *kuttāb* began to arise, although it was not necessary to be the son of a *kātib* to practise this profession. Thanks to their own intelligence and aptitude, sons of merchants and land-owners appeared as directors of important services in central administration and even as viziers. Yet the *kuttāb* in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries had a class-consciousness which could be seen in their costume (the gown called a *ḍurrā'a*) and also in a certain intellectual orientation. Al-Djāhīz, in particular, in a famous *risāla* stigmatizes the arrogance of secretaries and their sympathies towards Iranian traditions; he even accuses them of lukewarmness towards Islam. In this direction the secretaries, in spite of the obscurity surrounding the question, were certainly supporters of the *shu'ūbiyya* movement [q.v.]. Brought up on Iranian literature and admirers of the Mu'tazilī thinkers, they were apt to consider that their culture did not need the Islamic "leaven" in order to develop, and ought, on the contrary to be inspired by ancient (notably Persian) models.

Despite this tendency to restrict the influence of the religious message of Islam, they were none the less faithful servants of the caliphate. It seems that no real accusations of treason could be brought against the famous Barmakīs [see BĀRAMIKĀ]; they were guilty only of having too great authority and of having practised a policy of conciliation with regard to certain opposition factions, which soon the caliph thought would be dangerous. But from the end of the 3rd-4th century onwards, the *kuttāb* had financial responsibilities which grew as treasury difficulties were increasing for the caliphs. At the same time they often belonged more or less secretly to the *Shi'ī* movement which used them to control the caliphate. Their loyalty was not as great as it was before, state secretaries of Christian religion or origin being excepted.

Nevertheless they played a large part at the end of the 3rd/4th century in working out the formula of government by the caliph which was then put into practice, but not without many risks, and which could never be finally worked out in detail. If the *kuttāb* of *Shi'ī* views were trying to diminish the might of the caliph with the intention of seizing power for themselves and disposing of the resources of the treasury, the others were striving to strengthen the authority of the caliph, while at the same time subjecting it to the control of the chiefs of the departments.

In the era of the great *amīrs*, the *kuttāb* were eclipsed by the military chiefs who virtually laid hands on the government. They were no less indispensable to the running of business and to the administration of finance, which demanded technical knowledge, than to the drawing up of official documents such as letters. In the epistolary field, where in that time there was the most excessive affectation of mannerism, the secretaries drew up documents

which were useful propaganda instruments. There are thus preserved different collections of official correspondence which appeared to contemporaries as examples of *balāgha* and are often precious documents for historians. The most famous is one left by the Sabian secretary Ibrāhīm al-Šābi' [q.v.], and see also INSHĀ'. But there were also among the secretaries genuine specialists in financial affairs, whose merits were often compared with those of the "drafters of documents" (see in particular, al-Tawhīdī, *Kitāb al-Imā'*, i, 96-7).

The rôle of secretaries in Baghdād in the Saljūq period is not very clear. What at least is known is that the central services were, for the early part, under the control of the sultans, just in the same way as it was before, during the Buwayhid period. But the caliph had in his service his own team, more or less important, of secretaries, as in the Buwayhid period. These secretaries were always predominantly Iranian in origin, yet in the period of the Saljūqs the function of the *kuttāb* tended to merge with that of the '*ulamā'* insofar as all officials of the state were formed in the same establishments, the *madrasas*. The taste of the former *kuttāb* for Iranian literature and the sympathies of the secretaries in the Buwayhid period for Mu'tazilī thought faded away and from the 5th/11th century onwards, the secretaries, confronted with foreign elements of Turkish origin, belonged to the same social sphere as the men of religion but had slightly different preoccupations. During this period, the *kādīs* came to fulfil functions previously reserved for the *kuttāb*, to become involved in governmental affairs and to draw up chancery documents. At the time of the Mamlūks, this tendency to unify the two spheres became much more accentuated; secretaries and men of religion constituted what were called "the men wearing turbans".

There is an abundance of literature referring to the secretaries, and this is of three distinctive types: the didactic treatises on the training required for secretaries; the collections of anecdotes relating to secretaries; and the polemical treatises. It is clear that in certain works, these three types could exist together.

The didactic treatises are the most important. The oldest is probably the *Risāla ilā 'l-kuttāb* of 'Abd al-Hamid [q.v.]. Later came *al-Risāla al-'aḍhrā'*, attributed to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī and written in the middle of the 3rd/4th century (published by M. Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-bulāghā*), the *Kitāb al-Kuttāb wa-ṣifāt al-dawāt wa'l-kalam*, composed in the same period by 'Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī (see D. Sourdel, *Le "Livre des Secrétaires de 'Abdallāh al-Baghdādī"*, in *BEO*, xiv (1952-4), 128-52) and the *Adab al-kātib* of Ibn Qutayba [q.v.], which, although it contains solely philological advice, has a very instructive introduction (G. Lecomte, *L'Introduction du "Kitāb adab al-kātib" d'Ibn Qutayba*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 45-64). As for the *Kitāb al-Khawāḍij wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāb* of Qudāma b. Dja'far [q.v.], this is a good work which deals with the various technical questions, a knowledge of which was essential for the secretaries. The different treatises on the land-tax and the first geographical works were also intended for secretaries. The *Adab al-kuttāb* of al-Šūlī (d. 335/946), edited in Cairo in 1341/1923, specially teaches calligraphy and the formulae of protocol; the *Kitāb al-kuttāb* of Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/957), edited in Beirut in 1927, deals only with orthography and calligraphy whilst the *Risāla fī 'ilm al-Kuttāb* of Abū



Hayyān al-Tawhīdī [q.v.] is equally concerned with calligraphy.

Among the collections of anecdotes, besides the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb* of al-Djāhshiyārī [q.v.], edited in Cairo in 1357/1938, the *I'tāb al-kuttāb* of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 688/1289), edited in Damascus in 1961, deals with circumstances in which the secretaries of different periods were out of favour. One polemic treatise against secretaries was written by al-Djāhiz (see C. Pellat, *Une charge contre les secrétaires d'État attribuée à Gāhiz*, in *Hesperis* (1956), 29-50.

Finally, in a later period encyclopaedic works appeared, intended in the first place for chancery secretaries. The model is the famous *Subḥ al-a'shā fi sinā'at al-inshā'* of al-Kalkashandī (d. 821/1418) [q.v.].

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works cited above, see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat, passim*; M. Grignaschi, *Les "Rasā'il Aristātālisa ilā-l-Iskandar" de Sālim Abū l-'Alā'* in *BEO*, xix (1965-6), 8-83, esp. p. 11; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 227 f.; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Aegypten*, Hamburg 1928; M. Kanter, *The Kātib in Fact and Fiction*, in *Abr Nahrain*, xi (1971), 42-55. (R. SELLHEIM-D. SOURDEL)

## ii. IN PERSIA.

From the fall of the Il-Khāns to the end of the Ṣafawids.

A characteristic change of the *kātib*'s position, already noticeable under the Il-Khāns, took place in the successor states of Mongol Persia. The Mongolian and Turkish terms remained to some extent the same as before, although not necessarily with the same meaning. New terms were of course also introduced, partly for institutions that continued as such or were slightly modified. Fluctuating usage, in which obsolete and current expressions were used simultaneously, makes understanding of the technical terminology difficult. It goes without saying that here only the most important outlines can be sketched of a development which has not yet been studied sufficiently.

The great number of secretaries in the Djālā'irid administration should be related to two different facts: the tripartite division of the administration into a military, a civilian and a religious section on the one hand, and the specific ethnic composition of the army, most of the soldiers being Turks or Mongols, on the other. Following the Il-Khānid tradition, there thus existed, especially in the military administration, a class of secretaries especially knowledgeable in Turkish or Mongolian. It was their task to translate into these two languages original documents probably written in Persian, and in 'Irāk also in Arabic. Though counted among the *kuttāb*, they were called by the Turkish term *bitikçi*, probably to distinguish them from the Persian-speaking secretaries. The most important secretary in the military administration was called *bitikçi-yi akhām-i muḡhulī* or *kātib-i muḡhulī-niwīs*. But the continuance of Il-Khānid usage brought about the fact that even the secretary of the governmental financial administration, who served under the *mustawfi al-mamālik* or state treasurer, was counted among the *bitikçiyān*, with the title of *ülūḡh bitikçi-yi mamālik*. However, the local financial secretaries who served under him did not belong to the *bitikçiyān*. It is still dubious whether the last-mentioned were in fact

of Turkish or Mongolian origin, or whether they were local inhabitants who has mastered Turkish or Mongolian. The first place among the Persian-speaking *kuttāb* was held by the *munshī al-mamālik*, who was in charge of the *dār al-inshā'* (the "State Chancellery"), a subsection of the Great *Diwān* (*diwān-i a'lā*, *diwān-i buzurḡ*) directed by the grand vizier. In the different sections of the *munshī al-mamālik*'s chancellery, two classes of *kuttāb* were employed: the *munshiyān* whose task it was to draft documents, and the so-called *muḡharrirān* charged with preparing fair copies; among the latter very skilled calligraphers were found. The archives formed a separate department of the *dār al-inshā'*.

The nomination of secretaries was probably reserved to the grand vizier. The *kuttāb* in general, and the *munshī al-mamālik* specifically, were expected to be trustworthy, to be masters of protocol and to possess both stylistic and calligraphic qualities. In the religious administration, mainly concerned with the maintenance of the religious law and the interests of pious foundations, a number of *kuttāb* were also to be found, e.g. the *kātib-i dār al-ḡadā'* (secretary of the supreme court) and the *mu'arrikh-i ḡudjādī wa-ḡabālāt*, an archivist who kept a permanent register of legal evidences and contracts of sale.

We may draw conclusions about the organization of the chancelleries in Timūr's time from the situation under his successors. In their time, specific linguistic expressions continued to indicate the difference between the various groups of *kuttāb*. Under Ḥusayn Bāyḡarā, the secretaries of the so-called "Turkish *diwān*" had the title of *bakhshī* or *niwisandagān-i turk*. This *diwān* dealt with affairs concerning the army and the Turkish subjects. Distinct from them were the *wazīrān* or *niwisandagān-i tādjik*, the Persian speaking *kuttāb*, who were the secretaries of the *diwān-i māl*, the "Persian *diwān*", responsible for finances and the affairs of the non-Turkish population. On no account could a *kātib* of the Turkish *diwān* be called *wazīr*. It seems that relations had been similar under the Turcoman dynasties, as may be deduced from a remark of Ḥasan Rūmlū, a *ktātib* chronicler, who says that one of his ancestors had served as *bakhshī* under the Aḡ-Koyunlu.

Under the Ṣafawids also, the head of the State Chancellery was called *munshī al-mamālik* (under the Timūrids, as well as having this title, he is said to have also been called *ṣāhib-diwān-i inshā'*). The Ṣafawid administration was characterized by a duality in the civil service—the State Chancellery and the Treasury—, which had already existed before. Each single department of the Ṣafawid treasury (*daftar-khāna*), which was headed by the *mustawfi al-mamālik*, consisted of the financial section proper and a chancellery. The *lashḡar-niwīs*, head of one of the most important subsections of the *daftar-khāna*, corresponded to the Il-Khānid and Djālāyirid *ülūḡh bitikçi-yi mamālik*. He was the paymaster of the troops of the provincial governors and also of the court and provincial officials, and had an imposing chancellery at his disposal. On the other hand, the *dār al-inshā'*, the State Chancellery of the *munshī al-mamālik*, was in charge of the state correspondence such as diplomatic letters and all kinds of charters. When under 'Abbās I a special royal administration (the *sarkār-i khāssa-yi shāriḡa*) was set up at the side of the already existing governmental administration, a special chancellery had of course to be created

for this purpose. A number of duties were transferred from the *munshī al-mamālik* to the head of the new chancellery, the *wāqī'a-niwīs* or *madjlis-niwīs*. In the course of the 11th/17th century, the *madjlis-niwīs* surpassed the *munshī al-mamālik* both in rank and sphere of competence. Moreover, the *madjlis-niwīs* enjoyed to a much greater extent the confidence of the ruler. Only in so far as the number of the subordinate *kuttāb* was concerned was the *munshī al-mamālik* superior to the *madjlis-niwīs*.

A handbook of administration, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, shows that in the early 12th/18th century, 28 *kuttāb* were subordinate to the *munshī al-mamālik*: one *munshī-yi diwān* who prepared drafts, and 27 *muḥarrirān* who wrote out the fair copies. In the chancellery of the *madjlis-niwīs*, the *raḡam-niwīs-i diwān-i a'lā* corresponded to the *munshī-yi diwān*; he was assisted by three assistants. In this chancellery a further six *kuttāb* were also employed, among whom was a registrar and a *nāma-niwīs*, who was most probably responsible for the fair copies of the diplomatic letters (*nāma* or *maktūb*). Thus ten *kuttāb* were subordinate to the *madjlis-niwīs*. The *daftar-khāna* too was influenced by the division of the administration into a governmental and a royal demesial sector. Although the division within the *daftar-khāna* was not complete, the interests of state and crown were assigned to different subsections. Under the Ṣafawids, charters were occasionally written in Turkish, but nothing is known about a classification of the *kuttāb* according to linguistic criteria.

**Bibliography:** H. Busse, *Persische Diplomatik im Überblick*, in *Isl.* xxxvii (1961), 202-245; idem, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Kairo 1959; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, s.v., *bitikci* and *baḡṣi*; Ghayāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn *Kh̲wāndamīr*, *Nāma-yi nāmī* (selected parts in Persian and German with scholarly comment by G. Herrmann under the title *Der historische Gehalt des "nāmā-ye nāmī" von Kh̲wāndamīr*, doct. thesis, Göttingen 1968); W. Hinz, *Die persische Geheimkanzlei im Mittelalter*, in *Westöslische Abhandlungen (Festschrift Tschudi)*, Wiesbaden 1954, 342-56; idem, *Die Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, Wiesbaden 1952; Djahāngīr Kā'im-Makāmi, *Taḡhik dar bāra-yi shughl wa-waṣīfa-yi munshī al-mamālik*, in *Barasīhā-yi tārikhi*, v/2 (1349 sh.), 181-208; Maḥmūd Mirāftāb, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātīb (des Moulānā Hendūshāh Naḡḡawānī)*, doct. thesis, Göttingen 1956; Momin Mohiuddīn, *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography [under the Mughals: Bābur to Shāh Jahān]*, in *Indo-Iranica*, xvii (1964), no. 1, 1-28, no. 3, 1-16, xviii (1965), no. 2, 1-40, no. 3, 48-70, no. 4, 13-50, xix (1966), no. 1, 27-42, no. 2, 29-60, no. 4, 16-56; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Naḡḡawānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātīb*, i/1-2, ed. A. A. Alizade, Moscow 1964-71; H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952; R. M. Savory, *A Secretarial Career under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. (1524-1576)*, in *Islamic Studies*, ii (1963), 343-352; *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk, A Manual of Ṣafavid Administration (ca. 1137/1725)*, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943. (B. FRAGNER)

### iii. IN INDIA.

The term *kātib* does not occur in Indo-Muslim chancellery usage in the sense of a secretary; here

*kātib* is merely the writer or the scribe. The equivalent of "secretary" in Indo-Muslim nomenclature is *dabīr* in the sultanate period and *munshī* in the Mughal period. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, because of his Arab background, is the only writer to use the term *kātib* in relation to the court of Delhi. Under the Ghaznawids, whose administrative practices constitute an essential strand of Indo-Muslim tradition, the Correspondence Department, known as the *diwān-i risālat*, was already one of the three principal ministries and had a large and trained staff with a sizable salary bill. The minister in charge, known as the *ṣāhib-i diwān-i risālat*, was a trusted adviser of the sultan. It is also clear that during the Ghaznawid period, and especially during Abū Naṣr Miṣḡkān's long stewardship of the *diwān-i risālat*, the norms of drafting and rules of departmental administration had become well-established. A unit of the *diwān-i risālat*, equipped with official papers and registers, "accompanied the Sultan on his campaigns and progresses round the realm" (Bosworth, *The Ghaznawids*, 42-3, 60-4, 91-7, quotation from 91; Nāzim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 142-4).

With the foundation of the sultanate of Delhi, there seems to have been a change of nomenclature. The term *diwān-i risālat* now came to designate the Department of Religious Affairs (this view of I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Karachi 1958, 175, though contested by several writers including A. B. M. Habibullah, seems to be sound, as it is clearly supported by Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tā'rikh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 153, 558, and 'Afif, *Tā'rikh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 279). The Correspondence Department was re-designated the *diwān-i inshā'* (Baranī, 153, 337; Amīr Khusrāw, *Khazā'in al-Futūḡ*, 184; Amīr Khusrāw, *I'djāz-i Khusrāwī*, 44, 124). The term *dabīr-khāna* also appears in the *Inshā'-i Māhrū*, 166, and may have signified the office of the *diwān-i inshā'*. The head of the ministry was known as the *dabīr-i khāṣṣ* ('Afif, 224; see also evidence cited by Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 86). The designation appearing in the *Inshā'-i Māhrū*, 117, namely *ṣāhib-i diwān-i mamālik-i inshā'* (in a letter to the holder of the office) seems to be a descriptive and not an official title. Similarly the phrase *diwān-i dabīr*, occurring in the *I'djāz-i Khusrāwī*, i, 66, does not appear to have been the official appellation of the ministry.

It seems certain (though monographs on the subject ignore it) that the chief *dabīr* had the title of *'umdat al-mulk*. In the list of dignitaries given by Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī at the commencement of the account of each reign, this title appears four times in connection with the names of *dabīrs* (*Tā'rikh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 24, 240, 379, 454), during four different reigns. A study of these entries also suggests that the chief secretary was as well known as *'alā' dabīr* as *dabīr-i khāṣṣ*. Baranī rarely if ever uses the designation *dabīr-i khāṣṣ*. That *'alā'* in *'alā'-dabīr* was not a personal name becomes clear from the fact that Baranī mentions an *'alā'-dabīr* in the reigns of Balban (p. 25), Kaykubād (p. 126; *'alāka-dabīr* is evidently a miswriting for *'alā'-dabīr*) and 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī (p. 240). It therefore seems that *'alā'-dabīr* was the name of the office of the chief secretary and *'umdat al-mulk* his official title. For *'umdat al-mulk* as the title of the chief secretary there is additional and conclusive evidence in the *Inshā'-i Māhrū*, where Malik A'azz al-Dīn Ḥādīdī *Dabīr* of Firūz Shāh's reign (Baranī, 528) is frequently called *'umdat al-mulk (Inshā'-i Māhrū, passim)*. Māhrū's letter to this official on the conferment of the title

of 'umdat al-mulk also suggests that it was given to him on his appointment to the office of the chief *dabīr*. (*Inshāʿ-i Māhrū*, 192-3). However, the title *malik al-umarāʾ* attached by Māhrū to the name of this *dabīr* need not be taken seriously, for he does so in the case of several other high officials.

It is remarkable that when Iltutmish had to issue an important proclamation nominating his daughter Raḍiyya as his successor, he assigned the task to his *muṣhrif* (*Tabakāt-i Nāṣiri*, ed. Nassau Lees, 185). This either means that the Correspondence Department was for some time called the *dīwān-i ishrāf* (as Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Lahore 1945, 223, suggests), or indicates the continuation of the tradition of the Ghaznawids under whom the *muṣhrif* (as stated by Bosworth, 94-6) looked after a variety of matters connected with the king's affairs.

The *dabīr-i khāṣṣ* had many *dabīrs*, calligraphers and clerks under him. Some who performed specific duties had corresponding designations, e.g. the *khāṣṣa-niwīs* and the *shāb-niwīs* (*Inshāʿ-i Māhrū*, 160, 164, 166). The *khāṣṣa-niwīs* was the secretary attached to the court or on court duty (cf. the *munshī-i hadrat* of 'Utbi, in Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 86n). The *shāb-niwīs* was evidently the secretarial officer on night duty in the palace. The *dāwārdār* was the keeper of royal inkpot or inkhorn (*Tab. Nāṣiri*, 242). The relationship of the *dāwārdār* with the *dīwān-i inshāʿ* is not clear. The *dabīr-i sarā* has been described by Qureshi (*op. cit.*, 65) as the registrar of the palace. The *dabīr-i sarā* invites comparison with Ibn Baṭṭūta's *kuttāb al-bāb* in his account of the sultan of Delhi's court (*Rihla*, iii, 219), rendered by Gibb, *Travels*, iii, 659, as "the scribes of the door", and by Mahdi Husain, 57, as "the gate secretaries".

It seems that the chief *dabīr* and his staff were highly paid (as they had been in the Ghaznawid days). The following statement in the *Masālik al-absār fi mamālik al-amṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī (pp. 31-2), though possibly touched by hyperbole, does indicate that the salaries of the secretarial staff were high: "He (the sultan) has four *dabīrs*, i.e. private secretaries (*kātib al-sirr*), and everyone of them has a city on the coast yielding large revenue. Everyone has about 300 scribes of whom the lowest and the less paid has 10,000 *tankas* as (annual) salary. As regards the highest of them, they have villages and estates and some of them have fifty villages".

The princes had their own *dabīrs* (Amīr Khusrāw, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, 127, cited in K. A. Nizami, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the 13th century*, London 1961, 214). The same practice obtained during the Mughal period, see below.

During the period of the sultanate of Delhi, the *dīwān-i inshāʿ* was counted as one of the four principal ministries of the central government (Barani, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi*, 153). The duties of the chief secretary and other officers of this ministry were the same as under the Ghaznawids. They composed *fath-nāmas*, royal letters addressed to other kings, important letters or proclamations issued in the king's name, and the like. Important documents received at the court, such as a letter from a foreign dignitary or an *'arā-dāshī* from a minister or a high noble, were read out to the sultān by the *dabīr-i khāṣṣ* or one of the *dabīrs* ('Afif, 223-4). The practice common among the Mughal emperors of having important documents drawn up by any high minister (and not by the chief secretary alone) was not unknown in the pre-Mughal period. Thus 'Ayn al-Mulk Multānī, who was a great *munshī* but never an office-holder

in the *dīwān-i inshāʿ*, drafted numerous state documents during the reigns of Muḥammad b. Tughluq and Firūz Shāh; particular mention may be made of the manifesto issued by Firūz Shāh to the religious classes, the officials and nobles, and the common people of Lakhnawtī (Bengal) when launching an invasion of the territory (*Inshāʿ-i Māhrū*, *passim*; for the manifesto, see pp. 15-17). Similarly Amīr Khusrāw, one of the greatest masters of style in Persian *inshāʿ*, appears never to have occupied a position in the *dīwān-i inshāʿ*, but one may assume that his services were utilised in drafting important documents by contemporary sultans from Kaykubād (acceded 686/1287) to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (died 725/1325). The *fath-nāma* written by Amīr Khusrāw on the occasion of Balban's victory over a rebellious governor of Lakhnawtī is given in his *I'djāz-i Khusrāwī* (v, 4-14); Amīr Khusrāw claims this as his first *fath-nāma*, and since he was not till then in the service of the court of Delhi, it is not clear if he was commissioned to draft the document.

The Indian Mughals followed a more active foreign policy than did the sultans of Delhi, and sent out and received many more embassies than their predecessors. It is therefore all the more surprising that for a long time they did not have a proper chancellery and a secretary of this. We do come across frequent mentions of *munshīs* (e.g., *A'in-i Akbarī*, i, 4; *Tuzuk-i Djahāngiri*, Aligarh 1863-64, 185; 'Abd al-Hamid Lāhawri, *Pādshāh-Nāma*, i/1, 148, s.v. *dabīr*), but for a long time there is no mention of a correspondence department. (The position has been recognized both by I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi 1966, 82, and by Momin Ibrahim, *The Mughal contribution to Persian epistolography*, Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1958 (unpublished), chapter i). From the time of Shāh Djahān onwards "frequent mention is made of the *dār al-inshāʿ*" (Momin Ibrahim). Ibrahim also opines that the bureau of correspondence was attached to the office of the *bakhshī* which "handled the administrative side of the secretariate only".

This lack of concern for a correspondence department becomes to some extent understandable when we consider the fact that it was common practice with the Mughal emperors to assign the drafting of important documents to ministers and dignitaries other than the official *munshīs*. Thus Akbar's royal letters were drafted mostly by Abu 'l-Faḍl, who did not occupy an official position as a secretary, and occasionally by other distinguished personages attached to the court (e.g. Akbar's letter to Shāh 'Abbās I, drafted by 'Asaf Khān Mīrẓā Dja'far, see *Bayāḍ* 1995, Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, fol. 133b; for other sources and a full discussion, see Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations* (unpublished), Document no. A.41). In one instance, two drafts were prepared for Akbar's reply to 'Abd Allāh Khān Uzbek, one by Abu 'l-Faḍl and the other by Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Faḍl Gilānī (see Bhagchand, *Djāmi' al-Inshāʿ*, B.M.Or. 1702, fols. 201a-202a; for a full discussion see *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, Document no. TX.330). The practice of having important letters drafted by high officials other than the *munshī* continued under Shāh Djahān, even though by this time a *dār al-inshāʿ* had come into being. Shāh Djahān's letters to foreign potentates were drafted mostly by Sa'd Allāh Khān, chief *dīwān* (i.e. the *wazīr*) of the empire (*Maktūbāt-i Sa'd Allāh Khān*, ed. Nāzīr Husayn Zaydī, Lahore 1968, *passim*; Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian*

*Relations*, section on *Shāh Djahān, passim*). Indeed there is a petition from *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Kābil Khān, *munshī* of Awrangzīb 'Ālamgīr, complaining that this work was being appropriated by the imperial *diwān* (*Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīri*, ed. 'Abd al-Ghāfūr Čawdhri, Lahore 1971, 834).

The head of the *dār al-inshā'* was known variously as *mir munshī*, *dārūgha-i dār al-inshā'* and *munshī al-mamālik*. As the same officer, Muḥammad Sharif Kābil Khān, is mentioned in the *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīri*, (Bib. Ind. 1871) as *dārūgha-i dār al-inshā'* on p. 140 and *mir munshī* on p. 190, it can be assumed that the two designations stood for the same post. It is remarkable that *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Kābil Khān, though generally called *munshī al-mamālik* (see the MSS of his *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīri*) is nowhere alluded to as such in the *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīri* or the *'Ālamgīr-Nāma*; nor indeed is his brother Muḥammad Sharif Kābil mentioned as *munshī al-mamālik* in the *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīri*.

Some idea of the status and emoluments of a Mughal *mir munshī* may be had from the fact that the annual stipend given to Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Khān on retirement was Rs. 5,000 (*Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīri*, 26), and that his brother Muḥammad Sharif Kābil Khān, who became *dārūgha-i dār al-inshā'* in 1085/1675, had the rank of 1000/70 (i.e., 1000 personal rank, 70 troops) when he was dismissed from the office in 1090/1680 (*Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīri*, 190). Thus neither the rank nor the salary of the post seems to have been high. But the post, with its privilege of *taḥarrub* ("proximity") to the person of the emperor, gave an immense influence to the incumbent, so that Muḥammad Sharif was able to amass twelve lacs of rupees in cash alone in five years—a circumstance which eventually brought about his fall (*ibid.*).

As pointed out earlier the Mughal princes used to have their own official *munshīs*. Indeed, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Kābil Khān made his career as the *wālāshāhī munshī* (a prince's secretary) of Prince Awrangzīb; he served the Emperor Awrangzīb 'Ālamgīr for only a very short period (*Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīri*, 140, 190; for some other instances, see *ibid.*, 91; Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, I, 740).

The Hindūs produces many *munshīs* and Hindū *munshīs* wrote numerous *inshā'* works, the most well-known being the *Inshā'-i Harkaran* of Djahāngīr's reign. From the period of the Afghān Sūrs onwards they attained increasing proficiency in Persian epistolography, and soon came to occupy a strong position in secretarial and clerical cadres. The most celebrated of the Hindu *munshīs* were Čandr Bhan Brahman whom *Shāh Djahān* gave the title of *Rāy-i Rāyān*, and Ānand Rām "Mukhlis", *mir munshī* of the Emperor Muḥammad *Shah* (Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta 1935, 227-9; Momin Ibrahim, *op. cit.*; Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, Intro., 56).

*Bibliography*: Among the Persian sources, the chronicles of the sultans of Delhi and of the Mughal emperors contain only scanty and occasional references to the subject. Even Baranī, though full of detail on general administration, does not say much about the *dabīr* or the *dār al-inshā'*. It is remarkable that two celebrated treatises on *inshā'*, Amīr Khusrāw's lengthy *I'diās-i Khusrāwī* and Maḥmūd Gāwān's *Manāzir al-Inshā'*, contain next to nothing about the position and functions of the *dabīr*. Mughal works too seldom discuss the subject at length and systematically. The following

primary sources nevertheless contain useful pieces of information on the subject: Minhādī b. Sirādī *Djuzdjānī*, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāsirī*, Calcutta 1863-4; Dīyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1862; Amīr Khusrāw, *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ*, Aligarh 1927; Id., *I'diās-i Khusrāwī*, Lucknow 1867; 'Ayn al-Mulk Māhrū Multānī, *Inshā'-i Māhrū*, ed. *Shaykh* Abdur Rashid, Lahore 1965; Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī, *Masālik al-absār fī mamālik al-amsār*, tr. Otto Spies and others, published in the *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh (1936); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, Paris 1853-59; Eng. tr. H. A. R. Gibb, iii, Cambridge 1971, and by Maḥdi Husain, Baroda 1953; Shams Sirādī 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-91; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1867-77; Ruq'āt-i Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Gilānī, ed. M. B. Husain, Lahore 1968; *Maktūbāt-i Sa'd Allāh Khān*, ed. N. H. Zaidi, Lahore 1968; *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Kābil Khān, *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīri*, ed. Abd al-Ghāfūr Čawdhri, Lahore 1971; *Tūzūk-i Djahāngīri*, Aligarh 1863-64; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawri, *Pādshāh-Nāma*, Calcutta 1866-72; Muḥammad Kāzīm, *'Ālamgīr-Nāma*, Calcutta 1865-73; *Shāh Nawāz Khān* (Šamsām al-Dawla), *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, tr. Beveridge and B. Prashad, Calcutta 1911-52; Sākī Musta'īd Khān, *Mā'āthir-i 'Ālamgīri*, Calcutta 1871; Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Calcutta 1860-74; Bhāgčand Munshī, *Djāmi' al-Inshā'*, B.M.Or. 1702; Sayyid 'Alī Naḳī, *Kitāb-i Haft Dābiya*, MS National Museum, Karachi. For a fuller list of *inshā'* sources, see bibliography in Riazul Islam, *A calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations* (unpublished).

*Modern studies*: Muḥammad Nāzīm, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931; Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1935; A. B. M. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim rule in India*, Lahore 1945; Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal government and administration*, Bombay 1951; I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, Karachi 1958; idem, *Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi 1966; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963; Ibn Hasan, *Central structure of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi 1967; Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations: A study of the political and diplomatic relations between the Mughal Empire and Iran*, Tehran 1970; Momin M. M. Ibrahim, *The Mughal contribution to Persian epistolography*, Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1958 (unpublished); idem, *Calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations, 1500-1750* (unpublished). (RIAZUL ISLAM)

**KĀTIB ÇELEBI**, appellation of MUŞTAFĀ B. 'ABD ALLĀH (1017-67/1609-57), known also (after his post in the bureaucracy) as ḤĀDJ DJĪ KHĀLIFĀ (Khālfā), historian, bibliographer and geographer, the most conspicuous and productive scholar, particularly in the non-religious sciences, of the 11th/17th century Ottoman Empire. He was born on Dhu 'l-Ķa'da 1017/February 1609 in Istanbul, his father being a soldier. He began his education at the age of five or six, and at 14 was apprenticed to the *Anadolū Muḥāsebesi*'s office, where he learned accountancy and *siyākat* [q.v.]. In 1033/1624 he went with the army in the campaign against Abaza Paṣha (*Fedhlike*, ii, 55), and two years later was present on the Baghdād campaign (*Fedhlike*, ii, 83), his father dying at Mawṣil on the way back. In that year he was appointed to a post in the *Sūvārī Muḥāsebesi* office. Returning to Istanbul in 1038/1628-9, he attended

the lectures of Kâdî-zâde, which greatly impressed him (*Fedhîleke*, ii, 182). In 1038-40/1629-30 he was present on Khusew Pasha's campaign against Baghdad; and in 1043/1633-4, when the army wintered at Aleppo, he took the opportunity to make the Pilgrimage. In 1044-5/1635 he took part in the campaign against Erivan. After these ten years of service with the army, a legacy enabled him to settle in Istanbul and devote himself to study, attending the lectures of various scholars, principally A'radî Muştafâ Ef. (*Fedhîleke*, ii, 392). Having failed to receive promotion, he resigned from his post in the Finance Department and spent three years in retirement, until in 1058/1648 his writing of the *Takwîm al-tawârîkh* (no. 4 below) and the intervention of his patron 'Abd al-Rahîm Efendi, then *Shaykh al-Islâm*, procured him the rank of *ikindî khalîfe*. Many of his works were composed in the ensuing years, among them translations made from Latin texts with the help of a French convert, *Shaykh* Mehmed Ikhîlâşî. He died suddenly, on 27 Dhu 'l-Hidjja 1067/6 October 1657, and was buried by the Zeyrek Dîjami'î (photograph of his gravestone, since renewed, in *Keşf-el-zunûn* (no. 12 below), i, introd., between cols. 18 and 19). His contemporaries described him as good-tempered, taciturn and philosophic, leading an unambitious life with no passion except for study; he would mix both with ascetics and pleasure-lovers, and he neither smoked nor drank. Naturally grave, he disliked satire and there is little humour in his works. One of his hobbies was growing flowers. He is always measured in his criticisms and his relation of events; and his prose style is simple, unencumbered by grandiloquent similes and clichés.

Works. 1. *Fadhîlakat akwâl al-akhyâr fi 'ilm al-tarîkh wa'l-akhbâr*, or *Fadhîlakat al-tawârîkh*, a universal history in Arabic, to 1049/1639. The *muḥaddima* is in four *faşis*, of which the second deals with the significance, the scope and the uses of history; the third, which was to list the 1300 sources, is lacking in the unique MS.; the fourth deals with the rules which the historian must follow. Unique MS. (author's draft); Bayezit 10318 (dated 1052/1642). Summary of scope in *Incelemeler* (see *Bibl.*), 40-3, and see also M. Halil Yananç, *ibid.*, 93-100; Turkish tr. of brief passages in *Seçmeler* (see *Bibl.*), 187-94. —2. *Fedhîleke*, a chronicle of Ottoman history, in Turkish, from 1000/1591 to 1065/1654-5. Among the sources are Hasanbegzâde, Peçevi [*qq.v.*] and 'Abd al-Kâdir (Topçular Kâtibi); it was extensively used by Na'îmâ [*q.v.*]. Autograph MS.: Atif Ef. 1914; edn. in 2 vols. Istanbul 1287. See *Incelemeler*, 43-5. —3. *Tuhfat al-hidâr fi asfâr al-bihâr*, a history of Ottoman naval engagements to the year 1067/1656, in Turkish, with recommendations and criticisms on naval affairs and information on the fleet and its armament. MS. Revan 1192 (Karatay, no. 787) has marginalia in the author's hand, maps and pictures, and three *takrîz* (by the *Shaykh al-Islâm* and the *Kâdî'ashkers*). Edns.: Müteferrika Press 1141/1729; Istanbul 1329/1913. Eng. tr. (to p. 70 of the 1329 edn.), James Mitchell, *The history of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831. See *Incelemeler*, 45-8; *Seçmeler*, 80-113. —4. *Takwîm al-tawârîkh*, chronological tables of events from the creation of Adam to the year 1058/1648, to serve "as an index to the *Fadhîlaka*" (no. 1 above) Autograph MS. (?): Esad Ef. 2399; edn. (with continuation to 1146): Müteferrika Press 1146/1733. Ital. tr. by Rinaldo Carli, *Chronologia historica . . .*, Venice 1697. Continued, with commentary, to 1191/1777 by Sham'dânîzâde [*q.v.*] as *Mur'î al-tawârîkh* (edn. of first vol. to 926/

1520, Istanbul 1338 h.). See *Incelemeler*, 48-54; *Seçmeler*, 114-8. —5. *Rawnaḥ al-salṭana*, excerpts on the history of Constantinople translated into Turkish from *Historia rerum in Oriente gestarum . . .*, Frankfurt 1587 (see V. L. Ménage, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 173-4). Unique MS.: Konya, İzzet Koyunoğlu Libr. See *Incelemeler*, 56. —6. *Ta'rikk-i Firengî*, a Turkish translation, made in 1065/1654-5, of Johann Carion's *Chronicle* (probably the Latin edn., Paris 1548, see V. L. Ménage, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 423). Unique MS.: Konya, İzzet Koyunoğlu Libr. Excerpts published in the newspaper *Taşvîr-i efkâr* from no. 55 (1279/1863) onwards, whence three passages in *Seçmeler*, 175-7. See *Incelemeler*, 54-6. —7. *Irshâd al-hayârâ ilâ ta'rikk al-Yûnân wa'l-Rûm wa'l-Naşârâ*, a short compilation, from the *Atlas Minor* (see no. 10) and other works, on the religion, the systems of government and the dynasties of Christian Europe. See *Incelemeler*, 57; B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis . . . Deutschland*, xiii/1 = *Türkische Handschriften*, Teil i, Wiesbaden 1968, no. 117; V. L. Ménage, in *Iran and Islam*, 421-3. —8. *Sullam al-wuṣûl ilâ ṭabaḳât al-fuḥûl*, a compendium of biographies in Arabic, arranged alphabetically (part one: by personal name; part two: by *nasab*, *kunya* or *lakab*), in effect a companion work to no. 12 below, compiled from over 100 sources and completed in 1058/1649. Autograph (draft) MS.: Şehit Ali Paşa 1877. See *Incelemeler*, 57-61; *Seçmeler*, 195-204. —9. *Djihân-nümâ*. This work, planned to be a great cosmography, was never completed. In the first version, begun in 1058/1648, the author dealt with the seas, Muslim Spain, North Africa, and the Ottoman provinces of Rûmeli, Bosnia and Hungary; the second version, begun in 1065/1654 after he had acquired a copy of the *Atlas Minor* (see no. 10), covers Asia, from Japan to the Ottoman borders (Van). Most of the first version was translated by J. von Hammer as *Rumeli und Bosna . . .*, Vienna 1812; the second version was the basis for the Müteferrika Press text of 1145/1732. For the complex textual history, see the articles of Fr. Taeschner, Pearson, *Index islamicus 1906-1955*, nos. 8860, 18345, 18643 and (a summing-up) 8861 = *Imago Mundi*, i (1935), 44-8; and *Incelemeler*, 61-73. For partial translations, see Babinger, 200. —10. *Lawâmi' al-nûr fi zulmât Atlas Minûr*, a Turkish translation, with many marginal comments, of the *Atlas Minor* of G. Mercator and L. Hondius. Autograph MS.: Nuruosmaniye 2998. See *Incelemeler*, 73-6; *Seçmeler*, 178-83. —11. *Ilhâm al-muḥaddas fi fayd al-aḳdas*, a short treatise on the solutions, in the light of *fikh*, to three astronomical problems. See Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, in *Incelemeler*, 141-76; *Incelemeler*, 76-7; *Seçmeler*, 143-5. —12. *Kashf al-zunûn 'an asâmi 'l-kutub wa'l-funûn*, the great bibliographical dictionary in Arabic. The introduction deals with the importance of learning and the classification of the various branches of knowledge; the main text lists some 14,500 titles in alphabetical order, with some commentary. Principal edns.: G. Flügel, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum . . .*, 7 vols., Leipzig and London 1835-58 (Ar. text with Latin tr. and indexes); ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, *Keşf-el-zunûn*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1941-3 (using the autograph fair copy of the first third, MS. Revan 2059 [Karatay, no. 6566], and the autograph draft for the rest, MS. Carullah 1619. See *Incelemeler*, 77-9; *Seçmeler*, 205-45. —13. *Tuhfat al-akhyâr fi 'l-hikam wa'l-amthâl wa'l-ash'âr*, a commonplace book drawn mainly from Arabic, but also from Persian and Turkish sources, containing passages on literature and philosophy,

family-life and good government, curious information on animals and plants, tales, poems, proverbs, etc. See *İncelemeler*, 79-81; *Seçmeler*, 246-65. —14. *Dürer-i münteshire ve ghurer-i münteshire*, a collection of passages from biographical works. Unique (autograph) MS.: Nuruosmaniye 4949. See *İncelemeler*, 81-2; *Seçmeler*, 146-52. —15. *Dustür al-'amal fi işlâh al-khalal*, a memorandum setting out the causes for the deficits in the state finances and suggesting remedies. Edn.: Istanbul 1280 (appended to 'Ayn-i 'Ali, *Kawânin-i Âl-i 'Othmân*); *Seçmeler* (complete text), 153-61. German trans.: W. F. A. Behrner, in *ZDMG*, xi (1857), 111-32. See *İncelemeler*, 82-4; B. Lewis, in *Isl. St.*, i/1 (1962), 78-81. —16. *Rađım al-radđım bi'l-sim wa'l-dđım*, a collection of curious questions in *fiqh* and of odd *fatwās*; apparently lost. See *İncelemeler*, 84-5. —17. A *sharh* of the *tafsir* of al-Baydāwī [q.v.]; perhaps never completed, no. MS. known. See *İncelemeler*, 85. —18. *Husn al-hidāya*, a *sharh* of the *Muhammadiyya* of 'Alī Kushcī [q.v.]; apparently lost. See *İncelemeler*, 85. —19. *Djāmi' al-mutūn min djall al-funūn*, abridgements of and comments on 27 works which the author taught: a compendium of "general knowledge" for the man of culture. Unique MS. (in part autograph): Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi 1763. See *İncelemeler*, 85-6; *Seçmeler*, 266-7. —20. *Mukhtaşar Djāmi' al-mutūn*, an abridgement of the above. no. MS., known (see *Kashf al-zunūn*, Flügel, no. 3952). *İncelemeler*, 86 and n. 3. —21. *Mizān al-hak̄k fi 'khtiyār al-aḥak̄k*, a discussion of various questions which at the time were causing violent controversy (see Na'īmā, vi, 229-30 (sub anno 1066); İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1951, 364-6), with the author's solutions, composed in 1067/1656. Edns.: Istanbul 1281, 1286, 1306. Eng. tr.: G. L. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth*, London 1957 (see J. R. Walsh, in *IQ*, v/1-2 (1958), 63-79). See *İncelemeler*, 87-90; *Seçmeler*, 162-71. —22. *Kānūnnāme-i teshrifāt*, known only from a mention in *Mizān al-hak̄k*; see *İncelemeler*, 54.

**Bibliography:** The principal source for Kâtib Çelebi's life, his studies and his works is the autobiographical *khâtıme* to the *Mizān al-hak̄k* (*Seçmeler*, 165-70; tr. G. L. Lewis, pp. 135-47), with some further details in the *Sullam al-wuṣūl* (*Seçmeler*, 202-3). Earlier studies: Bursall Mehmed Fâhir, 'Othmānî müellifleri, iii, 124-31; Brockelmann, II, 427-9, S II, 635-7; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939; expanded version; *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 115-32. The fullest study is by O. Ş. Gökyay, in *Kâtib Çelebi: hayatı ve eserleri hakkında incelemeler*, Ankara (TTK) 1957, 3-90 (an expanded version of the article in *IA*, s.v. Kâtib Çelebi). Add now also 'Uşâqizāde's *Lebensbeschreibungen . . . (Zeyl-i Saqā'iq)*, ed. H. J. Kissling, Wiesbaden 1965, no. 158. Selections from 15 of his works, in the original Turkish or translated from Arabic, in O. Ş. Gökyay, *Kâtib Çelebi'den seçmeler*, Istanbul 1968.

For MSS. in the libraries of Turkey, see *İncelemeler*; of Europe, see Babinger, 195-203 (some further references, for nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 21 above, in B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis . . .*, xiii/1, nos. 162, 160, 36, 117, 379, respectively).

(ORHAN ŞAIK GÖKYAY)

#### KÂTİB-İ RŪMİ [see SİDİ RE'İS].

AL-KÂTİBİ, NAĐİM AL-DİN ABU'L-ḤASAN 'ALİ B. 'UMAR (d. 657/1276), known by the title of Dabīrān, was a philosopher and logician of the Shāfi'i school. He came from Kazwīn and although Khwānsārī, quoting Kutubī, called him Kāshī, sc. from Kāshān, this is not correct; and he was a pupil of

Athīr-al-Dīn Abharī. It is known that he helped establish the Marāgha [q.v.] observatory along with Naşīr al-Dīn Tūsī [q.v.] and several other scholars, including Mu'ayyid al-Dīn 'Arūđī, Fakhr al-Dīn Marāghī and Muhyī al-Dīn Akhlāfī. He is the author of many works and treatises, two of which are particularly important. The first is *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya* (*The Logic of the Arabians*, original Arabic with Eng. tr. by A. Sprenger, appended to Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1856), which he wrote for Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī. This was commented upon by several scholars, the most important of whom are Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī [q.v.] and Kuṭb al-Dīn Rāzī. Rāzī's commentary, entitled *Tahrīr al-kawā'id al-mantikiyyah fi sharḥ al-risāla al-shamsiyya* (Tehran lith. ed. 1304) is still used as a text book in traditional Islamic schools.

His second major work, *Hikmat al-'ayn*, deals with metaphysics and natural sciences. This work too has attracted many commentaries, among them that of Muḥammad b. Mubārak Shāh, known as Mīrak-i Bukhārī (St. Petersburg 1904), who has also quoted Kuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's marginal notes on the same work. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī, known as al-Sharīf, Kamāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shīrāzī and Mirzā Djān Bāghnuwī, each wrote marginal notes on the above commentary. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, known as 'Allāma, also wrote a commentary on *Hikmat al-'ayn*, called *Idāh al-makāşid* (Tehran 1959).

Kâtibī was influenced in his thinking by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [q.v.] and wrote commentaries on his *al-Muḥaṣṣal* and *al-Mulakkkhaş*, which he called respectively *al-Mufaṣṣal* and *al-Munaşşas*. He also had some correspondence and discussions with Naşīr al-Dīn Tūsī on problems of logic, such as predication and contradiction, and on philosophical problems, like the proof of necessary existence. In this respect he rejects the proofs of necessary existence based on the falsity of the circle of infinite regress and demonstrates another kind of proof in his *al-Risāla fi ihbāt al-wādđib* ('Alī Yāsīn, *Mufāriḥāt falsafiyya*, Baghdad 1956). His arguments, which became known as *Shubuhāt*, were discussed by various scholars, and Kamāl al-Dīn Husaynī Fasā'ī wrote a book called *Hall shubuhāt al-Kâtibī*.

**Bibliography:** Kutubī, *Fawāit*, Cairo 1951, ii, 134; Khwāndmīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tehran 1333, iii, 107; Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i gurīda*, Tehran 1339, 590, 706; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djānnāt*, litho ed., Tehran 1367, 479; Muḥammad 'Alī Hazīn, *Tadhkirah*, Işfahān 1334, 30; Fāshkōprüzāde, *Miftāh al-sa'āda*, Cairo, Dār al-kutub edn. n.d., i, 299, 302; *Kashf al-zunūn*, i, 685, ii, 1063; *Idāh al-maknūn* (suppl. to *Kashf al-zunūn*), i, 415, ii, 56; Brockelmann, I, 466, S I, 845; 'Abbās Kūmī, *al-Kunā wa' l-alkāb*, Sidon 1939, iii, 801; 'Abbās Ikhbāl, *Tārīkh-i Mughūl*, Tehran 1341, 191, 503, 507, 511; 'Alī Naqī Munzawī, intro. to *Idāh al-makāşid*, Tehran 1959, 4-10. (M. MOHAGHEGH)

**KÂTİBİ**, SHAMS AL-DİN MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH, a Persian poet. According to Dawlatshāh, he was born in a village between Turshiz and Nishāpūr. Through most of his life he sought in vain the patronage of Timūrid amīrs in Herāt, Astarābād and Sharwān, and finally that of the Turcoman ruler Iskandar b. Qarā Yūsuf in Ādharbāydjān. Eventually he returned to Astarābād, where he died of the plague about 839/1435-6, apparently at a young age. Besides a *diwān* of *ghazals*, *kaşidas*, etc., he left a number of *mathnawīs*, viz. *Tadđnisāt* or *Dah Bāb*, *Dhū Bahrayn* or *Madjma' al-Bahrayn*, *Dhū Kāfiyatayn*, *Husn u 'Ishk*, *Nāzīr u Manzūr*, *Muḥibb u Mahbūb*, and

*Bahrām u Gul-andām*. Towards the end of his life he undertook to compose a *khamsa* in imitation of Nizāmī of Gandīa, but did not complete it.

Notwithstanding Nawāʿī's lavish praise of Kātibi, and the lengthy accounts of him given by Dawlatshāh and Browne, he is a mediocre poet. Dīāmī rightly describes (in his *Bahārīstān*) his verses as *shutur gurba*, "camels and cats", i.e., uneven and unequal in quality. His poetry is characterized by excessive use of rhetorical artifice, imitation (mainly of Amīr Khusrāw and Ḥasan of Dihlī), commonplace and bizarre ideas, and clumsy and immature diction. Perhaps because of these failings, very few of his verses have been published.

*Bibliography*: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Browne, London-Leiden 1901, 381-91; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 487-95; Amīr ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʿī, *Madiālis al-Nafāʾis*, ed. ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, Tehran 1323; Dh. Şafā, *Gandī-i Sukhan*, ii, Tehran 1340<sup>2</sup>, 271-3. (I. DEGHAN)

**KATIF** (A.) "shoulder"; *ʿilm al-katīf* or *al-aktāf* denotes scapulomancy or omoplatoscopy, i.e. divination by the use of the shoulder-bones. This art forms a part of the practices of physiognomy. It is universal in scope, inasmuch as it provides for the foretelling of what will happen in the different regions of the earth towards which the four sides of the scapula are pointed according to the signs revealed by it. From this point of view the *ʿilm al-aktāf* is to be linked with the practice of cleromancy of the *dīafr* [q.v.] and the *malāhim* (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 219 ff.).

How was this skill practised? Three methods are known to us. The first is to lay the scapula on the ground before cooking it, to examine it and to deduce from it indications of future events (war, fertility, drought) according to the shades of colour on it. It may be yellowish, leaden, red or greenish and the meanings of these colours are applied to the regions towards which the four sides of the scapula point (cf. Hādīdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 387).

The second method consists of taking the scapula with the flesh stripped off and exposing it to the rays of the sun. The special lines and shapes which then appear are examined by the physiognomists and they deduce from them signs of universal events, but rarely of individual cases (cf. Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe*, Ar. text, 12). "Neither the age nor the sex nor the colour of the sheep are important . . . There is no fixed moment for the ceremony of divination. It is performed at any time and in any place." (Letter from P. Anastase al-Karmālī to Alfred Boissier, in *Mantique babylonienne et mantique hittite*, 52).

A third method involves cooking the scapula before using it. This is described in a *Risāla fi l-ahkām al-katīfiyya* (ms. Cairo 4451; cat. v, 338; anon.): "If anyone wishes to practise scapulomancy, he must take a sheep and before cutting its throat, he must formulate in his mind the question to which he would like to obtain an answer. Then he will slaughter it and broil its scapula."

This third method seems to have prevailed in North Africa, where it could have been connected with the practices of the ancient haruspices (cf. Mauchamp, *Sorcellerie*, 148; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 371 f.; for details see *Divination arabe*, 396 f.). According to the only example of a divination by scapulomancy found in ancient literature, which goes back to the period of ʿUmar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb, the observation was made in the East on the fresh, raw scapula (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2575-6, quoted above, art. *ISRİŞKĀʾ*). It is the same in the *Risāla fi ʿilm al-aktāf* attributed

to al-Kindī (mss. Nuruosmaniyye 2412, 42 fol.; Şehīd ʿAlī Paşa, 1812, 51 fol.; Bursa, Ḥusayn Çelebi, 882 fol. 84<sup>a</sup>-89<sup>a</sup>; cf. M. Plessner, *Deux manuscrits d'Istanbul attribués à al-Kindī*, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 557). The introduction states that al-Kindī translated this treatise from the Greek; it was attributed to Hermes the Sage.

Apart from this *risāla* and the anonymous one from Cairo, no other writings on scapulomancy have appeared, despite the affirmation of P. Anastase that "there is an entire literature on the science of scapulae which would require deep study" (*apud* Boissier, *op. cit.*, 53). He himself had only a copy of the *risāla* attributed to al-Kindī (*ibid.*, 51). No writings of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, thought to have been the originator of scapulomancy, have yet come to light.

Finally, according to P. Anastase, "To-day there is no family or tribe which knows this science . . . but it is studied in specialist books. There is", he writes, "a special terminology which is not found in Arabic dictionaries, even the most extensive" (*ibid.*).

*Bibliography*: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 395-7; A. Boissier, *Mantique babylonienne et mantique hittite*, Paris 1935, (letter of P. Anastase dated 26 September 1934); Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe et le Kitāb al-firāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (thesis), Paris 1939, Ar. text 12; Hādīdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 387; Ed. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 371-2; E. Mauchamp, *La sorcellerie au Maroc*, Paris n.d., 148. (T. FAHD)

**AL-ḲAṬĪF**, a large oasis in Saudi Arabia on the southern shore of the Persian Gulf.

1. Geography and demography. The oasis fronts on Tārūt Bay, named after the island facing its centre. Although al-Ḳaṭīf was for centuries a seaport of considerable importance, it is now, due to the shallowness of its waters, used only by small craft. Most of the maritime traffic had been diverted to the oil-shipping port of Ra's Tannūra (Ras Tanura) on the narrow peninsula which forms the north side of the bay and to the commercial port of al-Dammām [q.v.] at the southern extremity of the bay.

The oasis stretches about 22 km. from north to south along the coast of the bay. In the far north the town of Şafwā and its girdle of date palms are cut off from the bay by Şabkhat Dījāwān (*şabkha* = "salt flat"), from the main body of the oasis by Şabkhat Şafwā and the sands of al-Dīabdjūb, and from the inland village of Umm al-Sāhik by the sands of al-Dawāghir. In the centre of the oasis is the town of al-Ḳaṭīf proper, popularly called al-Ḳalʿa after the old Ottoman (not Portuguese) fort razed in recent times. The more important villages in its vicinity are al-Ḳudayḥ and al-ʿAwwāmiyya to the north, and al-Dījāruḍiyya, Umm al-Ḳhamām, al-Dījishsh, and ʿAnik to the south. Separated from the rest of the oasis by the sands of al-Badrānī is the interior village of al-ʿĀdjām (pronounced *lodjām*). The oasis ends in the south with the flourishing town of Sayhāt on the coast.

The sands mentioned above and other sands hem in the oasis on its inner side from north to south and in many places are encroaching on the palm groves. A remarkable string of *ʿayns* or springs lies along the north-south axis just west of the eastern edge of the sands. Many other *ʿayns* are scattered throughout the groves between the sands and the bay.

The island of Tārūt has five main villages, the largest of which are Tārūt near the centre and Dārīn at the southern tip of the island. Dārīn, mentioned in a verse by al-Aʿshā, was the name commonly given

to the island in ancient times. A causeway now joins the island to the mainland.

The great majority of the people of al-Ḳaṭīf consists of *Djā'farī Shī'īs*. The suggestion, sometimes made, that traces of Ḳarmaṭian doctrines survive there seems to be completely baseless. It is to be hoped that ampler details of the history of this ancient *Djā'farī* community and the related *Djā'farī* community of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] can some day be uncovered.

2. History. The finding of ancient South Arabian and Aramaean inscriptions bears witness to the great antiquity of al-Ḳaṭīf as an inhabited oasis. Unfortunately, the extensive use of the land by the current dwellers impedes the carrying out of thorough archaeological operations. H. von Wissmann has argued persuasively for the identification of al-Ḳaṭīf as the site of the renowned city of Gerra described by Strabo and other classical sources, but this identification is not yet proved beyond doubt.

In the early 4th century A.D. the Persians under *Shāpūr II* established themselves in al-Ḳaṭīf and along the adjoining Arabian coast, the hinterland of which was then known as al-Baḥrayn. This occupation, interrupted at times by the *Lakhmids*, did not end until three centuries later. For a sketch of the events of that time see the article on 'ABD AL-ḲAYS, then the dominant tribe in al-Baḥrayn. The subtribe of *Djadhīma* b. 'Awf inhabited the oasis of al-Ḳaṭīf but kept its capital at nearby al-Zāra, the location of which is uncertain. The population also included Magians, Jews, and Christians (many members of 'Abd al-Ḳays were Christians before Islam). The persistence of Christianity is illustrated by the fact that a Nestorian synod was held at Dārīn as late as 56-7/676.

As Islam spread eastwards in the Peninsula, al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥadramī reached al-Baḥrayn in 8/629-30, and 'Abd al-Ḳays sent an embassy to the Prophet in Medina. During the *rida* some of 'Abd al-Ḳays rebelled; in 11/632-3 al-Ḥuṭam b. Ḍubay'a seized al-Ḳaṭīf, but in the next year he was defeated and killed by the forces of al-'Alā'. The Muslims then forced the Persian garrison of al-Zāra to capitulate, after which they crossed over to the island of Dārīn (Tārūt). The rebellion against the caliphate continued until 19/640, but it is not known whether al-Ḳaṭīf was involved in the later stages.

In 67/686-7 the *Khāridjī* Naḍja b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanaḥafī won a victory over 'Abd al-Ḳays at al-Ḳaṭīf and made the oasis his headquarters, only to be overcome not long afterwards by his fellow-*Khāridjī* Abū Fudayk.

The history of al-Ḳaṭīf for the next two centuries or so remains obscure. In 286/899 the Ḳarmaṭian Abū Sa'īd Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] invaded the oasis and put many of the inhabitants to the sword, thereby inaugurating an independent Ḳarmaṭian state in eastern Arabia with its capital in the oasis of al-Aḥsā' to the south. The Ḳarmaṭians suffered a temporary setback four years later when Ibn Bānū, the governor of al-Baḥrayn, inflicted severe losses on them in a battle at al-Ḳaṭīf, but they soon recovered the oasis and regained power.

The tribe of 'Uḳayl, which in the late 3rd/9th century was moving into the region, in time took over supremacy there from 'Abd al-Ḳays. In al-Handānī's time (early 4th/10th century), however, the inhabitants of al-Ḳaṭīf were still described as belonging to *Djadhīma* b. 'Awf of 'Abd al-Ḳays under a chief named Ibn Mismār. Ibn Ḥawḳal (mid-4th/10th century) lists al-Ḳaṭīf as one of the Ḳarmaṭian cities.

In 378/988-9 al-Aṣfar and his tribesmen of al-Muntafiḳ waged war against the Ḳarmaṭians and plundered al-Ḳaṭīf, carrying off abundant booty to al-Baṣra.

The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i *Khusraw* in 433/1051 met an Arab dignitary in al-Ḳaṭīf whose ambition was to drive the Ḳarmaṭians, "men without religion", out of their capital al-Aḥsā'. Seventeen years later Abū 'l-Bahlūl al-'Awwām b. al-Zadīdjādī, master of the islands of al-Baḥrayn, who was loyal to the 'Abbāsids, defeated the Ḳarmaṭian adherents among 'Uḳayl in a naval battle off al-Ḳaṭīf. The final destruction of Ḳarmaṭian power in this region came at the hands of the 'Uyūnids [*q.v.*] of 'Abd al-Ḳays, whose base was in al-Aḥsā'.

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Jewish communities in the East between 554/1159 and 569/1173, gave the number of Jews in al-Ḳaṭīf as 5,000, a figure no doubt exaggerated (the Rabbi does not seem to have reached al-Ḳaṭīf itself). He also reported that the pearl fisheries there were controlled by a Jewish official.

About 598/1201-2 Abū Bakr b. Sa'd, the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, took over al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Aḥsā'. By the first half of the 7th/13th century the 'Uyūnids were yielding to pressure by the Salghurids and by the new dynasty of the 'Uṣfūrīds of 'Uḳayl, which was usurping authority in al-Aḥsā'.

From the 8th/14th century, Hormuz on the Persian side of the Gulf rose to prominence in trade and politics. In 731/1330-1 *Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Tahamtan*, King of Hormuz, is said to have occupied al-Ḳaṭīf and other places on both sides of the Gulf. In the following year, however, Ibn Baṭṭūta found that al-Ḳaṭīf was ruled by a family founded by one *Djarwān* of 'Uḳayl, a family described by al-Sakhāwī as "remnants of the Ḳarmaṭians". Ibn Baṭṭūta characterised the various clans of Arabs living in al-Ḳaṭīf as "extremist *Rāfiḍīs*" (the common term among Sunnīs in the Gulf for *Shī'īs*).

In the mid-9th/15th century the *Djabrids*, a branch of the 'Uṣfūrīds, became dominant in al-Aḥsā'. The *Djabrid* *Adīwad* helped the fugitive prince Salghur of Hormuz secure the throne of his homeland, in return for which Salghur granted *Adīwad*, on payment of tribute, control over al-Baḥrayn and al-Ḳaṭīf, whose profits from trade made them the richest possessions of Hormuz.

After the Portuguese conquest of Hormuz in 913/1507, the *Djabrids* kept their hold on al-Ḳaṭīf for a time. The *Djabrid* *Muḳrīn* made the pilgrimage in 926/1520, bringing with him pearls, amber, aloes wood, and other costly products; he is said to have distributed 50,000 *dīnārs* to the poor in the Holy Cities. On his return he discovered that the Portuguese were invading the islands of al-Baḥrayn, and he met his death in resisting them. The King of Hormuz, subject and ally of the Portuguese, sent an underling to besiege al-Ḳaṭīf. The final blow to the *Djabrids* came from *Shaykh Rāshīd* b. *Mughāmis* of al-Baṣra in 931/1524-5.

The chief of al-Ḳaṭīf swore allegiance to Sulaymān the Magnificent in Baghdād in 941/1534, and in 958/1551 Ottoman forces built a new citadel in al-Ḳaṭīf. After Portugal lost Hormuz to the British and Persians in 1031/1622, al-Ḳaṭīf became a more important centre for Portuguese trade in the Gulf. The finest Arabian horses were exported from there to India, being brought to the port by Bedouins from the interior. Large quantities of pearls from the beds of al-Baḥrayn were shipped from al-Ḳaṭīf, as many of the fishers came from the oasis. The Portuguese paid for the horses and pearls with cloth from Sind



and Cambay and with silver money. Another item for export was dates, inferior in quality to those of al-Baṣra, but better and more lasting when dried. In 1036/1637 the Portuguese admiral Ruy Freyre came to the rescue of al-ḲaṭĪf when it was threatened by Persia.

The Ottoman grip on this distant part of Arabia proved weak, particularly as the Āl Ḥumayd, the paramount chiefs of the tribe of the Banū *Khālid*, gained strength and expanded their dominion. The Banū *Khālid* had special ties with al-ḲaṭĪf, where nomads of the tribe owned date groves at 'Anik and numbers of them came there to camp during the harvesting season. Barrāk b. *Ghurayr* Āl Ḥumayd expelled the Ottoman governor from al-Aḥsā' in 1074/1663-4. As one of the principal seaports for the Banū *Khālid* (the other being al-'Ukayr farther south), al-ḲaṭĪf won favour from merchants for its moderate customs duties and the protection it provided for their persons and property.

In 1202/1788 the Banū Ka'b of southern al-'Irāk plundered al-ḲaṭĪf, which was just recovering from a devastating plague that had made its way south from al-Baṣra.

The Banū *Khālid* could not withstand the onslaughts of the Āl Su'ūd [*q.v.*], the paladins of the reform movement of the *Wahhābiyya* [*q.v.*], who routed the army of the tribe in the battle of *Ghuraymil* south of al-ḲaṭĪf in 1204/1789-0. Two years later Su'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Aziz Āl Su'ūd captured the strongholds of Sayhāt and 'Anik in al-ḲaṭĪf and meted out harsh treatment to the *Shī'ī* inhabitants, whom he looked upon as the worst of heretics. The payment of many pieces of gold induced Su'ūd to spare the port (*al-furda*) and the people who had taken refuge there. In this fashion, the Āl Su'ūd subdued all this part of eastern Arabia and incorporated it in their realm. During the reign of Su'ūd, the *khāḍī* he assigned to al-ḲaṭĪf was an immigrant from Persia (a *Shī'ī* converted to Sunnism?).

The Sublime Porte delegated Muḥammad 'Alī, its Viceroy in Egypt, to deal with the threat to Ottoman suzerainty posed by the Āl Su'ūd and the *Wahhābiyya*. The Viceroy's son Ibrāhīm Pāshā, took the Āl Su'ūd's capital, al-Dir'īyya [*q.v.*] in 1233/1818, after which Ibrāhīm sent a detachment on to al-ḲaṭĪf in search of supplies. When Captain Sadleir, the emissary of the British government in India coming to congratulate Ibrāhīm, reached al-ḲaṭĪf in 1234/1819, the detachment was preparing to pull out. Accompanying it on its way westwards, Sadleir became the first Western explorer to traverse the whole breadth of Arabia.

Although the chiefs of the Banū *Khālid* were in charge once more, the most striking figure in the region of al-ḲaṭĪf in the next few years was the celebrated seadog Raḥma b. *Djābir*, who finally lost his life in 1242/1826 in a naval battle off al-ḲaṭĪf against the Āl *Khālifa* of al-Baḥrayn, against whom he had long been waging war.

After the Turco-Egyptian evacuation of central Arabia, Turkī b. 'Abd Allāh reintroduced the rule of the Āl Su'ūd, and the chiefs of al-ḲaṭĪf gave him the *bay'ā* in 1245/1830. Four years later he ordered his son Fayṣal to al-ḲaṭĪf to suppress dissident elements in Sayhāt supported by the Āl *Khālifa*. While there, Fayṣal received news of his father's assassination in al-Dir'īyya, and as the new Imām he hastened back to the capital.

Muḥammad 'Alī again adopted a forward policy in Arabia in 1254/1838. Fayṣal was defeated and carried off to Egypt as a prisoner. A Turco-Egyptian

force was quartered in al-ḲaṭĪf. Ibn Bishr describes the administration as "[benevolent] rain at first, but in the end hail and thunderbolts". The force, however, stayed only two years. The new head of the Āl Su'ūd, 'Abd Allāh b. *Ṭhunayyān*, appointed Fayṣal's slave Bilāl b. Sālim al-Ḥarḳ as his first representative in al-ḲaṭĪf in 1258/1842. In the following year, Fayṣal escaped from Cairo and returned to Arabia, where this second reign of his lasted for the next twenty-two years. The probity of his government was illustrated by his anger over what he at first considered the unjustified action of his Amīr of al-ḲaṭĪf in having the leading *Shī'ī* there beaten to death, though he later pardoned the Amīr. Fayṣal in at least some of his campaigns was joined by levies of the people of al-ḲaṭĪf.

In 1288/1871 Midhat Pāshā, the Ottoman *Wālī* or governor of Baghdād, dispatched an expedition that landed at Ra's Tannūra and quickly moved on to al-ḲaṭĪf. During this final Ottoman occupation, al-ḲaṭĪf formed one of the three *kaḍā*'s of the misnamed *Sandjāk* of Naḍjīd (the *Sandjāk*, with its capital at al-Aḥsā', consisted of territory lying east of Naḍjīd proper). But 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was restoring the fortunes of Āl Su'ūd, swooped down on the *Sandjāk* in 1331/1913 and drove out all the Ottoman garrisons, including the one in al-ḲaṭĪf. Since then the oasis has belonged to the domains of the Āl Su'ūd.

In 1357/1938 oil was first discovered in Saudi Arabia at al-Zahrān (Dhahran) not far south of al-ḲaṭĪf. With the expansion of operations a new oilfield was found straddling the oasis, after which it was named the Qatif Field. Large numbers of the people of the towns and villages there work for the oil company or in businesses connected with the oil industry. With production and revenues from oil soaring, the oasis is enjoying new prosperity and undergoing a reshaping of its economic and social life. It still lies half-hidden by its cloak of millions of palms, which produce abundant harvests of dates, a crop supplemented by fruits and vegetables, the variety of which has been diversified by great improvements in the irrigation and drainage systems and by the introduction of modern agricultural techniques.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the sources cited by Grohmann in *EI* s.v., see H. v. Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Al-Sūd-arabien*, Vienna 1964; idem and H. Gätje, in *Vorbereitung für die Mainzer Akademie*, Wiesbaden 1964; Y. El-Khachab, *Nāṣir ʿ Hosraw*, Cairo 1940; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, i, Cairo 1353; W. Caskel in *Oriens*, ii (1949) [Djābrids]; E. Prestage, ed., *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, Watford 1935; M. v. Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii/1, ed. W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952 [the Banū *Khālid*]; S. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925; Ḥusayn b. *Ghannām*, *Rawḍat al-Afhār*, Bombay, n.d.; 'Uthmān b. Bishr, *Unwān al-Maḍīd*, Cairo 1373; G. Sadleir [Sadleir], *Diary of a Journey across Arabia*, Bombay 1866; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15. (G. RENTZ)

**KATĪN** [see *KHĀTŪN*].

**KĀṬĪRDJĪ-OGHLĪ MEHMET PASHA** (?1010-79/?1601-68) a statesman descended from the Turcomans of Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] who rose to fame from a career of brigandry. Since he always spoke his local dialect, he acquired the nickname *Türkçe Bilmēz* ("he who knows no Turkish") (Muṣṭafā Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, iv, 382). He was the

son of Ahmed Agha called *kâtrdji* (the muleteer) on account of his profession. Kâtrdji Mehemmed spent his childhood on the family farm in Ağlasun and when he was 19, in 1029-30/1620-21, he joined his father's caravan journeys. He later separated from his father to operate his own caravan between Afyon [q.v.] and Çivril and later, after his father's death, he took over his business (Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu and Nuri Katircioğlu, *Katircioğlu kimdir?*, in *Isparta Halkevi Ün Mecmuası*, iii, no. 25 (Isparta 1936), 356, 357). Kâtrdji-oghli came to be much loved in the region, and the people of Isparta sent him to relay their complaints and wishes to a tax-collector who had perpetrated great injustices and irregularities. The tax-collector, however, instead of taking an understanding attitude inflamed the people further by throwing Kâtrdji-oghli into prison. Thereupon the people rebelled, freed him from goal, removed the tax-collector and took the administration into their own hands. Kâtrdji-oghli let the course of events carry him along. For a while he disappeared and then, in 1057/1647, appeared again operating with the brigand Kara Haydar (Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, ii, 416 ff.). After Kara Haydar's capture in 1059/1649, he gathered around himself the scattered groups of brigands and, joining forces with Gürdjü 'Abd al-Nabî, marched on Üsküdar with the intention of procuring his pardon. However, in the clash with government troops, 'Abd al-Nabî's hesitancy led to his defeat. He was compelled to retire first to Söğüt (Na'îmâ, iv, 428) and then in the direction of Isparta. Through the medium of 'Isâ Agha who was at that moment in the town of Çay, he sought a pardon; and through him he received a conciliatory letter from the Grand Vizier Kara Murâd Paşa indicating that he would be pardoned (*ibid.*, iv, 452). He came to Istanbul towards the end of 1059/1649 and, after an audience with Mehemmed IV, he received the long-desired pardon and, moreover, was appointed *sandjak begi* of Beyshehir (Wedjîhî, *Ta'rih*, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye Library 917, f. 36; Kara Çelebi-zâde 'Abd al-'Azîz Efendi, *Dhayl-i rawâatı'l-abrâr*, Istanbul University Library, Turkish manuscripts, 3272, f. 38; Na'îmâ, iv, 452). He was later appointed *beglerbegi* of Karamân and sent against Abaza Hasan Agha. In 1061/1651 he was appointed governor of the *eyâlet* of Şahrizür, but refused the post and stayed in Karamân. Although this was an act of disobedience, the Grand Vizier was more concerned with the removal of his rival İpşîr Muşafâ Paşa and did not worry him, pretending not to have known of his actions. Shortly afterwards Kâtrdji-oghli was appointed to the governorship of his native *sandjak* of Hamid. However, the intervention of Murâd Paşa, who was *kapudan-i deryâ* [q.v.] prevented a clash between the two men. After this, Kâtrdji-oghli approached the Grand Vizier and, tendering his obedience, received a pardon (*ibid.*, vi, 17, 32). In 1065/1655 he was ordered to the Crete campaign and achieved great distinction in the fighting there between 1067/1657 and 1069-70/1659. In 1077-78/1667 he was on Crete with the title of *beglerbegi* of Karamân. He was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anadolu on 3 Rabî' al-Akhir 1078/22 September 1667 and died in action at the siege of Candia on 13 Rajab 1079/17 December 1668 ('Othmân Dede, *Ta'rih-i Fâdil Ahmed Paşa*, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye Library 909, ff. 44, 45, 62; Râşhid, *Ta'rih*, Istanbul 1282/1865, i, 179, 216; Silâhdâr Mehmed Agha, *Ta'rih*, Istanbul 1928, i, 447, 492, 493). Kâtrdji-oghli had a son called Şhapçî-Başlı Hüsayn Agha, whose descendants still survive today.

*Bibliography*: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: 'Abd al-Rahmân 'Abdi Paşa, *Wekâyi-nâme*, Topkapı Sarayı, koğuslar kısmı, 915; Nûri Khanyevî, *Ta'rih-i İkrîtis*, Istanbul University Library, Turkish manuscripts, 2536; 'Othmân Dede, *Djawâhir al-tawârih*, Köprülü, 231; Mehmed Khalife, *Ta'rih-i Ghilmâni*, Istanbul 1340/1921-2; Kâtib Çelebi, *Fedhlike*, Istanbul 1286/1869, ii; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1952; Richard Hartman, *Qatırd-schyoghlu, ein Sittenbild aus der Osmanischen Geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Islamica*, ii/2 (1926), 237-70; Dağlıoğlu and Katircioğlu, *Katircioğlu*, in *Isparta Halkevi Ün Mecmuası*, iii, no. 25 (Isparta 1936), 26-7, 41-4; Fehmi Aksu, *Seri mahkeme sicilleri*, in *ibid.*, iv, no. 42 (1937), 601-3; M. agatay Uluçay, *Saruhandâ eşkiyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Istanbul 1944; Hafize Tuncer, *Katircioğlu Mehmed*, unpublished graduation thesis, history seminar library, Istanbul University, no. 618, 1961; J. von Hammer, *Histoire*, xi. (CENGİZ ORHONLU)

**KATL** (A.), killing, putting to death, used in the two principal meanings of the word, sc. the crime of murder and the punishment of execution.

#### I. AS A CRIME

(1). In the Qur'an unlawful slaying is forbidden in a series of verses, which date from the second Meccan period to nearly the end of the Medîna period. The passages may be arranged chronologically as follows (cf. Th. Nöldeke-Fr. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, i, and H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii; when the exact order in the particular periods cannot be ascertained, the passages are here arranged in the order of the sûras and verses):—XVII, 33, 35 (second Meccan period; according to O. Procksch, *Über die Blutrache*, 74, 4, later than VI, 152): "Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want; We will provide for them and for you; verily the killing them is a great sin . . . Neither slay the soul which God hath forbidden you to slay unless for a just cause; but whoever shall be slain unjustly, We have given his next of kin (*walî*) power (to demand satisfaction) but let him not exceed the bounds of moderation in the killing; indeed he is protected"; XXV, 68 f. (second Meccan period):—(and the servants of the Merciful are those) "who slay not the soul, which God hath forbidden to be slain unless for a just cause . . . for he who does this commits sins (or: will bring retribution upon himself); his punishment will be doubled on the day of the Resurrection and he shall remain in it covered with ignominy for ever; except him who repents and believes and performs good works; for them God will change their evil deeds into good" . . . (here killing and unbelief are considered together so that the question, what happens to a believer who kills unlawfully, is left quite out of the question); VI, 152 (third Meccan period; similar to XVII, 33, 35); IV, 94 f. (about the years 3-5; according to Procksch, *op. cit.*, 80, to be dated between the treaty of al-Hudaybiyya and the capture of Mecca): "it is not lawful for a believer to kill a believer unless by mistake (by *khata'*); but if anyone kill a believer by mistake he shall set free a slave who is a believer and pay a *diyya* to the next of kin of the dead man, unless they waive it . . . ; but if the person slain belong to a people hostile to you, but a believer, a slave who is a believer shall be released; but if he belong to a people with whom ye have a treaty, a *diyya* must be paid to his relatives and a slave who is a believer set free; if anyone cannot afford to do this, he must fast for two successive months so that Allâh may

look upon him again . . . ; but if anyone kill a believer deliberately ('*amd*) his reward is hell in which he shall remain for ever and Allāh wrathful against him and curse him and shall prepare a great punishment for him". (The true interpretation is undoubtedly this, that every Muslim who kills another Muslim with '*amd* is condemned to eternal hell-fire and that Allāh will not accept his repentance, a view which is ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Mas'ūd, Zayd b. Thābit and al-Daḥḥāk; the view held by 'Ikrima and others that the verse refers to the particular case of a *murtadd* who has killed a believer is not to be accepted; this is already a transition to the view that has finally prevailed, which tones down the literal wording of the passage, either by adding with Muḍjāhid "unless he repents" or by holding, as has become usual, that Allāh will not leave a Muslim eternally in hell, and can even remit entirely the threatened punishment of hell-fire; but this is only the result of speculation and combination with other passages in the Qur'ān (e.g. XI, 108-10; XXXIX, 54) and is therefore to be rejected; IV, 33 f. (from about the same time; similar to IV, 95); LX, 12 (probably dates from soon after the treaty of al-Hudaybiyya; similar to XVIII, 33).)

There are two further passages, in which it is asserted that Allāh forbade the Jews to kill: II, 78 ff. (from about the first half of the year 2 A.H.) and V, 35 (probably of the year 6 or 7; according to Grimme, to be dated before the battle of Badr).

There are also a number of verses in which killing is not exactly forbidden but is more or less strongly deprecated and represented as a mark of the unbeliever, just as committing no murder is a sign of the believer, e.g., LXXXI, 8 f. (first Meccan period); II, 28 (probably third Meccan period; according to Grimme, Medinan, before the battle of Badr); VI, 138, 141; XVI, 61; XL, 26 (same time); VIII, 30 (after the battle of Badr); V, 33 (shortly before the capture of Khaybar). In numerous passages in this connection the unbelievers are reproached with the slaying of prophets, e.g. II, 58, 81, 85 (from the first half of the year 2); IV, 154 (after the outbreak of open war with the Jews of Medina); III, 177, 180 (probably soon after the battle of Uḥud); XX, 108 (shortly before the war with the Banu 'l-Naḍīr?); V, 74 (later Medinan period).

(2). Supplements to the Qur'ān passages from the *Sīra*, accounts of the life of Muḥammad. In the so-called ordinance of the community, which dates from the first Medinan period, it is laid down that no believer may kill a believer on account of an unbeliever; in another passage it is said: "If anyone kill a believer and is convicted, then vengeance for bloodshed must be done, unless the *wali* of the man slain waive it". In all probability Muḥammad had in mind in the murderer a non-Muslim member of the community (Procksch, *op. cit.*, 71): this agrees with the development given above. In the *bay'at*, the initiation into the community, the initiate had to pledge himself, among other things, not to commit an unlawful act of slaying (cf. Qur'ān, LV, 12). Once Muḥammad cursed a murderer [see *ḳiṣṣ*]. In the so-called first Ka'ba oration (of the year 630), the genuineness of which is not absolutely certain, however, on every point and which seems doubtful on this particular point, there appears the by no means exactly defined conception of *Katīl shābah 'amd* (see below, 5c); Muḥammad is also said to have declared there that all blood-guilt attached to a Muslim dating from the period of paganism was to be cast off, which extends the corresponding passage of the ordinance of

the community. Finally, it is to be mentioned that the *Sīra* knows of several cases of deliberate and of unpremeditated slaying; so far as they are liable to be punished, they are dealt with in the article *ḳiṣṣ*.

(3). Comparison of the views of authoritative circles in the Muslim community in the older period as preserved in *Ḥadīth*. It is obvious that in the *Ḥadīth* also the slaying of a Muslim is strictly forbidden; by the adoption of Islām (and of monotheism at all) life and property are protected. The life and property of a Muslim are as inviolable (*ḥarām*) as the day of sacrifice in *Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧja* in the sacred territory of Mecca (al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 8, etc.). All blood-guilt, which has weighed a man down from an earlier period, is thus wiped out by the adoption of Islām, even if the crime was committed just before conversion to Islām. Only if a Muslim kills another, or, to be more exact, if he commits a crime worthy of death, can he be slain. Everyone is perfectly agreed that killing with '*amd* is one of the deadliest sins (*ḥabā'ir*); it is usually considered the gravest sin, along with the *shirk* (polytheism, e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 1, 2), whether it is asserted of killing with '*amd* in general or of the killing of newborn girls usual among the heathens. Therefore many *ḥadīths* express disgust at killing; e.g. "the slaying of a Muslim is to Allāh like the cessation of the world" or "the cessation of the world is even less to Allāh than this"; "if someone is killed in the east and another in the west approves of it, he is guilty of the person's blood"; "man is a work of Allāh; cursed be he who destroys Allāh's work". The first murder which introduced killing into the world is the subject of special condemnation: Cain is accessory to every later murder. Murder is punished in the next world as well as on earth; on the Day of Judgment cases of the shedding of innocent blood will be judged first. As to the punishment itself, a whole stratum of *ḥadīths* reflects the already mentioned view of Ibn 'Abbās and others regarding the eternalness of punishment in hell for slaying with '*amd*; e.g. "who-soever sheds blood in an unlawful way, for him there exists no way for escape"; "whosoever contributes, though only by a word, to the slaying of a Muslim must despair of the mercy of Allāh". In several passages the deliberate murder of a Muslim is considered equivalent to unbelief (*ḥadīths* in which a warning is simply uttered against murder being a sign of the unbeliever are, of course, not dealt with here). It is even said: "if two Muslims attack one another with swords and one kills the other, both go to hell (unless it was a case of legitimate self-defence), the slayer for his deed and the slain because he wished to kill the other" (see e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 2); and: "if all the inhabitants of heaven and earth together had killed someone, they would all go to hell". In these two passages it is not exactly demonstrable that eternal punishment in hell is meant, but it is very probable. In several of the traditions mentioned, Ibn 'Abbās appears as the authority. Such *ḥadīths* were naturally rendered harmless by "interpretation" by the representatives of the other view, if they were not entirely suppressed, which did happen to not a few. Thus the description of deliberate murder as unbelief is sometimes interpreted to mean that it is a very grievous sin and sometimes taken as a reference to the refusal of the protection of Islamic law, which occurs in both cases, to the life of the slayer or of the unbeliever. This was not found sufficient, however, but traditions were put into currency to prove the contrary, namely that Allāh would accept the repentance of a murderer,

even if he had committed several murders; one of these traditions is provided with a grotesque story, the object of which is quite apparent, as corroboration. In one tradition the *kaffāra*, especially the liberation of a slave, is represented as a means to save the murderer from the merited punishment of hell, obviously by someone who demanded it even in the case of *ḥatl* with *‘amd* (see below sub 6a). It is even asserted in public controversy against the views of the other side that after the Day of Judgment no Muslim will go to hell and that, on the contrary, all sins will be forgiven them. The killing of a *mu‘āhad*, a non-Muslim under the protection of the Islamic state, is threatened with punishment in the next world (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 30; al-Dārimī, *Siyar*, bāb 60; the *Qur‘ān* is silent on the question); but, as might be expected, the view is very rarely expressed that this punishment is eternal. The prohibition of suicide, which we do not find laid down in the *Qur‘ān*, is given in the *Ḥadīth*, and the suicide is threatened with eternal punishment in the next world.

As an appendix to the above we may briefly mention the connection of several kinds of animals with *ḥatl*, which is also dealt with in tradition. Muḥammad had, as is related, recommended the slaughter of dogs but later withdrew the order, although the dog always remained subject to certain exceptional regulations (cf. KALB); the *sunna* further orders the killing of the *wazaḡh*, a kind of lizard, but if possible it should be done with one blow: on the other hand the killing of ants and of cats is forbidden (among the authorities for this last tradition is Abū Hurayra); on the killing of snakes cf. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, 116 f.

As regards the value of the traditions just quoted, the genuineness of none of them can be proved; while the falsity of those, which seek to save the murderer of a Muslim from hell, is apparent, it is also probable of those which hold the contrary view.

(4). The controversy regarding the punishment of the murderer of a Muslim centres round a passage in the *Qur‘ān*, which in itself could and must form a foundation for it, and is in part at least independent and original. This controversy and the conception of *ḥatl* in general are, however, very closely connected with the disputes aroused by the *Khāridjīs*, *Qadarīs* and *Mu‘tazilīs*; for details see these articles; here it is sufficient to recall the following questions:—“is the committing of deadly sins—and killing with *‘amd* is certainly one of them—unbelief?”; “Does man create his own actions, including sins, himself, or do they happen through *ḡadar*?”; and “Can man by his intervention interfere with Allāh’s decision, for example, by killing another, shorten the period predestined for the latter’s life?” We have more than one example of these questions being applied to *ḥatl*, and they have been cited in discussing *ḥatl* (see e.g. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*<sup>1</sup>, 98 f.; 2nd ed., 92 f., Fr. tr. *Le dogme et la loi d’Islam*, 78-9). But the *Mu‘tazilī* view of the eternalness of hell-punishment for him who commits a deadly sin and does not repent, is specially important in this connection; al-Zamakhsharī gives an explanation of the verse of the *Qur‘ān* in question from this point of view. Finally, the consensus of orthodox opinion agreed that the deliberate killing of a Muslim is certainly a deadly sin, but the slayer, on the other hand, if he repents and voluntarily submits to the punishment prescribed, will not be further punished in the next world and, even if he does not repent, will in no case remain in hell eternally (agreement was reached on this point even before the

rise of the *Fikḥ*-schools; therefore there is no *ikhṭilāf* of the *madhāhib* on this question); this view has found its way into all textbooks of *Fikḥ* and of doctrine.

(5). A statement of the prevailing Hanafī views on killing. *Ḥatl* in the *Fikḥ* is the act of a man whereby the life of a fellow-man is brought to a close (the death need not immediately follow the act). It may be qualified by any of the five “legal categories”: duty or necessity (*wāḡib*), e.g. the killing of the *murṭad*; recommended (*mandūb*), e.g. when the *ḡhāsi* kills his unbelieving kinsmen if they insult Allāh or his Prophet; permitted (*mubāḡh*), e.g. when the Imām kills the unbelieving prisoner of war, in the case when the reasons for killing him exactly balance those for granting his life; killing in self-defence is also allowed, i.e. in defending oneself against an illegal attack on one’s life, person or property, in defending oneself or someone who comes to help, if the attack cannot otherwise be averted (on further questions there is *ikhṭilāf*, also on the question whether a man who surprises another in adultery with his wife or endeavouring to see into his harem, and kills or mutilates him, is acting legitimately or not; one tradition on the subject is interpreted in different ways); disapproved (*makrūḡh*), e.g. when the *ḡhāsi* kills his unbelieving kinsmen without their having insulted Allāh or his Prophet; illegal and therefore forbidden (*ḡarām*).

Illegal killing as the result of actions in themselves legal may take place in five ways:

(a) as *‘amd*, i.e. someone wilfully makes another the direct object of an action in general fatal, so that the other dies as a result; according to one view, the intention of killing is necessary for the conception of *‘amd*, which, however, is always presumed in the case of any act generally fatal in its result, which is illegally inflicted on another. Thus for example, any one, who strikes a blow at the hand of another with an instrument adapted in general for killing, but inadvertently hits his neck and kills him, is *ceteris paribus* unanimously regarded as equally guilty with the man who strikes another in the neck with the same instrument, wilfully intending to kill him and slays him. This killing is a sin (*ma‘ṡham*) and in general is punished by *ḡisās*, or else the slayer is bound to pay the heavier *ḡiya* and to lose any possible legacy from the deceased to himself;

(b) as *ḡhaṡ* (or *ḡhaṡa*), i.e. there is no intention of committing an act illegally on the other as in the case of (a), while the action itself is premeditated: two kinds are distinguished, according as the *ḡhaṡ* (mistake or misadventure) which shows that the killing is not wilful, is in the intention of the doer (*fi ‘l-ḡaṡa*) or in the carrying out of the action (*fi ‘l-fi‘l*). The former is the case when someone treats another as a wild beast or a *ḡarbi*, (an infidel not enjoying the protection of the Islamic state, against whom the *ḡiḡhād* is to be waged) the killing of whom is not illegal, and kills him; the latter when someone unlucky hits another, while shooting at a target or at a *ḡarbi*, so that he dies, or strikes at the hand of another person but inadvertently hits the neck of a third person and kills him; this killing is not sin but brings with it (without *ḡisās*) the obligation upon the *‘āḡila* of the killer to pay the smaller *ḡiya* and to lose any claims to any inheritance from the deceased as in (a); besides the obligation of the killer to perform the *kaffāra*;

(c) as *ḡhabah* (or *ḡshibḡh*) *‘amd* = similar to *‘amd*, i.e. someone intentionally makes another the direct object of some action, not always but sometimes fatal, and death results. Actions which experience has

shown not to be fatal at all are thus quite excluded, such as striking the hand with a reed pen; if anyone dies as a result of such an action as this, it is an unfortunate accident, which is not followed by any penal consequences. This killing is a sin and brings with it (without *ḥiṣās*) the obligation upon the *ʿāqila* of the slayer to pay the heavier *diyya* and to lose any possible inheritance from the deceased as in (a), and in addition the slayer is bound to perform the *kaffāra*. This category only exists in cases where death actually results; in cases of bodily injury, which by the way, are similarly classified, the action is regarded as *ʿamd*;

(d) as *djārī madjirā 'l-khaṭ'* (or *mudjirā madjirā 'l-khaṭ'* or *kā'im maḥām al-khaṭ'*) "equivalent to *khaṭ'*", i.e. the factor of deliberation is lacking in the action (and also the intention of directing the action illegally against another) in the circumstance of (b) and (c), for example: someone falls upon another in his sleep or falls from a roof upon him and kills him; the legal results are the same as in (b);

(e) as *ḥail bi-sabab* "indirect killing", i.e. someone brings about the death of another without doing anything directly against him; e.g. he digs a well and someone falls into it and dies as the result; sometimes this category is treated as a subdivision of (d); but it is a matter of indifference, whether the act, which indirectly results in the death of another, is deliberate or not, intentional or unintentional; even if the action has been planned in some very cunning way, such as setting a savage beast on another person with the intention of causing his death, it does not alter the situation. The legal consequences are in any case limited to the obligation upon the *ʿāqila* of the doer to pay the lighter *diyya*; larger works on *fiḥh* usually discuss very fully the question what acts are to be considered direct causes of death and which are *ḥail bi-sabab* and in which there can be no question of a causing of death so that no legal consequences result.

Two cases are especially dealt with in the *fiḥh* books: (α) The causing of a premature birth or abortion and (β) killing through giving false evidence.

(α) If in causing an abortion or premature birth, the embryo—which must be sufficiently developed to be of human form—is brought into the world dead or dies after the birth or the mother dies, it is not a case for the application of *ḥiṣās*; there is in any case no *ḥail ʿamd* in the mother whose killing is dealt with under the above rules and the embryo before completion of birth is legally not in full possession of its powers but is usually regarded as a limb of the mother. Hence we have the following law: if the head of a child appears out of the mother's womb at birth and the child cries (and is therefore certainly alive) and then someone cuts off its head, it is not a case for *ḥiṣās* and only the punishment prescribed for producing an abortion is to be inflicted. Different amounts are to be paid for the embryo according to the different cases, and if it comes alive into the world and then dies the person who causes its death is liable to *kaffāra*; he, also loses any inheritance that might have come to him.

(β) If anyone is killed on evidence which shows that a crime deserving death has been committed and then the witnesses recall their evidence or in other ways it is proved that their testimony was false, *ḥiṣās* cannot be executed on the witness; the *diyya* must be paid, the heavier if the false evidence was deliberately given, the lighter if otherwise.

(6). We may add the following—taking only the most important points—to the above exposition of

the Ḥanafī system, with reference to *ihkkilāf* (difference of opinion among the schools).

(a) On *ʿamd*: the difference of opinion within the Ḥanafī school already mentioned, regarding the part of the intention to kill in *ʿamd* is also found outside the Ḥanafī school; among the *Shāfi'īs* the view which does not demand the existence of the intention to kill has become predominant, and the evidence for the other views is sometimes interpreted as meaning a presumption of intention. Abū Yūsuf and al-*Shaybānī*, in agreement with Mālik, al-*Shāfi'ī* and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, assume *ʿamd* if the action is as a rule fatal; Abū Ḥanifa, on the other hand, limits it to the use of a weapon or of a thing which can be used like a weapon to cut off limbs; among such he includes fire; deliberate killing, for example with a large unsharpened stone, or a big stick, which in the ordinary way would kill, or by drowning in water, which would be generally regarded as of sufficient depth to do so, is therefore considered by the former as *ʿamd*, but by Abū Ḥanifa as *shabah ʿamd*, relying on a passage in the so-called first temple speech of Muḥammad, which the champions of the other view naturally interpret otherwise, and this view was later considered the better by the Ḥanafīs. The qualification of the various actions generally differs sometimes considerably and the Ḥanafīs often make use of *istiḥsān*, exercise of discretion. In the Mālikī and Ḥanafī view no *kaffāra* is to be performed for *ʿamd*; al-*Shāfi'ī*, on the other hand, demands it if the *ḥiṣās* is not executed and both views are given on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

(b) On *khaṭ'*: that *khaṭ'* is not a sin is more exactly explained to mean that it is neither permitted nor forbidden, but that this killing is rather *fi'l al-ghāfil*, "action of a thoughtless person", and is to be judged in the same way as the act of a mentally defective person or of an animal. Except in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, categories (d) and (e) [sub 5] are not distinguished from *khaṭ'* which also was the earliest Ḥanafī view (*ZDMG*, lviii, 338) and *ḥail bi-sabab* has generally the same legal consequences as *khaṭ'*; we thus have three kinds of *ḥail*: *ʿamd*, *shabah ʿamd* and *khaṭ'*, of which *shabah ʿamd* is considered to be composed of *ʿamd* and *khaṭ'*.

(c) On *shabah ʿamd*: this category is also called *ʿamd khaṭ'*, *khaṭ' ʿamd* or *khaṭ' shabah ʿamd*; in contrast to it, *ʿamd* is also called *ʿamd mahḍ* and *khaṭ'* also *khaṭ' mahḍ* (pure *ʿamd* or *khaṭ'*); the application of *ḥiṣās* is said to be permissible by al-*Shāfi'ī* if the killer, for example, repeats the blow with an instrument not normally adapted for killing so frequently that the person attacked dies; the act is then considered *ʿamd*; one of the two opinions handed down on the authority of Abū Yūsuf and al-*Shaybānī* is to the same effect while the view that became predominant in the school was to the contrary. Mālik allows *ḥiṣās* in *shabah ʿamd* in general.

(d) On *ḥail bi-sabab*: Mālik, al-*Shāfi'ī* and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal demand *kaffāra* in addition, if the placing of the cause of the death was illegal.

(e) Different views also prevail as to the amount to be paid for the killing of an embryo.

(f) On causing death through false witness: if the false evidence was deliberately given, according to al-*Shāfi'ī* and the better-known opinion of Mālik, *ḥiṣās* can be executed on the witnesses.

Notes on the question of permission, request, compulsion and assistance in illegal killing.

(a) If someone kills another by his request or with his permission there is neither *ḥiṣās* nor obligation to pay *diyya*.

(b) No definite punishment is laid down for the case of a request to kill someone; such a request does not mean the exculpation of the slayer; only if the person requested is a minor or a slave claims may be made from the *‘aḳīla* of the minor, or from the proprietor of the slave.

(c) A forces B to kill C; then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the *ḳiṣās* is executed on A, according to Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal on B; as to al-Shāfi‘ī’s view, there is no doubt that A is liable to *ḳiṣās*; as regards B both possible views are transmitted, of which the one that ultimately became predominant in the school makes him also liable to *ḳiṣās*. Mālik further makes A also liable to *ḳiṣās* if the compulsion comes from a person having authority, or from a master to a slave.

(d) A holds B and C kills him while he is held; in this case Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi‘ī make C liable to *ḳiṣās* and A to *ta‘zīr*, which is more definitely defined as imprisonment. According to Mālik, both are to be regarded as culprits and therefore liable to *ḳiṣās* if the holding was necessary to facilitate the slaying and B was not able to escape after being held. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal’s opinion is given in two versions; according to the one, *ḳiṣās* is executed on C and A is punished with imprisonment for life, according to the second opinion, A and C are both liable to *ḳiṣās*.

## ii. AS PUNISHMENT

The punishment of death may be described quite generally as *ḳatl*; in the following account cases in which it is applied are given seriatim; in contrast to *radjm* and *ṣalb* (cf. below) *ḳatl* is also used in the narrower sense of execution with the sword.

(1). In the cases of illegal killing described in detail above, the nearest relative of the dead man, who in this capacity is called *walī al-dam*, is entitled to kill the culprit in retribution if certain definite conditions are fulfilled. This punishment is called *ḳiṣās* or *ḳawād*, names which also cover retribution exacted for wounds which are not fatal; for further information, see *ḳiṣās*.

(2). There are special regulations regarding sorcerers (*sāḥir*), about whom there are also various traditions. Mālik, al-Shāfi‘ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal recognise sorcery (*siḥr*) as an actual force. Abū Ḥanīfa disputes this, but there is a consensus of opinion that it is forbidden to study it; it is even described as unbelief (*kufr*) almost as a general rule. Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal say that the sorcerer is to be killed with the sword simply for studying, teaching and practising magic; al-Shāfi‘ī limits this punishment to the case in which someone has been killed by sorcery (*i.e.* he makes it a case for *ḳiṣās*, which in practice is only justified by the confession (*iḳrār*) of the guilty person; while the punishment in Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is regarded as *ḥadd*); two different, more lenient views are credited to Abū Ḥanīfa. Opinions differ on particular questions, such as whether the conversion of the sorcerer effects a remission of the punishment, whether a woman is to be punished equally with a man, how sorcerers of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* are to be treated, how far soothsaying is to be considered sorcery.

(3). The punishment of death by stoning (*radjm*)—in certain circumstances also by the sword (*ḳatl*)—occurs as *ḥadd* in certain cases of immorality; on this see *ZINA*.

(4). Highway robbery (*ḳaḳ‘ al-ḳariḳ*) may also in certain circumstances be punished with death. The

authority for this is *Qur‘ān* V, 37 f. (from about the year 6 or 7, before the capture of *Khaybar*; Grimme puts the verse before the battle of *Badr*): “The punishment of those who fight against Allāh and His prophet and create ruin upon the earth is that they shall be slain or crucified or have their hands and feet cut off on the opposite sides or be banished from the country. This is their humiliation in this world and in the next world they shall be severely punished—unless they repent before ye have them in your power . . .”. It can be asserted with certainty that this refers to the unbelievers, very probably to the Jews; ruthless war is ordered to be waged on them and their repentance is the adoption of Islam. There are still traces of this interpretation in the commentaries. But in general this passage is connected with Muḥammad’s attitude to certain *murtadd*s which will be dealt with in section (5); this cannot be correct, if only because the procedure there practised does not entirely conform to these rules, so that they were forced to restore harmony in a different fashion. Those *murtadd*s were considered as highway robbers, from the point of view of the later definition rightly and only in this way could a law for the punishment of highway robbers be found in the *Qur‘ān*.

The more important laws of the *Shari‘a* are the following. Only such persons as are adults in full possession of their faculties and who are able to be dangerous to travellers are to be considered highway robbers. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, highway robbery can only take place in the open country, according to Mālik, al-Shāfi‘ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the town also. Mālik gives the Imām—and this is certainly the correct interpretation of the passage in the *Qur‘ān*, which is also found in the commentaries—absolute freedom in the choice of punishment, even in the contingency of a cumulative application, whatever form the robbery may have taken; but if the person concerned has killed someone (in this connection killing implies a murder to which *ḳiṣās* might be applied), he must at least be executed with the sword. The three other Imāms grade the punishment to fit the different forms of robbery on the highway; according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the criminal is put to death if he has caused the death of his victim; if he has also robbed him (and in such a way, it must always be understood, that the *ḥadd* for theft can be carried out; see *SARIḲ*), he may be further punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides and with crucifixion (*ṣalb*) which in that case takes the place of killing with the sword; if he has only committed a robbery, we have only the cutting off of hands and feet on alternate sides; according to al-Shāfi‘ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is killed, if he has killed his victim; if he has also committed a robbery, he is crucified after being put to death; if he has only committed a murder, he is punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides; if he has only made the neighbourhood unsafe, then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfi‘ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is put in prison; whether this must be done in another place is a debated point. In Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik (also in some Shāfi‘is, but their view is rejected by the school) crucifixion consists in the criminal being tied alive to a cross or a tree and his body ripped up with a spear so that he dies, and this is certainly the more original form; according to al-Shāfi‘ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is first killed with a sword and then his corpse is ignominiously exposed on a tree or cross. All these punishments are *ḥadd* and a right of Allāh; therefore any renunciation by the *walī al-*

*dam* of the *ḥiṣās* is of no avail even though it is he who has the right to carry out the *ḥatl*. If the criminal repents before he falls into the hands of the authorities (what exactly is meant by repentance is disputed) these *ḥadd* punishments are dropped; but claims by individuals to *ḥiṣās* etc. can still be enforced against him.

(5). The *murtadd*, that is the renegade from Islām, is liable to the death-penalty if his apostasy is proved. If we leave out the passages dealing with the *munāfiḳs* [q.v.] who are separately dealt with—their execution is, however, described under certain conditions in *Qurʾān*, IV, 91—there is no such law in the *Qurʾān* referring specially to the *murtadd*, although XVI, 108 (third Meccan period), II, 214 (of the year 2), III, 80-4 (Medina; placed by Grimme shortly before or after the battle of Uhud), 102 (soon after the battle of Uhud), IV, 136 (of the same period) threaten the eternal punishment of hell for all those who apostasise from Islam and do not repent, as well as for all unbelievers, and in III, 95 f., 142, and IX, 67, a warning against apostasy is uttered. Among the traditions we find in various forms the story that Muḥammad, contrary to the rules of the *Shariʿa*, cruelly mutilated and killed some *murtadds*, who had killed one or more of his herdsmen and driven away the camels, but the tradition is probably correct just for this reason. This contradiction was felt and an endeavour was made in the *ḥadīths* to justify the cruelty of the punishment, and even the text was altered. Of ‘Ali also a cruel act, of another kind, however, is recorded in a similar case, but Ibn ‘Abbās is said to have protested against it. Two *murtadds*, each of whom had killed a Muslim, were executed by Muḥammad’s orders after the capture of Mecca; a third man, against whom there was nothing but his apostasy, was also placed on the list of the proscribed; his foster-brother ‘Uḥmān, however, obtained security (*amān*) for him although Muḥammad would gladly have seen someone kill him before immunity was granted; he later became a Muslim again. There is also a saying of Muḥammad’s: “Slay anyone who changes his religion” or “He who secedes from you shall die”, and others similar, e.g. that the blood of a Muslim could only be shed for apostasy, *zinā* and *ḥatl ʿamad*; there is also a story that Muʿādh b. *Djabal* killed a *murtadd* because Allāh and His Prophet had so ordained; Muḥammad is also said to have ordered that conversion should first of all be attempted and a period of three days allowed for this; but all this can hardly be genuine. There are also the traditions regarding the *Ahl al-Ridda* [see RIDDĀ] who refused the *zakāt* and were treated as apostates by Abū Bakr. The tradition “He who is a good Muslim will not be punished for his sins from the pagan period, but he who is a bad Muslim will have them counted against him” does not refer to the *murtadd*, as it is usually said to do.

The punishment of death laid down by the *Shariʿa* for the *murtadd* is sometimes described as *ḥadd*, sometimes not; in the latter view he is simply killed as an unbeliever (*kāfir*) and the punishment need not be carried out in every individual case. Only an adult in full possession of his faculties and not acting under compulsion can become an apostate from Islam; opinions are divided regarding a man who apostasises while intoxicated or a minor (on the verge of his majority) capable of discernment (*murāhik*, *mumayyis*). There is also difference of opinion regarding the attempt at conversion and the granting of a period, usually fixed at three days, for reflection. If the *murtadd* does not repent, he is to be beheaded with the sword; torture and cruel methods of execution are

forbidden. According to al-Shāfiʿī, his punishment is left to his owner, if he is a slave. Abū Ḥanīfa and his school limit the punishment of death to male apostates and the consensus of opinion excludes the minor; a woman (and also a minor) is imprisoned and beaten every three days till she repents; according to Abū Ḥanīfa (contrary to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī) she may also be made a slave and this is recognised as right by the school. Anyone who puts to death a *murtadd* of whatever kind without powers granted by the authority, is generally liable not to *ḥiṣās*, but only to *taʿsir*. The same rules generally hold for repeated apostasy.

Similar to the punishment of the *murtadd* is that of the *zindīk*, i.e. anyone who, professing to be a Muslim, is really an unbeliever or anyone who belongs to no religion (cf. Massignon, *Al-Hallāj*, i, 186 ff.). The conversion of a non-Muslim to another non-Muslim religion is similarly dealt with, although such a one is not called *murtadd*. He can only escape punishment by adopting Islam; on the whole of this cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 215 f., Eng. tr. ii, 199 ff.

How exactly one becomes an unbeliever and therefore a *murtadd* is disputed in particulars, especially the question how far this is the case with irreverent utterances regarding Allāh or one of His prophets; there are various special enactments regarding the latter, which threaten the death penalty to non-Muslims and in part allow a Muslim no remission of punishment if he recalls the words.

For further information, see MURTADD.

(6). There is no law in the *Qurʾān* for dealing with a man who omits the *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer) (*tārīk al-ṣalāt*), where its performance is, on the other hand, often strictly enjoined, and not a single unequivocal *ḥadīth* on the subject can be found—quite apart from any question of genuineness. The *Shariʿa* lays down the law as follows. Anyone who does not perform the *ṣalāt*, as in duty bound, without denying its obligatoriness (anyone who does this is *murtadd*) and has no—even invalid—excuse for this, then according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and the more popular of the two views credited to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, if he does not atone, i.e. makes good his omission and says he will never commit the fault again, he is to be executed with the sword. This punishment is also sometimes described as *ḥadd*. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the culprit is imprisoned till he again performs the *ṣalāt*. In all these views he is considered a Muslim, while the other view attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal deals with him entirely as an unbeliever, i.e. a *murtadd*; but these regulations are modelled on those for apostasy (cf. the remarks on the *Ahl al-Ridda* above).

There are two more cases in which the suppression (*kitāl*) of the enemies of orthodox Islam is prescribed; killing, of course, plays the main part and therefore we must discuss this aspect of the process here.

(7). Firstly, the fighting of the *bughāt* is prescribed. It is said in *Qurʾān*, XLIX, 9 (late Medinan period): “If two parties of the believers contend with one another, make peace between them; but if one oppresses the other (*baghat*—from which *bughāt* is the plural of the active participle), fight against the party which oppresses until they again obey Allāh’s command; and if they do this, make peace between them with equity and act with justice” (this refers to a quarrel among the Anṣār). Oppression is often forbidden and disapproved of elsewhere. But Muḥammad at any rate did not know the later conception of *bughāt*, although its development begins at a point closely connected with this. Some traditions on the

*bughāt* are in agreement with the legal enactments.

The *Shari'a* understands by *bughāt* sectarian-minded Muslims who reject the authority of the Imām, are able-bodied, so that they might offer resistance, and justify their attitude, although erroneously, with their dogmatic conviction (they are to be distinguished from highway robbers, for example—individual *bughāt*, who are guilty of breaches of the law are punished like them—on the one hand, and unbelievers on the other). If they do not attack the orthodox community, they need not be attacked; otherwise their suppression is a duty of the Imām (the head of the Islamic community) and a *farḍ al-kifāya* for the Muslims [see *FARḌ*]. This punishment is also sometimes called *ḥadd*. In general, the rule is that only participants in the actual battle can be killed during the fighting. Fugitives, wounded, those who surrender and prisoners, as well as women and children, cannot be put to death. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the Imām may kill a prisoner if he knows that he would again join the *bughāt* if spared; according to him, a captured slave who has been fighting by the side of his master can also be killed.

(8). Regarding *Ḍiyāh* [q.v.], there are also traditions regarding the following regulations. If the unbelievers with whom war is being waged are not among those from whom the *ḍiyāya* can be taken—and who exactly those are is a matter in dispute—the men are killed, if they do not adopt Islam and the women and children enslaved. If, on the other hand, they refuse Islam and will not pay the *ḍiyāya*, they are to be fought. All able-bodied men can be killed so long as they are not taken prisoners; men incapable of bearing arms, as well as women and children, cannot in general be so dealt with unless they take part in the fighting or assist in it some way; they are to be taken prisoners and enslaved. The free, able-bodied prisoners may be (a) executed with the sword if they will not now adopt Islam; (b) made slaves; (c) exchanged for Muslim prisoners; (d) ransomed; or (e) set free without a ransom being paid (in all these cases by the Imām). Anyone who kills a prisoner without authority is only punished with *ta'zīr*.

Every unbeliever who does not pay the *ḍiyāya* or does not belong to a people which has a treaty with the Muslim community or is not a *musta'min* [see *KIṢĀṢ*] is *ḥalāl al-dam* (to be killed with impunity) and may at any time be killed by any Muslim without his being liable to *ḥisāṣ* or to pay any *diyya* or perform *kaffāra*. This enactment is only the natural consequence of the *Ḍiyāh* law and Muḥammad himself not infrequently made use of it.

(9). The views of the *Shi'is* on all the points dealt with above agree almost entirely with one or other of the Sunnī views.

(10). The infliction and execution of the death penalty was in practice very often in strong contradiction to the regulations laid down in the *Shari'a* [see *ADHĀB*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 200, etc.]. The historians afford many examples for the actual practice and so do accounts of European travellers; on the conditions in the empire of the caliphs in the 4th/10th century, see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, 347 ff., also Massignon, *Al-Hallāj*, i, especially 220 ff., 292 ff.; on those in Egypt in the first half of the 19th century see Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, end of the chapter on *Religion and Law*; on those in Persia in the same period see Polak, *Persien*, i, 328 f.; on those in the Ottoman empire of the 18th century see Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général*

*de l'Empire Ottoman*, esp. vi (1824), 244 ff.; for Turkey the *Kānunnāmes* [q.v.] are also useful (cf. *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, i, 13 ff.); among the published sources quoted there are of special importance: Digeon, ii, 245, 262; v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 125, 133, 143-50; *TOEM*, iii (1328), Appendix i, 27 f., ii, 1-4, 7, 9; *MTM*, i/2, 341 f.) and from the *Kānunnāme* itself (edited there; 19-21, 32-4).

*Bibliography*: The *fiqh*-books, the works given in the article *ADHĀB*, especially Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, 284-309, and the literature there given; the articles MURDER and EXECUTION in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*. Besides the articles already referred to, the article *ADHĀB* and those dealing with the Arabic expressions not explained above should be consulted; and see further Bahnāsī, *al-'Ukūba fi 'l-fiqh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1961; L. Bercher, *Les délits et les peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926 (excellent work); Arévalo, *Derecho penal islámico, escuela malekita*, Tangier 1939; Mensing, *De bepaalde straffen in het Hanbalitische Recht*, Leiden 1936; Anderson, *Homicide in Islamic law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii/4 (1951), 811-28; Gräf, *Probleme der Todesstrafe im Islam*, in *Z. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, lix (1957), 83-122; A. Turki, *Situation du "tribunaire" qui insulte l'Islam*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxx (1969), 39-71; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, ch. xxiv; R. Brunschvig, *Justice religieuse et justice laïque dans la Tunisie des Deys et des Beys*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxiii (1965), 27-70. (J. SCHACHT)

**KAṬRĀN** (*ḵiṭrān*, *ḵaṭīrān*) is 1. tar obtained by dry distillation (*taṣ'id* "vaporisation") of organic substances; 2. the residuum left after the distillation of tar, i.e., liquid pitch; 3. cedar-oil (in Dioscorides *κεδλᾶ*, Ar. *ḥadriya*) extracted from cedarwood. The substance is obtained from several kinds of coniferous trees, especially the *Cedrus Libani* (Ar. *shadjar al-sharbin*), but also from the *Oxycedrus* L. and various kinds of cypresses. The substance was already widely used in antiquity for many technical and therapeutic purposes and was not unknown in ancient Arabia: scabby animals were smeared with *ḵaṭrān* (see the references in M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 1970, 217). On the mention of *ḵaṭīrān* in *Qur'ān*, XIV, 50, see A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 241 ff. *Ḷaṭrān* smells strongly; as a medicine, it is hot and dry in the third degree; applied to the skin it kills lice and ticks, and is beneficial against scratches, itching, elephantiasis and dropsy. It is also of value against the sting of venomous serpents and promotes the growth of flesh in ulcers.

*Bibliography*: *al-Maḵalāt al-sab' min kitāb Diyāskūrīdūs (La 'Materia medica' de Dioscōrides*, ed. Dubler and Terés, ii), 30, 80, 237; al-Kindī, *Aqrābādīn. The medical formulary...*, transl. M. Levey, 1966, 316 (no. 234); idem, *K. Kimiyā' al-ḵīr wa-'l-taṣīdāt*, ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948, 305-8; al-Rāzī, *al-Hāwī*, xxi/1, Hyderabad 1388, 97-99, 276; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn* (Būlāk ed.), i, 419 f.; Ibn Sīnā, *Urjūna fi 'l-ṭibb. Poème de la médecine...*, par Jahier et Noureddine, Paris 1956, vv. 930, 1055; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-ḥikma des 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabbān al-Ṭabarī*, Diss. phil. Bonn 1969, 350 f. (no. 582); G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Diss. phil., Bonn 1967, 306-8 (no. 206); Ibn Hubal, *K. al-Muḵṭarāt*, Hyderabad 1362,



ii, 172; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-ʿuḫḫār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 341; Moshe ben Maimon (Maimonides), *Lexicography of drugs*, ed. S. Muntner, Jerusalem 1969, 96; Anonymus [Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ibn al-Rūmiyya], Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 3589, fol. 89b; Suwaydī, *K. al-Simāt fī asmā' al-nabāt*, Ms. Paris 3004, fols. 239a, 274b-275a; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Bullāḡ 1291, iii, 60-2 = Leclerc no. 1317, and iv, 25 = Leclerc no. 1812; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Tafsīr Kūṭab Diskūridūs*, Ms. Mecca, Maktabat al-Haram, 36(5) Ṭibb, fol. 5a; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371, i, 211, 261; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* . . . , ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, nos. 352, 442; A. Ch. Achundow, *Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze des Abu Mansur Muwaffak bin Ali Harawi* (Kobert's "Historische Studien . . . Dorpat"), iii, Halle 1893), 242; *El Libro Agregá de Serapion*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice-Rome 1966, 350; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, iii, 1924, 30 f.; E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim-New York 1970, ii, 139, 237, 294, 313, 375, 377. (A. DIETRICH)

**KAṬRĀN**, a Persian poet. The recorded details of his life are meagre. 'Awfī gives his full name as Ḥakīm Ṣharaf al-Zamān Kaṭrān al-ʿAḡudī al-Tabrīzī. Hidāyat refers to him as Ḥakīm Kaṭrān Abū Manṣūr al-Djabali al-ʿAḡudī. His father's name, according to Dawlatshāh, was Manṣūr, but this is not supported by any earlier authority. That he was born in Ṣhādī-ābād, near Tabrīz, seems certain from one of his verses. Therefore, the *nisbas* Tirmidhī, Djabali, Džili, Urmawi, 'Aḡjallī, etc., given by different sources, must be false. The epithet 'Aḡudī, despite Hidāyat and others, is not derived from the Buwayhid 'Aḡud al-Dawla. 'Aḡud al-Dawla's death occurred in 372/983, but judging from the reference made in one of his *ḡasīdas* to the return of his patron, Faḡlūn, to Tabrīz in 481/1088, our poet lived at least until that year. (Accordingly, the date 465/1072 given for his death by Hidāyat and others is wrong). Nafīs suspects that 'Aḡudī is a corruption of Azdī (p. 473). If so, it could well be related to the name of the Arab tribe of which the Wahsūdānids (see below) were descendants. Kaṭrān's patronage came chiefly from: a) the Ṣhaddādī amirs of Gandja, especially Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā Laṣḡkarī, and Faḡlūn b. Abī 'l-Suḡvār. These two, particularly the latter, were so generous to Kaṭrān that he is said to have fled from the excessive bounty of Faḡlūn (Djāmi, *Salāmān u Absāl*; *Khāḡkānī*, *Diwān*); b) the Wahsūdānid or Rāwḡdid amirs of Āḡḡharbāyḡdjan, descendants of Rāwḡd b. Muḡḡhannā 'l-Azdī, especially Abū Manṣūr Wahsūdān b. Muḡḡammad and his son Abū Naṣr Mamlān.

Kaṭrān was the first Āḡḡharbāyḡdjanī poet to write in the Persian of *Khurāsān* (i.e. Darī). Naṣīr-i *Khusrāw* met him in Tabrīz in 438/1046, and remarked that "He wrote good poetry, but did not know Persian well. He came to me bringing the *diwāns* of Mundjīk and Daḡīkī, which he read with me, questioning me about every passage in which he found difficulty . . ." (*Safar-nāma*, Berlin 1341, 8).

Kaṭrān's difficulty in Persian apparently led him to write a Persian lexicon, which according to Ḥādīdjī *Khālifa* was entitled *Tafsīr fī luḡhat al-Furs* (*Kaṣḡf al-Zunūn*, i, Istanbul 1941, 296). Kaṭrān's contemporary, Asadī Ṭūsī, referred to this book in the preface to his own lexicon, *Luḡhat-i Furs* (ed. 'A. Iḡbāl, Tehran 1319). However, the book has not been preserved. The *mathnawī* called *Kaws-nāma*, dedicated to Amīr Muḡḡammad b. Ḡumādī, attributed to Kaṭrān

by Dawlatshāh and later sources, is not his (Ṣafā, 421-3). Kaṭrān's poems have long been taken for Rūdakī's (d. 329/941), mainly because of the similarity of names of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḡmad (Rūdakī's patron), and Abū Naṣr Mamlān. Even in his now published *Diwān*, consisting of over 8,000 *bayts*, there are 951 *bayts* from Rūdakī (Nafīsī, 473). Kaṭrān ranks among the greatest poets of 5th/11th century Iran. He displays in his poetry an astonishing fluency and euphony of language—although his excessive use of rhetorical artifices contrasts with the simplicity of his predecessors and enables a connoisseur of Persian poetry particularly to distinguish his work from that of Rūdakī.

*Bibliography*: Kaṭrān, *Diwān*, ed. M. Naḡḡhdjavānī, Tabrīz 1333; Riḡā-Ḡullī *Khān* Hidāyat, *Madjma' al-Fuṣḡḡhā*, ed. M. Muṣaffā, Tehran 1339; S. Nafīsī, *Muḡḡḡ-i Zindāḡi va Aḡwāl va Aḡḡr-i Rūdakī*, Tehran 1341; *Dh. Ṣafā, Tārīḡḡ-i adabiyyāt dar Iran*, ii, Tehran 1339; E. G. Browne, *LHP*, ii; A. Ateṣ, *Katran*, in *IA*. (I. DEGHAN)

**KATSINA** (Katsena, Kaṣḡna, Kaṣḡna, Casena), a name applied to several Nigerian localities, the earliest of which had its ancestry with the "Hausa [q.v.] *bakwai*". Two more Katsinas emerge with Leo Africanus (ca. 1513): "Casena", a rather poor country, and "Guangara" (Wangara), identified with Katsina-Laka (N.W. of Zaria) and associated with Muslim learning. Katsina attracted the celebrated 'ālim, al-Maḡḡhīlī (d. 910/1504), who taught *Ḡur'ān* and *fīḡḡḡ*: Muḡḡammad al-Tāzakhḡī (known as Ayda-Aḡmad, d. 935-6/1529); and Makḡlūf . . . al-Bilbāl al-Marrākūṣhī (d. 939-40/1533).

The coming of the Wangara (especially under Muḡḡammad al-Korau, d. 948-9/1541-2?) signalled a shift in succession (matrilineal to patrilineal), leadership (Wangara Muslims displace Durbawa pagans), in religion and in ethnic composition. Birnin-Katsina (the walls of which date from 976/1568) was distinguished for its tobacco and leather; it contained over 100 principal quarters (each of which generated its own peculiar artisan and ethnic quality), a circuit of about eight miles, stretching to nearly 14 miles (1853), and a metropolitan population of 300,000.

Katsina waxed and waned within the shadow of stronger powers (Mali, Songhay, Bornu, Sokoto), achieving its pinnacle of power in the 17th and 18th centuries. Here, in Barth's phrase, ". . . that state of civilisation which had been called forth by contact with . . . Arabs seems to have reached its highest degree . . . the Hausa language . . . attained the greatest richness of form and the most refined pronunciation, and the manners of Katsena were distinguished by superior politeness from those of the other towns of Hausa". During this "golden age", Katsina emerged as the entrepôt of Hausaland and gave birth to some of the most renowned scholars of Sūdānī Islam: Ṣḡayḡḡ al-Ṣḡuyūḡḡ al-Bakrī of Yandoto (ca. 1009/1600); the poet Muḡḡammad al-Kaṣḡnāwī (Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡḡ, Hausa: Dan Marina, d. 1065-6/1655); the jurist Abū 'Abd Allāh . . . al-Barnāwī (Hausa: Dan Masaniḡ, d. 1078/1667); the numerologist and astrologer (who entered the learned circle of the Egyptian historian 'Abd al-Raḡmān al-Jabartī) al-Ḥājj Muḡḡammad b. Muḡḡammad al-Fulānī al-Kaṣḡnāwī (d. 1154/1741); the astronomer, mathematician and astrologer Muḡḡammad b. Muḡḡammad al-Kaṣḡnāwī (ca. 1145/1732); and al-Ṭāḡḡir b. Ibrāḡḡim al-Fallātī, who wrote a scholarly treatise on the treatment of haemorrhoids (d. 1190?/1776?), and seems to have emanated from the long line of scholars in the Yandoto tradition of al-Bakrī.

With the rise of Sokoto and the submission of Katsina (1807), the ruling lineage sought refuge in a new city, Katsina-Maradi (Niger Republic). The abandoned city, which became an *imārat* in Sokoto's gift, underwent a rapid decline. The British administration (from 1906) encouraged an economy of groundnuts and cotton. The scholarly tradition of Katsina, though but a shadow of its former brilliance, gained fresh impetus with the establishment of Katsina Training College (1921), and through its walls passed two of Nigeria's most famous sons, Sir Ahmadu Bello and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

*Bibliography:* Ahmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādī bi-tarīz al-dibādī* (cf. versions in A. D. H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, *The Arabic Literature of Nigeria in 1804: A provisional account*, in *BSOAS*, xxv, 1 (1962), 104-48); Muḥammad Bello, *Infāk al-maysūr*, ed. C. E. J. Whitting, London 1951. For further reading consult Hiskett and Bivar.

(J. R. WILLIS)

**KATTĀN**, Arabic word denoting both flax and linen.

The Arabs already knew and esteemed linen fabrics in pre-Islamic times. In this early period these were usually called *kubāfi*, i.e. Coptic stuff, since they were imported from Egypt. Until the later Middle Ages Egypt remained famous for its flax and its linen fabrics. The Geniza documents, which mainly date from the 5th/11th century, contain copious documentation on the flax trade. From these documents it appears that flax was mainly grown in Upper Egypt. There were many kinds of flax: S. D. Goitein has found no less than 22 varieties, mostly called after particular localities, mentioned in Geniza documents. Consequently, the prices of flax varied a great deal. In Fāṭimid times the province of Fayyūm was an important centre of flax-growing and Būṣīr Kūrīdis was a large market for this commodity. In this period Egypt exported great quantities of flax to Tunisia and Sicily and even to southwestern Persia.

The Muslims inherited from the Byzantines a flourishing linen industry, which was located in Lower Egypt. The most important centres were Tinnīs, Damietta, Dabīk and Shaṭā, but linen was also manufactured in many small towns and villages surrounding these places. In all these towns, Coptic weavers produced white and coloured linen, *ḥaṣab* and *sharb*, two kinds of very fine linen, and *dīkk*, brocaded linen; Arab writers also mention gold-embroidered linen. The fabrics, and garments made from them, were exported both to Muslim and to non-Muslim countries. The Egyptian linen industry began to decline in the first half of the 7th/13th century, when the factories of Tinnīs, Damietta and Dabīk were closed; their decline was probably the consequence of the increasing import of European textiles.

Another region which produced flax and had a linen industry was the Persian province of Fārs. There the towns Sīnz, Kāzarūn and Tawwāj had in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries linen factories which were famous for their products. Shīrāz, Dījānābā and the small towns of Darīz and Furdj exported linen fabrics to other provinces of Persia.

In Egypt linen was the staple textile for many centuries, as is borne out by hundreds of inventories of trousseaux found in the Cairo Geniza. During the flourishing period of the Egyptian linen industry its products were used not only for making garments, but also as table-cloths, for tents and even for the covering of the Ka'ba.

*Bibliography:* R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*,

Beirut 1972 (originally in *Ars Islamica*, ix-xvi [1942-51]), index; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, i, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 224 ff.; H. Zayyat, *Les habits de lin fin chez les Arabes* (in Arabic), in *Machriq*, xli (1947), 137 ff.; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient méditerranéen*, Paris 1969, 142, 340. (E. ASHTOR)

**AL-KATTĀNĪ**, the name of an important and celebrated family of Fās, belonging to the Sharffian branch of the Idrīsids [q.v.]. The Kattāniyyūn are descended in effect from Muḥammad, the son of Idrīs II, the one who shared out his kingdom amongst his brothers. They accordingly held power in Fās until they had to flee, but returned in the 10th/16th century. Their family house was situated in a quarter named after a certain Ibn Ṣawwāl, and fronted a steeply-sloping street; for this reason, one of their first biographers, Muḥammad al-Ṭālib Ibn al-Ḥādīdī (d. 1273/1857), who was a *ḥādī* in Marrākush and in Fās, gave to his work on them the title *Naẓm al-durr wa 'l-la'ālī fī shurafā' aḥabat Ibn Ṣawwāl*.

Morocco owes to this family a remarkable succession of scholars, jurists and literary men, the latter mainly distinguished in the biographical field. Above all, the family attained its greatest fame at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, not only through the intellectual and moral qualities of its members, but also, after 1890, through the influence which it exercised in the region of Fās, in Meknès and in other large towns of Morocco as the founder of a religious order.

Amongst the best-known members of the family one may mention:

‘Umar b. Ṭāhir al-Kattānī (d. 1309/1891-2), author of a work on the families of Fās converted to Islam.

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Dja‘far b. Idrīs al-Kattānī (1240-1323/1824-1905), known both as a scholar and also for his disinterested conduct, author of numerous works on his family.

Muḥammad b. Dja‘far, son of the preceding, b. at Fās 1275/1858-9. Drawn to the east, he went to live in Medina ca. 1910 after having twice made the Pilgrimage; he then returned to his native town in 1926 and died there ca. 1927. He threw special light on his family by his *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādāṭhat al-akyās bi-man ukhbara min al-‘ulamā’ wa 'l-ṣulahā’ bi-Fās*. This work, a model of its kind, is a far-reaching survey of the *shurafā’*, *fukahā’*, ‘ulamā’, teachers and holy men of the city of Fās. It is at the same time a treatise on the cult of saints and a source of prime importance for the religious history of Fās, its development, its topography and its toponomy.

The last of the great and well-known Kattānīs, who had to shoulder the responsibilities of head of the family during the years in which Morocco came to independence, is the *Shaykh* Abū'l-As‘ad Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥayy. Like his predecessors, he was an erudite scholar and the possessor of a fine library. He had travelled in the east and studied there. He wrote a great number of books and articles, amongst which may be mentioned a family history *al-Maṣāhir al-sāmiya fī 'l-nisba al-sharīfa al-kattāniyya* and a *Fihris al-fahāris*, published in 2 vols. at Fās in 1346/1927-8. He was Keeper of the Library of the Ḳarawīyyīn before the Protectorate, and he took part in compiling the first catalogue of the books scattered about the various places of this ancient university when an inventory was decided upon in 1915. However, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥayy not only kept up his noble family tradition of Islamic scholarship, but he

also retained with them, as an Idrīsid *sharīf*, a violent hatred of the reigning 'Alawī dynasty. He was imprudent enough to become involved with el-Glaoui in the plot which in August 1953 ended in the deposition and temporary exile of Sīdī Muḥammad. When the latter returned to power and Morocco received its independence, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hayy had to go into exile in France, where he died on 28 September 1962 at the age of 77.

*Bibliography*: M. G. Salmon, *Les Chorfa idrisides de Fes*, in *AM*, iii (1904), 446-8; *Catalogue des livres arabes de la bibliothèque de la Mosquée d'El-Qarouytine à Fes*, Fās 1918, 4, 11; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, 143; idem, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 377 ff.; *Introd. à la connaissance du Maroc*, Casablanca 1942, 236-8, 240; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, index; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, *Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie*, ii, Index, 308; *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, i, Paris 1962, 303.

(A. FAURE)

**KAVAKLI.** [see ÇAKMAK, MUSTAFA FEVZİ].

**KĀWAH** transliteration according to the *EI* rules of the name of a person who is supposed to have played an important rôle in the Iranian epic, in Persian Kāveh < Kāvagh, in Arabic Kāwah, Kāwī, Kābī. This person was a blacksmith who, after having had his son put to death by the tyrant Zohak (in Arabic, al-Ḍaḥḥāk; see ZUHĀK), raised the population of Iṣfahān against the usurper, taking as a banner his leather apron, which as the *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* became the Iranian national flag. Having thus brought about the fall of Zohak, he set up Farīdūn [*q.v.*] on the throne and was himself nominated commander of the army and then governor of Iṣfahān. Christensen has shown that in the expression denoting this flag, *Kāwiyān*, is connected not with Kāveh but with *kāvī* "king, prince" [see KAVĀNIDS] and that the legend is of late, Sāsānid origin.

Whatever the truth, the Arabic historians frequently reproduced the legend, especially as the *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* is associated with a glorious episode in the history of Islam. The tale goes that the emblem of the Iranian rulers fell into the Muslims' hands at the celebrated battle of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], although an author like Mas'ūdī, who calls the blacksmith here Kābī, has the honesty to cite equally the capture of al-Madā'īn or even of Nihāwand [*q.v.*] (*Tanbīh*, ed. Šawī, 76).

The *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* involved here cannot have been the blacksmith's apron, which must have become worn out in the course of the centuries, but a flag which is described by the historians differently. According to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2175, it was 12 cubits long and 8 wide and made out of panther skins, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 224 = § 1556, cf. Bal'ami-Zotenberg, iii, 395, adds that it was encrusted with precious stones and mounted on poles fitted one into the other; al-Ḳh'ārazmī, *Mafātīh*, 115, says that it was made from a bear or lion skin, and al-Maḳḍisī, *Bad'*, v, 184, from that of a kid or lion, and later, from brocade and gold; and Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *Muḳaddīma*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 135, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 168-9, adds that a talismanic device of numbers was woven on the flag.

There emerges from these few references that no author had been able actually to see the flag, for the simple reason that it had long before ceased to exist. According to one tradition—it to be regarded with caution—it was Ḍirār b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], and add the capture of the *drafsh* who got hold of the

flag and who received in return for it 30,000 (*dīnārs*), when it was in fact considered to be worth 200,000 (*Murūdj*, loc. cit.) or 2,000,000 (*Tanbīh*, loc. cit.); Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāš then sent it to 'Umar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb, who had it cut up into pieces and divided amongst the Muslims (al-Ṭha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, Paris 1900, 38 f.).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the references in the article, there is a description of the flag in A. Christensen, *Sasanides*, 502-4; see also idem, *Kayanides*, index; Carra de Vaux, *Le livre de l'avertissement*, 123-5; Ṭabarī-Zotenberg, i, 117 ff.; *Djāhīz, Tarbī'*, 77 and index. (ED.)

**AL-KAWĀKIBĪ**, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AḤMAD B. MAS'ŪD, a pioneer in the theory of Panarabism, was born in (?) 1849 into a family of notables long settled in Aleppo, and died in Cairo in 1902. Orphaned at an early age, he was brought up by an aunt in Antioch, where he became a pupil of his mother's maternal uncle, said to have been sometime tutor to Prince 'Abbās Ḥilmī (1874-1944) [*q.v.*]. He also attended *al-madrasa al-kawākibiyya* in Aleppo. He perfected Turkish and Persian as well as Arabic, and acquired some knowledge of secular subjects but not of a European language. He led an active literary and political life, editing the official Aleppo paper *Furāt* in its Arabic and Turkish sections from 1875-1880 (?). In collaboration with Ḥāshim al-'Aṭṭār, he brought out in 1878 the first private Arabic weekly in Aleppo, *al-Shahbā'*, which lasted for only 15 issues. This, as well as a second paper, *al-I'tidāl*, were closed by order of the *wālī* in 1879. He was involved in the municipality and in other commercial and political ventures, particularly in the Régie des Tabacs. After quarrelling with the *wālī*, he was tried and found guilty, but appealed in Beirut and was acquitted. His property was confiscated, however, and he was forced to emigrate to Cairo in 1898 or 1899. From Egypt he toured various Muslim countries and went as far as Karāfī; his sudden death stopped another planned tour into the heart of Arabia. In Cairo he is said to have received the monthly salary of 50 guineas from the Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī in order to win for him the suffrages of the *shaykh*s of Aden and the Nine Protectorates for the caliphate which he wished to assume.

Al-Kawākibī published two books, drafted while he was still in Syria, both of which have been convincingly shown to derive from Western models. He used two pseudonyms: al-Sayyid al-Furātī and al-Raḥḥāla K. *Umm al-Kurā*, which echoes the views expressed by W. S. Blunt in *The Future of Islam* (1882), was written in the guise of the proceedings of a secret society and was first published under a pseudonym in 1899, almost certainly clandestinely, the place of publication being given as Port Said. It was not until Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] serialised it in *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], April 1902-February 1903, that the book became widely known. The book makes the first sure and permanent transition in Arabic from Panislamism to Panarabism. It discusses the caliphate and argues that the problems of Islam would be solved by transferring the caliphate from the house of 'Uṭmān to Kuraysh. An Arab caliph would be installed in Mecca and would exercise, with the concurrence of a special council of consultation (*shūra*), political authority over the Ḥidjāz only. This caliphate would be devoid of all other political and military powers; its spiritual nature, as well as the special position of the Arabs within Islam, are greatly stressed. *Ṭabā'ī' al-istibdād wa-maṣāri' al-ishi'bād* first appeared as a series of anonymous

articles in *al-Muʿayyad* of ʿAlī Yūsuf in 1900. It is to a large extent a faithful rendering in Arabic of *Della Tirannide* (1800) by Vittorio Alfieri. Notes for other publications were destroyed or lost.

*Bibliography*: *Al-Manār*, v (1320/1902-3) 237-40 and 276-82; Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām al-mubalāʾ bi taʾriḫ Ḥalab al-Shahbāʾ*, vii, Aleppo 1926, 507-24; Sylvia Kedourie (née Haim): *The ideas of a precursor*, ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī (1849-1902), in relation to the trend of Muslim-Arab political thought, Ph. D. thesis 1953; Sylvia G. Haim, *Alfieri and al-Kawākibī*, in *Oriente Moderno*, xxxiv (1954), 331-4; Ettore Rossi, *Una traduzione turca dell'opera "Della Tirannide" di V. Alfieri probabilmente conosciuta da al-Kawākibī*, in *ibid.*, xxxiv (1954), 335-7; Sylvia G. Haim, *Blunt and al-Kawākibī*, in *ibid.*, xxxv (1955), 132-43; Sāmi al-Dahhān, *ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī*, Cairo n.d.; N. Tapiéro, *Les idées réformistes d'al-Kawākibī 1265-1320/1849-1902*, Paris 1956; al-ʿAṣmāl al-Kāmilā li-ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī maʿa dirāsa ʿan ḥayātihī wa-āthārīhī, ed. Muḥ. ʿUmāra, Cairo 1970; Elie Kedourie, *The Politics of Political Literature: Kawākibī, Azoury and Jung*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, viii/2 (1972), 227-40.

(SYLVIA G. HAIM)

**KAWĀLA**, Kavala, port on the Aegean Sea coast opposite the island of Thasos, on the frontier between Macedonia and Thrace. In classical times, there was on this site the town of Neapolis, which served Philippi (P. Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine Orientale*, Paris 1945, 529, 544). In the Byzantine period, the town was known as Christoupolis, but the Ottoman sources always refer to it under the name Kāwāla. It was conquered in Murād I's reign at a date which is difficult to determine; in August 1373 it was still in the possession of the grand primicius Alexis, who had just repulsed an attack by Turkish pirates of unspecified origin and obedience (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum sive acta et diplomata res veneto-graecas atque Levantis illustrantiae*, ed. R. Predelli, ii, 164-6; Lemerle, *op. cit.*, 209 ff.). It probably fell into Turkish hands shortly after the fall of Serres in 1383, since it was situated on the route of penetration into Macedonia.

At the time of Meḥammed II, in ca. 883/1478-9, the district of Kāwāla comprised the town and 11 villages, with 546 non-Muslim hearths, 23 Muslim hearths, 25 unmarried persons and 28 widows; its revenue was 34,136 aspers. The town itself was made up of 75 non-Muslim hearths, 12 Muslim hearths, 8 unmarried persons and 8 widows. The district's natural resources included cereal cultivation, silk worm rearing, and above all, silver mining, the mines for which formed part of the sultan's personal domains. Ethnically, there were in the district Turks, Greeks and Slavs, notably Serbs, judging by their onomastic. The Muslims in the mining villages were all artisans (Census returns for eastern Macedonia, Başbakanlık archives, tapu and tahrir registers no. 7, pp. 88-98; M. T. Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 145; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, ii, *Règlements miniers 1390-1512*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 215-17; Ö. L. Barkan, 894 (1488/89) yılı cizyesinin tahsildatına ait muhasebe bilançoları, in *Belgeler*, i/1 (Ankara 1964), 115). The town of Kāwāla had been surrounded by walls towards the time of the high Middle Ages (Lemerle, 141). At the time of the Rhodes campaign, Sulaymān the Lawgiver

fortified the town and repaired the aqueduct there, whilst the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Paṣha had a mosque and other charitable works constructed there (Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Seyāhat-nāme*, viii, Istanbul 1328, 118).

Kāwāla was the centre of a *sandjak* of the *Djazāʾir eyāleti* under the administration of a *deryā begi*; its district included 12 *siʿāmet*s and 235 *imārs*; the *sandjak* was divided into seven *ḥādāʾ*s. In the town resided an *alay-begi*, a *ṣhaykh al-islām*, a *naḥīb al-aṣhrāf* and a *ḥādī* (with a salary of 150 *aḫḫes*). Ewliyā Ćelebi describes its fortress, built on a hill, mentions five *mahalles* with 500 houses, and enumerates the religious foundations.

In 1095/1684 Francesco Morosini laid siege to Kāwāla without success. In 1133/1721 *armatoloi* (*martolos*) are mentioned for the last time in the *ḥadāʾ* of Kāwāla, and in other districts as well. During the 12th/18th century and in the first half of the 19th, the *sandjak* of Kāwāla was usually granted to the *paṣha* of Salonika for him to enjoy its revenue and was governed by one of his representatives (*mütesellim*) (see I. Vasdravellis, *Ἱστορικά Ἀρχεῖα Μακεδονίας i-ii*, Salonika 1952-4, *passim*). In the 12th/18th century there was a French vice-consulate at Kāwāla, and from 1159/1746 a Venetian one also. In 1215/1800, or a short time before, the town had 3,000 inhabitants, and the produce of Egypt, Izmir and Thasos, destined for the hinterland, were brought to its harbour; iron cannon-balls, made in Pravista, and Macedonian tobacco were exported to Istanbul. Thus its harbour was fairly busy, but because of its small extent it could not be used as anchorage for warships.

After the administrative re-organisation of 1864, Kāwāla constituted a *ḥadāʾ* of the *sandjak* of Drama, which belonged to the *vilāyet* of Salonika. At the end of the 19th century its population increased and reached well over 10,000, the Muslim and Greek elements being predominant. In ecclesiastical administration, Kāwāla was subordinate to the bishop of Xanthi.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the cultivation of cotton, and above all tobacco, constituted the district's main source of wealth (F. Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i, Paris Year VIII, 91). Kāwāla also derives much fame from the fact that it was the birthplace of Muḥammad ʿAlī Paṣha (Dī. Zaydān, *Mashāhīr al-sharḥ*, Cairo 1910, i, 1; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*<sup>2</sup>, Ankara 1970, v, 125 ff.). He built there a school (*mühendis-ḫāne-yi ḫayriyye*), a *madrāsa*, a mosque, a library and a soup-kitchen (*ʿimāret*), and assigned the revenues of the island of Thasos for the upkeep of his pious foundations (*Kāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314/1896, v, 3704-5). Today, his house is a museum.

One of the clauses of the Treaty of San Stefano (March 1878), made at the end of the Russo-Turkish War, envisaged the cession of Kāwāla to the Bulgarians, but this was never put into practice, and a few months later the treaty was replaced by that of Berlin (13 July 1878). At the time of the First Balkan War, Kāwāla fell into Bulgarian hands (November 1912), but during the Second Balkan War, the Greek fleet seized it (July 1913); by the Treaty of Bucarest (10 August 1913), the town was ceded to Greece (Nicolai-des, *Griechenlands Anteil an den Balkankriegen*, Vienna-Leipzig 1914, 367 ff.; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1962, viii, 57-80; Y. H. Bayur, *Türk inkılabı tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, i, 13; T. Bıyıklıoğlu, *Trakya'da millî mücadele*, Ankara 1955, i, 8 ff.). As part of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, the Turks of the Kāwāla district were settled in western Anatolia.

*Bibliography:* Given in the article, but see also K. Chioious, 'Ιστορία τῆς Καβάλας, Kavala 1968; A. Vakalopoulos, 'Ιστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, 1354-1833, Salonika 1969; S. Papadopoulos, 'Εκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική δραστηριότητα τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας κατά τόν τελευταῖο αἰώνα τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας, Salonika 1970. (I. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR - J. G. GIANNOPoulos)

**KAWĀR**, a group of oases in the southern Sahara, in the Republic of Niger, situated between the Tibesti Mountains in the east and the Air in the west, halfway between Fezzān in the north and Lake Chad in the south. The administrative centre is Bilma, which lies at 18° 41' N and 12° 55' E. Kawār is a chain of oases 75 km. long from north to south, but only one to five km. wide, where water flows in abundant springs on the eastern edge of the Ténéré. It has naturally been utilised by the caravan route from Fezzān to Chad. Its 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, who are divided into 14 frequently fortified villages, are a mixture of Kanouri (the dominant language is Kanouri), Teda and Touareg. They live by exploiting some 100,000 palm trees and the salt marshes, most important of which is Kalala near Bilma. The salt, pressed into loaves, is exported by the *azalays* [q.v.] of the Touaregs, who transport it to Agades and then to Hausa territory.

These oases do not seem to have been known to classical antiquity, despite the proximity of Fezzān and the representations of chariots engraved on the rock at Djado and Latouma.

The history of Kawār is obscure. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam mentions it first, telling of its conquest in 46/666 by 'Ukba b. Nafi'. Al-Idrīsī, in 549/1154, devotes a whole passage to it but his description is so confused that, with the exception of Ankalalas = Kalala, the toponyms cited cannot be identified. He lays stress chiefly on its important alum mines, whose produce, he says, was exported to the Mediterranean. Perhaps he has confused this with salt, for alum of soda, which is in fact very abundant at Kawār, has very little commercial use, unlike alum of potassium, which is not found there.

The very important Chad-Fezzān caravan route through which slaves from Hausa territory were exported was controlled from the 7th/13th century by the Kanem-Bornou, who extended their domination over the Kawār and the Fezzān.

Precise written reports on the region date only from the 19th century: Denham, Clapperton and Oudney (1823) then Vogel, Rohlf, Nachtigal and Monteil in succession explored the great track traversing it. They report that the people obtained their livelihood from the sale of dates, salt-mining and the slave caravans which passed northwards, and were hard-pressed by the Touareg and Teda.

The Sanūsiyya established a *zāwiya* there and the Turks of Tripoli tried to establish their authority, as in Djanet and Tibesti. Kawār was occupied in 1906 by the French, who installed a military post at Bilma, putting an end to the pillaging which periodically victimised the inhabitants.

*Bibliography:* Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et l'Espagne (Futūh Ifriqiya wa-l-Andalus)*, Arabic text and Fr. tr. A. Gateau, Algiers 1942; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. Dozy and De Goeje, Leiden 1866, repr. 1968; Denham and Clapperton, *Narrative of travels . . .*, London 1826; H. Barth, *Voyages . . .*, Fr. tr. Paris 1860, iv, 231-4; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara et Soudan*, Fr. tr.

Paris 1881, i, 275-84; L. P. Monteil, *De St. Louis à Tripoli par le lac Tchad*, Paris n.d. 1895?; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire de l'Empire du Bornou*, Dakar 1942; M. Lesourd, *Ta'rikh al-Kawār*, Dakar 1946, 1-54; Ch. Le Coeur, *Dictionnaire ethnographique tēda*, Paris 1950; W. Cline, *The Tēda of Tibesti, Borku and Kawar*, Menasha 1950; J. Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*, Paris 1957; H. J. Hugot, *Missions Berliet-Ténéré-Tchad. Doc. scientifiques*, Paris 1962. (R. MAUNY)

**AL-KAWĀSIM** (sing. *Kāsimī*), the ruling family of al-*Shāriḳa* (Sharjah) and Ra's al-*Khaymā* [qq.v.], two of the member states of the United Arab Emirates. The Kawāsim, who claim to be *sharīfs*, are an offshoot of the Huwala, Arabs long established on the Persian side of the Persian Gulf, some of whom have returned to their original homeland. It is not known when the Kawāsim came back. Ra's al-*Khayma* under its older name *Djulfār* was the native town of the noted Arab pilot *Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Māḳīd* [see *IBN MĀḳĪD*]. Writing in the late 9th/15th century, he also mentions al-*Shāriḳa*, but he does not indicate whether there were Kawāsim in either place.

References to the Kawāsim in the historical records become frequent in the 12th/18th century. In 1131/1719 the Portuguese, who still had a factory at Kung on the Persian side of the Gulf, retaliated for Kāsimī attacks on their shipping by driving Kāsimī vessels into the port of Ra's al-*Khayma* and enslaving the prisoners they took. *Rāshīd b. Maṭar*, the first Kāsimī figure to emerge from the shadowy past, may have been the ruler of Ra's al-*Khayma* as early as that time. He was said to be a grandson of Kāsim, the eponym of the family. During the civil war that split the people of 'Umān apart in the years immediately following, the Kawāsim sided with the *Ghāfirī* faction (Northern Arabs) against the *Hināwīs* (Southern Arabs). A few years later, the ruler of Ra's al-*Khayma* built a port at *Bāsīdū* on the island of *Kīsh* which drew trade away from the British factory at *Bandar 'Abbās*, whereupon the British Agent in Persia in 1139/1727 forced this ruler to make good the loss suffered by the East India Company. In 1149/1737 *Nādir Shāh's* forces launched an amphibious invasion of 'Umān, and a Persian garrison stayed in Ra's al-*Khayma* (still often called *Djulfār*) for over a decade afterwards, but by 1176/1763 the Persian admiral in the Gulf was reported to have exhausted his resources in paying subsidies to the ruler of Ra's al-*Khayma*.

When the German explorer C. Niebuhr passed through the Gulf in 1178/1765, he learned that *Rāshīd b. Maṭar al-Kāsimī* of Ra's al-*Khayma* held other territories as well, including some on the Persian coast. This region had not long before recognised the suzerainty of the *Ibāḳī Imāms* of 'Umān but had regained independence and was often at war with its former overlords. *Rāshīd* had a considerable fleet, and his trading vessels were active even beyond the Gulf. According to Niebuhr, almost all *Rāshīd's* subjects were *Ḥanbalīs*, which meant that they would be fertile ground for the *Ḥanbalī* proselytising of the *Wahhābiyya* [q.v.] of *Nadīd* in the years to come.

With the British consolidating their control of India, the Persian Gulf became one of the main avenues for communications with the home country, and the transit of British vessels over its waters grew more frequent. In 1192/1778 the Kawāsim seized a small British ship and held it for ransom, an incident that helped to touch off a long conflict between the

two parties in the Gulf. The British were prone to describe an act such as this as simple piracy; the Ḳawāsim were inclined to regard it as consonant with the Islamic precept for waging *djihād* against the infidels.

In the early 13th/late 18th century Wabbābi influence burgeoned along the coast where the Ḳawāsim were based. Rāshid b. Maṭar's son Ṣaqr acquired the title of Amīr of 'Umān under Āl Su'ūd, the religious and secular chiefs of the Wabbābiyya. After a victory over the Ibādīs of 'Umān, Ṣaqr's son Sulṭān turned over a fifth of the spoils for dispatch to the Wabbābi capital al-Dir'iyya.

Further British commercial penetration into the Gulf brought about clashes, in a number of which British merchantmen were captured. The British took to using the name Ḳawāsim in the corrupted English form Joasmee as a generic term for all Arabs in the Gulf who harassed their shipping. Su'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Su'ūd deposed Sulṭān b. Ṣaqr for reasons that remain obscure, but Sulṭān's successor continued harrying the British. In retaliation, a British fleet in 1224/1809 sailed to Ra's al-Ḳhayma, burned many Kāsimī craft in the harbour, and sent troops to occupy the town for a day, during which they plundered it and set it on fire. This British blow did not long deter the Ḳawāsim, who proceeded to add an American, a French, and some Hindu ships to their prizes. A new British expedition took Ra's al-Ḳhayma in 1235/1819, and a detachment of sepoy's under a British officer held it for three months before turning it over to Sulṭān b. Ṣaqr, who, having incurred the displeasure of Āl Su'ūd, was in the good graces of the British. The British then imposed a general treaty of peace on the Arab chiefs of the lower Gulf, referred to in the text as "the friendly (literally "pacified") Arabs". Sulṭān signed as chief of al-Shāriḳa, though in later agreements he was designated chief of Ra's al-Ḳhayma and al-Shāriḳa or chief of the Ḳawāsim.

In 1251/1835 the British induced four of the chiefs of the lower Gulf, including Sulṭān, to adhere to a maritime truce for six months, covering the season for pearl diving in the summer. This truce was renewed repeatedly, and the stretch of coast to which it applied, formerly called by the British the Pirate Coast, came to be known as the Trucial Coast. The last limited truce, which was good for ten years, was superseded in 1269/1853 by a treaty of peace in perpetuity, which provided for "a perfect maritime truce... for evermore", which was to be watched over by the British government.

British control over the Trucial States was strengthened by the exclusive agreement of 1309/1892, signed by the Kāsimī rulers of al-Shāriḳa and Ra's al-Ḳhayma among others, which bound the Arab signatories not to enter into any agreement or correspondence with any power other than Britain.

In 1322/1904 Persia, which not long before had taken over the former Kāsimī possession of Lindja on the Persian side of the Gulf, tried to annex the island of Abū Mūsā and one of the two islands named Tunb, which the British regarded as belonging to al-Shāriḳa. Thanks to British intervention, this attempt was thwarted.

After the death of Sulṭān b. Ṣaqr in 1282-3/1866, the position of leadership long enjoyed by the Ḳawāsim on the Trucial Coast slipped away into the hands of their southern neighbours, Dubayy and Abū Ḳabī [q.v.]. Dubayy became the foremost Trucial port for trade, and Abū Ḳabī under its energetic ruler Zāyid b. Ḳhalīfa (d. 1326/1908)

built up substantial political and military strength. Abū Ḳabī then declined somewhat during the period when Zāyid's four sons followed each other as his successors, but under his grandson Shakhbūt, oil was discovered in its territories in commercial quantities in 1379/1959, the first such discovery on the Trucial Coast. As the oil industry developed, Abū Ḳabī outdistanced its sister Trucial States in an almost incredible fashion, achieving thanks to its small population the highest per capita income of any country in the world. In 1386/1966 oil was found off the shore of Dubayy, which took second place as a Trucial Coast producer, though still far behind Abū Ḳabī.

Towards the end of 1391/1971 the British relinquished the dominance they had maintained over the Gulf for well over a century, withdrawing all their military forces and giving up the RAF base at al-Shāriḳa. Just before they left, Iran occupied the islands of Abū Mūsā and Greater and Lesser Tunb inside the mouth of the Gulf. The occupation of Abū Mūsā was carried out in agreement with al-Shāriḳa, but Ra's al-Ḳhayma attempted to resist the Iranian landings on the Tunbs. In 1392/1972 oil was struck in the waters off Abū Mūsā, with the profits from its exploitation to be divided equally between al-Shāriḳa and Iran.

As the British moved out, the seven Trucial States banded together in the new United Arab Emirates. Abū Ḳabī and Dubayy, the richest members, acquired respectively the presidency and vice-presidency of the union. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad b. Ṣaqr al-Kāsimī, the ruler of al-Shāriḳa, and his distant cousin Ṣaqr b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Kāsimī, the ruler of Ra's al-Ḳhayma, joined the Supreme Council. Other members of the Kāsimī family received portfolios as Minister of Labour and Labourers, Minister of Electricity and Water, Minister of Justice, and Minister of State for Supreme Council Affairs. Britain terminated all its existing treaties with the Trucial States and concluded a new treaty of friendship with the United Arab Emirates.

*Bibliography*: 'Uthmān Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān al-Madīd, Mecca 1349; Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; idem, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944; C. Aitchison, ed., *A Collection of Treaties*, xi, Calcutta 1933; C. Belgrave, *The Pirate Coast*, London 1966; J. Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1829; G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, i, Paris 1921-3 [Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Mādjīd]; D. Hawley, *The Trucial States*, London 1970; L. Lockhart, *Nadīr Shah*, London 1938; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15; C. Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, London 1877; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772; H. Moyses-Bartlett, *The Pirates of Trucial Oman*, London 1966; R. Temple, *Sixteen Views of Places in the Persian Gulph*, Bombay 1811 (dramatic scenes of the British expedition against Ra's al-Ḳhayma in 1809).

(G. RENTZ)

**KAWKAB** [see NUDJŪM].

**KAWKAB AL-HAWĀ'**, the Compass Dial, mediaeval fortress in Palestine whose name has been corrupted into "Coquet" by the Frankish authors who also cite it by the name of Belvoir. Constructed not far from Mount Tabor (al-Ṭūr) on a promontory 297 m above the Valley of the Jordan and situated 4 km to the south of the Lake of Tiberias and 14 km to the north of Baysān [q.v.], a watchpost in the Ḡhawr, it controlled the province of

the Jordan and guarded the fords into Galilee, notably below the confluence of the Yarmūk, the *Djīsr al-Mađjāmi'* (Bridge of the Confluence).

The castle presents a plan of Byzantine type; it "consisted of a rectangular keep enclosed in a surrounding wall 160 m by 120 m flanked by square towers, with a salient and door let into it in the midst of each front" (Deschamps, 121-3), and there are ramps at the base of the openings. The northern front dominates perpendicularly the Wādī'l-Bira, the three other fronts are bordered by ditches cut twenty metres into the rock.

It was reinforced in 534/1140 by the King Fulk. The Hospitallers acquired it in 563/1168 and added to the defences. In 578/1182, the troops of Saladin were repelled by the Franks on the neighbouring plateau of Kawkab, but after his success at *Hiṭṭīn* [q.v.], the Kurdish prince contemplated the conquest of Galilee, and on the 15th *Dhu'l-Ka'da* 584/5th January 1189, aided by the contingents of his brother al-ʿĀdil, he approached to seize Kawkab, bastion of the Crusaders' resistance in the Holy Land.

In the reign of al-ʿĀdil, Kawkab was occupied by the *amīr* Ṣārim al-Dīn Ḳaymaz al-Nađjīmi; then ʿIzz al-Dīn Usāma received it as an *iḳṭā'*. He kept the castle until the day when al-Muʿazzam ʿIsā, younger brother of al-Kāmil and prince of Damascus, took it from him (609/1212). In 616/1219, the Franks occupied Damietta, and al-Muʿazzam gave the order to dismantlement Kawkab; the work was suspended during the diplomatic discussions between the Sultan al-Kāmil and the Legate Pelagos, then resumed, and al-Muʿazzam completed the dismantling of the place in *Dhu'l-Ka'da* 624/October 1227, so that the Franks of Frederick II might not eventually take advantage of it. At the beginning of 638/end of 1240, the Hospitallers recaptured the castle from the Ayyūbids. At the end of 638/beginning of 1241, with peace restored, Kawkab was confirmed as Frankish territory, but at the beginning of 645/summer of 1247, when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb resumed operations, the Franks, who had not been strong enough to defend the place, had to surrender it. Under the Mamlūks, *Ḳalʿat Kawkab* was part of the province of Ṣafad. In our time there is a village near the ruins of the castle which bears its name.

*Bibliography*: G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 483; Ibn Ṣhaddād, *al-Aʿlāq al-Ḳhatīra*, ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1963, 161, 223; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyūbids, Mamelouks and Crusaders, Selections from the Taʾriḳh*, by M. Lyons and J. Riley Smith, Cambridge 1971, ii, 61; Yāḳūt, iv, 328; ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Fath al-Ḳussī* . . ., tr. H. Massé, Paris 1972, index; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, BAH iii, Paris 1925, 124; T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, London 1936, 40, fig. 47; P. Deschamps, *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem*, BAH xxxiv, Paris 1939, 14, 121-3, 236; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Cambridge 1954, iii, 218, 229, 370-1; K. M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Philadelphia 1955-62, i, 586-7, 619, ii, 415, 564, 789; J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris 1969-70, i, 334, 557, 663, pl. xv, ii, 39, 155-6, 286.

(N. ELISSÉEFF)

**KAWKABĀN**, the name of several places in south Arabia.

1. The name of a sanctuary mentioned in the inscription Halévy No. 686, 3—4, copied from a building in ʿAden by J. Halévy (*mīhrābān Kaw-*

*kabān*). Cf. also F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, ii, Leipzig 1925, 707.

2. The name of a castle near *Zafār* north of *Nāʿaṭ*. It was called *Kawkabān*, "the two stars," i.e. star-castle, because it was adorned with silver stripes outside, the roof was covered with white slabs of stone, the interior panelled with cypress wood and paved with mosaic, different gems, onyx and corundum, which shone like stars at night. This marvellous building was naturally ascribed to the *Djinn*. This castle is perhaps also mentioned in the inscription Glaser No. 238, 3 (*Bayt wa-Kawkabān*), which comes from *Bayt Ghufir* in the vicinity. The castle is said to be still standing.

3. A little village on a great cliff on the right side of the Wādī *Salāma*, N. E. of *Hađja* and called *Kawkabān-Hađja* to distinguish it from other places of the same name.

4. Capital of the province of the same name, N.W. of *Ṣanʿā'*. The town of *Kawkabān* lies at a height of 8,750 feet above sea-level in 15° 31' 42" N. Lat. on the southern part of the ridge which begins about half a mile S. E. of the town of *Kawkabān* at the left towards *Ṭawila* and runs S. E. to N. W. for several hours' journey. It is part of the great *Maṣāna'a* plateau and is called *Djabal Ḍulā'*. The south-eastern part of the range, the especially precipitous part, is separated from the main massif by an almost straight ravine, the Wādī *Nabhān*, which runs from *Shībām* past the one gate of the town of *Kawkabān* (*Bāb al-Ḥadīd*) to the Wādī *Na'im* west of the *Djabal Kawkabān*. Two roads run over this mountain, cut off only by the ravine of the Wādī *Nabhān*, the one through the town of *Shībām*, following the very deep ravine of *Nabhān* which is bridged over, an old winding narrow path of steps hewn out of the rock, and the second, an easier one, running in the *Kā'a Ḍulā'* and crossing a bridge over the Wādī *Nabhān* just before reaching the *Bāb al-Ḥadīd*. The town of *Kawkabān* stretches from the *Bāb al-Ḥadīd* to the S. E. and runs quite close to the eastern slope of the cliff all along that side. This part seems to be the oldest. Not very far from the gate on the great open square in the centre of the town (in the northern part) is a double wall for the most part now in ruins. Between the two walls a great number of skillfully walled pits have been cut out of the ground, which served as granaries for the old inhabitants. Similar granaries, but of more recent date, are to be found in the southern part and outside the town. The town itself consists of a large number of excellently built houses of red stone the architectural effect of which is often striking; the doors of the houses are often ornamented with fine iron work. The houses of the former *Imāms* now for the most part decayed or shot to pieces are particularly striking with their splendid façades. Besides the principal mosque with minaret, the only one in the town, there are seven small mosques. The water supply is provided from two huge and finely built reservoirs; the one, called *Muṣallā*, lies in the south, exceedingly deep and enclosed on the west side by a wall 60 to 80 feet high. The second, to the east of it, begun but not quite finished by *Sayyid ʿAbd al-Karīm* about 1840, is called *Barīk al-Ziyādī*. There are also four smaller cisterns. This water-supply would suffice for a town three times the size of *Kawkabān*. The Jewish quarter lay E. S. E. outside the town but consisted almost entirely of low stone houses with little windows and doors.

A stone bridge with huge arches led across the Wādī Nabhān to the Bāb al-Hadīd but it was blown up by the Arabs in 1872.

Kawkabān is an ancient city dating from the Hīmyar period, as inscriptions found there show. Al-Hamdānī mentions a stronghold of Kawkabān on the summit of the Djabal Dhukhār which is certainly identical with the old town of the modern Kawkabān. In troubled times its strength made it a desirable place of refuge—in 1569 the Turks besieged the stronghold in vain—and for centuries Kawkabān has been important as a capital and residence of the Imāms of the principality of the same name. The latter comprised in addition to Kawkabān the towns of Shībām, Ḥadīa, Ṭawīla, the Khābt Mirwāh (between Kawkabān and Ḥarrāz), the lands of Miswar, Sārī, Hofās, Milhān, Ahdjir, ‘Arūs, Banū Khayyāt, al-Shahḥiyya Lā‘a, a part of the Banū Ḥubaysh, the Banū Nāshir and of al-Aḥmar. The old dynasty of the country, which traced its descent from the Imām Hādī of Ṣa‘da, was able to retain its imāmate even during Turkish rule and to maintain its independence from the Imāms of Ṣan‘ā’ after the Turks were driven out in 1630. C. Niebuhr (*Beschreibung*, 256; see the *Bibliography*) has given a genealogical survey of the princes of Kawkabān. When the Turks again invaded Yaman in 1872 and subjected the country, Kawkabān after a seven months’ severe siege also passed to the Turks but only after capitulation. The last ruler of Kawkabān, Sayyid Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, who had bravely defended the town against the Turks, afterwards lived in Ṣan‘ā’ on a pension given to him by the Sublime Porte. At Glaser’s visit in 1883 his brother Seyyid Yaḥyā still lived in the old ancestral home in Kawkabān, which is remarkable for the splendid stucco-work of the interior and the rich ornamentation of its façade. The windows and doors had all sorts of varied shapes, colours and ornaments.

Kawkabān was in the early 20th century almost depopulated; although the houses, which in spite of much destruction were still imposing, afforded accommodation for some 30,000 people, there were then barely 100 in the town; from the town one gets a splendid view over the fertile fields and valleys of the country around, especially the plain of Shībām, a part of the plain of Ṣan‘ā’ and the surrounding hills.

5. Kawkabān al-Sbā‘a is in Maḥwīd, west of the town of Kawkabān (4), but belongs to Ṭawīla, a small place of no special importance.

#### *Bibliography:*

1. J. Halévy, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, JA, series 6, vol. xix, 1872, 266.

2. D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Ikkil des Hamdānī*, i., S. B. Ak. Wien, xciv, 1879, 354, note 1, 369 and note 4, 370, 410, 411; Yāḳūt, iii, 422, iv, 327 (the castle is here and in the following work wrongly located on the Djabal Kawkabān near Ṣan‘ā’); *Marāṣid al-Iḥḥilā‘*, ii, 523; E. Osiander, *Zur himjarischen Alterthums- und Sprachkunde*, ZDMG. x, 1856, 25, 26; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 71a.

3. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 252; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 58b.

4. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Dijazīrat al-‘Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-91, 107, 195; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, i, 352, n. 2, 353, 355, 356; Yāḳūt, iv, 437; C. Niebuhr,

*Beschreibung von Arabien*, 190, 191, 196, 197, 252, 255; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii/1, Part xii., Book 3, Berlin 1846, 711, 728, 734; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii/3, Leipzig 1864, 136, 153; idem, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, 73; Ch. Millingen, *Notes of a Journey in Yemen*, in JRGs, 1874, xlv, 123; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fols. 8a, 51a-55b, 124b; idem, *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Hāschid in Petermann's Mittheilungen*, xxx 1884, 173; idem, *Von Hodeida nach Ṣan‘ā vom 24. April bis 1. Mai 1885*, *ibid.*, xxxii, 1886, 43; A. Defflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, 68-72; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890, 151; W. B. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, Edinburgh 1893, 20, 21; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, in *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1902), 603; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, ii, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, 545; H. Krumpholz, *Eduard Glaser's astronomische Beobachtungen im Yemen im Jahre 1883*, in S. B. Ak. Wien (math.-naturw. Klasse), cxx, 1911. Part iia, 1921, 1922; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England*, in *Hamburgische Forschungen*, i, Brunswick 1916, 71; Aḥmad Rāshid, *Ta’rikh-i Yaman wa-Ṣan‘ā’*, Istanbul 1291.

5. E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 54a. (A. GROHMANN)

**KAWM** (A.), plural *aḳwām*, *aḳāwīm*, *aḳāyim*, people. The word occurs also in Nabataean, Palmyrene and Ṣafaitic inscriptions in the name of the deity Ṣhay‘ al-Kawm “support of the people”, see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i, Index s.v. According to some lexicographers, the word applies in the first place to men; evidence for this opinion is afforded by passages from literature where *Kawm* is used in opposition to *nisā’* (women). The term does not primarily suggest the meaning of nation. A man’s *Kawm* are his *shī‘a* and his *‘aṣhīra*. In this limited sense, the word occurs also in the well-known tradition: “Who clings to a *Kawm* without the permission of his *mawālī* (*patroni*), is cursed by Allāh, the angels and the prophets” (Bukhārī, *Fadā’il al-Madīna*, bāb 1). Used without the article, it has the same meaning as English “people”, French “gens” and German “Leute”, e.g. Sūra V, 63: “People who do not understand”; cf. IX, 61 (also with the article, XII, 87). The plural has the same meaning. In a tradition it is said: “There will be people (*aḳwām*) in my community, who will proclaim licentiousness regarding women and wine” (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 6).

In the Qur’ān the term is chiefly used in connection with the prophets, Muḥammad’s predecessors: the people of Ibrāhīm, Lūṭ, Nūh (e.g., VII, 146; II, 91; XXII, 43; XXVI, 105, 160; XXXVIII, 11), i.e. their unbelieving contemporaries. In this sense it is also used in connection with Muḥammad himself: “Thy people declare Him a lie, though He is the Truth” (VI, 66). The same use of the term is to be found in the *Ḥadīth*, e.g. Bukhārī, *Anbiyā’*, bāb 19, 31, 54 etc.

*Kawm* is, however, also used in a sense that comes nearer to the modern conception of “people”, e.g. in the tradition referring to one of the festivals: “Every *Kawm* has its festival, and this is ours” (Bukhārī, *‘Idayn*, bāb 3). *Al-Kawm* with the article has sometimes an emphatic meaning, e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 72, where Ṭufayl, one of



‘Ā’ishā’s brothers, relates a dream which he had. He dreamt that he passed by some Jews and said to them: “Verily, you would be the people, were it not that you pretend that ‘Uzayr (Ezra) is the son of Allāh”. They answered: “And you would be the people, were it not that you say: *Mā shā’ Allāh wa-mā shā’ Muḥammad*”, etc.

In Atchin (Atjèh) the term has acquired a peculiar form and use: *kawôm* has here the genealogical meaning of “all those who descend from one man in the male line”, see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Index s.v. *kawôm*.

For special meanings of the word see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; and see also GUM.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

#### KAWMIYYA (ا), nationalism.

##### 1. In the Arab world east of the Maghrib.

The term derives from *ḥawm*, a term of tribal provenance used to denote a group of people having or claiming a common ancestor, or a tribe descended from a single ancestor. One’s *ḥawm* is simply one’s people, either genealogically determined or mythologically and folklorishly depicted. In this century, *ḥawmiyya* refers to the movement of nationalism among the Arabs of the Ottoman dominions in the Fertile Crescent that were conquered by the Allies in the Great War. The use of the term has spread since the Second World War to other parts of the Arabic-speaking world. After the mid-20th century, *ḥawmiyya* became the expression of a purported economic, political and social Arab revolution. Essentially, though, *al-ḥawmiyya al-‘arabiyya* is the term widely used for the movement of Arab nationalism. Arab intellectuals since the last war have tried to formulate theoretical and philosophical foundations as well as historical and ideological premises for this nationalism. Most active among them were Syrian, Lebanese and Iraqi politicians, teachers, journalists, writers and publicists. Prominent among the more recent exponents and advocates of Arab nationalism have been the Ba‘th (Baath) party, founded in 1943, and its antecedents among smaller radical Arab youth movements in Iraq and Syria in the nineteen-thirties. In 1955, Djamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) of Egypt took up the banner of *ḥawmiyya* in connection with his drive for hegemony in the Arab Middle East.

Briefly, the advocates of Arab nationalism argue the existence of an Arab nation (*umma ‘arabiyya*) which, though actually divided into separate states, ought to be united in a single, organic sovereign political entity. What binds the members of the Arab nation together is a common faith, Islam, a common language, Arabic, a single culture, Islamic, and a shared history. Economic and other practical grounds for unity have, until recently, rarely been formulated or proposed. Religious sentiment, common identity and an aspiration to political unity, that is, have been the fundamental ingredients of the movement of Arab nationalism, Arabism and Pan-Arabism—all aspects or variants of *ḥawmiyya*—in this century.

In a “Memorandum respecting Pan-Arabism” to the then British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, dated May 27, 1936, Gilbert Mackereth, HM Consul in Damascus, opined:

There is no doubt of the existence of an Arab movement, but there is considerable doubt regarding its potentialities.

(F. O. 371/19980, Public Record Office).

Even in 1936 one of the movement’s objectives was

Arab unity, the creation of an Arab state which would comprise the whole of the Arab nation. But its exponents at that time were confined to Iraq, Lebanon and Syria, all of them new states under British or French mandate. It was also a period when advocates and leaders of the movement were engaged in defining the Arab nation geographically and ideologically. Egypt was still distant from the concerns of *ḥawmiyya*, occupied as she was with the question of her relations with Britain. The Arabs in the Peninsula were strongly anchored in an Islamic perception of things political and in a basically tribal social ethos, neither concerned nor particularly interested, nor in need of a secular national identity. However, 1936 provided a fresh external stimulus to the Arab movement of *ḥawmiyya* in the form of the Palestine problem, involving an Arab-Jewish antithesis in Palestine under the British mandate. Yet, forty years later today, the movement’s aspiration of unity remains unfulfilled, and the same ambivalence regarding the meaning, importance and existential form of *ḥawmiyya* continues to plague it. Instead of one Arab nation-state, there are several Arab states.

As elsewhere in the world, the only definition basic to the several existing Arab states is a territorial one. *Ḥawmiyya*, as an all-encompassing concept of Arab nationalism, is a self-contradictory, unrealistic doctrine. Not only because the Arab nation is dispersed in several states, but also because it is difficult anywhere in the world to have a complete, or perfect, nation-state, i.e. one where the state is co-extensive with one nation. Nor is there a satisfactory criterion of nationality based on race, language and religion, or culture and history. Yet *ḥawmiyya*, like nationalism elsewhere, remains a potent doctrine and a powerful political myth. Even though the only absolutely clear division between countries is territorial, there is some substance to the “idea of the nation” to the extent that there is a deeply felt urge or need to identify with a group. To this extent also, *ḥawmiyya* must be viewed as a psychological concept.

The most powerful basis of *ḥawmiyya* among the Arabs in the last thirty years has been an emotional one, deriving from an idealised religious culture, Islam, and a more recent historical experience under Ottoman rule and European influence. In societies where for many centuries identity was religiously determined or based, and ethnically distinguished in a mosaic of co-existing religious and ethnic communities, corporate loyalties are scarce and difficult to develop.

*Ḥawmiyya* may be viewed as a compensatory movement among the Arabs on two levels. Firstly, as a reaction to prolonged Ottoman domination, under which the question of national identity within the *umma*—community of believers—did not arise. Secondly, as a response to territorial-political arrangements that were imposed by European powers upon the dissolution of the last Muslim empire in 1920, *ḥawmiyya* provides a potential integrative force against the fragmentation of political reality.

Because Arab societies did not experience a movement for the secularisation of political identity, life and perceptions comparable or parallel to that of Europe beginning in the Middle Ages, the very concept of the nation-state and the movement of nationalism remained an extrapolation, the transposition and extension of an essentially religious-based political culture. Their members have always

been conscious of their Islamic identity. *Ḳawmiyya* has been an attempt to make them conscious of their Arab identity. The tradition of communal, ethnic and religious differentiation has been an obstacle to the integrative assumptions and aspirations of *Ḳawmiyya*. More recently, the proliferation of sovereign independent territorial Arab states has been a powerful trend. Consequently, nationalist ideology drifted into being a rationalisation of primordial Islamic sentiments and became particularly useful as a rallying sentiment against external threats or enemies. *Ḳawmiyya*, in short, has so far failed to give the Arabs, politically organised in several states, a secular identity separate from their Islamic-based one.

One precondition of *Ḳawmiyya* emerged in the 19th century, namely, the historical consciousness or recognition of a difference, an exclusiveness, from others, *i.e.* from non-Arabs. This occurred with the rapid, forceful European military, economic and political penetration of the East, and the impact of the political ideas and institutions which this brought with it. The revival of the Arabic language, notions and schemes of religious reform, the over-apologetic and intellectually weak defence of Islam against the onslaught of European modernity were all consequences of this re-awakening or renaissance (*nahḍa*). It provided the requisite mythological and other justification for first, Islamic, and later Arab, opposition to alien rule, preparatory to demands for self-determination. Modern reform in the Ottoman State itself, leading to the adoption of nationalist doctrines by the Turkish ruling classes—a radical departure from the integrative universalism of the *umma*—eventually provoked movements of Arab separatism, culminating in the British promotion of an Arab Revolt in the Ḥijāz against the Ottoman sultan-caliph in the First World War. More important was the development of fairly modern state administrations in several of the Arab provinces, providing the foundations of and habituation for local-national autonomy. The rise of native élites concerned with the development of secular institutions of government, administration, legislation, adjudication, education and the economy, gave added impetus to this trend. The experience in several Arab states was not, however, uniform, giving rise to disparities and differences between them, which in turn, rendered the unity aspirations of *Ḳawmiyya* more difficult to realise.

*Ḳawmiyya* presupposes the existence of an Arab nation, its solidarity, exclusiveness—and its unity. But all these assumptions are founded on an essentially religious base; on Islam the faith, on Arabic, the language of its Holy Book, on the *shari‘a*, its revealed sacred law, and on the history of its glorious conquests and empire. It also overlooks the ethnic and sectarian diversity that existed under an Islamic universalism. The particularism of modern nationalism remained opposed to the universalism—and tolerance—of its source of inspiration, so that the efforts of the advocates of *Ḳawmiyya* have been mainly directed at reconciling the difference and seeking (unsuccessfully so far) a symbiosis between *‘urūba* (Arabism, which is at the heart of *Ḳawmiyya*) and *dīn* (religion). The best they have been able to achieve has been to translate the solidarity of the Islamic *umma* into the unity of the Arab nation. But in order to do that they had first to construct a special role for the Arabs in Islam in counter-distinction to that of other, non-Arab, Muslims. This was the major preoccupation, for example,

of ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibi [*q.v.*] (d. 1902) and Shāykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] (d. 1935) earlier in this century. More recently, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Bazzāz (d. 1971) tried to argue that there was no contradiction between Islam and Arab nationalism. Theoretically, the relation between religion and state did not constitute a particular problem in Islam. As a religious movement, Islam founded a state and acquired an empire by conquest. The modern fusion of Islam and Arabism therefore is not surprising. Moreover, just as the unity of Islam and the solidarity of the faithful has been a doctrinal tenet but only a political myth, so also Arab unity today is a potent myth of *Ḳawmiyya* though politically non-existent. It is a prescriptively ideological, substitute reality. The *wiḥda* of *Ḳawmiyya*'s Pan-Arabism has been as elusive and problematic as the ideal of Pan-Islamism before it, or for that matter, the ideal of other, non-Muslim pan-movements, *e.g.* Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism or Pan-Hellenism.

Nationalism is, by definition, a secular concept or idea. Behind it, in Europe at least, lay a formidable array of philosophical speculation about secularism and authority in the state, from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and all of it supported, distorted and confused by a pre-Christian classical tradition. *Ḳawmiyya*, on the other hand, has not managed to free itself from its Islamic antecedents and foundations because there has been no comparable philosophical, speculative basis to Arab secularism. Elements and manifestations of the latter have, however, struggled through the surface of Arab societies, and have become discernable in the conduct of their public affairs by powerful rulers or chiefs who were able to command the traditionally-perceived personal loyalty of their subjects or followers and had centralised administrations at their disposal.

Even though the concept is arbitrary, and despite its limited scope, one can argue that *Ḳawmiyya* in the sense of a feeling of Arabness within the wider Ottoman-Islamic dominion first expressed itself in the rejection of the Ottoman caliphate some seventy-five years ago. It suggested not only that the Arabs were different from the Turks but, more significantly, that they were entitled to have an Arab caliph. This was accompanied by incipient secret organisations among Arab officers in the Ottoman army before and during the Great War, demanding the recognition of Arab rights to decentralisation and local autonomy within the Ottoman empire. These early agitations culminated in the dynastic, separatist revolt led by Sharif Ḥusayn of Mecca in the Ḥijāz (1916-18) in the First World War. His son Fayṣal's short-lived Arab Kingdom in Damascus (1918-20) constituted the basis of the myth of modern Arab nationalism and a justification of *Ḳawmiyya*. The mandate arrangements imposed by Britain and France in the Fertile Crescent, however, transformed the movement for a time into one of the newly-created Arab states demanding a greater measure of and, ultimately, full, independence from, those two European powers.

The unity-variant of *Ḳawmiyya* re-emerged after 1936, but remained the preoccupation of Arab nationalists in the Fertile Crescent. A combination of external circumstances in Europe, affecting British and French control in the region, and events in Palestine, provided the impetus for the adumbration of regional schemes of Arab unity (*e.g.* the

Fertile Crescent, and Greater Syria of the Hashimites). At the same time, Christian and Muslim Arab intellectuals sought to define the Arab nation and formulate a nationalist ideology. The writings of Cösti (Kustantîn) Zurayk, Edmund Rabbath, 'Abd Allâh al-'Alâyilî and others were all in this vein. But it was the Second World War and its consequences that accelerated the movement of *kaumiyya* and inflated the number of its advocates as well as followers. Wooed by both the Axis powers and Allies on account of the strategic importance of their territories, the Arab countries were encouraged by Britain at one point to strengthen their ties in some form of union. The Arab League, an organisation of sovereign independent Arab states, was the result in 1945.

Whereas the stimulus for *kaumiyya* in the First World War was dynastic and non-ideological, in the Second World War and after it became ideological and, purportedly, secular. The leading writer on the question, Sâti' al-Ḥuṣri, became the main exponent of a romantic, idealist conception of *kaumiyya* in an attempt to exorcise religion from the nationalist idea. Borrowing from Rousseau, Hegel and Mazzini, he promoted the spiritual conception of the nation as a moral and psychological construct, the independent personality of the state as a historical necessity, and nationalism as a pre-existing universal principle borne out by history. He offered nationalism and the sanctity of the "spirit of the nation", the priority of the organic whole that was the nation over the individual, *i.e.* *kaumiyya*, as the new faith of the Arab. He proposed loyalty to the Arab Nation as a spiritual and moral obligation for every Arab. In effect, however, Ḥuṣri superimposed an alien, European conception of the nation on the Islamic *umma*, and made the romantic feeling of *kaumiyya* the embodiment of the sanctity of the national personality. Islam was rendered the "national culture" of the Arabs rather than just their religion. It incorporated the real Arab spirit, and at the same time provided a substitute for the old religiously or communally-based identity of the Arab.

Others also wrote in a similar romantic vein in trying to define *kaumiyya*. 'Alâyilî, for instance, emphasised an internal consciousness among the Arabs of their "complete social existence". Al-Bazzâz asserted there was no contradiction between "true nationalism and true religion". In the nineteen-fifties, 'Abd al-Latif Ṣharâra called *kaumiyya* an emotion. The nation, he argued, is a human not a geographical reality. It is a wider concept than the state, the people or the fatherland. The feeling of being an Arab therefore transcends territorial boundaries, particularly since man is "mind, soul, or spirit more than he is body". Michel 'Aflak, the Christian co-founder of the Baath party, declared *kaumiyya* "is love above everything else". Its revolutionary variant is a "psychic current"; and the Arab nation therefore constitutes one political, economic and cultural entity, regardless of its existential divisions.

After 1948, the Arab-Israel conflict radicalised and at the same time divided the movement of *kaumiyya*. By 1949, old Arab régimes were being overthrown, mass movements with ideological pretensions like the Baath and Nasserism from Egypt proclaimed the inevitability of *wiḥda*, Arab unity. Subsequent parallel events in Iraq and the Sudan in 1958, in the Yemen in 1962, in South Yemen in 1967 and in Libya in 1969, brought fresh adherents to radical *kaumiyya*, which became prominent for its opposition to the West and its projection of the economic

and social reform of Arab society. While the rejection of and struggle against the state of Israel in the region provided a common foe for *kaumiyya*, the radicalisation of its aims by military régimes in several Arab states purporting a new kind of Arab socialism polarised their rulers. For a decade at least (mid-1950s to the mid-1960s), *kaumiyya* was re-defined to exclude conservative, reactionary Arab rulers, régimes and societies.

The practical manifestation of a radical *kaumiyya* in this period was greater inter-Arab conflict and a struggle for Arab leadership between its protagonists, Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, new and older Arab states enshrined the Islamic-Arab identity of their nations or peoples in their formal constitutions. A period of inter-Arab subversion and civil war (*e.g.* the Lebanon, 1958; the Yemen, 1962-67) heightened the struggle for the leadership of *kaumiyya*. All the same, the traditional divisions beneath the sentiment of Arab nationalism persisted in their tribal, ethnic and communal form, as they erupted in the Yemen and South Yemen, Iraq and the Lebanon.

Nasser failed to integrate the Arab nation by propaganda, revolution or force. Likewise, the Baath party failed to achieve unity or socialism in its home territory of Syria, in Iraq and in Jordan. The Arab socialism of both Nasserism and Baathism as the new expression of *kaumiyya* failed to unite the disparate and far-flung parts of the Arab nation; its foremost champion, Nasser of Egypt, suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the *umma*'s arch-enemy, Israel, and ended up a totally-dependent client of the communist Soviet Union.

The disappearance of Nasser from the Arab scene and the concatenation of events leading up to the October 1973 war against Israel, together with the emergence to prominence of very rich though otherwise weak oil-producing Arab states, have all given *kaumiyya* a new lease of life but with a different emphasis. Gone are the Pan-Arab illusions of the Baath and the Prussian pretensions of an Egyptian leadership. The solidarity of the Arab nation as constituted in several independent states on the basis of mutual interest, the perception of a common economic-political-cultural threat of a common enemy, Israel, and the prospect of an Arab regional economic bloc to rival that of the industrial West, are now the more prominent and vaunted features of *kaumiyya*. A concerted policy against the "other", the "outsider", seems to be its practical expression whenever possible. But since the richest of the Arab states, the financiers of this new edition or version of *kaumiyya*, are also socially and politically the most traditional, socialism is no longer the current policy of Arab nationalism. Even if it were, it and *kaumiyya* are once again the expressions of the solidarity of the *umma*, the Arab-Islamic nation, whose prospects of power, prestige, dignity and glory will vindicate the righteous and virtuous universalism of the Islamic tradition and heritage. The re-fusion of *'urûba* (Arabism) and *dîn* (religion) has been made more effective by the infusion of *mâl* (wealth). The use of the latter in the struggle against Israel and Imperialism, and for the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians, is now the quintessence of the solidarity of the Arab nation and of *kaumiyya*. The struggle, however, between the latest protagonists of this new version of Arab nationalism for leadership and hegemony will continue; the complex economic, social and communal problems will persist. But the sentiment of *kaumiyya* in its latest form will be mobilised in the confronta-

tion with alien intruders in the *umma's* territory, e.g. Israel, foreign exploiters of the Arab nation's wealth and those who seek its political subjugation. Internecine struggles which may foreshadow and cause the annihilation of particular groups, as in the case of the Jordanian crushing of the Palestine guerrillas in 1970-71, or the communal clashes in Lebanon in 1958 and 1975-6, or the ethnic conflict between Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, or the tribal-cum-ideological civil wars in the Yemen, South Yemen and 'Umān, will persist or occur from time to time; distrust between rulers and subjects or between Arab régimes may not disappear, but the sentiment of *ḥawmiyya* is not a doctrine or ideology that relates to the social, economic or political order of the Arab nation, the rights and duties of its citizens, or the relations between governments and their subjects. Rather it is a psychological need of those who still find it difficult to accept the burden of a corporate loyalty to their respective states when other primordial loyalties exist to project a comforting collective difference from the outside world. It has a soothing modernising effect that glosses over the reality of the fundamental distinction and dichotomy in political behaviour of the Muslim versus the non-Muslim. Minorities subscribe readily to it because it affords them the illusion of a secular political formula, whereas the vast majority of Muslim Arabs, as distinguished from the minority of their Westernised élite spokesmen, hardly give it a thought, for the time being at least—or need it.

Modern media and communications have decidedly enhanced the sharing in the sentiment of *ḥawmiyya* among greater numbers of Arabs, especially those living in urban centres. New financial power may well lead to the kind of co-operative economic endeavour—which has so far eluded the Arabs—that may reduce and finally abolish social, economic and political differences between Arab states and societies, thus inducing an organic integrative unity between them. Like Consul Mackereth forty years ago, however, one must still conclude that there is no doubt of the existence of an Arab movement, i.e. *ḥawmiyya*, but there is still considerable doubt regarding its potentialities in the directions suggested here.

*Bibliography:* M. 'Aflak, *Fī sabīl al-ba'ṭh* ("Towards the Baath"), 1959; 'A. al-'Alāyilī, *Dustūr al-'Arab al-ḥawmī* ("The Arab national constitution"), 1941; G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, 1938; 'A. R. al-Bazzāz, *al-Islām wa'l ḥawmiyya al-'arabiyya* ("Islam and Arab nationalism"), 1952; *On Arab nationalism*, 1965; M. Berger, *The Arab world today*, 1962; J. Berque, *The Arabs: their history and future*, 1964; C. Ernest Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism*, 1973; S. G. Haim (ed.), *Arab Nationalism, an anthology*, 1962; A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*, 1962; Ş. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Arā' wa-aḥādīth fī 'l-ḥawmiyya al-'arabiyya* ("Views and Considerations on Arab nationalism"), 1951; E. Kedourie, *Arabic Political Memoirs*, 1974; idem, *England and the Middle East: the destruction of the Ottoman Empire 1914-21*, 1956; idem, *The Chatham House Version*, 1970; M. H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*, 1971; M. Khalil, *The Arab states and the Arab League*, 2 vols., 1962; B. Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, 1964; R. W. MacDonald, *The League of Arab States*, 1968; H. Z. Nuseibeh, *The Ideas of Arab nationalism*, 1956; N. Rejwan, *Nasserist Ideology*, 1974; A. Sa'īd, *al-Thawra al-'arabiyya al-ḥubrā* ("The Great Arab Revolt"), 1934; A.

Şāyigh, *al-Fikra al-'arabiyya fī Miṣr* ("The Arab Idea in Egypt"), 1959; H. Sharabi, *Nationalism and revolution in the Arab world* (1966); 'A. L. Sharāra, *Fī 'l-ḥawmiyya al-'arabiyya* ("On Arab nationalism"), (1957); W. C. Smith, *Islam in modern history*, 1957; H. Tütsch, *Facets of Arab Nationalism*, 1965; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Conflict in the Middle East*, 1971; Z. N. Zeine, *Arab-Turkish relations and the emergence of Arab nationalism*, 1958; *The struggle for Arab independence*, 1960; C. Zurayk, *al-Wa'ī al-ḥawmī* ("National Consciousness"), 1949. (P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

## ii. IN THE MAGHRIB.

In the Maghrib the term *Ḥawmiyya* occurs as a plural of *ḥawmī* (goumi, "goumier"), a member of a *ḥawm* (goum), to mean a contingent of cavalry levied from a tribe (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), a practice continued by the French. In the sense of nationalism, nationality, its use has been affected by the common employment of French as the language of politics. This gives "nationalisme" as a term in place of both *ḥawmiyya* and *waḥaniyya*, whose translation as "patriotisme" tends to be reserved for an earlier, more traditional sentiment (cf. Ch.-A. Julien, *Avant-propos* to B. Slama, *L'Insurrection de 1864 en Tunisie*, Tunis 1967, ix). On the other hand, in Morocco the nationalist party *al-Ḥaraka al-ḥawmiyya* founded by el-Ouezzani (al-Wazzānī) in 1937 is translated as "Le Mouvement populaire" to maintain the distinction from its rival, *al-Ḥizb al-waḥanī* (or *Ḥizb al-Waḥaniyyīn*), "the 'nationalist' party", founded by Allal el Fassi ('Allāl al-Fāṣī) (R. Le Tourneau, *Evolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962, 209-10). The specific distinction achieved here in Arabic, however, is indicative of a more fundamental distinction between the two terms, which might be represented as the familiar distinction between Arab nationalism as the nationalism of a people without a national state, and the nationalism of each Arab country. It must nevertheless be seen in its North African context. In Tunisia and Morocco it has been fairly straightforward: both these countries could claim to exist independently of France. In Algeria on the other hand, the country and the nationality of its peoples were both French. Instead there was discrimination on the grounds of religion. The Senatus Consulte of 14 July 1865 decreed that Algerian Muslims (and, until the Décret Crémieux of 1870, Algerian Jews) should be French subjects and therefore of French nationality, but, because of the religious law under which they lived, not French citizens unless and until they renounced that law for the French civil code. The distinction thus made for the Muslim population on the basis of its Islam became the starting-point not only for a separate treatment but also for an attitude on the part of the European population, which by 1900 considered "nationalisme musulman" the equivalent of "Islamisme" and even of "cléricalisme" (Ch.-R. Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France, 1871-1919*, Paris 1968, 918-20). That this should be considered nationalism at all was seen by Ferhat Abbas (Farhat 'Abbās) in the 1930s as an obstacle to the political and economic emancipation of the indigène in a French society (Ch.-A. Julien, *L'Afrique du Nord en marche*, 3rd ed., Paris 1972, 99-100). At the same time, however, it was elevated to the dignity of nationhood under the name of *ḥawmiyya* in the writings of Ben Badis (Ibn Bādīs [q.v.]), the leader of the *Salafiyya* in

Algeria between the two world wars, drawing upon the thought of Muḥammad 'Abduh and the ideas of Arab nationalism represented by Shakhīb Arslān. For Ben Badis the Muslim population of Algeria was distinguished by its *ḥawmiyya*, its "national identity", based upon Islam but including equally the Arabic language and the Algerian homeland. This gave rise to a *djinsiyya ḥawmiyya*, an "ethnic nationality" to be distinguished from the *djinsiyya siyāsiyya*, the "political nationality" of France (A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940*, Paris and the Hague 1967, 396-9). The active expression of this national identity was nationalism under the name of *waḥaniyya*, "patriotism", a sentiment never extinct (cf. Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans*, 920-2), now on a par with the *waḥaniyya*, the nationalism, of Algeria's neighbours. This formula, adopted in principle by Messali Hadjdi, ultimately became that of the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) (cf., e.g. M. M. al-Djazā'iri, *Ta'rikh al-Djazā'ir*, Jerusalem n.d., 453), being developed in the sense of the New Left in the French writings of Frantz Fanon (cf., e.g. *L'An cinq de la révolution algérienne*, Paris 1959, trans. *A Dying Colonialism*, London 1970). Since the independence of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia it has survived into the argument over historical and cultural identity (cf., e.g. G. Ayache, *Le sentiment national dans le Maroc au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Revue Historique*, cxxl (Oct.-Dec. 1968), 393-410; M. Lacheraf, *L'Algérie, nation et société*, Paris 1965; Y. Lacoste, A. Nouschi and A. Prenant, *L'Algérie, passé et présent*, Paris 1960; M. Sahli, *Décoloniser l'histoire*, Paris 1965; also J. Berque, *Le Maghreb entre deux guerres*, 2nd ed., Paris 1970, 421-48, with references). On the one hand *ḥawmiyya* refers to the Arab nation at large, when it is both the condition and the activity of the people; on the other hand, it is defined with reference to the nation states into which the nation at large is divided. The ambiguity appears in the expression *wādīb ḥawmī*, "national duty", employed by R. Bounar (*El-Maghrib el-Arabi*, Algiers 1968, Introduction), for the task of writing a cultural history of Algeria which in the event could only be accomplished with reference to the Maghrib as a whole, the Arabs and Islam. For the adjective *ḥawmī*, the commonest form, the result is a meaning of "national" in the cultural rather than the political sense, in which *waḥani* is more appropriate (cf., e.g. 'Allāl al-Fāsi, *Ḥadīth al-maghrib fi 'l-mashrik*, Cairo, 1956, 199: (al-)rūḥ (al-)ḥawmiyya, "(the) national spirit"; *ibid.*, 200: *al-ḥuḳūḳ al-waḥaniyya*, "the nationalist claims"; al-'Alawī, *al-Anwār al-ḥasaniyya*, al-Muḥammadiyya 1966, Preface, 3: *al-turāth al-ḥawmī*, "the national heritage"; al-Ḥabīb Bū Ruḳayba; *ḥayātuhu*, *djihaduhu*, Tunis 1966, 47: *al-ḥaraka al-waḥaniyya*, "the nationalist movement").

*Bibliography*: In the article. (M. BRETT)

### iii. IN PERSIA.

Ideas of political nationality, of the territorial and ethnic nation and of nationalism, either as a consciousness, on the part of individuals or groups, of membership in a nation or a desire to forward the strength, liberty or prosperity of a nation, were introduced into Persia in the 19th century as a result of Western European influence. Prior to this there was no precise equivalent in Persian for the terms "nation"; "nationality"; "nationalism" and "nationalist". Various words were used for "people" and the group or community, but none conveyed exactly the sense of nation. One of the earliest was

*umma* (now obsolete). The members of the *umma* had a common government and were found in a more or less defined territory, and between its members there was a certain closeness of contact, community of interest, and a sense that they possessed a distinct identity and common history; but what distinguished them from other communities or nations was not these things but religion. The conception of the people as the *umma* was succeeded by that of the *ra'iyat*, "the flock", i.e. the subjects, and what distinguished them from other "flocks" was the person of their "shepherd" or ruler. *Kawm* and *ḥā'ifa* both implied a certain closeness of contact between the members of the group so described—a common language, common interests and a certain degree of common feeling and will—but neither was necessarily found in a more or less defined territory, or united by the idea of being subjects of a common government; both terms sometimes had tribal implications. *Waḥan* in early usage meant simply the locality from which a person came and among the mystics in mediaeval times it was used in the sense of "the heavenly kingdom". (Cf. a passage in the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā* of Ibn Bazzāz, completed in or about 759/1358, in which the *Shaykh* was asked about the phrase in the Traditions *ḥubb al-waḥan min al-imān*, "Love for the homeland is an article of faith", "The infidel, for example," his questioners said, "loves his country, which is Europe. How, in such case, can 'love for the homeland' be an article of faith?" The *Shaykh* replied that the word *waḥan* in the phrase quoted from the traditions, referred to a heavenly kingdom not to a geographical area. British Museum, Ms. Add. 11745, p. 289.) In modern times *waḥan* means exclusively fatherland or motherland, in which sense it is synonymous with *mīhan*. *Nizhād* merely defined race, not nationality, and in modern times the compound *nizhād-parastī* is used in a pejorative sense to mean racialism; *ahl* (and its plural *ahālī*), "people", meant those dwelling in a defined area but not specifically a nation, though *ahliyyat* is used in modern legal language to mean nationality. Lastly there is the term *millat*, which was first used with reference to a religious group or community, and later people, and finally, in the 19th and 20th centuries, came to be used to denote a political nation (cf. *djāmi'a-i milal*, "League of Nations", and *milal-i muttajiḳ*, "United Nations"). The term, however, is not entirely free from certain ambiguities. In colloquial Persian *millat* also means "the people" (i.e. the lower classes); this presumably is connected with the late 19th- and 20th-century use of *millī* to mean "popular", in phrases such as *ḥukūmat-i millī*, "popular government", and *djabbha-i millī*, "Popular Front". It also, however, means "private" as opposed to "governmental", but in contemporary Persian *millī kardān* means "to nationalise". The supporters of the Persian constitutional revolution were known as *milliyān*, "nationalists" (i.e. those who supported "popular" government). The term, however, was not generally applied to nationalists outside Persia and is now virtually obsolete. *Milliyyat* was used by Mirzā Ḥusayn Khān Sipahsālār Muḥṣir al-Dawla in the second half of the 19th century to mean "nationalism", which he alleged had been brought into existence by the French Revolution (see F. Ādamiyyat, *Fikr-i Azādī*, Tehran 1961, 60), but it did not achieve widespread currency in this sense and normally means nationality.

Although there was no term to express nationality in the early centuries or in mediaeval times, there was a concept which did imply a consciousness of

distinct identity, defined historically and geographically, which can be described by the modern term *irāniyyat*, "being a Persian". This was associated with and experienced in a sharing of a common cultural and literary background. It did not imply a consciousness of political nationality or a territorial and ethnic nation, although it carried with it the memory of the old Persian empire. This memory, after the decline of the *Shu'ūbiyya* [q.v.], was kept alive by the poets, but in the course of transmission the details became blurred and historical accuracy was lost, legend triumphing over history. The literary tradition expressed in and through New Persian, the emergence of which as a literary language had been one of the achievements of the *Shu'ūbiyya* movement, in no small measure held together the Persian people during long years of political decay. It constituted a common bond and kept alive their common feeling and pride in their heritage. Linguistic frontiers, however, did not coincide with ethnic frontiers. Arabic continued to hold an immensely important place as the language of religion, and large numbers of those within the geographical frontiers of Persia spoke Turkish, Kurdish, or some local dialect.

Under Muslim government Persia became part of a wider world in which Islam was the bond. Under the 'Abbāsids the concept of the universal empire was revived, but in a new guise. So far as an identity was recognised, it was the world of Islam. With the fragmentation of the caliphate, the minor dynasties did not foster the rise of national feeling since they were hostile to the centralisation of government. Slave armies, too, were a bar to the growth of national feeling. Even where political organisations had a wider scope, as they did under the Saljūqs, Mongols and Timūrids, they meant little to their subjects, and the nomadic tradition of their leaders constituted a new obstacle to the development of national feeling. There was thus little opportunity in mediaeval Persia for the development of nationalism based on a more or less defined territory, inhabited by a group of persons in close contact with each other, inspired by the idea of a common government, holding certain interests in common, and possessing a certain degree of common feeling and common characteristics. On the whole, government had been "unrighteous" and so far as aspirations of future good government united the people these were of messianic and universalist not nationalist character. As for common interests, these too, so far as they transcended the craft, the quarter or the tribe, tended to be religious, while as for common characteristics, the reality was that there was more to divide than to unite. First there were ethnic differences, which did not coincide with territorial or provincial boundaries: the dichotomy between Arab and 'Adjām (non-Arab), which had prevailed in the early centuries had been succeeded by that between Turk and Tādīk (non-Turk); secondly there were religious and sectarian differences, between Muslims and non-Muslims and between Sunnis and *Shi'is*; thirdly there was a separation between the settled population and the semi-settled, the rural population and the townspeople, the military classes and the rest. These lines of cleavage, so far as they were not religious, were social and economic, not political. The nearest approach to political difference was, perhaps, to be found in the intellectual field, between those who were influenced by the old Persian theory of state as against those who subscribed to Islamic conceptions. But even in this field the position was not clear-cut. After the Islamic conquest the former

ruling classes, so far as they were not wiped out, were converted to Islam and many of them entered the bureaucracy and served the new rulers (a pattern to be repeated after later conquests). The desire to get rid of alien rule was, therefore, if not absent, at least weaker than might otherwise have been the case.

With the rise of the *Şafawids* in the 10th/16th century, Persia emerged for the first time since the Islamic conquest as a territorial state. A sense of separateness from the rest of the Islamic world and of national unity vis-à-vis the Ottoman empire was deliberately fostered by the adoption of *Ithnā 'Asharī Shi'ism* as the official religion. The conflict between the two empires was nevertheless largely expressed in terms of religion: in terms of *Sunni-Shi'ī* strife rather than of *Turko-Persian* hostility. What was new was the broad territorial segregation of the two sects, which was not, however, paralleled by a separation of ethnic groups. Under the *Şafawids*, *Shi'ism*, which had earlier largely been the refuge of the dispossessed and under-privileged, became the banner of Persian nationalism; but since for the *Shi'a* the true king was the Hidden Imām, and temporal rulers, so far as they were "unrighteous", were usurpers, this nationalism could not easily be associated with the concept of political nationality. The attitude of the *Shi'a* towards the government was thus ambivalent and opposition movements tended to be of a messianic nature. Popular *Shi'ism* however retained some of its former functions: the *Muḥarram* plays still offered the people an outlet into which they could project their own sufferings. Although the *Şafawid* period to some extent paved the way for the rise of political nationalism, it was not until the late 19th century that patriotism began to be separated from religious sentiment and national loyalties began to take the place of the older religious loyalties.

By the turn of the 18th century, British progress in India had begun to give rise, in some circles, to apprehension lest British commercial activity in Persia might lead to political domination (cf. *Rustam al-Ḥukamā, Rustam al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥḥirī, Tehran 1969, 383, 385). At the same time, unfavourable comparisons began to be drawn between conditions in Persia and those in other countries (cf. *ibid.*, 395). By the second decade of the 19th century the danger of foreign domination was clear for all to see, and the intrusion of western European countries and Russia was intuitively felt as a threat to Muslims and the lands of Islam. As in Turkey, modernisation began in response to military pressure. The Russian advance in the war temporarily concluded by the Peace of Gulistān (1813) brought home to the Persian government that the Persian army could not withstand Russian attack unless it was modernised (though none of the subsequent attempts at modernisation were pushed with vigour or persistence). Nationalism, patriotism and modernism in Persia thus became closely interwoven.

Meanwhile, government officials who visited foreign countries as representatives of the government, merchants, and others who travelled abroad began to ask the reasons for Persia's backwardness. Some came to the conclusion that this was due to a lack of justice and orderly administration, and that it was respect for law which guaranteed the modernism and progress of western Europe. As these opinions spread among a wider circle, a movement of protest against corruption and injustice gradually developed. This movement, which took its inspiration from the example of western Europe, had overtones of

patriotism and nationalism, but it was not, in the beginning, anti-foreign, though it was to become so later partly as a result of the events connected with the Tobacco Régie and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's attempts to bolster up the finances of the country by the grant of concessions and the contraction of loans. As the movement became anti-foreign, so its Islamic colouring became more marked—patriotism was still largely a religious sentiment. Nevertheless, so far as it was a protest against bad government and demanded as a remedy administrative reform, it was modernist and its supporters were nationalists in the sense that they aimed at some measure of self-government or government by the people, though they saw this primarily in terms of restrictions on the arbitrary power of the shah and not in the exercise of responsible power by elected representatives of the people.

In 1811 'Abbās Mirzā sent two students to England "to study whatever would be beneficial for him and his country". Five more were sent in 1815 to study engineering, medicine, artillery, mathematics and natural sciences. Two of these attained to high office: one, Mirzā Dī'far Muṣḥīr al-Dawla, who studied engineering, became head of the council of state set up by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and the other, Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī, who studied English, French, Latin, natural sciences, history and printing, became official translator to the government and subsequently a minister. He wrote a diary in which he described British parliamentary government and institutions (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Ismā'īl Rā'īn, Tehran 1969-70) and appears to have had a great admiration for freedom and liberty as he saw it in England. He also visited Russia and Turkey. Writing of the *tanẓīmāt*, he castigates obscurantist *mullās* who opposed them. Abu'l Ḥasan Shīrāzī, who was sent to England by Fath 'Alī Shāh, wrote in his *Hayrat-nāma* of the justice and security prevailing in England, and compared conditions in his own country in unfavourable terms with what he had seen in England. Khusrav Mirzā, the son of 'Abbās Mirzā, who was sent with a mission to Russia in 1829 to apologise for the murder of the Russian envoy Grebaiedov in the previous year by a fanatical mob, wrote in his diary, "It would be a pity if when we see with our own eyes the progress and order which our neighbour has achieved in a short time, we should not think [how we could achieve similar progress], but go about with our eyes closed in foreign parts." (See further, *Fikr-i Āzādī*, *op. cit.*, 21 ff.). Another Persian to describe in his diary British parliamentary institutions was Mirzā Khānlar Khān I'tīṣām al-Mulk, who went as a secretary to the Persian mission in England in 1864-5 (see *Dimukrāsī-i Inghīstān in Sukhān*, ii/2 (Bahman 1323/1944), 96-104).

It was not, however, until the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh that modernism and nationalism began to make strides. The Amīr Niẓām Mirzā Taḳl Khān Amīr Kabīr, his first *ṣadr-i a'ẓam*, who had visited both Russia and the Ottoman Empire, initiated various military, financial and administrative measures designed to strengthen the power of the central government. He founded the *Dār al-Funūn*, which was the first school to teach modern sciences, in order to train officials for the new army and the new bureaucracy. He also attempted to decrease the power of the religious classes. His reforms proved largely abortive. More important in the spread of modern ideas was Mirzā Ḥusayn Khān Sīpāhsālār Muṣḥīr al-Dawla. He studied in France, and served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bombay

Tiflis, and Istanbul. From 1871 he held various ministries in Tehran including that of *ṣadr-i a'ẓam* for some three years from December 1871. His letters from Turkey discuss European politics, freedom movements in the Ottoman Empire, the spread of education and civilization in Europe, and governmental reform in Persia. He considered an assembly composed of representatives of the people, freedom, the rights of the individual and equality before the law prerequisites for life in the modern world. Writing of the Greek rebellion, whose nationalist nature he recognised, he wrote, "The nationalist principle established by the French empire that every nation should be governed by its own people and not be a prisoner to the government of another people has spread to these parts" (*Fikr-i Āzādī*, *op. cit.*, 60). In another letter he wrote that foreign states measured a nation's progress, education and power (*isti'dād*) by four things: (i) the existence or otherwise of a well-ordered press carrying full reports of foreign and internal news; (ii) its encouragement of crafts, industries and trade; (iii) the quality of its foreign representation; and (iv) its possession of a powerful, disciplined army equipped with modern weapons able to defend the country against any eventuality (*ibid.*, 69). He believed that the backwardness of a country brought about foreign intervention, and both he and Amīr Kabīr in their advocacy of modernisation were concerned to prevent foreign intervention. But they were in a difficulty: modernisation was, in existing circumstances, hardly possible without foreign capital and expertise. This, indeed, was the justification of the abortive Reuter concession (see Maḥmūd Farhād Mu'tamid, *Sīpāhsālār-i A'ẓam*, Tehran 1947, 151 ff.). There was also at the same time another and contrary trend, also inspired by a kind of nationalism, which was opposed to modernisation. Many believed that development would involve foreign influence and that as long as the country's resources were not developed Persia would be left to manage her own affairs. The attitude to the spread of communications was also ambivalent because of a fear that it might facilitate external attack.

Among those who were associated, or in contact, with Ḥusayn Khān and who played an important part in fostering the demand for modernisation were Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla, Maḳd al-Mulk Sīnakī, Malkam Khān, and (through him) Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī [q.v.], and Mirzā Akā Khān Kirmānī. They were concerned both to forward the strength, liberty and prosperity of Persia and to ensure that the people had a greater share in the government of the country. Maḳd al-Mulk in his *Risāla-i maḳdīyya*, written in 1871-2, attacking the negligence of the shah and the state of the administration, states that the power of great nations was based on the people (ed., Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran 1941-2, 11), and demands an assembly to assure the prosperity and order of the kingdom (37). Mustashār al-Dawla, who became chargé d'affaires of the Persian legation in Paris in 1866-7, and also visited London during the three years he spent in Paris, wrote in 1888-9 to Muẓaffar al-Dīn, then *walī 'ahd*, stating that Persia could only escape disaster by the promulgation of reforms and new laws; only this would enable her to regain respect among civilized nations. In his essay *Yak kalīma*, which achieved wide circulation, he describes the strong and orderly military administration, prosperity, wealth, industry, education, security and freedom prevailing in France and England. He cites the old

Islamic tag, "No government (*sulṭān*) without wealth (*māl*), no wealth without development (*‘imārāt*), and no development without justice", and asks why Persia was so backward in spite of the fact that Islam was based on justice. His conclusion is that the secret of European progress was the supremacy of the law and that this was lacking in Persia. He then discusses the French constitution and the benefits deriving from it, and finally argues that whereas the *shari‘a* of Islam had been forgotten by the Muslims in their political conduct, the rights of man guaranteed by the French constitution were, in effect, the very rights which any Muslim should enjoy (Tabriz 1907, reprinted in Raḥt 1909).

In the latter years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, disgust at the abuse of power by the ruling class and the obscurantism of sections of the religious classes spread and the reaction to Persia's humiliations at the hands of European powers grew (though this was not to be a major factor in Persian nationalism until after the grant of the constitution). Unfavourable comparisons were increasingly drawn between Persia and Western European states while a small minority questioned the exercise of unfettered power by the shah. Many believed that Western Europe held the secret of progress (though few had any very clear idea of what this might be); they hoped that the adoption of western systems of government would both secure this "secret" and ensure reform and thus enable Persia to resist the encroachment of foreign powers, which the corruption of its government was facilitating. Malkam Khān = Nāṣim al-Dawla, a Persian Armenian from Djulfā (Iṣfahān), educated in Paris and minister in London from 1872 to 1889, was the great exponent of this point of view. His writings, influenced by John Stuart Mill and Mirabeau, became more radical as time passed. In tracts and essays and in the Persian paper *Ḳānūn*, which he founded and edited in London in 1890, he inveighs against internal disorder, corruption and despotism and the external pressure exerted on Persia "from St. Petersburg and Calcutta". The only answer to these evils in his view was technical progress, and administrative and constitutional reform (which he was at pains to show were not contrary to the *shari‘a*). At first Malkam Khān appears to have believed that reform "from above" was possible. He presented an early essay, *Kitābča-i ghaybi*, probably written between 1859 and 1860 in imitation of the Turkish *tanẓimāt*, to Mirzā Dja‘far Muṣḥir al-Dawla (who, as stated above, had been one of the first students to be sent abroad by the government) and urged him, as an elder statesman and because of his knowledge of foreign countries, to show it to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and explain the truth to him. He goes on to assert that the Persian state was down-trodden by neighbouring states and afflicted by various miseries, especially corruption. He warns that conditions in the outside world would not remain static: the Indian Mutiny would not go on for ever and Russia would not always remain preoccupied with the injuries she had suffered in Europe: claimants to the Persian provinces would arise. Two waves, one from St. Petersburg and the other from Calcutta, were advancing on Persia. Ministers, Malkam Khān alleges, considered the antiquity of Persia to be a protection against all calamities: however much they were warned that the advancing waves would submerge them, they would say, "we have been thus for 3,000 years and we shall survive this flood also". But, Malkam Khān points out, conditions had

changed: Persia could no longer withstand the power of neighbouring states. Europe had made important technical advances of which Persia had no conception and great progress especially in financial administration, while Persia lagged hopelessly behind. He then sets out his ideas for reform based on a separation of legislative and executive powers (*Madjīmū‘a-i āthār-i Malkam Khān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥiṭ Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, Tehran 1948-9, 1 ff.).

In another essay, *Dastgāh-i diwān*, devoted mainly to the need for financial reform, Malkam Khān warns his readers of the fate of Turkey and states that "The Persian government in the face of the encroachment of foreign conquest was in no way different from the Ottoman government. Protection of the Christians was a secondary problem: the essential problem was that the ebullience of European power had made impossible the survival of uncivilised states" (*ibid.*, 74 ff.). In a later essay entitled *Tanẓim-i lashkar wa madjilis-i idāra yā intiḡām-i lashkar wa madjilis-i tanẓimāt*, Malkam shows himself to be one of the few writers who realised that reform of one branch of the administration could not be carried out in isolation. He pours scorn on the idea that it would be possible to have a European arsenal without a European tax administration and reiterates the need for a government based on law (*ibid.*, 98 ff.). By the time of the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh the threat to Persian independence was seen by Malkam to be increasingly serious, and he appealed to all, whether Persians, Ādharbāyjdjānis, Kurds or Afghāns, to sink their differences and unite to base the rule of the shah on a new unity (*ibid.*, 182 ff.). In an essay entitled *The call to justice*, presented to Muḡaffar al-Dīn in 1905, Malkam Khān again warns of the threat to Persian independence posed by the progressive states of the world and urges the establishment of a legislative assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. Distinguishing between freedom and licence, he seeks to interpret freedom in terms of the Islamic principle of "enjoining the good and forbidding evil" (*ibid.*, 194 ff.).

Mirzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī (1853-87), who spent a great part of his life in Istanbul, was influenced, among others, by Rousseau and Montesquieu. He uncompromisingly rejected Islam and saw Mazdak as the prototype of European socialists, anarchists, nihilists, and communists (*Siḥ Maktūb*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *Andīshahā-yi Mirzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī*, Tehran 1967, 238). Like Malkam Khān he regarded the adoption of Western sciences, industry, and political structures as a fundamental condition to progress. He held that the Persian people must forget their past and lay completely new foundations for their national life if they wished to retain their independence and enjoy power and respect in the world. Pointing to the example of the Caucasus, which had been lost to Russia, India, "which was held prisoner by five thousand English soldiers", and Turkey, "which was forced to submit to the slightest whim of the English ambassador", Mirzā Āḳā Khān warned that Persia would be made into a colony if she failed to advance in knowledge or to develop her own resources. "Today", he wrote, "we, the subjects of Persia (*ra‘iyyat-i Irān*), are trampled underfoot by internal tyrants and criticised, blamed and despised by foreign governments and civilised peoples. Tomorrow we shall be trampled on by the hoofs of the transport animals of their military forces and captives of their soldiers and armies" (*Ṣad khaṭāba*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 229-30). While he was in favour of the adoption of European learning



and technical skills, he condemned the aggression of European powers against other nations (*Hašt bihišt*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 231-2). He, like Malkam Khān, aimed at a national awakening and advocated modernisation in order to stem the encroachment both of foreign powers against the national frontiers and of the shah and his government against the freedom of the people. Influenced by earlier writers, especially Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā-yi Kādjār and Mīrzā Fath 'Alī Ākhundzāda (Akhundov), who, although he spent the greater part of his life in the Caucasus in the service of the Russian government, was an ardent Persian patriot, the nationalism of Mīrzā Ākā Khān Kirmānī looks back to pre-Islamic Persia, and tendencies towards anti-Arabism as well as anti-Semitism in general are to be found in his works (see further F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 252 ff.).

The themes of Malkam Khān and Mīrzā Ākā Khān Kirmānī were taken up by others, including Mīrzā Ākā Furṣat Shīrāzī, who in a series of essays describes freedom, equality and knowledge as the key to progress and attributes the miserable condition of Persia, which he compares unfavourably with India, to ignorance and despotism (*Maḥallāt-i 'ilmī wa siyāsī*, Bombay 1904-5, ii, Tehran 1907-8), Malik al-Mutakallimīn, who emphasises the need to develop Persia's resources and, pointing to the example of Japan, advocates the establishment of factories (see M. Malikzāda, *Zindagāni-i Malik al-Mutakallimīn*. Tehran 1946, 91 ff.), and Persians living in the borderlands such as Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Nadīdjāzāda (Talibov) in his *Masālik al-Muhsinīn*, and Zayn al-'Ābidīn Marāghaī in his *Safar-nāma-i Ibrāhīm Beg*. All of these made a significant contribution to the intellectual ferment culminating in the movement for constitutional reform in the early years of the 19th century (on the nature of this movement see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian constitutional revolution of 1905-6*, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972, 173-84. See also KAWMIYYA, Persia and DUSTŪR, Irān).

Those who prepared the way for the constitutional revolution were drawn largely from the upper ranks of the bureaucracy, the religious classes and the merchants. As the movement spread, it became articulated largely in a demand for "equality" and "liberty", neither of which was defined in legal terms. Both were seen broadly as freedom from tyranny and envisaged by the majority within a temporal framework designed to permit the unhindered operation of the Islamic ethic and the living of the good life in accordance with the sacred law. The underlying intention was to seek to ensure justice and to limit extortion. The shah's neglect of abstract principles of justice was felt to have led to an impoverishment of the people and a growth of foreign influence and intervention in the affairs of the country. Largely for this reason the movement became a nationalist movement in that it was a demand by the people for a greater share in the government of the country and a protest against the placing of the material resources of the country under the control of foreigners (which, in view of the interpretation placed on freedom, was inevitably seen as an attack as much on Islam as on Persia).

There was, however, a paradox: both sides looked to foreigners: the constitutionalists to Britain (though the 1907 convention with Russia was a great surprise and disappointment to them), and the reactionaries to Russia, with the ruling classes of which they felt,

perhaps, a greater affinity than with the mass of the Persian people. Although the support which the reactionary party and Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā as *walī 'ahd* and later as shah received from Russia in their attempts to frustrate the efforts of the constitutionalists inevitably gave an anti-Russian aspect to the constitutional movement, it was predominantly a "popular" rather than an anti-foreign movement. Among the *andjūmans*, the popular political societies, it developed as a movement of resistance to oppression and a demand for the right of the people to manage their own affairs (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *Secret societies and the Persian revolution of 1905-6*, in *St. Antony's Papers*, No. 4, *Middle Eastern Affairs* No. 1, London 1958 and *The political rôle of the anjūmans 1906-11*, in *St. Antony's Papers*, No. 16, *Middle Eastern Affairs* No. 3, London 1963). The bond which united them was not a concept of territorial or ethnic nationality or memory of "good" government but rather Islam: the true king was, for them, the Hidden Imām.

With the humiliations suffered by Persia after the suspension of the constitution in 1911 and the disorder prevailing during the Great War, there was a swing away from "popular" nationalism towards nationalism coupled with anti-imperialism and socialism and also "romantic" nationalism. Abu 'l Kāsim 'Ārif (d. 1934), the poet of the constitutional revolution, extolled patriotism and freedom, but Adīb Pīshāwarī (1844-1930), who had been one of the first poets to write in praise of patriotism and nationalism, wrote increasingly against anti-imperialism, while Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Farrūkhī (1888-1939) linked patriotism with socialism. In general poets and writers turned increasingly towards a glorification of pre-Islamic Persia. A literary movement to deepen national thought and pride (in stimulating which the writings of orientalist played a considerable part), began in Berlin, where a number of Persians had taken refuge during the 1914-18 war and founded a literary magazine, significantly called *Kāwa* after the legendary blacksmith [see KĀWAN]. 'Ishkī (1893-1924), Pūr Dā'ūd (1889-1969) and others reminded their readers of the spirit of ancient Persia. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamālzāda (born circa 1895), at one time co-editor of *Kāwa* with Sayyid Ḥasan Takizāda (d. 1969), and others wrote essays extolling the Persian past; and Aḥmad Kasrawī (1888-1945) published a large number of political and religious tracts of a nationalist and anti-Islamic nature (see further B. Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964).

During the war of 1914-18 and in the years immediately afterwards, there were uprisings of a quasi-nationalist nature led by Mīrzā Kūčik Khān in Gilān (1915-20), Khiyābānī in Ādharbāyḍjān (1920), and Muḥammad Taqī Khān in Khurāsān (1921), but none of them was nationalist in the wider sense or spread to the whole of the country. After the coup d'état in 1921, power was concentrated in the hands of Riḍā Khān, who proceeded to build up the armed forces. By 1925 he had reasserted the authority of the central government over most of the country and on 31 October of that year he assumed the crown. Measures were also taken to restore Persia's position vis-à-vis foreign powers and to limit their intervention in Persian affairs. The capitulations were abolished in 1926 [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. Determined to make Persia a modern state, Riḍā Shāh pressed forward industrial expansion and economic development and extended the scope of government. Requiring more funds to finance these developments, he turned to

the oil industry to satisfy his need. The post-war depression had brought down oil prices and with them royalty payments. In 1932 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession was denounced and a new agreement was negotiated in 1933 under which royalty payments were increased. Islam was deliberately weakened, and westernisation forced. The memory of pre-Islamic Persia was fostered. The traditional provincial names were replaced by numbers as a device to efface "the memory of the historic provinces with their persistent traditions of diversity and autonomy" and to create unity and uniformity. An attempt was also made to "purify" Persian of Arabic words and weaken the memory of her cultural debt to the Islamic empires of the past. In the beginning Riḍā Shāh's nationalism was influenced by the example of Turkey, which he visited in 1934. Later, however, he turned rather to the model of the dictatorial régimes of Western Europe, especially Hitlerite Germany. The new nationalism, which developed during his reign, appealed mainly to the military leaders, who found the ideal of the self-sufficient police state seductive, those intellectuals who provided the personnel of the bureaucracy, the younger generation brought up in the new schools, and those merchants who benefitted from his commercial policy, and was very different from the nationalism of the constitutional period (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The impact of the West on Persia*, in *International Affairs*, xxxiii/1 (Jan. 1957), 21 ff.).

In 1941 Riḍā Shāh abdicated as a result of events connected with World War II. In the ensuing years Persia suffered new humiliations. Foreign troops were stationed in the country. Their presence did not technically constitute a military occupation, but Russian troops in the north and north-west prevented orderly administration by the Persian government and did not evacuate the country after the conclusion of the hostilities until recourse was had to the United Nations. There was once more a feeling that national unity was menaced, and coupled with this there was a growing sense of frustration at the failure of successive governments to undertake reform. A feeling of revolt against the "establishment" grew. Various groups, at one extreme the Fidā'iyyān-i Islām [q.v.] and at the other the Tūda Party (who were communist-inspired), were active. Their common desire was for power and control over the sources of national wealth, but their positive policies were less clearly defined, and in any case sometimes in conflict. Finally, under the leadership of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ cohesion was given to the discontent. The movement of protest was focussed on the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and was transformed into a campaign for liberation from supposed foreign domination. Nationalisation of the oil industry (achieved in 1951) became the immediate goal. With the alliance of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ and the religious leader Sayyid Abu'l Kāsim Kāshāni, who interpreted the protest movement in terms of Islam, it spread throughout the country as a popular movement for the defence not only of Persia but also of Islam. After the reassertion of the monarchy following the overthrow of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ by a military coup d'état in 1953, "popular" nationalism once more declined to be replaced in due course by a new self-styled "positive" nationalism imposed from above, one of the manifestations of which was the celebration in 1971, after several years of planning, of what was regarded as the 2500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian monarchy by Cyrus (see further IRAN, History; HIZB, Persia; and also

J. M. Upton, *The history of modern Iran, an interpretation*, Cambridge Mass. 1960).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

#### iv. IN OTTOMAN TURKEY.

This word was used in Ottoman Turkish to express the new idea of nationalism which originated in Central and Eastern Europe during the 19th century. This new nationalism was not the older patriotism of Western Europe founded in a citizen's loyalty to his country, his state and its mode of government and in which a degree of individual liberty was usually involved. It was anethnic, linguistic, and sometimes cultural nationalism, romantic and subjective in its appeal, and often illiberal. When it reached the Ottoman Empire this brand of nationalism quickly vitalised the independent ambitions of the non-Muslim religious communities (*millet*s), and more slowly those of the non-Turkish Muslims.

The Ottoman Turks were not much affected by this new form of nationalism for two interconnected reasons. In the first place, the Turks of the Empire, despite a vigorous flowering of Turkish "national" self-consciousness in the 9th/15th century, had subsequently submerged themselves in Islam and assumed the responsibility for the expansion and maintenance of the Islamic community. The new nationalism could not easily strike a responsive chord amongst them. Secondly, the Ottoman Turks had previously been exposed to Western European patriotism, which had a greater appeal since it did not create ethnic or linguistic impediments to continued Ottoman unity and strength. To express the notion of *patrie* the Ottoman Turks used the words *wafan* and *millet*. By the mid-19th century, *wafan*, meaning in former usage one's home, village, town, or region, fully developed the meaning of *patrie*, and was much in use in the Turkish press. The word *millet* was also used to denote the *patrie* of the Ottoman Empire, but with revealing confusion, it was also employed to mean the Islamic community. Not without significance, perhaps, when Turkey did come to regard itself as a nation the word used was not *hawtm* but *millet*.

A patriotism centred on Ottomanism and Islam served largely to insulate the Turks from the new nationalism of the 19th century and to help preserve the Ottoman position. However, the ground was being prepared for the new conception of nationalism to take root. Interest in the Turks *qua* Turks was aroused in the first place by the publication in London in 1832 of a *Grammar of the Turkish language* by Arthur Lumley Davids (1811-32). It included the history as well as the language of the Turks, and became known in Turkey. Two other foreigners whose work was of very considerable influence were the renowned Hungarian Turcologist, Arminius Vambéry (1832-1913), and the colourful Léon Cahun, whose *Introduction à l'histoire d'Asie* (1896) glorified the role in history of the Turkish nomadic tribes.

A number of factors helped this new interest in Turcology to develop. Hungarian scholars were interested in the possibilities of discovering some common heritage with the Turks as a counterweight to Pan-Slavism. Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia also brought Turkish studies to the fore. Exiles in Turkey after the abortive 1848 revolutions in Europe spread the new nationalist ideas. A later impetus occurred through the advent of politically experienced exiles from Turkish and Tartar areas of Russia at the end of the 19th century. These

influences awoke a slow response among the Turks. It was only as the non-Muslim peoples obtained independence, and when there were national stirrings among the Muslim subjects of the Empire, that a truly Turkish nationalism based on a common race, language and culture became more feasible. Among Ottoman Turks who took up the theme were the historian Aḥmad Waffk Paṣha (1823-91) [q.v.] and Süleymān Paṣha (1838-1932), the first Ottoman historian to write about the pre-Islamic Turks. Attention was also given to the Turkish language: the first modern Turkish grammar appeared in 1851, the *Kawā'id-i 'Oḥmāniyya* of Fu'ād and Djewdet Paṣha [q.v.]. The first Turkish turcologist in any real sense was Neđīb 'Asım (1861-1935).

It was not, however, until the Young Turk period, and with the diminution of the Empire, that a more general interest could be aroused. A Turkish Society (*Türk Derneği*) was established in 1908 to study Turkish culture in its many aspects. From this initiative shortly emerged a journal, *Türk Yurdu*, ("Turkish Homeland") which began to develop a political Turkism, notably under Akçuraoğlu Yüsf [q.v.]. Numerous Turkist societies, *Türk Odjaları*, ("Turkish Hearths") were also founded to study and promote Turkish culture. Closely associated with *Türk Yurdu* was the greatest exponent of Turkish nationalism, Dīyā' (Ziya) Gökalp [q.v.]. In some of his writings he went so far as to envisage the political union of all Turks in a new *Türān*, but the international situation, notably the strength of Russia, gave little prospect for the realisation of this Pan-Turkist dream, save for a brief period of confusion in Central Asia following the Russian Revolution of 1917. Nevertheless, Turkish nationalism continued to develop, markedly affected by two factors, firstly the Armenian massacres of 1916, and secondly, the defection of Arab Muslims to the Allied side in the first World War.

By 1918 it was clear, however, that attempts to promote an Ottoman, Pan-Islamic or Turanian unity were either irrelevant or impracticable. Yet some basis for a national unity had to be found if what was left of Turkey in 1918 was to be defended against Allied claims. National feeling was now concentrated on the rescue of the Anatolian homeland from the occupying Christian powers, particularly from the Greeks. Whilst religious feeling was still obviously important in this situation, a new emphasis appeared in Turkish nationalism—the territorial. It had obvious impact: the Turkish peasant's hearth and home, his *waṭan* was at stake. After the War of Liberation the Republic sought to justify this new nationalist attachment by promoting historical enquiries to show that Anatolia was in fact the ancient land of the Turks. This might be interpreted as a return, in a new context, to the less romantic patriotism of earlier European inspiration, but the attachment to the land, to national folk-lore, popular tradition and national solidarity was romantic to a marked degree. For the Atatürkist élite, nationalism was also firmly secularist, as the abolition of the caliphate and the disestablishment of Islam in 1924 testified.

The secular, cultural and territorial nationalism of the Atatürkist period has remained the predominant form of nationalism in Turkey since the Second World War, but it has not been universally accepted. Whilst it is difficult to make clear divisions among the different schools of thought, it may be said that the secular nationalists have divided into two groups. There are those who support the liberal

democratic, and strictly territorial, political system as representing the national spirit, and others who would qualify their support by insistence on the need for a greater degree of socialism to allow the full expression of national feeling. This latter group attaches itself to the left-of-centre *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party). One school of thought has attempted, however, to define nationalism to include Islamic, as well as pre-Islamic, Turkish history. This current of thought has found a ready audience among the new professional, commercial and industrial middle classes, and actual promotion through the *Türk Ocakları*, revived in 1949 after their abolition in 1932. This modification of nationalism has appealed to many members of right-of-centre political parties, notably the former *Demokrat Partisi* (Democrat Party) and the *Adalet Partisi* (Justice Party). Important elements in the Turkish intelligentsia have sought, however, to give greater weight either to Islam or to Turkish nationalism (and to Pan-Turkism) than the usual compromises envisage. An Islamic trend which nevertheless accords a place to nationalism is represented by Necmettin Erbakan's *Millî Selâmet Partisi* (National Salvation Party) which in 1973 won 48 seats in the elections for the 450-member National Assembly. An extreme nationalist party under Alparslan Türkeş, which accords a place to Islam, is the *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (Nationalist Movement Party) which, however, won only 3 seats in the 1973 National Assembly. Territorial nationalism, Islam and Pan-Turkism are not easy to combine. This is evident in the writings of the influential Dr. Rıza Nur [q.v.] (1879-1942), who advocated *inter alia* a republican form of government, restoration of the caliphate, and the reunion of all Turks under the leadership of those of Anatolia.

A number of nationalist associations have been established recently in Turkey, particularly in the 1960s, partly in response to increased leftist activity. Large general congresses of nationalists were held in 1967 and 1969. One association of particular significance which has emerged is the *Küminizmle Mücadele Derneği* ("Society for Opposing Communism"), which has been active in demonstrations against left-wing groups. Reviews which in recent years have supported secular nationalism include *Varlık* ("Existence"), *Dost* ("Friend"), *Yeni Ufuklar* ("New Horizons") and *Yedi Tepe* ("Seven Hills"). Turkist and Islamic nationalism have been represented *inter alia* by *Türk Kültürü* ("Turkish Culture"), *Türk Birliği* ("Turkish Unity") and *Tohum* ("Seed"). The strength of modern Turkish nationalism is difficult to assess, since every political association claims to be nationalist. Certainly, for many Turks a wholly secular nationalism is not proving to be satisfactory. [See also HURRIYYA, İSTİKLÂL (Independence), İŞTİRAKİYYA and TÜRÂN.]

*Bibliography*: Recent comprehensive studies:

- B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968, 317-55; idem, *The Middle East and the west*, London 1963, 70-94; N. Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal, 1964, 313-59; idem, *Ziyā Gökalp; his contribution to Turkish nationalism in MEJ*, viii (1954), 375-90; K. Karpat, *Modern Turkey*, in *Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P. M. Holt, A. K. S. Lambton and B. Lewis, Cambridge 1970, i, 551-65; idem, *Ideology in Turkey after the revolution of 1960*, in K. Karpat et al., *Social Change and politics in Turkey*, Leiden 1973, 317 ff.; J. M. Landau, *Radical politics in modern Turkey*, Leiden 1974,

193 ff.; İ. E. Darendeliği, *Türkiyede milliyetçilik hareketleri*, n.p. 1968; E. Rossi, *Dall'impero ottomano alla repubblica di Turchia; origini e sviluppi del nazionalismo turco sotto l'aspetto politico-culturale*, in *OM*, xxiii (1943), 359-88. Other works: Yusuf Akçuraoglu, *Türkcülük*, in *Türk Yılı*, i (1928), 289-455; Ziyâ Gökâl, *Türkçülüğün esâsları*, Ankara 1339/1920, English tr. R. Devereux, *The principles of Turkism*, Leiden 1968; idem, *Turkish nationalism and western civilisation, selected essays of Ziyâ Gökâl*, tr. and ed. N. Berkes, London 1959; U. Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish nationalism*, London 1950; C. W. Hostler, *Turkism and the Soviets; the Turks of the world and their political objectives*, London 1957; idem, *The Turks and Central Asia*, in *MEJ*, xii/3 (1958) 261-9; Ercümend Kuran, *The impact of nationalism on the Turkish élite in the nineteenth century*, in *Beginnings of modernization in the Middle East: the nineteenth century*, ed. W. R. Polk and R. C. Chambers, Chicago 1968, 109-17; Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, Princeton, N.J. 1962; idem, *Jön Türklerin siyasî fikirlerin 1895-1908*, Ankara 1964; E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton, N.J. 1959; F. Tachau, *The search for national identity among the Turks in WI*, n.s., viii (1962-3), 165-76; Z. V. Toğan, *Hatıralar*, Istanbul 1969.

(C. H. DODD)

#### V. IN CENTRAL ASIA.

("Central Asia" is here taken to include the Qazakh, Özbek, Tâdjik, Kırghız and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics).

The European ideas of the nation, national frontiers and national government, which began to spread to Asia and Africa at the turn of the 19th century, have so far had a much smaller impact on the Muslim peoples of Central Asia than on the rest of *Dâr al-Islâm*. At the time of the Russian conquest, the Central Asians were generally regarded as being both politically and culturally the most backward of all Muslims, and the Tsarist régime did little to change this situation. No plans existed for eventual self-government, or even for local participation in provincial government, and in 1907 the small Central Asian representation in the Russian Duma (parliament) was abolished. Literacy did not exceed 3% and there were no establishments of higher education other than the *madrasas*. The large military garrison was composed of Russian imperial troops; Central Asian Muslims were exempt from conscription in the imperial forces, and there were no Muslim military formations in the Russian-ruled provinces. Conditions in the vassal states of Bukhârâ and Khîwa were no more advanced, and in many respects, less so.

Such stirrings of national consciousness as existed were aimed rather at the defence of Islamic culture against Russian encroachment than at self-government and separation from Russia. The nearest thing to a coordinated endeavour was the "Djadid" movement (from *uşul-i djadid*), which originated among the Tatars of Kazan and the Crimea, but eventually had a considerable vogue in the urban areas of the Turkestan Governorate-General and the Khânate of Bukhârâ. Something more closely approaching a nationalist movement began among the small Qazakh intelligentsia after the Russian revolution of 1905, but its aims, like those of the Djadids, were cultural rather than political.

The great Turkestan rebellion of 1916 has been

called "a national liberation movement". It was certainly directed against the Russian presence, but it was unco-ordinated and had no specifically political aims. Its ruthless repression by the Tsarist government had the temporary effect of favourably disposing the Muslims to the Revolution of 1917, which they imagined would mean the end of Russian rule; and the hope thus engendered gave rise to several small movements aiming at some kind of independent state or states. Such aspirations were, however, strongly opposed not only by the new Soviet régime, but by the 2-million strong element of Russian settlers who, whether they supported the Revolution or not, were not prepared to hand over the region to Muslim rule. The Djadids, too, always at loggerheads with the 'ulamâ', now found themselves equally opposed to the new régime. By 1921, any prospect of an organised national movement with clearly defined political aims had receded, but guerilla Muslim resistance to the Soviet government continued in the shape of the so-called Basmaçi [*q.v.*] movement. Although violent and widespread, this movement lacked cohesion, competent leadership and the necessary resources, and by 1922 it had virtually collapsed.

By the end of 1920, complete Soviet control over the region was a foregone conclusion, and since the new régime was fundamentally opposed both to Islam and to the idea of nationalism, any chance of the emergence of a Central Asian state or states based on Muslim principles became even more remote than it had been in Tsarist times. The constitution of the so-called Bukhârân Peoples' Republic formed on the overthrow of the khânate in 1920 declared that "no published laws of the Republic may contradict the foundations of Islam", but this constitution was abrogated on the absorption of the republic into the Soviet Union in 1924, and the whole concept of Islam was thus finally removed from the Soviet political fabric. Some Central Asian intellectuals had participated to a limited extent in an attempt to achieve Muslim solidarity made from within the Communist Party by Mir Sayyid Sultân 'Ali Oghlu (Sultangaliyev), a Tatar Communist from Kazan. But the movement ended with his arrest in 1923 and subsequent disappearance.

As a means of combating nationalism and of solving the "national problem", the Soviet Government adopted a "nationalities policy". As applied to Central Asia this involved the classification as "nations" of the larger Muslim communities, most of whom had not previously thought of themselves as such. In 1924 the former administrative borders were abolished and the whole territory, including that of the erstwhile khânates, was divided into "republics" bearing the names of these "nations". Although described officially as "fully sovereign", they have never been so by any standards recognised elsewhere in the world of Islam, since the overriding authority in all matters relating to policy, justice and, indeed, every human activity rests with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union centred in Moscow. An attempt has been made, so far with only partial success, to remould the cultures of all the Muslim peoples in the region, now numbering about 22 million, on lines described as "national in form and socialist in content". There is much evidence of passive Muslim resistance to many social and cultural institutions of the Soviet régime, but none of any organised or active opposition to it. The facts about the alleged unmasking of a nationalist plot in the Özbek Republic in 1937 have never been established.

It is hard to say how far the Soviet nationalities policy has succeeded or will succeed in the future in excluding or holding in leash the national sentiment which has contributed towards the freeing of so many non-Soviet Muslim communities from foreign or non-Muslim rule. During the past fifty years none of the features characteristic of nationalist movements elsewhere have been present in Central Asia: namely, competent and easily identifiable national leaders with some freedom of speech and action; religious and cultural freedom; aid and encouragement from abroad; native military formations trained in the use of modern weapons; and support from liberal opinion in the metropolitan country. On the other hand, by artificially creating nations and stimulating the growth of those which had previously only existed in embryo, the Nationalities Policy has brought into being organisms which, far from remaining static, seem to be gradually acquiring a real national identity. It can be said that while nationalist movements of the kind which convulsed the Muslim peoples of the Middle East and North Africa are, in the present circumstances, highly improbable, national consciousness and the desire to dispense with alien rule are still very much alive. But what kind of state or states towards the formation of which this national consciousness may be tending is still uncertain.

*Bibliography:* G. Safarov, *Kolonialnaya Revolyutsiya (Opyt Turkestana)* ("The Colonial Revolution: the case of Turkestan"), Moscow 1921; A. Park, *Bolshevism in Turkestan*, New York 1957; S. A. Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1960; A. Bennigsen and C. Quelquejay, *Les Mouvements nationaux chez les Musulmans de Russie*, The Hague 1960; idem, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, London 1967; G. E. Wheeler, *The modern history of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1964; idem, *The peoples of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1966; R. Vaidyanath, *The formation of the Soviet Central Asian Republics*, New Delhi 1967; B. Hayit, *Turkestan im XX Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt 1956.

(G. E. WHEELER)

#### vi. IN MUSLIM INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

The growth of Muslim nationalism, or Muslim separatism as it is usually called, was one of the most striking developments on the Indian subcontinent under British rule. It stemmed from the Aligarh movement, an educational and political campaign aimed mainly at protecting the power of the Muslim service élite of northern India, which developed around the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College founded in 1875 by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan at Aligarh in the United Provinces. In the early 20th century, men associated with this movement made Muslim separatism a significant factor in Indian politics. In 1906 they founded an All-India Muslim League. Then, using the League as their platform, they first persuaded the government to introduce separate electorates (with special weighting to take account of their "political importance") in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, and soon afterwards persuaded the Congress, the organisation of Indian nationalist politics, to accept the same principle for the next package of reforms in a pact made at Lucknow in 1916. By this time Muslim separatism would appear to have been an established fact in Indian political life, but it would be quite wrong to see its development from this point to 1947 as an ever-ascending line on a graph, because for the twenty

years after 1916 it was a declining force. First, Muslim Leaguers agitated with Congressmen against the government in the *Khilāfat* non-co-operation movement of 1919-23, then in the 1920s and 1930s many lost interest in League politics altogether: some preferred the class-based politics of the United Provinces' *Zamīndār* Party or the Punjab Unionist Party, others the Islamic politics of the *Khilāfat* Party, and yet others the Indian nationalism of the Congress itself. So weak did Muslim separatism become that the Muslim League held no annual sessions between 1933 and 1936. And it was not until the 1937 elections, after the 1935 Government of India Act had considerably extended the franchise and had given Indians virtual autonomy at the provincial level, that Muslims again began to support separatist politics in large numbers. From then on, the Muslim League went from strength to strength till, in part because of the rapid change in circumstances brought about by World War II, in part because of the political failures both of the Congress and of the British, and in part because of both the political skill of Jinnah and its own success as a political organisation, it succeeded in establishing a separate Muslim state on the Indian subcontinent when the British transferred power in 1947.

An important point to note about Muslim separatism is that at no stage did it receive equal support from all Muslims. Their condition and their interests varied greatly in the different parts of India. There were differences of background; some, particularly in northern India, were descended from invaders or adventurers who had come from Arabia, Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia to make their fortunes from the fabled wealth of Hindustan, but the majority were descended from Hindus who, during the period of Muslim supremacy, had been converted to Islam. There were differences in their level of islamisation; the humble Muslim villager in Bengal or Madras, who spoke the local vernacular and who followed most of the local social and religious customs, had much more in common with his Hindu neighbour than did his co-religionist living in a town in northern India whose culture and whose customs were much more distinctly Islamic. There were also differences in their distribution throughout the subcontinent; in the Punjab and in Bengal (after 1911) Muslims were a majority of the provincial population, but in no other province for most of British rule did their numbers exceed 20%. Finally, there were differences in their economic and political position; traditionally the Muslims of Bengal or Sind or Madras were cultivators with little economic strength and less political power, but the Muslims of north India, in particular those of the United Provinces, were not only wealthy, holding much land and many positions in government service, but were also accustomed to being the dominant political group in the area. These differences dictated a variety of responses to the challenges presented by the modernising tendencies of British rule to their livelihood, their religion and their political power. Indeed, for most Muslims under the British a political stance based on their faith made no sense in the context of local or provincial politics. Muslim separatism found support mainly in the United Provinces. Men from this area founded Aligarh College and the All-India Muslim League. They chiefly organised this League throughout its existence and used it to win Muslims elsewhere in India for their separatist politics. When separatism was strong, it was because it suited their interests; when it was weak, as it was in the 1920s and 1930s, it was because it did not.

Why some Indian Muslims should have organised for politics on a religious basis has been hotly debated. Four main lines of argument have been put forward to explain this phenomenon: that the Muslims were backward in taking advantage of western education, had therefore fallen behind in the competition for jobs and economic advancement, and therefore organised as a community to protect their interests; that the British deliberately divided and ruled, encouraging Muslims from time to time to organise as a separate group in order to strengthen their imperial position; that Indian nationalism was too strongly associated with a frequently aggressive Hindu revivalism to allow Muslims to play a full and unreserved part in it; and that the Muslims had always been a separate community on the Indian subcontinent which fact was expressed in the separatist tendency of their politics. There are grains of truth in all these arguments, but as they stand they are too simple by half.

Of course, the fact that Muslims had some common religious experience must lie at the base of any explanation of why some Muslims organised for politics on a communal basis; but it is not the sole or even the chief cause of why they did so. The threats which British policy in education, in bureaucratic reform and in local self-government levelled at the position of the Muslims in the United Provinces, making them fear that they might become backward, played a part; they lay behind the foundation of Aligarh College and the All-India Muslim League. A Hindu revivalism, which aimed to promote the Nagari script and the Hindi language and to protect the cow, was also important; early responses to the massive changes which government was bringing about in north Indian society were organised by Hindus and Muslims working in concert, but Hindu revivalism in the late 19th century helped increasingly to divert these responses into communal channels. Moreover, throughout its existence the close association of Hindu revivalism with the Congress made it hard for Muslims to join the Indian nationalist movement. This type of revivalism was not restricted to Hindus; it also developed amongst Muslims and helped to harden their consciousness of being Muslim. It found powerful expression in the writings of Ḥālī, Shiblī and Iqbāl, and it infused aspects of the movements for a Muslim university, for the preservation of the Turkish *Khilāfat*, and for the establishment of Pakistan. Crucially important was the tendency of the British to see their Indian subjects primarily not as members of different races, nor as speakers of different languages, nor even as representatives of different interests, but as followers of different faiths. They shared out patronage along religious lines, particularly to Muslims in northern India, whom at one time they saw as the greatest threat to the empire and at another as the most important supporters of it. Such perceptions of Indian society and such policies played a vital role in the development of separatism; without them Aligarh College would never have survived its early years and the Muslim League would never have won separate electorates. Crucially important too was the fact that for much of the time the Muslim platform was a particularly rewarding one for Muslim politicians from the United Provinces to adopt; up to the second decade of the 20th century because of the attitudes of the government, and later, in the age of mass agitation and growing electorates, because these politicians had in the '*ulamā*' a tremendously powerful, if double-edged, weapon for mobilising mass support. They

introduced the '*ulamā*' into politics in 1918 with the aim of making capital out of the *Khilāfat* issue, but were overwhelmed by the agitation which followed. They introduced the '*ulamā*' again in the campaign for Pakistan, and the '*ulamā*', this time subordinate to the politicians, played an important part in winning over to the Muslim League Muslims in provinces where they were a majority of the population (sc. Bengal, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and Punjab). Without the support of these Muslims there could be no Pakistan.

Such were the factors which encouraged some Muslims to organise on a communal basis in Indian politics under the British. Such, in sum, were the causes of Muslim nationalism. If, for those who followed, Muslim nationalism was mainly a religious matter, for those who led, it was a matter less of the desirability of separate Muslim political organisation or later of a separate Muslim state in which they could live according to the *Shari'ah*, than of the need to ensure that they continued to wield the power in northern India which they had wielded for hundreds of years.

*Bibliography:* W. Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London 1946; R. Gopal, *Indian Muslims: a political history (1858-1957)*, Bombay 1959; I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (610-1947)*, The Hague 1962; Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964*, London 1964; A. Hamid, *Muslim separatism in India: a brief survey 1858-1947*, Oxford 1967; K. B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: the formative phase 1857-1948*, London 1968; H. V. Hodson, *The great divide*, London 1969; S. S. Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League documents 1906-1947*, Karachi 1970, 2 vols.; C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright (eds.), *The partition of India: policies and perspectives 1935-1947*, London 1970; P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge 1972; D. J. A. Page, *Prelude to partition: All-India Muslim politics, 1909-32*, D. Phil. thesis, Oxford 1974, unpublished; F. Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge 1974. (F. ROBINSON)

KAWN WA-FASĀD, "generation and corruption". The expression is frequently found in the vocabulary of *falsafa* as the translation of the two Greek words γενεσις and φθορά, and it is also how Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* is rendered in Arabic. The references entail an analysis of cosmology, a measure of psychology and some metaphysical developments of the *Falāsifa*. The ideas in question acquired various nuances of meaning, by measure of the system and theory of each *faylasūf*, but they always harked back to the Aristotelian meaning. The term is most frequently met with in the phrase "world of generation and corruption", '*ālam al-hawn wa' l-fasād*', as a designation of the sublunary world, which is subject to change; by contrast, the worlds above are free of this. A few quick references are sufficient here: al-Fārābī speaks of the corruptible elements placed within nature, "the corruptible facts" (*al-ashyā' al-mutakawwiniyat al-fāsida*; see *Commentaire sur le Peri Hermeneias*, ed. W. Kutsch and S. Marrow, Beirut 1971, 75, 191); and Ibn Sinā, in his treatise on "The branches of the speculative sciences" (*Aḥsām al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya*) considers a study of *kawn wa-fasād* as one of the objects of "natural science" (see *Tis' rasā'il*, Cairo 1326/1908, 106).

First and foremost *kawn* evokes the idea of exist-

entialisation. This is the principal meaning it acquired in the vocabulary of *'ilm al-kalām*: *kawn* is the advent in nature of the existent thing (*kā'in*, plur. *kā'ināt*), which makes it, for the Mu'tazilī (e.g. al-'Allāf) as well as for al-Ash'ari, to some extent synonymous with *wujūd*. But for the advocates of the (philosophical) atom (*djuz'* [q.v.]) in particular, an existent thing presupposes a body and subsequently a dimension. Thus *kawn* came to mean the existentialisation of corporal beings and *wujūd* of all existence, supraperceivable as well as perceptible. For the *Falāsifa*, *kawn* (plur. *akwān*), the customary translation of γένεσις, was more precisely applied to beings subject to growth, without losing its primary meaning of existentialisation, with its reference to the dimension of bodies. According to Ibn Sīnā, for example, *kawn* can either be a synonym for *wujūd* or can designate a being *in fieri*, depending on the context. M. Jean Jolivet (*L'intellect selon Kindī*, Leiden 1971, 123; cf. *Rasā'il al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 204) suggests that for Kindī *kawn*, linked to *fasād*, was already defined as substantial change, "changing existence". One of al-Kindī's main texts on the subject is the brief *risāla* on "The efficient proximate cause of generation and corruption" (*al-'illa al-fā'ila al-karībiyya li'l kawn wa'l-fasād*; *ibid.*, i, 208-13).

Yet there is a noticeable difference between the ideas of al-Kindī and those of his successors. The latter's vision of the world is emanistic; *akwān* are therefore the last necessary effect of *fayḍ*, the productive flow of being, necessarily emanating from the prime Being. For al-Kindī, *kawn*, however much a matter of becoming it may be, depends for its first efficient cause on a free creation *ex nihilo*, thereby being linked with the Qur'ānic meaning of *kun fā-yakūn*, (God said) "So be it! and it is so" (Kur'ān, II, 117); cf. *Rasā'il al-Kindī*, i, 373-4. But whether it is a question of the creationism of al-Kindī, or the emanationism of his eastern successors, or the eternity of the world of Ibn Rushd, the idea of becoming, generation, (substantial) change remains linked to *kawn*. Even if *akwān* depend in the last resort (freely or necessarily) on the prime efficient Cause, their coming into being is nevertheless linked to the interaction of secondary causes. By this token, the heavenly bodies, subject to local movement but not to becoming, are not answerable to *kawn*. *Falsafa* vocabulary does not consider them as *akwān*. Therefore, in his *risāla* on "The prostration of distant (heavenly) bodies and their submission to respect for God", al-Kindī (*op. cit.*, i, 253 ff.) faithful to his creationism, affirms the direct creation *ex nihilo* of the Heavenly Bodies because they are not subject to generation and corruption (cf. Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 107).

In fact *kawn*, and its opposite correlative *fasād*, taken as a whole, are the object of the fourth sort of movement which Aristotle calls "substantial movement". Such is the status of the beings composed of matter and form belonging to our sublunary world, which are destined to die, to be transformed, and to reappear in new forms. The word *fasād* belongs to the Qur'ānic vocabulary, where it signifies a state that is radically bad, in contrast with good. It can be rendered as (moral) "corruption", occasionally as "état de violence" (tr. D. Maçon) or as "scandale" (tr. R. Blachère). Thus in Kur'ān, III, 41: "Corruption (or "scandal") has appeared on the land and on the sea because of what men's hands have done". The moral vocabulary of *'ilm al-kalām* contrasts *ṣāliḥ* with the adjective *fāsiḍ*, whatever is healthy with whatever is corrupt, often using them synony-

mously with *ḥasan/ḥabīb*. In law (*fiḥh*), *fasād* signifies the invalidity of a juridical act [see *FĀSID*]. The cosmology of the *Falāsifa* proceeds from these moral and juridic meanings to a physical one and employs *fasād* to render the Greek φθορά. In this case, the corruption of the compound matter and form depends on an intrinsic coming into being (*kawn*). Therefore *fasād*, like *kawn*, also belongs to the fourth sort of movement, which, says al-Kindī, is "movement which transfers a thing from its own essence ('ayn) to another" (*Rasā'il*, i, 217; tr. Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 121). This definition, with slight variations, is found in the works of his successors. It is because of its "intrinsic power to decay" (*ḥuwwat fasādihā*), says Ibn Sīnā, that a physical compound decomposes, and this power resides in matter (e.g. *Nadīāt*, Cairo\* 1357/1938, 188).

The problem of "generation and corruption" was linked to the production of all beings in the sublunary world, and for Ibn Sīnā was especially related to the problem of a separate Intellect which acted as a "giver of forms", *wāhib al-ṣuwar*, as well as to that of "enacting" and "receiving" causes (*kābiliyya*). When later *kalām* (e.g. al-Ghazālī in *Makāṣid* and *Tahāfut*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Īdī, al-Djurdjānī) set forth and discussed the theses of *falsafa*, they employed the expression *kawn wa-fasād* and the definitions elucidating it.

*Bibliography*: given in the article. References to the topic in the writings of the *Falāsifa* are very numerous, both in original, systematic expositions and in commentaries on Aristotle. (L. GARDET)

**KAWS** (A.), bow (noun of uncertain gender). The numerous types of bow attested at various times in the Islamic world are designated by expressions which include this word, in a very general sense, together with adjectives (*ḥaws hidjāsi*, *fārisi*, etc.) or nouns in annexation to it (*ḥaws al-ḥusbān*, *ḥaws al-riḍl*, etc.). Furthermore, one often finds qualities inherent in the weapon used to designate various types of bow (*al-katūm*, *al-rahīsh*, *al-zaurā'*, etc., see below, § 3).

#### 1. Generalities and origins

In classical antiquity and the Christian west, gallantry was especially displayed in close combat, so that the short sword and the straight sword were regarded as the noble weapons, as the poet Lucan clearly states: *Ensis habet vires, et gens quaecumque uirorum/bella gerit gladiis* (*Pharsalia*, viii, 385-6). Arms involving the hurling of projectiles (bows, arbalets and slings) were regarded as treacherous arms whose use was left to mercenary soldiers (Cretan archers and slingsmen from the Balearic Islands in the Roman army, Genoese crossbowmen in 14th century France). On the other hand, in the sphere of the martial arts in Islamic lands, the bow held the outstanding place, as the abundance of technical literature devoted to *rimāya* [q.v.] shows. The information which we possess is only fragmentary, and comes from studies and published treatises stemming from the latter half of the last century; the principal ones are given below, in chronological order.

Hammer-Purgstall, *Über Bogen und Pfeil*, Vienna 1853 (a work based on the treatise of Muṣṭafā Kānī, which stresses religious and social aspects and leaves unexplored technical considerations); Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Arabern*, Leipzig 1886 (a lexicographical study devoted to the weapons of the pre-Islamic Arabs and based on a systematic analysis of ancient poetry); Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber*, Tübingen 1921 (a study of the Umayyad army,

based on al-Ṭabarī, but with comparatively little information on archers); Hein, *Bogenhandwerk*, in *Isl.*, xiv-xv (1925-6) (a study of archery among the Ottomans made from the points of view of construction and of sporting use, and based on the *Talkhiṣ rasāʾil al-rumāt* of Muṣṭafā Kānī); Klopsteg, *Turkish archery*, 1934 (deals with certain developments out of the preceding study, with more exact technical details); Faris and Elmer, *Arab archery*, Princeton 1945 (the first critical edition of a treatise on archery dating from ca. 1500); Zajaczkowski published at Warsaw in 1956 a Mamlūk treatise on archery of unknown authorship and included in a treatise on farriery and the care of horses; Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane*, Damascus 1968 (the section on archery from a treatise on arms composed for Saladin by Marḍī); Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, London 1970 (a treatise by the Mamlūk Ṭaybughā, with commentary and illustrations).

The traditional items of information given in the treatises on *rimāya* generally agree that the origin of the bow goes back to a heavenly gift bestowed on Adam through the intermediacy of the Archangel Gabriel. Adam then used with great profit this divinely-hallowed weapon, with its miraculous character, in order to preserve his crops from birds' depredations, and he passed the weapon on to his descendants, amongst whom Abraham, "father of the Arabs", apparently had a great reputation as an archer. Little is known about the archers of the pre-Islamic period, or about what kind of bow they used (see below, § 3). It seems that certain tribal groups especially favoured this weapon, such as the B. Saʿd of Tamīm, whose skill at shooting was praised by various poets, including al-Ḳulākh b. Ḥazn. The Prophet is said to have been a skilled archer whose mastery of the bow was revealed at the battle of Uḥud, and he had several bows whose names are preserved by tradition. Al-Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo, iii, 184-5, mentions three of these, taken from the B. Ḳaynuqāʿ, sc. *rawhāʿ*, *shawhaḥ* (also called *al-bayḍāʿ*) and *ṣafrāʿ*, this last made from *nabʿ* wood. ʿAbd Allāh Efendi (*apud* Hein) numbers the Prophet's bows at six, adding to the three already mentioned *sadād*, *zawraʿ* and *katūm*. The existence of these bows is attested, but without precise references, in *LA*, iii, 208. The most famous archer of the period of the Islamic beginnings was undoubtedly, according to tradition, the "Paladin of Islam" Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, whom the Turkish archers' guilds later made their patron. Saʿd distinguished himself at Uḥud with a little group of archers, whose names are preserved in the *K. al-Maghāzī* of al-Wāḳidī.

It is somewhat surprising to note that the word *ḳaws* appears only once in the *Ḳurʾān*, in *S. al-Naḍīm* (LIII, 9), in which it only figures, however, as a measure of distance: *fa-ḳāna ḳāba ḳawsayni aw adnā* "[the angel] was two bow-lengths off or nearer". *S. al-Anfāl* (VIII, 62) nevertheless implicitly emphasises the essential part assigned to the bow in the fight against the unbelievers: *aʿiddū lahum mā-staḳāʿtum min ḳuwwatīn* "prepare against them whatsoever force you are able to gather". The word *ḳuwwa* here is often glossed by the authors of the treatises on archery as "the force of bows". This remarkable restrainedness of the *Ḳurʾān* is on the other hand amply compensated for by the numerous traditions to be found all through the *ḥadīth* literature. From the main corpora, one may cite: Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, 23; al-Buḳhārī, *Djihād*, 78, 80; *Anbiyāʿ*, 16; *Manāḳib*, 4; al-Dārimī, *Djihād*, 14, 23; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 92, 124,

137, 264, iv, 50, 144, 146, 148, 154, 368, v, 31; Ibn Māḍja, *Muḳaddīma*, 11; *Tidjārāt*, 67; *Djihād*, 19; Muslim, *Imāra*, 169; *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba*, 41, 2; al-Nasāʾī, *Djihād*, 26; *Ḳhayl*, 8; al-Tirmidhī, *Djihād*, 11; *Manāḳib*, 26 (see Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*, 40-5).

It is unnecessary to point out that these pieces of information contain no precise technical details which would enable us to reconstruct with any sureness the types of bow used at the time of the *maghāzī*. One possibility might be by means of the makers of bows, concerning whom no research has yet been done. One finds many times in Islamic onomastic the *laḳab* of "al-Ḳawwās". According to a piece of information in the *Aḳḥānī*, xiv, 36, al-Djāhīz mentions (*Ḥayawān*, v, 233-5) two famous bow-makers, ʿUṣfūr al-Azdī and Māsikhā, the latter having been, according to tradition, the first man to make bows. Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 222, repeats this information in order to explain the adjectives *ʿuṣfūriyya* and *māsikhīyya* applied to bows. Amongst these uncertainties, one fact seems incontrovertible: that unlike the Persians, amongst whom archery had long been an ancient tradition and was one still living in Islamic times, the ancient Arabs used the bow more for hunting than for warfare. On one hand, archery was little practised from horseback, and on the other, the prevalence of single combats since the time of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* did not require it [see *DJAYS*, i]. Hence it was in Iran, and more precisely, in *Ḳhurāsān*, where Abū Muslim organised his army, that new techniques, unknown to the Umayyads, were introduced in the domains of siege warfare as in that of archery. These *Ḳhurāsānians* were themselves progressively replaced under al-Muʿtaṣim by Turks brought from Central Asia, accustomed to fighting on horseback, as al-Djāhīz remarks in his well-known *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Turk wa-ʿāmmat al-djund al-ḳhilāfa*, ed. Van Vloten, Leiden 1903. The coming of the Saldjūqs intensified the employment of the horse-archer, whose astonishing successfulness came from the union, born in Central Asia, of the horse and the bow, whose symbolic forms may well have inspired the graphic shape of the *ṭughras* [q.v.]. These horse-archers formed, one need hardly point out, an extremely mobile light cavalry force which contrasted sharply with the heavily-armed cataphracts which were used at that time in the west.

The counter-crusade begun by Saladin caused a florescence of treatises on *djihād* and *furūsiyya* in which there were treated, for the first time systematically, the techniques pertaining to each branch of weaponry (see Cahen, *Traité*, and on bows, Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*). In the Mamlūk period this literature devoted to arms—often didactic in aim and utilising the form of the *urđiūza*—developed considerably, and amongst the topics dealt with were the manufacture and use of weapons, with archery occupying a prominent place (see Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*). After Baybars' defeat of the Mongols at ʿAyn Djalūt, there was created the *maydān* or training-ground for horse-archers. The introduction of firearms did not lead to the sudden disappearance of the bow. Indeed, the handling of the arquebus, slow and cumbersome, left the archers with a superiority in the field, at least at the outset; moreover, as Ayalon has noted [see *BARUD*, iii], "To equip a soldier with an arquebus meant taking away his bow and, what was to the Mamlūk more distasteful, depriving him of his horse, thereby reducing him to the humiliating



status of a foot soldier, compelled either to march or to allow himself to be carried in an ox-cart".

Thus there speedily succeeded to the foot archers of the first Arab *djunds* Persian mounted archers and then Turkish ones, whose participation in Islamic battles only ceased with the dawning of the modern period (the arquebus was introduced among the Mamlūks in 895/1490 under Sultan Kā'itbāy, some 125 years later than in Europe; see Ayalon, *loc. cit.*).

### 2. The treatises

The fundamental work, to which most of the authors of treatises on *rimāya* refer, is that called *al-Wādiḥ* by a certain Ṭabarī, whom Muṣṭafā Kānī states is "the father of all the books written about the bow". For Kānī, this Ṭabarī had to be the famous historian, but Ahlwardt believed, no doubt correctly (*apud* Ritter, 136), that it must be someone of the same name, whose complete designation was Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, d. 694/1295.

The intensification of *djihād* under the Ayyūbids stimulated the development of technical literature on archery. The oldest treatise is by a certain Murḍā, or more likely, Marḍī (see Brockelmann, I, 495), whose *nasab* is only partly known, Ibn 'Alī b. Marḍī, and his *nisba*, al-Ṭarsūsī, apparently indicating an origin from Ṭarsūs. It was composed for Saladin ca. 570/1174 in collaboration with a celebrated arms manufacturer of Alexandria, Ḥasan b. al-Abraḳī, and is called *Tabṣirat arbāb al-albāb fī kayfiyyat al-nadīāt fī 'l-ḥurūb min al-aswā' wa-nashr i'lām al-a'lām fī 'l-udud wa 'l-ālāt al-mu'īna 'alā likā' al-a'dā'*. Amongst the different weapons studied (see Cahen, *Traité*), bows occupy the favoured place (see Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*). Later in time (end of the 8th/14th century) but rich in its subject-matter and enjoying a wide diffusion is a didactic poem in 149 verses and the *radīaz* metre, accompanied by a technical commentary, attributed to Ṭaybughā al-Aṣḥrafī al-Baklamishī al-Yūnānī and called *K. Ghumyat al-fulḷāb fī ma'rīfat ramy al-nushshāb* (on the different manuscripts of this treatise, in various recensions, see Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, xxxvi-xxxviii). The catalogues of Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts further mention treatises on *rimāya*, so far unedited; but so far as is yet known, none of these is earlier than that of Marḍī or richer in information than that of Ṭaybughā. Accordingly, our information on the teaching of *rimāya* remains fragmentary and limited for the period between the Ayyūbids and the Ottomans. We know little about the master-archers whose teachings are handed down in the treatises, apart from the fact that, on the evidence of their *nisbas*, they stemmed from *Khurāsān* and *Transoxania*. One might conclude that most of them lived in the middle years of the 3rd/9th century, since it was from this date that the 'Abbāsids started raising large numbers of troops from *Khurāsān* and *Transoxania*. Three great figures are constantly cited, and it seems that their techniques (as will be explained in § 3 below) corresponded to three main technical methods. They are Abū Ḥāshim al-Bāwardī (sc. from Abiward), Ṭāhir al-Balkhī and Ishāk al-Raffā'. Furthermore, certain techniques are attributed to masters cited more irregularly, sc. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Harawī, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Sa'īd al-Samarḳandī, Muḥammad b. Itārak al-Sarakhsī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Kāghidī, Abū Mūsā al-Harrānī, Ḥayawayh al-Balkhī, and Abū Mūsā al-Kharrāz. For a detailed consideration of these, see

J. D. Latham, *The archers of the Middle East: the Turco-Iranian background, in Iran*, viii (1970), 97-103.

The treatises show a certain resemblance in their structure, and one can broadly distinguish an introduction made up of traditions, followed or preceded by considerations on the origin of the bow and lexicographical information; a central core containing an enumeration of the basic principles (*uṣūl*) and secondary ones (*furū'*) laid down by the master-archers; whilst the close is often made up of various tactical considerations.

### 3. The various types of bow

The various kinds of bow are described with a great variety of names, often composed of two vocables, under the influence of lexicography; whence the positions *ḥaws hidjāzi/ḥaws fārisī*; *ḥaws al-yad/ḥaws al-ridjī*; *filḳ/ḥadīb*; etc.

*Ḥaws hidjāzi*. The type of bow used by the pre-Islamic Arabs was that of the simple, wooden bow, either short or long, depending on the cross section adopted; there is abundant evidence in the Arabic sources for this. In one passage, Herodotus seems to refer to the Arabs' use of composite, reflex bows: 'Αράβιοι . . . τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξιά μακρὰ, in which παλίντονα ("stretched towards the rear") could refer to reflex bows (see Hein, 357). It is quite possible that composite bows were known in parts of Arabia, and Herodotus may have been correct as far as he went; the composite bow was well-known in the Iranian world, and eventually became the standard weapon of the Sasanid archers. The requisite horn may have been imported, if long-horned cattle or goats were not available within the peninsula. But Herodotus is a very early source to cite for the position in Arabia in say the 6th century AD; by that time, as remarked above, the Arab bow was essentially the simple wooden one. The Arabic sources state repeatedly that the Arabs made their bows from *nab'* (*Grewia tenax*), which was apparently perfectly suitable for this; to this day, the primitive peoples of Somalia make effective bows, up to a length of almost 2 m., out of *Grewia tenax*. This *nab'* was regularly imported into Arabia; Persian caravans loaded with it used to leave al-Madā'in/Ctesiphon via al-Ḥira and Yamāma for the Yemen (*Aghānī*,<sup>1</sup> xix, 110, 116), and Mount Ḳasr was famous for its *nab'*. Further mentioned in the construction of the pre-Islamic Arab bows are *shawḥaḥ* or *murrān* (*cornus mas.*) and *nasham* (*chadara velutina*).

*Ḥaws wāsiḥiyya*. Apparently the Arab composite bow. The adjective stems not from the town of Wāsiṭ on the Tigris but must be understood in its proper sense of median, intermediate, probably with reference to the components of this bow (see *Saracen archery*, 10).

*Ḥaws al-yad*. "Hand-bow", as opposed to the *ḥaws al-ridjī* or arbalest (see below).

Between these two comes the *Ḥaws al-bunduḳ* "pellet- or stone-bow", the archetype of the arbalest used solely for shooting birds and already known in the Prophet's time. The projectile used was a ball of hardened clay (*djulāhik* or *bunduḳ*). However, it should be noted that projectiles like balls or pellets can be shot from a hand bow as well as from a cross-bow, and we know that hand bows were used thus from the time of Tutankhamun onwards, see *JESHO* (1972), 226; it was merely a matter of fitting a suitable pocket on to the string, and such pockets can be seen in Islamic miniature paintings.

*Filḳ* (also *sharīdī*). A bow consisting of a single

stave split length-wise and spliced with glue; see *LA*, ii, 306, and al-Tha'ālibī, 372.

*Qaḍīb*. A bow made of a stave all of a piece and unspliced, sc. a self-bow (*ibid.*, 372).

*Far'*, *fadijā'*, *fidiw*, *mumfadijā*. All these terms designate self-bows (*LA*, viii, 247, xiv, 355; al-Tha'ālibī, 372; al-Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 283).

*Katūm*, *fāridī*, *furāji*. A bow made from a single stave, hence it does not vibrate when loosed (*LA*, xii, 507; al-Tha'ālibī, 373).

*Dja'sh*. A light and weak bow which, contrary to the preceding one, vibrates when loosed (*LA*, i, 149; al-Tha'ālibī, *loc. cit.*).

*Ātiqa*. An old bow whose wood has become red (Ibn Durayd, 37; al-Tha'ālibī, *loc. cit.*).

*Rahīsh*, *murtahīsha*. A bow whose string, at the moment of loosing, strikes the part called the *tā'if*; such a bow, usually slim and light, vibrates when loosed.

*Zawrā'*, *ḳaws munḥaniya*. Probably a bow with a strong bend (*LA*, iv, 334) made from *nasham* wood (*chadara velutina*).

*Bāyina*. A bow which uses too long an arrow, this being considered a fault because it reduces the draw and consequently makes the shot less powerful.

*Āiāla*. Powerful Persian bows which are very curved (thus in the treatises as well as in the lexica).

Arbalests. Ranging from the stone- or pellet-bows mentioned above to the powerful siege machines with winding mechanisms, there existed a whole array of arbalests. Mentioned below are only those which appear most frequently in the treatises on *ḳijhād* and *furūsiyya*. It should be noted at the outset that if the expression *ḳaws al-ridīl* seems to be used for arbalests in general, certain authors give it the more precise sense of "foot-bow" and distinguish it from the *ḳaws al-rikāb* "stirrup-bow" or *arbalista ad unum pedem*, an arbalest with a stirrup for one foot only, just as in the west this last was distinguished from the *arbalista ad duos pedes* (see Payne-Gallwey, *Crossbow*, 60). One may distinguish, in order of increasing complexity:

*ḳaws al-ḥusbān*. This is a hand bow adapted to shoot short arrows, and it had therefore an arrow guide but no nut or locking mechanism.

*ḳaws al-ridīl*. A cross-bow of any kind, with a stirrup or not; for an illustration of a simple cross-bow, see *Saracen archery*, xxx.

*ḳaws al-rikāb*. A cross-bow with a stirrup, in which the foot is placed, see *ibid.*, xxxi. A cross-bowman thus armed carries round his waist a strap at whose two extremities are hooks and by means of which he engages the bowstring. Having placed his foot or feet in the stirrup, he straightens up and thereby pulls on the cord which thus reaches the catch (*kufl*) of the stock or arrow-guide (*midīrāt*).

*Djarkh* (< Persian *čarkh* "circle, wheel"). An individual arbalest whose bow is drawn back by means of a wheel (whence its name); by this very long arrows, approaching the length of javelins, could be fired (for an illustration of one type, see *Saracen archery*, 18). The Muslims borrowed from the Mongols the usage of multiple-firing arbalests called *čarkh-kamān*, which the *čarkhandaxān* of Hülāgū's army used [see *ḥiṣār*. iii. Persia].

*ḳaws al-siyār*. This was no longer a portable arbalest but a siege-engine mounted on a fixed chassis. It was used during the warfare between Saladin and the Crusaders, and corresponds *grosso modo* to the "grand arbalest with a wheel" used in Europe for sieges and described by Viollet le Duc (*Dict. d'architecture*, v, 241-3).

Siege-engines [see *ḥiṣār*], of a more or less static nature, like the stone-hurler or *arrāda* [*q.v.*] and the mangonel or *mandjaniḥ* [*q.v.*] were, according to their importance, set up on mountings or even manufactured on the spot (as did the Ottomans later with their cannons). This necessitated the presence of specialist corps, mainly of carpenters (these last being also used to make supports for the galleries in mine-shafts), as well as the besieging troops. One should also note that certain of these siege-engines could be used to hurl pots full of incendiary naphtha or *naft* [*q.v.*].

4. *The terminology of the components of the bow* (see fig. 1)

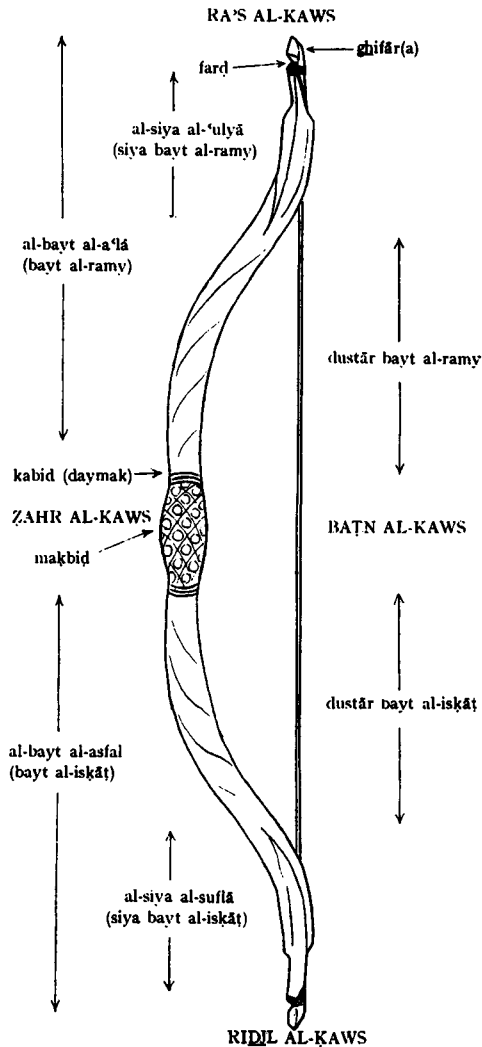


Fig. 1.

This terminology presupposes that the bow is held vertically, in position for firing, and this determines the four main "regions" of the bow, sc. the upper part (*ra's al-ḳaws*) and the lower part (*ridīl al-ḳaws*), from the vertical axis, and on the horizontal axis, the internal face or "belly" (*batn al-ḳaws*), facing the archer, and the external face or "back" (*zahr al-ḳaws*).

The sources frequently liken the composite bow to the human body, and most parts of it take their name from parts of this last (e.g. *zahr*, *baṭn*, *rukba*, *'unuḥ*, *kaḥḍa*, *zufr*, etc.), thus the arc of the bow has as its centre or focal point the *kaḥḍ* (lit. "liver"), and the term *dīmah/daymah* is used for "arrow-pass", sc. the side of the handle continuous with the *wadīh* ("face"), the part facing the archer as he shoots; it derives from Persian *dīma* "cheek".

Once the bow has been strung and held in a recurved position, each of its limbs delimits, together with the bowstring, a sector or "house" (*bayt*). Thus we have, with the upper limb, an "upper house" (*bayt a'lā*), also called "house of shooting" (*bayt al-ramy*), because the shot is made according to this plan. The lower limb determines the "lower house" (*bayt asfal*) or "house of perpendicularity" (*bayt al-iṣḥāf*), i.e. that which falls away towards the ground. At  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the way along its length, each limb makes a sharp angle of return, at ca.  $60^\circ$ , in the backwards direction; this bend has to be very resistant, since it bears the thrust of the recurved limb. Marḍī calls this part *dustār* (Persian "twisted cord, turban"), i.e. the torus, which corresponds to the Arabic terms *fā'if* "edging, that which skirts the edge" and *'unuḥ*. However, Ṭaybughā uses *dustār* in a quite different sense, sc. that of "the working part of the limb", and this gives better sense, see the diagram of the terminology of the bow in *Saracen archery*, 162. Since each "house" has its torus, there is in effect an "upper torus" or "torus of the house of shooting" (*dustār bayt al-ramy*), and a "lower torus" or "torus of the house of perpendicularity" (*dustār bayt al-iṣḥāf*). The torus is followed by the rigid, straight end of the limb, the "end-piece" or *siya*, whose extremity has a bone or ivory ferrule, *ghīfār/ghīfāra* = "cover or cap". In this ferrule there is gouged out the groove or "nock" (*farḍ*), where the loop of the bow-string (*'ayn al-watar*) fits. When the string is in place, the end-piece appears like the neck of a violin; at its base and just before the bend of the torus, there may be a string-bridge whose function is to keep the bow-string constantly within the plan of the bow. As with the other parts coming in pairs, one speaks of an "upper end-piece" for that of the "house of shooting" (*siya 'ulā* or *siya bayt al-ramy*) and a "lower end-piece" for that of the "house of perpendicularity" (*siya suflā* or *siya bayt al-iṣḥāf*).

##### 5. Arrow and quivers

The three main words denoting the arrow seem to convey the following distinctions: *sahm* (arrow made from a reed; but Ṭaybughā, in *Saracen archery*, 24, says that this was of hard, solid wood)—*nabl* (wooden or Arab arrow)—*nushshāb* (Persian arrow). *Sahm* is the most general term if one believes Herodotus, for whom the Arabs as well as the Persians originally used arrows made from reeds (*apud* Hein, 26). According to Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭakā, the Persians called the Arab arrow (generally made from wood) *nabl* (Fries, 53), whilst the word continually used in the accounts of battles fought in the eastern provinces of the Umayyad empire to indicate the Persian arrow is *nushshāb*, of whatever material it may be made (*ibid.*). Leaving aside the divergencies found in certain manuscripts, the constituent elements of a wooden arrow, as they appear in the relevant treatises, are as follows (see fig. 2).

The wood (of the shaft) (*ḥidh*), whose forepart (towards the head) is called the *ṣadr* or foreshaft, and whose rear part, of wider section, is the *matn*. The *ṣadr* includes a socket (*ru'z*) meant to take the head. This delicate end of the wood of the shaft is reinforced

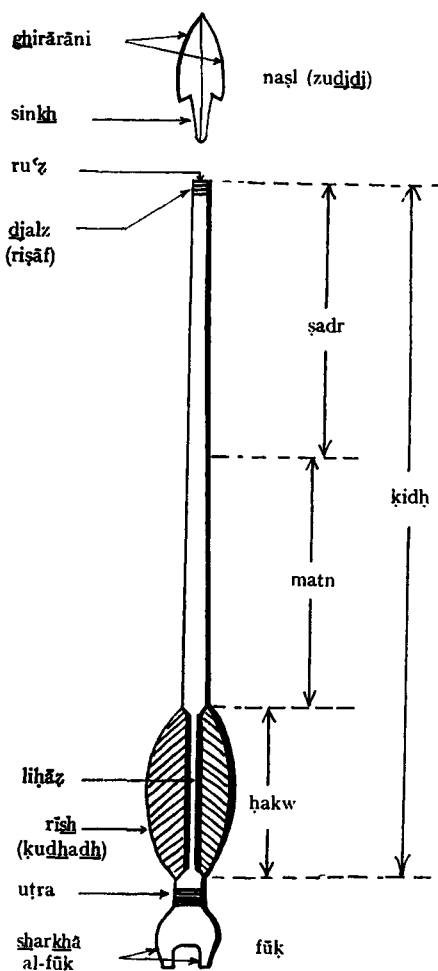


Fig. 2.

by a binding of sinews (*djalz* or *riṣāf*). The part of the *matn* which receives the fletchings (*rīsh*) is the section which is somewhat constricted and is called the waist (*ḥakw*); it terminates in an enlargement where is made the nock (*fūk*) which is meant to be embedded in the nocking-point of the bow-string (*ma'ān al-watar*). The base of the *matn*, which is situated just above the nock, undergoes, at the moment of release, a violent thrust which might tend to break the arrow at this point; hence it has a ligature of sinews (*utra* "cuticle") which is the counterpart of that of the upper part of the *ṣadr* (the *djalz* or *riṣāf*). The arrow is, in this way, reinforced at both of the ends of least resistance. The two sides of the nock are called *sharkhā al-fūk*. The head (*naṣl* or *zudjī*), which may have two edges (*ghīrārān*), has a pointed tang (*sinkh*) which is embedded within the *ru'z*.

In the treatises on *rimāya*, quivers are given various, sometimes contradictory names. Thus we find: *dīa'ba*, a fairly large, leather quiver having a lid fixed by means of a cord (*mikhāḥaf*). There are two Persian terms: *īrkaṣh*, a quiver made of horsehair and used by archers from the province of Gilān, and *nīm-ling*, a quiver made of various skins sewn together and analogous to the preceding one. *Kīndīl* (< Greek *καυδῆλα*, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 410),

a cylindrical quiver in which the arrows are placed with their heads downwards, as opposed to the procedure with the *dja'ba*. Concerning the *kināna*, a quiver made from skins, the lexicographical evidence is somewhat contradictory. *LA*, iv, 143, "resembles the *kināna*, but is bigger and can hold a large number of arrows. A *ḥadīth* seems to show that this quiver was of purely Arab origin: "Whoever takes an Arab bow and its quiver (*djafir*), God will keep poverty away from him" (*ibid.*). *Kaḍba*, a quiver made from the *nab'* wood (*Grewia tenax*). *Karan*, a quiver made from pieces of leather put together so that the air can circulate through interstices left so that the fletchings of the arrows do not deteriorate. *Wafda*, a quiver made from skin entirely, with no wood in its construction (the word originally denotes a shepherd's leather bag). Finally, one should note a metaphorical phrase for "quiver" connected with its capacity, sc. *umm ḥalāḥin* (al-Suyūṭī, *Muḥir*, Cairo n.d., i, 590). Another pointer to the capacity of certain quivers is provided by al-Wāḳidi, who in his account of the battle of Uḥud notes that an archer called Abū Ṭaḥa spread out in front of the Prophet, as a sign of his faithfulness, the contents of his quiver (*dja'ba*), amounting to 50 arrows (*apud* Fries, 54).

#### 6. Gauntlets and thumb-rings

The very strong pressure of the bow-string on the fingers and thumb at the time of the draw necessitates some protection here, provided by a leather gauntlet with the fingers reinforced with horn, bamboo or other hard material and held on the wrist by a thong or strap. According to the technique adopted for locking the bow-string (*'akd*), this gauntlet can have 2, 3 or 4 fingers, but is never a complete glove. It may be designated by the arabised Persian word *kushtubān/kishībān*, a doublet of *angushtvāneh/angushibāneh* (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.); however, this is also the normal word for "thumb-guard", "drawing-ring", see J. D. Latham, *Keshībān: a Persian loan-word in Arabic*, in *JRAS* (1968), 65-7. The modern archer's gauntlet is a copy of this. The so-called "Mongolian" method of taking the bow-string with the thumb requires the use of a thumb-stall, *ḥḥatī'a* (sometimes, but incorrectly, *ḥḥayla'a*). Good archers seem especially to appreciate rings made from hard substances like bone or ivory and corresponding exactly to the shape of their thumb, carefully carved and sometimes decorated with great artistry (see *Arab archery*, 123-4; Hein, in *Isl.* xv, 18-22; Klopsteg, 67-70; Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, pl. 7 A-B).

#### 7. The phases and principles of shooting

The act of shooting can be broken down into a certain number of phases, each of which is developed with detail and precision and with reference to the practice of the main master-archers, in the treatises on *rimāya*. It is not possible to enter into detail here (see for this, Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, and Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*), and only a brief review of these phases, treated chronologically, is given here.

(a) *Itār*, act of stringing or bracing the bow. This operation needs special care, as much to avoid damaging the bow as to avoid injury. Certain

particularly powerful bows require the intervention of a helper or of special contrivances, bracing mechanisms, such as the *ḥḥarkumān* "bracing-board" (from Pers. *ḥḥar* + *kumān*?).

(b) *Kaḍba*, grasp, sc. the position of the left hand (for a right-handed person) on the grip or handle (*mabbiq*) of the bow. In order to distinguish this technique from that of the *'akd* (see below), the authors sometimes call this more precisely *al-kaḍba bi 'l-shamāl*.

(c) *'Akḍ* or *kaḥḥla*, the ock, locking, sc. the position on the bow-string of the fingers of the right hand, and especially that of the thumb in the "Mongolian" technique of locking (*al-'akḍ bi 'l-ibḥām 'alā 'l-watar*). In order to achieve a concise and clear exposition of this, the authors of the treatises generally refer to counting by means of the fingers [see ḤISĀB AL-'AKḌ]. In effect, the thumb in the locking position and the fingers which, in various manners, come to lock the position in order to ensure a good draw of the string during the whole process of the draw, form a figure which is expressed by the corresponding numeral in the system of digital computation. Three locks seem to be especially favoured, sc. 63, 69 and 83.

(d) *Tafwiḥ*, nocking. This consists of bracing the arrow's nock (*fūḥ*) on the binding of the bow-string. There must be no play there, so that when the archer draws back the arrow, together with the bow-string, he accompanies the latter in its rearward path to the chosen anchorage-point (see below).

(e) *Madd*, the draw, drawing (also *naṣ' al-watar*). This consists of bringing the bow-string back towards oneself. This technique has variants in terms of the anchor-point selected, which can be at different levels: eyebrow, ear-lobe, moustache, chin, sternum.

(f) *Naṣar*, aim. This has various techniques according to the corrections which must be made in height and direction.

(g) *Iflāk* or *iflāt*, the loose, loosing. This is the last and certainly the most important phase of shooting, which demands the archer's entire concentration, an "emptying of the heart" (*takḥliya-yi ḥalā*) and a setting-aside of all other thought (*mā siwā*). The master-archers insist in this attitude, which is like that of the supplicant at the time of the *takbīr al-iḥrām*. There seem to be three basic *iflāks*. In the first, called *mukḥḥḥalās* "snatched", the archer draws rapidly and looses immediately without any break in time. In the second, called *sāḥin* "held", he draws slowly, holding the draw in order to verify that the position of the shot is good and then looses calmly. The third is called *maḥrūk* "twisted", and involves a light, partial draw—a brief moment at rest—and then a sudden end to the draw followed immediately by the loose.

Like the religious lawyers or *fuḥḥahā'*, the authors of the treatises distinguish five *arkān*, sc. the bow, the string, the arrow, the thumb-ring and the archer, and in the manner of *fīḥḥ*, they divide the phases of shooting which have been surveyed above into *uṣūl* and *furū'*. It is thus possible to draw up the following table from the information of the chief master-archers:

Abū Ḥāshim—4 *uṣūl*, sc. *kaḍba*, *'akḍ*, *madd*, *iflāk*.  
Ṭāhir—to the 4 *uṣūl* given above is added an *aṣl* called *i'timād* which consists of holding firmly in the left hand the grip or handle of the bow whilst the right-hand fingers make a good locking of the string, the two hands exerting equal forces.

Ishāk—*intisāb* (position facing the target), *itār*, *tafwiḥ*, *kaḥḥla*, *kaḍba*, *madd*, *iflāt*, *ḥaḥḥa*, together with a *far'*, shooting from beneath a shield (*al-ramy taḥt al-turs*).

Abū Mūsā al-Kharrāz—4 *uṣūl*, sc. *ʿaḳd*, *ḳabḳa*, *naḳar*, *iflāt*, and 6 *furūʿ*, sc. *itār*, *tafwik*, shooting from beneath a shield, shooting with a breastplate, knowledge of weapons for their use in combination, ways of changing weapons in the course of a battle. He also adds two moral qualities, *ḳhaṣla*: not to shoot at anyone or anything contrary to the will of God, and to show patience.

Muḥammad al-Harawī—7 *uṣūl*, sc. *itār*, *tafwik*, *ḳufla*, *ḳabḳa*, *madd*, *naḳar*, *iflāt*.

Finally, one may note that all these different techniques seem to come down to three main physical types, those of the three Imāms of *rimāya*, sc. Hāshim (tall), Ṭāhir (short and stocky) and Ishāk (medium height).

8. *Training and tactical use*

The preceding considerations concern shooting mainly on a horizontal plane. The Mamlūks especially developed two forms of practice shooting in a vertical plane, one up into the air (*ramy al-ḳabāḳ*) and one downwards (*ḳighādī*). The archer familiar with these techniques could use his weapon to maximum advantage in the various circumstances arising during battle.

*Ramy al-ḳabāḳ* "shooting at a gourd" (Tkish. *ḳabāḳ* "gourd"). A pole approximately 25 feet high was erected in the *maydān*, with a gourd or other spherical or oval object at its end, which the mounted archer must reach when his galloping horse passed by the pole. Little is known about the origins of this shooting exercise, which must have come from Central Asia and Turkmen practice. This exercise was very popular under the Mamlūks, and reached its apogee between 658/1260 and 694/1295 in the sultanates of Baybars I, Ḳalāʿūn and al-Ashraf Ḳhalīl, often giving rise to splendid festivities. A description is given in the Mamlūk historians Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, viii, 6, and al-Makrizī, *Ḳhitāt*, iii, 180. On *ramy al-ḳabāḳ*, see especially Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, 77-8, 172, and Hassanein Rabie, *The training of the Mamlūk Fāris*, in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, ed. V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, London 1975, 153-63.

*Ḳighādī* (< Tkish. *ḳiḡaç* "slope, incline"; the faulty transliteration of J. T. Reinaud *kycadj* gives the word as it must have appeared after the passage of Tkish. *ḡ* to Ar. *ḳ*). In Ṭaybughā (*Saracen archery*, 78-9, 172-3) this term denotes either an exercise in which the archer, shooting parallel with his left thigh, shoots at a ground target, or else any kind of downwards shot made from horseback. According to Morier, *Second journey through Persia*, London 1818, 169, the word denoted shooting rearwards by a group of cavalymen at full gallop.

In open country, the archers whose function was to break, from a distance, the charge of the enemy were normally placed in the front rank. (Crossbowmen were also used for this aim, but with varying effect. If the arbalest gave an advantage of greater precision and a more powerful shot, it had serious disadvantages: heaviness, cumbersomeness and above all, a distinctly slower frequency of shooting, since a good crossbowman could only with great difficulty let off two bolts in the time during which an archer could shoot off twelve arrows. Hence the crossbow was primarily used for the defence or attacking of fortresses.) In the second rank came infantrymen sheltered behind shields and provided with weapons for cut-and-thrust in close combat (lances, swords). In the third rank were placed detachments of cavalry meant for hurling in at decisive moments [see ḲARB. ii. The caliphate]. The Turks, and then the Mongols, gave pride of place on the battle field to cavalymen armed with short and very powerful reflexed, composite bows. The tactic of these horse-archers consisted of drowning the enemy under a hail of arrows whilst one or both of the wings moved round to envelope the enemy's wings or rear [see ḲARB. iv. Persia].

The "Scythian" method of shooting over the shoulder. This was a tactic stemming from the nomadic peoples of Central Asia, who were trained from childhood in riding and archery. The tactic must have been adopted, as Rostovtseff showed (see Bibl.), by the Scythians of the 8th-2nd centuries BC, and then passed to the Tatars; it made a vivid

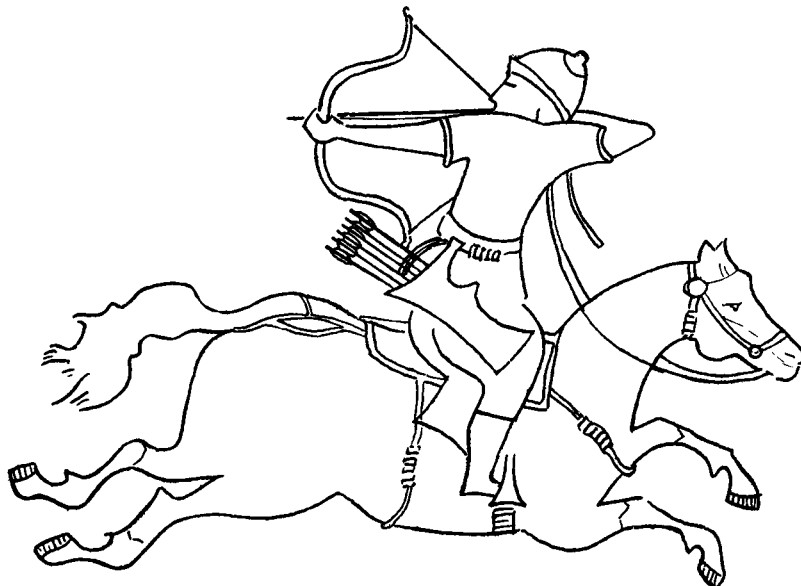


Fig. 3.

impression on classical authors, in whom the expression "Parthian shot" became a synonym for treachery (on the Scythians' tactics, see Herodotus, iv, 120; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iii, 3, 10). This archer avoided close combat by making a series of attacks and retreats which had a definitely demoralising effect on the enemy. Greek and Latin authors often refer to this, and especially significant in this connection is the verse of Propertius, iv, 3, 65-6, describing "the cunningly-constructed bow which lets fly against the fleeing cruppers", *plumbea cum tortae sparguntur pondera fundae* | *Subdolos et uersis increpat arcus equis*.

It is moreover the concept of nomadic steppe cavalrymen which is at the bottom of mediaeval representations of Centaurs galloping along and shooting arrows behind them; see on this Z. Kadar, *L'influence des peuples cavaliers sur la formation des représentations médiévales des Centaures*, in *Acta Archaeologica*, ii/4 (Budapest 1952), 307-18.

This method of shooting, more "Scythian" than "Parthian", considering its ultimate origin, recurs in Turco-Mongol military traditions and is perfectly illustrated in the famous 15th century miniature of the Top Kapu Saray, 2163 Istanbul (see fig. 3). Its persistence over the course of centuries is remarkable, and Sulimirski (see *Bibl.*) has seen a last vestige of it during the modern period (long after firearms had toppled the bow from its primacy) in the rearwards shooting practiced—on horseback and with pistols—by the Cossacks of the 19th century and up to the time of the Polish-Bolshevik warfare of 1920.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the works mentioned in the text, see G. L. Anderson, *Turkish Archery*, in *British Archer*, xvi, (Dec. 1964-Jan. 1965), 150-1; D. Ayalon, *Notes on the Furusiyya exercises and games in the Mamluk Sultanate*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix, 31-62; idem, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk Army*, in *BSOAS*, xv/1-2 (1953), 203-28 and 448-76, xvi/3 (1954), 57-90; N. Baba, *The ancient sport of Archery*, in *La Turquie kémaliste*, no. 44 (1941), 17-23; H. Balfour, *On the structure and affinities of the composite bow*, in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, xix/2 (1899), 220-46; F. R. Baqi, *Kitāb faḍā'il al-ramy fi sabil Allāh*, in *IC*, xxxiv/3, 195-218; A. de Bertier, V. Cordier et A. Guglielmini, *Le tir à l'arc*, Paris 1900; W. Boehm, *Das Waffenwesen in seiner historischen Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1890; H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, Leipzig 1926; A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane, principalement d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford, Bodléienne Huntington n° 264*, Damascus 1968; A. Boudot-Lamotte et F. Viré, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane, Notes complémentaires*, in *Arabica*, xvii/1 (1970), 47-68; E. Bulanda, *Bogen und Pfeil bei den Völkern des Altertums*, Vienna-Leipzig 1913; E. H. Burke, *The History of Archery*, London 1958; Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, xii (1947-48); P. Clover, *Bowman's Handbook*, 3rd edn., Portsmouth 1955; K. A. C. Creswell, *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st Jan. 1960*, The American University at Cairo Press 1961; A. Demmin, *Die Kriegswaffen in ihrer historischen Entwicklung von der Steinzeit bis zur Erfindung des Zündnadelsgewehre*, Leipzig 1869; P. L. Duchartre, *Histoire des armes de chasse et de leurs emplois*, Paris 1955 (86-124, the bow and crossbow); M. E. Elott, *Technique of the Oriental Release*, in *Archery* (Dec. 1962), 18-21 and

43; N. A. Faris and R. P. Elmer, *Arab Archery, an Arabic manuscript of about A.D. 1500*, Princeton 1945; A. Fischer, *Pfeile aus nab<sup>c</sup>-Holz*, in *ZDMG*, lviii (1904), 877-87; J. Flinton, *Musings on the Thumb Ring*, in *JSAA*, i (1958), 38-9; N. Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omaïyaden nach Tabari*, Tübingen 1921; Hamidullah, *Les champs de bataille au temps du Prophète*, in *REI* (1939), 1-13; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Über Bogen und Pfeil, Der Gebrauch und die Verfertigung derselben bei den Arabern und Türken*, in *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Kl. iv (1853); G. A. Hansard, *The Book of Archery*, London 1840; J. Hein, *Bogenhandwerk und Bogensport bei den Osmanen nach den "Auszug der Abhandlungen der Bogenschützen (telhis resail er-rūmat) des Mustafa Kani"*, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des türkischen Handwerks und Vereinwesens, in *Der Islam*, xiv-xv (1925); E. Herrigel, *Le Zen dans l'art chevaleresque du tir à l'arc*, Paris 1970; K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsinki-Leipzig 1941 (Societas Orientalis fennica, ix, 3); Ibn Sidah, *Mukhasṣaṣ*; F. W. Isles, *Turkish Flight Arrows*, in *JSAA*, iv (1961), 25-8; P. E. Klopsteg, *Turkish Archery and the Composite Bow*, 2nd edn., Evanston, Ill. 1947; Kuṣḥādījīm, *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid wa-l-Maṭāriḍ*, ed. A. Talas, Baghdad 1954; P. Laplaige, *Glossaire de l'arc et de l'arbalète*, Montdidier 1958; J. D. Latham et W. F. Paterson, *An Analysis of Arrow-weights in an Islamic Military Manual*, in *JSS*, x (1965), 253-61; idem, *Saracen Archery, An English version and exposition of a Mameluke work on Archery (ca. A.D. 1368) with Introduction, Glossary and Illustrations*, London 1970; F. V. Luschan, *Bogenspannen, Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxi (1889), xxiii (1891); A. S. L. M. Lutful-Huq, *Muḥammad al-Aḥṣarā'ī, Nihāyat al-su'l wa-l-ummiyya fi ta'lim a'māl al-furūsiyya: A critical edition*, London 1956 (unpublished thesis); M. Maindron, *Les armes*, Paris 1890; G. Marckam, *L'art de tirer à l'arc*, London 1634; A. Marre, *Manière de compter des anciens avec les doigts des mains*, in *Bulletino Boncompagni*, i (1868), 309; L. Medinger, *L'arc turquois et les archers parthes à la bataille de Carrhes*, in *Rev. Arch.*, VI<sup>e</sup> série, ii (1933), 227; L. Mercier, *Aly ben Abderrahman ben Hoḍeil el-Andalusy, La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux*, Paris 1924; J. J. Modi, *Archery in Ancient Persia*, in *JRAS*, xxv (1917-21), 175-86; Montandon, *Traité d'ethnologie culturelle*, Paris 1934 (esp. 419: loosing of the arrow: primary, secondary, tertiary and Mediterranean methods); F. S. Morse, *Ancient and modern methods of arrow release*, in *Essex Institute Bulletin*, xvii (1885); idem, *Additional notes on arrow release*, Massachusetts 1922; W. F. Paterson, *The Archers of Islam*, in *JESHO*, ix (69-87); idem, *Thumb Guards*, in *JSAA*, vi (1963), 14-5; R. Payne-Gallwey, *The Crossbow*, London 1958; S. T. Pope, *Bows and arrows*, California U.P. (Berkeley), 1962 (1st edn. 1923); idem, *Hunting with the Bow and arrow*, New York 1947 (1st edn. 1923); G. Rausing, *The Bow, Some Notes on its Origin and Development*, Lund 1967; M. Reinaud, *Extraits des historiens arabes des Croisades*, Paris 1829; J. T. Reinaud, *De l'art militaire chez les Arabes au Moyen Age*, in *JA*, Ser. IV, vol. xii (1848); H. Riedel, *Leibesübungen und körperliche Erziehung in der osmanischen und kámalisti-*

schén *Türkei*, Würzburg 1942; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Parthian Shot*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlvii (1943), 174-87; R. Roth, *Histoire de l'archerie*, Paris 1964; Ruska, *Arabische Texte über das Fingerringen*, in *Der Islam*, x (1920), 87-119; S. de Sacy, *De la manière de compter au moyen de la jointure des doigts usitée dans l'Orient*, in *JA*, iii (1823), 65; Dr. T. Pope Saxton, *A study of bows and arrows*, 1923; G. T. Scanlon, *A muslim Manual of War, being Tafriḡ al-kurūb fī tadbīr al-kurūb* by 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Awsī, edited and translated, Cairo 1961; A. Schaumberg, *Bogen und Bogenschützen bei den Griechen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang des archaischen Stils*, Nuremberg 1910; F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Arabern aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt*, Leipzig 1886; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097-1193*, Cambridge 1956; F. A. H. Stein, *Archers d'autrefois, archers d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1925; G. C. Stone, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armour in All Countries and in All Times*, New York, 1961 (1st edn. 1934); T. Sulimirski, *Les archers à cheval, cavalerie légère des Anciens*, in *Rev. Inter. d'Hist. Milit.*, iii/12 (1952), 447-61; Tha'ālībī, *Fikḡ al-luḡa wa-sirr al-'arabiyya*, Cairo 1378/1959; G. de Vauresmont, *Le tir*, Paris 1910 (esp. shooting with the bow, 87-108); Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français de l'époque carolingienne à la Renaissance*, Paris 1874 (articles "Arc" and "Arbalète"); A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936; R. Wilcox, *Something about the Thumb Ring*, in *The Archer's Magazine* (Nov. 1962), 16-17; A. Za-jączkowski, *Mamelucko-turecka wersja arabskiego traktatu o łucznicztwie z. XIV w.*, in *RO*, xx (1956), 139-261; A. Zaky, *Military literature of the Arabs*, in *IC*, xxx/2 (April 1956), 163-72; W. F. Paterson, *Archery in Moghul India: an illustrated manual of instruction in the collection of the Marquess of Bute*, in *IQ*, xvi/1-2 (Jan.-June 1972), 81-95; J. D. Latham, *The meaning of Maydān as-Sibāq*, in *JSS*, xiii (1968), 241-8; F. Lake and H. Wright, *A bibliography of archery*, Simon Archery Foundation, University of Manchester Museum, 1974. (A. BOUDOT-LAMOTTE)

**KAWS KUZAH**, the Arabic term for the rainbow, formed from *kaus* "bow" (*Kws* in the inscriptions of Jordan; *Kawsh* in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal; *Kūsu* in Babylonian inscriptions of the time of Darius and Artaxerxes I; *Kūsu*, *Kūshu*, *Kīshi*, *Kūshi*, in the Old Testament; *Kos/Kōs/Kōξe*, amongst the Nabataeans; *Kaws*, *Kays*, in Arabia), an Edomite deity known during the first millennium and later venerated by the Nabataeans (cf. Vriezen, *The Edomitic deity Qaus*, 330 ff.). He was a war-god, symbolised by the bow, just as Adad berqu, god of the tempest, was symbolised by lightning (D. van Buren, *Symbols of the gods in Mesopotamian art*, 1945, 67), and as *Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa*, the archer-god of the Arabian pantheon, was symbolised by arrows (see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale avant l'hégire*, 61 ff.).

After the manner of *Dhu 'l-Sharā* which eclipsed him, *Kaws* acquired other prerogatives, those of most of the gods of the desert regions, such as the protection of the vegetation by ensuring rain, a prerogative symbolised by the rainbow. Hence in the nomadic milieu, the name *Kaws* was followed by *kuzah* in order to define his speciality. *Kuzah*, pl. of *kuzha*, "a coloured band of yellow, red and green" (Yāqūt, iv, 86 ll. 3-4; *TA*, ii, 209, l. 11 from foot)

denotes the successive appearance of bands of colour in the rainbow. As the divine symbol became substituted in general usage for the divine name whose attributes it was eventually to determine, *kuzah* sometimes came to designate the god himself. Hence is attributed to Muḥammad the saying "Do not say *Kaws Kuzah*, because *Kuzah* is the name of a demon (*shayṭān*), but say *Kaws Allāh*" (Yāqūt, iv, 85-6), and *Djāhīz* adds, "just as one says the House of Allāh, the pilgrims of Allāh and the lion of Allāh" (*Hayawān*, ii, 28-9); here, the symbol is taking the place of that which was originally symbolised. This is confirmed by the fact that this *shayṭān* (a term applied to the pagan idols) became, in Islamic cosmological tradition, the angel in charge of the rainbow (Yāqūt, iv, 86 l. 4).

Furthermore, *Kuzah*, the abridged form of *Kaws Kuzah*, still denotes at Muzdalifa the pick placed at the right of the *imām* when he occupies the place reserved for him for the Pilgrimage ceremonies; before Islam, this designated, in the same spot, the pyre where the sacred fire of Muzdalifa was kindled (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 10). When considered together with *Kaws Kuzah*, this fire could have been one of rogation or *istiṣkā'* [*q.v.*].

In short, *Kaws Kuzah* is the Arabic variation of the name of a divinity whose importance is attested by a number of theophoric names found among the peoples moving round the region between Central Arabia and the Jordan, such as *Kawsh-malaku* and *Kawsh-gabri*, two kings of Edom in the times of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-27 B.C.) and Esarhaddon (680-69 B.C.); *Kwsbr*, *Kwsmlk*, amongst the people of Liḡyān; *Slmtks* amongst the Minaeans, *Kws'nl*, *Kwsny*, *Pg'kws*, in the inscriptions of Tell *Khulayfa* (7th century B.C.); *Kusudjada'*, *Kusudjahabi*, *Barḡusu*, in the Babylonian period; and *Kosdaros*, *Kosnatanos*, *Kosmalachos*, *Kosbanos*, etc. in the Hellenistic period.

The absence of such theophoric names composed with *Kaws* in Arab onomastic is striking and unusual, given the fact that there exist names compounded with *Kays*, such as *Imru' al-Kays* and *'Abd al-Kays* (explained in *Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, i, 85, and *Baṭalyūsi*, *Sharḡ diwān Imri' al-Kays*, Cairo 1308, 3, as being connected with an idol called *al-Kays*, on analogy with the type of theophoric names fairly common in Arab onomastic).

Should one then conclude that *Kaws* and *Kays* are two forms of the same name? With Wellhausen, *Reste*<sup>2</sup>, 67, and G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*<sup>2</sup>, 206, 226, and against Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xl (1887), 714, and *ERE*, i (1908), 660-1, A. Fischer, *EI*<sup>1</sup> art. *KAIS*, A. Grohmann, *Die Araber*, 1963, 85, and M. Hofner, in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie. Die alten Kultur. I. Vordere Orient*, ed. Haussig, 460-1, we maintain that *Kaws* and *Kays* denote one and the same god (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 136-40).

This god is *Kaws* and not *Kays*, for the following reasons: (1) the absence of the name *Kays* from the Arab pantheon as described by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, the source of all writings on the question; (2) the absence of theophoric names composed with *Kays* in the inscriptions gathered in Arabia and in the vast region traversed by Arabs to the north of the peninsula (cf. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, 921, in which only theophoric names with *Kaws* are attested); (3) the isolated position of the two theophoric names composed with *Kays* in comparison with the large number of those composed with *Kaws*; and (4) the existence in

Min aean of a theophoric name *Ḳysmnwt* (cf. Jamme, in *Oriens antiquus*, vi, 181-2, text no. 1211), in which *ḳays* occupies the place of *imru* and of *abd* and not that of a divine name.

Should one therefore deduce from this transformation of *Ḳaws* into *Ḳays*, in the kingdom of Kinda, an attempt to appropriate the ancient Edomite deity by the powerful tribal confederation of the *Ḳaysis*?

*Bibliography*: Th. C. Vriezen, *The Edomitic deity Qaus*, in *Oudtestamentische Studien*, xiv (1965), 330-53; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 136-40; A. Fischer, *al-Ḳais*, in *EP*<sup>1</sup>; H. Derenbourg, *La poésie antéislamique Imru' l-Ḳais et le dieu arabe al-Ḳais*, in *Études de critique et d'histoire*, 2<sup>e</sup> série (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses, vol. vii); G. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971.

(T. FAHD)

Independently of *ḳaws ḳuzah*, other expressions are used in Arabic to denote the rainbow: *Ḳaws Allāh*, *Ḳ. Rasūl Allāh*, *Ḳ. al-samā*, *Ḳ. al-ghamām*, *Ḳ. al-muzn*, *alā'im al-samā*, *Ḳ. Ḳazī*. The words *ḳusfān* (dust), *ḳusfāni*, *ḳusfalāni* and *ḳusfalaniyya* have a quite different origin. Muslim scholars include the rainbow among the *āthār al-ʿulwiyya*, the superior phenomena. The rainbow is usually opposite the spectator, while the sun is at his back and there is a dark cloud or wall behind drops of water; the drops may be in a cloud or formed at springs, waterwheels, in turbulent rivers where spray is formed, in the steam of baths or in water which is ejected from the mouth in a spray (see *Beitr. V*). Frequent reference is made to a description by Ibn Sīnā (see E. Wiedemann and M. Horten, in *Bibl.*, among others) who was on the top of a very high hill at the foot of which lay a vast bank of mist; the sun was above the hill and Ibn Sīnā saw a rainbow on the mist below him.

Numerous descriptions of rainbows occur in literature, e.g., in the *Ḥamāsa* (F. Tuch, *ZDMG*, iii, 200 ff.), also by the *Ḥamdānid* Sayf al-Dawla and by the poet al-Waʿwāʿ (see F. Dieterici, *Mutanabbī und Saif al-Dawla aus der Edelperle des Thāʿālibī dargestellt*, Leipzig 1847, 129, 175).

The more or less strictly scientific studies of the rainbow are also numerous. Ḥādīdjī Ḳhalīfa (iv, No. 9,640) quotes a special *ʿilm Ḳaws Ḳuzah* concerning which he deals with all questions that can arise. According to him, "it investigates how the rainbow is formed, the reason why it is formed and why it is circular; further the reason for the difference in its colours, why it appears after rain at the end of a day and why it is often seen by day but only rarely at night by moonlight. It further investigates the astrological significance (*al-aḥḥām*) of its appearance". Descriptions on similar lines are found, for example, in the works of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib al-Maḳhūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 98; *Kosmographie*, tr. Ethé, 201); in the *Rasāʾil Iḳhwān al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1305, ii, 52 ff. (cf. F. Dieterici, *Die Naturanschauung der Araber*, Berlin 1861, 87); also by al-Ḳarāfi in his *Ḳitāb al-Istibṣār fīmā tudrikuhu ʿl-abṣār*; and in the *Risāla fī Ḳaws Ḳuzah* of al-Tuḳāti (see Berlin Catalogue by Ahlwardt, No. 5691); two anonymous works have been published by Cheikho (*al-Machriq*, xv (1912), 736-44). A considerable section in a meteorological work (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 6054), and no doubt many other passages, deal with our phenomenon. The most important and most

comprehensive work, however, is from the pen of Ibn Sīnā in his *Shifāʾ* (see *Bibl.*).

The descriptions of the rainbow are in general very accurate. Not only the simple rainbow but also the double and even triple are described. The first is said to be produced by the sun's rays themselves, the second by the rays shining through the rays from the first and the third by the rays from the first two; the bows therefore are successively weaker. It is emphasised that the rainbow is not always composed of the same colours, a phenomenon which has been fully investigated by M. Pernter. It is also mentioned that the rainbow is particularly beautiful when the sun is on the horizon.

The older treatment of the theory of the rainbow goes back to Aristotle, with whose meteorological works the Arabs were acquainted. Ṭhābit b. Ḳurra is said to have translated a commentary by Aḥḥāfrūdītus = Epaphroditos (?) on Aristotle's essay on the rainbow (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 59). Aristotle is followed by Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Hayṭham, al-Ḳarāfi etc., although in many details they make additions and corrections to his views. It is always assumed that the rainbow is produced by beams of light or visual rays which are regularly reflected on the raindrops, on very minute reflecting surfaces. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [q.v.] gave a brilliant exposition of the correct explanation, as far as was possible in the general state of knowledge in his day, when the dispersion of light was unknown. Like us he says that the light is once or twice reflected in the interior of the globule of water and then radiates out from it; thus we have the main and secondary rainbow. He also endeavours to investigate the cause of the colours although, of course, not satisfactorily. By experiments he proves the correctness of his results, which are on a much higher level than those of Theodoricus of Freiburg (about 1300).

From *ḳuzah* comes a word *taḳāzīh*, meaning "showing the colours of the rainbow" or briefly, "the colours of the rainbow". It is defined by Kamāl al-Dīn as "different graduated colours in the region between blue, green, yellow, red, smoke-coloured white, that is, as regards sensual perception".

The rainbow is also given an astrological significance according to the zodiacal sign in which it appears. In the Ram it means plague and death (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 5906, *al-Ḳawl ʿalā fūl Ḳaws Ḳuzah*). In another manuscript, (No. 5915, 1) it is said that in September a rainbow indicates great tyranny and oppression.

*Bibliography*: I. Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabischen Philologie*, 1896, i, 113; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. V., Auszüge aus arabischen Encyclopaedien*, in *Sitz. Ber. P. Med. Soz. Erlg.*, 1905, xxxvii, 423-34; idem, *Beitr. XIX, Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln nach Ibn al-Hayṭham und Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, 1910, xlii, 15-58; idem, *Theorie des Regenbogens von Ibn al-Hayṭham*, 1914, xlv, 39-56; idem, *Zur Optik von Kamāl al-Dīn*, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Technik*, iii, (1912), 161-77; idem, *Arabische Studien über den Regenbogen*, *ibid.*, iv (1912), 354-60 (further references are given here); M. Horten and E. Wiedemann, *Avicenna's Lehre vom Regenbogen nach seinem Werk al-Shifāʾ*, in *Meteorol. Zeitschr.* (1913), 533-44; I. Würschmidt, *Die Brennkugel*, in *Monatshefte für den naturwissenschaftl. Unterricht*, iv (1911), 93-113; idem, *Dieterich von Freiberg über den Regenbogen und die durch seine Strahlen erzeugten Eindrücke*, in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, xii (1914),



part 5-6; G. Hellmann, *Neudrucke von Schriften über Meteorologie*, etc., No. 15; the passages mentioned from the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Safāʾ*, from Dieterici, 23-41, and from al-Ƙazwīnī from Ethé, 127-42; Mallon, *Ƙawš Ƙuzah*, in *al-Machriq*, iii (1900), 241, note; O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1901, 600 ff. (for a comparison of the Arab views with those of the Greeks). (E. WIEDEMANN)

**KAWSARA** or ƘŪSIRA, Italian island, now called Pantelleria, situated 64 miles/100 km. from Sicily and 55 miles/76 km. from the Tunisian town of Kelibia (Clypea); it is volcanic in structure, lacking any fresh water and culminating in a height of 2,600 ft./836 m. The area is 83 km<sup>2</sup>, and the population 10,000. The name Ƙawšara (vocalised thus by Yāḳūt—who suggests an Arabic etymology, "date basket"—and in most of the sources) is actually of Greek origin, being a deformation of Cossyra, more easily discerned in the form attested and favoured by Bakrī, sc. Ƙūsira. It must have been generally pronounced Ƙūšra, then Arabised in the written texts, by assimilation to an Arab form, as Ƙawšara.

Lacking any great strategic or economic value, Ƙawšara figures little in the historical sources, and only a few items of information on it can be found in the Arabic sources. At the time of the invasion of Ifrīḳiya in 27/647-8 by ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [g.v.], the inhabitants of Ƙawšara (Cape Bon) gathered at Clypea and took refuge temporarily on Ƙawšara. Half-a-century later, in ca. 81/700, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ƙaṭan—who ended up as governor of Spain—devastated the island, probably operating from Egypt as his base. Ƙawšara doubtless subsequently suffered further from attacks by the Muslim fleets which began to rove the Mediterranean. In 221/836 it was still in Byzantine hands, and served as a base for their fleet, operating against the Aghlabids, involved after 212/827 with the conquest of Sicily. It is unknown exactly when the Aghlabids took it, but it was apparently in their possession by 250/864, and after this date, the island became completely arabised and islamised, forming part of Ifrīḳiya till the Almohad period.

It was inevitably involved in the fighting between the Normans of Sicily and the Zirids. It was in the waters of Ƙawšara that the fleet of 400 ships fitted out by al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (407-54/1016-62) to assist the Muslims of Sicily was wrecked in Dhū ʿl-Ƙaʿda 416/January 1026. It was also there that the fleets of Pisa and Genoa, who were preparing to attack Ifrīḳiya, concentrated in 480/1087-8. The island's Muslims warned Tamīm (454-501/1062-1108) by carrier pigeon of the danger threatening him. In 517/1123 the Norman fleet, en route for Mahdiyya, sacked and laid waste Ƙawšara, and massacred its inhabitants. Finally, in 543/1148-9, the Sicilian fleet, under George of Antioch, occupied the island before going on to seize the Zirid capital.

The island was then apparently recovered by the Almohads who freed Ifrīḳiya from the Christian presence and unified the Maghrib, but this was not for long. By the terms of the treaty of 15 Djumādā II 618/5 August 1221 made with the Emperor Frederick II, the Almohad governor of Tunis ceded Ƙawšara to Sicily, on condition that the Muslims of the island might enjoy administrative and legal autonomy and that half of the taxation levied on them should go to Ifrīḳiya (Mas-Latrie, *Traité* . . ., Paris 1866, 153-5). From this time onwards, Ƙawšara shared the destiny of Sicily, and was thus for some time dependent on the crown of Aragon; it probably received from the

Catalans its new name of Pantelleria. However, the rulers of Tunis did not totally give up the idea of regaining it. A curious treaty made in 1403 laid down the ways in which the ruler of Aragon might take control of Ƙawšara, whilst the ruler of Tunis might get Ƙawšara; but this arrangement was never put into effect.

The people of Ƙawšara long remained Muslim. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228) states that in the 7th/13th century they comprised Wahbī Ibādīs (originally from Ƙawšara?), whose austere way of life was perfectly adapted to the isolation and meagre resources of the island. The new Christian rulers did all they could to keep them. Thus one finds Alfonso of Aragon complaining to the Sultan of Tunis in 1438 that certain Ḥafṣid officials were encouraging them to emigrate. His envoy demanded the return of the emigrants, and even the planting of new Ifrīḳiyans in the island. The date of the spreading of Christianity is unknown. Fazello, cited in Amari, *Storia*, iii, 895, tells us that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century Christians and Muslims wore the same garments and spoke the same language. According to Bonnet, a Provençal merchant enslaved at Tunis, whence he had managed to escape, this language was in 1670 (the year in which he took refuge in Ƙawšara) the same as that spoken in Malta. It must therefore have been an Arabic already much transformed.

The island's resources have always been fairly slight. Its woods provided wood of excellent quality, and wild goats are said to have been hunted. In mid-17th century, according to Bonnet, "the island's trade consists entirely of wine, charcoal and wood which the people export to Sicily and Malta" (P. Grandchamp, *Un marchand provençal* . . ., 14).

*Bibliography*: Sources. Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. de Slane, repr. Paris 1965, 45/97; idem, *Djughrāfiyat al-Andalus wa ʿl-Maghrib*, ed. A. A. al-Ḥādīdī, Beirut 1968, 226-7; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Beirut 1965-6, vi, 339, ix, 349, x, 166, 197-8, 612, xi, 125; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut 1957, iv, 413; Šaḥī al-Dīn al-Baḡhdādī, *Marāšid*, Cairo 1955, iii, 1133 (résumé of Yāḳūt); Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, partial ed. U. Rizzitano, in *Bull. Fac. of Arts, Cairo Univ.*, xviii (May 1956), 172-3; Balawī, *Tāǧ al-Mafrīk*, ms. B. N. Tunis, no. 15060, f. 24a; Ibn Ƙhaldūn, *Muḳaddīma*, Beirut 1956, 454-5; idem, *Ibar*, Beirut 1956-9, v, 433, vi, 331. Studies. H. H. Abdul-Wahab, *Ƙiṣṣat Ƙawšara al-ʿarabiyya*, in *Egyptian Historical Jnal.*, ii/2 (Cairo 1949), 55-73, also in *Warāḳāt*, ii, Tunis 1966, 277-316, Fr. tr. in *Proc. of the Royal Soc. of Hist. Studies*, i (Cairo 1951), 57-78; Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, Catania 1933-5, index s.v. Pantelleria; H. Bresc, *Pantelleria entre l'islam et la Chrétienté*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, lxxv-lxxvi (1971), 105-28; R. Brunschwig, *Ḥafṣides*, i, 26, 225, 249, 272; Ch. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghreb aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris 1966, index s.v. Pantelleria; P. Grandchamp, *Un marchand provençal esclave à Tunis (1669-1670)*, Tunis 1939, 13-14; H. R. Idris, *Les Zirides*, 168, 174, 288, 335, 356, 527; M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, 267, 439. (M. TALBI)

**KAWTHWAR**, a word used only once in the Ƙurʿān (CVIII, 1: "Yes, we have given you *al-ḳawthar*"); the short Sūra CVIII is given the name *surāt al-ḳawthar*. The word comes from the root K-TH-R "to be abundant" in the *fawʿal* formation, which is not rare (e.g. *nawfal*: other examples in Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, i, 34). The *ḳawthar* which occurs in ancient

poetry (see quotations in Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 261, and Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, i, 92) means "abundance". Some ancient writers of *tafsīr* interpret *kawthar* in Qur'ān, CVIII, 1 as "abundant goodness" (*al-khayr al-kathīr*; cf. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 180-1).

This etymological meaning, however, although it did not totally disappear, gave way to a traditional interpretation. According to this the Prophet himself regarded *al-kawthar* as the proper name of a river in Paradise (cf. Ibn Hishām, 261 *in fine*, and specially al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 179), or as a pond which was shown to him at the time of his ascension to the Throne of God, and which was designated for him (al-Ṭabarī, *ibid.*, 180; cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 231). This last explanation is considered most credible by al-Ṭabarī; *al-kawthar* was, then, becoming something almost synonymous with *hawḍ* [q.v.], "the Prophet's pool", at which believers quench their thirst when entering Paradise. Its existence is affirmed in several "professions of faith". But more frequently *al-kawthar* will be the river which feeds the pool. According to a subsequent idea (cf. *Aḥwāl al-kiyāma*, ed. Wolff, 107), all the rivers of Paradise flow into the *hawḍ al-kawthar*, also called *nahr Muḥammad*, as specially belonging to the Prophet.

The most ancient Sūras already mention "the spring" (*ayn*), "the living spring" (*ayn jāriya*) which waters Paradise (LXXVII, 41; LXXXVIII, 12 and *passim*); the Medinan Sūras describe in more detail the "rivers" (*al-anhār*). In XLVII, 15, for example: "There will be rivers there, the water of which is incorruptible, rivers of milk which never sour, rivers of wine sweet for those who drink of them, rivers of clear honey". This description suggests the rivers of Paradise of Judaeo-Christian eschatology, flowing with oil, milk, wine and honey. It is of note that oil is replaced by "incorruptible water" (*ghayr āsin*), so precious in the deserts of Arabia (cf. J. Horovitz, *Das koranische Paradies*, 9). *Ḥādīths* and *tafsīrs* delight in describing *al-kawthar* on this same model. But taking into consideration the root meaning of "abundance", *al-kawthar*, the "river of the Prophet" presents itself as the quintessence of the rivers of Paradise. In certain versions quoted by the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī it is said: "Its waters are whiter than the snow and sweeter than honey", or, "And its waters are of wine". Surpassing the Qur'ānic description are others endowing it with "banks of gold" or a bed of "rubies and pearls" with a perfume "more penetrating than musk" (cf. Soubhi El-Saleh, *La vie future. selon le Coran*, Paris 1972, 36 and ref.). Rationalising or modern *tafsīrs* easily lend a metaphoric sense to these details.

**Bibliography:** given in the article. The principal traditional references to *al-kawthar* are (cf. Soubhi El-Saleh, *op. cit.*, 36, n. 6 and Annexe I): Bukhārī, viii, *Riḥāḥ*, 119; *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 112; Tirmidhī, ii, *Tafsīr*, to CVIII, 240; Ibn Mādjā, *Zuhd*, 307; later, Baghawī, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*, ii, *Hawḍ*, 145; Ibn Kayyim al-Djāwziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrah*, 131, etc.

(J. HOROVITZ - L. GARDET)

**KAWUKLU**, Turkish "the man with the *Kavuk*", a character of the Turkish *Orta oyunu* theatre.

Turkish *kavuk* indicates a rather high, variously-shaped cap, with a headband, *şarık*, wound round it (Ağakay, *Türkçe sözlük: sarık sarılan başlık*). Such caps of varying shape and colour according to rank were worn by officers of the Janissaries (cf. Maḥmūd Shewket, *Ötümânî teşkilât ve kıyâfet-i askeriyyesi*,

Istanbul 1325, i, 29 ff.). Other professions too had their own special *kavuk*, there were *wesir*, *mollâ*, *kâtib* and *paşalıklar kavuḡlu*, some with specific names: *kallâvî*, *ḫorasânî*, *müdjeweweze*, *selimî*, 'örf (cf. Emin Cenkmén, *Osmanlı sarayı ve kıyâfelleri*, Istanbul 1948). In official language, even an Arabic plural *kawâwîk* was formed. However, the popular mind conceived of the *Kavuk* wearer in a different fashion: *kavuk büyük ama altında efendi yok*, "an imposing cap but no gentleman underneath it"; *kavuk sallamak*, "to wave one's cap", i.e., "to say yes and amen to everything"; *kavukçu* or *dalkavuk*, "coaxer or wheedler"; *kavuk giydirmek*, "to put on a cap", i.e., "to impose upon someone".

A special *kawuklu* appears as one of the two main characters of the Turkish popular theatre *Orta oyunu* [q.v.]. Such theatres had existed previously, but so far as we know, the term *Orta oyunu* occurs for the first time in 1833. The heyday of the *Orta* theatre was towards the end of the 19th century; it then became known in Europe through Kúnos's descriptions. The hero of the comic play was the *Kawuklu*, just like Karagöz [q.v.] in the shadow-plays. The other main character, Peşkekâr, was a kind of theatre-director, corresponding somewhat to *Ḥadîvâd* in the shadow-play. The *Kawuklu*'s dress, including a caftan (*djübbe*) and trousers (*shalvâr*) was red, even the cap (see the plates in Kúnos and Gerçek's publications). Often appearing as a pedlar, artisan or servant, the *Kawuklu* was a clown whose comedy lay in his misunderstanding the words of the other actors, his mindless execution of orders, which he twisted and exaggerated, his immoderate bragging, slyness and ready wit, and his imitation (*taḫlîd*) of foreign voices and dialects, especially those of the non-Turks in the Ottoman Empire. Dextrous juggling was also part of his performance. Only the main lines of the action were known; the *Kawuklu* had to improvise all the jokes, so that his performance was a demanding one. About 40 titles of plays, some identical with those of the shadow-play, are known, and 25 names of famous *Kawuklus* have come down to us. Special mention should be made of *Hamdî* (d. 1911), 'Abdî (= 'Abd al-Razzâk, d. 1914), *Kel Hasan* (d. 1929) and *Nâshîḥ* (1889-1938) (see Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, with plates). Performances by these and other *Kawuklus* are still remembered by the populace. *Hamdî*, when asked by Kúnos where he had learnt his art, answered significantly that his uncle and comrades had been his teachers. In origin, the *Orta* theatre was probably influenced by foreign elements; *Bombacı* has suggested influences from Jews, Greeks and perhaps Gipsies.

During the Reform period, this type of theatre met with serious competition from the European theatre, and many modernists wanted to forbid it outright. At the time when modern-type stages were set up, *Hamdî* made an attempt with the so-called *süflörlü oyunlar*, but without real success. *Kel Hasan* was more fortunate and died a rich man. In recent times, the *Orta* theatre has almost completely disappeared and endeavours to revive it are only occasionally heard of.

**Bibliography:** I. Kúnos, *Orta-oyunou*, Budapest 1888; idem, *Das türkische Volksschauspiel Orta oyunu*, Leipzig 1908; J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient*, Berlin 1905; Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk temasası, Meddâh, Karagöz, Orta oyunu*, Istanbul 1930; Th. Menzel, *Meddâh, Schattenheater und Orta oyunu*, ArO Monographie x, Prague 1941; Nurullah Tilgen, *Orta oyunu*

*üstadı Kavuklu Hamdi*, Istanbul 1948; A. Bombaci, *Orta oyunu*, in *WZKM*, lvi (1960), 285-97; Metin And, *Kavuklu Hamdi'den üç orta oyunu*, Ankara 1962; H. Uppegger, *Das Volksschauspiel*, in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 147-70. (WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

**KĀWURD** b. ÇĀĢRĪ BEG DĀWŪD, called also Kara Arslan Beg on his coins and by authors like Mīrkh<sup>w</sup>and, the founder of a line of virtually independent Saldjūk amīrs in Kirmān which endured for some 140 years until the irruption into the province of Oghuz from Khurāsān.

The origins of Saldjūk rule in Kirmān are obscure: there are discrepancies in the accounts of the sources, and the opening pages of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's local history of Kirmān are missing. Kirmān had been recovered by the Būyids after the Ghaznavid occupation of 422-5/1031-4 (on which see E. Merçil, *Gazneliler'in Kirman hâkimiyeti (1031-1034)*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24 (1970), 35-44) and formed part of the amirate in southern Persia of 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār Marzubān. After the collapse of Ghaznavid power in Khurāsān, Saldjūk bands began raiding southwards through Kūhistān and Ṭabas to Kirmān. A raid on the chief town, Bardasīr or Kirmān, was repulsed by Abū Kālīdjār's vizier Muḥadhḥīb al-Dawla Hibatallāh al-Fasawī in 434/1042-3 (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix, 349); whether Kāwurd or Ibrāhīm Ināl was the leader of this foray is unclear. However, shortly before the Būyid amīr's death in 440/1048-9, the rebellious Daylamī commander in Bardasīr, Bahrām b. Lashkarsitān, delivered the capital into Kāwurd's hands, and Būyid rule was thus ended (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix, 349-50; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 2-3).

Kāwurd now began a reign of over a quarter-century in his apanage, acknowledging the supreme suzerainty of Toġhrīl Beg and then, somewhat grudgingly, that of his own brother Alp Arslan. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm gives considerable information about his internal policy. Over the ensuing years, he proved himself an energetic and capable ruler in Kirmān. He behaved as an almost independent prince, with such insignia of royalty as the ceremonial parasol or *čatr*, the use of his own *juġhrā* or official emblem on documents (incorporating the Saldjūk bow and arrow motif), and the adoption of honorific titles such as 'Imād al-Dawla, found on his coins together with his *juġhrā*. Like the Saldjūks in other parts of Persia, he took care to win over the Persian official and religious classes, assigning them administrative and judicial positions and marrying several of his daughters to local 'Alids. He retained in his service many of the local Daylamī soldiers, but his reputation also attracted to Kirmān considerable numbers of Turkmens, to whom land grants or *ikṭā's* were assigned. He established a high degree of public security, taking draconian measures against those notorious brigands, the Kūfičs or Kuḫs [q.v.], and was active in the charitable and public works expected of the wise Perso-Islamic ruler. He built caravanserais and baths, set up markers on roads through the desert, and built guard posts at strategic points (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 10). One of his guard towers, still standing on the road from Bam to Sistān at a point between Fährādj and Gurg, was identified as such by Sir Percy Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Iran* (London 1902), 418. He maintained a high standard of coinage, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 4, a piece of information confirmed by his extant coins, comprising dīnārs and dirhams,

and minted at Bardasīr, Dġīruft and Shirāz (see on these, C. Alptekin, *Şelçuklu paraları*, in *Şelçuklu araştırmaları dergisi*, iii (Ankara 1971), 440, 554-60); and the transit trade across Kirmān to Sistān, India and the Persian Gulf was also encouraged.

With regard to external policy, Kāwurd mounted an expedition across the Gulf from Hormuz and seized the former Būyid dependency of 'Umān; he sent a force under one of his sons to Sistān; and he came, together with Alp Arslan, to succour Toġhrīl during the Turkmen rebellion of 451/1059 led by Ibrāhīm Ināl. The situation in Fārs, where the last Būyids were clinging to the vestiges of power, was his special concern. In 454/1062 he marched against the Şhabānkāra'ī Kurdish leader Faḍlūya, defeating the latter and bringing about the final crumbling of Būyid rule in Shirāz, though it was several years before Faḍlūya's defiance was completely crushed and Faḍlūya himself killed by Alp Arslan's forces in 461/1069.

Kāwurd had recognized Alp Arslan's succession to their father Çāġhrī Beg as Saldjūk ruler in the east, and in 456/1064 he recognised him as supreme sultan after Alp Arslan had appeared in Kirmān. Kāwurd was nevertheless restless under this subordination to his brother; he withdrew his allegiance from Alp Arslan in 459/1067 and only restored it when the latter came again with an army. On Alp Arslan's death in 465/1072 he determined on a definite bid for power, basing his claim to overlordship in the Saldjūk family on his long experience as a ruler and commander, combined with his rights under the old Turkish principle of seniorate, the succession right of a senior, capable male member of the ruling family or clan, as against the young Malik Şhāh's claim to succeed his father. The armies of Kāwurd and Malik Şhāh met near Hamadhān in Dġumādā I 466/January 1074 (thus in Husaynī; in Bundārī and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, in *Şha'bān*/April). Many of the more traditionalist Turkmen elements in Alp Arslan's old army inclined to Kāwurd's side, and Kāwurd counted on wholesale defections; but Malik Şhāh's slave commanders and his Kurdish and Arab contingents held firm, and Kāwurd was defeated and captured. Malik Şhāh was inclined towards mercy for his uncle, who at one point offered to retire to 'Umān; it seems to have been the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk who connived at Kāwurd's execution by strangling, or, according to some accounts, by poisoning (the fullest account of Kāwurd's rebellion and death is in Husaynī, 56-8; see also Bundārī, 48, Rāwandī, 126-7, and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x, 53-4). Malik Şhāh nevertheless preferred to leave the relatively isolated province of Kirmān as an autonomous unit, and restored it to Kāwurd's son Rukn al-Dawla Sulṭān Şhāh within a few months.

*Bibliography*: the salient events of Kāwurd's career are to be found in the general sources on Saldjūk history, sc. Husaynī's *Aḫbār al-dawla al-saldjūkiyya*, Bundārī's *Zubdat al-muşra*, Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-şudūr*, Zahīr al-Dīn Nişāpūrī's *Saldjūknāma*, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Barhebraeus, etc. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's *Ta'riḫ-i Saldjūkiyyān-i Kirmān*, ed. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, i, Leiden 1886, ed. M. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1964, cf. Houtsma, *Zur Geschichte der Seljuquen von Kermān*, in *ZDMG*, xxxix (1885), 362-402, is supremely important as a special history of the dynasty. Information from the local histories of Kirmān is given in the text and notes of Muḥammad Bāstānī-Pārīzī's edition of Aḫmad 'Alī Khān Wazīrī's *Ta'riḫ-i Kirmān*

(*Sālāriyya*), Tehran 1340/1961. Of secondary literature, see Sykes, *A history of Persia*, London 1915, ii, 102, and Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ch. 1. For Kāwurd's coins, see the monograph of Alptekin mentioned above.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KĀWŪS**, BANŪ, an Iranian dynasty which reigned in the districts of Rūyān and Rustamdār, the coastal plain and the mountainous interior respectively, of the western parts of the Caspian province of Māzandarān [q.v.] in the second half of the 9th/15th century and in the 10th/16th century. The dynasty was in fact one of the two branches into which the ancient line of the Bādūspānids [q.v.], whose genealogy went back to Sāsānid times, split in the middle years of the 9th/15th century.

The Bādūspānids had been confined to the fortress of Nūr by the Caspian campaigns of Tīmūr in 794/1392, but the amīr Kayūmarth b. Bisutūn (807-57/1404-53) later regained control of Rūyān, where he forcibly introduced amongst the previously Sunni population there the Shī'ī faith which he had acquired during exile in Shīrāz. On his death after a 50 years' reign, his eldest surviving son Kāwūs (857-71/1453-67) seized power, but had to agree to a partition of the Bādūspānid territories with his brother Iskandar. Kāwūs kept Nūr and other parts of the piedmont of Rustamdār, whilst Iskandar received the mountainous inland districts of Kuđjūr and Lāridjān. The two lines continued in parallel down to the Šafawid conquest. The adhesion of the Banū Kāwūs to the Shī'ī traditions of much of the Caspian region was strengthened by Kāwūs's own marriage to a daughter of one of the Sayyids of Āmul and by later alliances with the family of Mar'ashī Sayyids.

The history of this petty dynasty is largely one of local warfare against rival potentates in Māzandarān, often with help from neighbouring rulers in Gilān; thus in 910/1504-5 Bisutūn b. Dīhāngīr b. Kāwūs (904-13/1498-9 to 1507) succeeded in taking over all Rustamdār and Kuđjūr, with the exception of the fortress of Kuđjūr itself, from the fraternal branch of the Banū Iskandar. The line of the Banū Kāwūs expired through a combination of internecine strife in Māzandarān and of outside intervention by the Šafawid Shāh 'Abbās I, determined now to assert the central government's authority in the Caspian provinces. After bringing Gilān under control, the shah charged Farhād Khān in 1596/1004 with the subjugation of all the princelings of Māzandarān. Bahman b. Kayūmarth of the Banū Iskandar, at this time master in Lāridjān and Āmul, was removed and his death procured by a rival, after which his territories were granted to one of the shah's Kīzlībāsh amīrs. Dīhāngīr b. 'Azīz of the Banū Kāwūs was besieged in Kuđjūr, captured and executed, and his territories granted to the Kūrēi-Bāshī Allāh-Kūlī Beg. Both these lines of Bādūspānid epigoni were thus extinguished.

*Bibliography*: 1. Primary sources—Zahr al-Dīn Mar'ashī, *Ta'rikh-i Gilān u Daylamistān*, ed. Rabino, Rasht 1330/1912; idem, *Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān u Rūyān u Māzandarān*; 'Alī b. Shams al-Dīn Lāhidjānī, *Ta'rikh-i Gilān*; Iskandar Munshī, *Ta'rikh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi* (these three last in Dorn's *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, St. Petersburg 1850-8, i-ii, iv, and subsequent Tehran editions). 2. Secondary sources—H. L. Rabino, ed. Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London 1928, 14, 144-6; idem, *Les dynasties du Māzandarān . . . d'après les chroniques*

*locales*, in *JA*, ccxviii (1936), 443, 466-74, with a genealogical table at p. 448 (the lists in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 191, and Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *APAW* (1923), No. 1, p. 9, are unreliable). On the end of the dynasty, see L.-L. Bellan, *Chah 'Abbas I, sa vie, son œuvre*, Paris 1932, 44 ff., 64-71. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KĀWWĀS** (A.), occasionally also *Kāwwās* (e.g. in the Arabian Nights), in modern Turkish *kawas*, properly bowman (from *kaws* "bow"), came to denote in general "musketeer" and finally also "policeman-soldier", especially the one in the service of highly-placed Turkish officials and foreign ambassadors. From this term is derived the French "cawas" and the German "Kawasse". In Turkey the *Kāwwās* were, until 1826, chosen among the Janissaries (*Yeñi çeri* [q.v.]) and were called *yasaklı*. Their function was to protect foreign embassies and consulates and to escort diplomats leaving their residences, whether officially or unofficially; it was their duty to assure the latter unimpeded passage. In the Capitulations [see İMTIVĀZĀT] it was laid down (for France in 1740) that foreign diplomats were entitled to choose their own *Kāwwās*; the Turkish government could not impose anyone on them (see T. Xavier Bianchi, *Nouveau guide de la conversation*, Paris 1852, 273 f.; G. Noradounghian, *Recueil*, i, 1897, 289, § 45). According to an agreement of 23 Šafar 1280/9 Aug. 1863, the *Kāwwās* were four in number for consulates-general and consulates in the capitals of the *vilāyets*, three for other consulates, and two for vice-consulates and consular agents. The governor of the *vilāyet* was informed of their nomination (Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane*, Istanbul 1883-8, iv, 15 ff.).

In Turkey, the office of the *Kāwwās* was abolished by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. However, the term *Kāwwās*, or a similar expression, is still current in colloquial usage, both in Turkey and in other Islamic states also, to denote the servants and guards of foreign embassies.

*Bibliography*: given in the article, but see also the *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1822.

(CL. HUART - [B. SPULER])

**KAYA** [see KETKHUDĀ].

**KĀYALĪK**, a mediaeval town in the region of the present-day Kopal in Southern Kazakhstan, identified by A. N. Bernshtam with the hill-fort Dungina 18 km. S.W. of Taldī Kurgan. It is first mentioned as the headquarters of the Karluq chieftain Arslan Khān, who submitted to Čingiz-Khān in the spring of 607/1211. Kayallk was originally included in the territory assigned by Čingiz-Khān to his eldest son Djuči [q.v.]; it was afterwards nominally part of the Čaghatay Khānate though administered, like the whole agricultural zone from Üyghüristān westwards to Khwārazm, by Mas'ūd Beg [q.v.]. The Great Khān Mōngke, upon his accession, ordered Kaydu [q.v.] to reside in the Kayallk region, which Pelliot sees as evidence that it belonged to the apogee of the line of Ögedey, and in fact we are told by Waṣṣāf that it lay on the frontier between Kaydu's territory and that of the Čaghatay Khān Du'a. William of Rubruck spent 12 days in Kayallk (which he calls Cailac) in Ramađān-Šhawwāl 651/November 1253. He describes it as a large town with a busy market; it had three Buddhist temples. According to Waṣṣāf the last battle between Kaydu and the Great Khān's forces was fought at a place a few days distant from Kayallk. This appears to be the last mention of the town, which does not figure in the campaigns of Tīmūr. We must assume that

like Balāsāghun [q.v.] it was destroyed at some time during the first half of the 8th/14th century.

*Bibliography*: Djuwaynī-Boyle; Rashid al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, i/1, tr. O. I. Smirnova, Moscow-Leningrad 1952; Waṣṣāf, Bombay ed.; *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, 1253-55, as narrated by himself, tr. and ed. W. W. Rockhill, London 1900; V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris 1959, s.v. Caidu. (J. A. BOYLE)

**KAYĀNIDS**, Iranian dynasty, for the most part mythical, which owes its name to the title of *kavi* (see *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, index s.v.) > Pahlavi *kay* (pl. *kayān*, or in Arabic, *ahyān*) born by several persons cited, with some variants, in both the religious and the national tradition. A. Christensen has devoted to the dynasty a monograph, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, to which reference should be made for all the problems raised in regard to ancient Iran.

The main source for all the Islamic historians and writers concerned with the dynasty is the *Kitāb Siyar mulūk al-'Adjam*, the Arabic translation made by Ibn al-Mukaffa' [q.v.] of the *Khudāy-nāma*, but the earliest Arabic authors give only somewhat confused information on the more or less mythical rulers who preceded the Sāsānids, leading one to think that they must have used other sources, especially oral ones (see, e.g., Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 652 ff.). Ibn al-Kalbī, cited in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 133-4 = § 558, even considers that the Kayānids were the first kings on the earth. Al-Mas'ūdī himself, without instancing the Pišhdādids [q.v.], to whom he erroneously gives the name of *Khudāhān* (ii, 237 = § 659) in fact makes the Kayānids the second dynasty, to be followed by that of the Arsacids (*Ashkān* [see *MULŪK AL-TAWĀ'IF*]) and finally that of the Sāsānids [q.v.]. Al-Ṭabarī before him, and then the later historians and writers, all follow the same classification without mentioning the Achaemenids as such. Firdawsī, for his part, devotes ca. 27,000 distichs to the Kayānids.

In the religious tradition, a dozen personages bear the title of Kay, but the dynasty proper comprises, according to Islamic authors:

**KAY KUBĀD** (Kavi Kavāta), the founder. The religious tradition (Christensen, *op. cit.*, 70-1) gives no information on his ancestors and confines itself to retailing the legend of the adoption by Uzāv (Arabic, Zaww/Zāb), the last Pišhdādīd king, of a newly-born child abandoned on the waters. The national tradition (Christensen, 107-8) is unaware of this story and provided a genealogy making Kay Kūbād a descendant of Manūšchīr and, through the false reading of the presumed name of his father, the son of Zaww/Zāb himself. After this latter's death, Rustam [q.v.] was deputed to search out Kay Kūbād, who was found in a palace in the Alburz Mountains. His reign was filled with prosperity, but was partly devoted to defending Iran against the Turanians (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 533-5, 597; Bal'amī-Zotenberg, i, 407; al-Dinawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 14; al-Tha'ālibī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, 150-2; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 104; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 14; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. and tr. Mohl, index).

His successors were **KAY KĀ'ŪS** [q.v.], in whose reign there took place the epic fights between Siyāwush and Afrāsiyāb [q.v.], and then **KAY KHUSRAW** [q.v.], who took vengeance on Afrāsiyāb. There then followed:

(KAY) **LUHRĀSB** (Lōrāsp), descendant of a brother of Kay Kā'ūs. He founded or enlarged the town of

Balkh [q.v.], and it is said to have been he who sent against Palestine Nebuchadnezzar (Bukht-Naşsar [q.v.]), who destroyed Jerusalem, dispersed the Jews and carried them off into captivity (however, Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 652, places these events in the reign of Bahman, contemporary of Moses). Luhrāsb was killed by the Turks who came to besiege him (see Christensen, 117-18 and index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 620; al-Mas'ūdī, ii, 121-3 = §§ 544-6; al-Dinawarī, 26; al-Makdisī, *al-Bad' wa'l-ta'rikh*, iii, 149; al-Tha'ālibī, 244; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 36; Firdawsī, iv, 279-357). His son and successor

**BIŠHTĀSB** (Kavi Vištāspa, Vištāsp, Bištāsf, Kuštāsb, Hystaspes) quarrelled with his father, so went to Rūm, where he married the king's daughter and accomplished various exploits before returning home, where his father passed on to him the crown. He had reigned for 30 years when Zoroaster [see *ZARĀDUSHT*] converted him to his new religion. He had to face an attack from the Turks who finally carried off his two daughters, but his son Isfandiār (Spandyādh) rescued them, provoking however Bištāsb's jealousy over his exploits, so that he sent his son to his death in charging him to attack Rustam, who was judged to have become too independent. Although legend dwells at length on this personage, Christensen considered him to be "une figure entièrement historique" (see *Les Kayanides*, 119-24 and index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 416, 645-9, 675-8, 691, 813, 869, 1053; al-Mas'ūdī, ii, 123-7 = §§ 547-50; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 36-7, al-Tha'ālibī, 255-377; Ibn al-Balkhī, 48-52; al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 105; al-Makdisī, *op. cit.*, iii, 149 ff.; Firdawsī, iv, 359-751). The throne then passed to his grandson

**BAHMAN** (Vahman, son of Isfandiār, who was also called later Ardashīr or Kay Ardashīr in order to make him the ancestor of the Sāsānid dynasty. The history of his reign is influenced by outside traditions. Al-Mas'ūdī asserts that the return of the Jews to Jerusalem took place during his reign, and according to Dinawarī, Bahman had a Jewish wife who converted him for a while to Judaism; despite this, he is considered to have strengthened the Zoroastrian faith. He was a great builder, and was also a warrior-king who killed Rustam and avenged his father (see Christensen, index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 649-54; al-Mas'ūdī, ii, 127-9 = §§ 550-2; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 37; al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 105, 111; Bal'amī-Zotenberg, i, 500-1; Ibn al-Balkhī, 52 ff.; al-Tha'ālibī, 379 ff.; Firdawsī, v, 7-19). Bahman is represented as the father and the spouse of

**HUMĀY** [q.v.], who gave him a son,

**DĀRĀ/DĀRĀB** [q.v.]. Darius I, whose successor was **DĀRĀ/DĀRĀB II**. In this fashion, the national tradition bridges the gap which separates the reign of Bištāsb from Alexander's conquests, with the Achaemenids being mixed up with other lists of rulers. Humāy, also called Čīhrāzād, is mixed up with a daughter of Bištāsb, and it was for a Humāy that the kernel of the *Thousand and one nights* was put together [see *ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA*], a point which poses difficult problems. The descendants of Bahman form a fairly confused mélange; another son is attributed to him, Sāsān, who was set aside from the succession, but the Sāsānid dynasty is attached to him by a forged genealogy and the legitimacy of the line thereby assured.

*Bibliography*: Given in the text. (E.D.)

**AL-KAYD**, name of a fictitious star, defined in the *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 229) as *nađim nahis fi 'l-samā' lā yurā wa-lahū hiṣāb ma'lām yustakhrāju bihi ma'wādi'uhū*, "an ill-

omened invisible star in the heavens, having a known ephemeris from which its position can be derived". It is not mentioned in *LA* and *TA*. Although occurring in at least one oriental text printed in Europe (*Anonymus Persa de Sigtis Arabum et Persarum*, ed. and tr. J. Gravius, London 1648), it seems to have escaped the attention of historians of astronomy, and was rediscovered independently by Hartner (1939) and Kennedy (1957); see Ruska-Hartner [1, 206], Hartner [1], and Kennedy [1].

The earliest mention of al-Kayd so far known is found in Ibn Hibintā's *al-Mughni* (Suter, No. 31), written in 214/829 (Bayr. Staatsbibl., Munich, Cod. ar. 852, fols. 67v. and 71v.), where five of al-Kayd's six companions (see below) are also listed. According to this work, al-Kayd is "one of the stars with a tail; it appears once every hundred years and travels retrogradely, like the lunar nodes, through the zodiac, making one sign in 12 years". Its position is found in the following way: "Subtract 90 from the number of complete (Persian) years which have elapsed since the epoch of the Yazdagird era (17 June, 632). From the remainder subtract in turn the highest multiple of 144 which it contains. Multiply the second remainder by 360 and divide the product by 144. The result will give the longitude of al-Kayd measured backward from the first point of Aries. Subtract it from 360° to obtain the longitude as usually expressed" (Kennedy [1, p. 45]). Thus al-Kayd has a retrograde motion of  $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  per Persian year. It passed through the vernal point at the beginning (1st Farvardin) of the years of the Yazdagird era 91 (25 May 722), 235 (19 April 866), 379 (14 March 1010), 523 (6 Feb. 1154), 667 (1 Jan. 1298), etc. This rule is corroborated by a number of other manuscripts containing references to al-Kayd and tables of its motion. Others, however, are based on slightly divergent parameters. In the case of tables computed for the Islamic calendar, the divergencies, which concern the initial longitude in year 91 of the Yazdagird era as well as the mean motion, might be due to errors of computation, but since there are tables expressed in the Yazdagird calendar which are based on a deviating initial longitude, it is evident that various traditions concerning the motion of al-Kayd must have been in existence. Thus Miram Çelebi's table in his *Commentary on the tables of Ulug Beg* (Aya Sofya Ms. 2697, fol. 241v.) gives the longitude of al-Kayd on the first day of A.Y. 655 as  $29^\circ 52' 47''$ , while according to the rule it should be  $30^\circ$  straight (cf. Hartner 1, Pl. 5 and p. 21, where the last passage, caused by misreading 600 for 655, is to be cancelled), which implies that al-Kayd passed through the vernal point some 17 days before the beginning of A.Y. 91, on Asfendarmed 14 of A.Y. 90.

Kennedy [1, 50] gives a list of al-Kayd's yearly and daily motions as well as of its longitude at A.Y. 91 according to various Islamic authors. Now the table of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kūm-Rīshī's *K. al-lum'a fi hall al-kawākib al-sab'a*, apparently copied from Ibn al-Shātir, to whom the author refers, operates with the same yearly motion of  $-2; 29, 59, 18^\circ$  (sexagesimal fractions) and the same initial longitude as Ibn Yūnis' *Hākimi zīdj*, which proves that this value for the yearly motion, corresponding to a complete revolution of al-Kayd in 144 Persian years, 4 days, has a long tradition. Accepting that this was not accidental, Hartner [1, 14] has shown that al-Kayd passed through the point of summer solstice on 8 November 324 B.C., a day very close to the one accepted by numerous Islamic authors (al-Farghānī, Ḥabash, al-Mas'ūdī, al-Birūnī, Ibn Yūnis,

Kūshyār al-Djīlī) as the beginning of the era of the death of Alexander the Great: Thoth 1, 425 of the era Nabonassar = 12 November 324 B.C. (Alexander actually died on 13 June 323 B.C.); this era, also called *Aera Philippi Arrhidaei*, operates with vague years of 365 days, as does the era of Yazdagird. Certain particulars of the Islamic version of the Romance of Alexander seem to confirm this hypothesis of an actual connexion. Here above all the figure of Khaḍir [q.v.] has to be mentioned, which has a striking similarity with the Indian demon Rāhu. Both are put to death after having sipped from the fountain of life (in India the *amṛta* drink), but both survive because immortalised by the drink. Khaḍir, having become a maleficent demon, is fettered with heavy chains to the bottom of the sea, while Rāhu's head, severed from his body, and his tail, now called Ketu, become the intransigent enemies of the luminaries. In astrology [see DĀW-ZAHAR] those two parts of the eclipse monster are identified with the lunar nodes. As these nodes behave like planets, making a (retrograde) revolution along the ecliptic in the course of 18.6 years, they are treated as such, with their exaltations (ὕψώματα, *ashrāf*) in Gemini and Sagittarius, and figure in horoscopes as maleficent stars; see Hartner 2, pp. 120-134.

According to another Indian tradition, however, Ketu takes the shape of a comet (*dhūmaketu*, "smoke-ketu") appearing at irregular intervals as a threat to the superior world and to mankind. Obviously, it is this manifestation of Ketu from which the Arabic al-Kayd was derived, semantically as well as etymologically. This is also attested by the fact that the only information to be drawn from Islamic authors is that al-Kayd is of Indian origin. At a time not yet definable on the basis of our present knowledge, the irregular cometary Ketu was incorporated into the system of astrology and, for this purpose, had to be regularised by ascribing to it planetary qualities and a uniform motion, retrograde along the ecliptic, in accordance with its closest relatives, the nodes of the lunar orbit. Thus the Indian Ketu found its way twice into Hellenistic astrology. The reasons for attributing to the pseudoplanet Ketu-Kayd a revolution of 144 vague years (precise or approximate) are unknown. A. Sachs (see Neugebauer [1, 211]) has identified a comet (*zai-lum-mu-ū*) with a revolution of half this period, 72 years, in the cuneiform text TU 11 (rev. 27), written in Uruk during the Seleucid period, which, as Neugebauer says with due precaution, comes somewhat close to the period of Halley's comet, 76 years, so that it could have been "taken as a prototype and its period modified to 72 because of some unknown astrological speculation. But all this is sheer guesswork." This is true indeed, but another possibility cannot be excluded, that different comets appearing accidentally at an interval of around 144 years were regarded as identical, i.e., periodically recurring, as for instance the following, chosen at random from the Chinese annals (see Ho Peng Yoke [1]): 233 B.C., 87 B.C., A.D. 55, A.D. 200, A.D. 343.

The recollection of the cometary origin of al-Kayd is clearly alive for Islamic authors, as is shown by the fact that al-Kayd is often listed together with six companions called *kawākib dhawāt al-adhnāb*, "stars with tails", travelling the ecliptic retrogradely with the same velocity, and thus at a constant distance from al-Kayd. According to the best extant manuscripts, among which the *zīdj* of Djamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Kāsim b. Maḥfūz (Paris, Bib. Nat. 2486,

fol. 99 f.) ranks foremost, their names are as follows: *Dhu'l-dhu'āba*, "The one with a tuft", *Liḥyān*, "Beard", *Sar-i-mūsh* (arabised *Sarmūsh*), "Head of the mouse", *Ghaṭīṭ*, "Death-rattle", *Gharīm* (misspelled 'Azim in Ms. 2486), "Adversary", and *Kalāb*, "Hydrophobic delirium". They all illustrate at the same time the cometary character and the frightening danger of these fictitious celestial objects.

Contrary to what might be expected, these seven tailed stars follow each other at very irregular distances. When al-Kayd passes through the vernal point (longitude 0°), *Sarmūsh* stands at ca. 60°, *Gharīm* at ca. 214°, *Ghaṭīṭ* at ca. 265°, while the remaining three stand extremely close together: *Dhu'l-dhu'āba*, at 160°1', *Kalāb*, at 162°34', and *Liḥyān*, at 162°43'. As is seen, the two last are only 9' apart (less than one-third of the moon's apparent diameter). It seems justified to assume that this reflects the memory of a large comet with a head stretching over a relatively vast area, such as Halley's or the great comet of 1811.

There are numerous variants of these names due either to misreading or to substitution; of the latter, two are of interest: *Ṭayfūr*, which Kennedy [1, p. 44] doubtless is right in equating with the Greek comet *Typhon* (Bouché-Leclercq [1, p. 359]), and *Nayzak* (Persian, "spear"), which is used otherwise to denote all kinds of unexpected celestial phenomena, such as comets, meteors, and also the supernova of A.D. 1006 (see Goldstein [1], and Nallino [1, Vol. ii, p. XIII, 8], who has no other reference either to al-Kayd or to his companions. The Persian name *Sar-i-mūsh* is clearly reminiscent of the Pahlavi *Mūs-parīk*, which together with the dark sun (*Mitr-i tamī*) and the dark moon (*Māh-i tamī*) plays a preponderant rôle in the *Bundahišn*, ch. v, A (Anklesaria [1], 54-65), where they appear as antagonists of the luminaries. It seems that the idea of dark counter-planets adumbrated there was later extended to a heptad of such, viz. al-Kayd and his companions, each of whom was considered the dark adversary of one of the visible planets. Neugebauer [1] has shown that al-Kayd also occurs in Byzantine literature, where it is called *ἀντ*. The tables refer to Yazdagird years and operate with a motion of  $-2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  and an initial longitude at A.Y. 91 of 0°. Hartner identified al-Kayd in the Horoscope of Bantay Srei (near Ankor Tom, Cambodia), valid for the date 28 April 1295, see Beer [1, 207 f.].

Finally, a misunderstanding of a passage in which al-Kayd is mentioned (the *Astronomical Aphorisms* of Cardano, who borrowed it from the Latin translation of Abū Sa'īd *Shādhān's Muḍhākara*; the Arabic original (Ms. Ankara, Ismail Saib 199) was identified by F. Sezgin, see of this fols. 15b, 16a, 20b, 21a) gave rise to Tycho Brahe's great discovery that comets are not generated in the sphere of fire, as postulated by Aristotle, but are celestial bodies, and that, consequently, the millenary dogma of the existence of ethereal spheres is untenable (Hartner [3]).

*Bibliography*: Anklesaria [1] = *Zand-Ākāsīh, Iranian or greater Bundahišn*, transliteration and English tr. by B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1956; Beer [1] = A. Beer, *Astronomical dating of works of art*, in *Vistas in Astronomy*, ix (ed. A. Beer), 1967, 177-223; Bouché-Leclercq [1] = A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899; Goldstein [1] = B. R. Goldstein, *Evidence for a supernova of A.D. 1006*, in *The Astronomical Journal*, lxxi (1965), 105-14; Hartner [1] W. Hartner, *Le problème de la planète Kaid*, Les Conférences du

Palais de la Découverte, Série D, No. 36, Paris 1955 (also in W. Hartner, *Oriens Occidens*, Hildesheim 1968, 268-86); Hartner [2] = W. Hartner, *The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconographies*, in *Ars Islamica*, v/2, Ann Arbor 1938 (also in *Oriens Occidens*, 349-404); Hartner [3] = W. Hartner, *Tycho Brahe et Albumasar*, in *La science au seizième siècle*, Paris 1960 (also in *Oriens Occidens*, 496-507); Ho Peng Yoke [1] = Ho Peng Yoke (Ho Ping-Yü), *Ancient and mediaeval observations of comets and novae in Chinese sources*, in *Vistas in Astronomy*, v, (1962), 127-230; Kennedy [1] = E. S. Kennedy, *Comets in Islamic astronomy and astrology*, *JNES*, xvii (1957), 44-51; Neugebauer [1] = O. Neugebauer, *Notes on al-Kaid*, in *JOS*, lxxvii (1957), 211-15; Nallino [1] = *Al-Battānī sive Albatēnī opus astronomicum*, ed. tr. C. A. Nallino, Vol. i-iii, Milan 1899-1907; Ruska-Hartner [1] = J. Ruska and W. Hartner, *Katalog der orientalischen und lateinischen Originalhandschriften, . . . des Inst. f. Gesch. d. Medizin u. d. Naturwissenschaften in Berlin*, in *Quellen und Studien z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss. u. d. Medizin*, vii, Berlin 1939, 155-302.

(W. HARTNER)

**KAYDU**, the son of *Kaṣhī*, the fifth son of the Great *Khān* Ögedey, was born according to *Djamāl al-Karshī* ca. 633/1235-6. The statement, still sometimes repeated, that he took part in the campaigns in Eastern Europe in 637-8/1240-1 is due to a confusion with his uncle, *Kadan*. Upon the accession of the Great *Khān* Möngke, he was ordered to reside in the region of *Kayallk* [q.v.]. Upon the election of *Ḳubilay* [q.v.] to the *Khānate*, he took the part of the latter's brother *Arīgh Böke* in the civil wars that followed. When *Arīgh Böke* surrendered to the Great *Khān*, *Ḳaydu* continued the struggle, remaining in open or latent hostility to *Ḳubilay* and his successor *Temür Öldjeytü* throughout the remainder of his life. He opposed *Burāq* [q.v.], *Ḳubilay's* nominee to the *Çaghatay Khānate* [q.v.] but they afterwards reached an agreement with each other and for thirty years the Houses of Ögedey and Çaghatay worked in harmony under the leadership of *Ḳaydu*. The accounts of his death are contradictory. He appears to have been wounded in a battle with the Great *Khān's* forces and to have died shortly afterwards. His death occurred, according to *Kāshānī*, in *Radjab* 702/February-March 1303, at a place called *Ḳulan Bashī* in the vicinity of *Karaçorum*.

*Bibliography*: *Rashīd al-Dīn, The successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. J. A. Boyle, New York-London 1971; *Waṣṣāf*, Bombay edn.; *Kāshānī, The History of Uljaytu*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran 1969; V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris, s.v. *Caidu*. (J. A. BOYLE)

**KAYGHUSUZ ABDĀL** (? - 818/? - 1415), Turkish mystic poet and writer of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, generally considered the founder of the *Bektāshī Darwish* literature. The little which is known about his life is half legendary and based on traditional writings of the order. *Aḥmed Sirrī Baba*, the only author who gives exact dates for his life, does not mention his sources (*al-Risāla al-aḥmadiyya fi ta'rikh al-tariqa al-bektāshīyya*, Cairo 1352, quoted by A. Gölpınarlı, *Türk Tasavvuf Siiri Antolojisi*, Istanbul 1972, 174). *Kayghusuz* seems to have been a disciple (*murīd*) of *Abdāl Mūsā* (whose shrine is in *Elmalī near Antalya*), a follower of *Hādīdī Bektāsh* of *Khurāsān* (d. 660/1270), the patron of the *Bektāshīyya*, who himself was a

disciple of Bābā Ishāk, the leader of the famous religio-social Bābā'ī revolt of 638/1240 against the Saldūqs. Kayghusuz spent several years in Egypt, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, where, according to tradition, he founded the Bektāshī convent, which became one of the most important centres of the order. His ideological formation can be traced to Bābā'ī and Bektāshī influences and his literary personality, particularly in language and style, owes much to Yūnus Emre, the great mystic poet of 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, who also seems to have been exposed to the influence of the heterodox Bābā'ī movement [q.v.].

Subtle irony, satirical humour and a strong *joie de vivre* characterize Kayghusuz' poetry, and his fluent, vivid, powerful prose created popular mystic works (*Risāle-i Kayghusuz*, *Kitāb-i Maghlata*, *Kitāb-i Dilgūshā* or *Budalā-nāme*) which are among the masterpieces of early Ottoman Turkish literature. Kayghusuz' works have not been edited. Lithographic editions are not reliable. His poems are frequently confused with those of Kayghusuz Vizeli 'Alā' al-Dīn, a 10th/16th century popular mystic poet of the Malāmatiyya order. For comparatively reliable Ms. texts of Kayghusuz Abdāl see the *meḍmū'a*, Nuru Osmaniye, no. 4904; Ankara General Library, Ms. nos. 169, 824 and 867, and Istanbul Belediye Library, Cevdet section Ms. no. 216. For selections, see Bibliography.

*Bibliography*: M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mulasavvıflar*, second ed. Istanbul 1966, *passim* (see index); Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1936-45, article Abdal Musa, 164-71; A. Gölpınarlı, *Kayghusuz Abdal*, Istanbul 1953; Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir*, Istanbul 1964, 100-18; A. Gölpınarlı, *Türk tasavvuf şiiri antolojisi*, Istanbul 1972, 174-95.

(F. İz)

**KAYGILI, 'OTHMĀN DJEMĀL** (modern Turkish OSMAN CEMAL KAYGILI), Turkish novelist, short story writer and humorous essayist (1890-1945). He was born in an Istanbul suburb outside the city walls, the son of a local grocer. He lost his parents at an early age and, after finishing the neighbourhood high school, he was trained as an army clerk and worked in various departments of the General Staff (1906-13). Following the assassination of the grand vizier Maḥmūd Şehvet Pasha in June 1913, he was arrested together with many "suspects" of the opposition and banished to Sinop on the Black Sea, where he wrote his long short-story *Çuvaldızı Şeykhiniñ Khalefi* (published later in *Alay*, 5, February 1920). Some of his fellow-exiles, particularly Refik Khālid Karay [q.v.], who was already a celebrity, encouraged him and induced him to become a professional writer. Released from Sinop, he continued to serve, during World War I, as an army clerk in various military units in Anatolia. Following a serious illness he returned to Istanbul in 1917 and was discharged because of disability in 1918 at the age of 28. He devoted the rest of his life to his literary work, making his living by odd jobs and later by teaching in various schools. He died in Istanbul in 1945.

'Othmān Djemāl Kaygılı began his career as a humorous writer and from 1920 onwards contributed to a great number of dailies (e.g. *Şabāh*, *İkdām*, *Akshām*, *Waķit*, *Akışsöz*, etc.) and periodicals, particularly *Alay*, *Aydede*, *Akba* and his own shortlived *Āyine* (*Ayna*, 1921-23). Most of these writings, including some short stories and novels and his memoirs (*Akşamcılar* serialized in *Akışsöz*

1936-37), have not been published in book form.

Kaygılı belongs to the school of Turkish writers and novelists who, during the last decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries, produced works which were inspired by the technique and style of traditional Turkish folk literature and popular story-tellers, and were addressed to and enjoyed by larger audiences than the works of the élitist writers of the same period. Kaygılı adopts on the one hand the informal technique, free and easy style and familiar digressions of Aḥmed Mîdḥat, with his sympathy and understanding for the way of life of simple folk, and on the other follows Hüseyn Rahmî Gürpınar and partly Aḥmed Râsim, in their concentration on observing and describing Istanbul lower and lower-middle class life in the suburbs. He himself belonged to this world and spent most of his life in its midst. He is, however, a less brilliant and more limited and modest successor of his outstanding masters. But his emphasis on details of Istanbul folklore and the study of certain types (particularly gypsies, refugees from the Balkans (*muhacirs*), street children, popular singers and musicians, etc.) characterise his work, which contains invaluable documentary material for Istanbul suburban life for the period between the two World Wars.

Kaygılı's main published works are: 1) *Eshkiyü Güzeli*, Istanbul 1925 (collection of short stories); 2) *Sandalım Geliyor Varda!* (two long short-stories), Istanbul 1938; 3) *Çingeneler* (a novel on the life of gypsies outside Istanbul city walls, considered his best work), Istanbul 1939 and 1943; and 4) *Ayğır Fatma* (a sentimental love story), Istanbul 1944. He wrote several plays, in which he himself acted, produced puppet plays and tried to revive the Karagöz and Orta Oyunu theatres. (qq. v.). His only published play is *Üfürükçü* ("The Curer by Breathing"), Istanbul 1935. His remarkable contributions to research into Istanbul folklore have been published in articles or serialised in various Istanbul dailies. Only his studies on Istanbul slang (*Istanbul Argosu Lügati*, Istanbul 1936) and on the coffee-houses where popular poets-singers performed (*Istanbul Semai Kahveleri ve Meydan Şairleri*, Istanbul 1937), have been published in book form.

*Bibliography*: Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra Hikāye ve Roman*, Istanbul 1959, 95-122 (with excerpts); Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikāye ve Roman*, ii, Istanbul 1970, 220-40 (with excerpts); Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1972, s.v.; Halit Fahri Ozansoy, *Edebiyatçılar Çevremde*, Ankara 1970, 104-10).

(F. İz)

**KĀYĪ**, one of the Oghuz tribes to which, as claimed by some Turkish chroniclers, the Ottoman dynasty belongs. The Kāyī were considered as the noblest of the Oghuz tribes. The high prestige which they enjoyed seems to have rested on the fact that most of the rulers or *yabghus* of the Oghuz people living along the Syr Daryā (Sayhūn = Jaxartes) during the period between the 9th and 11th centuries were from this tribe. Some of the names of these kings are mentioned in the chapter of *Djāmi' al-tawārikh* dealing with the legendary history of the Oghuz Turks. However, the Kāyī tribe appears to have played a major rôle in the conquest and settlement of Anatolia, and consequently there are more place-names in Anatolia called after this tribe than any other tribe. What is really remarkable, however, is that in addition to the abundance of such place-names, there were in Turkey large Kāyī organizations living a tribal existence in the Denizli, Mentesh



and Konya regions in the 10th/16th century. Furthermore, there were smaller Kāyī branches in the *sandjaqs* of Ḥamīd (Isparta-Burdur), Ankara, Saru Khan, Kara Hişār (Afyon) and Sis (Kozan) in the 10th/16th century.

A small branch of the Kāyī who had not emigrated to the west was left behind among the Transcaspian Turkomans, but these people surprised some European travellers when they told them that the Ottoman dynasty had originated from their tribe. The earliest chronicler to claim that the Ottoman dynasty belonged to the Kāyī tribe was Yāzīdjī-oghlu 'Alī, who wrote his work during the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51). Although this claim can be questioned, it has some probability. The use of the Kāyī emblem as the official emblem of the Ottomans begins with the reign of Murād II. The Kāyī emblem is seen on coins struck during his reign, as well as on the weapons belonging to his successors; many weapons on display in the Topkapı Museum bear this emblem, and such emblems are quite similar to those given in e.g., *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*. Through its connection with the Kāyī, the son of Gün Khān, the eldest son and successor of Oghuz Khān, the Ottoman dynasty considered itself superior in nobility to other Turkoman dynasties, and to the sons of Čingiz Khān.

*Bibliography*: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlara ait destani mahiyette eserler, in Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xvii, 362-3, 369-74; idem, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler), Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilâtı-Destanları, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi yayınlarından*, Ankara 1967, index. (F. SÜMER)

**KAY KĀ'ŪS**, mythical second king of the line of Kayānids [q.v.] whose name contains twice over the royal title *kay* (Kay Ūs > Kā'ūs). His history has been delineated by A. Christensen from the Iranian religious tradition and from the national tradition echoed by the later Muslim historians (*Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, 73-90, 108-14). This Islamic historical tradition makes him the son of Kay Abiwēh > Abih (except for Bal'amī, Firdawsī and al-Tha'ālibī, who make him the son of Kay Kubād [q.v.]). He was a warrior-king who, according to Firdawsī, led a campaign into Māzandarān, which was inhabited by demons and protected by the white *dīw* (*dīw-i sefid*), who caused a hail of stones to come down on the royal army during the night. Rustam son of Zāl [q.v.] set out to deliver the king from imprisonment, and on his way became the hero of seven adventures which have become celebrated in poetry; the white *dīw* was overcome in his sleep and the blood from his heart restored their sight to the king and his army.

This ruler protected his country, and was clement towards the weak but severe against the powerful. He enjoyed the divine favour and the *dīws* were subject to him. Hence when he rose up against heaven, the *dīws* built for him a palace and a high tower in the Alburz Mountains, from which he and his troops went up, partly by their own efforts, partly by a magical machine, and partly in a sort of conveyance borne by eagles and vultures in front of which were dangled pieces of meat fixed on lance-points. The divine favour was consequently withdrawn from him and he fell to the ground; he himself was preserved alive, but his army perished.

In the course of a war launched against the Yemen, Kay Kā'ūs had married the daughter of the king of Yemen, Su'dā (whose name was Iranised to Sūdābeh, although she is also considered as the daughter of Afrāsiyāb [q.v.]). The advances of this woman had

been repelled by Kay Kā'ūs's son Siyāwush [q.v.], but she now spread calumnies against him in the king's presence; he had to flee for refuge with Afrāsiyāb, but the latter finally killed him. Kay Kā'ūs is said to have reigned 50 years; he was stripped of the throne by Kay Khusraw [q.v.] and imprisoned till his death.

*Bibliography*: Ṭabarī, i, 597 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Dinawarī, *Tiwāl*, 15; Tha'ālibī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 153-234; Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa'l-ta'rikh*, iii, 147 ff.; Ḥamza al-İşfahānī, ed. Gottwald, 35; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 40 ff.; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 104; idem, *India*, i, 95, 193; Bal'amī, i, 465; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 315-ii, 764, ed. and tr. Mohl, i, 486-ii, 557; J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, Paris 1883, ii, 221 ff. (CL. HUART \*)

**KAYKĀ'ŪS**, name of two Saldjūkid sultans of Rūm (Asia Minor).

**KAYKĀ'ŪS I**. Succeeding his father Kaykhusraw I [q.v.] after the battle in which the latter perished (608/1211), he at first had to rid himself of the rivalry of his brothers Kayferīdūn and Kaykubād [q.v.]. After that he had no further internal difficulties. His reign is particularly marked by the combination of a policy of peace towards the Greeks of Nicaea with interventions on the southern, northern and eastern frontiers. In the south, where Kaykhusraw had taken Anṭāliya, he tried to combine interventions against the Armenians of Cilicia, carried out in favour of the Latin prince Bohemund IV of Antioch and his ally al-Zāhir of Aleppo, with trade treaties with the Cypriots and the Venetians. In the north, the great success of his reign was the acquisition of Sinop, a new maritime outlet, this time for the Black Sea; this port had the advantage of not belonging clearly either to Nicaea or Trebizond. There he collected a fleet, to be directed especially against the Crimea. But when Kaykā'ūs, after the death of al-Zāhir in 613/1216, tried to conquer Aleppo on behalf of his vassal of Samosata, the exiled Ayyūbid al-Afḍal [q.v.], he was defeated by the Ayyūbid of Mesopotamia al-Aṣḥraf [q.v.]. He tried to take revenge by organising an anti-Ayyūbid coalition with the help of Lu'lu' [q.v.], the ruler of al-Mawṣil, but he died before this project could be realized (618/end of 1220). He had kept up good relations with Bahramshāh of Erzindjān and al-Mughīth of Erzurum, his neighbours in Asia Minor, and also with the caliph al-Nāṣir [q.v.] whom he conciliated by adhering to his reformed *futuwwa* [q.v.]. He may also have encouraged the expansion of literature written in Persian, which was then beginning in his territories, and showed an interest in Šūfism in the person of Ibn 'Arabī [q.v.]. The same period is by and large the one in which began the real development of cities, architecture, mosques, *madrasas*, caravanserais, etc., a list of which cannot however be given here.

**KAYKĀ'ŪS II**, 'IZZ AL-DĪN, son and one of the successors of Kaykhusraw II, who had left three minor sons: the eldest, 'Izz al-Dīn, son of a Greek woman; the second, Rukn al-Dīn Kiliđj Arslān, son of a Turkish woman, and the youngest who was ailing, 'Alā' al-Dīn, son of a Georgian woman. For several years the high dignitaries, in particularly the freedman Karatay, who exercised the real power, tried to maintain a kind of condominium of the three brothers, and then of the two remaining after the suspicious death of the youngest during a mission to the Mongols. But when 'Izz al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn had attained their majority, this policy

proved to be impossible. In fact, the opposition of the two princes was based on the attitudes which they represented and on the milieus which supported them. Rukn al-Dīn, who exercised his prerogatives in the eastern part of Asia Minor, relied upon the Mongols with whom he was in contact, and upon their trusted official at his court, the *Parwāna* Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān [q.v.]. 'Izz al-Dīn, who reigned in western Asia Minor and was allied with his Greek family and the Turkmen groups on the frontier, adopted the latter's anti-Mongol attitude. A series of complicated episodes marks this struggle: at the death of Karatay (652/1254), Rukn al-Dīn revolted at Kayseri and was taken prisoner, but two years later the Mongols invaded again Anatolia under the command of Baydū. This invasion was in a way more dangerous than the one of 641/1243, because its aim was the very settlement of a part of the Mongols in Asia Minor, by which their exactions would consequently increase. 'Izz al-Dīn, defeated in a battle in which had taken part Michael Paleologus, then exiled at Nicaea (see below), fled to Greek territory, while Rukn al-Dīn was proclaimed sultan at Kayseri. But when he left to pay homage to the supreme Khān, 'Izz al-Dīn re-appeared at Konya (655/1257). The Khān Mōngke, who wanted their common collaboration or at least peace between them in view of the organizing of his campaign against the caliph, re-established the partition of dominions and the two brothers took part in the campaign of the Il-Khān Hülegü in Syria in 658/1260. But when the latter had left, they started their struggle again. 'Izz al-Dīn, menaced by the Mongols, had to flee, this time for good, to Constantinople, which his old friend Paleologus had reconquered from the Latins. But this flight turned out unlucky for him. The new Emperor, desirous to turn all his forces against the Latins and the Mongols of Russia, tried to make peace with the Mongols of Iran and Asia Minor, who in turn had just broken off relations with those of Russia. Imprisoned on the northern borders of the Byzantine state, 'Izz al-Dīn was freed by a Mongol raid, but he was only able to withdraw to the Crimea, from where he could observe the events in Asia Minor. Without having tried to recover his throne, he died there in 678/1279-80. A certain number of Turks who had followed him remained in Dobruđia, where they still carry his name, deformed into the Gagauzes [see DOBRUĐIA]. In Asia Minor his popularity among the Turkmens was attested by revolts made in his name and by the support which his sons were to find there later on. It is certainly not by chance either that the great Turkmen epic of the *Dānīshmend-nāme* was in its first form dedicated to him.

**Bibliography:** Anticipating the article SALDĪJŪKĪDS, the essential bibliography relative to the 7th/13th century before 1243 and to the period of the SaldĪjŪkid-Mongol condominium is given here. For a larger, descriptive bibliography, see Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 427-40.

a. *From the end of the 6th/12th century to 1243.*

Muslim Anatolian sources were only written down during the second period (in Persian), but go back to the first. The most important is Ibn Bibī, *al-Awāmir al-'Alā'iyya*, facs. edn. of the unique ms. by Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1956, critical edn. started by the same and Necatî Lugal,—Vol. i, the only one published, 1957; a somewhat abridged version was published in 1902 by M. Th. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des SaldĪjukides*, iv; German tr. of this, with additions

from the original, by H. Duda, *Die Selttschuchengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, 1959. For this period see also in second place the anonymous *Tarih-i Āl-i Selcuk*, facs. edn. with Turkish tr. by Nafiz Uzluk, 1952.

The Arab sources are those of the Ayyūbid period; see AYYŪBĪDS. Important for the present purpose is the *Zubda* of Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm of Aleppo, ed. Sāmī Dahān, iii, and the *Ta'rikh Mansūri* of Muḥammad b. Naẓīf al-Hamawī, facs. edn. by P. Gryaznevitch, Moscow 1960 (unpubl. German tr. at the University of Vienna).

Use should also be made of the Christian sources in Armenian, Syriac, Greek, Georgian and occasionally even Latin. The Armenian sources include those of Armenia proper and those of Cilicia. For the period under consideration only the latter are really important, the main being the *Historien Royal* (perhaps = Sempad the Constable, ed. Akelian 1956, partial English tr. by S. Der Nersessian, complete French tr. by G. Dédéyan, doctoral thesis, Sorbonne, Paris 1972 (to be published)). The Georgian sources have been sufficiently collected in M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 2 vols., i, 1849. The contributions of the Byzantine sources (above all Nicetas Akropolites, Pachymeros) have conveniently been gathered in B. Lehmann, *Die Nachrichten des . . . über die Selttschuken*, 1939.

Important is the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus [see IBN AL-'IBRĪ] in Syriac (which is better than the Arabic version), ed. and tr. E. W. Budge, 1932. An anonymous Syriac chronicle reaching the year 1235 has been published by J. B. Chabot in the *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium*; a translation of the part dealing with this period is still awaited.

Of special interest for the transition between the two periods are the lengthy extracts from the Latin missionary Simon de St. Quentin in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, recently grouped and translated by J. Richard under the title *Histoire des Tartares*, 1966.

The majority of the inscriptions which have been published in various publications have been brought together, with a bibliography, in *RCEA*; many coins have been described in S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the oriental coins in the British Museum*, viii, and in Ahmed Tevhid, *Catalogue des anciennes monnaies islamiques du musée d'Istanbul*, iv, 1904. Acts of *wakfs* of various periods of the 7th/13th century have been published, especially by Osman Turan in *Belleleten* (1947-8). For archaeology, see articles on the various cities.

Modern general works: *IA*; Cl. Cahen, see above and *Le commerce anatolien au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Mélanges . . . Louis Halphen*, 1951; Osman Turan, *Selcuklular zamanında Türkiye*, 1971.

b. *From 1243 to the beginning of the 8th/14th century.*

To Ibn Bibī (extending to 1280) and to the anonymous *Ta'rikh* can now be added Karīm al-Dīn Mahmūd Aḡsarāy, *Musāmeret-ül-akḡbār*, ed. Osman Turan, 1947 (German analysis by Fikret İslitan, 1943). Among the many Arabic sources of the period of the first Mamlūks, special attention should be given to Baybars al-Manṣūrī (unpublished) for the middle of the 7th/13th century and to the *Life of Baybars* of 'Izz al-Dīn b. Ṣhaddād. The second part of the latter, the only one to be found so far, is still unpublished but a Turkish translation was published by Ṣarafuddin Yaltkaya (*Baybars Tarihi*, Istanbul 1941); the first part is extensively used

by various authors, especially by Yunīni, ed. Hyderabad 1954-5. Several Armenian authors from Greater Armenia mention the Mongols of eastern Asia Minor, but only the *Historien Royal* pays attention to Anatolia proper. The Greek historians to be consulted are again Pachymeros and Nicephoros Gregoras, ed. with Latin tr. in the Bonn *Corpus*.

To the recent general bibliography can now be added Faruk Sümer, *Anadoluda Mogollar*, in *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi*, 1 (1969-70), 1-147; Necat Kaymaz *Pervâne Mu'iniü'din Süleyman*, 1970; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization in the XIth-XVth century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971.

(CL. CAHEN)

**KAY KĀ'ŪS** b. ISKANDAR, prince of the Ziyārid dynasty in Persia and author of a well-known "Mirror for Princes" in Persian, the *Kābūs-nāma*.

'Unşur al-Ma'ālī Kay Kā'ūs was the penultimate ruler of the line of Ziyārids [q.v.] who ruled in the Caspian provinces of Ṭabaristān or Māzandarān and Gurgān in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. His main claim to fame lies in the *Kābūs-nāma*, written in 475/1082-3, when the author was 63 years old, for his favourite son and intended successor, Gilān-Shāh. The little that we know of his life must be gleaned from historical sources like Ibn Isfandiār's *Ta'riḫ-i Ṭabaristān* and from the *Kābūs-nāma* itself. We know that he spent eight years as a boon-companion of the Ḡhaznavid Sulṭān Mawḍūd b. Mas'ūd (reigned 433-40/1041-8), accompanying him to India, and some time also with the Shāddādīd Amīr Abū 'l-Aswār Shāwūr (413-49/1022-57) in Transcaucasia, and that he succeeded to the throne in 441/1049-50. Ziyārid power was, however, gradually restricted by the rising supremacy of the Saldjūks in the eastern Iranian world, and the Saldjūks exercised a virtual suzerainty over Ziyārid lands. Kay Kā'ūs died a few years after the *Kābūs-nāma* was written and was succeeded by Gilān-Shāh, but the latter was overthrown by the Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt in ca. 483/1090.

The *Kābūs-nāma* is an early specimen of the Persian *andarz-nāma* genre, i.e., it gives counsel for rulers. It speaks of duty to God and the necessity for ethical behaviour, but in fact recognises expediency as the most practical basis for government. The title derives from Kay Kā'ūs's grandfather, the celebrated Kābūs b. Wushmagīr [q.v.], whom the author clearly admired for his ruthlessness. The book's introduction and 44 chapters range over the topics of kingship, leadership in battle, and administration, but much space is also allotted to more mundane and intimate matters such as the buying of horses and slaves and the regulation of marital and family life. The Persian prose style is simple and direct, and the whole work is plentifully interspersed with aphorisms, historical anecdotes and verse quatrains (mostly by the author himself).

The work has always remained popular, as the numerous extant manuscripts attest. At least three Ottoman Turkish translations were made, the earliest being done for Sulṭān Murād II (824-55/1421-51), and manuscripts of these are quite common also.

*Bibliography*: Concerning the alleged manuscript of the *Kābūs-nāma* dating from 483/1090, around which a considerable literature grew up, see the summing up of M. Minovi, *Qābūs-nāma'nin yeni nüshası hakkında*, in *Şarkīyat Mecmuası*, ii (1958), 105-30. The Ottoman Turkish versions that have survived are: (a) the translation by Merdīmeḳ

Aḥmed b. Ilyās, dated 835/1431, ed. Kazan 1298/1880-1, Istanbul 1944; (b) the translation by Naẓmizāde Muşṭafā, dated 1117/1705 (cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1888, 116-17). The earliest rendering into a Western language, the German translation by H. F. von Diez (Berlin 1811), which was based on the Turkish versions, had a great influence on the Oriental studies of W. F. von Goethe (cf. *Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständnis des West-östlichen Divans*, ed. Wiesbaden 1948, 286-92). Translations from the Persian original were made by A. Querry (Paris 1886, Fr.), P. B. Vachha (Bombay 1916, Eng.), R. Levy (London 1951, Eng.), E. E. Bertel's (Moscow 1953, Russ.) and Amin 'Abd al-Maḍḍīd Badawī (Cairo 1378/1958, Ar.). The best edition of the text of the *Kābūs-nāma* available at present was published by Ḡhulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī, Tehran 1345 sh./1967 with elaborate notes and a bibliography. Older editions which are still of some importance are those by Ridā-kulī Khān Hidāyat (Tehran 1285/1868-9), S. Nafīsī (Tehran 1312 sh., 1342 sh.), R. Levy (London 1951) and A. 'A. Badawī (Tehran 1335 sh./1956). *Studies*: Ethé, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 347, 349; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 276-87 (extensive analysis); A. 'A. Badawī, *Bahṫ dar barā-yi Kābūs-nāma*, Tehran 1335/1956; Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, *Sabk-shīnāsī*, Tehran 1337/1958, ii, 113-22; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958, 76; A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 790-3; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 221, 426-8, with bibliography of texts, translations and studies; Ḍhabṫ Allāh Ṣafā, *Nāṫr-i fārsī az āghāz tā 'ahd-i Niẓām al-Mulk-i Ṭūsī*, Tehran 1347/1968, 281-5. *Dh. Ṣafā*, *Ta'riḫ-i adabīyyāt dar Irān*, ii, Tehran 1339 sh., 898-902; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 100-3. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KAY KHUSRAW**, the third mythical ruler of the Iranian dynasty of the Kayānids [q.v.], corresponding to Kavi Haosrovah of the religious tradition (see A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, 90-2 and index). He is reckoned as the son of Siyāwush/Siyāwakhsh [q.v.] and the grandson, through his mother, of Afrāsiyāb [q.v.], and according to the national tradition (Christensen, 114-17) was born after his father's death and was brought up amongst the mountain shepherds of Ḳalū near Bāmiyān, in ignorance of his illustrious origin. This, however, showed itself early; at the age of seven he could use a bow and arrows, and at ten he had no fear of any tiger or lion. Gūdarz, an Iranian nobleman who was descended from the blacksmith Kāwī [q.v.] saw in a dream that the heir to the throne was living in the territory of Turan, and he sent his own son Gēw (Wiw) in search of him; this last discovered him and brought him and his mother back to Iran, not without surmounting a host of dangers.

He then found himself in competition with his uncle Burzfarrah/Fariburz, but obtained the throne of his grandfather Kay Kā'ūs [q.v.] by seizing, according to Firdawsī, the fortress of Bahmandiz near Ardabīl [q.v.], the place where he then erected the sacred fire of Ādhur-Gushasp (according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Kay Khusrāw killed a dragon called Kūshīd and built in this place a fire-temple Kūshīd for Gushāsp).

A journey through his empire demonstrated to

him the devastations caused by the Turanians, and he swore to undertake a war of retaliation against them. With the help of all the nobility, he launched various expeditions, of which the first ones, despite the prowess of Gūdarz, failed because of the cowardice of Burzfarrāh/Farīburz. The second ones, however, were crowned with success. Kay Khūsraw fitted out four armies, the main one of which was given to Gūdarz, who secured a decisive victory over Turan, whilst the other ones surrounded the enemy; Afrāsiyāb himself took to flight, but was overtaken and killed by Kay Khūsraw, who thereby avenged the death of his father.

After Afrāsiyāb's death, peace reigned and the king soon retired from power, handing on the crown to Luhrāsb. He set forth on a great journey and disappeared mysteriously after having washed himself in a spring, whilst a group of his companions perished in a snow storm.

*Bibliography:* Ṭabarī, i, 604 ff.; Dinawarī, *Tuwāil*, 19-23; Tha'ālībī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 218-43; Ḥamza al-İṣfahānī, 36; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 120-1 = §§ 543-4; Makdisī, *al-Bad' wa'l-ta'riḫh*, iii, 149; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, ii, 670-9, 701-3, 710, iii, 1442 = ed. and tr. Mohl, ii, 416-30, 462-5, 576-iv, 273; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 44 ff. (Cl. HUART \*)

**KAYKHUSRAW**, name of three Saljūkid sultans of Rum.

**KAYKHUSRAW I**, son and one of the successors of Kiliċj Arslān II [q.v.]. When the latter, at the age of about seventy, decided ca. 583/1187 to divide his territories among his ten sons, a brother and a nephew, Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kaykhūsraw got Sozopolis or Uluborlu, on the borders of the Byzantine territory, perhaps because he was the son of a Byzantine mother. He thus came in contact with Greek Christians on one side, with groups of Turkmen frontier warriors (*uđi*) who were pushing forward in that direction on the other. When jealousy arose among the brothers and one of them, Kuṭb al-Dīn, laid hands on their old father, the latter appealed to Kaykhūsraw, who restored him to his throne in Ḳonya. But after Kiliċj Arslān had died (588/1192), Kaykhūsraw proved incapable of having his supremacy recognised by his brothers. Some of them even began to conquer for themselves parts of the other's heritage. Rukn al-Dīn, heir to Kuṭb al-Dīn who had died in 593/1197, reconquered Ḳonya and restored to his own profit the unity of the paternal heritage, while Kaykhūsraw withdrew to his original base near the Byzantine feudal lord Maurozomos. However, when Rukn al-Dīn directed his policy towards conquests to the east of Anatolia, certain Turkmens became discontented. With their help Kaykhūsraw, after the death of Rukn al-Dīn, who left only a minor son, reconquered, this time definitely, the whole of the reunified state of Rūm (601/1205). Kaykhūsraw had locally intervened in various directions in the quarrels which were then devastating the Byzantine Empire. In 1204 the Latins had captured Constantinople and a limited Greek kingdom under Theodore Lascaris had come into existence in Asia Minor with Nicaea as its capital. Lascaris was on bad terms with Maurozomos, whom Kaykhūsraw first took with him to Ḳonya but for whom he later obtained the cities of Khunas and Laodicea (the later Denizli) that were contested between the two states. Maurozomos is probably the personage whom Ibn Bībī calls the "Comnenos *amir*", who for twenty-five years played an important part in the Saljūkid state.

Lascaris and Kaykhūsraw both had a common interest in peace, but the latter's attention, in opposition to his predecessor's, was no less attracted to the interest the Saljūkid state might have in expansion in western Asia Minor. He tried to expand his territory at the expense of the remains of the Byzantine Empire, which had no defenders left between Nicaea and Trebizond or Armeno-Cilicia. If he could not secure again a foothold on the Black Sea at Samsun, recently occupied temporarily by the Turkmens, he obtained on the other hand a very important success by acquiring, on the southern coast of Anatolia, Anṭāliya, which was the first real maritime outlet the Saljūkid state had ever possessed. Shortly afterwards, however, the relations between Kaykhūsraw and Lascaris again became strained. The Latin or Greek enemies of the latter, together with the indiscipline of the Turkmen, frontier warriors had undoubtedly something to do with this development. In 608/1211 the two rulers were opponents in a battle near Antioch of the Meander; Kaykhūsraw remained victorious, but was killed under obscure circumstances. There was never more to be any considerable war between the two states.

Kaykhūsraw, who had received from his father a name derived from Iranian mythology, gave analogous names to his two sons, sc. Kaykā'ūs and Kayḳubād. In his time interest in Persian literature was growing, and since the Saljūkids of Iran had disappeared, their Anatolian relatives had become the representatives of the former's Iranian tradition. Hence when the Persian author Rāwandī wrote the history of the Iranian Saljūkids, he dedicated his work to Kaykhūsraw.

*Bibliography:* see KAYKĀ'ŪS.

**KAYKHUSRAW II**, son and successor (in 634/1237) of Kayḳubād [q.v.].

The very power of his father was at the root of some of the difficulties that manifested themselves under his reign. Together with the Mongol invasion that took place in his days, they led to the catastrophe from which the Saljūkid state was never to recover.

He was not the successor-designate of Kayḳubād, who for political reasons had chosen as such one of the two sons he had had by his Ayyūbid wife. But Kaykhūsraw II was the eldest son and the only one already to possess real power. His "usurpation" resulted in a series of executions which accentuated the anti-aristocratic policy of Kayḳubād. Not only his half-brothers and their mother were strangled, but many *amirs* and high dignitaries were put to death and the *Kh* wārazmians who had settled in Asia Minor were forced to flee. Even Sa'd al-Dīn Köpek, his counsellor in all this, was done away with. This policy, in order to be acceptable, had to be accompanied by military successes. Like his father at the end of his reign, Kaykhūsraw II tried above all to drive away his Ayyūbid rivals from his south-eastern frontiers and perhaps to build up a bulwark in the east against the Mongols.

The death of the two powerful Ayyūbids al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf favoured him. Allying himself with the many enemies of al-Kāmil's son al-Šāliḥ, who attacked the latter in Mesopotamia and Syria, Kaykhūsraw II succeeded in taking possession (639/1241) of Āmid, the strategic key to the upper basin of the Tigris. He married a Georgian princess and, with the obligation of military help, obtained a certain suzerainty over the Ayyūbids of Aleppo, the Armenians of Cilicia, the "Empire" of Trebizond

and even to a small extent over that of Nicaea (while negotiating with the Latins of Constantinople about a marriage), Friar Simon of St. Quentin, a missionary who was staying in Rūm at that time, where he was well received by the sultan, never tires of giving high praise to the latter's richness and power.

However, signs of interior weakness appeared among the decimated aristocratic groups and even more among the Turkmens. From the very beginning, there had been differences of attitude between the officials of the régime who were urbanised, islamised and semi-iranised, and the semi-nomad Turkmens who were much closer to their ancestral traditions than to the exigencies of a civilized state. Their number and problems had increased by the drive of the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>ārazmians and Mongols. They were ripe for propaganda, which normally took a religious form, such as the *bābā'ī* [q.v.] movement which kept the best Saldjūkid troops occupied for three years in central Asia Minor before being ostensibly crushed by the interventions of Frankish mercenaries. The real root of the problem remained, however, untouched.

Shortly afterwards there appeared on the frontiers of Rūm the first real Mongol army ever to be seen there, under the command of Baydū.

In the winter of 1243-4, helped by treacheries previously prepared, the Mongols captured Erzurūm and in spring they started conquering Asia Minor proper. As a matter of great urgency, Kaykhusraw II asked his Muslim and Christian neighbours, reconciled by the common dangers, for reinforcements of all possible means. The impatience of some and the panic of others induced Kaykhusraw II to face the Mongols without waiting for all these contingents to arrive, but with an already very heterogeneous army. He was utterly defeated (6 Muḥarram 641/26 June 1243) by the Mongols at Köse Dağ, between Erzindjān and Sivas. A few days later they took Sivas and Kayseri. The sultan, having hastily collected his treasures, fled at once to Antāliya in western Anatolia. In a certain way, he momentarily outlived his power, his vizier Muhadhhab al-Dīn having succeeded in concluding an agreement of protection with the Mongols. In fact, however, the large tribute which was promised and the loss of prestige of the sovereign prepared the way for the ruin of the state. Turkmen revolts broke out on the frontiers and it was of little consequence that Kaykhusraw II, with the help of an Armenian rebel, was able to take some revenge on king Hethum of Cilicia for having handed over the queen-mother of Rūm to the Mongols. He died in winter 1245-6, about forty years old, leaving behind only sons who were minors.

*Bibliography*: see KAYKĀ'ŪS.

KAYKHUSRAW III, one of the sultans who reigned in name only over Asia Minor under the effective tutelage of the Mongols or their lieutenants.

Brought to the throne at an age between two and five (663/1265?) by the *Parwāna* Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān [q.v.] after the murder of his father Rukn al-Dīn Kiliđi Arslān, he always remained a puppet, first in the hands of Mu'īn al-Dīn, and after the latter's death (1277), in the hands of vizier Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī. At his majority, he put himself personally under the protection of the Mongol *Il-Khān* Abaka. But when one of his cousins, Mas'ūd, son of 'Izz al-Dīn KaykĀ'ūs, disembarked in Asia Minor from the Crimea, Abaka granted Kaykhusraw, at least theoretically, suzerainty over the

Karāmānid territory. After the death of Abaka, Kaykhusraw III compromised himself in the revolt of Kangirtāy against the new *Il-Khān* Aḥmad. The latter, whose policy was totally opposite to that of his predecessor, then conferred the sultanate on Mas'ūd and ordered Kaykhusraw to be strangled (1284). The unfortunate sultan's widow and minor sons, however, soon obtained the western half of the former sultanate from Aḥmad's successor Arghun, but the only result was that Mas'ūd ordered them in their turn to be put to death (1285).

*Bibliography*: see KAYKĀ'ŪS.

(CL. CAHEN)

**KAYKUBĀD**, name of three Saldjūkid sultans of Rūm.

KAYKUBĀD I, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN was the most distinguished of the Saldjūkid sultans of Rūm, to whom many later sovereigns would connect themselves. Removed from power by his brother and predecessor KaykĀ'ūs I [q.v.], he succeeded him in 618/1220. His foreign policy made his dynasty one of the most powerful of his time. In the south he expanded his power, from the very beginning of his reign, over a great part of the Cilician Taurus, where he settled Turkmens. He enlarged his maritime frontiers, in particular by conquering Kalon-Oros, renamed 'Alā'iyya, which he made his winter residence and the place of safe keeping for his treasury. On the Black Sea, he disputed the domination of Trebizond and organised, under the command of *amir* Čupan of Kastamonu, the memorable maritime expedition which assured a Saldjūkid protectorate over the Crimean harbour of Sughdāk. In the east, taking profit from rivalry among the Ayyūbids, he annexed with the help of one of them, al-Ashraf, the Arṭukid possessions on the right bank of the Middle Euphrates. Forging ahead of the reinforcements requested by Dāwūd-Shāh, the Mangudjakid of Erzindjān, he annexed the latter's principality and made it an apanage for his eldest son Kaykhusraw [q.v.]. If it had not been for the invasion of the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>ārazmians, the Saldjūkid principality of Erzurūm would have undergone immediately the same fate.

The *Kh*<sup>w</sup>ārazmians had conquered for their prince Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirtī [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN *Kh*<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZM-SHĀH] an ill-defined empire in Iran and Georgia. But further to the west they were continuously in search of a refuge against the growing Mongol pressure.

They had just taken Aḥlāt, the key to Asia Minor, from al-Ashraf and were now about to attack the whole region. Kaykubād, who had not been dissatisfied at seeing his rivals weakened, urgently summoned to his aid both his former enemies and his friends. The main contingent, consisting of various Syrian troops, was brought to him by al-Ashraf. After hard fighting the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>ārazmians were crushed at Yasi-Čumen, to the west of Erzindjān. The principality of Erzurūm was taken away from its prince, Djahān-Shāh, who had taken the side of Djalāl al-Dīn. Under the pretext that a Mongol raid had taken place through the territory of the Georgians, Kaykubād took away from them several frontier fortresses (thence, in order to restore peace, the wedding-project of Kaykubād with the Georgian heiress [see KAYKHUSRAW]), and occupied in his turn the ruined Aḥlāt, in which al-Ashraf had lost interest. The territory of the Turks now reached in the west the frontiers of the 11th century Byzantine Empire. On the other hand, with Djalāl al-Dīn having died and with his troops fleeing before the Mongols, Kaykubād thought that he could realise a

profitable operation for the defence of his enlarged territories by settling the *Kh*̄wārazmians there.

But the Ayyūbids, favoured by the defeat of the *Kh*̄wārazmians, had intensified their grasp on Upper Mesopotamia and the two ambitious powers were from now on facing each other without any buffer-state left. Al-Kāmil, the suzerain of the Ayyūbids, to whom the Syrians had given the impression that he could obtain an easy conquest, invaded Asia Minor but was defeated (631/1233) because contingents who were opposed to the expedition served him badly in the mountain passes of the Taurus. Kaykubād was then able to set out on a policy of penetration into the upper Tigris region. He was lucky to die (634/1237) before the Mongols had sent into Asia Minor more than reconnaissance raids which were of no consequence. The disaster which his successor was to experience made Kaykubād in the eyes of posterity the last of the really great sovereigns of his dynasty; he had in practice been the most powerful.

We are not as well-informed about his internal policy, but may surely characterise it amongst other things by his inflexible will to keep the great *amirs* of the régime within obedience. His reign is marked by many construction projects, including ramparts, caravanserais, mosques and *madrasas*; excavations are gradually revealing his palaces of *Qubādābād* and *Kaykubādiyya* [see *KAYKUBĀDIYYA*]. The Sultan himself is said to have been a gifted personality, equally endowed physically and intellectually.

*Bibliography*: see *KAYKĀ'ŪS*, to which should be added H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, Wiesbaden 1950; idem, *Der Bericht des Ibn Naẓif über die Schlacht von Yasiçimen*, in *WZKM*, vi (1960), 55-67.

*KAYKUBĀD II*, one of the sons of *Kaykhusraw I* [see *KAYKĀ'ŪS II*].

*KAYKUBĀD III*, one of the sons of 'Izz al-Dīn *Kaykā'ūs II*, who from the Crimea tried in 1282 to reconquer the throne of his father in Asia Minor. He had to take refuge in Cilicia, but reappeared in 1297 and, with the support of the Il-Khān *Ghāzān*, occupied the nominal sultanate of Rūm until the Mongol ruler put him to death in 702/1303.

*Bibliography*: see *KAYKĀ'ŪS*. (CL. CAHEN)

**KAYKUBĀD**, MU'IZZ AL-DĪN, Sulṭān of Dihli (686-9/1287-90) grandson of *Ghiyāth* al-Dīn Balban [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded. His father *Buġhrā Khān* was Balban's younger son, absent in Bengal at the time of his death. *Kaykubād's* maternal grandfather was Sulṭān *Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd* (644-65/1246-67). *Kaykubād* had been strictly educated under Balban's supervision, but after his accession at the age of 17 or 18 embarked on a career of unbridled licentiousness. In matters of state he fell under the influence of *Malik Niẓām al-Dīn*, *amir-i dūd*, nephew and son-in-law of the *kotwāl* of Dihli.

In 687/1288 *Kaykubād* set out from Dihli eastwards to encounter his father, *Nāṣir al-Dīn Buġhrā*, who had assumed sovereignty in Bengal. The meeting, which took place on the banks of the *Ghāghra*, proved amicable; it is commemorated in detail by *Amir Khusraw Dihlawi's Mathnawī Kirān al-Sa'dayn*. The historian *Baranī* attributes to the father on this occasion lengthy counsels which, if they did not effect a lasting improvement in the young Sulṭān's morals, persuaded him to remove by poison his minister *Niẓām al-Dīn*. This occurred some months after his return to Dihli.

The disinclination of the Sulṭān to rule brought forward at his court factions based on racial groupings

among the *amirs* and *maliks* of his court. Probably early in the reign, a Mongol invasion brought about a massacre of the *Naw-Musalmān* (converted Mongol) *amirs*. After the death of *Niẓām al-Dīn*, the contest for power was between the old-established Turkish *maliks* and the *Khaldij* faction led by the '*Arīd al-mamālik* *Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz* (Sulṭān 689-95/1290-6). *Kaykubād* fell ill, with a paralysis thought to have been brought on by his excesses, and the Turkish *maliks* set his infant son *Shams al-Dīn Kayumārth* upon the throne; but *Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz Khaldij* gained possession of the young Sulṭān and the capital, and was shortly afterwards to ascend the throne. Meanwhile, *Kaykubād*, starved for three days, was attacked by the son(s) of a Turkish *malik* whom he had put to death, wrapped in a rug, beaten and thrown into the river *Jamunā* to drown.

*Bibliography*: *Amir Khusraw, Kirān al-Sa'dayn*, Aligarh 1918; *Baranī, Ta'riḫ-i Firūz Shāhi*, 1862, 126-83; 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-Salāṭin*, Madras 1948, 184-208; *Sirhindi, Ta'riḫ-i Mubārak Shāhi*, 52-9; *Badāyūnī, Muntakhab al-tawāriḫ*, i, 157-66; *Fariṣhta, Ta'riḫ*, Bombay 1832, i, 146-52. Secondary works in English: *Sir T. Wolsley Haig in The Cambridge history of India*, iii, 82-7, and in *ET* s.v.; *K. A. Nizami*, in *M. Habib and K. A. Nizami, eds., A comprehensive history of India*, Delhi 1970, v, 303-10; *M. Wahid Mirza, The life and works of Amir Khusrav*, repr. Lahore 1962, 65-77, 174-6. On the manner of *Kaykubād's* death, see *S. H. Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Calcutta 1939, 263-4. (S. DIGBY)

**KAYKUBĀDIYYA**, a palace built by the Rūm *Saldjūk* ruler 'Alā' al-Dīn *Kaykubād I* (616-34/1219-37) in the years between 1224-26, ca. 4 miles northwest of Kayseri. The place is now called *Kiybad Çiftliği*, at the foot of the *Kiybad Dağ*; nearby is the plain of *Mashhad* (*Mashhadiyya*), where reviews of the troops took place. The road *Kayseri-Boğazköprü*, on which the palace was situated, was in use from pre-Roman times down to the Ottoman domination. Situated northeast of *Konya* in the heart of the Rūm *Saldjūk* territory, *Kaykubādiyya* was one of the favourite residences of 'Alā' al-Dīn *Kaykubād I*. He stayed there quite often, received at *Kaykubādiyya* the submission of *Malik al-Dīn Dāwūdshāh*, the lord of *Erzindjan*, in 625/1228, and died in this palace in 634/1237. His son and successor *Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw* ascended the throne at *Kaykubādiyya*. The palace belongs to the series of foundations and monuments erected by 'Alā' al-Dīn *Kaykubād I*, one of the most brilliant Rūm *Saldjūk* rulers, at *Konya*, *Alanya* ('Alā'iyya), *Qubādābād*, *Sivas* and *Erzindjan*. Excavations of the site were undertaken in 1964.

*Bibliography*: *H. W. Duda, Die Selttschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, Copenhagen 1959, 131, 145, 197-200; *G. Bartsch, Das Gebiet des Erciyes Dağı und die Stadt Kayseri in Mittel-Anatolien*, in *Deutsche Forschungsreisen*, ed. H. Spreitzer, Hanover 1935, 87-202 (table XXV: map of Kayseri and surroundings); *M. Zeki Oral, Kayseri'de Kubadiye Sarayları*, in *TTK Belleten*, xvii (1953), 501-17; *O. Aslanapa, Kayseride Keykubadiye Köşkləri Kazısı* (1964), in *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, xii (1964), 19-22; *IA*, s.v. *Keykubād I*; *ET*, s.v. *Kaykubād I*; *C. E. Bosworth, The Islamic Dynasties*, 129-31. (H. BUSSE)

**KAYL** is recorded by *Nashwān b. Sa'īd* (*Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Nashwān's im Sams al-'ulūm*, ed. A. Ahmad, Leiden-London 1916, 89) as a title of pre-Islamic Yemeni "kings". It is well

attested in Sabaean-language inscriptions from around the beginning of the Christian era onwards; the form *ḳayl*, however, seems to be mainly characteristic of the 5th-6th centuries A.D., while earlier it appears mostly as *ḳwl*, plural *ḳwl* (and Naṣḥwān himself says that *ḳayl* derives from *ḳayyil* and is a derivative of the root with median *w*). Inscriptional evidence shows that the *ḳayl* was in fact subordinate to the *malik* "king". In Sabaean social organisation of the relevant period, the grouping called a *ṣḥaʿb* [cf. ḲATABĀN] was constituted of a number of clans, one of which occupied a dominating position, with other clans subordinate to it. The dominant clan was the hereditary stock from which the leader of the whole *ṣḥaʿb* was drawn: as Ibn Khaldūn says (*Muḳaddīma*, ed. Quatremère, i, 240, tr. Rosenthal, i, 270), "leadership over any group always passes from one individual to another within a single stock" (*fī manbitin wāḥidīn*); the dominant clan was the *manbit* to which was restricted the potentiality of furnishing the leadership (*riʿāsa*) over the whole group. This leader was the *ḳayl*. In warfare, the members of the subordinate clans fought under the immediate command of the *ḳayl* of their *ṣḥaʿb*, though he himself was under the orders of the king as commander-in-chief.

*Bibliography*: G. Ryckmans, *Le ḳayl*, in *Hebrew and Semitic studies presented to G. R. Driver*, Oxford 1963, 144-55. (A. F. L. BEESTON)

**KAYL** [see MAKĀYL].

**KAY-LUHRĀSB** [see KAYĀNIDS].

**KAYMAK** [see KĪMĀK].

**KAYN**, from the Arabic root *ḳ y n* which has the basic meaning of "to adorn, embellish", comes by extension to denote artisan, workman (*sāniʿ*), although current usage reserves it above all for blacksmith (*LA*, s.v. *ḳ y n*). It does not occur in the Ḳurʿān; on the other hand, it occurs in many *ḥadīths*, generally in its particular sense of "iron-smith". The feminine *ḳayna* means "singing girl". However, since the men working at this trade usually belonged to the lowest stratum of the population, *ḳayn* became a deprecatory term applied to slaves. In the satirical poems of Djarīr, his antagonist al-Farazdaq is sometimes called *ibn al-ḳayn* (*Aghānī*, Beirut 1956, xix, 37, 41, 84), and this was regarded in the desert as such an insult that al-Akḥṭal, intending to eulogise Simāk al-Asadī, satirised him involuntarily by mentioning that one of his ancestors had been a blacksmith.

This unfavourable view of the *sāniʿ* has continued to be current amongst the Bedouins (H. Wahba, *Djāsirat al-ʿArab fī l-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*; R. al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt . . . al-urduunniyya*. Amman 1973-4, ii, 177). They consider the artisan as an outsider, even if he and his family have lived amongst them from time immemorial; he can never be integrated into the tribe, and no Arab nomad, of however low birth, would consider marriage links with him (R. Montagne, *Vie sociale et politique de l'Arabie du Nord*, in *REI* (1932), 74).

The *ḥaddādīn* (pl. of *ḥaddād* "blacksmith") are often originally oasis dwellers (Montagne, *op. cit.*), and sometimes belong to outcast tribes like the Nawār (A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 104 n. 2) or the Ṣulaba. They form a separate caste (Doughty, *Arabia deserta*, index s.v. *Ṣāny*), and consider themselves as unrelated, *banū ʿamm* (A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 281). Their lowly status protects them from the consequences of raids, and they accordingly enjoy an almost total immunity here.

During an attack on a clan in which they have chosen to reside, they stay apart from the fighting, doing nothing to defend either themselves or their goods, because of the right of protection which they enjoy. If goods of theirs are carried off by mistake, they can be confident of recovering them rapidly. In each clan they have in practice a brother (*akḥ*), the blacksmith of the group, who has the duty of restoring any goods seized by mistake (Musil, *op. cit.*, 281-2).

It is worthy of note that *ḳayn* in Sabaean is free of any pejorative sense such as is found in North Arabia. It seems to be agreed that its meaning here is "the one who arranges something", which is in accord with the etymology in Arabic. It would therefore appear to be used for a high official, superintendent or minister, whose duties are concerned with religion and the sacred. There is a sense of this supernatural aspect in the Ḳurʿān when it says "We sent down iron, in which there is violent force and also benefits for the people" (LVII, 25), and it attributes the invention and manufacture of mailed coats to David, after receiving instruction from God Himself (XXXIV, 10-11, XXI, 80).

The divine origin of iron is confirmed in several *ḥadīths*. Thus according to Ibn ʿUmar, "God brought down to earth four elements: iron, fire, water and salt" (al-Tabarsī, *Maḍīmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʿān*, Beirut 1961, xxiii, 157). More explicitly, Ibn ʿAbbās says, "The hammer, the anvil and tongs came down with Adam". In another tradition, five tools are said to have come down from Paradise with Adam, the anvil, tongs, the needle, the hammer and the whetstone (al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, xxvii, 122; Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-ʿarab*, iii, 400). Finally, in the *ḥadīth* concerning the general prohibition of cutting down plants in the Meccan *ḥaram*, an exception is made for the *idḥḥīr*, a fragrant plant used to decorate houses and tombs, but also used by blacksmiths (al-Buḥḥārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, *K. al-djanāʿiz*, 80-1; *LA*, s.v. *ḳ y n*; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à La Mekke*, 8-9).

The *ḳayn*'s position is thus ambivalent. Although an object of scorn, at the same time he enjoys certain privileges associated with sacred personages. As in the so-called primitive societies, amongst the desert Arabs the smith is a being apart. According to the Rwala beliefs, God created the first smith at the same time as the first Bedouin (Musil, *op. cit.*, 281). The taboos surrounding him are not solely explicable by mere contempt for mechanical activity; another factor must be taken into consideration: the superstitious fear of being contaminated by the impurity of the artisan-magician, of coming into contact with this formidable power, the secret of whose divinity he holds, and which made the Sabaean *ḳayn* an intermediary between man and the sacred.

Was the blacksmith's art taught to the Arabs of the North by those of the South, as alleged by the chroniclers (al-Balāḍhurī, *Ansāb al-aṣhrāf*, i, Cairo 1959, 467)? This hypothesis may be acceptable in that in Yemen today, the blacksmith is not regarded with any particular disfavour, the most despised class being that of the *ʿanādīl* (barber, butcher, cupper, etc.).

*Bibliography*: In addition to references in the text, see also J. Chelhod, *Le monde mythique arabe*, in *Jnal. de la Soc. des Africanistes*, xxiv (1954), 4 ff.; idem, *L'organisation sociale au Yémen*, in *L'Ethnographie*, N.S. no. 64 (1970), 75 ff. (J. CHELHOD)

**AL-ḲAYN** or **BANŪ l-ḲAYN**, often contracted

to Bal-Ḳayn (cf. Bal-Ḥārith, etc.), the name of one or more Arab tribes. The best known is part of the tribal group of Ḳudā'a, and al-Ḳayn is here interpreted as the nickname of al-Nu'mān b. Djasr, so that the tribe is known as al-Ḳayn b. Djasr. The word *ḳayn* means "worker in iron", "smith", or possibly "slave", and is used as a term of contempt in the *Naḳā'id Djarir wa'l-Farazdaq*. There is no evidence, however, of any connexion of Bal-Ḳayn b. Djasr with smiths. They act as a normal Bedouin tribe, and indeed are specially proud of their achievements (cf. verse in Ibn Ḳhallikān-de Slane, i, 40). Among the tribes against whom they fought were the Kalb (Abū Tammām, *Ḥamasa*, ed. Freytag, i, 77; Yāḳūt, iii, 241, iv, 49; Ibn Sa'd, iii/2, 27 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii, 224; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 45), Bahrā' (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 283), Ghatafān (*Aghāni*<sup>1</sup>, ii, 194). The names of various places in their tribal grounds are known (see Yāḳūt, Index of tribes). One (Thadīr) is between Wādī 'l-Ḳurā and Taymā'; most of the others appear to be further north. Among neighbouring tribes were the Kalb, Balī and 'Udhra. Some of the tribe may have been friendly with Muḥammad, since at the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsīl in 8/629 the Muslims hoped for help from them (Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 770 f.); but a contingent of Bal-Ḳayn fought against the Muslims at Mu'ta about the same time, and also at the Yarmūk and perhaps Fihl (Ibn Hishām, 792; Ṭabari, i, 1611, 2347). There is no record of their having sent a deputation to make an alliance with Muḥammad, and so the report of Sayf b. 'Umar (Ṭabari, i, 1872) that they had an 'āmīl and that some joined in the Ridda presumably refers only to a small section. The majority probably became Muslims after the conquest of Syria.

In the Second Civil War (*fitna* of Ibn al-Zubayr) they supported Marwān (Ṭabari, ii, 478; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, 308), but a little later 'Abd al-Mālik decided against them in a dispute with the Kalb about a place called Ḳurāḳir (Yāḳūt, iv, 49). There was a contingent of 600 of them in the Umayyad army sent against the Ḳhāridjī rebel Bahlūl in 119/737 (Ṭabari, ii, 1623; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 156). The last that is heard of them is as being involved in intertribal fighting in Damascus in 176/792 (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 87 f.).

Two brothers from the Bal-Ḳayn, Mālik and 'Aḳīl, are said to have been the boon-companions of Djaḍḥima al-Abrash of Ḥira [q.v.] and were noted for being inseparable (Ibn Ḳhallikān-de Slane, iii, 653; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, i, 535, 2, poem 67, 21). The best-known member of the tribe was the poet Abū 'l-Ṭamahān, who in pre-Islamic times had been friendly with Muḥammad's uncle al-Zubayr b. 'Abd-al-Muttalib and also with 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 229 f.; Ibn Ḳhallikān-de Slane, i, 40; Caussin de Perceval, i, 131, ii, 232).

Al-Ḳalkashandī (*Nihāyat al-arab fi ansāb al-'arab*, Cairo 1959, 71) has two tribes called Banū 'l-Ḳayn. Besides the one described above there is a part of Asad (b. Ḳhuzayma); but it is possible that there is confusion with Asad, the great-grandfather of al-Ḳayn b. Djasr, since little is recorded of this tribe except the name. A group of Bal-Ḳayn, perhaps actually smiths, were found at the mines of Banū Sulaym at Farān and may have been part of the Balī (Yāḳūt, iii, 865). The suggestion has been made that the Bal-Ḳayn are descended from the Kenites of the Old Testament, e.g., by Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xli, 181, but there is no convincing evidence to support this.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**ḲAYNA**, pl. *ḳaynāt* or *ḳiyān* "female singing slave".

The Arab lexicographers do not completely agree on the primitive meaning of the term (see *LA*, *TA*, etc. s.v.), the real origin of which is unknown to them. They tend to apply it in the first place to a female slave (*ama*, *djāriya*), charged in general with various tasks; secondly, and more specifically, to the female singer who had a servile status (*ama* or *djāriya muḡhanniya*). Some lexicographers are inclined to connect *ḳayna* with a Vth form *taḳayyana* "to embellish oneself" (al-Waḡshshā, *Muwashshā*, 164, uses the expression *al-imā' al-mulataḳayyināt* in a sense close to *al-mulataḳarrifāt* "the elegant, the refined ladies"), others want to see it as the feminine form of *ḳayn* "workman", more specifically "smith" and to give it the primitive meaning of "working woman" or "woman hairdresser". Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad (*al-Ḳiyān wa'l-ghinā' fi 'l-'aṣr al-djāhili*, Cairo 1968, 15-24) has devoted a thorough study to this term. Starting from a biliteral \**ḳn*, he points out the semantic affinity of the "radicals" *ḳyn*, *ḳnn*, *ḳny*, and remarks the existence of cognate words in various Semitic languages. He sees a phonetic and semantic relation between *ḳplw* and *cano* on one side, and *ḳayna* on the other, and concludes that these are loanwords from Arabic. We shall limit ourselves here to underline the rightness of these connections, without being decisive about the direction of a possible borrowing and without following P. Anastase (*al-Iklil*, viii, 165) who considers *ḳayna* to be a derivative of *ḳplw* or *cano*, while considering at the same time the Arabic *ghannā* "to sing" to be the origin of either verbs. What can be stated with near certainty is that the Assyrian *ḳinīlu* has very probably become Arabic *ḳayna* [see GHINĀ']. At an early period also other words are attested to indicate the female singer: *ḳarina* (Ibn Ḳhurradāḥbih, *Kitāb al-lahw wa 'l-malāḥi*, ed. I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1969, 20), *musmi'a* (which is perhaps Islamic, *ibid.*, 17), *dādjiina* and *muddjiina* (Asad, *op. cit.*, 27), *ṣadūḥ* and *ṣādiḥa* (*ibid.*, 28) and finally *djarāda* "locust".

According to a well-founded tradition, the first female singers among the Arabs are reported to have been two slaves called al-Djarādātā<sup>1</sup> or *Djarādātā 'Ad*. They are even given individual names the spellings of which take all the form CCāC (al-Ṭabari, i, 234-6; see al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, index). The name of the mythical person to whom they allegedly have belonged is also known: Mu-'āwiya b. Bakr al-'Imlāḳī. The continuity of the tradition is assured by the affirmation that the inhabitants of Yathrib inherited the use of *ḳiyān* from the 'Ādites who had disappeared from history, (Ibn Ḳhurradāḥbih, *op. cit.*, 20). The sources also attest female singing-slaves in the future Medina at the end of the Djāhiliyya (e.g. *Aghāni*, ed. Beirut, xv, 34, about Uḡayḡa b. al-Djūlāh). Mecca, which had remained outside the alleged 'Ādite influence, is said to have known music and singing thanks to al-Ḥārith b. Kalada on his return from al-Ḥira (see al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, index, s.v.; Asad, *op. cit.*, 115, 116, 118, 131, discusses this tradition). This detail confirms the origin of the *ḳayna* as proposed above, the more so because the sources report many traditions on the *ḳiyān* of the Naṣrids, as they do on those of the Ghassānids. According to Ibn Ḳhurradāḥbih (*op. cit.*, 36), Djabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī [q.v.] is said to have had ten *ḳiyān*, five of whom, apparently Byzantine, sang in *rūmiyya*.

In Arabia, outside the main towns, some *ḳiyān*



were living among the Bedouins, if the poets are to be believed, whose works can, however, not be credited with perfect authenticity.

As far as can be judged, the female slave singers may have been divided into two main categories, the rôle of one group, owned by a town or Bedouin person of standing, was to entertain their master, alone or in the company of guests, without prejudice to other relations they could have with him. The other group, quite inferior in rank, were attached to taverns or followed wandering wine-merchants, and one can easily imagine that they could give themselves to a form of prostitution. The poets (e.g. Tarafa, vv. 49-52 of the *Mu'allaqa*; al-A'shâ, in *Rawâ'îc*, no. 31, 26-7; Labid, v. 61 of the *Mu'allaqa*) associate these women with drinking-bouts, and describe them so as not to leave any doubt about their marginal activities. Nâsir al-Dîn al-Asad (*op. cit.*, 163-253) has thoroughly studied the influence exercised by these two pre-Islamic groups of *ḥiyân* on the social and literary fields, and more particularly on al-A'shâ.

From the period shortly preceding Islam, we have detailed information on some *ḥiyân*, in particular on two new "locusts", the *Djarâdâtân*<sup>1</sup> of 'Abd Allâh b. *Djud'ân* [q.v.] who was engaged in the slave-trade in both sexes. Shortly afterwards, female slave-singers apparently served in Mecca as instruments of propaganda against the Prophet who had migrated to Medina, namely Fartanâ and *Ḳariba*/*Ḳurayba*, who were owned by 'Abd Allâh b. *Ḳhaṭal* (see al-*Djâhiz*, *Tarbi'*, index, s.v. Fartanâ; *Sira*, ii, 410; *Nasab Kuraysh*, 442-3; Asad, *op. cit.*, 86-7). They are said to have been sentenced to death by Muḥammad after the conquest of Mecca for having propagated satirical songs against him (the traditions diverge however on the actuality of their punishment). Another *ḥayna*, *Sâra* by name (see Asad, *op. cit.*, 88), and owned by 'Amr b. Abî Ṣayfî (*Nasab Kuraysh*, 90-1), was sent to the *Ḳuraysh* by Hâtib b. Abî Balta'a to announce the Prophet's intention to seize Mecca (*Sira*, ii, 398, 410, 411). Sentenced to death, she escaped momentarily the supreme penalty. A list of ancient *ḥiyân* can be found in chapter xiv of the *Ḥawâ'î'l-funûn wa-salwat al-mahzûn* of Ibn al-*Ṭahhân*, an author of the 5th/11th century (ms. *Dâr al-kutub* no. 539, Fine Arts) published by Asad, *op. cit.*, 269-72.

At the same period there existed certainly many other anonymous *ḥiyân* who were engaged in their usual activity. These slaves were surely of non-Arabic origin (e.g. the *ḥayna* of Hassân b. *Ṭhâbit* was called *Sirîn*, Ibn *Ḳhurradâdhbih*, *op. cit.*, 36). Thus there were probably white slaves among them, but the majority must have been black or half-caste. If some were perhaps still singing in a foreign language, like those of *Djabala* b. al-Ayham, the others had been brought up in an Arab environment and knew perfectly well the language of the poets whose works they interpreted. The absence of reliable documents prevents however any decisive affirmation.

The information becomes less unreliable when in the 1st/7th century the development of music and singing [see *GHINÂN*<sup>2</sup>] in the holy cities of the *Hijâz* brought about a zeal for collecting traditions which we know, to be sure, only from later sources. On the other hand, however acute the later juridical disputations on the admissibility of these two pursuits, they in fact paradoxically developed, in spite of some attempts to stem their spread, in Mecca and especially in Medina, where one would have

expected stronger puritanical feeling. This problem is further connected with those of love-poetry [see *GHAZAL*] and humour [see *AL-DJIDD WA'L-HAZL*].

While the prohibition of wine must have entailed the disappearance of a great part of the female singers of the lower reaches of the profession, real schools can be seen growing around musicians and singers who were instructing pupils of both sexes. Among the females, free and freed women appeared, but mainly slaves, whose masters considered that sort of education to be a means of increasing the commercial value. In order to be chosen among the young slaves, whose number was now increasing, due to the conquests, the future *ḥiyân* had of course to be beautiful and to have a melodious voice, but to be at a premium on the market they also needed talent and skill, i.e. a fairly advanced musical education and intellectual culture. From the 1st/7th century onwards the famous stories of *ḥiyân*, bought at huge prices (thousands of *dinârs* are mentioned), have been adopted into *adab*-literature, often with somewhat embellished details. *Sallâma* [q.v.] and *Ḥabâba* [q.v.] belong to them, but several others could be mentioned. *Ishâk al-Mawsilî* pretends (*Aghânî*, v, 156) that the singers who had thus been educated, were originally black (*sûd*) or "yellow" (*sufr*), i.e., white women, and hints that they did not stand out for their beauty. For, he says, his father *Ibrâhîm* was the first to consider the physical qualities of the *ḥiyân* important, in view of the increase of their value in the eyes of those interested. This information is belied by traditions going back to the 1st/7th century.

'Azza [q.v.] and *Djamîla* [q.v.] gave concerts in honour of personalities of Medina, and the latter was surrounded by a considerable number of *ḥiyân* who constituted the choir. It was under the direction of these two artists, famous in the history of the Arabs, that the great singers of the 1st/7th century were formed [see *GHINÂN*<sup>3</sup>]. Out of these one needs only to mention *Ma'bad* [q.v.], who in his turn taught *ḥiyân*, both female musicians and singers, who were very much in demand. The best pupils of the Medinese school easily found buyers in 'Irâq, particularly in *Baṣra* where a new school, competing with the one of Medina, was quickly to come into existence and which produced some of the most famous female singers of the court at *Baghdâd*. There were formed *Badhl* (*Aghânî*, ed. Beirut, xvii, 32-7), *ḥayna* of al-*Hâdî* and al-*Amîn*, 'Arîb (*Aghânî*, xxi, 58-102) whose career reached from the reign of al-*Ma'mûn* to that of al-*Mutawakkil*, *Mutayyam al-Hâshimiyya* (*Aghânî*, vii, 280-93) and *Shâriya* (*Aghânî*, xv, 320-8) who was adopted by *Ibrâhîm* b. al-*Mahdî* and whose biography Ibn al-*Mu'tazz* did not judge himself unworthy to write. Al-*Djâhîz* (*Rasâ'il*, ed. *Hârûn*, ii, 288-90), gives a detailed list of *Baṣran ḥiyân*, whom he prefers to the *Kûfan*. From that time onwards it is not always easy to make a distinction between the slaves who had become famous for having given birth to caliphs (those born from a mother who was a free woman are very few), those who had distinguished themselves as poets (like 'Inân [q.v.] or *Faḍl*) and the singers proper who could at the same time share the caliph's couch or that of a very high personality, compose verses, sing their own or those of other poets and play a musical instrument (like *Maḥbûba*). In fact, many *ḥiyân* were capable of writing short poems and of improvising occasional pieces; competing in this field with the court poets, they rivalled them in virtuosity, especially in the classical game of the

*idjāza* [q.v.]. In an unpublished thesis (*Recherches sur la poésie des qiyān*, Paris-Sorbonne 1970), A. Chirane has brought forward the name of more than a hundred *qiyān* to whom verses are attributed, without counting several dozens of anonymous poetesses, whose preserved works represent only a tiny part of the compositions and improvisations. In general, this kind of poetry cannot be called exemplary, but it has the merit of being spontaneous and unusually refreshing. Love (*‘ishk* [q.v.]) is largely celebrated, while amorous reproofs (*‘itāb*) and lamentations over forced separations also abound. On the other hand, one finds eulogies of high-ranking personalities, elegies on the death of the master and pieces in which the *qiyān*, far away from their native land, express their nostalgia. Wine and descriptions find their place also, next to epigrams which were held in high esteem in these refined milieux.

These women had received a thorough education. They had to give proof of talent and vast knowledge of Arabic language and poetry. We are told that al-Rashīd, before taking a decision, instructed al-Aṣmaʿī to examine one of them; she answered her examiner with such assurance that she "seemed to read the answers from a book" (al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. 'A. 'Āmir, 72-3). It was due to the erudition of another *qayna*, pupil of the grammarian al-Mazīnī, that the latter had the honour to be admitted to the court (see Pellat, *Milieu*, 250). These slaves knew a great number of verses by heart, which was in itself normal; some, however, although everything in their daily life removed them from religion, were well-versed in the traditional sciences and had studied the Qurʾān, as suggested by the story of a *qāriʿa* related by al-Masʿūdī (v, 428-31 = § 2184-5), who gives a beautiful example of *ṣarab* [q.v.]. Besides, it is known that the Holy Book was chanted and that the *qirāʾa bi l-ahhān*, favoured by the development of singing at Medina (see M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, v/2, 1958, 183-90), spread afterwards to other areas of the Muslim world, in spite of the hostility of the *fukahāʾ* (see, e.g., M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 307).

Thanks to the school founded by Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [q.v.] and developed by his son Iṣḥāk, himself formed by a *qayna* called 'Atīka, Baghdād tended at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century to secure pre-eminence over Baṣra, which had not in fact succeeded in putting an end to the monopoly which the school of Medina had possessed in the formation of the *qiyān*. Indeed, still in the 3rd/9th century 'Abd al-Raḥmān II summoned to Cordoba the so-called "Medinese women" Faḍl, 'Ilm and Qalam, while the last-mentioned, a native of Navarre, had only been sent to the Ḥijāz to round off her education there (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 40-1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 267-8). The Umayyad *amir*, who took them as concubines, caused a special pavilion to be constructed for them inside his palace where they conducted a real orchestra. In the early 3rd/9th century, the Aghlabid *amir* Ziyādat Allāh (201-23/817-38) sent to Baghdād a messenger entrusted with purchasing *qiyān* for 30,000 *dinārs* (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashk*, v, 396; cf. H. H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Waraqāt*, ii, 195). At the end of the century, in spite of the prohibition issued in the meantime by al-Muhtadī (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdi*, viii, 2 = § 3111) it was from Baghdād that the "king" of Seville, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥaḍḍijādī (286-98/899-911) ordered the purchase of Kamar, who contributed to the diffusion of 'Irāqī poetry which she knew perfectly well (H.

Pérès, *op. cit.*, 41). She was one of those who expressed in verses their regret for having left their native land.

One or several *qiyān* of this category were often offered to the caliph (like Maḥbūba, a gift of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir to al-Mutawakkil; see al-Masʿūdī, ed. Pellat, index). But it also happened that the ruler made his choice himself. Having heard Kalam al-Ṣālihiyya singing during a private session, al-Wāḥik expressed the wish to buy her, but her owner required a prohibitive price together with an official document appointing him to the government of Egypt. This incident was at the origin of al-Djāhīz' *Tarbi'* (see ed. Pellat, Introd.).

At the other extremity of the social scale of the *qiyān*, there were also cabaret singers in 'Irāq (curiously enough, Baṣhshār, *Diwān*, i, 136, describes as *bikr* a *qayna* singing among drinkers), but it is hard to know whether they are the singers who are celebrated (or criticised) by the poets in the verses quoted, e.g. by al-Washahā' (*op. cit.*, 119-28), or whether the latter are inspired by more distinguished *qiyān*, whose existence is attested with certainty. To be sure, there came into existence, first at Baṣra, then in other cities as far away as Cordoba, the very profitable profession of *qayyān* or *muḥayyīn*, the germ of which had already existed much earlier. It consisted in acquiring young slaves fit to become *qiyān*, in forming them under strict rules and in hiring out on various circumstances their services to private persons. The *qayyān* organised also musical sessions in the hope that such a passion would arise among the guests that they would not hesitate to pay the most exorbitant prices in order to obtain the object of their ardour. In particular, there is mentioned the case of a certain 'Umar (or al-Faḍl) b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Baṣrī, Abu 'l-Naḍīr/Abu 'l-Baṣrī (al-Sūlī, *Atarāk*, i, 8-10; *Aghānī*, xi, 267-74) who was at the same time a minor poet, a singer and a *muḥayyīn*. His memory is kept alive thanks to the sharp criticisms addressed to him by Abān al-Lāhikī (al-Sūlī, *op. cit.*, i, 9; *Aghānī*, xxiii, 24; Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Ma'mūn*, ii, 317). Other names are also known, for they appear in the beginning of al-Djāhīz's *Kitāb al-Qiyān* (ed. Finkel, *Three Essays*, 53-75; ed. Hārūn, *Rasā'il*, ii, 139-82; tr. Pellat, in *Arabica*, x/2 (1963), 121-47). In this small masterpiece, the author describes the *qayna*-type whom he shows exerting herself to seduce the well-to-do visitors and whose moral portrait he describes with great fineness. Thus we gain an insight into the rôle the *qiyān* were playing towards the members of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie: adroitly they were provoking *‘ishk* while the wives of these men, kept in seclusion and generally uneducated, were quite incapable of exercising such an irresistible appeal. The *Kitāb al-Qiyān*, unique in Arab literature, was plagiarised with a certain talent by al-Washshā', whose *Muwashshā* contains also a choice of verses illustrating in particular the ravages caused by the *qiyān* in the hearts of the enamoured (119-28). This treatise, composed for the benefit of the refined milieux (*zurafā'*), gives also an accurate description (*ibid.*, 164) of the clothes of the *imā'* *mutaḥayyīnāt*, who dressed in vividly-coloured robes made of dyed material, while the free women wore only natural fabrics. There are also many details on the customs of those milieux, on the phrases written on the footwear, on the forehead, on the palm of the hand, etc. (*ibid.*, 236 ff.).

The monographs devoted to the *qiyān* and cited for instance by Ibn al-Nadīm and Yāqūt were

probably far from having the same literary value as the works of al-Djāhīz and al-Washshāʿ, for they were likely to contain exclusively anecdotes and verses in the same way as the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the notices of which have been usefully gathered together by F. al-ʿAmrūsī, *al-Djāwārī 'l-mughanniyāt*, Cairo 1945. The following titles have been brought to light: *K. Kiyān al-Hidjāz* and *K. al-Kiyān* of Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (*Fihrist*, 202; *Udabāʿ*, vi, 56); *K. al-Kiyān* of Yūnus al-Mughannī (*Fihrist*, 207); *K. al-Kaynāt* of al-Madāʿinī (*Udabāʿ*, xiv, 133); *Ashʿār al-djāwārī* of al-Mufadḍijāʿ (*Fihrist*, 123; *Udabāʿ*, xvii, 194); *K. Kiyān al-Hidjāz* and *K. Kiyān Makka* of Sulaymān b. Ayyūn (*Fihrist*, 212; *Udabāʿ*, xi); *K. Akhbār al-kiyān* of Abū 'l-Faraj himself (*Udabāʿ*, xiii, 99; Brockelmann, S I, 226). To this list of works which do not seem to have been preserved, should be added, apart from the chapter of Ibn al-Taḥḥān mentioned above, anthologies like the *Tabahāt* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the *Murūdj* of al-Masʿūdī or the *Nafh al-fib* of al-Maḳḳarī, the sections on the *kiyān* in encyclopaedias like the *ʿIḥd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (iv, 127-38), the *Mustaḥraf* of al-Ibshīhī (ii, 211-7), the *Nihāyat al-Arab* of al-Nuwayrī (v, passim), works relating to women (e.g. Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Akhhbār al-nisāʿ*, ed. N. Riḳā, Beirut 1964, or the study of ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *K. Aʿlām al-nisāʿ*, Damascus 1379/1959), or also those devoted to poetesses but which have also been lost. Useful information can finally be found in: *Nisāʿ al-khulafāʿ*, attributed to Ibn al-Sāʿī (ed. M. Djawād, Cairo n.d.), and in *al-Mustaḥraf min akhhbār al-djāwārī* of al-Suyūṭī (ed. Ṣ. al-Munadḍidjī, Beirut 1963).

Even if some *kiyān* are still mentioned occasionally after the 4th/10th century but then almost always anonymously, the tradition, judging from the sources available, is essentially based on those of the first centuries of the *hidjra* who acquired a lasting celebrity. After Medina and Baṣra, Baghdād was the centre of the Muslim world in this respect. Al-Tawḥīdī (*Imtāʿ*, ii, 183) counts 460 slave (and 120 free) female singers at al-Karḳh [q.v.], giving the names of about 20 of them and citing the pieces of poetry they would sing. The *kiyān* celebrated by al-Azdī (*Hikāyat Abī l-Ḳasīm*, 70 ff.) were also from Baghdād. He describes, like al-Tawḥīdī (*ibid.*), scenes of *farab*, i.e. of that delirious joy to which persons who are otherwise self-controlled and conscious of their dignity have often surrendered themselves. Thus Baghdād supplied the most appreciated female slave singers (see in particular the history of the Fāṭimid Tamīm al-Muʿizz (d. 368/978) in Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 401), whatever their land of origin may have been. The passage of Ibn Buṭlān (d. 454/1062) brought forward by Mez (*op. cit.*, tr. 161; text in *Risāla fi shirāʿ al-raḳīḳ wa-taḳlīb al-ʿabāid*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1954, 374; taken up again by al-Ṣakaṭī, *Hisba*, 50, Spanish tr. by Chalmeta in *al-Andalus*, xxxiii/2 (1968), 375 and note 8) refers probably to the *kiyān*, for it is said there that the ideal slave is the Berber woman who from the age of nine spends three years at Medina, three at Mecca and then nine in ʿIrāḳ where she learns *adab*.

It is also known that shortly after the conquest of the Maghrib, *kiyān* were trained on the spot, while exchanges took place with the Orient (M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 35). Much later, the existence of female slave-singers is still attested in Ifriḳiya (R. Brunshvig, *Haḥṣides*, ii, 412; cf. Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 388), but it is possible that some came from the Orient or from Spain. It was in any case a Berber woman who, having been offered

to al-Muʿtamid by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, met with a tragic end because of a blunder she had perpetrated (H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 13). She had undoubtedly been trained in Morocco, but since the arrival of Ziriyāb [q.v.], who possessed *kiyān* himself, Cordoba had become an important training-centre. Thus henceforth the aristocracy and bourgeoisie did not need to address themselves to Baghdād, from where the import of *kiyān* became exceptional (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 316). We even have an eloquent evidence of Ibn al-Kattānī (H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 383-5; in the 2nd ed. he corrects this to al-Kinānī; E. Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 317), a physician employed by al-Manṣūr and al-Muzaffar (see al-Dabbī, *Bughya*, no. 81; Boustany, *DM*, iii, 477) who died in 420/1030. He taught his slaves logic, philosophy, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, grammar, prosody, *adab* and calligraphy, and then sold them at a very high price (in one case for 3,000 *dinārs*). The Andalusian *kiyān* played also conjuring tricks and even executed exercises of skill with weapons, and formed orchestras called *sūtāra* after the name of the curtain which in the Orient separated in theory the caliph from the singers and musicians (Mez, *op. cit.*, 479). After the fall of the Umayyads in Spain, the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʿif* in their turn disputed among themselves for the most talented singers. The coming of the Almoravids and Almohads did not put an end to their activities, but from the 6th/12th century onwards, Seville had robbed Cordoba of the monopoly it had enjoyed before. A reliable evidence of this is to be found in a text of al-Tifāshī (d. 651/1253), *Muʿat al-asmāʿ fi ʿilm al-samāʿ*, quoted by H. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in his *Waraqāt*, ii, 231-2, where is given a detailed account of the training of the Sevillian female singers who were sold in North Africa. In the north of the peninsula the *kiyān* served to a certain extent as a link between Muslims and Christians, who both kept them in their entourages. Some still sang in Arabic, and Ibn Bassām describes in this respect moving scenes (see H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 386-7). On another plane, the Andalusian *kiyān* are probably no strangers to the insertion of Romance words in the *khardja* of the *muwashshahāt* and to the structure itself of these pieces [see MUWASHSHAH and ZADJAL].

Since the abolition of slavery, *kiyān* proper are no more met with, but those who in the Middle Ages formed troupes survive at present in the free female singers who in Morocco are called *shikhāt* (sing. *shikhā*, f. of *shikh* = *shaykh*). They form companies and participate in family feasts or solemn ceremonies. In Fās "their very diversified repertoire included Andalusian songs, poems in colloquial language and even Algerian songs" (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 561). The *ghennāyāt*, of inferior rank, sometimes even composed small poems for family feasts (E. Aubin, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1912, 345-51).

We are, however, very far from the *ḳayna* of the classical period, who played a much larger rôle, even to such a degree that any history of Arabo-Islamic civilization cannot omit to recognize it. Not only, as S. Jargy (*La musique arabe*, coll. "Que sais-je?", no. 1436, Paris 1971, 39-40) has remarked, was "there at the origin of every career of the great singers in Islam a *ḳayna* whose pupil he was", but on the literary plane the *kiyān* also contributed to the development of the so-called "modernist" (*muhdath*) poetry, both by their own compositions, the value of which was by their very nature quite varied, and by their function as inspirers of the poets. At the zenith of ʿAbbāsid civilisation some of

them kept real literary salons where the participants, while listening to music and songs, vied in wit and improvisation. Countless are the poets who, inspired by *ḵiyān*, celebrated their seduction or complained of their cruelty. In this respect almost all great names of *muḥdath* poetry should be cited, whatever may be the opinion of Ibn Ḳutayba who, in the introduction of the *Adab al-ḵātib*, fulminates against the secretaries of the administration whose ideal it was to recite "trashy verses" in praise of a *ḵayna* (see G. Lecomte, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii, 51).

*Bibliography*: The main sources have been cited in the article. To these may be added: Dj. 'Abd al-Nūr, *al-Djawāri*, coll. *Iḵra'* no. 59, Cairo 1947; A. M. al-Hawfi, *al-Mar'a fi 'l-shi'r al-djāhili*, Cairo 1954, 438-65; the histories of Arabian music mentioned in the *Bibliography* of the article GHINĀ; H. G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965; 'Isā Sāba, *al-Muḡhanniyāt fi 'l-adab al-'Arabi*, Beirut 1954; D. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmi*, Beirut 1967, 56-61 and bibliography; 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Allāf, *Ḵiyān Baghdād fi 'l-'aṣr al-'Abbāsī wa-'l-'Uḥmānī wa-'l-akhīr*, Baghdad 1969 (not seen); J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968, 241-6; J. E. Bencheikh, *Les votes d'une création*, 214-6 (doctoral thesis, Sorbonne 1972, forthcoming); S. D. Goitein, *Slaves and slavegirls in the Cairo Geniza records*, in *Arabica*, ix/1 (1962), 1-20.

In the *Thousand and One Nights*, *ḵiyān* are quoted in the 334th, 383rd, 436th and 896th nights. On the status of slaves, see 'ABD; on their position in society, B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York-London 1971, and bibliography; see also 'ALIMA. (CH. PELLAT)

**KAYNUKĀ'**, BANŪ, one of the three main Jewish tribes of Yaṭhrib. The name differs from the usual forms of Arabic proper names but has nothing Hebrew about it. Nothing certain is known regarding their immigration into Yaṭhrib. They possessed no land there but lived by trading. That their known personal names are for the most part Arabic says as little regarding their origin as the occurrence of Biblical names among them; but there seem to be no valid reasons for doubting their Jewish origin.

In Yaṭhrib they lived in the south-west part of the town, near the *Muṣallā* and close to the bridge over the Wādī Buṭḥān, where they occupied two of the strongholds (*ḵā'im*) characteristic of Yaṭhrib. They were goldsmiths, among other trades; Bukhārī (*Farq al-Ḵhums*, 1, *Maghāzī*, 12) incidentally mentions a goldsmith of the *Ḵaynuḵā'*. On their expulsion they left behind them arms and tools, which were divided among the Muslims after Muḥammad had received (for the first time) his fifth share. The number of their fully equipped fighting men varies between 400 and 750 in references to it.

After the dominating power in the old Yaṭhrib had passed from the Jews to the Banū Ḵayla, the *Ḵaynuḵā'* were allied to the *Ḵhazraḵī* [*q.v.*]. In Muḥammad's settlement of the relations between believers and other sections of the community they are not mentioned, any more than are the Naḍīr [*q.v.*] and the *Ḵurayza* [*q.v.*]. From this we may infer (with Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 226 f.) that the document in its present form belongs to the period after the elimination of the *Ḵurayza* (end of 5/April 627).

After the battle of Badr (Ramaḍān 2/March 624) Muḥammad's relations with the Jews of Medina became troubled. The Jews as a body had adopted an unfriendly attitude to the Prophet. From the

religious point of view they became inconvenient; and from the political angle, as a powerful foreign body within the newly converted town, they were a great danger. When Muḥammad felt his position strengthened by the battle of Badr, he must soon have determined on expelling his enemies. The *Ḵaynuḵā'*, as they lived in the city itself, were the first he wished to be rid of. Regarded in this light, his attack on the *Ḵaynuḵā'* (in all probability as early as Shawwāl 2/April 624) is sufficiently explained. Special reasons for the attack given by Muslim writers have no more than anecdotal value. Sometimes this reason is said to have been a jest that a Muslim made to a Jewish woman, sometimes the *Ḵaynuḵā'* are said to have behaved with particular arrogance. Sūra III, 12 f. is said to refer to these incidents; according to Wāḵidī (177) and Ibn Sa'd (ii/1, 19) Sūra VIII, 58, does too. Sūra III, 13, refers to the victory at Badr as an example and warning, and VIII, 58, speaks of vengeance against people from whom treachery is feared.

After 14 days' siege, the *Ḵaynuḵā'* surrendered without striking a blow; the men were bound and seemed to have feared the worst. The energetic intervention of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], chief of the *Ḵhazraḵī* and leader of the *Munāfiḵūn*, however, brought an improvement of their lot. They left first for the Jewish colonies in the Wādī 'l-Ḵurā, north of Medina, and from there to Adhrī'āt in Syria.

The Banū *Ḵaynuḵā'* did not, however, emigrate to the last man. A few members of the tribe embraced Islam, perhaps more from opportunism than from conviction, and these could remain at Medina. Ibn Hishām/Ibn Ishāḵ gives a list of 30 *Ḵaynuḵā'* adversaries of the Prophet (351 f.). This may refer to the time before the expulsion, but five or six of the names in the list reappear in Wāḵidī's report on Ibn Ubayy's funeral (in 9/631) among those hypocrites "from Banū *Ḵaynuḵā'* and others" who pressed forward to the bier (1058 f., Wellhausen, 415). Another member of the *Ḵaynuḵā'*, 'Abd Allāh (originally al-Ḵusayn) ibn Salām [*q.v.*], "their *ḥabr* and most learned man", whose name concludes the list of Ibn Ishāḵ, became a convinced Muslim, immediately after Muḥammad's arrival at Medina, as is commonly related; according to another version thought by Horowitz more credible, he was converted in 8 A.H., two years before Muḥammad's death (Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Isāba*, ii, Calcutta 1893, 780-2).

*Bibliography*: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 383, 545-7; Wāḵidī, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, 176-80 (abbrev. German tr. by Wellhausen, 92-4); Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 19 f.; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, i, ed. Hamidullah, Cairo 1959, 285, 308 f.; Ṭabari, i, 1359-64; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-Ḵhamīs*, Cairo 1283, 408 ff.; Halabī, *Sira*, Cairo 1384/1964, ii, 474-8; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, i, 520-4; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 39, 146-51; R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien*, Berlin 1910, 60-3; Frants Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, 248 f.; H. Z. Hirschberg, *Yisra'el ba'Arab*, Tel Aviv 1946, index; W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 181 f., 192-8, 208-10, 216 f., 219 f., 226-8. (A. J. WENSINCK-R. PARET)

**AL-KAYRAWĀN**, a town in central Tunisia, 156 km. from Tunis and 57 km. from Souss. It is situated at an altitude of 60 m. and is the chief town of a governorate of 336,000 inhabitants which stretches over an area of 680,000 hectares. Its population of 34,000 inhabitants in 1956 had become

47,000 during the census of 3rd May 1966, and then 56,000 in 1972. Temperatures vary considerably, ranging from a few degrees below zero in winter to 40° C and over in summer. The sirocco blows there for an average of 21 days *per annum*. The rainfall varies from an average of 250 mm. or 300 mm. in the town and its surrounding area to 500 mm. and over in the regions west of the governorate. It changes considerably from one year to another, ranging from drought to catastrophic floods; the flood in 1969 was particularly devastating. Work is soon to begin on the damming of the Wadi Zérout, which will store 80,000,000 cubic metres of water, and also on that of the Wadi Merguellil, for which plans are even more advanced. This is bound to avoid these dangerous floods and it will increase the irrigable area, which at present extends to 14,000 hectares, but of which only 8,000 are actually cultivated.

Al-Ḳayrawān is essentially involved with agricultural pursuits and the efforts of the last two decades have resulted in a considerable development of arboriculture. In 1972 there were 3,500,000 olive trees, and 3,800,000 almond trees were counted in the governorate; in third place came apricot trees. The areas sown with cereal crops vary much from year to year according to the promise of autumn rains. From 58,000 hectares in 1968 they rose to 200,000 in 1972; they were only 75,000 hectares in 1956, but they had reached 225,000 in 1959. The livestock in 1972 amounted to 260,000 sheep, 14,000 cattle, 20,000 goats and 11,000 camels. The industrial sector is still embryonic, but has a group of about ten small enterprises (dyeing, spinning, woodwork, confectionery and food preservation) which employ about 1,000 people; it seems unlikely that these will be greatly expanded.

By contrast, the artisan sector continues to occupy the first place in the town's activities. Working with wood, copper and alfa, the production of jewellery, lanterns and sieves, as well as the traditional dyeing and weaving, brings employment to 1,200 craftsmen. But what makes al-Ḳayrawān's reputation is the handproduced "long-wool" carpets. Recently the National Office of Craft Industry has been created, and it has been notable for allowing newly-qualified female workers into its workshops. It has modernised the designs to a certain extent without changing the family and essentially feminine character of the craftwork. In 1972 4,500 home-craftsmen (*saddāya*) were counted. The production of carpets rose from 56,000 m<sup>2</sup> in 1962 to 130,000 m<sup>2</sup> in 1972, and it is likely to develop further. Yet all these enterprises do not succeed in assuring full employment, because of the high birthrate. A third of the active male population is underemployed or on short-time working.

The actual town of al-Ḳayrawān is composed of the native quarter, with its narrow winding streets and souks, which roughly preserve the general appearance given to them in the 18th century. This native quarter is still surrounded by its crenellated ramparts, which are built of solid brick. They are flanked at intervals by round buttresses and measure a little over 3 km. In the east and the north-east the suburbs of Gueblia, Djebliā and Zlass. In the South, between Bāb al-Djallādīn (Skinners' Gate), which since independence has been renamed Bāb al-*Shuhadā'* (Martyrs' Gate) and which leads to the native quarter, and the Railway Station, the modern town is situated; here are found the administrative services, the banks, the hotels, etc. A working class district, *Sidī Sahnūn*, has been built in the east and

another, a group of 400 villas belonging to the more prosperous classes, is called *al-Manṣūra*.

One of the principal monuments of the town, apart from the Great Mosque, is the *Djāmi' ṭhalāḥat* bibān, the Mosque of the Three Doors, the façade of which is a beautiful example of Aghlabid architecture. It was founded in 252/866 by the Andalusian Muḥammad b. *Khayrūn* al-Ma'āfirī, but was altered in the 9th/15th century. There is also the Aghlabid cistern at the Tunis Gate; the *Zāwiya* of *Sidī 'Abid* al-*Gharyānī* of the 8th/14th century; the *Zāwiya* of *Sidī al-Ṣāḥib*, which was first of all a simple and very old mausoleum covering the tomb of a Companion of the Prophet, *Abū Zam'a* al-Balawī, and on the site of which the *Murādīd* bey Ḥammūda erected the present building in the 11th/17th century; and the *Zāwiya* of *Sidī 'Umar 'Abāda*, built in the 19th century.

#### i. FOUNDATION

All the Arab invasions, which culminated in the conquest of Byzacena, were initially careful to avoid the coastal route. The invaders penetrated into the country by the region of *Ḳaṣṭīliya* [q.v.], from where they attempted to reach the centre and the north. Avoiding the shore on the east, which was dangerous for conquering forces who were not yet adequately experienced in seamanship, and the mountains on the west, which were well suited for ambushes and surprise attacks, they had no alternative but to use the corridor which ended naturally in the region of *Ḳammūniya*, that is, the corridor of al-Ḳayrawān. This town, which was first of all a military base, owed its origin to the strategy dictated by the relief of the country and from the fighting tactics of the invaders. Traditionally its foundation is attributed to *'Ukba* b. *Nāfi'*, but in fact it took place by easy stages and several military leaders contributed to it.

The battle of *Sufetula* (27/647-8) had practically delivered Byzacena to *'Abd Allāh* b. *Sa'd* b. *Abī Sarḥ*, the Byzantines being driven back behind their second line of fortification defending the *Procon-sularium*. It is neither impossible nor improbable that the conquerors pushed their raids on this occasion right into the region of al-Ḳayrawān, for they had to evacuate the country when they were charged a heavy tribute. *Ibn Nādjī* (*Ma'ālim*, Tunis 1320/1902, i, 30) points out that at al-Ḳayrawān there is a mosque dedicated to *Ibn Abī Sarḥ* which in some way commemorates his sea journey.

Later, events begin to take shape when *Mu'āwiya* b. *Ḥudaydī* led three campaigns in succession to *Ifrikiya*, in 34/654-5, 41/661-2, and 45/665. Three times, in fact, he made use of the same route as his predecessor and ended in the region of *Ḳammūniya* or al-Ḳayrawān, where he set up his camp. In 34/654-5 *Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam* declares that *Ibn Ḥudaydī* "seized several fortresses and took considerable booty. He set up a garrison camp (*ḳayrawān*) near al-*Ḳarn*" (*Futūḥ*, partially ed. and tr. by A. Gateau, Algiers 1948, 57). He reappears still established at *Ḳarn* in 41/661-2 (*Ibn 'Idḥārī*, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 15). Finally, in 45/665 he reappears yet again at *Ḳarn* (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ed. Ḥ. Mu'nis, Cairo 1951, i, 17-18; *Ibn 'Idḥārī*, *Bayān*, i, 16; *Ibn Nādjī*, *Ma'ālim*, i, 39-40). In this connection al-Mālikī notes: "*Ibn Ḥudaydī* had laid the foundations of a town at al-*Ḳarn* (*ikhḥāffa madīnatān 'ind al-Ḳarn*) before *'Ukba* had founded (*ta'sis*) al-Ḳayrawān and he settled there during the period that he spent in *Ifrikiya*". *Ibn Nādjī* states for his part that "on his return to *Ḳammūniya*, *Ibn Ḥudaydī* built dwellings in the region of al-*Ḳarn*

to which he gave the name of Kayrawān, when the site of [the actual] Kayrawān was not yet either inhabited or urbanised (*ghayr maskūn wa-lā ma'mūr*; *Ma'ālim*, i, 41). The site named al-Qarn ("hill, peak") by Ibn Ḥudaydj owes its name to its relief. It probably refers to the hill 171 m. high which is called today Baṭn al-Qarn and which is situated in a tourist region 12 km. north-west of the actual town of al-Kayrawān on the road to Djalūla (M. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques*, in *AIEO* x, (1952), 12, n. 10).

The primary reason for the foundation of al-Kayrawān was its elevated position, which gave it protection from surprise attacks and floods. The Kayrawān founded by Ibn Ḥudaydj did not maintain its rôle as capital of Ifrikiya but it was never destroyed again; however, when it ceased to be the capital it no longer bore the name of al-Qarn. In 124/742 the Khārīdjī 'Ukāṣha was beaten there by Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān, governor of Ifrikiya. Al-Qarn is mentioned again at the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 8th century (Abū 'l-'Arab, *Ṭabakāt*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1915, 67; al-Mālikī, *Riyād*, i, 18). Afterwards all trace of it disappears. Neither al-Bakrī nor al-Idrīsī cite it, and for Yākūt (*Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 333) al-Qarn was no more than a mountain in Ifrikiya.

In 50/670 the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Mu'āwiya, while keeping Ibn Ḥudaydj as the governor of Egypt, took Ifrikiya from him and entrusted it to 'Ukba b. Nāfi'. On rejoining his post he "was not very satisfied with Kayrawān which was built before his time by Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudaydj" (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 65). The sources, (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 64-6; al-Mālikī, *Riyād*, i, 6-7, 19; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i, 19-20; Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim*, i, 7-9), however, tell us forcefully the details (verging on the miraculous) of how 'Ukba b. Nāfi', followed by his most illustrious companions, including a large number of the *Ṣahāba*, was left to search for a new site. His choice fell on part of a plain which was then covered with vegetation, the haunt of reptiles and wild beasts. There the new Kayrawān was founded. 'Ukba immediately donated two institutions indispensable for its spiritual and temporal progress, sc. a mosque and a government house (*dār al-imāra*), built opposite each other. He spent the five years of his first governorship watching over this building without undertaking any other expedition.

Abū 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār who succeeded him "greatly disliked the idea of settling where 'Ukba b. Nāfi' had built" (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 68/69). We are told (Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i, 22; Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim*, i, 42-3) that he set fire to the foundations of his predecessor and moved the capital two miles further along the road to Tunis, to a region inhabited by the Berbers. The new capital, of which the remains have recently been located, received the name Takirwan (Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim*, i, 43). The choice of this Berber-sounding name as well as the town's position were all part of a government programme begun by Abū 'l-Muhādjir to encourage a policy of rapprochement with the indigenous leaders. This policy did not please the caliphate. 'Ukba took the road to Ifrikiya again in 62/682, and his first action was to move the capital back to the site which he had already previously chosen. Thereafter, al-Kayrawān did not change its location any more.

Everything proves that this place had formerly been occupied by a Roman or Byzantine town which, like many others in the period of the Muslim con-

quest, had fallen into ruins. The first buildings erected by the Arabs certainly profited from the re-use of building materials which had been found abandoned on site. These various materials of greater or lesser importance can still be seen, not only in the monuments but also in modest dwellings. During recent restoration work (1969-72), much more has been discovered, including some items in the foundations of the Great Mosque. Not far from al-Kayrawān in the north is a place called al-Aṣnām (al-Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 118; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i, 58-9) which undoubtedly owes its name ("the Idols") to the great number of statues which the conquerors encountered. Furthermore, al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, ed. de Slane, Paris 1965 22/52-3) declares that the Place of the Mint (*Sūkh al-Darb*) was occupied by a church in antiquity. The sources elsewhere plainly affirm that al-Kayrawān was raised on the ruins of an ancient town named Kūniya or Qamūniya (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 58, 74; al-Mālikī, *Riyād*, i, 12, 18, 19, 21; al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 75; Yākūt, *Buldān*, iv, 399, 415, Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim*, i, 39-41). There is no reason at all to doubt their suggestions, which are amply borne out by other archaeological evidence.

There remains the question of the choice of the site. No-one suggests that this choice was unfortunate, but why should this unfavourable part of the steppe have been chosen for the economic development of a great capital? Ibn Khaldūn sets the tone of the debate when he says he believes that the Arabs are poor town planners. To support his opinion he cites the examples of Baṣra, Kūfa and of al-Kayrawān as badly chosen sites (*Muḥaddima*, 647). Modern authors share this view (J. Despois, *Kairouan. Origine et évolution d'une ancienne capitale musulmane*, in *Annales de Géog.*, xxxix (1930), 161; P. Sebag, *Kairouan*, Zürich 1963, 16). In fact, the site of al-Kayrawān was not so badly chosen as one might think. It should be remembered that an ancient town had prospered there because, when the town was founded the site was not as steppe-like as it subsequently became. Although there was no sudden change of climate, settlers accomplished a considerable transformation. Ibn 'Idhārī (*Bayān*, i, 20) states that 'Ukba, to build the city, gave the order to deforest the area (*an yaḥṭa'ū al-ṣhaḍīr*). In the 4th/10th century al-Bakrī reveals elsewhere (*Masālik*, 26/61) that the forest of olive-trees at al-Kayrawān was sufficient by itself to furnish the town with all the wood it needed without suffering the least damage. The soil was certainly rich, thanks to the "fertilising silt" of the Merguelli and the Zéroud wadis, according to J. Despois (*loc. cit.*).

All therefore that really needed to be done was to solve the problem of a water supply, which had been solved once by the Romans and was later solved again by the Arabs. A few miles south of the site chosen for the foundation of al-Kayrawān they found a hydraulic construction system which they named *Qaṣr al-Mā'* ("the Water Castle"). This system was fed from an aqueduct which gathered the waters of the Mams, 33 km. to the west, and today called *Hanshīr Dwīmīs* (M. Solignac, *op. cit.*, 19-21, 126-61). 'Ukba stopped there (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 68/69, on his return to Damascus in 55/675, and afterwards the place became an assembly point for caravans heading for the east (Abū 'l-'Arab, *Ṭabakāt*, 25; al-Mālikī, *Riyād*, i, 30, 69-70; Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim*, i, 52, 147; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i, 32, 44, 259). The Arabs lifted the region out of its ruined state and gave it back prosperity by pursuing

and extending the irrigation policy of their predecessors. The wells and cisterns with which (almost without exception) all the mosques and houses were provided (Ibn Nāḍī, *Maʿālim*, i, 13, 25; al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 23/53), made an appreciable contribution to the great works for which the Aghlabids are justly famed. Hence until the middle of the 5th/11th century, all the geographers boast of the fertility of that region. In all, the area chosen for the foundation of al-Ķayrawān, apart from the strategic advantages it offered, was amenable to development and to the provision of an economic infrastructure necessary for the development of a large town. Only human error made this region into a steppe.

## ii. HISTORY

Scarcely was al-Ķayrawān founded when it had to be evacuated. The disaster of Tahūda to the south of Biskra cost the life of its chief founder ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, and all his companions were killed to the last man. This marked the beginning of the exodus towards the east. The conqueror was the Berber Kusayla [q.v.], and he took up residence in the town, which had not been abandoned by all its Arab-Muslim population, and made it the capital of his short-lived kingdom (64-9/684-9). Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī, and especially Hassān b. al-Nuʿmān came back later to recover it.

Four decades of peace then passed before the capital of the Maghrib was seriously threatened by the Berbers. In 124/742 it was about to be submerged by waves of *Khāridjīs*, but it was saved *in extremis* by the two unexpected victories of al-Ḳarn and al-Aṣnām. Fortune failed it in 140/757-8 when the Warfaḍjūma *Khāridjīs*, of Ṣufrī tendencies, seized it with the complicity of certain of its inhabitants, and for more than a year held it under their domination. They massacred in particular the *Qurashī* elements of the population, who were the Arab aristocracy. It was liberated in Ṣafar of the following year (June-July 758) by the Ibādī Abū ʿI - *Khāṭṭāb* working from Tripoli. He left there as governor ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Rustam, the future founder of the kingdom of Tāhart. But this was not for long; in *Djumādā* I 144/August 761, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath came to bring it back into the bosom of the east, and he proceeded to fortify it under directions from the caliph al-Manṣūr. For the first time he provided it with a surrounding wall, which was begun in *Dhu-l-Ḳaʿda* 144/February 762 and finished in *Radjāb* 146/September-October 763.

But these measures, which were imposed after the events just reviewed, did not save al-Ķayrawān from trouble. In 154/771 it was besieged by a coalition of Ṣufrī and Ibādī Berbers. Its inhabitants were reduced to eating "their beasts of burden, their dogs and their cats" (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 76). Resistance was in vain; the town was stormed after its gates had been set on fire and a breach made in its walls. This was the last ordeal to which the *Khāridjīs* subjected it. Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155-71/772-88) was despatched from the east with impressive resources, and came to take it in hand again and to put an end to the convulsions of *Khāridjism* in Ifrīḳiya.

But there arose another danger, that of the *djund*. Al-Ķayrawān became the gambling-stake of the rebel military leaders. In 194/810 Ibrāhīm I (184-96/800-12), in order to punish it for having treated with the army rebels, had the ramparts taken down and removed its gates. But it was guilty of the same offence again. In the meantime the gates had been put back, and in 209/824 the inhabitants opened them

to Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī. This time their punishment was a draconian one and Ziyādāt Allāh I (201-23/817-38) "razed the walls of the town until he had made them level with the ground", (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 100). His successors were able to reign quite peaceably until the *Shīʿī* propaganda extended to Ifrīḳiya. The citadel of Sunnism did not support its sovereigns when they were in danger, but adopted towards them a passive or even hostile attitude. The last of the Aghlabids left his capital secretly at night, and the commander of his armies had to follow him under a hail of stones.

The reign of the Fāṭimids accentuated the differences between the city of Sidī ʿUḳba and the power henceforth to be indisputably exercised by heretics. On 20th *Shaʿbān* 299/11th April 912, the storm broke. A rabble set the over-arrogant *Kutāma* against the exasperated tradesmen, and several hundred prisoners were taken (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 166; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut ed. 1966, viii, 53). ʿUbayd Allāh was able to calm men's minds, but it did not prevent the people of al-Ķayrawān from supporting the insurrection of the *Khāridjī* Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī (332-6/943-7). They were deceived by him, and finally abandoned him, but it did not exempt them from punishment. Al-Manṣūr, once the rebel had been defeated and killed, seized a group of them and had them tortured and executed.

The reign of the Zīrids before the rejection of the *Shīʿī* heresy, was no more readily accepted. The very arrival of al-Muʿizz (407-54/1016-62), when he carried out his first official visit to al-Ķayrawān, was greeted by an attempt on his life and by a dreadful uprising (15 *Muḥarram* 407/24th June 1016). The people of al-Ķayrawān massacred indiscriminately all whom they suspected of being *Shīʿī*. The bodies of the victims were burned and buildings set on fire at will. The disturbances spread as far as al-Manṣūriyya, which in turn was sacked and pillaged. Despite the efforts of the authorities to restore calm, a fresh riot broke out several months later on the occasion of the ceremonies of ʿId al-Fiṭr (1 *Shawwāl* 407/3 March 1017) presided over by al-Muʿizz. Again blood flowed freely, and this time the reaction of the authorities was brutal. Al-Ķayrawān was delivered into the hands of the troops of al-Manṣūriyya. Not a single shop escaped being pillaged and they set fire to the main business thoroughfares (*kibār al-aswāk*). This was but the prelude to greater woes. The Banū Hilāl, although they did not devastate every town of Ifrīḳiya, nevertheless made a complete ruin of what remained of the grandeur of al-Ķayrawān. The town was besieged from 446/1054 onwards and it was abandoned to them by al-Muʿizz, who retreated to al-Mahdiyya in 449/1057.

After that it is little heard of. Unlike *Kābis*, *Kafṣa*, *Tūzir*, al-Mahdiyya, *Sūsa* or *Safāḳis*, al-Ķayrawān caused no concern to the *Ḥafṣids*. No local dynasty seized power there under their reign. The nomad Arabs of the region, meanwhile, played a certain rôle on the political stage. They attempted, a little late, to oppose ʿAbd al-Muʿmin b. ʿAlī, the founder of the Almohad dynasty and already master of the whole of Ifrīḳiya. They were hewn to pieces, and their leader the Riyāhid Muḥriz b. Ziyād was defeated (556/1161, Ibn *Khaldūn*, *Ibar*, vi, 494). In 582/1186-7 the Almohad al-Manṣūr, who had come from Morocco to suppress the danger of the Banū *Ghāniya*, moved from Tunis towards al-Ķayrawān where he set up camp before taking the offensive in the direction of al-Ḥamma, thus making good the first losses sustained by his army (Ibn *Khaldūn*,

'Ibar, vi, 510). Some years later Yahyā b. Ghāniya seized the town, and with it, all Ifrikiya. His success was as resounding as it was short-lived. Al-Ķayrawān quickly returned to Almoḥad and then Ḥafṣid administration. In 669/1270 the landing of Louis IX at Carthage threw the whole country into a state of turmoil. The holy city founded by Sidi 'Uḳba vibrated with enthusiasm for *djihad*; al-Mustanṣir, thinking that Tunis was under too great a threat, even intended to move his government there (Ibn Khaldūn, 'Ibar, vi, 670). But the epidemic which put an end to the conflict robbed him of this honour. Several years later it again had the opportunity of playing a definite political rôle by favouring the accession of "the impostor", Ibn Abi 'Umāra (681-3/1283-4), to the throne. In bestowing on him the *bay'a* it assured him, we are told (Ibn Khaldūn, 'Ibar, vi, 691), of the support of Safāḳis of Sūsa and of al-Mahdiyya.

Its name again comes into prominence in the course of the struggle of the Sultan Abū Yahyā Abū Bakr against Abū Darba (718-24/1318-24). But the most important event occurred in Muḥarram 749/April 1348. Abū 'l-Ḥaṣan al-Marīnī, who had just occupied Ifrikiya, was beaten by the nomadic Arabs near al-Ķayrawān, where he was later hemmed in (Ibn Khaldūn, 'Ibar, vi, 564, 814-6, 819). He was in fact able to get free and reach Tunis again, but this defeat was a sure mark of his decline and gave rise to the evacuation of the country.

After this al-Ķayrawān did not achieve notice until the end of the reign of the Ḥafṣids, which closed in the shadow of discredit. So it was without difficulty that Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, already the master of Algiers, stormed Tunis (18th August 1534), proclaimed the downfall of the dynasty and among other things placed a garrison at al-Ķayrawān. The following year (14th July 1535), Charles V reinstated Mawlāy al-Ḥasan on his throne under a special Spanish protectorate, but the whole of the south of the country escaped him. At that time al-Ķayrawān became the capital of an independent principality governed by a marabout, Sidi 'Arafa, of the tribe of the Shābbiyya. In 1542 Mawlāy al-Ḥasan tried to recover it but he was forsaken by his troops. So the Shābbiyya remained in power until the intervention of the *ra'is* Dragut who, working outwards from Tripoli, came, routed them and occupied the town (3rd January 1558), leaving Haydar Pasha there as governor. In 1574 the latter joined his forces with those at Tripoli to support Sinān Pasha, who came at the head of an imposing fleet to end once and for all the Ḥafṣid dynasty and Spanish domination (Ibn Abi Diyāf, *Ithāf*, Tunis 1963, ii, 18-21, places these events in 981/1573). Tunisia was then organised as a Turkish *pashalik* with Haydar Pasha, the former governor of al-Ķayrawān, at its head (Ibn Abi Diyāf, *Ithāf*, ii, 27).

The reign of the Murāḍids accentuated the decline of al-Ķayrawān. Ḥammūda Pasha showed some interest in the town, for in 1631 he came to rout the Awlād Sa'īd from the region and he set up a garrison of spahis (*ūdjak*) in the place. But soon there was civil war between 'Alī Bey and his brother Muḥammad. Al-Ķayrawān took the side of the latter, and after the settlement of 1678, which divided the country between the two pretenders, it became the seat of its own government (Ibn Abi Diyāf, *Ithāf*, ii, 55). Later it turned hostile towards Murād Bey Abū Bālā (1699-1702), hence he besieged it and imposed a severe collective fine upon it. Then it was delivered up to the pillaging of Khalīf, bey of Tripoli, in return

for his alliance against Algiers. The following year, in 1701, the order was given to the inhabitants to proceed with the destruction of their own town except for the mosques and the *zāwiyas*, which were the only buildings spared (Ibn Abi Diyāf, *Ithāf*, ii, 76). The tyrant was however assassinated, which allowed his successor, Ibrāhīm al-Sharīf, to repair the damage, and the inhabitants of al-Ķayrawān were authorised in 1703 to resettle their town and to rebuild its ruins (Ibn Abi Diyāf, *Ithāf*, ii, 81).

Later, the inhabitants benefitted from the benevolence of the founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (1705-35), who paid particular attention to the restoration of the mosques; they were faithful to him to the very end. It was in al-Ķayrawān that he found refuge, and was then besieged for five years by his nephew 'Alī Pasha. In the end he was captured and beheaded (13th May 1740). At the same time forty of the notables of al-Ķayrawān were hanged and the wall surrounding the town was dismantled (Ibn Abi Diyāf, *Ithāf*, ii, 112-8). Afterwards Muḥammad al-Rashīd (1756-9), son of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, arrived and seized for himself the benefits of power, and received recognition by the children of the founder of the dynasty. Its city wall was rebuilt, tax exemptions were granted to it, and the life-style of its inhabitants was visibly improved.

The reign of Ḥusayn II was, however, less favourable. During this period a heavy fine was imposed on the town which completely ruined its inhabitants; they were reduced to selling their goods and chattels to be free from it. Also in 1864 it was one of the most active hotbeds of the uprising led by 'Alī b. Ghadhāhum. It was within its bounds that the Zlās of the region, led by al-Subū'ī b. Muḥammad al-Subū'ī, held a conference with the Banū Zīd, the Hamāma, and the Frashīsh. But it was a conference from which no concrete action emerged. Later, in 1881, just when the French protectorate of Tunisia was being established, al-Ķayrawān again achieved honourable status; it became one of the most active centres for the call to resistance. From the 15th to the 20th June 1881 a conference in the Great Mosque brought together the representatives of the various tribes and made a decision to intervene at the side of the Pasha of Tripoli. When this intervention produced no result, and any isolated army action was thought worthless, the town was finally occupied without resistance on 26th October 1881. Only the Zlās continued limited operations for some time.

### iii. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

According to the vows of its founder, al-Ķayrawān was supposed to "perpetuate the glory of Islam to the end of time" (Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i, 19; Abū 'l-'Arab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 8). To a certain extent it has fulfilled this mission. It is still a holy and venerated town, but over the centuries it has lost its rôle of a great metropolis. As described above, it has known both the peak of splendour and the depths of disaster.

'Uḳba had begun his work by marking out the site for the Great Mosque and the Government House (*dār al-imāra*). The space around and within a perimeter of 13,600 cubits, about 7.5 km. (Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i, 21), must have been apportioned out by tribes as it was in Baṣra and Kūfa which were founded in similar conditions. But there is no precise information on this matter, only a few indications. We learn, for example (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 23), that the Fihri, the Ḳurashī clan of the founder of the town, had settled to the north of the Great



Mosque at the time of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik (105-25/724-43). Again, in the 3rd/9th century, the districts had preserved distinct ethnic or denominational characteristics. This is indicated by Hārat Yahṣub (‘Iyād, *Madārik*, partial edition by M. Talbi under the title *Biographies Aghlabides* . . ., Tunis 1968, 71), Raḥbat al-Ḳuraṣhiyyin (‘Iyād, *Madārik*, 369), Darb al-Firshāsh (‘Iyād, *Madārik*, 359), and a Sūḳ al-Yahūd (‘Iyād, *Madārik*, 359).

From the outset, al-Ḳayrawān was built in stone, thanks to the re-used building materials which were found on the site. Its perimeter indicates that it was planned as a large city designed to group together all the Arabs of Ifrikiya, primarily the warriors who would often then be followed by their families. Its initial population could hardly have fallen below 50,000.

Like Baṣra and Kūfa, originally it had no defensive wall and it remained an open city for nearly a century. The vicissitudes of history forced it, as we have seen, to be enclosed, from 144/762 onwards behind ramparts ten cubits thick (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 24). The reign of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155-71/722-88) was particularly beneficial to it. It was he who organised the town souks and specified the type of activity within them. (Ibn ‘Iḍḥārī, *Bayān*, i, 78). He was a person of some prestige and attracted to himself poets and men of science. Al-Ḳayrawān was itself in process of becoming one of the most important centres of Muslim civilisation.

The town reached its zenith in the 3rd/9th century when it became the capital of an independent kingdom. A fortified chief residence for the prince, al-‘Abbāsiyya [q.v.] was built nearby (184/800). Another, more luxurious and spacious, Raḳḳāda, followed (263/877). The city had become too important, and began to disturb the authorities. It no longer needed to be defended, but it was necessary to take precautions against it, so it was deprived of its ramparts in the circumstances already described.

What were its dimensions then? Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 25-6) tells us that the main street (*al-Simāf*), which ran along the east side of the Great Mosque, measured, from the Abū ‘l-Rabi‘ in the south to the Tunis Gate in the north, two and a third miles, that is (allowing 1,600 m. to the mile in al-Bakrī) a little less than 4 km. It can be assumed that the town had the same dimension in the opposite direction. Such an area assumes a population of several hundred thousand people. This estimation is confirmed by other evidence. Again according to al-Bakrī, the town numbered 48 *hammāms*, and a count was taken once on the occasion of the feast of *al-‘Ashūrā* of 950 oxen slaughtered for the needs of the inhabitants, which represents a minimum of 200 tons of meat. Even if this is an exaggeration, it indicates a not inconsiderable size. Al-Ya‘qūbī, who wrote in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, says for his part, that one rubbed shoulders with all kinds of people: Arabs from Ḳuraysh, from Muḍar, from Rabī‘a, from Ḳaḥṭān and from other tribes too; Persians from Ḳhurāsān; finally, Berbers from Rūm (Latins) and still others (*Les Pays*, tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 210). Alongside the Muslim majority there were also to be found Jews and Christians. Al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ (177-8/793-4) had authorised the building of a church there (Pseudo-Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, *Ta’rīkh* . . ., ed. M. al-Kaābi, Tunis 1968, 185). In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the church in al-Ḳayrawān had several heads (‘Iyād, *Madārik*, 132), and epigraphy shows us that until the 5th/11th century, Christians there had kept the use of Latin in their funerary inscriptions.

Because of all these people, the water system organised from the reign of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) onwards was no longer sufficient (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 26). The population had certainly continued to grow under the Aghlabids, which explains the construction of new water reservoirs to meet the growing needs. The immense cistern built at the Tunis Gate by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (242-9/856-63), the remains of which may still be admired, was the most grandiose construction among the fourteen similar works.

The Great Mosque, the oldest and most prestigious religious building of the Muslim West, also followed the pattern of expansion and assumed a new aspect. It was in the 3rd/9th century that it took on its present form and proportions, except for a few details. It was Ḥassān b. al-Nu‘mān [q.v.] who had renovated it. Afterwards it was enlarged towards the north and probably provided with the present minaret in the reign of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik. Yazīd b. Ḥātim reconstructed it in 157/774. In the end, Ziyādat Allāh I had it completely demolished, but probably kept the minaret and had it reconstructed (221/836), having regard for the outline, drawn up by ‘Uḳba b. Nāfi‘, of the wall of the *ḵibla*, even though it was badly orientated, having a deviation of 31° towards the south. Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad enlarged it and embellished it again (248/862-3). From this moment onwards, the work of its restoration and decoration changed nothing of its general appearance. The Zirid al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs (407-74/1016-62) endowed it with the present *maksūra* replacing that of the Aghlabids and making it into a library. Other restoration and decoration were carried out under the Ḥafṣids and in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The last restoration dates from 1970-2.

The development of the town favoured its intellectual advance. In the 3rd/9th century al-Ḳayrawān became one of the principal cultural centres of Islam. ‘Mālik (d. 179/795) considered it, together with Kūfa and al-Madīna as one of the three great capitals of the Muslim sciences’ (Ibn Nāḍī, *Ma‘ālim*, ii, 38). Well before al-Ṭabarī, Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī (124-200/741-815) was writing there and taught his *Tafsīr* which has been partially preserved (two mss. at Tunis BN 7447, and collection of H. H. Abdul-Wahab); this was the first great monument of Muslim exegesis. Asad b. al-Furat (ca. 142-213/759-828), after following the lectures of Mālik, of the Ḥanafī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and a host of other oriental masters, entrusted to his Asadiyya a personal synthesis of the different teachings he had received and made many disciples who continued his tradition. His attempt would have led to a specifically al-Ḳayrawān school of *fiḵh* if only his prestige had not been eclipsed by that of Saḥnūn (ca. 160-240/777-854), who was undoubtedly the grand master of the epoch. His monumental *Mudawwana*, which conveys to us the teaching of Mālik according to the version of Ibn al-Ḳāsim, became the breviary of the men of al-Ḳayrawān. Students from all quarters flocked to his lectures, including some from Muslim Spain, where no less than 57 students were authorised to spread his teaching. Philological activity has left us no great work, but it was sufficiently important for Abū Bakr al-Zubayrī to devote a special chapter to it in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa’l-lughawiyyīn* (Cairo 1954, 254-72). Medicine was well represented by Ziyād b. Ḳhālfūn, Ishāk b. ‘Imrān and Ishāk b. Sulaymān (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 24; Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘a, *‘Uyūn al-anbā’*, ed. and tr. A. Nouredine and H.

Jahier, Algiers 1958, 2-9). Their works, translated into Latin by Constantine the African in the 5th/11th century, were taught in Salerno.

The reign of the Shi'ī Fātimids was certainly not favourable to this citadel of Sunnism. The triumphant Kutāma claimed the right of sacking this opulent city as a reward for their effort. In actual fact, it suffered little. Despite the construction of a rival city, Šabra al-Manšūriyya (336/947-8) near it, towards which commercial activity tended to shift, it maintained its prosperity and was able to triumph over certain natural disasters: an earthquake (299/911-2); a fire in the souks (13th Dhū 'l-Ḥijjā 306/17th May 919); a flood (308/920-1); famine and an epidemic (317/929). The positive statements of two contemporaries, Ibn Ḥawqal (*Sūrat al-aḥd*, Beirut n.d., 94) and al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsim*, ed. and partial tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 14-7), agree that the reliability of the water supply was actually better assured. The Fātimid al-Mu'izz had actually had "a system of canals constructed which came down from the mountain and filled the reservoirs after crossing his palace at Šabra" (*ibid.*, 15). The town was at that time crossed by 15 main thoroughfares (*darb*), the names of which have been partly preserved (*ibid.*, 17) and its area had grown even larger, "a boundary of a little less than three miles", according to al-Muḳaddasī (*ibid.*, 15) (on the basis of 1900 m. to the mile in al-Muḳaddasī, about 5.5 km.). It is evident that its population had considerably increased, and this was the peak of its expansion.

From that point onwards, an era of stagnation began for al-Ķayrawān as for the rest of Ifrikiya, which was followed by inexorable decline. There were several bursts of revival which just enabled it to keep a foot on the ladder of a country definitely in decline, but they could not retrieve for it its former glory. The transfer of the caliphate to Cairo (361/972) came as a severe blow to Ifrikiya. The reserves of precious metal followed the Fātimids to Egypt and al-Ķayrawān lost for ever its rôle as a capital. The first Zirids hardly ever lived there, but exhausted themselves with the interminable battles in the central and more distant Maghrib. Although it was prosperous at the beginning of their reign, it was brought under severe pressure to satisfy the demands of the master of Egypt. The vice-regent 'Abd Allāh al-Kātib extracted no less than 400,000 *dīnārs* in 366/976-7 from 600 of the leading citizens; some of them had to pay as much as 10,000 *dīnārs* each (Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i, 230); this brought ruin for many.

Some decades later in 395/1004-5 the town experienced famine and a dreadful epidemic, concerning which Ibn 'Idhārī (*Bayān*, i, 256-7), following Ibn al-Raḳīk, has preserved an interesting description. Each day they buried their dead by hundreds in common graves; the dwellings were empty and the services, the ovens, *ḥammāms* etc. were paralysed. The city was depopulated and a helter-skelter flight of refugees sought shelter far away, even as far as Sicily. Some years later, in 405/1014-5, the merchants were again forced to transfer their trade to Šabra. The Šanhādja were also involved. Everything seemed to have conspired to stifle the Sunni capital which, struck by so many misfortunes, saw its prosperity fade and its population dwindle. The perimeter of the city-wall, linked by a corridor to Šabra (which al-Mu'izz built in great haste when he was hard-pressed in 444/1052-3) did not exceed 22,000 cubits or ca. 10.5 km. (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 25). Thus the city had returned almost to the proportions

of the earliest nucleus as delineated by 'Uḳba b. Nāfi'.

If the information gathered from our sources is correct, as seems probable, it must be accepted that it was reduced to a third of the area reached at its zenith. This means that on the brink of all the misfortunes which awaited, it was already no more than a shadow of itself. The culture there had, however, always maintained a certain lustre. The Maliki *fakīhs* Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ķayrawānī (d. 386/996) and al-Ḳābisī (d. 403/1012) the Ash'arī al-Ḳālānisī (d. 359 or 361/969-71), the physician Ibn al-Djazzār (d. ca. 395/1004), the historian Ibn al-Raḳīk (d. after 418/1028), the astrologer Ibn Abī al-Ridjāl (d. ca. 426/1034-5), whose *K. al-Bārī' fi aḥkām al-nudjūm* was translated into Castilian, Latin, Hebrew and ancient Portuguese, the poets Ibn al-Raḥīk (d. 456/1064) and Ibn Šaraf (d. 460/1067), and still others, had brilliantly continued the traditions of their predecessors. But they were the last glowing torches of a town whose socio-economic infrastructure had crumbled and against which the sword was drawn. The final blow was struck by the Banū Hilāl, who, on 1st Ramaḍān 449/1st November 1057, two days after al-Mu'izz had left Šabra to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya, set about pillaging it and devastating it. Ibn Raḥīk in a moving elegy (*Diwān*, Beirut n.d., 204-12) uttered the funeral eulogy for the battered city.

The middle of the 5th/11th century was the chief turning point in the history not only of al-Ķayrawān but of all Ifrikiya. It was the end of an era which was altogether quite a splendid one and the beginning of another much less brilliant. Town and city life clearly receded before the pastoral and nomadic influences, and the effect of the Bedouin on the country was a scourge which persisted until the 19th century. In this new general atmosphere of decadence, al-Ķayrawān changed from being a great metropolis into a poor town of the steppes. It was deserted by what remained of its inhabitants and continued to diminish. Ten years after the blow from the Banū Hilāl, there was a makeshift wall encircling the Great Mosque and what remained of the western quarter. This wall, which assumed approximately the outline of the present day wall, was a little longer than 3 km. Al-Idrisī notes (*Nuzha*, partial ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 80) that when he was writing (that is, in the middle of the 6th/12th century just before the Almohad conquest) al-Ķayrawān was only a ruin (*aḥlāl dārīsa wa-āḥḥār jāmisā*), that what remained of it was incompletely surrounded by earthen ramparts, and that it was in the hands of Arab nomads who levied taxes on a poor and wretched population. As for Raḳḳāda and Šabra, they simply disappeared completely. It was the nadir of its fortunes.

The reign of the Almohads, and especially that of the Ḥafṣids, brought back to it a relative peace and allowed the town to rise a little from its ruined state. In the 7th/13th century private enterprise gave it better ramparts. With the rise of the Marabout movement it also began to fill with *zāwiyas* (Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālīm*, iv, 227). But the population, mostly composed of urbanised bedouin elements, was henceforth much less refined. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228) wrote: "Today all one sees are worthless bumpkins (*su'lūk*)". (*Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 420). The impression received by al-'Abdarī (*al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya*, ed. M. al-Fāsi, Rabat 1968, 64, 66, 82), who went there on pilgrimage in 688/1289, was not much better.

In fact, a new life at a much more modest level had begun for al-Kayrawān. In a general context of constant regression it was able to preserve a certain status, but without any measure of its past grandeur. Even so, it was respectable enough among the other towns of the kingdom and adapted itself to its new economic rôle, that of being a market town and commercial centre for the Bedouin. Its souks, although very much reduced, with their goods carried off towards the west, continued to offer indispensable products: leather, cloth and metal. It received in exchange the products of pastoral activity. Leo Africanus who visited it in 1516, that is at the end of the Hafsid period, describes it in this way: "At present only poor workmen are to be seen there, for the most part tanners of sheepskins and goatskins. They sell all their leather garments in the towns of Numidia where there is no European cloth" (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 398). Later on, particularly at the beginning of the reign of the Husaynids, al-Kayrawān recovered and gained second place in the country. Al-Wazir al-Sarrādjī (d. 1149/1736-7) noted at the beginning of the 18th century: "At this moment, after Tunis, no larger town than al-Kayrawān is known in all of Ifrīkiya. Among its inhabitants are the best scholars, the most skilful people and the most astute business men" (*Hulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hila, Tunis 1970, i, 244). The impression is confirmed by J. A. Peyssonnel, who wrote: "al-Kayrawān is one of the largest towns in the kingdom. It is situated on a brackish plain, half a league in circumference, is very well populated and very commercial. It has been ruined several times but was well repaired under the Bey Hassem ben Aly... Much woollen cloth was made there, burnouses, sufficielis, and other materials special to the country..." (*Relation d'une voyage sur les côtes de Barbarie, fait par l'ordre du roi en 1724 and 1725*, ed. M. Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838, i, 113; see also i, 160). L. R. Desfontaines, who visited al-Kayrawān in January 1784, for his part, notes that it was "the biggest in the kingdom after Tunis; it was even better built and cleaner than the latter... The trade of al-Kayrawān consists principally of animal skins which the inhabitants know how to put to different uses. Here are made bridles, saddles and shoes according to the fashion of the land. They also made woollen cloths called barakan. The people there have a happier life than anywhere else, being exempt from taxes in recompense for the services which they rendered to the grandfather of the present Bey" (*Fragments d'un voyage dans les régences de Tunis et d'Alger fait de 1783 à 1786*, ed. M. Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838, ii, 61). V. Guérin, who spent three days there from 18th to 20th August 1861, thinks also that it was, with barely 12,000 inhabitants, "after Tunis one of the most highly populated towns of the regency". (*Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, ii, 334). It came before Sfax, which scarcely numbered more than 10,000 inhabitants, and before Sousse, Monastir and Mahdiyya, whose populations did not exceed 5,000 or 8,000. It was, however, situated "in a real desert, almost entirely deprived of trees and even of bushes" (V. Guérin, *Voyage... ii*, 326). All told, the city founded by Sīdī 'Ukba, despite the ruining of its hinterland, showed, at least until the days of the protectorate, that despite everything it was more viable than other centres which were apparently better situated.

Its religious prestige was certainly not irrelevant to its survival. With "about 50 zaouïas and 20

mosques" (V. Guérin, *Voyage... ii*, 328), it was indubitably in the middle of the 19th century the spiritual capital of the country. It was then considered to be a holy town and in principle forbidden to non-Muslims. Today it has no such sacred character, and tourists have free access to its sanctuaries. As for its population, the city of Sīdī 'Ukba occupies only the fifth place in the country, but is also the chef-lieu of the most under-developed governorate of the country. It still, however, maintains a certain aura of sanctity and attracts the most illustrious visitors. And when the point of the unification of the countries of the Maghrib is brought up, there are those who find that "the capital of this federation of independent states ought to be Kayrawan, the spiritual capital of the Moslems since many centuries and thus appropriate to symbolise the return to the glory of the past of the World of the Islam" (*La Presse*, a Tunisian daily, of 21 Sept. 1973).

*Bibliography*: There are too many sources for one to note them all, and the most important of them have been mentioned in the text. *Studies*: Apart from those mentioned in the text: T. Bachrouch, *Le gouvernement des beys muradites au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, unpubl. thesis, Aix-en-Provence 1973, 15, 19, 115-6, 137, 142; J. Berque, *Du nouveau sur les Banū Hilāl?*, in *SI*, xxxvi (1972), 99-113; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides*, Paris 1947, i, 357-76; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques mots sur les Hilaliens et le nomadisme*, in *JESHO* (March 1968), 130-2; A. Cayaci, *La question tunisienne et la politique ottomane (1881-1913)*, Neuchâtel 1963, index, Ar. tr. A. Temimi, Tunis 1973, index; Ennabli-Mahjoubi-Salomson, *La nécropole romaine de Raqqāda*, Tunis 1971-3, 2 vols.; P. Fagault, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1889 [record of a journey made in 1887], 216-82; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-81)*, Paris 1959, index; H. R. Idris, *La berberie orientale sous les Zirides, X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1962, ii, 411-28; idem, *De la réalité de la catastrophe hilalienne*, in *Annales E.S.C.*, xxiii (1968), 390-61; idem, *L'invasion hilalienne et ses conséquences*, in *Cah. de Civ. Médiévale*, xi/3 (1968), 353-71; A. Lézine, *Notes d'archéologie ifriqiyenne*, i, *Le plan ancien de la ville de Kairouan* (to be used with caution), ii, *Sur une porte ancienne de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, in *REI*, xxv (1967), 53-77; A. Lézine and P. Sebag, *Remarques sur l'histoire de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, in *IBLA*, no. 99 (1962), 245-56; Dick de Lonlay, *En Tunisie, souvenirs de sept mois de campagne*, Paris 1882, new. ed. 1938, 291-325; Ammar Mahjoubi, *Nouveau témoignage épigraphique sur la communauté chrétienne de Kairouan au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Afrika*, i, (Tunis 1966), 85-105; G. Marçais, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1937; idem, *L'architecture musulmane d'occident*, Paris 1954, index; G. Marçais and L. Poinssot, *Objets kairouanais IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 fasc., Tunis 1948-52; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, Paris 1965, index; Ch. Monchicourt, *Études kairouanaises*, in *RT* (1931-6); P. Penet, *Kairouan, Sbeïlla, le Djérid, guide illustré du touriste dans le sud-ouest tunisien*, Tunis 1911, 1-41; J. Poncet, *Le mythe de la "catastrophe" hilalienne*, in *Annales E.S.C.*, xxii (1967), 1099-1120; B. Roy and P. Poinssot, *Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan*, 2 fasc., Paris 1950-8; H. Saladin, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1908, 98-140; M. Talbi, *L'Émirat Aghlabide*, Paris 1966, index; idem, *Kairouan et le malikisme espagnole*, in *Études*

*d'orientalisme*... Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1962, i, 317-37; Saʿd Zaghīlūl, *Taʾrīkh al-Maghrib al-ʿArabi*, Cairo 1965, index; A. Zghal, *Modernisation de l'agriculture et populations semi-nomades*, The Hague 1967, 27-31, 64-78; *La situation de l'emploi dans le gouvernorat de Kairouan*, Roneo-typed publication of the Ministry of Planning, Tunis, February 1973. (M. TALBI)

AL-KAYRAWĀNĪ. [see IBN ABĪ ZAYD AL-KAYRAWĀNĪ].

AL-KAYS [see KAYS KUZAH].

KAYS, DJABAL, also known by the Persian name Kīsh, one of the most important of the commercially-relevant islands in the Persian Gulf (*Baḥr ʿUmān*), especially following the ruin of Sīrāf. The island was some four *farsakhs* from the coast opposite the port of Huzū, and was four *farsakhs* in circumference; it contained a residence of the ruler of ʿUmān, and was characterised by garden areas and splendid constructions. Water was supplied by means of wells, and by rain water which was collected in cisterns. Kays was famous for its pearl fisheries, as were also the surrounding islands. Yāqūt indicates that its ruler was held in great respect owing to the size of his fleet, and he seems to have exercised a monopoly over various commercial concerns. Some intellectual activity was also observed.

*Bibliography*: G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 257, citing relevant bibliography; also Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 215-6.

(J. LASSNER)

KAYS B. ʿĀṢIM B. SINĀN B. KHĀLID B. MINKAR B. ʿUBAYD B. MUḲĀʿIS, ABŪ ʿALĪ (according to other versions: ABŪ TALḤA OR ABŪ KABĪṢA), a mukḥaḍram chief of the Banū MuḲāʿis and leader of his tribe. Tribal tradition emphasised his generosity, care for people under his protection, mildness and leniency. Al-Aḥnaf b. Kays reported the story, recorded in the compilations of *adab*, of how Kays b. ʿĀṣim received calmly the news about the murder of his son and magnanimously pardoned the murderer who was brought fettered into his presence. A poet of Sulaym, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, praised his noble behaviour towards his *djār*. He is counted among the magnanimous ones (*ḥulamāʾ*) and the nobles of the *Djahiliyya* who abstained from drinking wine. His re-introduction of the practice of burying alive female infants is connected with a story of a woman of his family who, when captured in a raid on the tribe, preferred to remain with her captor and refused to return to her tribe. In order to prevent the recurrence of such an ignominy he decided to bury his daughters alive; verses 8-9 of Sūra LXXXI are said to have been revealed in connexion with this practice of Kays b. ʿĀṣim.

Kays is recorded as a leader of his tribe in the stories of the battles which took place in the first decade of the 7th century. He was victorious in all of his battles, except that of Abraq al-Kibrīt where he was captured with his mother and two of his sisters. In the battle of al-Sitār he is said to have killed Katāda b. Salama al-Ḥanaḥī; if this report is true, Katāda must have been a very old man when Kays killed him, as he had already been a tribal leader during the Expedition of the Elephant and had been warned by Ṭarafa of the advancing troops of Abraha (see Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḥ*, ed. Khurshed Aḥmad Fariq, Hyderabad 1383/1964, 69). The attack on the ʿAbd Kays at *Djuwāṭha*, in which Kays distinguished himself, seems to have been led by al-Ahtam. The attack on the Lahāzim (see W. Caskel, *Ḡamharat an-Nasab*, Leiden 1966, ii,

26-27) at Nibādī-Thaytal was a joint action undertaken by Kays at the head of the MuḲāʿis and Salāma b. Ḍarīb, chief of the Adjārib (see Caskel, *op. cit.*, 144). His rapid action and his effective tactics assured them of victory. In the battle of al-Kulāb II (where the tribal units of Tamīm gathered after the slaughter of al-Muḥaḳḳar) Kays became the leader of the troops of Saʿd and by his energetic action and bravery helped to win the battle; the Tamīm attacked by allied Yamanī tribes took spoils and captives. It was at this battle, which took place at the beginning of the second decade of the 7th century, that Kays clashed with al-Ahtam. The animosity between these two leaders and the rancour between Kays and al-Zibriḳān b. Badr are echoed in the recorded verses of *hidāʾ* and in the stories about the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet. A *mathal* story reports the part played by Zayd al-Kḥayl (who left his tribe for some time and dwelt in the camp of Kays) in repelling an attack of the ʿIḍīl against the MuḲāʿis; Kays denied Zayd's meritorious deed and because of this gained the epithet "the liar".

Tamīmī tradition stresses the role of Kays in the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet, emphasising that the Prophet was impressed by him and named him "the chief of the nomad people" (*sayyid ahl al-wabar*). A spurious tradition records a conversation between the Prophet and Kays, in which Kays told the Prophet that the first man who applied *raḍjaz* in driving camels (*hidāʾ*) was the ancestor of the Prophet, Muḳar; the first man who received information about the appearance of a Prophet named Muḥammad was Sufyān b. Mudjāshīʿ al-Dārimī, who accordingly named his new born son Muḥammad. It is apparent that the tendency of this tradition is to stress the Prophet's link with Muḳar and Tamīm. The alleged sincerity of Kays' belief is indicated in a story of his divorce of his beloved wife from the Banū Ḥanīfa, because she refused to embrace Islam. The Prophet exhorted Kays to donate some of his flocks to the poor and needy, and is said to have forbidden tribal alliances to be formed in Islam. The Prophet appointed Kays tax collector of the MuḲāʿis and the Buṭūn (see Caskel, *op. cit.*, 230).

After the death of the Prophet, Kays seems to have wavered in his loyalty to Medina. He doubted the stability of the Medina establishment and preferred to divide the taxes collected for Medina among his tribe. This he apparently did according to some kind of agreement with al-Zibriḳān; when al-Zibriḳān later hurried to Abū Bakr with the taxes levied from his tribal units, Kays felt himself deceived and accused al-Zibriḳān of treacherous behaviour. Both leaders showed no hostility towards Medina at the beginning of the *riḍā*: they escorted ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in their territories when he was on his way from ʿUmān to Medina; they took a neutral stand towards Medina while waiting to see whether Medina would stand fast against the tribal revolts.

Kays further aided Saḍjāh, but no war action of his on her behalf is recorded. After the revolt of the Banū Ḥanīfa was crushed, Kays joined al-ʿAlāʾ al-Ḥaḍramī when he was on his way to al-Baḥrayn, but even then he simply escorted him through the territories of the Saʿd; only later did he decide to fight on his side. He fought bravely, and is credited with the killing of al-Ḥuṭam and Abḍjār b. Buḍjayr.

Kays settled in al-Baṣra. He is said to have had 33 sons and many daughters. Ṭalaba b. Kays was known for his generosity; Muḳātil b. Ṭalaba was in the deputation of the nobles of Tamīm and ʿĀmir b.

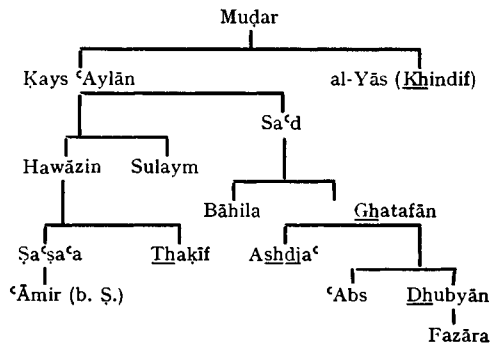
Ṣa'sa'a sent by Ibrāhīm b. 'Arabī to 'Abd al-Malik. Mayya, the daughter of Muḳātil b. Ṭalaba, was the beloved of Dhū 'l-Rumma.

According to Ibn Kathīr, Kays died in 47/667. He enjoined his sons not to reveal his place of burial, because he feared the Banū Bakr b. Wā'il, whom he had fought and who hated him. Following the example of the Prophet, he gave orders to refrain from lamentations at his funeral. He was eulogised by 'Abda b. al-Ṭabīb in his famous elegy in which he said "The death of Kays was not the death of one man: it was [as if] the edifice of a people had fallen down".

*Bibliography:* *Aghāni*, index; Tabarī, index; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Ms. 'Ashir Ef. 597/8, fols. 1019a-1020b; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Cairo 1368/1949, index; Abū Zayd, *al-Nawādīr fī 'l-luġha*, ed. Sa'īd al-Shartūnī, repr. Beirut 1387/1967, 92; al-Sharif al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1373/1954, index; al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-kabas*, ed. R. Sellheim, Wiesbaden 1964, index; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Ch. Lyall, Beirut 1920, 317, 741; Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir, *Balāghāt al-nisā'*, ed. al-Nadīaf 1361, 51, 87-8; Ibn Ḥubaysh, *al-Maghāzī*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 343, pp. 13, 25, 72; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, f. 78b; al-Wākidī, *al-Ridda*, Ms. Bankipore, Cat. xv, 1042, fols. 27b-29a; Ibn Aṭḥam, *al-Futūḥ*, Hyderabad 1388/1968, 50-51, 53; al-Djāhīz, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1351/1932, index; idem, *al-Hayawān*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1384/1965, iii, 490; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Ma'ānī al-kabīr*, Hyderabad 1368/1949, i, 507, ii, 825, 1025; idem, *'Uyūn al-akḥbār*, Cairo 1349/1930, index; idem, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. al-Šawī, Cairo 1353/1935, 131 (repr. Beirut 1390/1970); Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedt, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 126, 237-8, 248; al-Ṭha'ālībī, *Thimār al-kulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1383/1965, 315, no. 484; al-'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, *Diwān*, ed. Yahyā al-Djubūrī, Baghdad 1388/1968, 61-2; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Baṣrī, *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, ed. Muḫṭār al-Dīn Aḥmad, Hyderabad 1383/1964, ii, 60, no. 157, 238, no. 4; al-Buḥturī, *al-Ḥamāsa*, ed. L. Cheikho (repr. Beirut 1387/1967), 245, no. 1321; Abū Tammām, *al-Ḥamāsa*, *Sharḥ al-Tibrīzī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1357/1938, ii, 285-6; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1376/1956, index; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amin, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1368/1949, index; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishṭihāk*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, index; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Biḍjāwī, Cairo n.d., iii, 1294-96, no. 1240; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1387/1967, iii, 56, xix, 233; Ibn Ḥadžār, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325/1907, v, 258, no. 7188; Ibn al-Aḥṭir, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1286, iv, 219-21; al-Ḳālt, *Amālī*, ed. al-Maymanī, Cairo 1344/1926, index; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, ed. al-Maymanī, Cairo 1354/1936, i, 487-8; al-Hayṭhamī, *Maḍīma' al-zawā'id*, Beirut 1967 (repr.), iii, 107-8, iv, 221-2, ix, 404; al-Buḫḫārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1379, 328-9; al-Fattāl al-Naysabūrī, *Rawḍat al-wā'izīn*, al-Nadīaf 1386/1966, 487; al-Yazīdī, *al-Amālī*, Hyderabad 1367/1948, 101; al-Wākidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, iii, 975, 979; al-Zadīdjādī, *al-Amālī*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1382, 29, 88-9; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣaḥīḥ sunan al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1348, i, 59;

al-'Askarī, *Djamharat al-amḥāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-Maḍjīd Ḳaṭāmīsh, Cairo 1384/1964, index; Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. 'Abd al-Maḍjīd Ḳaṭāmīsh, Cairo 1971, i, 164-5, no. 187, 287-9, no. 400, 324, no. 511; al-Maydānī, *Maḍīma' al-amḥāl*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1379/1959, i, 220, no. 1179, ii, 65-6, no. 2711, 169, no. 3211; al-Ḳurashī, *Djamharat ash'ār al-'Arab*, Beirut 1383/1963, 34-5; Ibn Sa'ād, *al-Tabakāt*, Beirut 1380/1960, vi, 319, vii, 36; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-aḥar*, Cairo 1356, ii, 203; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, *Shalabī*, Cairo 1355/1936, iv, 206-7; 212-13, 270; al-Maḳrīzī, *Imtā' al-asmā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṣhākīr, Cairo 1941, i, 434, 439, 509; al-Zurkānī, *Sharḥ 'alā 'l-mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, Cairo 1325, iii, 44; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, s.v. Abraḳ al-Kibrīt, *Djadūd*, Ṭhaytal, al-Kulāb, Musallaḥa, al-Sitār; al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyā, *al-Djalis al-šālīḥ al-kāfī*, Ms. Topkapi Saray, Ahmet III, no. 2321, fols. 19b, 154a; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa-l-tarīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899, v, 109; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut—al-Riyād 1966, viii, 31-2; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1962, xv, 128, 130 ult.; 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Baghḍādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Būlāḳ 1299, iii, 427; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Biḍjāwī, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 965; Ibn Abī 'l-'Awn, *al-Tashbihāt*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān, Cambridge 1369/1950, 323; al-'Askarī, *al-Maṣūn fī 'l-adab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Kuwait 1960, 16; Ṭhābit b. Abī Ṭhābit, *Khalk al-insān*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Farrādī, Kuwait 1965, 90; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 205-6; idem, *Djawāmi' al-sīra*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Asad, Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṣhākīr, Cairo n.d., 25, 290; Dhū 'l-Rumma, *Diwān*, ed. C. H. H. Macartney, Cambridge 1919, 624 (no. 79, v, 57); al-Hākīm, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad 1342 (reprint al-Riyād), iii, 611-12; *Djarīr* and al-Farazḍāq, *Nakā'id*, ed. A. A. Bevan, Leiden 1908-12, index; Ch. J. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, London 1930, 33-4, 84; W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 138; al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Ms. Bursa, Hu. Çelebi 85b, fols. 36b-37a; Ch. Pellat, *Risāla fī l-hilm*, Beirut 1973, index. (M. J. KISTER)

**KAYS 'AYLĀN**, one of the two subdivisions of Muḍar, which along with Rabi'a was reckoned as constituting the sons of 'Adnān, the so-called Northern Arabs [see *DJAZIRAT AL-'ARAB*]. The other subdivision of Muḍar was *Khindif* or al-Yās. 'Aylān is sometimes said to be the father of Kays, but it is more likely that the double name means "Kays (owner) of 'Aylān" (sc. a horse, dog or slave). The following is an abbreviated genealogical table:



Ḳays 'Aylān does not appear to have functioned as a unit before Islam, and in the accounts of "the days of the Arabs" only the individual tribes are named. In Umayyad times, however, the alleged genealogies became a convenient basis for bringing together groups of clans so as to constitute something like a political party. This process began when small contingents from different tribes were lodged together in the cities of the empire; for Baṣra cf. C. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, Paris 1953, 23 and *passim*. Eventually, but probably not until after the death of Mu'āwiya in 60/680, two main groups are found to be taking shape. One is known as Kalb or Yemen or the Southern Arabs, while the other is Ḳays 'Aylān or simply Ḳays, less often Muḍar. Because Mu'āwiya had relied on Kalb, and his son Yazīd I had a Kalbi mother, many Ḳaysis supported Ibn al-Zubayr. While at first other groups are mentioned, such as Rabī'a, gradually the polarity of Ḳays and Yemen came to dominate Umayyad politics. Nineteenth-century historians spoke of this as if it were primarily a continuing and expanding tribal feud, based on such facts as the great loss of life at the battle of Marjī Rāhiṭ in 684; and it was the inability of the Umayyad rulers to reconcile the two groups which eventually led to their collapse. Recently, M. A. Shaban (*Islamic History, A.D. 600-750/A.H. 132*, Cambridge 1971) has forcefully argued that the Ḳays came to be identified with the expansionist policy followed by 'Abd-al-Malik and al-Ḥaǧǧīdī, while the Yemen stood for stable frontiers and the assimilation of non-Arabs. He sees the reigns of Sulaymān and 'Umar II as an attempt to reverse the policy of expansion, and likewise that of Yazīd III. In these reigns, Ḳaysis were replaced by Yemenis, but the successors of 'Umar II and Yazīd III turned back to the Ḳaysis, and the disintegration of Umayyad rule proceeded. A point in favour of Shaban's view is that after the establishment of the 'Abbāsids little is heard of the hostility between Ḳays and Yemen.

*Bibliography:* For genealogies, etc. see *Tāǧī al-'Arūs*, s.v. *ḳys*, 'yl; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'arif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 31, 38-44, ed. 'Ukāsha, 64, 79-91. For the historical role of Ḳays see J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. M. G. Weir, Calcutta 1927, Index, s.v. *Qais*, *Qaisite*, *Kalb*, *Kalbite*, *Yemen*, *Yemenite*; and Najī H. Hadi, *The Role of the Arab Tribes in the East under the Umayyads* (University of Edinburgh Ph. D. thesis, 1973; to be published in Arabic).

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

#### KAYS AND YAMAN IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD.

The reader will find under **KALB B. WABĀRA** some information on the rivalry of the North and South Arabs (represented respectively by Ḳays and Kalb) before and after the birth of Islam, and especially in Spain. In the course of the centuries, this hostility diminished considerably, but there was a resurgence of it, in a somewhat artificial way, in the course of the factional conflicts in Lebanon and Palestine during the Ottoman period.

In the course of the struggle for power among dominant families, coalitions were formed which used the names of Ḳays and Yaman to denote the political identification of the rival camps. This division preserved a kinship connotation, and kinship—real or imagined, original or adopted—was a legitimate reason for schisms and wars in Arab society. The political character of the Ḳays-Yaman conflict in Lebanon and Palestine during the Ottoman period is revealed through two crucial facts: (a) many

adherents of each of these parties (and even some of their leading families, such as the Abū Ghōsh family in Palestine) were not Arabs at all, but Circassians, Turkmens, or Kurds; (b) families of allegedly Arab origin changed sides with little regard to actual descent, such as the 'Alam al-Dīn family in Lebanon (Shidyāk, i, 129), or a family split in two parts supporting opposing factions. Only powerful clans which managed to maintain their position for a long period were consistent in their factional adherence.

During the Mamlūk period, the Yaman faction in Lebanon was led by the 'Alam al-Dīn family, in opposition to the ruling Buhturs who were considered Ḳays. The latter faction supported the Ma'ns when they succeeded the Buhturs in 922/1516. In 993/1585 a Yaman conspiracy against the Ma'nī Amīr Ḳorkmaz almost succeeded, but his son Faḫr al-Dīn II re-established Ḳays supremacy.

A second short tenure of power of the Yaman 'Alam al-Dīn family occurred after the downfall of Faḫr al-Dīn II in 1042/1633. This resulted in a great massacre and in civil war, but from 1045/1635 to the end of the century the Ḳays Ma'ns had the upper hand. Under the Shihābs, the successors of the Ma'ns, the Yaman party, with Ottoman support, succeeded in gaining power once more for a short time in 1121/1709, but in a fierce battle at the village of 'Ayn Dārā, which took place in 1123/1711, the Yaman forces were utterly routed and their leaders, the 'Alam al-Dīn family, were slaughtered to a man. Thus Yaman power in Lebanon was completely crushed, and the Yaman Druzes who survived were expelled from Lebanon and sought refuge in the Ḥawrān, with the exception of the Arslāns, who were allowed to retain the lower Ghārb, which was a part of their original *mukāṭa'a*. New political divisions emerging in the Lebanon after the battle of 'Ayn Dārā no longer adopted the nomenclature of Ḳays and Yaman; from then onwards, the factions were called after their leading families.

In Palestine, the division into Ḳays and Yaman is of long standing. According to al-Nimr (i, 59) the Mamlūk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kalā'ūn (1293-1340) allocated the north of Ḍjabal Nābulus to the Yaman faction and the south to Ḳays. In the 10th/16th century again, the population of various regions of Palestine was divided into these two factions, and fighting frequently erupted (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 85-6). In the 18th and 19th centuries factional wars under the banner of Ḳays and Yaman were fought primarily in the Nābulus and Jerusalem areas. The Ḍjabal Nābulus witnessed an open fight between the Ṭūḳān and the Nimr families between 1794 and 1823, and perpetual conflict, including incessant armed clashes, between the 'Abd al-Hādīs and the Ṭūḳāns in the 1840s and 1850s. Throughout this period the rival camps, townsmen, *fallāḥīn* and Bedouin, were identified with the Ḳays and Yaman factions, and even families whose descent was unclear felt the need to adhere to one of them. Thus the Ṭūḳāns, at the start of their rule, declared their affiliation to Yaman (*a'lanū yamanīyyatahum*) in order to win support from the *shayḳhs* of the *nāhiyas* (al-Nimr, ii, 415-16). At the same time, the Judæan hills were also the scene of clashes between *fallāḥīn* divided into Ḳays, led by the Samḥān family, the Laḥḥāms, the 'Amrs, and the Barghūḥīs, and Yaman, led by the Abū Ghōsh clan. Most of the inhabitants of Christian Bethlehem were Yaman, while those of Christian Bayt Jālā, as well as the

Muslims of the Hebron area, were Kays. The adherence of the Bedouins to one faction or another was determined mainly by the affiliation of the neighbouring *fallāḥīn* or by internal division among the Bedouins themselves.

However, factional ties between the *Djabal Nābulus* and the Judaeen hills were minimal, and in the principal engagements the parties of one region were not assisted by their counterparts from the other region. Inter-regional ties between members of the same faction were found primarily on the fringes of the two regions, and more on the Kays than on the Yaman side. Moreover, there were differences between the two areas. The Nābulus notables led the factional war and took an active part in it, and fighting sometimes even occurred in the city. The town quarters were split along factional lines and city-dwellers joined in the village skirmishes. As against this, Jerusalem was never the scene of fighting in the factional wars, and the city notables neither led the fighting nor did they play an active part in it. Yet when there was a weak Pasha, Jerusalem's notables were able to turn the factional strife to their own advantage, and the leading rural families of both camps had their allies in the *madjīlis* of the town. In general, only when a strong Pasha ruled an area was there a truce in the factional strife. However, both in Palestine and in Lebanon, the Ottomans used to support one faction (often the weaker one) against the other in order to further their own political aims. With the growing centralisation of Ottoman rule during the second half of the 19th century, factional wars in Palestine gradually subsided, although identification with Kays or Yaman and some of the customs connected with this division persisted among part of the rural population.

The faction was usually referred to as a *ṣaff*, but also as an *'iṣāba*, *fariḥ*, *ṭā'ifa*, or *ḥizb*. Affiliation to a faction was termed *na'ra*, *'aṣabiyya*, *shahwa*, or *niḥla*. A member of the same faction was called *ṣāḥib* and an enemy *ḥawmānī*; a one-day battle was a *ḥarāba*, and if it lasted longer than one day, it was called a *ḥawen*. The head of the faction used to make an annual tour of villages loyal to him (*yakḥa' 'aṣ-ṣufūf*). These visits served as points of time in their chronology.

Each faction had its colour—Kays red, and Yaman white—which distinguished its flag and its members' clothes, women's veils and especially the bride's canopy or veil. A Kays bride was forbidden to move into Yaman territory dressed in red: she was obliged either to conceal her red clothing with white or to change her clothes and veil at the border. Inter-marriage between the two factions was not unusual, and many legends about fights resulting from this custom are told (on terminology and customs see especially al-Nimr, ii, 430-2, but also numerous other sources).

*Bibliography*: Ṭannūs al-Shidyāk, *Akḥbār al-a'yān fī Djabal Lubnān* (1859), Beirut 1954, i, 126-9, 288; ii, 18-22; Kamal Salibi, *The modern history of Lebanon*, London 1965, 6-11; J. Finn, *Stirring times*, i-ii, London, 1878; R. A. S. Macalister and E. W. G. Masterman, *The wars of Yaman and Kais in the southern half of Palestine*, in *PEFQS* (1906), 33-50; E. N. Haddad, *Political parties in Syria and Palestine (Qais and Yemen)*, in *JPOS* (1920-1), 209-14; 'Umar al-Ṣāliḥ al-Barghūthī, *Ta'rīkh Filāṣṭīn*, Jerusalem 1923; Iḥsān al-Nimr, *Ta'rīkh Djabal Nābulus wa'l-Balkā'*, i, Damascus 1938; ii, Nābulus 1961; Muḥammad 'Izzat Darwaza, *al-'Arab wa'l-'urūba min al-ḥarn al-ḥālīth ḥattā al-ḥarn al-rābi'*

*'aṣhar al-ḥidjri*, ii, Damascus 1960; S. Shamir, *Belligerency in a disintegrating society: factional warfare in Ottoman Syria on the eve of the period of modernization*, in *Abr-Nahrain*, xii (1972), 75-84; M. Hoexter, *The role of the Qays and Yaman factions in local political divisions*, in *Asian and African Studies* (Jerusalem), ix/3, 1973.

(G. BAER and M. HOEXTER)

KAYS B. AL-KHAṬĪM B. 'ADĪ is, together with Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit [*q.v.*] the most important poet of Yaḥrib. He was a member of the B. Zafar (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 181) of the Aws [*q.v.*], whom he defended both by words and by the sword in contests with the *Khazradjī* [*q.v.*]. Apart from some late and very dubious pieces of information, very little is known of his life, but it is known that he exacted vengeance for the murders of his father and grandfather, and this gave him a great reputation amongst posterity; these actions were, however, later subject to all sorts of legendary accretions and motifs which sometimes recall the legend of Cyrus and form a parallel to the story of Perzival (see Singer, *Arab. und europ. Poesie im Mittelalter*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., xiii (1918), p. 7 of the reprint). In regard to the active part which he took in the political and military activities of his tribe, we have constant reference in his *Diwān* to a whole series of *ayyām* of the Aws, but he did not take part, apparently on account of a wound received previously, in the decisive battle of Bu'āth [*q.v.*], so much celebrated in later song. He was treacherously murdered some time before the *ḥidjra*, and tradition relates that he was avenged even before he himself had breathed his last gasp.

Kays was involved in polemics with almost all the *Khazradjī* poets of his time, notably with Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, who both survived him by a considerable period of time. Although he was still alive at the time when the Prophet began his preaching, his *Diwān* shows no traces of a knowledge of it, and all the later sources describing a meeting between him and the Prophet seem to be pure invention.

The oldest manuscript of his *Diwān*, dated 419/1028, is the Top Kapu Saray one, and forms an appendix to the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit. The recension of the poems goes back to Ibn al-Sikkīt, but the definitive editor of the *Diwān* seems to have been al-Sukkarī. What has survived is clearly only a fragment of the original. It was published by T. Kowalski, *Der Diwān des Kais b. al-Ḥaṭīm*, Leipzig 1914; by I. Sāmarrā'ī and A. Maṭlūb, Baghdad 1381/1962; and by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Cairo 1381/1962.

Kays is reckoned amongst the authors of the *mudḥahhabāt* chosen by Abū Zayd al-Kurashī who, in his *Djamhara* (123), places him in the fourth *ṭabaqa*; but Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaqāt*, 190) does not go along with those who would place Kays above Ḥassān. His poetry, both in his *ghazals* and also in his *fakhr* poems and his *ḥikam*, reveals the two sides of life, the sedentary and the nomadic, which was characteristic of the oasis dwellers in his time. His descriptions of war and portraits of women are celebrated. What is typical of real Bedouin life, sc. the description of the riding camel, the ride through the desert and the chase, are almost entirely lacking in his poems. One might say that if Kays was highly esteemed by later generations, it was more for his chivalric character than for his poetic gifts. His poetry is nevertheless a very important source for our knowledge of conditions in Yaḥrib just before

the coming of Islam and for certain customs there, in particular, those concerning the blood-feud.

**Bibliography:** The sources are given in the introductions to the various editions of the *Diwān*. There should be noted, in particular, Abū Tamām, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Marzubānī, *Mu'djam*, 321; Ḥassān, *Diwān*, ed. Barkūqī, 121-3 (cf. W. N. 'Arafat's edn., London 1971, index); *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iii, 3-26; Ibn Shuhayd, *Zawābi'*, ed. K. Bustānī, 128-31; *Iṣāba*, no. 7348; Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā' bi-akhbār al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1374; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāq, iii, 168; Abkaryūs, 251-3; Nöldeke, in *ZA*, xxix, 205-16; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 70-1; R. Blachère, *Hist. de la litt. arabe*, 310-11; Brockelmann, *S I*, 56; F. F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, iii, 20-2.

(T. KOWALSKI\*)

**KAYSĀN**, ABŪ 'AMRA, a *mawālī* [v.q.] of 'Urayna, who belonged to the Baḡilla, was one of the prominent *Mawālī* in Kūfa during the revolt of al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thakafī [q.v.]. Little is known about his early life; the first important information is that prior to the revolt of al-Mukhtār he was known to be a Shī'ī sympathiser. Kaysān also was among the notables of the Shī'a and the influential men of al-Mukhtār's followers who were sent to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashṭar to win his support for al-Mukhtār. When al-Mukhtār seized Kūfa, he appointed Kaysān as leader of his personal guard (*'alā ḥarasihī*). This was possibly because he trusted him more than the others and because he was the most influential of his *Mawālī* supporters. Kaysān's high standing among the *Mawālī* is reflected in the fact that when they became aware that al-Mukhtār was trying to reconcile the *Ashraf* they communicated their resentment to Kaysān, their chief.

As leader of al-Mukhtār's personal guard, Kaysān played an important role in punishing those *Ashraf* who were responsible for the killing of al-Ḥusayn, among them 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāsh and Shamir b. Dhul-Djawshan. His activities in this respect gave rise to a common Kūfan saying applied to anyone deprived of his wealth, "Abū 'Amra has visited him" (*sārahu Abū 'Amra*) or "Abū 'Amra entered his house" (*daḥkhala Abū 'Amra baytahu*). He was also described as "more wicked than Iblīs". This, however, seems to be an outcome of the historical tradition, to which we owe our information, and which grew up in Kūfa, especially in the milieu of the *Ashraf*, and therefore is anti-*mawālī*. According to Ibn Ḥazm and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, the Kaysāniyya were the followers of al-Mukhtār and Kaysān Abū 'Amra.

In the battle of al-Madhār (about the middle of 67/686), the *Mawālī* in al-Mukhtār's army were commanded by Kaysān. It seems probable that he was killed in this battle, for nothing more is heard of him.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, Cairo 1934, 1960, 107; *Kitāb al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa* (attributed to Ibn Ḳutayba) ii, Cairo 1925, 19, 24; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 228, 229, 237, 238, 252, 253, 254; al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 296, 297, 298, 300, 307, 308; Ṭabarī, ii, 633, 634, 636, 637, 638, 661, 663, 670, 671, 673, 674, 720, 722, 971-73; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, v, 180, 226; Al-Tawhīdī, *al-Imtā' wa'l-mu'ānasa*, ii, Cairo 1933-45, 53; Al-Kashshī, *Ma'rifat akhbār al-ridjāl*, Karbalā' 1962, 117; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, iv, Cairo 1317-20, 94; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Risālat al-hūr al-'īn*, Cairo 1947, 182; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv, 186-87,

199-200, 220-21, 227, 236, 241; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Ms. Ayasofya, no. 3522, xix, fols. 17-24; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, viii, 268, 270, 287-88; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, i, 75; Friedlaender, *The heterodoxies of the Shī'ites in the presentation of Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxix (1908), 34; A. A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate 65-86/684-705, A Political Study*, London 1971, index.

(A. A. DIXON)

**KAYSĀNIYYA** (more rarely Mukhtāriyya) is the name applied by the heresiographers to those supporters of al-Mukhtār [q.v.] recognising Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [q.v.] as their *imām* and as the Mahdī [q.v.]. The name is derived from Abū 'Amra Kaysān [q.v.], chief of the guard and leader of the *mawālī* under al-Mukhtār. Its choice, made probably by the opponents of the movement, may reflect the importance they attributed to the *mawālī* element in it. Actually, many supporters of the movement, among them some of the most radical, were Arabs, especially from Yamānī tribes, and there is no evidence that they generally looked to Kaysān as their leader during the lifetime of al-Mukhtār. It is possible, however, that Kaysān survived the latter and became the chief of the movement after his death. He is reported to have been more extreme than al-Mukhtār, charging the caliphs preceding 'Alī with infidelity, while al-Mukhtār condemned only 'Alī's opponents in the battles of the Camel and at Siffin. He asserted that the angel *Djibrā'īl* transmitted divine revelations to al-Mukhtār, who could hear, but not see, him. He is also reported to have claimed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was appointed by 'Alī as his executor (*waṣī*), thus excluding his brothers al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn from the imāmate. This doctrine, however, was more likely formulated only later in opposition to Imāmī and Zaydī denials of the rights of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and, in any case, conflicted with the common view of the Kaysāniyya upholding the consecutive imāmate of the three sons of 'Alī. Kaysān's rôle was apparently soon generally forgotten, for the name Kaysāniyya was also explained as deriving from the surname Kaysān which al-Mukhtār allegedly was given by 'Alī, or from the name of a *mawālī* of 'Alī killed at Siffin from whom, it was claimed, al-Mukhtār had received his ideas.

In the accounts of the chroniclers the sectarian supporters of al-Mukhtār are most often pejoratively called Saba'iyya [see 'ABD ALLĀH B. SABA'] to denote their Shī'ī extremism. They are condemned in particular for their worship of a wooden chair, variously described as a relic of 'Alī or an intentional imitation of the ark of the covenant of the Jews, in which several Yamānī clans were most active. They are also frequently called *Khashabiyya* [q.v.] after the wooden clubs widely used by them as a weapon [see *KĀFIRKŪB*].

In a wider sense Kaysāniyya is used by the heresiographers as a collective name for all the sects which evolved out of the movement of al-Mukhtār and traced the imāmate through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. The accounts about these groups are confused and sometimes contradictory. The main developments can be summarised as follows:

After the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya in 81/700 many of his supporters believed that he was alive and concealed in the Raḡwā mountains west of Medina, from where he would reappear as the Mahdī. Their beliefs are reflected in the poetry of *Kuḥayyir* [q.v.] and later of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [q.v.]. They are usually called Karibiyya or Kuraybiyya [q.v.]



after their leader Abū Karīb (Kurayb) al-Darīr, though al-Nawbakhtī mentions the Karibiyya as a separate group who stated that they did not know the whereabouts of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. According to al-Nawbakhtī, Ḥamza b. 'Umāra al-Barbarī in Medina was an extremist originally belonging to the Karibiyya. He then claimed to be an *imām* and prophet, asserted the divinity of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and taught antinomianism. Ḥamza's activity cannot, however, have begun until long after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya if he is identical with the homonymous secretary of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya ca. 128/748. Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Balkhī mentions as a separate group the followers of Ḥayyān al-Sarrādjī, who maintained that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had died in the Raḍwā mountains but he and his *shī'a* would return to life. With their aid he would rule and establish justice on earth. They thus held the doctrine of *raḍī'a* [q.v.], the return to life of some of the dead before the resurrection. This account is in conflict with Imāmī reports in which Ḥayyan al-Sarrādjī appears as a prominent Kaysānī denying the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the time of Imām Dja'far al-Šādiq. One group of the Kaysāniyya asserted that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been condemned by God to stay in the mountains of Raḍwā as a punishment for his submission to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. He surrendered the imāmate as a "deposit" (*wadi'a*) to his son Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh since he knew that the latter would die childless. Abū Hāshim thus became the silent (*šāmit*) *imām* during the absence of the speaking (*nāṣiḥ*) *imām* who must eventually return to rule the world.

Another group affirmed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had died and that the *imām* after him was his son Abū Hāshim [q.v.], whom he had appointed as his successor. Abū Hāshim provided his followers with a more active leadership than his father had done. When he died childless ca. 98/717-8, his party, known as the Hāshimiyya [q.v.], split into several groups. One group claimed that Abū Hāshim was the Mahdī and that he was alive hiding in the mountains of Raḍwā. Another group maintained that he had appointed his brother 'Alī as his successor. They later continued the imāmate through 'Alī's son al-Ḥasan, the latter's son 'Alī, to the latter's son al-Ḥasan, affirming that the imāmate belonged exclusively to the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, one of whom would be the Mahdī. Some of them then cut the line of *imāms* after al-Ḥasan, claiming that he had not appointed a successor, and they then looked forward to the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

The bulk of the Hāshimiyya, however, recognised Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās as the *imām* after Abū Hāshim, asserting that before his death Abū Hāshim had handed the appointment to his father 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh in trust for him since Muḥammad was still a minor. The appointment of Muḥammad b. 'Alī was disputed by a group claiming that Abū Hāshim had appointed as his successor 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [q.v.] b. 'Abd Allāh b. Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, who also was still a minor, and had handed the appointment to Šāliḥ b. Mudrik. The two parties agreed on the arbitration of the dispute by one of their chiefs, Abū Riyāḥ, who decided in favour of Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The mass of the supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya therefore joined the party of Muḥammad b. 'Alī and were known as the Riyāhiyya.

Among the *ghulāt* [q.v.] were regularly classed the Bayāniyya, the followers of Bayān b. Sam'ān [q.v.].

Bayān and Šā'id al-Nahdī were at first supporters of Ḥamza b. 'Umāra in Kūfa. After the death of Abū Hāshim the Bayāniyya affirmed that he would return as the Mahdī. They adopted extremist views concerning Abū Hāshim and asserted that he had conferred prophethood on Bayān on behalf of God. Bayān is accused in particular of a crude anthropomorphism. He and some supporters were executed in Kūfa in 119/736.

A prominent rôle in the introduction of the theory of metempsychosis and other extremist ideas is ascribed in the sources to a group called Ḥarbiyya (more rarely Kharibiyya) or Hārithiyya after their leader, whose name is given with much variation as 'Abd Allāh (b. 'Amr) b. (al-)Ḥarb (al-Kharīb) or al-Hārith al-Kindī al-Kūfī or al-Madā'inī or al-Šhāmī. The variations in the name may indicate the fusion of more than one person into a single identity. After the death of Abū Hāshim, Ibn Ḥarb taught the transmigration of souls, and held that the Divine Spirit (*rūḥ Allāh*) had been present in the Prophet Muḥammad and had successively been transferred to 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Hāshim and finally to Ibn Ḥarb, who thus had become the *imām* until the reappearance of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. When his followers discovered, however, that his claim of omniscience was spurious, the bulk of them renounced him and accepted 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya as their *imām* in succession to Abū Hāshim. According to some sources, Ibn Ḥarb was converted to Šufrī Kharīdjism and died holding Šufrī beliefs.

The party tracing the imāmate through the 'Abbāsīd Muḥammad b. 'Alī and his son Ibrāhīm to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs is commonly called the Rāwandiyya [q.v.], though some heresiographers restrict the name to those who asserted that the first *imām* after the death of the Prophet was his uncle al-'Abbās and that the imāmate continued among his descendants. This doctrine, however, probably originated only during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), while the name Rāwandiyya already appears in historical reports of events before the year 120/738. According to al-Nawbakhtī the name is derived from a sectarian leader named 'Abd Allāh al-Rāwandī, while other sources, probably less reliably, derive it from one al-Kāsim b. Rāwand or Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Rāwandī. 'Abd Allāh al-Rāwandī is mentioned in a list of the *dā'īs* of the 'Abbāsīd Muḥammad b. 'Alī. His son Ḥarb (d. 147/764) and his grandson Naṣr b. Ḥarb were prominent leaders of the Rāwandiyya in the caliphal army in Mesopotamia during the reigns of al-Manšūr and al-Mahdī. The name evidently referred at first merely to a faction within the 'Abbāsīd movement in Kharāsān, composed chiefly of *mawālī* and holding extremist views, and was then extended to mean the whole 'Abbāsīd *shī'a*.

As sects within the early 'Abbāsīd movement, al-Nāshī' mentions the Bukayriyya and the Khidāshīyya. The former were named after Bukayr b. Māhān (d. 127/744-5), the Kūfan *dā'ī* chiefly responsible for the organisation of the 'Abbāsīd movement in Kharāsān. The Khidāshīyya were the followers of 'Ammār b. Yazīd, nicknamed Khidāsh, a *dā'ī* active in the area of Naysābūr and Marw. When he was disowned by the *imām* Muḥammad b. 'Alī for doctrinal deviation, his supporters held that Muḥammad b. 'Alī had forfeited the imāmate and that it had passed to Khidāsh. After the execution of Khidāsh in 118/736 they affirmed that he was alive and had been raised to heaven by God.

After the execution of Abū Muslim [q.v.], the leader of the 'Abbāsīd movement in Khurāsān, by the caliph al-Manṣūr in 137/755, some of his supporters maintained that the imāmate had been transferred from the caliph al-Saffāh, al-Manṣūr's predecessor, to Abū Muslim and that Abū Muslim was alive. They were called the (Abū) Muslimiyya. Opposed to them were the Rizāmiyya, named after their chief Rizām b. Sābiq, who upheld the succession of al-Manṣūr to the imāmate, though they refused to repudiate Abū Muslim, and affirmed that the imāmate would remain in the 'Abbāsīd family until the resurrection, when a descendant of al-'Abbās would be the Mahdī. Rizām is mentioned as a leader of the Rāwandī extremists in 141/758 when a riot by a group of them in the court of the palace of al-Manṣūr was bloodily suppressed. In the ensuing persecution of the extremists, Rizām sought refuge with the caliph's son Djā'far and was granted amnesty.

A further schism in the 'Abbāsīd shī'a occurred in 147/764 when al-Manṣūr deferred the succession of his nephew 'Isā b. Mūsā, who had been named by al-Saffāh to succeed al-Manṣūr, and appointed his own son Muḥammad al-Mahdī as his immediate successor. One party considered the action of al-Manṣūr as illegal and recognized 'Isā b. Mūsā and later some of his descendants as their *imāms*. The other party asserted that the action of al-Manṣūr was legal, since the order of the living *imām* should supersede that of a dead *imām* and since 'Isā had agreed to sell his rights. They recognized al-Mahdī as the *imām* after al-Manṣūr.

After his accession (158/775) al-Mahdī induced the 'Abbāsīd shī'a to repudiate the imāmate of 'Alī and his descendants and to embrace a purely 'Abbāsīd imāmate beginning with al-'Abbās and based on the right of inheritance. The partisans of this doctrine were known as the Hurayriyya after their leader Abū Hurayra al-Rāwandī (rarely al-Dimashqī). By denying the imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and Abū Hāshim this group left the fold of the Kaysāniyya. Extremist doctrines, such as deification of the *imāms*, or belief in their omniscience, and dispensation from the religious law for those knowing the *imām*, are ascribed to most of the sects of the 'Abbāsīd shī'a.

The party supporting the imāmate of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, consisting mainly of the former Ḥarbiyya, is commonly known as the Djanāhiyya [q.v.]. 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya is reported to have encouraged their extremist beliefs, claiming that the Divine Spirit had devolved through the prophets and *imāms* to him and that he was able to resurrect the dead. After he had died in the prison of Abū Muslim in 131/748-9, a group of his followers claimed that he was alive and hiding in the mountains of Iṣfahān. Some said he would return as the Mahdī, while others held that he would surrender the leadership to a descendant of 'Alī before his death. Another group of his supporters admitted that he was dead and that they were left without an *imām*. Al-Shahrastānī mentions a sect which asserted that his spirit had passed to Ishāk b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith and calls it the Hārithiyya, distinguishing it from the earlier Ḥarbiyya. This Ishāk is perhaps to be identified with the Ishāk b. 'Amr named by Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Khārizmī as the chief of a sect of the Kaysāniyya which he calls the Ishākiyya. Other sources, evidently erroneously, describe 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥarb (or al-Ḥārith) as still active among the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya after the latter's

death. To this group in particular is attributed the elaboration of extremist theories on the transmigration of souls, their pre-existence as shadows (*azilla*), the denial of the resurrection, of the judgment, and of paradise and hell in their conventional sense, and the cyclical history of recurrent eras (*adwār*) and aeons (*akwār*) initiated by seven Adams. They related these doctrines on the authority of the Companion Djābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī and of Djābir al-Djū'fi (d. 128/745-6).

During the Umayyad period the Kaysāniyya in its various branches constituted the bulk of the radical wing of the shī'a. By the middle of the 2nd/8th century (767) the movement was rapidly disintegrating. There is no evidence of any Kaysāni groups surviving into the 3rd/9th century. Towards the end of this century some Ḥarmatī groups are reported to have temporarily acknowledged a son, Aḥmad, or a grandson, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya as the expected Mahdī. Neither name refers to a historical person or is mentioned in the accounts of the Kaysāniyya movement. Their adoption by these Ḥarmatī groups evidently reflects a spontaneous development in the Ismā'īlī movement rather than a survival of Kaysāni beliefs.

In 'Irāk the mass of the adherents of the Kaysāniyya was absorbed by the rising tide of Imāmī Shī'ism. A substantial part of the religious doctrine first elaborated in the Kaysāniyya, e.g., on *badā'* [q.v.], *radī'a* and important aspects of the theory of the imāmate, was adopted by orthodox Imāmism. Other Kaysāni doctrines were passed on among the *ghulāt* adhering to Imāmī lines of *imāms*. In Persia and Transoxania the Rāwandīyya and the Djanāhiyya-Ḥarbiyya groups were largely merged into various syncretist sects often generically termed Khurramiyya [q.v.].

*Bibliography:* Al-Nāshī, *Masā'il al-imāma*, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 24-41; al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shī'a*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 20-37, 41-7; Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa'l-firaḳ*, ed. M. Djawād Maṣḥkūr, Tehran 1963, 21-3, 25-46, 48-50, 55-7, 60, 64-70; al-Aṣḥ'arī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyin*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 5 f., 18-23; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa'l-ta'riḳh*, ed. Cl. Huart, v, Paris 1916, 128-33; al-Khārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 29-31; 'Abd al-Ḳāhīr al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, Cairo 1328, 16 f., 27-38, 53, 227 f., 233-7, 254 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fi 'l-mīlal*, Cairo 1384/1964, iv, 112, v, 20-23, 25 f., 28 f.; Shahrastānī, 109-15; Naṣḥwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-'im*, Cairo 1367/1948, 157-61, 182-4; Murtaḍā b. Dā'ī Rāzī, *Tabṣīrat al-'awāmm*, ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1313, 169, 178-80; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlak 1294, ii, 351-4; H. D. van Gelder, *Mohtar de valsehe Profeet*, Leiden 1888, 82-94; G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme*, etc., Amsterdam 1894, 40-53; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 87-95; I. Friedländer, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxix (1908), *passim*; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat zaidite au Yemen*, Leiden 1960, 10-5; S. Moscati, *Il testamento di Abū Hāshim*, in *RSO*, xxvii (1952), 29-34, 44-6; idem, *Per una Storia dell' Antica Šī'a*, in *RSO* xxx (1955), 251-67; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-ta'riḳh wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974. On the Rāwandīyya: F. Omar, *The 'Abbasid caliphate*, Baghdad 1969, 192-9.

(W. MADELUNG)

## KAYŞAR.

1. In early Islam. — The usual name in Arabic for the Roman and Byzantine emperor. The word represents the Greek Καῖσαρ and came to the Arabic through the intermediary of the Aramaic (see Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 278 f.). The borrowing must have taken place at quite an early period, as the word in Syriac later appears almost in the form *Ḳesar* (see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.). The Arabs, centuries before Muḥammad, had relations with Roman and to a greater extent with Byzantine emperors. As early as the Περὶ Πλου, a Roman Καῖσαρ is mentioned as conqueror of Ἐὐδαίμων Ἀραβία (probably Caracalla, from 198 A.D. coregent of Septimius Severus, see F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, i, Berlin 1964, 44). In A.D. 244 an Arab from Ḥawrān reigned for five years under the name Dareus Julius Philippus. In Syria at the beginning of the 6th century A.D., the Banū Ḡhassān replaced the Banū Salīḥ as Arab allies, σύμμαχοι, of Byzantium. The chief Ḡhassānid phylarch was accorded high honours and a title like *patricius* (*biṣrik*) and allowed to wear the crown of a client king of the Byzantine emperor [see ḠHASSĀN]. For the Ḡhassānids and all the inhabitants of north-western Arabia, Kayşar, the Byzantine emperor, was of course the highest ruler, as was Kisrā, the king of the Persians, for the Laḳhmids and all the inhabitants of north-eastern Arabia. Among the old Arabic poets, Imra' al-Ḳays [q.v.] more than once mentions Kayşar, who, indeed, played a great part in his life. For later poets also, Kayşar—alongside Kisrā—is still a current symbol of power and wealth.

The word Kayşar is not found in the Ḳur'ān, but it occurs quite frequently in the biography of Muḥammad, in Ḥadīth collections, in commentaries on the Ḳur'ān and in general historical works. It is always used without the article, like a proper name, and cannot be followed directly by a genitive, from which too it is clear that the word was considered as a proper name. Heraclius, the famous Byzantine emperor of the time of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, is therefore called *Hiraql* or *Kayşar 'azīm* (or *malik*) *al-Rūm*. The word *Kayşar* is often omitted for example in a list of "the kings of the Romans/Byzantines" (*mulūk al-Rūm*) from Augustus to Heraclius (Ṭabarī, i, 1741-1744), in a report of the capture of Amorium (838 A.D., Ṭabarī, iii, 1234: *Tūfīl ibn Mīkhā'il, sāhibmalik al-Rūm*), and in a report of the battle of Malāzgerd (1071, Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x, 44-46: *Armānūs [= Romanus], malik al-Rūm*).

According to Ibn Sa'd (i/1, 43, 45 f.), Hishām b. 'Abd Manāf, great-grandfather of Muḥammad, received from Kayşar a letter of safe conduct for merchants from Mecca visiting Syria (see M. J. Kister, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 116 f.). A great number of texts mention the letter which is said to have been sent by Muḥammad through Dihya [q.v.] to the governor of Bosrā and through him to the emperor Heraclius. In many versions, the emperor interrogates Abū Sufyān regarding the new prophet, and (in contrast to Kisrā) appears to be inclined to Islām; only fear of his subjects prevents him from openly professing the new religion (for references see below). 'Umar contrasts the neediness of the Prophet's existence with the luxurious living of Kisrā and Kayşar (Bukhārī, *Tafsir*, 66, 2; Ibn Madja, *Zuhd*, 11). During the affair of Ḥudaybiyya, 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd, having visited the Prophet in his camp, tells his Meccan compatriots that though he has travelled as an envoy to the kings, to Kayşar,

to Kisrā and to al-Nadījāshī, he has never seen any king so greatly honoured as Muḥammad is by his Companions (Bukhārī, *Shurūh*, 15; cf. Ibn Hishām, 745). The following utterance of Muḥammad is reported as a kind of prophecy: "If Kisrā perishes (variant: Kisrā has died), there will be no Kisrā after him. And if Kayşar perishes, there will be no Kayşar after him. By Him in whose hand my soul lies, you will spend their treasures in the way of God" (Bukhārī, *Farḍ al-Khums*, 8, *Aymān*, 3, *Djihād*, 157; Muslim, *Fitan*, 75; Wākidī, 460). Cf. the critical remark of Mu'attib ibn Ḳuḣhayr during the siege of Medina by the "Allies", "Muḥammad promises us the treasures of Kisrā and Kayşar, whereas it is not safe for one of us to go to the privy" (Wākidī, 459 f.; Ibn Hishām, 357). Another prophetic utterance ascribed to Muḥammad is: "The first troops of my community who will assault the city of Kayşar (*i.e.*, Constantinople) shall be forgiven [their sins]" (Bukhārī, *Djihād*, 93).

*Bibliography*: Muḥammad's letter to Kayşar (a) *without* the conversation with Abū Sufyān: Wākidī, ed. M. Jones, Oxford 1966, 555 f.; Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 63; Ṭabarī, i, 1559-61; Ibn Sa'd, ii/2, 15 f.; Abū 'Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, Cairo 1353, 254-6 (§§ 623-5); Ya'qūbī, ii, 83 f.; Ṭabarī, i, 1565-67; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ii, 161 f.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, Berlin 1889, 98; W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 345-7—Muḥammad's letter to Kayşar (b) *including* the conversation with Abū Sufyān: Bukhārī, chs. *Djihād*, 102, *Tafsir*, 3, 4, *Bad' al-Wahy*, 6; Muslim, *Djihād*, 74; Ṭabarī, i, 1561-5; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ii, 163; Ibn Ḥadjjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, Calcutta 1893, 557 f.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaşar tā'rikh al-başhar*, ed. and tr. Fleischer, as *Abulfedae Historia anteiſlamica*, 132-4.

(A. FISCHER - A. J. WENSINCK - A. SCHAADÉ - R. PARET)

2. In Islamic history.—In the Meccan period, Muḥammad's sympathies were with Heraclius against Kisrā and echoes of the struggle between the two are recorded in *Sūrat al-Rūm* (Ḳur'ān, XXX). But in the Median period this attitude was reversed, the basis of the reversal being religious: since Islam is the true religion of the "straight path" and has universalistic claims, Byzantium and its Kayşar become the enemy of Islam and the Islamic state, which must eventually triumph and capture Constantinople itself. On this is based the new Muslim conception of Kayşar. His dominion is part of *Dār al-Ḥarb* (the Abode of War), he is an infidel, and war against him is *djihād* (holy war). This hostile and contemptuous attitude towards Kayşar was strengthened by the military victories of the Arabs over the Byzantines. Thus, the religious and military bases on which Arab respect for Kayşar had rested in pre-Islamic times disappeared in the first century of the Muslim era; the new attitude was reflected in such designations for Kayşar as *ṭāghiyā*, "tyrant", or such expressions as *kalb al-Rūm*, "the dog of the Romans", used by Hārūn al-Rašīd in addressing Nicephorus.

The image of Kayşar among the Arabs in the four centuries or so after the battle of al-Yarmūk in 15/636 naturally fluctuated with the military fortunes of the two states over which Caliph and Kayşar ruled. The first part of this period, Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd, was, generally speaking, one of Arab successes against the Byzantines; but the tide turned against the Arabs with the coming of the Macedonian dynasty, and the striking successes of the Ḥamdānids proved ephemeral.

The Turks opened a new chapter in the relations between Islam and Byzantium, one that lasted for some four centuries from their victory at Manzikert in 463/1071, until their capture of Constantinople in 857/1453. Under the impact of Turkish military victories, the image of the Byzantine Kayşar reverted to what it had been before the period of the Macedonians. The basic factor was the conquest and Turkification of the Byzantine heartland, Anatolia, and the diminution of the dominion of the Kayşars. The Saldjûk sultan Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert and took him captive in 463/1071, setting the tone for two centuries in Saldjûk relations with, and attitude towards, Kayşars of the Comneni, the Angeli and the Lascarids.

The Ottomans presided over the last phase of Kayşar's humiliation; their attitude to him and his dominion was the classical Islamic one, confirmed by their series of astounding victories in the Balkans. The final chapter in this drama of the Muslim-Byzantine conflict, which had lasted for some eight centuries, was written by the sultan's victory over the last of the Palaeologi, Constantine XI. Muḥammad the Conqueror captured Constantinople, and added to his titles of Ghāzī and Khān that of Kayşar itself, which he was able to do, since he was not caliph but sultan; the title proved valuable for his imperial designs for the reconquest of the Byzantine territories lost by the Kayşars in Europe and Asia.

*Bibliography:* Kur'an, XXX; Ibn Hishām, *The life of Muhammad*, tr. A. Guillaume, Oxford 1967, 653-7; Ibn Khurrādādhbih, *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, BGA, vi, 16-17; Irfān Shāhid, *On the patriciate of Imrū' al-Qays*, in *The world of Islam*, ed. Kritzeck and Winder, London 1959, 74-82; idem, *The Iranian factor in Byzantium during the reign of Heraclius*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxvi (1972), 295-320; M. Canard, *Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes*, in *ibid.*, xviii (1964), 35-56; A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Brussels 1935, 1950, 1968, i-ii, 1; *Cambridge mediaeval history*, iv, *The Byzantine Empire*, part I, chs. xvii-xix; *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, chs. xvii-xix on the Turks, 231-373, 527-67. (IRFAN SHAHID)

**KAYSĀRIYYA** (also KAYŞĀRIYYA), plur. *kayāsīr*, the name of a large system of public buildings laid out in the form of cloisters with shops, workshops, warehouses and frequently also living-rooms. According to de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd Allāṭif*, Paris 1810, 303-4, the *kaysāriyya* was originally distinguished from the *sūḵ* probably only by its greater extent, and by having several covered galleries around an open court, while the *sūḵ* consists only of a single gallery. At the present day in any case, the term *kaysāriyya* is not infrequently quite or almost identical in meaning with the Persian word *kār-wānsarāy*, which first came into use in western Asia in the 16th century, or the likewise modern analogous names, *khān*, *wakāla* (okella), *funduk* [q.v.] and *beziṣtān*.

Origin. The word *kaysāriyya* is certainly of Greek origin: *κατοῦρετα* ("imperial", an abbreviation for ἡ *κατοῦρετα ἀγορά* "the imperial market"). As H. Thiersch has shown, the old quadrangular court (with or without cells around it) of the *agora* inspired the *kaysāriyya*, which was used on the one hand as a warehouse for goods (whence developed the market-place) and on the other hand, without any doubt, usually also as lodgings. The expression ἡ *κατοῦρετα* recalls the fact that the oldest of these public buildings

were imperial, i.e., state institutions, while in the Muslim period they were mainly due to private initiative (foundations of rich merchants, members of royal families or high officials). Thiersch thinks (*Pharos* . . ., 233) that the place where the idea of these buildings originated—like many other things in the new Muslim period—seems to have been Alexandria, which was especially rich in covered market-places and halls. Whether we should actually consider the *Κατοῦρετον* (Caesareum), the temple of Caesar in Alexandria, to which the market-place and warehouses were attached (Strabo, xvii, 794), as the original in name and fact of the *kaysāriyya* (as does Vollers in *ZDMG*, li, 302), is uncertain. A derivation of the word *kaysāriyya* from the name of the Palestine town of Kayşāriyya [q.v.], which de Sacy (*op. cit.*) upheld, can hardly be supported with sound arguments. The word in any case was originally used only in those districts which, like Syria, Palestine and parts of North Africa had been under Byzantine rule. The idea was only transferred later to other lands, especially to Spain and the east. In Spanish, *alcaiceria* (*cayceria*, *caeceria*), and in Portuguese, *alcaçarias*, are loanwords (cf. Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden 1869, 73, 79; D. Leopoldo de Eguiluz, *Glos. etim. de las palabras españolas . . . de origen oriental*, Granada 1886, 126).

On the usage of the word in the Islamic world, the following references may be given. In Egypt we have especially good evidence of its use in Cairo. Al-Makrīzī (d. 845/1441) in his description of the city gives a large number of *kaysāriyyas* (cf. *al-Khiṭat*, Būlāk 1270, ii, 86-91; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, 1912, 117). Later its place was gradually taken by the word *wakāla* (*okāle*, *okelle*) and in Niebuhr's time (1761) only the market-place in the suburb of Būlāk was still called Kissarie. In Fās by *kaysāriyya* one understands the central market (for cloth, carpets, jewels, etc.) shut off by gates and walls from the other parts of the town, and at night occupied only by watchmen (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, 432; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès*, 374-5). Moreover, the word is currently used in Morocco to denote the courtyards, whether covered or not, surrounded by shops whose main commodity is cloth. In Spain, the *kaysāriyya* was, as in Morocco, the centre for trade in luxury articles and cloth (see L. Torres Balbás, *Alcaicerías*, in *al-And.*, xiv (1949), 431-55. P. Chalmers, *El señor del xoco*, index; E. Lévy-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index). In Syria and Lebanon we have evidence of the use of the word *kaysāriyya* as the "name of the shops of the wholesale dealers" in Beirut (see Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii, 469, and K. Müller, *Die Karawanserais*, 7), in Damascus (see Ibn D̄jubayr, *Rihla*, ed. Wright and de Goeje, 288, and Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien* etc., Leipzig 1854-9, i, 269) and also in Aleppo (see Ibn D̄jubayr, 252; Yāqūt, ii, 307; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i, 151; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 79-80, 221-2). In al-Hasā in Eastern Arabia, the quarter of the town that contains the shops is called el-Gayşariyye (see *Der Islām*, viii, 32). In 'Irāk we find a square called *Kaysāriyya* in Mōşul (see Ibn D̄jubayr, 235); in al-Salāmiyya near Mōşul (Yāqūt, iii, 113); in Irbil (Yāqūt, i, 186); in Baghdād (see Massignon, *Mission*, 92 (the present bazaar centre); in Karbalā' (see Massignon, *op. cit.*). In Persia, in Işfāhān (see Ritter, ix, 49; Vollers, *Lexic. Persico-Lat.*, ii, 753a, and cf. also (Ispahan) Pietro della Vale, *Viaggi* (Brighton 1843), ii, 8, German tr. (Ghent 1674), iii, 5; [Dupré], *Voyage en Perse*,

Paris 1819, ii, 125, and W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, iii, 1819, 16; in Tabriz (see Ritter, ix, 856); in *Kh̄wārazm* (Urgandj) (Ibn Baṭṭūta, iii, 4).

We may further note that, according to a reference in Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, about the middle of the 18th century, large public buildings in the Barbary States were called casseries. In Algiers at the present day *ḳaysāriyya* means barracks (see Dozy, *op. cit.*); after the first half of the 17th century it was used to denote the Janissaries' barracks (Père Dan, *Hist. de Barbarie et ses corsairs*<sup>1</sup>, 1637, 2nd edn. 1649, 88: *Casseries ou Funduques*). In the ruined cities of Hawrān the palaces of the erstwhile Roman or Byzantine governors are now also called *ḳaysāriyya*; see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran* etc., Berlin 1860, 55. In general, it appears that in modern times the use of the word *ḳaysāriyya* as market-place and suchlike has to a great extent given way to newer words like *khān*, *wakāla*, *funduḳ* and *bezestān*. For the economic functioning of the *ḳaysāriyya*, see sūk.

*Bibliography*: Niebuhr, *Reisebeschr. von Arabien*, etc. i, Copenhagen 1774, III, 121; Quatremère, in *Not. et Extr.*, xii, 468; Fleischer, *Diss. critica de glossis Habichtianis*, Leipzig 1836, 39; Zenker, *Türk.-arab.-pers. Hand-Wörterb.*, 728c; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 432; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 89; H. Thiersch, *Pharos, Antike, Islam und Occident*, Leipzig 1909, 223-33; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mesopotamie*, ii, Cairo 1912, 92; K. Müller, *Die Karawansera'i im vorderen Orient*, Berlin 1920; E. Herzfeld, *Etimologia d'al-Qaisāriyyah*, in *Oriente Moderno*, i, 691, and the editorial note thereon. (M. STRECK)

**KAYSÄRIYYA, KAYŞARIYYA**, Caesarea, a name bestowed during the reigns of the Roman emperors of Augustus and Tiberius on at least seventeen places in the Roman territories of the Near East and North Africa (Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1288-9). The Arab sources know only of two places with this name, however, cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Ḳaysāriyya*.

1. A town on the Palestine coast, classical Caesarea Maritima, some 25 miles (40 km) south of Haifa or Ḥayfā.

Originally a 4th century B.C. Sidonian settlement known as Strato's Tower, apparently after its founder, the town was erected into an imperial city by Herod in 13/12 or 10/9 B.C. and given the name of Caesarea in honour of Herod's suzerain Augustus, the old name speedily falling into oblivion. The city now flourished, in part because of its fine harbour, as the main port of Sebastia or Samaria. Although it had a Jewish population, with traditions of Jewish learning so that a portion of the Palestinian Talmud was edited there, it was essentially a stronghold of Roman power and Hellenism, and until the Arab conquest served as the capital of the Roman and then Byzantine province of Palestine. It was further an important centre of Christian learning, with its bishopric the metropolitan seat for the whole province, and in the 4th century A.D. Eusebius was its bishop.

The accounts of the conquest of Caesarea in the Muslim sources are greatly influenced by the fact that this heavily-defended and well-protected city symbolised in the eyes of the Muslims the whole might of Christian and Byzantine power in Palestine, and it was the last place there to fall to the Arabs. Since its capture was thus regarded as the summit of Muslim military success in Palestine, the early

accounts of its conquest exceed in number and detail those relating to Jerusalem. The numbers of its defenders were highly exaggerated in order to magnify the achievement, and one tradition goes as far as to put the figure at 930,000 of the besieged as against only 17,000 Muslim besiegers (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 141, but see Barhebraeus, *Chronographia*, ed. Budge, 37 v, who puts the number of defenders at 7,000). The siege was begun by 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs, till he left for Egypt, and by 'Iyād b. Ḡhanm, who was probably the original commander on the spot, but whose rôle was later minimised by tradition, seeking to glorify either 'Amr or Mu'āwiya. The latter eventually took over from his sick brother Yazīd and captured the city in Shawwāl 19/Sept.-Oct. 640 after a siege of probably seven months, inflated in most of the Arabic sources to seven years, calculating the beginning of the siege from the opening of the Syrian campaign as a whole; 4,000 captives were taken (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 140-1, 212; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 57-8; Ya'qūbi, *Ta'riḫh*, 172-3; idem, *Buldān*, 329; Ṭabarī, i, 2396-7, 2399, 2579; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. Amin et alii, i, 124; Bakrī, *Mu'adḳam*, 757; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫh*, iv, 395; de Goeje, *Mem. sur la conquête de la Syrie*<sup>2</sup>, 166 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 31-2, 156-62).

In face of the normal control of the eastern Mediterranean by the Byzantine fleet (despite periodic Umayyad successes there), Islamic *Ḳaysāriyya* was held essentially as a defensive position against Byzantine descents on the coastland. During the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the Byzantines seized the opportunity of Umayyad distraction to attack both *Ḳaysāriyya* and 'Asḳalān (Ascalon) and damage them; but once secure in power, 'Abd al-Malik rebuilt and refortified the two places, along with other coastal points such as Acre and Tyre (Balādhurī, 142). But on the whole, the Arab disinclination towards seafaring (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mawḳū'āt*, Medina 1966, ii, 227) made it difficult for the Umayyad caliphs to persuade Arab warriors to settle in the coastal towns.

*Ḳaysāriyya* went through a period of deterioration under the 'Abbāsids, who tended to neglect Syria in favour of their eastern provinces. Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn (254-70/868-83) fortified again the Palestinian shore, but nothing is mentioned in the sources specifically about *Ḳaysāriyya*, whose harbour had by this time filled up with sand. The Arab geographers in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, as well as Nāṣir-i-*Ḳhusraw* in the 5th/11th, describe its fertile district and the abundance of its agricultural products, but make no mention of its harbour (Muḳaddasī, 35, 154; Nāṣir-i-*Ḳhusraw*, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 18; Idrīsī, in *ZDPV*, viii (1885), 11; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 474, 475). In 364/975, the Byzantine offensive launched a year previously against the Islamic territories by the Emperor John Tzimisce reached as far south as *Ḳaysāriyya* (Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*, i, 31). The renewed Byzantine rule, however, was short-lived. But the old danger to the wealth of the city came at that time from the Bedouins of Banū *Djarrāḥ* (a clan of Ṭayyi<sup>3</sup>), led by their chief Mufarridj b. Daḡfal, who succeeded around 360/971, during the disturbances which marked the end of the *Ikhshīdids*, in establishing himself in the coastal plain mainly around Ramla. Bedouin power continued to grow throughout the first half-century of the Fāṭimid rule. Between 402/1012 and 404/1014, Mufarridj laid siege to the coastal towns and even installed in Palestine an anti-Caliph of his own (Yaḳyā b. Sa'īd

al-Anṭakī, ed. Cheikho, 160, 201). In 414/1024, the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Zāhir nominated Muntakhab al-Dawla, governor of Kaşariyya, as governor of Palestine with the special assignment of ridding the country of Ḥassān b. Mufarriḏī, who had succeeded his father as the leader of Banū Djarrah (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, Cairo 1270, i, 354). Although Kaşariyya was never famous as a great Islamic centre of learning, some names of 'ulamā' who lived or studied there can be found in the sources (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 214, 778; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nuḏūm*, ii, 204; Ibn 'Asākir, iv, 185, 232, 460, vi, 212).

The First Crusade did not threaten Kaşariyya seriously. Only in 494/1101, after Baldwin I had established himself as king of Jerusalem, did the Crusaders attack the city, with the help of a Genoese naval force. After the fall of Arsūf on 27 Ḏjumādā II/29 April, Kaşariyya was besieged and fell on May 17. The male population was almost completely wiped out, and the women, the *ḥādī* of the town and its governor were taken prisoners. Among the booty the Genoese found a green vessel which they decided was the Holy Grail; later, they brought it to Genoa, where it is still preserved in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo. As a prize for their participation in the conquest, the Genoese received a third of the town with permission to call the second cathedral of the city after their patron San Lorenzo. (On this conquest, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Iḅar*, v, 186, and Runciman, ii, 73-4). After the conquest Kaşariyya became an independent Signoria (which belonged to the Garnier family), one of the first to be established in the country (Runciman, ii, 93, 191).

The Crusaders built in Kaşariyya a small harbour within the borders of the large ancient one, and its Frankish population grew to about 5,000 people, a considerable size in terms of Crusader towns.

In 583/1187, after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [q.v.] and the occupation of Acre, Kaşariyya was easily conquered by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's generals, Badr al-Dīn Daldirim and Ghāras al-Dīn Kīlīḏī (Abu Shāma, *K. al-Rawḏatayn*, ii, 87; Ibn al-Aṭṭīr, xi, 356; al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Fath al-Kuṣṣī*, 33).

With the appearance of the armies of the Third Crusade, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, knowing his weakness on the sea and anxious to deny the Crusaders a foothold on the coast, ordered in 586/1190 the demolition of the fortifications of Caesarea (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 104, Muḏjīr ad-Dīn, *al-Uns al-ḏalīl*, 324). Richard-Coeur-de-Lion recaptured Caesarea in 587/1191 (al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, 377-83), after which a strong garrison was established there, but the city fortifications were not rebuilt until 615/1218, with the main effort concentrated on the rebuilding of the citadel on the southern pier of the harbour. In 617/1220, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā managed to occupy the city while the main Crusader forces were besieging Dimyāṭ (Damietta); he found it completely empty, the Genoese navy having evacuated the population from its citadel (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *op. cit.*, vi, 239).

The city remained nominally in Muslim hands until 625/1228 when al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt ceded it to the Emperor Frederick II, together with Jerusalem and other territories in Palestine. When Louis IX arrived in the Holy Land in 648/1250-1, new fortifications, completed in April or May 1252, were begun, and were hailed as the finest building enterprise ever undertaken in Palestine (Joinville, *Chronicle*, London 1908, 253). This time the work comprised the building of the whole city, including a mighty wall which protected it from both sea and

land and its ancient moat was excavated, cleaned and deepened, thus giving the city wall a maximum height of 70 ft. (22 m.).

But even these mighty fortifications could not save Kaşariyya when the Mamlūks resolved on destroying the remnant of the Crusader strongholds along the Syrian littoral, once they had checked the Mongol invasion in 658/1260. In 662/1264 the first Mamlūk attacks on the districts of Kaşariyya and 'Athlīṭh began under the Amīr Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Kaymarī (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 513), but the final campaign headed by Baybars took place in 663/1265. A fierce frontal attack by the Mamlūks forced the defenders to retreat to the citadel (called *al-khadrā'* in the Muslim sources). Under the heavy bombardment of Baybars' ballistas, the Crusaders had to enter into negotiations. On 5th March 1265 they were evacuated by ship and the sultan ordered the destruction of the fortress.

The occupation of Kaşariyya enabled the Mamlūks to move both southwards against Jaffa and Arsūf and northwards against 'Athlīṭh and Acre (Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt*, iv, 161; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/1 526-8; Kaḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 434; Mufaḏḏal b. Abī 'l-Faḏā'il, in *Patr. or.*, xii, Paris 1918, 132-3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk*, in *Orientalia*, ii, 250; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, v, 385).

Instead of the coastal line of fortifications, which were ultimately completely demolished, Barbars resolved upon establishing a new line of defence along the foothills deep in the country, more defensible by the Muslim forces. The fortress of Kākūn was, therefore, rebuilt to replace Kaşariyya and Arsūf (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/1, 557).

The site of Kaşariyya remained deserted for about four centuries, cf. Kaḳashandī, iii, 237. In the 11th/17th century, some fishermen briefly tried to settle there. Its ruins became a source for building material, especially when Ḏjazzār Pāshā built his mosque in Acre at the end of the 12th/18th century.

In 1884, in the wake of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, the Ottoman government brought Muslim refugees from there and settled them in Kaşariyya, but the endemic malaria reduced them to a miserable condition, and during the Arab-Israelī war of 1948 the place was deserted.

The first archaeological survey of the site was carried out in 1873 by the Palestine Exploration Fund, but systematic excavations were made during the 1950s and 1960s by Italian and Israeli archaeologists. Parts of the town have been reconstructed, notably part of the Crusaders' wall and the Roman theatre, which is used today for musical performances.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge . . .*, Leiden 1919, 238; F. M. Abel, *Geographie de la Palestine*, (Paris 1938), ii, 151, 162, 171, 193 ff., 200; idem, *Histoire de la Palestine*, i-ii, Paris 1952; V. Guérin, *Descr. Geogr. . . de la Palestine*, 2<sup>e</sup> Partie, ii (Paris 1875), 321-39; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1936, 267; D. Ayalon, *The Mameluks and Naval Power*, in *Proceedings of The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, i, No. 8 (Jerusalem 1965); cf. idem, *EI<sup>2</sup>*, art. *Baḥriyya*; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (London 1971), index; S. Asaf and L. A. Mayer, *Sefer Ha-Yishshūv*, ii (Jerusalem 1944), 54-5; cf. also the bibliography in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, art. *Kaishariya*. (M. SHARON)

**KAŞSARIYYA**, or Kayserī, a town in central Anatolia, at an elevation of 3,300 feet, at the northern base of the Erḏjīyas Daḡlı. The Roman imperial

name Caesarea for this town was rendered Kayşariyya in Arabic, Kayseriye in Ottoman, and Kayseri in modern Turkish.

1. *History.* Even before the Hittite empire, the area was a mercantile centre with a thriving Assyrian trading colony named Kanesh. As Mazaka, the site was the capital of the kingdom of Cappadocia, later of the Roman province of Cappadocia. Caesarea was first in precedence among the Christian bishops of Asia Minor, and as the seat of the Cappadocian fathers, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus, a centre of Christian thought and monasticism. Pillaged and devastated by the Sasanids and then rescued by Heraclius in A.D. 611, the town was again beautiful and wealthy when Mu'awiya forced it to pay tribute in 26/647. (Michael the Syrian, tr. Chabot, ii, 400, 441; Abu 'l-Faraj, tr. Budge, i, 97). In the reign of Hishām (105-25/724-43) Maslama led two raids on Kayşariyya and perhaps occupied the town temporarily; two of Hishām's sons also led campaigns there. In the 5th/11th century Byzantine policies and the Turkish invasions precipitated a migration of Armenian Gregorians into this Greek Orthodox area (Michael the Syrian, iii, 133).

Kayşariyya was sacked by Turkmens in 459/1067 (see Cahen, *Le premier penetration turque... in Byzantion*, xviii (1948), 25). Some time after the battle of Manzikert the town, perhaps then in ruins, became part of the Dānīshmend state (Michael the Syrian, iii, 173; Abu 'l-Faraj, i, 229). Chroniclers of the First Crusade who passed through Kayşariyya do not describe it. Malik Muḥammad, the son of its conqueror Ghāzī Dānīshmend, finally restored the town (Michael the Syrian, iii, 237; Abū 'l-Faraj, i, 258). In 563/1168 Kılıdī Arslān II took it from the Dānīshmendids (Abu 'l-Faraj, i, 293). Frequently a royal residence for the Saljuqs. Kayşariyya again became a leading centre of trade and culture. In 641/1243 Mongol armies under Baygu massacred thousands, carried off the young into captivity, and plundered and destroyed the royal treasury and many splendid houses and buildings (Abū 'l-Faraj, i, 407; Ibn Bibī, tr. Duda, 230 f.). In 675/1277 Baybars occupied the town without resistance, but he withdrew south of the Taurus when his appearance failed to produce the anticipated uprising of Turkmens against their Mongol rulers; the Mongols then took vengeance on the city (Abū 'l-Faraj, i, 457).

From 744/1343 to 783/1381 Kayşariyya was under the Eretna dynasty, and eventually became their capital; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls the town one of the largest in Anatolia. The Eretna were overthrown by a native of Kayşariyya, Qādī Burhān al-Dīn, who ruled from Sivas. The Ottoman sultan Bāyazid took the city in 800/1398, but after Timūr defeated him, Kayşariyya fell to the Karamān dynasty. For almost a century, the Turkmens of Karamān and the Dhu 'l-Kadrīds contested for this prize. The Mamlūks helped the Dhu 'l-Kadrīds to take the city from the Karamānids in 827/1419; in 839/1436 the Ottomans helped the Dhu 'l-Kadrīds to regain it once more. Although the Karamānids recovered the town in 869/1465, Meḥammed II restored it to the Dhu 'l-Kadrīds in 871/1467. The Ottomans finally brought Kayşariyya under direct rule some time after they took Kara Hişār Develi in 879/1474, but before the Mamlūk-Dhu 'l-Kadrīd attack on the city on 895/1490. The town lay exposed to Mamlūk and Şafawid ambitions until Selīm I removed the threat from both these powers.

In the early 11th/17th century the region of Kay-

şariyya was infested by *Djalālī* rebels; Kara Yazdīf won a victory over an Ottoman army on the plain of Kayşariyya in 1008/1600, and twice shortly thereafter, brigands dared to besiege the walled town. The urban population suffered considerably; many villagers were killed or abandoned their lands in fear, temporarily dislocating the system of land taxation. In 1027/1618 Simeon of Poland found the town quite ruined in appearance because its people so feared the *Djalālīs* that they would not do any reconstruction work (Polonyali Simeon, tr. H. Andreyan, 158 f.). In 1034/1624 the rebel forces of Abāza Ḥasan were scattered near Kayşariyya by the vizier Čerkes Meḥmed. In 1059/1649 Ewliyā Čelebi found the town prosperous, but no longer any more so than Sivas or Maraş. After half a century under the rule of Çapanoğlu derebays, Kayşariyya returned to direct Ottoman rule in 1814.

In the Ottoman Empire Kayşariyya was a *liwā* or *sandjak* of the Karamān *eyālet* until 1864, when it was transferred to the *wilāyet* of Ankara. In the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, Kara Hişār Develi, the only *kaḍā'* in the *sandjak*, was more than once claimed by the *kaḍī* of Niğde. At the end of the 19th century, there were two *kaḍā'*s, Incesu and Develi. Under the republic, Kayşariyya became a *vilayet* or *il*.

2. *Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture.* Kayşariyya's continuing importance as a commercial centre comes from its location on well-defined north-south and east-west trade routes. Perhaps more important, it is the centre of a small, densely populated, fertile, well-watered area between the Kızılırmak river on the north and the Erdjiyas Dağı on the south, which can provide the agricultural surplus necessary to support a town (for density, see Bartsch, 130 f.; Tanoğlu *et al.*, *Türkiye Atlası*, map no. 67). The agricultural wealth of Kayşariyya comes from two sources: wheat and barley from the plain (Kayseri ovası) extending from the Kızılırmak to the salt lake of Pelas; and fruits and vegetables cultivated by skilful use of terracing and irrigation on the lower slopes of Erdjiyas and its foothills. During the prosperous times of the Rüm Saljuqs, Sivas, Konya, and Kayşariyya were the mercantile centres of Anatolia, yielding only gradually to Ottoman Bursa in the 8th/14th century.

The 16th-century tax registers (*daftar-i khākānī*) refer to dye houses, tanneries, slaughterhouses, mills and linseed oil presses, and to the manufacture of boza, wine and candles. Vineyards, orchards and gardens were dotted about the town, while wheat and barley were grown on its outskirts. The neighbouring villages produced grains and an array of fruits and vegetables, particularly grapes (used for raisins, *pekmez* and wine). Cotton and honey were important; and walnut trees and rice were cultivated (see Barkan, *Kanun-nameler*, "Kayseri", in index; Beldiceanu, *Karaman*, 45 f., 70 f., and *passim*).

Simeon of Poland compared Kayşariyya's gardens and vineyards to those of Edirne (p. 160). Ewliyā Čelebi stated that its wheat and barley were famous and praised the abundant and varied fruits and vegetables (iii, 184). Kinneir extolled the "extraordinarily abundant vegetables", the fruits unrivalled in all Anatolia for abundance and variety, and the abundant pasturage (pp. 103 f.). Barkley admired the rich plain of wheat, barley, rice, and cotton, with the hills full of vineyards, plums, apples and quinces (p. 156). Hamilton cited gallnuts and yellow berries (buckthorn berries) sold to Izmir, and

tragacanth, madder, blue dye made from lees of wine and sultana raisins (ii, 267, 255, 263; cf. Ainsworth, 307). Mordtmann added to these potatoes and anise, as well as wine, brandy and beer (p. 142, 145).

From Saldjûk times onwards, cotton and coarse cotton cloth were among the most important industrial products of Kayseriyya. Kinneir found merchants from all over Syria and Anatolia gathered there to buy cloth and raw cotton (p. 100; cf. Lucas, 173). Kayseriyya horses were famous; sheep, cattle, and water buffalo were raised for the sausage and pastirma industry for which Kayseriyya was famous; in Ewliyâ Çelebi's time these meats were so much in demand in Istanbul that they could not be procured even in Kayseriyya itself. Hides, used particularly for the yellow morocco leather (*sari sahtiiyan*), which was prized throughout the empire, and for the local footwear industry, were an equally famous product. Up to the present day, Kayseriyya produces large numbers of its unique carpets and kelims.

Simeon mentioned extensive caravanserais, bedestâns, shops and bazaars, and numerous goldsmiths and jewellers (p. 158). Ewliyâ Çelebi noted that, like Bursa and Edirne, the town had two bedestâns and that tradesmen made excellent profits (iii, 180 f., 184). Inciciyan reported that goods from Istanbul and India were sold in its bazaars, and Kinneir called it the trade emporium for Anatolia and Syria (Simeon, 159 n.; Kinneir, 100). Lucas called the bazaars extensive, especially the ones for cotton (i, 173) and Hamilton reported them to be extensive and rich, and full of cheap imports (ii, 267 f.). Von Schweinitz, admiring the fine bazaars, judged Kayseriyya to be the most important town in inner Anatolia (pp. 116 f.) and Mordtmann called it one of the most important trading places in Anatolia (p. 492); he says that trade ca. 1850 was completely in the hands of local "Cappadocian Christians". However, in the 11th/17th century, Muslims were also active in trade in Kayseri.

The salt lake at Pelas and salt mines at Hâdjîdjî Bektâsh kept the town amply supplied with salt; and gypsum was available (Hamilton, ii, 246; Ainsworth, 311; Moltke, 329; Mordtmann, 147). In the 19th century a big saltpetre works was located near the lake, at Sarloĥlan (Hamilton, ii, 259; Mordtmann, 147). Volcanic tufa everywhere provides excellent, cheap, building material.

The railway line from Ankara reached Kayseriyya in 1927, and connexions to Samsun in 1930 and to Ulukışla in 1933 made the city a major rail centre. Of late there have also been constructed good road connexions.

In 1935 a huge state textile mill (currently employing nearly 2,500 people) was set up, financed largely by a Soviet loan. Kayseriyya also became the site of an aeroplane assembly plant. In 1965 the city had 16 factories with more than 50 employees (5 state factories and 11 built with private capital). Another 100 factories have more than 5 employees, and there are 500 factories with 1 to 5 employees (*Kayseri il yıllığı*, 202). Machine works, wood and metal products, rubber products, pressure cookers and milk pasteurization are among the leading industries. Cotton and wool manufactures, carpets and kelims, hides and leather, grains, wool, livestock, fodder and pastirma continue to be among the leading products. As a result, Kayseriyya is more highly industrialised and has a noticeably higher standard of living than most Turkish towns.

3. *Demography*. Records of the population of the town are available from 1500 to 1583, 1813 to 1907, and 1927 to 1970.

Four Ottoman tax registers (*daftar-i khikâni*) have preserved 16th-century population statistics. In 905/1500, the town had 2287 *nefer* (tax-paying males), of whom 86 % were Muslims and 14 % were *dhimmîs* (1961/326). Early in Sulaymân's reign there were 2367 *nefer*, of whom 81 % were Muslims and 19 % were *dhimmîs* (1907/457). Later in Sulaymân's reign there were 3530 *nefer*, 81 % Muslims and 19 % *dhimmîs* (2870/660). In 991/1583 the town had 8251 *nefer*, 78 % Muslims and 22 % *dhimmîs* (6435/1816). The urban population practically quadrupled in less than a century and the rural population also grew rapidly. The anarchy of the 9th/15th century helps explain both the small population of 1500 and the capacity for rapid growth once security was restored (*Başbakanlık arşivi tapu defter* nos. 33, 387 and 976; cf. no. 38; *Ankara tapu kadastro dairesi*, no. 136). In 991/1583 the city had 6015 *khânes* or households at 5.5 persons per *khâne* or 33,082 inhabitants ( $4 \times 8251$  is 33,004, so perhaps multiplying the *nefer* by 4 gives the numerical population of the town). The proportion of non-Muslims increased from 14 % in 1500 to 22 % in 991/1583. Armenians, who made up 82 % of the non-Muslim population in 905/1500, rose to 89 % in 991/1583, increasing at a much faster rate than the Greeks. No Jews are registered in these surveys but in 1059/1649 Ewliyâ Çelebi mentions a synagogue (iii, 183).

Official statistics cease in 991/1583. Simeon of Poland estimated that there were 500 Armenian *khânes* in 1026/1618; either he underestimated or the *Djalâlî* uprisings had brought about a catastrophic population decline (p. 158). Ewliyâ Çelebi mentioned 600 *khânes* within the walls, but most of the urban population lived outside the walls in the 10th/16th century (iii, 177).

The census of 1831 recorded 13,466 males in the town (7,903 adult males, 5,317 males under 12, 215 from the military class, and 31 disabled), a population of about 26,932; alternatively, 5,184 *khânes* are mentioned (at 5 people per *khâne* 25,920) (Karal, *İlk nüfus sayımı, 1831*, 113). These figures are consistent with Kinneir's population estimate in 1813 of 25,000, including 1,500 Armenians, 300 Greeks and 150 Jews (p. 100). Texier asserted that the official population in 1834 was 60,000, i.e., 11,900 houses (10,000 Turkish, 1,500 Armenian, 400 Greek); and Hamilton estimated 10,000 houses in 1837. Their figures seem to have a single, erroneous, source, or possibly they refer to the *kadâ* of Kayseriyya (Texier, 544; Hamilton, ii, 267). Poujoulat, also in 1837, reported 9,000 Turks, 6,000 Armenians and 4,000 Greeks, a total of 19,000 (a gross overestimate of the proportion of Christians, i, 213). On the basis of information provided by a local notable or *a'yân* in 1839, Ainsworth reported (p. 308) 18,522 inhabitants (12,176 Muslims, 5,237 Armenians and 1,109 Greeks). Any decline might be attributed to the severe earthquake of 1835, which destroyed many homes and killed 665 people (Poujoulat claims 4,000 dead, which must be an exaggerated estimate or else a figure for the whole province). However, Mordtmann plausibly asserts that the population figure given by Ainsworth was for "males", not "inhabitants", i.e., there was a population of about 37,000 (Ainsworth, 310; Hamilton, 258, Poujoulat, i, 210 f.).

Cholera killed some 3,000 people in 1848; in 1849 Mordtmann gave the population as 18,413 males (12,344 Muslims, 5,002 Armenians and 1,067 Greeks), presumably 36,826 inhabitants, a reliable figure (pp. 141, 143). In 1858 Barth estimated 8,000 inhabited



houses (of 10,000 in the city), *i.e.*, *ca.* 40,000 people, a substantial increase in the decade (p. 58). Cuiet in 1892 estimated the population of the Kayşariyya *kaḍā'* at 72,000 (45,000 Muslims, 9,000 Armenian Gregorians, 14,400 Greek Orthodox, 800 Armenian Catholics and 1,200 Protestants), but the *kaḍā'* included numerous villages around Kayşariyya (i, 307). Townshend estimated 50,000 inhabitants in 1904 (including 20,000 Christians, of whom three-quarters were Armenians (p. 119). The Ankara *wilāyet sāl-nāme* of 1907 records a population of 54,011 for the town (17,536 Muslim men, 17,168 Muslim women, 9,521 non-Muslim men, 9,786 non-Muslim women (p. 209). The population apparently doubled between 1813 and 1907.

The 10th/16th-century Muslim population of Kayşariyya included nomadic, settled and sedentarising Yürüks, Turkmens and Kurds. Afşhār nomads were numerous on the rich pastures of Uzun Yayla; in the mid-19th century they were joined by a large immigrant group of Çerkes. Kurds and Afşhārs are still numerous, and Uzun Yayla constitutes one of the main preserves of Çerkes in Turkey.

Since the earliest tax records of the late 9th/15th century, the majority of the population of both the town and province of Kayşariyya have been Muslims. Large numbers of Orthodox and Gregorian Christians have inhabited the town and the neighbouring villages, often intermixed with Muslims and with one another. In the town Kayşariyya, Gregorians outnumbered Orthodox by three or four times in both the 10th/16th and 19th centuries. Greek and Armenian were spoken only in a few villages; most Christians were turcophone even after efforts towards hellenisation and armenisation began under outside stimulus in the 19th century (see R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*; Inciciyan, quoted in Simeon, 161 n; Simeon, 158 and n; and Ewliyā, iii, 183; "Kurdçe" presumably is an error for "Ermenice". See also the periodical *Mikrasiatika Kronika*). In 1922 a congress of Orthodox Christians of Anatolia, meeting in Kayşariyya, asserted that they were Anatolian Christians of Turkish nationality, repudiated the "Greek" hierarchy, and established a Turkish patriarchate; their effort miscarried, however, because Orthodox Christians of Anatolia were included in the compulsory Greek-Turkish population exchanges (Teoman Ergene, *Istiklal harbinde türk ortodoksları*, 18 ff., 23-42).

After the Armenian débâcle and the Greek population exchanges, the first republican census revealed that Kayşariyya's population had declined to 39,544; only 1277 Armenian Gregorians and 6 Greek Orthodox remained in the town. The population increased to 46,181 in 1935 (up 23 %), 52,467 in 1940 (up 21 %), 57,863 in 1945 (up 15 %), 65,488 in 1950 (up 34 %), 82,405 in 1955 (up 26 %), 102,596 in 1960 (up 25 %), 126,653 in 1965 (up 22 %), and 167,696 in 1970 (up 33 %). The population of the town has increased four-fold in less than half a century, a rate of growth faster even than that of the 10th/16th century (*Kayseri il yullığı*, 122, 124-7).

4. *Culture*. A Library made *wakf* in 1210/1796 by the *Re'is ül-kuttāb* Rāshid Efendi preserves the original collection of 943 works (926 manuscripts, 17 printed volumes), and additions have been made (see Ahmed Okutan, *Kayseri Umumi Kütüphanesi Raşit Efendi kısmi Usul-i hadis ve hadis ilmüne ait arapça elyazma eserler katalogu*, Istanbul 1964). The town also has an İl Halk Kütüphanesi and a small museum, filled mostly with pre-Islamic artifacts.

The ancient site of the town (Eski Şehir) is located on the southern edge of the city, near the Baṭṭāl Ghāzī tomb, where the plain meets the lowest foothills of the Erdjijas. Kayşariyya is rich in architectural monuments, which have been well listed by H. Edhem and A. Gabriel. The inner castle and a large section of the former wall have been preserved, as well as several *madrāsas*, mosques, tombs, and *khāns* dating from as early as the Salḍjūk period. Most notable of these are the Ulu Cami, Çifte madrasa, Huand Hatun mosque-*madrasa*-baths complex, Hādjdjī Kiliç mosque, Döner Kumbet, Kurşunlu mosque (built from a plan of Sinān), and the Vizier *khān*. A vigorous programme of preservation and restoration is under way.

A reputed tomb of Baṭṭāl Ghāzī, located beneath the courtyard of the recently rebuilt Baṭṭāl Ghāzī mosque, is visited by local pilgrims. The tomb of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's teacher, Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn, is also noteworthy. For other Muslim, Christian and mixed places of pilgrimage, see Ewliyā, iii, 186-9, and Carnoy-Nicolaides, *passim*. Seven *madrāsas* were reported in Kayşariyya in Salḍjūk times, as many as in Çonya and more than twice as many as in any other Anatolian town (see A. Kuran, *Anadolu medreseleri*, i). In Sulaymān's time, the city had 3 Friday mosques, 20 *masḍjids*, 10 *madrāsas*, 17 *zāwiyas*, 3 baths, and 107 shops.

The living pattern of winter in the town and summer in vineyards on the foothills of Erdjijas plays a significant rôle even today in the economic and social life of Kayşariyya. It has frequently been a theme in local poetry (see A. Satoğlu, *Kayseri Şairleri*, and also *Erciyes halkevi dergisi*). The climate was considered healthy (Ewliyā, iii, 182; Hamilton, ii, 268; Mordtmann, 141; and Kinneir, 104). Several 19th-century travellers called Kayşariyya filthy, and a town containing slaughtering, meat processing, leather and tanning industries could hardly have been otherwise. Some travellers called the stone houses of the town tasteful, and Moltke and von Schweinitz considered it beautiful. The beauties of Erdjijas, with its luxurious gardens and clear streams, were obvious to those who saw them.

The people of Kayşariyya have been noted for their religious orthodoxy and for their business acumen. Hasluck maintained that the town had a "black Sunni" tradition (513, 23n.). Carnoy-Nicolaides related a legend that no Jew could live in Kayşariyya, a reference to the supposed commercial acumen of its inhabitants (226-6). Ewliyā Çelebi explained that the local people were hardworking because of the cold climate (iii, 182). Simeon of Poland was aware that they were considered "dyers of asses" (160; Carnoy, 247 f.). It is widely believed in Turkey today that the people of Kayşariyya have a special propensity for business and are hardworking and diligent.

*Bibliography*: G. Bartsch, *Das Gebiet des Erciyes Dagi und die Stadt Kayseri im Mittel-Anatolien*, in *Jahrbuch der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Hannover für 1934 und 1935* (1935), 87-202; H. Edhem, *Kayseriye şehri*, Istanbul 1334; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, i, *Kayseri-Nigde*, Paris 1931; E. Carnoy and J. Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1967; P. Stirling, *Turkish village*, London 1965; R. Janin, *Césarée*, ii, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, xii, 199-203; *Kayseri il yullığı*, 1968, Ankara; K. Özdoğan, *Kayseri tarihi*, Kayseri 1948; Köy İşleri Bakanlığı, *Köy*

envanter etüdlerine göre Kayseri, 1965; Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü, *Türkiye jeoloji haritası (Kayseri)*, Ankara 1963; B. Darket. in *IA*; M. Streck, in *ET*; M. T. Gökbilgin, *XVI. Asir başlarında Kayseri şehri ve livası*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, İstanbul 1950-5, 93-108; N. Beldiceanu—I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur la province de Qaraman au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Leiden 1968; O. Barkan, *Kanunnameler*; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot, 3 vols., Brussels, reprint 1963; Gregory Abu'l Faraj (Bar Hebraeus), *Chronography*, ed. and tr. Wallis Budge, 2 vols., London 1932; Teoman Ergene, *İstiklal harbinde türk ortodoksları*, İstanbul 1951; N. Kaymaz, *Perdâne Mu'înü'd-dîn Süleyman*, Ankara 1970; Yaşar Yücel, *Kadi Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devletleri (1344-1398)*, Ankara 1970; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri . . .*, Ankara 1969; Polonyalı Simeon, *Seyahatnamesi 1608-1609*, tr. H. Andreaşyan, İstanbul 1964; Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâmesi*; Paul Lucas, *Voyage*, 2 vols., Paris 1712; J. M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814*, London 1818; C. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1862; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 2 vols., London 1842; W. Ainsworth, *Journey to Angora by Kaisariyah, Malatiyah, and Gergen Kalehsi, to Bir or Birehjik*, in *J. of the Royal Geographical Society*, (1841), 275-340; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, viii, Berlin 1893; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover 1925; H. Barkley, *A Ride through Asia Minor and Armenia*, London 1891; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt durch die nordliche halfte Klein-Asiens nach Scutari im Herbst 1858*, in A. Petermann, *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über Wichtige Neue Erforschungen*, Gotha 1866; W. M. Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey during twelve years' wanderings*, New York 1897; H. von Schweinitz, *In Kleinasien, ein Reitausflug durch das Innere Kleinasiens im Jahre 1905*, Berlin 1906; A. F. Townshend, *A Military Consul in Turkey (1903-1906)*, London 1910; Arshak Alboyajian (Alpoyachian), *History of Armenian-Caesarea*, 2 vols., Cairo 1937 (in Armenian); Evrekli (or Kayserili) Anastasios Levidis, *Kappadokia*. 5 vols., Athens 1885 (in Greek); Endürlüklü Pavlos Karolidis, *Kappadokia* (in Greek); Johannes Joannides, *Kaysariyya*, 1296/1897 (Turkish with Greek characters); Ahmet Nazif, *Mirat ul-Kaysariye* (unpublished ms.); *Erciyes Halkevi Dergisi* (local journal); A. Satoğlu, *Kayseri şairleri*, Ankara 1970; M. Baydur, *Küllepe (Kameş) ve Kayseri tarihi üzerine araştırmalar*, İstanbul 1970; H. Koçer, *Kayseri ülemesi*, İstanbul 1972; Ali Rıza Önder, *Kayseri basını tarihi*, Ankara 1972; R. Jennings, *Loans and credit in early 17th century Ottoman judicial records—the Sharia court of Anatolian Kayseri*, in *JESHO*, xvi (1973), 168-216; idem, *Urban population in Anatolia in the 16th century*, in *IJMES*, vi (1975). (R. JENNINGS)

**KAYSARIYYA** [see KAŞSARIYYA].

**KAYTAK** (self designation, Kaydaqlan, pl. Kaydaq; Russ. K̄haydaki, Kaytagi, Kaytaki, Karakaytaki; other forms, K̄haytaq, Kaytakh, KaraKaytakh), a small Dāghistān [q.v.] group, which forms with Kubaçi [q.v.] and Dargin [q.v.] the Dargin division of the Dargino-Lak group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the census of 1926, ethnically there were 14,430 Kaytaqs, and 14,469 claiming Kaytaq as their mother tongue: in 1930 (estimation by Grande) there were 14,470 Kaytaqs. The Kaytaqs inhabit ten auls in the Kaytak district, and the southern (mountainous) part of the Dak̄hadaev district, in the valley of the Ulu-Chai, in the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. Kaytaq territory lies between the Dargin and Tabasaran areas.

The first mention of the Kaytaq was in the 4th/10th century, by Arab authors. According to Muḥammad-Rafi, the Kaytaqs paid tribute to the *shamkhal* of Kazikumukh in the Laq [q.v.] country. At the end of the 8th/14th century the Mongols penetrated Kaytaq territory and there is evidence that there was a strong Mongol influence on the Kaytaqs. A large proportion of the Kaytaq population was destroyed by Timūr.

With the fall of the Golden Horde, the feudal principality of the *utsmiyat* of Kaytaq arose as a major power in northern Dāghistān (dubious etymology of the word *utsmi* from *isim*, "the renowned"). Its territory was larger than the area inhabited today by the Kaytaqs and its population was composed of many tribes besides the Kaytaqs—Laqs, Dargins and Southern Kumyks. As legend has it, the *utsmi* descended from the Arab governors of Kala' Quraysh, who had islamised the area in the 2nd/8th century, and Kaytaq was one of the first regions of central Dāghistān to be islamised. The Kaytaq are Sunnis of the Shāfi'ī School. In the 10th/16th century the *utsmi* was one of the strongest rulers in Dāghistān, and in the 12th/18th century was economically and politically very significant, carrying on complex foreign policies, supporting at different times Turkey and Persia.

In 1802 a Russian protectorate was imposed on the *utsmi* 'Ādil Khān. Direct Russian administration came to the lower Kaytaq in the pre-Caspian area in 1820, and to the Kara-Kaytaq in the mountain area in 1862. In 1844 the *utsmiyat* was suppressed.

The social structure of Kaytaq *utsmiyat* was similar to the structure of the Avar [q.v.] society: a rather complicated feudal hierarchy—*begs*, *čanğa*, *usden* (free peasants), and non-free classes: *çagar* (peasants submitted to servitude), *rayats* (serfs), and *kul*, which coexisted beside the system of the "free societies" based on the joint family (*tukhum*). There existed an endogamic marriage system.

The 'ādāt of Kaytaq were collected in written form in the 17th century by the *utsmi* Rustam Khān. The Arabic text was translated into Russian in 1868 (*Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkazskikh Gortsakh*, Tiflis 1868).

Due to the lack of good agricultural land, agriculture played a minor role in the traditional economy. Sheep and goat raising, with some horses and cattle, was the predominant economic activity. Handicrafts were well developed, especially the weaving of wool and silk. Kaytaq women from Barshamai and Çabak̄hni were renowned for their embroideries. The present economy still stresses sheep raising (with a transhumance system) in the mountainous areas, and the raising of cattle and horses in the lower mountains and foothills.

Kaytaq is a vernacular language, consisting of two dialects: Mağalis-Kaytaq (in the north) and Kara-Kaytaq (in the south). Dargin is used as the first literary language and second (sometimes first) spoken language. Russian is the second written language. The Kaytaq are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Dargin.

*Bibliography:* A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Une République Soviétique Musulmane: le Daghestan, Aperçu Démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955) 7-56; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers, Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus*, 's-Gravenhage 1959; B. Grande, *Spisok Narodnostey S.S.S.R.*, in *Revolutsiya i Natsionalnost*, iv (1936), 74-85; E. N. Kusheva, *Narodī Severnogo Kavkaza i ikh Svīazi s Rossiei, Vtoraya polovina XVI—30 Godi XVII Veka*, Moscow 1963; *Narodī Dagestana*, Moscow 1955; *Narodī Mira*, Moscow 1962, i (Narodī Kavkaza); A. S. Omarov and R. G. Marshaeu, *Postanovleniya Rustem Khana Kak Istočnik po Istorii Kaytaga XVII v.*, in *Učenyje Zapiski Instituta Yazka i Literaturō Dag. filiala A.N. SSSR*, vii, Makhač-Kala 1960; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958. (R. WIXMAN)

**AL-KAYYĀL** (also **IBN AL-KAYYĀL**), **AHMAD B. ZAKARIYYĀ**, **Shī'i** gnostic from Daskarat Bayt al-Nār near Bayhağ active around the turn of the 3rd/9th century. According to al-Shahrastānī, he was originally a *dā'i* of some Ismā'īlī imāms. Having been disowned by the *imām* for his heretical views, he first claimed the imāmate for himself and then asserted that he was the *ḥā'im* [q.v.]. He gained some adherents and left writings in Arabic and Persian which were still extant in the time of al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153). Abū 'l-Ma'ālī states that al-Kayyāl "appeared" in the year 295/907-8, perhaps referring to his arrival in Transoxania. He claimed that he was entrusted with abrogating the law of Islam and proclaiming a new law. He composed a scripture in Persian which he called his *Kur'an* and invented a secret alphabet which only he could read. At the Sāmānid court in Bukhārā he gained the favour of the vizier Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Dījayhānī [q.v.]. If the name is correctly given, al-Kayyāl was still alive after 326/938 when this al-Dījayhānī became vizier. There may be, however, a confusion with the latter's father, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dījayhānī, who was vizier from 302/914-5 to 310/922-3. Al-Dījayhānī at first encouraged him to propagate his doctrine in Kīshsh. When he failed to win adherents there, the vizier directed him to the countryside of Marw, where he gained a numerous following. He died after appointing a butcher as his successor. When al-Dījayhānī died (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad died in 330/941-2), the movement disintegrated. Ibn Funduğ al-Bayhağī (d. 565/1169-70) states, however, that in Samarqand neophytes (*murīdān*) and adherents of the school of al-Kayyāl were in evidence in his day and his books were available there.

Al-Kayyāl's gnostic doctrine as described by al-Shahrastānī elaborated correspondences between a higher, spiritual world, a lower, corporeal world, and the human body and relied on *ḥurūf* [q.v.] and allegorical interpretation of the *Kur'an*. It shows distinct affinities with Ismā'īlī gnosis, though no traces of the Neoplatonic cosmology introduced in Ismā'īlism about the beginning of the 4th/10th century [cf. ISMĀ'ĪLIYYA, Doctrine]. Indian as well as Manichaean influences on his thought have been suggested. His doctrine on the imāmate was refuted by the philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 320/932-3).

The assumption by some modern scholars that he may be identical with Aḥmad, the son of the alleged founder of Ismā'īlism 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh [q.v.], is no longer tenable. The account of the late Ismā'īlī author Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872/

1468), according to whom al-Kayyāl was a *dā'i* of the Ismā'īlī *imām* 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, is fictitious and based solely on the statements of al-Shahrastānī.

*Bibliography:* *Fihrist*, 301; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Bombay 1306, iii, 20; Abū 'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. Hāshim Raḍī, Tehran 1964, 67-9; Shahrastānī, i, 138-41; Bayhağī, *Ta'rikh-i Bayhağ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317, 253; Murtaḍā b. Dā'i Rāzī, *Tabṣirat al-'awāmm*, ed. 'Abbās Ikbāl, Tehran 1313, 7; Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, iv, ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut 1973, 357-8; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden 1886, 20; L. Massignon, *Esquisse d'une bibliographie Qarmate*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922, 331; H. H. Schaefer, *Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen*, in *ZDMG*, lxxix (1925), 234; W. Ivanow, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *JBRAS*, xvi (1940), 64-5, 81, 83-4; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Bahrain-qarmaten*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 44-5; Mahdī Muḥağḡī, *Faylasūf-i Rayy Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā-yi Rāzī*, Tehran 1352, 42-3. (W. MADELUNG)

**KAYYIM** (A.), originally: "he who stands upright", then (with *bi*, *'alā*, *li* or the genitive alone), he who takes something upon himself, takes care of something or someone and hence also has authority over them. Thus we find the pre-Islamic poet al-Ḳuṭāmī (*Diwān*, ed. Barth, Leiden 1902, no. 26) already speaking of a "ḡayyim of water", i.e. apparently the man in charge of it, the supervisor, and the poet Bā'ith b. Ṣuraym (*Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, 269, verse 2) speaks of the *ḡayyim* of a woman, i.e. he who provides for her, her husband. The first mentioned meaning, (supervisor etc.), is then found in all possible applications, administrator of a pious foundation, of baths, superintendent of a temple, caretaker of a saint's grave, etc.; indeed, in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Da'awāt*, *bāb* 10 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv, 189), in Muḥammad's night prayer, the expression is even applied to God as the director of heaven and earth, and this application seems also to be present in 'Umar b. Abi Rabī'a, ed. P. Schwarz, no. 91, where the poet swears by the "religion of the *ḡayyim*". Here, of course, it is most probably a question of an inversion (perhaps caused by the metre) of the *Kur'ānic* expression *al-dīn al-ḡayyim* (see below) on the model of *Bayt al-Muḡaddas*, etc. (cf. Wright, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup> ii, §§ 95-6, and al-Kaṣṭallānī, comm. on Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, *bāb* 67, end).

The meaning "provider, husband" of a woman is frequently found in the eschatological traditions, in which it is said that with the approach of the last day the number of women will increase in proportion to men, so much that there will only be one *ḡayyim* for every 50 women.

The adjectival meaning "commanding" (a branch of knowledge) perhaps arises out of the same sphere of conceptions as "provider", "master"; it is found in a biographical notice of a scholar in Yāḡūt, *Mu'djam*, ii, 225. On the other hand, *ḡayyim*, also an adjective meaning "correct, right", repeatedly found in the *Kur'an* in the expression *al-dīn al-ḡayyim* and similar combinations, may have to be semasiologically separated from the former meaning.

*Bibliography:* *ḡayyim* = administrator: al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 32 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll ii, 196), and al-Kaṣṭallānī, s.v.; Yāḡūt, iii, 856; al-Maḡḡarī, ii, 547; al-Ṭabarī, i, 814;

al-Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 125. *Kayyim* = husband: al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Nihāh*, bāb 110 (ed. Kr.-J. iii, 453), and *passim*; 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a, *op. cit.*, no. 269; *Kayyim* = correct, orthodox: Sūra IX, 36, and *passim*; XCVIII, 4 and thereon, al-Ḳaṣṭallānī's note on the quotation of this passage from the Ḳur'ān in al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Imān*, bāb 34 (Kr.-J., 19).

(A. SCHAADÉ\*)

**KAYYŪM NĀSİRĪ** (1825-1902), born in the village of Yukarī Shīrdanī in the canton of Sviatzsk in the government of Kāzān, was one of the first and greatest modernist reformers amongst the Tatars of the Volga. After studying at the *madrasa* of Kāzān, where he learnt Arabic, Persian and Russian, Nāşiri founded at Kāzān his own school where, for the first time, such secular subjects as history, arithmetic, geography and Russian language were taught—these being at this time novelties and innovations which bordered on heresy.

Kayyūm Nāşiri wrote over 50 works in Tatar, Turkish, Arabic and Persian; as the possessor of an encyclopaedic mind, he combined the skills of the philologist, folklorist, historian, geographer and ethnologist. His supreme merit was to have created a Tatar literary language, based on the dialect spoken in Kāzān, which replaced the Čaġhatay or Eastern Turkish previously used by Tatar writers and which now permitted the extraordinary flowering of Tatar literature towards the end of the 19th century.

His most famous works are the *Fevākih ul-djulesā* (Kāzān 1884), the *Enmūzedj* (Kāzān 1895, on the syntax of the Tatar language), the *Lehçe-i tātāri* (Kāzān 1895-6, 2 vols.) and above all, his famous *Kāzān kālindāri*, an annual publication which appeared from 1870 to 1897 and which represents the best source of information on the origins of *djadid* reformism amongst the Muslims of the Russian empire.

In Russian language, his two basic works are *Obraztsi narodnoj literaturi Kazanskikh Tatar* ("Examples of the popular literature of the Tatars of Kāzān"), in collaboration with N. F. Katanov, in *Izvestiya Obščestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii*, xiii/5 (Kāzān 1896), 374-427, and *Pover'ya i Obryady Kazanskikh Tatar obrazovavshiesya pomimo Vliyaniya na nihh sunitskogo Magometanstva* ("The beliefs and rites of the Tatars of Kāzān formed outside the influence of Sunnī Islam"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obščestva*, vi (Moscow 1880), 243-70.

**Bibliography:** There have been numerous books and articles dealing with Kayyūm Nāşiri in Kāzān Tatar, Turkish, Russian and French. In Russian, the most important is *Kayyum Nasiri (1825-1945). Materialy naučnoj sessii posvyashčennoj 120 letiyu so dnnya roždeniya* ("Materials of the scientific session devoted to the 120th anniversary of his birth"), Acad. of Sciences, Kāzān Division, Kāzān 1948, pp. 136 (also published in Tatar). In Turkish, there is the important study of Saadet Çaġatay, *Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasiri*, in *AÜDTCFD*, x/3-4 (Ankara 1952), 147-60. Finally, in French there is Ch. Lemerrier-Quellejey, *Un réformateur Tatar du XIX siècle, 'Abdul Qayyum al-Nasyri*, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, iv/1-2 (Paris 19), 117-42 (with a complete bibliography). (CH. LEMERCIER-QUELQUEJAY)

**KĀZ** [see KĀBK].

**KAZA** [see KAPĀ].

**KAZAK.** The word *kazak* in the Turkic language can be first documented in the 8th/14th century in

the meaning "independent; vagabond". These and similar meanings, such as "free and independent man, vagabond, adventurer, etc." are known in the modern Turkic languages too. During the turmoils under the Timūrīds, the word signified the pretenders in contrast to the actual rulers, and also their supporters, who led the life of an adventurer or a robber at the head of their men. At the same time, the word began also to be applied to nomad groups which separated from their prince and kinsmen and so came into conflict with the state; later it had also the meaning "nomad", in contrast to the sedentary *Sart* population in Central Asia. The status of *kazak* is also regarded as a very old social institution of the nomad Turkic peoples. The word became the name of a political unit and later an ethnic designation by having been applied in the former meanings to those groups of the Özbek tribal confederacy that had abandoned the Khān Abu'l-Khayr and migrated to the north-east steppes of Turkistān. These ethnic groups formed the core of the population of the present *Kazakhistān* (Kazakhstan), retaining later this name. However, it is probable that other Turkic, and probably Mongol, elements were also involved in the ethnogenesis of the modern *Kazak* people. The struggles with the Kalmuks in the 11th/17th century forced the three *Kazak* hordes to make an approach to Russia and to accept the Russian supremacy. Until the beginning of the 20th century, this took the form of a very loose and nominal connection. According to the former Russian tradition, *i.e.* to distinguish the Turkic *Kazaks* from the Slavic *Kazaks* or *Kozaks* (*Cossacks*), the *Kazaks* in Central Asia were also called *Kazak-Kirghiz* in learned and correct parlance. The word *kazak*—borrowed from the Turkic languages—appears in the Russian linguistic records first at the end of the 14th century with a wide range of meanings. The military meaning came later into predominance by applying the word to those military groups which played an eminent role in medieval Russian history. The form *kazak* (*Cossack*) used in western European languages goes back to the Ukrainian and Polish pronunciations. No certain etymology of the word *kazak* has yet been given. The generally known inner-Turkic etymology, from *kaz*—"to flee, to escape" + suffix (nom. act.) *ak*, is not well documented in the linguistic sources and does not find universal acceptance. The recent etymology of the Turkic ethnic name *kaz* (< *az*) + the Iranian ethnic name *sak*, *i.e.*, *saka*, is a vague hypothesis which can hardly be confirmed by historical facts.

**Bibliography:** The relevant linguistic and historic data (with a critical survey of the various etymological approaches) are brought together by G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 462 ff. An analysis of these facts from a historico-ethnological aspect is given by L. Krader, *Ethnonymy of Kazakh*, in *American Studies in Altaic Linguistics*, Bloomington-The Hague 1962, 123 ff. A. von Gabain analyses the social status of *kazak* elements in the history of the Turkic peoples in her article *Kasakentum, eine soziologisch-philologische Studie*, in *Acta Orient. Hung.* xi, 161 ff. The Russian linguistic and historic relations are described by G. Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums*, Munich 1953, and G. F. Blagova, *Istoricheskie vzaimootnosheniya slov kazak i kazakh (The mutual historic relations of the words kazak and kazah)*, in *Etonimi*, Moscow 1970, 143 ff.

(with a lengthy bibliography on the linguistic and historical background of the ethnonymy).

(W. BARTHOLD-[G. HAZAI])

**KĀZĀN**, **KĀZĀN**, a town on the middle Volga, now the capital of the Autonomous Republic of Tatarstan in the USSR, and in the 15th and 16th centuries capital of the **Khānate** of the same name.

According to legendary accounts, the town was founded by Batu **Khān** in a Turkish and Muslim region which had been part of the ancient kingdom of **Bulghār** [q.v.] before the Mongol invasions.

The **Khānate** of **Kāzān** was founded in the first half of the 15th century by a Čingizid descendant, Ulu Muḥammad, son of **Djalāl al-Dīn** and grandson of **Toqtamışh**, at the time when the Golden Horde was breaking up. From the start, the **Khānate** took an active part in the internecine wars of the Russian principalities. In 1438 Muḥammad besieged Moscow and destroyed Kolomna. In 1445, his son **Maḥmūdek** defeated and took captive the Grand Prince of Moscow **Vasili II**, whom he released shortly afterwards. In the same year, **Maḥmūdek** seized the town of **Kāzān**, where a prince called 'Alī Beg was ruling. In the following year, Ulu Muḥammad was put to death by **Maḥmūdek**, and at the same time, two of his sons, **Kāsim** and **Ya'qūb b. Ulu Muḥammad**, took refuge in Russia. **Kāsim** received from the Grand Prince of Moscow as an apanage the town of **Gorodok**, which in his honour assumed the name of **Kāsimov** and became the capital of a vassal **Khānate** of Moscow [see **KĀSIMOV**] whose rulers were the aides of Russian policy. **Maḥmūdek** reigned till 1462; his successors were then his sons **Khālil** (1462-7) and **Ibrāhīm** (1467-79). The latter waged war against Muscovy, at first with success, and in 1468 succeeded in temporarily capturing **Viatska**, but in 1469 the Russians went over to the offensive and came to besiege **Kāzān**. They compelled **Ibrāhīm** to set free all the Russian prisoners in **Kāzān**, without however managing to place their protégé **Kāsim** on the throne there. After his death in 1479, **Ibrāhīm** was succeeded by his son 'Alī (according to certain sources, **Ilhām**). In 1487, the brother of this last, **Muḥammad Amīn**, sought refuge in Russia and then appeared before **Kāzān** at the head of a Russian army. After a three-weeks' siege, the town surrendered; 'Alī was exiled to **Vologda** and **Muḥammad Amīn** installed as **Khān**. In 1495 he was expelled from the town by an incursion of **Tatars** from the **Khānate** of **Sibir**, led by their **Khān Mamūḷ b. Ibāk**, who ruled in **Kāzān** for a year, until in 1496, defeated by the Russians and at the wish of the local populace, he made over the throne to 'Abd al-Laṭīf, younger brother of **Muḥammad Amīn**. In 1502 'Abd al-Laṭīf was summoned to Russia and the throne given back to **Muḥammad Amīn**. The latter was at first faithful to the Russian alliance, but soon rebelled against the tutelage of the Grand Prince of Moscow, and put to death and confiscated the goods of the Russian merchants who had come to the annual fair at **Kāzān**. He carried on the war against Muscovy with success, and in 1506 the **Khān** even defeated a Russian army near **Nižniy Novgorod**. A peace agreement made in 1507 established a state of equilibrium between the two rival principalities.

**Muḥammad Amīn** died in 1518, and with him the line founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct, 'Abd al-Laṭīf having died in the previous year.

The **Khānate** now entered upon a period of anarchy marked by unceasing warfare between the partisans of an orientation towards Russia and those of a "nationalist" policy backed by the Crimean

**Khānate** and the **Noghay Horde**. For more than thirty years, various Russian-supported candidates succeeded to the throne—the **Khāns** of **Kāsimov** **Shāh 'Alī** and his brother **Djān 'Alī** (sons of **Awliyār Khān** of **Astrakhan**)—and the **Girāy** princes **Shāhib** and **Şafā'**, supported by their cousins of the **Crimea**.

The Russians were the first to take advantage of the unsettled conditions in **Kāzān**. In 1519 the Grand Prince **Vasili III** placed on the throne **Shāh 'Alī** (first reign, 1519-21). The latter was expelled in 1521 by the **Tatar** nobles who asked the **Crimean Khān Muḥammad Girāy** to appoint his brother **Shāhib** (half-brother through his mother of the last **Khān Muḥammad Amīn**) over **Kāzān**. In this same year, the two **Tatar** princes led a grand expedition against **Muscovy** and advanced right to the walls of the Russian capital. The regions of **Moscow**, **Nižniy Novgorod** and **Riazan** were totally laid waste, and hundreds of thousands of prisoners were taken and sold at **Kele** in the **Crimea**, but the **Tatars**, victorious in open warfare, failed in their attacks against **Moscow** and **Riazan**, and their great expedition ended in a half-success.

In 1524, on the death of his brother **Muḥammad**, **Shāhib Girāy** returned to the **Crimea** as **Khān** there, leaving in **Kāzān** his thirteen-year old nephew **Şafā'** **Girāy**. From now onwards, the Russian pressure became more acute, not in the shape of reprisal raids, but in that of a slow and systematic advance. In order to ruin his rivals, the Grand Prince of Moscow forbade Russian merchants to trade in the **Tatar** capital and founded an annual fair at the monastery of **St. Makarii** which soon became the successive rival of that at **Kāzān**. Also, with the beginning of the construction of the fortress of **Vasil'sursk** at the confluence of the **Volga** and **Sura** in 1523, there began the occupation of the **Middle Volga** region by the **Russians**.

**Şafā'** **Girāy** was chased out in 1530 by the pro-Russian party and replaced by **Djān 'Alī**, but the latter perished in 1535 in a rising stirred up by the partisans of the **Girāys**. **Şafā'** **Girāy** was recalled and maintained himself in **Kāzān** till 1546, defying Russian efforts to re-assert their suzerainty, until in that year he was once more driven out and briefly replaced by **Shāh 'Alī**. As soon as the Russian forces accompanying **Shāh 'Alī** withdrew, **Şafā'** **Girāy** returned to **Kāzān** and retained the throne till his death in 1549. His successor was his twelve-year old son **Ötemişh**, who in 1551 was deported to **Russia**, where he was baptised under the name of **Alexander** and lived till 1566. **Shāh 'Alī** was reinstalled in **Kāzān** for the third time. In 1552 he was overthrown by a popular revolt, and the **Tatars** summoned to the throne **Yādigār Muḥammad**, of the line of **Khāns** of **Astrakhan**. But shortly afterwards, the Russian armies of **Tsar Ivan IV** appeared before **Kāzān** and took it by assault on 2 October 1552. The **Khānate** was then annexed to **Muscovy**.

The conquest was followed by the systematic occupation of the whole country by the **Russians**. The **Tatars** were expelled from **Kāzān**. The best lands in the river valleys and round the towns were confiscated and distributed to the Russian nobles and the monasteries. Colonies of Russian peasants were settled in the most fertile areas, and, in order to prevent popular risings and incursions of the **Crimean Tatars**, the land was covered by a network of Russian fortresses. Because of this, from the 17th century onwards, the population of the ancient **Khānate** became very mixed, the **Tatars** forming only 40% of the people there.

Christian evangelism was actively pursued. After 1555, Kāzān was the seat of an archbishopric and then a metropolitan see. Already by the end of the 16th century there was an important group of indigenous converts, Tatars, but above all, Finnic peoples, the Kryashens (in Tatar, Kryash), who although Christian conserved their usage of the Tatar language.

The Russian conquest led to a profound upheaval in Tatar society. The ancient nobility was stripped of its lands, and in order to survive, had to transform itself to a merchant oligarchy, which in turn gave rise in the 17th century to a mercantile bourgeoisie. From the time of Catherine II onwards, this class became the guiding one amongst the Tatar nation, and in the second half of the 19th century, out of all the Turkish and Muslim peoples of the Russian empire, it was from the Tatars of Kāzān that the intellectual and political leaders of the Pan-Turkish movement in Russia arose.

The modern town of Kāzān retains little from the time of the ancient Khānate. One of the towers in the citadel still today has the name of the Princess Sūyūmbigi, wife of Šafā' Girāy (she had previously been the wife of Dīān 'Alī and was later to be that of Šhāh 'Alī), but the manner and date by which her name was applied to this tower is unknown, and it is equally difficult to decide what is Tatar and what is Russian in the fabric of the tower.

From the 18th century, Kāzān no longer had any military importance, and was occupied without any difficulty (with the exception of the citadel) by Pugačev in July 1774; at that time, the town had 2,867 houses. Even at this date, it was of more importance as an administrative and cultural centre than Nižniy Novgorod. Kāzān's university, founded in 1804, became famous above all for its Oriental Faculty (more exactly, the oriental section of the Historico-Philological Faculty). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, teaching of oriental languages was stopped at Kāzān, and the library and other teaching equipment largely transferred to the capital. After 1861, the teaching of oriental languages began again at the University of Kāzān. According to the 1897 census, the town had 131,508 inhabitants, and in 1911, 182,477 of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

Today, Kāzān is the capital of the Tatarstan ASSR, with a population in 1970 for the republic of 3,131,238 of whom 1,536,431 were Tatars, 1,328,738 Russians, 153,496 Čuvash, 30,963 Mordvins and 24,533 Udmurts. The urban population is largely Russian: 934,387 Russians against 593,665 Tatars.

The Tatars [q.v.] of Kāzān now represent a people of the diaspora; 75% of a total population of 5,930,670 live outside their national territory.

*Bibliography:* H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, 363-429; K. Tuks, *Kraikava istoriya goroda Kazani*, Kazan 1817, repr. there 1899; V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovaniya o Kasimovskikh tsariakh i tzarevicakh*, in *Trudi Vost. Lia Arkh. Obsch.*, i (1863), part ix (Ger. tr. J. T. Zenker, Leipzig 1867); G. Kuntzevič, *Istoriya o Kazanskom tzarstve i Kazanskiy letopisetz*, St. Petersburg 1905, with a survey of the literature; Hādī Atlāsov, *Kāzān khānūlghī*, Kazan 1914 (mainly from Russian sources; on p. 133, gives text of Šāhib Girāy's edict; review in *Zap.*, xxiii, 421-2); P. Zarinskiy, *Očerki drevnei Kazani*, Kazan 1877; M. Khudiakov, *Očerki po istorii Kazanskogo khansva*, Kazan 1923. On the University, see

especially N. P. Zagoskin, *Ist. Imp. Kazanskogo universiteta*, Kazan 1902, and Barthold, *Materiali dlya istorii fakul'teta vost. yazykov*, iv, St. Petersburg 1909. The most recent and the most complete study on the Khānate of Kāzān is by R. R. Arat, *IA art. Kazan*. (W. BARTHOLD [A. BENNINGSEN])

**KĀZARŪN** (Kāzirūn; lat. 29° 37' N., long. 51° 38' E.), town and district (*shahristān*) of Fārs (7th *ustān* of Iran), bordered by the *shahristāns* of Behbahān, Shīrāz [q.v.], Fīrūzabād [q.v.], and Būshahr [q.v.]. Situated on the edge of the Southern Zagros (orientation N.—S.E.; alt. of 2 to 3,000 m. to the north, of the River Fahliyān; below 2,000 m. to the South), the *shahristān* has, due to its altitude and the proximity of the Persian Gulf, a warm to very warm climate in summer, temperate to cold in the other seasons, the variations being largely due to altitude. The town is situated in a vast plain, at about 800 m. altitude, among chalky ridges, on the route of famous vertiginous passes (Kutal-i pīr-zan, Kutal-i dukhtar, in the direction of Shīrāz, about 120 km. to the E.; and those of Khīsh and Kumārīdī, in the direction of Būshahr, about 180 km. to the S.W.). With its palm and orange groves, the *bakhsh* of Kāzarūn is particularly verdant and fertile (cereals, rice, dried fruits, citrus fruit, tobacco, opium, sesame, cotton, flax, products of stock-farming, etc.); the water comes from *kanāts* [q.v.], cisterns and wells; its horsebreeding was renowned, as well as its green pasturage covered with narcissi in spring time. The tribes (Kashkā'i, Mamasānī) wander in the region and its peripheries.

According to the legend, Kāzarūn was founded by the mythical king Ṭahmurāth and results from the union of three villages, Nūrd, Darīst (Darbast), Rāhbān (Rāhshān), built in the *kanāts* of the same names which supply the town with water (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-Nāma*; Hāmd Allāh Muštawfī, *Nuzha*). A dependency of Bīshāpūr [Shāpūr q.v.] at the end of the reign of Shāpūr I (241-72), Fīrūz (459-84) made it a town, and Kavād/Kubād (488-531) enlarged it (Fasā'i, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāširi*, 248). The region abounds in Sāsānid remains, including the *chāhār fāk* said to be from Kāzarūn discovered by M. Siroux (see Muštawfī, *Iklīm-i Fārs*, III, and index; on the inscription of Sar Mashhad, Ph. Gignoux in *JA* (1968), 387-418). The ruin of Shāpūr, towards the end of the 4th/10th century, made Kāzarūn the principal town of the ancient Shāpūr Khurra. Al-Mukaddasī, 433, also designates it "the Damietta of Persia", famous for its linens and cotton fabrics; the Būyid Prince 'Aqūd al-Dawla [q.v.] had had an exchange built there for the textile merchants; the houses were sumptuous, adorned with gardens; built on a height, the mosque dominated the bazar. At the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the Saldjūkid Atabeg Čavli, governor of Fārs, had the town rebuilt after it had been ravaged by the Shabānkāra chief Abū Sa'd (Zarkub-i Shīrāzi, *Shīrāz-Nāma*, 29-30); but only the fortified farms in the environs were then prosperous; the brokers were fraudulent, and dishonesty had become general (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-Nāma*). According to Amīn Rāzi, Kāzarūn "was always a source of scholars and mine of theologians" (lists in *Shīrāz-Nāma*, 131 ff.; *Haft Iklīm*, i, 208 ff.; *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāširi*, 249 ff.), of whom the most eminent were Shaykh Abū Ishāk Kāzarūnī [q.v.], founder of a *ṭarīqa* (4th-5th/10th-11th century), his reviver Amīn al-Dīn Balyānī (7th-8th/13th-14th century) and Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (9th/15th century [q.v.]). The *Kāzarūnī* (or *Ishāki* or, more often, *Murshīdī*)

*ṭarīḩa*—which had ramifications as far as India and China, played a great role in the Ottoman empire in the 9th/15th century and in pre-Şafawid Iran—was rich and influential (protection of sailors and merchants in the Indian Ocean; political and economic role). Because of its Sunnī obedience, the order was persecuted by the Şafawid Şah Ismā'īl [q.v.].

Despite having suffered dissensions between Zand pretenders at the end of the 12th/18th century, the town profited from the development of the port of Būshahr, which assured an outlet for its exports in the 19th century (Curzon, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsiri*, 247). Ouseley estimates its population at 4-5,000 inhabitants in 1811, Curzon at 2-2,500 inhabitants (1892); reports and later censuses indicate an increase (12,000 in 1913; 25,328 in ca. 1950; 36,659 in 1956; 39,902 in 1966). Apart from the Sāsānid remains and a Kādġār bas-relief, one may see in the region and the town numerous Islamic mausoleums and tombs of descendants of Salmān-i Fārsī (*Iḩlīm-i Pārs*, 108, 110; *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsiri*, 249). The plain is adorned with the small lake of Fāmūr, full of fish, to the east of the town, and with the orange groves of Bāgh-i Nazar (*Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsiri*, *Iḩlīm-i Fārs*, 110). Apart from its mausoleums, the town has no remarkable historical remains. It is divided into four quarters (*maḩalla*); Bāzār, Bālā, Gunbad, Muşallā or Suflā. There is still an industry there for the shoes of canvas and leather (*giwa*) that MacGregor recommended for the Indian Army (Curzon). The present economic recession of the region is linked with the decline of the port of Būshahr, which has removed from Kāzarūn its role of principal stage on the route from Şhīrāz and deprived it of outlets for its products.

*Bibliography*: (1). For the Arab geographers, see: Schwarz, *Iran*, repr. New York 1969, i, 33 and index; Le Strange, 266 ff. and index; B. de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, 472 ff.; (2). *Persian sources*: Zarkub-i Şhīrāzi, *Şhīrāz-Nāma*, ed. Ismā'īl Dġavādī, Tehran 1350/1971, 28 ff., and index; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-Nāma*, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, 145 ff. and index; ḩamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḩha*, 165 ff., trans. 125 ff.; Amin Aḩmad, *Haft Iḩlīm*, ed. Calcutta 1939, i, 207 ff.; ḩāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Dġuḩrāfiyā*, man. Ch. Adle, f. 298 (repeats Ibn al-Balkhī); ḩādġġī Mirzā ḩasan Fasā'ī, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsiri*, Tehran lith. 1313/1895-6, 246 ff.; (3). Travellers: W. Francklin, *Observations made on a Tour from Bengal to Persia*. . . , London 1790, 244 ff., 341 ff.; E. S. Waring, *A Tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, 22; Morier, *Second Journey*, London 1818, 49; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819-23, i, 271-8; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 205 ff.; (4). Studies: *Rapport du Ministère de l'Intérieur sur le Fars*, Tehran 1913, 118 ff.; Mas'ūd Kayḩān, *Dġuḩrāfiyā-yi muḩaşşal-i Irān*, Tehran 1310/1932, i, 227 ff. and index; *Farhang-i Dġuḩrāfiyā'i-i Irān*, Tehran 1330/1951, vii, 180 ff.; M. T. Mustawfī, *Iḩlīm-i Pārs*, Tehran 1343/1964, 108 ff. and index; M. Dġ. Behrūzi, *Şahr-i sabz yā. . . Şahristān-i Kāzirūn*, Şhīrāz 1346/1967; F. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Ishāḩ al-Kāzarūni* (edn. of *Firdaws al-murşhidiyya*. . .), Leipzig 1948; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*<sup>2</sup>, London 1969, index. (J. CALMARD)

**KĀZARŪNĪ**, SHAYKH ABŪ ISHĀḩ IBRĀḩM B. ŞAHRIYĀR, founder of a Şūfi order variously known as the Murşhidiyya, Ishāḩiyya and Kāzarūniyya. He was born in Kāzarūn, near Şhīrāz in

Fārs, in 352/963, and died there in 426/1033. He left his birthplace only once, in 388/998, to study *ḩadīth* and to perform the *ḩadġġī*. His initiation into the Şūfi path was at the hands either of Ibn Khaffif of Şhīrāz (d. 371/981), or of one of his disciples, ḩusayn Akkār. Several features give a distinctive aspect to Kāzarūnī's life and work, among them his proselytisation among the unconverted population of Kāzarūn and its environs: he is reputed to have converted no fewer than 24,000 Zoroastrians and Jews to Islam, thus establishing the Muslims as the majority in the area (Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, 244-54; Maḩmūd b. 'Uḩmān, *Firdaws al-murşhidiyya fi asrār al-şamadiyya*, 416). In this endeavour, he faced and vanquished the hostility of Khūrshīd, the Zoroastrian governor of Kāzarūn. He was also concerned with extending the frontiers of Islam, and organized the annual dispatch of *ḩġāzis* to fight on the Byzantine frontier, an activity that earned him the title of *Şhaykh-i ḩġāzi*. The *khānakāh* that he established in Kāzarūn had an important social function, and provided regular charity for the poor and for travellers. Sixty-five similar *khānakāhs* were established elsewhere in Fārs by Kāzarūnī's disciples during his lifetime, and formed the nucleus for the later expansion of the order.

All the branches of the order were to show the same charitable concern for the poor that had marked Kāzarūnī's life, and the distribution of soup at one Ishāḩī *khānakāh*, that at Bursa, continued sporadically into fairly recent times (Meḩmed Şems el-Dīn, *Yādigār-i Şemsi*, 220). By the 8th/14th century, the order had spread westwards into Anatolia and eastwards as far as China. In Anatolia, the followers of Kāzarūnī were known as Ishāḩīs: they had centres in Erzurum, Amasya, Konya (founded 821/1418: AbdŪlbāki Gölpinarlı, *Mevlānā'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, Istanbul 1953, 11) and Bursa (founded 884/1479: H. Adnan Erzi, *Bursa'da İshaki dervişlerine mahsus zaviyenin vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 423). It may be presumed that, drawing upon the example of their founder, they played a great part in the conquest and Islamisation of Anatolia. From Anatolia, the Ishāḩiyya spread into Rumelia (there was a *tekke* at Edirne: see Ewliyā Çelebi, iii, 454) and south to Aleppo (W. Caskel, in *Isl.*, xix, 284 f.). The eastward expansion of the order to India and China seems to have been seaborne, and connected with the protection afforded to voyagers by Kāzarūnī's *baraka*, and, after his death, by the soil from his grave. A gift of money would be vowed to the Kāzarūn *khānakāh* as guarantee of safe passage, and the sum was then collected by agents in foreign ports: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 88-92; iv, 103 mentions Calicut, Cambay and Kolam in India, and Zaytun (Canton). This system appears to have been formalised by 'Umar b. Abi 'l-Farāġj al-Kāzarūnī (d. 704/1304). The soil from Kāzarūnī's grave was reputed to be able to calm stormy waters when cast into the sea, as well as having the properties of a panacea and a talisman. The central *khānakāh* at Kāzarūn was suppressed by the Şafawids at the beginning of the 10th/16th century (Mirzā ḩasan Fasā'ī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāsiri*, Tehran 1314/1896, 249), and the Anatolian branch of the order appears to have faded out in the following century, although traces of it persisted much later. Mention may also be made of a derivative of Kāzarūnī's order, the Rūzbihāniyya, founded by Rūzbihān Baġlī of Şhīrāz (d. 606/1209): this was restricted to Fārs and did not last for much more than a century.

*Bibliography*: Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadh-*

*hirat al-awliyā*<sup>3</sup>, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Kāz-wīnī, Tehran 1346 *sh.*/1967, 244-54; Mahmūd b. 'Uṭhmān, *Firdaws al-murshidiyya fi asrār al-ṣamadiyya*, ed. F. Meier, Leipzig 1948; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 64, 88-92; iii, 244-8; iv, 89, 103, 271; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Mahdī Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336 *sh.*/1957, 254-5; Meḥmed Shems el-Dīn, *Yādigār-ī Shemsī*, Bursa 1332/1914, 219-20; Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Abū Ishāq Kāserūnī und die Ishāqī-Derwische in Anatolien*, in *Isl.*, xix (1931), 18-26; H. Adnan Erzi, *Bursa'da Ishaki dervişlerine mahsus zaviyenin vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 423-9; A. J. Arberry, *The biography of Shaikh Abū Ishāq al-Kāzarūnī*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 163-72; J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 15, 21, 236. (H. ALGAR)

**KĀZBĒGĪ** [see SIKKA].

**KĀZBEK** [see KABĀK].

**KĀZDUGHLIYYA**, the third of the great neo-Mamlūk households of Ottoman Egypt. The Kāzdughliyya differed from the Dhu'l-Fakāriyya and the Kāsimiyya [q.v.] in that it was founded and maintained in its first decades by officers of the Seven Corps of the Ottoman garrison, not by beys. Its eponym, Muṣṭafā al-Kāzdughlī, is described by Djābartī as being Rūmī by origin, i.e., he was Rūm *ūshāghī*, hence free-born and not a mamlūk (cf. Stanford J. Shaw (ed.), *Ottoman Egypt in the eighteenth century: The Nizāmnāme-i Miṣr of Cezzār Ahmed Pasha*, Cambridge, Mass. 1962; 23-6 of English text, 7-8 of Turkish text). He took service as a bodyguard (*sarrāḍī*) to Ḥasan Balfiyya (the reading B. Ighhī occurring in the printed text of Djābartī is not sound), who was *āghā* of the 'Azebān corps in 1085/1674-5 and of the Gönüllüyyān in 1093/1682, and rose under his patronage to be *kahyā* of the Janissaries. In this position he clashed with Küçük Meḥmed, a Janissary *bāshōdābāshī* who dominated the corps between 1087/1676 and 1106/1694. Returning to Egypt after two years of exile in the Hīdjāz, he procured the assassination of Küçük Meḥmed, and thereafter held considerable political power until his own death in 1115/1703-4. Ḥasan Balfiyya was allied to the Dhu'l-Fakāriyya (the head of which faction, Ismā'īl Bey al-Kabīr al-Fakāri, had married his daughter), and this political connexion was continued by Muṣṭafā al-Kāzdughlī and the household that he founded.

The factional struggles of the early 12th/18th century resulted ultimately in the victory of the Dhu'l-Fakāriyya and Kāzdughliyya over the Kāsimiyya (1142/1730). This did not mean that henceforward a united Mamlūk group controlled Egypt. Rival households continued to dispute for power. Among these, the most important was the Kāzdughliyya, of whom the leading *amir* was Ibrāhīm al-Kāzdughlī, later briefly *kahyā* of the Janissaries. He had been emancipated in 1148/1735-6, and his first important post was that of *serdār* in the Pilgrimage of 1151/1739. On his return, his influence grew in Cairo, and he began to build up a party against 'Uṭhmān Bey Dhu'l-Fakār, who had been commander of the Pilgrimage. Essentially the rivalry between the two was a struggle for the *riyāsa* (*ri'āsa*), the supreme position among the Mamlūk *amirs*. An attempt by the leading *amir* of the Djulfiyya household, Rīdwan, *kahyā* of the 'Azebān Corps, to mediate was unsuccessful, and he became a supporter of Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm's faction attempted to assassinate 'Uṭhmān. He was only wounded, but the houses of his party were attacked and plundered. 'Uṭhmān fled to

Upper Egypt, where the governor of Djirdjā was a mamlūk of his household. They made their headquarters at Asyūt, where they were joined by remnants of the Kāsimiyya and others. Defeated there, and in a second battle in the Sinai peninsula, 'Uṭhmān made his way to Istanbul, where he was well received at court (ca. 1157/1744-45). He never returned to Egypt, but died in Istanbul in 1190/1776.

The allied *amirs*, Ibrāhīm *Kahyā* al-Kāzdughlī and Rīdwan *Kahyā* al-Djulfi, proceeded to place their followers in key positions. For some years there were troubles with rival Mamlūk groups, but these ceased by 1161/1748. Ibrāhīm thus attained the *riyāsa*, nominally in association with Rīdwan, but the latter had no further interest in affairs of state. He occupied himself with magnificent buildings, luxurious living and the patronage of poets. Both Ibrāhīm and Rīdwan appointed three of their mamlūks to the beylicate—the first entry of the Kāzdughliyya into this order, which they were subsequently to monopolise. Ibrāhīm laid his hands on the revenues of Egypt and purchased numerous mamlūks, some of whom he provided with establishments and fortunes by marrying them to the widows of former *amirs*. For about seven years he held unprecedented authority, during which time Cairo was quiet and free from revolts, while there was public security in the provinces. He died in his bed in Ṣafar 1168/Nov.-Dec. 1754. Rīdwan survived his colleague, but his power soon crumbled. The senior Kāzdughlī *amir*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān *Kahyā*, stirred up the household of Ibrāhīm against him. One of Rīdwan's own mamlūks, in league with the Kāzdughliyya, tried to assassinate him, and Rīdwan died of the wound while fleeing from his enemies. This event, about six months after the death of Ibrāhīm, marked the end of the Djulfiyya as a political force.

The Kāzdughliyya now controlled Cairo and appointed 'Uṭhmān al-Djirdjāwī, the senior bey of Ibrāhīm's household, to the *riyāsa*. About this time two others of their number were promoted to the beylicate, Husayn al-Ṣābūndjī and *Bulūf Kāpān* 'Alī (generally known as 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr [q.v.]). 'Uṭhmān Bey soon offended his colleagues by his harsh behaviour, and in 1170/1756-57 he was removed from the *riyāsa*, which was conferred on al-Ṣābūndjī. The new *shaykh al-balad* (i.e., holder of the *riyāsa*) now sought to attain plenary power with the support of Niṣf Ḥarām, the section of the populace traditionally allied with the Kāsimiyya. He set to work to weaken and disperse his *khush-dāshīyya*, but his plan miscarried, and he was assassinated in Ṣafar 1171/Oct.-Nov. 1757. The *riyāsa* was now conferred upon another of Ibrāhīm *Kahyā*'s former mamlūks, 'Alī Bey al-Ḡhazzāwī, sometimes called (rather confusingly) 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr, either because of his seniority, or because the terms *kabīr al-balad* and *kabīr al-hawm* were used as synonyms for *shaykh al-balad*. In 1173/1760 al-Ḡhazzāwī went to the Hīdjāz as commander of the Pilgrimage. Before leaving, he had set on foot a plot to dispose of 'Abd al-Raḥmān *Kahyā*, who was still a power among the Kāzdughliyya. 'Abd al-Raḥmān learnt of this and made an alliance with *Bulūf Kāpān* 'Alī Bey. At a meeting of the grandees, 'Abd al-Raḥmān reminded them of his position as head of the Kāzdughliyya household, and nominated 'Alī Bey as *shaykh al-balad*, himself taking the lead in promising to obey him. Hearing of this, al-Ḡhazzāwī handed over the command of the Pilgrimage caravan, and fled to Gaza. Three months later he



returned to Cairo, where he died shortly afterwards.

'Alī Bey was now in control. 'Abd al-Rahmān *Kahyā*, who had hoped to use him as a compliant tool, was soon undeceived. He was banished to the *Hidjāz* in *Dhu 'l-Ka'da* 1178/April 1765, and only returned to Egypt, a dying man, in 1190/1776, after the death of 'Alī Bey. The despotic ascendancy of the *shaykh al-balad* and his dubious loyalty to the Ottoman sultan are reflected in his inscription in the mausoleum of al-Shāfi'ī, where he assumes the ambiguous but challenging style of 'Aziz Mişr [q.v.]. 'Alī was ousted from Egypt (Muḥarram 1186/Apr. 1772) by his own *mamlūk*, Muḥammad Bey Abu'l-Dhahab, who succeeded to the position of *shaykh al-balad*, but who himself died during an expedition against *Shaykh Zāhir al-'Umar* (Rabī' II 1189/June 1775).

Thereafter no single *Kāzdughli amir* dominated, but three grandees competed for power: Ismā'il Bey, the *khushdāsh* of 'Alī Bey, and two of 'Abu'l-Dhahab's *mamlūks*, Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr [q.v.] and Murād Bey. In 1200-1/1786-87 the presence in Egypt of an Ottoman force under *Djezā'irli Ghāzī Hasan Paşa* [q.v.] temporarily reinforced the position of Ismā'il Bey, who was appointed *shaykh al-balad*. He died of plague in 1205/1791, whereupon Ibrāhīm and Murād established an uneasy duumvirate. The disorders of the period produced a new political development—risings of the civilians of Cairo, supported and even led by members of the *'ulamā'*. The French occupation of Egypt (1798-1801) struck a fatal blow at the *Kāzdughliyya*, as at the entire neo-Mamlūk regime. Murād Bey died during the occupation (4 *Dhū 'l-Hidjīja* 1215/18 April 1801), while Ibrāhīm Bey never regained power after his flight to Syria in 1798. For a few years after the evacuation of the French, two of Murād's *mamlūks*, 'Uṭhmān Bey al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī (the latter a protégé of Britain), were among the contenders for power, but they died in November 1806 and January 1807 respectively, and their factious *mamlūk* households were incapable of resisting the growing strength of Muḥammad 'Alī Paşa. The handful of *mamlūks* who fled with Ibrāhīm Bey to Dongola in 1811 were the last organised remnant of the *Kāzdughliyya*.

*Bibliography:* *Djabartī*, *'Adjā'ib al-āthār* (Būlāk ed.), especially the obituaries, of which the following are chiefly important: Muṣṭafā al-Kāzdughli (i, 91-2); Ibrāhīm al-Kāzdughli (i, 191-92); 'Uṭhmān Bey *Dhu'l-Fakār* (i, 178-85); Riḍwān al-Djulfī (i, 192-204); 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kāzdughli (ii, 5-8); Muḥammad Abu'l-Dhahab (i, 417-20); Ismā'il Bey (ii, 219-20); Murād Bey (iii, 167-71); 'Uṭhmān al-Bardīsī (iv, 42-44); Muḥammad al-Alfī (iv, 26-43). For 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr and Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr, see the articles (above, I, 391-2; III, 992). See further P. M. Holt, *The career of Küçük Muḥammad* (1676-74), in *Studies in the history of the Near East*, London 1973, 231-51; W. Livingston, *The rise of Shaykh al-balad 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr: a study in the accuracy of the chronicle of al-Jabartī*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii (1970), 283-94. (P. M. Holt)

**KAZI-ASKER** [see KAPĪ 'ASKAR].

**KAZI-KUMUKH** [see KUMUK].

**AL-KÄZİM** [see MÜSÄ AL-KÄZİM].

**KÄZİM KADRİ**, ḤUSAYN (in modern Turkish HUSEYİN KÄZİM KADRİ), 1870-1934, Turkish writer and lexicographer. His father, KADRİ Bey, the son of the vizier Edhem Paşa, was a civil

servant and the unpopular but colourful governor of Trabzon for ten years (1892-1902) under 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. After attending various schools, Ḥusayn Kāzīm graduated from the English School of Commerce in Izmir. He taught in schools, briefly tried journalism after the promulgation of the Constitution of 1908 and later served as a governor in the provinces, notably in Aleppo (1910) and Salonika (1911). He was elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1912. During World War I, he retired to Beirut, where he compiled his great Turkish dictionary. He was again elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1920 and served successively as Minister of Agriculture, of Commerce and of *Wakfs*, and in the same year joined Ahmed 'Izzet Paşa's unsuccessful mission to the nationalist government in Ankara. Ḥusayn Kāzīm is the author of a great number of works of uneven value, whose topics range from language, literature, religion and politics to law, commerce and agriculture. During the ideological struggle of the post-constitutional period, he joined the "Islamists" and made remarkable contributions to the movement, i.e. *Istikhbāle doghru*, Istanbul 1329, *Felāha doghru*, Istanbul 1331, *Yirmindji Çaşrda islāmīyyet*, Istanbul 1339, *10 temmüz inkilābınıñ netā'idji*, Istanbul 1336. He published, for the first time in Turkey, the poems of the Turkoman poet Makhdūm Kūli: *Makhdūm Kūli Divānı*, Istanbul 1340. An interesting contribution on the linguistic and literary problems of the Turkish-speaking peoples is his series of articles *Türk lisānlarınıñ tevhidı* ("The unification of the Turkish languages"; *İditiḥād*, nos. 31-35, September-November 1327 *rūmī*/1911), where he points out the growing influence of Ottoman Turkish on the *Äzeri* and *Qazan* written languages and suggests that an academy should work out a *lingua franca* for all the Turkish-speaking peoples based on Ottoman Turkish. Ḥusayn Kāzīm published a number of booklets and articles on improving the methods of agriculture in Turkey. Of particular importance is his series of 17 articles published in *İditiḥād* (nos. 155-174, July 1923-February 1925), where he expounded his theories of land reform and agricultural education in Turkey.

Ḥusayn Kāzīm's major contribution, however, is his comprehensive Turkish dictionary, *Büyük Türk Lughatı*, in four large volumes (vols. i and ii, Istanbul 1927 and 1928, in Arabic script, vols. iii and iv, Istanbul 1943 and 1945, in Roman script: transcribed from the compiler's manuscript by his daughter Rikkat Kunt). In the introduction the author gives a survey of the development of "classical" Turkish written languages such as Uyghur, *Çağatāy*, Ottoman, *Qazan* and *Äzeri*, with the elements of grammar. The dictionary itself covers the vocabulary of the main Turkish written languages and "words of the *Qoybal*, *Yağut*, *Çuvash* and *Kirghiz* dialects with supporting examples" as stated in the sub-title. Completed during World War I, Ḥusayn Kāzīm's dictionary, which reflects the contemporary state of research in the field, was a landmark in turcological studies in Turkey up to the period of the 1930s, when more up-to-date research in the universities and by the Turkish Philological Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) superseded it, although the "Turkish Radloff", as it is sometimes called, can still be at times a useful work of reference.

*Bibliography:* given in the article. (F. İZ)

**KÄZİM KARABEKİR**, Turkish general and statesman, born in Istanbul in 1882, the son of Mehmed Emīn Paşa. He was educated at military

schools in Istanbul, graduating first in his class from the *Harb Akademisi* in 1905, one year after Muştafâ Kemâl (Atatürk). He served in several important actions in Thrace, and took part in the movement to crush the counter-revolution of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamîd in 1909. Later he worked in the intelligence section of the German Advisory Group, and in World War I served as Chief of Staff to General von der Goltz on the 'Irâk front. He then became commander of the 2nd Corps in the Caucasus, and fought successful battles at Erzurum and Erzincan. At the end of the war he commanded the 14th Corps in Tekirdağ. Early in 1919 he was appointed by the sultan's government to command the 5th Corps in Erzurum, but soon became instrumental in organising Turkish nationalist forces to fight the War of Independence, becoming one of the first important figures to espouse the nationalist cause. He was quickly appointed commander of the eastern front by the nationalist leadership under Muştafâ Kemâl, and invitations to the Erzurum Congress of the Association for the Defence of Rights of Eastern Anatolia were sent out over Karabekir's name. One of his major military successes was the defeat of the Armenians at Kars and Gömrü in late 1920. In the same year he took a seat in the first Grand National Assembly as deputy for Edirne.

He resigned from the army in October 1924, when Atatürk insisted that all officers choose either a military or a political career, and the next month became a chief founder of the Republican Progressive Party (*Terakkiperver Dümhüriyyet Fırkası*). The Progressives generally advocated slower and less drastic reform and secularisation than did Atatürk's Republican People's Party, and differed from Atatürk on a number of matters of political organisation, although the Progressives' programme resembled that of Atatürk in many aspects of economic, financial and foreign policy. Karabekir played an important role in it because he was considered one of the major potential rivals of Kemâl, and the Progressives were opposed to the principle of an Assembly without an organised opposition. The party was dissolved in June 1925 coincidentally with the uprising of Kurdish tribes in the eastern provinces. The Progressives' urging of moderate treatment for the rebels was one factor which led to Karabekir and several others being brought before an Independence Tribunal in 1926. He was acquitted, but retired from politics and public life till after Atatürk's death in 1938. In 1939 he came out of retirement and entered the 6th Assembly as an R.P.P. deputy for Istanbul. In 1946 he was elected President of the Assembly, an office which he held until his death in 1948.

*Bibliography:* In addition to several books by Karabekir on military subjects, see his *İstiklâl Harbimizin Esasları*, Istanbul 1951. Also Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşurları Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946; Lord Kinross, *Atatürk*, London and New York 1965, *passim*. On the Progressive Party see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London 1962; Kemal Karpat, *Turkey's Politics*, Princeton 1959, 46-8; Frederick W. Frey, *The Turkish Political Elite*, Cambridge, Mass. 1965, 323-35; Walter F. Weiker, *Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey*, Leiden 1973, chs. 2, 13. For Atatürk's version of Karabekir's role see Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], *Nutuk, passim*. (W. F. WEIKER)

**KÂZİM RASHTÎ**, SAYYID, leader of the Shaykhî sect after the death of its founder, Shaykh

Ahmad Ahsâ'î, in 1242/1826. Born in 1213/1798, Sayyid Kâzım Rашtî evinced deep religious feelings while still a child, and claimed to behold the *imams* in a series of visions of increasing intensity. In the course of one such vision, at the age of fifteen, he was instructed to seek out Shaykh Ahmad Ahsâ'î, then resident in Yazd, and to become his pupil. Having reached the presence of the *shaykh*, he soon became his most favoured disciple, and Ahsâ'î is reputed to have said to him, "No one understands me but you". After Ahsâ'î had been declared a *kâfir* by the 'ulamâ' of Qazwin, he went to Kirmânshâh and then left for Arab 'Irâk. Kâzım Rашtî followed him, settling in Karbalâ', where he spent the rest of his life. He fell heir not only to the following of Ahsâ'î, but also to the polemics and hostility that certain of the *shaykh*'s doctrines had aroused. Much of his activity was devoted to the defence and further elaboration of these doctrines, in particular the resurrection of the "Hurkalyan body" (*âjism-i hurkalyâ'î*), the denial of the corporeal ascension of the Prophet, and the description of the *imams* as the efficient cause ('*illat-i ghâ'î*) of creation. Although in the course of oral debate with the 'ulamâ' of Karbalâ', led by Sayyid Ibrâhîm Kazwîni, he was obliged to admit that the apparent meaning of Ahsâ'î's teachings was contrary to the faith, he vigorously defended Shaykhî doctrine and denounced its opponents in his many writings, *Dalîl al-mutahayyirin* being the most notable. He enjoyed good relations with Nadjib Pâshâ, governor of Baghdâd, and his house was spared when an Ottoman army sacked Karbalâ' in 1259/1843. After his death later in the same year, he was succeeded as Shaykhî leader by Hâdîdjî Muḥammad Karîm Khân Kirmânî. Another pupil of Kâzım Rашtî, Sayyid 'Alî Muḥammad Shîrâzî, declared himself to be the "Bâb" and had his claim accepted by many former Shaykhîs.

*Bibliography:* Muḥammad 'Alî Tunukâbunî, *Kiṣâs al-'ulamâ'*, new ed., Tehran n.d., 53-6; A. L. M. Nicolas, *Essai sur le Chéikhisme*, ii, Paris 1914, *passim*; Nabil, *The Dawn-Breakers*, New York 1932, 10-12, 19-46; Ahmad Kasravi, *Bahâ'îgarî*, Tehran n.d., 18-20; Mîrzâ Muḥammad 'Alî Mudarris, *Rayḥânât al-adab*, new ed., Tabriz 1347/1968, ii, 308-9; Henry Corbin, *L'École shaykhie en théologie shî'ite*, Tehran 1967, 25-8; idem, *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iv, 232-6. (H. ALGAR)

**KÂZIMAYN**, a town and one of the most celebrated Shî'î places of pilgrimage in 'Irâk. It is a little over one km. from the right bank of the Tigris, which here describes a loop, being separated from the river by a series of gardens. Kâzımayn itself is prettily situated among palm-groves. It is connected with the west side of Baghdâd, about three miles away, by regular bus and taxi services, replacing the horse-tramway laid down by the governor Mîdḥat Pâshâ (1869-72), who did a great deal for Baghdâd. Kâzımayn is now also a station on the Baghdâd-Samarra' railway, which runs along the right bank of the Tigris. It forms a *ḥaḍâ'* belonging to the *muhâfaza* of Baghdâd and administered by a *ḥâ'im-makâm*. Its population grew rapidly from 169,993 in 1947 to 235,745 in 1957; most are Shî'îs. Unfortunately there are no official figures for the number of Persians among them. However, according to the 1957 census the number of Persians in Baghdâd was 5,156, and in 'Irâk as a whole 23,783. Access to the sanctuaries is strictly forbidden to non-Muslims as well as to all unveiled women.

The name Kâzımayn, *i.e.* "the two Kâzîms", refers to the two 'Alids buried here, the *Imâm* Musâ

b. *Dja'far al-Šādiq*, nicknamed *al-Kāzim* (d. 186/802) and his grandson the *Imām Muḥammad al-Djāwād* (d. 219/834), the seventh and ninth *Imāms* of the twelver *Shi'a* (*Ithnā 'Ashariyya* [q.v.]). The town is also called *Kāzimiyya* in reference to the nickname of the *Imām Mūsā b. Djā'far al-Šādiq*. It is also known among the common people as *al-Kāzim*, i.e. the city of *al-Kāzim*. Finally, the name *Imām Mūsā* is also found. However, all these names have come into use only recently, for the town was originally called *al-Maḥhad al-Kāzimī* and *Maḥhad Mūsā b. Djā'far*.

There is evidence of pilgrimage to these 'Alid tombs as early as the 7th/13th century (Ibn *Khallikān*, iv, 395). At the present day *Kāzimayn* is one of the four greatest sanctuaries of the *Shi'a*. Its favourable position at the junction of the road to the three other *Shi'i* places of pilgrimage, *Samarrā'* in the north and *Karbālā'* [q.v.] and *Nadīaf* [q.v.] in the south, accounts for the fact that many thousands of pilgrims pass through it annually, especially during the first ten days of the month of *Muharram* (*'Ashrat Muharram*), which are exclusively dedicated to the memory of the martyrdom of *al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī* and his family. One of the four *mudjtahids*, the principal spiritual leaders of the *Shi'a*, lives in *Kāzimayn*.

The present city of *Kāzimayn* was originally a part of the *Kassite* Empire during the reign of *Kurigalzu*; he built a new capital called after him *Dūr-Kurigalzu*, whose remains are still in existence at 'Aḳār *Ḳūf*, about ten km. to the west of *Kāzimayn*. During the *Sasanian* period the name *Ṭassūdj Ḳuṭra-bbul* is mentioned as denoting what was later called *Maḳābir Ḳuraysh*. Prior to the building of *Baghdād* by the 'Abbāsīd caliph *al-Manṣūr* (136-58/754-75) [q.v.], the place was called *al-Šhūnīzī*. When *Baghdād* was built, *al-Manṣūr* detached the cemetery of *al-Šhūnīzī* *al-Šaḡhīr* and made it a private cemetery for his family (though later non-*Ḳurayshīs* were also buried there), calling it *Maḳābir Ḳuraysh*. This cemetery is also called *Maḳābir Bāb al-Tibn*, because of its proximity to that gate. His son *Djā'far al-Akbar* (d. 150/767) was the first to be buried there. It was only when the "two *Kāzims*" were buried there that the name *Maḳābir Ḳuraysh* was changed in later times to *al-Maḥhad al-Kāzimī* and *Kāzimayn*. In *Yāḳūt's* time (623/1226), *Maḳābir Ḳuraysh* was a fairly populous suburb surrounded by a wall. About a century later, *Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī* found that this place, formerly reckoned a suburb of *Baghdād*, was now an independent township.

The sanctuary of *Kāzimayn* is one of the exceedingly splendid and rich monuments which 'Irāk owes to the *Shi'a*, and for which Persia and the *Shi'a* of India supplied the necessary funds. With its domes and the pinnacles of its minarets covered with gold, it is visible to the traveller from a long way off. Who first built the 'Alīd sanctuary at *Kāzimayn* is unknown. All we know is that in 336/947, by the order of the *Buwayhīd Mu'izz al-Dawla* [q.v.], two wooden boxes were put over the two graves, two wooden domes were erected above them, and a surrounding wall was built. The present faience-covered building is due to the *Šafawīd Ismā'īl I* (908-30/1502-24), whose family claimed descent from the *Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim* (see above). The inscription published by *Massignon* (*Mission*, 99) of the year 926/1519, refers to the complete transformation of the old building by the *shāh*. The restoration not quite completed by *Ismā'īl* was finished by the Ottoman sultan *Sulaymān I*, who occupied *Baghdād* in 941/1534. The covering of the domes with golden

tiles was done, according to the inscription, in 1211/1796 by the command and at the expense of *Shāh Aḡha Muḥammad Khān* [q.v.], the founder of the *Ḳādījār* dynasty. On the occasion of his pilgrimage in 1870, *Shāh Nāsīr al-Dīn* had the gold plating on the principal dome and on the roofs of the minarets renewed (cf. *Cuinet*). The double cupola flanked by four minarets shows that two saints are buried beneath it. Close to this mausoleum stands an isolated pavilion under which are shown the graves of *Djā'far* (formerly supposed to be that of *Ismā'īl*) and *Ibrāhīm*, sons of the *imām Mūsā*. The cupola of the building is modern and a gift of *Salīm Paṣha* (cf. *Massignon, op. cit.*, 100). It may be noted here that there is at *Hadīṭha* on the *Euphrates* (between 'Ana and *Hīt*) a small sanctuary which is said to contain the tomb of *Muḥammad*, son of *Mūsā al-Kāzim* (see *Herzfeld*, in *Sarre-Herzfeld*, ii, 321). On the tomb of a certain *Hamza b. Mūsā al-Kāzim* in *Ḳaryat al-Bāshīya* (in 'Irāk), cf. *Massignon, op. cit.*, 60. In the vicinity of *Astarābād* [q.v.] there is also an *imāma'ade* (tomb chapel) where a descendant of the *Imām Mūsā* named *Imām Kāzim* is said to be buried (cf. *Melgunof* in *ZDMG*, xxi, 325, and in *Das südliche Ufer des kaspiischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 119-20).

Like the sepulchral mosques of other places of pilgrimage, that of *Kāzimayn* is surrounded by a very broad court-yard (*ṣaḥn*) enclosed by a wall. This latter was rebuilt in 1298/1880, with the permission of the Turkish government, by a wealthy Persian named *Farḥād Mīrzā* and adorned with ceramic work and inscriptions containing whole *sūras* of the *Ḳur'ān*; (cf. *Massignon, op. cit.*, 110). In the great court, in the course of time, extensive buildings for the housing of the numerous pilgrims have grown up, especially along the enclosing wall. At the present time the area of the sanctuary is full of shopping centres, markets, modern hotels and many travel agencies.

At various periods, especially during the frequent fighting in the capital between *Sunnīs* and *Shi'īs*, the sanctuary area was repeatedly burnt and plundered, notably in the years 443/1051 and 622/1225. On the conquest of *Baghdād* by *Hülāgū* in 656/1258 it was again reduced to ashes. To these disasters must be added the frequent floods, as for example in the years 367/977, 466/1073 and 614/1217. It may be mentioned that in 1216/1801, on the occasion of the *Wahhābī* invasion, the treasures of the sanctuary of *Karbālā'* were removed to *Kāzimayn* (see *Jacob* in *A. Nöldeke, cited below*, 48, n. 1).

Adjoining the wall of the courtyard is a *Sunnī* mosque with the tomb of the famous *Ḥanafī* lawyer *Abū Yūsuf* (d. 182/789) [q.v.]; cf. *Massignon, op. cit.*, 57, 100). *Le Strange* (*Baghdad*, 161 f., 350 f.), is mistaken in locating the grave of *Zubayda*, the wife of *Hārūn al-Rashīd*, in or near this *Kāzimayn* (cf. against this *Massignon, op. cit.*, 110 f., and *Herzfeld, op. cit.*, ii, 111, and also the article *AL-KARKH*).

Opposite *Kāzimayn* on the left bank of the *Tigris*, connected with by a modern bridge which replaced one of boats, is the suburb of *Mu'aazzam*. In this place is the highly-venerated sepulchral mosque of *Abū Ḥanīfa* (d. 150/767) [q.v.], the founder of one of the four *Sunnī* schools of *Islamic* law (on this tomb cf. *M. von Oppenheim*, ii, 241, *Streck*, i, 162; *Le Strange, Baghdad*, 190-2; *Langenegger*, 61-2; *Massignon, op. cit.*, 78-9). It is from the epithet of *Abū Ḥanīfa al-Imām al-A'zam* or *al-Mu'aazzam* (the "highly venerated" *imām*) that this suburb of *Baghdād* takes its name.

*Bibliography*: Yākūt, i, 443 (Bāb al-Tibn), iv, 79 (Kuraysh), and 587 (Maḳābir Kuraysh); Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 108; Hamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuzha*, 35; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 119; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo ed., iv, 395; Ibn Ṭabātabā, *al-Fakhri*, 287; *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, ii, 295; *al-Hawādith al-Djāmi'a*, 333; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, i, 110-11, 120-21; R. al-Karkūklī, *Dawḥat al-Wuzarā'* (Arabic tr.), 46, 217; T. al-Rāwī, *Baghdād Madīnat al-Salām*, Ikra' ser., xxvii, 84-5; M. al-Ālūsī, *Ta'rikh Masājid Baghdād wa-ātharuhā*, 116-7; M. Djawād, *Mashhad al-Kāzimayn*, 7; *Mawsū'at al-Atabāt al-Muḳaddasa*, ed. Dī. al-Khalīlī, i, 9-11, 22, 61, 73; iii, 30, 39, 42, 50; *al-Madkhal ilā Mawsū'at al-Atabāt al-Muḳaddasa*, ed. Dī. al-Khalīlī, 123-9; M. H. Āl-Yāsīn, *Ta'rikh al-Mashhad al-Kāzimī*, Baghdad 1967, 19-20, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41, 42, 49-50, 52-3, 55-7, 61, 69, 73, 85-6, 89-90, 92-4, 103-6, 110-14, 117-9, 135-45, 154-6, 163-9; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, i, Leiden 1900, 156-7, 160; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 158-65, 350-52; [Rousseau], *Description du Paehalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 17-8; Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep (1808)*, ed. L. Poinssot, Paris 1899, 7-9; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii, 280-1; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 773, 777, 795; D. de Rivoyre, *Les vrais Arabes et leur pays*, Paris 1884, 85-91; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, 587-91; V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, Paris 1894, 142-5; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 239-41, 263, 281; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat and Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, 29-31; Chiha, *La Province de Bagdad*, Cairo 1908, 169, 174-5, 177, 179; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 361-5; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbela*, Berlin 1909 (= *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi), 28, 33, 48, 58; P. Langenegger, *Durch verlorene Lande. Von Bagdad nach Damaskus*, Berlin 1911, 4, 61-2, 70-71; idem, *Die Baukunst des Irāq*, Dresden 1911, 93, 106, 109, 114, 121 (and title page); L. Massignon, *Mission en Mesopotamie*, ii, Paris 1912, 57, 67, 99-100; E. Herzfeld, in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, Berlin 1919, 102-3, 145-6 (see also Index in vol. iv, 42).

(M. STRECK-A. A. DIXON)

#### KĀZIMĪ [see SIKKA].

AL-KĀZIMĪ, 'ABD AL-MUḤSIN B. MUḤAMMAD, Shī'ī poet of 'Irāk, born in Baghdād in 1282/1865 (but according to his daughter Rabāb al-Kāzimī, in 1289/1872), who died in Cairo on 1 May 1935. He received elementary instruction in Arabic and Persian and then continued to study Arabic literature on his own initiative. In 1308/1890 he met Djāmāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q.v.] in 'Irāk and was influenced by his revolutionary ideas. Soon afterwards he left 'Irāk, but whether for reasons of political, business or poetic ambition is unclear. He travelled to Persia, India (1897) and finally to Egypt (1899), where he was welcomed by the leading literati. He became a close friend of and received financial aid from Muḥammad 'Abduh [q.v.] and Sa'd Zagh'lūl [q.v.], and dedicated panegyrics to them during their lives and elegies after their deaths. For some time al-Kāzimī tried in vain to obtain a pension from the Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī II [q.v.]; this apparently was foiled by the jealousy of Aḥmad Shāwkī [q.v.]. From 1919 onwards al-Kāzimī dedicated many poems to the Central Committee of the Syrian Unity Party,

and panegyrics both to Sa'd Zagh'lūl and to the Hāshimite kings in Transjordan. He was an avid supporter of Arab national unity and consequently became best known as *Shā'ir al-'Arab* (the poet of the Arabs).

The poetic diction, images and metaphors of al-Kāzimī's poems are derived from Bedouin life, while their structure is thoroughly rooted in classical poetic models. His panegyrics reveal him to have had a proud and forceful personality as well as being a talented poet. He tends to boast of these qualities in his poetry at times, stressing his 'Alawī descent and asking for donations. Many of al-Kāzimī's poems deal with fortitude, vaingloriousness and love, while others touch upon social and political aspects of Arab life or express nostalgia for 'Irāk. He embellished his poetry with maxims and proverbs, complaints about life, the calamities of the times and his own sickness. He was noted for his poetic improvisations (*irtidjāl*), although the 'Irākī scholar Yūsif Izzidien claims that al-Kāzimī memorised them beforehand. Al-Kāzimī's printed works are: *'Awāṭif waṭaniyya*. . . [wa] *taḥiyyat al-shā'ir al-'Arabī ilā djāmāb al-duktūr Wilsūn*. . . , Cairo 1919, 30 pp.; *Diwān al-Kāzimī*, vol. i, Damascus 1939, 361 pp.; *Diwān al-Kāzimī shā'ir al-'Arab*, ed. Ḥikmat al-Djādirjī, vol. ii, Cairo 1367/1948, 336 pp.; and *Mu'allakāt al-Kāzimī fī Sa'd Zagh'lūl*, ed. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, Cairo 1924.

*Bibliography*: Brockelmann, S III, 489; Yūsif 'Izzidien, *Fī 'l-adab al-'Arabī al-hadīth*, Bagdad 1967, 201-20; idem, *Shu'arā' al-'Irāk fī 'l-karn al-'ishrin*, Bagdad 1969, 33-55. See also the comprehensive bibliography in J. A. Dagher, *Maṣādir al-Dirāsa al-Adabiyya*, ii/I: *al-Rāhilūn (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 676-8.

(S. MOREH)

AL-KĀZIMĪ, 'ABD AL-NABĪ B. 'ALĪ, an Imāmite *faḳīh* and traditionist whose life spanned two of the chief areas of Shī'ī concentration, the 'atabāt of 'Irāk and the Djabal 'Āmil in Syria. He was born in Kāzimayn in 1198/1784 to a father of Medinan origin, and studied there under a number of prominent 'ulamā', the most important being Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā and his son Sayyid 'Abd Allāh al-Shibrī. He was appointed treasurer at the shrine of Kāzimayn, but in 1244/1828 migrated to the Djabal 'Āmil, settling in the village of Djūyā. Initially unknown, he soon became the most influential 'ālim in the area, enjoying the patronage of the amīr Ḥamad, ruler of the Djabal 'Āmil. He died in Djūyā in 1256/1840. The most important of his numerous works are *Takmilat al-riḍjāl*, a biographical dictionary of transmitters of Shī'ī *hadīth*, based on al-Amīr Muṣṭafā al-Taḍrīshī's *Nakḍ al-riḍjāl*; an abbreviation of a work on the *sunna*, *al-Iḳbāl* by Aḥmad b. Ṭā'ūs; and *al-Haḳḳ al-hakīk*, a refutation of teachings of the Akhbārī school concerning *hadīth*. Only the first of these has been printed, and manuscripts of al-Kāzimī's other writings are rare. Two of his sons, Shaykh Dja'far al-Kāzimī and Muḥammad 'Alī al-Kāzimī, were also 'ulamā' of some note.

*Bibliography*: Introduction by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm to his edition of *Takmilat al-riḍjāl*, Naḍjaf n.d., i, 56-70; Muhsin al-Amīn al-'Āmilī, *A'yān al-shi'a*, Naḍjaf 1382/1962, xxxix, 172; Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *al-Dhārī'a ilā taṣānīf al-shi'a*, Naḍjaf 1384/1964, iv, 417.

(H. ALGAR)

AL-KĀZIMĪ, HAYDAR B. IBRĀHĪM, an Imāmi 'ālim of the early 19th century. Born in Kāzimayn

in 1205/1790, he spent his entire life there, dying in 1265/1849. He was the ancestor of the Āl Ḥaydar, a celebrated learned family of Kāzimayn. Among his works may be mentioned *al-Bārīka al-Ḥaydariyya*, concerning *uṣūl* (the principles of jurisprudence), and *al-Madīālīs al-Ḥaydariyya*, consisting of scenarios for the *ta'ziya*, the so-called *Shī'ī* passion play.

*Bibliography*: Muhammad Mahdī al-Kāzimī, *Aḥsan al-wadī'a*, Baghdad 1347/1929, ii, 21; Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *al-Dhārī'a ilā taṣānīf al-shī'a*, Najaf 1384/1964, ix, 3. (H. ALGAR)

**AL-KĀZİMÎ, MEHMEĐ SĀLİM** (1868-1914), a Turkish political journalist of the late Ḥamīdian and early constitutional period. Better known by his *nom de plume* 'Awn Allāh Kāzimī, he was born in Istanbul in 1868. He was the son of Hüseyin Hüsnī Beg, who was private secretary (*mabeyin kâtibi*) to the sultan. His family came from Erzurum in eastern Anatolia where al-Kāzimī's grandfather, 'Alī Beg, had been a *derebey* [q.v.]. He was given a traditional education, though he learned French as well as Arabic and Persian. Finding no suitable position in the stratified bureaucracy of the period, like many well-to-do, educated young men of his day he turned to journalism. In 1889 he and his brother Sulaymān Tawfīk began to publish *Mürüwwet*, which they described as "an Ottoman newspaper dedicated to the benefits of property and in the service of the state" (*menāfi'i mülk ve devlete khādīm 'Oḥmānīl gazetesidir*). He left the country, fearing that he was about to be arrested for an article he had written, and returned to Istanbul some time later using the alias 'Awn Allāh Kāzimī. He was arrested in 1901 on account of his alleged involvement in the *Müşīr* Fu'ād Paṣḥa incident, in which 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II's secret police, suspecting Fu'ād Paṣḥa of conspiracy, clashed with the general's men. Mehmed Sālim was sentenced to penal servitude for life and exiled to the town of Sivas. He was caught attempting to escape, and transferred to the fortress at Sinop.

Mehmed Sālim returned to Istanbul after the Young Turk revolution of July 1908 and became the president of the *Fedākārān-ī Millet Djem'iyyeti*, one of the many ephemeral political clubs which sprang up following the revolution. On 16 September 1908 he began publishing the *Hukūk-ī 'Umūmiyye* as the organ of this association. The stated aim of this paper was "to serve the constitutional administration and national unity" (*idāre-i meshrūṭaya ve ittihād-ī millete khidmet etmek*). The association seems to have been composed of much the same elements as the *İttihād we Terakkī Djem'iyyeti* [q.v.], that is to say people who had opposed the old régime, but who, feeling that their earlier sufferings had gone uncompensated, now turned against the government. They are alleged even to have indulged in the blackmail of some members of the old régime.

The government suspected Mehmed Sālim's organisation of illegal activities, so that on 14 January 1909 the premises of the *Hukūk-ī 'Umūmiyye* were raided by the police. Mehmed Sālim was arrested, and the *Fedākārān-ī Millet Djem'iyyeti* was disbanded. He was acquitted by the court, and appointed *mulaṣarrif* of Kirkūk ('Irāk). When the counter-revolution of 31 March 1325 (o.s.)/13 April 1909 broke out he was suspected of involvement and arrested. A court martial found him innocent, and he was again acquitted. Soon afterwards he left for Kirkūk and died there in 1914.

Apart from his journalistic writings, Mehmed Sālim wrote about his adventures in *Soñ Mūdāfa'a*

(Istanbul 1326/1910), and *Diwān-i ḥarbi 'orfī we 'Awn Allāh al-Kāzimī* (Istanbul 1327/1911).

*Bibliography*: Three brief and almost identical biographies are to be found in İ. Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946, *Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1957 (where he is recorded as Mehmed Selim) and *Türk ve dünya meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1957-8, where he is listed under Kāzimī (Gövsa). Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasî Partiler*, Istanbul 1952, 233-9, is invaluable for the activities of the *Fedākārān-ī Millet Djem'iyyeti*. See also Ahmet Cevat Emre, *İki neslin tarihi*, Istanbul 1960, 130-1. A study of the press of the period, especially Mehmed Sālim's papers *Mürüwwet* and *Hukūk-ī 'Umūmiyye* (incomplete collections of both available in Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul and Türk İnkilâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi, Ankara), is essential for a better understanding of the man and his ideas. (F. AHMAD)

**KAZIMOV** [see KĀSĪMOV].

**KAZWĪN**, a town and district north-west of Tehran and south of Gilān. The town is situated in 36° 15' N. and 50° E., at a height of 4,165 ft. above sea level, about 90 miles from Tehran, on the edge of a wide alluvial plain with mountains about five miles to the north. It stands on the site of an ancient city built by Shāpūr II, which according to tradition was in turn on the site of a city built by Shāpūr b. Ardashīr (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rikh-i guzīda*, ed. E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson, 1910-13, 830, French tr. Barbier de Meynard, *Description historique de la ville de Kazwin*, in *JA* (1857)). Its population according to the census of 1966 was 81,000.

#### 1. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Kazwīn guards the passes to the north leading through Ṭabaristān to Raṣḥt and the Caspian Sea, and is situated at the junction of the roads from Raṣḥt to Tehran and Tabriz to Tehran. From Kazwīn roads also lead off to Hamadān and Kumm. In the 19th century there were four roads leading from Kazwīn to Tehran, three used by muleteers and the other by those riding *čāpār* (*Safarnāma-i Mirzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī*, ed. H. Farma-Farmaian, 1964, 9-10). The climate is temperate with a mean maximum temperature in summer of 34.5 C. and a mean minimum temperature in winter of -5.4 C. The annual rainfall in 339.1 mm. with frequent snowfalls in January and February. In spite of its favourable situation as regards communications, Kazwīn never rivalled Ray, Nīshāpūr or Isfahān in the Middle Ages. The reason is partly to be found in lack of water, which placed a severe limitation on its growth. Iṣṭakhri states that Kazwīn had enough water for drinking purposes only; this was provided by rainfall and the water of one *kanāt* (*Masālik al-mamālik*, Leiden 1927, 201). Until recently the plain of Kazwīn was irrigated entirely by *kanāts* and four small streams (see further Muḥammad 'Alī Gulrīz, *Mīnūdar yā bāb al-ḡannatī Kazwīn*, Tehran 1961, 259 ff. and *Safarnāma-i Mirzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī*). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that these streams flowed in spring; in a good year their water reached the gardens of Kazwīn, but rarely flowed into the town in summer, the water being used by the estates situated upstream (*Nuṣṣa*, Persian text, 222). In 1963 the Kazwīn Development Authority was set up to develop the water resources and agriculture of the area (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969, 281).

Kazwīn lies in the earthquake belt and has been

damaged by earthquakes on several occasions. Earthquakes in the town were recorded in 249/863-4, 360/970-1, 513/1119-20 (Gulrîz, 872-3), 514/1120 (N. N. Ambraseys, *On the seismicity of south-west Asia, data from a XV century Arabic manuscript*, in *Rev. pour l'étude des calamités*, xxxvii (Geneva 1961), 10), and 562/1169 (Chardin, *The travels of Sir John Chardin*, London 1691, 382); and when James Morier passed through the town in 1809 he states that the city was largely in ruins as a result of a fairly recent earthquake (*A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1812, 254). Extensive damage from earthquakes was suffered by Tâlikân in 889/1484-5, Rûdbâr in 956/1549-50 (Gulrîz, 873), and the southern part of the Qazwîn plain in 1962 (N. N. Ambraseys, *The Buyin-zara (Iran) earthquake of September 1962, a field report*, in *Bull. of the seismological society of America*, liii/4 (July 1963), 705-40). Floods severely damaged the town in 965/1557-8 and again in 1267/1850-1 (Gulrîz, 874). Outbreaks of plague (*kâ'ûn*) are recorded in 1045/1635-6 and several outbreaks of cholera (*wabâ*) in the 19th and 20th centuries (Gulrîz, 876).

Ĥamd Allâh Mustawfî states that the town was surrounded by extensive gardens, orchards and vineyards, which produced excellent grapes, almonds and pistachio nuts in abundance. Large quantities of raisins were exported. Melons and water melons were cultivated after the land had been flooded once and fruited well without another watering. Much grain was also grown. Good pastures existed in the neighbourhood. These, he alleges, were better for camels than in other provinces, and the Qazwînî camel more expensive than others (*Nuzha*, 58, 222). At the present day good quality sheep are bred at Shâl, a village to the south-west of the town of Qazwîn, and in its neighbourhood. Textiles were woven in Qazwîn from the early centuries of Islam down to modern times, but did not compare in excellence with those from more famous centres such as Işfahân, Kâshân or Kirmân.

The boundaries of Qazwîn have varied from time to time. In Islamic times it was first made into a province (*shahr*) by Hârûn al-Rashîd, who gave to it the districts of Bashâriyyât and part of Dashîbî (which formerly belonged to Hamadân), Abharrûd and part of Kâkazân (*Ta'rikh-i guzîda*, 833). In 284/897-8 Kharakân became part of Qazwîn, which then comprised 765 villages (Ibn al-Fakîh, *Kitâb al-buldân*, Leiden 1885, Fr. tr. H. Massé, *Abrogé du livre des pays*, Damascus 1973, 289), and in the reign of al-Mu'tasîm Nasâ and Salânrûd were also transferred to it from Hamadân (*ibid.*, 280). In the 8th/14th century Qazwîn comprised only 300 villages, and was divided into 8 districts or *nâhiyas* (*Nuzha*, 59); Don Juan writing in 1602-3 states that there were 20 walled towns in the province of Qazwîn and 1,000 open villages (*Don Juan of Persia*, tr. and ed. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 40). In 1884 it consisted of eleven *bulûks*, Kharrûd (Dûdânga), Kûhpâya (Kûhpâya), Abharrûd, Bashâriyyât, Iqbâl, Fîshkildarra (Fîshkildarra), Dashîbî (Dashîbî), Kâkazân, Râmand, and Afshâriyya; while Rûdbâr (in which Alamût is situated) was one of its dependencies (*Safarnâma-i Mirzâ Husayn Farâhânî*, 24-5). In modern times Qazwîn constitutes a *shahristân* consisting of 6 districts (*bahshsh*), namely, a central district consisting of the town, Âb Yak (comprising the subdistricts or *dihistâns* of Fîshkildarra, Kûhpâya, and Bashâriyyât); Mu'allim Kalâya (sub-districts Rûdbâr and Alamût); Diyâ'âbâd (sub-districts

Kâkazân and Dûdânga); Âvidjî (sub-districts East and West Kharakân and Afshâriyya); and Bû'in (sub-districts Zahrâ, Dashîbî and Râmand).

The population of Qazwîn at the present day is mainly Turki-speaking, large influxes of Turkish tribes into the district having taken place in Mongol times (see further below). In the Zahrâ district the people speak Tâti (Djalâl Âl-Ahmad, *Tâlmîshînâ-yi bulûk-i Zahrâ*, Tehran 1959). Various tribes, many of which were semi-nomadic until recent times, are to be found in the different districts. Among them are the Inânî and Baghdâdî Shâhsivân, who apparently came to Kharakân and Sâva towards the end of the 18th century and were settled by Âkâ Muḥammad Khân Kâdjâr in their present location. The winter quarters of the Inânî were between Sawdj Bulâgh, Zarand, and Zahrâ, and their summer quarters in Kharakân. The Baghdâdî Shâhsivân wintered in the neighbourhood of Tehran and in the district between Kumm, Sulṭânâbâd (Arâk), Sâva and Tehran, and summered in Kharakân and Khaladjistân (Hamadân) up to the frontiers of Khamsa. Other tribes in the Qazwîn district include the Lak, Çiginî, Ghîyâthvand, Kâkâvand, Djallâvand, Rashvand, Mâfi Bahtûrî, Çumushgazak, and Kalhûr. In about 1932 Riḍâ Shâh forbade migration, but it was resumed after his abdication (Gulrîz, 853 ff., Parvîz Vardjâvand, *Sarzamîn-i Kazwîn*, Tehran 1970, 460 ff.). Some of the Shâhsivân are now settled in Râmand, Zahrâ, Kharakân and Afshâriyya, where they are engaged in stockraising and agriculture (*Sarzamîn-i Kazwîn*, 463).

Under the Sasanians Qazwîn was a frontier town, whose garrison was engaged in repelling the attacks of the Daylamites. This situation continued, or was repeated, in the early centuries of Islam. This, too, probably militated to some extent against its becoming a commercial and cultural centre, though Muḥaddasî speaks of it as being a mine of *fîkh* and *hikma* (*Ahsan al-takâsim*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 392). It was conquered for the Muslims by al-Barâ' b. 'Âzîb and Zayd b. al-Djâbal al-Tâ'î in 24/644 during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb. When al-Barâ' besieged the fortress of Qazwîn, the people sued for a *ṣulḥ* agreement and were offered the same terms as had been given to the people of Abhar. Unwilling, however, to pay *qizya*, they accepted Islam. Al-Barâ' subsequently assigned pensions in the district to Tulayḥa al-Asadî for the upkeep of his men. They multiplied and transmitted the estates which they held to their descendants who, according to Ibn al-Fakîh, still held them some two hundred years later and had title deeds for them from the government. From Qazwîn al-Barâ' carried out raids into Daylam and Gilân and also took Zandjân. Sa'd b. al-'Âs, who succeeded al-Walîd b. 'Uqba as governor of Kûfa, also made raids into Daylam, and built a town at Qazwîn, Hâdjîdjâdjî, after he became governor of most of Persia on behalf of the Umayyads, appointed his son Muḥammad governor of the frontier regions. Yazîd b. Muḥallab, Kutayba b. Muslim, and Naṣr b. Sayyâr also appointed governors over Qazwîn, as did the early 'Abbâsîds.

A second town at Qazwîn was built by Mûsâ al-Hâdî beside the one built by Sa'd b. al-'Âs and called Madîna Mûsâ. He bought the nearby Rustamâbâd and constituted it a *wakf* for the benefit of the town. Mubârak the Turk, a freedman of al-Hâdî, also built another town at Qazwîn in 176/792-3 and called it after himself.

When Hârûn al-Rashîd passed through Qazwîn on his way to Khurâsân, he was impressed by both the

tribulations which the local people suffered on account of the Daylamites and their efforts to combat them. Accordingly, he remitted the *kharađi* of the town and substituted instead an annual payment of 10,000 *dirhams*, and ordered a wall to be built round Madīna Mūsā and Mubārakābād. This was not, however, completed until the caliphate of al-Mu'tazz, when Mūsā b. Bughā finished it in 254/868 (see also Gulrīz, 105 ff., who quotes a manuscript history of Kazwīn, the *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī akhbār Kazwīn* by Rāfi'ī, who died in 623/1226, on further details concerning the walls of Kazwīn). Hārūn al-Rashīd also built a Friday mosque in Kazwīn and constituted various *khāns* and other buildings into a *wakf* for its benefit. During al-Kāsim b. al-Rashīd's governorship of Kazwīn, *Diurdjān* and *Tabaristān*, it appears that there was an increase in the land held by the government, a number of local landowners placing their estates under al-Kāsim's protection by a *taldji'a* contract, by which they paid *'ushr* to the public treasury and a second *'ushr* to him for his protection. In this way they retained possession of their estates, while the ownership passed to the government (Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 310-11, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 282-3, *Ta'rikh-i guzida*, 830 ff., *Nuzha*, 58). The anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārikh* mentions a rebellion by Kawkabī, an 'Alid, which was put down by Mūsā b. Bughā during the reign of al-Mu'tazz (ed. Malik al-Shu'arā, Tehran 1940-1, 363).

The population of the town at this time appears to have been mainly Arab. After Mūsā b. Būkā completed the town wall, the population increased. It consisted of various tribes or families, most of whom traced their origin back to the first Arab settlers. Among them were the *Sādāt*, the majority of whom, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, were characterised by their humility, knowledge, piety and courtesy. He states that they supported themselves by their own work and did not demand pensions, thus implying that they held aloof from the temporal power and retained their independence. *Kh* wāndamīr, writing later, states that the people of Kazwīn were noted for their chivalry (*muruwwat*) and humanity (*insāniyyat*) (*Ta'rikh-i habīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1954-5, iv, 654).

Kazwīn retained its importance as a frontier town during the struggles between the caliphate and the 'Alids in the Caspian provinces. When al-Mu'taṣim became caliph he determined to bring the Daylamis into subjection. Faḳhr al-Dawla (thus in Mustawfī) Abū Maṣūr Kūfī, whom he sent to Kazwīn as governor, together with his sons occupied himself against the Daylamis for nearly twenty years from 223/838. In all, Faḳhr al-Dawla appears to have held the post of governor for some forty years on behalf of the caliphs, except for two years when he governed on behalf of Ḥasan b. al-Bākir, the 'Alid, who took possession of Kazwīn in 251/865-6. For a brief period Kazwīn came under Sāmānid rule when Ilyās b. Aḥmad became governor in 293/905-6. In the following year, however, Faḳhr al-Dawla Abū 'Alī, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's forefather, became governor on behalf of the caliph and held the town for twenty-seven years, though in 301/913-14 it was placed together with Ray, Dinawar, Zandjān, Abhar and Ṭarum, under the general charge of 'Alī b. Muḳtadir (*The eclipse of the 'Abbasid caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, i, 33). In 304/916-17 Yūsuf b. Abī 'l Sādjī [see *SĀDĪDĪS*] made an abortive attempt to claim Kazwīn (*ibid.*, i, 45 ff.), but was put to flight by Asfār b. Shīrūya

[see *ASFĀR B. SHĪRAWAYHĪ*], who made himself master of Kazwīn and of an area stretching from *Ṭabaristān* and *Gurgān* to *Ḳumm* and *Hamadān*. In 315/927-8 Asfār routed an army sent against him by al-Muḳtadir outside Kazwīn, although it was aided by the people of the city. Asfār then seized the citadel, killed many of the inhabitants, did much damage to the city, and imposed a vast contribution of money on the inhabitants. He was later dispossessed by *Mardāwīdī* and killed (*ibid.*, i, 161-2; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab* ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, repr. Tehran 1970, ix, 6, 9 ff.). Kazwīn subsequently fell to *Rukn al-Dawla*, and the district remained in *Būyid* hands for upwards of a hundred years. In 358/968-9 there was an outbreak of disorder in the town and *Abu 'l Fath 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn*, *Rukn al-Dawla's wazir*, who was sent to put it down, imposed a fine of 1,200,000 *dirhams* on the people (*Ta'rikh-i guzida*, 837).

In 421/1030, Kazwīn passed into *Ghaznavid* hands. Up to this time *Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's* forefathers were apparently still governors of the town, but at this point no suitable member of the family was available for the post of governor and they became instead *mustawfis*. About 424/1033-4 Abū 'Alī Muḥammad *Dia'farī* succeeded to the government, which he and his sons held for about sixty years. The last of the line, *Faḳhr al-Ma'ālī* Abū 'Alī *Sharafshāh b. Dia'farī*, was very wealthy and he and his followers held much property in the neighbourhood. He died in 484/1091-2 and was survived by one daughter (*Ta'rikh-i guzida*, 837 ff.).

The first contact between Kazwīn and the *Ghuzz* appears to have been in 430/1038-9 when the inhabitants, with a payment of 7,000 *dīnārs*, bought off the *Ghuzz* and *Fanā Khusrāw*, the *Daylamī*, who had taken *Ray* in 428/1037, slaughtering many of its inhabitants (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix, 269-71). *Nāṣir-i Khusrāw* visited Kazwīn in 438/1046, and describes it as follows: "It had many gardens, without walls or thorn hedges or any obstacle to prevent entry into them. I saw it to be a good city. It had a strong wall and embattlements. It had good bazaars, except that it had only a little water from one *kāriz*. . . The *ra'īs* of the town was an 'Alid. Of all the crafts in the town, the shoe-makers (*kafshgar*) were the most numerous" (*Safarnāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text, 4).

In spite of the proximity of Kazwīn to the *Ismā'īlī* stronghold *Alamūt* [*q.v.*], the *Saldjūqs* do not appear to have regarded it as an important governorship to be given to a powerful *amīr* or *malik*. Soon after the *Ismā'īlīs* were established in *Alamūt*, *Abu 'l Maḥāsīn Rūyānī* persuaded the *Kazwīnīs* to decree death to anyone coming from the direction of *Alamūt* lest mingling with the *Ismā'īlīs* should give rise to disaffection within *Kazwīn* (*M. G. Hodgson, The Order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 123). There were also many fortresses in the mountains of *Rūdbār* held by the *Ismā'īlīs*, whence they were able from time to time to molest and trouble the *Kazwīnīs*, as they did in 523/1129 when they killed some 400 persons in revenge for an *Ismā'īlī* envoy who had been lynched in *Iṣfahān* whither he had gone to see *Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad* (*ibid.*, 102). During the period when *Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd* was grandmaster (532-57/1138-62) there were raids and counter raids against *Kazwīn* from *Ismā'īlī* strongholds (*ibid.*, 145). Somewhat later, in 560/1165, the *Ismā'īlīs* of *Rūdbār* built a fortress outside *Kazwīn*, whence they were able almost to lay siege to the town (*ibid.*, 158).

During the late Saldjūk period Kazwīn was disputed by various *maliks* and *amirs*, including Tuḡhril b. Muḥammad, to whom it was assigned by Sandjār (Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra wa-nukḥbat al-ʿusra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 134). Under the Khwārazmshāhs, renewed attacks were made from Kazwīn on the Ismāʿīlis. When Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan succeeded his father Muḥammad as grandmaster of the Ismāʿīlis in 607/1210 he professed Islam and was known as Djalāl al-Dīn Naw-Musal-mān. The people of Kazwīn, knowing all too well the dissimulations and tricks of the Ismāʿīlis, were reluctant to accept his claims and demanded proof. He went to great lengths to win them over and induced them to send some of the leading men of Kazwīn to Alamūt and burnt Ismāʿīli works in their presence (Djuwaynī, *Taʾriḫ-i Dihāngushā*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad Kazwīnī, GMS, London 1916, iii, 243-4).

During the struggle between the Khwārazmshāhs and the Mongols, Kazwīn from time to time changed hands, until finally the Khwārazmshāhs were defeated. In 617/1220 the Mongols are alleged to have carried out a massacre of the people of Kazwīn (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Zafarnāma*, quoted by Browne, iii, 96-8). Mangū Ḳāʿān appointed Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukḥārī governor in 651/1253-4. He and his brother Imām al-Dīn Yahyā held office until 677/1278-9. Iftikhār al-Dīn is said to have learnt Mongolian and to have translated *Kalila wa-Dimna* into it. In the disorders which preceded the reign of Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) Kazwīn, like other parts of the Ilkhān empire, suffered decay because of the extortion of *ilīs* and others. Many people left the town, so much so that Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī alleges that the Friday prayers could not be performed (*Taʾriḫ-i guzīda*, 592-3). He also mentions the usurpation of *wakf* land by Mongols in Pishkildarra (*Nuzha*, 67). At the end of the reign of Uldjāytū (703-106/1304-16) the government of Kazwīn passed to Ḥusām al-Dīn Amīr ʿUmar Shīrāzī and Hādjdī Fakḥr al-Dīn Aḥmad the *mustawfī*. Abū Saʿīd Bahādur (716-36/1316-35), at the beginning of his reign, assigned Kazwīn to the expenses (*ikhṛājāt*) of the establishment or household (*urdū*) of his mother (*Taʾriḫ-i guzīda*, 842).

It was in Mongol rather than Saldjūk times that the population of the Kazwīn province was profoundly modified by the introduction of a considerable number of Turkish tribes, though some were no doubt already settled there under the Saldjūks. In spite of this, it seems that many of the great families of Kazwīn, when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing, still traced their origins to an Arab ancestor, and many of them held large estates. One family mentioned by him, the Shīrāzīyān, came from "the middle classes" (*awsāf al-nās*), their ancestor having been a shepherd. Certain changes were, however, taking place and a number of Turkish families had established themselves. One, the Karāvulān, had bought many estates, but had already lost its position when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing. Another was the Būlātmūriyān, the first of whom, Amīr Takāsh, came to Kazwīn as *shihna* in the time of Ōgedey (*Taʾriḫ-i guzīda*, 842 ff.). The dominant rite was the Shāfiʿi. There were also a few Ḥanafis and Shīʿis (*Nuzha*, 57).

After the break-up of the Ilkhān empire, Kazwīn, which had long since lost its character as a frontier town, seems to have had an uneventful history until Ṣafawid times. Already under Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī (907-

30/1502-24), who was faced with the problem of holding both the Ottoman and the Uzbek frontier, Kazwīn, situated on the main route from Āḡhar-bāyḍjān to Khurāsān, acquired a new importance. When Tabrīz was temporarily lost to the Ottomans during the reign of Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76), Kazwīn, less vulnerable to attack and holding a central position between the vitally important provinces of Āḡharbāyḍjān and Khurāsān, became the capital in 962/1555, hence its *laqab dār al-salṭana*. It continued to hold this position until Shāh ʿAbbās built a new capital in Iṣfahān [q.v.]. Although Kazwīn ceased to be the capital, it did not become an independent province but was administered by a *wazīr*, *dārūgha*, *kalāntar* and *mustawfī* appointed by the central government. Towards the end of the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn it was made into a province, under a *beglarbegi*, and a certain Ṭahmāsp Khān, a military slave (*ghulām*), was appointed over its A sum was allocated for his remuneration (*mudākhil*) on the taxes (*wudjūhāt*) of the surrounding districts and Rānkūh, and in return he was required to keep 300 soldiers (Mirzā Rafīʿā, *Dasṭūr al-Mulūk*, ed. M. T. Dānīshpazhūh in *Rev. de la fac. des lettres et des sciences humaines*, Tehran University, xvi/1-2 (Nov. 1968, 75). From the size of this contingent, it would seem that Kazwīn was not one of the more important provinces.

Like various other towns, Kazwīn became divided in Ṣafawid times into two factions, the Ḥaydarī and the Niʿmatī. Alessandri, who visited Kazwīn during the reign of Ṭahmāsp, mentions them, and states that four districts belonged to one faction and five to the other, and that enmity and frequent bloodshed had prevailed between them for over thirty years (*Narrative of the most noble Vincenzo d'Alessandri*, Hakluyt, first series, xlix, 224). The participation of these factions in the Muḥarram and Ṣafar ceremonies in the early 20th century is also recorded (Gulrīz, 386-7).

In the Mongol and pre-Mongol period Kazwīn had been a centre of orthodoxy, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its proximity to Daylam and later Alamūt. Nevertheless, there was a Shīʿi quarter in Kazwīn in Saldjūk times (Ḥusayn Karīmān, *Tabarsī va maḍīmaʿ al-bayān*, Tehran 1962, i, 149), and, as stated above, there were some Shīʿis in Kazwīn when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing (cf. *Nuzha*, 58, *Taʾriḫ-i guzīda*, 843). Widespread conversion to Shīʿism probably did not take place until the early Ṣafawid period, and even after this crypto-Sunnīs as, for example, Mirzā Makḥdūm Sharīfī, who was associated with Ismāʿīl II's conversion to Sunnism, were to be found among prominent local families (Iskandar Munshī, *Ālamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, i, 148, 213 ff. See also E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden in 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg 1970). During the reign of Ṭahmāsp the Nuḳḳawī heresy spread to Kazwīn, where it was led by a certain Darvīsh Khusrāw. According to Iskandar Munshī (a hostile witness), he was "a low-class fellow" from the Darb-i Kūshk quarter. He abandoned the craft of his fore-fathers, who had been *muḥannis*, and became a *ḳalandar*. After a period of travel and association with Nuḳḳawīs, he returned to Kazwīn, where a following gathered round him. The *ʿulamāʿ*, apprehensive at his growing popularity, charged him with heresy and he was forbidden to sit in the mosque where he had taken up his quarters. After the death of Ṭahmāsp he resumed his activities and people again assembled round him. He was



eventually put to death as a heretic in 1002/1593-4 (*Ālamārā*, i, 473-6; see also Gulrīz, 444 ff.).

The death of Ṭahmāsp was followed by disorders in Kāzwin. Rebellious Turkomans seized Ṭahmāsp Mirzā, one of the late shah's younger sons, set him up as a puppet, and occupied the city for a brief period. In the spring of 994/1596 Hamza Mirzā, who had been besieging Tabrīz, then in Ottoman hands, marched on Kāzwin, routed the Turkomans, took Ṭahmāsp Mirzā prisoner, and overthrew the rebellion. Little damage appears to have been done in the town. Don Juan, who was there shortly afterwards, describes Kāzwin as follows: "The country round is most fertile: it has great orchards and extensive gardens. Its population numbers above 100,000 householders [or 450,000 souls], and, that one may know its greatness, I have for curiosity, counted many times over its mosques, and of these there are more than 500. The royal quarter and the palace both are most sumptuous, and so extensive that you may go in a straight line through the purlieus for over a quarter of a league". (*Don Juan of Persia*, 40). The account given by a gentleman in Sir Antony Sherley's suite, who arrived in Kāzwin in December 1598, when it was still the capital, is rather less favourable. He states that there was nothing remarkable about the town except a few mosques and the doorway of the palace of the king, which was well built. According to him the town was a little smaller than London (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure*, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1933, 153). Antony Sherley's brother, Robert, died in Kāzwin in 1627, as also did Sir Dodmore Cotton.

Father Paul Simon, the first superior of the Discalced Carmelites in Persia, writing in 1607, states that Kāzwin, which was by this time no longer the capital, was a very large city, not smaller than Iṣfahān. There were good buildings and an abundance of commodities for subsistence and entertainment, and "everything to be found as in any of these our [Italian] cities" (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 119). Pietro della Valle, who was in Kāzwin in 1618, found in it "nothing to satisfy the expectations of a royal residence, and only two things worthy of observation, the gate of the king's palace, and the grand maidan or square". Sir Thomas Herbert, on the other hand, reported of Kāzwin in 1627 that it was "equal for grandeur to any other city in the Persian Empire, Spahawn excepted". He states that its walls were seven miles in circuit and estimates its population at 200,000 (see Curzon, i, 36). Olearius, however, some ten years later put the population at only 100,000 (*The travels of Antony Jenkinson*, in *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*, Hakluyt, first series, lxxii, 1886, repr. New York n.d., i, 134 n. 1), while Chardin, who was there in 1674, describes its walls in ruins, and the town as having "lost all those perquisites that set forth the pomp and grandeur of a sumptuous court". It contained, according to his account, 12,000 houses, and 100,000 inhabitants, its chief feature being the palaces of the grandees, which, he alleged, had passed for generations from father to son (see further Curzon, i, 35-6).

Kāzwin's importance in Ṣafawid times was due not only to its becoming, for a period, the capital but also the attempts to increase trade with Europe through southern Russia. Antony Jenkinson mentions the presence in Kāzwin of merchants from India in 1561 (*The travels of Antony Jenkinson*, i, 149). Arthur Edwards, who made several voyages to Persia on behalf of the Muscovy Company, wrote in

1567 that velvets and other wares were made in Kāzwin but not of as good quality as could be obtained in Europe, and, in 1569, that many spices were to be found in Kāzwin but in goodness they were "nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places, and the price is so high, that small gain will be had in buying of them" (*Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia*, ii, 405). In the account of the mission of Sir Antony Sherley it is stated that there were a great many merchants in Kāzwin, but not many rich ones, also several artisans, such as gold-smiths and cobblers, who made the best shoes in the whole country out of segrin [shagreen], in green, white and other colours. There were also some master craftsmen who made gilded and coloured bows with arrows to match, and others who made richly gilded horse-saddles with gilded and coloured saddlebows (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure*, 153). Father Paul Simon records that Kāzwin was much frequented for trade, because there was an abundance there of silks, carpets and brocades (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, i, 119).

The disorders which took place at the end of the Ṣafawid period brought a temporary halt to Kāzwin's prosperity, and there appears to have been a considerable decrease in the population, due in part, presumably, to the decline in trade. Maḥmūd the Afghān, after he had taken Iṣfahān, detached a force of some 6,000 men under Amān Allāh Khān to take Kāzwin, which surrendered in 1722. In January 1723, however, there was a popular uprising (*lūṭibāzār*) led by the *kalāntars* [q.v.] of the city against the Afghāns. They were attacked in every quarter and retreated to Iṣfahān. They are reported to have lost some 2,000 men (Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, i, 443-4; J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, ii, 188). In 1726 Kāzwin submitted to the Ottomans on condition that the governor sent to the city was not accompanied by troops. The agreement was not kept; 12,000 men under 'Alī Pāshā were sent, only to be driven out shortly afterwards. Kāzwin then declared for Aṣḥraf (Hanway, ii, 245; Malcolm, i, 443-4). Hanway, writing in 1744, quotes a Persian merchant as saying that whereas formerly Kāzwin had had 12,000 houses, it had then only 1,100 (i, 156).

At the beginning of the 19th century Kāzwin still manufactured velvets, brocades, and cotton cloth (J. Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1810-1816*, London 1818, 203) and was beginning once more to flourish. One of the royal princes, Muḥammad 'Alī Mirzā, then still a boy, was appointed governor by Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh in 1213/1798-9, and retained this post until 1221/1806-7 (Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ridā'ī-i Irān*, Tehran 1966, iii, 430). Kāzwin's position, at the juncture of roads from the new capital Tehran, Tabrīz, the second city of the empire, and Enzeli on the Caspian Sea, gave it a new importance, both strategic and commercial. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh recognized the first when he placed its governor under the orders of 'Abbās Mirzā [q.v.] in 1818 with a view to facilitating his march on Tehran from Ādḥarbāydiyān in the event of his accession to the throne (Great Britain, Public Records Office, F.O. 60/13, Willock to Castlereagh, no. 9, Tehran, 7 May 1818). The main reason for the revival of Kāzwin, however, was the growing importance of the trade routes through Trebizond and over the Caspian Sea. Malcolm notes its prosperity in 1801 as "the mart of all the commerce

of the Caspian" (quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran, 1800-1914*, University of Chicago 1971, 262) and Consul Abbott, reporting on the trade in Persia in 1841, states that Kazwin ranked equally with Tehran in the extent of its commerce and contained perhaps as many thriving and wealthy merchants from all parts of the country as any other city in Persia (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60/92, Report on trade for 1841. Document (with omissions) in Issawi, *op. cit.*, 118). Mirzā Husayn Farāhānī, who passed through Kazwin in 1884, states that it had 600 shops, 8 caravansarais, 40 mosques, 9 *madrāsas* and 12 ice-pits (*yakhčāl*) (*Safarnāma*, 14 ff.). The importance of Kazwin as an entrepôt for trade is also shown by the fact that in 1890 the Imperial Bank of Persia opened a branch there, taking over the agency of the New Oriental Banking Corporation (Issawi, 346). Communications were meanwhile improved. By the 1880s single wire lines belonging to the Persian government connected Kazwin to Tehran (*ibid.*, 153-4). Metalled roads from Kazwin to Tehran in 1899 and from Kazwin to Hamadān in 1906 were completed under a concession granted to a Russian company in July 1893, and in 1913 a contract for a service of motors till the end of 1919 on the roads from Kazwin to Rašt, Tehran and Hamadān was obtained by a Russian subject, and some cars were put into service (*ibid.*, 201).

In spite of the commercial importance of Kazwin in the 19th century, there does not appear to have been any appreciable growth in population, though it is difficult to compare the figures given for different periods since the estimates are not necessarily based upon the same criteria. Morier, writing in the early part of the century, puts the population at 25,000 (*A second journey*, 203), as also does William Ouseley (*Travels in various countries of the East, particularly Persia*, London 1819, iii, 377. Cf. also G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, Paris 1801, iii, 49). A later report dated 1868, gives the same figure (United Kingdom, Parliament, Accounts and papers 1867-68, Thomson to Allison, Tehran, 20th April 1868, "Report on Persia". Document (with omissions) in Issawi, 28), but the census taken in 1298/1880-1 and 1299/1881-2 puts the population at 64,362 (Gulrīz, 391 ff.). Mirzā Husayn Farāhānī on the other hand states that it was 7,000 families or some 30,000 persons. The town was then divided into 17 districts (*maḥalla*). Its walls were mainly in ruins, but 12 gates were still standing (*Safarnāma*, 14-15). According to Curzon, the population was reputed to be 40,000 in 1889, but the actual figure was probably not more than two-thirds of this (*Persia and the Persian question*, London, i, 35). Various estimates for the early part of the 20th century, possibly following Curzon, also put the population at 40,000 (*Gazeteer of Persia*, Simla 1905, ii, 314; Sobotsinski, *Persiya: statistiko-ekonomičeskii očerke*, St. Petersburg 1913, quoted by Issawi, 34).

Kazwin played little part in the events leading up to the grant of the constitution. In the first National Consultative Assembly it was represented by two deputies, and a provincial council (*andjuman-i vilāyati*) was elected. Popular *andjuman*s were also set up and established contact with the Tehran *andjuman*s, but were dissolved after Muḥammad 'Alī attacked the Assembly in 1908. After resistance to Muḥammad 'Alī had been organized in Tabriz and Iṣfahān and the nationalist movement had spread to Gilān, the supporters of the constitution in Kazwin,

having taken *bast* in the Turkish *shāhbandari*, established contact with the nationalists in Gilān. The latter under Yeprīm Khān took Kazwin in 1909 and advanced from there on Tehran (Gulrīz, 861 ff.). In July, with a view to exerting pressure on the nationalists, Russia sent troops to Kazwin. Most of these were withdrawn in March 1911, but in December more Russian troops were sent (*Gazeteer of Persia*, Simla 1914, ii, 310). In the troubled years after the suspension of the Assembly in 1911 and during World War I there was a general break-down of law and order in the province of Kazwin as elsewhere. In June 1918 the headquarters of the "Dunsterforce" was established in Kazwin, whence operations were undertaken against the *Djāngalis*. During the reign of Riḍā Shāh Kazwin declined. As communications improved it ceased to be an important entrepôt and many of the merchant community and considerable numbers of the population in general moved to Tehran.

*Bibliography*: given substantially in the article, but add: Husayn 'Alī Sutūda, *Ta'rikhča-yi Kazwin*, in *Barrasihā-yi ta'rikhi*, iv/4 (1969), 97-132, iv/5-6 (1969-70), 165-210; R. Mottahedeh, *Administration in Būyid Qazwin*, in *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, ed. D. S. Richards, Oxford 1973, 33-45.

## ii. MONUMENTS

Most of Kazwin's mediaeval mosques have disappeared, including the early mosque of Rabi' b. Khuthaym (possibly identical to the *Djāmi'* al-Thawr or *Djāmi'* al-Tūt of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥadjjīdī), the Great Mosque founded by Hārūn al-Rašīd, and four others mentioned by Zakariyyā al-Kazwīnī. In the 4th/10th century Kazwin consisted of an inner and outer city with two Friday mosques. The town walls, begun by Hārūn al-Rašīd, eventually comprised 206 towers and 12 gates. They were rebuilt in 572/1176 by the vizier Šadr al-Dīn al-Marāghī; mud brick was used throughout except for the battlements and the huge gates.

The earliest surviving Islamic building yet identified in Kazwin is the dome chamber of the *Masjid-i Djāmi'*, which possibly rests on a pre-Islamic structure. Its long *awḥāf* inscriptions (a rarity in Iranian architecture) date it to between 500/1106 and 508/1114, and mention the patron, the *amīr* Abū Maṣūr Khumartāsh b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Imādī. This dome chamber adjoined a pre-existing *madrāsa* built in the 4th/10th century by the Šāhib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād. According to Zakariyyā al-Kazwīnī, the size of this dome was unparalleled anywhere. He relates how the masons despaired of vaulting such a huge space until a passing boy suggested that they fill the interior with straw. Although the dome chamber's ground plan, with its double openings on all sides but the *qibla*, resembles those of major *Saldjūk* mosques in central Iran, the elevation is markedly different. The model may perhaps have been a large-scale fire temple. The internal zone of transition avoids the complex trilobed squinches of central Iran in favour of a broad simple squinch with a superposed hexadecagon of similar form. The ratio of width to height is less than in other *Saldjūk* dome chambers. Hamd Allāh Mustawfī records that the mosque was given two *iwāns* in 548/1153; if the north *iwān* dates from this time (its decoration is certainly *Saldjūk*) one would expect a matching southern *iwān* preceding the dome. Possibly the *Saldjūk* mosque even had four *iwāns*. The present mosque is unusually large; among religious buildings in Iran, only the

shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mashhad and the Iṣfahān Dījami' are more extensive. It is mostly of Ṣafawīd and Kādjār date; the south *iwān*, for example, bears an inscription of Shāh 'Abbās II dated 1069/1658-9.

The Haydariyya mosque or *madrasa* (its original function is uncertain) has close stylistic links with Khumartāsh's dome and could be dated a few years later. Its square dome chamber stands to the south of a courtyard surrounded by Kādjār structures. The damaged squinch zone develops from that of Khumartāsh's dome, for the arches of the hexadecagon have tapering bases which fill the spandrels between the arches of the octagon, an imaginative integration of the two levels. The exquisite decoration, mainly in brick and plaster, is notable both for a masterly floriated Kufic inscription and for a very early use of glazed ornament. A distinctive architectural and decorative style was developed in Kazwin during the Saldjūk period and influenced buildings in the surrounding areas, such as the mosques of Qurwa and Sudjās.

The so-called mausoleum of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, which was recently restored, is of Mongol date. It has a square base, a square zone of transition with bevelled corners and a conical roof over an internal dome. Similar tomb towers abound in Māzandarān. The only completely Ṣafawīd monument in Kazwin is the much-ruined palace of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, now a museum; a heavily restored *pīshṭāk* and a kiosk with some faded wall paintings survive. The last two centuries are represented by the Masḍīd-i Shāh, the Shāh-zāda Ḥusayn and an extremely rich and varied network of vaulted bazaars and caravanserais now being demolished.

*Bibliography*: A. Godard, in *Āthār-è Irān*, i (1936), 193-201; D. N. Wilber, in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope, Oxford and New York 1939, 996; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den Arabischen Geographien*, repr. Hildesheim and New York 1969, 705-22.

(R. M. HILLENBRAND)

**AL-KAZWINI**, ABŪ ḤĀTIM MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤASAN AL-TABARĪ, a Shāfi'ī jurist, teacher of al-Shīrāzī. He belonged to Āmul in Tabaristān where he began his studies. In Baghdād he studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfara'īnī d. 406/1015-16, the law of inheritance under Ibn al-Labbān (d. 402/1011-12) and the *uṣūl* under Ibn al-Bākillānī (d. 403/1012-13). He taught in Baghdād and Āmul in 440/1048-9. Al-Shīrāzī describes him as his best teacher. Of his works the following are mentioned: 1) *Kitāb Tadrīd al-Tadrīd*, a synopsis of the legal work of the same name by al-Maḥāmīlī (d. 415/1024-25); 2) *Rawnaḵ*, a synopsis of the *Lubāb al-Fiḵḵ* of al-Maḥāmīlī (Ḥādīdī Khālifa, *Kaṣḥf al-Zunūn*, no. 5702); 3) the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl fi'l-Fiḵḵ* (ed. J. Schacht, Hanover 1924), the only one that has survived and one of the oldest works of the scanty Shāfi'ī literature on legal quibbles (*hiyal*). The book, unlike the Ḥanafī works of the same name by al-Shaybānī, al-Khaṣṣāf etc., was very little used for the practical purpose of getting round the Shari'ā, but was rather primarily intended to point out legal quibbles which were forbidden or disapproved of, in keeping with the stricter Shāfi'ī standpoint, which regards the *hiyal* used by the Ḥanafīs as contemptible.

*Bibliography*: al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḵḵā'*, in al-Nawawī, *Biogr. Dict.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 688; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iv, 12; Wüstenfeld, *Schafi'iten*, no. 371 (= *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, 1891, xxxvii).

(W. HEFFENING)

**AL-KAZWINĪ** (KHAṬĪB DIMASHQ), DJALĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. 'UMAR (666-739/1268-1338), Chief *Kāḍī* in Syria and Egypt and author of two famous compendiums on rhetoric. Almost nothing is known about his early life. Most biographers mention that he was born in Mosul and that his elder brother, Imām al-Dīn 'Umar, was born in Tabriz in 653/1255. If it is true that the two brothers were related to 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāfi'ī (d. 623/1266; see Brockelmann, I, 393, S I, 678), as is reported by Abu 'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fi akhbār al-baṣhar* (Cairo 1325?), iv, 129 (cf. a quotation from al-Rāfi'ī by Kazwinī in Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, v, 124, and a note on the *nisba* al-Rāfi'ī in al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya*, Baghdād 1390/1970, i, 572), the *nisba* al-Kazwinī is explained. Kazwinī himself claimed descent from Abū Dulaf al-'Idīlī [q.v.] (cf. Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-'l-wafayāt*, ed. Dederling, iii, Damascus 1953, 243; Ṣafadī probably knew Kazwinī personally, since he held an *idjāza* from him and praised him in a poem quoted by Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 239) and this claim is often reported in biographies, either explicitly or as part of the genealogy of Kazwinī, though it cannot be proved (see Maṭlūb, 99-101). Unfortunately, these biographies do not mention when and under what circumstances Kazwinī's family left their native town and give no details on the intellectual background of Kazwinī's father, who was his first teacher (Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, Hyderabad 1337/1918-9, iv, 301, asserts that both his father and his grandfather held the rank of Chief *Kāḍī*; cf. also Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Kudāt Dimashq*, ed. Š. Munadīdīd, Damascus 1956, 82, ll. 8-10, 87, ll. 14-16), or the studies of rhetoric he might have pursued at an early age. Since the *Asrār al-balāgha* and the *Dalā'il al-idjāz* of 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078) were inaccessible to some scholars even in the Middle Ages, it would be interesting to know where Kazwinī studied these two books, and whether he might possibly have composed the *Talkhīs* and the *Idāh* before coming to Damascus.

Some biographers assert that Kazwinī held a position as *kāḍī* in a district of Anatolia when he was about twenty years old (this prompts Ibn Taghrībirdī to raise the question whether Kazwinī originally followed the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*; see Maṭlūb, 107-8) and that he was already an accomplished scholar when he and his brother came to Damascus in or before 689/1290 (the date "after 690" given by Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, Cairo 1351/1932, xiv, 185, cannot be correct; see Maṭlūb, 108). His teachers, the most important of whom was 'Alam al-Dīn al-Birzālī [q.v.], appear to have been interested mostly in *fiḵḵ*, *ḥadīth*, logic, and the 'ilm al-awā'il, and there are no indications that Kazwinī owed his interest in rhetoric to any of them (Maṭlūb, 114-16). Apart from the two books he wrote on this subject, there is some further evidence of his talents as a man of letters: he is reported to have encouraged the study of *adab* through his lectures and to have composed an anthology of the poetry of Arrādjānī [q.v.]. Ibn al-Kāḍī (*Durrat al-ḥidāil*, Cairo 1390/1970, ii, 115) mentions a commentary on the *Tā'iyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ by him, and Kaḵkaṣhandī (*Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, i, 469) cites a commentary on a didactic poem on prosody by Sāwī (d. 749/1348; see Brockelmann, S II, 258). Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī [q.v.] held an *idjāza* for the *Talkhīs al-miftāḥ* from Kazwinī (see Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris fi ta'riḵḵ al-madāris*, Damascus 1367/1948, i, 38-9) and Suyūfī prided himself on possessing an autograph of this book (Kazwinī's

handwriting was famous), on which he based his *urđiūza* (the 'Uḫūd al-*ajūmān*; see the ed. published in Cairo in 1358/1939, 3, and Suyūfī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326/1908-9, 66). Other indications of his literary talents come from a *takrīd* by him on a work by *Ḍiāmāl al-Dīn b. Nubāta* [q.v.] and the praise bestowed by biographers and poets on his eloquence (see Maṭlūb, 116-8, 139-52), which may have earned him the title *Ḳhaṭīb Dimashq* (Taftāzānī, *al-Sharḥ al-mufawwal*, Istanbul 1330/1911-2, 3; Ḥādīdjī *Ḳhalīfa*, i, 210; Mehren, 7; this title does not appear as part of his name in any of the biographies known to the author of this article though the fact that he held the office of *Ḳhaṭīb* is mentioned). Some assert that Ḳazwīnī knew Persian and Turkish in addition to Arabic. His competence in *fiqh* was, according to Ibn al-ʿImād (*Shadharāt*, vi, 123), reflected in a work on the *uṣūl*.

In sharp contrast to the scarcity of information on Ḳazwīnī's early career, and the isolated data on his activities as a man of letters, are the many details on his official career, the most important of which are the following: He held various teaching positions and deputised for his brother (who had been appointed *ḳāḍī* in 696/1297) and Naḍīm al-Dīn b. Ṣaṣrā [q.v.] in 705/1305, and became *ḳhaṭīb* and *imām* of the Mosque of the Umayyads in 706/1307, and Chief *Ḳāḍī* and *Ḳāḍī* of the Army of Syria in 724/1324, having received the appointment in person from the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir during a visit to Cairo (in 711/1311 he had distinguished himself by his personal courage in resisting the imposition of heavy taxes by one of al-Nāṣir's lieutenants, but this opposition had apparently not met with disfavour from al-Nāṣir, who had his lieutenant imprisoned; see Ibn Ḥādījar, *al-Durar al-ḳāminā*, iii, Hyderabad 1373/1954, 235-6). Soon afterwards, in 727/1327, he was appointed Chief *Ḳāḍī* in Cairo, succeeding Badr al-Dīn Ibn *Ḍiāmā*'a [q.v.]. This appointment marked the height of his career. No *ḳāḍī* was said to have gained an influence over a Turkish ruler comparable to Ḳazwīnī's. Unfortunately Ḳazwīnī's position was adversely influenced by the dissolute life of his sons, who were charged with corruption. In the end al-Nāṣir was unable to ignore the numerous complaints (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda, Cairo 1941, ii/2, 439-42; according to Ibn Ḥādījar, *al-Durar*, iv, Hyderabad 1350/1931, 4, he had been advised of these complaints as early as 724) and felt himself compelled to dismiss Ḳazwīnī and appoint him to his former position in Damascus, where he died soon afterwards on 15 *Ḍiūmādā* I 739/30 November 1338.

Of Ḳazwīnī's writings only the *Talkhīs al-miftāḥ* and the *Idāḥ fi 'ulūm al-balāgha* appear to have survived. The *Talkhīs* is a digest of the third section of the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* by Sakkāki [q.v.], which in turn is based on the *Asrār al-balāgha* and the *Dalā'il al-i'ḍjāz* of 'Abd al-Ḳāḥir al-*Ḍiurdjānī* [see ISTI'ĀRA]. The *Idāḥ* is an enlarged version of the *Talkhīs*. Both works, though not free from dryness and some casuistry, gained wide circulation, as is evidenced by the numerous manuscripts and commentaries that have come down to us; and their popularity to this day is shown by the existence of various printed editions (lists of manuscripts, printed editions, and commentaries in manuscript or in print in Ḥādīdjī *Ḳhalīfa*, 210-11, 473-9; Brockelmann, II, 22, S II, 15; Maṭlūb, 169-82; 184-90). They completely superseded not only the two books by *Ḍiurdjānī*, but also the work by Sakkāki. At the same time, however, they secured a firm place for the methodical approach that had been initiated by these two authors and influen-

ced the older, unsystematic method of discussing literary theory in collections of chapters on the figures of speech (*badī'*) which continued to be practised. The main differences between the presentation of Ḳazwīnī and that of Sakkāki are: (a) Ḳazwīnī's classification of the *madiāz 'aklī* as part of the 'ilm al-*ma'ānī* (see Mehren, 30; Sakkāki classifies this group of figures under the 'ilm al-*bayān*); (b) the addition of a section on the *badī'* clearly distinguished from the sections on the 'ilm al-*ma'ānī* (based on *Ḍiurdjānī's Dalā'il*) and the 'ilm al-*bayān* (based on *Ḍiurdjānī's Asrār*; Sakkāki in dealing with these figures only speaks of "special methods frequently used for the purpose of embellishing a literary composition"); (c) the addition of chapters on *sariḳa*, *ibtidā'*, *takḥallus*, and *intihā'* [qq.v.]. Ḳazwīnī also consulted and discussed the two books by 'Abd al-Ḳāḥir al-*Ḍiurdjānī* and the *Ḳashshāf* of Zamakhshari, and borrowed from some of his other predecessors, often without acknowledging his borrowings (Maṭlūb, 191-243). The oldest manuscript of the *Talkhīs* carried the date 724 (Maṭlūb, 164). The *Idāḥ*, which was intended as a supplement to the *Talkhīs*, cannot have been written before the *Talkhīs*, but nothing further is known about the date of composition of these books or the circumstances under which they were written.

*Bibliography*: Biographies appear in all the chronicles and collections of biographies dealing with the end of the 7th/13th and the 8th/14th centuries. The most important have been quoted in the article, but reference should also be made to Ṭashkōprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, Cairo 1968, i, 209-10. Abstracts from the *Talkhīs* in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen-Vienna 1853; commentaries in *Shurūḥ al-talkhīs*, Cairo 1937. The only detailed study of Ḳazwīnī and his work is A. Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-talkhīs*, Baghdad 1387/1967; see also the introduction to H. Ritter's ed. of *Ḍiurdjānī's Asrār al-balāgha*, Istanbul 1954, 6-7.

(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

**ḲAZWĪNĪ, ḤAMD ALLĀH** [see ḤAMD ALLĀH MUSTAWFĪ].

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, NAḌĪM AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-GHAFFĀR B. 'ABD AL-KARĪM, a Shāfi'ī jurist and Ṣūfī who died in Muḥarram 665/October 1266. The most important of his writings was a work known either as *al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-furū'* or *al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-fatāwī*, or simply as *al-Ḥāwī*, which became a widely used textbook of Shāfi'ī *fiqh*, and was the subject of numerous commentaries and glosses: seventeen are listed by Ḥādīdjī *Ḳhalīfa* (*Kashf al-ṣunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, cols. 625-7). A versified paraphrase of the work, *al-Bahđjat al-wardiyya*, by Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muẓaffar al-Wardī (d. 749/1348) became especially popular. Al-Ḳazwīnī also wrote *al-Lubāb fi 'l-fiqh*, a briefer work than *al-Ḥāwī*, and himself composed a commentary on it, *al-'Idjāb fi sharḥ al-lubāb*; and a book on mathematics is also attributed to him. In addition to his accomplishments as a jurist, he was celebrated as a Ṣūfī possessed of wondrous powers. While travelling to Mecca for the *ḥādīdjī*, he was seen to be working on *al-Ḥāwī* in the depth of the night, with the paper illumined by a mysterious light from his fingers. During this journey, he is related to have met Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), founder of the Suhrawardī order or *ṣarīḳa*, who encouraged him to complete the writing of *al-Ḥāwī*. He spent most of his life in Ḳazwīn, where he was celebrated for his luminous fingers as well as other *karāmāt*.

*Bibliography*: Brockelmann, S I, 679; Hādījī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, cols. 625-7, ii, col. 1043; Yūsuf b. Ismā'il al-Nabhāni, *Ḍjāmi' karāmāt al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1381/1962, ii, 194; Tādī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabakāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, v, 118; Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirikli, *al-A'lām*, Cairo 1954, iv, 157. (H. ALGAR)

**AL-KAZWINI**, ZAKARIYYĀ' B. MUHAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD Abū Yahyā (Hādījī Khalifa, iv, 188-9; Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Kūfī al-Ḳazwīnī), famous Arab cosmographer and geographer. He drew his origin from an Arab family (his ancestor, Shaykh Abū 'l-Ḳāsim b. Hibat Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī, who had been Persianised after settling at Ḳazwīn in Persia. Judging from certain solecisms to be found in al-Ḳazwīnī's works, Arabic does not seem to have been his mother tongue.

He was born at Ḳazwīn, probably towards 600/1203 and seems to have received there his legal education. At a moment difficult to establish he left his native town, went to Baghdād and stayed also some time in Damascus where he met, probably towards 630/1233, the well-known philosopher and mystic Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240 [q.v.]). It was apparently at this period that he visited al-Mawṣil where he met Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr (d. 637/1239 [see IBN AL-AṬHĪR]), and perhaps also the town of Sindjār. Al-Ḳazwīnī travelled also in Persia and paid a visit to the town of Ḍjannāba. According to Ibn Taghrī-birdī, he stayed for a long time in al-Wāsiṭ and al-Hilla, where he fulfilled the function of *kāḍī* under the reign of the last 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Musta'ṣim (640-56/1240-58). We do not know where he met the Arab philologist and geographer Ibn Sa'īd al-Ḡharnāfī [q.v.] who went to the East in 648/1250. From al-Kūfī, one of his *nisbas*, it would follow that he lived for a certain time in Kūfa. After Baghdād had taken by the Mongols in 656/1258, he retired from public life to devote himself entirely to scientific activities. It is quite probable that he found a Maecenas in the Persian historian and statesman al-Ḍjuwaynī (d. 682/1283 [q.v.]), from 661/1262 governor of Baghdād on behalf of Hülāgū and his successor Abāḳā. It is perhaps because of his presumed protection that he dedicated his cosmographical work to al-Ḍjuwaynī. He died in 682/1283. (On his name and life, see his *Cosmography*, ii; *Aṭhār al-bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 121, 232, 263, 293, 310, 334, 349, 367-8 and '*Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt*', in margins of al-Damīrī, *Ḥāyat al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1319/1901-2, 3; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*<sup>3</sup>, iii, 447, 448 ff.; F. Wüstenfeld, in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, i (1848), 349 ff.; M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfēda*, tr. i, Paris 1848, pp. cxliii-cl; Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 481; M. Streck, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, in *EF*<sup>4</sup>; I. Yu. Kračkovsky, *Arabskaya geograficheskaya literatura*, in *idem*, *Izbrannyye sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 359-60.)

Al-Ḳazwīnī is the author of two works, a cosmographical one and a geographical one. The first, commonly named *Cosmography*, has the title '*Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawḍjūdāt*' "Prodigies of things created and miraculous aspects of things existing". This work is divided into two parts, the first of which treats of supraterrrestrial things, and the second of terrestrial ones. In the first part the author describes the celestial phenomena, i.e. the moon, the sun, the stars, and speaks then of the inhabitants of heaven, the angels. At the end of this part he explains the problems of chronology and of

the Arabic and Syrian calendars. The second part begins with a treatise on the four elements, the meteors and the winds. The author then describes the division of the earth into seven climates and gives a description of all the known seas and rivers. Having explained the causes of earthquakes and of the formation of mountains and wells, he passes in review the three kingdoms of nature: the mineral, the vegetable and the animal. The description of the animal kingdom is preceded by that of man, his character and anatomy, and by a characteristic of human tribes. The other living beings are discussed after *djinn*s and *ghūls* have been dealt with.

Al-Ḳazwīnī's *Cosmography*, the first systematic exposition of cosmography in Muslim literature, enjoyed great popularity in the whole of the Islamic world, as is attested by a great number of manuscripts representing several Arabic versions, by Persian and Turkish translations and by the revisions of the work. J. Ruska (*Ḳazwīnī-Studien*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 14-66, and 236-62) has shown against Wüstenfeld (see the latter's edition of the '*Adjā'ib*', *Kosmographie* i. Göttingen 1849, pp. vii-xii) that there were four different Arabic versions of the *Cosmography*, the second of which, represented by Cod. Monac. 464, the oldest manuscript known so far, and by many others, seems to be the best. Wüstenfeld however, for his edition of the '*Adjā'ib*', has chosen the most recent version (iv) which is only an 18th century recast of al-Ḳazwīnī's original work. This recast is represented by ms. Gotha 1508. Besides, Wüstenfeld has greatly complicated his edition by rejecting several fragments of version (iv) and replacing them with fragments taken from manuscripts belonging to other versions of the '*Adjā'ib*'. Thus he has fabricated a completely new text which does not represent any of the existing versions of the work. Besides Wüstenfeld's edition, there is also a Cairo edition (n.d., 8°, 416 pp.), based on a manuscript related to Cod. Monac. 464 and analogous to the edition of the *Cosmography* published in the margins of the edition of al-Damīrī's *Ḥāyat al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo 1319/1901-2).

The manuscripts of the *Cosmography* are often illustrated with *i.a.* geometrical tables and miniatures representing plants, animals and various monsters, which have sometimes a high artistic value (on the Arabic versions, the Persian and Turkish translations and the manuscripts of these versions, see al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* i, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii-xii; Streck, *op. cit.*; 'A.M. 'Aḳḳād, *al-Fuṣūl*, 123-7; Brockelmann, S I, 883; Kračkovsky, *op. cit.*, 362-5; M. Kowalska, *Eine unbekannte Handschrift al-Ḳazwīnīs Kitāb 'Aḡā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, in *Folia Orientalia*, ij2 (1959), 326-32).

The sources of the '*Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt*' have not yet been studied (see on this problem Pertsch, *Kat. d. arab. Handschr. zu Gotha*, iii, 431). Going through Wüstenfeld's edition one can discover some twenty-odd authors whose works have been used, from al-Ḍjāhīz and Ibn al-Fakīh down to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, the most often-quoted being the one by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī and the anonymous treatise entitled *Tuhfat al-gharā'ib* (see M. Kowalska, *Remarks on the unidentified Cosmography Tuhfat al-gharā'ib*, in *Folia Orientalia*, ix (1967), 11-8). The connexions between the *Cosmography* and Yāḳūt's *Mu'djam al-buldān* are still to be established.

From what has been said above, it is evident that there does not yet exist any critical edition of the *Cosmography*. Wüstenfeld's edition stimulated a translation by H. Ethé (Leipzig 1868) which

comprises, however, only the first part. At the beginning of the 19th century A. L. de Chézy translated the chapters on the minerals, the vegetables and the human being (see S. de Sacy, *op. cit.* iii, 385-516). In his *Über die Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), L. Ideler published an annotated edition of the chapter on the stars. Of the partial editions, translations and studies of the *Cosmography* the following are mentioned here by way of example J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des ... al-Kazwini*, Heidelb. Prog. d. Oberrealschule, Kirchhain N.-L. 1896; *Über den falschen und den echten Kazwini*, in *Mitt. Gesch. Naturwiss.*, xiii (1914), 183-8; S. J. Anbacher, *Die Abschnitte über die Geister u. die wunderbaren Geschöpfe aus Qazwini's Kosmographie...*, Kirchhain N.-L. 1905; F. Taeschner, *Die Psychologie Kazwini*, thesis Kiel, Tübingen 1912; E. Wiedemann, *Über die Kriechtiere nach al-Qazwini*, dans *SB Phys.-med. Soc. Erlangen*, xlviii-xlix (1916-7), 222-85; *Übersetzung und Besprechung des Abschnittes über die Pflanzen von Qazwini, ibid.*, 286-321; G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, Berlin 1892, iii, 94-124; *Ornithologisches zu Qazwini*; G. Ferrand, *La Tuhfat al-albāb de Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī al-Garnāfi*, dans *JA*, (Oct.-Dec. 1925), 230-35; A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, Oslo 1896-1928, 102-3 and 140-1 and *Adnotationes criticae*, pp. XLVI and LXVI-LXVII.

Al-Kazwini's second work, commonly called *Geography*, is known from several manuscripts belonging to two different versions. The oldest, entitled *ʿAdjāʾib al-buldān* "Prodigies of the Countries" (see Hādjidjī *Khalifa*, iv, 186) was composed in 661/1262-3 (see Reinaud, *op. cit.* cxliv). The second completely revised version dates from 674/1275-6. It carries the title *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād* "Monuments of the Countries and History of their Inhabitants" (see Hādjidjī *Khalifa*, i, 154). The four manuscripts of the second version served Wüstenfeld as the basis for his edition of the *Geography/Cosmography*, ii: *Āthār al-bilād*, Göttingen 1848. Another edition, Beirut 1380/1960-1, is in fact only a reproduction of Wüstenfeld's publication.

The description of the earth in the *Āthār al-bilād* follows the Ptolemaic division of the *oikoumene* into seven climates. The cities, countries, mountains, rivers etc. situated in each of these climates are described in alphabetical order. The description of each city or country contains geographical and historical facts and also biographical data on famous personalities originating from them. Thus the *Geography* resembles the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* of Yāqūt so far as the disposition of the material is concerned (except that in al-Kazwini's work the material is distributed over seven different dictionaries according to the division in climates). Certain articles of the *Geography*, concerning e.g. various mountains, rivers etc. can also be found in the *Cosmography*, often with exactly the same tenor.

Besides the two Arabic versions, several Persian revisions and Turkish abridgements of the *Geography* are known. Towards 808/1403 al-Bākuwī gave a new version of it, which is independent of the two Arabic versions mentioned above (on the various versions and translations of the *Geography* and on the manuscripts of this work, see Wüstenfeld, *Kosmographie*, ii, pp. iii-x; Streck, *op. cit.*, Brockelman, S I, 882-3).

As opposed to the sources of the *Cosmography*, those of *Āthār al-bilād* have been object of some studies. Already F. Wüstenfeld had compiled a list (very incomplete, however) of the sources used by

al-Kazwini (*Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, i, (1848), 351). He returned to this problem in his edition of Yāqūt's *Muʿdjam al-buldān* (Leipzig 1866-70, v, 46-7) where he propounded the opinion that al-Kazwini made extensive use of this work, without mentioning this use. W. Jwaideh (*The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 44, n. 1) has shown that al-Kazwini borrowed from Yāqūt the preliminary descriptions of all seven climates. In 1967 M. Kowalska published the first serious study on the sources of the *Geography* in an article entitled *The Sources of al-Qazwini's Āthār al-Bilād*, in *Folia Orientalia*, viii (1966), 41-88, in which she gives a detailed analysis of those sources. From this it appears that nearly 360 articles out of the ca. 600 which form the total of al-Kazwini's geographical dictionary contain data borrowed from the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, and that a very considerable part (viz. 157) of these 360 articles contain nothing else but extracts from Yāqūt's work. Thus the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* forms the principal source of the *Āthār al-bilād*. M. Kowalska's study shows also that all quotations from al-Yaʿqūbī, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn Faḳlān, Ibn Hawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī and from the two *risālas* of Abū Dulaf to be found in al-Kazwini's *Geography*, have been borrowed by the latter not from the original works of the geographers in question but from the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*. She has also established an almost complete list of the fragments al-Kazwini has extracted from other Arabic sources, from which are cited here the works of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ṭurṭūshī (= Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb al-Ṭurṭūshī; see T. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jaʿqūb de itinere slavico*, Cracov 1946, 21-35), al-Birūnī, al-ʿUdhri, Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī and an anonymous cosmographical treatise of the 12th century entitled *Tuhfat al-gharāʾib*. Finally, she has compiled a list of al-Kazwini's oral informants. The author of the *Āthār al-bilād* owes his knowledge of West Africa to two of these informants (see M. Kowalska, *Zwei wenig bekannte muslimische Reisende in West-Sudan im 13. Jh.*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 231-4).

Although rather uncritical and lacking an index, Wüstenfeld's edition of the *Āthār al-bilād* became nevertheless the starting-point of several partial editions, translations and special studies on the various chapters of the work. These studies are: G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, Berlin 1892, ii, 38-9, 60-1; idem, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, 21-33; A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, 24-5, 44 and *Adnot. crit.*, pp. XII-XIII, XX; G. Ferrand, *Le Tuhfat al-albāb d'Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī al-Garnāfi*, in *JA* (1925), 235-9; M. C. Lyons, *Some Aspects of Al-Qazwini's Āthār al-Bilād*, in *Glasgow Univ. Or. Soc. Trans.*, xx, (1963-4), 63-76; M. Kowalska, *Namensregister zu Kazwini's Āthār al-Bilād*, in *RO*, xxix/1, (1965), 99-115, xxx/1, (1966), 119-34; idem, *Al-Qazwini's Āthār al-Bilād and the quotations from Abū Dulaf's Narrative*, in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Ravello 1966, Naples 1967, 427-35.

Al-Kazwini was the greatest of Arabic cosmographers. He was at the same time astronomer, geographer, geologist, mineralogist, botanist, zoologist and ethnographer. Like all his predecessors (who appeared already in the 6th/12th century), he was only a good compiler who neither produced a new fact nor created any new theory. Being, however, very learned and very cultivated at the same time, he succeeded in synthesizing all the facts known

in his time about the above-mentioned sciences. His principal merit lies in his having accomplished the raising of cosmography to a literary genre of extremely high level. He was also a talented vulgariser who knew to express himself clearly and realized that erudition should not exceed certain limits, in order not to discourage the general public. His language is clear, simple and varied, although he often does not give anything but a mosaic of extracts from sources, arranged nevertheless in a skilful way. Highly appreciated by certain modern Arabists who sometimes compare him to Herodotus and Pliny (Reinaud, *op. cit.* p. cxliv; see also Streck, *op. cit.* and Kräckovsky, *op. cit.* 358-9), al-Kazwīnī has been judged far too severely by other scholars. G. von Grunebaum (*Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1947, 301-2, 304) quotes two passages from the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* to illustrate the decline of critical science in the 7th/13th century, and G. Wiet (*Introduction à la littérature arabe*, Paris 1966, 210) looks upon al-Kazwīnī's *Cosmography* as a work "devoid of critical mind" and "lacking originality". Accordingly, M. Kowalska (*The Sources*, 87-8) calls him "an amateur geographer . . . [who] selected the available data rather uncritically often in a quite accidental way". She also insists that he "has plagiarized the writing of the older geographers and historians". Indeed, the impression cannot be resisted that al-Kazwīnī surpassed all the other Arabic cosmographers and geographers in plagiarism. This results clearly from the way in which he unscrupulously plundered the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* without even mentioning the name of the author of his main source.

Al-Kazwīnī exerted a great influence on the Arabic cosmographers and geographers of later periods. His two works have been turned to account by authors like Ṣhams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d. 727/1327), Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥarrānī (writing ca. 732/1332), Ḥamd Allāh Kazwīnī (d. towards 750/1349), al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405), Ibn al-Wardī (d. 861/1457) and several others, down to Maḥmūd b. Saʿīd al-Safākūsī (d. after 1233/1818). On this question, see *inter alia*, A. F. Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge*, Paris-Copenhagen-Leipzig 1874, 165, 168, 179, 186-91, 198 and *passim*; Kräckovsky, *op. cit.*, 365, 385-6, 493, 598, 618 and 748-9.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(T. LEWICKI)

AL-KAZZĀZ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DĪAʿFAR AL-TAMĪMĪ, was born in Ḳayrawān and spent most of his life there. Attached to the Fātimid caliphs, who held him in high esteem and loaded him with gifts, he followed them—probably for a very brief time—to Egypt and then returned to Ḳayrawān, where he devoted himself to teaching the linguistic sciences until his death in 412/1021-2, aged about 90. Respected by the great and loved by the people for his powerful personality, his exemplary life and his great liberality, he was venerated by his students, most of whom became prominent men of letters, such as Ibn Rashīk, Ibn Ṣharaf and Ibn al-Barr, whose teaching of language and grammar was authoritative in Spain, and also al-Ḥātīmī, the celebrated detractor of al-Mutanabbī.

Although considered by critics an excellent poet of verses "at once natural and studied" and often referred to by Ibn Rashīk for problems of literary criticism (see refs. to *al-ʿUmda* in the bibliography below), it is chiefly for his numerous and voluminous works on grammar and lexicography that al-Kazzāz

seems to have commanded attention in his lifetime. The following titles are cited: (1) *Kitāb al-Ḳurūf*, which seems to be the same as *al-Djāmiʿ*, is a vast compilation bringing together the meaning of each particle, *ḥarf*, its use, its value, and its role in the sentence; (2) *Kitāb al-ʿaṣḥarāt* (published Sidon 1344/1925-6), a lexicographic work on words carrying ten or more different meanings; (3) *Kitāb al-ḥulā wa ʿl-ṣḥiyāt*, Sidon 1344/1925-6, on the anatomy of the human body, for the use of scribes and slave dealers; (4) *Kitāb al-muthallath*, on patterns with triple vocalisation; (5) *Kitāb al-dād wa ʿl-ḡāʿ*; (6) *Kitāb al-taʿrīd wa ʿl-taṣrīḥ*; (7) *Kitāb mā yadīʿ li ʿl-ṣḥāʾir fi ʿl-ḡarūra*, on poetic licence; éd. M. Kaʿbī, Tunis 1971; (8) *Iʿrāb al-Duraydiyya*, a commentary on the poem called *al-Makṣūra* by Ibn Durayd; (9) *Sharḥ Risālat al-balāgha*, on a work of rhetoric; (10) *Kitāb abyāt al-maʿānī*, on the riddling verses of al-Mutanabbī; (11) *Kitāb mā ukhīdha ʿan al-Mutanabbī min al-laḥn wa ʿl-ghalat*, on the criticisms arising from certain instructions in the poetry of al-Mutanabbī; (12) *Kitāb adab al-sulḥān wa ʿl-taʿaddub lahu*, in 10 volumes, probably a work on the rules of conduct for princes and those to be observed towards them. (For the mss. of these works, see Brockelmann in the Bibliography below.)

By the nature and worth of his teaching and his writings, al-Kazzāz seems to have played a determining role in the philological orientation which characterises the "Literary School of Ḳayrawān" under the Zirīds.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Rashīk, *al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1955, i, 72, 107, 131, 155, 174, 183, ii, 78, 85, 186, 187, 188, 245; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa*, Beirut 1963, 362-3; Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1922, viii, 111; xviii, 105-9; xix, 37; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, iv, 9-11; al-Kifī, *Inbāḥ*, i, 318, iii, 84-7, 315; idem, *al-Muḥammadīn min al-ṣḥuʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1970, 185-6; Ibn Dihya, *al-Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 88; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, MS. 2327 Paris, f. 130; Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi*, ii, 304-5; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Cairo 1955-6, i, 133, no. 340; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, i, 374; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 29; idem, *Muzḥir*, Cairo, i, 88 (in which the person identified with Ibn al-Kazzāz in the footnote is in fact another writer), 96; H. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāʾ al-ʿaḳīk*, Tunis 1330, 57; idem, *Warahāt*, Tunis 1965, i, 102-3; Maymanī, *Ibn Rashīk*, Cairo 1343, 37-9; Brockelmann, S I, 539; R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Hégire*, Paris 1935, 292; H.-R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirīdes*, Paris 1962, 779-80 and index; ʿA.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 95, 137-40; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrikiya sous les Zirīdes*, Tunis 1972, index.

(CH. BOUYAHIA)

KEČE. [see LIBĀS].

KEČEDĀJĪ-ZĀDE. [see FUʿĀD PASHA; ʿIZZET MOLLĀ].

KEČIBOYNUZU IBRĀHĪM ḤĪLMĪ PASHA (b. 1160/1747, d. 1240/1825) Ottoman Grand Vizier, November 1806-June 1807. The son of a Janissary officer, he rose through various posts in the corps to the chief command (hence he is sometimes referred to as Ibrāhīm "Agha"). Upon the dismissal of Ḥāfiẓ Ismāʿīl Pasha (14 November 1806), provoked by the attempt to use the troops of the Niẓām-i Djedid [q.v.] in Rümeli, he was appointed Grand Vizier. As *serdār* against Russia (war having been declared by the Porte on 22 December), he led a refractory army of Janissaries and volunteers to Silistre (May 1807), where, however, no military

activity ensued. When news of the final rising against Selīm III (the "Kabakçı wağ'ası", 25 May) reached the camp, the Janissaries rose in sympathy and İbrāhīm fled into hiding at Rusçuk. He was dismissed on 18 June. The various governorships he held thereafter are listed in *S'O*, i, 154. For the context of these events and full bibliography, see S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new. The Ottoman Empire under Selīm III, 1789-1807*, Harvard Middle Eastern Studies no. 15, 1971, and SELİM III. (ED.)

**KĒDAH.** [see KALAH].

LE **KEF.** [see AL-KĀF].

**KEFE, KAFa, KAFFA**, the old name of the town of modern Theodosia (Russian Feodosia), on the southeastern coast of the Crimea. In classical times its name was Theodosia, and it was founded in the first half of the 7th century B.C. as a colony from Miletus in Ionia. It is first mentioned in 390 B.C., and according to the sources, the town derived great profit from exports to Greece, having a port with a capacity for 100 ships. However, the town's trade was harmed by attacks of the Scythian tribes living in the steppes to the north of Kefe. Kefe is recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the form *Kapha* as the place where the people of the Chersonese fought with the king of the Bosphorus. In the following centuries, Kefe was founded. This place was known as *Caphum* in Roman days, and the Byzantines erected a column which bears an inscription with the date 819 A.D. (E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks in South Russia*, repr. New York 1965, ii, 555-8; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, v, A, 2, cols. 1921-2; for the other accounts concerning the name Kefe, see J. Buchan Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*, London 1876, i, 74). With one or two exceptions, the name Kefe is not mentioned in other sources before the 13th century.

Geographical conditions linked the Crimea, and naturally Kefe, to the Kıpçak steppes, and also via the Black Sea to Anatolia, and especially to Istanbul. In the development of the East-West and South-North transit trade, Kefe played a great role. Like other Crimean ports, it was dependent on Byzantium, but autonomous in its internal affairs. When the Latins captured Constantinople in 1204, it became dependent on the Byzantine kingdom of Trebizond. From the 13th century onwards, the Saljuks of Rüm became concerned with the Crimean peninsula; there were some Turkish traders active at that time in Kefe, and the Kefe-Sinope-Istanbul route was the most used in the Black Sea (G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1929, 228). When Genoa and Venice obtained permission to trade in the Byzantine lands, the Genoese assumed the more active role in the Black Sea and in the region of Crimea. The Crimean ports benefited from the peace established within the steppes by the Mongols, and the Genoese, probably ca. 1266, received permission to trade and to live in Kefe with the consent of the Golden Horde Khān Mengü Timūr, as well as from Urān Timūr, grandson of Djoci, who was the ancestor of the Crimean Khāns and who had been granted the land as an appanage (Bratianu, 198 ff.; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-âge*, repr. Leipzig 1939, ii, 163 ff.). The Genoese built city walls around Kefe and also founded some other trade colonies near it. At the time when Ibn Baṭṭūta visited Kefe, it could accommodate 200 ships (*Rihla*, tr. Gibb, i, 142-3). Kefe had a cosmopolitan population, and was nominally dependent on the Golden Horde Khān (decree of Timūr Kutluğ dated

800/1398, cf. A. Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 148-9). Apart from the many Muslims, there were also Genoese, Greeks and Armenians and it was estimated that in 823/1420 the population in the city was ca. 40,000 (Schiltberger, *Travels and Bondage*, London 1879, 49, 50). Pero Tafur says that the city was as big as Seville, but twice as crowded; and since the slave-trade was important there, there were agents of the Mamlūk state despatching slaves from the Caucasus to Egypt (*Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, London 1926, 132, 133 ff.). In Kefe there was a *tudun* whose task was to look after the Muslims on behalf of the Golden Horde Khān, and also a customs officer to collect the duties on commerce (Kurat, *op. cit.*, 64, 149; Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii, 370).

After the Giray Crimean Khānate came into existence, it began a continuous struggle with the Genoese. With the support of an Ottoman force, Hādiđi Giray (d. 860/1456) besieged Kefe; the Genoese bought them off by agreeing to pay a tribute of 3,000 gold pieces (Heyd, ii, 383), although Hādiđi Giray continued to exert pressure on the town.

Attempts by the Genoese to impede Ottoman trade in the Black Sea determined the Ottomans to move against Kefe. Gedik Ahmed Paşa conquered Kefe with 300 ships of varying tonnage at the beginning of Şafar 880/June 1475 ('Ashūkpashaḡāzāde, *Ta'riḡh*, Istanbul 1332, 213-15; Ibn Kemāl, *Tewāriḡh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1954, 421-3; Heyd, ii, 401 ff.). Kefe and other Genoese strongholds were now taken directly under Ottoman sovereignty, whilst the landward parts and high plateau of Crimea were left to the Crimean Khānate. In the time of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), Kefe became a princely *sandjaḡ* and first the prince Mehemmed, and then after his death, Süleymān son of Selīm I, became the governors of this *sandjaḡ*. During his struggle for the throne, Selīm had had to stay in Kefe for a while (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 98; Çagatay Uluçay, *Yavuz Sultan Selim nasılı padişah oldu*, in *TD*, ix (Istanbul 1954), 81, 89-90).

The trade of Kefe was now in the hands of Turkish Muslim traders, following the Kefe-Sinop-Istanbul and Kefe-Trebizond routes, and according to the Kefe customs record book, dated 892/1487, trade was brisker than before (see Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kefe mukataası defteri, No. 5280 *mükerrer*).

The internal condition of the town is known from a *tahrir* register from the reign of Süleymān I; according to this, Kefe was divided into three sections, the İç Kal'e (Inner fortress), the Frenk Hişārī (the European castle) and the Kal'e altı (the lower side of the castle); Muslims resided in İç Kal'e and Frenk Hişārī, and Christians (such as Greeks, Armenians, Russians), Jews and Circassians used to stay in Kal'e altı (Khāk-İ-Kal'e) (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü; Tapu-Tahrir defteri, No. 370, pp. 481-3).

Muslims	quarters	local	house-	single
		groups	holds	persons
Frenk Hişārī	10	—	139	34
Kal'e-i Bīrūn	11	—	176	52
non-Muslims				
Khāk-İ Kal'e		26		
Greeks	—		519	27
Armenians	—		1338	74
Russians	—		34	1
Circassians	—		11	—
Jews	—		92	1
Totals	21	26	2309	189



In the quarters where Muslims lived, there were 17 small mosques and 2 large ones. The taxes collected from Muslims and Christians were assigned as personal revenues for the *sandjak* beg. Goods imported into Kefe included hemp, dyestuffs, various kinds of thread, cotton cloth, beeswax, oil, fat, rice, cheese, hardware, etc. (Kefe mukataası defteri, No. 5280 *mükerrer*). Exports included various kinds of fruits, olives, dried and fresh fruits, wheat, corn, barley, chickpeas, lentils, flour, honey, olive oil, horses, cattle, various kinds of leather, dried fish and caviare (*Kānūn-name-i iskele-yi Kefe*, Tapu-tahrir defteri, No. 370, p. 479). Above all, slaves captured in South Russia and the Kıpçak steppes were sent to Kefe, which was a traditional centre of the slave-trade. The annual customs income of Kefe was 620,000 *aḥḥas* (*Kānūn-nāme-yi iskele-i Kefe*, pp. 479, 483; for the *pendiik* duty (sc. that which used to be taken for each slave) in 1118/1706, see Kāmil Kepeci Tasnifi, No. 5277, p. 70b). In 1052/1642 there were 4,000 houses in Kefe; 3,200 of these were occupied by Muslims and the rest by the minorities, especially by Armenians and Greeks (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1701, i, 104). When Ewliyā Ālebi visited the city, the Muslims used to live in 80 districts, and Christians used to live as 120 local groups. Within and outside the town, there were 9,060 houses, 20 fountains, 105 *sebils*, 9 inns for bachelors, 1,010 shops, 160 flour mills, 50 smaller mosques, 60 big mosques, 9 dervish *teḥkes*, 45 schools, 10 public baths and 43 traders' caravanserais. Among the 167 different craftsmen, the most notable were tailors, jewellers, shoe makers, and prayer-rug weavers; most of the population in the second half of the 11th/17th century were involved in the slave trade or the oil and export of honey (*Seyāhatnāme*, vii, 673 ff., 678-9, 682). In the town of Kefe, which now acquired a characteristic Turkish appearance, the most prominent buildings included the mosque of Sultan Selīm I; the mosque of Prince Süleymān; the Kule Kapisi mosque, built in 888/1483; the Sultan Süleymān public bath; the Kodja Kāsim Paṣha *Khān*, built in 981/1573; the Wezir *Khān*; the tomb of Muṣṭafā (d. 1070/1659-60); and the *Shehīd* Baba Ziyāreti (Ewliyā Ālebi, vii, 673 ff., 682; Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Ali Emiri Tasnifi, I. Mahmud kısmi, No. 1522, III. Osman kısmi, No. 563).

In the face of pressure from the Cossacks and Russians from the 11th/17th century onwards, the fortress of Kefe was strengthened in the second half of that century (*ibid.*, vii, 671 ff., viii, 31).

Kefe, though normally a *sandjak*, was sometimes treated as an *eyālet* also (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, No. 262, p. 217, see also Mühimme defteri, No. VII, pp. 19, 22-3 and various other places). It was finally erected into an *eyālet* in 1010/1602 (C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler; Telhisler (1595-1605)*, İstanbul 1970, 78), and it remained as such till 1191/1777. There was no organisation of *timārs* or *ze'āmet*s in the *eyālet*, but instead it had an administration which consisted of a *māl defterdāri* and the deputy clerks of the *Diwān*; a customs superintendent with a staff of 50, an Agha of Janissaries, a *djebedji aghası*, and a *Topđju aghası*. There was a fleet of 5 ships under the command of the Admiral of Kefe (Ewliyā Ālebi, vii, 668). When the *beylerbeyi* of Kefe was occupied elsewhere, his deputy was the *sandjak beyi* of Kefes (Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha, *Nuṣretnāme*, simplified version by İsmet Parmak-sızođlu, İstanbul 1963-6, i, 145, 167, ii, 417). In the

first half of the 11th/17th century the *eyālet* of Kefe consisted administratively of the *kaḏā*'s of Kerē, Sughdāk and Menküb, and there were 3,200 households paying the poll-tax or *djizya*. This last was collected by a *muḥaṣṣil* instead of the *defterdār*. Since the incoming Christian population of the province was increasing, the *djizya* land registers of the province had frequently to be brought up to date. Hence in 1042/1633 the *beylerbeyi* of Kefe was authorised to assume this responsibility as *muḥaṣṣil-i emwāl* and *muḥarrir-i Kefe* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler, No. 3722, pp. 51, 52). In the following century, the customs of the port of Kefe, plus the *öṣhür* and other taxes coming from Gözleve, Taman, Ballıklagı, Kal'e-i Djedid, Kerē and Kızıltaş in 1181/1767 produced 4,238,500 *aḥḥas*. Trade was no longer in the hands of Muslims, but in the hands of traders looking to Russia (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi, No. 199, p. 299, 343; for the state of the revenue of Kefe in 1118/1706, see Kāmil Kepeci Tasnifi, No. 5277, p. 14a). The Turks used to call Kefe "İstanbul the Lesser" or "Half of İstanbul", because of its ethnic diversity.

During the Ottoman-Russian War of 1149-51/1736-9, Kefe in Muḥarram 1149/May 1736 narrowly escaped attack by a Russian army (*Kırım tarihi veya Necati Efendi'nin Rusya sefaretnamesi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, in *Tarih Vesikalari*, xv (İstanbul 1949), 226). The military command (*Serasherlik*) of Kefe was first instituted during the above-mentioned War, and later the *Serasherlik* of the Crimea, with this office held by the *Beylerbeyi* of Kefe. The last *Beylerbeyi* of Kefe was Abaza Mehmed Paṣha who was appointed in Şhawwāl 1184/February 1771 (for the *beylerbeyis* between 1168/1755 and 1185/1771, see Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Tahvil Defteri, No. 16, p. 42). At the end of the war beginning in 1182/1768, Kefe and the Crimea were both captured by the Russians. The Muslim Turkish population started even in the opening stages of the war to migrate into the interior of the Crimea and also left by ship to other Ottoman territories. At that time, the population of Kefe was 20,000 and included many Greeks and Armenians; it was recorded that there were about 50 small and big mosques and 56 churches (*Kırım tarihi veya Necati Efendi'nin Rusya sefaretnamesi*, in *Tarih Vesikalari*, xiv (İstanbul 1944), 139, 147, 225). The Russians attacked Kefe again in 1191/1777 and captured it. Despite the Ayvallkavak order for the reduction of troops (1193/1779), the Russians continued to hold Kefe as well as some other strategically important parts of Crimea, and strengthened their defences.

When Kefe was finally captured by the Russians in 1197/1783, its port was mined, and there had been much destruction; according to the oldest Russian map of the town, there were in it 29 mosques, 13 Greek churches and 22 Armenian ones. Out of 813 houses, 694 belonged to Turks. (For the situation in 1782, see W. Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, London 1799, 328-9, 333; cf. also P. Mines Bijiskyan, *Karadeniz kıyıları tarih coğrafyası*, tr. H. D. Andrea-syan, İstanbul 1969, 97). Catherine II of Russia gave the city its old name of Theodosia (Russian Feodosia), but for a short time its name was still officially accepted as Kefe. Despite efforts at restoration, the town's position remained depressed, and in 1823 it still looked neglected. However, the direct trade with İstanbul revived somewhat. In that time the population of Kefe consisted of Greeks, Jews and Turks; some of the Jews were Karaite

Turks [see KARAITES ii] (G. Matthew Jones, *Travels in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and Turkey, also on the Coasts of the Sea of Asof and of the Black Sea*, London 1827, ii, 219-20, 222; for the state of Kefe in 1836, see E. Spencer, *Travels in Circassia and Krim Tartary*, London 1837, ii, 234-5). Although the Russians called the city Feodosia, the name of the town was still Kefe to most of its population, even as late as 1836 (E. Spencer, *Travels in Circassia*, ii, 235). At this period, Kefe was in the transitional stage between being a Tatar and a Russian town, but gradually gained the characteristics of a summer resort, and in the latter part of the 19th century it was a city with a population of 10,000, with an additional 3,000 to 5,000 summer visitors every year (Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*, ii, 142, 144 ff.). In 1897, only 3,200 of the whole population of 27,238 were Crimean Tatars.

**Bibliography:** (other than those sources mentioned in the article): 'Abd al-Ghaffār Kīrlmī, *'Umdat al-tawārikh*, ed. Necib Asim, Istanbul 1343, 166, 176, 178, 181, 182; Josafa Barbara and Ambrogia Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, London 1873, 27, 28, 29, 140; H. Grenville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 50; Baron F. de Tott, *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, Amsterdam 1784, ii, 147-8; J. Buchan Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia, being the narrative of a journey in the Kouban, in Gouria, Armenia, Ossety, Imeritia, Swannethy, and Mingrelia, and in the Tauric range*, London 1876, i, 72, 73, 74; Maria Guthrie, *A Tour, performed in the years 1795-6, through the Taurida, or Crimea . . .*, London 1802, 148-50, 152 ff.; A. W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970, 13, 14, 86, 94, 105; Martin Bronevsky, *Tartarische Descriptio, in Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii Drevnosti Opisanije Krima*, Odessa 1867, Tkish. tr. Kemal Ortaylı, *Kırım*, Ankara 1970; *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Crimée*, Paris 1859, 442-51; Ethem Feyzi Gözaydın, *Kırım, Kırım türklerinin yerleşme ve göçleri*, Istanbul 1948; Muştafâ Kesbî, *'İbret-nümâ-yi devlet*, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri-Tarih kısmı, No. 484; J. Webster, *Travels through the Crimea, Turkey and Egypt . . . 1825-28*, London 1830; R. Lyall, *Travels in Russia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Georgia*, London 1825; Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Mühimme Defteri, No. ii, hüküm 654, 953, 1990, 2166; Mühimme Defteri No. iii, hüküm 3, 4, 43, 78, 83, 89, 213; Mühimme Defteri, No. xv, hüküm 1026; Mühimme Defteri, No. xviii, hüküm 72, 86, 64, 196, 90, 515, 502, 926; Tapu-Tahrir defterleri, Nos. 920, 921 (concerning the *seraskerlik* of Kefe during the 1736-8 warfare); H. Inalcık, *Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım Hanlarının Osmanlı tabiliğine girmesi ve ahidname mes'alesi*, in *Belleter*, xxx (1944), 208, 109 ff.; Barthold, *EI*<sup>1</sup> art. *Kafa*; H. Inalcık, *IA* art. *Kırım*. (C. ORHUNLU)

**KELEK**, **KELLEK**, **KELİK** (Turkish-Arabic) is a curious raft made of bags of goat's hair, which is already known from the sculptures of Nineveh and has hardly changed in the course of centuries. It is the Akkadian *kalakku*, Syriac *kalakkā*. The word, particularly mentioned by travellers in Mesopotamia and Persia, is said to be typical for the upper part of the Tigris. The *kelik* used between Diyārbekir and Baghdād is put together as follows. On a layer of 100 to 300, and sometimes even 400, inflated goatskins, each tied up with two strings one metre long and made

of liquorice-fibre, are laid five bars of *kawak*-wood 6-10 cm. thick and about 7 m. long. On these are put diagonally, at intervals of 40 cm., 30 bundles of reeds each consisting of two parts. Seven bars, each 15 cm. thick, cover the bundles diagonally and over these are laid 8 cross-bars consisting of 2 parts. When persons are transported, reeds are spread plentifully on this construction and one or two small shelters, made of wood and covered with mats (*'arshe*), are erected on it for the travellers. Depending on its size, the *kelek* has two to six oars. On arrival at Baghdād, the cargo is unloaded, and the wooden construction removed: the bags are taken out, deflated and dried; they can then be kept for about 2 years. The *kelek* then loads them up on a donkey and returns home. The journey down the river Tigris may be hampered by the wind, which drives the *kelek* to the bank, where the traveller may have to wait several days for better weather.

Several passages of the *Thousand and one nights* show that the *kelek* was not always such a complicated raft. Just like the *ṣawf* (pl. *awāf*), it could be constructed of wood only; Sayf al-Mulūk builds a *kelek* of long trunks tied together with cords (ed. Habicht, iv, 245<sup>11</sup>, 246<sup>3</sup> ff., tr. Littmann, Wiesbaden. 1953, v, 265 f.). He even (*ibid.*, 264<sup>14</sup>, tr. v, 279) utilises doors of aloe and sandalwood, which he ties together with cords of silk. In the manuscripts of the *Thousand and one nights*, the word *kelek* has on the other hand not always been understood by the copyists, who have often substituted for it *fulk*, which graphically comes near to it, although the context requires the meaning "raft". The con-founding of *kelek* with *fulk* "Noah's Ark" (in the Qur'ān) may have led to the assumption that *kelek* has the same meaning, even though this is as wrong as relating *ṣawf* (*ṣōf*) to *ṣūfān* "deluge".

**Bibliography:** H. Kindermann, *"Schiff" im Arabischen, Untersuchung über Vorkommen und Bedeutung der Termini*, Bonn (thesis), 1934, in particular 89 f. and index, s.v.; Hellmut Ritter, *Mesopotamische Studien. I. Arabische Flussfahrzeuge auf Euphrat und Tigris*, in *Isl.*, ix (1919), 141-3 (illustrated); André Parrot, *Déluge et Arche de Noé* (ill.), in *Cahiers d'Archéologie Biblique*, i, 2nd ed., Neuchâtel 1953. See also bibl. in *EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. (H. KINDERMANN)

**KEMĀKH**, Armenian Gumukh or Ani, usual Syriac form *Qamah*, modern Turkish *Kemah*, a small town in eastern Anatolia on the *Qarā Şū* or upper Euphrates, now the centre of a *kaza* of the same name within the *vilayet* of Erzincan, and a station on the railway connecting Sivas with Erzincan. The present form of the name derives from Greek *κάμαχα*. The Arabic geographers and historians usually refer to it as *Kamkh* (thus in Ibn Hawkal<sup>2</sup>, 192, 195, tr. Wiet, 188, 190-1; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 447), although Yāqūt, iv, 479, confirms that *Kamakh* was the more usual form.

During the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd periods, *Kemākh* was a frontier fortress, possession of which oscillated between the Arabs and the Byzantines. The first Arab attack under Ḥabīb b. Maslama [*q.v.*] was a failure. A second attempt by Şafwān b. Mu'attal was also unsuccessful, but he made another attack together with 'Umar b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in 59/678-9, and this time the fortress capitulated; the occupation by the Muslims was, however, short-lived (al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 184 ff.). The Greeks lost it once again, this time to Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik [*q.v.*], and it continued to change hands between the two sides. In 149/766 the caliph

al-Mansūr despatched against it a successful force under al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and ordered its fortification as a frontier post against the Khazars (al-Yaʿqūbī, *loc. cit.*). The Byzantines recaptured it in 177/793-4, and apart from a period during the caliphate of al-Maʿmūn, it remained nominally subject to the Emperors until the Battle of Mantzikert.

The first Türkmen raids on Kemākh came in 449-50/1057-8, and shortly after the Battle of Mantzikert or Malāzgerd [*q.v.*] in 463/1071, it was in the hands of Mengüdjek Aḥmad, who apparently had received the area round Erzindjan, including Kemākh, as a grant from Alp Arslan. Inscriptions on the Great Mosque at Diwriḡī state that Mengüdjek Aḥmad had captured Kemākh from the infidels. He made it his capital and was buried there on his death in 512/1118. In 536/1142 the Mengüdjek principality was divided amongst three heirs, the capital falling to Malik Maḥmūd. In 622/1225, the Saldjūk sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubād [*q.v.*] annexed Erzindjan, and the last Mengüdjekid Dāwūd Shāh sought an alliance against him by offering Kemākh to the *amir* of Erzurum al-Aḡraf and to the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mankūbirtī. Both of these refused to intervene, and the Saldjūk ruler annexed the region including Kemākh (Ibn Bibī, *Tawāriḡh-i āl-i Saldjūk*, ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil de textes . . .*, Turkish text, iii, 387-8, Persian text, iv, 148-9). After the Mongol conquest of Anatolia in 641/1243, Kemākh came within the Il-Khānid dominions.

Political instability in this region consequent on the decline of the Il-Khānids makes it difficult to follow the fortunes of Kemākh in the 8th/14th century. It seems to have at first formed part of the domains of the Eretna dynasty [*q.v.*] and then to have enjoyed a semi-independence between the rival factions of Kādī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and Muṭahharten, the *bey* of Erzurum. In 796/1394 the *wālī* of Kemākh submitted to Burhān al-Dīn and requested assistance against the aggression of Mutahharten. In 799/1396-7 Burhān al-Dīn placed Kemākh under his own direct rule (ʿAziz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī, *Bazm u razm*, ed. M. F. Köprülü). Shortly after this, the town fell to the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I (Solak-zāde, *Taʾriḡh*, Istanbul 1298, 374).

However, in 804/1402 Timūr captured the town on his way to confront Bāyazīd at Anḡara (Ibn ʿArab-shāh, *ʿAdjāʾib al-maḡdūr*. Eng. tr. J. H. Sanders, London 1936, 174-5). After the battle, Timūr appointed a certain Mīrzā Shams al-Dīn as governor of Kemākh. Soon afterwards, it came under the rule of ʿUṡmān Karā Yülük, the founder of the Aḡ Ḳoyunlu dynasty [*q.v.*], and remained under their control, despite a siege by the Karā Ḳoyunlu Pīr ʿUmar (Abū Bakr-i Tīhrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyār-bakriyya*, ed. Lugal and Sümer, 33, 35, 69-71). It was the Aḡ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Hasan who established the laws of Kemākh in the *Ḳānūn-i Hasan Pādīshāh*, which the Ottomans adopted with little change.

After the fall of the Aḡ Ḳoyunlus in 908/1502, Kemākh passed briefly into the hands of the Şafa-wids, until in 921/1515 it fell to the Ottoman sultan Selīm I; henceforth, it remained part of the Ottoman empire till the collapse of the latter. The Ottoman *Ḳānūn-nāme* of 922/1516, based on the Aḡ Ḳoyunlu laws, gives the impression that the town derived much of its wealth from the transit trade through the Euphrates valley (Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluḡunda zırat ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, Istanbul 1943, 184-5). In the mid-11th/17th century, according to Ewliyā Çelebi, there

was a garrison in the Kemākh fortress of a Janissary chief and 500 soldiers, and the economy of the town depended mainly on the salt mined nearby and sold in the town and on a fine-quality cloth woven there (*Seyāhat-nāme*, ii, 375-6). In 1830, J. Brant recorded a population there of 400 Turkish and 30 Armenian households (*Jnal. of the Geogr. Soc.*, 1836), and in 1892, V. Cuiet registered for the whole ḡadāʾ 14,547 Muslims, 3,692 Armenians and 633 Greeks (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 220 ff.). After its definitive incorporation into the dominions of Selīm I, Kemākh was well within the Ottoman frontiers and hence lost much of its earlier strategic importance; however, during the First World War it again became an important defensive position in the fighting against the Russians.

*Bibliography*: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): Murray's *handbook, Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 251; J. Markwart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, 56 ff., 70-2, 198-201; Besim Darkot, *IA art. Kemah*; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968; Yaşar Yücel, *Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti*, Ankara 1970; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971; O. Turan, *Doḡu Anadolu Türk devletleri tarihi*, Istanbul 1973.

(C. H. IMBER)

**KEMAL** [see ATATÜRK].

**KEMĀL**, ʿALĪ (1867-1922), Turkish writer, journalist and politician. His father Ḥādīdī Aḥmed Efendi had come as a young man from a village near Çankırı in Central Anatolia to the capital and had made a fortune as a wax-maker and had become the warden of his gild. ʿAlī Riḡā (as ʿAlī Kemāl was called until his student days, see below) was born in 1867 in the Süleymāniye district of Istanbul, to his father's second (Circassian) wife and grew up in a traditional conservative family atmosphere. After attending the local schools, he entered the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), where he particularly enjoyed the courses of Murād Bey (known as Mīzāndjī Murād, 1853-1914, the future Young Turk leader in exile, who later made his peace with ʿAbd al-Ḥamid II, see B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, index). The *Terājjüman-ı Ḥaḡīḡat* was his favourite newspaper, where he admired the poems and articles of Muʿallim Nādī, the leader of the literary opposition against the modernists, particularly against ʿAbd al-Ḥaḡḡ Ḥāmid and Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem. He also began to contribute to a student magazine *Gülşen* under the pen-name ʿAlī Kemāl, which gradually replaced that of ʿAlī Riḡā. While a student at the *Mülkiye*, he in 1886 went to Europe, where he spent over a year in Paris and Geneva and improved his French. On his father's death in 1888, he returned to Istanbul to attend to family affairs and complete his studies. Inspired by what he saw in European universities, he attempted to set up, together with a number of his university friends, a students' association (for details see his article *Mekātīb-i ʿāliye makhsūs ḡjemʿiyetler*, in *İkdam*, 20 August, 1908). The authorities became suspicious and the *ḡonaḡ* where they held their meetings was raided by the police. The students were rounded up and ʿAlī Kemāl and four others (including ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Memdūḡ, a future Young Turk writer) were sent to prison where they spent several months. Eventually ʿAlī Kemāl and a poet friend of his (Fakhrī of

Kaştonu) were banished to Aleppo. He spent five years there, where he was officially attached to the office of the *vâlî* with a salary and was also allowed to teach literature and French in the local high school (*mekteb-i 'dâdî*). Interesting details of his life and literary activities in Aleppo are given in his autobiography (see below). In 1894 he managed to escape to Paris and became a regular correspondent of the Istanbul daily *İkdam*, in which he published a highly popular series of letters and articles (for the controversy over the doubtful originality of some of his letters, see Hüseyin Dîâhid, *Şahvâhârlarım*, Istanbul 1326 rûmî/1910, 37-92). This occurred at a time when no political refugee could get anything published in Istanbul under his own name, and this privilege has been taken as an indication that 'Ali Kemâl was by no means *persona non grata* in the capital. While in Europe he was in regular contact with the Young Turks, but never became one of them; he disagreed with most of their ideas, and his sympathies lay rather with 'Abd al-Ĥamîd to whom, as later evidence showed, he offered his services as adviser and informer (copies of his reports (*şurnals*) and letters to the Sultan and his agents, some in facsimile, have been published; see Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda inkılap hareketleri ve millî mücadele*, Istanbul 1959, 302-9, and Asaf Tugay, *İbret, Abdülhamîd'e verilen jurnaller ve jurnalciler*, Istanbul n.d., 200-17). In 1897 he was appointed second secretary in the Brussels Embassy, reportedly as a reward for his rôle in Murâd Bey's defection (Yahya Kemal [Beyath], *Siyasi ve edebî portreler*, Istanbul 1968, 78), but the Ambassador, Munîr Paşha, who disliked him, never let him take up his appointment. However, 'Ali Kemâl was allowed to use the title and to draw his salary for several years (*Tanîn* of 20 July 1324 rûmî/2 August 1908 and Süleyman Nazîf's biographical notes used by İbnülemin M. K. İnal, see Bibliography). From Paris he moved to Egypt and became the superintendent of the estates of two Egyptian princesses, Aĥmed Dîelâl ed-Dîn Paşha's step-daughter and Maĥmûd Mukĥtâr Paşha's wife. He contributed to local Young Turk papers and founded the newspaper *Türk* (which was Ottomanist, in spite of its title). He made a fortune by speculating on the stock exchange, but went bankrupt following a crash in the market. When he returned to Paris in 1908, the revolutionary officers in Macedonia, in contact with the Young Turk organisation in Europe, had begun to prepare their move against the Sultan. 'Ali Kemâl corresponded with the Palace and arrived in Istanbul a few days before the revolution of 23 July 1908. He was in the Sultan's presence when the crisis was being discussed (Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 79). 'Abd al-Ĥamîd rewarded his advisory services with a purse containing 450 gold pieces (*Tanîn*, 25 July 1324 rûmî/7 August 1908; 'Ali Kemâl admitted this, but corrected the sum to 260 pieces, *İkdam*, 27 July 1324 rûmî/9 August 1908). The conservative journalist Aĥmed Dîewdet (1862-1935), who had no sympathy for the committee of Union and Progress (CUP) now getting ready to seize power, invited 'Ali Kemâl to be the leader-writer of his *İkdam*. His first article *Mââdiden Âliye* ("From the Past to the Future") appeared on July 30 1908, one week after the Revolution. A flood of articles followed daily on politics, history, education, literature, language, etc. After an absence of twenty years from the country, he wrote with great zeal and enthusiasm, in a somewhat didactic but entertaining and very personal style which soon made him one of the most popular journalists of the

period. At the same time he taught diplomatic history in the Faculty of Letters and at the *Mülkiye*. His dislike of the CUP, which in the meantime employed everything (including political assassination) to influence and control the new régime, soon developed into a bitter hatred, and he began to attack daily the Committee's policy and methods. On 12 March 1909 'Ali Kemâl handed over his column to Dr. Riđâ Nûr, deputy for Sinop, who published his famous article of warning which was greeted as a manifesto interpreting all the grievances of the opposition: the CUP was accused of oligarchic tendencies, *komitadji* tactics, bribery, favouritism, intolerance of opposition, etc. 'Ali Kemâl was a candidate of the Ottoman Liberal Party ('*Ohmânîlî Aĥrâr Fırkası*) in the by-election of April 1909, but was defeated by the CUP candidate. He became more violent in his accusations. Outstanding Unionists such as Hüseyin Dîâhid and Bahâ' ed-Dîn Şĥâkir attacked him in equally violent terms in CUP organs like *Tanîn* and *Şurâ-yî Ümmet* and exposed his ambiguous relations with 'Abd al-Ĥamîd. The disturbing atmosphere created by the relentless campaign of the opposition press like *İkdam*, *Mizân*, *Serbestî*, '*Ohmânîlî* and particularly *Volkan*, led on 13 April to a mutiny of the soldiers, incited by fanatical and disgruntled elements (for a good analysis of the mutiny and its background see Sina Akşin, 31 *Mart Olayı*\*, Istanbul 1970). 'Ali Kemâl hid in the house of an English friend and fled to Europe as the army sent by Young Turk headquarters in Salonika (*Hareket ordusu*, originally *Harekât Ordusu* "Operations Army") marched on the capital. In Paris he contacted unionist leaders like Fethî (Okyar) and Dîâwid in the hope of a compromise with the CUP. When this failed, he contributed articles to *Meshrûtiyyet*, Şerîf Paşha's anti-Unionist organ abroad. He had already become a member of the Liberal Union (*Hurriyet ve İtilâf Fırkası*) founded in November 1911. In July 1912 the group of "Saviour Officers" (*Kĥalâşkâr Dâbiĥân Grubu*) brought down the Unionist government, and the Liberals assumed Power. 'Ali Kemâl returned to Istanbul and resumed his leaders in the *İkdam*. But on 23 January 1913, the Unionists carried out a violent *coup d'état* (*Bâb-î 'Ali Baskını*) and 'Ali Kemâl was arrested. Dîemâl Bey (later Paşha and a member of the Unionists triumvirate), the military governor of Istanbul, visited him in prison and bribed him into leaving the country; hence 'Ali Kemâl went to Vienna on a government allowance (see Dîemal Paşha, *Memoirs of a Turkish statesman, 1913-1916*, London 1922, 16; revised Turkish edition, *Hatıralar*, edited by his son Behçet Cemal, Istanbul 1959, 22-26). He returned to Istanbul in May 1913. The assassination of the grand vizier Maĥmûd Şewket Paşha on June 11 1913 gave the CUP the opportunity to crush the opposition completely. 'Ali Kemâl, who had promised Dîemâl Paşha to keep out of politics, was however safe. With his support, he was allowed to publish the same year a daily paper, the *Peyâm*, to which some leading young writers contributed (Refik Halit Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, Istanbul 1964, 63-64) but which was suppressed on the outbreak of the World War I.

'Ali Kemâl spent the war years completely secluded from public life on the island resort of Büyükkada and along the Bosphorus shores. He collected manuscripts and rare books and concentrated on the study of classical literature and history. After the signing of the armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918), which sealed the fate of the Unionist régime, Miĥran Efendi, the editor of the daily *Şabâh* invited 'Ali Kemâl to

be a leader-writer of his paper, and he eagerly accepted. By this time the three CUP Leaders Enver, Tal'at and Djemāl had fled the country. He immediately began his violent attacks against the Unionists, daily enumerating the mistakes and misdeeds they had perpetrated before and during the War. The Allied fleet reached Istanbul on 13 November; the whole city was put under allied control, and hundreds of Unionists were arrested. The Greeks, supported by the Allies, had landed in Izmir and were advancing towards the interior. 'Alī Kemāl joined the first cabinet of Dāmād Ferīd Paṣha as Minister of Education (4 March 1919). He acted with moderation for a while, and resisted the partisan pressures of the Liberal Union (Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 87-8). In the meantime, the nuclei of the national resistance movement were being set up all over the country and the first guerillas began to combat the Greek invaders on the Aegean coast. 'Alī Kemāl, who became Minister of the Interior in the second Dāmād Ferīd Paṣha cabinet on May 19 1919 (the very day of Muṣtafā Kemāl's landing at Samsun), soon completely espoused the polity and strategy of Sultan Meḥemmed VI, his Grand Vizier and their associates: sc. to ignore the violations of the armistice terms; to follow the instructions of the Allies and in the hopes of winning lenient peace terms, to offer no resistance to invading foreign armies, although this amounted, in the eyes of the nationalists, to collaborationism. 'Alī Kemāl was convinced that Muṣtafā Kemāl's movement in Anatolia was nothing but a resurgence of Unionist ambitions, organized and supported by the survivors of the CUP (see particularly his article *İttihād ve Terakki öldü, yashasın İttihād ve Terakki!* "The CUP is dead, long live the CUP!", in *Peyām*, 20 December 1919). This fundamental misjudgment of the national ferment in Anatolia caused him to mislead many of his readers and eventually sealed his own fate. On 18 June 1919, 'Alī Kemāl, as Minister of the Interior, sent out to the provinces a circular against the formation of militia units and preparations for national defence, and assured the British authorities that every officer and government official obeying Muṣtafā Kemāl's orders would be court-martialled (G. Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşı kronolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 43-45). On 23 June he issued his famous secret circular in which he announced that "Muṣtafā Kemāl Paṣha had entirely failed in his new mission, and that he had been recalled in accordance with the demands of the English High Commissioner, and that orders issued by him should not be obeyed (Ghāzī Muṣtafā Kemāl, *Nuṣuk*, Ankara 1927, 22, English tr.<sup>2</sup>, *A Speech* . . ., Istanbul 1963, 26-27). 'Alī Kemāl was forced to resign (June 26) under the pressure of some of his colleagues in the cabinet who were sympathetic to the resistance movement (for the circumstances of his resignation, see his statement in *Alemdār*, 3 July 1919; R. H. Karay, *op. cit.*, 138-143; and Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşı ile ilgili ingiliz belgeleri*, Ankara 1971, 130-32). He complained of these colleagues to the Sultan who answered: "Your loyalty has been a great consolation and a source of great hope to me. The Palace will always be open to you at any time" (Ghāzī Muṣtafā Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 22-5, English tr. 28). On 3 August 1919, 'Alī Kemāl revived his *Peyām* and continued his campaign, with daily attacks on the leaders of the resistance movement in Anatolia and their supporters in Istanbul. Later *Peyām* was amalgamated with Mīhrān Efendi's *Şabāh*, becoming *Peyām-ı Şabāh* (1st January 1920), with 'Alī Kemāl as permanent leader-

writer. 'Alī Kemāl's activities and writings unified and strengthened the Liberal Union which had shown signs of disintegration. He became one of the two most enthusiastic supporters (the other being Refī' Djewād of the *'Alemdār*) of the collaborationist policy of the Sultan and of Dāmād Ferīd Paṣha, which was to obey the instructions of the occupying forces and to try to suppress the resistance movement. Following this line of policy, 'Alī Kemāl welcomed the reinforced allied occupation of Istanbul (16 March 1920), praised the successes of the Sultan's "disciplinary" troops dispatched to fight the Nationalists, and wrote a jubilant leader (25 May 1920) on the publication of the famous *fetwā* (11 April), followed by the death sentences *in absentia* on Muṣtafā Kemāl and his associates. News of the Nationalists' successes made him vacillate occasionally; he would praise the bravery of the Turkish soldiers, but soon would relapse into his usual tirades with the *leitmotiv* of "false nationalism and the dangers of ignoring world opinion", etc. His vitriolic articles continued till as late as the end of August and early September 1922, when the Nationalists won a decisive victory and the routed Greek army was heading back towards Izmir. Only in his last three articles (8, 9, 10 September), when the Nationalist armies had reached the Aegean, did he admit his error and greeted "the great victory of the Turk" and claimed that "the goals had always been the same". But it was now too late. The Nationalist government had already decided to bring all those who had collaborated with the enemy to Ankara for trial. But as this proved difficult in occupied Istanbul, one man was chosen as a test case, and this was to be 'Alī Kemāl, as the most prominent representative of the collaborators (see Dr. Riḍā Nūr, *Hayatim ve Khāfiratim*, British Museum, Or. 12591, 486b). Upon instructions from Ankara, Colonel Es'ad (later Paṣha, 1875-1932), military governor and director of police of Istanbul, who was a trusted man of the Nationalists, took the necessary measures; on November 18 'Alī Kemāl was arrested by two plain-clothed policemen in a barber's shop in Beyoğlu (Péra) and taken by motor-boat to Izmid en route for Ankara and his trial. Nūr ed-Dīn Paṣha, commander of the first army, interrogated him briefly in his headquarters. A big crowd was waiting outside. 'Alī Kemāl met his death in the square when he was being taken away. The circumstances of his death, a mob lynching according to the received version, are variously reported in the sources. According to some, his death was arranged or precipitated by Nūr ed-Dīn Paṣha for reasons of personal prestige (see Falih Rifkī Atay, *Çankaya*<sup>2</sup>, Istanbul 1969, 341-42; Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 94-99; Riḍā Nūr, *op. cit.*, 487b; *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1961, s.v.). 'İsmet Paṣha (Inönü) then foreign minister, who with his party arrived on the very day of the incident at Izmid on his way to the Lausanne Peace Conference, publicly showed his strong disapproval of Nūr ed-Dīn Paṣha for having ignored the government's instructions and having taken justice into his own hands.

'Alī Kemāl was primarily a journalist. His early articles in the *İkdām* (from 1894 onwards), which he forwarded from Paris as a "special correspondent", are mostly compilations from the French press, with occasional personal or autobiographical digressions (see below). Some of his articles published in Young Turk papers abroad throw light on contemporary ideological differences (e.g. his answer to Aḳçuraoghlu Yūsuf's famous essay, both published in the *Türk*, Nos. 24-34, Cairo 1904, reprinted later with the same essay, Aḳçuraoghlu Yūsuf, *Üç Tarr-ı*

*Siyâset*, 1327 *rûmî*/1911, 33-45). The thousands of articles which he published first in the *İkdam* and later in his own *Peyâm* (which have not been collected) are of great documentary importance for understanding the atmosphere of the period and for following the development of political, social and cultural problems during the 1908-1914 period; but they should be read together with the articles of his great opponent Hüseyin Dîhâhid [Yalçın] in the *Tanîn*, the organ of the CUP. His articles of the last phrase, published in the revived *Peyâm* (August-December 1919) and in the *Peyâm-î Şabâh* (1920-1922) typically reflect the frame of mind and the psychology of the Sultan's government and its supporters in occupied Istanbul during the time of the resistance movement in Anatolia. Apart from translations from the French, serialised in newspapers or published in book form and various minor publications, 'Ali Kemâl is the author of the following works: (1) *Pâris müşâhabeleri* (a selection of his articles and letters published in the *İkdam* in the 1890s, 2 vols., Istanbul 1329, 1331 r./1913, 1915); (2) *Fetret* (written in England in 1895, published in Istanbul 1329/1913). Intended to be a novel, this book consists of a series of loosely-connected essays around its hero Fetret, the product of a mixed marriage, in which the author expounds his ideas on modernism, westernisation, literature, history and culture, and indirectly criticises his opponents of the *Therwet-i Fünûn* literary school, particularly his main adversary Hüseyin Dîhâhid; (3) *İki hemşîre* (Istanbul 1315/1899), a long short story, with much autobiographical material from the author's exile years in Aleppo; (4) *Cölde bir sergüzeşt* (Istanbul 1316/1900; 2nd ed. of Nos. 3 and 4 published together under the title *Bir şafha-i shebâb*, Istanbul 1329/1913); (5) *Ridjâl-i İktisâl* (Istanbul 1329/1913), a study of the French Revolution and its impact on France and other European countries, consisting mainly of detailed biographies of Condorcet, Saint-Just, Danton and Robespierre; (6) *Edebiyyat-î hakîkiyye dersleri* (Istanbul 1330/1914), a collection of 12 essays, originally serialised in the *İkdam*, based on a course "Realism in Literature" given at the Sorbonne in the 1890s, with occasional remarks on contemporary Turkish literature; (7) *Râşid mü'errikh mi şâ'ir mi?* (Istanbul 1334/1918), an informal study on the 18th century chronicler Râşid, prompted by Ahmed Refik's enthusiastic article on Ahmed III and his grand vizier and son-in-law İbrâhim Paşa (*Sultan Ahmed-i Thâliûth we Dâmâdi*, in *Yeñi Medjmu'â*, No. 34 (1918), 149-53), in which 'Ali Kemâl compares the method and techniques of oriental historiography with those of modern western history-writing, mercilessly condemning the former. After a long exposition on Oriental and particularly Ottoman classical poetry, he concludes that Râşid was a mediocre historian but a remarkable poet of the Nabî school. This work is particularly interesting since it is, in a way, a recapitulation of the themes and leit-motiv which 'Ali Kemâl elaborated and repeated in all his writings, adopting all the negative judgments passed on the Turks and the Ottoman Empire by European writers and observers, and thus developing a deep complex of inferiority vis-à-vis Europe and Europeans. Here we have the clues to his cosmopolitanism, his anti-nationalism and his feeling of helplessness in face of the West, his recurrent claim that it is futile to challenge the Great Powers (*Düvel-i Muvâzzama*), and finally his constant advice for an acquiescent foreign policy and his a priori admission of the superiority of everything

western (see also his articles of 12, 15, 17, 21, 23 January and 23 March 1909 in the *İkdam*); (8) 'Omriim, 'Ali Kemâl's memoirs about his early life, his school years and his exile period in Aleppo, were first serialised in the *Peyâm* in 29 instalments from December 1329r./1913. A revised version was serialised in 32 instalments in the revived *Peyâm* from 14 July 1335r./1919. They have not been published in book form, but a critical edition in roman script was prepared by Berna Kazak in 1954 (Istanbul University Library, unpublished thesis, No. 2621).

When he was not involved in politics or in personal quarrels with his rivals, 'Ali Kemâl wrote essays on *diwân*-poetry, articles on contemporary literary problems, and occasionally poems which he published in the *Peyâm-î Edebi*, the literary supplement of his paper, to which many outstanding writers (Ridâ Tewfik, Ahmed Refik, Yahyâ Kemâl, Ya'kûb Kadri, etc.) contributed. In poetry and literary criticism, 'Ali Kemâl was a disciple of Mu'allim Nâdî (1850-93), a neo-classicist and an ardent opponent of the modernist school. He admired the *diwân*-poetry, had a very low (and wrong) opinion of classical Turkish prose (about which, like most of his contemporaries, he knew very little), and utterly despised the three generations of literary modernists: the *Tanzîmât*, the *Therwet-i Fünûn* and the "National Literature" (*Millî Edebiyât*) schools. He explained his views on Turkish literature in detail in a long letter which he sent in 1918 to Rüşen Eşref (Ünaydın), who had been interviewing the leading writers of the period (Rüşen Eşref, *Diyyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1918, modern Turkish ed. by Şemsettin Kutlu, Istanbul 1971). In spite of the personal cachet of his style (surprisingly much praised by the purist poet Yahyâ Kemâl, *op. cit.*, 71-2), 'Ali Kemâl had an awkward, anachronistic way of writing. Following the tradition of the classical Ottoman *munshîs*, he filled his essays with copious *cliché* quotations from the Arabic, Persian and Turkish verse. Like a few "recalcitrant" contemporary writers (e.g., Dînenâb ed-Dîn, Shihâb Süleymân Nazîf, 'Ali Ekrem, etc.) he took a hostile stand against the language reform movement of the post-1908 period and completely ignored the general trend towards the turkification of the written language. His hair-splitting concern with grammatical rules did not much help to improve his style, as stated by the great contemporary stylist (and his friend and colleague) Refik Khâlid (*op. cit.*, 63).

A prolific writer of great vitality, with a remarkable encyclopaedic knowledge, 'Ali Kemâl lacked the sense of history and reality. He wasted his talents in endless futile arguments, and ruined his career and himself by following his unbounded ambition, his blind obstinacy and his violent partisanship to the very end.

*Bibliography*: in addition to the works cited in the article, see Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, ii, Ankara 1968-9, 937-41; Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk inkılabı tarihi*, i, ii, iii, Istanbul 1940-53, index; Celâl Bayar, *Ben de yazdım*, vi, vii, İstanbul 1968-9, index; Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, Oxford 1969, 28, 122, 173; Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son Sadrazamlar*, 14 parts, İstanbul 1940-53, index; idem, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, 12 parts, İstanbul 1930-42, index; Âsim Us, *Hatıralar*, İstanbul 1966, 46-54; M. and Dî., 'Ali Kemâl İzzide nasıl sevk olundu? in *Resimli Gazete*, Nos. 71-9, Jan.-March 1341/1925; Bîlâl N. Şimşir, *İngiliz belgelerinde Atatürk*, i, Ankara 1973, index.

(FAHİR İZ)

**KEMAL, MEHMET, NÄMİK** one of the most prominent figures of Turkish literature in the second half of the 19th century, whose fame is due to his works in various fields, including his patriotic and political life.

I. *Life.* Kemal's mother was Fâtima Zahrâ **Khânım**, the daughter of 'Abd al-Latif Paşa and Makhdûme **Khânım**. His father Muştafâ 'Âsim Bey, who was well versed in history, mysticism and especially in astrology, had many a poet, scholar and statesman among his ancestors. His ancestry goes back to **Şehid Topal 'Othmân Paşa** of the Mora (Morea or Peloponese), who had been Şadr-i A'zam in the 18th century and was famous for his acts of heroism; Kemal was particularly proud of him. Kemal was born on 26 **Şawwâl** 1256/21 December 1840 at Tekfirdağlı (Tekirdağlı) and spent his early years with his grandfather. Together with his grandfather, who in Istanbul held the offices of *Mühürdâr* and *Kesedâr* (M. Şalâh al-Dîn, *Bir türk diplomatinin evrâk-i siyasiyesi*, Istanbul 1306, 11) and in the provinces those of *mütesellim*, *muhaşşil* and *mutaşarrif*, he stayed in Gelibolu, **Tırkhala** (Trikala), Afyon **Qaraşarlı** (1846), **Kütahya** (1848), **Karş** (March 1853-July 1854) and **Şofya** (May 1855-September 1856). When Kemal was 8 years old he lost his mother in Afyon (30/31 August 1848), and he married in Şofya Nesime **Khânım**, the daughter of the *kâdi* of **Niş**, when he had reached the age of 16. Shortly after that he returned to Istanbul in the company of his grandfather, who was dismissed from his office of *Kaymakâm* of Şofya. Following the deaths of his grandfather and grandmother, Kemal had to settle down in his step-mother **Dürriye Khânım's** house in **Khübyâ**, as the mansion of 'Abd al-Latif Paşa had to be sold in order to pay his debts.

Since 'Abd al-Latif Paşa was resident in Istanbul in between two appointments, Muştafâ 'Âsim was able to deal with the spiritual upbringing of Kemal during these periods; another important influential factor was his grandfather, whose virtues are praised by the poets of Afyon and who was a member of the *Mawlawî* convent next to their house. It is probable that Kemal was instructed in *samâ'* and in Persian whilst resident in Afyon. All the sources seem to agree on the fact that he attended the *Dâr al-Ma'ârif* in Istanbul for about a year and a half when he was 12-13 years old (Mahmûd Ojvâd, *Ma'ârif-i 'Umûmiyye Nazâret-i târikhîye-i tashkîlât ve idrâ'ât*, Istanbul 1338, 40, 97; 'Omar Fârûk Akün, *Namık Kemal*, in *IA*, ix, 55b). Kemal, whose spiritual life was nourished with poetry and music as well as with mystical knowledge, was schooled in the works of Muhyî 'l-Dîn Ibn al-'Arabî when he was apprenticed to the *müderris*-poet Sayyid Mehmed Hâmid (1779?-1854), under whose guidance he started reading Turkish *diwân* poets such as Nâbî and sections of the *Mathnawî*, while resident in Karş (Bani Çiçek Kırzioğlu, *Namık Kemal'in Karstaki hocası müderris büyük Hâmid Efendi*, in *Türk Kültürü*, no. 2/22, August 1964; for this were used the works of M. F. Kırzioğlu, 1855 *Karş Zâferi* and *Karş Târikhi*). During the time he spent in Karş he was also busy with sports like hunting and horse-riding.

We are not able to trace back the exact date of the beginning of Kemal's official career; however, we know that already in the year 1859 he was a secretary to the Bâb-i 'Âli. When Leskofçallı **Ghâlib** was appointed to be Chief Secretary of Customs (*Emî'a Gümruk'ü Tahriât Bashkâtibi*) (March 19 1860), Kemal was his assistant, and following the

former's appointment to Tripoli as the Director of Customs (*Gümruk Emîni*) in September 1861, Kemal became a member of the Chamber of Translation of the Sublime Porte, where he stayed until March 20 1867, when he was appointed to be the Assistant Governor of Erzurum. Meanwhile, he was giving voluntary lessons in orthography and composition at the *Djem'iyyet-i Tedrisiyye-i Islâmiyye*, of which he was a founder; he kept up these lessons until his departure for Paris (M. Cevâd, *op. cit.*, 97; 'Othmân Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, ii, 406; *Taşwîr-i efkâr*, nos. 208, 285, March 13 and 30 1865, nos. 365, 400, 402, 403, February 13, June 28, July 6 and 10 1866). The early years of Kemal, who returned to Istanbul from Şofya at the age of sixteen, were the most exciting period of his life, on account of the reforms introduced during the *Tanzîmât* period. The programme of reforms was announced by the Imperial Edict of 18 Feb. 1856; on 22 Oct. 1860 **Âgâh Efendi**, together with **Şhinâsi**, started to publish the first non-official newspaper, the *Terdjûmân-i ahwâl* and later, on 28 June 1862, **Şhinâsi** started the *Taşwîr-i efkâr*. The new thoughts of patriotic and nationalist zeal, as found in the writings of **Şhinâsi** (such as his political and social articles and his stage-play *Şhâ'ir evlenmesi*), the starting of the publication of learned and literary journals, *Medj-mû'a-i funûn* in July 1862 and the *Mir'ât* in March 1863, were all factors that played a role in the extension of Kemal's intellectual horizon. He took lessons in French with the *khulafâ'* of the Office of Translations at the Porte (*Terdjeme Odası*), **Manşûr Efendi**; he moved in such literary and political circles as the *Endjümen-i 'Shu'arâ'* (1861), which comprised old and new style poets, the printing office of the *Taşwîr-i efkâr*, and the **Şarafim Kîrâ'atkhânesi** (public reading room).

The alteration of the Succession Law for Egypt (*Mîşr Werâthet Kânunu*), which was decided upon at the beginning of May 1867, ordained that the Khedivate should pass from father to son and not to the eldest of the khedivial family. But before this, Muştafa Fâdil Paşa, who was by this to lose his right of succession, was advised by the Porte to leave Istanbul for some time, and had left for Europe in April 1866. In his letter to 'Abd al-'Azîz, which was printed in French and separately in Turkish (1866), he declares that in order to make possible the realisation of the reforms it was necessary to replace the Ministers, and in his answer to an article in the newspaper *Le Nord* of 1 Feb. 1867, he declares the persons having the new ideas (*efkâr-i djedide şahibleri*) to be of the same opinion. In addition to the Turkish translation of this answer, published in the *Taşwîr-i efkâr*, Kemal makes the statement that the *Türkistan'ın erbâb-i şhabâbi* ("Youth of Turkistân") who support M. Fâdil, put the interest of the nation before personal interest and are ready to realise in the near future their ideals, will astound the Europeans, who accuse the Ottomans of backwardness (No. 461, 23 Feb. 1867). His article on the Eastern Question, his *Lâyiha*, because it made known to the people the weakness of the state, was regarded by the government as anti-patriotic, so he was forbidden to contribute to the *Taşwîr-i efkâr* and was appointed assistant governor of Erzurum, with the rank of *Rube-i thâniyye şinf-i evvel-i mütemâyizi* (*Hürriyyet*, no. 23, 3 November 1868; *Taşwîr-i efkâr*, no. 469, 24 March 1867). On the invitation of M. Fâdil Paşa, with whom he had come to an agreement, he did not go to Erzurum. Together with other members of the

Society of Young Ottomans, like Dīyā', Su'āwī, Āgāh and others, he fled to Paris. All these young men, who were, together with their families, supported in their daily needs by M. Fāḍil and partly by Prince Murād assembled in Paris on 30 May. Their aim was to strive for the rights of the people, as well as to make known to them their duties, for the opening of the National Assembly and the enthronement of the *Shahzāde* Murād. When on 30 June 1867 'Abd al-'Azīz came to Paris on a state visit, he proposed to M. Fāḍil that he should return to Istanbul; this he did, not in the company of the Sultān, but on 20 September. At that time, Kemāl and his colleagues started from 31 August onwards to publish the *Mukhbīr*. But on account of the writings of Su'āwī against M. Fāḍil and in favour of 'Abd al-'Azīz, they announced by way of a letter, written in April or May 1868, that the *Mukhbīr* did not represent the Society of Young Ottomans. In this way, the Society split into two. Beginning on 28th June 1868, Kemāl and his associates started to publish the *Hürriyyet* ("Freedom") as a counterweight to the *Mukhbīr*. But they were threatened with the discontinuation of the financial support, and were told that an amnesty and permission to return to Istanbul would no longer be a possibility if they continued to write against 'Abd al-'Azīz and 'Alī Paṣha. Thereupon Kemāl and some of his colleagues declared in a letter dated 7 Jan. 1870 that they had no share in the writings printed in the *Hürriyyet* and that they disassociated themselves from its contents. In a letter from the Ministry of Public Security dated 10 Aug. 1870, they were permitted to return to Istanbul. On October 25, Kemāl and his friends arrived back in Istanbul.

Since the articles which he published at the time of his return in the *Diyozhen* (whose first volume came out on 12 Nov. 1872) and in the newspaper *'Ibret* (which began publication on 15 June 1872, and of which he found himself the editor-in-chief) were regarded as against common decency, first Kemāl was appointed *mutaşarrif* of Gelibolu (Gallipoli) (11 July 1872), and a little later the newspaper was closed (19 July 1872). On 31 July Midhat Paṣha was appointed Grand Vizier and on 26 Sept. Kemāl set out for Gallipoli. When the suspension of the newspaper *'Ibret* had been lifted, Kemāl, in a letter sent from there (No. 20, 30 July 1872), held forth on the unjustifiable suspension of this newspaper and the pressure which he and his friends had suffered to accept an office in the provinces. On 6 December came the news that 'Aṣim Paṣha had been appointed *mutaşarrif* of Gallipoli (*Djeride-i hawādith*, no. 2056), while Kemāl was discharged from office on 11 December (M. C. Kunṭay, *Namık Kemal*, i, Istanbul 1944, 234; ii/1, Istanbul 1949, 126, 134). Returning to Istanbul (*Hadika*, no. 28, 22 Dec. 1872), he continued his publications in the *'Ibret*.

On 6 April 1873, the day on which the *'Ibret* was closed because it supported the demonstrations at the first performance of his play *Wajan yakhud Silistre* at the Gedik Paṣha theatre on 1 April, Kemāl and his friends were arrested and by a *fermān* of 10 April sent into exile. After having been imprisoned in a narrow cell in the barracks of *Maghosa* at Famagusta in Cyprus, he was later transferred to a more spacious room, and, under the protection of the *mutaşarrif* of Cyprus, he was enabled to communicate with the outside world through his visitors, whom he was free to meet. Through the help of his friends, and specially that of the *Shahzāde* Murād, he and his family in Istanbul could live a comfortable life. Being granted an amnesty soon after the accession to the throne of

Murād V (31 May 1876), he and his friends set out for Istanbul on 14 June; whilst being guests in Izmir, they received the news about the event of Çerkes Hasan and on 20 June they arrived in Istanbul. His exile in Famagusta, which lasted 38 months, was in fact his most productive period.

On 11 Sept. 'Abd al-Hamīd came to the throne, after having taken the oath on 31 August, because of Murād V's illness, and Kemāl was appointed firstly on 18 Sept. a member of the Council of State (*Shurā-yi dewlet*) and later, on 2 Nov., a member of the General Assembly (*Meclis-i 'umumi*), which was working on the framing of the Constitution (*Kānūn-i esāsī*). The *Terdjeme djem'iyeti* was dissolved at its first meeting in November because it did not accept Su'āwī, and the *'Asākīr-i milliyye djem'iyeti*, because of the great increase in the number of its members, which worried the government. He opposed the article, added later to the Constitution, by which the Sultan was authorised to expel from the country anyone whom, as a result of a police investigation, he suspected. Shortly after the issue of the *fermān* dated 23 Dec. 1876, promulgating the Constitution, he was arrested on 12 Jan. 1877 on the pretext that he had disturbed the public order. From his letters, the real reason must have been the fact that he had written a verse making an allusion to the dethronement of 'Abd al-Hamīd; there was also the search for evidence to justify the exile of Midhat Paṣha from Istanbul, and fear of his possibly lending himself to causing some disturbance or of his being elected a deputy. During his detention, the Parliament was opened (19 March 1877). The enquiry into his case was closed on 10 July and on the 19th of that same month he left for Midilli (Mytilene), where he was ordered to reside. He followed closely the phases of the Turco-Russian war that broke out on 23 April, the Treaty of San Stefano concluding this war on 3 March 1878, the event of Su'āwī on the 20th May, the Congress of Berlin, which opened on 13 July and the discussions in the Ottoman Parliament, which was adjourned *sine die* in 1878. For the realisation of constitutional government, he gave instructions by letter to his close friends about which subjects they should speak during the debates in the Assembly; they accordingly made speeches and introduced bills (*lāyihās*). His exile on Mytilene continued for about two years and a half; then on 18 Dec., 1879 he was appointed *mutaşarrif* of the island. His struggle against the Italian fishermen, who were causing injury to local fishermen in their sponge-fishing; the fact that the Greeks, who wanted autonomy, were not paying the tax levied in lieu of military service (*bedel-i askeri*) with impunity; and also opposition from his adversaries among the Turkish officials—all these were reasons for his temporary dismissal (Feb.-May 1881). Having been restored to office, he held it for more than four years, after which the newspapers dated of 17 Oct. 1884 brought the news that he was to change places with the *mutaşarrif* of Rhodes, Āgāh Efendi (*Tarih*, nos. 203, 207; *Djeride-i hawādith*, no. 6822), and on 20 October it was made known that he had gone to Rhodes. By the continuous efforts of 'Arif Paṣha, who was on 5 Nov. 1885 appointed governor of the province of the Aegean Islands (the *Djezāyir-i Bahr-i Sefid*), the seat of the provincial administration was transferred from Chios (Sakız) to Rhodes (Mehmed *Thüreyyā*, *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iii, 297). So for that reason, Kemāl was transferred to Chios to be *mutaşarrif* there. From one of his letters it appears that he took up his duties there on 6 Dec. 1887.



During his occupation of these posts as *mulaşarrıf*, his struggles against public disorder and administrative inefficiency, and the smuggling of tobacco and sponges, fatigued Kemāl heavily. He also spent much effort to strengthen the Muslim population, who were in a minority compared to the Christians. He recommended to 'Abd al-Ḥamid and to high officials, by his *lāyihas* (memoranda), *'arıđas* (petitions) and letters, the means that had to be applied in order not to lose the Mediterranean islands. He was awarded the *Bālā rutbesi* and twice the '*Othmānlı nishāni* in 1881, 1883 and 1886. Kemāl, who was first taken ill with malaria and suffered later from pneumonia, was exhausted by his tiring official duties, and especially by the shock of the seizure of the first volume of his Ottoman History ('*Othmānlı tārīkhī*). He died from a combination of bronchitis and gastric and intestinal complaints, on 2 Dec. 1888 at Chios where he had lived alone, since he had sent his wife and son to Istanbul. By the time of the arrival of his wife, he was already buried. By an Imperial rescript his mortal remains were transported the next day to Bolayır, in accordance with his last injunction to Ebū 'l-Diyā' Tewfīk. The design of his tomb, which was erected on behalf of the *Khazine-i khāssa*, was by Tewfīk Fikret.

2. *Works*. Kemāl, like so many other personalities of the *Tanzimāt* literature, with their intentions of spreading new ideas and introducing new genres of writing, produced works in nearly every field.

(a) *Poetry*. Kemāl started his literary life with the writing of poetry. In one of the poetry magazines he wrote some 8 or 10 *ghazels* while he was fourteen years old, and he wrote for another one until his return from Şofya; in the last-mentioned periodical, we find religious, mystical and moral poetry, or that concerning his surroundings, as well as a *kıt'a* which he wrote at the age of sixteen and in which he satirises the banknotes affair; this *kıt'a* was taken over by Ḍiyā' Paşa in his *Kharabāt*. Only a few of these works from his childhood were included in the six poetry collections compiled later, because he was dissatisfied with them. There exists also a collection of *naẓıres* of his. His pseudonym of Nāmlık was given to him by Eşref Paşa, who highly praised his *merthiyes* and eulogised him as the *Kemāl iklīmīnīn sultānı* (*Diwān*, Istanbul 1279, 109, 200). When 20 years of age, on making acquaintance with Ḍiyā' Paşa, the latter praised his potential as a poet. He wrote *naẓıres* or "parallels" to the verses of contemporaries and older poets; poems composed jointly with other contemporaries; *djülüsüyyes* (poems in praise of a royal accession to the throne); *medhiyyes* (eulogies); *hidviyyes* (satires); *fakhrıyyes* (poems of self-glorification); *tārīkh kīt'asıs* (chronograms), *mutammaḡ ghazels* in Persian, with undotted letters, and a *Sāķi-nāme* ("Book of the Cup-bearer") parallel (*naẓıre*) to the one of Nedīm. He has left specimens of *diwān* poetry in nearly all forms and genres. In his articles in the *Taşwir-i efkār* are included many patriotic poems. He tried out syllabic metre in ten of his poems, the first of which he composed while in Europe; he composed poems in *mulamma'* fashion, half-Turkish, half-Arabic; letters in verse and *sharkıs*, some of which were set to music; and further, he translated a poem of Edward Goen and the *Marseillaise*. This last, if we are not mistaken, was the first of his poems rhymed in the new style. He produced this kind of verse mainly after *Wāweylā* ("Alas"), which was composed as a *naẓıre* (parallel) to Ḥāmid's *Sahrā* ("the country"). In his poetical works,

the mind dominates strongly over feeling and imagination. Most of his patriotic poems, like *Pilevne şarkısl*, *Murabba'*, *Bir muhādıjir kıztının istimādāt*, were written whilst on Midillı, at the time of the Turco-Russian war. Among these poems, by which he acquired his fame, is the *Waḡan kaşıdesi*, of which he published some *beıyts* whilst in Europe (1869) and before his exile to Maghosa (1872).

(b) *Articles*. Kemāl started his career in journalism, which he made his profession under the influence of Şināsi, with his writings in the *Taşwir-i efkār*. He continued his publications while in Europe in the *Hürriyyet* and after having returned to Istanbul he contributed to the newspapers *Diyozhen*, the '*İbret* and the *Hadıķa*. The most splendid period of his journalistic career was that of the ten to eleven years before his exile to Famagusta. The greatest number of his articles were published in the '*İbret* newspaper, of which he was the editor-in-chief. Although he was prohibited from publishing while in exile at Famagusta and on Mytilene, we do come across a small number of articles of his in newspapers such as the *Sa'y*, *Muḡavver medeniyyet*, *Çarıņa*, *Muḡarrır*, *İstikbāl*, *Şadāķat* and *İttihād*. These writings are unsigned, unlike those poems of his which were published in the *Terđjemān-i hakıķat* ("Interpreter of the Truth") under pseudonyms like *Khitām-i 'Adjemī* and *al-Dā'ī* Kemāl. His articles concern all kinds of events taking place in his surroundings, with a rich variety of subjects. The most effective and influential were those with a political content. In these writings, remaining faithful to the principles of the *Yeñi 'Othmānıllar Djem'ıyyeti*, he put forward the ideas which were to become the cause of the Constitution, and he strove to show the defects of nearly every institution as well as the means for its improvement. His most severe criticisms can be found in the writings he produced and published in the *Taşvir-i efkār* and the '*İbret* at the time when he was contemplating fleeing to Europe and was in no need of an official post, but which were the cause of his being banished to Famagusta. Compared with his works in other genres, he achieved great fame by these various articles, especially those reflecting his political struggles.

(c) *Historical works*. His works in this field are monographs about the great men of Ottoman and Islamic history, the *Tārīkh-i 'askeri* and the '*Othmānlı tārīkhī*. — 1. *Bārıķa-i zafer* ("The Sword of Victory") concerns the conquest of Istanbul by Meḡmed II the Conqueror, and was written in one day. He used artistic prose here, and was convinced that no one adhering to the *diwān* literature could write a "parallel" to it (Istanbul 1289, 1305). — 2. *Dewlet-i 'Alıyye'nin devr-i istilāsına dā'ır bir maķāledir*. In this work he treated of the conquests of the Ottoman empire since its establishment up to the end of the reign of Sülaymān the Magnificent. Shortly after it was published in instalments in the *Taşvir-i efkār*, it was printed in book-form from Jan. 1867 onwards (Istanbul 1289, 1301, 1304). — 3. *Şalāķ al-Din Eyyübı*. This is a monograph about the life of the founder of the Ayyübid and Muslim hero Şalāķ al-Din (Saladin). It was printed, together with the *Devr-i istilā'*, as the first volume of the *Evrāk-i perıshān* (Istanbul 1289/1872, 1964). — 4. *Silistre muḡasarası*. He published this under the name of Aḡmed Nāfidh, a man who had himself taken part in the battle of 1853, and on whose mediation Kemāl relied for his communications with Istanbul while in exile in Famagusta (Istanbul 1290, 1946). — 5. *Kanizhe*: this was written to recall the praise-

worthy victories of the Turkish soldiers, and contains the conquest of Kanizhe during the reign of Mehemmed III, as well as the acts of heroism of Tiryâkî Hasan Pasha, and was published under the name of Ahmed Nâfidh (Istanbul 1290, 1303, 1311, 1335, 1941). — 6. *Terdieme-i hâl-i Emîr Nevruz*. This contains the life and the struggles of Emîr Nevruz, who, at the time of the Mongol conquests fought for the sake of Islam and humanity; it was first published under the abbreviation *nân-kâf*, while he was in exile in Famagusta (Istanbul 1293; Arakel 1302; Maṭba'a-i Ebüzziyâ, 1302, 1305). Of the above-mentioned works, the *Devr-i istilâ* and *Şalâh al-Din Eyyûbi*, to which were added the biographies of Mehemmed the Conqueror and Sulṭân Selim, were printed as one volume and published under the name *Evrâk-i perîshân* (Istanbul, n.d. [Istanbul 1301]). — 7. Apart from the works mentioned up to here, he prepared, while in Famagusta, his *Târih-i 'askerî*, as his entry for a competition for a history-book for the lessons at the *Harbiyye mektebi* or War Academy. Its first volume runs from Sulṭân 'Uthmân up to the end of the period of Sülaymân the Magnificent and the second volume starts with the reign of Sulṭân Selim II and ends with the conquest of Bozdja-ada (Tenedos) and Limni (Lemnos) in 1657; it was never published, and its manuscript is preserved in the Türk Tarih Kurumu. — 8. In 1886 at Rhodes he started writing the *'Othmânîlî târihî*, in order to give a more comprehensive version of the *Târih-i 'askerî*. When the introduction to this work, which comprises the history of the Roman Empire, and Islamic history up to the years 227-8 of the *hidjra*, was printed (Istanbul 1305/1887), it was denounced, due to certain expressions and phrases, and Kemâl was informed that the printing of this work was forbidden and that copies would be seized. Its manuscript treats the history up to the time of Selim I; it is kept in the Türk Tarih Kurumu. From this *'Othmânîlî târihî*, which was written, like his monographs in general, in a narrative fashion, only a part—that up to the reign of Mehemmed the Conqueror—was published in four volumes in the *Kulliyât-i Kemâl* series (Istanbul 1326-7).

(d) Plays. Kemâl, who regarded the drama as a school for the improvement of morals, held the view that, because the Turkish language was not yet simplified to a sufficient degree, it would be impossible to write dramas in syllabic metre; hence all his six plays are written in prose. — 1. *Watan yâkḥud Silistre*. The basic events of this were taken from the battle of Şumnu, during the reign of Maḥmûd II, but in order to make things more impressive, the play was set during the battle of Silistre in 1853. It was presented to the Russian press in 1876 by V. D. Smirnov and it was translated into German by H. Hartt and also by L. Pekotsch, and in Arabic by Muḥammad b. al-Khayyâṭ. Though it was sharply criticised by Murâd Bey, it is nevertheless important because it was the first stage-play having as its subject the Ottoman national virtues. Its influence is found particularly in Manastîrlî Rif'at's drama *Yâ ghâzî yâ shahîd* (Çanta, iii, Istanbul 1291), and in his *naẓîre* called *Ṭuna yâkḥud zafer* (Istanbul 1301). It was printed more than ten times between 1873 and 1972, and has been presented a great many times since its first performance up to the present day. — 2. The subject of the story *Dânîsh Bey yâkḥud Fâkḥîshe-i Nâ'ibe* was thought up on the boat when he was sent into exile at Famagusta and was made into a play there and given the name of *'Akîf Bey* (Istanbul 1873, 1873, 1876 and 1966). It is inspired

by the battle at the outset of the Crimean War, involving the setting on fire by the Russians of an Ottoman fleet anchored in the port of Sinope on 30 Nov. 1853. This tragedy, which describes the love-adventure of a woman, who takes into her head to marry, after having invented the death of her husband, the captain of a ship, vigorously displays patriotic feelings. — 3. His social-sentimental play is *Zavallî çodjuḳ* (Istanbul 1873, three times; 1874, 1940, 1947, 1960). It describes the tragedy caused by the pressure put on by the family in a question of marriage, and its influence is to be perceived in *Hamîd's İli kiz* and in the *Wuşlat* of R. Ekrem. — 4. *Gûlmihâl*, at first named *Râz-i dîl* ("Heart's secret"), was written at the time *Watan* was in rehearsal. In this work, like *Zavallî çodjuḳ* and *'Akîf Bey* published unsigned while he was in Famagusta, the conceptions of liberty, justice and oppression are analysed, while being brought to life through the characters by which they are symbolised (Istanbul 1873, 1876, ?1869). — 5. In his *Kara Belâ*, again written in Famagusta, is described the passionate love of a *harem aḡhâst* for the daughter of one of the Indian sovereigns. This play, much appreciated by Kemâl himself, has been sharply criticised (Ist. 1911; Sh. Süleymân, *Tenkidât-i edebîyye*, Istanbul 1911). — 6. The subject matter of his last play *Djelâl al-Din Khwârazmshâh*, in which the idea of the unity of Islam is defended, is set in the period of the Mongol invasions. It was finished in 1881 at Mytilene. The date of publication, Cairo 1292/1875, is false. In his lifetime it was partly published in the form of instalments (*Medjmu'a-i Ebüzziyâ*, v, nos. 49, 50, 31 August and 14 September 1886). Although it was written to be read, it was staged after 1908 (*TOEM*, xxxvii/1, April 1332), 50; republished in simplified language, Istanbul 1969).

(e) Novels. Although Kemâl's novels have not become as famous as his dramas, and were not very successful in general, they still are of importance, because they were the first works in this genre. The novel he wrote while in Famagusta and in which he describes the ruin, materially and morally, of a young man who falls in love with a prostitute, was published shortly after his being granted pardon under the new name of *'Alî Bey'in sergüzeshtini hâwidir*, since no permission was given for publishing under its original name *Şoñ pishmânîlik* (Istanbul 1876, 1969, 1971). This more or less romantic-social work of his was translated into French. His second novel, *Djezmî*, for which the subject matter was extracted from Ottoman, Crimean and Persian history of the 16th century, was written in parts at Mytilene and finished in 1881. Under the influence of Romanticism, Pan-Islamism is the leading idea, and is defended in *Djezmî* (Istanbul 1297, 1299, 1304, 1335 1969).

(f) Criticism. Most of his criticism, in general reflecting his ideas about *dîwân* and western literature, and the simplicity of the language, is composed in epistolary form, because it was written when he was in exile. — 1. In his foreword (*muḥaddîme*) to the *Bahâr-i dâniş* he wrote that during the *Tanzîmât* period, people had refrained from translating works from Persian, because of the strong influence of Western literature, and he gave a translation of one of the famous stories written by *Shaykh 'Inâyat Allâh* in the Urdu language (Istanbul 1291, 1303, 1311). — 2. *Takhrîb-i kharâbât* is a criticism of the first volume of *Ḍiyâ' Pasha's* anthology (publ. Istanbul 1874), including examples of the various kinds of poetry of Arabic, Persian and Turkish *dîwân* literature. It was first published as an article in instal-

ments (*Medîmû'a-i Ebuẓẓiyâ*, nos. 11, 19, 24, 17 January, 15 May and 17 July 1882), and it was later printed in book-form (Istanbul 1301, 1304). — 3. His critical reviews of the second and third volumes of this same work were, after having been printed as magazine articles (*ibid.*, nos. 30-36, 24 January-23 April 1883), published separately also (Istanbul 1301, 1312). — 4. '*İrfân Pasha*'ya mektûb was written with reference to 'İrfân Pasha's blaming the young generation, in the preface to his work *Medîmû'a-i 'İrfân Pasha* (Istanbul 1287), for not appreciating the *düvân* literature (*ibid.*, no. 7, 18 Nov. 1880); as a book publ. Istanbul 1309, 1327). — 5. *Muḫâla'a-nâme*, was written with reference to R. Ekrem's *Ta'lim-i edebîyyât*, and was printed according to a defective manuscript, which has been subsequently found (N. Halil Onat, *Namik Kemal'in tâlim-i edebiyat üzerine bir risalesi*, Ankara 1950); from his letters it seems that he wrote it at Mytilene in 1878. — 6. In his *Muḫaddime-i Dîelâl*, finished at Mytilene in 1878, he expressed his opinion with regard to the new forms of literature, which had developed after the *Tanzîmât*, namely the political article, the novel and the drama, as well as his thoughts about whether some features of his play *Dîelâl al-Dîn Kh'wârazmshâh* were in accordance with the historical facts or not, and about simplicity of the language (publ. as an article in *Shark*, nos. 1 ff., 1297; *Medîmû'a-i Ebuẓẓiyâ*, nos. 38-44, 4 Nov. 1884-12 Jan. 1885. Istanbul 1305, 1309). — 7. His *Renan müdâfa'a-nâmesi*, which he finished at Mytilene in Sept. 1883, is his criticism of a lecture called *L'Islamisme et la science*, delivered by Ernest Renan at the Sorbonne on 29 March 1883 (Istanbul 1326; ed. Fu'ad Köprülü, Ankara 1962). — The information given by Ahmed Midhat in his *Uss-i inḫilâb* about his opinions on the Constitution was criticised by Kemâl (Istanbul 1295, 197, 220) in his letters dating 24 Aug. and 13 Sept. 1878 (*Edîb-i a'zam Namîk Kemâl Bey'in ghayr-i maḫbû' âthârından* — Ahmed Midhat Efendi'ye yazdığı iki mektûb, Izmir 1324). — 9. Apart from these works of his, he wrote other pieces of criticism, which were published in magazines but were never printed in book-form; these include *Mes prisons mu'âkkaḫhesi* about the Turkish translation (1874) by R. Ekrem of Silvio Pellico's *Le Mie Prigioni*. — 10. *Muḫâlebât-i siyâsiyye*, being his criticism on K. P. Rif'at's *Hükûk-i 'umûmiyye* (Istanbul 1290), which was the latter's translation of Pradié Fodéré's *Principes généraux de droit politique et de législation* (Paris 1869). — 11. The *Intibâh muḫaddimesi*. — 12. His *Laḫîfe* (anecdote), also called *Pilevne mu'âkkaḫhesi*, relating to D. Hikmet's *Pilevne Kahramânî 'Othmân Pasha şahîndadır* (Istanbul 1878). — 13. The criticism he wrote of Mahmûd Dîelâl al-Dîn Pasha's *Sherh-i Shefik-nâme* (Istanbul 1290), his *Shefik-nâme* or *Rawḫat al-Kâmilin mu'âkkaḫhesi*. — We may also include in this genre his *Lâyihas* (memoranda) and *Takrîds* (eulogies of books). But one finds his most sincere and objective criticisms in his private letters, some of them of book length, and containing his frank opinions about the work of his contemporaries and about various controversies during that period.

(g) Other works. Apart from the works mentioned above he produced certain other writings: *Tendhîr al-ḫînzîr* (Istanbul 1307); *Sergüzeşt* (Istanbul 1327); *Ru'ya* (signed in abbreviation *nûn-ḫaf*, n.p.d., Egypt 1908, Istanbul 1326, 1932); *Imtizâdî-i akvâm - wafây-i 'ahd* (Istanbul 1327); *Hikmet al-ḫukûk*, *Midilli risalesi* and *Medîmû'a-i siyâset* were never published in bookform.

*Bibliography:* The above is mostly based

on the following works: Fâ'îk Reshâd, *Edîb-i a'zam Kemâl*; Ebuẓẓiyâ, *Kemâl Bey'in terdîme-i ḫâli* (Istanbul 1326) and *Yeni 'Othmânîllar târiḫi* published in the *TE*; 'A. Ekrem Bolayır, *Namik Kemal* (Istanbul 1933).

Of other sources, his early life and his poetry are clarified by S. N. Ergün (*Namik Kemal hayatı ve şiirleri* Istanbul 1933; *Namik Kemal'in şiirleri* Istanbul 1941), while I. R. M. Kemal Inal has treated in his work of Kemâl's life as an official and his verses (*Son asir Türk sairleri*, v, Istanbul 1938, 819 ff.). For his childhood, see: E. 'Ali Baḫî, *Namik Kemal'in annesi nerede yatar*, in *Cumhuriyet*, 24 Dec. 1940; *Ülkü*, no. 101, July 1941; *Namik Kemal Afyon'da*, Ankara 1949. Some of his articles have been brought together and printed (Ebuẓẓiyâ, *Muntahabat-i Taşvîr-i efkâr*, Istanbul 1304, 1311; A. Ekrem Bolayır, *Küllîyyât-i Kemâl*, Istanbul 1327; M. Nihad Özön, *Namik Kemal ve 'Ibret gazetesi*, Istanbul 1938). See also R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963, index; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, index; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, art. s.v. Most of his works were published by others while he himself was in exile; hence because he was not able to correct them himself, they contain some mistakes and omissions. Among the works which the Türk Tarih Kurumu has bought from his family are manuscripts of some of his works, as well as some printed copies which he has corrected himself. The Society has also brought together about 744 letters, some of which were addressed to him, two books containing his official writings, and also two books with his collected poems. Apart from the poems, these works have not been consulted. His letters, amounting to about 1,000, together with those already available, are, together with a commentary on their contents and documentation, being prepared for the press by the Türk Tarih Kurumu (*Namik Kemal'in mektupları*, i, Istanbul, *Avrupa ve Maghosa mektupları*; ii and iii, *Midilli mektupları*, Ankara 1967, 1969, 1973). Because of the availability of these volumes, only a basic bibliography is given here; see further the general index to these three volumes.

(F. A. TANSEL)

**KEMÂL PASHA-ZÂDE**, OF IBN(-I) KEMÂL, usual appellations of SHAMS AL-DÎN AḤMAD B. SULAYMÂN B. KAMÂL PASHA, Ottoman scholar and Shaykh al-Islâm, b. ?873/1468-9, d. 940/1534.

*Life.* The identity of his grandfather is obscure. Kemâlpashazâde mentions (*VII. Defter*, facs., 293, 325)—but with no hint that he is descended from him—a Kemâl Pasha who was appointed to the vizierate upon the dismissal of Mahmûd Pasha [q.v.] in 872/1468 and died in 875/1470 (for a letter of congratulation, undated, from Prince Bâyezîd, see N. Lugal and A. Erzi, *Fâtîh devrine âit münşedât mecmuası*, Istanbul 1956, no. 60); and a *ḫâşida* of Hâmidî (ed. İ. H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1949, 306-8) is addressed to "Daftardâr Kamâl Pasha" (for the autograph MS., containing a miniature of this Kemâl, see *Fâtîh ve İstanbul*, i/1 (1953), 17). According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, however (*Amasya Ta'riḫi*, Istanbul 1329, iii, 227: as so often one does not know how seriously to take this work's undocumented assertions), the grandfather became *lâlâ* to Prince Bâyezîd at Amasya in 870/1465-6 and died there in 875/1470-1. That the grandfather was indeed at some time Bâyezîd's *lâlâ* is implied by 'Ashîk Çelebi (ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, f. 37a), but he certainly

died ('Āshikpashazâde, ed. Giese, p. 197) and was buried in Istanbul: his *türbe* (no longer extant) formed the nucleus of a *mahalle* (Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970, 149), and Kemâlpashazâde set up a *wakf* in favour of its mosque (*op. cit.*, no. 864).

Kemâlpashazâde's father Süleymân "Beg" and "Çelebi" (called by Kaḫbūlī *wazīr ibn-i wazīrân* in the last of five *kaḫidas*, cf. *Külliyât*, ed. İ. H. Ertaylan, 206) is said to have been *muhâfiḫ* of Amasya and *sandjakbegi* of Tokat from 879/1474-5 until after 896/1490-1 (*Amasya Ta'rikhi*, iii, 230-2, 237-8); he was buried in his father's *türbe* at Istanbul (the date of his death is unknown). Kemâlpashazâde's mother was the sister of Ibn Küpeli, *kaḫdi'asker* in the middle years of the reign of Meḫmed II (Tashköprüzâde, *Shahâ'ik*, i, 303-4; Turkish tr. Meḫdî, 215).

Kemâlpashazâde began his adult life as a *sipâhi*; but upon noticing the respect paid to Mollâ Luṭfi [q.v.], a relatively humble *müderriis*, by prominent statesmen and soldiers, he decided to embrace the career of *ilm* (this incident, recorded by Tashköprüzâde from Kemâlpashazâde himself, seems to have occurred in 897/1492, or perhaps even earlier). He began his studies under Mollâ Luṭfi, at the Dâr al-ḫadīth in Edirne. His first appointment, as *müderriis* at the *medrese* of 'Alī Beg in Edirne, was procured for him by Mü'eyyedzâde 'Abd al-Raḫmân Efendi, then *kaḫdi'-asker* of Anadolu (and probably an old acquaintance of his father at Amasya), who on the same occasion recommended him to Bâyezîd II as the only fit person to write a definitive History of the Ottomans as the Turkish counterpart of Idris Bidlisi's recently-commissioned *Hashi Bihisht*; this incident can be closely dated by the facts that the *Hashi Bihisht* was commissioned in 908/1502-3 [see BIDLISĪ] and that Kemâlpashazâde was already installed in the *medrese* of 'Alī Beg in Muḫarrem 909/July 1503 (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 479). He then progressed through a series of *medreses* (Üsküb, Edirne, one of the Şaḫn *medreses* at Istanbul, the *medrese* of Bâyezîd II at Edirne).

Presumably while still *müderriis* at Edirne, he wrote a *risâla* (sometimes erroneously termed *fatwâ*) *fi takfir al-rawâfiḫ*, demonstrating war against Shâh Ismâ'îl to be *farḫ 'ayn* (Atsız [see *Bibl.*], no. 84; Brockelmann, no. 47b; text published by M. C. Şahabeddin Tekindaḫ in *TD*, xvii/22 (1968), 77-8 and cf. 55; German summary in Elke Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden* . . . , Freiburg i/B 1970, 164-5). On 10 Raḫjab 921/20 August 1515, i.e. shortly after Selim's return to Istanbul from the Çaldırân [q.v.] campaign, he was appointed *kaḫdi* of Edirne (Feridün, *Munsha'ât*, i, 467-8). On 14 Şha'ban 922/12 September 1516, while Selim was staying in Aleppo after the battle of Marḫî Dâbiḫ, he was promoted to *kaḫdi'asker* of Anadolu (Feridün, i, 480). In Cairo, for some unknown reason (? a protest at the execution of Ṭümân Bâyi), the irascible Selim dismissed him, but he re-appointed him a couple of weeks later (Rabî' I-II/April 1517; Feridün, i, 454, 489). According to an anecdote recorded by Sa'deddin (ii, 614-6; cf. Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 519-20), Kemâlpashazâde's influence with Selim was such that the dignitaries, bored with the long stay in Egypt, asked him to convey the hint that the troops wished to return home. In the course of this campaign he gave a ruling in favour of the orthodoxy of Ibn al-'Arabî [q.v., at col. 708b] (Atsız, no. 85; Brockelmann, no. 47a).

In 924/1518 he acted as *emin* for a land-survey (*tahrir*) of Karâmân (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 39; cf.

N. and I. Beldiceanu, in *JESHO*, xi (1968), 7, 57). Upon being dismissed, or resigning, from the post of *kaḫdi'asker* (in 925/1519, according to Meḫdî, 387), he again became a *müderriis* at Edirne (Dâr al-ḫadīth, then *medrese* of Bâyezîd II). Upon the death of "Zembilli" 'Alī Efendi (932/1526) he was appointed *Shaykh* al-Islâm, and held office until his death on 2 Şhawwâl 940/16 April 1534. He was buried in the *zâwiye* of Maḫmūd Çelebi, outside Edirne Kaplısı.

*Works.* Kemâlpashazâde was a most prolific writer, in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, in the fields of history, *belles-lettres*, grammar, theology and law. Over 200 works (many of them, admittedly, short *risâlas*) are attributed to him. The most important are:

Turkish: (1) History of the Ottomans, begun in 908/1502-3 and composed originally in eight books (*defter*), one for each reign from 'Oḫmân to Bâyezîd II. All survive in manuscript except Book 5 (Meḫmed I) and the first part of Book 6 (Murâd II). Book 1 ('Oḫmân), ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara (TTK) 1970; Book 7 (Meḫmed II, largely based on Neşri and Tursun [q.v.]) but containing important original data), ed. Ş. Turan in facsimile (from the autograph *MS*, Fatih 4205, see V. L. Ménage, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 250-64), Ankara 1954, and in transcription, Ankara 1957. Book 8 reaches to 916/1510. Later, Kemâlpashazâde was asked to continue his History. Book 9 (Selim I) resumes the last years of Bâyezîd II's reign but reaches only to 920/1514 (the apparent date of completion, 19 Şafar 926, is expressed by a *mu'ammâ* in fractions, a literary conceit which appears to be Kemâlpashazâde's invention, see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, i (1948), 237-47). (Two *mss.*—*Hazine* 1424, *Revan* 1277—sometimes referred to as a *Selimmâme* of Kemâlpashazâde are in fact by Sa'di b. 'Abd al-Muta'al: abridged German tr. by M. T. Speiser, Zürich 1946; see M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindaḫ, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, i (1970), 217-8 and (incorrect) 208-10). Book 10, extending only to Süleymân's return from the Mohacz campaign in 933/1526, was for long regarded as a separate work (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iii, p. vi) and was published, with French tr., by Pavet de Courteille as *Histoire de la campagne de Mohacz par Kemal Pachazadeh*, Paris 1859; that this text is the fragmentary Book 10 was shown by L. Forrer (*Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 187; see also, with important data on the *mss.*, Hüseyin Yurdaydın, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iii (1956), 107-15). It appears that Book 10 was never given final shape (and that Book 9 was never completed). Various portions of the work also exist in *ms.* under a variety of titles. In spite of its importance, especially for the writer's own times (H. İnalcik has called him "the greatest of all Ottoman historians"), it was very little used by later chroniclers. For the *mss.* in European libraries: Babinger, 61 ff.; in Istanbul: *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, 1944, 120 ff., and Atsız, no. 1.

(2) *Divân*. Two *kaḫidas* and about 300 *ghazals*, distinguished by having no *makhlas*; partial ed. Istanbul (İkdam series no. 5) 1313; cf. E. J. W. Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 347-63. Atsız, no. 2. His famous elegy on Selim I, appearing early in Book 10 of the History, has been published by M. 'Arif, in *TOEM*, part 22, 1411-6, and by F. İz, in *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, i/1, Istanbul 1966, 505-8. (3) A verse translation of the famous *Burda* [q.v.] of al-Büşîrî (Atsız, no. 3). (4) *Yûsuf u Zeliḫhâ*, a *mathnawî* in 7777 couplets, closely following *Djâmî* [q.v.], dedicated to Bâyezîd II. See Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 12-17; except in F. İz, *Nazım*, i/2, 1967, 786-90. Atsız, no. 4. (5) *Daḫâ'ik al-ḫakâ'ik*,

dedicated to Ibrâhîm Pasha [q.v.], on the distinctions between apparent synonyms in Persian; to judge from the numerous *mss.*, the work was widely read. Atsız no. 8.

Persian: (6) *Nigârîstân*, in prose and verse, in imitation of the *Gulistân* of Sa'dî [q.v.], completed in 939/1533; excerpts, with Latin translation, in *Mines de l'Orient*, i, 401-8; ii, 107-113. Atsız no. 20. (7) *Muḥîṭ al-lughât*, an Arabic-Persian dictionary composed in 926/1520. Atsız, no. 26.

Arabic: (8) *Tafsîr*, incomplete, the *mss.* comprising *sûras* 1-38, 67, 78-9, 86, 89, 103: Atsız, no. 27; Brockelmann, nos. 6-10. (9) Four (or five?) distinct collections of *hadîṭhs* (40, 30 and 24) with *sharḥ*: Atsız, nos. 39-42; Brockelmann, nos. 13-17 and 132. One collection was translated into Turkish by 'Ashîk Çelebi [q.v.] and printed, Istanbul 1316; see A. Karahan, *İslâm-Türk edebiyatında kırk hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 175-8; *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 253-4. (10) *Muhimmât al-muftî*, a collection of *fatwâs*: Atsız, no. 47; Brockelmann, no. 45. (11) A *hâshîya* on some sections of the *Hidâya* of al-Marghînânî [q.v.]: Atsız, no. 48; Brockelmann, no. 151 (?). (12) *İslâḥ al-Wikâya*, corrections to the *Wikâya* of 'Ubayd al-Maḥbûbî, and (13) *Idâḥ al-İslâḥ*, his own *sharḥ* to (12), both completed in 928/1522: Atsız, no. 49; Brockelmann, nos. 46, 170. (14) A *hâshîya* on the *Talwîḥ* of al-Taftâzânî [q.v.]: Atsız, no. 50; Brockelmann, no. 151 (?). (15) *Taghyîr al-Tanḳîḥ*, corrections to the *Tanḳîḥ al-uşûl* of 'Ubayd Allâh al-Maḥbûbî completed in 931/1525, printed Istanbul 1308: Atsız, no. 51 (add *ms.* Murad Molla 623, autograph, see *BSOAS*, xxiii, 253); Brockelmann, II<sup>2</sup>, 278; S II, 301. (16) His own *sharḥ* to (15): Atsız, no. 52. (17) A *sharḥ* to al-Farâ'id al-Sirâdjîyya, of al-Sađîjawandî [q.v.], completed in 928/1522: Atsız, no. 53; Brockelmann, no. 42a. (18) A *hâshîya* to the commentary by al-Djurdjânî [q.v.] on the *Mawâḳif* of al-İdîlî [q.v.]: Atsız, no. 92; Brockelmann, no. 140. (19) A *hâshîya* to the *Tahâfut al-falâsifa* of Kh'âdjazâde (for whom see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, 649-52): Atsız, no. 93; Brockelmann, nos. 94, 161. (20) *Taghyîr al-Miftâḥ*, corrections to and commentary on the *Miftâḥ al-'ulûm* of al-Sakkâkî [q.v.]: Atsız, no. 140; Brockelmann, no. 154. (21) A *sharḥ* to the *Khamriyya* of Ibn al-Fârîdî [q.v.]: Atsız, no. 160; Brockelmann, no. 92. (22) *al-Risâla al-munîra*, printed Istanbul 1286, etc.: Atsız, no. 170; Brockelmann, no. 134 and cf. no. 17b. (23) *al-Falâḥ fî sharḥ al-Marâḥ*, a *sharḥ* to the *Marâḥ al-arwâḥ*, on grammar, of Aḥmad b. 'Alî b. Mas'ûd, printed Istanbul 1289, etc.; attribution doubtful: Atsız, no. 181; Brockelmann, II<sup>2</sup>, 24; S II, 14. (24) *R. fî taḥkîk ta'rib al-kalîmât al-'arabiyya*, on various non-Arabic words used in Arabic, printed Cairo n.d. (according to Sarkis), Turkish tr. Istanbul 1290; described by Brunschvig [see *Bibl.*], 50-2: Atsız, no. 182; Brockelmann, no. 109. (25) *al-Tanbîḥ 'alâ ghalat al-khâmil* (sic, not *al-djâhil*) *wa'l-nabîḥ*, on Arabic words mispronounced, Turkish tr. Istanbul 1289: Atsız, no. 194; Brockelmann, no. 106 [and see *ḤALATÂT-I MESÛHÛRE*]. (26) *R. fî maziyyat al-lisân al-fârisî*, on the superiority of Persian over other languages, except Arabic, printed in *Rasâ'il*, Istanbul 1316, 210-6, and Tehran 1332 s.; see Brunschvig, 52-6: Atsız, no. 203; Brockelmann, no. 108.

According to Kâtib Çelebi (*Kashf al-zunûn*, Flügel no. 13617 = Yaltkaya-Bilge, ii, 1933), he translated for Selîm I, under the title *al-Kawâkib al-bâhira*, *al-Nudjûm al-zâhira* of Ibn Tağrîbirdî [see *ABU 'L-MAḤÂSIN*], but no *ms.* is known.

Kemâlpaşazâde is usually credited with the

authorship of the somewhat notorious *Rudjû' al-shayḳḳ ilâ şibâḥ fî 'l-kuwwa 'ala 'l-bâḥ*, rendered by R. F. Burton "Book of Age-rejuvenescence in the power of Concupiscence" (Brockelmann, no. 103, for Arabic *mss.* and printed texts and Persian trans.; anon. English trans. *The old man young again*, 2 vols., Paris 1898-9; and see *DJINS* at col. 552b). However, Kâtib Çelebi records (*Kashf*, Flügel no. 5878 = Yaltkaya-Bilge, i, 835) that Kemâlpaşazâde translated it, presumably from Arabic into Turkish, for Selîm I (Atsız lists, no. 7, two Turkish *mss.*); the author is more probably Aḥmad b. Yûsuf al-Tifâşhî, d. 651/1253 (Brockelmann, I<sup>2</sup>, 652; and see *AL-TIFÂŞHÎ*).

There seems to be no foundation for the assertion that Abu 'l-Su'ûd [q.v.] was the pupil of Kemâlpaşazâde. Their names are significantly linked, however, by 'Aṭâ'î (p. 185), in the statement that it was they who, as *mu'allim-i evvel* and *mu'allim-i thâni* of Süleymân I, succeeded (by their *idjîtihâd*) in reconciling the *shari'a* and the *kânûn*—an achievement sometimes attributed to Abu 'l-Su'ûd alone (see also Kâtib Çelebi, *Mizân al-haḳḳ*, 116; Eng. tr. G. L. Lewis, 128). The extent of Kemâlpaşazâde's contribution remains to be investigated (numerous MS collections of his *fatwâs* survive: Atsız, no. 5; Brockelmann, no. 47). As regards other fields, however, his immense reputation rests rather on his industry and on the profundity and extent of his learning than on any originality of thought.

*Bibliography*: Life. The principal source is Taşköprüzâde, *Şaḳḳâ'îk*, i, 541-8 = Turkish trans. by Međîdî, 381-5 = German trans. by Rescher, 243-5. To cite here the numerous secondary works is superfluous, for they are superseded by three recent studies, all containing references to them and to unpublished sources: İsmet Parmaksızođlu, art. *Kemâl Paşa-zâde*, in *IA*, fasc. 62 (1954); Ş. Turan, introductory chapter in *Tevâriḥ-i Âl-i Osman: VII. defter*, Ankara 1957, pp. ix-xxviii; R. C. Repp, *The origins and development of the office of Shaikh al-Islâm...*, unpublished D. Phil. thesis. Oxford 1966, 277-96.

Works. The most recent attempt at a bibliography is by [Çiftçioglu Nihal] Atsız, *Kemâlpaşazâde'nun eserleri*, in *Şarkîyat Mecmuası*, vi (1966), 71-112 (nos. 1-92) and vii (1972), 83-135 (nos. 93-209), listing 19 works in Turkish, 7 in Persian and 183 in Arabic, the last classified by subject (*tafsîr*, *hadîṭh*, etc.); but valuable as it is, it is based only on the manuscript collections of Istanbul, so that it does not supersede *Djamâl al-'Azm*, *'Uḳûd al-djâwhar*, Beirut 1326, 217f. (214 titles, with some duplications) or, for the Arabic works, Brockelmann: II<sup>2</sup>, 597-602 = nos. 1-124; S II, 668-73 = nos. 125-70; S III, 1306 = nos. 171-9.

A number of his *risâlas* (more than the 28 noted by Atsız) were printed in the *İkdâm* series, Istanbul 1316. Facsimiles of ten of his *fatwâs* are given in *'Ilmiyye sâlnâmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 346-54; one of his letters, to Süleymân I, is published by S. Turan, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, new series no. 2/17 (1958), 221-4. See also R. Brunschvig, *Kemâl Pâshâzâde et le persan*, in *Mélanges H. Massé*, Tehran 1963, 48-64.

(V. L. MÉNAGE)  
**KEMÂL RE'İS** (d. 917/1511), a Turkish corsair and admiral in the time of Bâyezîd II (886-918/1481-1512), and uncle of the celebrated Pîrî Re'îs [q.v.]. Born in Gallipoli of a Turkish family originally from Qarâmân, he joined the campaign of Agriboz in 874/1470 under Maḥmûd Paşa. Later he settled down in that island and was raised to the rank

of *'azablar aghası*. He gained great fame through his corsair activities in the western Mediterranean, so that in 900/1495 Bâyezîd II took him and his nephew Pîri Re'îs into the Ottoman service at a salary of 20 *aķças* per day. In the following year, he conveyed to Alexandria the income of the *awķāf* of Adana and Tarsus for the Holy Places of Arabia; on his return he was attacked by the Knights of Rhodes in the vicinity of the island, but defeated them (Kemāl Pařha-zāde, *Ta'riķh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, Ali Emiri, VIII. Defter. No. 32, f. 76a). He took part in the Inebakhtî (Aynabakhtî) campaign in 904/1499, and he and Burāk Re'îs commanded the two newly-built large battle ships (*kūke*) which were among the Ottoman fleet at that battle under the supreme command of the Admiral or Kūçük Dāwūd Pařha. Kemāl Re'îs's duties in this battle were to prevent the Venetians giving support by sea, and thus assist the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli, Kōdja Muřtāfā Pařha, who was besieging the fortress of Inebakhtî by land. During the sea battle near the island of Sapienza on 19th Dhu 'l-Hiǰǰja 1499/28th July 1499, the Venetians, thinking that they were attacking Kemāl Re'îs, mistakenly attacked Burāk Re'îs's ship, which also had on board the *sandjāķbeyi* of Yeņiřehir, Kemāl Bey; Burāk Re'îs managed to set the enemy ships on fire with naphtha, though he himself and his ship perished. The island of Sapienza was later renamed Burāk Re'îs island. Kemāl Re'îs, meanwhile, took up a position near the coast and prevented the Venetian fleet from landing troops behind the Ottoman forces. In the following month he secured several further victories over the Venetians, and played a great role in the capture of Inebakhtî and later of Modon, Koron and Navarino by the Ottomans; for his activities in these battles see Şafā'î, *Fetħ-nāme-yi Inebakhtî ve Modon*, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Revan 1271). He was busy with corsair activities in the western and central Mediterranean during the summer of 906-7/1501, and returned to Istanbul in the autumn of that year. Among the rich booty and prisoners taken was the Duke of Catanzaro, and for the ransom of this person 5,000 gold pieces were demanded (H. J. Kissling, *Sultan Bayezid II.'s Beziehungen zu Markgraf Francesco II. von Gonzaga*, in *Münchener Universitätsschriften*, Reihe der Philosophischen Fakultät, Munich 1965, i; for the emended Italian translation, see *Francesco II Gonzaga ed il Sultano Bayezid II*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1967, i, 34-68; Kissling, *Betrachtungen über die Flottenpolitik Sultan Bayezids II 1481-1512*, in *Saeculum*, xx/1, 35-43). It was probably after this success that his daily allowance was increased to 50 *aķças*. (Kissling, *Zur Tätigkeit des Kemāl-Re'is im Westmittelmeer*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 155. He died during a campaign in 917/1511 when his ship was caught in a storm and sank; by that time, his daily allowance was 100 *aķças* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arřivi, E. 4661). Notable is his introduction of long-range cannon for the ships of the Ottoman navy.

*Bibliography*: in addition to references given in the article, see Pîri Re'îs, *Kitāb-i Bahriyye*, Introd. and ed. by Fevzi Kurdođlu-Haydar Alpagot, Istanbul 1935, i-viii; J. H. Mordtmann, *Zur Lebensgeschichte von Kemāl Re'is*, in *MSOS*, Berlin 1929, 39-49; H. A. v. Burski, *Kemal Reis, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des türkischen Flotte*, Bonn 1928; H. J. Kissling, *Kemāl-Re'is und der Duca di Catanzaro*, in *Festschrift für Werner Caschel*, Leiden 1968, 202-11; İsmet Parmaksızođlu, *Kemal Reis*, in *ĀA*. (NEJAT GÖVÜNÇ)

**KEMAL TAHİR** (DEMİR), modern Turkish novelist (1910-1973). Born on 13 March 1910

in Istanbul, his father's family came originally from Aliřar village of Şebinkarahisari (in north-eastern Anatolia), where most of their relatives still live. They were known as Demirciođulları, hence the family name Demir, which however Kemal Tahir never used in his writings. His father Tāhir Efendi (d. 1957), a naval officer risen from the ranks, was an *aside-de-camp* to the Sultan (*ķhūnkār yāveri*), and also worked in the carpentry shop of the Yıldız Palace (a privileged position, as cabinet-making was 'Abd al-Ĥamid II's great hobby). He married Nūriyye Kħanım, a *sarāyılı*, a Circassian girl from Adapazarı brought up in the Palace and attached to the Sultan's household. Tāhir Efendi was retired from the navy as lieutenant following the Revolution of 1908, but was called up again during the Balkan War of 1912 and again at the outbreak of World War I. Wounded at the Dardanelles (1915), he served, behind the front, in various military hospitals in Anatolia until he was retired in 1918, when he settled in Istanbul in his brother's home and made his living working as a carpenter on construction projects. Kemal Tahir attended various primary schools following his movements, and continued his education in Istanbul. In 1923 he entered Galatasaray (the leading high school modelled on the French *lycée*), but he had to give up his studies in 1926 when his mother died and he had to earn his own living. Between 1927-32 he worked as a clerk in lawyers' offices and in other odd jobs and eventually settled in journalism, working in various newspapers and magazines as proof-reader, translator, secretary and editor. In 1937 he married İrfan Hanım, a teacher.

His interest in socialist ideas and literature and his close friendship with the famous left-wing poet Nazım Hikmet, brought him into conflict with the government during the rigorous conformist period of the single-party régime. He was accused, together with his friends, of spreading subversive ideas and inciting to mutiny in the Navy (through his brother Nuri, who was a naval N.C.O.) and was sentenced by a naval court to 15 years imprisonment (1938). He spent the first two years of his term in an Istanbul prison; then he was transferred with Nazım Hikmet to Çankırı where they spent 16 months together. In the meantime, he was divorced from his wife. Kemal Tahir spent the years 1941-50 in the prisons of Malatya, Çorum (five years) and Nevşehir until his release following the general amnesty of 1950. He settled in Istanbul in the summer of the same year. He brought with him the drafts and sketches of half a dozen novels and several thousands of pages of notes as materials for further works.

The first five years in Istanbul were a bitter struggle for survival. Under a dozen pseudonyms, Kemal Tahir busily produced or translated a great number of detective stories and adventure novels which were serialized in various popular dailies. Semiha Hanım, his second wife, contributed to the family budget by working as a dressmaker. Following the anti-Greek riots of September 1955, Kemal Tahir was arrested with a number of left-wing suspects, as the incident was thought to be in some quarters a communist conspiracy. He was released after six months' detention. The year 1955 is a turning point in his career, as it saw the publication of two of his books (see below). The same year he set up, together with the humorist writer Aziz Nesin, the publishing house *Düşün*. Kemal Tahir spent the remaining years of his life revising and publishing his drafts and writing new novels and developing his controversial ideas and theories on historical, political,

literary and social problems. His health declined, and he died unexpectedly on 21 April 1973, leaving many incomplete works, particularly his pet project of a historical novel on the famous 15th century rebel *Şaykh* Bedr ed-Din.

Like most writers of his generation, Kemal Tahir started with poetry. His early experiments were published in Abdullah Cevdet's *İçihad* and were, characteristically, poems on social themes (*Bardaki Kadınlar*, "Women at the Tavern", No. 318, April 1931; *Açın Türküsü*, "The song of the Hungry", No. 320, May 1931, etc.). These were followed in the early 1930s by poems of symbolist inspiration (then very popular) in the *avant-garde* literary review *Varlık*. Later, under Nazım Hikmet's influence, he returned to social themes and wrote poems in free verse which he published under the pseudonyms of Cemalettin Mahir and İsmail Kemalettin in the review *Ses* (1938-9).

In the meantime, he had been contributing popular short stories and novels to the weekly *Yedi Gün* (1935-40). But his short stories, which revealed his talent, were written in 1940 and serialised in the daily *Tan* in 1941 under the pseudonym Cemalettin Mahir (first edition in book form under his own name: *Göl İnsanları*, İstanbul 1955). These are powerful sketches of the life of peasants and working class people.

Kemal Tahir never returned to the short story, and he serialised his first novel *Sağırdere* (under the pseudonym Körduman) in 1950 (published in book form under his own name in 1955). In this first novel, he describes the everyday life, customs and manners of peasants in their own surroundings (a Central Anatolian village near Çorum) and in the city where they come to find work. This is a forerunner of his series of village novels and opens an important phase in the Turkish "peasant literature", which began to gather momentum in the 1930s. Then followed his *Esir Şehrin İnsanları* ("People of the Captive City"), which was serialised in the İstanbul daily *Yeni İstanbul* in 1952-3 and published in 1956. This work opens the series of "period novels" in Kemal Tahir's career. It is the story of İstanbul under the Allied occupation in 1920-2 and of the bitter struggle between the supporters of the Anatolian Nationalists and the men of the Sultan's government subservient to the occupying powers. The untypical hero of the novel is a young diplomat, Kâmil Bey, the son of a wealthy Hamidian Pasha, who has spent most of his life in Europe and who, on his return to İstanbul becomes a *millidji*, a supporter of the Nationalist cause, to the indignation of his wife who typifies the collaborationist, wealthy "society" women. The hero is in strong contrast with the type of "Westernising snob" frequently ridiculed by many earlier Turkish novelists, e.g. Huseyn Rahmi.

From 1956 until his death, Kemal Tahir produced a dozen novels in these two categories. Outstanding among them are: *Rahmet Yolları Kesti*, ("The Rain Blocked the Roads", 1957), written in answer to Yasar Kemal's best-seller *İnce Memed* (1955, Engl. tr. *Memed My Hawk*, 1961) where the brigand-hero is idealised, whereas Kemal Tahir tries to kill by ridicule the romantic-epic conception of brigands and rejects the idea that "these former deserters and criminals" can lead popular movements or can be real friends of the oppressed; and *Yorgun Savaşçı* ("The Tired Warrior", 1965), perhaps his best novel. It is, in a way, the epic of the generation of the officers who, after the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, went through a series of ordeals: the War in Tripoli

with Italy, 1911; the Balkan Wars, 1912-13; and World War I, culminating in the collapse of the Empire, the Greek invasion of Western Anatolia and the occupation of İstanbul by the Allies. The novel tells the story how some of these "tired warriors" rushed to Anatolia to form the nucleus of resistance and fought desperately until Mustafa Kemal's organised movement, which gradually became the master of the situation, took over. *Devlet Ana* ("Mother State", 1967) is a historical novel which caused much controversy in the press. It explores the circumstances which, in the late 13th century, led to the birth of the Ottoman State between the declining Byzantium and the disintegrating Seljuk power. "The generous and just State" realized by the early Ottomans, "towards which Muslims and Christians alike flocked to seek security and welfare", as described in the early Ottoman chronicles, is the basis of the author's "Ottomanist" thesis. This version of "Ottoman revivalism" which he pioneered in literature, rejects everything alien and imposed on the Turkish culture and maintains that the secret of a regeneration is to be found in the "perfect" Ottoman system. In this novel, Kemal Tahir experimented, with unequal success, with a style which is mainly inspired by that of the 15th century chronicles and religious-epic folk stories. In other novels, important issues or episodes of contemporary Turkish history are discussed elaborately, with an approach which is usually different from the received or current versions. The village Institutes, an attempt to realize mass education of the peasantry (*Bozkurdaki Çekirdek*, "The Seed in the Steppe", 1967); the 1926 Unionist conspiracy against Mustafa Kemal (*Kurt Kanunu*, "Wolves' Law", 1969); the short-lived Liberal Party (*Serbest Fırka*) experiment of 1930 (*Yol Ayrımı*, "Cross-Roads", 1971); etc.

Kemal Tahir kept alive the interest and curiosity of his reading public by constantly dwelling on subjects and personalities which have always been a centre of heated controversy: East versus West, tradition versus innovation, the value of the Islamic and Ottoman heritage for Modern Turkey; responsibility for military, political and economic setbacks and cultural stagnation since the Tanzimat; 'Abd al-Hamid II and his policies; the Unionist leaders and the real nature of their party; and lastly, Atatürk, his companions, his reforms and the Republican era which he inaugurated.

Kemal Tahir's approach to all these matters is rather emotional and biased. His admiration for 'Abd al-Hamid II (already rehabilitated by some modern historians) and his reign, and his lack of enthusiasm for the 19th century reformers, for the Young Turks, and particularly for Atatürk, may perhaps be partly explained by his family background and his personal experiences. He never lived in Anatolia for any length of time, and his observations of peasantry are limited to his long years of association with the inmates of Central Anatolian prisons. His subjects of study were, by necessity, offenders of various types: bandits, murderers, thieves, forgers, sexual criminals, etc. This circumstance was bound to condition him when he judged and made generalisations on the way of life, problems and moral values of peasants and conditions in villages.

Kemal Tahir's language and style differ considerably from his contemporaries. His peasants do not speak a local dialect, as is the case with most "village novelists". Also, he almost ignores the language reform movement and avoids, most of the time, the

use of neologisms and prefers a "moderate" style close to that of the preceding generation. On the other hand, he has a repertory of colloquial or slang words and expressions, and his pet pseudo-archaic forms, which he likes to use indiscriminately on all occasions, and his many diverse characters have often disturbingly identical speech habits. In his novels the plot is often a pretext to put forward his ideas, and in every novel there are one or two characters who use every occasion to defend, at length, the author's familiar theses. Many of his novels consist consequently of loosely connected political arguments or didactic tirades.

There can be no doubt, however, that Kemal Tahir ranks among the leading and most remarkable writers of modern Turkey, a writer who invited his readers to re-think on vital issues of Turkish political and cultural life, who experimented in the use of elements of classical and popular Turkish prose, thought to be dead wood by many, and who left two or three novels which will always be considered among the best of his time.

*Bibliography:* Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikâye ve roman* iii, Istanbul 1965; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sozlüğü*, Istanbul 1972; idem, *Edebiyatımızda eserler sozlüğü*, Istanbul 1971 (critical summaries of some of Kemal Tahir's works, see index); Fahir İz, in *Cassell's encyclopaedia of world literature*<sup>2</sup>, ii, London 1973, s.v.; Mehmet Seyda (ed.), *Türk romanı* (an open forum on Tahir and *Devlet ana*), Istanbul 1969; Aytakin Yakar, *Türk romanında milli mücadele*, Istanbul 1973; *Türkiye defteri*, no. 6, April 1974 (a special issue on Tahir: important biographical and critical notes by a number of writers); Hulusi Dosdoğru, *Batı aldatmacaları ve pullara karşı Kemal Tahir*, Istanbul 1974 (with selections from his novels). (FAHIR İZ).

**KEMALİYYE.** [see EĞİN]

**KEMANKESH** ("Archer"), 'ALİ PASHA, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in the district of Hamid-ili in Anatolia, he came to Istanbul and was trained in the palace service from which he emerged with an appointment as *beylerbeyi* of Diyar Bakr with the rank of vizier, probably in 1029/1620. Difficulties arising over his executing a well-known provincial official without reference to Istanbul caused his transfer to the governorship of Bağhdād, where he remained for about a year before being dismissed and retiring to the vicinity of Kaysəriyya. Returning to Istanbul following the death of 'Othmān II (Radjab 1031/May 1622), he was made a lesser (either fourth or third) vizier and subsequently replaced the Grand Vizier Mere Hüsayn Pasha, who was turned out of office in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1032/August 1623.

Though there were serious problems in various parts of the empire during 'Alī Pasha's vizierate (the rebellion of Ābāza Mehmed Pasha [q.v.] continued in Anatolia, for example, and Bağhdād fell to the Şafawid ruler Şah 'Abbās I), he appears to have concerned himself mainly with affairs in Istanbul. He played a leading role in the second deposition of the incompetent sultan Muştafā I (Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1032/September 1623), but is otherwise chiefly remembered in the sources for his attempts to secure his position, building a sizeable fortune through such means as bribery and the sale of offices and attempting to undermine those whom he felt to threaten him. With the encouragement of his father-in-law, the highranking scholar Bostān-zāde Mehmed Efendi, he succeeded in bringing about the dismissal of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Zekeriyā-zāde Yaḥyā

Efendi, who had offended him by alluding in conversation to his susceptibility to bribery; he was unable, however, to obtain that post for his father-in-law, an aim which, had it been achieved, might have resulted in a dangerous concentration of power. He was less successful in his moves against two former Grand Viziers, Gürdjü Mehmed Pasha and Khalīl Pasha: having arrested them on the pretext of supposed subversive letters to Ābāza Pasha, he refused to produce the letters for inspection when challenged and the two men were set free. The immediate cause for his dismissal and execution on 14 Djumādā II 1033/3 April 1624 is said to have been his attempt to conceal from Murād IV the news of the fall of Bağhdād. His considerable possessions were confiscated and his body buried in the grounds of the 'Atīk 'Alī Pasha Mosque in Istanbul.

*Bibliography:* *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive*, London 1740, 173-4, 179, 230; Peçewī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 397-401; Kātib Çelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 38-9, 52; Na'imā, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 260-6, 296-8; 'Othmān-zāde Aḥmed Tā'ib, *Hadīkat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 72; Aywānsarāyī Hüseyn, *Hadīkat al-djāwāmi'*, Istanbul 1281, i, 150; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Münir Aktepe). (R. C. REPP)

**KENĀ.** [see KUNĀ]

**KEN'ÂN PASHA**, also nicknamed Şarī ("pale-faced") and Topal ("Lame"), High Admiral (*Kapudān Pasha*, [q.v.]) under the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV, d. 1069/1659. He originated from the northeastern shores of the Black Sea (Russian or Circassian?) and came as a slave into the service of Bakīrdjī Aḥmad Pasha, Ottoman governor of Egypt. On the latter's execution he was taken by Sulṭān Murād IV into the Palace and educated there. He was promoted to be Agha of the stirrup-holders (*Rikāb-dār aghası*) (Chronicle of Wedjīhī, f. 91b of the Vienna MS.), became a favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm after his accession (1049/1640) and married his daughter 'Ātike Sulṭāne. He was at the same time appointed third vizier but banished soon after Ibrāhīm's death (1058/1648) to Crete. In Shawwāl 1062/Sept. 1652, he returned to Istanbul and was appointed to the charge of the defences of the Dardanelles. In Shawwāl 1063/Sept. 1653, he was given the governorship of Ofen, but deprived of it in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1065/Sept. 1655, and in Rabī' II 1066/Feb. 1656, appointed governor of Silistria. On 9 Radjāb 1066/3 May 1656 he was appointed Grand Admiral. On 3 Ramaḡān 1066/26 June 1656, while in command of the Ottoman fleet sent out against the Venetians, he suffered a severe defeat in the Dardanelles, the greatest naval reverse inflicted on Turkey since the battle of Lepanto; the Venetians then occupied the islands commanding the Dardanelles and thus severed links with the Mediterranean for the Turks (cf. Kātib Çelebi, *Tuhfat al-kibār fi asfār al-bihār*, Istanbul 1329, 133-4; Na'imā, *Ta'rikh*, vi, 183-5; Von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 649 ff.). The whole weight of the Sulṭān's wrath fell upon Ken'ān Pasha who was immediately thrown into prison. He was finally released on the intercession of his Russian countrywoman, the Sulṭāna-mother (Kösem Wālide; [q.v.]) but was dismissed from the office of Grand Admiral almost immediately on 26 Ramaḡān 1066/18 July 1656. Two years later he was appointed *Kā'im-makām* of the imperial stirrup (*rikāb-i humāyūn*), but the very next month dismissed again and sent to Bursa as commander



of the garrison (*muḥāfiṣ*) to protect the city against the rebel Ābāza Ḥasan's possible attack (Na'īmā, *Ta'riḫh*<sup>1</sup>, ii, 660; Von Hammer, *GOR*, vi, 37). But he then left Bursa to join the rebel leader in Anatolia, possibly out of jealousy towards the Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paṣha. However, he shared the fate of Ābāza Ḥasan and other rebel leaders, and was executed at Aleppo on 23rd D̄jumādā I 1069/16th February 1659 (cf. Na'īmā, ii, 685). His head was shortly afterwards brought to the *Diwān* in Istanbul and eventually buried at Üsküdar.

If this is the Ken'ān Paṣha mentioned by Ewliyā Celebi, *Seyāhat-nāma*, iii, 366 (and he certainly never was governor of Oczakov any more than was Koḍja Ken'ān Paṣha (d. 1062/1651) who is also often confused with the Grand Admiral, e.g. in the *Sid̄jill-i 'Oḥmānī*, iv, 83), he was also an author and composed a *Şallīk-nāma* in honour of Şarī Şaltīk Baba [q.v.]. His own warlike exploits, especially his military operations in the years 1036-8/1626-8 were celebrated in a rhymed *Paṣha-nāma* by the poet and judge Ṭulū'ī Ibrāhīm Efendi (of Kaḫkandelen) of which there is a copy in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 3584); cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS*, 191 f., with detailed summary of contents. The possibility that it celebrates the above mentioned Koḍja Ken'ān Paṣha who had a very similar career to his namesake and contemporary (both were, for example, governors of Ofen), has always to be remembered. The biographical data regarding Şarī Ken'ān Paṣha are much confused, as the article in Rāmiz Paṣhazāde Mehmed, *Khariṭa-i Kapudānān-i Deryā*, Istanbul 1285, 65-6, and Sāmī Bey Fraṣherī, *Kāmūs al-'Alām*, 3900, who follows it, show. According to this authority, Ken'ān Paṣha was buried beside the school not far from Kırk Çeşme.

*Bibliography*: Silāhdār, *Ta'riḫh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 123, 137, 155; Wedjīhī, *Ta'riḫh*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 2543, ff. 31a, 49b; 'Abdi Paṣha, *Weḫāyī-nāma*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 4140, ff. 30a-44b; Karā Celebi-zāde, *Dhāyī-i rawḍat al-abrār*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 1550, ff. 125a-183b; Mehmed Hāfid, *Safinat al-wuzarā*, ed. I. Parmakstzoğlu; *Sid̄jill-i 'Oḥmānī*, iv, 83; Von Hammer, *GOR*, x, 497; M. Münir Aktepe, in *IA*, s.v.

(F. BABINGER - [N. GÖYÜNÇ])

**KENĒH** [see KUNĀ]

**KENYA**, a state of East Africa bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by Ethiopia and the Sudan, and in the south by Tanzania. It was formerly a colony of the British Empire, but became independent in December 1963. The Muslim population in the country formed about 6% of a total figure of 8,636,263 in 1962. Assuming that the number increased annually by the present rate of 3.4%, the Muslim population would number some 800,000 out of a total population of 10,942,705 in 1974. The Muslims themselves generally feel that their numbers have been underestimated. A claim that they represent a quarter of the population has been advanced, although no special census has been made to determine the actual number of Muslims in the country. The Muslim communities in Kenya today comprise various races and tribes, together with all the major sects of Islam, with a definite predominance of the *Shāfi'ī madhhab*. A tribe like the Pokomo is 85% Muslim, whereas the Duruma is 25% only.

In the pre-Islamic period, the Kenya coastlands were visited by merchants from southwestern Arabia [see YAMAN, ZANĀ], and some Arabs settled

there. But it is difficult to fix a date for the earliest arrival and settlement of Muslims on the coast. Local traditions and chronicles of recent origin speak of Muslim settlement going back to the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb, but no reliable evidence, archaeological or other, has been advanced to support such claims. During some four centuries, between Ptolemy's *Geography* and the first Arabic sources, there are no reliable data on the coast. The first Arabic source of note is al-Mas'ūdī, who relates in the 4th/10th century that the island of Ḳanbalū (taken to be Pemba or Zanzibar) was ruled by a Muslim family and that its population consisted of Muslims and non-Muslims. Excavations recently carried out at a site on Manda island indicate that a thriving town existed there by that time. "Some of the buildings were of coral stone set in mortar, though many were of mud and wattle, masonry walls built against the sea are of very large coral blocks, many weighing over a ton—a massive form of construction found nowhere else in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Neville Chittick, *Zamani*). The excavation unearthed vast quantities of Islamic pottery and some shards of Chinese porcelain which indicate direct contact with other Islamic regions. The contacts with China were probably only through intermediaries. By the 4th/10th century, commercial relations were being pursued not only with South Arabia, but also with the Persian Gulf. Immigrants from Persia, known as the Banādir, also seem to have come to settle on the Somali coastal towns. They intermarried with autochthonous Bantu-speaking groups and thus contributed to the foundation of Mogadishu which, by the 7th/13th century, had developed into the most important Muslim town on the whole coast. Many of these *Shīrāzīs*, as the Persian-African families became known, later moved south and settled at such places in Kenya as Shanga and Manda and became part of the ruling families in Malindi, Mombasa and Vumba Kuu. On Pate (Patta) island, an Arab family from 'Umān, the Nabhānī, formed a ruling dynasty through a similar process of integration. The sultanate of Vumba Kuu, on Kenya's southern coast, was the result of *Shīrāzī* settlement and intermarriage between these Muslims and local Africans. In the 12th/18th century, an Arab family of *Shārīfs* from Ḥaḍramawt, the Bā 'Alawī, established a dynasty which adopted the title of *Diwānī* for the ruler, but maintained the custom of giving him a Bantu nickname—a symbol of cultural exchange and synthesis, which was also reflected in the investiture ceremonies of the *Diwānī*, which included Bantu and Muslim rites. The Nabhānī rulers of Pate also adopted a Bantu throne-name, *Fumo* ("spear").

Such ethnic and culture integration renders inaccurate the description of these city-states as "Arab colonies". Their dominant feature was not their Arab nature but Islam, and they have been compared with some of the western Sudanese Muslim states.

Between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, sc. up to the arrival of the Portuguese, the Muslim city-states enjoyed their greatest days of cultural and material efflorescence. They were largely independent of one another, the so-called *Zanḍī* empire being a myth; they quarrelled and fought one another many times (Mombasa's and Malindi's enmity towards each other became proverbial), but there was a great deal of commercial and cultural interdependence among them. At this time towns produced an abundance of sorghum, millet, rice and bananas,

largely for their own use, but obtained their wealth from ivory, ambergris, gold and slaves. Gold came from the Sofala region in Mozambique, and was largely responsible for the comparative greatness reached by Kilwa [q.v.] and possibly for the Banādir emigration to the South. In return for their exports, the Muslims of the coast imported household utensils and wares. As their wealth increased, Islamic goods were augmented by greater quantities of Chinese wares indirectly acquired, probably from Cambay in India [see *KHAMBĀYAT*]. Also from India came glass beads that were used for barter locally. Silk was imported by the wealthy. Some towns had local industries: Pate was known for its production of fine gaily-coloured woven fabrics. In short, when the Portuguese arrived they were astonished by the urban material culture and civilisation of the "Moors" they encountered.

Their exploitation of the Muslim rulers of Mombasa, Kilwa and other city-states was part of their policy to out-flank Islam. Mombasa was burnt down at least twice. The two-centuries long episode of this Portuguese presence certainly contributed to the economic decline and cultural stagnation of the Muslim city-states, although it was by no means the only factor. Disruptive human movements on the mainland, such as that of the Galla, were also a noteworthy factor, as was the general decline of the central regions of Islam during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.

Mombasa's Muslims had appealed to the *Imām* of 'Umān for help to overthrow their Portuguese oppressors. Their call was answered, although the liberation took some decades to be achieved. By the third decade of the 18th century, the Portuguese had been driven south of the Ruvuma. During their presence on the coast, Islam had remained triumphant; and although there are references in Portuguese sources to some local people becoming Christian, none survived the Portuguese expulsion. Christianity had to be sown anew on the coast from the middle of the 19th century onwards.

The Portuguese were succeeded by 'Umānī Arabs as nominal overlords of the coast, local chiefs and *shaykh*s enjoying a great deal of autonomy and real local authority. These 'Umānī Arabs belonged to the Ibādiyya sect [q.v.]. However, by the time of their arrival the coast had evolved as a predominantly Shāfi'ī region. This may be ascribed to the influence of Ḥaḍramī *sayyids* or *sharifs* who had settled on the coast in large numbers during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. Through intermarriage with Africans, these *sharifs* and their descendants came to determine not only the *madhhab* of East African Islam but also greatly influenced Swahili literature and culture generally. The legacy of this Ḥaḍramī Arab settlement and scholarship is to be seen in the methods of teaching Islām, the religious manuals used, the cult of saints, the veneration for *sharifs*, the poetic verse form and content of the Swahili epic or *utenzi*, etc. The Lamu archipelago, Zanzibar and the Comoro islands, became the main centres from which radiated the influence of the *sharifi* families. A notable religious intelligentsia developed on the coast which became, and remained, the point of reference for the whole of East African Islam. By the 19th century, cultural traffic linked South Arabia to the Banādir, to the coast southwards up to Mozambique, and to the offshore islands: the Lamu Archipelago, Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia and the Comoro islands. Ḥaḍramī towns like 'Ināt and Tarim, Mecca and Medina, sometimes

Cairo and occasionally Istanbūl, helped to mould the minds of East African Muslim scholars. Students from the East African towns travelled to the Ḥijāz, Ḥaḍramawt, and sometimes Egypt, to study under renowned scholars. The acquisition of an *idjāza* from one of these scholars established its recipient as a teacher in a mosque or in his own home, in the Arabic language, Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadith*, *Shari'a*, etc. From this educational system there developed a strong body of 'ulamā', from amongst whom the Bū Sa'īdī rulers appointed their *kādīs*.

Some of the most outstanding names among these 'ulamā' for the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, are Sayyid Ḥmad b. Ṣumayt and his son 'Umar; *Shaykh* 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mazrū'ī and his son al-Amīn; *Shaykh* 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Bā Kathīr, Sayyid Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī, the great Lamu scholar, better known as Sayyid Maṣṣab, and Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ḥmad, the first Chief *Kādī* or *Shaykh al-Islām* to be appointed in Kenya in 1897.

In addition to them there were and still are the Qur'an teachers (*Waalimu*, sing. *Mwalimu*) and schools that abounded and still abound in every Muslim town and village. In the Qur'anic school, the Muslim child learnt to recite the Qur'an, and to write in Arabic characters, but rarely to write in that language. Overwhelming dependence on such a school led to the emergence of generations of coastal Muslims who were Ki-Swahili- rather than Arabic-speaking. During his visit to the coast, Ibn Baṭṭūta noted this trend, as the result of absorption and integration of Arabs within an African society. Ki-Swahili developed quite early as the *lingua franca*, though it relied heavily upon Arabic vocabulary. Arabic and Arabic culture enriched Ki-Swahili and enabled it to develop a significant literary tradition, sc. in the verse epic known as *utenzi* or *utendi* [see *SWAHILI*]. The most famous of such didactic epics is *al-Inkishāfi*, written ca. 1800 by Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Nāṣir, which uses the decline of Pate as a moral to emphasise the transitoriness of material wealth and enjoins its readers to lead a virtuous life.

The ruins still standing in Pate, now a mere village, testify to a time of great prosperity. But this prosperity came much later than the local traditional source, the *Chronicle of Pate*, has indicated. N. Chittick's reappraisal of the *Chronicle*, in the light of archaeological work done by himself in the area, shows that the town was of a modest size before 700/1300, developing very gradually and not achieving its greatest period of efflorescence until the 11th/17th century. This is attested by the rich deposits of Chinese porcelain discovered from the 10th/16th century levels upwards. On the strength of these archaeological discoveries, Pate has been ranked with Kilwa in Tanzania as two of the three most prominent towns of Muslim civilization south of Somalia, the third being Lamu. It achieved prosperity and strength during the reign of the Bāṭāwī dynasty, which had acquired power through intermarriage with the indigenous Wasania, a hunter-gatherer group from whom the Muslims had been purchasing ivory on the mainland, and during the reign of the subsequent dynasty, the Nabḥānis, its days of prosperity lasted well into the 12th/18th century.

The dates of the birth and death of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī, the author of *al-Inkishāfi* are deduced, rather than factually known, from the internal evidence of the poem and from the inscription on the

tomb of his uncle, Tālib b. Nāṣir, who died in 1169/1755. Thus it is assumed that the poet was a youth by then and may have witnessed not only some of the glories of the mansions and life of Pate, but also evidence of the internecine fighting that contributed to its decline. It was subdued first by the Mazrūʿī rulers of Mombasa and later by the Bū Saʿīdī sultans of Zanzibar. By the time the poem was written Pate had fallen into ruin (see W. Hichens, *Sayyid Abdallah bin Ali bin Nasir*). The Ki-Swahili verses amply evoke a life of great luxury, when at least the ruling classes were familiar with porcelain wares and when furnishings were made from silk and brocade.

Another outstanding example of Ḥaḍramī contribution to Swahili religious culture is Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh. He was a descendant of the venerated *shaykh* Abū Bakr b. Sālim, the 11th/17th century *sharif* of Ḥaḍramawt, renowned for his erudition, piety and poetry. According to the *Pate Chronicle*, the people of the town appealed to him to pray for their deliverance from their enemies. It is not certain whether these enemies were the Portuguese or the Galla. In any event, descendants of his two sons ʿAli and Ḥusayn, settled on the coast and provided some of its most notable figures in the field of theology and literature. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh was the son of ʿAli's great-great-grandson; from Ḥusayn's line came Sayyid Maṣṣab (1828-1922), the renowned jurist of Lamu.

From the Lamu archipelago the poetic tradition spread south and ventured into new fields of comment. By the 19th century, a poet like Muyāka b. Ḥādīdjī al-Ḡhassānī of Mombasa was writing romantic poetry and patriotic verses in defence of Mombasa's independence, then under the rule of the Mazrūʿī dynasty, and against ʿUmānī attempts to impose their overlordship upon Mombasa and other towns on the coast. All those who appreciated this Ki-Swahili literary efflorescence became *wenyeji* "those who belonged" and *wastaarabu* (from Ar. *istaʿraba* "the civilised ones"). These *wenyeji* differentiated themselves somewhat from the recent immigrants from Ḥaḍramawt or ʿUmān who, until they had integrated themselves, were considered alien to this local Muslim culture of the Swahili-speaking people of the coastal towns.

There is little evidence that this Swahili Muslim culture penetrated far beyond the littoral before the 19th century. However, there is evidence of some form of "diplomatic", commercial, and religious interaction with some African tribes in the immediate neighbourhood, notably the Miji Kenda groups: the Digo to the South of Mombasa, the Rabai, Ribe and Duruma to the west, the Giriama in the Malindi area, the Kambe, Chonyi, Kawna and Jibana, and the Segeju on the Kenyan-Tanzanian border. Before the 19th century expansion inland, a significant degree of intermarriage took place between the coastal Muslims and these groups. Duruma and Rabai acted as middlemen for goods exchanged between the Arab-Swahili people and interior peoples like the Kamba; diplomatic-cum-military "pacts" were made between groups of Miji Kenda people and coastal townspeople. The Segeju helped Malindi not only to ward off the danger from the mysterious cannibalistic Zimba, who literally ate their way northwards, but also to take Mombasa in 1592; African auxiliaries fought on Mombasa's side against Malindi. The so-called *Nyika* "people of the bush", or a section of them, helped in finally expelling the Portuguese from Mombasa in 1728 and in the restoration of Mazrūʿī rule in 1746

during the struggle for supremacy between the Mazrūʿī and the Bū Saʿīdīs; installation ceremonies of Mazrūʿī governors (*wālis*), were attended by neighbouring African notables. After the defeat of the Mazrūʿī of Mombasa, their Bū Saʿīdī successors not only recognised the autonomous political status of the longer-established Muslim groups known as the *Ithnā-ʿashara jāʿifa*, the so-called Twelve Tribes, but also acknowledged the long established "pacts" that had been established between the various *lawāʿif* and neighbouring African groups, whereby the former acted as "agents" for the latter in relations with others. The vestiges of these bilateral relations lasted well into the early years of colonial rule.

To the south of Mombasa, in the area between Gasi and the northern areas of present-day Tanzania, a similar pattern of relationships developed between the Digo and the Segeju on the one hand and the leading Muslim families on the other, except that the politico-military relationships were reinforced by a significant religious impact. The Bā-ʿAlawī *sharifī* families in this area, centred upon the *Diwān*-ship of Vumba Kuu, were responsible for the Islamisation of the Digo and the Segeju. The Segeju had become wholly Islamised and the Digo on the coast had virtually all become Muslims by the time colonial rule arrived.

Islam expanded into the interior of Kenya or the rest of East Africa only in the 19th century, particularly after the Bū Saʿīdī ruler of ʿUmān, Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, decided to move his capital to Zanzibar. He attracted a large number of compatriots, Indians, Ḥaḍramīs and Balūcis, to serve in his garrisons, custom-houses, and civil administration. Others came to exploit the economic and commercial potentialities of these newly-acquired tropical dominions of ʿUmān. By this time, trade in ivory, rhinoceros horns and other inland products as well as slaves had already proved lucrative. Under Saʿīd this trade was now promoted to unprecedented heights. Caravans, financed by Indian credit, which was shrewdly wooed by Saʿīd, moved into the interior with goods such as cloth, beads, knives, axes, etc., to exchange for the inland products already cited. The slaves were not only exported, but used in large numbers to found a plantation system in Zanzibar and on the mainland coast; Malindi in Kenya is a unique example which demonstrates the success of this agrarian industry. As late as 1846, it had been found "deserted and ruined" by the Christian missionary J. L. Krapf as a result of Galla raids. It was Arab settlement and agrarian development that revived it. By the 1870s, vast acres of land around the town had come under cultivation of maize, millet and fruit of various kinds, and it was described as the granary of the coast and to some extent of Arabia through a thriving export trade.

The indigenous *Shāfiʿī* Arab-Swahili Muslims were now reinforced by Indian Muslims, among whom the *Khodja* or *Shīʿa* Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, the Mustaʿliān Ismāʿīlīs (Bohorās) and the Ḥanafī Memons predominated. An 1875 census of the Indian population reveals that there were more Indian Muslims than Indian non-Muslims on the coast, particularly Ismāʿīlīs. In Kenya they were to be found in Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu, either as agents of firms having headquarters in Zanzibar, or as wholesale or retail merchants. Unlike the Hindus, the Indian Muslims generally arrived with their families and showed readiness to settle down on the isle and coast ruled by a fellow-Muslim.

However, from the outset they maintained a cer-

tain degree of social and religious aloofness. They began to build exclusive quarters, sectarian mosques and independent religious organisations, in fact forms of internal government or autonomy which were acknowledged or tolerated by the Sultān of Zanzibar as well as by the colonial government thereafter. Thus the Ismā'īlis looked and still look upon the person of the Āgā Khān as their spiritual and administrative head. Locally they appointed *mukhhis* (treasurers) and *hamadias* (accountants) to run their religious and socio-economic affairs. Later, at the turn of the century, a council was formed at Zanzibar to supervise the local mosque (*djamāt Khāna*) and the congregations (*djamāts*) on the mainland, when a split arose within the Ismā'īli community (1880-1910); secessionists protested against the Āgā Khān's claims to divinity and what was considered to be his excessive control over the local mosque. Later, Zanzibar lost this overall control as the community spread on the mainland and into the interior, and provincial councils were created to look after the spiritual affairs and general welfare of the community in various parts of East Africa.

The Bohorās [*q.v.*] formed and still form the second largest Asian Muslim community. The Bohorās who migrated to the East African coast belonged and still belong to the *Dā'ūdī* faction. By 1875 there were 543 Bohorās (as compared to 2725 *Khodja* Ismā'īlis and 116 Memons) at different places in Zanzibar and on the coast. As the supreme spiritual and administrative head of the Bohorās, *al-dā'ī al-muṣṭak* appointed representatives to attend to the welfare of his followers. Officials bearing the rank of *'āmil*, agent, were sent to Zanzibar and Mombasa towards the end of the 19th century. The *'āmil*, also known as *miyān ṣāhib*, looked after every Bohra congregation of 50 families. He dealt with religious, social and economic problems. His permission was and is essential for every religious ceremony. Among the most important duties, he performed the collection of dues for the Summoner, the administering of the covenant (*mīlhāk*) to the followers; and the instruction in religion and religious history through sermons. It was not until the 1920s that congregational or *djamāt* councils were formed by the Bohoras to look after their secular affairs.

The earliest *Iḥna-ʿasharis*, or Twelvers, arrived on the coast late in the 19th century during the split that occurred among the Ismā'īli *Khodjas*, late in the 19th century, over the claims of divinity by the Āghā Khān. Many Nizārī Ismā'īlis are said to have defected to the Twelvers. Like the other two *Shī'ī* sects, they organised themselves into *djamāts* or congregations, each with its own council. In place of a *dā'ī*, the *Iḥna-ʿasharis* have *mudjtahids*, the most scholarly among whom was appointed *'uzma*, the interpreter of the faith to the community. No *mudjtahid* was appointed to East Africa. Instead, low-ranking *mullas* performed religious functions within the *djamāts*. Prayers were performed in the communal mosque whilst sermons, festivals and feasts were held in the *Imām-bārā* [*q.v.*]. Thus by the last quarter of the 19th century, the Muslim population of Kenya had begun to be variegated in a sectarian and ethnic way.

By that time, too, nuclei of Muslims had been created in the interior. It has often been observed how important the caravan trade and trade routes have been in the spread of Islam from early times in different parts of Africa. In Kenya, and East Africa generally, this phenomenon took place particularly during the second half of the 19th century. Until the 1850s trade movements had mostly been from the in-

terior to the Muslim coast. Ivory in particular was brought down to the coast and sold to the Arabs and the Swahili by the Kamba, at first through Duruma and Giriama middlemen, later directly. Gradually, this virtual monopoly of the Kamba was broken. Arabs and Swahili began to move inland significantly after 1860, in order to acquire trade goods directly from inland African peoples. This trade by now had come to include the slave trade, although Kenya was not as affected by the ravages of the slave trade as Tanzania was. In Kenya slaves were secondary to ivory, cattle, rhinoceros horns and other goods.

The Arabs and Swahili in Kenya were not able to establish bases as important and permanent as their counterparts did at Tabora and Ujiji in Tanzania. (The Maasai plains were never entirely free from danger to permit that.) The Kikuyu only grudgingly permitted some trade on the edges of their country; on the whole, they discouraged close ties with the coastal Muslims. Trade was more successful with western Kenyan peoples, among whom a network of caravan routes was gradually spun. Although not as substantive and lucrative as the trade in Tanzania and Congo, it was of some importance. The Arab-Swahili penetration was dependent upon a series of stop-overs that were chosen for the friendliness of their inhabitants and the abundance of provisions.

Through these trade connections, nuclei of Muslim traders and Muslim influence were implanted in the interior of Kenya within the body politic of small chieftaincies. Many of these traders passed also as men of medicine, of a novel kind with which the African of the interior was not familiar. The new magico-medical powers, the weapons they used and could deliver and the luxury goods they bartered, made them welcome and assured them great prestige. Trade relations led to at least some seasonal settlement and intermarriage and thus the nuclei of Muslims grew in size and importance. As the caravan traffic increased during the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, especially with the decline of the Maasai, the Muslim traders began to make their influence felt upon the internal politics of inland African societies. Centres of such influence were established at such places as that of Kitoto, at Sapei and at that of Mumias, the last being the important capital of the Wanga kingdom in Western Kenya, ruled by Mumia, who allied himself closely with the Swahili traders.

Another factor, that led to the infiltration of Muslim influence into Kenya was tribal movement. The Somalis had been pressing south from the Horn of Africa since the 6th/12th century. It was their expansion that forced the Galla to their south to press hard upon the Muslim coastal people and cause a significant degree of depopulation and abandonment of many towns. Both Malindi and its appanage, Gedi, suffered decline as a result of Galla raids. Malindi had been eclipsed by 1667, and, as we have seen, it was Arab settlement in the 19th century that led to its revival. By the middle of the century, Muslim Somalis began to move decisively against the Galla to their south. They crossed the Juba river in force about 1850, thus making contact with the Galla who dominated the region of the Tana. An uneasy co-existence of some 15 years was broken when the Somalis turned upon the Galla, decimated them and occupied their territory. Thus began the invasion and settlement of another part of Kenya by Muslims and the slow religious interaction between nomadic Muslims and their neighbours. It is this process that has slowly led to a practical islamisation of such groups as the Rendille, Boran, and the Galla them-

selves. Today each of these groups is at least 90% Muslim.

By the last quarter of the 19th century, much of East Africa as a whole had come to form a huge Muslim sphere of influence, inspired by Zanzibar and based upon trade, leading to the saying that "when they pipe in Zanzibar, people dance on the shores of the great lakes". European travellers, explorers and missionaries observed these trends, and some were perturbed by them for political or religious reasons or for both. Livingstone and Stanley, whose reports did so much to mobilise Christian missionary efforts, were as much concerned about the slave trade as about Islamic influence. The Muslim traders generally welcomed the European missionaries and explorers, giving them all the necessary help in their ventures inland, even in the foundation of mission stations. No hostility was engendered towards Christianity as a religion. It was only when attempts were made to interfere with their trade, particularly the slave trade, that the Arab-Swahilis reacted with hostility, as did the African peoples who were their partners in this trade. Only in Buganda a religious conflict arose when the Christian missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, regarded the influence established by Muslims at the *Kabaka's* court as the basic enemy. This was the prelude to the religious wars that broke out late in the 19th century in that country, political power being the prize each side was fighting for: was Arab-Muslim power to be allowed to prevail over Christian-European power?

This was the most relevant and crucial question by the mid-1880s. The European scramble had begun. The extent of the suzerainty of the Muslim sultan of Zanzibar was being challenged by the Germans and the British. In 1884 the Germans declared protectorates over several areas in Tanzania. In 1885 they took advantage of local political and dynastic rivalries and declared a protectorate over the Witu Sultanate, founded ca. 1865 on the mainland of Lamu by a scion of the Nabhānī family, after their original centre of power, Pate, had been taken by Zanzibar. Since then the founder of the Witu Sultanate, Aḥmad Fūmoluti (nicknamed *Simba* "lion"), had warded off all diplomatic and military attempts to make him acknowledge Zanzibari overlordship. He took advantage of the European scramble to seek German protection from further Zanzibari pressures. In 1886 an Anglo-German agreement signalled the beginning of the dismemberment of the Zanzibari Bū Saʿīdī sultanate. The sultanate was restricted to a ten-mile coastal strip between the Mozambique border and Kipini (in Kenya), some offshore islands and a 5 to 10 miles' radius round the Banādir ports. The rest of East Africa came under British and German influence, the former including most of present-day Kenya and southern Somalia, the latter comprising the present-day Tanzanian mainland.

The period between 1886 and 1895 witnessed widespread Arab-Swahili reaction and resistance against the advancing colonial designs of the two European powers. This resistance was provoked by several factors: fear of loss of political influence or trade in the interior, European interference with the traditional administration and the social, cultural and religious way of life. The Germans' determination to "Germanise" the Tanzanian coast and humiliate the sultan's representatives sparked off the Abūshiri revolt in 1888, led by the Arabs but with widespread African backing. The blockade of the coast by European powers, whose aim was to strangle the revolt,

was seen by the Muslims as a Christian alliance against them. In August 1890, after the revolt was over, the Germans and British sought to eradicate pin-pricks in each other's spheres by coming to another agreement, whereby Germany gave up her protectorate over Witu. This led to the first Witu uprising. Fumo Bakari, Simba's successor, feeling himself betrayed by Germany, ordered some German prospectors out of his Sultanate. When they resisted, a fight ensued in which nine of the Germans were killed. The British government, to whom Witu had been handed over, was forced to carry out a punitive expedition. Two other revolts broke out in Witu under the leadership of Fumo Bakari and Fumo 'Omari. In 1894 Fumo 'Omari was exiled to Zanzibar, by then another British protectorate, where he eventually died. The following year, the Mazrūʿī revolt was sparked off at Takaungu, a stronghold of the family lying to the north of their former centre of power, Mombasa. It was caused by British interference with the traditional method of choosing a *wālī*; Mbārak, who was regarded as the logical successor, was bypassed by a pro-British *wālī*. Mbārak renounced British authority and spear-headed the revolt which engulfed virtually the whole Kenyan coast from Malindi to the Tanzanian border. Mbārak was supported by his uncle, Mbārak b. Rāshīd, son of the last independent Mazrūʿī chief of Mombasa who was overthrown by the Bū Saʿīdī; in the past he had led several revolts against Zanzibari authority. Although this was basically a family revolt, it gained support from coast Africans long associated with the family as well as from Swahili chiefs, one of whom regarded it as a *dīyahād* and raised the flag of Islam. It was not until March 1896 that the revolt spent its force in the face of heavier odds. But rather than submit, the leaders and many followers chose to seek refuge in German territory in the south.

The suppression of the Mazrūʿī revolt meant the loss of any Arab or Muslim aspiration to maintain political independence not only in Kenya, but also the whole of East Africa.

However, in Kenya as in Zanzibar and the Tanzanian mainland under German rule, some semblance of Arab-Muslim administration was maintained. The first Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate, which comprised most of Kenya (the western province being part of the Uganda Protectorate until 1902) was Arthur Hardinge, who had served in Muslim countries, such as Egypt and Turkey, an experience that had implanted in him some sympathy for Islam. Having vanquished Kenya's coastal Muslims, he granted them a special position in the administration of the Protectorate. Muslims were needed to establish a viable, new cadre in the administration, the judiciary, the military and the transport fields because they were the only literate indigenous people with some knowledge of administration and a working relationship with the peoples of the interior. Thus an Arab-Muslim administrative hierarchy was established, composed of *livālīs* (governors), *mudīrs* and *kāḏīs*, the first two being administrative officers in *livālates* and *mudīriyyets* on the coast. Hardinge's plans to train more Arabs and "upper class" Swahili who could serve as officers beyond the coastal strip never materialised. In fact, as time passed, the number of *livālīs* and *mudīrs* was reduced for reasons of economy or retrenchment.

In so far as Islam was concerned, the new European colonial era brought positive, if indirect results. If Muslim power had been shattered, the faith itself

spread inland with the extension of the *Pax Britannica*, despite the hostility of Christian missionaries and some officials who regarded Islam either as a rival to Christianity or as a threat to European rule. The spread of Islam during colonial rule was as haphazard as in pre-colonial times. Diverse factors account for this. The building of the Uganda Railway to join the two British Protectorates brought fresh Indian immigrants, many of whom were Muslims, some of whom stayed behind and encouraged others to come out from India. Thus the Indian Muslim population in Kenya increased in number and moved inland, employed either in the railway administration or privately employed as merchants, shop-keepers, hunters, etc. The medical officers, veterinary officers and clerks of the railway administration had amongst them the pioneer members of the Ahmadiyya movement [q.v.] in Kenya. But the celebrated militant missionary activity began only in the 1930s. The railway also facilitated travel of local Muslims. Arabs and Swahili moved more easily inland to settle and trade and thus founded such Muslim "locations" as Pangani and Pumwani in Nairobi. Individual Muslim traders were soon to be found in other townships where they married, settled and created new nuclei of Muslims, e.g. at Kendu Bay, Kisumu, Fort Hall (now Muranga), and the Machakos district. Some local converts contributed to the growth of these nuclei.

A second noteworthy factor that facilitated the diffusion of Islam was the colonial administration's employment of Swahili, Somali and Sudanese Muslim troops in its punitive expeditions and in the manning of garrisons. On retirement or discharge, many of these soldiers settled in the interior and married local wives. Kibera, the Sudanese "colony" in Nairobi is one example of an ex-soldier settlement. The early administration also employed craftsmen, interpreters and tax-collectors of Swahili Muslim origin; domestic servants, in areas as far as Uganda, were often Swahili, as were many of the foremen of the first European settler farms. Thus the non-Muslim and non-Christian Africans were made conscious of the comparatively privileged position of the Muslim as a soldier, foreman, craftsman, official and domestic servant. Consequently some of them became admirers of, and converts to, Islam.

This favourable feeling towards Islam was also to be found in neighbouring Tanzania, where the Germans had trained and employed Swahili officials known as *akidas* and *jumbes* on a significant scale, and in 1913 the German government was led also to subsidise Catholic and Protestant missions to train subordinate officials.

This reaction lends significance to the discovery by Smuts, a British military officer, of a secret German document, circulated to administrative officers, in which they were ordered to do everything in their power to curb the spread of Muslim influence; great publicity was given to this document on the Kenyan coast in order to portray the Germans as enemies of Islam and to counter German claims that they were the defenders of Islam by being allies of the Ottoman sultan-caliph. The British authorities countered the Ottoman sultan's proclamation of a *ḡihād* against Britain and a curse upon all Muslims who did not respond to his call, with a proclamation, signed by the sultan of Zanzibar, denouncing the German deception that the Kaiser had been converted to Islam and criticising the Ottoman Sulṭān for having lost his reputation as the defender of

Islam by siding with the Germans. Copies of this declaration in Arabic and Ki-Swahili were distributed all along the coast. Equally widely distributed was the *Sharif* Ḥusayn's proclamation of June 1916, renouncing his allegiance to the Turkish sultan and denouncing the heretical measures of the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress.

As it turned out, Britain need not have feared a large-scale *ḡihād* in the East Africa Protectorate. The Muslim population of the coast had never displayed active religious fanaticism on a significant scale. Two decades earlier (1895-6), they had been equally unenthusiastic in their response to Egyptian religious exhortation to rise against the Sulṭān of Zanzibar and his British mentors, who had begun to interfere with the lucrative slave trade. This was part of an Egyptian design to occupy the East African coast, from which they planned to forge a route to the inter-lacustrine regions of central Africa to supersede the one down the Nile, which was causing undue delay in obtaining men and equipment. The Egyptian expedition along the coast got no further than Lamu, and failed to exploit the religious sentiments and the economic motives of the coastal Muslims.

Even so, by the outbreak of the First World War, the indigenous Muslim population of the coast was smarting under a series of blows. Punitive expeditions had shattered all aspirations to political independence between 1890 and 1900. In 1907 the ordinance abolishing slavery was promulgated, which dealt a final, heavy blow to agriculture, the mainstay of the economy of the coast. Game regulations entailing the purchase of licences and competition from Europeans and Indians reduced Arab-Swahili participation in the ivory trade. In 1908 the Land Titles Ordinance was passed, and it led to vast acres of land being either alienated or declared crown land; some of these lands were leased or given freehold to European planters.

Thus at the turn of the century, the indigenous Muslims of Kenya found it essential to embark upon a drastic reappraisal of their status under the new colonial order, especially in regard to education. When the British authorities began in 1910 to take up responsibility for public education, there was at first no provision for the teaching of Arabic and the Qur'ān, and it was only in 1924 that the government introduced Qur'ānic lessons in the schools of Mombasa and Malindi.

Also, two very short-lived reform organizations came into being amongst the Arab-Swahilis of Mombasa—the Mohamadan Reform League and the Afro-Asian Association. The latter was basically a political association, but established a Muslim school in 1937. The most important Muslim Reformer in Kenya was undoubtedly *Shaykh* al-Amīn b. 'Alī b. Nāfi'ī al-Mazrū'ī [see AL-MAZRŪ'Ī] who in his weekly *al-Iṣlāḥ* envisaged the creation of a body to defend Muslim interests. Other non-coastal, non-Arab, Muslims issued in 1931 a memorandum addressed to a Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Closer Union of East Africa expressing their fears of the threats to Islam in Kenya, whereas Christianity was being encouraged by all means possible. In February 1935, a delegation of three Indian Muslims left Kenya for India to collect funds and personnel, in order to initiate a Muslim missionary movement in Kenya and thus counter-balance the Christian missionary endeavour by turning more Africans into Muslims; but its members returned without achieving any immediate results. Only the Ahmadiyya movement showed interest in the initiation

of a missionary movement, but its offer was refused. A year before, in 1934, the *Tahrik-i-Djadid* ("New Scheme") for intensive propagation of the Ahmadiyya creed had been put into effect in East Africa when its first missionary *Shaykh* Mubarak Ahmad arrived in Tabora, Tanzania. The Ahmadiyya helped build or repair mosques and produced literature on Islam on a large scale, culminating in the production of a Ki-Swahili translation of the *Kur'an* in 1953. They had about 1500 adherents in Kenya according to an authoritative estimate of 1974, compared with just over 1000 in Uganda and some 2,700 in Tanzania.

Despite *Shaykh* al-Amin al-Mazrūfi's efforts to provide practical guidance, none of his major proposals were implemented by the Muslims. They became more and more reconciled to the idea of living in separate groups, without organic links between African, Arab, Swahili and Indian Muslims. In Kenya the Indian Muslims were and still are the best-organised and the most prosperous. Hence they have been able to finance and build schools and, in the case of the Ismā'īlis, to build hospitals and contribute significantly to the educational and medical services in the country. The East African Muslim Welfare Society, founded in the 1930s, was a charitable Ismā'īli organisation aimed at raising the status of the most depressed members of the Muslim community, particularly the African.

A most noteworthy project of the Muslims in Kenya was launched after the Second World War. The colonial government, the Āgā *Khān* and the Sultān of Zanzibar jointly contributed towards the building of a Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education (MIOME), which encompassed a long-promised academic Secondary School for Arabs and Swahili. The Institute was to lay emphasis upon technical and vocational training, but Islamic studies were included to balance these secular studies. The Institute was seen as a precursor of a Muslim University, but within a few years of its opening in 1951, however, the Institute had to accept non-Muslims and changed its name first to "Mombasa Institute of Education", then to "Mombasa Technical Institute" and lately to 'Mombasa Polytechnic'.

*Bibliography*: N. Chittick, ch. in *Zamani: a survey of East African history*, ed. B. A. Ogot, 1973; also his articles, *A new look at the history of Pate*, in *Journal of African History* x/3 (1969), and *Discoveries in the Lamu Archipelago*, in *Azania*, ii (1967); 'Abd Allāh Šāliḥ Al-Fārī, *Tarehe ya Imam Shafi na Wanavyuoni Wakubwa wa Mashariki ya Afrika*, 1945; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Select documents on the East African coast*, 1966; M. Guillain, *Document sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de L'Afrique Orientale*, Paris 1856; A. Hardinge, *A diplomatist in the East*, 1928; L. P. Harries, *Swahili Poetry*, 1962; W. Hichens (ed. and trans.), *Sayyid 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Nāsir, al-Inkishāfi*, 1972; A. C. Hollis, *Notes on the history of Vumba*, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxx (1900); J. Kirkman, *The Arab city of Gedi*, 1954; P. Leinhardt, *The Mosque College of Lamu and its social background*, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, liii (1959); E. R. Martin, *Some aspects of the Ahmadiyya movement in East Africa*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Nairobi, 1974; R. Oliver, *The missionary factor in East Africa*; A. H. J. Prins, *The Swahili-speaking peoples of Zanzibar and the East African coast*, 1961; R. B. Serjeant, *The Sayyids of Hadramawt*, Inaugural Lecture,

School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1957; A. I. Sālim, *The Swahili-speaking peoples of Kenya's coast 1895-1965*, Nairobi 1973; Abdul Hamid M. El Zein, *The sacred meadows: a structural analysis of religious symbolism in an East African town*, Chicago 1974. (A. I. SĀLIM)

**KENZ** (Nubia). [see AL-KANZ, BANŪ —]

**AL-KERAK**. [see KARAK]

**KERASŪN**. [see GİRESŪN]

**KERBELA** [see KARBALĀ']

**KARBENESH**, Ottoman name for Karpenésion (Karpenisi, Carpenitze), a small township in northern Aetolia. The district was probably occupied under Bāyezīd I [q.v.], when the adjacent regions of Salona, Domakia and [Neo-] Patras fell to the Turks (Hammer-Purgstall, i, 249-50, following Chalcocondyles); when it is first named in a published Ottoman source (the *diizya* returns of 894/1489, *Belgeler*, i/1 (1964), 100, n. 2), as K.rāb.n.šh, it is grouped with "Badra" (Neopatras, Badraḡilk, Dömeke, Çatalđja (Pharsala) and Mundeniše (Bodonitsa). At this period it was presumably administered as part of the *sandjak* of Tırkhāla [q.v.]; it appears later as a *kađā'* of the *sandjak* of Aynabakhḡtl [q.v.] (see M. T. Gökbilgin, in *Bell.*, xx (1956), 277, n. 128, 278, n. 131). The locality is famous in modern Greek history as the scene of the victory of the Suliot leader Marco Botzaris (21 August 1823).

*Bibliography*: Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, viii, 611-2 (rough draft only); Greek tr. I. G. Giannopoulou, in 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Σπυροελλαδικών Μελετών, ii (1969), 172-3; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, Paris 1826-7, iv, 21-5; Μεγάλη 'Ελληνική 'Εγκυκλοπαίδεια, s.v. Καρπενήσιον; I. G. Giannopoulou, 'Η διοικητική ὀργάνωσις τῆς Σπυρεᾶς 'Ελλάδος κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν (1393-1821), Athens 1971, 100-2 (with full references). (V. L. MÉNAGE)

**KERĀ**, a seaport at the eastern tip of the peninsula of that name at the eastern end of the Crimea [see κριμ] in the modern Crimean *oblast* of the Ukrainian SSR.

The district was clearly a well-populated one in pre-historic, Cimmerian and Scythian times, since it contains a large number of *kurgans* or burial mounds, many of which have been excavated since the last century. In classical times, it was from the 6th century B.C. onwards the site of the flourishing Ionian Greek colony of Pantikapaion, later called Bosphoros and the capital of the principality of Bosphorus Cimmerius (see Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/3, 780-825, s.v. Panticapaeum). After coming under the control of Mithridates VI of Pontus (end of the 2nd century B.C.) and then, from the time of Augustus, of Rome, it suffered badly during the barbarian invasions of such steppe peoples as the Sarmatians, Huns and Goths. From the late 7th century A.D. it was held by the *Khazars* [q.v.] as the capital of their foothold in the eastern Crimea, with the residence of the *tudhun* or governor there.

The name KerĀ first appears in Islamic sources under various forms, such as Karz, Karđi, al-Karsh, etc., and may derive from a Greek form Korizos/Kyrizos (see J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 162-3, 506-7). In Ibn Rusta, 143, tr. Wiet, 160, we have K.r.kh ~ \*Karđi as the Byzantine port on the northern coastland of the Black Sea to which the Magyars then living there brought Slav captives for sale, and the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 158, cf. 182-3, mentions the *Daryā-yi K.r.z.* With the decline and break-up of the *Khazar*

confederation in the early years of the 11th century, KerĀ fell to the Kiev Russians and for some decades the eastern Crimea formed part of the Russian principality of Tmutarakan in the Taman peninsula across the Straits of KerĀ, under the patriarchate of Matrega in the Taman peninsula, whilst in 1332 it was to become a metropolitan sea itself (see Heyd, *Hist. de la commerce du Levant*, ii, 184-5). In the 12th century KerĀ was in the hands of the Kĭpĉak or Comans, and it may be the town of Rhōsia mentioned in a treaty of 1169 between the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenos and the Genoese. In the 13th century, Crimea and South Russia became part of the vast territories of the Golden Horde. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling from Karsh/KerĀ to Kafa, describes his meeting with Christian Comans (*Rihla*, ii, 355-7, tr. Gibb, ii, 469-70, cf. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 137). From 1289 onwards there was a Venetian consul in KerĀ (Heyd, *loc. cit.*), and by 1318 it was in the hands of the Genoese, who had established themselves on the southern littoral of the Crimea with their centre at Kafa/KeĤe (see KERĤE) or Theodosia; it was a consulate subordinate to Kafa under the name of Cerco or Cerchio. In ca. 1400 there are mentioned Alan or Gothic princes in KerĀ, remnants of the waves of barbarian invasions through South Russia in the Dark Ages, who are described as *Domini Gothiae* or *Signori de la Tedoro* (B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, die Mongolen in Russland 1223-1502*, Wiesbaden 1965, 314-15) and who presumably exercised theoretical jurisdiction over the town and its hinterland. In the 15th century there was pressure on the Genoese colonies in the Crimea from the Giray Khāns, and then later in the century, after the attacks of the Ottoman commander Ahmed Paṣha Gedik [q.v.], these settlements on the coastland fell into Ottoman hands. Henceforth, Ottoman trade with the Crimea and South Russia was channelled through Kafa rather than KerĀ, and the latter's commercial prosperity went into a decline.

After the conquest of Azov in 1696, Peter the Great in the peace negotiations of 1698 sought the session of KerĀ to Russia, but this was refused, and after the Peace of Carlowitz [see KARLOVĀA], KerĀ remained in Ottoman hands. Sultan Muṣṭafā III in 1114/1702 built the fortress of Yeñi Kāle near KerĀ to protect it (see Von Hammer, *GOR*<sup>2</sup>, iii, 909). Nevertheless, KerĀ and Yeñi Kāle were occupied by Catherine the Great's troops in 1185/1771 without resistance, and their cession to Russia confirmed in the Treaty of Kūĉūk Ķaynardĵa [q.v.] in 1188/1774 (*GOR*<sup>2</sup>, iv, 622, 638). It remained of small importance, although in 1821 Tsar Alexander I raised it to the status of a town, and its main function was as a trans-shipment point to shallow-bottomed vessels crossing the Sea of Azov to the Don-Donets basin ports. During the Crimean War, it was in 1855 occupied by the invading Allies, and in the Second World War it was held by the Germans from the winter of 1941-2 till 1944 and was the scene of fierce fighting. Its economic and industrial importance today derives from iron ore deposits, exploited since the end of the 19th century and now sent to the Donbas industrial area, and limestone quarries in the vicinity of the town; it is furthermore the base for an important fishing fleet, and in 1970 had a population of 128,000 (see *BSE*<sup>2</sup>, xx, 565-6).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KERIMBA ISLANDS**, a group of islands lying in lat. 12° S. off Musambiĵ (Mozambique)

between the mouths of the Ruvuma and Lurio rivers, with administrative headquarters at St João de Ibo on Querimba Is. They were part of the sphere of influence of the mediaeval state of Kilwa, but with an independent ruler. They were islamised at an unknown period, possibly in the 12th century. They were seized by the Portuguese in 1522 because of their important ivory trade: many mosques and large houses were destroyed. João dos Santos went to convert them to Christianity in 1593: the upper class was Muslim, but the majority pagan. In 1769, when the 'Umāni Arabs were developing the slave trade from Zanzibar, the Portuguese commander accused the Arab and Swahili traders "of depriving the Portuguese of their ivory trade, God of the souls of Africans who were being enslaved by the Muslims, and the King of his taxes." Regrettably, a recent account describes only the earlier Portuguese buildings: a systematic survey of the mosques and Muslim cemeteries has yet to be made.

*Bibliography*: Fr. João dos Santos, O.P., *Etiopia Oriental*, Evora 1607, ed. Mello de Azevedo, Lisbon 1891, i, 273 ff.; E. Axelson, *The Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600*, Cape Town 1973; idem, *The Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1600-1700*, Johannesburg 1960; E. A. Alpers, *Ivory and slaves in East and Central Africa*, 1975; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa Island*, 1965; A. Gomes e Sousa, *As Ilhas Querimbas*, in *Boletim da Sociedade de Moçambique*, no. 122, 1960.

(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

**KERKHA**. [see KARKHA]

**KERKENNA**. [see KARĶANA]

**KERKUK**. [see KIRKŪK]

**KERKUR**. [see KARKŪR]

**KERMĀN**. [see KIRMĀN]

**KERMĀN SHĀH**. [see KIRMĀN SHĀH]

**KERMIYĀN**. [see GERMIYĀN]

**KERRI** (conventional spelling, Gerri), a site on the east bank of the main Nile in the Sudan, lying at the southern end of the Sabalūka gorge, about 44 miles north of the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. At the convergence of the route along the Nile and one across the Bayūda desert crossing the Nile at this point, Kerri was a settlement of political importance from the 10th/16th to the 12th/18th century as the seat of the 'Abdallābī *shaykhs*, who levied tribute on the nomads during their annual migration-cycle, and, as the principal vassals of the Funĵi [q.v.] of Sinnār, were regarded as the overlords of the Arab tribes. The first two 'Abdallābī *shaykhs* derived prestige from their role as holy men and agents of islamisation in a fringe-region, rather than from purely tribal leadership. This is indicated by the ascription of a Sharīf ancestry to the eponym, 'Abd Allāh *Djammā*' al-*Ķuraynāfi* al-*Ķāsimi* (fl. 10th/16th cent.), who is reputed to have overthrown Soba, the capital of the Nubian Christian kingdom of 'Alwa [q.v.]. Tradition associates 'Amāra Dūnĵas, the founder of the Funĵi dynasty, with him in this exploit, while another tradition (reported by James Bruce) speaks of a victory of the Funĵi over the 'Abdallābī chief (anachronistically styled "Wed Ageeb", i.e. Walad 'Aĵĵib) near Arbaĵi on the Blue Nile in 1504. The two traditions are not necessarily incompatible, and the second would explain the subordination of the 'Abdallābī *shaykhs* to the Funĵi rulers. A legend that Kerri was a Nubian stronghold captured by 'Abd Allāh *Djammā*' so far lacks archaeological confirmation, while Bruce's statement that the



Fundj compelled the 'Abdallāb to transfer their capital to Arbađjī is unsupported in other sources 'Adjīb al-Kāfūta, the son of 'Abd Allāh Djamnā<sup>c</sup> by the daughter of a holy man, Ḥamad Abū Dunāna, is represented in 'Abdallābī tradition as a pious Muslim, who enforced the Shari'ca and made the Pilgrimage. He is distinguished by the title of *māndjilak*, held by the great vassals of the Fundj. He nevertheless fought against his suzerain, and temporarily extended his rule up the Blue Nile, but was subsequently defeated and killed by the Fundj ruler, 'Adlān I b. Ūnsa I, at the battle of Karkōđj in 1016/1607-8. 'Adjīb's tomb at Kerri was surmounted by a dome (*kubba*), typical of the burial-place of a holy man but not of a tribal chief; it was a place of pilgrimage. Of the later *shaykhs* of Kerri, Dhiyāb b. Bādī established in 1149/1736 a *wakf* at Medina for the benefit of immigrants from the Fundj territories. His harshness resulted in the depopulation of Kerri, and it was perhaps for this reason that his uncle and successor, 'Abd Allāh III b. 'Adjīb III (d. 1160/1747) transferred the capital to Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk, further to the south on the main Nile. Crawford's assertion that this transfer took place in 1798 under 'Abd Allāh IV is unjustified. Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk remained the capital of the shaykhdom until the Turco-Egyptian invasion in 1821 ended the old régime.

*Bibliography*: O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 65-9; James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile*, Edinburgh 1805, vi, 370-1, 425-6; A. E. D. Penn, *The traditional stories of the 'Abdullah tribe*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xvii/1 (1934), 59-82. The oral traditions of the 'Abdallāb have been published by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Naṣr, *Ta'rikh al-'Abdallāb*, Khartoum 1969; a useful preliminary study of 'Abdallābī history is Sid Ḥasan Muḥammad Khalīl, *Djawānib min ta'rikh al-'Abdallāb* (unpublished dissertation, Khartoum 1969). A photograph of the *wakfiyya* of Dhiyāb b. Bādī (a unique document) illustrates the article of Ṣalāh Muhyī al-Dīn, *Makḥḥūta ta'rikhiyya 'an mulūk al-'Abdallāb*, in *al-Khurṭūm*, Dec. 1967, 58. (P. M. HOLT)

**KESRIYE**, Ottoman name for KASTORIÁ, a town in Macedonia, situated on the shores of a lake with the same name, at the northern most point of the upper reaches of the River Aliákmon.

An important centre of Christian art during the last centuries of the Byzantine era, it fell under the rule of Stephan Dušan (1331-55) and his successors, and in 1380 to the Albanians. Between 1385 and 1393 it came into Ottoman hands—by capitulation, according to tradition. It was the capital of the homonymous *kađā'* of the *pasha sandjaghī* in the *eyālet* of Rūmeli (Ḥādīđjī Khallfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812, 96; M. T. Gökbilgin, in *Bellesten* xx (1956)), and, after the administrative reorganisation of 1864, of a *kađā'* of the *sandjak* of Koritśa in the *wilāyet* of Manastir. According to Ewliyā Ćelebi, it was a *kađā'* of 150 *aḥḥes* with 110 villages, and a *khāṣṣ* of Fātima Sulṭān. Outside its fortress (in the *varosh*), there were 20 *maḥalles*, 16 of which were Greek and one Jewish. The town had a *đizdār*, a *muḥtesib*, a *bāđi-dār*, a *sheḥir ketkḥudāsī* and a *khavāđi aghasī*.

The fur industry flourished in this small town, especially from the beginning of the 17th/17th century. Fur merchants from Kastoriá distributed their products by caravan to important urban centres in regions north of Macedonia and set up commercial establishments in Istanbul, Vienna, Leipzig, Dresden

and Moscow. Although the area was often unquiet because of the activities of the Klepths and the Albanians, the town's flourishing industry and economic prosperity contributed to the construction—especially in the 12th/18th and the 13th/19th centuries—of many Christian churches and its characteristic town houses, which are interesting examples of folk architecture. Greek schools were also established with funds supplied by wealthy emigrants. The Greeks were represented before the Turkish authorities by the *kođia bashis*. After 1870, the district was the scene of rivalry between Greeks and Slavs, with its metropolitan, Germanos Karavanghelis (1900-7), playing a leading role. With the Balkan War it became part of the Greek state (11/24 November 1912).

*Bibliography*: Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Seyāhaināme*, v, 575-6; P. Tsamises, 'H Kαστορία και τὰ μνημεία της, Athens 1949; A. Vakalopoulos, 'Iστορία της Μακεδονίας 1354-1833, Salonika 1969; V. Demetriades, 'H Κεντρική και Δυτική Μακεδονία κατά τὸν 'Εθελιγία Τσελεμπί, Salonika 1973. For art: A. Orlandos, Τὰ Βυζαντινά μνημεία της Καστορίας, in 'Αρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων της 'Ελλάδος, iv (1938), 3-213; St. Pelekanides, Καστορία I. Βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία. Salonika 1953; N. Moutsopoulos, Καστορία. Τὰ ἀρχοντικά. Athens 1962. (J. G. GIANNOPOULOS)

**KETĀMA**. [see KUTĀMA]

**KETKHUĐĀ**. This Persian term "master of the house, head of the family", Pahlavi *katak-xvatai*, acquired, in addition to the above meanings, those of husband, chief of a tribe, headman of a village and tithe-officer in a town (Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. 1811, iv, 77, "dixenier de quartier") responsible to the *kalāntar* [q.v.] (cf. M. Mu'īn, *Persian dictionary*, Tehran 1345, iii, 2921). In Ottoman Turkish, it evolved into the form *kvahya*, with the meanings "steward of a household", "head of an artisans' guild" (see below).

#### (i) IN OTTOMAN TURKISH ADMINISTRATIVE USAGE

Already in Il-Khānīd Persia we find the *kadkḥudā* acting as the representative of the village *vis-à-vis* the government, and under the Ṣafawids they were in charge of collecting taxes and responsible for the administration of a village or town (cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 122, 144, 168, 175, 430 and *passim*). We find the form *kadkḥudā* in Anatolian Saldjūkh usage of the 7th/13th century (Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukları hakkında resmi vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, 13), and the form *kvahya* may have evolved during Ottoman times.

The term *ketkḥudā* is used in the Ottoman state administration from the 9th/15th century onwards (*Kānūn-nāme-yi sulṭānī ber müđdeb-i 'orf-i 'Oṭhmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger-H. Inalcık, Ankara 1956, 17, 31-2), in the sense of someone who looks after the affairs of an important government official or influential person, i.e. the *ketkḥudā* was an authorised deputy official. Hence there were *ketkḥudās* below the *āghā* or *re'īs* in charge, e.g. of the treasury, the dockyards, the police guard, the Janissaries, the taxation registers, the Grand Vizierate, the imperial pantry, the bodyguard of *čāvūshs*, of the artillery corps, etc. (see 'Abdurrahmān Vefik, *Tekālīf ḥawā'idī*, Istanbul 1328, i, 192-3). The office was conferred by a diploma (*berāt*), in which the respect and loyalty of those to be under him was enjoined (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, no.

217, pp. 14, 180, no. 216/a, p. 7). Provincial governors (*beylerbeyis*) and district governors (*sandjāk-beyis*) had their *kethkudās* (cf. Kātib Celebi, *Fedhīke*, Istanbul 1286, i, 290; Başbakanlık A.G.M., *Diwān-ı Humāyūn Mühimme defteri*, no. 2, p. 390). As in Persia, there were in Turkey *kethkudās* of villages charged with administrative duties there. The most important of those officials bearing this title was, however, the *kethkudā* of the Grand Vizier (*Şadāret kethkudāsi*). In 1214/1799 it seems that this official was not only concerned with the affairs of the Grand Vizier in the *Diwān-ı Humāyūn*, but of those of the other viziers also, hence it was decreed that he should concern himself with the affairs of the former only (*Khaṭṭ-ı humāyūn tasnifi*, no. 13283). The official supervising the *tīmār*-holders in the *eyālets* and *sandjaks* was called the *kethkudā yeri* (see the Elaziğ judicial records, Diyarbakir Ziya Gökalp Müzesi, no. 362, p. 137), and the same title was found in the corps of Janissaries (see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin teşkilâtından Kapıkulu Ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 211-13).

Provincial governors had their own *kethkudās* stationed in the capital Istanbul to represent their interests; these were called *kapı kethkudāsi*s. Similar representatives were allowed to trusted state servants, and in 1209/1795 there were six *kapı kethkudāllık*s pertaining to the viziers (Nūrī, *Ta'rih*, Süleymaniye, Aşir Efendi, no. 239, f. 88b). Dependent and tributary princes, such as those of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, and even the *Khāns* of the Crimean Tatars, had their representatives in Istanbul with this same title. We also find it used to denote the envoys or ambassadors of some foreign countries.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the *kethkudās* of towns and cities were abolished by a decree of 1204/1790 (*Khaṭṭ-ı Humāyūn tasnifi*, no. 9500), and that the term was also used within the nomadic tribes. A tribal chief would appoint a *kethkudā* for each of the subordinate clans in his tribe, and when hereditary chieftainship was abolished by the state, a person chosen by general consent of the tribesmen and from amongst themselves was appointed as *kethkudā* (see C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda aşiretleri iskân teşebbüsü, 1697-1669*, Istanbul 1963, 13-14).

*Bibliography* (in addition to references given in the article): Hüseyin Kâzım Kadri, *Türk lûgatı*, Istanbul 1945, iv, 27, 38; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1951, ii, 251-5; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman empire . . .*, London 1912, 96, 125; Von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 102-3, 105 (Tkish. résumé in *Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası* (1941), 564-86); L. Fekete, *Die Siyâqatschrift . . .*, Budapest 1955, 608; G. Demorgny, *Essai sur l'administration de la Perse*, Paris 1913, 50, 55; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/1, index, s.v. *kāhya*; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

#### (ii) IN THE OTTOMAN TURKISH GILDS

In Turkey the *kethkudā* was also the head of a gild who dealt with the material and administrative aspects of gild life (whereas in the earlier period of gild history, a *shaykh* fulfilled the ceremonial functions). He was usually chosen by the gild notables without formal election, and his appointment was then confirmed by the *kādi*. Recently published documents do not seem to bear out the theory of Gibb and Bowen (i/1, 289) that "until much later [than the middle of the 11th/17th century?] *kāhyās* continued in all cases

[even in gilds with Christian members] to be Moslem; but eventually this office . . . was granted in some instances to non-Moslems"; there were non-Muslim *kethkudās* in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, as well as Muslim *kethkudās* of non-Muslim gilds in the 12th/18th century.

The gild *kethkudās* represented the gild *vis-à-vis* the authorities. They conveyed government orders and announcements to the gild members, and made certain that these instructions were carried out; for instance, it was their task to supervise the implementation of orders concerning the standards of production and of commodities sold. They provided the government with any services and labour which were required, and if necessary, they guaranteed the reliability and good character of the members of the gild.

The gild *kethkudās* were also responsible for the supply of certain goods to the authorities and for distributing raw material needed by artisans and craftsmen; and it was the task of the heads of practically all Turkish gilds to arbitrate in disputes among their members, and the task of some of them to supervise a fund for mutual help.

In later times, individuals who were not members of the gild were frequently appointed *kethkudās*, for instance, retired officials who thereupon agreed to renounce their pension. During the reign of 'Abd al-Ĥamid II, favoured courtiers were appointed by the Sultan, often because the gild members hoped thereby to further their own concerns.

*Bibliography*: 'Othmān Nūrī, *Međjelle-yi Umūr-i Belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 496-768; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, London 1950, 284-92; G. Baer, *The administrative, economic and social functions of Turkish guilds*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 28-50; idem, *The structure of Turkish guilds and its significance for Ottoman social history*, in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, iv (1971), 176-96. (G. BAER)

#### (iii) IN NORTH AFRICA

The term *kethkudā* was not used in North Africa in the period of Turkish domination, but the form *kāhiya* was current in Tunisia until recent times to designate the subordinates of the caids or governors at the head of administrative divisions called *kihāya*. In a more general way, *kāhiya* was in general use with the sense of "assistant to a high official, president or director" (e.g. *kāhiyat ra'īs* = vice-president); the deputy of the Public Prosecutor of the Republic was called *kāhiyat al-mudda'ī 'l-'umūmī*, and an under-secretary of state *kāhiya wazīri*. In Algeria, the *kāhya* was a bey's lieutenant, but also a police superintendent and even a simple corporal in the army of the *amir* 'Abd al-Ķādir [q.v.]. The use of the term for a subordinate endowed it with the pejorative meaning of "inferior quality". (ED.)

**KHĀ'**, the seventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, here transcribed as *kh*. Its numerical value is 600, according to the eastern order [see *ABJAD*].

Definition: voiceless post-velar fricative. According to the Arabic grammatical tradition: *riḥwa*, *mahmūsa*, *musta'liya*. For the *makhraj*: *min adnā 'l-halk* (from that part of the throat nearest to the mouth) (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, § 732); Ibn Ya'ish (Sharh, ed. G. Jahn, 1460, i. 6) defines it thus: "the *khā'* is nearer to the mouth than the *ghayn*". The Arabs accordingly placed the *khā'* in the throat and considered it as a laryngeal (ac-

cording to the terminology of H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, I, 59), as with the *ghayn*. However, G. Krotkoff, in *WZKM*, lix-lx (1963-4), 242, II, 4-5), puts forward "post-velar" as corresponding to *min adnā* 'l-halk' (cf. M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*, 44, and H. Blanc, in *Procs. of the Internat. Conference on Semitic Studies*, Jerusalem 1965, 17). The text of the *Mufaṣṣal* is clear: *adnā* 'l-halk is the upper part of the throat, as opposed to *awsaf al-halk*, the middle part, and *aḳṣā* 'l-halk, the lower part. Then there comes, as the first sound pronounced within the mouth, *al-kāf*.

The articulation described is phonemic; for the phonological oppositions which define this phoneme *kh*, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique = Memorial J.C.*, Paris 1960, 175. According to him, its realisation is "fairly close to the German *ch* in *Nacht*", and it is its localisation which is relevant. For the incompatibilities of *kh*, see *ibid.*, 201. *Kh* (and *gh*) are by their nature *mufahhkhama* and prevent the occurrence of *imāla* in most of the (eastern) Arabic dialects (Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du Horan*, Paris 1946, 127). But this is not the case in Cairo (N. Tomiche, *Le parler arabe du Caire*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 32), nor in Maāsser Beit ed-Dine, Lebanon, where people say *khāf* "he was afraid" (Fleisch, in *MUSJ*, xxxi (1954), 298) and *khān* "he betrayed" (*ibid.*, 312).

Classical Ar. *kh* is the continuation of a voiceless velar fricative *kh* of common Semitic. It "becomes *h* in Canaanitic Aramaic, in Tigre and Tigrinya (Ethiopic languages), and in Soqotri (Modern South Arabian); it becomes zero in most of the other [modern] Ethiopic languages" (W. Leslau in *Manual of Phonetics*, Amsterdam 1957, 329).

In Classical Ar., *kh* undergoes few non-conditioned alterations; see Cantineau, *Cours*, 71. As a conditioned alteration, one only need mention the possibility of assimilation of unvoicedness and voicedness, between *kh* and *gh*, when they are found in final or initial position of a word, thus: *-gh kh > khkh-* and *-kh gh > ghgh-* (see Fleisch, *Traité*, I, § 12 p.). The same type of assimilation is found in some modern Arabic dialects, as at Tlemcen (W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, 26); note also the special case of Baghdad (Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, x (1964), 3, 24 (c)).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(H. FLEISCH)

**KHABAR** (A.), plural **AKHBĀR**, **AKHĀBIR**, report, piece of information. The word is not used in any special context in the Qurʾān. In the *ḥadīth* it occurs among other passages in the tradition which describes how the *djinn* by eavesdropping obtain information from heaven (*khābar min al-samāʾ*) and how they are pelted with fiery meteors to prevent them from doing so (al-Bukhārī, *Aḥḥān*, *bāb* 105; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 149); al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lxxii, trad. 1).

In his collection al-Bukhārī has a chapter entitled *Akhbār al-āhād*, which, as the *tarjama* indicates, deals with the validity of traditions regarding *aḥḥān*, *ṣalāt*, fasting, the law of inheritance, and judicial procedure, and which are only given on the authority of one man [see **ḤADĪTH**].

Al-Ghazālī gives the name *akhbār* to the traditions that go back to Muḥammad. He distinguishes the sayings of the Companions by the term *āthār* (see his *Ihyāʾ*, passim). On such and similar technical distinctions see Lane's *Lexicon* s.v., and *Dict. of*

*Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger and Nassau Lees, s.v.

*Akhbār* is further often found in the titles of historical works (see Brockelmann, Index ii); in the singular, *khābar* denotes a piece of information of a historical, biographical or even anecdotal nature, and comes to correspond to *ḥikāya* [q.v.].

Ṣāhib al-Khābar was the title of one of a ruler's officers in provincial capitals whose duty it was to report to his master all new happenings, the arrivals of strangers etc. This post was often given to the director of the postal service [see **BARĪD**].

(A. J. WENSINCK)

**KHABAR**, in Arabic grammar, refers to the constituent parts of the nominal phrase, e.g. *Zayd<sup>un</sup> karīm<sup>un</sup>* "Zayd is noble"; here, *Zayd*, the first term, is *mubtadaʾ*, and *karīm*, the second one, is *khābar*. For the verbal phrase, the corresponding terms are *fāʿil* agent and *fiʿl* verb. The Arab grammarians, as can readily be seen, recognised two types of phrase, the nominal and the verbal, in their language. They also recognised clearly the necessity of the *ʿaḳd*, the nexus linking the two terms of these phrases, and they called it *isnād* "the act of leaning one thing against another", the linkage between *al-musnad ilayhi*, the first term, and *al-musnad*, the second one. But *musnad ilayhi* and *musnad* both remained terms of grammatical logic, used for the analysis of the nexus of the two types of phrase; *mubtadaʾ-khābar* and *fāʿil-fiʿl* are the only terms recognised in the formation of the nominal phrase in the first pair, and in that of the verbal phrase in the second pair. Each type of phrase was studied for itself; the idea of subject remained alien to the Arab grammarians (see Fleisch, *Études sur le verbe arabe*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, II, 153-5).

The *khābar* is *marfūʿ*, i.e. in *rafʿ*, the nominative, as also the *mubtadaʾ*. For an Arab grammarian, it was necessary to determine the *ʿāmil*, here called *al-rāfiʿ* "that which puts it in *rafʿ*", the *khābar* and also the *mubtadaʾ*, for the question is connected. This was the subject of great discussions between the Kūfan and Baṣran grammarians, and even amongst the Baṣrans themselves; see the 5th Question discussed in Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, 21-6, with a résumé in Ibn Yaʿīsh's *Sharḥ of the Mufaṣṣal of Zamakhshari*, ed. G. Jahn, 101, II, 15-16.

In dislocated phrases, which were outside normal analysis, of the type *Zayd<sup>un</sup> dhāhaba abūhu* "Zayd, his father left", the Arab grammarians considered the phrase taken up after *Zayd* as *khābar* (*Zamakhshari, Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, § 26).

After *inna* and its "sisters" (*anna*, *lākinna*, *layta*, *laʿalla* and *kaʿanna*) the *khābar* is *marfūʿ*. The Baṣrans and Kūfans disputed over determination over the *ʿāmil* here, sc. about the *rāfiʿ* which puts the *khābar* here into *rafʿ* (see the 22nd Question discussed in the *K. al-Inṣāf*, 81-4, *Mufaṣṣal*, § 3, and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 124, I, 23-125, I, 17).

For the *khābar* of *kāna* and its "sisters", sc. verbs like *asbaha* "it took place in the morning" or *amsā* "it took place in the evening", the Arab grammarians had the task of explaining the *naṣb* or accusative of the *khābar*, as in *kāna ḥakīm<sup>un</sup>* "he was wise". They solved this by referring to an analogy with the *fāʿil* and *mafʿūl* of a verb (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 97, and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 282). In fact, this accusative can be explained as a complement indicating state, a *ḥāl*; this explanation had already been given by the Kūfans against the Baṣrans (*K. al-Inṣāf*, Question under discussion, 348-51; see also Fleisch, *L'Arabe classique. Esquisse d'une structure linguistique*, 181). The *naṣb* is found after the negative *mā* (less usually after *lā*) when

this has the value of *laysa* (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 38, and Ibn Ya'īsh, 132-4). This also involves the question of the *mā hidjāziyya* (*K. al-Insāf*, 19). See Question under discussion, 76-9, and Ibn Ya'īsh, 132, ll. 24-5.

For the *khābar's* place, see the Questions under discussion: *K. al-Insāf*, No. 9, pp. 34-6, No. 17, pp. 70-2, and No. 18, pp. 73-6. For the separation between *khābar* and *naḥ*, see Question No. 100.

*Bibliography*: In addition to references given in the text, see Sibawayh, *Kitāb*, Paris edn., ch. iii, 17-19, 120-1, 136; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḥtaḍab*, references in *al-Fahāris* (Cairo 1388/1968-9); Zadjidjādij, *Diurnal*, 48-50, 53-69, 119-20; Raḍī 'l-Dīn al-Astarābādī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiyya*, Istanbul 1275/1858-9, 76-101; Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, vv. 113-63; *Sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aqil, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 163-76; *Sharḥ* of al-Ushmūnī, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 88-128; Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *al-Manḥadī al-sālik*, ed. Glazer, 36-67.

(H. FLEISCH)

**KHABAR AL-WĀHID.** Literally, tradition or report going back to one single authority. Synonyms are *khābar al-āḥād*, *khābar al-infirād* and *khābar al-khāṣṣa*. According to the generally-accepted definition, a *khābar al-wāhid* is a report which falls short of the predicate *mutawātir* [*q.v.*] (or, as certain scholars assert, *mashhūr* [*q.v.*]) in that it has only one or a few (from two to five) transmitters in every *ṭabaqa* of its *isnād*. The first classical scholar who writes about the *khābar al-wāhid* is, according to Nawawī (cf. *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo 1349, i, 131), Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820). In his *Risāla* he devotes two chapters to it. He argues that a *khābar al-wāhid* constitutes an argument (*ḥudūdīya*), if only there is at every stage of the *isnād* one reliable transmitter (*thiḳa* [*q.v.*]), his reliability being dependent on the following six conditions: (1) he should have a strong faith; (2) he should be known for his veracity in transmitting traditions; (3) he must be able to grasp the meaning of what he transmits; (4) he should pay heed to the exact wording; (5) he should transmit from memory, and (6) he should be free from *tadlīs* [*q.v.*]. The *khābar al-wāhid* forms in itself an *aṣl* and can only in part be compared with juridical testimonies (*shahādāt*). It can only be invalidated by one or more other reports which present an opposing view and which, at the same time, meet the requirements of reliability more adequately.

Most Muslim scholars agree in that the *khābar al-wāhid* can be considered as conveying a probability (*ẓann*), not definite knowledge (*ilm*), although various traditionists hold the opinion that those contained in the compilations of Bukhārī and Muslim also convey *ilm* to the exclusion of all others. The majority of orthodox Muslim scholars finally agreed on the fact that, inasmuch as a *khābar al-wāhid* conveys at least a probability, every Muslim is bound by it and is obligated to live by it.

Among those who reject the *khābar al-wāhid* as a valid criterion or an obligation are the *Kadariyya* [*q.v.*], the *Rāfiḍa* [*q.v.*], certain members of the *Zāhiriyya* [*q.v.*] (although Ibn Ḥazm lends full credit to them, cf. *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1345-7, i, 108) and the *Mu'tazila* [*q.v.*].

*Bibliography*: Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms . . .*, Calcutta 1862, 1463; Nawawī, *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo 1349, i, 130 ff.; Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, ed. Aḥmad M. Shākir, Cairo 1940. 369-471; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 40 ff., 50 ff.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. al-Djārh wa 'l-ḥādīl*, Hyderabad 1952-3, 1/1, 37; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-*

*ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalahuhu*, Damascus 1959, 152; J. Robson, *Traditions from individuals*, in *JSS*, ix (1964), 327-40; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature; discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969, index, s.v. *āḥād*.

(G. H. A. JUYNBOLL)

**KHABBĀB B. AL-ARATT**, ABŪ 'ABD AL-LĀH OR ABŪ YAḤYĀ OR ABŪ MUḤAMMAD OR ABŪ 'ABD RABBIH, a Companion of the Prophet. Tradition is not unanimous about his origin. Some reports state that his father was captured in a raid launched by the Rabī'a in the Sawād, sent to Mecca and sold as a slave to Sibā' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā al-Khuzā'i, a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Zuhra; Sibā' (who was later killed by Ḥamza in the battle of Uḥud) gave him as a gift to his daughter Umm Anmār who freed him. In a tradition attributed to 'Alī he is said to have been the first of the *Nabaṭ* to embrace Islam. Other traditions claim that the mother of *Khabbāb*, a professional circumciser, also gave birth to Sibā'; it is for this reason that Ḥamza when killing Sibā', shouted to him "O son of the woman cutting the clitoris". By virtue of this kinship, *Khabbāb* claimed to be a confederate of the Zuhra in Mecca. Some reports say that this father was from Kaskar or from the vicinity of al-Kūfa. A quite different tradition states that al-Aratt was a Tamīmī, of the Banū Sa'd, who was captured in a raid and sold in Mecca to Umm Anmār al-Khuzā'iyya, who freed him. This version, adopted by his descendants, gives his pedigree as follows: *Khabbāb* b. al-Aratt b. *Djandala* b. Sa'd b. *Khuzayma* b. Ka'b b. Sa'd from Tamim. Another account records that *Khabbāb* was a freed slave (*mawlā*) of *Thābit* b. Umm Anmār; *Thābit*, these sources claim, was a *mawlā* of al-Akhnas b. *Sharīk* al-Thakafī, who in his turn was a confederate of the Zuhra. These contradictory traditions do not help to establish exactly his origin and his position in Mecca, but he must have been of a very low status, as he was doubly dependent, being a *mawlā* of a family which was in turn in a relation of dependence as confederates of the tribal group of Zuhra. *Khabbāb* himself was a blacksmith, a profession regarded as base in Mecca and in the Arab peninsula in general. The tradition of his Sawādī origin seems preferable because of his father's incorrect Arabic speech, which is indicated by his nickname *al-Aratt*; this would seem to point to Arabic not being his native language, and he probably spoke Nabataean, sc. neo-Aramaic. Although a *mawlā*, *Khabbāb* apparently acquired some influence in the *Khuzā'i* family of his master. It was he who promoted the plan that the family of Sibā' should join the Zuhri 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf (the family of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf) as confederates and he indeed succeeded in carrying out his plan.

*Khabbāb* was one of the earliest converts to Islam. He is usually mentioned as the sixth or the seventh man who embraced Islam. A unique tradition granting him an usually high position in Islam says that he was the first man who embraced Islam.

*Khabbāb* is recorded as one of "the weak ones" in Mecca. Lacking any protection (*mana'a*), he was exposed to persecution and cruel torture. The noble *Kurashīs* and leaders of tribes used to mock the Prophet when they saw him in the company of *Khabbāb* and other poor men, and some verses in the *Kur'ān* were revealed to the Prophet in this connection. It is said that *Khabbāb* was attached to the Prophet and heard some chapters of the *Kur'ān* from his mouth, and that he witnessed the conversion of 'Umar to Islam when present in the house of 'Umar's sister, reading chapters from the *Kur'ān*.

Having left Mecca as a *muhājir*, Khabbāb dwelt in Medina, together with al-Mikdād b. 'Amr, in the house of Kulthūm b. Hidm; after the death of the latter they moved into the house of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda. In some sources, Khabbāb is included in the list of the *Ashāb al-Suffa* (see AHL AL-SUFFA). The Prophet set up the relation of brotherhood between Khabbāb and Djabr b. 'Atik. Khabbāb participated in the battle of Badr and was entrusted with the division of the spoils. Tradition usually adds that he took part in all the other battles of the Prophet: he is, however, not mentioned in the list of warriors recorded in the stories of the battles.

No details are available about the vicissitudes of his life during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. 'Uthmān granted him possession of Ṣa'nabā or Istīniyā in the vicinity of al-Kūfa and he settled in al-Kūfa. Shī'ī tradition claim that he took part in the battle of Siffin and Nahrawān; some Shī'ī sources mention that he signed the document of arbitration at Siffin.

Khabbāb died in 37 AH (or 39) at the age of 63 (or 73) as a rich man, leaving about 40,000 dirhams in cash. He regretted before his death that he had accumulated wealth; he was afraid lest he might have forfeited his reward in the next world, as he had received it already in this world. Khabbāb gave orders that he should be buried outside al-Kūfa, thus initiating a change in the then custom of burying the dead in their own houses. 'Alī is said to have prayed over his grave when he returned from the battle of Siffin. He transmitted 32 utterances of the Prophet, some of which were recorded in the canonical collections of *hadīth*, and some traditions of the Prophet were transmitted by his daughter. A son, 'Abd Allāh, was cruelly killed by the Khawārīdj.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 271, 368-370, 383, ii, 337; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut 1377/1957, iii, 164-7, v, 245; al-Wākidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, i, 100, 155; al-Balādhurī, *Ausāb al-ashraf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, Cairo 1959, i, index; idem, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, Beirut 1377/1958, 381-2; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; idem, *al-Muntakhab min kitāb dhayl al-mudhāyyal*, Cairo 1358/1939, 57; Khalifa b. Khayyat, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umari, Baghdād 1387/1967, 17, 126; idem, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-Dīn, Baghdād 1386/1967, index; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammak*, ed. Kh. A. Fārik, Hyderabad 1384/1964, 294/295; idem, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 288; al-Minkarī, *Waḳ'at Siffin*, Cairo 1382, 506, 530; Ibn Kutayba, *al-Ma'arif*, ed. al-Sāwī, repr. Beirut 1390/1970, 138; 'Abd Allah b. al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-zuhd wa'l-raḳā'iq*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-A'zamī, Malegaon 1385/1966, 183-4; al-Tayālīsī, *al-Musnad*, Hyderabad 1321, 141-2; Muḳātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Top Kapu Saray, Ahmet III, 74, ii, fols. 43b, 165b, 224b; al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1388/1968, 146, 251; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad 1342, 381/383; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih wa'l-ishraf*, ed. al-Sāwī, Cairo 1357/1938, 199 (quoted by Muḡultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsīm*, Ms. Leiden Or. 370, fol. 118a); Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1351/1932, i, 143-7, 359-60; al-Kalā'ī, *al-Iktifā'*, Cairo 1387/1968, i, 336; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, Cairo 1380/1960, 437-9, no. 628; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-aḥḥar*, Cairo 1356, i, 272; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djawāmi' al-sira*, ed. I. 'Abbās, N. al-Asad, *Shākir*, Cairo, n.d., index; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, Beirut-al-

Riyāḍ 1966, vii, 288; idem, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 496-7; idem, *Sham'ūl al-rasūl*, Cairo 1386/1967, 358; al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, Medina 1389/1969, i, 425, ii, 57; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Mahāsīn wa'l-masāwī*, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 109-11; al-Haythamī, *Madjma' al-zawā'id*, Beirut 1967, ix, 298-9; al-Māwardī, *Lām al-nubuwwa*, Cairo 1319, 77; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahḍj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1964, xviii, 171-2; Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī, *Djāmi' al-āthār*, Ms. Cambridge Or. 913, fol. 339a; al-Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, Cairo 1957, ii, 234-5; idem, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, Cairo 1367, ii, 175-6; al-Kāzarūnī, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 18499, fol. 106a; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1325, iii, 133-4, no. 254; idem, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325/1907, ii, 101, no. 2206; al-Fāṣī, *al-Iḳd al-ḥamīn*, Cairo 1384/1965, iv, 300-3, No. 1119; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā'is al-kubrā*, Cairo 1386/1967, ii, 262; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Sira al-halabiyya*, Cairo 1351/1932, i, 355; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn et alīi, Cairo 1368/1949, iii, 238; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Hyderabad 1388/1968, xv, 343, no. 941; al-Maḍlīsī, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran 1270, viii, 728; al-Nabulusī, *Dhakhā'ir al-mawāriḥ*, Cairo 1352/1934, i, 200-2, nos. 1811-20; al-Ya'qūbī, *Lām al-nubuwwa*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, ii, 22; Ibn Bābūya al-Ḳummi, *Kitāb al-khiṣāl*, Tehran 1389, 312; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, s.v. Ṣa'nabā and Istīniyā; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, index.

(M. J. KISTER)

**KHABN.** [see 'ARŪḍ]

**KHABRĀ'** (pl. KHABĀRĪ), a silt flat, as the term is commonly used in the Syrian Desert. This desert, which comprises part of Syria, Jordan, and northern Saudi Arabia, is mostly composed of highly dissected terrain. The rainfall, which usually occurs in the form of sudden cloudbursts, picks up a large amount of material from the erosion remnants and carries it inland downstream at high velocities. When such a stream reaches a gently sloping and wide open area, the ensuing loss in the velocity of the water stream causes the silts to be deposited. A *khabrā'* is the resulting silt flat. In these parts of the Middle East, a *khabrā'* is very often of great archaeological significance. Along the edges of such a *khabrā'* people have built ring-shaped dams, with an up-stream opening, where after the central hollowed-out depression has been coated with silt, the water can be naturally stored for a long time, occasionally lasting throughout the entire dry summer season. Such an open, ring-shaped storage dam is locally called a *mahfūr* (pl. *mahāfir*). The *mahāfir* vary in size, from ca. 10 to as much as 35 or 40 metres in diameter; the ring-shaped dam wall is from about one metre to two-and-a-half metres in height. Lithic remains in such sites, which are very common and appear to be very old but have not yet been properly dated, would tend to indicate that the builders were not only thinking of making available a few watering holes for their livestock, but were also planning to attract wild game, such as the then plentiful gazelles, to be easier targets. (F. S. VIDAL)

**KHĀBŪR**, the name of two rivers.

(1) The larger Khābūr is one of the chief affluents of the Euphrates, which it joins at Ḳarḳīsiyya [q.v.].

It originates in the Northern Mesopotamian mountains, flows through the plain of Mesopotamia, passes

between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz* and the *Sindjār* mountains, where it takes a southern direction, which it changes in the last part of its course into a south-western one.

Its springs, as well as those of its numerous tributaries, are chiefly connected with three important towns, Ra's al-'Ayn (*Reṣḥ'ayna* of the Syrians) in the northwest, Mārdīn in the north and Naṣībīn in the northeast. The springs at Ra's al-'Ayn are said to be three hundred in number; they were shut off by iron grills, in order to prevent people from being drowned in them.

Downstream from Ra's al-'Ayn the *Khābūr* is joined by the river of Mārdīn, which is called by the Arab geographers *Ṣawr*; on Sachau's map it bears the name of *Nahr Zrgān*. Just before passing between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz* and the *Sindjār* mountains it is joined by the river of Naṣībīn. The Arab geographers apparently mean this river when speaking of the *Hirmās*; on Sachau's map it is called *Djaghdiagha*. The course and the nomenclature of this and other tributaries are still uncertain.

The Arab geographers mention several more or less important places situated on the *Khābūr* between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz* and *Ḳarkisiyya*, such as *Shā'ā*, *Tunaynīr* (upper and lower T.), *Ṭābān* (also on Sachau's map), *'Arbān* or *'Arābān* (also on Sachau's map), *Sukayr*, al-*Ṣhamsāniyya* (probably Sachau's *Shemisan*), *Mākiṣīn* ("the customs-house"), al-*Ghūdayr* ("the pool"), and *Ṣūwar* (Sachau's *eṣ-Ṣawar*). At *Mākiṣīn* there was a bridge of boats. Much cotton was grown here, and by it lay the small lake of deep blue water called al-*Munkhariḳ*, which was said to be unfathomable.

The whole region through which the *Khābūr* flows, and especially its lower course, was renowned for being fertile; its trees are mentioned in Arabic poetry, and its fruits were exported to the towns of al-'Irāk. However, when Sachau travelled in the area (1899) the large fertile valley was devoid of towns, villages and human beings in general.

*Bibliography*: *BGA*, I, 74; II, 155; V, 133 f.; al-Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, II, 150; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, 52; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 383; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḣbat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, *GMS*, xxiii, index; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XI, 253 ff.; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, IX, 448 f.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 94 ff.; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, index and map; idem, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, 134 f.; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, index; idem, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, 250; Ainsworth, *Travels in Asia Minor*, II, London 1842, 118; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, index.

(ii) The lesser *Khābūr*, one of the tributaries of the *Tigris* which flows past the mountains of southern Armenia, south of Lake Van and west of Lake Urmiya. It passes between the mountain ranges which are now called *Djabal Harbāl* (north) and *Zākha Dagh* (south). The latter mountains derive their name from the town of *Zākhō*. The *Khābūr* joins the *Tigris* between *Maghāra* and *Mazra*. The Arab geographers often call it *Khābūr al-Ḥasaniyya*, after the town of this name. Here the river was spanned by a magnificent stone bridge which was looked upon as a miraculous piece of mason's work. Al-*Ḥasaniyya* probably survives in the hamlet of *Ḥasan Agha*.

*Bibliography*: al-Dimashkī, *Nuḣbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 190 f.; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 384; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 93; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XI, 168; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, index. (J. LASSNER)

**KHADĪDJA**, first wife of Muḥammad, daughter of *Khūwaylid* of the clan of *Asad* of the tribe of *Ḳuraysh* in Mecca. Before her marriage to Muḥammad she had been married twice, to *Abū Hāla al-Tamīmī*, a client of the Meccan clan of 'Abd al-Dār, and to 'Utayyīḳ (or 'Atīḳ) b. 'Ā'idh (incorrectly 'Ābid) b. 'Abd Allāh of the Meccan clan of *Makḥzūm*. The order of these marriages is disputed, as is also the *ism* of *Abū Hāla* and his genealogy. To *Abū Hāla* she is mostly said to have borne two sons with the (usually feminine) names of *Hind* and *Hāla*, and to 'Utayyīḳ a daughter, *Hind*. She was probably divorced from *Abū Hāla* (cf. Sprenger, *Leben*, I, 197), since divorce was common in Mecca (cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 435-55), but 'Utayyīḳ is said to have died, leaving her a widow. This gets some confirmation from the fact that his nephew al-Sā'ib b. *Abī 'l-Sā'ib* became Muḥammad's business partner (al-Azraḳī, 471). Before she married Muḥammad she owned property and was able to engage in trade (as did also *Asmā' bint Mukḥarriba*, mother of *Abū Djahl*). This independence is most probably due to the persistence of old practices based on matrilineal kinship (cf. the fact that *Khādīdja's* sister *Ruḳayḳa* had a daughter known as *Umayma bint Ruḳayḳa*). In 605 (or earlier) *Khādīdja* arranged for Muḥammad to go to *Boṣrā* in Syria as steward of her merchandise. He executed this commission satisfactorily, and after his return she offered him marriage. The tales that she was impressed by miracles connected with Muḥammad may be discounted, and likewise the story that she gained her father's consent when she had made him drunk. The contract of marriage is mostly said to have been made for her by her uncle 'Amr b. *Asad*, while *Ḥamza* acted on behalf of his nephew Muḥammad. The couple apparently lived for a time in a *bayt* in the *dār* of *Khādīdja's* nephew, *Ḥakīm* b. *Ḥizām* b. *Khūwaylid*, in Mecca (al-Azraḳī, 463); but during the boycott *Ḥakīm* took food to his aunt who was then among the *Banū Hāshim*. It was from *Ḥakīm* that *Khādīdja* received *Zayd* b. *Ḥāritha*, who had been brought as a slave from Syria, or bought at *Ukāz*. At the time of the marriage Muḥammad is said to have been twenty-five (or twenty-three or twenty-one) and *Khādīdja* forty (or twenty-eight). At least five children were born to *Khādīdja* and Muḥammad: four girls (*Zaynab*, *Umm Kulthūm*, *Fāṭima*, *Ruḳayya*) and one or possibly two boys (al-*Kāsim*, 'Abd Allāh; but these may be the same, and it is generally agreed that al-*Ṭāhir* and al-*Ṭayyib* are names of 'Abd Allāh).

Marriage to *Khādīdja* was an important turning-point in Muḥammad's career, mainly because, as is explicitly stated, she supported and encouraged him, fostering his confidence in himself and his mission. After the experience of the call to prophethood, she reported it to her relative *Warāḳa* b. *Nawfal*, who was a Christian, and he declared it was an experience similar to that of *Moses* when he received the Law. This doubtless helped to confirm Muḥammad's belief in the genuineness of the experience. The marriage is probably referred to in the verse (XCIII, 8), 'Did he not find you needy and enrich you?', since *Khādīdja's* wealth would enable him to engage more extensively in commercial operations. Though there is no mention of further journeys to Syria, Muḥam-

mad seems to have been trading in partnership with al-Sā'ib, as already mentioned. *Khādīdja* is said to have died three days after Abū Ṭālib in the year 619 (sc. three years before the *Hidjra*).

*Bibliography*: Ibn Hishām, 119-22, 153-6, 232, 277, 1001; Ibn Sa'd, viii, 7-11; i/I, 84 f., 130, 141; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1127-30, 1151, 1156 f., 1159, 1166, 1199, 1766; *Iṣāba*, iii, 130; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, v, 434-9; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 9-11, 18, 77-9, 83, 99 f., 408, 452; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Kuraysh*, Cairo 1953, 21, 207, 230 f., 234; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, 118-21; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca, Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1953, 1956, indices.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**KHĀDIM**, from Arabic **KHĀDAMA** "to serve (a master)", means properly "servant, domestic", but it has acquired the euphemistic sense, first in Arabic and then in the other Islamic languages, of "eunuch"; hence the word is often ambiguous. In this article, only servants of free status are covered; for slaves, see **ʿABD** and for eunuchs **KHĀṢĪ**.

At the side of the slaves, there have always been free servants (coll. *khadam*, pl. *khuddām*). Anas b. Mālik [q.v.] entered Muḥammad's service as a youth (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bāb* 74 etc.) and he records it to his master's credit that the latter had never said a harsh word to him nor even ever asked him for an explanation of his doings (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 25). Servants were used on journeys especially, and put up the tents, etc. These latter are called *farrāsh* (lit. spreaders of the carpets), a name which is, however, given to servants who look after the beds and the house generally (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London 1859, ii, 202, no. 16).

In Egypt in Lane's time there was an organisation of servants. They were under special *shaykhs* to whom anyone who required a domestic had to apply; these *shaykhs* were responsible for any dishonesty or breach of trust by their people (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, 139). There were also free female servants who performed the lowest household duties (*op. cit.*, 147, 197) for a very small wage (168). Some of the male servants used to shave their beards (573).

In Ottoman Turkish houses of the upper classes, these people, who were usually addressed by their name followed by *Agha*, worked as cooks, gardeners, janitors, etc., and they had to avoid the women's apartments in the house with which they communicated by the swivel-box (*dolāb*). If they were married they did not live in their master's house.

The women servants in the *konaks* lived in the women's apartments and had very little personal freedom. They sometimes belonged to impoverished Turkish families or were the children of former servants and slaves. They were called *kalfa* (from *khaliṣa*) or *halā'īk* (from *khala'īk*) and the men *ushak*, *deftiyer*, *hizmetkār* (*khidmetkār*). The servant girls (*hidmetdji* = *khidmetdji*) were usually Greeks or Armenians.

Uniformed officials in the imperial and official services were divided into various corporations (chamberlains, janitors, musicians) and were included under the general name *hadama* = *khadama*. On such corporations see also Von Hammer, *Constantinople und der Bosphorus*, Pest 1822, ii, 395 ff.

In North Africa, *khādīm* (dial. *khādām*) has acquired the specialised meaning of "negress", and *khādim* is used for a domestic servant. However, classical *khādīm* retained an honourable usage in Morocco,

where all letters sent out by the Sultan's chancery to his officials began with the formula *khādīmanā 'l-ardā* "to our well-pleasing servant". In contemporary Moroccan usage, *shāḥb*, pl. *shāḥb*, is more commonly found. Within the great families, there exists in effect a clientage of *shāḥb* who usually receive no regular salary but live on the bounty of their master. They accompany him on the road, look after his mount, and order illumination for trips at night, etc. If their master is a great *khā'id* or the head of a brotherhood, he appoints one of his *aṣhāb* to accompany travellers who are passing through the areas over which his authority extends. This is a sign that they are under his protection. In Fez, there existed a corporation of female cooks who performed odd jobs within the household (Le Tourneau, *Fès*, 562) and were paid in kind.

In the *zāwiyas* servants form a guild to which is entrusted the care of pilgrims and of the buildings; cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; Doutté, *l'Islam algérien en l'an 1900*.

The *Ḥadīth* has handed down various sayings of Muḥammad which endeavour to secure good treatment for servants; in these it is not always possible to distinguish whether the reference is to free men or slaves. The *khādīm* is responsible for his master's possessions (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 9); on the other hand alms which he bestows out of his master's property bring him a heavenly reward (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, *bāb* 25). One should be ready to forgive one's servant (al-Tirmidhī, *Birr*, *bāb* 32); he should neither be beaten nor cursed (al-Tirmidhī, *bāb* 30, 31, 85); and the servant who has prepared a meal has a right to partake of it (al-Bukhārī, *Aṭ'ima*, *bāb* 55; al-Tirmidhī, *Aṭ'ima*, *bāb* 44, etc.).

One may note finally that, amongst the titles of the Ottoman Sultans, was that of *Khādīm al-Ḥaramayn* "Servant of the two sacred areas", and also that at Mecca, one could purchase the title of *khādīm al-masjid* (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). The collective *khadam* is further used, often linked in paronomasia with *ḥaṣham*, to denote the partisans and entourage of a great man, above all, of a military leader or ruler. (A. J. WENSINCK\*)

**KHĀDIM AL-ḤARAMAYN** (A.), "servant of the two holy places" (sc. Mecca and Medina), a title used by a number of Muslim monarchs. Adopted by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I after the conquest of Egypt in 922/1517 and used by some of his successors, it was regarded in late Ottoman times as a Caliphal title, and was said to have been taken over by Selim from the last 'Abbāsīd caliph in Cairo. This does not correspond with the evidence, and appears to be part of the mythology of the Ottoman caliphate. As far as can be ascertained, the title was never used by the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, whether in 'Irāk or in Egypt. It was however used by several Mamlūk sultans, and it was from the sultans, not the caliphs, of Egypt that the Ottomans adopted this title along with other possessions and perquisites of the Sultanate. Al-Kāḷkashandī (*Subh*, vi, 46) is quite explicit, and lists it among the titles (*al-kāb*) of the Sultans. The first to use the title appears to have been Saladin, and the earliest known occurrence is in a restoration inscription in the Kubbat Yūsuf in Jerusalem, dated 587/1191 (*CIA, Jerusalem*, ii, no. 150 = *RCEA*, ix, no. 3447). The introduction of this new title was probably a move in the rivalry between Saladin and the caliph al-Nāṣir, over the leadership of the pilgrimage and related questions concerning the holy places in the *Hidjāz* (on this rivalry see E.

Sivan, *Saladin et le calife al-Nasir*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, xxiii (1972), 126 ff., especially 139 ff.).

In the Jerusalem inscription of 587/1191 the words *al-ḥaramayn al-ṣharīfayn* are followed by *wa-hādha 'l-bayt al-muqaddas*, "and this sanctified house", i.e. Jerusalem. This formula recurs, without the *ḥaramayn*, in a Jerusalem inscription of 589/1193 (*CIA, Jerusalem*, i, no. 36 = *RCEA*, ix, no. 3464). In two inscriptions of Baybars, the title *khādīm al-ḥaramayn* is followed or preceded by the words *Sāhib* (or *Malik*) *al-Kīblatayn*, "master (or king) of the two Kīblas", presumably Mecca and Jerusalem (Damascus, 659/1261, and Kara 664/1266; *RCEA*, xii, no. 4476 and no. 4554). The same formula is attested for other Mamlūk sultans, e.g. Kālāwūn (Cairo, 683-4/1284-5; *CIA, Egypt*, i, no. 82 = *RCEA*, xiii, no. 4852) and al-Ashraf Khallīl (Cairo, 687/1288; *CIA, Egypt*, i, no. 95 = *RCEA*, xiii, no. 4895).

*Khādīm al-ḥaramayn* or some variant of it (e.g. *Khādīm ḥaramay Allāh wa-rasūlihi* (Kā'it-bāy, Cairo, 885/1480; *CIA, Egypt*, i, no. 325) was used only intermittently by the Mamlūk sultans, and does not seem to have formed part of their standard titulary. An undated letter, purporting to have been sent by Timūr to Bāyazīd I, complains of the use by the Mamlūk sultan of the title "*Sultān* (sic) *al-ḥaramayn*". The writer regards this as presumptuous, and considers it a sufficient honour to be the servant (*Khādīm*) of the two holy places (Ferīdūn, *Mūnshe'āt*, i, 128, cf. T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924, repr. London 1965, 151). According to a Turkish chronicler, the Ottomans used to address the sultans of Egypt as *Sultān-i ḥaramayn babam*, "my father the Sultan of the two holy places", but Meḥammed II replaced this by the less deferential *Khādīm-i ḥaramayn* and even *ḥarīndāshīm Mīşr Sultānī*, "my brother the Sultan of Egypt" (*Āshlīk-pāshāzāde, Tewārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, Istanbul 1332 anno 863, p. 209; the passage occurs among the anonymous addenda to *Āshlīk-pāshāzāde's* chronicle. Cf. Selāhattin Tansel, *Osmanlı kaynaklarına göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Siyasî ve askerî faaliyeti*, Ankara 1953, 337-8).

According to Arabic sources Selim I was hailed, during the conquest of Syria and Egypt, by the preachers in the mosques of Aleppo and later of Cairo (Arnold, *Caliphate*, 140-1 and 145, citing Ibn Iyās, *Tārīkh Mişr*, iii, 98, and Kūṭb al-Dīn, *Chroniken der Staat Mekka*, iii, 278-9; cf. Von Hammer, *Histoire*, iv, 280 and 448). Ottoman sources attach some importance to this recognition by the *Sharif* of Mecca, thus confirming his authority over the holy places, but significantly, without reference to the title (e.g. Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-tewārīkh*, ii, 371-2; Solakzāde, *Tārīkh*, 480; on some documents, see Selāhattin Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, Ankara 1969, 215-7). In a letter to the ruler of Mecca, announcing his accession, Süleymān refers to his father Selim as *Khādīm bayt Allāh wa'l-ḥaram fātīh mamālīk al-'Arab wa'l-'Adjām*, "Servant of the house of God and the sanctuary, conquerer of the lands of the Arabs and Persians" (Ferīdūn, i, 448, cf. Arnold, 155). This appears, however, to be an honorific description rather than a title. In his own documents Süleymān, while listing Mecca and Medina among his possessions, does not seem to have used the title *Khādīm*. It appears, however, on coins of Süleymān struck in Baghdad in 942/1535-6 (i.e., after its capture from the Persians), 985/1551, and 960/1553 (*Khallīl Edhem, Meskūkāt-ı 'Othmāniyye*, Istanbul 1334, 250-2), and remained in occasional but not common use under later sultans. Thus in the treaty with Poland of 1016/1607, it figures among the titles

of the sultan in the preamble (Hammer, *Histoire*, viii, 407, citing the *Destūr al-inshā'* of Şarl 'Abdullāh). It occurs in the signature of Mahmūd I (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 292-3), and reappears in some other documents of the 12th/18th century, in a somewhat modified form, as "servant and adjudicator (*hākim*)" of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem (H. Scheel, *Die Schreiben der türkischen Sultane and die preussischen Könige in der Zeit von 1721 bis 1774*, in *MSOS*, xxxiii/II (1930), 30, 34, 37, 39, 62, 65, 67, 70). A similar formula is used in documents of Selim III (M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatia turco-osmana*, Bucarest 1958, 60). (B. LEWIS)

**KHĀDİM ḤASAN PAŞA ŞOKOLLİ**, Ottoman Grand-Vizier. We have no information about his origin, but he was brought as part of the *dev-shirme* [q.v.] to the Imperial Palace and given a post in the Harem in the department of the white eunuchs; later, he became chief treasurer of the Inner Palace or Enderūn. In Djumādā I 988/June 1580, he was appointed governor of Egypt in place of Meşih Paşa, but after complaints about him, dismissed in Rabī' II 991/May 1583, and on arrival in Istanbul imprisoned in Yedikule. However, he was pardoned and released after presenting valuable gifts to Nūrbānū Sultān, the mother of Murād III, and was appointed governor-general of Anatolia.

In Djumādā II/June 1585 he joined the Ottoman army at Sivas under Özdemiş-Oghlu Paşa, en route for Persia. At the battle of Alivar he commanded the right wing of the Ottoman army, and continued campaigning against the Persians in Ramaḍān 993/September 1585 after the conquest of Tabrīz. In the spring of 995/1587 he was appointed governor of Anatolia by Ferhād Paşa, and in Dhu'l-Ka'da 996/October 1588, governor of the province of Şirwān after the death of Dja'far Paşa. During the reign of Meḥammed III he was called to the Palace in Istanbul in Dhu'l-Ka'da 1003/July 1595 to be fourth vizier, and remained there as acting Grand Vizier when the young Sultan was absent campaigning at Egri. While in this office, and with the backing of the Wālide Sultān, he prevented Es'ad Efendi, son of the well-known Khōdja Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi and recently-appointed *kādi* of Istanbul by Meḥammed III, from entering Istanbul, retaining Akhī-zāde 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Efendi in this office.

In Djumādā I 1005/December 1596, as *Kā'im-makām*, he welcomed Meḥammed III back from the Egri campaign with a magnificent ceremony. In Rabī' I 1006/November 1597, he became Grand Vizier in place of the Bosnian Dāmād Ibrāhīm Paşa, the second vizier Djerrāh Meḥmed Paşa being passed over for this office by the young Sultan. However, *Khādīm Ḥasan Paşa's* grand vizierate proved very short. When the *Shaykh al-Islām* Bostān-zāde Meḥmed Efendi died, he refused to confer the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* on the sultan's choice Khōdja Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi, but appointed either the poet Bākī Efendi or Karā Celebizāde Ḥusām al-Dīn Efendi, which caused the already existing enmity between him and Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi to become worse. Consequently, *Khādīm Ḥasan Paşa's* old opponents, Ghazanfer Agha Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi and the commander-in-chief of the Janissaries, Tırnaçdīl Ḥasan Agha, whose execution he had sought from the Sultan, banded together under the influence of the Wālide Sultān Şafīyye against him, and secured his downfall on charges of corruption. On 2nd Ramaḍān 1006/8th April 1598, during the ceremony of laying the foundation of the Wālide Sultān (Yefī)



Mosque at Eminönü, Bostāndjī-Baṣhī Ferhād Agha arrested Khādīm Ḥasan Paşa and confined him in Yedikule; six days later he was executed. He was buried in a tomb beneath his *medrese*, after the confiscation of all his property at Eyyūb by the state. Near the Çagaloğlu palace and opposite to the present day Emniyet Sandığı there were situated a mosque and a *medrese* which were built by him, and also a public fountain built after him in 1594/1002.

Another Sokollı Khādīm Ḥasan Paşa was the son of Sokollı Mehmed Paşa. He took part in the campaign of Egri [q.v.] of 1004-5/1596, was *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, and died later than the Grand Vizier of the same name.

*Bibliography*: Istanbul, *Başbakanlık Arşivi*, Mühimme defteri, no. 43, p. 9; 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Ta'rikk-i Mişir*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. turc. no. 86, f. 7a; Harīmī Raḥīmī-zāde Ibrāhīm Čawūsh, *Ghundja-yi bāgh-i murād*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. no. 2372, ff. 54a-97b; Sheref Khān, *Sheref-nāme*, tr. M. E. Bozaslan, Istanbul 1971, 290, 294; Muṣṭafā Selānikī, *Selānikī Ta'rikkī*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. 6027, ff. 283b-292b, ed. Istanbul 1281, 318-44 (important for the events of Khādīm Ḥasan's grand vizierate); Aḥmed Paşa, *Ḥasan Bey-zāde ta'rikkī*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. no. 6028, ff. 341b, 366a-367b; Mehmed Hemdemī, *Solāh-zāde ta'rikkī*, Istanbul 1297, 614, 632, 640, 644-6; Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Pečewī ta'rikkī*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 110, 210, 284-5; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhlike*, Istanbul 1286, i, 72, 95, 102; Mehmed b. Mehmed, *Nukhbət al-tawārikk wa'l-akhbār*, Istanbul 1276, 200; Na'imā, *Ta'rikk*, Istanbul 1282, i, 144-5, 174, 185, 187; 'Oḥmān-zāde Ṭā'ib, *Hadīkat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 48; Ṭayyār-zāde Aḥmād 'Aṭā', *Ta'rikk-i 'Aṭā'*, Istanbul 1292, ii, 44; Hüseyin Aywansarayī, *Hadīkat al-djāwāmi'*, Istanbul 1281, i, 98; Von Hammer, *GÖR*; Jouannin and Van Gaver, *Turquie*, Paris 1840, 180; Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı İnan siyasi münasebelleri*, Istanbul 1962, i, 157-159, 149, 192, 196; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1951, iii/1, 122, iii/2, 351, 357; İsmail Hāmī Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1961, iii, 498; Abbas Kulu Agha Bakikhanov, *Gulistan-i İran*, Baku 1970, 88, 108; Mehmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i 'Oḥmānī*, ii, 125; Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-a'lām*, iii, 1946; Orhan Köprülü, *Türk ansiklopedisi*, art. *Ḥasan Paşa (Ḥadım)*; M. T. Gökbilgin, *İA*, art. *Mehmed III*; İzzet Kumbaracılar, *Istanbul sebilleri*, Istanbul 1938, ii; Tahsin Öz, *Istanbul cāmileri*, Ankara 1962, i, 66. (MÜNİR AKTEPE)

**KHĀDİM SÜLEYMĀN PAŞA** (? - 954/1547), Ottoman governor of Egypt, commander of the campaign of 945/1538 against the Portuguese in India and Grand Vizier. When Selīm I died in 926/1520, Süleymān Paşa was holding the office of *oda-baṣhī* at the Imperial Palace. In addition to this, on the accession to the throne of Kānūnī Sulṭān Süleymān, he was given the office of *khazinedār-baṣhī* procured for him through the favour of the historian Sa'd al-Dīn (Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-tewārikk*, Istanbul 1279, ii, 395; Koca Hüseyin, *Bedāyi'ü'l-wekāyi'*, ed. Tveritinova, Moscow 1961, ii, fol. 507a). Later on he was sent to the Hungarian frontier to protect the border, and in 931/1524-25 was appointed governor (*beglerbegi*) of Shāmī (*Wulāt Dimashk fi 'ahd Al 'Oḥmān*, ed. S. Munadidjid, Cairo 1949, 8, 9). In the following year he was appointed governor of Egypt for the first time (22 Sha'bān 931/13 June 1525 to 17 Sha'bān 941/22 January 1535, see 'Abd

al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Ta'rikk-i Mişir*, Süleymaniye Genel Kütüphanesi, Hekim-oğlu Ali Paşa, MS 705, fol. 8a). He then joined the Baghdad campaign of the Sulṭān, and afterwards became governor of Anatolia, acquiring the rank of vizier (Luṭfi Paşa, *Tewārikk-i Al-i 'Oḥmān*, Istanbul 1341, 358). On 11 Rādjab 943/25 October 1536 he was once more given the *beglerbeglik* of Egypt. He stayed in the office until the year 945/1538, when he organised his famous campaign against the Portuguese in India.

Süleymān Paşa had planned a campaign to Yemen during his first governorship of Egypt, and had persuaded the Istanbul authorities to agree to this. He could not, however, put it into action as he had to join the Baghdad campaign of 941/1534-5 (Pečewī, *Ta'rikk*, Istanbul 1282, i, 219). Now the situation was favourable to his plans; the Muslims of Guḍjarāt had been asking the Ottomans to help against the Portuguese, and the local ruler, Bāhādūr Shāh, had sent a special envoy to Istanbul for this purpose. The Ottoman government determined on an expedition into the Indian Ocean (Luṭfi Paşa, 358; Kuṭb al-Dīn Makkī al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barak al-Yamānī fi fath al-'Uḥmānī*, Riyād 1967, 70). Süleymān Paşa's fleet consisting of 72 vessels with siege guns and about 6,500 soldiers, including 1500 Janissaries, left Suez on 24 Muḥarram 945/22 June 1538 (R. S. Whiteway, *The rise of Portuguese power in India, 1497-1550*, London 1967, 256; anon., *Rüstem Paşa Ta'rikkī*, Istanbul Üniversite kütüphanesi, MS 2438, fol. 205b; cf. al-Nahrawālī, 71; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fi asfār al-bihār*, Istanbul 1329, 57, 58). The Paşa sailed down the Red Sea, passing Djidda and the island of Kamarān and arrived at the straits of Bāb al-Mandab. From there, he proceeded to the harbour of Aden, where he had 'Amir b. Dāwūd, the ruler of the town, hanged from the yard-arm of his flagship. Aden now passed under Ottoman control and became a *sandjaq* dependent on Yemen (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 6454).

After 19 days sailing Süleymān Paşa appeared before the coast of Guḍjarāt on 9 Rabi II 945/4 September 1538, having lost four ships of his fleet during this sail. Süleymān Paşa first attacked and took the fortress of Gogala (called by the Portuguese Villa des Rumos and by the Muslims Bandar-i Turkī) and then that of Kat, but failed to reduce the strong Portuguese fort of Diu. Maḥmūd III, the successor of Bāhādūr Shāh of Guḍjarāt, bearing in mind the fate of the *amir* of Aden, failed to help the Ottomans (Hādji al-Dabir, *Zafar al-wāliḥ bi-Muzaḥḥar wa-ālihi*, ed. as *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Baroda 1970, i, 226-7). On arrival of the news that the Portuguese fleet was approaching, and despite the fall of the outer fortress of Diu, Süleymān Paşa withdrew his siege artillery and on 12 Djumāda I/6 October, sailed back to the Red Sea (*Particular relation of the expedition of Solyman Pacha from Suez to India against the Portuguese at Diu*, in Robert Kerr and F. A. Eden, *A General History and collection of Voyages and Travels*, Edinburgh 1812, vi, 258-87). On the way, he stopped at Shīhr on the coast of Arabia, an important town for trade. There he aided Badr, the ruler of Shīhr to extend his power as far as Zūfār (Dhofar) on condition that he paid an annual tribute (for the letter of this ruler, sent to Istanbul and dated Sha'bān 945/Jan. 1539, see Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, N.E. 6704). On 8 Rādjab 1538/30 November 1538 he proceeded towards Aden (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 6704;

R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coasts*, Oxford 1963, 76-7, 86, 95-6), passed the strait of Bāb al-Mandab and stopped at *Djizān*, where he was given information about events in Yemen during his absence at Diu (Pečević, i, 223-4). He now took strong measures to re-establish Ottoman authority there, appointing Muṣṭafā son of Blyfkill Meḥmed Paṣha over the *eyālet* of Yemen before returning to Suez (for his activities in Yemen, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 9663, original report of Süleymān Paṣha; for critics of his activities see al-Nahrawālī, 89-90, and Luṭfi Paṣha, 381-2).

Süleymān Paṣha was now invited to Istanbul and made the second vizier, while Luṭfi Paṣha was the Grand Vizier (*Rüstem Paṣha Ta'riḫi*, fol. 218a). In Muḥarram 948/May 1541, when Luṭfi Paṣha was dismissed from the Grand Vizierate, he took over this office and held it for three and a half years (Luṭfi Paṣha, 386). Shortly afterwards he was sent to Artukābād in the Tokat region of Anatolia to guard it lest the Şafawids cross the Ottoman border whilst the main Ottoman army was engaged in Hungary, and he stayed there until the campaign in Hungary was over (during this time Sulṭān Süleymān sent him a *feth-nāme* for the capture of Iṣṭabor, dated *Djuma*dā I 948, see Feridūn Beg, *Munsha'āt al-Salāṭin*<sup>3</sup>, Istanbul 1274, i, 551-4). On 13 Ramaḍān 951/28 November 1544, Süleymān Paṣha was dismissed by the Sulṭān after an argument with a former governor of Egypt, *Khusrew Paṣha*, over the income of the *eyālet* of Egypt. He was now retired and resided at Malkara (in Gelibolu) until the end of his life (Luṭfi Paṣha, 433; *Rüstem Paṣha Ta'riḫi*, fol. 238a). He died there in *Sha'bān* 954/September 1547, still under suspicion about the income of Egypt (*Rüstem Paṣha Ta'riḫi*, fol. 251; Süleymān Paṣha tried to prove his innocence over his activities in Egypt, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 2906).

Whilst governor of Egypt, Süleymān Paṣha made improvements in the citadel district of Cairo and built a *zāwiya* and two mosques, one at Bülāk and the other in the citadel (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi, *Divan-i hümayun Ruus defterleri*, No. 208, 2 *Djuma*dā II, 954; R. Vesely, *Trois certificats délivrés pour les fondations pieuses en Egypte au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-69), 252-5, ff.). He also built another mosque, a *ribāt* and a bath in Yemen ('Aṭā', *Ta'riḫ*, Istanbul 1292, ii, 21).

*Bibliography*: (in addition to works mentioned in the article): Ishāḳī, *Laṭā'if al-uwal fi man ṭaṣarraf fi Miṣr min al-duwāl*, Süleymaniye Genel kütüphanesi, Reisülküttab, MS. 697, fols. 163b, 164a-b; Muṣṭafa 'Āli, *Kunh al-akḥbār*, Üniversite kütüphanesi, MS. 5959, fols. 276a-b, 339b-340a; Süheylī, *Ta'riḫi Miṣr-i Djedīd*, Istanbul 1142, 54, 55; *Djalāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālīk fi darādīāt al-masālīk*, Üniversite kütüphanesi, MS. 5997, fols. 266a, 267b; 'Oḥmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadiḳat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 27; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*<sup>3</sup>, Ankara 1964, ii, 321, 392-7, 507, 549; J. von Hammer, *Histoire*, v, 59, 297-9, 302-3, 328, 386; Diego do Couto, *Da Asia (Lisboa 1778-1788)*, Decada IV, 600 ff.; Lopes de Sousa Coutinho, *Historia do Cerco de Diu*, Lisbon 1890. For the other Portuguese sources on the Diu campaign, see the various articles of L. Ribeiro in *Studia* (Nos. 10, 13-14, 18); Fevzi Kurdoğlu, *Hadım Süleyman Paşa'nın mektupları ve Belgrad'in muhasara plânı*, in *Bell*. xiii (1940), 53-87; Cengiz Orhonlu, *XVI. asır başlarında Kızıl-deniz sahil-*

*lerinde Osmanlılar*, in *TD*, xvi (1962), 1-24; Şerafettin Turan, in *IA*, art. *Hadım Süleyman Paşa*; R. Vesely, *Un Document de construction émis pour Suleyman Pacha*, in *Ar. Or.* xxxi (1963), 423-40. (C. ORHONLU)

AL-KHAḌĪR (AL-KHĪDR), the name of a popular figure, who plays a prominent part in legend and story. Al-Khaḍīr is properly an epithet ("the green man"); this was in time forgotten and this explains the secondary form *Khiḍr* (approximately "the green"), which in many places has displaced the primary form.

#### (i) IN THE QUR'ĀN AND IN ORIENTAL LEGEND

Legends and stories regarding al-Khaḍīr are primarily associated with the Qur'ānic story in *Sūra XVIII*, 59-81, the outline of which is as follows. Mūsā goes on a journey with his servant (*fatā*), the goal of which is the *maḍjma' al-bahrayn*. But when they reach this place, they find that as a result of the influence of Satan, they have forgotten the fish which they were taking with them. The fish had found its way into the water and had swum away. While looking for the fish the two travellers meet a servant of God. Mūsā says that he will follow him if he will teach him the right path (*rushd*). They come to an arrangement but the servant of God tells Mūsā at the beginning that he will not understand his doings, that he must not ask for explanations and as a result will not be able to bear with him. They set out on the journey, however, during which the servant of God does a number of apparently outrageous things, which causes Mūsā to lose patience so that he cannot refrain from asking for an explanation, whereupon the servant of God replies: "Did I not tell you that you would be lacking in patience with me?" He finally leaves Mūsā and on departing gives him the explanation of his actions, which had their good reasons.

This servant of God is called al-Khaḍīr by the majority of the commentators. Others, however, identify him with Mūsā's servant (see below). Both interpretations have their roots in Oriental legends. The Qur'ānic story may be traced back to three main sources: the *Gilgamesh* epic, the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi. The two first are, of course, again closely related to one another; at the same time it should be noted that the fish episode is lacking in the epic and is only found in the romance (cf. R. Hartmann in the *ZA*, xxiv, 307 ff.).

The main features which the three sources have in common with the story in the Qur'ān are the following:

The *Gilgamesh* epic. Overcome with melancholy at the death of his friend Engidu, the hero *Gilgamesh* sets out on a series of travels to look for his ancestor *Utnapishtim* (*Khasisatra*, *Xisouthros*) who lives at the mouth of the rivers and who has been given eternal life. *Gilgamesh* wants to ask him about the plant of life which will save man from the power of death.

The Alexander romance. The fish episode (with which we are here concerned), which shows Alexander on the search for the spring of life, is found in greatest detail in Syriac literature, in the *Lay of Alexander* (cf. C. Hunnius, *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, in *ZDMG*, lx, 169 ff.). Alexander is accompanied by his cook Andreas (cf. the article *IRĪS*). During the laborious journey through the land of darkness Andreas on one occasion was washing a salted fish in a spring; the contact with the water

made the fish live again and it swims away. Andreas jumped in after it and thus gained immortality. When he told Alexander his adventure, the latter at once realised that this was the well of life. All attempts to find it again failed: Alexander is denied the immortality which becomes the lot of the unfortunate cook, who does not know what to do with it.

The Jewish legend (printed in Jellinek, *Beṭ ha-Midrash*, v, 133-5) tells how Rabbi Joshua ben Levi goes on a journey with Elijah under conditions laid down by Elijah, like those above of the servant of God in the Qurʾān. Like the latter, Elijah does a number of apparently outrageous things, which affects Joshua as it did Mūsā. Zunz, *Gesammelte Vorträge*, x, 130 first pointed out the similarity of this story to the Qurʾānic legend. A comparison of the main features of these three sources with Sūra XVIII, 59 ff. suggests the following conclusions, questions and hypotheses.

The chief figure in the Qurʾānic story is called Mūsā. Some commentators doubt his identity with the great prophet (see below). There is not, however, the slightest hint of another Mūsā anywhere in the Qurʾān. On the other hand, we have no legends of Moses, which make him, like Gilgamesh and Alexander, go on the great journey. We might suggest the following explanation of the difficulty. The figure of Joshua ben Levi, with which Muḥammad first became acquainted through the Jews and which does not again appear in Muslim legend, was identified, as we shall see, with Joshua b. Nūn. This identification may have resulted in a confusion of his master Elijah with Joshua b. Nūn's master Moses. Mūsā thus represents Gilgamesh and Alexander in the first part of the Qurʾānic story and Elijah in the second.

The figure of the travelling companion is not connected with the Gilgamesh epic where it is not found, but with the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend. It probably comes in the first place from the romance. This is suggested by the fact that the companion is called *fatā* (here meaning "servant"), a term that points to Alexander's cook rather than to Rabbi Joshua; the first episode, which also is only found in the Alexander romance, points in the same direction.

The *maḏjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* is given as the goal of the journey. The expression has no direct original either in the epic or the romance, although there are points of contact in both. Utnapištim lives *ina pi narati*, i.e. at the mouth of the river. It is not quite certain what the expression means, but it is probable that the place in the extreme west is meant where the sources of all running water are. This, however, still leaves the dual in the Qurʾānic expression unexplained. This is still the case, if we attempt to trace it to the Alexander romance, where (i.e. in the Syriac Alexander legend; see Budge, *op. cit.*, 259) Alexander with his army crosses a strip of land between the eleven bright seas and the ocean. It is also possible that the expression goes back to none of these but to another story unknown to us, which perhaps never found its way into literature, in which there was mention of the meeting place of two seas. According to western Semitic cosmology, this is the end of the world where the oceans of earth and heaven meet.

We can likewise only guess at the origin of the rock (v. 62). It also belongs to cosmology (see A. J. Wensinck, *The ocean in the literature of the Western Semites*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, xix/2, 26 ff.). It is found neither in the epic nor in the

romance, again an indication that the Qurʾānic story borrowed from other sources also.

The servant of God at the *maḏjmaʿ* recalls Utnapištim-Khasisatra. He is called (v. 64) one to whom God's mercy had been shown, to whom divine wisdom had been granted. This sounds almost like a translation of the name Khasisatra and the granting of divine favour is perhaps an echo of Utnapištim's immortality.

The test of patience to which he subjects the newcomer comes from the Jewish legend only; the servant of God in this respect thus represents Elijah.

#### (ii) DEVELOPMENT IN ISLAM

The commentators, *ḥadīth*, and historians have collected a mass of statements around the Qurʾānic story, additions which, like the story itself, came for the most part from the three sources already mentioned.

The first question discussed is whether the principal character is Mūsā b. ʿImrān or Mūsā b. Mishā (= Manasseh) b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb, i.e. a descendant of the patriarch Jacob (al-Rāzi, *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 333; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, on v. 59). Commentators are almost unanimous in favour of the former alternative and base their opinion on the following legend which is transmitted in several forms. When Mūsā, the famous prophet, was one day preaching to the children of Israel, he was asked if there was any man wiser than he. When he replied in the negative, Allāh revealed to him that his pious servant, al-Khaḍīr, was wiser than he. He thereupon decided to visit this wise man. The story comes from Jewish legend; it is found in a considerable number of Arabic sources (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 16, 19, 44; *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 27; *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, bāb 2-4; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, tr. 170-4; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, bāb 1; al-Ṭabarī, i, 417; *Tafsīr*, xv, 165 f; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi, *op. cit.*, iv, 333).

The (salted) fish serves as a guide to the route; the place where it is lost or revived by contact with water is the spring of life where al-Khaḍīr lives (al-Ṭabarī, i, 417). A further indication of the spring of life is that it is marked by the rock, for it rises at its foot (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 167; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, bāb 4). The rock is also located before the river of oil or the river of the wolf (al-Bayḍawī and al-Zamakhsharī on Sūra XVIII, 61; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 164). Some connection between a river of oil and the spring of life is in itself not impossible. According to many statements, oil is a feature of Paradise rivers. Then *زَيْت* would be an error in writing *زَيْت*, which could easily arise. Vollers consider the reverse probable; he thinks that "river of the wolf" is a translation of the name Loukos, which is not uncommon in classical literature as a river-name. If this hypothesis is correct, one might think of the Lukkos in Morocco or the Lycus on the Syrian coast, two regions with which the idea of extreme west is associated, as we shall see directly.

The *maḏjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* is explained in various ways. Some regard it as "the place where the Persian Ocean unites with the Roman Sea, to the east" (al-Bayḍawī on Sūra XVIII, 59; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 163). This points to the isthmus of Suez and is an echo of the idea that the coast of Syria was the extreme west (see A. J. Wensinck, *Bird and tree as cosmological symbols in Western Asia*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1921, 17 ff.). Others say that it is the junction of the Roman Sea with

the Ocean (Ṭandja, Ifrikiya; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 163, and al-Zamaḵsharī on the passage). This view reflects a later cosmological standpoint which regarded the Straits of Gibraltar as the extreme west. A farfetched explanation is that the union of the two seas means the meeting of Mūsā and al-Khaḍīr, the two seas of wisdom (e.g. al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* i, 318).

When Mūsā first sees Khaḍīr he is wrapped up in his cloak, as the Qurʾān says, "because he was sleeping", says al-Ṭabarī (i, 418). When he sees a bird drinking out of the sea he says to Mūsā: "Your wisdom is as insignificant compared with that of God as the amount the bird drinks is compared with the sea" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 418; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 3; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 333-4). Al-Khaḍīr lives on an island (al-Ṭabarī, i, 422), or on a green carpet (*ḥinfisa*) in the heart of the sea (*ʿalā ḥabīd al-baḥr*; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra, XVIII, *bāb* 3).

The test of patience is embellished by the commentators with a wealth of detail. It would take up too much space to go into them here; cf. the commentaries on Sūra XVIII, 59 ff., and the works on history and tradition mentioned in the *Bibliography*.

As may be expected from what we have said above, another branch of tradition lays particular emphasis on the connection between al-Khaḍīr and Alexander's search for the spring of life. Friedländer, however, goes much too far when he says (*Die Chadhirlegende*, 108-9) "that originally Chadhir had nothing at all to do with the puzzling servant in verse 64—who belongs to quite a different cycle of stories—but with the servant of Moses (Alexander) who has charge of the fish in verse 59 ff., in other words, he is identical with Alexander's cook whom we know so well from Pseudo-Callisthenes and the Syriac homily". For Khaḍīr is, as we have seen and will see further, connected with Utnapiṣtim as well as with Alexander's companion.

There is no translation of the Alexander romance in the Arabic literature known to us (cf. Weymann's book, in *Bibliography*). On the other hand, there are a number of, in part unedited, versions of the Alexander saga, which have been examined by Friedländer. It would take us too far to go into the differences between these versions with regard to our subject. These sources show their independence of the Qurʾān not only by the fact that they make Khaḍīr the companion of Dhū 'l-Karnayn, but also by the complete absence of any reference to the *fatā* of the Qurʾān. Al-Khaḍīr usually appears as the commander of Alexander's vanguard on his march to the spring of life. In al-Ṣūrī's version he is called the king's vizier and has become the principal character, throwing the king himself into the background; in 'Umāra he is Alexander's cousin, conceived and born in similar circumstances to him and at the same time. The usual account of the journey to the spring of life makes Alexander and al-Khaḍīr go their ways separately; in some versions, the latter has the fish with him and discovers the miraculous well through the fish's becoming alive when it touches the water; in other stories, on the other hand, there is no mention of the fish and al-Khaḍīr recognises the spring by other signs; in others again he dives into it without knowing its virtues (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 414). In one version in Niẓāmī, al-Khaḍīr does not go with Alexander but with Elijah to the spring, out of which both drink and both become immortal.

The descriptive character of the name al-Khaḍīr is so obvious from its meaning that tradition could not but give the hero's real name, as well as his genealogy and date. We find him most frequently called Balyā b. Malkān. In al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 144) the latter is called a brother of Kaḥṭān and thus given a place in the South Arabian genealogy. This makes it probable that Malkān is identical with Malkam (I Chronicles, viii, 9), who is also included among the South Arabian patriarchs. This genealogy is next traced back to Shem through Fālagh (Phaleg) and ʿĀbir (Eber) (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 415; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 92; al-Nawawī, on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v, 135). Is this Balyā (بلياء) perhaps not a corruption of Elia (إلياء), which is identical with a Syriac form of the name Elijah? On the other hand, Elijah is also given in the Muslim form Ilyās as al-Khaḍīr's proper name and also Elisha, Jeremiah (cf. God's words in *Iṣāba*, 887), Khaḍrūn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 415; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥamīs*, i, 106, and Friedländer's *Chadhirlegende*, 333, under Chadhir).

Ibn Ḥaḍīr also gives the following genealogies (*Iṣāba*, 883-4): (1) He is a son of Adam (weak *isnād*); with this is connected the story (*Iṣāba*, 887-8; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjīstānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 1) that al-Khaḍīr took care of Adam's body and finally buried it after the flood; (2) He is a son of Kābil called Khaḍrūn; (3) He is al-Muʿammar ("the Long-lived") b. Mālik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr b. al-Azd; (4) He is Ibn ʿAmāʾil b. al-Nūr b. al-ʿIṣ b. Ishāk; (5) He is the son of Pharaoh's daughter; (6) He is a Persian, or his father was a Persian, his mother a Greek or vice versa; it is also said that he was born in a cave, fed there on the milk of wild beasts and finally entered the service of a king (al-Damīrī, i, 318; Ibn Ḥaḍīr, 891-2); cf. also his meeting "on the marketplace of the Banū Isrāʾīl" with the man who asks him for alms *bi-waḍīḥ Allāh* (*Iṣāba*, 894-5).

This does not, however, exhaust the traditions about his names and genealogy. We shall only quote here the following from Maracci, *Prodromi* to Sūra xviii, 57; Alchedrus, quem fabulantur Moslemi eundem fuisse, ac Phineas filium Eleazari, filii Aaron; cujus anima per metempsychosin emigravit primo in Eliam, deinde ex Elia in S. Gregorium, quem propterea Mahumetani omnes summo honore prosequuntur. The latter identification is probably due to a confusion with St. George, with whom al-Khaḍīr has certain points of resemblance; cf. thereon Clermont-Ganneau in *Revue archéologique*, xxxiii, and Friedländer *op. cit.*, 275. Clermont-Ganneau further pointed out the relationship between the consonants *kh-d-r* and the North Semitic group *h-ṣ-r*. The name has also been taken as a corruption of Khasisatra (Guyard in *RHR*, I, 344-5) or connected with Ahasuerus, the wandering Jew (Lidzbarski in *ZA*, vii, 116).

Very varying dates are given for al-Khaḍīr's period. Sometimes he is called a contemporary of Abraham, who left Babel with him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 415); sometimes he is put in the period of Afrīdūn; he is a contemporary of Alexander and lived down to the time of Mūsā (Ibn Ḥaḍīr, *Iṣāba*, 886); according to others, he was born in the period of Nāshiyā b. Amūṣ (i.e. Isaiah b. Amos) (al-Ṭabarī, 415-6). The divergence in these statements is partly connected with his immortality (see below).

More important are the explanations of the name given in the oriental sources. He is said to have become green through diving into the spring of life and thus got his name (Ethiopic Alexander romance; cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 235-6). As already

mentioned, he lives on an island (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, 317); he is also said to worship God on the islands (al-Ṣūfī, see Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 183; al-Tha'labī, 197). This may point to al-Khaḍīr's having originally been a marine being. The following circumstances point in the same direction: he is frequently called the patron of seafaring people (e.g. *Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, i, 107); he is said to be appealed to on the Syrian coast by sailors in stormy weather. In India he has become a regular river-god under the name *Khwādjā Khidr* [*q.v.*], who is represented sitting on a fish. Clermont-Ganneau and Friedländer sought the origin of the figure mainly in this direction, the latter on the assumption that the Greek Glaukos legend reached the Muslims through a Syriac intermediary (*op. cit.*, 107 ff.). But apart from the fact that we know nothing of any such intermediary, a connection between al-Khaḍīr and Glaukos would only explain one aspect of the former; nor would it tell us anything about the origin of the figure. Indeed, one may doubt whether it is right to seek for the origin of a figure so complicated as al-Khaḍīr, who has characteristics in common with Utnapiṣtim, with Alexander's cook and other figures.

There are other things to be considered. In a number of Arabic explanations of the name, al-Khaḍīr is conceived not as belonging to the sea but to the vegetable kingdom. "He sat on a white skin and it became green" (e.g. al-Nawawī on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v, 135; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 168). "The skin", adds al-Nawawī, "is the earth". Al-Diyārbakrī (i, 106) is still more definite. "The skin is the earth when it puts forth shoots and becomes green after having been bare". According to 'Umāra, al-Khaḍīr is told at the spring of life: "Thou art Chadhir and where thy feet touch it, the earth will become green" (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145). Wherever he stands or performs the *ṣalāt*, it will become green (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 336). These are statements (especially the last) which remind us of a Messianic passage in the Old Testament: "Behold the man whose name is the branch and he shall grow up out of his place" (Zechariah, vi, 12). Al-Khaḍīr is really connected with two Messianic figures—with Elijah [see *II.VĀS*] and with Jesus; these three form with Idrīs [*q.v.*] the quartette of those who have not tasted death (*Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, i, 107).

The variations in the character of al-Khaḍīr result in different views regarding his nature. If he is a prophet (see *Iṣāba*, 882 ff.), it remains doubtful whether he is to be included among the Apostles (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, 135). He is, however, also human, angelic, mundane and celestial (al-Ṭabarī, i, 544, 798). Popular piety as well as Ṣūfī circles readily regard him as a saint (*walī*). According to one Ṣūfī view, every age has its Khaḍīr, in so far as the *Naḫīb al-awliyā'* for the time being is al-Khaḍīr (*Iṣāba*, 891). As *walī*, if three times appealed to, he protects men against theft, drowning, burning, kings and devils, snakes and scorpions (*Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, i, 107; *Iṣāba*, 903). Sky and sea and all quarters of the earth obey his sway; he is God's *ḫalīfa* on the sea and his *wakīl* on land; he can make himself invisible at will ('Umāra, in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145). He flies through the air, meets Elijah on the dam of Alexander and makes the pilgrimage to Mecca with him every year (cf. *Iṣāba*, 904 ff.). Every Friday he drinks from the Zamzam well, and Solomon's pond and washes in the well of Siloam (*Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, i, 107; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 148-9, 151); he can find water below the ground

and talks the languages of all peoples (al-Ṣūfī, in Friedländer, 184).

His immortality is particularly emphasised (cf. Rückert's poem "Chidher"; 'Umāra in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjīstānī, *Kitāb al-Mu'ammarīn*, i; *Iṣāba*, 887 ff., 892, 895). According to the *Iṣāba*, 882, he was given immortality after a conversation with his friend, the angel Rafā'īl, in order to establish the true worship of God on the earth and maintain it. Ibn Ḥajjar describes a meeting between al-Khaḍīr and Muḥammad in various versions (*Iṣāba*, 899 ff.). On meetings with individuals who lived at a later date see *ibid.*, 908 ff.; on the table which was let down to him from heaven, see *ibid.*, 919; on his presence at the battle of Kādisiyya, see *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iv, 216.

He lives in Jerusalem and performs his *ṣalāt* every Friday in the mosques of Mecca, Medīna, Jerusalem, Ḳubā' and on the Mount of Olives; his food is *kam'a* and water-parsley (*Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, i, 107; *Iṣāba*, 889-90, 904).

On his marriages we have as early as classical *ḥadīth* (Ibn Mādjā, *Zuhd*, bāb 23) a legend also mentioned by al-Tha'labī, *Kiṣaṣ*, 193 ff., which in its main features must have come from Christian sources. It is the motif of the pious youth who, married by his parents against his will, persuades his young wife to preserve her virginity (cf. the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, 2nd Praxis). The story links up with that of Pharaoh's daughter's handmaid.

*Bibliography:* The commentaries on the *Ḳur'ān*, XVIII, 59-81; II, 261; XI, 86; XXVII, 40; and the works on *ḥadīth* and history quoted above: al-Tha'labī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, 125, 190 ff.; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, Cairo 1283, i, 106 ff.; Ibn Ḥajjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1856-88, 882 ff.; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-hayawān*, Cairo 1274, i, 317 ff.; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 228 ff.; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjīstānī, *Kitāb al-Mu'ammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, in *Abh. zur ar. Philologie*, ii, 1; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iv, 216; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, vi, 216-17; ed. Macan, iii, 1340; Niẓāmī, *Sikandar-nāma*, in the poem on Alexander's search for the water of life; Ethé, *Alexanders Zug zum Lebensquell*, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1871), 343-405; Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges d'après un bas-relief inédit du Louvre*, in *Revue d'archéologie*, xxxii-xxxiv; S. I. Curtiss, *Ursemīt. Religion im Volksleben d. heut. Orients*, Leipzig 1903, index s.v. Chidr; Dyroff, *Wer ist Chadhir?* in *ZA*, vii (1892), 319-27; I. Friedländer, *Zur Geschichte der Chadhirlegende*, in *AR*, xiii (1910) 92 ff.; *Alexanders Zug nach dem Lebensquell und die Chadhirlegende*, in *ibid.*, 161 ff.; idem, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderrömer*, Leipzig 1913; M. Lidzbarski, *Wer ist Chadhir?*, in *ZA*, vii (1892) 104-16; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderrömers*, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xxxvii, 5; K. Vollers, *Chidher*, in *AR*, xii (1909), 234-84; G. Hart, *Chidher in Sage und Dichtung* (Sammlung gemeinverst. wiss. Vorträge, No. 280); Weymann, *Die äthiopische und arabische Übersetzung des Pseudokallisthenes*, Kirchhain 1901; R. Paret, *Sirat Saif ibn Dhi Jazan*, Hanover 1924, index I, s.v. Khaḍīr; G. W. J. Drewes, *Drie Javaansche Goeroes*, Leiden, diss. 1925, 56-7, 195-9. (A. J. WENSINCK\*)

**KHAḌĪR**, BANŪ (sing. *Khadrī*), a generic term in *Nadīd* [*q.v.*] for Arabs of dubious ancestry, i.e. not recognised as descendants of either 'Adnān or *Ḳaḥṭān* [see *DIJAZĪRAT AL-'ARAB*. vi. Ethnography]. The derivation of the term is uncertain.

In any case, it is not to be taken as the name of a tribe, though there are sections of Banū Khaḍīr in various towns of Naǧīd (see the tentative list in Lorimer, ii, 1004).

Many of Banū Khaḍīr are tillers of the soil for Arabs of pure descent who own the land they work. Rarely is a Khaḍīr himself a landowner. Banū Khaḍīr as cultivators are numerous in the oases of al-Aflāǧī, Hawḍat Banī Tamīm and its neighbours, al-ʿArīǧ, Sudayr, and al-Kašīm [qq.v.], as well as west of the Ṭwayḳ escarpment in Ǧarmā and al-Ḳuway-ḳiyya.

Men of Banū Khaḍīr, however, often rise above the rank of common labourer. When the British official and explorer Philby first became acquainted with the court of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān Āl Suʿūd in 1336/1917-18, Khaḍīris were serving the Wahhābī ruler as treasurer and as master of ceremonies, while others, along with slaves, made up the bulk of his bodyguard. At least three of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's early secretaries were Khaḍīris, and the brother of one of these went on to become his powerful Minister of Finance.

In the old Arabia, Banū Khaḍīr were subjected to a strong tabu: no matter how high a station in life a Khaḍīr held, any Arab of pure descent, humble though his circumstances might be, would flatly refuse to give him a daughter as his bride. In the new Arabia of the later 20th century, with great changes taking place in the economic and social structure, this tabu may be weakening.

*Bibliography:* Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, i, London 1920; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOmān, and Central Arabia*, ii, Calcutta 1908; H. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhābis*, London 1928; idem, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922; M. v. Oppenheim and W. Caschel, *Die Beduinen*, iv/1, Wiesbaden 1967. (G. RENTZ)

AL-KHAḌĪR, *DIJAZĪRAT*, a name given by the Arabs to Abbādān [q.v.], because al-Khaḍīr [q.v.] is supposed to have appeared there. According to a legend, a ragged man appeared on the bank of the Bahmānshīr canal and asked the master of a passing sailing-boat to ferry him across. The master refused. Thereupon the stranger ordered the boat to come to the spot where he was standing, pulled it out of the water by the anchor chain, and left it high and dry. Then he disappeared. Farmers of the neighbourhood built a mud wall around the boat. The wall was repaired by a builder, called Usta Djum'a, in 906/1501. In 953/1546, a shrine with a cupola was built and the alleged anchor of the boat hung up inside. The shrine is now an object of pilgrimage.

(V. MELKONIAN)

AL-KHAḌĪR, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN (the name al-Khaḍīr/al-Khiḍr being adopted during his stay in the east), scholar, poet and writer of Tunisian origin. He was born at Neḥṭa in 26 Rāǧab 1293/21 July 1876, and studied first at a Ḳurʿānic school before coming with his family to Tunis in 1888. In 1889 he entered the Great Mosque for his secondary studies and followed the courses of ʿUmar b. Ṣhayḳh, Muḥammad Naǧīǧār and Sālim Būḥāǧǧīb, who were known for their reformist ideas. He gained the *tatwī* or diploma of completion of secondary studies in 1989, and began to teach at the Zaytūna, interrupted his career to make a trip to the east, but halted at Tripoli and ended up by retracing his steps in 1889. He subsequently began his activities by founding the first Tunisian journal in Arabic, *al-Saʿāda al-ʿuzmā*, in 1322/1904. He was appointed *ḥādī* of Bizerta in 1905 and continued to

teach at the town's Great Mosque, then left his post and took up his teaching post at the Zaytūna in 1906. His first lecture during this year, at the council of the Association of Former Ṣādiḳians, was on the subject "Freedom in Islam". In 1907 he passed successfully a competitive examination for the teaching qualification, and in the next year began to lecture at the Ṣādiḳī College. According to Maḥdī ʿAllām, he refused a post as magistrate on the mixed tribunal, and entered the *Khaldūniyya*, completing three courses in the highest establishments of the capital. During this period, he gave lectures on "the evolution of the Arabic language", *isḷāḥ* and Ibn Khaldūn, and encouraged his peoples at the Zaytūna to demand reforms in the teaching programmes. In 1902 he made a journey to Algiers and had made various contacts with his old pupils and with the local scholars.

In 1912 his uncle Muḥammad al-Makkī b. ʿAzzūz left for Istanbul, and this may have given him the notion of definitively leaving Tunisia for a new sphere of action, the east. Hence in this same year, he moved permanently to the Near East and toured through most of the Arab lands. At this time, he was appointed professor at the *Madrasa sulḥāniyya* in Damascus, but his political activities, envisaging a better Arab-Turkish understanding, irritated *Djemāl Pasha*, who imprisoned him for endangering the state's security. Six months later, on 29 January 1917, he was set free, probably on the intervention of the Sublime Porte, and summoned to Istanbul to work with the Arabic correspondence section of the Ministry of War. In the Ottoman capital he met various of his Tunisian compatriots, some of whom had been exiled for their "subversive" activities, sc. ʿAlī Bāsh Ḥanba, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥanba, Ṣāliḥ Ṣharīf and Ismāʿīl Ṣhayḥī.

Still believing that it was possible to save the caliphate, he and others of his compatriots put themselves at the service of the Ottomans and was given charge of a special mission to Berlin concerned with arranging the escape of North African soldiers serving in the French army; the Porte had promised its supporters in the Maghrib to help them with these deserters for a war of liberation in the Maghrib.

After the war, he returned to Damascus and taught at the military college, at the Ottoman school and at the *Madrasa sulḥāniyya*. In 1919 he was appointed as a member of the Damascus Academy, but soon left the Syrian capital in 1920 in order to escape from the French authorities, who would certainly have called him to account for his pro-Ottoman activities in Berlin. He only returned there in 1937, and then only for a two months' stay.

In 1920 al-Khaḍīr settled in Cairo, and had excellent relations with the Taymūr family; and in 1923 he founded the Association of North African Colonies. The work of ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*, which appeared in 1925 (tr. L. Bercher, in *REI* (1933), 353-90, and (1934), 163-222), and that of Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn on pre-Islamic poetry (1926) drove the *ṣhayḳh* to reply in two *naḳḍs* which placed him in the public eye in Egypt when they appeared respectively in 1926 and 1927. The first work contains the same number of chapters (nine) as ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ's, and is dedicated to King Fuʿād, who was considered by certain ʿulamā, including al-Khaḍīr, as the best qualified person to assume the caliphate. In it, al-Khaḍīr succinctly summarises each of the original author's chapters and then refutes his arguments; in his opinion, the caliphate is far from being a religious obligation, since Islam leaves to its adherents freedom to choose the form of government

most suitable for them. But to argue from this that Islam separates the temporal from the spiritual, and has no political traditions, is to misunderstand the very message of the Prophet.

According to him, Tāhā Ḥusayn's work is at fault because it denigrates the Arab-Muslim heritage, and even that of Islam. Again following the same plan as the original author, al-Khaḍīr tries to show that the former, the follower of Descartes and Margoliouth, expressly passes over in silence the methodical spirit of an al-Ghazālī or Ibn Khaldūn, with the manifest aim of discrediting the great figures of Islamic civilisation. Did not the old *ruwāt* themselves express doubts about some pre-Islamic poetry?

In 1926, al-Khaḍīr founded the *al-Hidāya al-Islāmiyya* society and became editor of its journal, bearing the same name. The editorship of the journal *Nūr al-Islām*, founded in 1929 and which in 1955 became the journal of the Azhar, *Madjallat al-Azhar*, was also entrusted to him. In 1932 he became an Egyptian subject and was made a member of the Cairo Academy, of which he remained a permanent member until his death. He began to lecture at the Azhar, and his career reached its culmination in 1952 when he became rector of this celebrated institution. He left this post in 1954, after the ejection from power of General Nadjīb (Neguib), and died in Cairo four years later, on 13 Radjab 1377/2 February 1958.

The list of his works is very long. Several articles and lectures, published in Tunis or the east in the form of epistles, have been collected together into books as part of a general edition under his nephew, 'Alī Riḍā al-Tūnisī. One may cite here: *Khawāṭir al-hayāt (dīwān)*; *Naḥd K. al-Islām wa-usūl al-ḥukm*; *Naḥd K. Fī 'l-shi'r al-djāhili*; *al-Shari'a al-islāmiyya*; *Balāghat al-Kur'ān*; *Tūnis wa-Djāmi' al-Zaytūna*; *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*; *al-Kiryās fī 'l-lughā al-'arabiyya*; *al-Khiṭāba 'ind al-'Arab*; *'Ulamā' al-Islām fī 'l-Andalus*; *al-Khayāl fī 'l-shi'r al-'arabi*.

*Bibliography*: Mahdī 'Allām, *al-Madjma' iyyūn*, Cairo 1966, 158; Fāḍil b. 'Ashūr, *Arkān al-naḥḍa al-'adabiyya*, 39; H.H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *al-Mudjil fī 'l-'adab al-Tūnisī*, Tunis 1968, 333; Sh. Ghirbāl, *al-Mawsū'a al-'arabiyya al-muyassara*, Cairo 1965; A. M. Kerrū, *A'lām mansiyyūn*, in *al-'Amal*, Tunis (supplement of 21.2.69 to 18.4.69).

(J. MAJED)

**KH<sup>W</sup>ĀDJJA** (P.), a title used in many different senses in Islamic lands. In earlier times it was variously used of scholars, teachers, merchants, ministers and eunuchs. In mediaeval Egypt, according to Kaḷkaḥandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 13, it was a title for important Persian and other foreign merchants (cf. *CIA, Égypte*, i, no. 24). In Sāmānid times, with the epithet *buzurg* "great", it designated the head of the bureaucracy; later it was a title frequently accorded to wazirs, teachers, writers, rich men, and merchants. In the Ottoman Empire it was used of the *ulema*, and in the plural form *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjegān* [q.v.] designated certain classes of civilian officials. In modern Turkey, pronounced *Hoḍja* (modern orthography *hoca*) it designates the professional men of religion, but is used as a form of address for teachers in general. In Egypt and the Levant (pronounced *Khawāga* or *Khawādjja*), it was used for merchants, then more particularly for non-Muslim merchants, and then as a more or less polite form of address for non-Muslims in general. In India it designates those Ismā'īlīs who follow the Agha *Khān*.

*Bibliography*: Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *Alkāb*, 229-30; Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 410. (ED.)

**KH<sup>W</sup>ĀDJJA-I DJAHĀN**, title of high dignitaries in various sultanates of India, notably the sultanate of Dihli, the Bahmanids, and the sultanate of Madura. It seems to have first been used during the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (724-52/1324-51), gradually replacing *ṣadr-i 'ālī* as the honorific title of the *wazīr* (I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Dehli*, Karachi 1958, 85, with further references); the title was later accorded to other very high officials. Many such officials are known to history by this title (sometimes qualified by a *nisba* or *laḳab*) rather than by their personal names, of whom the most important are the following: 1. *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja-i Djahān Aḥmad Ayāz* (?668-752/1270-1351), who early in the 8th/14th century had held office as *kōḥwāl* of Sirī under 'Alā' al-Dīn and the later *Khaldjīs*, received the title of *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja-i Djahān* on Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's accession in 724/1324 (Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhi*, ed. Bib. Ind., 98) and became his *wazīr*, inferior in dignity only to the sultān's nephew Firūz b. Radjab [see Firūz *SHAH TUGHLUQ*]; although effective power in the *dīwān-i wizarat* was exercised (according to Shams-i Sirāḍī 'Afif, *Ta'rikh-i Firūz Shāhi*, ed. Bib. Ind., 394-6) by the *nā'ib wazīr*, *Khān-i Djahān Tilangānī* [q.v.]. His period of office is most remembered for his "rebellion", which seems rather to have been a grave indiscretion, at the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's death: the whereabouts of Firūz were not known, and it was rashly assumed that he had been killed by the Mongols; the *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja* placed a boy of six, of unknown paternity, on the throne, asserting that he was a son of sultān Muḥammad. When the delayed news of Firūz's accession, on his campaign in Sind, reached Dihli, the *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja-i Djahān* panicked instead of submitting immediately and delivering up the puppet. The other nobles, seeing the 84-year-old *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja-i Djahān* as the highest representative of the despotic reign of sultān Muḥammad, demanded his execution; whereupon the old man, anticipating his destruction, caused a friend to decapitate him privately. (Discussion in M. Habib and Afsar Begam, *Political theory of the Delhi sultanat*, 159 ff.).

2. Malik Sarwar, who had been *shahna-i shahr* under Firūz b. Radjab and his successor Abū Bakr, supported Firūz's son Muḥammad against the latter and was given the title of *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja-i Djahān*, ca. 791/1389 (Sirhindī, *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhi*, 146), although when Muḥammad succeeded to the throne in 792/1390 *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja-i Djahān* were merely *nā'ib wazīr*. He later succeeded to the wazirate, and retained it under 'Alā' al-Dīn Sikandar and Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. The latter appointed him governor of *Djawnpur* in 796/1394, with the title of *sultān al-sharḳ*, and when Maḥmūd fled before Timūr's advance Sarwar had the *khufba* read in *Djawnpur* in his own name. For his subsequent history see *SHARKIDS*.

3. *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja* Surūr, *ḥā'id al-baḥr* in the Madura sultanate in ca. 745/1344, was appointed *wazīr* and entitled *Kh<sup>W</sup>ādjja-i Djahān* "after the fashion at Dihli", according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 204), who adds that a fixed fine was prescribed for any who should address him differently.

4. The earliest instance of the title among the Bahmanids appears on the accession of Ismā'īl Muḳh as the first independent sultan of the Deccan in 747/1346, when it was bestowed on Nūr al-Dīn, one of the *amirān-i ṣada* of Dawlatābād ('Isāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭin*, 500 ff.). When Ismā'īl Shāh abdicated in favour of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the

first of the Bahmanids, the title of **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā-i Djahān** was given to:

5. A'zam-i Humāyūn, son of the *wazīr* (and the sultan's father-in-law) Sayf al-Dīn Ghōrī [q.v.], who was appointed governor of the Bahmanids' Tilangānā province.

6. **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā-i Djahān** Astarābādī figures as the *wazīr* of the sultan's 'Alā' al-Dīn Ahmad II in 839/1436, the first clear instance of the title going to one of the foreign (Āfākī) faction whom the sultan favoured at the expense of the local Dakhnīs.

7. On his accession in 862/1458 Humāyūn Shāh also favoured the Āfākī faction, appointing Maḥmūd Gāwān [q.v.] *wazīr* and *wakīl-i sulṭāna*, and Malik Shāh, said to be of Čingizid descent, *tarafdār* of Tilingānā with the title of **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā-i Djahān**; he is usually referred to as **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā-i Djahān Turk**. He was distinguished as a general in this reign and that of the minor Ahmad III (865-7/1461-3), in which he was a member of the council of regency. The animosity of the dowager queen caused him to be murdered in 870/1465-6.

8. A "local" noble, **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā-i Djahān Dakhnī**, figures as the Bahmanids' governor of Pārendā ca. 900/1495, supporting the Bahmanids and their Barīdī ministers against the breakaway factions in Bīdīāpur and Ahmādnagar.

*Bibliography*: given in the article. For the Bahmanī nobles see also H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, i Hyderabad 1973, index s.v. Khwāja-i Jahān.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

**KH<sup>w</sup>ĀDJĀ KHIḌR** (or **KHIḌR** in India), is in many part of India identified with a river-god or spirit of wells and streams. He is mentioned in the *Sikandar-nāma* as the saint who presided over the well of immortality. The name was naturalised in India, and Hindūs as well as Muslims reverence him; it is sometimes converted by Hindūs into Rādja Kidār. On the Indus the saint is often identified with the river, and he is sometimes to be seen as an old man clothed in green. A man who escapes drowning is spoken of as evading **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā KHIḌR** (Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i, 221). In a poem by a Balūč regarding a fight on the Indus, a boat is unloosed "to float on the **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā's waves**", and it is asserted "the **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā** himself will remember that battle". (*Popular poetry of the Baloches*, i, 74), and by one poet his name is substituted for that of Mikā'īl as one of the archangels. His principal shrine is on an island of the Indus near Bakhar, which is resorted to by devotees of both creeds (*Sind Revisited*, ii, 226). Manucci, who was present at the siege of Bakhar in 1069/1658, alludes to this shrine under the name of Coia Quitan. Burnes also mentions it in his *Travels into Bokhara*.

The saint is believed to ride upon a fish, which was adopted as a crest by the Kings of Oudh, and appears on their coins. Possibly in this case there is also a survival of the fish-avatār of Viṣṇu. Muslims offer prayers to **Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjā KHIḌR** at the first shaving of a boy, and a little boat is launched at the same time, as also at the close of the rainy season. See further **AL-KHĀDIR**.

*Bibliography*: Crooke, *Popular religion and folklore of North India*, London 1896; R. Burton, *Sind revisited*, London 1877; Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i, Bombay 1884; M. Longworth Dames, *Popular poetry of the Baloches*, London 1907; W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor (Manucci)*, London 1907; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834; J. Wise, *Muhammadans of Eastern*

*Bengal*, in *JASB*, lxiii/3 (1894), 38 ff.; Ja'far Shariff-G. A. Herklots, *Islam in India, or the Qānūn-i-Islām*, London 1832, repr. 1972, 38-9, 67, 135-6. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES\*)

**KH<sup>w</sup>ĀDJĀ MU'IN AL-DIN ḤASAN SIDJĪ**. [see **ČIŠTI**]

**KH<sup>w</sup>ĀDJĀ-ZĀDE**. [see **KHĀDJA-ZĀDE**]

**KH<sup>w</sup>ĀDJEGĀN-I DIWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN**, a title given to the heads of the imperial chancery of the Ottomans. Although the date of its origin is uncertain, the title was certainly known in the 10th/16th century (Hüseyn Hezâren, *Telkhiş ül-beyân fi kavânin-i âl-i Oḡmân*, 160a, 161a, 177a, etc.; Tevki'î 'Abdurrahmân Pasha, *Kâünümâmesi*, in *MTM*, iii (Istanbul 1331), 520; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, repr. 1963, i, 93, ii, iii, ff. 127 ff.; A. H. Lybber, *The government of the Ottoman empire*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 168 f.). Because the title of **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegân** was bestowed annually, the term **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegânlık** became a synonym for *manşab* ("high office", "rank") and *me'muriyyet* ("official duty"). Those officials who were subordinate to the chief clerks (*kalem re'isleri*), sc. the holders of **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegânlık** posts, were called "assistants" (*khalife*) of the **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegân** or "pupils" (*shâgird*) of the **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegâns**. From the mid-11th/17th century onwards, the application of the term widened, and it was also given to various officials additional to the chief clerks of the *diwân*. The conferment of the **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegân** rank and the retention of the **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegâns** in their offices always took place in the first half of the month of Shawwâl each year (Čelebi-Zāde Ismā'il 'Āšim, *Dheyli-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, 169, 266, 379, 465; Česhmī-Zāde Muştafâ Reshîd, *Česhmī-Zāde Ta'rihi*, ed. Bekir Kütükoğlu, Istanbul 1959, 21; for a conferment made in Şafar, however, see Rāshid Mehmed, *Ta'rihi*, Istanbul 1282, v, 123). For this ceremony, the Grand Vizier would prepare a conferment list and present it to the sultan for approval; if it was desired to dismiss an official holding the title of **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegân**, he would write three names on the list, and because it was known that the last name was the name of the person preferred by the Grand Vizier, the sultan would appoint him. (For the 6th Shawwâl 1134/20th July 1722 list of **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegân** conferment, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 152, n. 1; for an undated conferment list of a later period, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, A-TSF.).

In the 10th/16th century, there were 25 chief clerks forming the **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegân** group. In a document belonging to the first half of the 11th/17th century, they numbered 15: the chief finance officer *Defterdâr*, the *Defterdâr* of Rumelia, the *Defterdâr* of Anatolia, the *Nişândî*, the *Defterdâr* of the Danube, Chief Secretary (*Re'is ül-kuttâb*), the Senior *Rûznâmeçedî* (Clerk in charge of financial transactions), the Junior *Rûznâmeçedî*, the *Çävüşbashi*, the Chief Accountant (*Baş muhâsebedî*), the Accountant of Anatolia, the Accountant of the *Kharâdî*, the Accountant of the *Awhâf*, the Chief tax farmer (*Mukâta'adî*) and the Tax farmer of Istanbul (*Kemânkesh Karâ Muştafâ Pasha Lâyihası*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, in *TV*, 1/6 (Istanbul 1942), 454).

By the mid-12th/18th century, because the **kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegânlık** was also conferred on those who did not hold an official post, the numbers of people holding this rank grew to several times more than the holders of the actual office. Junior officials, besides the chief clerks, might now have the title, such as the clerk of a Pasha's treasury. Such a person thereby had the opportunity of being promoted to a higher post; when dismissed from this office his name would be



rubbed out from the register of *kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegāns* (*kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegī defteri*) in order to give an opportunity for other officials (cf. the procedure applied to Yūsuf Efendi, the Junior *Awkāf* Accountant, described in Ahmed Wāṣif, *Mahāsīn ul-āthār we-hakā'ik ul-akhbār*, Istanbul Archaeology Museum Library, no. 355, f. 10r). One notes the excessive number of those holding this rank. In 1180/1766 the officials included in the *kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegān-i Diwān-i Humāyūn* were as follows: the General Deputy to the Grand Vizier, the *Defterdār* of the *Shikk-i evel* (the finance accounts of the first division of the Ottoman Empire relating to Turkey in Europe), the *Re'is ul-kutiāb*, the *Āwūshbāshī*, the first secretary to the Grand Vizier (*Tedhkire-i evel*), the Master of court ceremonies, the Secretary to the Grand Vizier, the head of the government chancery office (*Beylikdāri*), the Secretary to the *Ketkhudā* Beg, the *Defterdār* of the *Shikk-i thāni* (the second financial division of the Ottoman Empire, comprising Anatolia), the *Defterdār* of the *Shikk-i thālith* (the third division of the Ottoman Empire, including Hungary, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Arabia), the Master of the Mint, the Prefect of the City (*Shahr emīni*), the *Emīn* of the Register, the Second Secretary to the Grand Vizier, the Senior *Rūznāmeledjī*, the Chief Accountant, the Accountant of Anatolia, the Secretary to the Janissaries, the Overseer of the Kitchen, the Collector of Documents for the Cavalry (*Atli mukābeledjisi*), the Accountant of the *Haramayn* (Mecca and Medina), the Accountant of the *djizya*, the *Arpa Emīni*, the *Māliyye tedhkiredjiliği*, the Controller of the Office of Suspended Payments (*Mevkūfātđi*), the Overseer of *Topkhāne* (*Topkhāne nāziri*), the Secretary of the *Sipahis*, the Secretary of the *Silāhdārs*, the Junior *Rūznāmeledjī*, the Collector of Documents for the Infantry (*Piyāde mukābeledjisi*), the Junior Accountant of the *Awkāf*, the *Kalyontar kātibi* (sc. the clerk who provided supplies for the galleons and kept the accounts), the Secretary for Expenditure, the Secretary of the *Dişbedjisi*, the Overseer of the Arsenal, the Chief Secretary of the Fortress (*Büyük kal'e tedhkiredjisi*), the Chief tax Farmer (*Baş Mukāta'adđi*), the Junior Secretary of the Fortress (*Küçük kal'e tedhkiredjisi*), the Tax Farmer of the *Haramayn*, the Tax Farmer of Istanbul, the Tax Farmer of the *Khāss* revenues, the *Emīn* of the *Kāghid-i birün*, the *Emīn* of the *Kāghid-i Enderün*, the *Ta'rihkhdjilik*, the Tax Farmer of Bursa, the Tax Farmer of Avlonya and Egriboz, the Overseer of payments from the treasury (*Sergi nāziri*), the Secretary of the gun-carriage drivers, the Secretary of the *ulüfedjiiyān-i yemin*, the Secretary of the *ulüfedjiiyān-i yesār*, the Secretary of the right wing of the *Ghürebā* cavalry, the Secretary of left wing of the *Ghürebā* cavalry, and the *Emīn* of the Istanbul powder-factory, in total 53 officials (*Āshmizāde Muṣṭafā Reṣhīd*, *op. cit.*, 20-1, compare this list with the ones who were in the *Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegān-i Diwān-i Humāyūn* in 1167/1754, in Ahmed Wāṣif, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul 1219, 33-4. For their places in the state ceremonies, see Nā'ili 'Abdullāh Pasha, *Diwān-i Humāyūn'a 'a'id teshrifāt*, in *TTEM*, xciii (1926), 258 ff.).

The *Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegān* system continued in the same manner until 1249/1833. Thereafter the conferring of titles and appointments started to be made in *Shā'ibān*, superfluous appointments were abolished, and civil servants were divided into four categories (Mehmed *Thüreyyā*, *Nukhbet ul-wekāyi'*, Istanbul n.d. 21-2). In 1250/1834, when the Ministry of the Civil Service (*Mülkiyye nezāreti*) was established, part of the *Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegān* was incorporated in it, and thus a

new scheme of rank and promotions was formed (Mehmed *Thüreyyā*, *op. cit.*, 40-1; for the innovations in the field of administration after 1254/1838, see Luṭfi, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul 1302, v, 114). The rank no longer had any importance, since every clerk who could write and express himself well was given the title of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegān*; in 1254/1838 it was therefore decided that the rank of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjegān* should be conferred on those who could qualify by examination (Luṭfi, *op. cit.*, v, 102, 126). But it had now lost almost all its prestige. It maintained its existence as a minor rank given to the office clerks (*Kalem āmirleri*) among the new ranks invented after the *Tanzimāt* reforms (Luṭfi, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul 1328, viii, 155-6. For the status of the rank in 1270/1854, see Mehmed *Thüreyyā*, *op. cit.*, 280, and see also M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 695).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

**KH<sup>w</sup>ADJŪ**, KAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-'AṬĀ' MAḤMŪD B. 'ALĪ, a Persian poet.

1. Life. He was born, as stated in the epilogue of his *Gul u Nawrūz*, on 20 *Dhu 'l-Hijidja* 689/24 Dec. 1290, in Kirmān (the date 15 Shawwāl 679/7 Feb. 1281, given by Browne, is erroneous). He spent a short part of his life in Kirmān where he received his education. Later he travelled widely and met several of his contemporaries amongst the poets, men of letters, and mystics, and became the disciple of Rukn al-Dīn 'Alā' al-Dawla of Simnān (d. 736/1345). He spent the latter part of his life in Shirāz, where *inter alios* he associated with his younger contemporary, the great *Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ* (d. 791/1389) [*q.v.*], and enjoyed the patronage of the *Indjū'id* ruler Abū Ishāq *Indjū* (742-54/1341-53) [see *INDJŪ*]. Besides *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq *Indjū*, his panegyrics were chiefly addressed to Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Bahādūr (716-36/1316-35), the Muẓaffarid ruler Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad (713-59/1314-58) and their viziers. He died at Shirāz in 753/1352 and is buried there. Browne, *LHP*, iii, 229, remarks that "... his verse, while graceful and pleasing, lacks any conspicuous distinction or excellence". However, contrary to Browne's remark, *Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjū* ranks amongst the great Persian poets. Even in his lifetime, he attained celebrity throughout Persia, especially as an ingenious and skilful *ghazal-writer*, and *Hāfiẓ* himself took him for his model in several of his *ghazals* (Suhayli, 47-54; *Shafak*, 481).

2. Works. (a) His *Diwān*, containing *kaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *tarkibs*, *rubā'is*, etc., in two parts, *Ṣanāyi' al-Kamāl* and *Badāyi' al-Djamāl* (in 10,736 and 4,340 *bayts* respectively), an edition of which was printed at Tehran by A. Suhayli-*Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī* in 1336/1957.

(b) His *Khamsa*, in imitation of Nizāmī's poem, consisting of: 1. *Humāy u Humāyūn*, a romantic *mathnawī*, in the metre of the *Iskandar-nāma*, containing 4,407 *bayts*. In addition to having the *Iskandar-nāma* as a model, the poem seems to be an imitation of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. The prologue contains the *madh* of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd and his vizier *Ghiyāth* al-Dīn Muḥammad. Composed at Baghdād in 732/1331-2, the poem was printed at Bombay in 1289/1872.

2. *Gul u Nawrūz*, also a romantic poem, in the metre of *Khusrāw u Shīrīn*, consisting of 2,615 *bayts*. It was composed, according to the epilogue, in 742/1341-2, and dedicated to Tādī al-Dīn Aḥmad 'Irāki. The poem, as stated in the text, is a translation from Hindī and definitely passes for the first poem of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ādjū's Khamsa*.

3. *Kamāl-nāma*, a mystical *mathnawī* in the metre of *Haft Paykar*, composed in 744/1343-4. It is divided into twelve *bābs* and 1,849 *bayts*. In the prologue the poet praises *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm of Kāzarūn (d. 426/1035), and in the epilogue addresses *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq, the ruler of Shirāz.

4. *Rawḍāt al-Anwār*, also a mystical poem, in the metre of the *Makḥzan al-Asrār*, consisting of 20 *maḳālas* and 2,224 *bayts*. Composed in 743/1342-3, the poem is addressed to *Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd Sāʿin*, the vizier of Abū Ishāq Indjū. This poem was printed at Tehran in 1307/1928.

5. *Gawhar-nāma*, on ethics and mysticism, in the metre of *Khuraw u Shirin*, composed in 746/1345-6, consisting of 1,032 *bayts*. The dedication is to Amīr Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad and his vizier Bahāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

(c) Other compositions: *Sām-nāma*, a romantic *mathnawī* in *mutakārib* metre; *Mafātiḥ al-Kulūb wa Maṣābiḥ al-Ghuyūb*, a selection of *Kh*ādīū's poems; and three *riṣālas* in prose: *Risālat al-Bādiya*, *Sabʿ al-Mathāni*, and *Munāzara-i Shams wa Saḥāb*.

*Bibliography*: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, 249 ff.; *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i, 818; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 222-9; *Kh*wādīū-i Kirmāni, *Diwān-i Aṣḥār*, ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī *Kh*wān-sāri, Tehran 1336/1957, introd., Ṣ. R. Z. *Shafaq*, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyāt-i Irān*, Shiraz 1352/1973, 479-88. (IRA) DEGHAN)

**KHĀF**, older orthography (e.g. in Ibn Rusta, 171) *Kh*wāb, a *rustāḥ* or rural district of Kūhistan in eastern Persia, lying between the district of Bākhāz [q.v.] to the north and that of Kāʿin to the southwest, and adjacent to the modern Iran-Afghānistān border. The geographers of the 4th/10th century mention the towns there of Salūmak (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 103, Salūmīdh), Fardjird and Kusūy(a), the latter being especially populous. Yākūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 399, describes the district as having 200 villages and three significant towns, Sandjān, Sirāwand and *Kh*ardjird. Also reckoned by some authorities as belonging to the *Kh*wāf district was the important town of Zawzan; indeed, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī includes this with Sandjān and Salāma as the three chief towns there. Topographically bounded on the northeast by the Kūh-i *Kh*wāf, which rises to 8,260 feet (2,517 metres), the comparatively sheltered and fertile *Kh*wāf plain is described by the Islamic geographers as populous and prosperous agriculturally, producing excellent fruits, the dyestuff madder, and cotton and silk textiles; Mustawfī additionally mentions iron workings there (*Nuṣṣat al-kulūb*, tr. 152, 194).

In the early Islamic period, this rather isolated region was one where Zoroastrianism survived tenaciously; the Zoroastrian rebel Bih-ʾāfrīd [q.v.] came from here, and a fire temple existed there well into Islamic times (Yākūt, *Buldān*, iii, 158). Subsequently, however, the region produced a good number of Islamic scholars and literary men, so that Zawzan was called "little Baṣra" from their numerousness. Hence Samʿāni and Yākūt list several scholars with the *nisbas* of "al-*Kh*wāfī" and "al-Zawzanī" (see Samʿāni, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad 1382-6/1962-6, v, 219-21, vi, 342-5, and Yākūt, *loc. cit.*) including Abū ʿAbd-Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093), author of a famous commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt*, see *GAL*, I<sup>2</sup>, 342-3, S I, 35, and Zirīklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 249-50; and Abū Manṣūr ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-*Kh*wāfī (d. 480/1087), mathematician and scholar in Baghdād, author of a refutation of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī called the *Radīmat al-ʿifrit*, see Zirīklī, *Aʿlām*, iv,

222-3. Another native of the area was Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-*Kh*wāfī, who was a protégé of the Timūrīds of Harāt in the first half of the 9th/15th century and who wrote a well-known historical and biographical compendium, the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, see Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iii, 426-8, and Storey, i, 90-1.

In the course of the 6th/12th century, Kūhistan, and *Kh*wāf and Zawzan in particular, became centres of Ismāʿīlī activity, perhaps continuing the earlier traditions of heterodoxy there; hence in 654/1256 the Assassin stronghold of *Kh*wāf was stormed by Hülegü's Mongol hordes, with a general massacre of the adult inhabitants (*Djuwaynī-Boyle*, ii, 615-16; see also P. R. E. Willey, *The Assassins in Quhistan*, in *Jnal. of the Royal Central Asian Soc.*, iv (1968), 180-3). Not surprisingly, the succeeding period seems to have been one of economic and social regression for the district; whereas Yākūt had recorded 200 villages there, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (early 9th/15th century), recorded only 30 (see I. P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 496-7). It nevertheless retained some cultural vitality, and Mustawfī comments favourably on the devout Ḥanafī faith of the people of *Kh*wāf, who were much given to works of charity and to going on pilgrimage. One of the finest surviving monuments of the *Kh*wāf district dates from the Timūrīd period, sc. the *madrasa* of *Kh*argird, begun by the architect Kiwām al-Dīn Shirāzī for two of *Shāh Rukh*'s ministers, Aḥmad b. Ishāq and Faḳhr al-Dīn Muḥammad *Kh*wāfī (see Sir Percy Sykes, *Historical notes on Khurasan*, in *JRAS* (1910), 1148-51, and *Survey of Persian art*, iii, 1126-8).

In recent times, the name "*Kh*wāf" has been used both for the district and for its chief town, also called Rūy-i *Kh*wāf, near *Kh*argird. Travellers such as C. E. Yate (1894) and Sykes (1905) visited it and described it during the late Kādījār period. Yate found the centre Rūy-i *Kh*wāf much decayed, with ca. 800 inhabited houses, all of whose denizens were Sunnīs, but over half the houses in ruins; the silk industry had died out and had been replaced by the cultivation of opium and tobacco (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh-London 1900, 127-33; Sykes, *A fifth journey in Persia*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, xxviii (1906), 580-2). At the present time, *Kh*wāf forms one of the five component *bakhshs* of the *shahrestān* of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya in the *ustān* or province of *Kh*urāsān, and this administrative subdivision also includes Zawzan; see *Farhang-i djuḡhrāfiyā-yi Irān*, ix, 153, 201.

*Bibliography*: given in the article, but for the information of classical Islamic geographers, see also Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 213-14, 190-1, and Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 357-8; and for the present century, *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 385-7.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KHAFĀDJA**, a subdivision of the Hawāzin tribe of ʿUḳail b. Kaʿb, which remained as powerful Bedouins longer than most of the other tribes which inhabited the Arabian Peninsula at the dawn of Islām. The genealogists give their affiliation to their kindred clans as *Kh*afādja b. ʿAmr b. ʿUḳayl, and they were subdivided into eleven branches: Muʿāwiya *Dhu*'l-*Ḳarḥ*, Kaʿb *Dhu*'l-Nuwayra, al-Aḳraʿ, Kaʿb al-Aṣḡhar, ʿAmir, Mālik, al-*Hayḥam*, al-Wāziʿ, ʿAmr, Hanz and *Kh*ālīd. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, fol. 132b, the name of *Kh*afādja is Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr. However, al-Samʿāni, *Ansāb*, fol. 204b, is

probably wrong in saying that *Khafādja* is a name of a woman. Unfortunately, our early sources do not provide us with important information concerning their dwelling-places in pre-Islamic Arabia, presumably because of *Khafādja*'s assimilation with Banū 'Uqayl out of whom they had emerged. However, from the scattered information found in the late sources, we know that they had their territory to the south-east of Medina and owned some villages, among which Sarw Lubn, al-Sharā'in, Taḥlith, Tha'lab and Orāl are mentioned. Later, we find them further to the east at war with the B. Ḥanifa in al-Yamāma. According to Aṣma'ī, in Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 785, they had their dwellings in the 2nd/8th century in the desert near the Ruṣāfa settlement of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. It is probable that the Karmaṭi movement in al-Yamāma in the early part of the 4th/10th century caused them to move further northwards towards the borders of 'Irāk. Here we find them towards the end of that century as masters of Kūfa under their *amir* Ṭhumāl and his sons. About this time also, we find them around al-Shām, al-Raḥba, Ḥalab and Ḥims, whilst al-Ḳalkaṣhandī mentions that one of their branches had settled in Lower Egypt.

They may have been at first allies of their cousins the Banū Yuzīd (not Bozīd as in Wüstenfeld's *Tabellen*, or Yazīd as otherwise stated) who established themselves as rulers of Mawṣil and the surrounding country, but were rather in opposition to them. In the year 391/1000 the 'Uqaylid Ḳarwāsh attacked them in Kūfa and they were compelled to leave the lands and move along the Euphrates towards Syria, where they remained only till the following year, when the 'Abbāsīd general Abū Dja'far al-Ḥadijādī called them to his aid when the 'Uqaylids besieged al-Madā'in. This brought them again back to their ancient dwelling-places and as the Baghdād government had probably supplied them with arms, they utilised these a few years later in 402/1011 in an attack upon the pilgrim caravan. Emboldened by this attack, they demanded the lands to the east of the Euphrates which had been in the hands of the 'Uqaylids, and marched under the command of Sulṭān, 'Ulwān and Raḍjāb, the three sons of Ṭhumāl, to al-Anbar, laying the whole neighbourhood waste and besieging the town. An army sent against them from Baghdād and supported by the 'Uqaylids drove them out and Sulṭān was actually captured, but released upon the intercession of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Mazyad al-Asadī. No sooner had he been released than in the following year (403/1012), news was received at Baghdād that the *Khafādja* were plundering the country round Kūfa under Sulṭān. An army was sent against them with support from Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Mazyad, and they were surprised at the river al-Rummān. Sulṭān escaped, but his brother Muḥammad was made a prisoner; as a result, many of the pilgrims, who had been captured in the year 403/1012, were liberated and reached Baghdād. Meanwhile, the 'Uqaylid *amir* Ḳarwāsh had been captured and released, and he now tried to make common cause with the *Khafādja* and to join Sulṭān b. Ṭhumāl; but after their junction they were attacked by troops sent from Baghdād and routed, though subsequently pardoned. This gave a few years of comparative peace, but in 417/1026 Dubays b. 'Alī b. Mazyad al-Asadī and Abu'l-Fityān Manī' b. Ḥassān, now chief of the *Khafādja*, ravaged the lands of Ḳarwāsh in the Sawād [q.v.], assisted by troops from Baghdād, and encountered Ḳarwāsh near Kūfa. Ḳarwāsh fled

northwards and was pursued by the combined tribes of Asad and *Khafādja*, who actually took possession of al-Anbār; but after this success the two tribes dispersed again to their pasture grounds. Manī' b. Ḥassān then marched, with his followers to al-Djāmi'ayn [see AL-ḤILLA], which belonged to Dubays b. Ṣadaqa b. Mazyad, and plundered the lands round it; when pursued by Dubays, they turned northwards and attacked al-Anbār. The inhabitants defended themselves for a while, but as the town was not protected by walls, the *Khafādja* were able to plunder and burn it. On the approach of Ḳarwāsh, they abandoned the town, but soon returned and looted it for a second time. When finally Ḳarwāsh was able to drive them out, he spent the winter in the town and ordered protective walls to be built. Manī' now swore allegiance to the Buwayhīd ruler Abū Kālīdjār and marched southwards to Kūfa, where he had the *khūba* pronounced in the name of Abū Kālīdjār. This had the result that in 420/1029 Dubays severed his allegiance to Abū Kālīdjār, being afraid of the depredations of the *Khafādja*.

In the following years, the *Khafādja* sided sometimes with one party and at another time with the other, and when in 425/1033 Dubays had a quarrel with his brother Ṭhābit, they sided with the former; but other quarrels also arose within the *Khafādja* chiefs, during which 'Alī b. Ṭhumāl was killed and his nephew al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Barakāt became tribal chief. When in 428/1036 the Ḥādījib Bārs Ṭughān rebelled in Baghdād, the Caliph's general al-Basāsīrī [q.v.] employed among others the *Khafādja* to quell the revolt, as a result of which Bārs Ṭughān was executed. We do not hear much about the *Khafādja* for some years, but in 446/1054 they again made an inroad upon Dubays's town of al-Djāmi'ayn, which they plundered; al-Basāsīrī came to his assistance, and the *Khafādja* retreated into the desert. They were pursued and their stronghold *Khaffān* was besieged and apart from its citadel, razed to the ground. When al-Basāsīrī rebelled against the caliph in the same year, he took al-Anbār after a prolonged siege, and we find that among the prisoners he took there were 100 men of *Khafādja*. There again followed a period of comparative peace, but when in 485/1092 the pilgrims from Baghdād had passed Kūfa they were attacked by *Khafādja*. When this news reached Baghdād, troops were sent who caused great slaughter among the *Khafādja*, reducing considerably their future power to do serious damage.

In 499/1105 the *Khafādja* came into conflict with the Ṭayyī' tribe 'Ubāda over some stolen camels, and while the latter could muster about 500 warriors, *Khafādja* were unable to place a similar number into the field. However, with assistance from the Asadī chief Ṣadaqa b. Mansūr they were victorious. This success was, however, of short duration, as in the following year the tribe of 'Ubāda, now assisted by Badrān b. Ṣadaqa, utterly routed the *Khafādja*, who were compelled to forsake their pasture grounds and wander northwards towards Syria, while 'Ubāda in future was to occupy the lands adjoining the Sawād. Again in 536/1141 we hear of *Khafādja* making an inroad into 'Irāk, but the troops sent against them easily drove them off, killing large numbers. How weak *Khafādja* had become is evident from the fact that in 556/1160 they assembled in the neighbourhood of Ḥilla and Kūfa, asking for the food relief and dates which had apparently been granted them. The governors of the two towns refused to grant their request and Ḳayṣar, the governor of Ḥilla, sent 250 soldiers to

drive them off, a similar force being sent by the governor of Kūfa. They pursued the fleeing Khafādja along the river Euphrates as far as Raḥbat al-Shām, where the Khafādja made a stand, and in the fight which ensued Kaṣyar was slain while Arḡhash, the governor of Kūfa, took refuge with the governor of al-Raḥba. The Khafādja then pleaded for forgiveness, stating that they had been constrained to fight by their parlous condition. Their excuse was accepted, as the Vizier Ibn Hubayra, who had marched out against them, saw the futility of pursuing them into the desert. The last time we hear of the Khafādja is in 588/1192, when they came to the assistance of Baṣra when it was threatened by the tribe of 'Āmir. In addition to the events narrated above in 'Irāk, it is also mentioned that the Khafādja were among the Arab tribes who assisted in the siege of Tiberias in 507/1113 when the Crusader monarch Baldwin had taken refuge there after an unsuccessful raid upon Halab.

Among the poets of this tribe in ancient time was Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir, celebrated on account of his love for Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and on account of the elegies which the latter composed upon his death in battle.

*Bibliography:* Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, fol. 133a (B.M.), fol. 132b (Escorial); 'Arrām, *Djibāl Tihāma*, 7, 251, 252, 254; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishṭikāk*, 299; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, 48; al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, v, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75; viii, 178; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, 469; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam mā 'sta'djam*, ii, 631, iii, 888; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, fol. 204b; Ibn al-Djauzī, *al-Muntazam*, vii, 261, 266; Ibn Djubayr, 187, 211, 230; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, i, 766, 400; ii, 785; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, v, 69-70; ix, 164-5, 170, 174, 235, 236, 245, 307, 321-2; 352, 354, 374, 375-6, 436-7, 444, 453, 599-600, 601-2; x, 27, 42, 217, 260, 396, 400-2, 421-2, 447-8; xi, 90, 276-7; xii, 80; idem, *al-Lubāb*, i, 381; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-falab*, i, 277; Ibn al-Sā'ī, *al-Djāmi' al-mukhtaṣar*, ix, 43; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 49; v, 261; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, ii, 256; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ii, 340; al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar*, iii, 83; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, xii, 152-3; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i, 113; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, iii, 523, 530; iv, 254-5, 277-8, 279, 491; Kalkaṣhandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 146, 232; idem, *Qalā'id al-djumān*, 122-3; al-Makrizī, *al-Bayān wa'l-'irāb*, 71; al-Zubaydī, *Tādji al-'arūs*, ii, 22; al-Ḥalabī, *A'lām al-nubalā'*, iv, 201; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam kabā'il al-'Arab*, Damascus 1949, i, 351; al-Khafādji, *Banū Khafādja*, i, 23, 47; Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen and Register*; Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muhammad al-Kalbī*, i, 103, ii, 338; A. Nādjī, Basra 1970, *al-Imāra al-Maxyadiyya*, 35-42. (F. KRENKOW-[A. A. A. DIXON])

AL-KHAFĀDJI, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'UMAR AL-KHAFĀDJI, called *Shihāb* al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī, was born near Cairo in ca. 979/1571 and received his earliest education from an uncle on his mother's side, Abū Bakr al-Shanawānī, whom he himself calls the Sḥawayh of his age, and under him he studied both Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī law; the biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Shifā'* by the *Kādi 'Iyād* [q.v.] he read under Ibrāhīm al-Alkamī, and he even studied medicine under Dāwūd al-Baṣīr. Later he made the pilgrimage in the company of his father and took the opportunity to hear the lectures of the learned men in the two holy cities. After his return from the pilgrimage, he made his first journey to Istanbul, where

he found several teachers of outstanding merit, among whom he mentions Ibn 'Abd al-Ḡhani, Muṣṭafā b. 'Arabī and the Jewish Rabbi Dāwūd, under whom he studied mathematics and the books of Euclid. His principal master, however, was Sa'd al-Dīn b. Ḥasan, and when the latter died and his other teacher soon followed him in death, Istanbul became devoid of men of learning. He had meanwhile gained favour and received the post of *kādi* of the province of Rūmell, and rising in rank he became *kādi* of Ūsküb under Sulṭān Murād, who finally appointed him to the same office in Salonika. These offices enriched him considerably, and he was ultimately sent as *kādi-asker* to Egypt. This post, however, he did not hold for long, as through intrigues at Istanbul he was dismissed. This decided him to make another journey to Istanbul, but his expectations here were not fulfilled and he gave vent to his anger in the literary outburst which he entitled *al-Makāmāt al-Rūmiyya*. This aroused the hatred of the Muftī Yahyā b. Zakāriyyā, and he was ordered to leave the city immediately. As an acknowledgement of his worth as a scholar he received the appointment of an ordinary *kādi* at Cairo, but he seems to have devoted his remaining years to study and the composition of his works. He died in Cairo on Tuesday 12 Ramaḍān 1069/3 June 1659.

Al-Khafādji enumerates most of his works in his autobiography, many of them of considerable size, while he himself tells us that many of these treatises were never collected in book-form. His most extensive work is a commentary upon the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḡawī which he entitled *'Ināyat al-kādi*, and which has been printed in Cairo in four large volumes. The work follows the usual tedious method of explaining almost every word and of reproducing the statements of a large number of other authors who have treated upon the same subject. The same is the case with his second largest work, a commentary upon the *Shifā'* of the *Kādi 'Iyād*, entitled *Nasīm al-riyād* (printed at Istanbul, 1267, in 4 vols.). His two biographical works, *Khabāya 'l-xawāyā fi mā fi 'l-riḍāl min al-bakāyā* and *Rayḥānat al-alibba w-nuzhat al-hayāt al-dunyā* give hardly any biographical details, and it is only the arrangement by region which gives us any information on where the persons cited lived. We get, however, a fair amount of contemporary poetry, which enables us to judge to what miserable depth the art of rhyming had sunk. While the first named work exists only in manuscript, the *Rayḥāna* has been printed three times in Cairo (1273, 1294 and 1306), which shows us that the work was appreciated in Egypt. The most valuable portion of this work is an autobiography of the author (in which he has omitted to state when and where he was born) and the *Makāmāt al-Rūmiyya*; the autobiography has furnished the material for the account of his life in the work of al-Muḥibbī. Of more value are his *Tirās al-madālis* and his *Shifā' al-ghalīl*. The former is a work of the class called *amālī* in 50 sessions (*madālis*), whose value consists in having preserved extracts of older works now apparently lost or undiscovered. It is interesting to find him quoting from the *Kilāb al-Ma'ānī* of al-Uṣhnāndānī (printed in Damascus, 1340), the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm, the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm or the *Ansāb* of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, considering how rare manuscripts of these books are. The book is in fact a curious collection of odd information from all kinds of sources. Apparently there are two editions of this book, one Cairo, 1284 and a second without date printed in Tanṭa. The *Shifā' al-ghalīl fi mā fi kalām*

*al-ʿarab min al-dakḥīl* is, as indicated by the title, a work dealing with words of foreign origin in the Arabic language. The author has used for this purpose the *Muʿarrab* of al-Djawālikī [q.v.] and similar works, but is not content with explaining words of foreign origin, as he also gives ample specimens of vulgar errors in correct Arabic speech. Closely resembling this book is a commentary on the *Durrat al-ghawwās* of al-Ḥarīrī, which was printed together with the *Durra* at Istanbul in 1299; this work, together with his *Ṭirāz*, are probably the best of his compositions. His *Diwān* is mentioned by al-Muḥibbī and is preserved in manuscript in Copenhagen.

*Bibliography*: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-aṥhar*, i, 331-43; Brockelmann, II, 285, S. II, 396.

(F. KRENKOW\*)

**KHAFĀRA** (A.) "protection", is used, often together with *ḥimāya* [q.v.], to designate certain social practices. Originally, it primarily denoted the protection which Arab tribes extended to merchants, travellers and pilgrims crossing their territories, often in return for payment or as part of an agreement [see *ILĀF*]. Later, the word's usage became extended to the "protection" in return for an obligatory payment exacted by various social groups from other groups or from richer individuals (e.g., by the *ʿayyārūn* and *futuwwa* [q.v.] in the towns). Once the military class had assumed essential power, military commanders exacted various *khafārāt* from the rural estates, etc., but at the same time the state intervened to control them, to fix a tariff for them, or to revoke them for its own use. See further *HIMĀYA*.

(CL. CAHEN)

**KHAFD** or *KHIFĀD* (A.), female excision, corresponding to the circumcision of boys (*khāt* or *khītān* [q.v.], terms which may be applied equally to both sexes). There is no mention of it in the *Qurʾān*, but more or less authentic *ḥadīth*s attest to the practice in pre-Islamic Arabia and in a certain measure justify it. Tradition attributes to the Prophet the expression *muḥaṭṭiʿat al-buzūr* "cutter of clitorises", and the following words addressed to Umm ʿAtīyya, *idhā khafaḍḍi (khafatti) ja-ʿashimmi wa-lā tanhaki* (i.e., do not excise everything), *fa-ʿinnahu adwāʿ li-l-waḍiḥ wa-aḥzā ʿind al-zawḍi*, in which one can discern a somewhat curious aesthetic aspect, a display of masculine egoism and the authorisation to do the operation on condition of not going as far as total ablation of the external genital organs and even complete clitoridectomy. Although the texts and the dictionaries are not very explicit, the synonymy of *khāt*/*khītān* and *khafad*/*khifād* leads one to think that the minimal practice comprised excision of the prepuce of the clitoris.

In the Prophet's mouth, *muḥaṭṭiʿat al-buzūr* had a pejorative sense; but other items in the ancient vocabulary for designating the operator, *khātina* and *mubazzira*, formed from *baẓr* "clitoris", do not seem to have a contemptuous connotation. However, a woman is called *baẓrāʿ* when she is affected by clitorism, or believed to be so, and *lakḥnāʿ* when she has not been circumcised; expressions meaning in effect "son of the uncircumcised woman", *ibn al-baẓrāʿ*, *ibn al-lakḥnāʿ*, are considered injurious and synonymous with "son of a whore", the violence of sexual appetite in a woman being considered the result of absence of circumcision. These pieces of information seem to prove clearly that the practice was current among the Arabs (who carry it back, like the circumcision of boys, to Abraham and Hagar [al-Dīhiz, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 27]), and remained so after the coming of Islam, excision becoming

a characteristic trait amongst the Muslims. The *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 22, tells, for example, that Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [q.v.], who was the son of a Greek Christian mother, was as a result of this called Ibn al-Baẓrāʿ; in the end, he decided to have his mother circumcised in order to escape satires, examples of which are to be found in the verses attributed to Aʿshā Hamdān (*Aghānī*, loc. cit.) or to Ziyād al-Aʿdjam (*LA*,  $\sqrt{m\dot{s}s}$ ; the word *maṣṣān*, interpreted by Ibn Manzūr as meaning *ḥadīdīām* "barber", "cupper", could well have here the sense of "one who sucks" and connected with such an insult as *yā māṣṣa baẓri ummihi*, which does not necessarily correspond to an actual practice).

Under Islam, the circumcision of girls has never been regarded as obligatory, but has been considered as recommended (e.g. see al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, 161, 305; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*<sup>3</sup>, 1947, i, 85); in fact, it is practiced very irregularly in the Muslim world, where whole populations are unaware of it or confine themselves to a symbolic pricking of the clitoris. In the same region, some tribes may perpetuate the custom, whilst their neighbours may have abandoned it, if they have ever known it anyway (see especially, H. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*<sup>3</sup>, Paris 1948, 35, 363). In Java, girls are not invariably circumcised; the operation, when performed, is done on girls from 2 to 8 years and is called *sunā* (*sunna*), but parents following customary law (*ʿādat* [q.v.]) never practice it. The Malays call it *gusaran* "fact of filing down the teeth", because it is preceded, the evening before, by a fictitious filing-down of the teeth. In Atjeh [q.v.], female circumcision is done at an early age (see the references given under *KHITĀN*). In Persia and Kurdistan, travellers mention that it is done between the ages of 9 and 15 (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 51); on the other hand, it is unknown in Afghānistān (C. M. Kieffer, *À propos de la circoncision . . .*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 201, n. 37). This is likewise the situation in North Africa (G. H. Bouquet, *La morale de l'islam . . .*, Paris 1953, 70), although the practice is attested for Mauretania, even though this is a Mālikī region (R. Arnaud, *Précis de politique musulmane*. i. *Pays maures*, Algiers 1906, 65-6), where the excision is done 7 or 8 days after birth. At all events, it would be extremely difficult to draw a map showing the extent of female circumcision, in view of the women's discretion and the men's ignorance, since the latter are not informed about the operation; this practice is unaccompanied by any celebration, and is even called *sirr* "secret" in Moab, according to Jaussen, *op. cit.*, 35, 363, and also *ṭahr*, by analogy with the circumcision of boys.

The only Islamic country, apart from some regions of black Africa (see Boris de Rachewiltz, *Eros noir, mœurs sexuelles de l'Afrique de la pré-histoire à nos jours*, Paris 1963), where any searching enquiries into this practice have been made is Egypt, where *khafad* (which according to 18th and 19th century travellers was general and often sought by girls) is still practiced, even amongst certain Copts. Anthropologists and physicians have revealed various degrees in female circumcision, ranging from removal of the labia minora and the prepuce of the clitoris to that of the whole external genitalia ("Sudanese circumcision"), sc. the labia minora and majora together with the clitoris (see M. Karim and R. Ammar, *Female circumcision and sexual desire*, Cairo 1965). The very title of this latter work, based on an examination of 331 women in Cairo, is an indication

of the spirit in which the enquiry was conducted, sc. within a broad movement towards feminine liberation and towards a certain demythologisation which has found a favourable echo in the press (e.g. *al-Ahrām* of 27 January 1959). The Sudanese Republic has decided to abolish the practice, considered nasty and even barbarous, and similar measures have been envisaged to end it in Egypt.

Female circumcision is far from being a surgical operation meant to prevent abnormal deviations of the genitalia (Wilken, *Verspr. Geschriften*, iv, 238 ff.), but is rather a *rite de passage*. One can discern its origin in the primitive mythology of the Egyptians and other African peoples who believed in the bisexuality of the soul of their gods and of men. These bisexual souls project their physiological characteristics in their procreative organs; thus the feminine soul of the man is located in the prepuce, whilst the masculine soul of the woman is in the clitoris. Circumcision and excision accordingly make the boy and the girl respectively shed their feminine and masculine characteristics. Only in this way can the girl claim to be fully a woman capable of sexual life; Egyptian women still look down on an uncircumcised woman by saying "You are like a man".

In Egypt, the operation is carried out by the midwife either in complete secrecy or in the presence of a few invited women, and it is justified by the desire to maintain pre-marital chastity and virginity. It naturally presents serious dangers, of which the authorities are aware; apart from the complications which can sometimes be fatal, the cooling-down of the female temperament and desires, which the operation tends to bring about, causes on the men's part an abuse of drugs, especially of hashish—an unexpected aspect of the consequences of mutilation, whose abolition would produce a three-fold effect.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the works cited, see above all the extremely well-documented article of O. F. A. Meinardus, *Mythological, historical and sociological aspects of the practice of female circumcision among the Egyptians*, in *Acta ethnographica*, Budapest, xvi/3-4 (1967), 387-97, which has an extensive bibliography on the subject. (ED.)

**KHʿĀFI KHĀN**, MUḤAMMAD HĀSHIM NIZĀM AL-MULKI, historian; his title of *Khʿāfi Khān* was given him by Muḥammad Shāh and is derived from a family connection with *Khʿāf* [q.v.], a district of eastern Persia, famous for its distinguished men. He was a son of *Khʿādīja Mīr*, a confidential servant of Murād Bakhsh, youngest son of Shāh Dījahān. The place and date of his birth are not known, but it seems probable that he was born in India, and a statement in his history (i, 739) implies that his birth took place about 1074/1664. The statement is that 74 years after the death of Shāh Dījahān's minister, Saʿd Allāh, he was 52 plus the age of discretion (14?). In other words he was 66 Muslim years old in 1140/1728. His father was *Khʿādīja Mīr*, a confidential servant of Shāh Dījahān's youngest son, Murād Bakhsh, and was severely wounded at the battle of Samōgarh. *Khʿāfi Khān*, possibly like Bernier's friend Dānishmand, began life as a merchant, or as an official's clerk, and it was in one of these capacities that he visited Bombay in 1693-4 and had an interview with an English official (ii, 424, and Elliot-Dowson, vii, 350). He served under Awrangzēb, Bahādur Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh in the Deccan and in Guḡjarāt, and was long stationed at Surāt. He also lived at Ahmadābād, which he defends against the strictures of Dījahāngīr, and at Rahurī; in

Siwḡīl's country, and in the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was governor of Čampānīr (i, 77). Probably he ended his days at Ḥaydarābād in the service of Āṣaf Dījah Nizām al-Mulk (hence our author's title of Nizām al-Mulki) about 1732-33. He was an intimate friend of Shāh Nawāz, the author of *Maʿāthīr al-umarāʾ* (who was also a Ḥaydarābādi officer) (see iii, 680 of the Bibl. Ind. edn. of that work, and *Khʿāfi Khān*, ii, 678).

*Khʿāfi Khān* wrote a history of the Indian branch of the Timūrid dynasties, and called it *Muntakhab al-lubāb* ("The quintessential selection"). It is a standard work and is much admired, especially in the east, for its style, and its accuracy and impartiality, though it is often too grandiloquent for western taste. Still, it is by far the most human and interesting of native histories of India, with the doubtful exception of Badāʿunī. After an introduction beginning with Turk b. Yāfīt, and describing the origins, etc., of the Tatars and Mongols, it gives short biographies of Timūr, his third son Mīrān Shāh, and the descendants of the latter, who were the emperor Bābur's ancestors. These are followed by a history of the emperors of Āgra and Dīhli, beginning with Bābur, of whom there is a tolerably full account, and ending with the beginning of the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh. Bābur conquered India in 932/1526, and the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh was 1140/1732, so that the history covers a period of over 200 years. The last ten years of the history are given in a very abridged form. The most valuable parts of the work are the accounts of Shāh Dījahān and Awrangzēb, for both of whom the author had a high admiration. The history has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (2 vols.), but the edition is not complete, for it wants the first part or volume. This last, however, is very rare, and perhaps does not exist in its entirety. There is only a portion of it in the British Museum. The author refers to it in vol. i, 49 of the printed edition. *Khʿāfi Khān* also wrote a history of the minor Islamic dynasties of India, but this too has disappeared, though a small portion is preserved in manuscript in the India Office Library (Ethé, *Cat.*, No. 407). It was apparently of little value, being mainly an abridgment of Firīshṭa.

The charm of *Khʿāfi Khān*'s history consists in his digressions and his frequent use of his own observations, and of information derived from his father and brother. He is a somewhat narrow Muslim, and he is too favourable to Shāh Dījahān and Awrangzēb. Thus he slurs over Awrangzēb's treacherous capture and subsequent execution of his younger brother, Murād Bakhsh. The capture he represents as a clever manœuvre (it was certainly to the public advantage), but he is evidently half-ashamed of it, for he declines to give the particulars. In his account of Murād Bakhsh's attempt at escape, and his trial and execution, which he got from his father, he does not plainly set down Awrangzēb's responsibility, and continues to pay him a compliment for his generosity in rewarding the man who declined to prosecute Murād for the murder of his father. He also deals lightly with Shāh Dījahān's conduct to *Khūsraw*, and to his competitors for the throne, and says nothing about his debaucheries. Still, he is far more honest than Abu 'l-Faḡl 'Allāmī [q.v.]. His accounts of Shēr Shāh and Dījahāngīr are very fair, and in the latter of them he has a very interesting account of Nūr Dījahān. He says he got it at Sūrāt in 1097/1695-6 from a very old man, who as a child had accompanied Nūr Dījahān's father on his journey

from Persia to Afghānistān, and India. Kh'āfi Khān too, though like Tacitus, he may tell us too much about emperors and their wars, does not omit the more interesting subjects of plague, and famine, and of internal administration.

*Bibliography:* Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii (which contains a very full abstract, by Dowson, of the 2nd volume of Kh'āfi Khān); Colonel Lees, *Materials for the history of India*, Hertford 1868, 57-8; there is a manuscript translation of vol. i by Major Gordon in the British Museum (Add. 26, 617). (H. BEVERIDGE\*)

**KHĀFĪF.** [see 'ARŪP]

**KHĀ'IN AHMED PASHA.** [see AHMED PASHA]

**KHĀKĀN**, a title (originally KĀGHAN or KHĀGHAN) borrowed by the Turks from the Juan-juan and meaning "[supreme] ruler". It was applied by the heathen Turks themselves and the mediaeval Muslim geographers and historians not only to the heads of the various Turkish confederations but also to other non-Muslim rulers such as the Emperor of China. In the form *khān* it was borne by the successors of Čingiz-Khān [q.v.], the Mongol Great Khāns in Karakorum and Peking. Adopted by the Ottoman Sultāns, the title, first brought to Europe by the Avars in the 6th century A.D. (the *kaganus* etc. of the early mediaeval chroniclers), survived into the present age.

*Bibliography:* G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 141-179 (no. 1161); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 611.

(J. A. BOYLE)

**KHĀKĀN.** [see FATH 'ALĪ SHĀH]

**KHĀKĀNĪ**, AFḌAL AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM (Badīl) B. 'ALĪ B. 'UTHMĀN, outstanding Persian poet, born about 520/1126, d. 595/1199, who left a *diwān*, the *mathnawī* called *Tuhfat al-'Irāqayn* and sixty letters.

Reliable material for Khākānī's biography is only to be found in his works. His poems and letters mirror both his external and internal life, and so they enable us not only to follow his poetical development, but provide us also with historical information.

Khākānī's life can be divided in two main periods. The first period Khākānī spent mainly in his home country of Sharwān as panegyrist at the local court. During the second period he led a retired life in Tabriz. Already at an early time his wish to leave Sharwān and to abandon panegyric poetry was connected with a tendency towards mysticism and escape from the world. Born into a humble family of artisans, the young poet attached himself to the Sharwānshāh Manūčīhr, from whose title *Khākān-i akbar* his own poetic name is derived. His relations with Manūčīhr were changing. More than once he tried to find another patron and his first *hadīdī* (551/1156-7) should perhaps be regarded in this context. After Manūčīhr's death (554/1159) he was imprisoned but was able to flee to Darband, his usual refuge when something went wrong in Sharwān. In the following years he seems to have established relations with several courts. In 559/1164 we find him in Persian 'Irāk. After he had asked for an annual salary of 30,000 *dirhams* from Manūčīhr's son Akhsatān he returned to Sharwān. However, the good relations between the poet and his patron did not last very long. In 566/1171 he undertook a second *hadīdī*, but the atmosphere did not improve after his return. The deaths of his son and his wife in 571/1175 caused the decisive turn. He undertook

a third *hadīdī* with the intention to end his life as a *mudjāwir* in Mecca. He had to return, however, and settled in Tabriz. Material need and the efforts of high personalities to gain his favour frustrated his hopes of achieving the calm he was longing for and obliged him once more to compose panegyrics now and then. In 578/1183 or 579/1184 he tried to reach Khurāsān, but in Ray the Atabeg prevented him from continuing his journey and he returned to Tabriz severely ill. In 580/1185 he tried to achieve his aim in another way. After that date we have no more relevant data about his life, which ended in Tabriz.

Khākānī's poetry is based on Persian *conceitismo*. The notions at his disposal reached farther than those of other *poetae docti* of his time, especially his detailed knowledge of Christianity. Most of the elements of his poetical motifs are his own creation; this is all the more valid for complexes consisting of elements of motifs as well as of motifs (fantastic aetiology, congruity of images, causal hyperboles etc.). Not without reason he felt himself in this respect superior to his predecessors and contemporaries and he was convinced that future poets also would draw on his muse. During the last decade of his stay in Sharwān his inventiveness in devising new elements of motifs declined. His accent was now on developing and combining motifs. In his Tabriz period he played with his enormous repertoire of elements of motifs and their combinations, while using his mastery of rhetorical representation in a more pointed manner than ever before.

In the field of formal devices, Khākānī created a new type of *ḥasīda*, characterised by a number of parts which are thematically mostly independent. In his later Sharwān period he preferred the *tarkīb-band* form. About half of his many *ghazals* belong to this genre only as far as form is concerned; they do not treat of erotic subjects. Besides *rubā'īs* and sometimes long *ḥij'ās*, the *Diwān* contains also a series of shorter and longer Arabic poems, the fruit of Khākānī's attempt to write Persian poetry in Arabic.

In the panegyrics, that is in his professional art, Khākānī celebrates not only rulers, generals, viziers and scholars, but also friends and relatives. But what he loved most was ascetic Šūfī poetry. This is indicated by his other pen-name Ḥakā'ikī and thereon also his close relationship with Sanā'ī was based. A kind of combination of panegyric and Šūfī poetry is to be found in the praise of the Prophet, to whom Khākānī dedicates a series of *ḥasīdas*, and he derives his honorary title of *Hassān al-'Adjam* from this fact. His erotic verses usually celebrate profane love, but mystical elements are present in the *ghazal bā ḍ dīlam ba-mīhr u mahabbat nishāna būdh*, where Iblis speaks about his Hallādjī-like love of God. The pangs of love are often mentioned, as Khākānī is generally eloquent and resourceful on lamentation. This subject is treated in a lot of his shorter poems and parts of poems, but as well as these in whole *ḥasīdas* and not only in the *ḥabsiyyāt* (prison poems). Special attention is given to the description of nature (sky, stars, seasons and landscapes), and his poetic picture of morning and the morning-draught together with its drinking-utensils became very popular. His *hadīdī*-travels were less imitated. His first *hadīdī* he describes in the *Tuhfat al-'Irāqayn*, where he addresses the sun in order to describe to her the way to Mecca. Around the sacred subject all kinds of profane praise are entwined. The often-posed question whether Khākānī's words represent real experience can probably be answered in the affirmative as far as the satires are

concerned, and perhaps also some elegies, laments, religious poems and ascetic verses. In general, however, the poetic transformation of reality seems to dominate.

**Bibliography:** The following bibliography is selective rather than exhaustive. Critical editions: *Diwān*: ed. Saḍīdīādī, Tehrān 1338; *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāqāyīn*: ed. Ḳarīb, Tehrān 1333; *Munshāʿāt*: ed. Rawḡhan, Tehrān 1349. See further: N. Khanikōf, *Mémoire sur Khācānī*, in *JA* (1863), 137-200; (1865), 296-367; B. Furūzānfar, *Sukḥan u Sukḥan-warān*, Tehrān 1312, ii, 300-52; V. Minorsky, *Khāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus*, in *BSOAS*, xi (1945), 550-78; H. Amūzgār, *Muḳaddima-yi Tuḥfat al-ḫawāḡir wa-zubdat al-nawādir-i Khāhānī*, Tehrān 1333; O. L. Vilčevskij, *Khakani*, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, 1957, 62-76; idem, in *Epigr. Vostoka* xiii (1960), 59-68; ʿA. Daḡḡtī, *Shāʿir-i dir-āshnā*, Tehrān 1340; A. Ateḡ, *Hākānī*, in *IA*; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 202-8; idem, *Hāqānīs Madāʾim-Qaḡīde rhetorisch beleuchtet*, in *Ar.* O xxvii (1959), 199-205; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīḫ-i ʿadabiyāt dar Irān*, ii, Tehrān 1339<sup>3</sup>, 776-94; A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 398-405, 633-40; B. Reinert, *Hāqānī, Poetische Logik und Phantasie*, Berlin 1972. (B. REINERT)

**KHĀKĀNĪ**, also **KHĀKĀNĪ MEHMED BEY** (?-1015/?-1606), a minor Ottoman Turkish poet of the late 16th/17th century, was born in Istanbul. He was the son of Güzelḡje Rüstem Paḡa who was the son-in-law of Ayās Paḡa [q.v.], a grand vizier of Süleymān the Magnificent. Very little is known about his life and the data in the sources are often conflicting. All we know is that he mainly lived in Istanbul except for a pilgrimage to Mecca, that he was a *müteferriḡa*, and that later he became a *sandīaḡ beyi* and *muḡāsebedḡi* in the Imperial *Diwān* (Riyādī, *Tedḡhire*, s.v.); he was already an old man in 1007/1598 and died in Istanbul, where he was buried at the cemetery of the Mihr-ü Mah mosque at Edirne Kapı. **Khāqānī** is the author of the following works: (1) *Diwān*. The manuscript copies of this small work, which has not been edited, vary in size and content (for a good copy, see Topkapı Palace Museum Library, No. 680). His *ghazals* written in a comparatively simple and fluent style follow closely the traditional line without any personal touch; (2) *Miftāḡ-i Fütūḡāt*, completed in 1012/1603 and dedicated to Cīḡhala-zāde Siḡnā Paḡa [q.v.] is a commentary, in *mathnawī* form, of a popular *Ḥadīth-i Erbaʿīn* version (for a good copy, see Topkapı Palace, Emanet Hazinesi Library, No. 670); and (3) *Hilyet ül-Nebewiyye*, better known as *Hilye-i Khāqānī*, completed in 1007/1599, a *mathnawī* in *ramal* metre to which **Khāqānī** owes his reputation. It is based on an Arabic traditional account of the Prophet's personal features (a calligraphically written version of which was hung as a "portrait" on the wall in many Turkish homes, until recently). Each feature or virtue is elaborately described in 12-20 *bayts*. This didactic poem with no literary value became very popular and was often compared with Süleymān Celebi's famous *Mewlūd*, although it has none of the latter's merits. Strangely enough, even writers of usually balanced judgement like Ḍiyāʾ Paḡa and Nāḡī [qq.v.] overpraised the *Hilye* (see Bibliography), probably because of the sacred character of its subject. Copies of the *Hilye* abound in Turkish and European libraries (a good copy dated 1050/1640 is in the Nuru Osmaniye Library, No. 609-796); it was printed at Istanbul in 1264/1848.

**Bibliography:** The *tedḡhires* of Riyādī,

Fāʾizī, Riḡā, s.v.; Muʿallim Nāḡī, *ʿOḡmānīl Shāʿirleri*, Istanbul 1307/1891, 51; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 193-8; Ali Canib Yöntem, in *IA*, s.v.; Fahir İz, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nazım*, i/2, Istanbul 1967. (FAHIR İZ)

**KHĀKĀNIDS.** [see SHIRWĀN SHĀH]

**KHĀKSĀR**, a 20th century Indian movement for national regeneration, initiated in 1931 by a government servant called ʿInāyat Allāh Khān (better known under his honorific of al-Maḡḡriḡī). As a result of wide-spread frustration and despondency, this leader—originally a mathematician who had enjoyed a brilliant career—publicised simplicity of life (*ḡhāk-sār*, i.e., "humble as dust"), discipline and self-sacrifice for the benefit of the country. Under the spell of the results achieved by Fascist régimes, al-Maḡḡriḡī avowed that India was in need of benevolent dictators (see *Asia*, Aug. 1939), and in its outward manifestations his movement in its first stage bore a marked resemblance to the Nazi S. A. organisation; its members wore a khaki dress with a badge of *ukhuwwa* or "brotherhood" stuck on the right upper arm, and carried a *belḡa* or spade symbolising both the importance of labour and a readiness to fight. Every day they had to report to the local commander about some sort of social service performed after sunset prayers, and each district unit had their drill for at least fifteen minutes. Al-Maḡḡriḡī's followers were chiefly drawn from the petty bourgeoisie and better-off labourers. Explicitly non-communal, the movement was open to every man who believed in his Creator, Muslims as well as Brahma Samāḡjists, and it claimed to be "the only party in the country above all parties". In its heyday (i.e. ca. 1941), it is said to have secured a following of one-and-a-half million adherents, but in 1944 the all-India strength of the **Khāksārs** had already dwindled to 20,000. Because of provocative actions, they clashed regularly with the provincial authorities of Northern India. Bans on the movement were imposed, and from time to time al-Maḡḡriḡī was imprisoned. After independence, the leader officially announced the disbandment of the movement. Although the master died on August 27, 1963, a small group of faithful **Khāksārs** are still to be found in the vicinity of the movement's former headquarters at Lēhra, a suburb of Lahore.

**Bibliography:** J. M. S. Baljon, *A Modern Muslim Decalogue*, in *WI*, n.s. iii/3-4 (1954), 187-200; Y. B. Mathur, *The Khāksār Movement*, in *Studies in Islam* (New Delhi 1969), vi/1, 27-62; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London 1946 235-45. (J. M. S. BALJON)

**KHĀL** (A.), pl. **AKḡWĀL**, maternal uncle, whether a full, consanguineous or uterine one. In such a strongly patriarchal civilisation like that of Islam, the status of such an uncle necessarily entrained a certain degree of inferiority compared with that of the paternal uncle, *ʿamm* (pl. *aʿmām*).

The latter is considered as one of the *ʿaḡaba*, and is high up in their hierarchy; he has a right to the whole of the succession if there are no heirs entitled to fixed shares or *ʿaḡaba* with a prior claim to himself. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, never inherits in Māliḡī law; even if there is no other heir, the Public Treasury is given preference. The position is similar in Shāfiʿī law, unless the Public Treasury is excessively mismanaged. According to the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools, the maternal uncles can inherit, but in their capacity as *ḡhaww ʿl-arḡām*. Now it is well-known that this third class of heirs, the invention of these two law schools, can only



succeed to an inheritance in the total absence of any representative of the fixed-shares heirs and the *ʿaṣaba*; even the most favourably-placed are set aside in the presence of a single *ʿaṣīb*, however distant in relationship he may be from the deceased.

The same discrimination is found in regard to guardianship (*walāya*) over a person. In the absence of the father, only an *ʿaṣīb* can be called upon—this rôle often falls upon a paternal uncle, but never to a maternal one. This inferiority in legal status of the maternal uncle dates from pre-Islamic times, and is moreover characteristic of Sunnī Islam, mainly with regard to the various legal incapacities inherent in the maternal uncle. But even amongst the Shīʿīs, where there is no inequality on the legal plane between maternal and paternal uncle, reliable observers have noted that the populace generally displays more reference towards the paternal than the maternal uncle.

*Bibliography:* Syed Ameer Ali, *Mohammedan law*, 1928, ii, 58; H. Laoust, *Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 147; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris-The Hague 1973, iii, No. 1285.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

**KHĀL, KHAYALĀN.** [see FIRĀSA].

**KHAL'Ā.** [see KHIL'Ā].

**KHALADJ**, a people or tribe ostensibly of Turkish origin and living in western Turkistān and then in eastern Afghānistān during the pre-Mongol Islamic period.

#### 1. History.

The Islamic geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries place the *Khaladj* amongst the tribes of the Turks. Thus Ibn *Khurradādhbih*, 28, 31, includes them in a list of Turkish tribes in the Central Asian steppes; he states that their winter quarters were beyond the Syr Daryā in the Talas region, adjacent to the lands of the *Qarluq*, but also that they lived "on this side of the Oxus", i.e., to its south and west. The contradiction illustrates the haze of uncertainty which envelopes the history of the *Khaladj* in the pre-Ghaznawid period. A frequent cause of ambiguity is the similarity of the consonant ductus of *Khaladj*, خَلَج, to that of the name *Khallukh*, خَلِج (= *Qarluq*), especially as the *Qarluq* also lived in the Talas region but at an early date infiltrated south of the upper Oxus into *Tukhāristān* [see *QARLUQ*]. *Kāshgharī*, ed. Kilisli Rif'at Bey, ii, 307 = tr. Atalay, iii, 415, in his long article on the *Türkmen*, says that the *Khaladj* originally comprised two of the 24 tribes of the *Türkmen*, but separated from them and were therefore no longer accounted part of them; and he gives a fanciful etymology for the name, that the two ancestors of the two *Khaladj* tribes were told by the rest of the *Türkmen*, *kal adi* "stay, remain behind!" (another explanation in the *Oghuz-nāma*, ed. W. Bang and G. R. Rachmati, *SBPr. Ak. W.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. xxv (Berlin 1932), *kal al* "stay and open!").

Hence there is some uncertainty about the original Turkishness of the *Khaladj*. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, 251-4, connected the *Khaladj* with the *Kh.w.l.s.* (? *Kholas*) of a 6th century Syriac source discussing the Turkish tribes, and with the *Kholiatai* mentioned in the report of Zemarchoš, Byzantine envoy to the *Kaghan* of the *Turks* in 568, and he opined that the *Khaladj* were remnants of the Hephthalite confederation, in which case there is the possibility that the *Khaladj* may have been originally an Indo-Iranian

tribe, perhaps remnants of the *Sakas* subsequently Turkicised. In support of this view is the information of the Sāmānid official *Kh'arāzmī* in his *Majālis al-ʿulūm* (composed shortly after 366/977), ed. Van Vloten, 119-20, that the *Khaladj* and the *Kandjina* *Turks* (the latter located in the mountains to the north of the upper Oxus, see *kuṃfījīs*) were remnants of the Hephthalites (see C. E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 8-9).

We only possess what seems to be unequivocal information on the location of the *Khaladj* from the second half of the 3rd/9th century onwards. Ibn al-*Athīr*, vii, 226, records in his notice of *Ya'qūb b. Layth's* death (265/879) that the *Saffārid* *Amīr*, in the course of his conquests in eastern Afghānistān, had attacked the *Zunbil* or local ruler in *Zamīn-Dāwar* and had subjugated the *Khaladj* (*al-Khaladjīyya*) and the people of *Zābulistān*, and this is confirmed by the *Ta'rikh-i Sistān*, 215, which mentions *Ya'qūb's* campaigns there against "the *Khaladj* and the *Turks*". In the next century, *Iṣṭakhrī*, 245, also locates the *Khaladj* in *Zamīn-Dāwar*, and states that they were ancient immigrants to the region, that they were pastoralists, and that they had retained their Turkish customs, external appearance and ? language (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 36, 271: later sources dependent on *Iṣṭakhrī* have *libāsihim* "their clothing" for *lisānihim*, but Marquart thought that the reading "their language" was the original one). The *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, III, describes the *Khaladj* as sheep-herding pastoralists in the *Ghazna-Zamīn-Dāwar* region, but with outlying groups in *Balkh* and *Tukhāristān*, *Gūzgān* and the district of *Bust*.

Some form of suzerainty over these nomads of eastern Afghānistān was exercised by the Sāmānids, and this passed towards the end of the 4th/10th century to *Sebūktigin*, founder of the *Ghaznawid* amirate. *Nizām al-Mulk* in his *Siyāsāt-nāma*, ch. xxvii, ed. Darke, 135, tr. idem, 108, says that *Sebūktigin* had already once been sent by his master *Alptigin* to "the *Khaladj* and *Türkmen*" in order to collect taxation due to the Sāmānid central government. The *Ghaznawid* historians *ʿUtbī* and *Bayhaqī* mention the *Khaladj* at times, and describe how *Maḥmūd* recruited them on occasion for his armies; but his son *Mas'ūd* had in 432/1040 to send out from *Ghazna* a punitive expedition against them. It is interesting that *ʿUtbī* tends now to link the *Khaladj* with the *Afghāns*, which is not surprising, since the *Khaladj* must have lived in close proximity to the *Afghān* tribal heartland of eastern Afghānistān.

It appears that there now begins a process of assimilation of the *Khaladj* to their *Afghān* environment, leading to what seems very probable, if not wholly proven, sc. the evolution of the *Khaladj* *Turks* (whatever their pre-Islamic ethnic origins may have been) into the *Pash*-to-speaking *Ghalzay* or *Ghizay* tribe of *Afghāns* [see *GHALZAY*]. Minorsky cited a passage from the early 7th/13th century geographer *Muḥammad b. Naḍīb Bakrān's* *Djihān-nāma*, that the *Khaladj* *Turks* had migrated from the *Qarluq* region (sc. *Turkistān*) to *Zābulistān*, but had now become adapted to their new milieu in appearance and speech, their original language having changed (*Hudūd al-ʿālam*, 347-8, and *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, in *BSOS*, x (1940-2), 432). *Khaladj* tribesmen from *Zābulistān* were utilised by the *Ghūrids* in their campaigns, and *Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd* succeeded to power in *Frūzkūh*

in 602/1206 with the help of the Khaladj (Djüzdjāni, *Tabahāt-i Nāsirī*, tr. Raverty, I, 397).

During the years of warfare between the Kh̄wārazm-Shāhs and the incoming Mongols (early 7th/13th century), Khaladj troops played a part in the confused fighting in eastern Afghānistān, the Kābul and the Peshawar regions, some of them entering the Mongol armies, others attempting, under the leadership of a Khaladj commander, one Sayf al-Dīn Ighrak, to make themselves an independent power in the Kābul River valley; see for details, Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, 432 ff. This became indeed the power-base for Khaladj movements into northern India as far as Bengal, a process already begun under the Ghūrīds and continued subsequently under their epigoni the Slave Kings of Delhi; various lines of Khaladjī (thus the Indian pronunciation) military adventurers attained hegemony in, e.g., Delhi and Mālwā, but these Khaladjīs were considered to be ethnically Afghāns. See for the history of these Khaladjīs of India, DIHLI SULTANATE, HIND. IV. HISTORY and KHALADJĪS.

The Mongol invasions created a melting-pot of peoples in Inner Asia and the Iranian world, and the tide of conquest seems to have swept Khaladj elements westwards. Already Muhammad b. Nadjib Bakrān (see above) speaks of Khaladj settlements near Bāwurd, sc. Abiward on the northern fringes of Khurāsān, doubtless brought thither during the long struggles of the Ghūrīds and Kh̄wārazm-Shāhs for control of that province. An Özbeğ tribe whose name in Russian transcription, Galači, may enshrine a memory of the Khaladj in this region, was registered for Russian Central Asia in the mid-19th century, see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund-Leipzig 1939, 53. Khaladj are mentioned in Kirmān and Fārs from late Saldjūq times onwards, and Köprülü in his *IA* article on the Khaladj lists several villages in Ādharbāydjān and Anatolia, and one even in the Crimea, which enshrine the name "Khaladj". But the best-known region of Khaladj settlement in the west is that one in western Persia still known today as Khaladjistān, the mountainous region lying to the south-west of Tehran in the Hamadān direction and to the west of Sāwa, and contained largely within the shahristāns of Sāwa and Arāk in the central ustān or province. Not only in this region, but also in adjacent ones, extending into the Bakhtiyārī country of the central Zagros, one finds villages with names like Khaladj, Khaladjābād, etc. attesting earlier settlements of the tribesmen (see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Irān*, I, 81, ii, 104, x, 79). These Khaladj may have been established in Mongol times or even earlier, for the Zafar-nāma of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, Calcutta 1887-8, ii, 573, speaks of the Khaladj and Arab nomads of this region being summoned to Timūr's standard in 806/1403-4; it is the Turkish speech of these Khaladj remnants, who were visited by Minorsky in 1906 and 1917, which the latter describes in his article on their language, see below.

*Bibliography*: given substantially in the article, but add Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 79; the two main secondary studies are those of Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, and M. Fuad Köprülü, *IA*, art. Halaç.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

## 2. Language.

The Khaladj language ought to be called, more precisely, the Khaladj group of languages, because it is as independent a branch of the Turkish family

of languages as, e.g. the south-western (or Oghuz) group or Chuvash, etc. It is spoken (by about 20,000 persons) in 47 villages, situated about 150 miles SW of Tehran. Whereas the linguistic differences from each village to each other village are small, the sum of these differences (sc. from the most remote points, Talkh-āb in the NW of the Khaladj area, and Vinaric, in the SE) is as considerable, or even more considerable, than the differences between Kazan Tatar and Bashkir, or between Ottoman Turkish and Azeri.

The first scholar to have studied the Khaladj language was Minorsky, in 1940 (see bibliography). Only a short time after him, the Iranian scholar Mughaddam, when investigating the Iranian local dialects around Āshitiyān, also gave a short survey of Khaladj. In 1968, the present writer described the peculiar features of Khaladj in an article based on the two older works. In 1968 and 1969 two expeditions to the territory of the Khaladj were undertaken, which produced a considerable amount of material (59 tapes, a vocabulary consisting of 60,000 words, numerous texts, etc.).

The Khaladj groups is characterised by its very outstanding archaisms. Thus it has preserved -ā (ancient Turk adaq "foot" = Ottoman Turkish ayak = Khaladj hadāk); the ancient Turkish h- (see bibliography, *Eine seltsame . . .*); the proto-Turkish threefold vowel quantity (short, long, diphthongal), etc. Even in morphology, it has preserved many archaic features, such as the ablative in -da, the participle in -gili (= ancient Turkic -igilī). Khaladj is especially important in the field of lexicography; there are many ancient Turkish hapax legomena, such as qudghu "fly", which survive only in Khaladj and in no other Turkish language.

*Bibliography*: V. Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of Khalaj*, in BSOS, x (1940), 417-37; M. Mughaddam, *Güyishhā-yi Waf̄s wa Āshitiyān wa Tafrash*, in *Irān-Kūda*, xi, Tehran 1318 sh.; G. Doerfer, *Das Chaladsch — eine archaische Türk-sprache in Zentralpersien*, in ZDMG, cxviii (1968), 79-112; idem, *Das Chaladsch — eine neuentdeckte archaische Türk-sprache*, in ZDMG, Supplementa I, 1969, 719-25; idem, *Iran'daki Türk dilleri*, in TDAYB, cccii (1969), 1-23; idem, *Irano-Altaiistica, Turkish and Mongolian languages of Persia and Afghanistan, in Current Trends in Linguistics*, vi, The Hague 1971, 217-34; idem, with the collaboration of W. Heschke, H. Scheinhardt, S. Tezcan, *Khalaj materials*, Bloomington 1971; idem, *O sostoyanii issledovaniya khaladzskoy gruppi yazikov*, in *Voprosi Yazikoznaniya*, 1972, I, 89-96; idem, *Der Imperativ im Chaladsch*, in *FUF*, xxxix (1972), 295-340; idem, *Eine seltsame alttürkisch-chaladsch Parallele* in TDAYB (1973), 1-24; idem, *Yavlyatsya li Khaladzskiy yazik dialektom azerbaydzhanskogo yazika?*, in *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya* (1974), I, 45-51; H. Scheinhardt, *Halacistan'a bir arastirma gezisi*, in *Çağrı*, I Eylül 1968, Nr. 128, 16-7; S. Çağatay, *Türk lehçeleri örnekləri II (yaşayan Türk lehçe ve ağsuları)*, Ankara 1972, 255-60; F. Zeynalov, *Türk dillärinin täsmifi wä "Khaladj dili grupu" mäsäläsi*, in *Yazik i literatura*, Baku 1972, 37-48; F. Zeynalov, *Ob odnom "drevnem tyurkskom yazike" v Srednem Irane*, in *Sov. Tyurkol.* (1972), vi, 74-9; S. Tezcan, *Zum Stand der Chaladsch-Forschung*, in *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker*, ed. G. Hazai and P. Zieme, Berlin 1974, 613-20.

(G. DOERFER)

**KHALAF B. 'ABD AL-MALIK.** [see IBN BASH-KUWĀL].

**KHALAF B. HAYYĀN AL-AḤMAR, ABŪ MUḤRIZ** (ca. 115-80/ca. 733-96), famous *rāwīya* of Baṣra. His parents came originally from Farḡhāna and had been brought as captives to 'Irāk, and then freed by Bilāl b. Abi Burda [see AL-AḤMAR], whose *mawlā* Khalaf remained. He had a prodigious memory, and knew perfectly Bedouin life, their language, traditions and legends, and he gathered together all the poetic works set before him in order to transmit them to his successors. He is said to have been the pupil of 'Isā b. 'Umar and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' [q.v.], but did not pride himself on his knowledge of philology and was content with his perspicacity, which allowed him to distinguish easily between authentic and apocryphal verses. However, he became the transmitter of the poetic corpus gathered together by Ḥammād al-Rāwīya [q.v.], fully aware of his bad reputation, and brought about a change of tastes among the *ruwāt* of Baṣra by instructing them about the *naṣīb* of the Bedouins (al-Djāhīz, *Bayān*, iv, 23-4). His teaching was followed particularly by al-Aṣma'ī and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [q.v.], who had great faith in his judgment. Even so, his deep knowledge of archaic poetry, linked with a tendency which was quite frequent in his time, led him to compose poetry of Bedouin type which he attributed then to ancient poets, if at least his contemporaries are to be believed. He is especially accused of having fraudulently placed a number of verses under the name of Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī [q.v.], and above all, of being the author of the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, which al-Ṣhanfarā' [q.v.] did not in fact write; discussions about the authenticity of this poem have still not ended (see e.g. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Mallūhī, *al-Lāmiyyatān*, Damascus 1966, who attempts in his introduction to show that Khalaf was not the author). At the end of his life, he is said to have condemned his own forgeries, but nothing is known of this. According to al-Djāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 181, numerous *radīas* verses were attributed to him without permission.

He is said to have composed a *K. Djībāl al-'Arab* of verses in which mountains are mentioned, and his works, of which a few verses are extant, have been gathered into a *Diwān* transmitted by Abū Nuwās, who is himself said to have written within Khalaf's own lifetime his funeral oration, an elegy in *fā'* (*Diwān*, ed. A. 'A. al-Ḡhazālī, Cairo 1953, 574-5).

*Bibliography*: The suspicion which rests on Ḥammād and Khalaf throws doubt on the recension of archaic poetic texts, so that these two transmitters are frequently cited in the controversies over the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry. Ahlwardt devoted a monograph to Khalaf, *Chalaf al-Aḥmar's Qasīda*, Greifswald 1859. See also Djāhīz, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, indices; Ibn Sallām, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, index; *Fihrist*, 50, 162; *Aḡhānī*, index; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, index; Kifī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 348-51; Zabīdī, *Ṭabakāt*, Cairo 1956, 177-81; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 242; Abū Ṭayyib al-Luḡhawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyin*, Cairo 1955, 46-7; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, iv, 179 ff. = *Udabā'*, xi, 66 ff.; G. Jacob, *Schanfarā-Studien*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.* (1914-15); F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xv (1935), 358 ff.; idem, in *Atti ... Lincei* (1946); Blachère, *HLA*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

**KHALAF B. MULĀ'IB AL-AḤHABĪ**, with the *laḡab* SAYF AL-DAWLĀ, ruler of Ḥimṣ and Afāmiya in the late 5th/11th century. He was

accused of various misdeeds, including brigandage, and is said, during a siege of Salamiyya, to have thrown the Sharif Ibrāhīm al-Hāshimī against the tower from a mangonel. In 483/1090, complaints were sent to the Sultan Malikshāh, who ordered his brother Tutuṣh, the ruler of Damascus, and other rulers of Syrian cities to proceed against him. A joint expedition captured Ḥimṣ, and Khalaf was sent in an iron cage to the Sultan in Iṣfahān. He remained in captivity until the Sultan's death in 485/1092, whereupon he was released by the Sultan's widow and sought refuge with the Amīr al-Juyūsh al-Afḍal in Cairo. In 488/1095-6 a delegation from Afāmiya went to Egypt to request a new ruler, and accepted (or perhaps proposed) Khalaf, who returned to Syria, presumably in the Fātimid interest. He resumed his activities, and remained in control of Afāmiya until he was murdered by Ismā'īl Assassins in 499/1106.

*Bibliography*: A biography of Khalaf is included in the *Bughyat al-falāḥ* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm (ed. from the Istanbul manuscript by B. Lewis in *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul 1953, 332-6); other sources in Ibn al-Kalānisi, *Dhayl Ta'rikh Dimashk*, 120-1, 149-50; 'Azīmi, 368, 371, 378; Ibn Muyassar, 466; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, ii, index. The account in the *Bughya* is based on the (lost) fuller version of 'Azīmi, the chronicles of the Banū Munqidh, and the North Syrian chronicle of Ibn Zurayk, as quoted by al-'Ulaymī, known as Ḥawā'idj Kash. (B. Lewis)

**AL-KHALAFIYYA**, sub-sect (*firqā*) of the Khāridjī sect of the Ibādiyya [q.v.] This sub-sect, whose origins were purely political, was founded in what is now Tripolitania around the beginning of the 3rd/9th century by Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, grandson of the Ibādī imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-'Alā al-Ma'āfirī al-Yamānī [q.v.]. Al-Samḥ b. 'Abd al-'Alā, Khalaf's father, was originally the vizier of the Rustamid imām 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān [q.v.], who held him in high esteem, and then after ca. 196/811-12, he was governor of Tripolitania (*ḥayyīz Atrābulus*) on behalf of this imām. The new governor resided in the township of Tīmiya or Tīmī in the extreme east of the Djabal Nafūsa [see AL-NAFŪSA, DJABAL] and was distinguished by his justice and his loyalty towards 'Abd al-Wahhāb; he died before this last, i.e. before 208/823-4.

The Berber Ibādī notables of Tripolitania (sc. the deputy governors of particular tribes or of districts subordinate to al-Samḥ), influenced by the favourable impression left behind by his period of government, but showing themselves completely ignorant of the basic principles of the Ibādī doctrines, resolved to appoint his son Khalaf as their chief. This may also be considered as an attempt by the Berber Ibādī tribes of Tripolitania to claim for themselves a certain measure of independence of the Rustamid imāms in Tāhert. 'Abd al-Wahhāb refused to confirm the election of Khalaf, but as Khalaf and his supporters refused to yield, and a schism followed, taking in the whole of Ibādī Tripolitania except for the western and central parts of the Djabal Nafūsa, whose population, under the governorship of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ayyūb and then of his successor Abū 'Ubayda 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Djanāwunī, remained Wahbīs and faithful to the Banū Rustam. Having been elected as imām by his partisans, Khalaf besieged Tīmiya, his father's old residence, and carried on continuous warfare against Abū 'Ubayda. This only ended when Abū 'Ubayda won a victory over his army in 221/835-6, during the imamate of

al-Aflah b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, after which *Khalaf's* principality began to disintegrate. Thus the eastern part of this principality, comprising the northeastern part of Tripolitania, to the east of the meridian of Tripoli, became independent, and according to Ibn *Khurradādhbih* [g.v.], in ca. 232/846-7 formed a Berber kingdom under Ibn *Ṣaghīr al-Barbarī al-Mašmūdī*. Likewise, the Tripolitanian *Djefāra*, which had also been part of *Khalaf's* principality, fell at about the same time under the influence of the *Nafūsa* of the *Djabal*. Certainly, when the ruler of Egypt *Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn* in 266/879-80 besieged the Aghlabid town of Tripoli, the people there received help from *Abū Maṣṣūr Ilyās*, governor of the *Djabal Nafusa* and from the *imāms* of *Tāhert*; he must therefore have been, at this time, in control of all the region between the *Djabal* and the Mediterranean.

It was apparently shortly after this that Ibn *Khalaf*, *Khalaf b. al-Samḥ*'s son and successor, who had been expelled from his seat of *Timiya*, took refuge with the Berber tribe of *Zawāgha*, partisans of the *Khalafiyya*, in the *Riṣū* or *Riṣō* peninsula (*Rimū* in *al-Shammākhī*, *Ris* in *Muntaner*, the 14th century Catalan chronicler, *Rāzū* in *al-Bakrī*, the modern district of al-'*Akkāra* opposite *Djerba*). Pursued by *Abū Maṣṣūr Ilyās's* army, Ibn *Khalaf* crossed over to *Djerba*, where he put himself under the protection of a section of the *Zawāgha* tribe who lived on the island, who nevertheless extradited him and sent him to *Abū Maṣṣūr*. According to the North African *Ibādī* historian *Abū Zakariyyā' al-Warḍīlānī* [g.v.], this event took place towards the end of the *Rustamids*, apparently under the rule of the *Rustamid imām Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. al-Aflah*, who reigned from 281/894. Since *Abū Maṣṣūr Ilyās* was dead by 283/896-7, at the time of the battle of *Mānū*, it appears that the *Khalaf* principality in Tripolitania came to an end in 282/895-6. Ibn *Khalaf* became *Abū Maṣṣūr's* prisoner, and was deported to the *Djabal Nafūsa*, where he died at some unknown date, by then probably a convert to *Wahbism*.

Certain *Khalafī* groups persisted after the fall of their *imāmate*. Thus there were *Khalafī* splinter groups at *Ghadamès* and in the *Fezzān* in the 3rd/9th century, in the district of *Riṣū* and on the island of *Djerba* in the 4th/10th century, in the town of *Zawāgha* on the Tripolitanian coast in the 5th/11th century, and in the districts of *Yéfren*, *Bābil*, *Kikla* and *Tākbāl* in the east of the *Djabal Nafūsa*, until the middle of the 7th/13th century. According to *L. Massignon*, there were still remnants of them amongst the inhabitants of the *Djabal Nafūsa* and the *Ḡharyān* in ca. 1925.

*Bibliography*: E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 128-44, 152-69, 188-94; *Dardjīnī*, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-maṣḥāyikh*, Cracow ms. 275, ff. 23b-27a, 42a-b; *Shammākhī*, *K. al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301/1884, 161, 178-9, 203, 224-4, 275, 281-3, 342, 546 and *passim*; *Muḥammad Atfiyyash*, *Risāla shāfiyya fi ba'd tawārīkh*, lith. Algiers 1299/1880, 53; *Massignon*, *Annuaire du monde musulman*<sup>3</sup>, Paris 1925, 132; *Lewicki*, *Études ibādītes nord-africaines*, Warsaw 1955, 48-9, 62, 92, 101, 112-16 and *passim*. On the geographical distribution of *Ibādī* groups in mediaeval North Africa, see *RO*, xxi (1957), 312, 324-5, 331, 336-8, 341; and on the *Ibādīyya* in mediaeval Tunisia, see *Accademia Polacca di Scienze e Lettere, Biblioteca di Roma, Conferenze*, fasc. 6, Rome 1959, 8-9, and [P. Cuperly], *Aperçus sur l'histoire de l'ibādisme au Mzāb (al-Risāla al-Sāfiyya fi ba'd*

*tawārīkh ahl Wādī Mizāb de Muḥammad Atfiyyaš*), partial Fr. tr. with introd. and notes by *Pierre Cuperly*, 1973 (= *mémoire de maîtrise* presented to *Fac. of Letters, Paris-Sorbonne*, 1971).

(T. LEWICKI)

**KHALDJIS**, an Indo-Muslim dynasty who ruled briefly in *Dihli* 689-720/1290-1320.

The *Khaldjis* were probably of Turkish origin [see *KHALADJ*, i, *History*] and the old view that they were *Afghāns* or *Pathans* probably arose from *Baranī's* statement (*Ta'rikh-i Firūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 171) that the relations of *Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz Shāh*, founder of the dynasty, with the *Turks* were strained because he belonged to another racial stock (*aṣl*). He was the son of *Yughrush* (*Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad*, *Ta'rikh-i Mubārakshāhī*, Calcutta 1931, 61), and seems to have entered the service of *Sultān Balban*, who is stated to have left him with his son *Bughrā Khān* when the latter was appointed to the government of *Bengal* after the suppression of *Ṭughril Beg's* rebellion in 678/1280 ('*Iṣāmī* gives 670/1271, see *Futūh al-salāṭīn*, Madras 1948, 168). Eight years later *Bughrā Khān* passed him on to his own son *Kayḳubād*, who had succeeded *Balban* as *Sultān* of *Dihli*, and he subsequently became governor of *Sāmāna* and then *Baran*, before being summoned to *Dihli* to take charge of the important office of '*Arīd-i Mamālik*, receiving the title of *Shā'ista Khān*. As the health of the *Sultān* was deteriorating fast due to an attack of paralysis, the *Turkish nobles*, led by *Itimar Kaḥan* and *Itimar Surkhā*, deposed him and enthroned his three-year old son under the title of *Shams al-Dīn Kayumarth*. *Firūz* managed to dispose of his rivals *Kaḥan* and *Itimar Surkhā*, and had them killed, so that most of the *Turkish maliks* and *khāns* now came over to *Firūz*, and he ascended the throne on 3 *Jumādā al-Ākhir* 689/13 June 1290, according to *Amīr Khusraw*, *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ*, English tr. in *Elliot and Dowson*, iii, 536, but *Rabī' al-Ākhir*/April-May, according to the *Ta'rikh-i Mubārakshāhī*, 61, as *Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn*, *Kayḳubād* having already been killed by a person whose father had been put to death under his orders. As the people of *Dihli* believed that the *Khaldjis* were not *Turks*, there was opposition to the transfer of power to them; hence in the beginning, *Djalāl al-Dīn* stayed in *Kayḳubād's* palace at *Kilūkheri*, which was rebuilt and embellished and came to be known as *Shahr-i naw* or *New City*.

Before formally crowning himself, the *Sultān* had made some promotions and transfers, the most important of which, besides the awards conferred on his sons and relations, was the appointment of *Balban's* nephew, *Malik Chādīdī Kishlī Khān* to the *ikhṭā'* of *Karā-Manikpūr*. However, he raised the standard of revolt in the second year of the reign and marched towards *Dihli*. *Djalāl al-Dīn*, leaving the capital in the charge of his eldest son, *Khān Khānān*, also moved out of the capital and reached *Badāyūn*. His advance guard, led by his second son, *Arkalī Khān*, crossed the *Ganges*, attacked the rebels and completely worsted them. *Kishlī Khān* tried to escape, but he was soon surrendered by a *Hindu mukaddam* or headman with whom he had taken refuge. The *Sultān* treated him mildly and sent him along with other captives to *Multān*, which had been assigned to *Arkalī Khān*. Another instance of his mild treatment of offenders was his decision about the murderous thugs who had been captured and brought to *Dihli*, and who were simply deported to *Bengal*.

However, it is rather surprising that in the case

of a *darwish*, Sīdī Muwallih, Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn departed from his policy of leniency and allowed him to be killed barbarously under the orders of his son. Muwallih originally came from the northern territories (*wilāyat-i-mulk-i-bālā*, Baranī, 208), and is stated to have stayed for some days with Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganjīshakar who had advised him not to allow rich people to become associated with him. It appears that he paid no heed to this advice and threw open the door of his hospice (*khānakhāh*) to men in all walks of life, regardless of their status. His growing popularity roused jealousy, and some of his enemies created a suspicion in the mind of the Sultān that Sīdī Muwallih was planning to capture the throne. Djalāl al-Dīn accordingly ordered his arrest, but unable to establish his guilt, the Sultān is said to have appealed to a party of Kalandar dervishes who were present to do him justice; one of them immediately attacked the Sīdī with a sharp razor, and at the order of Arkālī Khān he was trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. Most of the historians consider it as the murder of an innocent person; Baranī goes to the extent of remarking that after his murder the city was enveloped in the evening by total darkness due to a wind storm (*kālī āndhī*), and adds that in fact the decline of the Sultān's power began from that day.

Shortly after Sīdī Muwallih's execution, Djalāl al-Dīn led an unsuccessful expedition against Ranthambor. More determined was the Sultān's attitude in expelling the Mongols who had invaded his kingdom with a large army led by a grandson of Hulagū. He met the invaders near Sunām and inflicted a heavy defeat on their advance guard, after which they accepted his terms and were allowed to go back unmolested. Another military exploit of the year 691/1292 was the invasion of Mālwa by the nephew of the Sultān, 'Alī Garshāsp (later 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī). He captured Bhilsa and, laden with considerable booty, returned to Dihlī and was given the *iktā'* of Awadh as a reward in addition to his original assignment of Karā-Manikpūr. Two years later 'Alī left on a bigger adventure, his objective now being the conquest of Deogīr, the rich capital of the Yadava ruler Rama Čandra. With a force of 7,000-8,000 horse he marched to Ellīpūr in Berar, where he gave out that he was a discontented noble of Dihlī and was going to the south to seek service with the ruler of Rajamundri in south Telingana. After resting for two days he marched on Deogīr, took the Rādjā by surprise, defeated him in a battle fought in the vicinity of the town and forced him to take refuge in the fortress. 'Alī further defeated the eldest son of the Rādjā, Shānkar (Singhanadev or Sankhdev, according to some authorities; see K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Allahabad 1950, 52, and Elliot and Dowson, iii, 551). Father and son had no option but to beg for peace; the Rādjā had to cede the province of Ellīpūr and pay an indemnity in the form of hundreds of maunds of gold, silver and jewels, besides horses and elephants. Laden with enormous wealth, 'Alā' al-Dīn safely returned to Kara, although the Sultān, who was on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Gwalior could have easily intercepted him on his return march, since he had attacked Deogīr without his permission.

After his arrival in Kara, 'Alā' al-Dīn adopted an attitude of apprehensive penitence and ultimately succeeded in persuading the Sultān to visit him and forgive his misdeemeanour. Despite the warning of his counsellors, Djalāl al-Dīn left Dihlī and reached

the bank of the Ganges, where his nephew was encamping. Just at the moment when the aged Sultān was about to embrace him in affection, 'Alā' al-Dīn had him murdered, proclaimed himself king (Ramādān 695/July 1296), and seized Dihlī.

During his reign of twenty years (695-715/1296-1316), the new Sultān not only made extensive conquests resulting in the annexation of the entire region of central and south India, but also established peace in the north by stopping the frequent raids of the Mongols and introducing a number of administrative and economic reforms; here only a brief reference can be made to his multifarious achievements.

'Alā' al-Dīn had not been on the throne even for a year when the first raid of the Mongols came. They were, however, defeated and pushed back by the Sultān's forces. This was soon followed by another raid under a Mongol chief, named Šaldī (Baranī 253; Sagdī and Saldī in *Futūh al-salāṭīn*, 251); as before 'Alā' al-Dīn's brave commander, Zafar Khān defeated them capturing 2,000 prisoners. In 699/1299 came one of their greatest raids under the leadership of Kutlugh Khwādja, when they reached the gates of Dihlī. Rejecting the advice of his counsellors to buy off the raiders, 'Alā' al-Dīn assembled a large army, marched out of the city and encamped in the plain of Sīrī. After the death in battle of Zafar Khān, the Mongols nevertheless broke camp and retreated. The next Mongol invasion was led by Targhī, who, knowing that the Sultān was busy in the siege of Chitor (702-3/1302-3), marched with an army of 120,000 horsemen right up to the Jamuna. 'Alā' al-Dīn, who had in the meantime returned from Chitor, having suffered considerable losses in matériel, shut himself up in the fortress of Sīrī which was besieged by the Mongols. The Sultān is stated to have requested Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', a pious Šūfī *shaykh*, living near Dihlī, to pray for his victory, and the sudden and unexpected retirement of the Mongols when they were in a clearly advantageous position was attributed by contemporary historians to his prayers. Nevertheless, 'Alā' al-Dīn was shaken by this raid and decided to take effective measures to increase the strength of his army and repair and regarrison the old forts in the north-western region. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the next horde of the Mongols came in 705/1305 they found the Sultān's army fully prepared to meet them. They avoided the newly-repaired forts, and marching along the line of the Himalayas, reached Amrōha, about 80 miles to the east of Dihlī. The Sultān's army commanded by the *maliks* Tughluq and Kāfūr intercepted them on their return march and defeating them in battle captured their leaders, 'Alī Beg and Tartāk, with 8,000 men besides a large number of horses (Baranī, 320; Tartāk in Amīr Khusrāw, *Khazā'in al-futūh*, 37). 'Alā' al-Dīn ordered the prisoners to be killed and their skulls to be built into the walls of the fortress of Sīrī. In the following year, the Mongols again entered the subcontinent under Kabak and crossed the Indus near Multān, but Tughluq again defeated them on their return march. The last raid of the Mongols in this time (according to some authorities, an off-shoot of the previous one) was led by Ikbālmānd; he was also defeated and slain, and the Sultān ordered the captives to be crushed to death. Their successive defeats, the harsh treatment meted out to the captives and Tughluq's incursions into their own regions deterred them from raiding the territories of the Dihlī Sultanate as long as 'Alā' al-Dīn occupied the throne. It appears that besides the major invasions mentioned

by the historians the Mongols frequently raided the frontier regions, for according to an inscription, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw in the mosque of Multān, Tughluḳ had encountered the Mongols on 29 occasions and it was for this reason that he had come to be known as Ghāzī Malik.

Far more enduring than his victories over the Mongols were 'Alā' al-Dīn's conquests in central and southern India. In 698/1299 the Sulṭān sent Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān to conquer Guḍjarāt. They captured its ancient capital Anhilwara (Paṭan), but its ruler Rāḍjā Karan managed to escape towards Deogīr. Besides the booty, they also brought to Dihlī the idol that had been set up at Somnath in place of the one destroyed by Sulṭān Maḥmūd. 'Alā' al-Dīn's successes during the first two or three years of the reign led him to entertain wild schemes of conquering the world and founding a new religion. Luckily one of his wise counsellors, 'Alā' al-Mulk, cautiously advised him to abandon the idea of founding a new faith, and to undertake the conquest of Rajputana and other parts of the subcontinent. Accordingly in 699/1299 he sent an army to conquer Ranthambor and subsequently left the capital to supervise the operations in person. In the course of a hunting trip on his way to Ranthambor he was separated from the main party. One of his nephews, Akat Khān, finding him unprotected, attacked the Sulṭān and seemingly shot him dead with an arrow. Then he rushed to the camp and proclaimed himself Sulṭān, but before he was able to fully control the situation 'Alā' al-Dīn, who had only become unconscious for some time, returned with a party of his followers. Akat was overpowered and put to death, and 'Alā' al-Dīn proceeded towards Ranthambor. During his absence from the capital, two other nephews of the Sulṭān unsuccessfully rose against the central government in their fiefs in Badāyūn and Awadh. More serious than these risings was the rebellion of Hādīdī Mawlā who seized the Red Palace at Dihlī and placed on the throne a *Sayyid* who was, through his mother, a descendant of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish. Within a week however, the rebellion was suppressed by Malik Ḥamīd al-Dīn, called *Amīr-i-Kūh*. In the winter of 701/January 1303, 'Alā' al-Dīn marched on Chitor and captured it without much difficulty; its Rajput ruler, Ratan Singh, was brought as a prisoner to Dihlī. Malik Muḥammad Dajāsi, a Hindi poet of the 10th/16th century, has versified a story that 'Alā' al-Dīn's attack on Chitor was prompted by his desire to obtain Padmini, the beautiful daughter of its Rāḍjā, but it is not mentioned by any contemporary historian, and cannot, therefore, be accepted as a fact, although it has been included in the chapter on the Khaldjīs in *The Cambridge History of India*. After Rajputana, 'Alā' al-Dīn turned his attention to Mālwa and sent 'Ayn al-Mulk Multānī in 705/1305 to conquer it. The Rāḍjā forces offered a determined resistance, but they were defeated by the Muslims who captured important places like Ujjain, Māndū and Chanderi. Kānhar Deo, the Rāḍjā of Jalore, was so unnerved by these victories of 'Ayn al-Mulk that he accompanied him to Dihlī and offered allegiance to the Sulṭān. In Ramaḍān 705/March 1306 (according to Amīr Khusrāw, *Khazā'in al-futūḥ*, Calcutta 1953, 65) 'Alā' al-Dīn despatched Malik Kāfūr (now Malik Nā'ib) to punish Rama Čandra who had not sent the tribute for several years. He was also commissioned to bring Dewal Dewi, daughter of the fugitive Rāḍjā of Guḍjarāt, as her mother, now in Dihlī, wanted to see her. The princess was abducted

and sent to Dihlī, where she was married to 'Alā' al-Dīn's son, Khidr Khān; the story of their love and marriage was described by Amīr Khusrāw in his *mathnawī* entitled *Khidr Khān-Dawalrānī*. Appointing his own officers in Ellīčpur, Malik Nā'ib marched on Deogīr; Rama Čandra offered his submission, and was treated generously by 'Alā' al-Dīn; the title of *rāy-rāyān* was conferred on him and he was allowed to govern Deogīr as a vassal of Dihlī.

Two minor expeditions may be mentioned before Malik Nā'ib's next campaign in the south. Siwāna, an important stronghold in Mārwar, was besieged and captured; its ruler Sital Deo offered submission and presented one hundred elephants and costly gifts. His state was annexed, but he was allowed to retain his fortress. An army was also sent against Jalore, and its Rāḍjā, Kānhar Deo, put to death. Malik Nā'ib left Dihlī in 709/1309 (Baranī, 327) on his second campaign in the south, which was directed against the Kākatya State of Telingana. Its capital, Warangal, was captured from the ruler Pratapudra Deo II, who submitted and offered a large indemnity in the form of horses, elephants, coined money and jewels besides the payment of an annual tribute.

In 710/1310 Malik Nā'ib and Khwādja Hādīdī were again sent to the south. Marching via Deogīr (now governed by Rama Čandra's son) the Sulṭān's army reached Dwāra Samudra, capital of the Hoysāla ruler, Vira Ballāla III. After its fall, Malik Nā'ib moved towards the Pāndya Kingdom in the extreme south. Prince Sundar Pāndya, who had murdered his father but had failed to seize the throne and had been expelled by his brother, Virā, had come to the court of 'Alā' al-Dīn with an appeal for help. However, on hearing that Malik Nā'ib was marching on his capital Vira fled from there and the Sulṭān's army captured Madura without any fighting. Malik Nā'ib's last expedition to the south was directed against Deogīr, as its new Rāḍjā had tried to defy the authority of the Sulṭān. The Malik put the rebellious Rāḍjā to death and assumed its government. To make firm the authority of the central government, he had to recapture some fortresses in the south and annex the tract between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. Malik Nā'ib is stated to have built a small mosque, known as 'Alā'ī Masjid, at Rāmeṣhvarem, near the sea coast, which was in existence when Firīšta wrote his book (Bombay ed., i, 210). Thus in the course of less than eight years, 'Alā' al-Dīn's generals brought the entire region of the south under the sway of their master. The Sulṭān, however, being a realist in politics, did not assume direct administration there; except for Deogīr, which was annexed and directly governed from Dihlī, the Hindu rulers remained as vassals of the Sulṭān.

Besides his extensive conquests and positive measures to establish peace by stopping the raids of the Mongols, 'Alā' al-Dīn's reign is marked by a series of administrative, agrarian and economic reforms. The successive rebellions which had occurred during his absence from the capital at the time of the siege of Ranthambor convinced the Sulṭān of the need of inquiring into their causes and taking necessary steps to eradicate the possibility of their recurrence. It seemed to him and his advisers ultimately that they were due to neglect of the internal espionage system, a general use of wine, matrimonial alliances among the families of the nobles, and the concentration of excessive wealth by individuals. In pursuance of curbing this last, he enacted laws according to which

all rent-free lands, including religious endowments, were confiscated to the state, and tax collectors were instructed to collect gold on all possible pretexts, with the result that only small holdings of a few thousand *tankas*' rental were left with the landowners, thus reducing their military power and their ability to rebel, as is clear from the history of the remaining years of 'Alā' al-Dīn's reign. The internal espionage system was improved, and it was stated that courtiers became so afraid of their conversations being reported to the Sultān that when near the palace they dared not speak, and expressed their ideas by signs rather than words. Another ordinance prohibited the use of alcohol and intoxicating drugs; the Sultān himself gave up drinking and ordered his wine vessels to be broken and their contents poured out in front of the Badāyūn gate. Those who tried to smuggle wine into the capital suffered exemplary punishment. However, the Sultān later relaxed the rigour of these measures by not taking notice of private manufacturers and consumption of wine. Lastly, he issued an ordinance which made it obligatory for the nobles to obtain permission of the Sultān for matrimonial alliances among their families. These enactments naturally affected the nobles and wealthy families living in the capital or its suburbs, but 'Alā' al-Dīn knew that the rich and influential persons in the villages could also become a source of danger. The regulations issued by him with regard to the leading men in the villages (*mukaddams*, *balāhars* and *khāfs*) have been misunderstood by some writers; Baranī used the general term "Hindu" for these persons, and possible most of them did belong to that community. According to another ordinance, some new taxes were levied as, for instance, a grazing cess on milch cows and goats.

'Alā' al-Dīn's economic policy, mainly based on a system of price control, was the result of his efforts to maintain a large standing army against threats from the Mongols. Apparently realising that taxes could not be raised indefinitely, and that it was dangerous to decrease the pay of the soldiers, he decided to reduce the prices of commodities and make the necessities of life so cheap that a horse-man could be recruited on a comparatively small pay of 234 *tankas* per annum with 78 *tankas* for keeping an additional horse. 'Alā' al-Dīn started with issuing several regulations according to which prices of corn were fixed, government stores were opened, the caravans of newcomers were registered and state revenue in the neighbouring areas was collected in kind. Malik Kabūl, an honest and strict officer, was appointed *Shahna-i-Mandī* (market superintendent). He suppressed hoarding, and the Sultān ordered that those who gave short measure should have flesh equal in weight to the deficiency cut from their own bodies. The state also fixed the prices of other necessities of life, such as cloth, for which a separate market was opened in an open plot of land near Badāyūn gate, known as the *Sarāy-i 'Aāl*. Some idea of the resulting cheapness of commodities can be formed from the list given in Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Firūzshāhi*, according to which wheat was sold at 7½ *ḍīṭals* (small copper coins) per maund and rice at 5 *ḍīṭals* per maund. The price of a fine horse was for obvious reasons over 100 *tankas*, but a milch cow could be had for 3 to 4 *tankas*, while a goat was sold for 10 to 14 *ḍīṭals* only (a silver *tanka* was equal to 64 *ḍīṭals*). However, much opposition must have arisen from vested interests, and this explains Baranī's remark that all these regulations remained in operation only

in the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn, whilst his son Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī was unable to enforce them.

'Alā' al-Dīn was a severe but vigorous ruler, yet owing to rivalries and a quarrel for power between his eldest son, Khidr Khān, and Malik Nā'ib, his last days were unhappy. The former was transferred to Amrōha and thus sent away from the capital, but returned to Dihli on the pretext of visiting the tombs of some of the leading *shaykhs* there. In the midst of these worries, the Sultān died in Shawwāl 716/January 1316. Before his death Malik Nā'ib, who had great influence over the Sultān, had persuaded him to disinherit Khidr Khān, to imprison him in the fort of Gwalior, and to nominate his young son, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar, as heir to the throne. On the latter's accession Malik Nā'ib assumed the powers of regent and ordered Khidr Khān and his brother, Shādī Khān, who had been imprisoned in Sirī, to be blinded. 'Alā' al-Dīn's third son, Mubārak Khān, who had also been imprisoned, was also blinded. The prince, however, succeeded in bribing some of the palace guard, and they agreed to murder Malik Nā'ib and his companions. Thus this cruel and ambitious slave of 'Alā' al-Dīn was killed only 35 days after his master's death. Mubārak now became the regent of his infant brother, but only two months later he blinded him and ascended the throne under the title of Kuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. The new Sultān, a youth of 18, began his reign by setting free a number of prisoners, recalling those who had been banished by his father and rescinding his enactments in regard to heavy taxation and control over prices of commodities, thus gaining considerable popularity.

Soon after his accession Mubārak left for the south where Harpāl Deo, a son-in-law of Rama Čandra, had seized power and defied the authority of Dihli. On the approach of the Sultān's army, however, he fled from the capital, but he was captured and put to death and the administration of Deogīr was entrusted to Malik Yaklakhi; after sending his favourite slave, Khusrāw, on an expedition to Madura, and having spent the rainy season of 718/1318 in Deogīr, the Sultān set out for the north. On his return journey a plot was made to kill Mubārak, but the news leaked out and the conspirators were executed. He also ordered his three brothers, Khidr Khān, Shādī Khān and Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar, to be murdered.

Mubārak now gave himself up completely to a life of debauchery. His infatuation for Khusrāw Khān, a slave belonging to a low caste (variously spelt as *parwāri* or *brādū* in the Persian histories), grew day by day until the latter secured an ascendancy over his master, and he decided to kill the Sultān and seize the throne. Mubārak was warned of the danger of a conspiracy, but he paid no heed to it and Khusrāw's partisans succeeded in murdering him (720/1320). His head was severed from his body and thrown into the courtyard where the courtiers who were urgently summoned to the Palace could see it. On the following morning, Khusrāw ascended the vacant throne, assuming the title of Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn; his reign, however, proved brief.

According to Baranī, 411, Khusrāw and his followers embraced Islam but were not genuine in the change of faith; they started worshipping idols within the palace, used copies of the Qur'ān as stools and wantonly outraged the Muslim women. Some of the Muslim leaders, unable to bear his excesses, decided on his overthrow. Dīnā Khān (the later Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughluq (725-52/1325-51) left the capital for Sāmāna where his father, Ghāzī Malik, was then posted. The latter organised a campaign and marched

on Dihli and defeated an army that was sent against him under the command of Khusraw's brother. The final battle was fought near the old fort of Indrapat in which Khusraw was defeated, in spite of his profuse distribution of wealth to win the support of the army and the sympathy of the people. He escaped, but was later found, and Ghāzī Malik ordered him to be beheaded. On the following morning the nobles urged him to accept the crown as there was no one left in the family of 'Alā' al-Dīn who could lawfully wear it. Hence Ghāzī Malik ascended the throne of Dihli in Shahbān 720/September 1320 under the title of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and began the line of Tughluqid Sultans.

*Bibliography*: 1. Contemporary and later sources: Amīr Khusraw, *mathnawīs*, particularly the *Miftāh al-futūh*, *Dawal Rānī-Khiḍr Khān* (also known as '*Ashīka*'), *Nūh sipahr* and *Tughluq-nāma*, besides the five poems of the *Khamsa* (for various editions see Storey, i, 498 ff.); idem, *Khazā'in al-futūh*, ed. S. Moinul Haq, Aligarh 1927, ed. M. Wahid Mirza, Calcutta 1953; 'Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūzshāhi*, ed. Syed Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862; 'Iṣāmī, *Futūh al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948; Yahyā Sarhīndī, *Tārīkh-i Muḥārakshāhi*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1931; Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabakāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind. edn.; M. Kaṣīm Hindū Shāh Firīshṭa, *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, ed. Major Briggs and Mir Khayrāt 'Alī Khān, Bombay 1831-2; 'Abd al-Kādir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Bibl. Ind. edn., also ed. Lucknow, Newal-Kishore; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, Paris 1853-9, Cairo 1287-8.

2. Modern works: K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Allahabad 1950; *The Cambridge History of India*, iii; E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871; I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Karachi 1958; S. Moinul Haq, '*Ahd-i-Kadīm wa sallanat-i-Dihli*', Karachi 1966.

(S. MOINUL HAQ)

**KHALDJIS** OF MĀLWA. [see MĀLWA].

**AL-KHALDŪNIYYA (AL-DJAM'ĪYYA)**, a cultural association established in Tunis under the spiritual aegis of Ibn Khaldūn. It was sanctioned on 22 December 1896/18 Radjab 1314 and its premises officially opened on Saturday, 14 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1314/15 May 1897 in the presence of the Tunisian authorities.

Its creation was in part due to the united efforts of Tunisians educated at the Šādiki College, who were anxious to effect a reconciliation with former students of the Zaytūna. In this aim they were supported by shaykhs who were the Zaytūna's instructors. Their action was in line with the political and cultural trends advocated and put into practice by the minister Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], which put a determinedly modern slant on traditional studies and provided the Zaytūna's students with a scientific course of study that gave them an opening into the modern world, which the French socio-cultural presence in Tunisia made essential.

The activities of the Near Eastern reformists, and Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh's two visits to Tunis (in December 1884 and 1903), also had an influence on the teaching of Arabic studies. During his second visit to the city, 'Abduh even put forward the notion of introducing instruction in science and mathematics into the Zaytūna itself.

In 1893 the modern studies courses followed at the Khaldūniyya were set as obligatory tests in the Zaytūna's examinations and recognised in the official

diploma of applied studies which was created by a decree of 28 Djumādā II 1316/12 November 1898 and which conferred job advantages on its holders.

In order to achieve these ends, the association had to smooth over difficulties, combat numerous instances of prejudice and counter the many objections raised by the traditionalists, who considered that the study of modern science was a profane action which might strike a blow at the unity of Islam. The association also had to struggle to balance a very shaky budget and raise the necessary credit to cover the cost of organising courses and lectures, acquiring books for the library and materials which would enable students to begin scientific experiments.

The Khaldūniyya course of studies, taught in modern Arabic, imparted, up to World War I, the rudiments of knowledge which played a valuable part in the diffusion of scientific ideas among students and the adults who attended lectures aimed at popularising ideas on physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, modern literature, history, law, economic and commercial geography and political economy.

The last president, Shaykh Faḍīl Ibn 'Aṣhūr, had a Zaytūn university education but was a whole-hearted advocate of the modern ideas that, from 1945, took over from the former directors, who were of essentially Šādiki education. Ibn 'Aṣhūr inaugurated the final phase, which concluded with the educational reforms of 1958. Several projects were dear to his heart. He renewed the objectives of the association by setting up many "Khaldūnian" organisations which coincided with a new spirit of nationalism stemming from the Arab League. He created an Arabic general certificate of education based on a general and scientific curriculum in the Arabic language which fitted students for enrollment in the universities of the Arab countries. He also opened an Institute of Islamic Studies which was intended to revitalise Islamic culture, and from 1945 onwards drew attention to the new realities governing the modern world by organising a series of conferences on specific themes. In addition, he set up an Arabic Institute of Law in 1946 with the aim of modernising law studies and improving the education of barristers and magistrates, so that Tunisian justice might be better served. Finally, in the same year he founded the Institute of Philosophy, to educate students who wished to prepare for advanced level philosophy, and also to give wider currency to the major trends of Islamic philosophy.

It is clear, therefore, that from its inception the Khaldūniyya had the dual aim of preparing students for official examinations through a proper course of study and of giving adults the opportunity to round off their general education and diversify their knowledge.

With its combination of instruction and culture, the Khaldūniyya was gradually raised from the status of a private association to that of a national cultural institution which organised courses and conferences and put in train various other activities. To fulfil these tasks, it employed a linguistic tool which served to transmit traditional teaching but was sufficiently flexible to convey and give mastery of modern and scientific knowledge.

*Bibliography*: M. Lasram, *Une association en Tunisie, La Khaldounia*, Tunis 1906; E. Amar, *La Khaldounia*, in *RMM*, iii (1907), 352-63; F. Ibn 'Aṣhūr, *al-Ḥaraka al-adabiyya wa'l-fikriyya fi Tūnis*, Cairo 1956; M. Sayadi, *al-Jam'īyya al-Khaldūniyya 1896-1958*, Tunis 1974 (in French); A. Abdesslem, *Sadiki et les Sadikiens*, Tunis 1975. (M. SAYADI)



BANŪ KHĀLID, an Arab tribe occupying the central part of the eastern provinces of modern Saudi Arabia, the region along the Gulf coast known since earlier times as al-Ḥasā' or al-Ḥasā [q.v.]. The tribe at present occupies the territory lying between al-Miḳṭā' in the north and al-Bayḳāḍ in the south, with its centre at the town of al-Ḥasā. For the last two centuries, the chieftainship has been in the hands of the ʿUrayʿir family.

The tribe begins to figure in historical sources from the 10th/16th century onwards, indicating its growing importance. In 989/1581 they fought off Sharifian forces trying to occupy al-Ḥasā from the sea, but could not prevent the Ottomans, who had the support of the Muntafik tribe [q.v.] of Lower ʿIrāk, from occupying the region soon afterwards. The Ottomans held it till 1082/1670, when Barrāk b. ʿUrayʿir Āl Ḥamīd, member of an important family of the Banū Khālid, killed Raṣhīd b. Maḡhāmīs Āl Ṣhabīb of the Muntafik and drove the Turks from the town of al-Hufhūf or al-Hufūf [q.v.], and thus ended the first Turkish occupation of the province. It was Barrāk who established a summer residence in Kuwait, in a fortress called, like that of al-Hufhūf, a *kūt* or *kūl* (whence the diminutive *kuwayt* from this Indian word). He also sacked the town of al-Dirʿiyya [q.v.] in ca. 1091/1680, but died soon afterwards, and his brother Muḡammad succeeded as tribal chief. Until his death in 1102/1691, Muḡammad made various incursions into the regions of al-Yamāma, al-Khardj and Sudayr in Naḡdīd. He was followed by Saʿdūn b. Muḡammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUḡmān, who had been Barrāk's ally in the expulsion of the Turks, and under him the area controlled by the Banū Khālid reached its greatest extent, from Kuwait in the north to Ḳaṭar in the south. He envisaged also a policy of conquest in Naḡdīd, where in 1095/1684 the Idrisid Sharif Idrīs b. Waṭbān, who at that time controlled al-Dirʿiyya, had been killed by one Sulṭān b. Ḥāmīd al-Ḳaysī, who was probably a member of the Banū Khālid, and who had then made himself lord of that town; it was held by Sulṭān and his brother ʿAbd Allāh for some two decades. However, incursions from al-Ḥasā continued, and we find Saʿdūn again attacking and sacking ʿAkrabā and ʿAmmāriyya in 1133/1721 just before his death in battle in 1135/1723.

A series of internecine conflicts within the family followed, ending in the triumph of Saʿdūn's cousin ʿAlī b. Muḡammad, who was in turn followed by his brother Sulaymān. It was during his reign that Muḡammad b. ʿAbd al-Waḡḡāb [q.v.] began his preaching in Naḡdīd, and Khālidī opposition to his teaching was one of the main causes of the ensuing warfare between the Banū Khālid and the Āl Suʿūd, beginning with the expulsion of Muḡammad b. ʿAbd al-Waḡḡāb from ʿUyayna by ʿUḡmān b. Aḡmad Āl Muʿammar at the behest of Sulaymān b. Muḡammad, after when he settled at al-Dirʿiyya (1157/1744). Further internal conflict followed amongst the Banū Khālid, with Sulaymān driven out of al-Ḥasā in 1165/1752; he found refuge in al-Khardj, but died there in the same year. The Āl Suʿūd now intervened in al-Ḥasā, at the invitation of discontented members of the ruling family, but when Saʿdūn of the Banū Khālid was defeated at *Djadaʿa* by the rebels, who were aided by the Muntafik chief Ṭḡuwaynī, Saʿdūn actually found refuge in al-Dirʿiyya with his enemy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḡammad b. Suʿūd and died there shortly afterwards. The rebel leaders Duwayḡhis and Muḡammad b. ʿUrayʿir, together with their uncle ʿAbd al-Muḡsin,

now became leaders of the Banū Khālid in al-Ḥasā until 1203/1789, when they were briefly succeeded by Zayd b. ʿUrayʿir and Barrāk b. ʿAbd al-Muḡsin. In 1207/1793 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz felt strong enough to invade al-Ḥasā, and two years later totally defeated Barrāk. One Naḡḡīm, of obscure family and not a member of the Banū Khālid, came to power now in al-Ḥasā as a vassal, nominally *wālī* or governor, of the Āl Suʿūd.

The expansionist policies of Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who by 1223/1808 controlled the Ḥiḡjāz, ʿAsīr, al-Ḥasā and Baḡrayn, as well as Naḡḡīd, alarmed the Ottoman Porte, leading to the invasion from Egypt of an army under Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.] which defeated Suʿūd and razed al-Dirʿiyya to the ground in 1233-4/1818-19. This provided an opportunity for the Banū Khālid to regain control in al-Ḥasā, and two brothers from the ʿUrayʿir family, Māḡḡīd and Muḡammad, briefly managed to seize al-Hufhūf and Ḳaṭīf before Ibrāhīm's commander Muḡammad Kāṣhīf appeared there. Māḡḡīd, however, remained ruler of al-Ḥasā until 1245/1830, when he was killed in battle at ʿAḡlā with the resurgent Āl Suʿūd. Al-Ḥasā again passed under Suʿūdī control, despite the temporary re-imposition of Turco-Egyptian control over Naḡḡīd in 1838, until internal conflict within the Āl Suʿūd in 1872 allowed the Ottomans to re-establish their power in al-Ḥasā, with their headquarters in al-Hufhūf. In the following year, the Turkish troops withdrew, and the Porte appointed as local governor or *mutaṣarrīf* a member of their old supporters, the Banū Khālid, sc. Bāzīʿ b. ʿUrayʿir. His position nevertheless proved unstable, and when the Suʿūdī ʿAbd al-Raḡmān b. Fayṣal attacked him, and besieged him in the citadel of al-Hufhūf, al-Kūt, Turkish forces had to return and drive off the Suʿūdīs.

In 1912 the whole region of al-Ḥasā came into the hands of the founder of modern Saudi Arabia, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz II. This ruler followed a policy of linking the Banū Khālid to his own dynasty by marriage alliances; hence there are many Saudi princes today who have the blood of the Banū Khālid in their veins.

*Bibliography:* H. St. J. B. Philby, *Saʿūdī Arabia*, London 1954; Munīr al-ʿAḡḡlānī, *Taʿrīkh al-bilād al-ʿarabiyya al-suʿūdīyya*, Beirut N.D.; idem, *Aḡd Suʿūd al-kabīr*, Beirut N.D.; Sumūw al-Amīr Suʿūd b. ʿAdlūl, *Taʿrīkh mulūk al-Suʿūd*, Riyadh 1961; Ibn Bīṣḡr, *ʿUnwān al-maḡḡīd fī taʿrīkh Naḡḡīd*, Beirut 1964; R. B. Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965; Aḡmad Abū Ḥākīma, *History of eastern Arabia 1750-1800*, Beirut 1965; Muḡammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuḡayl, *Kanz al-ansāb wa-maḡḡīmaʿ al-ʿādāb*, Riyadh 1972. (R. DI MEGLIO)

**KHĀLID B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḲASRĪ**, governor for the Umayyads, first of Mecca and later, during almost the entire caliphate of Ḥīṣḡām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [q.v.], of ʿIrāk. There his position may be compared with that of Ziyād under Muʿāwiya and al-Ḥaḡḡīdī under ʿAbd al-Malik. Information about Khālid in the sources often seems to be the product of polemic between different political, religious, ethnic and tribal groups, and it should, therefore, be used cautiously.

His clan, the Ḳasr, was a branch of Banū Baḡḡīla [q.v.]. While his grandfather and great-grandfather are counted as Companions of the Prophet (Ibn Ḥaḡḡīar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1854-73, i, 59, iii, 1341), and the latter is known as a hero of the Baḡḡīla, an earlier ancestor is said to have been a Jewish slave, and Khālid himself is often called Ibn al-Naṣrāniyya on

account of his Christian mother. Some scandalous details about Khālīd's ancestry seem to reflect anti-Arab Shuʿūbī sentiment (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* i, 205 = Eng. tr. i, 188). In a tradition which Goldziher (*ibid.*, ii, 45-6 = Eng. tr. ii, 53-4) classified as a pro-Umayyad fabrication, and which may refer to the rivalry between Khālīd and his successor as governor of ʿIrāq, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī [q.v.], the Prophet gave Khālīd's grandfather Asad precedence over a man of Thaḳīf and asked for special blessings on Asad's descendants. The report that Khālīd was not a descendant of Asad (Ibn ʿAsākir, Damascus 1332/1914, v, 68) may be a response to this *ḥadīth*. For these and other details of Khālīd's ancestry, see especially *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, xix, 52 ff.

The dates of Khālīd's governorship at Mecca are uncertain. Ṭabarī's two reports, one *sub anno* 89/707-8, the other *sub anno* 91/709-10, both attribute Khālīd's appointment to the caliph al-Walīd. Some sources, however, refer to Khālīd as governor at Mecca under ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 86/705), among them a detailed report in pseudo-Ibn Kutayba of the arrest by Khālīd, after his arrival as governor in Mecca, of the pious Saʿīd b. al-Djūbayr [q.v.], a refugee from ʿIrāq after the suppression by al-Ḥadīdjādī of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath (K. *al-Imāma wa ʿl-siyāsa*, Cairo 1969, ii, 51 ff.). The suggestion of F. Gabrieli (*Il califfato di Hishām*, Alexandria, 1935, 8, n. 2) that the story of the arrest of Saʿīd b. al-Djūbayr has been moved forward by pseudo-Ibn Kutayba in order to make it follow the account of Ibn al-Ashʿath's defeat in 84/703 or 85/704, and that other reports which have Khālīd as governor of Mecca under ʿAbd al-Malik all derive from the account of pseudo-Ibn Kutayba, seems to be contradicted by the reports of al-Azraqī, an earlier source, which refer to Khālīd as governing Mecca for ʿAbd al-Malik in circumstances which have nothing to do with Saʿīd (F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken ... Mekka*, Leipzig 1857-61, i, 265, 304-5). Wüstenfeld considered it possible that Khālīd governed Mecca on two separate occasions, once for ʿAbd al-Malik and once for al-Walīd (*ibid.*, iv, 148). While the end of Khālīd's governorship at Mecca is usually associated with the accession of the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (96/715) and his removal of those officials whom he considered had been too close to al-Ḥadīdjādī (J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 165 ff., Eng. tr. 265 ff.), al-Azraqī has two traditions which refer to Khālīd governing Mecca for Sulaymān and which seem inconsistent with the view that the removal of Khālīd from office was one of Sulaymān's first acts as caliph (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 339-40).

Apart from his involvement in the arrest of Saʿīd b. Djūbayr, the information about Khālīd's activities in Mecca concentrates on aspects of the cult. He is said to have decorated the Kaʿba with gold sent by al-Walīd (Azraqī, *Chron. Mekka*, i, 146; Yaʿkūbī, ii, 340), to have been the first to enforce the segregation of the men from the women in the *ḥawāf* (Azraqī, 265-6), and the first to arrange the lines of worshippers around the Kaʿba (*ibid.*, 304-5). But, on the other hand, he is said to have proclaimed his willingness to violate the *ḥaram* (Ṭabarī, ii, 1231) or to tear down the Kaʿba and remove it to Jerusalem (*Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, xix, 90; pseudo-Ibn Kutayba, ii, 51-2), should the caliph desire it, and it is Khālīd who is charged with the construction, on the orders of al-Walīd (Ṭabarī, ii, 1199-1200; *Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, xix, 60) or Sulaymān (Azraqī, 339-40), of a fountain which was intended to supplant Zamzam.

Between his removal from the governorship of Mecca and his appointment to that of ʿIrāq, Khālīd is mentioned only as one of the two men sent by the caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik to take *amān* to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [q.v.] in a futile attempt to forestall his revolt (Ṭabarī, ii, 1382, 1387-8). His appointment as governor of ʿIrāq is dated to the beginning of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, but there is some doubt whether it was in 105/723-4 or 106/724-5 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1471; but cf. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-ḫwāl*, Leiden 1888, 336, where it is said that it was Yazīd II who appointed Khālīd).

It seems likely that Khālīd was appointed to ʿIrāq in the hope that, since B. Badjila was not powerful and belonged neither to Muḍar nor Yemen, he would be able to remain aloof from the inter-tribal feuds which had become more intense as a result of the rebellion of the Yemenī Ibn al-Muhallab and the pro-Muḍar policy of Khālīd's predecessor, ʿUmar b. Hubayra. Nevertheless, his appointment seems to have aroused the hostility of the Muḍar, and this may have been a factor in causing his removal from office and downfall, an event which the sources attribute to the jealousy of the caliph at the increase of Khālīd's wealth as a result of his agricultural works. In relation to the length of his governorship in ʿIrāq, information about his administration is sparse. Towards the end of his period of office he suppressed a number of "heretical" movements, among them the revolt of the Khāridjī Bahlūl b. Bishr al-Shaybānī (Ṭabarī, ii, 1622-7), the rising of the Shiʿī *wuṣafāʾ* in Kūfa under al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd (*ibid.*, ii, 1619-21), and that of Wazīr al-Sikhtiyānī in al-Hīra (*ibid.*, ii, 1628-9), all of which are dated to 119/737. Khālīd is also mentioned in some sources in connection with the execution of Djaʿd b. Dirham [q.v.] (al-Dārimī, K. *al-Radd ʿalā ʿl-Djahmiyya*, Lund-Leiden 1960, 4). From time to time, Khurāsān and the eastern provinces were placed under his control, and at such times Khālīd relied on his brother Asad as his governor in Khurāsān. (For Asad's activities there, see Gabrieli, *Hishām*, 38-63, with further references). At other times, the caliph appointed the governor of Khurāsān himself. In Baṣra Khālīd's representative was Bilāl b. Abī Burda (see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, index). Khālīd seems to have minted *dirhams* of a high quality (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 469) and to have prevented the minting of coins outside Wasīṭ (J. Walker, *Catalogue* . . ., London 1956, p. lxiii).

In spite of his suppression of the "heretical" movements, there exist a number of traditions referring to Khālīd's governorship in ʿIrāq which, from a later point of view, would seem to illustrate his indifference to Muslim sensibilities. He built a church for his mother immediately behind the mosque of Kūfa (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 286); he justified his decision to have a fountain which he had installed in the mosque of Kūfa blessed by a Christian priest by the statement that his prayer was more likely to be heard than that of Abū Turāb (Gabrieli, *Hishām*, 16 n. 3, citing Šibṭ b. al-Djawzī); more explicitly, he declared that "their religion (sc. Christianity) is better than ours" (*ibid.*); he was scornful of those who memorised (*ḥafīza*) the *Qurʾān* (*Aghānī*<sup>1</sup>, xix, 63); he favoured Zoroastrians and Christians in the distribution of offices and in disputes with Muslims; and according to the *Fihrist* (338 = tr. Dodge, 804) he was a Zindīk.

Khālīd's fall from office in 120/738 was followed by a period of about 18 months during which he was held in prison in Kūfa, next by a period of residence first in Ruṣāfa, where the caliph Hishām had established his court, and then at Damascus, and finally,

after the death of Hishām and the succession to the caliphate of al-Walid b. Yazid, by his deliverance on the orders of the new caliph once again into the hands of his successor as governor of ʿIrāk, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī, under whose torture he died (126/743-4; Ṭabari, ii, 1641-59, 1778-83, 1812-25).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(G. R. HAWTING)

**KHĀLID B. BARMĀK.** [see AL-BARĀMIKA].

**KHĀLID B. ṢAFWĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿAMR B. AL-AHTAM** (whence the name IBN AL-AHTAM sometimes given to him) AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-MINḲARĪ, ABŪ ṢAFWĀN, of Baṣra (d. 135/752), the companion of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī and probably also of Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāh, was a transmitter of historical traditions, poetry and memorable orations, but was especially famed for his eloquence, since he fulfilled a rôle parallel to that of the poets, in that he was able to improvise a homily or description with abundant usage of rhymed prose and that his sayings enjoyed as wide a circulation as famous verses, but with the difference that no-one ever fraudulently attributed to him a single word (al-Djāhīz, *Bayān*, i, 317-18).

He belonged moreover to a family, the Banū Minḳar, which had in it a considerable number of celebrated orators (enumerated in *Bayān*, i, 355), especially Shabīb b. Shayba, who is often mentioned at the same time as him. His fame became such that two monographs were devoted to him, one by al-Madāʾīnī (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 151: *Kitāb Khālid b. Ṣafwān*), and the other by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yahyā al-Djulūdī (*Fihrist*, 168: *Kitāb Akhbār Khālid b. Ṣafwān*). Although he claimed to have undertaken never to find himself alone with a sovereign without reminding him of God, at times he gave pieces of advice of another kind, above all to al-Saffāh, in front of whom he defended eloquently his homeland, but was also quite happy to describe women whom the caliph might choose as concubines; as a result of this, he stirred up opposition from Umm Salama and had subsequently to retract (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūjī*, §§ 2327-30; Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʿ, *al-Hafawāt al-nādīra*, ed. S. al-Aṣṭar, Damascus 1387/1967, 101-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *K. al-Aḍḥkiyāʾ*, Beirut n.d., 116-18). His eloquence often consisted of plays upon words, alliterations and witty responses, and some of his aphorisms have a general validity. Yet he had not only favourable qualities; on the one hand, he was accused of committing linguistic solecisms and of not always reflecting over what he was saying, and on the other, he was accused of being a miser (see al-Djāhīz, *Bukḥalāʾ*, index). Towards the end of his life he lost his sight (al-Ṣafadī, *ʿUmyān*, 148-9).

*Bibliography*: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara-Caskel*, Tab. 76, ii, 343; Djāhīz, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, indices; Ibn Kutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akḥbār*, index; *idem*, *Maʿārif*, index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashq*, v, 53-63; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 82; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīhī, *ʿIḥā*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Yāqūt, *Uḍabāʾ*, xi, 24-35; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 351-2; Brockelmann, S I, 105 (not to be confused with al-Ḳannās, S I, 93). (CH. PELLAT)

**KHĀLID B. SAʿĪD B. AL-ʿĀṢ B. UWAYYA B. ʿABD AL-ṢHĀMS B. ʿABD MANĀF B. KUṢAYY B. KILĀB B. MURRA B. KAʿB B. LUʿAYY**, d. 13/635, was, according to several traditionists, if not the fourth Companion of the Prophet, at least one of the second group of three. Ibn Ishāq, however, places his conversion to Islam at a much later date

and thus excludes him from the privileged group of the eight Predecessors (*sābīkūn*, *mutakaddimūn*).

As a rich member of the Umayyad clan, he is said to have presented to Muḥammad the slaves inherited from his father; he had some education, and was possibly Muḥammad's third secretary, after ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. He fulfilled this latter rôle, and was also responsible for protocol at the time of the reception of the important tribe of Thaḳif and their allies in the year 9.

Previous to this, when one of the emigrants in Ethiopia, he had been able to strengthen his ties of friendship with the Prophet by helping to arrange the latter's marriage with a woman from his own clan, Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, after the death of her husband, with whom she herself had emigrated. Khālid b. Saʿīd had the responsibility of arranging the match (as *walī* or *wakīl*), placed upon him by his companions, although one tradition gives this task to ʿUthmān.

His political career began in the year 10. When Muḥammad sent back to his tribe in Yemen Farwa b. Musayk, who had just come to profess his adhesion to Islam, he appointed Khālid to accompany him and to collect the *ṣadaqa*. At the beginning of the year 11, and just before his death, Muḥammad appointed seven governors for Yemen and ʿUmān, including Khālid for the territory between Naḍjrān, Rimaʿ and Zabīd. At the time of al-Aswad's revolt, the governors came together around al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Ḥāla, who was in charge of the Tihāma of Yemen, but Khālid b. Saʿīd and ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, governor of Naḍjrān, left their posts and returned to Medina a month after the Prophet's death, i.e. in Rabiʿ II 11/July 632.

At the beginning of the year 13, Abū Bakr was getting ready the expedition for Syria, and according to a *ḥadīth* of ʿUmar b. Ṣhabba (al-Ṭabari, i, 2079) gave Khālid b. Saʿīd command of the first army, but then revoked this act before the army set out. Al-Ṭabari considers the affair to have been of such importance that he takes up Khālid's career since Rabiʿ II 11 and lists his faults, which comprised abandoning his post and daring to present himself in Medina dressed in silks, deriding ʿAlī and ʿUthmān for having let the power slip from the control of the descendants of ʿAbd Manāf, and refusing to recognise Abū Bakr for two months. In the end, Abū Bakr appointed Khālid to defend Taymāʾ until the armies from the south arrived. At first, he carried out his task successfully; many of the local tribes joined him, and he pushed back the Byzantines. However, rushing to cover himself with glory before the other generals arrived, he pursued northwards a Byzantine general who, after simulating a retreat, defeated him. Khālid fled on horseback, leaving ʿIkrima and Shurahbīl the task of bringing back his scattered and demoralised forces.

Back in Medina, ʿUmar again brought up the matter of Khālid before Abū Bakr, together with that of Khālid b. al-Walid, whom he hated even more. Abū Bakr steadfastly refused to dismiss the latter, but this time he allowed ʿUmar to dismiss Khālid b. Saʿīd, to whom he sent a very harshly-worded message. When he reached Medina and sought Abū Bakr's pardon, the latter repulsed Khālid and regretted not having listened to ʿUmar and ʿAlī. According to another tradition, Abū Bakr even forbade him to enter Medina. It was ʿUmar, after he had become caliph, who pardoned Khālid, on condition that he redeemed himself. He was then placed under the order of Shurahbīl, and died during the Syrian campaign of this same year, 13/635. The attention

once again accorded to him by al-Ṭabarī, who cites four *ḥadīths* mentioning his death, shows the interest which Khālīd b. Sa'īd seems to have raised; it is probable that his attitude, together with reminiscences of his friendship with Muḥammad, posed a problem of conscience for Abū Bakr.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, al-Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Ḥaǧīar, *Iṣāba*; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*.  
(H. LOUCEL)

**KHĀLID B. SINĀN B. 'AYTH AL-'ABSĪ** (see his genealogy in Ibn al-Kalbī *Djamhara*, Tab. 133), one of the personages of the interval [see FATRA] between Christ and Muḥammad who, in Islamic tradition, was considered as a prophet; he was even regarded as the first prophet to arise amongst the descendants of Ismā'īl. He is said to have foretold the coming of Muḥammad, and the latter is said to have greeted Khālīd's daughter, who had come to him, with these words "Here is the daughter of a prophet whom his people has lost"; popular belief even went as far as to attribute to him knowledge of Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (*Thimār al-ḥulūb*, 456). He is mentioned in connection with the fire called *nār al-Ḥarratayn* (al-Djāhīz, *Hayawān*, iv, 476; cf. al-Kalkaṣhandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i 409-10), into which he threw himself and which he extinguished in order to demonstrate the ridiculousness of the cult of fire which had spread amongst the Arabs (*Thimār*, 456), and in connection with the 'anḳā' [q.v.], whose race God destroyed as the result of a prayer of his (R. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, iii, 203-4). There is already found in al-Djāhīz (*Hayawān*, iv, 477) a tradition according to which Khālīd is said to have instructed his people to disinter him after death so that he could reveal the secrets of the hereafter; this is often repeated later (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 62, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūǧī*, iv, 21-2 = §§ 1349-50; al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 61/137; etc.).

These legends, together with the prophethood of Khālīd, are rejected by al-Djāhīz (*Hayawān*, iv, 478) in the name of the *mutakallimūn* who say that Khālīd was a Bedouin, but God never raised up a prophet from amongst the Bedouin, hence Khālīd could not have been a prophet (a syllogism taken up, in particular in *Thimār*, 456).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the references given in the text, see Djāhīz, *Tarbi'*, index; Damīrī, *Hayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.vv. 'anḳā' and *si'lāt*; Mas'ūdī, *Murūǧī*, index; Ibn Ḥaǧīar, *Iṣāba*, No. 2355; Maḳḍīsī, *Création*, iii, 7, 130, 178-9.

(CH. PELLAT)

**KHĀLID B. AL-WALID B. AL-MUGHĪRA AL-MAḤZŪMĪ**, Arab commander at the time of the early conquests. Muslim tradition gives his career as follows. He fought against Muḥammad at Uḥud, but was converted in 6/627 or 8/629 and participated in the expedition to Mu'ta and the conquest of Mecca, both in 8 A.H. The Prophet charged him with the destruction of the idol of al-'Uzzā at Naḳhla and later sent him to the B. *Djadhīma*, whom he wrongfully attacked. In 9/630 the Prophet sent him from Tabūk to Dūmat al-Djandal [q.v.] where he captured the ruler al-Ukaydir and sent him to Medina. In 10/631 he was sent to invite the B. al-Hārith of Yemen to Islam. On the outbreak of the *riḍḍa* or "apostasy" after the Prophet's death in 11/632, Abū Bakr sent him against the rebels, on which occasion he committed another two misdeeds, first by killing Muslims (through a misunderstanding) and next by marrying the widow of one of the victims. Abū Bakr, however, forgave him and he commanded the Muslims against Musaylima in

the Yamāma. In 12/633 he was sent either directly from the Yamāma or via Medina to 'Irāk where he conquered al-Ḥīra [q.v.], Dūmat al-Djandal and other places before crossing the desert to Syria to assist the armies there. He stayed in Syria, though his troops returned to 'Irāk (Ṭabarī, i, 2145). On Abū Bakr's death in 13/634, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb immediately dismissed him from the high command, but he fought in Northern Syria under Abū 'Ubayda and conducted a number of campaigns on the Byzantine border before his death in Ḥimṣ (or Medina) in 21/642. His son 'Abd al-Raḥmān was governor of Ḥimṣ and the *Djazīra* for Mu'āwiya, who is said to have had him killed because he feared his prestige. Khālīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd, who avenged his father, is found as a commander in 48/668-9, but otherwise nothing significant is heard of the family.

There are two points of major interest in Khālīd's career. Firstly, Muslim tradition is extraordinarily eager to discredit him. He is known as *Sayf Allāh*, an epithet he earned in battle against the Romans at Mu'ta (Ṭabarī, i, 1617, differently in 1531), but he is condemned rather than celebrated as such, doubtless because the title belongs in the same context as that which designated the armies of Syria as *djund Allāh*, sent to take revenge from the Romans for their oppression of the Jews (Ṭabarī, i, 2409), or which knew 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as the redeemer (*fārūk*, see *ibid.*). Later tradition might have reduced Khālīd to *Sayf Rasūl Allāh* (cf. *Khalīfat Allāh*), but instead reduced his contribution, partly by depicting him as selfwilled, as exemplified in his misdeeds, and partly by having 'Umar dismiss him, though, as De Goeje has pointed out, 'Umar must on the contrary have appointed him to the high command in the first place.

Secondly, Muslim tradition has Khālīd initiate the conquests in 'Irāk, a point contradicted by non-Muslim sources. Sebeos (ca. 661 A.D.) has the Arabs divide their armies after their first successes in Syria and send one division to 'Irāk (the returning armies of Muslim tradition), and the *Khūzistānī* chronicle (ca. 680 A.D.) only knows Khālīd as the conqueror of Syria. In fact, Ṭabarī, i, 2018, has Abū Bakr instruct Khālīd to go to Syria. The doctrinal significance of this shift is that it suppresses Syria's status as the promised land for Jews and Arabs alike (for a similar shift, compare Syria in Sebeos, 95-6, with 'Irāk in Ṭabarī, i, 2254, 2285, 2289). The manner in which the shift was effected is clear when we consider the appearance of the Prophet at the head of the first invasions of Syria in non-Muslim sources (*Doctrina Iacobi*, (ca. 634 A.D.), 86-7; *Cont. Byz. Arab.* in *MGH*, xi, 337), which Muslim tradition has reduced to the pointless expedition to Tabūk. It was from Tabūk that the Prophet sent Khālīd to Dūmat al-Djandal, the city which he is supposed to have conquered again on his later campaign in 'Irāk, though this was an unlikely détour from al-Ḥīra. On initiating the conquest of Syria, the Prophet must therefore have sent Khālīd to Dūmat al-Djandal, which was vital for the control of Syria, and it was from here that Khālīd crossed to join the armies in Syria, a more plausible, if less romantic desert crossing than that preserved in Muslim tradition.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Hishām, *passim*; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāsi*, ed. M. Jones, Oxford 1966, index; *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. N. Bonwetsch in *Abh. G. W. Gott.* n.s. xii (1920); Sebeos, *Histoire d'Heraclius*, tr. F. Macler, Paris 1904, 98;

Nöldeke (tr.) *Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik*, in *SBAAk Wien*, cxxviii (1893), 33, 45; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de Syrie*, Leiden 1900, 10-17, 37-50, 64-70; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 37-68; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/2, 917-97 (§§ 155-236), iv, 652-67 (§§ 317-32); H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omayyade M'āwiya I*, Paris 1908, 3-14 (on 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid); on the Prophet and the conquests, see P. Crone and M. A. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge 1977. (P. CRONE)

**KHĀLID B. YAZĪD AL-KĀTIB AL-TAMĪMĪ**, ABU 'L-HAYTHAM, a Baghdādī of Khurāsānian origin who was secretary for the army in the vizierate of al-Faḍl b. Marwān (218-21/833-6) [q.v.], retaining his office under the ministry of Ibn al-Zayyāt [q.v.], until his mind gave way, in circumstances which remain obscure (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xi, 48). He then wandered, almost naked, through the streets of Baghdād, pursued and stoned by a mob of urchins (*Aghānī*, xx, 244; al-Ṣābi, *Wuzarā'*, 162-3). He died ca. 269/883.

Khālid was the boon-companion of 'Alī b. Hishām and then of al-Faḍl b. Marwān. He had the entrée to al-Mu'taṣim's company, was close to the poet 'Alī b. al-Djahm [q.v.], and collaborated with the famous player on the *tunbūr*, Aḥmad b. Ṣadaqa (*Aghānī*, xxii, 216-17, 517-18). But it is his verses which have saved him from obscurity. He described himself as a poet "who tells of the sorrows of his soul, and is not concerned with panegyric or satire" (al-Shābushṭī, *Diyārāt*, 16-17; *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, viii, 313). In practice, he was the author of short pieces of up to four verses only. When he went so far as to compose long poems in honour of al-Mu'taṣim's victories (the ms. of his *Diwān* contains five eulogies), Di'bil [q.v.] criticised him for tackling something beyond his poetic powers. Khālid's real talent lay in the elegy, in which he describes the lover's torments and the cruelty of his solitude; the memory of the beloved haunts him, and the fatalness of passion tortures him. His verses are addressed to women and also to epebes, to whom he devoted numerous poems. He also wrote some moving pieces during the period when his reason was tottering. He complained at that time of the loss of his poems: "He said despairingly that people had not learnt them off by heart, and he himself had forgotten them" (*Aghānī*, xx, 244).

The term most often used by anthologists when speaking of his poetry is *rikha*. We have here a delicate poetic art which expresses, in an elegant language, the various states of a sensitive and sincere mind. The importance of the sound pattern within his verses should also be noted; he often employs twice or three times in a verse the same root, and this mannerism gives shape to a subtle sense of playing with semantic substitutions.

*Bibliography*: Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 234-49 and *passim*; Shābushṭī, *Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1966, 15-21, with references to the ms. of the *Diwān*; Kutubi, *Fawā'id*, Cairo 1951, i, 296-7, no. 119; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1954, v, 33-4; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, Cairo 1956, 405-6; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, viii, 308-14; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Beirut 1968-72, ii, 232-7, no. 215; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xi, 47-52; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1953, index; see also J. E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1971, i, 171 ff.

(J. E. BENCHEIKH)

**KHĀLID B. YAZĪD B. MU'ĀWIYA**, ABU HĀSHĪM, was one of the sons of the caliph Yazid I

and Fākhita bint Abī Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a. The year of his birth is not recorded, but he was probably born ca. 48/668. When his brother Mu'āwiya II died in 64/683 without having designated his successor, a struggle broke out. Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal [q.v.] favoured Khālid, who was however not elected because he was too young. In his place the elderly Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [q.v.] was chosen, on the condition that he would be succeeded first by Khālid b. Yazid and then by 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ al-Ashdaq [q.v.]. Marwān furthermore pledged himself to marry Fākhita; in doing so he won over Khālid's followers.

After his return from Egypt, however, Marwān secured the succession for his son 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.], probably because he considered Khālid politically of no importance. When Khālid reminded him of his promise, Marwān insulted him publicly. In revenge the caliph was killed by Fākhita, as the somewhat legendary story has it (in reality Marwān's death in 65/685 may have been brought about otherwise).

'Abd al-Malik then became caliph without Khālid being mentioned again. Nor did the latter lay claim to his rights. Relations between them even became friendly. Khālid married 'Abd al-Malik's daughter 'Ā'isha (Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, xi, ed. Ahlwardt, 153, ll. 12 ff.), acted as his councillor and joined him in the summer of 71-72/691 in the Ḳarkisiyā' [q.v.] campaign against Zufar b. al-Ḥarith al-Kilābī. For the rest, Khālid seems to have confined his activities to governing his emirate of Ḥimṣ.

Besides 'Ā'isha bint 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, Khālid married Umm Kulthūm bint 'Abd Allāh b. Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, Āmina bint Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya and Ramla bint al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. Romantic stories are current concerning his love for this last. Khālid probably died in 85/704, during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik; other sources have 90/709.

In the *Ridjāl* [q.v.] literature Khālid is counted among the Ḥadīth scholars, but his rôle as a traditionalist was in fact of no importance. Also, as a poet he was no more than an amateur.

Later legend has made Khālid into an alchemist. He is said to have ordered Egyptian scholars to translate Greek and Coptic works on alchemy, medicine and astronomy into Arabic, and to have learned alchemy from a Byzantine monk by the name of Maryānos (the name Stephanos is also mentioned). All this is however not historical. These legends can be traced back to an anecdote according to which Khālid was sneered at because he had been robbed of the caliphate and henceforward was wasting his time by trying to get at something impossible (*ṭalab mā lā yuḳḍaru 'alayhi*, Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, ivb, 71, ll. 5). This wording was later interpreted as meaning alchemy (*ya'nī 'l-kīmiyā'*). When this interpretation had become part of the anecdote (see, e.g., *Aghānī*, xvi, 90, ll. 7 = <sup>3</sup>xvii, 345, ll. 12), Khālid's name became attached to important alchemical works, like the *K. Firdaws al-ḥikma*, a large *diwān* of alchemical didactic poems, and several other treatises such as the Maryānus-legend, his last will to his son etc. In the Latin Middle Ages works attributed to *Calid filius Jazidi* were in circulation.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Sa'īd, v, 28 ff., 168 f., 212; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 128; Dījāhīz, *Bayān* (ed. Hārūn), i, 328; Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, ivb, 65-71, 137; v, 128-35, 145, 150, 157 ff.; xi (ed. Ahlwardt), 153, 224 ff.; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār* (ed. Guirgass), 272, 294, 328; Ya'qūbī,

ii, 301-7; Mubarrad, *Kāmil* (ed. Wright), 196 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 469-77, 577, 804; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIkd* (ed. Amin), Index; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 307 f.; *Murūdj*, viii, 176; *Aghāni* <sup>1</sup>xvi, 87-92 = <sup>2</sup>xvii, 340-50; *Fihrist*, 242, 244, 354; Birūnī, *Āthār*, 302; Ibn 'Asākir (ed. 'Abd al-Kādir Badrān), v, 116-20; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 165 ff.; *Dhahabī*, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 364, 366, 368; iii, 246 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddīma*, iii, 193, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 229 f.; J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten I. Chālid ibn Jaṣīd ibn Mu'āwija*, Heidelberg 1924; H. E. Stapleton, in *Isis*, xxvi (1936), 128-31; Sezgin, iv, 120-6; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (HO, Erg. bd. VI/2), Leiden 1972, 192-5; idem, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, Teil I, Wiesbaden 1974, Index. (M. ULLMANN)

**KHÄLID DİYÄ'**, UŞHĀKĪ-ZĀDE, originally MEH-MED KHÄLID, DİYÄ' AL-DĪN (Mod. Tkish. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil), 1868-1945, Turkish novelist and short story writer, the greatest representative of prose in the *Therwet-i fūnūn* (*Edebiyyāt-i Ājedide*) literary school of the late 19th century. His family originated from Uşhāk in western Anatolia where they were known as Helwādī-Zāde. Apart from sweetmeat (*helwā*) trading, they also owned the leading carpet business of the area, winning an international reputation under the management of Khālid's grandfather Hādīdjī 'Alī Efendi, who eventually moved his carpet business to İzmir where the family came to be known as Uşhākī-Zāde. Hādīdjī 'Alī sent his eldest son Khālil to Istanbul to start a branch of the firm. Khālid Diyā' was born there in Eyyüb in 1868 (1284 Rumi year), as the youngest of the three children of Hādīdjī Khālil Efendi and his wife Behiyye Khānlm (H. Z. Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 1 vol. edn., İstanbul 1969, 9-11). Khālil Efendi was a devout man with a keen interest in Şūfism and a knowledge of Arabic and Persian who read, in his spare time, the *Diwān* of Hāfiz and Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. The family soon moved to a *konak* near the Süleymaniye district. Khālid attended various local schools and avidly read at home all the folk stories and other popular tales he could get, and also attended frequently performances at the then famous Gedik Paşa Theatre, thus developing a passion for the theatre (*ibid.*, 32-6). Hādīdjī Khālil lost his fortune during the turbulent period preceding and following the war with Russia (1877), and moved with his family to İzmir to live on the property of his father, whose business had continued to flourish. At the age of ten, Khālid discovered the great popular novelist Aḥmed Midḥat [q.v.]. This enthusiasm was soon shared by Hādīdjī 'Alī Efendi, who asked his grandson to read this author's famous novels and the books of other writers then in vogue, in the evenings, in the presence of his important visitors. With the help of his grandfather, Khālid quickly built up a library of his own. He first attended the local secondary school (*rüşdiyye*), but soon transferred to a French-language school run by the Mekhitarists, where he was the only Turkish pupil. In the meantime, he had become acquainted with the works of modernist writers like Nāmlk Kemāl and 'Abd al-Ḥakḥ Hāmid. Some of the teachers in his new school who discovered his talent, guided him in his readings in French literature, in which he read avidly.

Science was his great hobby and he made many translations from popular scientific books, some of which are among his earliest publications. They appeared in the official provincial paper *Aydin* and in the Istanbul periodical *Khasine-i evrak* for March 1883.

Also at this time, he sent his first original writings to the same periodical. He experimented with a poem *'Ashkīmin mezāri* ("The Grave of my Love") which he sent to the Istanbul daily *Terdjūmān-i haḳīkat*. It was published, with ironical remarks of Mu'allim Nādjī [q.v.], who was later to become the main opponent of the new school. Leaving school at seventeen, he began to work as a clerk in his father's business, took lessons in English and dancing and enjoyed the cosmopolitan life of İzmir society. In 1884 he founded, with his poet friend (later a Young Turk) Tewfik Newzād (1865-1906), the short-lived review *Newruz* where he serialised the translations of Georges Ohnet's *Le Maître de forges* as *Demir-khāne müdürü*. He made a short abortive trip to Istanbul to try his chance at entering a diplomatic career, but he did, however, meet there important personalities of the literary and publishing world and secured the publication of his *Gharbdan sharḥa seyyāle-i edebiyye* ("Literary current from the West to the East"). Back in İzmir, he was appointed teacher of French at the *Rüşdiyye* and an accountant at the Ottoman Bank, where he was the only Turkish employee. Later, he also taught at the local lycée (*i'dādi*). In 1886 he founded, again with Tewfik Newzād, the newspaper *Khidmet* where he published his *Menthür shi'irler* ("Poems in Prose") (published in book form in 1889) and began to serialise his first novel *Sefile* ("The wretched woman"), which was stopped by the censor. Some of his short stories and his second novel *Nemide* were also serialised in *Khidmet*. The loss of his mother in 1886 inspired his poems in prose *Mezārdan sesler* ("Voices from the grave"), followed by his third novel *Bir ölünnün defteri* ("The diary of a dead man"), also serialised in *Khidmet*. In the meantime, Khālid Diyā' married Memnūne Khānlm, the daughter of a tax director (and a niece of Köse Rā'if Paşa, 1836-1911).

He accompanied an uncle on his European trip, as far as the Paris exhibition of 1889; he was particularly impressed by Paris, which he knew so well from Balzac's novels. The years 1889-93 were full of bitter experiences for Khālid Diyā': several losses in the family, including his four month's old daughter and his grandfather, and the arrest and banishment of one of his uncles for being involved in a secret society. In the middle of this turmoil, he finished his fourth novel *Ferdī ve şurekâst* ("Ferdī and co."), serialised in *Khidmet* (published in book form in 1312/1896). At the same time, he translated specimens from world literature (including Sanskrit and Hebrew) which were later published in four volumes (*Nāḳil*, 1308/1892).

About this time, he met Redjā'ī-Zāde Ekrem, who was passing through İzmir, and who invited him to come to Istanbul to join the group of young writers there. After resigning from the Ottoman Bank, and a brief period as acting director of the Foreign Affairs (*Meşāliḥ-i edinebiyye*) Department at the Vilāyet, he received an offer to become First Secretary to the Director of the *Reji* (Régie, administration of the tobacco monopoly) in Istanbul, which he eagerly accepted. This was a turning point in his literary career. He arrived in Istanbul on 31 August 1893 (amid the anniversary celebrations of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II's enthronement) and immediately began to visit the celebrities of the literary and publishing world like Redjā'ī-Zāde Ekrem, Aḥmed Midḥat, Mu'allim Nādjī, Abu 'l-Diyā' (Ebüzziya [q.v.] Tewfik, 'Alī Ekrem and Aḥmed İhsān. Within a very short time, he had met all the leading writers of the new group: Mehmed Ra'uf, Hüseyin Dījahid

[*q.v.*], Djenâb Shihâb üd-Dîn, and free-lance writers like Rizâ Tewfîk (Bölükbaşlı), Ahmed Râsım [*q.v.*] and Hüseyn Rahmî [*q.v.*]. Some time later, he met the poet who was to be his great partner in the new movement, Tewfîk Fikret [*q.v.*]. His office, comparatively safe from Hamidian control, since the *Reji* was a foreign establishment, became gradually a kind of a literary club where long and excited discussions were held at a period when a meeting of more than three people was forbidden. Khâlid Diyâ' began to write short stories for Ahmed İhsân's *Therwet-i fûnûn* [*q.v.*] (originally a popular science magazine founded in 1891 as the weekly supplement of *Therwet*) and for the dailies *İkdam* and *Şabâh*. In 1894, he also began to contribute to the literary fortnightly *Mekteb* (originally a children's magazine, founded in 1891), where several members of the new group published their works. An article he published in *Mekteb* on Sanskrit literature, where he discussed Indian philosophy and pantheism, was denounced to the Palace by an informer's *jurnal* which claimed that the author was trying "to spread the doctrine of the materialists (*Mâddiyyûn*) in the country". Although the article had passed the censorship, Khâlid Diyâ' was summoned to the residence of the Minister of Public Security (*Dabîyye nâzirî*). *Mekteb* ceased to appear, and most of the young writers moved over to *Therwet-i fûnûn* which seemed safer, thanks to a friend and a protector of Ahmed İhsân's in the Palace. On Redjâ'î-Zâde's invitation, Khâlid Diyâ' joined it under Tewfîk Fikret's editorship (1896). For five years *Therwet-i fûnûn* became the most representative organ of the new, western-oriented literary school of *Edebiyyât-ı djedide* or *Therwet-i fûnûn edebiyâtî*. It was in the *Therwet-i fûnûn* that Khâlid Diyâ' serialised his famous novel *Mâ'î ve siyâh* (Nos. 273-317) and his masterpiece '*Aşk-ı memnû'* (Nos. 413-79), and many of his short stories and articles appeared there. But all this suddenly came to an end: a *jurnal* sent to the Palace (probably by Baba Fâhir, editor of the rival conservative periodical, *Ma'lûmât*) informed the Hamidian censors that in issue No. 553 of the *Therwet-i fûnûn*, published in October 1901, the forbidden words "French Revolution" appeared, in an article translated from the French by Hüseyn Dîâhid (for details and the text of the article, see Hüseyn Cahit Yalçın, *Edebi hatıralar*, İstanbul 1935, 161-9). The journal was immediately suspended, and when it was allowed to reappear again, all literary writings were banned and it could only publish articles on popular science. Khâlid Diyâ' interrupted the serialisation of his novel *Kırık hayâtlar* ("Broken Lives"), which had already been mutilated by the censorship, and wrote nothing for more than six years until the Revolution of 1908, meanwhile living in his villa in Ayastafanos (present Yeşilköy). During the nine months' period between the restoration of the constitution in 23 July 1908 and the deposition of 'Abd al-Hamid II, following the mutiny of 13 April 1909, Khâlid Diyâ' wrote extensively in many of the dailies and periodicals which quickly mushroomed after the abolition of the censorship. He also serialised in the daily *Şabâh* his period novel *Nesl-i akhîr* ("The last generation" which he never published in book form; cf. Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikaye ve roman*, 176-80). Also during this period, he was appointed government representative at the *Reji* (virtually a sinecure) and Professor of Western Literature and Aesthetics in the University.

In the meantime, he had become a member of the

Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see  $\text{İTTİHÂD WE TERAKKÎ DİEM'İYETİ}$ ]. On the day of Mehemmed V's accession on April 27, 1909, he was appointed First Secretary to the new Sultan, and shortly afterwards he was also made a senator. When the CUP government fell from power in July 1912, the new Grand Vizier Ghâzi Ahmed Mukhtâr Paşa suggested to the Sultan that Khâlid Diyâ' should be replaced (Luţfi Sîmâvi, *Sultân Mehemmed Reshâd Khânın ve Khalefinin sarâyında gördüklerim*, İstanbul 1924, 82-5). He left the Palace on 30 July 1912 and returned to his writings and to his chair in the University. After the Unionists came back to power in January 1913, he was sent several times to Europe on various missions. At the end of the First World War, he was in Germany, but returned to İstanbul in 1919 and became later the chairman of the governing body of the *Reji*. Otherwise, he lived in seclusion in his country house, concentrating on the revision of his works for a final edition, carefully avoiding any involvement in politics. During the decade following the Nationalist victory in Anatolia (30 August 1922) and the proclamation of the Republic (29 October 1923), many leading personalities of the İstanbul literary world (with the exception of those who had openly disapproved of the Kemalist movement, e.g. Djenâb Shihâb üd-Dîn) found themselves elected to the Grand National Assembly. Khâlid Diyâ', however, was never considered as a candidate (Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, *Portreler*, İstanbul, n.d. [1960], 34), probably because of his earlier association with the Palace and the Unionist leaders.

When Mustafâ Kemâl (Atatürk) started his language reform movement in 1932, with the inauguration of the First Turkish Linguistic Congress in İstanbul, Khâlid Diyâ' joined the host of writers and scholars who declared their enthusiastic approval of the movement (*Birinci türk dili kurultayı, tezler ve müzakere zabıtları*, İstanbul 1933, 330-42; the single exception being Hüseyn Dîâhid (Yalçın), *ibid.*, 270-9).

Khâlid Diyâ's last years were troubled with family misfortunes, culminating in the suicide in 1937 of his young diplomat son Khalil Wedâd. His last two public appearances were his participation in 1942 in the 50th anniversary jubilee of his career as a writer and his chairmanship in Ankara of the committee for the "Best novel" prize (awarded to Khâlide Edîb's *Sinekli bakkal*). He died on 27 March 1945 in his country house at Yeşilköy near İstanbul. An extremely prolific author, Khâlid Diyâ' contributed to all branches of prose literature as journalist, essayist, publicist, popular science writer, playwright and translator. But his name is particularly associated with the short story and novel, of which he is the real founder in modern Turkish literature.

Novels and short stories in modern sense did exist before him. After 'Alî 'Azîz's [*q.v.*] *Mukhâyyalât* (1796), which is a transition between the old and the new type of story-writing, and several translations (mainly from the French) in the 1850's and 1860's, the tendency to modernise the narrative technique is apparent in Turkish literature. If we leave out the pioneer work of the scholar-writer Shems üd-Dîn Sâmî's *Taşuk-ı tal'at ve fînat* (1872) and experiments by Nâmlık Kemâl (*Intibâh*, 1876) and some of his associates (particularly Sâmî Paşa-Zâde Sezâ'î's *Sergüdhesh*, 1889), the great representative of the novel among the generation of *Tanzîmât* modernists is Ahmed Midhat, whom Khâlid Diyâ' greatly admired; see his note at the end of his un-

finished translation of George Ohnet's *Maitre de forges, Demirkhane müdürü*, 1889). Hüseyin Rahmî, an independent contemporary of Khâlid Diyâ', was a follower of the Ahmed Midhat school and soon became an equally popular novelist. Although Khâlid Diyâ', as a boy-writer, was an admirer of Ahmed Midhat and had a high opinion of Hüseyin Rahmî's talent (*Kırk yıl*, 421), there is hardly any trace of the old Turkish popular narrative technique or the influence of the French novels of adventure and entertainment, even in his early novels of the formative İzmir period (1888-93). These romantic and, at times, over-sentimental, love stories with some elements of realism (particularly in *Ferdî ve şhurekâşî*, 1893), already reveal a complete break with traditional methods of story-telling and develop a well-disciplined narrative technique where there is no room for irrelevant digressions or "small talk" with the reader (for synopses and analyses of Khâlid Diyâ's individual novels, see *Bibl.*). Khâlid Diyâ' perfected this technique in his later novels of the Istanbul period, inspired mainly by the method and style of French realists and naturalists, and until the middle of 1930's, his works remained the best examples of realism in the Turkish novel. Two titles stand out: *Mâ'î ve siyâh* ("Blue and black", 1897) which describes the dreams, struggles and eventual disillusionment of a young poet and writer, and *'Ashk-ı memnû'* ("Forbidden Love", 1900), generally considered his best novel, which tells the story of the desperate love of a young woman who could not find happiness in her marriage to an elderly rich man. In both these novels and in his later works, the environment and the setting are described in minute detail and the characters are submitted to exhaustive psychological analysis. The setting and the characters are often chosen from upper or upper-middle class of Istanbul, for which Khâlid Diyâ' has been severely criticised. A stereotype judgement on him is that his characters are not typically Turkish and never leave Istanbul. This is obviously an unfair criticism. Under the Hamîdian régime, travel, even within the country, was restricted and supervised, and writers had to confine their observations by necessity to Istanbul. Also as a member of a well-to-do upper-middle class family, and very reserved in temperament, Khâlid Diyâ' described only the type of people with whom he came into direct contact. We know now, from various sources, particularly from many Turkish and foreign memoirs, that an exclusive upper-class Turkish society flourished in Istanbul following the *Tanzîmât*, particularly after the 1880s. It led an *alla franca* (*alafraŋga*) way of life which is faithfully described by Khâlid Diyâ' and his colleagues of the *Therwet-i fûnûn* school (and ridiculed by others, see Hüseyin Rahmî). Even so, ordinary people, even working-class people, were not been ignored by Khâlid Diyâ', who described them with equal realism in some of his novels, but particularly in most of his numerous short stories. He himself bitterly complains that the exotic titles of a few of his short stories (e.g. *Mösyö Kanguru* in *Solghun demet*, 1901, *Bravo maestro* in *Bir yazın ta'rihi*, 1900) gave rise to sweeping and unfair judgements that he concentrated on non-Turkish subjects (*Kırk Yıl*, 479-81). Moreover, we know that there is a considerable autobiographic element in most of his work, and that many of his characters are based on or inspired by people he himself had known.

As a consequence of their principle of "art for art's sake" Khâlid Diyâ' and his friends of the movement chose to write in an extremely precious and

artificial language which was full of rare Arabic and Persian words and compounds. They thus deviated from the trend of the first generation of modernists (the *Tanzîmât* writers) who made an attempt (not always successful) to create a style which would be understood by a larger audience. Khâlid Diyâ's manner of writing was indeed very unusual: endless waves of long intricate sentences loaded with lots of unheard of foreign words, interspersed with symmetrical chains of Persian *izâfes*, but using a faultless technique to construct his plots. Khâlid Diyâ' realised, before most of his colleagues, that this hopelessly artificial language, created by the *Therwet-i fûnûn* triumvirate (Tewfik Fikret, Djenâb Şihâb üd-Dîn and himself) and other members of the new school, was a dead end, and its excesses outbalanced by far what contribution they made to the improvement of Turkish syntax and verse technique. In his memoirs he looks back to this phenomenon of preciosity and finds it "irritating", calling this morbid urge to gild the lily "a disease of the East", but nevertheless trying hard to justify it for the period (*Kırk yıl*, 465-72). Khâlid Diyâ' spent the last decades of his life touching up the language and style of his novels, "simplifying" them and in some cases re-writing entire passages. In spite of this linguistic handicap, however, Khâlid Diyâ's works are far from being forgotten today. Although half-a-dozen leading novelists of the succeeding generations almost revolutionised the genre, Khâlid Diyâ' is still considered by many not only the founder but the great master of the novel in Turkish literature. Some of his works have been filmed and produced on television, and his complete works are being published in modern Turkish paraphrase (edited by Nevzat Kızılcın, Istanbul, 1975-6). This may perhaps be partly explained by the recent "Ottomanist revivalism" in literature.

Khâlid Diyâ' published three books of memoirs, the only important work outside his fiction: *Kırk yıl*, 5 vols, Istanbul 1936, one vol. ed., Istanbul 1969, which deals with the first forty years of his life, is about his family, his school years and his literary activities in İzmir and Istanbul; *Saray ve ötesi*, 3 vols, Istanbul 1940-2, one vol. ed., Istanbul 1965, reminiscences of the court of Mehmed V; *Bir acı hikâye*, Istanbul 1942, is mainly about his son Khalil Wedâd and his death. These memoirs are selective and of limited interest, as the reserved and over-cautious character of the author did not always allow him to treat freely and discuss impartially the people he had known and events he witnessed. Finally, Khâlid Diyâ's research work, including his courses in the University, were mostly based on translation or compilation.

*Bibliography*: Rüşen Eşref (Ünaydın), *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1334/1918, 49-78 (important interview with Kh. D.); İsmâ'îl Hâbib (Sevük), *Türk tedjeddüd edebiyâtı ta'rihi*, Istanbul 1340/1924, 488-509; Mehmet Attar, *H.Z.U.'in romanlarında yerli unsurlar ve tabiat*, 1940 (unpublished thesis in Istanbul University Library, Tezler, No. 616); Mehmed Kaplan, in *IA*, s.v.; Ali Canib Yöntem, *H.Z.U.*, in *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, No. 12, 386-7 (April 1945); N. S. Banarlı, *Resimli türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul n.d. [1948], 320-3; L. S. Akalın, *H.Z.U.*, Istanbul 1962; Kenan Akyüz, *Modern türk edebiyatının ana çizgileri*, in *Türkoloji Dergisi*, ii, No. 1, Ankara 1969, 103-8; Cemil Yener, *Bir romancının dünyası*, Istanbul 1959; Olcay Öntertoy, *H.Z.U., romancılığs ve romanımızdaki yeri*, Istanbul 1965; F. A. Tansel,



*Uşaklıgılın hayatından mülhem küçük hikâyeleri*, in *Ülkü*, xv, No. 86 (April 1940); A. H. Tanpınar, *Edebiyat üzerine makaleler*, Istanbul 1969, index; Ahmet İhsan (Toksöz), *Matbuat hatıralarım*, Istanbul 1930-1, *passim*; Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebi hatıralar*, Istanbul 1935, *passim*; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman*<sup>2</sup>, Ankara 1971, 157-219 (synopses and selection); *Kindlers Literatur Lexicon*, Zurich 1965-72, suppl. 1974 (synopses and analysis of four novels and of *Kırk yıl*, see *Index*). (FAHİR İZ)

AL-KHĀLIDĀT. [see AL-DJAZĀ'İR AL-KHĀLIDĀT].  
**KHĀLIDE EDİB** (modern Turkish, Halide Edib Adivar), prominent Turkish novelist, writer and nationalist, (1884-1964). She was born in Beshiktash not far from the Yıldız Palace, where her father Mehmed Edib Bey was First Secretary to the Sultan's Privy Purse (*dıeyb-i hümâyün ser-kâtibi*). Edib was the adopted son of a *Sheykh* Mahmūd of Salonica, who brought him up and later sent him to Istanbul for further education (Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, New York 1926, 200). In later life, he served as director of the Tobacco Régie in Yanya (Janina) and Bursa. Khālide's mother Bedrfem Khanım was a daughter of 'Alī Agha from Kemah (in northeastern Anatolia), a former Chief Coffee Maker (*Kahvedji Bashi*) in the Palace of Prince Reshād (Mehemmed V) who had become the Warden of the Porters' Guild (*Hammāllar Kāhyası*). At the age of 15, Bedrfem had been married to 'Alī Shāmil Bey (later Paşa, 1855-1908), but this marriage did not last, and Mehmed Edib was her second husband. A few years later she died of consumption. As Edib Bey soon remarried, Khālide's need for motherly affection was filled by her grandmother, her half-sister Makhmûre and by other members of both households.

The women folk and the servants initiated her into the traditional Muslim and Turkish way of life and the popular stories and epic tales of folk literature. A local *imām* taught her to read and write and recite the *Kur'ān*. When she was eleven, her father sent her for a year to the American College where she learned English and studied the Bible, to the horror of the people at home. Khālide then had an English governess, and several celebrated tutors, particularly Ridā Tewfik (Bölükbashi, [q.v.]), the pioneer of folk-inspired poetry, (Rūshen Eshref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1918, 133-4, 179). In 1899 she re-entered the American College as a boarder, where she was the only Turkish pupil. The year 1900 was a turning point in her life, as the mathematician Şālih Dheki Bey (see I. A. Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1948, s.v.) became her tutor; she married him in the year of her graduation (1901), and had two sons by him. During the years 1901-8, she read deeply in Shakespeare, Zola and the Ottoman chroniclers. In July 1908, when the Constitution was restored, she became a writer overnight, urging immediate educational and social reforms. Her articles were published mainly in the daily *Tanin*, organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), founded in August 1908 by Hüseyin Djāhid and Tewfik Fikret [qq.v.], and found an immediate favourable response. Following the counter-revolutionary attempt of 13 April 1909, Khālide thought her life was endangered and went to Egypt and from there to England, where her visit to Parliament particularly impressed her, as did also a speech of the Irish nationalist John Dillon which "was one of the emotional causes which started her on the road of nationalism" (*op. cit.*, 293). Back in Turkey

in October 1909, she wrote her first important novel *Seviyye fālib* (published in 1910), and while continuing her articles on educational problems, joined the staff of the Women Teachers' Training College (*Dār al-mu'allimāt*), and with the help of the noted educationist Naqiyye Khanım (Nakiye Elgün, 1882-1965) reformed its syllabus and administration. In the meantime, she was divorced from Şālih Dheki Bey, having left home immediately after he had told her that he had married a second wife (1910). Soon she was attracted by the new movement of Turkism (*Türkçülük* [q.v.]). She wrote her novel *Yeñi Türân* (1911) and joined the activities of the Turkish Hearth (*Türk Odiağı* [q.v.]), where she worked with Diyā' Gökalp [q.v.] and his associates. When she resigned her teaching position over a conflict of principle with the Minister of Public Instruction Shükri Bey (see Gövsa, *op. cit.*, s.v.), she became Inspector-General of *Ewkaif* Schools which the minister, (the later *Sheykh al-Islām* Muşafā Khayri Efendi [q.v.]) decided to modernise. This gave her an opportunity to visit and study the outlying and poorest districts of Istanbul and their people, which incidentally became valuable for her novels. At the same time, she joined with Naqiyye (Elgün) in the activities of the Women's Club (*Ta'ālī-yi Niswān Djem'iyeti*) in social relief work and nursing.

In the autumn of 1916, at the invitation of Djemāl Paşa [q.v.], Army Commander in Syria, she toured all the important educational institutions there, and then returned to Istanbul after submitting her report. She subsequently continued her educational activity there by organising schools and by reforming the large 'Ayntura Orphanage. Meanwhile, she was married to Dr. 'Adnān (Adivar [q.v.]), a leading member of the CUP, by proxy (23 April 1917). Her educational work completed, she returned to Istanbul in early March 1918. In the autumn of the same year the war was over. After the Armistice of Mudros (30 October), the CUP triumvirate and many leading members of the Committee fled the country, and the Allied fleets entered Istanbul.

Parliament was dissolved, Italian troops occupied Antalya, and the Greeks, supported by the Allies, landed in Izmir (15 May 1919) and were advancing towards the interior. Sporadic resistance and guerilla warfare started in Anatolia. Khālide Edib joined in protest rallies, and her name is particularly associated with the historic mammoth meeting of 23 May in Sulţān Ahmed Square, where she made a famous moving and dramatic address; her bust stands there today in memory of that unique occasion (Halide Edib, *The Turkish ordeal*, New York 1928, 32-3). In the following week, 55 intellectuals were deported to Malta by the British. In the meantime, Muşafā Kemāl Paşa (Atatürk) had assumed the leadership of the resistance movement in Anatolia. On 10 August of the same year, Khālide Edib wrote a famous controversial letter to Muşafā Kemāl Paşa in support of an American mandate over Turkey (Ghāzi Muşafā Kemāl, *Nuşuk*, Ankara 1927, 56-9; *Speech*<sup>2</sup>, Istanbul 1963, 76-80). She represented a group of opinion which thought that in the summer of 1919 there could be an alternative to armed resistance and to the partition of the country, *sc.* by asking for a great power's mandate (H. N. Howard, *The King-Crane Commission*, Beirut 1963, index; Sabahattin Selek, *Anadolu İhtilali*<sup>2</sup>, Istanbul 1968, 276-8; Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma*, Ankara 1973, 419-20). At Khālide's suggestion, an American representative was sent to the Congress of Sivas

(4-11 September) by Charles R. Crane, the co-chairman of the American King-Crane Commission, in order to interview Muştafâ Kemâl and to investigate the question of the American mandate (*Nufuk*, 63, *Speech*<sup>2</sup>, 85-6, Kinross, *Atatürk*, 188, Howard, *op. cit.* 289-90). The idea was discussed and definitely rejected by the Congress (Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Millî mücadele hatıraları*, İstanbul 1953, 175-6). During the winter months of 1919-20 Khâlîde kept in close contact with the Nationalists and their supporters in İstanbul and talked frequently to a number of American and British officials, but there came a reinforced occupation of İstanbul by the British (16 March 1920), followed by a raid on the Parliament and more arrests and deportations, so that the recently-elected pro-Nationalist Parliament which had adopted the National Pact (see MİTHAK-I MILLÎ) had to prorogue itself on March 18 (see B. Lewis, *Emergence*<sup>2</sup>, 251). To avoid certain arrest and deportation (see *Ordeal*, 65-8, and A. E. Yalman, *Gördüklerimiz ve geçirdiklerimiz*, ii, İstanbul 1970, 55) Khâlîde and her husband Dr. 'Adnân went into hiding in a dervish convent (Özbekler tekyesi) in Üsküdar and left secretly for Ankara. They arrived in Ankara on 1 April 1920 (followed shortly by Colonel 'İşmet (Inönü) and Fevzî (Çakmak) Paşa (G. Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşı kronolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 96-100), and she immediately began to work in the "Agricultural School", the headquarters of the Nationalists, where she surveyed the foreign press, collected news for the "Anatolian Agency", translated or drafted English and French correspondence and occasionally contributed to the daily *Hâkimiyet-i millîye*, the organ of the Nationalists. She soon became a member of their "inner circle", and with Muştafâ Kemâl Paşa, and five other Nationalist leaders, was condemned to death on 11 May by the sultan's government in İstanbul. In the fighting in central Anatolia, the first victory of the nationalist regular army was won by 'İşmet at Inönü (10 January 1921), a few days after the guerilla leader Çerkes Edhem [q.v.] had gone over to the Greeks. Khâlîde Edib was busy in Ankara, mobilising the women of the city and reorganising the Red Crescent and relief work. Before the Greek offensive of July, she went to Eskişehir and worked as a nurse in the Red Crescent hospital until the fall of the city. On August 5 1921, Muştafâ Kemâl was elected generalissimo (*Baş kumandan*), and soon afterwards, Khâlîde Edib volunteered for work on the Western front under 'İşmet Paşa. During the critical weeks before and during the battle of Sakarya [q.v.], 22 August-11 September, she served in the general headquarters (*Ordeal*, 284-310); she was promoted to corporal (*onbaşı*), and the name *Khâlîde Onbaşı* became the symbol of Turkish women who took part in the national struggle. Towards the end of December 1921, she moved to Akşehir (between Afyon and Konya), the new headquarters, and she spent the best part of the eight first months of 1922 with the army, which was preparing for the great offensive. On 24 August she was summoned to the front just before the offensive started. After the decisive battle of Dumlupınar on 30 August the Greek army began to retreat, burning cities and villages and massacring the civilian population in their wake (Lord Kinross, *Atatürk*, London 1971, 318). After spending a week in recaptured İzmir with the leaders, Khâlîde, now a sergeant-major, left with a group of journalists to inspect and report on the devastated area between İzmir and Bursa (published in *Izmir'den Bursaya*, in collaboration with Ya'küb Kadri and

Fâlih Rifkî, İstanbul 1922). After the armistice of Mudanya (11 October) which confirmed the triumph of the Nationalists, the sultanate was abolished by the Grand National Assembly presided over by Dr. 'Adnân (1 November) and Khâlîde settled in İstanbul, as her husband was appointed representative of the Ankara Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Khâridiyye mürakkkhaşı*) in İstanbul.

Ideological differences between Muştafâ Kemâl, an uncompromising radical, and most of his close associates (including Khâlîde and 'Adnân), who were conservatives or liberals, soon developed into a rift culminating with the foundation (17 November 1924) of the Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Djumhuriyyet Fırkası* [q.v.]). This party was soon suppressed (3 June 1925) following the counter-revolutionary rebellion, led mainly by Kurdish *shaykh*s, in the east. Khâlîde Edib and Dr. 'Adnân had left for Europe before the discovery on 15 June 1926 of the conspiracy against Muştafâ Kemâl's life, planned mainly by a group of former Unionists. All leading members of the former Progressive Party, suspected of the complicity with the plotters, were arrested. Dr. 'Adnân was tried in his absence, and although completely acquitted, he and Khâlîde Edib lived in self-imposed exile in Europe for fourteen years.

During the four years when she lived in England (1924-8) she wrote her memoirs and continued to write novels which were serialised in the Turkish dailies (see N. A. Banoglu's interview with Khâlîde Edib in the *Yedigün* of 28 May 1939). During 1929-39 she lived mainly in Paris, where her husband was lecturer in Turkish at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. In 1929 she was in the United States, and went on a lecture tour of various American Universities. She was a visiting professor at Columbia University during the 1931-2 academic year. In 1935 she went to India to lecture on the political and cultural background and contemporary problems of Modern Turkey, at the *Djâmi'a Milliyya Islâmiyya* of Delhi, then left for a lecture tour of the principal universities of the sub-continent. Back in Paris, she wrote more novels, particularly her only novel in English, *The Clown and his daughter*, which she later re-wrote in Turkish as *Sinekli bakkal* (see below). She paid a brief visit to İstanbul in August 1935 and returned to Turkey on 5 March 1939 for good, four months after Atatürk's death (10 November 1938). In December 1939 Khâlîde Edib was appointed the chairman of the newly-founded department of English at the University of İstanbul where she trained, in ten years, a team of young scholars with whom she worked on new translations of Shakespeare. Elected as an independent member of Parliament for İzmir at the general elections of May 1950, she retired from political life in January 1954. Dr. 'Adnân died in July 1955 and her health began to decline; she herself died in her modest home in Bayezid on 9 January 1964 at the age of eighty.

Khâlîde Edib was a woman of small stature but with extraordinary energy and vitality. Although considered primarily a novelist, Khâlîde Edib was an extremely prolific and versatile writer and her enormous output extending over nearly 60 years covers a wide area: novels, short stories and essays, criticism, articles on social, educational and political topics, plays, memoirs, translations and research. Many of her essays, etc. appeared in various dailies and periodicals, where most of her novels were also serialised. Khâlîde Edib (who signed her name Khâlîde Şâlih until her divorce from Şâlih Dheki in 1910) started her career in the daily *Tanin* and since

then she contributed mainly to the dailies *Akşâmî Akşam*, *Wakit*, *İkdam*, *Demuhürriyyet (Cumhuriyet)*, *Yeni İstanbul* and periodicals *Türk Yurdu*, *Büyük Medîmü'a*, *Dergâh*, *Yedigün*, *Hayat*, etc. (for a detailed list with dates, see the introduction of İnci Enginün's anthology *Halide Edib Adivar*, İstanbul 1975).

Her twenty novels can be divided into three categories: (1) Novels where love and passion are the central themes, and the heroines, who predominate, are submitted to elaborate psychological analyses, e.g. some of her early novels like *Seviyye tâlib* (1910), *Khandân* (1912), *Son etheri* (serialised in 1913, published 1919), *Mew'ud hüküm* (1919) and the two novels of the twenties: *Kalb aghrisi* (1924) and its continuation *Zeyno'nun oğlu* (1926). All these novels have considerable autobiographical elements and the passionate, independent, strong-willed heroines symbolise the author's ideal of the emancipated Turkish woman; until she joined the Nationalists in 1921, the settings are mainly those of the "westernised", upper class, well-to-do families following (perhaps unconsciously) the tradition of the preceding *Therwet-i Fümân [q.v.]* school, a fact severely criticised by Gökalp (*Memoirs*, 319); the setting of the last-mentioned two novels switches from İstanbul and Europe to the Anatolian countryside. (2) Novels on the episodes of the War of Liberation: *Ateshden gömlek*, (serialised in *İkdam* from 6 June to 11 August 1922, published 1923; Eng. tr. by Y. Khan, *The Daughter of Smyrna*, Lahore 1938) and *Vurun kahveye!* ("Hit the whore!"), serialised in *Akşâm*, 1923, published 1926); these are based on personal experience and first-hand information, like most of her short stories of the same period (see *Dagha Çikan Kurt*, İstanbul 1922, enlarged 4th ed. 1963). These novels were pioneering works on this period; they became immensely popular and were filmed several times (see Aytekin Yakar, *Türk romanında milli mücadele*, Ankara 1973). (3) Period Novels. After the age of fifty, Khâlîde Edib produced a series of novels in which she proposed to describe the various aspects of Turkish society, beginning with her most famous novel *Sinekli bakkal* (originally written in English as *The clown and his daughter*, London 1935) serialised in the İstanbul daily *Haber* in 1935 and published in 1936, which won the Republican People's Party's prize for the Best Novel in 1942, became an all-time best seller in Turkish literature (33rd edition in 1976) and was filmed in 1968. This is mainly a description of the İstanbul society in its various aspects at the turn of the century during 'Abd al-Hamid II's autocratic rule. A *Karagöz [q.v.]* performer and his talented daughter with a beautiful voice who live in a back street of İstanbul ("in the quarter of fly-ridden grocers") are the central characters of the novel, assisted by a great number of secondary heroes, including the inevitable Hamidian *pasha* and Young Turks (synopsis in *Litteratur-lexikon*, see Bibliogr.). This popular novel was presumably conceived to cater for a foreign audience in search of exotic details which explains its somewhat artificial "mystic" atmosphere and its unconvincing dénouement. It was followed by *Tatarcık* ("The Little Tatar") in 1939, an equally unrealistic description of the generation of the young people grown up during the author's years of exile (for a synopsis, see *op. cit.*, and Muzaffer Uyguner, *Halide Edib Adivar*, İstanbul 1968, 63). After 14 years of absence, Khâlîde Edib settled down again in an old district of İstanbul where she soon built up a large circle of friends, but also discovered the new world of the Anatolian peasants and small

town-dwellers who had moved to İstanbul. Most of her novels written after the last two mentioned above, particularly *Sonsuz panayır* ("The eternal fair", 1946), *Döner ayna* ("The revolving mirror", 1954), *Akile Hanım sokağı* ("Akile Hanım Street", 1958) contain a realistic rendering of her personal experiences and of her observations of Turkish society in the late 40's and the 50's, and describe powerfully the panorama of the various types and problems of a society in the process of rapid political and social change in the years following the World War II.

Her novel *Yeñi Türân* (serialised in *Tanin* in 1912 and published the same year, German tr. by F. Schrader, *Das neue Turan*, 1916) stands by itself as a fruit of her brief courtship with Pan-Turanism or Pan-Turkism, supported at the time by the CUP (synopsis in *Litteratur-Lexikon*, see Bibliogr.); although she later rejected Pan-Turkism as a political creed (Halide Edib, *Türkiye'de şark, garp ve Amerikan tesirleri*, İstanbul 1956, 99-101), this novel is nevertheless imbued with the strong nationalistic spirit that characterises most of her writing. The obvious failures in the post-1908 period of Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism, served further to strengthen her national consciousness (*Memoirs*, 312, 329-34), and during the traumatic years 1911-22, her exuberant nationalism mellowed and was further enriched with her experiences in exile.

Some of her short stories have been collected into three books: *Dagha çıkan kurt* mentioned above; *Kharâb ma'bedler* (1911, 4th ed. 1973) which contains her earliest work; and the posthumous miscellaneous collection *Kubbeye kalan hoş sada* (İstanbul 1974).

Khâlîde Edib wrote her memoirs in two volumes in English during her years of exile in England (*Memoirs of Halide Edib*, New York 1926 and *The Turkish ordeal*, New York 1928). Apart from their intrinsic literary value, these volumes are of invaluable documentary importance for her biography up to 1922 and for the background of many events in Turkish history between 1900-22. In these, she is extremely honest and candid in recording everything about her own life and, on the whole, fair and balanced in her description and judgement of other people. Thus she is generous in praising many leading men like Tal'at, Djemâl and 'İşmet Paşa; but she loses her sense of balance and fairness frequently when she discusses Muştafâ Kemâl Paşa, recognising his unquestionable superiority, his almost superhuman energy and his powers of command, but recognising also his obstinacy. This makes her vacillate between praise and blame; she is unfair to the point of conspicuously leaving out the name of the hero of Gallipoli while referring to that campaign (*Memoirs*, 384), and elsewhere complains that "Turkish people are always the victims of hero worship, especially in military affairs" (*Memoirs*, 341). All this is of course the result of the fundamental conflict between her own liberal views and the radicalism of Muştafâ Kemâl. Khâlîde Edib published substantially shortened and altered Turkish versions of her memoirs: *Mor salıklı ev* (serialised intermittently in *Yeni İstanbul*, 1951-55 and published 1963) and *Türkün ateşle imtihanı* (serialised in the weekly magazine *Hayat* as *Millî mücadele hatıraları*, 1959-60, published 1962) in which much of the controversial material has been either left out or toned down. Khâlîde Edib is not always careful with dates; her chronological data should be used critically.

Apart from her English novel already mentioned, Khâlîde Edib published three books in English while

abroad. The first two are based on her lectures in America and in India: *Turkey faces west*, New Haven 1930 and *Conflict of east and west in Turkey*, Lahore 1935. The third book, *Inside India*, London 1937, contains her impressions and thoughts on a country which she "felt to be nearer to my soul-climate than any other country not my own" and where she met Mahatma Gandhi and all the outstanding nationalist leaders of the sub-continent. The Turkish version *Hindistan'a dair* was serialised in *Yeni Sabah* in 1940-1, but not published in book form. Khälide Edib was always keenly interested in the theatre, but wrote only two plays, which had no success: the experimental *Kenan çobanları* (produced in Syria 1916, published in 1918) and *Maske ve ruh* (serialised in Yedigün in 1937-8, published in 1945, English version *Masks and souls*, 1953). She directed the translation of four plays of Shakespeare in the Department of English of Istanbul University: *Hamlet* (1941), *As you like it* (1943), *Anthony and Cleopatra* (1943) and *Coriolanus* (1945), and she translated herself George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (*Hayvan çiftliği*, serialised in *Cumhuriyet* in 1952, published in 1954). Her research work mainly consists of a history of English literature from the origins to the end of the 17th century in three volumes, *İngiliz edebiyatı tarihi* (Istanbul 1940-9).

Khälide Edib's language and style have always been severely criticised both by fellow writers and critics (Rüşen Eşref, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman*, ii, Ankara 1970, 66-7). It is true that her language is often awkward and ungrammatical, her style untidy and unpolished, but it is equally true that this warm and extremely personal style has a strange charm and an immediate impact upon the reader. As a great admirer of folk literature, she had always disliked the artificial and precious language of most of her contemporaries and wrote, like Refik Khälid [q.v.] in simple, straightforward Turkish, even before the principles of the "New Language" (*Yeni lisân*) were proclaimed by Ömer Seyf el-Dîn [q.v.] and his friends in Salonica. This explains why she is still one of the most-read writers of her generation.

*Bibliography:* Further to works cited in the article, İsmâ'il Habîb (Sevük), *Türk tedjeddüd edebiyatı ta'rihihi*, Istanbul 1924, 628-31; idem, *Tanzimattanberi*, Istanbul 1940, 479-86; Kenan Akyüz, *La littérature moderne de Turquie*, in *PhTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 587-9; *Kindlers Litteratur-Lexicon*, Zurich 1965-72, suppl. 1974, index; Baha Dürder, *Halide Edib ve sanati*, Istanbul 1940; H. V. Barlas, *Halide Edib Adivar*, Istanbul 1963; O. Spies, *Die moderne türkische Literatur*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, v, Leiden 1963, 362-3; Hilmi Yücebaş, *Bütün cepheleleriyle Halide Edib*, Istanbul 1964; Türk Dili, *Roman özel sayısı*, Ankara 1964; *Aylık bibliyografya*, Yeni yayınlar, ix 2, Istanbul 1964; Nazan Güntürkün, *Halide Edip ile Adım Adım*, Istanbul 1974; 10 unpublished theses on Kh. E. are available in the Istanbul University library and the departmental library of the Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi; see the handlists of both Universities under *Tezler*. (FAHİR İZ)

AL-KHÄLİDİ, RÜHİ, Palestine scholar, diplomat and politician, born in Jerusalem in 1864 to a well-known family of scholars tracing its origin to Khälid b. al-Walid [q.v.]. He received a religious and linguistic education in Jerusalem, Nâbulus, Tripoli and Beirut, and studied philosophy, law and politics at the Royal College, Constantinople. He continued his studies of political science<sup>2</sup> and of

philosophy and Islamic and Oriental studies at the Sorbonne; he later taught Arabic in Paris and attended the 1897 Orientalists' Congress. In 1898 he was appointed Ottoman consul-general in Bordeaux, where he was active in diplomatic and scientific life.

After the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution (1908), he returned to Jerusalem and was elected for three terms as a deputy of his city to the Ottoman Parliament. He died in Constantinople in 1913.

His *Ta'rihîh 'ilm al-adab 'ind al-Ifranji wa 'l-Arab wa-Fiktor Hükü* [Victor Hugo], is the first work on comparative literary studies in modern Arabic literature. He discusses here the similarities and differences between Arabic and European (mainly French) literature, their respective developments, the influence of Arabic literature on European literature, and the rôle of Victor Hugo in introducing such influence to French literature. This work was first published in *al-Hilâl* magazine in 1902-3, and in book form in 1904 under the name of al-Makdisî. Only in the later editions of 1912, 1929 and 1932 was the name of the author given. His other works were mainly political and scientific, such as *al-Inkilâb al-'Uthmânî wa-Turkiyâ 'l-Faiât* was lithographed and dated Bordeaux, 7 October 1908, probably in the author's own writing, and further published in *al-Hilâl*, xvii (1908), and later in Cairo 1909, with the title *al-Inkilâb al-siyâsî al-'Uthmânî*. Al-Khâlidî also wrote *al-Mukaddima fi 'l-mas'ala al-sharhiyya mundhu nash'atihâ 'l-ülâ ilâ 'l-rub' al-thânî min al-karn al-thâmin 'ashar* (Jerusalem 1925?); *al-Kimyâ 'ind al-'Arab* (Cairo 1953); *Risâla fi sur'at intishâr al-dîn al-Muhammadi fi aksâm al-'alam al-Islâmî* (Tripoli 1314/1896); and an edition of a booklet by Sa'd al-Dîn al-Khâlidî, known as Ibn al-Dîrî, entitled *al-Habs fi 'l-tuhma wa 'l-imtihân 'alâ talab al-ikrâr wa-izhâr al-mâl* (1321/1903). There are other works still in manuscript.

*Bibliography:* J. A. Dagher, *Maşâdir al-dirâsa al-adabiyya*, ii, 1: *al-Râhîlân (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 333-35; al-Ziriklî, *al-A'lâm*, iii, 64; Sarkîs, *Mu'âjam al-maḥbû'ât*, cols. 813-14; Cheikho, *Ta'rihîh al-âdâb al-'arabiyya* (Beirut 1926), 50; al-Khâlidî, *al-Mukaddima fi 'l-mas'ala al-sharhiyya*, pp. a-h. (S. MOREH)

AL-KHÄLİDIYYÂNİ, the name generally given to two poets of Sayf al-Dawla's [q.v.] entourage, the two inseparable brothers ABŪ 'UṬHMÂN SA'D/SA'ID (d. 350/961) and ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD (d. 380/990), sons of Hāshim b. Sa'īd b. Wa'la. They came originally from a village of the region of al-Mawsil called al-Khâlidîyya (Yâkût, ii, 390), and possibly lived for some time in Başra (Yâkût, *Udabâ*, xi, 208 affirms this and attributes to Abū 'UṬhmân the ethnic designation of al-Başrî), but became celebrated above all as the librarians of Sayf al-Dawla, to whom they dedicated their occasional verse. They attracted notice through their rivalry with al-Raffâ' [q.v.], who accused them of plagiarism through the use of their prodigious memory; Ibn al-Nadîm displays surprise at this, and gives a reply via Abū Bakr that he knew by heart a thousand books (*sifr*) each of a hundred leaves. Their poetic works, of which specimens can be read in *al-Tha'âlibî's Yatima*, i, 507-30, were gathered together by Abū 'UṬhmân into a *diwân* which has not, it seems, been preserved. However, two anthologies compiled by the brothers, *Ḥamāsai shi'r al-muhdathîn* (or *al-Ashbâh wa 'l-nazâ'ir*) and *al-Hadâyâ wa 'l-tuhaf*, are extant (see Brockelmann, I, 147, S I, 41, 226); also attributed to them is a *Mukhtâr min shi'r Bashshâr*, known through a selection made by Abū Tâhir İsmâ'îl al-

Tuǧ̣ībī and published as *Mukhtār al-mukhtār min shiʿr Bashshār* by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī at Cairo in 1353/1934-5 (cf. *Diwān Bashshār*, ed. Muḥ. al-Tāhīr Ibn ʿAṣḥūr, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 90). Finally, the biographers cite further amongst their works: *K. fī akhbār Abi Tammām wa-mahāsīn shiʿrihi*, *K. Ikhtiyār shiʿr al-Buhturī*, *K. fī akhbār shiʿr Ibn al-Rūmī*, *K. Ikhtiyār shiʿr Muslim b. al-Walīd* (cf. S. Dahhān, *Sharḥ Diwān Sariʿ al-Ghawānī*, Cairo n.d., 338, 340, according to al-Safadī, *Ghayth*, Cairo 1305, 143, 187), *K. Akhbār al-Mawṣil* (see Yāqūt, iii, 363; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 405, n. 2) and *al-Diyārāt*.

*Bibliography*: In addition to works mentioned in the article, see *Fihrist*, 169 (Cairo edn. 240-1); Kutubī, *Fawāʾid*, Nos. 141, 457; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʾāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, i, 60; M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla*, Algiers 1934, 293-5; Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 264-5; R. Blachère, *Motanabbī*, 132, 142.

(CH. PELLAT)

## KHALĪFA.

### (i) THE HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE CALIPHATE

A study of the caliphate, its institution and subsequent developments, has never been attempted in its entirety until the present. The principal reason is that it has not seemed possible to conduct such a survey independently of historical studies relating to different reigns, which are still in most cases insufficient, or even non-existent, whereas studies of doctrine, while more advanced, have not been developed to the same extent with regard to the various periods. The tentative attempts that have been made have therefore been superficial, or lacking sufficient historical perspective. Here we must confine ourselves to making a brief statement of the question and stressing the problems, rather than attempting a complete exposition, which, to do justice to the subject, would require treatment at too great length.

#### A. The first period

In a sense, the institution of the caliphate was born on the day after the death or the Prophet when the new head of the community, in the event the trusted Companion Abū Bakr, became in 11/632 *khālifāt rasūl Allāh*. The date and the circumstances of the appearance of this institution would seem therefore to be well-established, but two questions arise at once. First, how did the designation of the first caliph take place, and was the procedure adopted observed in subsequent cases? Second, what powers were attributed to this "successor" of the Prophet?

As regards the first point, the tradition adopted by the majority of historians tells of the acclamation of the new caliph by the leading Companions, who gave him an oath of allegiance; this was the first *bayʿa*. Whatever were the circumstances under which this proclamation was made, whatever pressures were applied by ʿUmar to the congregation to have Abū Bakr recognized, whatever may have been the protests of ʿAlī and his supporters, it seems to have been accepted from this time onwards that the oath of the Believers, to which corresponded the promise of the new chief to lead the community on the right path, alone conferred upon him the succession.

For the two caliphs who followed, variations in procedure should be noted. Abū Bakr, before his death in 13/634, had, according to the chroniclers, personally designated his successor in the presence of ʿUmar. The community of Believers was not there-

fore in a position to state its own wishes, but got the chance to ratify this appointment. The oath in fact, was taken only by the Companions present at Medina, which explains how the authority of ʿUmar could be disputed by certain groups dispersed elsewhere in Arabia, who refused to pay the legally-assessed poor tax [see RIDDA].

ʿUmar, before dying in his turn in 23/644, had decided that a group of six persons, including among others ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, should choose his successor from among themselves. After discussion the choice fell on ʿUthmān, who then received the oath of allegiance. So even with the designation of the first three caliphs, three different methods were explored; all, however, were only to be put into effect if ratified by the community, or by its most influential and closest members.

The second question, that of the powers exercised by the new leaders of the community, is more problematical, since these powers were not at the time defined in a precise fashion. One cannot base conclusions on the sense of the title *khālifā* (see above) which, suggesting at once the ideas of succession, appointment and authority, remained somewhat vague. These powers seem, essentially, to have authorised the first three successors of Muḥammad to pursue the actions previously set in motion by the Prophet himself for the expansion of Islam and to put into practice the regulations set out in the Qurʾānic message, which was to be supplemented by the *Sunna* instituted among the community of Believers in the lifetime of the Prophet.

The continuation of the work begun by the Prophet was seen during the time of Abū Bakr in the fight against the dissidents of Arabia, soon followed by raiding operations towards the north which became a vast movement of conquest. From this time onwards the caliph assumed the role of army commander, and military operations, conducted against infidels or against rebellious Muslims who, for one reason or another refused to accept his authority, became one of his most important responsibilities.

Meanwhile, questions of law, relating to the spheres both of the cult and of social relations, were posed to those caliphs called by the tradition *rāshidūn*, that is to say "those who walk in the right way", as opposed to those who came later and were accused of making the caliphate a family possession. Thus ʿUmar was obliged to take decisions concerning the penal law, certain types of inheritance and the practice of the law of retaliation (*Shahrastānī*, *Mīlāl*, Cairo, i, 18). To him also are attributed some initiatives in matters of ritual, culminating in the attempt, carried on by ʿUthmān, to set in motion the establishment of the text of the Qurʾānic "vulgate".

It was also in the time of ʿUmar that for the first time the question was raised of the financial organisation of the Islamic state. Since members of the Arab tribes were entitled to endowments, ʿUmar instituted the *diwān*, a register in which the names of beneficiaries were inscribed. In addition, the troops were entitled to a share of the booty, which was gradually replaced by a pension, registered in the same way. The organisation of the *diwān* [*q.v.*], first established at Medina, later in all the principal cities of the empire, was thus linked to that of the fiscal system, on which it is not possible to dwell here. Let it be said only that it was at the initiative of the two caliphs ʿUmar and ʿUthmān that a treasury was established, which collected and from which were distributed the revenues supplied first by booty, later by property taxes. As this treasury

also met some expenses of communal interest, it should have been seen as the beginning of a financial system which was not strictly in accord with Qur'anic principles for the distribution of booty, but which was made necessary by the development of the new State [see *BAYT AL-MĀL*]. This innovation was one of the causes of the troubles which culminated in the assassination of 'Uthmān in 35/656.

Another cause was the choice by 'Uthmān of members of his own family to undertake the government of the principal provinces; in acting thus he was in effect supplanting the earliest converts to Islam, who by virtue of this title had in general more right than the descendants of Abū Sufyān to participate in the organisation of the community. Two concepts of power came into conflict here, of which one consisted in observing strictly the principles of the Qur'ān and giving pride of place to the "first converts", while the other paid greater attention to the efficiency of the apparatus of government. After the confrontation which took place between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, following the judgement of 'Adhruḥ [q.v.], the second concept held definitive sway.

The murder of 'Uthmān and the events which followed posed to the Islamic community the problem of knowing whether a caliph could be deposed for neglecting his duties. It seems that it was at this time that there appeared the sect later to be known as the *Khawāriḡī* which declared the principle that the caliph must not under any circumstances deviate from the ordinances of divine origin (see the interpretation by W. Montgomery Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 14-15). The judgement of 'Adhruḥ itself, the principle of which was denied by the *Khāriḡīs* on the grounds that the cause of good could not be set under discussion, implied a conception of the caliphate according to which the holder of power must answer for his actions, and the justification chosen by Mu'āwiya to explain his action against 'Alī was the defence of the rights of his kinsman, "unjustly" assassinated at the instigation of his political enemies.

The Umayyads, however, on becoming installed in power, made efforts to eradicate this notion of moral responsibility. At the same time as they had the principle of dynastic succession recognised, they maintained the idea that unconditional obedience was owed to the reigning caliph. Thus Yazīd and his successors paid no heed to the proclamation as caliph of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.] at Medina in 61/681 nor to the declaration of dethronement pronounced by the leading citizens against the son of Mu'āwiya. It was their opponents, of the movement called *Qadari* (see *Qadariyya*), who vindicated the right to judge the actions of the sovereign, establishing a doctrine which was invoked by Yazīd III, pretender to the caliphate, to justify his revolt against al-Walīd II, accusing him of misconduct. As for the revolutionary movements which appeared at this time, some of them were of a *Khāriḡī* tendency, demanding of the caliph particular moral qualities (they succeeded in proclaiming Kaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a [q.v.] caliph in Fārs and Kirmān; he bore the title *amīr al-mu'minīn* and coined money in his own name for ten years, 69-79/688-99), while the others followed more or less strictly the *Shi'ī* tendency, that is to say, demanding the accession to the caliphate of either a descendant of 'Alī, or in the case of the 'Abbāsīd party, of an unspecified member of the Family of the Prophet. It was therefore the legitimacy of the Umayyads that they contested, while at

the same time they strove to discredit them, denying their adherence to Islamic principles and accusing them of having usurped the caliphate; the origins and the actions of the ruling caliphs thus being called into question.

On their side, the Umayyads were not content with imposing the notion of unconditional obedience to the caliph; they established at the same time, in effect, the dynastic caliphate. Without abandoning the principle of election followed by oath of fealty (*bay'ā*), Mu'āwiya accomplished his object by means of an election guaranteeing in advance that his son Yazīd would be recognised as his successor. The same procedure was used for the designation of Mu'āwiya II. But on the death of the latter, the problem of succession arose once more, and the Arab "nobility", meeting at *Djābiya*, made free use of their right to proceed to the choice of a new caliph, without however denying the fact that he should belong to the family of the Banū Umayya. A cousin of Mu'āwiya, Marwān, was duly appointed caliph; to the branch called *Sufyānid*, there succeeded the *Marwānid* branch to which belonged all the subsequent Umayyad rulers, all of them nominated by their predecessors, with the exception of the rebel Yazīd III. In fact, from the time of 'Abd al-Malik onwards, the caliph was in the habit of leaving a written designation, called *'ahd* (whence the granting to the heir presumptive of the title *walī 'l-'ahd*, in the sense of beneficiary of a contract concluded between him and the community). The testamentary nomination, bearing the signature of witnesses of repute, thus became the essential mandate which had executive force and relegated the ceremony of the *bay'ā* to a position of secondary importance. It was also the practice for the caliph to nominate two heirs; but such nominations were not acted upon unless an order of precedence had been set. The heir was most often a son of the ruling caliph but could equally well be a brother or a cousin; only one exclusion was maintained, the nomination of the son of a non-Arab concubine; for this reason the prince Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was remarkably active during the reign of his father, neither inherited power nor was entitled to do so.

At the same time this period saw a real attempt by the Umayyads to establish the legitimacy of their dynastic caliphate. Their panegyrists traced back the right of sovereignty from 'Abd al-Malik to Marwān, then to Mu'āwiya and 'Uthmān. Some even went so far as to express the idea that the Umayyads had inherited the "legacy of Muḥammad". *Hadīths* appeared in which Muḥammad predicted their coming. To be sure, all this was nothing more than the outward signs of a different legitimacy, but the idea was disseminated.

The Umayyads also on the other hand strove to underline the theocratic nature of their powers, as appears notably from the terms of a *khutba* of al-Ḥadīdīdī: "The *amīr* of the Believers 'Abd al-Malik is a leader whom God has chosen as His viceroy upon earth and appointed *imām* for His creatures." The expression occurs also in the texts of testamentary nominations and in the speeches preceding the *bay'ā*. The ruling caliphs considered themselves in fact as appointed by God, and the title *khalīfāt Allāh* (formerly denounced by Abū Bakr, according to a tradition which appears to be of doubtful validity) came into use from the start of the Umayyad era, helping to establish firmly the duty of obedience to the dynasty.

Moreover, the ruling sovereigns were required to take decisions, touching on problems of general

policy, sometimes directly concerning the sphere of Qur'anic precepts. They were obliged for example to define the place that new converts, non-Arabs becoming *mawālī*, might take in the organisation of a state where the reins of power were held by Arab Muslims. Also, the exigencies of the conquests in the west led them to employ the services of Berber contingents, who played an active role in the conquest of Spain and whose status raised difficulties from that time onwards. More delicate was the fiscal problem which the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz was obliged to settle by means of an edict. His decision to establish fiscal equality between the original Muslims and the converts having proved impossible to put into effect, it was decided to retain the former land-taxes, irrespective of the religion of the occupant of the land. Thus was established the form of the levy called henceforward *kharāḍī* [q.v.] as distinct from the poll-tax called *ḍjīzya*, whereas new converts were required to pay a higher tax than that levied on the original Muslims for the lands that they possessed subsequent to the conquest. Hence to this period belongs the definition of the *kharāḍī* and *ḍjīzya* taxes, an important stage in the development of Islamic law, the process of which can only be grasped with difficulty, but which is to be attributed to the activity of the Umayyad caliphs.

#### B. The 'Abbāsīd caliphate until 658/1258.

New modifications to the concept of the caliphate were brought about by the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, which assumed power in 132/750 and retained it in 'Irāk until 658/1260, then in Egypt until 923/1517. Its members presented themselves as belonging to the family of the Prophet, and it was with this title that the first among them to accede to power justified their action. They thus maintained the thesis according to which the caliphate must revert to the kinsmen of the Prophet, and more particularly to the descendants of al-'Abbās, who were considered to be the best qualified. Nevertheless, this 'Abbāsīd legitimism raised difficulties in establishing principles usable against 'Abd claims. The principal argument, employed very frequently by the caliph al-Manṣūr in his controversy with the Ḥasanīd Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, and subsequently developed on several occasions by the sovereigns themselves or by their panegyrists, followed the principle of right of succession: the descendants of al-'Abbās, son of the Prophet's uncle, must take precedence over the "sons of the daughter", that is to say, over those who were descended from the Prophet through his daughter Fātima and who were related to his two grandsons al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḥasan. As this argument did not always appear sufficient, the caliph al-Mahdī sought to adduce in addition the thesis according to which al-'Abbās had been nominated by the Prophet himself as his successor. Quite independently of this attempt, which did not last long, the panegyrists for their part strove to prove the eminent qualities of al-'Abbās, protector and nephew of the Prophet. The legitimism of the 'Abbāsīds thus depended on various arguments, whose vogue changed with the times, arguments which were sometimes radically opposed to those upon which the Umayyad legitimism had been based and which sometimes approximated to them, as when the panegyrists inevitably proclaimed that the sons of al-'Abbās were "the best of Quraysh". This legitimism never ceased in any case to be generally recognised, even when the "great *amīrs*" of Shī'ī persuasion held power, and it was in a sense consolidated by the arrival of the Salḍūqs who, while taking over control of the empire,

nevertheless upheld the Sunnī caliphate as it was then established.

Previously, the most dangerous challenge had taken place during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, when this caliph attempted to nominate as his heir the 'Alid 'Alī al-Riḍā, considered by him "the best of the descendants of 'Alī and of al-'Abbās". This attempt did not amount to an adoption of the Shī'ī point of view; rather, it aimed at restoring vigour to a broader Hāshimī legitimism, which would have permitted the choice of the *imām* from one or the other of the branches of the Hāshimī family. To this new legitimist concept was linked a doctrine of Zaydī inspiration, according to which the office of *imām* must revert, in the context of a defined line of succession, to the most deserving. If the attempt failed, it was through the opposition of circles in 'Irāk who showed their attachment to the 'Abbāsīd family and their hostility to the new religious policy of al-Ma'mūn, which the latter was forced to abandon.

Whatever may have been the basis of 'Abbāsīd legitimism, it was the priority of the ruling caliphs to reinforce the theocratic nature of their power. The same expressions were employed in their case as in that of the Umayyad caliphs. Al-Mansūr declared himself, it is said, "the power of God on earth" (*sulṭān Allāh fi arḍi-hi*) and the caliphs exacted, like all their predecessors, a duty of unconditional obedience which was founded, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, on the concepts of traditionists of the Ḥanbalī persuasion. In addition, the royal titles adopted by the sovereigns stressed the charismatic quality of their power: the second caliph had himself named al-Manṣūr, "he who receives the victory from God", the third, al-Mahdī, "he whom God leads in the right way", a title which tended at the same time to assimilate the caliphs to the 'Alid *imāms*. Subsequently, the honorifics al-Amin, al-Ma'mūn and al-Wāthiq bi-llāh, stressed rather the piety of those who bore them; but the personal link between the caliph, and the divinity guaranteeing his power remained strongly marked. One may add that from the reign of al-Ma'mūn onwards, the caliphs did not disdain the title of *imām*, previously considered to be of too Shī'ī a flavour.

Also, the dynastic principle was applied in the same fashion as under the Umayyads, the heir being most often nominated by the ruling caliph after consultation with the most influential supporters of the régime. The procedure adopted bore a solemn character on some occasions; thus the testament of Hārūn al-Rashīd, which named two heirs, establishing a kind of division of the empire between them and specifying the rights and obligations of each towards the other, was displayed in the Ka'ba at Mecca in 185/802; the same procedure was used for the testament of al-Mu'tamid in 261/874.

But as in the preceding period, no rule determined this choice, and the caliph could just as well nominate a distant cousin as one of his sons. It was nevertheless to a son that the sovereign most often sought to bequeath his office, on condition that the son was of the required age or close to it, that is to say, to the age of majority. This need was admitted by all, as it had been already in the Umayyad period, but not the procedure for its application. On the one hand, a minor could be designated heir, since normally he was not required to assume immediately the function of caliph; on the other hand, the age of majority was not fixed in a precise fashion. It was only in 296/908 that the nomination of a caliph 13 years of age, al-Muqtadir, set a kind of precedent.

The practice of testamentary nominations posed another problem when these contained two names. It often happened that a new caliph sought to cancel the act established by his predecessor, so as to replace the person chosen as second heir and now becoming first heir—his brother most often—and to substitute for him his son, for example. It was necessary in such cases to obtain the abdication of the heir, since there was no procedure allowing for the dismissal of an heir, just as there was none for a caliph, and it was considered that the oath of allegiance already given was binding upon the heir as it was upon the community. In consequence, it was almost always by means of more or less violent persuasion that heirs considered to be undesirable were forced to renounce their rights.

As in the preceding period, it happened sometimes that a caliph died without having designated an heir. The choice then reverted to the community or at least to its most prominent representatives. On the death of al-Wāḥid in 232/847, it was a select committee composed of the chief-*kādīs*, of the vizier and some of the officers of the Turkish guard, who proceeded to the nomination of the future al-Mutawakkil. However, at the times of the sickness of al-Muktafi in 296/908, it was the vizier and the leading officials of the realm who chose a successor to the caliph, who had not chosen an heir. So the composition of the electoral council varied according to the circumstances.

Under the 'Abbāsids, no more than under the Umayyads, was there a procedure for deposing a ruler for moral faults. Where attempts were made to do this, it was a case of local councils, convoked in an arbitrary fashion, proclaiming the dethronement of the ruling sovereign or of the heir presumptive, and these had no more than a limited influence on the course of events. Examples of this were seen when al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn declared one another deposed, or when the population of Baghdād refused to obey al-Ma'mūn and proclaimed as caliph Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [q.v.]. In fact, these situations always culminated in a trial of strength, and the judicial death, banishment, dismissal or abdication of one of the rivals produced each time a judicial solution.

On the other hand, each abdication registered officially by the *kādīs* led to an interregnum, and abdications were frequent in the history of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. These were almost always forced abdications. One caliph, al-Kāhīr [q.v.], who refused to bow to pressure, had his eyes put out, by which means he was legally incapacitated from fulfilling his duties. But instances of forced abdication were particularly flagrant in the period of the Buwayhid *amirs*, who brutally deposed two caliphs to replace them with princes of their own choosing. The grand-*amir* then convoked each time an electoral college comprising the principal dignitaries of the State as well as jurists and members of the 'Abbāsīd and 'Alid families; but his own opinion was the only decisive one in the final choice.

It is only in the 'Abbāsīd period that one sees in the texts the office of caliph as clearly accompanied by insignia worn by the caliph when giving audience; there is mention of the cloak attributed to the Prophet (*burda* [q.v.]), his sceptre (*kaḍīb* [q.v.]), and of a high bonnet (*kalansuwa*), which first appeared no doubt in the Umayyad period (although the information concerning ceremonial in this period remains of dubious interpretation); in addition, in the 4th/10th century, a copy of the Qur'ān of 'Uthmān was carried ostentatiously by the caliph.

Insignia of this kind, recalling to a greater or lesser extent contemporary or previous courtroom practice, had the object of stressing the eminent qualities of the "successor of the Messenger of God", and a full etiquette governed the conduct of audiences, requiring from visitors and officials precisely defined marks of respect: the principal one being the kissing of the carpet (*taḥbīl*) on coming face-to-face with the sovereign, if not kissing his hand. A similar symbolism marked the manners of solemn processions, and when the caliph appeared in public outside the palace he was preceded by the chief of police bearing the lance (*harba*), at once the symbol of authority and a reminder of the customs of the Prophet.

Between the 2nd/8th and the 4th/10th centuries, the functions of the caliph are easy enough to determine, using the information supplied by the ancient chronicles. The caliph was then seen as the guardian of dogma, and in this capacity opposed innovations (*bida'*) and all that was considered to be such. He was thus permitted to play a part in the formulation of doctrine, and numerous examples of this may be cited: al-Mahdī ordered for example the persecution of the *zindīqs* [q.v.]; al-Ma'mūn and his two successors sought to impose Mu'tazilism as an official doctrine; al-Mutawakkil returned to the traditionalist position which condemned in particular the notion of the "created" nature of the Qur'ān; later, al-Mu'taḍid sought to curb the activities of popular preachers of traditionalist tendencies; al-Rādī, [q.v.] condemned Ḥanbalī theodicy; al-Kādir [q.v.], in the full swing of the Buwayhid period, proclaimed his adherence to a profession of faith of Ḥanbalī inspiration in an attempt to prevent the dissemination of other doctrines. On the other hand, the caliphs did not participate in the formulation of law; al-Mansūr did not take up the suggestion of Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q.v.] to establish a uniform code of law to which judges would be obliged to refer, and from this time onwards, the judicial schools were established, independent of all interference from the caliph. The measures which the caliph could take in the judicial sphere were thus limited to decrees applying to fiscal matters, although he was obliged, in his capacity as leader of the community, to ensure that the law was observed in all its various aspects.

The caliph was the *imām* [q.v.] par excellence, and conducted the Friday Prayers in the great mosque. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, however, he was exercising this function only in the great mosque of the caliph's residence, leaving to delegated officials the task of conducting the prayers and performing the *khutba* [q.v.] in the other great mosque of the capital. Similarly, he performed the Pilgrimage in his official capacity or sent a delegate on his behalf. Many of the earlier caliphs performed this religious duty in person, sometimes more than once, as in the case of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

In the same way, the caliph was expected to preside over the periodic expeditions against the lands of the infidel. This was done in person by Hārūn al-Rashīd, then by al-Ma'mūn, while subsequent caliphs delegated this duty to appointed officers. He also conducted campaigns against rebels, whoever these might be; but when operating against particularly ferocious enemies such as the Zandī [q.v.], he would delegate his powers to an effective regent, in this event, al-Muwaffak, brother of the sovereign al-Mu'tamid. The maintenance of order was in fact one of the normal obligations of the caliph, who was



obliged to defend the community against all types of subversion. It was also the caliph who was obliged eventually to deal with those governors who demanded financial autonomy and the hereditary status of their office. On the other hand, it was his duty to ensure the normal exercises of the judiciary in nominating directly—as the practice had been established since the start of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate—the *kādīs*, who were themselves subject, from the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd onwards, to the intermediate authority of the *kādī 'l-kudāt*. So the caliph delegated his powers to magistrates, but he reserved the right to arbitrate as a last resort in cases of litigation and to settle differences arising between administrators and administered. It was the practice of “redressing of wrong” that every caliph conscious of his reputation conducted in person, while other entrusted it to persons specially appointed for this purpose.

Finally, the caliph ensured the well-being of the state, though this concept was to some extent ignored in the middle period of Islam—that is to say, he ensured the material life of the community. In particular, he managed the levying of taxes of which the revenues were subsequently distributed between soldiers and officials, and these taxes were levied according to rules established at the end of the Umayyad caliphate [see *DIJZYA*, *KHARĀDJ*, *‘USHR*, *ZAKĀT*]. The collection of these taxes was entrusted to agents of the caliph, the *‘ummāl*, who collected sums in cash or contributions in kind from the administered peoples, or to “tax-farmers”, who sent to the treasury a lump sum and then recouped the equivalent by means of the sums collected in the territories entrusted to them; the method used remained at the discretion of the caliph. The system varied according to different regions and periods at the will of sovereigns constrained to a greater or lesser extent to cover continually rising expenses; but financial difficulties led the caliph to make a general practice of the farming-out of the taxes, advantageous in the short term but later to prove dangerous, and in the long term making the caliphs dependent on these tax-farmers.

Nevertheless, the details of the powers thus exercised by the caliph and related in precise fashion in the historical texts do not suffice to clarify completely the technicalities of a situation in respect of which two kinds of questions are posed. The first kind arises from the impossibility of deciding with certainty in what measure the authority of the caliph was, or could be, arbitrary or despotic. Certainly, the arbitrary exercise of power was in principle limited by the existence of the law, which the caliph was bound to respect, while enforcing it upon others, and which forbade him in particular to put a Muslim to death, except in precisely defined circumstances. But on the other hand, the duty incumbent on the caliph to suppress all rebellion gave him in this capacity a free hand in treating as a rebel against Islam every rebel against the dynasty, and thus in eliminating, sometimes in summary fashion, the enemies of his own policy.

The second set of problems arises from another difficulty, that of deciding to what extent the caliph himself exercised the powers with which he was invested. It is certain for example that the representatives of judicial authority enjoyed a certain degree of independence, in that they possessed knowledge and technical ability to which the caliph could only with difficulty lay claim; cases of resistance to the caliph on the part of provincial *kādīs*, or even

of the chief *kādī* of Baghdād, were not uncommon. It is certain also that the arbitrary exercise of the powers of the caliph was restricted, after the end of the 3rd/9th century, by the establishment of High Courts, before which individuals accused of treason or heresy were most often tried; in this period, only rebels caught bearing arms were executed or subjected to torture in a manner not authorised by the law; others were tried before courts where the final decision was taken by one or the other of the *kādīs* of Baghdād, playing the role of chief magistrate, although the caliph was not bound to ratify this decision.

In addition, it should be noted that in numerous other fields, between the 3rd/9th and the mid-4th/10th century, the caliph no longer reserved for himself the conduct of affairs. We cannot speak in this context of a steady progression, since we observe on the part of some sovereigns reactions in the opposite direction, which were generally of short duration. The evolution was, however, none the less irreversible and the main beneficiary was the vizier [see *WAZĪR*], a man of trust and reliability whose title appeared at the start of the ‘Abbāsīd regime, without from that time onwards being necessarily attributed in a regular fashion. It was to him that the caliph most often delegated the conduct of administrative affairs, and subsequently matters of general policy, including dealings with the governors of provinces and military affairs. The vizier was, however, entrusted with nothing more than the execution of political decisions which he had previously formulated and which had received the approval of his master; he was regularly accountable to him and could be dismissed at any moment, as could any agent of the sovereign, and was only the “minister” *par excellence* of the caliph, employed by him for as long as his activities gave satisfaction and liable to be replaced as soon as he ceased to please. The arbitrary will of a caliph who apparently disassociated himself from the conduct of affairs but wished nevertheless to retain the exercise of power, was much in evidence in these nominations and dismissals, of which we see examples in the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Muqtadir. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the caliph would have difficulty in holding cheap the services of a supporter who could assure him of such-and-such a group of partisans and faithful servants, without whom it would be impossible to govern, and from among whom originated the viziers. Even if there existed among the administrators themselves rival cliques which encouraged the exercise by the caliph of arbitrary power, the presence of these persons, linked to the régime which supplied them, according to the circumstances, with more or less high offices, remained an element of stability likely to discourage abuse of personal power in the golden age of the caliphate.

After the middle of the 4th/10th century, the caliphs ceased to exercise their authority in person, and even ceased to control those to whom they had delegated this authority, in whole or in part. It was then that there began the period of the “grand-amirate”, to be replaced a century later by the sultanate. The chief characteristic of this period is that the delegate of the caliph appeared first as a military commander and that after 336/945, that is to say ten years after the appointment of the first “grand-*amir*”, a dynasty of grand-*amirs* was established and the caliph was not permitted to interfere in the succession of these new officers. The authority that the latter exercised in all matters relating to

the administrative, financial and military spheres was nevertheless officially delegated from him, and the caliph retained, in theory at least, the right to appoint agents. It was thus that he succeeded, in certain exceptional cases, in exercising real power, and in one known instance, the Buwayhid *amir* was unable in spite of all his efforts to obtain for a Husaynī *sharif* nomination to the post of chief *kādi*. For, besides doctrine, the area in which the caliph continued to exercise some influence was the judiciary. There was, however, no clear-cut separation of functions between the caliph and the *amirs*, and it would be inaccurate to say that the latter exercised "temporal power", while the caliph retained a limited authority in "spiritual" matters. Not only did the caliph consider himself entitled to intervene in all areas of policy, but the *amirs* did not hesitate to use their authority for settling religious affairs, e.g. in promoting the celebration of specifically *Shi'i* feasts.

Moreover, the relations established between the caliphs and their *amirs* varied constantly. There was during the second half of the 4th/10th century a period when caliphs were frequently dethroned or forced to abdicate to be replaced by persons chosen by the *amirs*, although the latter did not always obtain by this means the result envisaged. On the contrary, in the first half of the 5th/11th century the caliphs al-*Kādir* and al-*Kā'im* were able to nominate their own heirs and enjoyed a resurgence of power, feeling themselves supported by the *Ghaznavid amirs* who appeared in *Khurāsān* and actively upheld Sunnī policies there. However, at this time there appeared the first examples of titles compounded with *dīn* and attributed to certain local *amirs*, to Buwayhids as well as *Ghaznavids*. This practice, the origin of which cannot be definitely identified, doubtless did not correspond so much to a new set-back in the authority of the caliph, as to a devaluation of the titles compounded with *dawla*, which were born at first only by the grand-*amirs*, later by the *Hamdānid amirs* of al-*Djazira*, and were eventually attributed to other *amirs* of secondary rank. In this period, titles employed in official documents became more and more pompous, and the caliph had himself called *al-hadra al-muqaddasa al-nabawiyya*, a title stressing the sacred character of an office now almost entirely void of its original significance.

The arrival of the *Saldjūk* Turks brought, in principle, no changes of an institutional order to the situation. The new *amirs* behaved like their predecessors, receiving a large measure of power which extended legally to the west, occupied by the *Fātimids*, as to the east; this is indicated notably by the title accorded to *Tuğhril Beg*, *malik al-mashrik wa'l-magrib*, in 449/1057. To be sure, they enjoyed in addition a more exalted title, that of *sultan*, which was perhaps originally chosen to show that they were the sole depositaries of the full range of the powers of the caliph. Another difference, with particular reference to the functioning of the régime, was that the *Saldjūk* sultans claimed to be defenders of the *Sunna* and the Sunnī caliphate, claiming to have come to the aid of the sovereign, with the particular object of re-opening the Pilgrimage route. But the tension was hardly less between the caliphs and the sultans than it had been previously between the caliphs and the grand-*amirs*.

Thus the sultans had imposed themselves on the caliphs in a manner which the latter could not and did not appreciate: it was with the greatest of dis-

pleasure that the caliph al-*Kā'im* was obliged to give his daughter in marriage to *Tuğhril Beg*, for example. On the other hand, the caliphs and the sultans did not follow the same political-religious orientation. Faced with sovereigns remaining loyal to the traditionalist *Ḥanbalī* doctrine, the sultans adopted the *Shāfi'i-Ash'ari* line, which was somewhat different, and it was of design that one of the most remarkable viziers, *Nizām al-Mulk*, founded in *Baghdād* as in the eastern provinces *madrasas* intended for the training of future lawyers. It was nevertheless admitted, in this period of domination by *Saldjūk* sultans, that the latter alone should nominate the candidate for the caliphate: this attitude was justified, as we know, in various of the writings of the celebrated al-*Ghazālī* who, among other things, castigated the "bad doctors", too eager to submit to the authority of the sultans. The doctors for their part, considered themselves at this time to be the true depositaries of the Law, and demanded in consequence no longer the capacity of *idjtihād* for the caliph which in principle was claimed for him in the past, but above all qualities of morality and piety.

In these difficult circumstances, the caliphs did not abandon the attempt to recover their power, undermined as it was from various quarters. Thus, about 460/1067-8, al-*Kā'im* dismissed a vizier judged to be too amenable to the sultan *Alp Arslān*. Then his successor al-*Muqtadī*, after the death of *Malik Shāh*, succeeded in profiting from the rivalries between the various claimants to the sultanate to make his own authority better respected. Subsequently, in 485/1092, al-*Mustarshid* managed to raise an army which permitted him to oppose the Arab chief *Dubays*, but which did not prevent him from being made a prisoner by sultan *Mas'ūd*. Finally, it fell to al-*Muqtafi*, after the death of *Mas'ūd* in 547/1152, to assert definitive sway over *Irāk*. Whatever the circumstances, the disintegration of the *Saldjūk* empire was accompanied by a multiplication in the number of sultans, and this fact alone further enfeebled the position of the *Saldjūks*; it was in 514/1120-1 that for the first time the *khuṭba* was made in *Baghdād* in the name of two sultans of this family, but the title of sultan had already been taken by the *Ghaznavid* *Ibrāhīm*, inasmuch as it appeared on his coinage, although it cannot be confirmed that the titulary in question had received the agreement of the caliph.

A new turning-point in the relations between caliphate and sultanate occurred in 547/1152 when the caliph, assisted by an energetic vizier, *Ibn Hubayra*, chased out of *Irāk* the *shihna* who represented the sultan and dismissed from his service Turkish and Iranian mercenaries, replacing them with Greek or Armenian *mamlūks*. *Ibn Hubayra*, who then received the title "*sulṭān* of *Irāk*", was also an eminent jurist of *Ḥanbalī* tendency, who strove in his works to minimise the differences between judicial schools, so as better to reinforce Sunnism.

Finally there appeared on the scene, in 575/1180, a new caliph, al-*Nāṣir*, who followed the policy of his predecessor but used different means. His knowledge of religious sciences permitted him to pose as the "doctor" whom the community must follow. Deriving support on the other hand from the *Sūfis* and the members of the *futuwwa* communities which he reorganised under his own direction in 604/1207, he tried to bring about the unification of the community of Islam and to draw into the framework of his authority the greatest possible number of princes.

One of his propagandists, Abū Ḥaḥṣ al-Suhrawardī, thus formulated a theory of the caliphate which, while retaining the traditional bases, linked to these Ṣūfism and the *futuwwa*, making the caliph the intermediary between God and the believers and giving him the attributes of a kind of *shaykh*.

Al-Nāṣir, who had no vizier as such, was better able by virtue of this to assert his political prerogatives: he succeeded in having his authority recognized by the powerful Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (576/1181), who for his part declared himself a defender of the caliphate and of Islam. It was nevertheless with difficulty that he obtained the *bay'a* of certain local *amirs* of Persia and Upper Mesopotamia. Moreover, the efforts of al-Nāṣir, in which he continued until his death in 622/1225, did not prevent the caliphate from remaining fragile as an institution, and the great reconciliation between Sunnī and Shī'īs which was one of the most cherished objectives of his policy was never achieved. After only a few more years, the Mongols put an end to the 'Abbāsīd caliphate of Baghdād, executing the caliph al-Musta'ṣim in Ṣafar 656/February 1258.

Even so, one should not forget the importance of the rôle played throughout the Saldjūḳ and post-Saldjūḳ period by an 'Abbāsīd caliph, whom a number of local rulers recognised as the guarantor of their power. Alongside the sultans, who were not so numerous, even when the sultanate was conferred upon several dynasties (Saldjūḳs of Rūm and of Iran, and Ghaznavids), there were princes of Syria, of Anatolia or of Iran who to some extent put themselves under the authority of the caliph, bearing among their titles a title with the component of *-amir al-mu'minin* bestowed by the chancellery of Baghdād and stressing their personal link with the caliph. This was the case with Zankids and Ayyūbids in Syria, Rasūlids in the Yemen, Ghaznavids, Ghūrīds and princes of Delhi in eastern Iran and in India, to mention only the most important of this group. Different relationships were established too between the caliph and a prince of the Islamic west such as the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, who had confirmed by the chancellery of Baghdād the new title of *amir al-muslimin* which he had just taken upon himself. But this came about in a political milieu, that of the Muslim West, where the process of evolution had been quite different from that in the East, and where since the 4th/10th century rival caliphates to that of the 'Abbāsīds had appeared.

### C. The caliphates of the west.

It was at the beginning of the 4th/10th century that an Umayyad *amir* of Spain put an end to the situation which had previously arisen in the region: the situation of a local prince who, while not recognising the authority of the caliph of Baghdād, nevertheless allowed the *khutba* to be made in his name. Then, in 316/928, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III declared himself *amir al-mu'minin*. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this decision was explained by the fact that at that time "the authority of the caliphate of the east was reduced to nothing". To this should be added the fact that the Fāṭimīd Shī'ī caliphate had appeared in Ifrikiya, and the new caliph of al-Andalus hoped to make himself the champion of Sunnism against this new form of sovereignty.

The new caliphs essentially based their legitimacy on the idea of inheritance. "Sons of the caliphs", they considered the caliphate a "portion" set aside by God for the Banū Umayya, who had inherited it from Marwān, if not from 'Uthmān himself, as was

stated by Ibn Bassām who went so far as to call the Umayyad caliph "kinsman of the Prophet" by virtue of his status as a member of Quraysh. Furthermore, in imitation of the Umayyads, the caliphs of Spain adopted the colour of white. They applied the hereditary principle in a stricter manner than did the 'Abbāsīds, not considering the minority of an heir presumptive as an obstacle to his proclamation. But the succession was put into effect by the same process, *bay'a*, whether preceded by an *'ahd* or not. Also, the *bay'a* held a more important place than in the Orient and sometimes the rite lasted several days.

The caliph frequently declared himself the "caliph of God". He governed in a direct fashion, surrounded by a council of viziers, but in the course of the 4th/10th century, he rapidly ceased to take an active interest in the conduct of affairs, relying on a prime minister who bore, in Spain, the title of *hādīb*, not that of *wazīr*: whence the appearance, in 371/981, of a dynasty of "major-domos", of which the founder was the famous al-Manṣūr (Almanzor). A kind of sultanate was thus established in Spain also, but it lasted only a short time, since the caliphate came to an end, in a period of disturbances, in 422/1031.

In the West, other Sunnī caliphs appeared subsequently in rivalry to the caliph of Baghdād. If the Almoravids contented themselves, as has been seen, with the title of *amir al-muslimin*, which they adopted with the consent of the chancellery of Baghdād, the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min, successor to the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, ca. 525/1132 took the title of *amir al-mu'minin*, thus setting himself up as a rival to the 'Abbāsīd sovereign and claiming that he was restoring a caliphate now in decline, in the same way that the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart had revived Islam; in addition, the Almohad caliph, just as was previously the Shī'ī *imām*, was the bearer of the *'isma*. Although the original character of the Almohad movement was gradually effaced, to the point where one chronicler declared that the sons of 'Abd al-Mu'min had transformed the caliphate into a *mulk* (al-Maḥḳkārī, viii, 23), the Almohad protocol retained in its formulae (*al-ḥadra al-'aliyya al-sunniyya al-tāhira al-kuḍsiyya*), a reminder of the initial doctrine. The title of caliph was subsequently taken over by the Ḥaḥṣīds, successors to the Almohads, and likewise by the Marīnīds.

### D. The Fāṭimīd caliphate and the Shī'ī imāmates.

Founded in 297/909 in Ifrikiya by the Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh, the Fāṭimīd caliphate [q.v.], the appearance of which had, as stated above, led to the constitution of an Umayyad caliphate in Spain, had only a temporary historical rôle to play—it lasted in fact only until 567/1171—but dominated a vast expanse of territory, including Egypt and Syria, and for a brief period came close to endangering the institution of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. It was a Shī'ī caliphate derived from the Ismā'īlī movement. As such, it presented a different aspect from that of the Sunnī caliphate; the caliph was the *imām ma'sūm*, impeccable and infallible, supreme interpreter of the Law. This charismatic leader derived his powers from his predecessor by virtue of an explicit nomination (*naṣṣ*), kept secret throughout the preceding reign and revealed only after the death of the caliph, by the man of trust to whom it had been confided. Opinion held that the descent should be by a direct line, from father to son, and by virtue of the Shī'ī doctrine, the community could not remain even for a moment without an *imām*, whom it had no right to nominate.

This principle of accession was applied in a general way throughout the duration of the Fāṭimid caliphate. After the demise of each sovereign the *waṣīyya* of the late caliph, revealed by the senior minister, was put into effect. Nevertheless, after the end of the 5th/11th century the system ceased to function regularly, as the ministers had begun to exert too much influence and to involve themselves in affairs of succession. As early as 411/1021, on the death of al-Ḥākim, who had nominated one of his cousins, his sister Sitt al-Mulk decided that the appointment made by al-Ḥākim was contrary to the rule and intervened to have the son of the late caliph proclaimed. Later, in 487/1094, the minister al-Afdal proclaimed the succession of one of the caliph's sons, al-Mustaʿīn, whereas another son, Nizār, had, in the opinion of some, been named by the *waṣīyya*. This was the origin of the schism of the Nizārīs or neo-Ismāʿīlīs. Another crisis occurred in 525/1130, when the caliph al-ʿAmir died without male issue and without having named an heir: this caused some public disorder, if we are to believe the historians; the caliphate passed to a collateral branch of the family. More serious was the initiative taken by the minister ʿAlāʾī in 555/1160 when, upon the death of al-Fāʾiz, he sought out a candidate for the caliphate without troubling to discover whether the late caliph had designated an heir. The new caliph could not be under age, as was the case with al-Fāʾiz; in such an instance a *de facto* regency exercised power, and sometimes the trustees were women. This was what happened for example in the case of the aunt of al-Fāʾiz, and previously in the case of the sister of al-Ḥākim, who for a time made her authority supersede that of a nephew, then seventeen years of age. Let it be added, that throughout the closing years of the régime, the candidate for the caliphate, whose position was the same as that of the *walī ʿl-ʿahd* for the ʿAbbāsids, was appointed by the minister.

The new caliph received a *bayʿa* which apparently did not differ from the *bayʿa* made for the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs. This *bayʿa* was, however, in principle simply an expression of homage, and could not in any sense be considered a designation of the sovereign.

The caliph, as *imām*, was in this respect the chief of propaganda, the interpreter of the law, the source of all knowledge. The panegyrists did not cease to develop these themes, stressing that the caliph was the friend (*walī*) of God, intercessor for all; the doctrine of the *walāya* was in fact regarded by the jurists as one of the pillars of the faith. Only the caliph al-Ḥākim went so far as to consider himself an incarnation of the deity, or at least, he allowed himself to be proclaimed as such (in 408/1017).

The theocratic nature of power was thrown into especial relief under the Fāṭimid caliphate. Nevertheless, the conditions for the exercise of power did not differ noticeably from what they were under a Sunnī caliphate. Here also the authority of the caliph fell into decline and, in the 5th/10th and the 6th/11th centuries, power was in the hands of all-powerful ministers who, to the normal title of *wazīr*, succeeded in adding that of *malik* (530/1135), and some of whom passed on their power in what was temporarily a hereditary manner. The last of these ministers was ʿAlāh al-Dīn, who put an end to the régime, restoring the *khutba* to the name of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph and depriving the last Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀdīd of his rights and powers, without however proclaiming his dethronement.

Although the Ismāʿīlī movement thus succeeded in maintaining an effective caliphate for more than two centuries, there never was such a possibility for the Imāmī movement, whose devotees continue to this day to await the return of the *Mahdī*.

On the other hand, the Zaydī movements led to the creation of Zaydī states ruled by *imāms* descended from al-Hasan. One of these states, that of Ṭabaristān, constituted in the mid-3rd/9th century, was short-lived, but the other, the Yemen, constituted in 288/901, lasted into the very recent past, covering, it is true, only a very limited area. The Zaydī *imāms*, though not considered impeccable, were doctors schooled in the religious sciences as well as warriors. The most famous of these was the founder of the state of the Yemen, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, who took the surname *al-Hādī ilā ʿl-hak̄k*, as well as the title *amīr al-muʿminīn*, which appeared in the state documents and on the coinage. Al-Hādī, considered by the Zaydīs to be a model sovereign, possessed, in addition to his qualities of courage, a great knowledge of law and great piety. It is said that he strove to apply strictly the prescriptions of Islam, especially in fiscal matters, and to him are attributed a number of scholarly writings. Under the terms of the Zaydī doctrine, the *imām* did not command unconditional obedience, because the subordination of the subjects ceased if the caliph deviated from the prescriptions of the Book and the *Sunna*. On the other hand the imāmate did not necessarily pass from father to son, since it was personal qualities which, in addition to ʿAlid origin, gave entitlement to the imamate. This explains how it was that the Zaydī imāmate succeeded in surviving into the 20th century, in spite of interruptions, especially in the Ayyūbid and Ottoman periods, and in spite of various vicissitudes.

#### E. The institution of the caliphate after 658/1258.

If the murder of al-Mustaʿīm and the Mongol invasions did not bring about the effective disappearance of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphate, the new era which began at this date was nevertheless of a quite different character. The Mamlūks, having taken power in Egypt and Syria, took to Cairo a member of the ʿAbbāsīd family, the uncle of the last caliph of Baghdād, and Baybars had this man declared caliph through the good offices of the chief *kādī* who had verified his genealogy (*Raʿḍab* 659/June 1261). This individual, who took the surname al-Mustaʿīr, claimed in his first *khutba* all the privileges of the caliph and claimed to extend his authority over the whole Islamic world, to which end Baybars entrusted an army to him. He failed in his attempt to reconquer Baghdād, and the new caliph, al-Ḥākim, who was then proclaimed in Cairo (*Muḥarram* 661/November 1262) and installed in the citadel, no longer had the right to interfere in political life; his presence seems to have had no other purpose than to render legitimate the power effectively exercised by the Mamlūks, according to a regulation which remained in force for two-and-a-half centuries.

From a juridical viewpoint, the caliph remained, it is true, titular holder of a sovereignty which continued to be transmitted in the line of the caliph al-Ḥākim. But the ensemble of powers, including the right of nominating various agents, had been delegated to the sultan, who was henceforward chosen by the Mamlūks and invested with the sultanate by the caliph. The author al-Kalkāshandī compares the sultanate to a delegated vizierate, and declares besides that it consisted of a combination

of the *imārat al-istilā'* with the *wizārat al-tafwīd* (*Ṣubḥ*, xi, 72), which shows the importance that he still attached to the investiture by the caliph. The sultanate had none the less acquired a kind of juridical autonomy; when the Mamlūks could not agree on the appointment of a sultan, as happened for example in 815/1412, they entrusted to the caliph the powers of the sultan, which were thus, according to the chroniclers, "added" temporarily to the caliphate.

In addition, the caliphs lost in Cairo certain of their privileges, the right of *sikka*, which was no longer observed from the time of the third caliph onwards, the right of *khutba* which seems to have fallen into disuse, while the traditional insignia of the caliphate were henceforward carried by the sultans themselves. The name of the caliph was no longer mentioned in the *khutba* at Mecca, but retained the prestige of holding a power of divine origin and of being, as in the past, the "lieutenant of God on earth" (*nā'ib Allāh fī arḍi-hi*). So obedience to the caliph seems to have been, especially for rulers of distant provinces, a kind of religious duty. Investiture at his hands was always sought by various sovereigns, notably the Muẓaffarids of Iran, the sultans of Delhi and the Ottomans of Anatolia. *Ḳhalīl al-Ẓāhirī* (d. 862/1468) wrote: "The *amir* of the believers is the lieutenant of God on earth and no prince of east or west can justly call himself sultan if he has not received investiture at his hands." Without this investiture, he could not for example nominate a *ḡādī* whose decisions were to be valid.

Various princes of this period refused, however, to recognise the 'Abbāsīd caliphs of Cairo. This happened notably in the case of the Il-*Ḳhānīd Ghazān Ḳhān*, who occupied Damascus in 698/1299 and had himself named in the *khutba* "the august sultan, sultan of Islam and the Muslims". As for the *Timūrid Shāh Rūkh*, he considered himself sovereign by divine right and it was his ambition to be recognized as *Ḳhalīfa* by the other princes which was refused by the Mamlūk sultan Barsbāy and the Ottoman sultan Murād II.

Moreover, it seems that from the end of the 7th/13th century onwards, certain princes introduced the word *Ḳhalīfa* into their titles, without however appropriating the title *amir al-mu'minin*; this was done by the *Saldjūk* sultans of Rūm, protected by the Mongols, and also by the sultans of *Dihli*. The *Türkmen Uzun Hasan* (857-82/1453-78) wrote *ca.* 875/1471 to the Ottoman sultan concerning his new capital *Shīrāz*, calling it the "throne of the caliphate". At the beginning of the 10th/16th century the prince of *Transoxania*, *Muḥammad Shāybanī*, put on his coinage the title *Ḳhalīfat al-Raḡmān*. While it is admitted that these titles did not always correspond to a precise aspiration, it appears that from the time of the Mongol invasions onwards, the title of *Ḳhalīfa* was no longer reserved for the 'Abbāsīd *amir* of the Believers and that a number of rulers did not hesitate to take it up, as though it were a normal title of Muslim sovereigns.

This title appeared notably in letters of congratulation addressed by allies to Ottoman sultans after certain of their successes. Thus *Murād I* at the end of the 8th/14th century saw fit to call himself "chosen *Ḳhalīfa* of the Creator", and "shadow of God on the earth". A little later, the sultan *Bāyazīd* did not hesitate to apply to himself verse VI, 165 of the *Ḳur'ān*: "we have made of you a representative (*Ḳhalīfa*) on the earth." In the same way, *Meḥemmed I* after the restoration of the Ottoman empire at the start of the 9th/15th century, spoke of his "caliphate", a term which the other Ottoman sovereigns

did not hesitate to use on certain occasions in dealings with their allies. At all events, and in spite of the fact that *Meḥemmed II the Conqueror* did not take to himself the title of *Ḳhalīfa*, official correspondence addressed to the Ottomans by their neighbours did not cease to consider them repositories of the caliphate and *Selīm* himself, after 1512, was called by his brother "shadow of God on earth".

It is noteworthy that at the same period too, various eulogists applied on occasion to Ottoman sultans the title of *Ḳhalīfa* or *Ḳhalīfat Allāh*, although these expressions were nothing more than laudatory epithets, appearing generally in texts of rhymed prose and not to be regarded as official titles. More often, indirect expressions such as "the throne of the caliphate" were employed.

In fact, the Ottoman sultans early wished to be considered, without however claiming the title *amir al-mu'minin*, as bearers of the sultanate and the caliphate combined, a caliphate conceived by the Muslim thinkers of the time in terms completely different from those of early Islam. Thus two thinkers as different one from the other as *Ibn Taymiyya* and *Ibn Ḳhaldūn* agree in declaring that the caliphate ceased after the *rāshidūn* caliphs and that the sovereignty exercised by the *Umayyads* and the 'Abbāsīds had never been more than a sort of "royalty". This was their way of expressing how they were struck by the contrast between the theory of the caliphate as it had been formulated by *al-Māwardī* and the reality which they saw. It may be added that the lawyers of the *Ḥanafī* school were also of the opinion that the true caliphate had lasted no more than thirty years, up to the death of 'Alī. For their part, *Persian* authors, such as *Dawwānī*, who wrote in the 9th/15th century, supported the thesis which held to be a caliph every sovereign who became, as defender of the cause of Islam, "representative" of God on earth. As was stressed by *Sir Thomas Arnold*, the title *amir al-mu'minin*, associated with the traditional *Ḳuraṣhī* caliphate, was then abandoned, while the powerful sovereigns of the *Irano-Turkish* world sought to adorn themselves with the title of *Ḳhalīfa*; they considered themselves, in fact, simply by virtue of their taking power, as sovereigns by divine right and lieutenants of God.

At the same time, they recognised no authority on the part of the caliph of Cairo. This is seen in the episode when the sultan *Selīm* conquered *Syria*, then *Egypt*, making a prisoner of the caliph *al-Mutawakkil*, treating him with a complete lack of deference and exiling him to *Constantinople*. *al-Mutawakkil* was unable to leave this involuntary exile until the reign of the sultan *Sulaymān*, returning to *Egypt* where he died in 950/1543; he made no further exercise of his functions as caliph, except in conferring the investiture on the governor *Aḥmad Paṣḥa*, a governor who had rebelled against the Ottoman sultan. The fact emerges clearly from the account of these events that the last 'Abbāsīd caliph was considered of negligible importance by the victorious Ottoman sultan.

On the other hand, not one of the historical accounts states in precise fashion that *Selīm* sought to take to himself the legacy of the caliphate to the extent that might be inferred from the late, popular versions which began to circulate at the end of the 18th century and were collected by *Mouradgea d'Ohsson*. There is no justification for the view that there was an official transfer of the caliphate to *Constantinople*. It is true that certain relics of the Prophet and of the Companions were transferred

to the capital of the Ottoman empire; as for sultan Selīm and his successors, they never bore officially in documents of state, inscriptions and coinage, titles other than *sulṭān* and *khāḡān*; they did not use those of *amīr al-mu'minīn* or of *imām*. The only new title adopted by Selīm after the conquest of Egypt was that of *khādīm al-haramayn* [q.v.], which was in fact a title belonging to the Mamlūk sultans and not to the caliph.

These ill-defined pretensions of the Ottoman sultans towards sovereignty over the entire Islamic world, came into conflict in certain respects, in the east, with the ambitions of the Mughal rulers of India during the 16th and 17th centuries. After the reign of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) [q.v.], the capital of these faraway but powerful princes, Dihli, was called *dār al-khilāfa* ("seat of the caliphate") and the coinage of Akbar bore the inscription: "the great sultan, the exalted *khālifa*." The Mughals, who dealt on equal terms with the Ottomans, continued until the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II (1173/1760) to qualify themselves with the title of *khālifa*, although it is unclear to what extent they were thereby disowning the traditional concept of the Qurashī caliphate.

Nevertheless, it was the masters of the Ottoman empire who finally enjoyed the distinction, in the 18th century, of being presented by their diplomats to foreigners, including European monarchs, as the holders of the "caliphate". An example of this appeared in 1774 in the treaty concluded between 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I and the empress Catharine of Russia; the sultan was called "the *imām* of the Believers and the caliph of those who profess the divine unity", an expression which at the time was rendered in French by "le Souverain calife de la religion mahométane". The intention was to retain the sultan's religious authority over Muslim populations which had passed under foreign domination; this the Russians did not accept (the treaty was revised in 1783). In any case, from this time onward, and throughout the 19th century, in the various confrontations which occurred between the Ottomans and the European states, the Ottoman sultans strove to present themselves officially as caliphs, that is to say, as the spiritual leaders of the Muslims and defenders of Islam. The distinction, of European origin, between the spiritual and the temporal thus found, through the exigencies of the situation, echoes in Ottoman circles. Hence the constitution formulated in December 1876 by the sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II declared explicitly in its art. 3: "The august Ottoman sultanate, the office of the supreme Islamic caliphate, must devolve upon the eldest of the members of the family"; and in art. 4: "the sultan, in his capacity as caliph, is the protector of the Muslim religion".

Even though the process of giving executive force to the constitution of 1876 was postponed until 1908, the sultan continued to hold to this conception which enabled him to assert his authority over the Arab countries and furthermore to embrace the ideal of pan-Islamic unity, inspired in him by Dījāmāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q.v.]. The principle was in any case recognised in the countries of the West, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, after the annexation of the province to the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1908, the name of the Ottoman sultan continued to be mentioned in the public prayers. In Libya, even after the establishment of the Italian protectorate, the chief *kāḡī* of that country was still appointed by the Ottoman *shaykh al-Islām*. In Bulgaria, under the terms of the treaty

of Constantinople of 1913, the prerogatives of the Ottoman sultan, though more strictly limited, were nevertheless upheld, as was also the case in Greece at that time.

It should be added that the Ottoman sultans had, in fact, for a number of centuries, exercised functions similar to those of the ancient caliphs, with the difference that they sought to establish a more regular system. In addition to the law, they formulated a code of rules, the purpose of which was in principle to supplement the Law, but which sometimes tended to supplant it; called *kānūn*, it was employed by Sulaymān the Great as by the other sultans, and was applied not only to financial questions, but also to questions such as the problem of succession. Later, in the 19th century, the sultans sought, under the pressure of various circumstances, to modernise the structures of the Ottoman state. This is not the place to examine the reforming measures known as the *Tanzīmāt* [q.v.], but it should be recalled that it was in their capacity as leaders of an important Muslim community that the sultans introduced modifications in the traditional *fiqh*, as in the organisation of public powers. The movement culminated in the formulation of the constitution of 1876 which envisaged a parliamentary régime and which did not come into force until 1908.

The installation of a parliamentary régime, then the appearance of the officers of the Committee of Union and Progress, had the effect of calling into question, even before the First World War, the sultanate and the caliphate. The Young Turks had at first been cautious, and if they sought to circumscribe the powers of the sultan, they tended also to use the expedient of the caliphate to maintain Turkish influence over the Arab lands. The issue of the war modified the assumptions of the problem, since the new Turkish nationalism, whose champion was Muṣṭafā Kemāl, had nothing to do with the caliphate. The suppression of the ancient institutions was nevertheless gradual. Muṣṭafā Kemāl began by attacking the sultanate, while recognising the caliphate as "a moral link, sacred and respected by the entire Muslim world." On the 1st November 1922, the sultanate was abolished by the Grand National Assembly of Ankara, which reserved for itself the right to choose the holder of the caliphate under the terms of the Constitution adopted in January 1921 and which declared the sovereignty of the people. The sultan Mehmed VI, deposed by means of a *fatwā*, went into exile and was replaced by 'Abd al-Maḡīd, who had been chosen by the Assembly and was asked to consider himself only as the caliph of the Muslims. In fact, the new caliphate was ill-defined, and fruitless discussions were held regarding the functions to be attributed to a figure in whom Muṣṭafā Kemāl, in April 1923, recognised above all "supreme inter-Islamic authority" and the "symbol of Islamic solidarity", and yet who held no real spiritual power, for he did not have the right to appoint *kāḡīs*, *muftīs* or preachers. In January 1924 Muṣṭafā Kemāl declared: "The idea of a single caliph, exercising supreme religious authority over all the peoples of Islam, is an idea taken from fiction, not from reality." In February, the caliphate was abolished by the National Assembly which was then endowed with all powers of legislation (*tashrī'*). The prayer was delivered in the name of *al-Hukūma al-djūmhūriyya wa 'l-milla al-islāmiyya*. Meanwhile, a group of 'ulamā' had drafted a document which was circulated not only in Turkey but also in the Arab countries and which tried to show that the problem

of the caliphate was a question not of theology but of practical politics, that the caliphate had not been instituted by the Prophet and that it did not constitute a fundamental element of Islam.

The abolition of the caliphate, of which the concept had changed somewhat since the 7th/13th century, was none the less powerfully resented in the Middle-East, where various projects were attempted for the restitution of this institution, considered to be fundamental to the very life of the community of Islam. The *sharif* of Mecca, Ḥusayn, made an attempt to have himself recognised as caliph, but succeeded only with a few neighbouring princes. In 1926, two congresses were held, which had the object of debating the issue of the caliphate; one took place in March, in Cairo, the other in July at Mecca, without any result. The western powers, for their part, sought to encourage the restoration of the caliphate, on the condition that the holder be their ally. In 1930 there was denunciation from certain Muslim quarters of the policies of the British, who continued to give financial support to the former Ottoman sultan while backing King Ḥusayn, and those of the French, who favoured the Bey of Tunis. Then in 1931, a congress of '*ulamā*' and political figures was held in Jerusalem. It had no result other than to affirm the spirit of solidarity which still existed among Arab and Muslim countries and which was the origin of the "Congress of Arab Unity" held in 1937 and from which arose the League of Arab States, founded in 1944. Meanwhile, the attempt of King Fārūq of Egypt, in 1939, to revive the caliphate to his own advantage, met with vigorous opposition from the Turkish government. The rise of nationalism thus brought about the transformation of a pan-Islamic movement into a simply pan-Arab movement.

In fact, Muslim opinion was in general resigned to the new situation, entrusting interpretation of the Law to the doctors, and political affairs to the *de facto* authorities. Even in 1922, the reformist Rashīd Riḍā had proposed a plan for the reform of the caliphate in his work *al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-ʿUzmā*; he asserted that no Arab sovereign was worthy to accede to this office and he proposed the holding of a seminar with the purpose of drawing up a list of doctors from among whom the caliph would be chosen; the rôle of the caliph would essentially have been to adapt Islamic law to the conditions of modern life. But such a project was never realised.

More radical was the theory advanced by a *shaykh* of al-Azhar, 'Alī 'Abd al-Razīk, who, in 1925, wrote an essay entitled *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-hukm* "Islam and the bases of power", which caused a sensation in traditionalist Muslim circles because it laid down a doctrinal basis for the separation of the temporal and the spiritual, and suggested that the government of the Prophet at Medina was not dependent on the prophetic mission. This work was condemned by the *shaykhs* of al-Azhar, but the notion of temporal sovereignty continued nevertheless to take root in Muslim circles during the decades that followed.

*Bibliography*: Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924 and 2nd edn. 1965 (completed for the modern period by S. Haim), remains the basic work, to be completed, for the older period, by E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, *Le califat*, Paris 1954, ii, *Califat et sultanat*, 1957.

On special aspects, see M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history, A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971; W. Montgomery Watt, *God's caliph. Qur'anic interpretation and Umayyad claims, in Iran and Islam* (ed. C. E. Bosworth), Edinburgh 1971, 565-

74; D. S. Margoliouth, *The sense of the title Khalifah*, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922; Rudi Paret, *Signification coranique de ḥalīfa et d'autres dérivés de la racine ḥalāfa*, in *St. Isl.* xxxi, (1970), 211-17; idem, *Ḥalīfat Allāh - Vicarius Dei*, in *Mélanges d'islamologie (Armand Abel)*, Leiden 1974, 224-32; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāsīde*, Damascus 1959-60.

A. H. Siddiqi, *Caliphate and sultanate in medieval Persia*, Karachi 1969; H. Busse, *Chalif and Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969; G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqil et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Damascus 1963; idem, *Les rapports entre calife et sultān à l'époque saljūqide*, in *IJMES*, vi (1975), 228-36; H. Mason, *Two statesmen of mediaeval Islam, vizir Ibn Hubayra, caliph an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, The Hague-Paris 1972; A. Hartmann, *La conception gouvernementale du calife an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxii (1973), 52-61; idem, *An-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, Berlin 1975, esp. 109-21; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imamat zaidite au Yémen*, Fr. tr., Leiden 1960; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg 1912.

R. Hartmann, *Zur Vorgeschichte des 'abbāsīdischen Schein-Chalifats von Cairo*, in *Abh. des deutschen Ak. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1947, No. 9, Berlin 1950, 3-10; D. Ayalon, *Studies on the transfer of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate from Bagdad to Cairo*, in *Arabica*, vii, (1960), 41-59.

H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman empire, the classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973; H. A. R. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, ii/1, Oxford 1950; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, passim; M. van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'Occident*, in *JA* (1907/1), 245-335; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsiides*, i, Paris 1940, esp. 40. (D. SOURDEL)

#### (ii) IN POLITICAL THEORY

There are two references to *ḥalīfa* in the Qur'ān (Sūra II, 30 and Sūra XXXVIII, 26). The first, "We have made thee a *ḥalīfa* in the land; then judge between the men with the truth, and follow not thy desires, lest they cause thee to err from the path of God", refers to Adam. The second, "We have made thee a *ḥalīfa* in the earth; so judge between the people with truth" is addressed to David. The plural (*ḥalā'if* and *ḥulafā'*), which occurs frequently, means successors (i.e. progeny) (see further R. Paret, *Signification coranique de ḥalīfa*, in *Studia Islamica*, xxxi (*pars prior*), 211-17, and W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic political thought*, Edinburgh 1968, 32 ff.). For the commentators such as Zamakhsharī, the concept of Adam included or typified all mankind and the prophets, while David had the dual rôle of king and prophet. Although there is no indication that the word *ḥalīfa* was intended to serve as the title of the successor of Muḥammad, both the passages quoted above are important for the development of the theory of the *ḥalīfa* as the successor of the prophet, and his office, the *ḥilāfa*.

It is asserted by Muslim historians that the term *ḥalīfa* was first used as the title of the successor of Muḥammad by Abū Bakr, but it is doubtful whether he ever assumed it as a title (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, II A.H., para. 63 n. 1). From the reign of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, however, *ḥalīfat rasūl Allāh*, successor of the messenger of God, became the common designation of the leader of the community, the *amīr al-mu'minīn* [q.v.], the Commander of the Faithful, the title which 'Umar had adopted on his

election (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḥaddima*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1858, i, 408-14, ed. Beirut 1886, 227-30 and cf. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 19, and idem, *The 'Abbāsīd Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 140-1 on *amir al-mu'minin*). The title *khalīfat rasūl Allāh* implied the assumption by Muḥammad's successor of Muḥammad's functions as judge and temporal leader of the community. Muḥammad's prophetic function, on the other hand, was held to have ceased with him and it was believed that the spiritual guidance of the community had been inherited by the community as a whole. The *khalīfa*, thus, had no authority to give new interpretations to religious matters: his function was merely to maintain old doctrines. His office was simply a delegation of authority for the purpose of applying and defending the *sharī'a*. The title *khalīfat rasūl Allāh* was commonly applied to the orthodox or rightly guided caliphs (the Rāshidūn), who were regarded as the representatives or successors of Muḥammad. Mu'āwiyā's claim to the caliphate, if it was based on the text of the Qur'ān (XVII, 35), was to be sultan: as such he was not Muḥammad's deputy but God's, and the title *khalīfat Allāh*, vicegerent of God, appears to have been approved by the Umayyads (D. S. Margoliouth, *The sense of the title Khalīfah, in A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922, 327). The phrase *khalīfat Allāh* had earlier excited the indignation of Abū Bakr, because of the boldness of its implication. It was, nevertheless, used by Ḥassān b. Thābit in A.D. 35 in an elegy he wrote on the caliph 'Uthmān (*Diwān of Ḥassān Ibn Thābit* ed. W. N. Ararat, *GMS*, N.S. xxv1-2, London 1971, i, 96). The 'Abbāsīds later employed the title *khalīfat Allāh*, but its use was resisted by many of the 'ulamā, who rejected the idea that the *khalīfa* was the representative of God and the implication of autocratic power contained in the title (I. Goldziher, *Muhammadanische Studien*, ii, 61, H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate*, in *Studies in the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and W. R. Polk, London 1962, 158, S. D. Goitein, *Attitudes towards government in Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 203). An attempt to limit the true caliphate to the Rāshidūn, on the basis of a tradition attributed to the prophet which states "the caliphate after me will be thirty years: then it will become kingship" (quoted by Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, 328), did not become accepted doctrine. Later Sunnī jurists, however, drew a distinction between the caliphate of the Rāshidūn, the *khalīfat al-nubuwwa* (the vicariate of prophecy) and the later caliphate which they held to have had the character of worldly kingship (*mulk*) [q.v. in IMĀMA].

As used in the sources, the terms *khalīfa* and *imām* (and *khalīfa* and *imāma* [q.v.], which refer to his office) are broadly interchangeable. The former is primarily applied to the supreme leader of the Muslim community as the ruler of the community exercising the "temporal" functions of Muḥammad, while the latter is applied to him as the religious leader of the community and derives from his function of leading the prayers of the community, which, in the view of the Sunnīs, was his most important function. The propriety of the election of Abū Bakr was, in fact, defended by many jurists on the ground that he had led the prayers. In *fiḥh* literature the terms *imām* and *imāma* are used in preference to *khalīfa* and *khalīfat*. Among later

writers traces are occasionally to be found of a distinction between the functions of the leader of the community as *khalīfa* and as *imām*. For example Rāwandī alleges that Ṭuḡrīl b. Arslān's atabeg, Muḥammad Pahlavān-djahān, used openly to say, "The *imām* should occupy himself with delivering the *khūḍba* and leading the prayers, which are the best of actions and the greatest of deeds and which uphold (or protect) profane rulers; and he should entrust kingship to sultans and leave rule to this sultan (*i.e.*, Ṭuḡrīl)" (*Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl, *GMS*, N.S. ii, London, Leiden 1921, 334).

Politics and religion in Islam were inextricably mixed and the political doctrines of the *khalīfa* as the leader of the community cannot be easily separated from the theological and juridical doctrines concerning his office [see IMĀMA]. The early doctrinal disputes and religious polemics—the controversies over the imamate raised by the first civil war, the development of the Shī'at 'Alī and the Khawāriḍj schisms, the succession of the Umayyads and their overthrow by the 'Abbāsīds, the Mu'tazilī movement and its refutation by the Ash'arīs, and the polemics against the Rawāfiḍ and Khawāriḍj—profoundly influenced the development of the political theory as well as the religious doctrine of the *khalīfa*, as also did Hellenistic and Sasanian theories of government.

As the temporal head of the community, whose internal organisation was secured by a common acceptance of and submission to the *sharī'a*, the caliph was the symbol of the supremacy of the *sharī'a*. He, like other believers, was subordinate to it and they owed him obedience only as its representative. So far as there was an element of contract in the relations between him and his followers this was to be found in the *bay'a* [q.v.]. Termination of the contract was only permitted if a change took place in the status and condition of the caliph such as might cause prejudice to the rights of the community. The weakness of the position was that no tribunal was specified to decide upon his deposition.

Gradually the political doctrines of the imamate were worked out in the light of political developments (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate*, 154-5). Significantly, most of the important expositions of the theory of the caliphate were written, if not at a period of crisis, at least at a time when some fairly major problem faced the Muslim community and was exercising the minds of the faithful.

In the turbulent years following the transfer of power from the Umayyads to the 'Abbāsīds, Ibn al-Muḥaffa' [q.v.], who died probably in 139/756, concerned at the internal dissensions within the community, felt the need for a definition of the powers and authority of the caliph. Recognising the change in the basis of the caliphate which had taken place with the 'Abbāsīd revolution, and believing that the only bond between the caliph and his army was religious conviction, he made right belief the cornerstone of his political programme. Convinced of the need for stability, he proposed a rigid control by the state. He suggested that the caliph should supersede and regulate *ra'y* [q.v.] as used in the ancient schools of law and recommended that he should create a code based on (i) precedents and usage (*siyar*), (ii) tradition and analogy, and (iii) his own decisions which would in turn be emended by succeeding caliphs. Ibn al-Muḥaffa's pleas, however, went unheeded: orthodox Islam rejected the view that *ra'y* was the domain of the ruler and referred the final decision



to *idjima'* [q.v.] (see further S. D. Goitein, *A turning-point in the history of the Muslim state*, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 149-67).

Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) [q.v.] represents a somewhat different point of view. Disturbed by contemporary practices, many of which seemed contrary to the spirit of the early caliphate as reflected in the works of the Traditionists, he cites a number of traditions in his *Kitāb al-Kharāj* showing the duty of the subjects to their *imām*. The *bay'a* by this time was no longer of practical significance and Abū Yūsuf does not attempt to maintain even the principle of election. He is aware of only one source of authority: God's choice by which the caliph became a vicegerent of God on earth (see further S. D. Goitein, *Attitudes towards government in Islam and Judaism*, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 203 ff.). By implication he holds that the actual possession of power is the necessary basis for authority and a sufficient justification for its exercise, irrespective of the ruler's personal qualifications. Although Abū Yūsuf, who looks upon the caliph as the shepherd of his people, bases the principles of true Islamic government upon the *sunna* of the Rāshidūn and of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and implicitly protests against the prevailing cult of the Sasanian tradition (cf. Gibb, *The evolution of government in early Islam*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, 45), he opens the way, by his acceptance of the caliph as the *khalīfat Allāh*, to the theory of the ruler as the Shadow of God upon earth, which was later to be transferred to the temporal ruler once the caliph had ceased to be the effective and immediate source of power (cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Quis custodiet custodes*, in *Studia Islamica* v (1956), 125-48).

Al-Djāhīz (d. 255/868-9) [q.v.] approaches the question of the imamate from yet another point of view and bases his argument on the need for an *imām* on the predatory nature of men and their lack of understanding, an argument frequently put forward later in the works of Islamic philosophers and the writers of mirrors for princes (see further Ch. Pellat, *L'imamat dans la doctrine de Gāhiz*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxv (1961), 23-52). Preoccupied with the feud between the supporters of the 'Abbāsids and their opponents, he raises the question of the duty to resist an impious government. In this, his concern is not with the right to resist *bad* government as such, but simply with the duty to oppose the transgression of the law which was involved by the abandonment of Islamic government by the *imām*. When this happened al-Djāhīz held that it was the duty of the *imām*'s subjects to denounce and depose him, though he limits this duty by the possibility of fulfilment (see further Pellat, *loc. cit.*, and also B. Lewis, *Islamic concepts of revolution*, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972, 35 ff.).

By the end of the 3rd/9th century the political control of the 'Abbāsīd caliph was on the one hand becoming increasingly eroded by his governors, who had usurped his temporal powers, and on the other threatened by movements of politico-religious dissent. This made a restatement of the basis and nature of caliphal authority imperative. One of the first to attempt this was al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) [q.v.], who in his exposition of the imamate was mainly concerned to defend the Sunnī position against the threat of the *Shi'a* (see further A. Abel, *Le chapitre sur l'imamat dans le Tamhid d'al-Baqillani*, in *Le Shi'isme imamite*, Paris 1970, 55 ff., and Y. Ibish, *The political doctrine of al-Baqillani*, Beirut 1966).

Al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) [q.v.], starting from the premiss that authority was delegated by God to the *imām* and that he alone could delegate this to others, is primarily concerned to maintain the theoretical validity of the caliph's authority and his delegation of this in spite of the actual usurpation of his power by others. In *al-Ahkām al-sulṭāniyya*, he lays down the qualifications of the *imām* [see *IMĀMA*] and discusses the functions of his office, having in mind the limitations imposed upon the caliph by political circumstances. Like various writers before him, al-Māwardī speaks of the forfeiture of the imamate, without, however, laying down any legal means by which this might be brought about. In his discussion of the formal institutions of government he concentrates mainly upon what constitutes a valid investiture by the caliph of his functionaries, in particular the *wazīr* and the *amīr*. Some two centuries earlier al-Djāhīz had defined political obligation with regard to the overthrow of an impious *imām* in terms of possibility. Al-Māwardī went further. Constrained by necessity and expediency, he limited even the political obligations of the caliph as the executor of the *shari'a* by the possibility of fulfilment. (See further H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Māwardī's theory of the caliphate*).

In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries the jurists continued to wrestle with the problem of how to assert the supremacy of the caliph. They were all concerned to a greater or lesser degree with the caliph's mission as the vicegerent of the prophet, and with his duty to defend Islam and to administer the affairs of the community. Among them were Abū Ya'īlā (380-458/990-1066) Ibn al-Farrā' [q.v.], Ibn 'Aqīl (431-513/1040-1119) [q.v.], al-Djūwaynī, the Imām al-Haramayn (419-499/1028-1105) [q.v.], and al-Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) [q.v.]. The last named breaks new ground on the subject of the relationship of caliph and sultan in his *Iktisād al-i'tikād*. The caliph remains the symbol of the supremacy of the *shari'a* but the sultan is associated with him and recognised as the holder of coercive power (see further L. Binder, *al-Ghazālī and Islamic government*, in *The Muslim world*, July 1955, and H. Laoust, *La politique de Ghazālī*, Paris 1970).

Ibn Djāmā'a (639/1241-733/1333) [q.v.], writing after the extinction of the caliphate by the Mongols, broadly speaking transfers to the *de facto* rulers the constitutional theories worked out by earlier jurists, holding that the seizure of power itself gave authority, while Ibn Taymiyya (661-728/1263-1328) [q.v.], seeking a more radical solution, denied the obligatory nature of the caliphate (see further H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Ibn Taimiyya*, Cairo 1939, idem, *Le traité du droit publique d'Ibn Taimiyya*, Beirut 1948).

Additional *bibliography*: C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i; W. Barthold, *Khalif i sultan*, in *Mir Islama*, i, 203 ff., 345 ff. (abridged German tr. in *Isl.*, vi (1915), 350 ff.; abridged English tr. by N. S. Doniach in *IQ* (1963), 117-135); Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910; T. W. Arnold, *The caliphate*, London 1924; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Paris 1956, ii; H. A. R. Gibb, *The heritage of Islam in the modern world* (i), in *International Journal of Middle Eastern studies*, 1 (1970), 3-18; W. M. Watt, *God's caliph: Qur'anic interpretations and Umayyad claims, in Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 565-74. For

the works of the Muslim theorists mentioned above see under the relevant articles.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

(iii) IN ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

This term may have any of the following meanings, all carrying the idea of vicarship, when used in writings dealing with or pertaining to certain aspects of Islamic mysticism:

1. He may be the *ḥuṭb* or perfect man, *al-insān al-kāmil* [q.v.], around whom the spheres of being evolve, upon whom the Muḥammadan Reality (*al-ḥaqīqa al-muḥammadiyya*), which is the hidden side (*bāḥin*) of his own reality in the world, irradiates. This makes the *ḥuṭb* the *khalīfa* of the Prophet on the plane of manifestation (*ẓāhir*). In this sense the founders of the *ṭarīqas* [q.v.] and their successors, when identified with the *ḥuṭb*, are referred to as *khulafāʾ* of the Prophet (see e.g. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn al-Kāwukādī, *al-Badr al-munir 'alā ḥizb al-shādhilī al-kabīr*, Alexandria 1314, 19; Muḥammad Mādī Abu 'l-'Azā'im, *al-Ṭuhūr al-madār 'alā ḥulūb al-abrār*, Cairo 1340, 32; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Nashshābī, *Asrār al-ḥaqīqa li-man yasluku al-ṭarīqa*, Cairo 1921, 66 f.).

They do not unite *al-khilāfa* al-*ẓāhira* with *al-khilāfa* al-*bāḥina*, however, as did *al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn*, but held only *al-khilāfa* al-*bāḥina* (cf. 'Ubayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳusanṭīnī al-Ḥanṣālī, *Faṭḥ al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān bi-sharḥ naṣīḥat al-ikhwān*, Cairo 1312, 176; Muḥammad al-Nūrī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-hadā'iyya 'alā wīd al-sādāt al-aḥmadiyya*, Alexandria 1316, 109, 111). This is also referred to as *al-khilāfa* al-*kubrā* (cf. Zāhir al-Dīn al-Kādirī, *al-Faḥ al-mubīn fīmā yata'allaka bi-tiryāk al-muḥibbīn*, Cairo 1306, 118).

2. He may be the successor of the (alleged) founder of a *ṭarīqa* or to the deceased leader of a group of mystics, without the connotations attached to the term as mentioned under (1). The term may refer to his immediate successor (see e.g. Taḳī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāk al-muḥibbīn fī ṭabaḳāt khirḳat al-mashāyikh al-'ārifīn*, Cairo 1305; 20, Karīm al-Dīn al-Barmūnī, *Tanḳīḥ rawḳat al-ashār wa-minyat al-sādāt al-abrār*, Tunis 1325, 343; al-Nashshābī, *Asrār*, 64 f.) or to the successor to *al-khilāfa*, i.e. to the position of supreme leadership over the *ṭarīqa* or group as shaped by its founder or first leader and/or their successors (see e.g. Djalāl al-Dīn al-Karākī, *Lisān al-'arīf bi-ḥāl al-walī al-sharīf Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Dasūki*, ed. Aḥmad 'Izz al-Dīn Khalf Allāh, Ṭantā 1969, 5 f., for *al-khilāfa* al-*Bīrḥāmiyya*, and al-Djabartī, *Adjā'ib al-āthār*, i, 70, for *al-khilāfa* al-*Wafā'iyya*).

Equivalent to *al-khilāfa* in this sense is the term *sadijdāda* [q.v.]. According to 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb al-Shā'rānī, *al-Anwār al-ḥudsiyya fī ma'rifaṭ ḥawā'id al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo-Beirut 1962, 6, i, 185, preference for succession of a deceased *shaykh* [q.v.] should be given to the eldest of his disciples. The successor may already have been designated by the *ṭarīqa*'s leader during his lifetime (on this see e.g. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāki al-Laknawī, *al-Mīnaḥ al-madaniyya fī mukḥīrāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Medina 1330, 88 ff.). In addition, the *ṣūfi* manuals mention the existence of consensus among the disciples about the successor as a legitimate basis for the assumption of leadership (cf. al-Laknawī, *al-Mīnaḥ*, 93). Hereditary patrilineal succession to the leadership position became the rule adopted by many of the *Ṣūfi* orders. This practice is frowned upon by those belonging to al-Nakshibandiyya [q.v.] such as Muḥammad b.

'Abd Allāh al-Khānī, *al-Baḥdja al-saniyya fī ādāb al-ṭarīqa al-'alīyya al-Khālidiyya al-Nakshibandiyya*, Cairo 1319, 33, and it is discarded as *Shī'a* custom by authors belonging to al-Shādhiliyya [q.v.], such as 'Alī Sālim 'Ammār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1951, 62, i, 31.

3. He may be a *murīd* [q.v.] who, after having reached a certain stage of mystical perfection as defined by the teachings of the *ṭarīqa* to which he belongs, is granted permission by his spiritual master to initiate novices and to guide them on the mystical path. This includes permission to transmit the *ṭarīqa*'s prayers, to lead *ḥaḍras* [q.v.] and to grant the status of *khalīfa* to his own disciples in turn. To this effect a so-called *idjāza* (Pers./T. *idjāzatnāma/icazetname*) [q.v.] is granted to him by his spiritual master, possibly during a festive gathering of the *ṭarīqa*'s members, when the *idjāza* is read (cf. P. Kahle, *Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Egypten*, in *Isl.*, vi (1916), 157). The actual investiture may consist in the pronunciation of a special oath-formula, the *mubāya'at al-khilāfa* (cf. al-Laknawī, *al-Mīnaḥ*, 89) which differs from the common *'ahd* formula [q.v.]. An *idjāza* of this type may be defined as the deed of spiritual succession granted to a *murīd*. It is generally referred to as *idjāzat al-khilāfa* (Pers./T. *khilāfatnāma, hilafetname*), or just *khilāfa*. This document generally contains a more or less elaborate exposition of rights and obligations of its recipient and mentions the *silsila* [q.v.], i.e. the chain of initiation and transmission of mystical knowledge also known as *sanad* [q.v.] *al-khilāfa* (cf. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳashshāshī, *al-Simṭ al-madīd fī sha'n al-bay'a wa 'l-dhīkr wa ṭalḳin wa-salāsīl al-ṭarīk*, Ḥaydarābād 1327, 67 ff.). Provided with the seal of its purveyor, who must have been similarly authorised by his own spiritual master, and sometimes endorsed by a number of witnesses, who may also be *khalīfas* (cf. Muḥammad b. Mubārak 'Alawī Kirmānī (Amīr Khurd), *Siyar al-awliyā'*, Dihlī 1302, 179) it constitutes the *khalīfa*'s primary source of legitimation as a teacher of the *ṭarīqa*. The *idjāzat al-khilāfa* need not necessarily be restricted to the permission to transmit mystical knowledge, but may also contain permission to teach and transmit texts of a different nature. It can also contain permission to initiate into and to teach the methods of more than one *ṭarīqa* (cf. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī al-Baghdādī, *al-Ḥadīqa al-nadiyya fī ādāb al-ṭarīqa al-Nakshibandiyya wa 'l-baḥdja al-Khālidiyya*, Cairo n.d., 45). The fact that somebody has been granted the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* means only that he possesses the prerequisites for initiating and guiding disciples of his own, independent of his spiritual master. He is not under the obligation to do so, and he may very well refrain from setting himself up independently until after his master's death (cf. e.g. Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā'*, 169, and for present-day practice, Syed Naguib al-Attas, *Some aspects of Sufism as understood and practised among the Malays*, Singapore, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963, 37). He may also choose not to set himself up independently but to accept the spiritual leadership of another *khalīfa* as his master's legitimate successor. In this case "a renewal of the *'ahd*" may take place with the latter (see e.g. Maḥmūd b. 'Affī al-Dīn al-Wafā'i, *Ma'āhid al-taḥkīk fī radd al-munkirīn 'alā ahl al-ṭarīk*, Cairo 1960 (various editions), 145). According to the tenets of some *ṭarīqas*, a *shaykh* has the obligation to grant the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* to a disciple who has attained perfection

(cf. al-Khānī, *al-Bahđjat al-saniyya*, 43). Other *ṭarīkas*, however, like al-Čiṣṭiyya [q.v.], and a Khalwatiyya [q.v.] branch like al-Sharkāwiyya, do not seem to have known such a rule, and some of the principal *shaykhs* of these orders refused to grant an *idjāzat khilāfa* to any of their disciples (cf. Ḥamīd Kalandar, *Khayr al-madjalīs*, ed. K. A. Nizami, Aligarh, n.d., 287 f. On the last regular *khalīfa* of al-Sharkāwiyya, see Muḥammad ‘Abduh al-Ḥidjādī, *Min a’lām al-sa’id*, Cairo 1969, 63 ff. His *idjāza* was edited by Aḥmad al-Tāhir, Cairo 1328). Formal registration of the permission to initiate and the transmission of mystical knowledge in an *idjāza* seems to be a relatively late development (cf. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Sayyid ‘Alawī b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās, *Zuhūr al-ḥakā’ik fi bayān al-ṭarā’ik*, n.p. [Bombay] 1312, 26 f.), coinciding with the period in which Islamic mysticism became institutionalised in gradually expanding formal organisations, the *ṭarīkas*, during and after the 8th/14th century.

4. He may be the deputy of the head of an order in a particular area. The precondition for assignment to such a position is formal investiture as *khalīfa* and hence possession of an *idjāzat khilāfa*, which is crucial for the legitimisation of any claims for the office or position of local deputy. Appointment as *khalīfa* in this sense may be to an already existing group of *murīds*, in succession to a deceased or suspended predecessor (cf. Muḥammad al-Bakhsī al-Ḥalabī, *Shams al-mafākkhīr. Dhayl li-Kitāb Kalā’id al-djāwāhīr*, Cairo 1908, 27; Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā’*, 197; ‘Abd al-Šamad Zayn al-Dīn, *al-Djāwāhīr al-saniyya wa ‘l-karāmāt al-aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1277, 55), in charge of a particular *tekkē* [q.v.] or *zāwiya* [q.v.] (see e.g. al-Bakhsī, *Shams al-mafākkhīr*, 64) or, in a particular area where the *ṭarīka* has no adherents, in order to proselytise (see e.g. Muḥammad Abu ‘l-Hudā al-Sayyādī, *Tanwīr al-abṣār fi ṭabaqāt al-sāda al-Rifā’iyya al-akhīyār*, Cairo 1306, 110; Muḥammad Ḥāshim Badaḥshānī, *Zubdat al-makāmāt*, Lucknow 1885, 70-1, 347, 382; al-Baghdādī, *al-Ḥadiqa al-nadiyya*, 85). The degree to which these *khalīfas* could and did act independently of the incumbent(s) of a position of superior authority within the *ṭarīka* differs considerably among the various *ṭarīkas* over time and in diverse areas. The position of the office of *khalīfa* may differ within the organisational hierarchies of the orders. Thus within the Central African Kādiriyya branch, having its centre at Ujiji (Tanzania), *khalīfas* are inferior to and nominated by a category of officials known as *maakida* (sing. *akida*), (cf. J. M. Cuoq, *Les Musulmans en Afrique*, Paris 1975, 325). Within a *ṭarīka* such as al-Aḥmadiyya al-Marāziqa, the *khulafā’* of its semi-autonomous sub-sections (*buyūt*) rank under the *shaykh* of the *bayt*, who is a *khalīfa* himself in the sense mentioned in section 3 above (cf. Muḥammad Ḥasan Shams al-Dīn, *al-Risāla al-Aḥmadiyya al-Thāniyya*, Cairo 1376, 59). In the Maghrib and West Africa, the local deputy of the head of an order is generally referred to as *mukaddam* [q.v.]. This is also the case within a number of Shādhiliyya orders in the Middle East and Egypt, e.g. al-Yaṣṣrutiyya (cf. J. van Ess, *Libanesische Miscellen 6, Die Yaṣṣrutiyya*, in *WI* xvi (1975), 1-103, passim), and a now defunct Egyptian branch of al-Nāṣiriyya. Within the latter *ṭarīka*, the *mukaddams* (*khalīfas*) ranked under the so-called *nāyibs*, who as provincial deputies of the *ṭarīka*'s leader held jurisdiction over them (cf. Ibrāhīm Khallīl, *al-Mardji’*, Cairo 1934, 40 f.). Frequently, the *khilāfa* in a particular area was inherited within

the family and developed into a virtually autonomous power position which allowed its incumbents to pay only nominal allegiance to the head or principal leader of their *ṭarīka*. In many cases, this constituted the prelude to the formation of an independent branch or an entirely new *ṭarīka*. The position of the *khalīfa* as *murshīd* [q.v.] is to all intents and purposes the same as the position of the head of a *ṭarīka*. Therefore, the rules for spiritual leadership, i.e. the pre-conditions which allow one to assume the position of *shaykh*, found in Sūfi manuals, also apply to the position of *khalīfa*. It is only in relatively late 19th and 20th century manuals of the Egyptian orders, which became integrated parts of a highly developed bureaucratic organisation, that sets of rules pertaining to the office of *khalīfa* may be found. Within this organisation a limited number of *khalīfas* in various areas received additional confirmation as local deputies of the heads of their orders from the head of al-Bakriyya [q.v.], and formed a special category of dignitaries within the administration. They held jurisdiction over those *khalīfas* who could only claim this status by virtue of the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* in their possession. Within some of the Egyptian orders, a *khalīfa* may continue to hold some degrees of authority over either the *khulafā’* ordained by him or over those within a particular area. In this case, he is referred to by the term *khalīfat al-khulafā’*. In Persia under the Šafawids [q.v.] a similarly-named office existed, which was defined by V. Minorsky as “a special secretariat for Šūfi affairs”. The incumbent to this office was regarded as the vicar of the king, on whose behalf he acted and appointed *khalīfas* in the provinces (cf. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk. A manual of Šafawid administration*, London 1943, 55, 125 ff.). A possibly identical office of this name was also known in another Shī‘i *ṭarīka*, the Ni‘matul-lāhiyya [q.v.] (cf. R. M. Savory, *The office of khalīfat al-khulafā’ under the Šafawids*, in *JAOS*, lxxxv (1965), 497).

5. He may be the pre-eminent representative and principal propagator of a *ṭarīka* in a particular area acting independently, i.e. duly authorised as mentioned in section 3 above but not paying allegiance to any of the *ṭarīka*'s leaders elsewhere. It is this meaning which can be most safely adduced whenever the term *khalīfa* is mentioned in conjunction with the name of a *ṭarīka* or of a *ṭarīka* founder, when the latter is not a contemporary of the *khalīfa* mentioned and when there is no evidence of the existence of this *ṭarīka* as an organisation. It should be interpreted as such in passages in a variety of texts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish as diverse as the following ones in which the relevant passage is found on the pages indicated: Muḥammad Dayf Allāh al-Djā‘alī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt fi khusūṣ al-awliyā’ wa ‘l-sālihin wa ‘l-‘ulamā’ wa ‘l-shu‘arā’ fi ‘l-Sūdān*, Cairo 1930, 40; al-Djābartī, *‘Adjā’ib al-āthār*, i, 210; Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *al-Misk al-adḥfar*, Baghdād 1930, 141; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngiri*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Ghazipur 1864, 211; Ewliyā Celebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 237.

6. Within al-Bektāshiyya [q.v.] it refers to a rank of spiritual achievement which could be attained only by those who had been ordained as *bābā*. It is marked by the donation of the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* as mentioned in section 3 above and was the pre-condition for investiture as *dede*. The latter degree entailed, among other rights, the right to participate in the elections of a *dede bābā*. Investiture as *dede* entailed the right to appoint heads (*bābās*) of *tekkēs*.

7. In addition, the term *khalīfa* may denote the representative of the head of the Sanūsīyya order who has been sent on a mission to a *zāwiya* (cf. H. Duveyrier, *La confrérie musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben 'Alī es-Senoussi et son domaine géographique*, Rome 1918, with notes by C. A. Nallino, II, n. 1), the head of a holy lineage among the Mourides in Senegal (cf. D. B. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal. The political and economic organization of an Islamic brotherhood*, Oxford 1971, 111), and in Turkey prior to 1925, the vicar of the head of a *tekke*, as reported by J. P. Brown, *The dervishes or oriental spiritualism*, London repr. 1968, 114. It may take a similar meaning in the Maghrib, where the term may denote the vicar of the head of a *zāwiya* (cf. V. Crapanzano, *The Ḥamadsha*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973, 81 f.). In Mamlūk Egypt, the offices of the custodians of the shrines of Aḥmad al-Badawī and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūkī [q.v.] became detached from the leadership positions of the *ṭarīqas* founded by or named after these saints. Ever since, the incumbent to either of these two offices has been known as *khalīfat al-makām*, while the head of the Birḥāmiyya *ṭarīqa* and the heads of the various Aḥmadiyya branches are referred to as *khalīfat Ibrāhīm al-Dasūkī* and *khalīfat Aḥmad al-Badawī* respectively (cf. *Takrīr 'an waḥīfat al-khilāfa bi'l-makām al-aḥmadi*, n.p. [Cairo], n.d. [approx. 1898], and al-Karakī, *Lisān al-ta'rif*, 5 f.).

*Bibliography:* In addition to the references in the text, see J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 174 ff., and idem, *Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford 1949, 202 ff., which also gives an abbreviated English text of an *idjāza* *khalīfa*. On the appointment of *khalīfas* and on the *khalīfat nāmas* issued by a 7th/13th century Čiṣṭī mystic, see K. A. Nizami, *The life and times of Shaikh Farid-u'd Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Aligarh 1955, 92 ff., and idem, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay 1961, 214 ff. and also 349-52 for the texts of two *khalīfat-nāmas* drawn from Amīr Khurīd's *Siyar al-awliyā*. The text of a Čiṣṭī *idjāza* translated from the Urdu may be found in G. R. Smith, *A Muslim saint in South Africa*, in *African Studies*, xxviii/4 (1969), 267-8, 277 f. For the text of a Kādiriyya *idjāza*, as well as for the text of an *idjāza* of a mixed nature (i.e. 'ilm and *taṣawwuf*), in a French translation, see A. Abel, *Les musulmans noirs du Maniema*, in *Corr. d'Orient*, iv (Brussels 1960), 22 and 151 ff. A translation of a late 19th century Aḥmadiyya *idjāza*, together with a discussion of its contents and significance, may be found in E. Kümmerer, *Die Aḥmadiyya. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der ägypt. Derwischordens*, Diss. Tübingen 1953 (unpublished). On the rank of *khalīfa* (T. *halīfe*) in al-Bektāshīyya, see in addition to J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London 1937, 165 f., where this is dealt with somewhat defectively, Aḥmad Sirrī Dede Bābā, *Kānūn al-ṭarīqa al-Bektāshīyya*, Cairo 1959, 5. For details about the office of *khalīfa* in various *ṭarīqas* in Egypt in the 19th and 20th century, and concerning the contents and significance of *idjāzas*, see F. De Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (forthcoming), in particular chs. iii and x. Examples of Ṣūfī manuals and other texts defining the relationship between the *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* and his *khalīfa* as mentioned in section 4 above are: Muḥammad 'Uṭmān al-Mirghānī, *al-Zuhūr al-fā'ika fī hukūk al-ṭarīq al-sādika*, Būlāk

1316, 9 f.; idem, *Minwāl al-ṭarīqa al-tāhira al-nūrāniyya*, in *al-Rasā'il al-Mirghaniyya*, Cairo 1939, 108 ff.; 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, *al-Sira al-ḥalīliyya*, al-Manṣūra 1339, 97 ff.; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin (ed.), *Murshid al-sāliḥin ilā ṭarīq al-muhtadīn*, Cairo 1927, 20 ff.; Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, *al-Kuṭb al-rabbānī Sidi 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, bi'atuhu, nash'atuhu, 'ilmuhu, ṭarīkatuhu, alḥarūhu fī 'l-umma al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1970, 22 ff.; Salāma Ḥasan al-Rāḍī, *Kānūn ṭarīkat al-sāda al-Ḥāmidīyya al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1965 (revised ed.), 9 ff. An English translation of these latter regulations is found as an appendix to M. Gilsean, *Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt*, Oxford 1973. On the position of the *khalīfa* in al-Ḥāmidīyya al-Shādhiliyya, a *ṭarīqa* with which this study mainly deals, see in particular 82 ff. (F. DE JONG)

#### (iv) IN THE SUDANESE MAHDIYYA

The term had various significances during the Sudanese Mahdiyya (1881-98).

(1) The originator of the Mahdist movement, Muḥammad Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh, as a leading member of the Sammāniyya *ṭarīqa*, was commissioned in 1292/1875-6 to appoint *khalīfas* by Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dā'im, the head of this *ṭarīqa* in the Egyptian Sudan: one letter of appointment is extant (see Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid ilā wathā'iq al-Mahdī*, [Khartum] 1969, no. 1). (2) After his public manifestation as Mahdī (1 Sha'bān 1298/29 June 1881), Muḥammad Aḥmad appears to have conferred the title of *khalīfa* on at least some of those to whom he delegated authority to administer the bay'a: two examples have been calendared by Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, nos. 23, 62. (3) This use of the term *khalīfa* for local Mahdist leaders fell into disuse, and the title became restricted to three of the Mahdī's principal companions, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ta'ā'ishī [q.v.], 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū (a pious man of the tribe of Dighaym from the White Nile), and Muḥammad Sharīf b. Ḥāmid (the Mahdī's son-in-law). The Mahdiyya was represented as an eschatological drama, reviving the primitive *umma* in the end-time. In his drama, the Mahdī was the Successor of the Apostle of God (*Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*), and his three companions the Successors respectively of Abū Bakr (*Khalīfat al-Siddīq*), 'Umar (*Khalīfat al-Fārūq*), and 'Alī (*Khalīfat al-Karrār*). The date of this development is uncertain; perhaps before the Mahdī left Abā (Ramaḍān 1298/August 1881) or during the following months, while he was at Kaḍīr (cf. R. C. [von] Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan*, London 1896, 138; F. R. Wingate, *Ten years captivity in the Mahdi's camp 1882-1892*, London 1892, 14). In a letter dated 5 Raḍjāb 1300/12 May 1883, the Mahdī informed Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī that he had been designated by the Prophet as the Successor of 'Uṭmān, but al-Sanūsī ignored this approach. The letter is calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 113; there is a good text in *Manṣūrāt... Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. 'Abd Allāh*, ii, 70-3 (Khartum 1963, photographic reproduction of corpus lithographed during the Mahdiyya).

The pre-eminence of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad was stressed in a proclamation of the Mahdī (17 Rabī' I 1300/26 January 1883), where he is styled *khalīfat al-khalīfa* (calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 78; text in *Manṣūrāt*, i, 30-2). The restriction of the title *khalīfa*, and the special status of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, aroused resent-

ment. One of the Mahdī's most influential supporters, al-Manna Ismā'īl, a holy man of Kordofān, fell from grace and was ultimately executed after claiming the *khalīfa* (see Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 112, dated after 4 Radjāb 1300/11 May 1883; A. R. C. Bolton, *El Menna Ismail: Fiki and Emir in Kordofan, in Sudan Notes and Records*, xvii/2, 1934, 229-41). Another pretender to the *khalīfa*, Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan, was reproved in two letters from the Mahdī (calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, nos. 351, 352, dated 2-4 Shawwāl 1301/26-28 July 1884: texts in Abū Salīm (ed.), *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, n.p., 1969, 76-9).

(4) When on the Mahdī's death, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad succeeded him as head of the Mahdist state, the analogy to Abū Bakr's succession to the Prophet was emphasized in a proclamation by the two junior *khalifas* and the Mahdī's kin (text in Abū Salīm (ed.), *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, 84-9, dated 8 Ramaḍān 1302/22 June 1885). From this time, 'Abd Allāh assumed the new style of *khalīfat al-Mahdī*, "the Successor of the Mahdī", which was not used as a formal title by his two colleagues. His reign saw the appearance in Dār Fūr [q.v.] of another pretender—the holy man called Abū Djummayza, who claimed the vacant *khalīfa* of 'Uḥmān, but who died about the beginning of 1889.

*Bibliography*: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898*, Oxford 1970, 119-25.  
(P. M. Holt)

AL-KHALIFA, the ruling dynasty of Bahrayn since 1197/1783. One of the three clans of the 'Utūb tribe (the others were Āl Šabāh and Āl Djalāhima) which established itself in Kuwayt ca. 1128/1716, the Āl Khalifa migrated to Zubāra in Ḳaṭar under the leadership of Khalifa b. Muḥammad in 1179-80/1766. Khalifa b. Muḥammad died in 1197/1783 while on pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the same year his son Aḥmad wrested control of the Bahrayn Islands from the Persians. Aḥmad b. Khalifa continued to reside at Zubāra until his death in 1210-11/1796, Bahrayn being governed by his sons Salmān and 'Abd Allāh. They succeeded him as joint rulers of Bahrayn and its dependencies, and the dual arrangement was continued after Salmān b. Aḥmad died in 1240-1/1825, his son Khalifa being chosen as co-ruler with his uncle, 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad. On Khalifa b. Salmān's death in Muḥarram 1250/May 1834, 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad became sole ruler of Bahrayn.

The remaining years of 'Abd Allāh's reign were turbulent. He was beset by enemies from without—by the Āl Sa'ūd of Naǧd who believed him to be implicated in the murder of Turkī b. 'Abd Allāh in Dhu 'l-Ḥiǧǧja 1249/May 1834, by the Persians who had never reconciled themselves to the loss of Bahrayn, and by the Āl Bū Sa'ūd of 'Umān who coveted the island for themselves—and by troubles from within brought on by his own misgovernment and his incapacity to restrain the avarice of his Āl Khalifa kinsmen. His relations with the British government in India, with whom he had signed a treaty in 1235/1820 to refrain from piracy, deteriorated after 1255/1839 because of his offer in that year to become a tributary of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha of Egypt. After a series of rebellions in Bahrayn and Ḳaṭar he was deposed by the leading members of the Āl Khalifa in Rabi' I 1259/April 1843. He died in exile at Maskat in Rabi' I 1265/February 1849.

'Abd Allāh's successor was his great-nephew Muḥammad b. Khalifa, the son of Khalifa b. Salmān, his former co-ruler. Muḥammad b. Khalifa's reign (1259-85/1843-68) was hardly an improvement upon

his great-uncle's. He was constantly embroiled at home in quarrels with his kinsmen and with his subjects in Ḳaṭar, who several times rebelled against his oppressive conduct and repeated fiscal exactions; whilst abroad he was at feud with the Āl Sa'ūd, the Persians, and the Ottoman Turks, all of whom claimed sovereignty over Bahrayn although only the Āl Sa'ūd attempted to pursue the claim by force of arms. Muḥammad b. Khalifa's struggles with his foes disrupted the maritime peace of the Gulf, which the British Indian government was at pains to preserve. His conduct led that government in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'ḍa 1277/May 1861 to force him to conclude a convention by which he forswore piracy, maritime warfare, and the seaborne slave trade, in return for British recognition of his independence and a guarantee of the security of his territorial possessions against aggression. Six years later, in Djumādā II 1284/October 1867, he attacked and sacked Dawḥa and other ports in Ḳaṭar to punish some rebellious tribesmen. When called upon by the British authorities in the Gulf to afford redress for this breach of the convention, he refused to do so, and as a consequence he was deposed by the British as ruler of Bahrayn in Djumādā I 1285/September 1868 in favour of his brother 'Alī.

Muḥammad b. Khalifa found refuge after his deposition at Ḳaṭif, where he formed an alliance with his kinsman, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, son of 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad. Supported by other disaffected members of the Āl Khalifa and several hundred tribesmen, they descended upon Bahrayn in Djumādā II 1286/September 1869, overcame 'Alī b. Khalifa, and slew him. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh then turned on his allies, imprisoned Muḥammad b. Khalifa, and declared himself ruler. Two months later he and Muḥammad b. Khalifa both surrendered to a naval force sent by the British Indian government and were taken as prisoners to India. There they remained in custody until Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's death in 1294/1877, when Muḥammad b. Khalifa was transferred to Aden. He lived there for ten years and was then released on condition that he never returned to Bahrayn. He died at Mecca in 1307/1890.

The new ruler of Bahrayn was 'Isā b. 'Alī, the 21-year old son of the slain 'Alī b. Khalifa. Considerable pressure was exerted upon him by the Ottoman Turks, after their occupation of al-Ḥasā in 1288/1871-2, to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty, and it was because of this pressure that a convention was concluded by him with the British government in Muḥarram 1298/December 1880 by which he undertook not to enter into relations with any other state or to allow other governments to establish diplomatic or consular agencies in Bahrayn. He confirmed this undertaking in a further agreement signed in Sha'bān 1309/March 1892 in which he also engaged not to alienate any of his territory to another power. By this time, most of the Āl Khalifa possessions in Ḳaṭar had been lost to Dǧāsīm b. Muḥammad Āl Ṭḥānī of Dawḥa, who had acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty in 1288/1871. Zubāra, the principal Āl Khalifa possession in Ḳaṭar, was sacked and destroyed by Dǧāsīm, in alliance with renegade members of the Āl 'Abd Allāh branch of the Āl Khalifa, in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'ḍa 1295/November 1878. Although the town was not rebuilt, ownership of its site has been disputed by the Āl Khalifa and the Āl Ṭḥānī ever since.

'Isā b. 'Alī reigned longer than any other Āl Khalifa ruler; for although he formally abdicated in

favour of his son Ḥamad in 1342/1923, he continued to hold the reins of government almost until his death in *Shā'abān* 1351/December 1932 at the age of 85. Ḥamad b. 'Isā, who had been named heir-apparent by his father with the concurrence of the principal members of the *Āl Khālifa* as early as 1311/1893, in turn designated his son Salmān heir-apparent in Muḥarram 1359/February 1940, again with the consent of the leading *Āl Khālifa* members. Two years later, in Ṣafar 1361/February 1942, Ḥamad died at the age of 76, and Salmān b. Ḥamad succeeded. He ruled until his death in *Djumādā I* 1381/November 1961, aged 67, being succeeded by his eldest son 'Isā, who had been named heir-apparent some years earlier.

A slight but significant devolution of power, under the pressure of domestic and external events, took place in the latter years of *Shaykh* Salmān's reign, and the process was accelerated by his successor. An advisory council to assist the ruler was established, individual members having responsibility for different departments of government. The councillors were at first predominantly members of the *Āl Khālifa*, but after the accession of 'Isā b. Salmān they have become more representative through the addition of members from Bahrayn's mercantile and professional communities. 'Isā b. Salmān promulgated a constitution in 1393/1973 which declared Bahrayn to be an Islamic state with the *Shari'a* as the principal source of legislation. It also provided for the setting-up of a national assembly composed of appointed and elected members. The first elections for the 30 elected seats took place in *Dhu 'l-Kā'da* 1393/December 1973.

In external affairs, the principal changes that have occurred have been the renunciation by the Persian government in 1390/1970 of its claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn, and the termination of the *Āl Khālifa*'s treaties with the British government, following Britain's withdrawal from its special position in the Gulf in 1391/1971.

*Bibliography:* Muḥammad al-Nabhānī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Nabhāniyya*, Cairo 1342; *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, new series no. xxiv, Bombay 1856; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, 'Omān and Central Arabia Calcutta 1908-15; G. R. Tadjbakhche, *La Question des îles Bahrein*, Paris 1960; C. D. Belgrave, *Personal column*, London 1960; A. Abu Hakima, *History of Eastern Arabia, 1750-1800*, Beirut 1965; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968. (J. B. KELLY)

**KHALĪFA B. ABI 'L-MAHĀSIN AL-HALABĪ**, Arab physician who came originally from Aleppo, and was possibly related to the family of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a [q.v.]. The biographical details concerning him are fairly sparse, but it is known that he wrote, probably between 654 and 674/1256-75, a work on ophthalmology called *al-Kāfi fi 'l-kuḥl* (or *fi 'l-ḥibb*). In this he gives a concise sketch of the history of ophthalmology among the Arabs and deals with the anatomy, physiology and hygiene of the eyes, citing the medicaments used for treating eye disorders, and describing also the surgical operations, e.g. for cataract, which can be performed on them. All in all, the work is on a high scientific level, and the text is often accompanied by synoptic pictures and illustrations which throw light on the text itself. Various manuscripts exist, and a German translation has been made by J. Hirschberg and his collaborators.

*Bibliography:* Brockelmann, II, 364, S I, 899; Sezgin, *GAS*, III, index; J. Hirschberg et

alii, *Die arabischen Augenärzte*, Leipzig 1905, ii; G. Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 1101. (Ed.)

**KHALĪFA B. 'ASKAR**, Libyan nationalist who, after having sought refuge in Tunisia, hastened from November 1914 onwards to assume leadership of the revolt fomented by the Sanūsīs [q.v.] against Italian domination. The rebels soon achieved some spectacular successes against the Italians [see *LĪBĪYĀ*], and *Khālifa* speedily attempted to raise the Tunisians against France. On 16 August 1915, in a letter to the head of the postal service in Dehibat (southern Tunisia), he called upon the latter to send back to him his family, which had remained in Tunisia, and declared war on the French government. Benefiting from a certain amount of complicity in his plans by the notables of southern Tunisia, he went on to the attack in September of this same year with Tripolitanian troops aided by some tribal elements of Tunisia. These *fellaga* [see *FALLĀḲ*] at the outset constituted a grave threat for the small outposts strung all along the frontier, and these had to be evacuated, and then they inflicted severe losses on the Franco-Tunisian garrisons of the Dehibat, Tatahouine and Remta outposts, without however managing to occupy them. On 2 October, at the head of 3,000 rebels, *Khālifa* suffered a severe defeat before Umm Swīgh, which led to a period of calm for some months along the Tunisian frontier, but the situation became threatening again in the following spring. Armed now with some field artillery, *Khālifa* returned to the attack, bombarded Dehibat on 19 June 1916 and then inflicted heavy losses on the Remada garrison; but he was again defeated on 28 June and did not engage in activity with such ardour during the last two years of the Great War. After the Armistice, the Tunisian rebels benefited by measures of clemency, and *Khālifa* b. 'Askar was even able to be reunited with his family, who had been kept as hostages.

*Bibliography:* See that to *LĪBĪYĀ* and to *TUNISIA*. (Ed.)

**KHALĪFA B. KHAYYĀT** [see Ibn *Khayyāt* al-'Uṣfūrī].

**KHALĪFA SHĀH MUḤAMMAD**, Indian Muslim scholar who flourished during the latter part of the 11th/17th and early part of the 12th/18th century. He was the author of an epistolary work in Persian entitled *Djāmi' al-kawānīn*, also known as *Inṣhā'iyi Khālifa*. According to Ghulām 'Alī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Shāh* Muḥammad's book was much used in schools, and he spent some time in Bilgrām studying under two local scholars, *Shaykh* 'Abd al-Ghāfūr and Sayyid *Khayr* Allāh (d. 1115/1703). The *Djāmi' al-kawānīn* is divided into four sections: the first two contain long and short letters respectively, the third (divided into two parts) comprises letters of greetings and condolence, and the last gives forms of civilities and styles of addressing in correspondence. The book, as mentioned in the preface, was composed at the incentive of some friends while the author was residing in Kanawḍj as a student. The original printed edition of the work (Lucknow 1846) carries a chronogram which gives 1085/1674 as the date of composition.

*Bibliography:* *Djāmi' al-kawānīn*, B. M. Add. 19,434; Ghulām 'Alī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Ma'āthir al-kirām*, B. M. Or. 1804; cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 414. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

AL-KHALĪL. [see *IBRĀHĪM*].

AL-KHALĪL, The Arabic name for Hebron, a town in southern Palestine, 32 km. south of Jerusa-

lem (31° N 34° E), the only urban centre in the southern Judaeen hills and their virtual capital and commercial centre. It has given its name to the entire mountainous region surrounding it, which is known as *Djabal al-Khalil*, while the whole plateau is known by the name of *Djabal Kay*s, due to the local tradition which regards the fellahin of the area as of Kayṣī origin (cf. Volney, *Voyage*, Paris 1787, ii, 194-5, 197). Hence in the Bedouin dialects of southern Palestine, *Kēṣī* means a peasant, particularly of the Hebron hills.

In mediaeval times Muḳaddasī, 172, mentions *Djabal Naḍra* (or *Naṣra*, *Nuṣra*) as the nearest hills to the town. Since the reading is uncertain (*EI*<sup>1</sup> art. *AL-KHALİL*), it is possible that *Nuṣra* represents a copyist's mistake for *nimra* (Mamre (?); cf. Arculfus, *Early travels*, 6), the north-westernmost spur of *Djabal al-Dja'ābira*, which dominates the city from the north-east. The town is the highest in Palestine, and one of the highest in the Middle East, ascending on the surrounding hills to altitudes between 925 m. (the old city) and 1,000 m. (the modern parts built in the present century) above sea level. It is situated in the northern reaches of Wādī al-Khalīl which is a tributary of the Wādī Beersheba. Its extremely fertile soil and the fair amounts of rainfall, especially in the northern parts of the area (average of 700-850 mm. a year), along with the skill the inhabitants have acquired in preserving water and utilising the soil, have made this area into one of the most flourishing in the country.

Because of the mountainous nature of the area and its climate, it developed the cultivation of certain fruit trees, particularly apples and grapes, which, according to Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*, used to be exported mainly to Egypt. The Hebronites developed, in particular, the cultivation of vines, and throughout the ages they were regarded as the best viticulturists in the Middle East (Karmon, in *Studies on Palestine*, etc., 71-3). They learnt how to prolong the grape season for about six months a year, between July and December, a fact which proved to be of great economic importance. After the Islamic conquest, many vineyards in the lowlands of Palestine had to be abandoned in the wake of the prohibition and decline of wine production and consumption. Hebron then turned its supply of fresh grapes into its main cash-crop.

In addition to this agricultural advantage, Hebron had yet another advantage arising from its topographical setting. It lies astride natural crossroads which lead to the Negev and the coast in the south and south-west to the southern end of the Dead Sea and the main ancient Syrian-Arabian caravan route. Hebron thus offers an alternative to the *Via Maris*, sc. the mountain route which cuts from Baysan through Nābulus and Jerusalem. In the later Middle Ages and until modern times, travellers from Egypt often preferred the Hebron route to the *Via Maris* which could be more easily attacked by Bedouins.

*Topography.* The ancient town of Hebron (*Kiryāt Arbā'* (?), see below) was built to the west of Wādī al-Khalīl or the Valley of Hebron, which runs along the modern town in the north-east direction, on *Djabal Rumayḍa*, on which a tomb called *Kabr Ḥabrūn* is shown today next to *Mashhad al-Arba'īn* (called locally today by the name of *Dayr al-Arba'īn*), a Muslim sanctuary which in Jewish tradition has been identified with the tomb of Jesse. The Arab town developed on the eastern side of the Vale around the sanctuary of the Tomb of the Patriarchs; until

the Crusading period, to the north of it Nāṣir-i *Khusraw*, 53-4, *Le Strange, Palestine*, 311), and during the Mamlūk period in other directions also, mainly in the south and south-east. Until the beginning of the 19th century, therefore, the town consisted of three sections. The oldest, on the easternmost spur of *Djabal al-Dja'ābira* (called *al-Ra's*), adjacent to the Haram; a smaller section around the Mosque of 'Alī al-Bakkā' to the north-west of it on another spur called *Djabal Baylūn*; and a third section, larger than the previous two, called *Ḥārat al-Qayṭūn*, to the south of the valley. This division of the town into three sections was possibly the factor which prevented the construction of an encompassing wall (cf. Arculfus, *op. cit.*). Each section was partially protected by means of building the houses along the periphery in a continuous line with no doors facing outwards.

Water supply was the main problem of the town. In the pre-Ottoman period, the Muslim sources mention a few springs from which water used to be brought to the town by means of aqueducts. Nāṣir-i *Khusraw*, *loc. cit.*, cf. *Le Strange, loc. cit.*, mentions a channel conducting water "in no great abundance" from a spring in a nearby village to the town. This must have been the same channel which is later mentioned by Muḳājir al-Dīn as conducting water from the village of *Maḍḍal Faṣīl* to a water tank near the northern entrance to the Haram, which was rebuilt by the Mamlūk *amir* Baktamūr al-Djukandār. In the *zāwiya* of *Shaykh* 'Alī al-Bakkā', a water tank and a *sabil* for a well that was found in the place, were built by Sayf al-Dīn b. Sālār, the Mamlūk *Nā'ib al-Saltāna* in Syria, in 702/1300.

Muḳājir al-Dīn mentions another six springs that supplied water to the town (*al-Uns al-djālīl*, 428). However, the quantity of water supplied by all these springs was meagre and could hardly have supported the population of the city. Since during the later Middle Ages and the Ottoman period, large numbers of pilgrims came to the city and passed through it on the *Ḥadīdī* route to Mecca, the need for greater reserves of water necessitated the construction of two large reservoirs in the Hebron valley. The date of their construction is unknown, but in the Ottoman period and most probably during the time of Süleymān Kanūnī they were rebuilt and enlarged. One was called *Birkat al-Qazzāzīn* (today filled up, and a mosque built in its place), and the other *Birkat al-Şultān*, a name given to several cisterns built by the Ottomans along the *Ḥadīdī* route, including Solomon's Pools, the large reservoirs in Kurmul (Biblical Carmel) and 'Ein Gēdī. This further attests to the prominence of Hebron as an important station on the Ottoman (and possibly Mamlūk) *Ḥadīdī* route from Jerusalem to the main Syrian route in Trans-Jordan through southern Judaea and the Dead Sea region (Karmon, 74-6).

*The name.* The ancient Biblical name of Hebron, *Kiryāt Arbā'*, is not mentioned in the Arab sources, which are very well-informed about the original name of the town and which they repeat in many versions: *Ḥabrūn*, *Ḥafrun*, *Ḥibrā* (or *Ḥabrā*), *Bayt Ḥabrūn*, (Muḳaddasī, 172; Yāqūt, s.v. *al-Khalīl*, *Dimashkī*, 201; *Kalkashandī*, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 335; iv, 102; *Arḍ Ḥabrūn* (Ibn Iyās, *Nashḥ al-Azhār* ed. Arnold, *Chrest Arab.*, 66), *Mazra'* at *Ḥabrūn* (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makḍīsī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh* (ed. Huart), iii, 53). However, the number of four settlements hinted by the ancient Hebrew name (*Arbā'*, cf. B. Mazar, *Kiryāt Arbā'*, in *Sefer Ḥevrōn* [in Hebrew], 20 f.) could have some reference to four localities in the

city and its environments mentioned in the Islamic literature: Ḥabrūn, Marṭūm, Bayt 'Aynūn (= *Kħirbet Beit 'Einūn*; its identification with Aenon of St. John, iii, 23 is very doubtful, cf. *EI*<sup>1</sup>, art. AL-KHALIL), and Bayt Ibrāhīm. According to a famous legend which appears as early as the 2nd/8th century, the Prophet bestowed the different quarters of Hebron on his companion, the oil merchant Tamīm b. Aws al-Dārī (Muḏjir al-Dīn, 428-9). In the early literature, however, there is mention of only two or three localities. Ibn Sa'd mentions Ḥibra and Bayt 'Aynūn (*Ṭabaḳat*, ed. Sachau, i/2, 75, vii/2, 129-30; cf. Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii, 420; Ibn Durayd, *Ishīkāk*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1958, 377), and Balādhuri adds to them Masḏjid Ibrāhīm (*Futūḥ*, 129; cf. Kaḷkaḷhandī, i, 335). The name Marṭūm, which must have existed as well in this or similar form appears in later literature, and it was mistaken by Nāṣir-i Kħusraw as the name of the whole town (though in the corrupted spelling Maṭlūn, *Saḑar-nāma*, 53, cf. Le Strange 310 and note; Kaḷkaḷhandī, xiii, 120 has al-Ruṭūm).

The Muslims extended the name which they gave to the sanctuary, Masḏjid Ibrāhīm al-Kħalil, to the whole town, in the same way that Bayt al-Maḑdis was extended to the whole of Jerusalem. In both cases, the new name is connected with the sacredness of the respective shrines in Islamic tradition [see AL-ḲUDS]. The prominence of Abraham in Islamic literature from the Ḳur'ān onwards, in which he is called Kħalil Allāh or Kħalil al-Raḥmān (Tadmurī, *Muthīr al-gharām*, 196), and regarded as a true Muslim and builder of the Ka'ba, immediately after the Islamic conquest made his tomb sacred to the Muslims. The early name Masḏjid Ibrāhīm (Iṣṭakhri, 57, Ibn Hawkal, 113) developed later to Mashhad al-Kħalil (Nāṣir-i Kħusraw, *loc. cit.*), Turbat al-Kħalil (Balawī, *Tādī al-mafrīḥ*, Ms. BM or. 9252, fol. 62 b) or in short al-Kħalil. It is difficult to ascertain to what an extent the choice of the name al-Kħalil "the friend [of Allāh]" is connected with the early Jewish homily which derived the name Hebron (Hevron) from the name of Abraham, who was also called "Haver" and "Yadid" (a friend) (*Midrāsh Rabba*, on Genesis, section 84; Babylonian Talmud, *Menāhoth*, 53b). The deep Islamic significance of the attribute al-Kħalil was, however, further stressed in the Islamic tradition which says that Muḥammad was also named *Kħalil Allāh* (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *masāḏjid*, no. 23, cf. *LA*, *kħ-l-l*).

*Islamic Significance.* The Islamic sanctification of Hebron came in two phases, parallel to and following that of Jerusalem. Whereas at least the name of Jerusalem was known to the Muslims from the time of Muḥammad, they did not know anything about Hebron. In the earliest reports about the conquest of Syria, unlike the case of Jerusalem, its conquest is passed over with no special remark. The sources only mention the legend of the bestowal of the place on Tamīm al-Dārī and his descendants by the Prophet, a fact which was of importance to the beneficiaries alone. They later tried to confirm their claims by presenting a letter from the Prophet to Nu'aym b. Aws al-Dārī attesting it. Although the Arabic sources mention such a document (*kitāb*), there is no doubt that it is a forgery (*EI*<sup>1</sup>, art. AL-KHALIL; Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*; Muḏjir al-Dīn, 428-9; Kaḷkaḷhandī, i, 335; cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii/I, 298, 9 A.H., § 69). However, the tradition about this *iktā'* or *wakf* is very early, and the rights of the Dārīs have been recognised down the ages. At least one abortive attempt was made on the part of the government to abolish

them on the ground that the Prophet could not have granted land which he had not possessed (Muḏjir al-Dīn, *loc. cit.*).

For lack of any detailed early Islamic traditions, we must assume from the mention in Balādhuri of the name of *Masḏjid Ibrāhīm* that the first phase of the Islamic sanctification of the city was connected solely with the memory of this Patriarch. Similarly, the early traditions about Jerusalem made it holy because of the Biblical episodes and figures which were related to it, (Abraham's sacrifice, the Ark of Moses, Solomon's Temple, etc.). The fact that active worship of the tomb of Abraham was conducted by Jews in Hebron during the Byzantine period, as attested by the 5th century Greek author Sozomenus, puts this assumption on firmer ground. The close and friendly relations, immediately after the conquest of Syria, between the local Jews in Palestine, who were quite numerous in the Hebron area, and the Muslims, may explain this. It also elucidates the Frankish account, according to which the Jews showed the Arabs the entrance to the sanctuary which had been walled up by the Byzantines, and in return they were allowed to live in peace in the town and build a Synagogue next to the Sanctuary (*RHC, Hist. occ.* v, 309 f.). The report of Muḏjir al-Dīn, that the *Ḍjāwuliyya* mosque, adjacent to the sanctuary from the north-east, was built over an ancient Jewish cemetery, attests the historical element in this account.

The second phase of the Islamisation of al-Kħalil came about when the city was connected directly with the person of Muḥammad once again according to the same method applied to Jerusalem. The older Biblical traditions were no longer sufficient for an Islam that had to confront both Christianity and Judaism; the Islamised holy places had to be connected to the founder of the faith. The *isrā'* and the *mi'rāḏj* were therefore connected at the beginning of the 2nd/8th centuries with Jerusalem and later with many other places in Syria which had to have a proper Islamic sanctity. Early traditions speak about the *isrā'* only from Mecca to Jerusalem (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *bāb al-mi'rāḏj*). Later on, probably towards the second half of the century, traditions appeared saying that the Prophet was ordered, during the *isrā'*, to descend and pray on Mount Sinai, in Hebron and in Bethlehem before finally reaching Jerusalem (Tadmurī, *Muthīr al-gharām*, 192). Local traditions developed very rapidly connecting the sanctity of Jerusalem with that of al-Kħalil, enhanced no doubt by the interest in establishing the Islamic holiness of Palestine *vis-à-vis* Christianity and in attracting pilgrims and settlers to it. The Cave of the Patriarchs was made the Tomb of Adam as well, his head lying in Jerusalem and his feet in Hebron (Tadmurī, 178 f.; cf. Muḑaddasī, 46; Arculfus, *loc. cit.*). When Abraham died, Allāh said to Hebron, *anti ḑudsī wa-bayt maḑdisī*, and promised that it would be the scene of the resurrection (*Anon.* BM. MS. or. 1510, fols. 54b-55a). Local, popular Islam found a real object of veneration in the tombs of the Saints. Jerusalem had none, but Hebron had plenty of them. In addition to Adam, the Patriarchs and their wives, the tomb of Joseph was also discovered just outside the southwestern wall of the sanctuary and a dome was built over it (in the time of the 'Abbāsīd al-Muḑtadir, Tadmurī, 186-91), and some forty obscure martyrs were also found to be buried on *Ḍjabal Ramayḑa*, the tomb of which also became a pilgrimage site (Muḏjir al-Dīn, 427). In the post-Crusader period, Jerusalem and Hebron were called *al-Ḥaramayn al-Ṣharīfayn*, a



term which, until then, was reserved for Mecca and Medina. During the Mamlūk period, control of the sanctuaries in both towns, including the management of their very extensive endowments, was entrusted to one functionary, either a Mamlūk *amir* of a local dignitary, who bore the title *Nāẓir al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn* (Sakhawī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, iii, 208, 218, iv, 13, 134, vii, 32, and *passim*; Muḍjir al-Dīn, *passim*, all through the description of the Mamlūk period e.g. 440-5, 623, 632, etc.; on an inscription: M. Van Berchem, *CIA*, ii, No. 183). Local ceremonies grew up around the visiting of the Tombs of the Patriarchs which were similar to those practices at the visit of the Prophet's Tomb in Medina, and traditions appeared to legalise them. "He who cannot visit me", the Prophet was made to say, "let him visit the Tomb of Abraham . . . The prayer next to it is the *Ḥadijī* of the poor . . .", "He who visits the tomb of Abraham, Allāh abolishes his sins", etc. (On the attachment of the sanctity of Hebron to that of Mecca and Medina see Kh̄wārizmī, MS. BM Or. 4584, fol. 22b (Kister) (Tadmūrī, 193-6; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. Jewett, 305; Kister in *Le Muséon* lxxxii (1969), 193). Al-Khalīl thus developed in popular Islam as a real substitute for Medina in the same way that Jerusalem was supposed to be a minor substitute for Mecca.

For the visitors to al-Khalīl, the tombs also had a practical meaning. An atmosphere of miracles and mysticism grew up around those tombs. This found expression in popular legends concerning the cave, in which the Patriarchs were supposed to rest, and in which the requests of the believers were promptly fulfilled (e.g. Tadmūrī, 139). This atmosphere, the status of the city and the pilgrimage to it, were all supported and stimulated by the practice, peculiar only to this place, of distributing a daily meal to everybody in town. The meal, known only by the name of *al-simāʾ al-Khalīlī* or '*adas al-Khalīl*', was supposed to honour Abraham's generosity and hospitality. The earliest account of it is given by Muḳaddasī, 172, who relates that the meals, consisting of lentils ('*adas*') cooked in olive oil, used to be distributed to both rich and poor. Substantial funds, which comprised of the income of many villages, were endowed for the *Simāʾ*, which was a huge enterprise. At the height of its development, during the Mamlūk period, meals of a certain recipe called *dashiṣha* and bread used to be distributed from its kitchens three times a day, in the morning and at noon to the local citizens, and in the evening to the visitors. Fourteen and sometimes even fifteen thousand loaves of bread were baked daily (Muḍjir al-Dīn, 58-9). The *Simāʾ* was certainly a vast and complicated undertaking, involving diverse activities and high expenditure. It comprised the buying of the grain, milling and baking it, buying oil, lentils and wood for fueling the ovens, and many other things. In times of drought, in the early Ottoman period, grains for the *Simāʾ* were imported from Egypt (Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, 132, n. 1 to document 81). In view of the frequent maladministration of the endowment for the *Simāʾ*, the success in keeping it functioning almost continuously was in itself regarded as a miracle (see on this particularly, Muḍjir al-Dīn, 59; Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*; Kazwīnī, ii, 125; Nāṣir-i Kh̄usraw, 57-8; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 505; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Cairo 1928, 33; Balawī, fol. 62b). The endowments established for the *Simāʾ*, in particular, and the *Haram* in general, comprised villages and property all over Syria and especially in the vicinities of Hebron and Nābulus. Here again, Jerusalem and Hebron shared

many of these *wakfs*. An inscription over the main entrance to the *Haram*, from 612/1215, speaks of the *wakf* made by the Ayyūbid al-Mu'azzam 'Isā (RB (1923), 812, No. 14; Wiet, *Syria*, v, 228; idem, *RCEA*, x, No. 3752); and another inscription on the Eastern Gate beyond Sara's tomb commemorates the *wakfs* of the Sultān Barḳūḳ (Muḍjir al-Dīn, 440; see Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 445; Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Cairo, vii, 194; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, i, 111, (for Baybars) and Heyd, *op. cit.*, 92 n. 1, 151, (for the early Ottoman period). In this latter period, and most probably also previously, the inhabitants of Hebron and the villages of its *wakf* were exempted from government taxes (Heyd, *op. cit.*, 145 n. 4).

A peculiar practice that developed around the *Simāʾ* in the Mamlūk period was a daily drum-beating ceremony performed by the *Ṭablkhāna* during the evening distribution of the meal. A local legend explained this practice as a commemoration of Abraham, who used to summon his many guests to meals by beating a drum (Muḍjir al-Dīn, 58).

The development of the sanctuary of Hebron into a popular Muslim shrine, the pilgrimage to it, the ceremonies and practices centred around it, all gave rise to a most unfavourable reaction amongst the strict Islamic orthodoxy. Most of the popular ceremonies which developed around the Tomb, including the *Simāʾ*, were regarded as *bidā'*. Early traditions denounced the use of tombs as mosques, ("May Allāh curse the Jews and Christians, they turned the tombs of their prophets into mosques", Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, masāʾid*, nos. 16-22). However, the fact that there is a *ḥadīth* which says that Muḳammad is Allāh's friend (*Khalīl*) exactly like Abraham and continues to forbid the usage of tombs as mosques (*ibid.*, no. 23), which is a simple amalgamation of two traditions, shows that the debate around the status of the al-Khalīl shrine was an early one. The only tomb that Islam has sanctified for the purpose of prayer and pilgrimage is the Prophet's tomb. The above combination of traditions puts Abraham and Muḳammad on the same level in an attempt to give the former's tomb the same status as the latter's. Orthodoxy has never accepted the solution hinted at here. While Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*, only raised objections to partaking in the free meals of the *Simāʾ*, in the post-Crusader period, with the wave of Islamic veneration of Jerusalem and Hebron, scholars representing strict orthodoxy like Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djāwziyya (Ibn Ḥaḳjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 40) raised objections to this popular veneration of both sanctuaries and cast doubt even on the authenticity of the locality of al-Khalīl's tomb. The Maghribī theologian Ibn al-Ḥadijī al-'Abdarī (died 737/1336) ruled against entering the sanctuary on the grounds that the exact location of the graves is unknown, and that the present tombs were built by the Franks, who also opened a door in the sanctuary wall. The pious Muslim should heed therefore the previous generations and visit the place only from outside (*al-Madkhal*<sup>2</sup>, Beirut 1972, iv, 258). He was particularly angry about the musicians of al-Khalīl who used to play trumpets; drums and other instruments after the afternoon prayer (*nawbat al-alīl*) and brought people to dance and be amused, all of which he regarded as a grave sin (*ṣhanī' wa-munkar*). (Kister, *op. cit.*, 195). He also objected to the daily meals of bread and lentils called *ḍiyāfat al-Khalīl* which he regarded as a desecration of Abraham's memory, for he used to offer his guests meat and not lentils (*ibid.*, 259).

On the other hand, there were 'ulamā' who argued in favour of the place. Tadmuri and Muḍjir al-Dīn devote long discussions to proving the authenticity of the tombs by reporting stories about people who went into the cave and actually saw the bones or even the intact bodies of the Patriarchs (Tadmuri, 183-4, 188-9). Prominent authorities are quoted calling the place *haram* and *masjid* to prove that it is not a cemetery and that the prayers and the other ceremonies in it are legal (Muḍjir al-Dīn, 55).

In the long run, the advocates of al-Khalil were those who triumphed. Both the Mamlūk and Ottoman governments showed considerable interest in the town, in which popular Šūfi activity came to be combined with learning. Muḍjir al-Dīn, 425-7, lists 32 *zāwiyas*, mosques and *maškāhid*, in addition to the *Mashhad al-Arba'in* (mentioned above) and the mosque of Shaykh 'Alī al-Bakkā' (died 670/1272, Makrīzī, *op. cit.*, 1, 604) and two *madāris*, al-Madrasa al-Fakhrīyya and al-Madrasa al-Ḳaymāziyya. This was confirmed by the Maghribi traveller al-Balawī, fols. 62b-63a, who regards al-Khalil as a place of Islamic scholarship.

*History.* Historical information about al-Khalil in the Arabic literature is very spare, since the city, like the rest of Palestine, was never the centre of any important political activity except for during the Crusader period. Sporadic traditions concerning its sanctity already appear in the 2nd/8th century, but it was only at the end of the 9th/15th that, probably for the first time, a more comprehensive work appeared, compiled by the *ḫādī* Muḍjir al-Dīn. It seems that he was the first to collect and classify the material then available about it. With the exception of the legend about Tamīm al-Dārī (see above), the Arabic sources are silent about the town. Nothing is said even about its conquest. A Frankish source, which could by no means be considered as reliable, reports that the Byzantines walled the entrance to the sepulchral cave before leaving the town and that the Arab invaders were shown the place by the Jews (for the implications of this, see above).

The history of al-Khalil revolves around two main poles, sc. its sanctuary and its topographical situation, and also its proximity to the desert and its important traffic route.

Until the time of Muḍjir al-Dīn, the sources concentrate on the sanctuary with a few references to the agricultural products of the locality. The first information is, however, no earlier than the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal, *loc. cit.*). From the more detailed information of Muḳaddasī it appears that the Muslims changed nothing inside the sanctuary nor in the traditionally-accepted arrangement of the tombs: Isaac and Rebecca inside the covered (Byzantine Basilican) mosque in the south-east, Abraham and Sara at the entrance and Jacob and Leah on the other (north-western side) of the open court. This arrangement was established at least at the end of the 3rd century A.D., if not earlier (Braslāvi, in *Sefer Hebron*, 288). According to Muḳaddasī, 172-3, the domes over Abraham and Sara were built in the Islamic period (but Muḍjir al-Dīn ascribes the work to the Umayyads). According to Nāṣir-i Ḳhusraw (438/1047), who gives a minute description of the *Ḥaram*, one of the Fātimid caliphs ordered that a gate be opened in the north-eastern wall of the Sanctuary enclosure. He also relates, and this was most probably a local story that was repeated later by 'Abdarī, that until then the interior of the building was inaccessible for visitors (*op. cit.*, 258; cf. Le Strange, 315). The place was

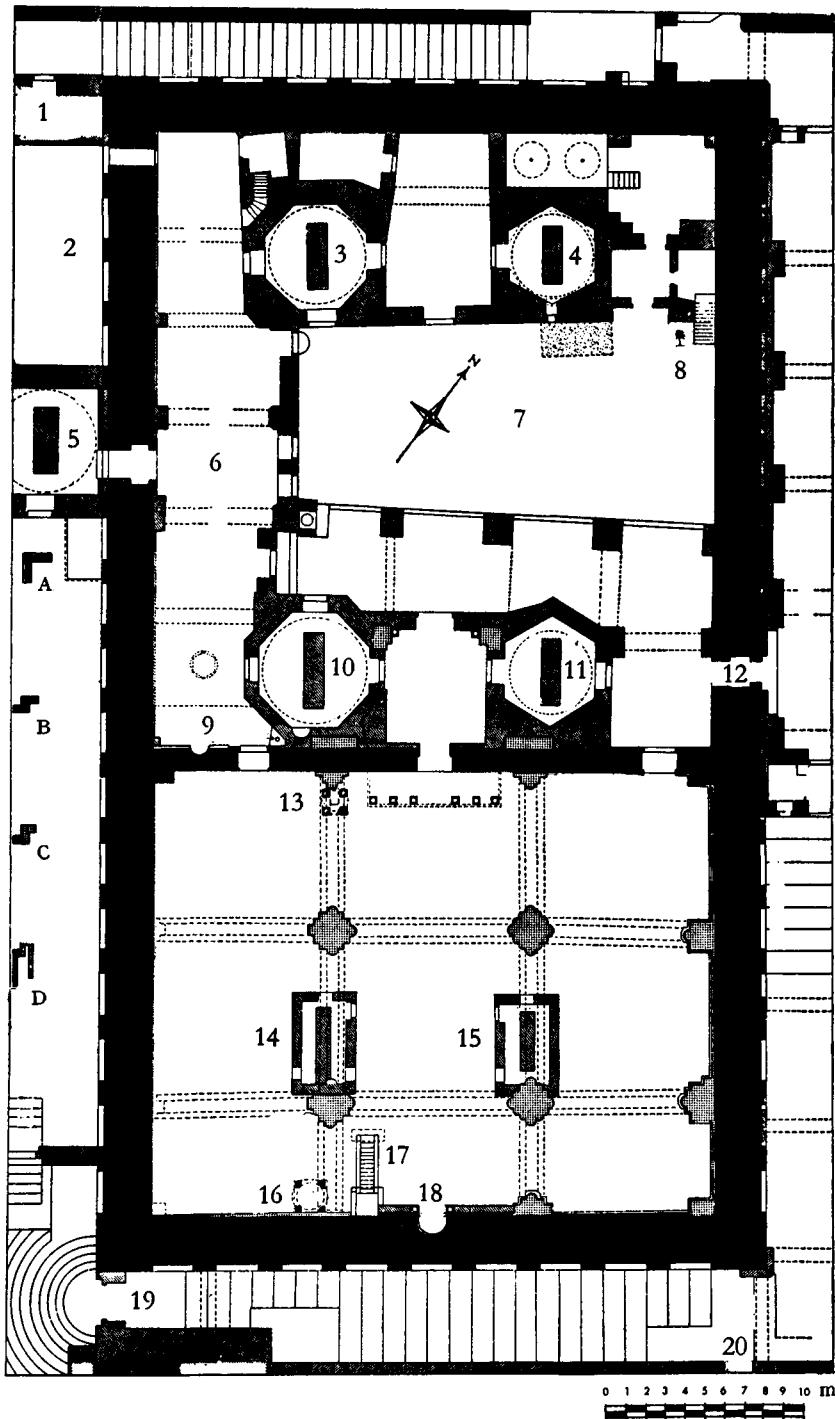
highly venerated by the Fātimids and other rulers who sent many expensive gifts, and Muslims from many other countries sent their dead to be buried there (*ibid.*, cf. Muḳaddasī, 173, note d).

In 425/1033, the *Ḥaram* suffered from the heavy earthquake which destroyed large parts of Ramla and Nābulus (Muḍjir al-Dīn, 269-70). It underwent extensive alterations under the Crusaders, who occupied Hebron in 1099 and converted the mosque into a church, supplying it with a sloping roof (the present building, cf. Le Strange, 311, notes). They called Hebron Saint Abraham, and Godfrey of Bouillon bestowed it in 1100 as a seigneurie on Gerard d'Avesnes (d. 1102). He was followed by Hugo de Rebègue, Rohardus (Rorgius), Galterius Mahomet and Baldwin. In Baldwin's time (1119-20), the sepulchral cave was discovered by Christian monks, a detailed account of which was preserved in a Frankish chronicle (see *EI*<sup>1</sup> art.) and mentioned by 'Alī al-Harawī and later Arabic chroniclers (cf. Le Strange, 318). It seems that Baldwin and his successors were the governors of Hebron, first under the king of Jerusalem and later, from about 1155, under the lord of Karak. In 1168 Hebron was made a bishopric, and the Crusader convent of 'Ein Gēdi was subordinate to it (*EI*<sup>1</sup> art.; E. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII<sup>me</sup> et XIII<sup>me</sup> siècles*, 1883, 384; cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, 185).

'Alī al-Harawī, who visited Hebron in 567/1171-2, relates how he met a knight who had entered the cave, and gives details about the restoration of the place at the order of King Baldwin II (Le Strange, 316-18). It was then that the ancient flat roof of the covered mosque was replaced by a system of arches and a sloping roof (Vincent, *Hébron*, 166).

Hebron was captured by Ṣalāh al-Dīn, according to most sources, after the conquest of Ascalon (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1966, 360-1; Makrīzī (*op. cit.*, i/1, 95) puts it in the same year but before the conquest of Ascalon (583/1187). According to Muḍjir al-Dīn (56), the wooden *minbar* which had been built by Badr al-Djamālī [q.v.] by order of the caliph al-Mustansir in 484/1092 for the Martyrion (*Mashhad*) of Ḥusayn's head in Ascalon, was brought to the mosque of al-Khalil, most probably after Ascalon was razed to the ground by Ṣalāh al-Dīn in 588/1192 (for the inscription on his *minbar* see, M. Van Berchem, in *Festschrift Edward Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 300-1; Vincent, *Hébron*, 222, fig. 85, cf. 'Abd Allāh Mukhlīs, in *BIFAO*, xxv, 57; Jaussen, *RB* (1923), 579; *RCEA* vii, n° 2790).

After the death of Ṣalāh al-Dīn, Hebron passed into the domains of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd of Karak, who was supported by his father al-Mu'azzam 'Isā. After the death of the latter in 624/1227, his domains were claimed by his uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt. The crisis that ensued threatened to engulf all the Ayyūbid princes in war. At the end of that year, however, a treaty was signed redividing the Ayyūbid territories, and according to this Hebron, together with large parts of southern Palestine, were given to Egypt (Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 235). Later it came once again under the rule of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd until 642/1244. In this year, during yet another war amongst the Ayyūbids, southern Palestine fell into the hands of al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, who was helped by the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>ārazmians. Shortly afterwards, the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>ārazmians changed sides, joining Dāwūd, and Hebron was again returned to him (*ibid.*, 318-22); and in 658/1260,



Plan of the Masjid Ibrahim

A. Herodian structure. — B. Byzantine structure. — C. Ancient structure. — D. Arab structure.  
 1. Entrance. — 2. Joseph's Mosque. — 3. Jacob's tomb. — 4. Leah's tomb. — 5. Joseph's tomb. — 6. Women's Mosque. — 7. Inner court yard. — 8. Date palm. — 9. Adam's footprint. — 10. Abraham's tomb. — 11. Sarah's tomb. — 12. Entrance. — 13. Canopy (opening in floor). — 14. Isaac's tomb. — 15. Rebecca's tomb. — 16. Canopy (sealed opening). — 17. *Minbar*. — 18. *Mihrāb*. — 19. Main entrance. — 20. Entrance.

[After Vincent, *Hebron*].

a Mongol detachment captured the city for a short while (*ibid.*, 425).

When Mamlūk rule was established in Egypt and Syria, securing the country from external danger for over 250 years, the sanctuaries of both Jerusalem and Hebron were given particular attention by the central government as well as by the local governors. Hebron came under the jurisdiction of the governor (*nāʿib*) of Jerusalem and its *wakfs* and other endowments were supervised by a special functionary (*Nāṣir al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharifayn*). In one case, however, a special *nāʿib* is mentioned for Hebron (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 699; cf. Ḳalqashandī, iv, 199). In 664/1266 Baybars visited Hebron and issued an order banning the Christians and Jews from entering the sanctuary. Until then they could enter the place in return for certain payments (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 544). This ban continued in force until Israel occupied Hebron in 1967. In 666/1268 he allocated large sums and rich endowments for the *Ḥaram* and its attendants and ordered extensive repairs to be carried out there, despatching the *amir* Djamāl al-Dīn b. Nahār to inspect the works (*ibid.*, 445, 563; Muḳḳir al-Dīn, 434; Kutubī, *Fawāʾid al-wafawāt*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 89; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḍūm*, vii, 194; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, i, 111). He also ordered that the free meal, the *ḍiyāfa* of al-Ḳhalīl, should be distributed some distance from the sanctuary (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 565). Ḳalāwūn built in 679/1280-1 a *ribāṭ* opposite the citadel and adjacent to the *Ḥaram*, which was called al-Ribāṭ al-Manṣūrī after him, and a year later, he dedicated the *Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī* (Muḳḳir al-Dīn, 426). The ever-growing number of pilgrims that came to Hebron or passed through it on the way to Mecca necessitated the building of a large water reservoir. Orders were given in 682/1283 that the poll-tax of the *dhimmi*s of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bayt Djalā and Hebron should be dedicated for this purpose; the construction was entrusted to the hands of the *amir* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ayduḡḡdī al-Ruknī (Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1939, vii, 259; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 712). In 713/1313 another water project was completed when the *amir* Abū Saʿīd ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanḍjār al-Djāwull (d. 745/1344-5) dedicated an aqueduct that conducted water to ʿAyn al-Tawāshī at the northern entrance to the *Ḥaram*. The same *amir* built between 718/1318 and 720/1320 from his private funds the Djāwuliyya mosque adjacent to the north-eastern wall of the sanctuary. Next to the Djāwuliyya were the kitchens, the mills and storage places of the *Simāf* (cf. Balawī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Haḍḍjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 171; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 131, 674; Muḳḳir al-Dīn, 58, 131). The walls of the covered mosque (*al-mughaffā*) were overlaid with marble by the *amir* Tankiz, the viceroy (*nāʿib al-saltāna*) of Syria, in 732/1332 (*ibid.*, 55, 57). The citadel (*kaʿa*) of the town was rebuilt and dedicated by al-Nāṣir Hasan (748-52/1347-51, 755-62/1354-61) (*ibid.*, 426). In 796/1394, during the reign of Barkūk, the *mihrāb* of the Mālīkiyya to the right of the entrance to the covered mosque and the arcade along its western wall (the "Women's Mosque") were built by Ṣhihāb al-Dīn al-Yaḡhmūrī (*ibid.*, 57-8). Barkūk himself dedicated the village of Dayr Iṣṭiya in the vicinity of Nābulus solely for the expenses of the *Simāf* (*ibid.*, 440). Additional endowments for the *Ḥaram* were ordered by al-Aṣḥraf Ināl (859/1454) and al-Zāhir Ḳhushḳadam, who also renewed the marble covering on the walls of the Djāwuliyya (867/1462-3). Ḳāʿit Bāy showed great interest too in the sanctuaries of Hebron and Jerusalem, and used to inspect

them in person (Sakhāwī, *Dawʿ*, vi, 205; Muḳḳir al-Dīn, 647; Ibn Iyās, iii, 108). To this period belong three detailed descriptions of the *Ḥaram*, that of Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ Ishāḳ al-Ḳhalīlī (752/1351), copied by Suyūṭī and Muḳḳir al-Dīn; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited al-Ḳhalīl in 626/1326; and of Balawī, who arrived there in 737/1337. While the latter spoke sceptically about the location of the tombs, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa defended the traditional sites (Balawī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 32; cf. Le Strange, 319-20).

The proximity of Hebron to the desert put it and its environs in constant danger from the Bedouins. The roads leading southwards from the town came almost constantly under attack and travellers could rarely pass along them in safety. The Bedouins in Syria and Palestine preserved the old division into Ḳays and Yaman, which also divided the fellahin [see ḲAYS and YAMAN. In the Ottoman period]. The two factions were in constant strife; and from time to time the nomads used to attack the sedentary areas. The Mamlūks could not keep the Bedouins in check all the time, and their military expeditions against them were at best only a temporary remedy (cf. Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine*, in *Studies on Palestine*, ed. M. Maʿoz, Jerusalem 1975, 11-17. On a large Bedouin eruption in 750/1349, see Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 709, 804). Sometimes the Bedouins were invited to participate in the local rivalries, as happened with a quarrel between the Dāris and the Kurds when each side invited the Bedouins to help him and the town was almost destroyed (Muḳḳir al-Dīn, 632-3).

The Ottomans occupied Hebron in 921/1517 and made it the administrative centre of a *nāhiya* in the *sandjāḳ* of Jerusalem (Heyd, *op. cit.*, 86 n. 1). Its Muslim inhabitants were exempted from government taxes (*ibid.*, 71-2) and like the Mamlūks, the Ottoman sultans regarded the repair and the maintenance of the sanctuaries in it and in Jerusalem, as well as elsewhere in the country, as a major obligation. Large numbers of pilgrims from all over the empire and from other countries visited them and had to be protected and provided for. Frequent orders were issued from Istanbul concerning the proper management, repairs and upkeep of the holy places, and in case of want of funds, additional new lands were endowed as *wakf* and skilled workers sent from Damascus for repairs to the *Ḥarams* (*ibid.*, 15). A document from 959/1552 reports that the domes over the tombs of Patriarchs, which had not been repaired since the time of the Circassian Mamlūks, had fallen to pieces, and orders are issued for their repairs (*ibid.*, 155). From another unique document of the *Mühimme defterleri* dated 991/1583, it appears that the wardens of the *Ḥaram* (*türbedār*) and its doorkeepers were traditionally eunuchs, so as not to disturb the women's tranquillity of mind when they came to pray there (*ibid.*, 157-8).

In 979/1571, an additional source of income was added to Hebron when saltpetre was discovered in its vicinity, and an extensive gunpowder industry was developed there for the Ottoman army (*ibid.*, 129, 137-8). Large quantities of this gunpowder, as well as large quantities of arms, some of which were directly smuggled from the army arsenals in Istanbul, reached the Bedouins and other rebels in the country. Hebron continued to suffer even more intensely from both the Bedouins and the continuous warfare between the Ḳays and Yaman factions. The Ottomans tried in many ways to keep the Bedouins in check, in particular to safeguard the pilgrimage roads. These measures

included building fortresses along the roads, taking hostages from the tribes and nominating 40 *imār* and *si'āmet* holders, who were exempted from participating in the wars of the empire, but all this was to no avail. Hebron and its vicinity were at the mercy of the Bedouins until modern times. The towns and travellers to and from them had to pay special taxes to the Bedouins (*khāwa*, [q.v.]), in order to gain some degree of safety. The mountain villages around the town relied for their defence on their own strength (*ibid.*, 76, 85, 97-8 n. 3, 101-2, 111, 116; cf. Sharon, *op. cit.*, 17-30; cf. Hoexter, in *Asian and African Studies*, Jerusalem 1973, 249-311, and Karmon, 79). On the other hand, being the only urban centre in the vicinity and the main market place of the area, the Bedouins usually refrained from attacking Hebron openly, and economically the city was prosperous. In the closing years of the 18th century and during the Napoleonic wars when the coastal towns were almost completely destroyed, Hebron flourished as one of the most important commercial centres in Palestine with the caravans from Egypt preferring the more southerly route through Sinai and Beer Sheba to Hebron and Jerusalem over the insecure coastal one. Glass manufacture also developed rapidly in the town, for which it is famous until this very day. The caustic soda required for this industry was supplied by the Bedouins, who produced it from a plant growing near the shores of the Dead Sea. Other major industries in the city in the 19th century were soap, hides and cotton spinning (Kermon, 80-1).

The town began to deteriorate during the Egyptian occupation of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pasha (1831-40). While the coastal towns flourished again and were freed from the Bedouin menace, the mountainous areas which opposed the Egyptians suffered. Hebron took an active part in the revolt of 1834. It was besieged by the Egyptians, its citadel destroyed by cannon fire, and it was occupied and sacked. Additional destruction was caused by earthquake that affected Palestine in 1837. Towards the end of Egyptian rule in 1840, a rebel from Dūra near Hebron, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Amr, killed the Egyptian governor of the town, proclaimed the Ottoman sultan and made himself the governor. He terrorised Hebron, especially the Jews and Christians in the town, from whom he used to extort heavy taxes. In 1846 the Ottomans, in pursuit of him, destroyed parts of Hebron with gunfire and the soldiers looted it. The rebel was not caught and he continued to infest the area for many years to come, as we learn from the detailed reports of James Finn, the British consul in Jerusalem and the only source of help to the Jewish community during the 1850s (A. M. Haymson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem*, London 1939, i, 168-9, 171-2, 198 ff.).

The improvement of security in the country during the second half of the century, with the growth of the European Powers' interest in it after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, brought recovery to Hebron. Its population grew from 8,000-10,000 in the 1870s to about 14,000 at the close of the century. This trend continued after the British conquest of 1917 and the establishment of the British mandate, when Hebron was made the capital of a subdistrict in the Southern District (1922). It also became an important political centre, and its leaders have been fanatical opponents of the Jewish settlement in Palestine. During the riots of 1929, influenced by the *Mufti* of Jerusalem, Amin al-Ḥusaynī and by local agitators, the mob attacked the Jewish quarter and

slaughtered 63 Jews. The rest of the community fled from the town. An attempt to renew the Jewish community in Hebron a few years later was cut short during the riots of 1936. After the war of 1948, Hebron came under the rule of Jordan, until in 1967 it was occupied by Israel during the Six Day's war. Until 1976 it was led by the ancient and powerful Dja'barī family. Its population is over 38,000. During the present century, a large number of Hebronites have emigrated to Jerusalem, where they occupy a very prominent position in the commercial life there.

*Bibliography:* al-Iṣṭakhārī; Ibn Ḥawqal; al-Muḥaddasī; Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muḥtāḥ*, Leiden 1974, 363; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam ma'sta'djam*, Cairo 1945, ii, 420; al-Bākūwī, *Talkhīṣ al-āthār*, ed. Bunyatov, Moscow 1971, 54 (Arabic), 41 (Russian tr.); al-Dimashkī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Dorn, repr. Leipzig, 1923, 201, 213; Ibn Baṭṭūta, Cairo 1928, 31-3; al-Tadmūrī, *K. Muthīr al-gharām ʿilā ziyārat al-Khalīl*, ed. Matthews, in *JPOS*, xviii (1937), 116 f. (cf. al-Sakhawī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, ii, 276); al-Kazwīnī, *Āthar al-bilād*, Beirut 1960; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 53-8; Yākūt, ii, 194 f.; Suyūṭi, in G. Le Strange, *JRAS*, xix, 289 f.; al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 103; Muḍjīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-djalīl bi-ta'rīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl*, Būlāk 1283 (tr. Sauvare, *Histoire de Jerusalem et de Hebron*, Paris 1876); Riant, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii (1884), 411-21; Conder, in *PEFQS* (1882), 197-214; *Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs, iii, 333-46; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 309-27 (where most of the geographical authorities are translated); Y. Karmon, *Changes in the urban geography of Hebron . . .*, in *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period*, ed. M. Ma'oz, Jerusalem 1975, 70-86; M. Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins . . .*, in *ibid.*, 11-30; L. H. Vincent and E. J. H. Mackey, *Hebron, le Haram al-Khalīl . . .*, Paris 1923; O. Avisar (ed.), *Sefer Hebron* [in Hebrew], Jerusalem; U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960; T. Wright, *Early travels in Palestine*, London 1848, 6, 45, 86, 160; G. A. Smith, *The Historical geography of the Holy Land*, repr. London 1966, index. For inscriptions: see Jaussen, *RB* (1923), 579, 586, 812; idem, in *BIFAO*, xxv, nos. 1-34; *RCEA*, vii, nos. 2790-91, x, 3752, 3967, xi, 4386, xii, 4787-88, xiii, 4876-7, 4943, 5077, 5146-7, xiv, 5428-30, 5511.

**KHALİL ALLĀH** (SHĀH), d. 866/1460, the son of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Kirmānī (730-834/1329-1431), "a great saint and mystic as well as a poet." Hearing the fame of Ni'mat Allāh's great piety and learning, the Bahmanī ruler Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I (825-39/1422-34) invited him to Muḥammadābād-Bidar, his capital. The saint declined the invitation, but sent one of his disciples. The Sultān repeated the invitation with the request to send one of his sons, if he could not himself come. Ni'mat Allāh replied that, since he had only one son, named Khalīl Allāh, with whom he did not wish to part, he was sending the latter's son, Nūr Allāh, instead. However, after his father's death, Khalīl Allāh emigrated to the Deccan with his family and many of the followers. Aḥmad I received him with honour, and gave his daughter in marriage to the saint's elder son, Ḥabīb Allāh, and his grand-daughter to the saint's younger son, Muḥibb Allāh. In addition, he accepted Khalīl Allāh as his *pīr* and conferred on him the title of Malik al-Mashā'ikh Burhān al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh, thus

giving up his allegiance to the descendants of the famous saint of Gulbarga, Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz (721-825/1321-1422). Under the influence of Khalīl Allāh and his sons, who were Shī'īs, not only Aḥmad I became a Shī'ī, but Shī'ī forces were strengthened in the Deccan.

Khalīl Allāh continued to be revered by Aḥmad's son and successor, 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmad II (830-62/1427-58) who also regarded him as his *pīr*, and, on the occasion of his coronation ceremony, seated him on his right. Khalīl Allāh was not a poet or mystic like his father; he was a pious man, given to prayer and meditation, and, unlike his elder son, Ḥabīb Allāh, kept aloof from war and politics. He was succeeded by his younger son, Muḥibb Allāh, as his *sadiqūda-nashīn* (spiritual successor). Over his grave a beautiful tomb was erected by Aḥmad II. Another building called Takht-i Kirmānī, because it contained the *takht* or throne on which Khalīl Allāh used to sit, was also constructed in his memory during this period.

*Bibliography*: H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan, an objective study*, Ḥaydarābād 1953; H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, ed., *History of medieval Deccan, 1295-1724*, 2 vols, Ḥaydarābād 1973-4; J. N. Hollister, *The Shī'a of India*, London 1953; G. Yazdānī, *Bīdar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947; Sayyid 'Alī Ṭabātabā, *Ta'riḫ-i Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, ed. Sayyid Ḥāshimī, Delhi 1355/1936; Muḥammad Kāsim Hindū-Shāh, *Ta'riḫ-i Firishta*, Lucknow 1281/1864.

(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

AL-KHALİL B. AḤMAD B. 'AMR B. TAMĪM AL-FARĀHIDĪ (AL-FURHŪDĪ; see W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, ii, 343 f.) AL-AZDĪ AL-YAḤMADĪ AL-BAṢRĪ ABŪ 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, important Arab philologist. Born in 'Uḡmān, he grew up in Baṣra where he died, at over seventy, in 175/791, or 170/786, or 160/776 (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 47; Marzubānī, *Muḥtabas*, 56; *Fihrist*, 42). As a young man he adhered to the Ṣufriyya [q.v.], but he embraced Sunnī orthodoxy under the influence of his teacher Ayyūb al-Sakhtīyānī (d. 131/748), a well-known traditionist and *fakīh* (Ziriklī, *A'lām*, i, 382). His studies in Arabic philology were especially encouraged by the two Baṣran scholars 'Isā b. 'Umar al-Thakāfi [q.v.] and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' [q.v.]. All the sources agree that he lived an unpretentious and pious life, in modest circumstances, on the yield of a garden left to him by his father (Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 56, 58, 67), and on falconry—probably not only occasionally ([al-Ḥusayn] al-Bāzayr al-Miṣrī, *al-Bayzara*, Damascus 1372/1953, 19; Fr. tr. F. Viré, *Le Traité de l'art de volerie*, Leiden 1967, 7 (= *Arabica*, xii [1965], 7); cf. D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknerliteratur*, Berlin 1965, 73 ff.). He had many pupils (see E. Bräunlich, *al-Ḥalīl und das Kitāb al-'Ain*, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 66 ff.), the most conspicuous among whom were Sibawayh [q.v.], al-Aṣma'ī [q.v.] and the *ṣāhib al-Khalīl* al-Layḥ b. al-Muzaffar [q.v.], who completed, edited and published al-Khalīl's lexicon. By his comprehensive studies and intensive teachings al-Khalīl promoted decisively the already existing beginnings of Arabic philology, and thus became its real founder.

As was the case with others, al-Khalīl's scholarly work started from Qur'ān exegesis and knowledge of Tradition, as demonstrated in particular by evidence available and source material. It is not known whether he himself wrote on Qur'ān exegesis and Tradition (see below). But as a teacher he not only

permanently influenced the broad field of philology in his capacity as grammarian, lexicographer and metrist, but he also left an impressive written testimony—though more indirectly than directly—of his competence, acumen and gift of presentation. There is a double reason why his output was so small. First, it was not yet at all common in those days to commit to writing scholarly discussion; secondly, it seems that al-Khalīl had scruples about finally editing his material together with his explanations and commentaries. It is not correct to assume that he was unable to do so through incapacity to generalise from details. Recent investigations have shown clearly that al-Khalīl had a fundamental part in the first systematic grammar of Arabic, the *Kitāb* of his pupil Sibawayh, not only as far as the material is concerned, but also in the systematisation. In this connection it must be remembered that al-Khalīl had already found elements for a theory of the language. It is even possible that such a theory had already been formulated in a fragmentary way and noted down in lecture courses, in answers to questions about individual problems, and the like. But it started to take shape only thanks to the abundance of observations of individual cases, comparisons and proofs adduced by al-Khalīl, which gave the impulse to systematisation. To give Arabic grammar its first comprehensive written form, hardly surpassed later, was reserved for his great pupil, the Persian Sibawayh. This however does not alter the fact that al-Khalīl was the real creator of this science (see G. Weil in the Introduction to Ibn al-Anbarī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, Leiden 1913, 69), as may be seen clearly from almost every page of Sibawayh's work. For details see W. Reuschel, *al-Ḥalīl ibn Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sibawayhs, als Grammatiker*, Berlin 1959; G. Troupeau, *A propos des grammairiens cités par Sibawayhi dans le Kitāb, in Arabica*, viii (1961), 309-12; cf. also M. G. Carter, *Les origines de la grammaire arabe*, in *REI*, xl (1972), 69-97, esp. 74 ff.

It has yet to be studied how far al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-Djūmal fi 'l-naḥw* corresponds to those passages which Sibawayh associates with al-Khalīl's name; according to a statement in Yāqūt, *Uḍabā'*, i, 411, the author of the *Kitāb al-Djūmal* was Ibn Shuḳayr (d. 317/929)! In the ms. Ayasofya 4456, 2, dated 601/1204, the work fills 75 folios and deals with *naṣb*, *raf'*, *khafā*, *ḍjazm*, *alifāt*, *lāmāt* (cf. a fragment, Berlin, vi, 212 no. 6902), *hā'āt*, *lā'āt*, *wāwāt*, *lām-alifāt*, *al-ikhtilāf fi ma'ānihi*, in connection with many, mostly anonymous verses (O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxiv (1910), 508 ff.; for the *Incipit*, see Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 121, note 1). For a second (?) manuscript, see Kawala, ii, 118, no. 266 k: *Kitāb Wudjūh al-naṣb* (fol. 1: by Ibn Shuḳayr?), 65 folios; for a third (?) incomplete(?) manuscript, see *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khatfī-i Kitābkhāna-i Markazi-i Dāmishgāh-i Tihirān*, Tehran 1345/1967, xv, 4075 ff., no. 4981, 3: *Sharḥ Djūmal al-i'rāb*, 16 folios. Ibn Khalīkān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1367/1948, ii, 17 no. 206, may well be referring to the *Kitāb al-Djūmal* when he mentions a *kitāb fi 'l-'awāmil* among al-Khalīl's works.

Further investigation is necessary into a short treatise of two pages by al-Khalīl about the question why the root *f'l* is used as paradigm (ms. Bodleiana, i, 230 no. 1047,4, dated 654/1256). The longer fragment of 24 folios of a *Kitāb Ṣarf al-Khalīl*, dated 821/1418 (Berlin, vi, 215 no. 6909), is perhaps connected with this treatise.

Appreciation of the significance of al-Khalīl's lexicographical activities has steadily increased as

scholars have recognised him as the author of the first Arabic dictionary, the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, and this notwithstanding the fact that even in the early period his authorship of this work was rejected by a majority. Recent investigations have again considerably contributed to the solution of this problem. They have shown that the plan of the dictionary undoubtedly comes from al-Khalil. It is not arranged alphabetically but—probably under Indian influence—by certain groups of sounds (the phonetic-permutative principle), i.e., after the so-called “order of al-Khalil”: ʿ, ḥ, ḫ, gh, k, k, dī, sh, d, s, z, l, d, t, z, dh, th, r, l, n, f, b, m, w, alif, y, ʿ. Recent investigations have also shown that al-Khalil’s contribution to the dictionary is hardly more than that of a source, and that the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* in its present form, especially in regard to the bulk of the material, is to be considered as the work of al-Layth b. al-Muzaḥfar [q.v.]. Al-Layth may have arranged his compilation soon after al-Khalil’s death. But a little later—probably not long after 200/815—this work was revised by an otherwise unknown Abū Muʿādh ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀʾidh. Additions and corrections, also in the form of refutations (*rudūd*), followed. Many abstracts have been made and it is well known that later lexicographers have repeatedly gone back—directly or indirectly—to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* and have often quoted from it. Finally it is worth noticing that the Introduction to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, with the exception of editorial interpolations, may go back directly to al-Khalil. For details see Bräunlich, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 94, on al-Khalil’s *Kitāb Fāʾid al-ʿAyn*, mentioned e.g. in *Fihrist*, 43; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie nach Istanbuler und Berliner Handschriften*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38; J. A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, Leiden<sup>2</sup> 1965, *passim* (reviewed by A. Spitaler, in *OLZ*, lxiii [1968], 50-8); above all Stefan Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAyn und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965 (reviewed by J. W. Fück, in *Bi Or*, xxiii [1966], 199 ff.; M. M. Bravmann, in *Isl.*, xlvii [1971], 238-44). A first fascicule of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* was published by Father Anastase al-Karmāl under the title: *al-Layth b. al-Muzaḥfar, Kitāb al-ʿAyn fi ʿl-lughā*. Baghdad 1914; of the new edition by ʿAbd Allāh Darwish, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn awwal muʿdjam fi ʿl-lughā al-ʿarabiyya li-ʿl-Khalil b. Ahmad al-Farāhīdī*, the first volume appeared in 1386/1967 in Baghdad (reviewed by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, in *al-Aklām* v/2 [Baghdad 1388/1968] 127-51).

Al-Khalil’s small treatise *al-Ḥurūf*, also called *Risāla fī maʿnā ʿl-ḥurūf*, which is not listed by the ancient biographers and bibliographers (see Bräunlich, *op. cit.*, 67), has been published by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1969. The author deals concisely with the additional meanings of the letters of the alphabet and as a rule supports them by citing ancient verses.

While working on old Arabic verses as evidence for the meaning of words, linguistic peculiarities and grammatical constructions (*Fihrist*, 43, mentions among his writings a *Kitāb al-Shawāhid*), al-Khalil made a surprising and important discovery. The scanning of verses revealed to him that short and long syllables alternate and repeat themselves in strict patterns. He divided these unities, which can be distinguished according to their quantity, into five concentric circles. He thus found an adequate and telling graphical form, equally simple and brilliant, for representing the metre-order of the verses, following each other repetitively, while the rhythmical accent was also taken into account. Al-Khalil’s metrical system has been adopted by all later authors

(see, e.g., the manuscripts and summaries Berlin, vi, 323-48 no. 7108-58). The names of the metres (cf. Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 71) and a series of terms also reach undoubtedly back to him so that metrics were called simply ʿilm al-Khalil (see Hādījī Khalifa under the title ʿarūd Ibn al-Hādījī; I. Goldziher, in *WZKM*, xvii [1903], 187-90; see also al-Djāhīz, *al-Muʿallimūn*, on the margin of al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1324/1906, i, 33; idem, *al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356/1938, i, 150). Although al-Khalil’s original work, the *Kitāb al-ʿArūd*, does not seem to have survived, the content of this treatise (cf. Zubaydī, *op. cit.*, 291) may be conjectured from later works, like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi’s [q.v.] chapter on ʿarūd [q.v.] in his *al-ʿIḥd al-farīd*, Cairo 1365/1946, v, 424-518. For details see G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830; G. Weil, *Das metrische System des al-Khalil und der Iktus in den altarabischen Versen*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 303-21; and esp., idem, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*, Wiesbaden 1958 (reviewed by A. Bloch, in *GGA*, 213 [1959], 67-80). [See also ʿARÜP.] Two other works by al-Khalil, the *Kitāb al-Naḡham* and the *Kitāb al-Iḫāʿ*, dealing with tones and rhythmic tempi, are mentioned in *Fihrist*, 43 (see H. G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, 1, nos. 5 and 6; E. Neubauer in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii [1968-9/1971], 196 ff.).

Among the eight works by al-Khalil enumerated in *Fihrist*, 43, a *Kitāb al-Naḡ wa ʿl-shaḡl* is mentioned, an otherwise unknown treatise on diacritical punctuation and vocalisation (in the ʾKurʿān) (see *Gesch. des Qur.*, iii, 262, note 1 and TA, iv, 411, 9 s.v. ʿbd). According to *Dhariʿa*, i, 38 ff. no. 184, it is identical with the above mentioned *Kitāb al-Djūmal*. Such a supposition is however as doubtful as another statement by the same *Dhariʿa*, ii, 325 ff. no. 1292, namely, that al-Khalil composed a *Kitāb al-Imāma*, allegedly finished by Abu ʿl-Faḥ Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Marāghī (d. 376/986). The correctness cannot be verified from the available sources and literature (see, e.g., Kaḥḥāla, ix, 157; Brockelmann, S III, 1194 should be corrected accordingly). A so-called *Kitāb al-Muʿammā* finally is mentioned only by Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47, and then in connection with a quite unconvincing story (cf. Haywood, *op. cit.*, 21 and 133).

*Bibliography*: in addition to the works mentioned in the article: G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862 (reprint: Nendeln 1966), 37-9; Brockelmann, I, 98 f., S I, 159 f., S III, 1194; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 119-22; M. al-Makḥzūmī, *al-Khalil b. Ahmad al-Farāhīdī, aʿmāluhu wa-manḥadjuhu*, Baghdad 1960; many sources are mentioned in: Kh. Zirikli, *al-ʿAḡlām*, Cairo 1954, ii, 363; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʿallifin*, Damascus 1376/1957, iv, 112 f.; al-Wahhābī, *Marādījīʿ tarādīm al-udabāʿ*, Nadjaf 1378/1958, iii, 76-82. The main sources are: al-Bukḥārī, *al-Taʾriḫ al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1363/1944, ii, 183; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 269 (Cairo 1960, 541 f.); Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʿ*, Cairo 1375/1956, 96-9; Abu ʿl-Ḥayyib al-Luḡhawī, *Marātib al-naḥwīyyin*, Cairo 1375/1955, 27-41; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1964, 56-72; al-Strāfi, *Aḥḥbār al-naḥwīyyin*, Beirut-Paris 1936, 38-40; al-Azhārī, *Taḥḥīb al-lughā* (Introduction), in *MO*, xiv (1920), 39 ff.; al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwīyyin wa-ʿl-luḡhawīyyin*, Cairo 1373/1954; *Fihrist*, 42 f.; Samʿānī, fol. 421b; Ibn al-Anbārī,

*Nuḥat al-alibbā*<sup>2</sup>, Cairo 1386/1967, 45-8 (with references to other sources); Yākūt, *Uḍabā*<sup>3</sup>, iv, 181-3; al-Kiṭīfī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt 'alā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 341-7 (with indications of other sources); Ibn Kḥallikān, s.n.; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Gḥāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabakāt al-kurrā*<sup>4</sup>, Cairo-Leipzig 1932, i, 275; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Tahḍīb al-tahḍīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325/1907, iii, 163 f.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 243-5 (Cairo 1384/1964, 557-60); Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, Cairo (ca. 1968), i, 106-8; 153-8; 216. (R. SELLHEIM)

**KHALİL B. ISHĀK** B. MŪSĀ B. SHU'AYB, ABU 'L-MAWADDA ḌIYĀ' AL-DĪN, IBN AL-DJUNDI, Mālikī *faḳīh* of Egypt, born in Cairo 13 Rabi' I 776/22 August 1374 (but other dates, in particular 767 and 769 are also given). His father was a Ḥanafī, and it was through the influence of his teacher 'Abd Allāh al-Manūfī (d. 749/1348) that he adopted the Mālikī law school. He performed the Pilgrimage, and then remained some time in Medina, studying and teaching at the *madrasa Shaykhūmiyya*. Although generally leading a fairly retiring life, he nevertheless took up arms in the defence forces, and thus took part in the recovery of Alexandria from the Christians in 767/1365-6.

From a juridical point of view, Kḥalīl represents, just like his model Ibn al-Ḥāḍijib, a view of law somewhat tinged with Shāfi'ism, the result of a fusion between the Egyptian and the Maghribī aspects of the Mālikī school. He composed various works, of which manuscripts survive: *al-Tawḍīḥ*, a commentary on the *Mukḥtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥāḍijib, *K. al-Manāsik*, *Manāḳib al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Manūfī*, and *Dabṭ al-muwadījahāt wa-ta'rifuhā*; but all these are today forgotten. His *Mukḥtaṣar*, however, called by some simply *al-Kitāb* "the Book" par excellence, gained him a great fame, both in the Maghrib and also in the Mālikī centres of West Africa, and furthermore the honorific designation of Sidi Kḥalīl.

This *Mukḥtaṣar*, then, so obscure because of its conciseness that it can only be understood by means of a commentary, is the most renowned manual in the countries of the Muslim West, where, to some extent replacing the *Muwaffa*<sup>5</sup> of Mālik and the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn, it is everywhere the subject of teaching which is usually based on a host of partial or complete commentaries, glosses and scholia inspired by it (see Brockelmann, II, 83, S II, 96-9). It is divided into 61 chapters dealing with ritual, personal law, the *mu'āmalāt* and various topics.

Orientalists early concerned themselves with it. Between 1848 and 1854, Dr Perron published at Paris, bringing together both text and commentary, a complete French translation called *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane ou Principes de législation musulmane civile et religieuse selon le droit malékite*, 6 vols. The first edition, prepared by Richebém, appeared at Paris in 1855, from which there were successive printings down to 1883; G. Delphin produced a further edition, also at Paris, in 1900. In 1889 E. Fagnan brought out at Algiers the *Concordances du manuel de Sidi Kḥalīl* (in reference to the edition of 1883). The second complete translation, this time in Italian, was made by I. Guidi and D. Santillana (Milan 1919, 2 vols.). Amongst partial translations, one should mention those of Sautayra and Cherbonneau on personal status and on succession (Paris 1873-4), of Seignette (Constantine 1878, Paris 1911), of Fagnan, on the holy war (Algiers 1908), marriage and divorce (Algiers

1909) and of L. Bercher on apostasy, etc., in the *RT* (1923). The most recent is that of G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon la rite de l'Imām Mālek*, i-iv, Algiers-Paris 1956-62; utilising as an aid the commentaries of Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Samī', *Djawhar al-iklīl*, the translator has adopted a technique of typography which has allowed him to bring out the translation of the comparatively few words making up this "condensation" and to distinguish the expansions strictly necessary for the comprehension of the text.

*Bibliography*: Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321, i, 217; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 120; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādī*, Fās 1316, 117; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtibādī*, Fas 1317, 95 (given at the beginning of the Paris edition of the *Mukḥtaṣar*, and tr. by Fagnan in *Marriage et répudiation*; reproduced by Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, Algiers 1325, 96, and tr. by Provenzani in his tr. of the *Bustān*, Algiers 1910, 104); idem, *Kifāya*; 'As-ḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Hyderabad 1945-50, ii, 86; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, xi, 92; M. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnalités... 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī*, Algiers 1907, No. 293; Morand, *Le droit musulman algérien*, Algiers 1913; M. A. Zouber, *Aḥmad Bābā*, Paris 1977, index; Ziriklī, *A'ḳām*, ii, 364; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifin*, iv, 113-14.

(M. BEN CHENEBA \*)

**KHALİL**, AL-MALIK AL-AḤRAF ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, eighth Mamlūk sultan, reigned 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 689 to 12 Muḥarram 693/11 November 1290 to 13 December 1293 as successor to his father: al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [q.v.]. Ḳalāwūn's elder son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, the designated heir-apparent, had died in 687/1288, two years before his father, and the *wilāyat al-'aḥd* passed to his younger brother al-Aḥraf Kḥalīl. Kḥalīl is said not to have enjoyed the particular favour of his father—Ḳalāwūn's seal ('*alāma*) was lacking on Kḥalīl's diploma of investiture (*taḳlīd*)—but it should be stressed that on several occasions he was the official substitute of his father, notably when Ḳalāwūn was absent from Egypt during the siege of Tripoli in 688/1289. Furthermore, Kḥalīl was the only son old enough to reign and thus the only one to qualify for the dynastic succession.

The battle for a strong sultanate that should be independent from the oligarchy of the *amīrs* left its stamp on Kḥalīl's short reign. Yet he failed to achieve his aim. In 693/1293 he was killed during a hunting-party in the Nile delta by his deputy Baydarā and a handful of other conspirators. In the beginning, Baydarā had been Kḥalīl's esteemed *nā'ib*: still in 690/1291 the sultan had granted him the Syrian fortress of al-Ṣubayba (*Alḳāf*, 29 ff.). But later he had been humiliated repeatedly by Kḥalīl, on one occasion in the presence of the assembled *amīrs*, probably in connection with Baydarā's unsuccessful campaign against the Maronites of Ḍjabal Kasrawān in 691/1292. Other *amīrs* like Ḳarāsunkūr, who later acquired fame for his flight to the Mongols, or the future sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāḍjīn (see on him P. M. Holt, in *BSOAS*, xxxvi (1973), 521-32), were imprisoned. Although they were set free shortly afterwards, Kḥalīl failed to secure their loyalty. Kḥalīl's closest adviser and confidant, his arrogant vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs, a Syrian merchant, did everything to estrange the high *amīrs* even more from the sultan. Under Ibn al-Sal'ūs, the vizierate ceased to be in the hands of the military, the *mukalwatūn*, and became the "second office of the state" (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, viii, 306; Ḳalkaṣhandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 17).



Ibn al-Sal'ūs was the first of a long series of merchants who decidedly influenced Mamlūk policy between 1290 and 1450, particularly under Sultan Barsbāy [q.v.] [see KĀRİMĪ].

Khalil's reign saw the beginning of the flourishing Mamlūk trade policy. After the fall of 'Akkā [q.v.] in 690/1291 Khalil resumed and strengthened contacts with the Christian Mediterranean powers. He concluded treaties with Venice and Aragon. In his biography of Khalil, *al-Aḥfāf al-khafiyya*, 44 ff., Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir [q.v.] mentions an exchange-treaty of Venetian prisoners. With James II of Aragon Khalil renewed on January 29, 1293 the treaty which Kalāwūn had made with James's predecessor Alphonso III, including its provisions concerning the delivery of such forbidden war-materials as iron, weapons, wood and pitch (see K. Müller, *al-Malik al-Aṣraf*, 64, quoting Kalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 63-70). He also made contacts with the small principalities of Mentеше, Aşḍīn and Karamān, which were developing in Anatolia under Mongol suzerainty (*Aḥfāf*, 15 f.).

Khalil won his greatest fame, however, in the Islamic and Christian world alike as the skilled commander of the Egyptian-Syrian armies who captured 'Akkā (St. Jean d'Acre) after a carefully prepared six-weeks siege. Only the flight from the colours of the *amir* Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāḡīn, the later sultan, before the walls of 'Akkā, jeopardised the Muslim victory for a short time. Şayḍā, Bayrūt, 'Athlith, Djubayl and Sūr, the few remaining strongholds of the Franks, fell into the hands of the Muslims without a fight. All the captured Frankish fortresses were demolished; thus Palestine lost the basis of its economic prosperity. Contemporary chroniclers, especially al-Djazarī [q.v.], probably the most important authority for this period, complain seriously of the destructive fury of Khalil, which fell even upon Damascus and the stronghold of Şhawbak in the land of Moab. But it should be remarked that this policy was a calculated one, both on strategic and economic grounds: the Syrian cities should no longer serve as a foothold for Frankish invaders nor attract the lucrative Indian trade which was directed from South Arabia through the Red Sea to Alexandria and Damietta and further to Europe. The undisguised aversion of the Syrians for Kalāwūn and his successors reflects the political and economic centralisation of the Mamlūk state after the capitulation of the insurgent *amir* Sunḡur al-Aṣḡar of Şahyūn during Kalāwūn's reign. The building of a fleet to protect the Syrian coast (*Aḥfāf*, 56-61) is not in contradiction with Khalil's endeavours to monopolise the East-West trade through Egypt.

In contrast with his father, Khalil seems to have been inspired by religious motifs in his political and military activities. Certainly, the reproach that he was a vile libertine is unfounded. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir pictures Khalil's zeal in the *Dār al-'adl*, the royal court of justice, and speaks highly of his equity and incorruptibility. As opposed to his predecessors and to most of his successors, the sultan had a command of Arabic and concerned himself actively with the *diwān al-inshā'*, until 693/1293 headed by the above-mentioned Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir. Khalil was eager to secure the homage of the *ṣharif* of Mecca Nadjm al-Dīn Abū Numayy (*Aḥfāf*, 20), and gave new functions to the 'Abbāsīd shadow caliph al-Hākīm, the returning of the legitimate ruler of the Islamic world to the old capital of the caliphs being one of the foremost aims of his foreign policy. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (*Aḥfāf*, 6 ff.) records the text of the public *djihad* sermons

given by the caliph—another indication of Khalil's religious zeal.

Khalil's strategy was mainly directed against the Mongols, "the vile enemy" (*al-'aduww al-makhdhūl*), at least after the Franks had been driven away. After the death of Arghūn, the Ilkhāns [q.v.] lost their clear military superiority over the Mamlūks. Khalil grasped his chance, attacked the kingdom of Lesser Armenia and conquered the important stronghold of Kal'at al-Rūm on the Euphrates [see RŪM KAL'ESI]. One year later, the Armenian king Hethoum II surrendered the fortresses of Bahasnā, Mar'ash and Tall Ḥamdūn, commanding the routes to Aleppo, to the Mamlūk ruler. The Bedouins, controlling the strategic Ilkhānid-Mamlūk frontier in the Syrian desert, were also, if only temporarily, subdued. But the great dream of the age, the recovery of Baghdād, Khalil was not able to bring about.

Information on Khalil's internal policy is scarce. Three times yearly the troops received a special pay (*nafaqa*) (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, viii, 352), which constituted an additional burden on the treasury, already heavily drawn upon by the costly campaigns in Syria. Only Khalil's early death may have prevented him from redistributing the *iktā'*s of the emirs, brought about by sultan Lāḡīn a few years later (*al-rawk al-husāmi*). The *amirs* staunchly resisted any interference with their privileges; Baydarā's refusal to cede his share of the customs dues of the port of Alexandria to Khalil or his vizier aggravated the strife between the sultan and the most powerful *amirs*. Other sources of income were not easily accessible. The very lucrative confiscation of the fortunes of Ṭurunṭay, Kalāwūn's *nā'ib*, remained an isolated episode.

Khalil's murderer Baydarā reigned only for a few days. Unable to capture the citadel of Cairo, the centre of political and military power, he was killed after a short fight against Khalil's followers, led by the *ustādār* (majordomo) Ḥusām al-Dīn. The eight-years' old al-Nāşir Muḡammad, Khalil's brother, was enthroned (for the first time), the real ruler being the new *nā'ib* Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, who usurped the throne in 694/1294 under the name al-Malik al-'Ādil.

*Bibliography*: Muḡyī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Aḥfāf al-khafiyya min al-sira al-ṣhariḡa al-sultāniyya al-malakiyya al-aṣrafiyya*, in A. Moberg, *Ur 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ez-Zāhir's biografi över Sultanen el-Melik al-Aṣraf Ḥalil*, Lund 1902; Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fi ta'riḡh al-hidjra*, Ms. British Museum Ar. 1233; Şhams al-Dīn al-Djazarī, *Ḥawādiḡ al-zamān* (years 689-699 AH), in J. Sauvaget, *La Chronique de Damas d'al-Jazarī*, Paris 1949, 1-32; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-djāmi' al-ghurar*, viii, Cairo 1971, 303-52; K. V. Zetterstēen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, Leiden 1919, 1-25; Mufaḡḡal b. Abi 'l-Faḡḡ'il, *Al-Nahḡj al-sadiḡ*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xiv (1920), 369/533-411/575; Ibn al-Furāt al-Hanafī, *Ta'riḡh al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, viii, Beirut 1939, 98-171 (largely dependent upon al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fi funūn al-adab*); al-Maḡrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, i/3, Cairo 1939, 756-93; K. Müller, *Al-Malik al-Aṣraf Ṣalāḡ ad-Dīn Ḥalil. Ein Mamlukensultan am Ausgang der Kreuzzüge*, Dissertation, Bonn 1949; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Stuttgart 1846-62, 2<sup>Osna-brück</sup> 1967, iv, 174-90. (U. HAARMANN)

**KHALİL ALLĀH BUT-SHIKAN**, Persian mystic active in South India. Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Khalil Allāh was born at Kübnān, in Kirmān

province of Persia, on Friday 11th *Shābān* 775/26th January 1374, and was the son and spiritual successor of the celebrated *Shāh Ni'mat Allāh* Wali of Kirmān [q.v.]. He was widely respected as the chief exponent of the *Shūfī* school founded by, and named after, his father. The contemporary *Timūrid* princes *Shāh-Rukh Mirzā* and *Bāysunqur Mirzā*, who held him in great reverence, for some time played host to the *Sayyid* in Harāt. After his father's death in 834/1431, he migrated to the Deccan where the local dynasty of the *Bahmanīs* were engaged in fierce wars against the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. It is said that the Muslims came out victorious because of the saint's auspicious participation in one of those battles, and this event accounts for his sobriquet of *But-shikan* ("Iconoclast"). Thenceforth, he became the focal point of the socio-religious resurgence which his preachings created among the Muslims of South India. Two of his sons who had accompanied him to India married into the *Bahmanī* royal family, and his eldest son, *Sayyid Nūr Allāh*, who had preceded him to the Deccan at the instance of *Shāh Ni'mat Allāh* himself, was received with particular marks of honour by all classes of society. *Sayyid Khalīl Allāh's* most devoted disciple was no less a person than the *Bahmanī* Sultan *Aḥmad Shāh* Wali (825-39/1422-36), who was also ordained as his spiritual vice-regent (*khalīfa*).

Whether *Sayyid Khalīl Allāh* died whilst he was still in India or after he had returned to Persia has been a disputed point among the historians. *Firīshṭa, Ta'rikh*, 634-5, while asserting that the *Sayyid* had returned to *Māhān* in Kirmān, where he breathed his last and lies buried, refers to the opinion of some persons that he could not return to Persia and that he died in India. Modern scholars such as *Yazdānī* and *Shērwanī* have said that he died in *Bidar*, the *Bahmanī* capital, in 864/1460 and that his tomb is situated there in the domeless octagonal building called the *Čawkhāndī*. This story, however, was regarded as a myth by *Sir Wolseley Haig*, who considered the said tomb to be merely a cenotaph, and added that the saint's grave is in his father's beautiful shrine at *Māhān*; see *The religion of Ahmad Shah Bahmani*, in *JRAS* (1924), 77.

*Bibliography* (in addition to the works mentioned above): *T. W. Haig, Landmarks of the Deccan*, Allahabad 1907; *Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā, Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, Delhi 1936; *Muḥammad Zāhir al-Dīn, Sulṭān Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī* [in Urdu], *Haydarābād* 1937; *Ghulām Yazdānī, Bidar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947; *H. K. Shērwanī, The Bahmanīs of the Deccan*, *Haydarābād* 1953; *J. Aubin, Matériaux pour la biographie de Shāh Ni'matullāh Wali Kirmānī*, Paris 1956.

(ABDUS SUBHAN)

**KHALİL EDHEM** [see ELDEM].

**KHALİL EFENDI — ZĀDE**, MEḤMED SA'ID EFENDI, one of the 'ulamā' of the time of *Sulṭān Maḥmūd I* (1143-68/1730-54). He was the son of *Birgillī Khalīl Efendi* who was twice *Kādi-askar* of Anatolia. He studied under his father, then passed through the usual *madrasa* course, and beginning as *mollā* of *Yeñişehir* in 1135/1722-3, ascended the various steps of the 'ulamā' hierarchy to the highest office. He was appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* in 1162/1749, but was dismissed within ten months in 1163/1750 on account of his stern and unyielding disposition and banished to *Bursa* where he died in 1168/1754-5, and was buried near *Amīr Sulṭān*.

He was regarded as a learned man, ready with his pen, and well-fitted for all the claims of his office.

Besides a commentary, he left the Turkish translation of a part of the history of 'Aynī (d. 762/1361). Of his sons and grandsons, several were notable theologians.

*Bibliography*: *A. Rif'at Efendi, Dawḥat al-mashā'ikh*, Constantinople n.d., lithographed, 97; *Sāmī, Kāmūs al-a'lām*, Istanbul 1308/1890-1, iii, 2056; *Meḥmed Thūrayyā, Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, Istanbul 1311/1893-4, iii, 28. (TH. MENZEL\*)

**KHALİL GHĀNIM** (1846-1903), journalist and author, born in Beirut of Maronite parents and educated at the Lazarists' school in 'Aynṭūra, where he acquired a knowledge of French and English, as well as Arabic and Turkish. *Khalīl Ghānim* began his career in 1862 as a member of the commercial court in Beirut. He was then appointed dragoman of the Beirut *mutaşarrifīyya*, and subsequently of the *wilāyet* of Syria. A *wālī* under whom he served, *Sakīzīl Aḥmad As'ad*, appointed him dragoman to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when he became briefly Grand Vizier in 1873. He was promoted dragoman of the Grand Vizierate and its master of ceremonies when *As'ad* once more became Grand Vizier in 1875. Following the proclamation of the Ottoman constitution, *Khalīl Ghānim* was elected a deputy for Syria, and sat in the chamber of deputies until it was prorogued in February 1878. He seems to have become a supporter of *Midḥat Paṣha*, and thus to have attracted the displeasure of *Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II*. In consequence, he took refuge in the French embassy and fled to France, where he spent the rest of his life, becoming a naturalised French citizen and marrying a Frenchwoman. In 1881, in partnership with *Faḍl Allāh Dabbās* of Beirut, he started in Paris an Arabic newspaper *al-Baṣīr*, which received a subsidy from the French government and which acted as the advocate of French interests and policies in Tunis and in the Ottoman empire; it was presumably in recognition of these services that he was awarded the *légion d'honneur*. *Khalīl Ghānim* was also a contributor to the *Journal des Débats* and the *Figaro*, and was prominent in anti-Ḥamīdian and Young Turk activities in Europe. In Paris, he published a periodical *La Jeune Turquie* and in Geneva the *Hilāl*, and in 1895, he joined the well-known *Aḥmad Riḍā* (*Ahmet Rıza*) [q.v. in Suppl.] in publishing the influential Young Turk newspaper *Meshveret*. He published a book *Les Sultans Ottomans* in two volumes (Paris 1902), and was also the author of a *Life of Jesus* and of a work on political economy in Arabic.

*Bibliography*: *Vicomte Philippe de Tarrazi, Ta'rikh al-ṣāḥāfa al-'Arabīyya*, ii, Beirut 1913; *Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, al-A'lām*, ii, Beirut 1969; *R. Devereux, The first Ottoman constitutional period*, Baltimore 1963; *E. E. Ramsaur Jr., The Young Turks*, Princeton 1957; *E. Kedourie, Afghani and 'Abduh*, London 1966.

(E. KEDOURIE)

**KHALİL MUTRĀN**, Lebanese poet born on 1 July 1872 at *Ba'labakk* (*Baalbekk*). His family is reckoned to have been of *Ghassānid* origin (*Alūf, Ta'rikh Ba'labakk*, 86-118; *Tunnāhī*, 14). Neither his father, 'Abdu Mutrān, nor his mother, *Malaka Šabbāgh*, of whom the latter figures more prominently in his biography (*Dīwān*, iv, 145), seems to have had much influence on his life. It was at *Zaḥla* (*al-Kulliyya al-Sharḳīyya*), then at the Patriarchal College of Beirut, that he received respectively his primary and secondary education (*al-Mukhtaṭaf*, June 1888; *Ḍjamāl al-Dīn*, 44; *Tunnāhī*, 37-40), a bilingual education in which Arabic, his mother-tongue, combined with French to shape his cultural

development and the nature of his poetry. The stringent Catholic discipline must have served to enhance his sense of moral values, and the restrained attitude attributed to him (*Muḳāṭaf*, Nov. 1939, 467-78; *Madjallat Sarkis*, special issue, 1913; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, passim). Mention should be made of the influence of his eminent master Ibrāhīm al-Yāzīdī (d. 1906), from whom he gained his mastery of the language and his concern for perfection. (Evidence of the poet, *Diwān*, i, 290, 294, ii, 29, 326; and testimony born by al-Yāzīdī, *Anīs al-djalīs*, ix, 371). He imitated al-Yāzīdī in composing the bitter poem which hastened his departure from Lebanon in 1890 (for the poem of al-Yāzīdī, see *Arab awakeming*, 1955 ed., 54, and Maḳḳisī *al-Ittiḍājahāt*<sup>1</sup>, 80-3; we have two verses from Muṭrān's poem, al-Ṭunnāhī, 45-6; see *Djamāl al-Dīn*, 46).

Muṭrān paid a visit to Alexandria and stayed some time in Paris, making preparations for emigration to Chile (Ṭunnāhī, 58-64; *Muḳāṭaf*, June 1939, 91). To the time spent in Paris (1890-2), he owes his cultural sympathy with the West. There he discovered French romanticism, in which he became engrossed, and he exposed himself to the literary and artistic trends of the nineties. He became acquainted with a group of militant Lebanese and Syrian emigrés, and with Aḥmad Riḍā, a founder-member of the Young Turks. Imbued with the ideas of the French Revolution, he was inspired and stirred by it. (The celebrations of the 14th of July thrilled him; see Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, Paris, the references to Muṭrān and Ṭunnāhī, 61-4.) Asked to restrain his political activities, he left Paris, made his way to Egypt and landed in Alexandria on 11 August 1892 (*ibid.*, 71). The following day, the death of S. Taḳla, founder and proprietor of the daily newspaper *al-Ahrām* (*Muḳāṭaf*, *ibid.*, 209), gained him access to the journal where he made his debut as a journalist with an obituary poem (unpublished, seven verses quoted in Ṭunnāhī, 72-3).

In 1899 he abandoned his duties, revisited Lebanon after an absence of ten years (see the poems where he evokes his memories and *Kal'at Ba'labakk*, in *Diwān*, 97-101), returned to Cairo and on 1 June 1900 published the first issue (in 40 pages, latter in 96) of his bi-monthly revue *al-Madjalla al-Miṣriyya* (in the issue of April 1901 the main lines of the programme which he proposed to follow are sketched out; see interview in *al-Hilāl*, Jan. 1930, 269-70; *Muḳāṭaf*, August, 316), which for financial reasons was forced to cease publication in 1902, to re-appear temporarily seven years later, 17 January 1909. Meanwhile, on Friday 6 February 1903 he launched a daily paper, *al-Djawā'ib al-Miṣriyya* (a title borrowed from Fāris al-Ṣhidyāk, d. 1887), in which he pleaded for social reform and defended liberty and the public interest.

To this period (1897-1903) belongs the story of his great love which inspired him to write many lyric poems (Ṭunnāhī, 126-8, 140-1, 151-4, 157; *Diwān*, i, 144, 184-222, ii, 10, 17, 288, 326). His attachment to Egypt, which he was henceforward to consider a second homeland, became more pronounced (*Diwān*, ii, 13, 226, 295). A moderate partisan of the nationalist movement, he became committed to its cause. A foreigner, one of a minority, he found in Egypt his social equilibrium. The friendship and admiration which he showed towards Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874-1908; *Diwān*, i, 308-13, iv, 292-6) attached him to his successors (Muḥammad Farīd, d. 1919; see *Diwān*, ii, 233; Sa'ūd Zaghlūl, d. 1927; see *Diwān*, ii, 320, iii, 261, iv, 250; and see M. Khoury, *Poetry and the making of modern Egypt*, 134-72), and earned him the favour of the Khedive (*Madjallat Sarkis*, issue of

Sept. 1913). It is to this new attachment, no doubt, that he owes the surname *Shā'ir al-Kuṭrayn*. The enforcement of repressive legislation against the press caused the change of heart of the poet (*Diwān*, iii, 50) and of the journalist (*al-Madjalla l-Miṣriyya*, 14th Feb. 1909). Inspired poems on the history and the reality of Egypt multiplied.

Speculation on the money-markets brought him, in 1912, to a financial crisis which almost drove him to suicide, (*Djamāl al-Dīn*, 50; Ṭunnāhī, 266-7; *Diwān*, ii, 117-9). Nevertheless, in this same year he was appointed assistant secretary to the syndicate of agriculture. On the 24th of April 1913, a demonstration was organized in his honour at the National University (*Madjallat Sarkis*, special issue, 190-260).

With the revival of the theatrical movement and the return from Paris of the actor G. Abyaḍ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], he became involved in the theatre as translator and producer (*al-Risāla*, ix, nos. 288-96, 301; Ṭunnāhī, 280-9). A co-founder of the Society of the Arabic Theatre which he inaugurated on 30 Dec. 1920 (*al-Hilāl*, xxix, 465-72), he was appointed to the post of administrative director of the National Company (1935-42, Muḥammad Taymūr, *Ḥayātunā al-tamḥiliyya*, 108-9; *al-Hilāl*, xxxvi, 303-4; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 60-7; *al-Ahrām*, 14 Dec. 1937). The tour which he organised in 1924 (Lebanon, Syria and Palestine) increased his reputation. In 1947, he found himself covered in honours (the week of 26-29 of March; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, passim). Disabled by attacks of arthritis, he succumbed to the disease and died on 30 June 1949.

Muṭrān left a varied corpus of work. Among his unpublished writings, there is mention of a study of Shibli al-Ṣhumayyil, scientist and philosopher. He also published the *Diwān* of Ibn Kalāḳis (*Matba'at al-Djawā'ib*). His translations, adapted and sometimes annotated, are diverse: *Le Précis d'Histoire Naturelle* of Victor Duray (d. 1894), which he published under the title *Mir'āt al-ayyām fī mulakḥḥaṣ al-ta'rikḥ al-'amm* (2 vols., Cairo 1897); *Tarbiyat al-irāda* (1968), *L'Éducation de la Volonté* of Payot (*al-Hilāl*, Oct. 1918 and 1924), the survey of political economics of Leroy-Beaulieu (*al-Mūḍīaz fī 'l-iḳtiṣād*, 5 vols., in collaboration with Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm). Of his literary translations, mention should be made of his versions of the two Nights of May and of October of Alfred de Musset, and the classic works of the Western theatre which he published in the Arab world during four decades. Perceptive critics sometimes find fault with his Shakespearian translations (Nu'aymeḥ, *al-Ghīrbāl*, 1957 ed., 166-74; al-Māzinī, *Ḥaṣād*, 1932 ed., 35-50; *al-Risāla*, loc. cit.; *Muḳāṭaf*, summer 1939, 314-5; Naḍīm, *al-Masraḥiyya*, 2nd part). Hundreds of articles covering a wide spectrum of themes have still to be collected and edited. His work published posthumously, *Arādīz ilā 'l-shabāb* (102 *urḍjūzas*, *Ḥariṣa* 1951, one part of it published in *al-Hilāl*, Oct. 1917), which is of a didactic nature, has nothing original to convey.

All of this work today appears as of marginal importance. It is as a poet that he is remembered. In 1908, Muṭrān made a selection of poems and fragments previously published sporadically (for a historical view, see Adham, *al-Muḳāṭaf*, Dec. 1939, 538-50), revised them, arranged them chronologically, and published them under the title *Diwān al-Khalīl*. This collection shows the characteristic traits which were to distinguish the integral poetic corpus published in 1949 (4 vols., comprising 434 pieces, a total of 22,000 lines approximately (see the thesis of Ramādī, 216). In this connection may be mentioned

the predominance of lyrical and descriptive poems, narrative poems inspired by history (*Diwān*, i, 15, 41, 120, 179-83) or social conditions (*ibid.*, 223-45), the militant tendency retained (*ibid.*, 162-4, 308-13), and the poetry inspired by circumstances varying between authentic vigour (*ibid.*, 271-4, 290-2, 308-13) and pale conventional urbanity (*ibid.*, 118, 167-71). The traditional structure of the *ḥaṣīda* with juxtaposed lines disjointed in sense, appears alongside poems where the line becomes an organised unit contributing to the overall effect of the whole. In some instances, the poet abandons metre and simple rhyme and makes use of *takhmīs*, of *tathlūth*, of *madjzū*, complex or varied rhyming-schemes, and even comes to the point of writing prose poems (*Diwān*, i, 294-6). Other combinations of style produce new poems. The number of poems grows, but there is no apparently no radical change affecting the nature of his poetry. However, the narrative poem, drawn out to extreme length, finds its ultimate realisation in a long piece of 332 lines, entitled *Nāyṛūn* (*Diwān*, iii 50-73). In this unique exercise he was aiming at a work of definitive nature (*ibid.*, *Intro.* 48-50). Also, he immersed himself in a patient process of craftsmanship, seeking documentary evidence, researching details and ephemeral nuances, orchestrating sonorous alliterations, manipulating the language to an excessive degree, reconstructing the apocalyptic decadence of Rome (*ibid.*, 61-8), depicting under the portrait of Nero an allegorical potentate embodying the tyranny of ‘Abd al-Ḥamid II. So the present takes on a historical perspective through the mask and the cloak of poetic illusion.

The lyric poem, on the other hand, is introspective and goes deeper, as may be illustrated by his poem *al-Asad al-bāhī* (*Diwān*, ii, 17-9), where the conscious being, divided, discovers its *alter ego*, crucified, hung by its wounds, converted and a “tomb which bleeds and walks on the tombs.” A play on the senses of words infuses this poem with a remarkable evocative force.

Figures of kings, martyrs and heroes constitute a Legend of the Ages. From its dirges there emerge some genuine personalities. (*Djallād*, *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 109-11).

A promoter of modern poetry, he declared that the true modern poet should live his life so as to analyse it, should reject all imitation, uncover the secrets of the human soul, recreate the language through poetry, construct rationally a poetry where the component parts are complete in themselves while contributing to the whole, cultivate purity of form while maintaining authentic spontaneity (*al-Hilāl*, July 1928; *Diwān*, i and ii, *Intro.*; his poetry, i, 303-7). He defined his poetry in these terms: *-ḥaṣhība, gharība, aṣriyya, nasdī Muḍār*.

His critics agree in according him a place among the avant-garde of the modernist movement (T. Ḥusayn, *Hāfiṣ wa-Shawḥī*, *passim*; Mandūr, *Muhāḍarāt*; ‘Akḥād and B. Fāris in *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 49-52, 71-3, 74-5).

One should emphasise the organised scheme of composition whereby the poem regains its lost unity, the poems inspired by history, narrative or fable, poems where, militant, he sings of liberty and the dignity of man, reality disguised as allegory, or symbol, lyrical experience which probes itself, dissects itself and emerges rationally from chaos, inspired songs of the human condition and cosmic transcendence meditating on matter; in fact, the entire gamut of romantic themes which are produced in a form that is sober, perceptive, charged with images and tending towards the overall unity of the poem.

Intimately linked to that of Shawḥī (d. 1932) and Hāfiṣ (d. 1932), then in decline, his poetry, with its quality of neo-classicism, presaged in many ways the beginnings of a new poetic era.

*Bibliography*: A. Z. Abū Shādi, *Shu‘arā’ al-‘Arab al-mu‘āṣirūn*, Cairo 1958; I. Adham, *Khalīl Muṭrān, shā‘ir al-‘arabiyya al-ibḍā‘ī*, Cairo 1939 (see *al-Mukhtaṭaf*, 1939-40); M. ‘Atā’, *Khalīl Muṭrān (1872-1949)*, Cairo 1969; Brockelmann, S III, 86-96; Y. A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa ‘l-adabiyya*, ii, 703-9, Beirut 1956; Sh. Dayf, *al-Adab al-‘arabī al-mu‘āṣir fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1957; ‘A. ‘A. Dasūki, *Djamā‘at Apollo āthāruha fī ‘l-sh‘ir al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1960; N. Djāmāl al-Dīn, *Khalīl Muṭrān shā‘ir al-‘aṣr*, Beirut 1949; M. Djiha, *Khalīl Muṭrān al-shā‘ir* (unpubl. thesis), Beirut 1957; M. Husayn, *al-Ittiḍāhāt al-waṭaniyya fī ‘l-adab al-mu‘āṣir*, 2 vols., Cairo 1954-6; T. Ḥusayn, *Hāfiṣ wa-Shawḥī*, Cairo 1958; ‘U. R. Kaḥhāla, *Mu‘djam al-mu‘allifin*, iv, 122, xiii, 385; ‘A. M. Khafādji, *Ma‘ al-shu‘arā’ al-mu‘āṣirūn*, Cairo 1956. M. A. Khouri, *Poetry and the making of Modern Egypt (1822-1922)*, Leiden 1971; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, Cairo 1948; M. Kurd, Ali, *Mudhakkirāt*, i; A. Maḥḍisī, *A‘lām al-djil al-awwal min shu‘arā’ al-‘arabiyya fī ‘l-ḥarn al-‘ishrin*, Beirut 1970; M. Mandūr, *Khalīl Muṭrān, Muhāḍarāt*, Cairo 1954; idem, *al-Shi‘r al-miṣri ba‘d Shawḥī*, Cairo 1955-8; Kh. Muṭrān, *Diwān*, 4 vols., Cairo 1949; M. Nu‘ayma, *al-Ghīrbāl*,<sup>5</sup> Cairo 1957; A. Rifā‘ī and M. Farīd, *Shu‘arā’ al-waṭaniyya*,<sup>3</sup> Cairo 1948; Dj. Ramādī, *Khalīl Muṭrān* (thesis), Cairo 1959; M. A. al-Sahartī, *Khalīl Muṭrān al-radjiul wa‘l-shā‘ir*, Cairo 1949; Sarkis, *Madjallat Sarkis*, special no., Cairo 1913, 190-260; A. Sharāra, *Khalīl Muṭrān*, Beirut 1964; T. ‘A. Ṭunnāhī, *Hayāt Muṭrān*, Cairo N.D.; A. ‘Ubayd, *Dhikrā ‘l-shā‘irayn Shawḥī wa-Muṭrān*, Damascus 1925; M. Wakīl, *Khalīl Muṭrān wa-madrasatuh*, Cairo 1947; *Adīb*, 1949, 1953, 1957; *Ahrām*, esp. 1892-9, 1922, 1937, 1949, and *Mulḥak*, 1950; *Djawā‘ib Miṣriyya*; *Dustūr*, Nov. 1938; *Hikma*, 1952; *Hilāl*, yrs. 1927, 1928, 1930, 1942, 1947, 1949; *Kalima*, special no., Nov.-Dec. 1939; *Kātib Miṣri*. no. 5, 1947; *Kitāb*, viii, 1951; *Madjalla miṣriyya* (1900-2); *Mashrik*, 1952; *Mukhtaṭaf*, yrs. 1913, 1939, 1940; *Risāla*, vii (1939), xv (1947); *Risāla mukhalliṣiyya*, special no. xiv/5 (1942); *‘Uṣba andalusiyya*, x (1949), xvii (1950). (A. G. KARAM)

**KHALİL PASHA DJANDARLĪ**, Ottoman Grand Vizier, the eldest son of Djandarli Ibrāhīm (d. 832/1429), who served as Grand Vizier to Mehemmed I [q.v.]. He was serving as *Kāḍī-‘asker* [q.v.] at the time of his father's death. Murād II [q.v.] raised him to the vizierate, and by 847/1443 he was Grand Vizier, becoming this sultan's closest adviser. He appears to have been the chief architect of Murād's policy of appeasing Hungary and the western powers in an effort to prevent a concerted crusader attack against the Ottomans in the Balkans. He was chief Ottoman negotiator in the discussions leading to the Treaty of Edirne, concluded with the Hungarians on 24 Ṣafar 848/12 June 1444. On his abdication after the conclusion of peace, Murād appointed Khalīl Grand Vizier to his son Mehemmed [q.v.], and it was presumably Khalīl who recalled Murād on the crusader invasion of Djumādā II 848/September, 1444. Although he commanded a force which guarded the Bosphorus at the time of Murād's crossing to Rumelia with the troops of Anatolia on his way to meet the invaders, he himself was in Edirne [q.v.] as the young sultan's guardian at the time of Murād's

victory at Varna. He appears during the years of Murād's abdication to have regarded Murād as the true sultan. Having the loyal support of the Janissaries [see YENİ ÇERİ], Khalil used the Janissary revolt of 850/1446, which he may himself have engineered, as a pretext for recalling Murād to the throne. On the old sultan's reaccession, he retained the post of Grand Vizier unchallenged.

On Murād's death in 855/1451, Khalil summoned Mehemmed to Edirne and at first retained the Grand Vizierate, despite the grudge which Mehemmed evidently bore him for his actions during his first sultanate. Khalil's cautious and pacific policies in fact suited the delicate political situation at the time of Mehemmed's accession, with a Qaramānid attack [see QARAMĀN-OĞULLARI] and the fear that the Byzantines might release the pretender Orkhān. Khalil appears to have played an important part in negotiating the peace with the Qaramānids. It was he, too, who during the campaign, dismissed the Byzantine ambassador who sought an increase in the sum paid to the Emperor for keeping Orkhān in captivity. By securing peace on the borders and causing a breach with the Byzantines, Khalil created conditions favourable for the Ottoman siege of Constantinople. Perhaps in recognition of his diplomatic achievements, Mehemmed granted *mülk* lands near Plovdiv or Filibe [q.v.], in Sha'bān 855/September 1451. However, Khalil's continuous opposition to the siege of Constantinople both before and during the operations aroused the sultan's displeasure. He had, furthermore, a reputation of being a "friend of the Greeks". With the fall of Constantinople, he lost all remnants of his power and influence to Zaganos Pasha [q.v.] and the war-party around the sultan. Mehemmed had him arrested on 21 Djumādā I 857/30 May 1453. He was sent to Edirne and executed a few weeks later.

*Bibliography*: See DJANDARLI (V. L. Ménage), and *IA* arts. Çandarlı (I. H. Uzunçarşılı), Murād II (H. İnalçık), and Mehmed II (İnalçık); and for biographical details and full discussion of sources, F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, *Die Vezirfamilie der Çandarlızade (14./15. Jhdt.) und ihre Denkmäler*, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 101-7. In addition to sources discussed here, see Ibn Kemāl, *Tevārih-i āli-i Osman vü defter*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, ii, Ankara 1957, 21, 34, 90, 93, for the crisis of 1444, with some details of Khalil's role; F. Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 229-65. Also, for an account of the crisis of 1444, Murād II's abdication and recall to the throne, and events leading to the siege of Constantinople, with some details of Khalil's role, see İnalçık, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, Ankara 1954, 1-136; and for the text of a deed fixing boundaries of Khalil's *mülk* near Filibe, see *op. cit.*, 219-23.

(C. H. İMBER)

**KHALİL PASHA HADJDJI ARNAWUD**, Grand Vizier under the Ottoman Sultān Ahmad III. He was an Albanian from Elbaşān born ca. 1655. At the time his elder brother Sinān Āghā was *Bostandji Başlı* [q.v.], he entered the *Bostandji* corps. After the latter's death ca. 1105/1649, he became attached to Qalayllkoz Ahmad Pasha and served under him in Baghdād, where his protector was *beglerbegi*. On his return to Istanbul, Khalil became *Khāssaki* [q.v.] and in 1123/1711, *Bostandji Başlı*. On 16 Muharram 1128/11 January 1716, having been appointed *beglerbegi* of Erzurum, he was sent by the Grand Vizier Dāmād 'Ali Pasha [q.v.] to Nish to repair this important fortress, in view of the coming war with the Emperor.

In Sha'bān 1128/July-August 1716 he was appointed governor (*muhāfiẓ*) of Belgrade, then the key-fortress in the campaign against the Emperor.

After the death of the Grand Vizier Dāmād 'Ali Pasha on 16 Sha'bān 1128/5 August 1716 in the battle of Peterwardein, where Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated the Ottomans, Khalil Pasha acted as commander-in-chief. This was confirmed by Sultān Ahmad III who appointed him Grand Vizier on 4 Ramādān 1128/22 August 1716. In this appointment must be seen the influence of the Sultān's favourite, Nevshehirlī Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.], who at this juncture of events preferred to remain in the background of the war, near the seat of power of the Sultān, in the position of *Kā'immaḳām*. The 1716 campaign ended in another disaster for the Ottomans with the loss of the frontier-fortress of Temeshvar, 4 Dhu 'l-Kāda/21 October 1716, to the Emperor.

After the news of this event, the Grand Vizier Khalil drew his army back into winter quarters and returned to Edirne. In this manner, a disastrous scattering of the Ottoman army was prevented. The beginning of 1717 saw the rise of the Sultān's favourite Ibrāhīm Pasha, who married the 13 year-old daughter of Ahmad III Fāṭima Sultān, earlier widow of the Grand Vizier 'Ali Pasha. Khalil Pasha successfully opposed Ibrāhīm's policy of peace with the Emperor, refusing an offer of English mediation. The Grand Vizier insisted on the precondition of Temeshvar's being first evacuated by the Imperial forces. On 2 Radjab 1129/12 June 1717 the army marched from Edirne in the direction of Belgrade and towards the front. In the meantime, the imperial generalissimo Prince Eugene of Savoy had laid siege to the city and fortress of Belgrade. Khalil Pasha was not able to relieve the city. But having decided, after long tergiversations, on a massive attack, he was utterly beaten by the fully-prepared imperial army, which in fact had attacked first at daybreak on 8 Ramādān 1129/16 August 1717. Khalil Pasha managed to escape with his life, but all the Ottoman artillery, the whole camp equipment and all the archives were lost to the enemy, and the Ottoman losses in men were heavy. The full retreat of the Turkish army to Nish left the governor of Belgrade, Sarı Muştafa Pasha, no other choice than to surrender with full military honours. With proposals for peace from Prince Eugene, this Pasha reached Sofia, where he found Ahmad III and his court. Soon afterwards, on 18 Ramādān 1129/26 August 1717 at Nish, Khalil Pasha was dismissed as Grand Vizier because of his signal military failure before Belgrade. After his fall, he went into hiding and thus saved his life. His hiding-place was discovered in 1133/1721 and he was pardoned by Ahmad III. Then Khalil became governor of Lesbos (Midilli) where he remained till 1140/1727. Afterwards he was appointed governor of Salonica and Sedd ül-Baḥr (the Dardanelles). Khalil Pasha died in 1136/1733. He had the reputation of being a pious Muslim, but became infamous by his losing of Belgrade, *Dār ül-djihād*, to the unbelievers.

*Bibliography*: *Tārīkh-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, iv, 264, 282 f., 352 f., 362 f. An important source is Silihdār Fındıklılı Mehmed Āghā, *Nuşret-nāme* (covering the years 1695-1721), ed. in modern Turkish by İ. Parmaksızoğlu, 2 vols. in 5 parts, Istanbul 1962-9, esp. vol. ii (Index s.v. *Halil Ağa Arnavut*), this work being a sequel to that published by Ahmed Refik in 1928, *Silihdār ta'rihi*, 2 vols.; Dilāwerzāde Ömer Efendi, *Dhāy-i Hadīkat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 24 ff.; *Sidill-i 'Othmāni*, ii, 292; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Istanbul

1956-9, iv, part 1, 125 f., 128, 131-6, 139 n. 1, 148, part 2, 306 ff., 343, 599; İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1947-56, 1971-2<sup>3</sup> (4 vols.), iv, 10-11; Dukakinzâde Feridûn (Dirimtekin), *1714-1718 Türk Avusturya ve Venedik Seferi* (Suppl. to *Askeri Mecmua*, no. 84), Istanbul 1932; W. Theyls, *Gedenkschriften betreffende het leven van Karel XII, koning van Zweden*, 2 vols., Leiden 1721, ii, 327, 396 f., 408, 411-18, 444-56, (*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles XII*, Leiden 1722); L. Cassels, *The Struggle for the Ottoman Empire 1717-1740*, London 1966, 5-8; Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu, *Complete Letters*, ed. R. Halsband, 3 vols., Oxford 1965-67 (esp. letters 24-43, which give an excellent view of the time as seen by the wife of the British Ambassador); Hammer Purgstall, *Histoire*, xiii, 316 f., 326-31, 384-8 (Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 210, 217-20, 565 f.); Iorga, *GOR*, iv, 342, 348-52; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*, publ. by K. u. K. Kriegsarchiv, 21 vols., Vienna 1876-92; M. Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*, 5 vols., Munich 1963-5. (J. H. KRAMERS [- A. H. DE GROOT])

**KHALİL PASHA KAYŞARIYYELI**, Ottoman Grand Vizier and admiral, born probably ca. 1570, in the village of Zeytun (now Süleymanlı) in the province of Maraş on the way to Kayseri, near Furnuz, at that time an Armenian village with a rich population (iron mines nearby, Andreasyan, 1964). It suffered heavily from destructions done by Dîjelâli rebels.

As a young boy, **Khalil** was recruited by the *Devşirme* [q.v.], (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu*, i, 27, n. 4) and received the full education of the palace-school as an *iç oğlan*. His career may have been promoted by the fact that he had an elder brother who had successfully become Chief Falconer, *Beglerbegi*, Vizier and boon-companion of Murâd III, *Şahîd Mehmed Paşa*, who lost his life in the so-called "incident of the *Beglerbegi*" on 2 April 1589 (Danişmend, iii, 111 ff.), considered to be the earliest Janissary revolts involving the killing of a Vizier.

In 1606 he was appointed *çakırdâz başkî* (Chief Hawker), one of the court positions whose holders were entitled to become *şarîhâkbeyi*. Meanwhile, **Khalil** had become a friend of the French Ambassador to the Porte, Baron de Salignac. The latter's equerry Bordier reported the frequent hunting parties in the forests east of Üsküdar together with his master, a keen sportsman himself. In ca. 4 Ramadân 1015/4 Jan. 1607, **Khalil** became *Agha* of the Janissaries. That year's campaign was against the rebels in Asia Minor, commanded by the *serdâr Kuyudju Murâd Paşa*. In the fighting against Kalenderoğlu and Dîjânbulât 'Alî Paşa [q.v.] he distinguished himself (Gontaut-Biron, ii, 407-12). Also in 1608, **Khalil** acquired fame under Murâd Paşa in eastern Anatolia. From this time date his relations with Abâzâ Mehmed, a follower of 'Alî Paşa Dîjânbulât, whom he pardoned and adopted as a spiritual son. At the end of the second year of campaigning (1608), the *Serdâr Kuyudju Murâd Paşa* returned in triumph to the Ottoman capital, and **Khalil** returned with his commander and protector.

In 1018/16 Feb. 1609 the *Kapudân Paşa* Hâflîz Ahmad [q.v.] was deposed and **Khalil** was appointed his successor. The admiralty had long since become a perquisite of the Sulţân's court, but although lacking any naval experience, **Khalil** became successful at sea as well. His first task was to ferry over the army of the Grand Vizier Murâd Paşa to Asia for another campaign against the rebels. This and other

services delayed the sailing of the Ottoman fleet till July 1609. **Khalil** chased corsairs in the Levant seas, but his fame was established by the defeat of a Maltese squadron off Cyprus and the capture of the "Red Galleon" of 80 guns called "Kara Dîjahannam" by the Turks, commanded by the Chevalier de Fraissinet.

On his return to Istanbul, **Khalil** was given by Ahmad I the rank of Vizier (1018/25 Nov. 1609). On 16 July 1610, **Khalil** set out to sea again to chase corsairs, but did not fight any major battle. In this same year, he began to work towards the formation of an offensive alliance between the Dutch Republic, Morocco and the Porte against Spain. His first letter to the States-General in the Hague was sent off on 15 July 1610. Venetian and French opposition to this policy did **Khalil** no harm in entertaining good relations with both respective ambassadors.

From 1020/late 1611 till 1022/1613 **Khalil** was deprived of the admiralty, and the court favourite Dâmâd Öküz Mehmed Paşa [q.v.] took his place. Being out of office did not weaken **Khalil**'s position in promoting the Dutch alliance. Meanwhile, a Dutch envoy, Cornelis Haga (1612-39), had arrived in Istanbul on 17 March 1612. With **Khalil**'s help, the Dutchman was soon received by the *Kâ'im-makâm* and other persons in authority at the Porte. Venetian and French intrigues were also rendered vain by his help, so that the Dutch envoy was given an audience by Ahmad I on 1 May 1612 and recognised as ambassador of the States-General. **Khalil** Paşa remained all along a supporter of Dutch interests at the Porte, but the States-General never entered upon a military alliance with the Porte because of their pacific policy towards Spain at that time (1609-21, Hispano-Dutch truce), and because of general political opinion in Europe being unfavourably disposed towards it.

On 8 Shawwâl 1022/22 Nov. 1613, **Khalil** became *Kapudân Paşa* for a second time. At once he started the re-equipment of ships in the Sulţân's dockyard. The Turco-Dutch-Moroccan alliance project was taken up again with the letters to Maulây Zaydân of Morocco (1012-39/1603-28) and to the States-General. The following year he went to sea and made a raid on Malta and continued to Tripoli (Tarabulus-i Gharb) on a punitive expedition against a local insurgent, Şafar Dâ'yl, whom he executed. On the return journey, rebellious Greeks in the Maina district (southern Peloponese) were suppressed in co-operation with the local Ottoman Governor, Arslân Paşa. **Khalil** was back in Istanbul at the end of November 1023/1614 to be duly honoured by the Sultan. He continued the overhaul and enlargement of the fleet during the winter of 1614-15. A part of the fleet remained in the Archipelago on police duty against Christian corsairs, but no meeting took place with Spanish squadrons or other enemy war-fleets.

On 17 Rabî' II 1024/17 April 1615, **Khalil** left with a small fleet for the Mediterranean. Off Calabria, a Spanish galleon from Sicily was taken but no great offensive was feasible. At the end of the season, murmurs in Istanbul rose accusing him of having avoided confrontation with the enemy fleet. After his return on 26 Shawwâl 1024/6 November 1615, **Khalil** counteracted Habsburg intrigues of the Ottoman plenipotentiary in Vienna, Gratiani (d. 1620), against the Dutch, Venetian and French interests at the Porte. In 1616 **Khalil** once again started on the project of equipping a large fleet with the special support of Ahmad I. A Moroccan embassy to the Porte from Maulây Zaydân was sent back with letters addressed

to the States-General to foster the alliance scheme cherished by Khalil. These negotiations failed, however, because of private intrigues of the merchant family of Palache established in Morocco and Holland at the time. Khalil tried to reaffirm the Porte's authority in Algiers and Tunis and to curtail the predatory raids of the Muslim corsairs of those places against English and Dutch merchant-shipping in the Mediterranean. Cossack naval raids on Black Sea coastal towns forced Khalil to send a squadron into the Black Sea. He himself went on a short campaign through the Archipelago in this season. Contraband trade here had increased widely, especially that carried by Dutch merchantmen. Upon advice given by the *Diwān*, Khalil Paşa was appointed Grand Vizier by Aḥmad I on 8 Dhu'l-Ka'da 1025/17 Nov. 1616.

As Grand Vizier, Khalil made an end to the levying of *ḥharāḍi* on subjects of the four capitulatory nations in the Ottoman Empire, thus ameliorating relations. Further, he ordered the equipping of the fleet against the menace of the Spanish navy. An agreement between a delegation from Algiers and the Dutch Ambassador was made under authority of the Grand Vizier. His main task was, however, to continue the war against Persia in a more successful manner. On 10 Djumādā 'l-awwal 1026/15 June 1617, as *serdār-i ekrem*, he left for the Turco-Persian border. Consequently Khalil played no role in the succession to Aḥmad I, who died on 23 Dhu'l-Ka'da 1026/22 Nov. 1617, which brought Muṣṭafā I [*q.v.*] on the throne. This Sulṭān was deposed soon afterwards, and Aḥmad I's son ‘Oṭmān II was installed on 1 Rabi‘ I 1027/26 Feb. 1618. Khalil was consulted about this matter by letter. Khalil, having wintered in Diyār Bakr, opened the campaign against Persia in May 1618, after the Turkish plenipotentiary sent by him to Shah ‘Abbās had returned without concluding a truce. On 20 Ramaḍān 1027/10 Sept. 1618, the Ottoman army was defeated by the Persians near Ardabil. On 6 Shawwāl 1027/26 Sept. 1618, the Grand Vizier concluded peace with Persia on the same terms as the earlier treaties, with the exception of the Persian tribute of silk being reduced to 100 *yūk*. This peace treaty of Serāw was ratified by ‘Oṭmān II on 29 Sept. 1619 and held firm till 1624. Khalil withdrew to winter quarters at Tokat and the army stayed in Erzurum. The Ottoman position had thus been consolidated in the East. On his return to Istanbul, Khalil received the news of his dismissal (1 Safar 1028/18 Jan. 1619). He refused the appointment of *beglerbegi* of Damascus and sought refuge in the *tekke* of his spiritual director, the *Shaykh* Mahmūd Hüdā’i [*q.v.*] in Üsküdar. However, he kept the rank of vizier and member of the *Diwān*, probably due to the fact that the Sulṭān could not do without such a popular and capable vizier; this, at least, was the opinion of the Dutch Ambassador, Haga (letter of 17 Jan. 1619/recd. 25 March 1619).

When on 16 Muḥarram 1029/23 Dec. 1619 the then *Ḳapudān Paşa* became Grand Vizier, Khalil was appointed (for the third time) as admiral in his place. His position was weak, since he served under the former admiral of the fleet, but he continued his anti-Spanish policy, advising ‘Oṭmān II to invade the territory of the King of Spain, rather than attack Venice, which still possessed a formidable navy. Moroccan support, too, would be available against the Spaniards. However, the Grand Vizier preferred the war in Hungary against the Emperor. War against Poland was advocated by neither of the two statesmen (Sagredo, 604 ff.), but was desired by ‘Oṭmān.

In support of the Sulṭān's army, Khalil was ordered with 43 galleys to the mouth of the Danube. His fleet suffered heavily during that winter. Spanish moves for a Turco-Spanish armistice were blocked by Khalil later in spring. On Sha‘bān 6 1030/27 June 1620 he left for the Archipelago. Spanish hostilities provoked him to make a raid on Manfredonia (Sha‘bān 1030/ July 1620), and he remained cruising till October. The next year Khalil went back to the Black Sea in support of the campaign of ‘Oṭmān II. He had to keep off the Cossacks with a squadron of 40 galleys, returning in November 1621 to harbour.

In the spring of 1622, ‘Oṭmān II ordered his admiral to set out for the Archipelago, but in May the great revolt burst out [see ‘OṤMĀN II]. During the terror of the revolt, Khalil remained aboard ship, lying off Seraglio Point. He refused to become Grand Vizier (9 Radjab 1031/20 May 1622), and stuck to this resolution of staying out of the troubles in Istanbul. In June he left with the fleet on its yearly cruise of 1622. In the beginning of 1623 he was still admiral, and supported the policy of peace with Poland. But the new Grand Vizier, Mere Ḥusayn, dismissed him as a rival to power and banished Khalil to Malkara (Thrace) in April 1623 (thus Haga's letter dated 30 April 1623/recd. 27 June 1623; and Césy's of 14 April 1623, FF 16151 fol. 56; also Sagredo, 633 f.).

It was at this time that Khalil's fate became linked with that of Abāzā Mehmed Paşa [*q.v.*], who, leading the *sipāhīs*, had revolted in Erzurum to avenge the murder of ‘Oṭmān II and to punish the rival corps of Janissaries for it. Abāzā was a protégé, a spiritual son (as he was called by the Dutch ambassador Haga) of Khalil. It was now either the hatred and fear of the Janissaries which kept him out of office, or the support of the *sipāhīs* which pushed him towards it, in the years following 1623. His influence on Abāzā was much counted upon. Some time after his accession in 1623, Murād IV, or rather the Wālide Sulṭān Kösem [*q.v.*], reappointed Khalil as a vizier (Sagredo, 638 f., calling him "la miglior testa della Turchia"). Khalil remained for a long time out of higher office now, opposition to his becoming Grand Vizier being too strong.

On 2 Dec. 1626, Murād IV at last appointed Khalil to be Grand Vizier once more. His orders were to bring Abāzā Mehmed Paşa into submission, the latter being still in revolt in Anatolia. Furthermore, Khalil had to put an end to the war against Persia by a treaty. It was a hard journey to the winter quarters of the army. In August 1627, Khalil opened negotiations with Abāzā at Erzurum, but to no avail; furthermore he could not be subdued, being strongly entrenched in the fortress. Akhiskha [*q.v.*] was lost to the Persians, and the siege of Erzurum was given up by Khalil in November because of the lack of siege artillery. He thus moved to Tokat for the winter, and the only result of his campaign was the restoring of order in Anatolia and Syria.

The failure on the Persian front, and the failure to negotiate with or force the submission of Abāzā Mehmed Paşa, caused Khalil's dismissal on 1 Sha‘bān 1037/6 April 1628. Only then was it possible to find a *paşa* ambitious enough to take over. This was Ḳhusraw Paşa, the *Agha* of the Janissaries, who was able to make Abāzā surrender later in the same year. At the end of May 1628, Khalil returned to Istanbul retaining his rank of vizier, with his prestige still great. In the next year on 7 August 1629/15 Dhu'l-Hijjida 1038, Khalil Paşa died.

In private life, Khalil Paşa had links with various

mystical orders or groups, the Malāmi-Hamzawiyya, the Sha<sup>h</sup>bāniyya, the Khalwatīyya, and especially with the Dīlwatīyya order and its *shaykh* Maḥmūd Hūdā'ī from Üsküdar (950-1038/1543-1628), a famous and influential mystic of the period and a religious poet. This holy man was his lifelong spiritual guide, and in the crisis periods of his existence gave him refuge in his *tekke* in Üsküdar, notably in 1028/1619, in 1032/1623 and in 1038/1628. Often Hūdā'ī gave his blessings to the outgoing Ottoman fleet under Khalīl. Curiously, the *shaykh* strongly disapproved of Khalīl's last appointment in 1626. This same mystical bond must have attached him to Abāzā Meḥmed.

Even Christians like the Dutch ambassador Haga were admitted into Khalīl's spiritual friendship with Hūdā'ī. It was rare for an Ottoman of the early 17th century to entertain friendships with foreigners and Christians. Undoubtedly Khalīl used these friendships with diplomats like Salignac, Haga, Cézy, the Venetian *baili* Nani and Valier, as sources of political information. These and other contacts like the dragomen in his service, the renegadoes of his household, and his Jewish physician, helped him to play the role in foreign policy of the Porte that he did.

On the whole, historians, Turkish and non-Turkish, have praised Khalīl Pasha as a wise and moderate statesman and a good admiral. His constant anti-Spanish policy brought him the favour of the Venetian, Dutch and French historians and contemporaries, as did his loyal fulfilling of the capitulatory obligations of the Porte. Great successes did not come to him, however, either in diplomacy or on the battlefield. His *türbe* still stands near the *tekke* and mausoleum of Hūdā'ī in Üsküdar.

*Bibliography*: Anon., *Ghazānāme-i Khalīl Pasha*, Ms. Vienna ÖNB, Cod. HO 72 (Flügel, *Die Arab. Pers. und Türk. Hss. . . . Wien*, ii, 253 f.), and Ms. Istanbul Topkapı Revan 1482 and Süleymaniye Esat Efendi 2139; Ta<sup>r</sup>riḫ-i Na'imā, Istanbul 1283, ii, 77 ff., 91 ff., 108 f., 112 f., 114-18, 144 ff., 151, 157, 164-9, 185, 192, 246-53, 401-4, 406-12, 416-21; Pecewi, *Ta<sup>r</sup>riḫ*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 343, 368 f., 408 f.; Hādīdījī Khalīfa, *Tuhfat ul-kibār*, Istanbul 1141, fols. 46 f., 49 (ed. Istanbul 1329, 101 f., 103 ff., 107 f.); Müneḍdījim Baḫīl, *Shāh'if ul-akhbār*, Istanbul 1275, iii, 677; 'Oḥmānzāde Tā'ib, *Hadīkat ul-wizāra*, Istanbul 1271 (repr. Freiburg 1969), pp. 62-65; Pietro della Valle, *Viagge*, Rome 1650, Dutch ed., Amsterdam 1664-65, i, 64, 76, iii, 59, 106, 112, 126 ff.; Gio Sagredo, *Memorie Storiche de Monarchi Ottomani*, Venice 1688; Hammer Purgstall, *GOR*, iv, 439, 469, 478, 507, 526, 532, 570, 576, v, 69, 72, 77; Count Th. de Gontaut-Biron, *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut-Biron, baron de Salignac 1605-10*, Paris 1888-9, 2 vols.; *Sources Inédites*, série 1, pt. II, vols. i-vi (Pays Bas), ii, 578-83, 625-8, 638-43, 652 f., 655 f., 671-4, 741-8, iii, 3, 9, 21, 26, 47 f.; K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantischen Handel*, 1 vol. in 2 parts, 's-Gravenhage 1910, 155 f., 158, 179, 191, 193-315, 339, 349, 362, 442, 538, 646, 649, 651 ff., 671, 710, 732, 931, 982; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, I, Ankara 1943; I. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1947-56 (1971-72 in 5 vols.), esp. iii, 264 ff., 274 ff., 282, 297, 316, 329, 335-39; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iii, 2 parts, index; R. C. Anderson, *Naval Wars in the Levant 1559-1853*, Liverpool 1952; H. D. Andreaşyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi 1608-1619*, Istanbul 1964; A. H. de Groot, *Khalil Pasha and Cornelis Haga, The beginning of Turco-Dutch*

*relations 1610-30* (based on unpublished documents, Leiden 1977). (A. H. DE GROOT)

**KHALİL PASHA KUT.** [see ENWER PASHA].

**KHALİL SULTĀN** [see TİMÜRİDS].

**KHALİLİ** (ca. 810-90/ca. 1407-85), Ottoman Turkish poet and mystic. Apparently a native of Diyarbakır, where he studied theology, he then moved to Iznik for further study, where he remained for the rest of his life, apart from one year in Istanbul (870/1465-6). He established a dervish convent or *khānakāh* in Iznik, becoming its *shaykh*, and died in this office.

At one point in his life, he formed a passionate attachment to a youth, causing him to abandon his studies and to pour out his longing in a long poem, the *Firḫat-nāma* or *Firāk-nāma* ("Book of separation"). This was completed in 866/1461-2, and was written in both epic and lyric metres, an alternation of *mathnawī* and *ghazal*. As with much Sūfī literature, the poem is capable of interpretation on two levels, that of earthly, homosexual passion, and that of divine love, the latter interpretation being that preferred by the Ottoman anthologists and biographers. The poet seems in the *Firḫat-nāma* to be under the influence of Nesīmī, and Khalīlī seems in general to have had an influence in turn on, e.g. Ḥabībī and Fuḫūlī. He also wrote a *Dīwān* of poetry, not apparently extant complete, though various of his *ghazals*, *na'ats* and *tardīr's* are quoted in the later *tadhkīr al-shu'arā'* or literary biography literature, such as, according to Bursallī Ṭāhīr, Hādīdījī Kemāl's *Dīāmī' al-naḫā'ir* (918/1512). Khalīlī thus forms an interesting and significant figure in 9th/15th century Ottoman literature.

*Bibliography*: Latfī, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 147-8; Sehi, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1325/1907, 64-5; Edirmeli Medjidi, *Shakā'ih-i nu'maniyye terdjumesi*, Istanbul 1269/1853, 324; 'Alī Emīrī, *Tedhkere-yi shu'arā'-yi Āmid*, Istanbul 1327/1909, 277-91; Bursallī Meḥmed Ṭāhīr, *'Oḥmānlī mü'el-lifleri*, ii, 159; Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 379-83; Fevziye Abdullah (Tansel), in *IA* art. *Halīlī*; idem, in *Türk ansiklopedisi*, s.v., xviii, 388-9; Şevket Beysaroğlu, *Diyarbakırlı fikir ve sanat adamları*, Istanbul 1957, 33-50; Vasfī Kocatürk, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara 1964, 229-31. (A. KARAHAN)

**KHĀLIŞA** (pl. KHĀLIŞADJĀT) as a term signifying crown lands comes into general use in Persian sources in the middle ages. It is also applied to lesser rivers, *kanāts* [q.v.] and wells belonging to the crown. In early Islamic times the term *şawāfi* [q.v.] is used to denote crown lands in general, while the terms *diyā' al-khāşşa*, *diyā' al-sultān* and *diyā' al-khulafā'* are applied to the private estates of the caliph. Under the early semi-independent dynasties which arose in Persia on the fragmentation of the caliphate, the terms *khāşş* and *khāşşa* are used of the personal possessions of the ruler with special reference to the revenues paid into his personal treasury from land and other sources. The funds controlled by the *dargāh* were known as *māl-i khāşşa* in contradistinction to *māl-i maşālīh*, which were the funds controlled by the *dīwān* (cf. Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-şudūr*, ed. Muhammad Iqbal, GMS, London, Leiden 1921, 382). From the reign of the Īlkhān Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304), the term *khālişa* is used as well as *khāşş* and *khāşşa*, with which it may sometimes have been synonymous, though it appears to have been applied especially to crown property consisting of dead lands. Under the early Şafawids the terms *khālişa* and *khāşşa* are used apparently indiscriminately, but from the reign of Şāh 'Abbās I (995-1038/1587-1629) *khālişa* is applied to royal



estates while *khāṣṣa* is used of provinces and districts under the direct administration of the central government in contradistinction to provinces (*mamālik*) alienated from its direct control. With the fall of the Ṣafawids the distinction between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* disappears and under the Kād̲j̲ārs the terms *khāliṣa* (pl. *khāliṣad̲j̲āt*) and *amlāk-i khāliṣa* are used to signify crown lands. The term *amlāk-i salṣanatī* is also used in contradistinction to *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* (private estates).

Throughout Islamic times crown lands, originating from conquest, confiscation from rebels and tax defaulters, gift, purchase and reclamation, formed an important category of land in Persia. The basic theory of crown lands goes back to the Qur'anic prescription that one fifth of the booty (*fay'*, [q.v.]) was to be set aside for the Prophet Muhammad while the remainder was to be divided among the combatants. Under the orthodox or rightly guided caliphs, the Rāshidūn, there was general agreement that the caliph might retain in the same way one fifth of the booty, and so far as this concerned land it became crown land, *ṣawāfi*. Special *diwāns* were from time to time established to administer crown lands and their revenues, but in practice if often happened that little distinction was made between the revenue from the private estates of the caliph, and later of the temporal rulers, on the one hand and the revenue from land which belonged to the community or the state on the other.

With the spread of the Islamic conquests, modifications were made in the theory of what constituted *fay'* and its use. 'Umar I and 'Alī are both represented as resisting the division of *fay'* land in the Sawād (Tab., i, 2371-2, 2469), while the people of Kūfa sought to exclude their lands from *fay'*, alleging that *fay'* land was to be found only in the Sawād (Tab., i, 2375). Drained marshes and swamps, property belonging to fire-temples and post-houses, princes and their wives, and to those who fell in battle, and mills in Mesopotamia were exempted from *fay'* by most authorities. Such lands became *ṣawāfi al-istān* or crown land. Some authorities, however, maintained that the estates belonging to the former Persian royal house and the property of those who had fallen in battle were not so exempted (Tab., i, 2468; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, *Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden, London 1969, 75; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 272-3; *Taxation in Islam*, i, *Yahyā b. 'Ādam's Kitāb al-kharāj*, Leiden 1967, 53-4; N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New York-London 1916, 508; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 50, 224; M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier*, Geneva, 1886, 41-2). It is not to be assumed, however, that all former Sasanian crown land in fact became Muslim crown land. Some estates, at the time of the conquests, were usurped by local *dahākīn* (Løkkegaard, 111). In the reign of Mu'āwiya there was an increase in crown land (cf. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History, A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 89). Grants of crown land in Lower 'Irāk were made by him in the form of *kaṣī'a* [q.v.] to his relatives and supporters. Resentment at this was one of the factors in the revolt of Ibn Ash'ath against Ḥadīdjādī in 82/701. At the time of the battle of Dayr al-Djamādīm the register of *ṣawāfi* lands was burnt and some crown land was temporarily usurped. 'Abd al-Malik and his son Walid I further extended the principle of *ṣawāfi* in order to appropriate lands reclaimed from desert, marshes or sea, and granted much of it to members of their own family, though some of these grants

were later annulled by 'Umar II (Shaban, *op. cit.*, 124, 132). In the reign of Walid I more land was reclaimed from the swamps of Lower 'Irāk by Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and became his *kaṣī'a* and the owners of many of the estates (*diyā'*) along the two Sib canals entrusted these to him for his protection. These eventually became the estates of the caliph when the heirs of Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, to whom the Sibayn estates were granted after the fall of the Umayyads, sold them (Balādhurī, 294). Reclaimed and other public lands and endowments in the Hīdjāz were also assimilated in the reign of Mu'āwiya to *ṣawāfi* land (W. Schmucker, *Untersuchungen zu einigen wichtigen bodenrechtlichen Konsequenzen der Islamischen Eroberungsbewegung*, Bonn 1972, 142).

The measures taken to deal with the conquered territories were often of an *ad hoc* nature. There were wide divergences in practice, and many controversies arose concerning their extent and their administration and the right of the caliph to dispose of them. The main question at issue was whether they were the joint possession of the Muslim community, held by it in common and administered by the consent of its leaders, or were held by the *imām* for the community and were at his disposal (see further Schmucker, *op. cit.*). The jurists in their expositions were concerned primarily with the practical consequences of the ownership of land rather than its legal status. They attempted to regularise and unify the various practices which had grown up during the conquests, basing their classification of the land upon their varying interpretations of separate incidents in the conquests, in particular the conquest of the Ṣawād. Extensive Sasanian crown lands had existed in this district, and under the later Sasanian rulers grants from these had been made to members of the royal family. Registers of Sasanian crown lands were apparently kept, though it was not until the reign of Mu'āwiya that lists of the crown lands which had been in the possession of the Sasanian ruler and the royal family are alleged to have been obtained for Mu'āwiya from Ḥulwān (Ya'kūbī, *Tarīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1883, ii, 2581; Balādhurī, 290, 295).

Social and political conditions in Khurāsān and Transoxania at the time of the conquest differed from 'Irāk and the neighbourhood, as also did the circumstances of the conquest, and did not affect the evolution of the theory of crown lands. There was no development of crown lands there comparable to what happened in 'Irāk and the neighbourhood.

There appears to have been a great increase in crown lands under the 'Abbāsids (P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter, nach den arabischen Geographien*, Leipzig, 1929-36, vii, 876). In some cases, the owners of land in the conquered territories transferred their property into crown lands, sharing the proceeds with the caliph in order to obtain protection from lawless elements or unjust tax-collectors (cf. Balādhurī, 310-11; Løkkegaard, 68-70; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Kummī, *Tarīkh-i Kumm*, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Malik, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1934, 187). The revenues from crown lands were paid into the *bayt māl al-khāṣṣa*, a distinction being made, in general, between what belonged to the caliph and the state revenue. It was, however, by no means without precedent for money from the *bayt māl al-khāṣṣa* to be used to defray expenses made for the benefit of the whole realm (Løkkegaard, 51-2, 157. Cf. also D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāsīde*, Damascus 1960, on the *diwān al-diyā'*, ii, 591-2).

The classification of the land by the jurists was affected both by the concepts of communal ownership [see *ḤIMĀʿ*] prevalent among the early Muslims and the theories of the functions and position of the *imām*. Land conquered by force (*ʿanwatan*) and abandoned by its inhabitants, who had been killed, captured or had fled, was, according to al-Shāfiʿī, treated as booty and divided among the conquerors, unless the latter renounced it, in which case it was immobilised for the public good. Mālik on the other hand considered that such land belonged to the community, while Abū Ḥanīfa held that the *imām* could divide it among the captors, who would pay *ʿuṣhr* on the land so divided, return it to its original owners and levy *kharāḍī* on them, or immobilise it for the benefit of the Muslim community. Since land conquered by force constituted booty, the caliph had the right to one fifth of it as *ṣawāfi*. Land acquired peacefully because its owners had abandoned it formed a second category. This paid *kharāḍī*, which represented a *dominium* paid by whoever exploited it, while a third category was constituted by land coming into Muslim ownership by virtue of a treaty, such land remaining in the possession of its original owners on condition they paid *kharāḍī*.

Crown land, deriving in part from lands conquered by force and in part from the former crown lands of the Persian kings, was thus distinguished from both land belonging to the community and administered by the *imām* and land occupied by its original owners, the ownership of which was vested in the Muslim community. Land belonging to the community could not be sold, though in some cases, possibly irregularly, hereditary grants on such land were made to Muslims. *Ḳaḍīʿa* grants, on the other hand, could be made from crown land, which, from early times, was also granted to individuals as *ikhṭāʿ al-tamlīk* (see further Løkkegaard, 58 ff., and İKTĀʿ). In practice, there was a general tendency for the land belonging to the community to become assimilated to crown land and for both to be looked upon as the property of the *imām* (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1927, 171-2). Cases of the usurpation of both were common. (See further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 17 ff.)

The Shīʿī theory of crown land, formulated rather later than the Sunnī, differs only in matters of detail. Land acquired in any way other than war, whether abandoned by its owners or voluntarily handed over to the *imām*, or land which had ceased to be cultivated by its owners, belonged to the *imām*. He could dispose of it to individuals to cultivate, the latter becoming responsible for the tax on the land. Land which was untenanted and without owners, such as beaches and shores of the sea, and the summits of mountains, also belonged to the *imām*. Similarly, after the conquest of enemy territory all the effects, moveable and immovable, of the conquered ruler, provided such property had not been seized formerly from a Muslim, ally or tributary, became the property of the *imām* (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūṣī, *al-Nihāya fī muḍjarrad al-fīkh waʿl-fatāwā*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Bākīr Sabzawārī, Tehran 1954, 130-1, 133-4; Naḍīm al-Dīn Abuʿl Ḳāsim Dījāʿfar b. ʿAlī Yaḥya al-Muḥakkīk al-Awwal, *Sharāʿī al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥilāl waʿl-ḥarām (Droit musulman)*, tr. A. Querry, Paris 1871-2, i, 179-80, tr. into Persian with the title *Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānīsh-pazhūh, Tehran 1964, 145). There was, however, some difference of opinions as to the disposal of the "fifth" of the booty during the concealment of the

*imām* (*al-Nihāya*, 133-4). Dead land or abandoned land belonged to the *imām* and no one could take possession of it except with his permission. He could take possession of it himself, give it away or sell it, though in the case of dead land it was preferable that he should give it to whoever had reclaimed it; he could also buy such land (*al-Nihāya*, 131). All land conquered by force became the property of the Muslim community as a whole and not only of the combatants. It could not be sold, constituted into *wakf* or given away. Its administration belonged to the *imām* alone. Its proceeds were to be used for the public good (*maṣāliḥ*) (*al-Nihāya*, 130-1; *Sharāʿī*, i, 337; *Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, 144-5).

In view of the special position of the law in the life of the Muslim community, no independent theory concerning the legal status of the land or its ultimate ownership was to be expected. The formulation of the jurists, whether Sunnī or Shīʿī, based on their interpretation of the conquests, remained the standard theory, though practice diverged even more widely from theory than in early Islamic times. Just as confusion had existed in early times between *ṣawāfi* and *fayʿ* land, and lack of clarity as to what constituted ownership, to what extent the ruler enjoyed rights of disposal, and to whom and on what terms rights of use might be given, so in later times there was often confusion between the land held by the ruler as the head of the state (*diwānī* land) and crown land, though the nature of his ownership of the one clearly differed from that of the other. The conception of the community as the owner of the land disappeared and was, as it were, swallowed up in the conception of the ruler as the owner of *diwānī* land. But whereas under Islamic law the ownership of land held by the community could not be disposed of, the ruler was able to make permanent, temporary and life grants on *diwānī* land. It may, perhaps, have been argued that such grants were merely of a right of use, but *diwānī* land was also sometimes constituted into *wakf*, which implies full rights of disposal. Crown land, as in the case of the earlier *ṣawāfi*, was not all of the same kind: some was acquired by the ruler in his "official" capacity, such as that which had belonged to former rulers, and some by purchase or gift. The latter constituted his "personal" estates. In either case, however, he appears to have enjoyed full rights of disposal over the land. So far as the ruler's "personal" estates were transmitted by inheritance or gift to minor members of his family and not to the succeeding sultan, they became ordinary private property (*milḥ*). Permanent, temporary and life grants were at all times made from crown land, as from *diwānī* land, and crown estates were also frequently constituted into a charitable or personal *wakf*. The fact that crown land could be thus disposed of makes it extremely difficult to estimate its extent at any given moment. Moreover, the registers in which crown land was entered were often destroyed in the upheavals and disturbances which accompanied the transfer of power from one dynasty to another.

When the caliphate fragmented in the 3rd and 4th centuries, the local rulers also acquired by conquest, confiscation, purchase, or gift lands which they converted into crown lands. A similar process took place in the various empires and kingdoms which arose in Persia after the fall of the caliphate. During the reassertion of the temporal power of the caliphate by al-Nāṣir billāh (575-622/1180-1225), his wazīr, Muʿayyid al-Dīn (d. 592/1195-6), appears to have attempted to assert the caliph's ownership to all land. He called in title-deeds (*kaḅālahā*) in *Khūzistān* and

said "The land belongs to the Commander of the Faithful" (Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-sudūr*, 381-2, Bartold, *Turkestan*, 348).

According to Gardīzī, 'Amr b. Layth, the Ṣaffārid (265-87/878-900), had four treasuries. One was for his weapons and the other three for funds obtained from various sources and expended on different purposes. One of these was for the monies (*māl-i khāṣṣ*) deriving from grain and estates (*diyā'*), which were expended on his personal expenses (*nafaqāt wa maḥabbah wa mānand-i ān*) (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāzim, Berlin 1928, 15; Bartold, *Turkestan*, 221). One of the nine government offices of the Sāmānids mentioned by Narshakhi in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is the *diwān-i mamlika-i khāṣṣ*, which was presumably concerned either with the ruler's personal estates or with lands whose revenue was paid directly to him (transl. into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Ḳubāvī, adapted by Muḥammad b. Zufar b. 'Umar, ed. Mudarris Riḍāvī, Tehran 1938-9, 31). Narshakhi also mentions the purchase of estates by Ismā'īl Sāmānī (*ibid.*, 33-5), and an occasion when crown lands (*diyā'-i sultān*) were exempted from *kharaḍj* after a flood (*ibid.*, 40). The Ghaznavids also had extensive royal estates (*diyā'-i ghazni-i khāṣṣ*). These were under a special official, who appears to have held an important position (cf. Abu'l Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. 'Alī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1971, 156). In the western provinces under the Būyids, particularly during the reign of Mu'izz al-Dawla, (320-56/932-67), there was apparently considerable confusion and disorder in the field of land tenure. Former crown land, consisting of the estates held by the caliph, together with most of the Sawād, was assigned to his officers, household and military followers (Ibn Miskawaih, in *The eclipse of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, ii, 96; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 342). Expropriation was widespread, but it is not clear whether expropriated estates became crown land or state land, though in all probability no clear distinction was made between the two. The *diwān al-khāṣṣa* in Baghdād is mentioned by Ḥilāl al-Ṣābi' in 392/1002 (H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosshöfing*, Beirut 1969, 314-15). In Fārs, according to Ibn Zarkūb, most of the land became *diwānī* land (*Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Ismā'īl Wā'iz Djavādi, Tehran 1971-2, 45). 'Aḍud al-Dawla (who ruled in Fārs from 338/949 and over 'Irāk also from 367/977 to 372/982) probably owned many personal estates, some of which he made into *wakf* for the 'Aḍudī hospital in Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 51).

The Saldjūk period was dominated in the field of land tenure and land administration by the spread of the *ikhṭā'* [q.v.] or land assignment (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 60 ff.). The territories which fell to the Saldjūks were either assigned by the sultan as *ikhṭā'*s to his family and followers or were administered directly by the state. Nizām al-Mulk appears to have regarded the sultan as the sole owner of the soil (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, Persian text, 28; *Landlord and Peasant*, 61), but crown land, as such, appears to have had small importance. There is little evidence to show that former crown land, so far as it existed, became Saldjūk crown land, though isolated crown properties may have survived. For example, the estates of Ighārayn, which 'Alī b. 'Isā had resumed many years earlier (Løkkegaard, 62), apparently became the private estates of the Saldjūk sultans (Yākūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866-73, i, 420), while Ibn Balkhī mentions that the Rāhibān *kāriz* (near

Kāzīrūn) belonged to the ruler (*in kāriz bi hukm-i diwān-i pādīshāh bāshad*) (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, *GMS*, Leiden 1921, 145-6). Alp Arslān appears to have held a number of private estates, some of which had been newly created (Nizām al-Mulk, *Naṣā'ih-nāma*, ms. in my possession, f. 30b). Mention is also made of estates held by the sultan (*khāṣṣ al-sultān*) in Kūfa in the reign of Tuḡhril Beg (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 8), which may, however, have been the private estates of the caliphs surviving from earlier times. There are also references to property belonging to the *diwān-i khāṣṣ* of Sandjār in Baṣṭām, Marv and Ray (*Aḫābat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Kazwīnī and 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 56, 67, 72), to peasants on his estates (*barzīgarān-i asbāb-i khāṣṣ*) in Marv (*ibid.*, 67) and to the *diwān-i 'amal wa asbāb-i khāṣṣ* in Ray (*ibid.*, 73).

The rulers of the Saldjūk succession states also acquired, like others before them, crown land. Part of Fārs, for example, was held by the Atabegs (543-686/1148-1287), as their personal estates (*amlāk*) (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 94).

The Mongol invasion, in contradistinction to the Saldjūk, brought about a large increase in crown lands. Much land, both at the time of the conquest and later, became dead or unclaimed land and this became crown land. Many estates also were confiscated to the crown, though Ḥāfiẓ Abrū states that when Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh was executed in 718/1318-19 his estates were taken by the *diwān* (*Dhāyil-i dīāmī'-i tawārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Khānbābā Bayānī, Tehran 1971-2, 129). The terms *dālāy* (*dala*) and *indjū* (originally applied to the subjects of the Great Khan and those whom he had granted to his relatives and others respectively) were at first applied to land which belonged immediately to the ruler and to land granted as apanages to his relatives (cf. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, i, 325). The term *dālāy* rapidly went out of use, but the term *indjū* continued to be used throughout the Ilkhān period to designate land primarily, though not exclusively, granted to the ruler's family and supporters (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, *GMS*, Leiden 1940, 19-20). Gradually the concept of *indjū* land became assimilated to existing concepts of crown land and came to signify land over which the ruler had full rights of disposal and which he granted on a hereditary title to his family and others. Whether the grantees then had full rights of disposal themselves is not clear. Much of Fārs became *indjū*. When Aḥmad Tegudar reappointed Abīsh bint Sa'd over Fārs (ca. 682/1283-4), her wazir Nizām al-Dīn urged Aḥmad to issue a *yirliḡh* declaring the former *khāliṣa* of the Atabegs, much of which had been resumed by the *diwān*, to be *indjū* and to share its proceeds with the Atabeg. A *yirliḡh* was duly issued and on this pretext Nizām al-Dīn converted much land in Fārs into *indjū*, although it had not, in fact, formerly been *khāliṣa* (Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, lith. 1852-3, 211; *Shīrāz-nāma*, 94). Among the estates confiscated by the Mongols were those of the Tabāṭabā'ī *sayyids*. Eventually some of these estates were re-granted to Sayyid Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad and the Tabāṭabā'ī *sayyids* of Fārs were thenceforward known as the *indjū sayyids* (Fasā'ī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣiri*, lith., Tehran 1894, ii, 42). Rashīd al-Dīn states that Ghāzān Khān assigned *indjū* lands to each horde to provide for its upkeep and that of the Mongol princesses. These lands were separated from the *diwān* and given into the possession of the hordes. He made his own *indjū* lands into *wakf* for his sons by his chief wife. At the time of

the composition of the *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzāni* all *indjū* lands were alleged to have been in the possession of the deputies (*nuwwāb*) of Ghāzān Khān's wives. Drafts were made on them when money was required for the army (*Tārīkh-mubārak-i Ghāzāni*, 330-1). In 703/1303-4 when Ghāzān decided to give *ikṭā's* to the soldiery, these were granted on *indjū*, *dālāy* and dead land (*ibid.*, 305; *Landlord and Peasant*, 89-90).

The Persian ministers of the Ilkhāns were, no doubt, largely responsible for the assimilation of the concept of *dālāy* and *indjū* respectively to the concept of state land and crown land which existed in the conquered territories. Among them was Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, who discusses crown land in a brief essay on finance. He is clearly influenced in his exposition by the Islamic conception of *ḥaq*. He states that one fifth of the booty taken from rebels and others belonged to the ruler and that land, water, quadrupeds, and wealth found in a conquered territory were to be reckoned as royal property. He also claims that "what comes from those who have passed away, and what comes to the king from his fathers" became the *khāṣṣa* of the king and similarly that what came from the kingdom of former kings was royal property. Approaching the problem from the point of view of finance rather than the legal status of the land, he makes the traditional distinction between the king's revenue from his private property (*az khāṣṣa-i ū*) and that destined for the needs of the kingdom (*mā-i maṣāliḥ-i pādishāhi*). The former came from the reclamation or improvement of places which had been in a ruined or bad condition (after the right of the owners had been redeemed) and landed estates (*milk-hā*) which had been bought and from various other sources (*Maḍimū'a-i rasā'il*, Proc. of the University of Tehran, No. 308 (1956), 32. See also M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, *Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, in *BSOAS*, x/3 (1942), 51 ff.).

As in the case of the earlier *ṣawāfi* there appear to have been different categories of crown land. At the time of Ghāzān Khān, in addition to *indjū* land and *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* (royal estates), mention is also made of *ḍiyā'-i ghāzāni* (the personal estates of Ghāzān Khān) (cf. Rashid al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī', Lahore 1945, 224-5). Dead land also constituted a special category and was called *khāliṣa*. Its extent was very considerable, and Ghāzān Khān, in his efforts to revive agriculture and to restore prosperity, established a special *diwān*, the *diwān-i khāliṣa*, for the registration and classification of dead lands.

Reclamation, as in Islamic law, carried with it rights of ownership and sale (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzāni*, 353-4, 356. Cf. also *ibid.*, 204, and *Landlord and Peasant*, 91). According to Waṣṣāf, in or about 698/1298-9, 20,000 *faddāns* of land, including 3,000 ploughlands (*ḍiyūf*) in Baghdād and the neighbourhood, and 3,000 in Shirāz were transferred to the *diwān-i khāliṣa*. The latter supplied seed, draught animals, and implements to those who undertook their cultivation. In return so much per ploughland was to be paid annually to the *diwān-i khāliṣa*. The contracts for cultivation were apparently for a limited period only and on the expiry of this period the seed, draught animals and implements, or a sum of money in lieu thereof, were to be returned to the *diwān-i khāliṣa* (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 349). What success attended Ghāzān's efforts to reclaim *khāliṣa* and how long the *diwān-i khāliṣa* existed as a special *diwān* is not clear.

When the Ilkhān empire broke up into a number

of succession states, their rulers also became possessed of crown land. For example, the Muẓaffarids had estates in Kirmān (Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Mu'īni*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 181). Ḥāfiẓ Abrū mentions the *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* of Amīr Maḥmūd Shāh Indjū (*Dhāyil-i djamī' al-tawārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 187) and Ibn Zarkūb makes an interesting statement to the effect that when Maḥmūd Shāh became independent in Fārs "*indjū* and *dala* became one" (*Shirāz-nāma*, 101). Between the decline of the Ilkhān empire and the rise of the Ṣafawids in the 16th century there does not appear to have been any major spread of crown lands such as occurred under the Ilkhāns, though further research may cause this statement to be modified.

Under the Ṣafawids the general distinction between *khāṣṣa* or crown land and *diwāni* or state land, which was now known as *mamālik* (provinces), continued to exist, but was not so much a question of the ownership and the legal status of the land as of the control and expenditure of its revenue. All *diwāni* (*mamālik*) land was, as Chardin pointed out (*Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. L. Langlès, Paris 1811, v, 382), potentially *khāṣṣa*, since the shah could, whenever he wished, declare it so. In a sense, therefore, there was in theory no difference between his ultimate ownership of *diwāni* (*mamālik*) land and *khāṣṣa* land. Under Shāh 'Abbās (985-1038/1587-1629), if not earlier, it appears to have been assumed that all property was owned by the shah, and that only its usufruct, not its outright possession, could be granted (cf. *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, ii, 1032).

The separation between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* districts was not absolute, and it appears to have been possible for *diwān* drafts to have been drawn on *khāṣṣa* land and for transfers to have been made between the *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* treasuries. A decree given by Shāh 'Abbās for the gift of land along the Zāyanda-Rūd of Iṣfahān to the Armenians of Džulāh in 1028/1619 suggests that no very clear distinction was made at that time between crown land and state land. It states that the land to be given to the Armenians was "our royal property (*milk-i nuwwāb-i humāyūn-i mā*)", and instructs the *mustawfīs* of the *diwān* to delete the land from what belonged to the *diwān* (*milkiyyat-i diwān*) (Hunarfar, *Gandjina-i āthār-i tārikh-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1966-7, 505-6).

Within the general category of crown land there was, as in earlier times, a confusion between land directly administered under the crown and the personal estates of the ruler. Prior to the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the terms *khāṣṣa* and *khāliṣa* appear to have been applied indiscriminately to provinces and districts which were under the direct administration of the state in contradistinction to provinces which were alienated as *tuyūl* from its direct control. Broadly speaking, *khāṣṣa* appears to have been applied to large districts or provinces, whereas *khāliṣa* was more often applied to smaller districts reserved to the *khāṣṣa* administration within provinces which were granted as *tuyūl* (K. Rohrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 131). Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76) is alleged to have remitted the *khārāḍj* for eight years from districts which were *khāliṣa* (Ḥaydar b. 'Alī Rāzi, *Tārīkh-i Ḥaydari*, quoted by Rohrborn, 132). On the death of Ṭahmāsp, Iskandar Munshī states that Muṣṣhid Kulī Khān appropriated most of the *khāṣṣa* estates (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa*) which had belonged first to Ṭahmāsp, and then to Sulṭān Ḥamza Mirzā and Abū Ṭālib Mirzā (*Tārīkh-i 'Āla-*

*mārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Tehran, 1951-2, 381). Other members of the Ṣafawid family also held private estates in different parts of the empire. Zaynab Begum, Tahmāsp's daughter, held estates (*amlāk wa raqābat*) in Yazd and the neighbourhood (Muḥammad Muftid, *Djāmi'-i Mufidi*, ed. Irāqī Afshār, Tehran 1951-2, iii, 262, 701). Shāh 'Abbās also possessed extensive personal estates and in 1015/1606-7 or 1016/1607-8 he constituted all of them (*djāmi'-i amlāk wa raqābat-i muktasab-i khāṣṣa-i kh'ud*) into *wakf* for the twelve *imāms*, Muḥammad and Fāṭima ('*Ālamārā*, ii, 760-1).

The administration of *khāṣṣa* land was under wazirs appointed by the central government, each *khāṣṣa* district or province having its own wazir. In a farman dated 975/1567 entrusting the wazirate of Gilān to the wazir of *Khurāsān*, the latter was instructed to make, with the knowledge and approval of the minor wazirs of Gilān, payment orders on the taxes and monies (*māl u djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) of each district (*maḥall*) for the wages (*mawādīb*) allotted by royal decrees to the great *amirs*. He was to take possession on behalf of the *khāṣṣa* administration, of whatever remained (B.M. Or. 4678, ii, 117b, quoted by Rohrborn, 108). In general, it seems that local administration and defence was the first charge on the revenue of the *khāṣṣa* districts. If the revenue of a given district was insufficient for these purposes, it was possible for an additional draft on *khāṣṣa* revenue from some other source to be made available to make good the deficit (cf. Rohrborn, 109).

From the reign of Shāh 'Abbās onwards a distinction was made between *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa*. Muḥammad Muftid, for example, mentions the *khāliṣadjāt* of the *khāṣṣa* administration (*Djāmi'-i Mufidi*, iii, 173). He also states that a certain Mawlānā Muḥammad Ṣādiq (d. 1063/1652-3) was entrusted by the shah with the annual distribution of 1,000 *tūmāns* in cash and kind from the *khāliṣa* to the deserving of Yazd (*ibid.*, iii, 308-9). Rohrborn considers that the distinction between *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa* became clearly drawn after Shāh 'Abbās had decided to pay the standing army and the provincial militia by assignments made on *khāṣṣa* land ('*Ālamārā*, ii, 924; Rohrborn 110, 134. Cf. also Chardin, *Voyages*, v, 250-2, 279, 298-9, 303-4, 380-2). Rohrborn gives lists of the *khāṣṣa* provinces up to 995/1587, the year of Shāh 'Abbās' accession, and after (177-8). In either case the outlying provinces tended to be *mamālik* and the central provinces *khāṣṣa*. In the second period the number of *khāṣṣa* provinces is greater. The most important and richest of them was Iṣfahān, which became the capital under Shāh 'Abbās. Defence of the *khāṣṣa* provinces was the concern, not of the provincial governor or *tuyūldār*, as it was in the *mamālik*, but of the standing army and local militia (Rohrborn, 118-22). Under Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42) Fārs became *khāṣṣa* but, contrary to Chardin's assertion (v, 279), he did not initiate the policy of resuming *mamālik* into *khāṣṣa*. This policy reached its height under Shāh 'Abbās II (1052-77/1642-67), who, according to Chardin, resumed Kāzvin, Gilān, Māzandarān, Yazd, Kirmān, *Khurāsān* and *Ādharbāyḍjān* (v, 251). The resumption of a province was, however, sometimes only temporary. After the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II the tendency was for the *mamālik* to expand at the expense of the *khāṣṣa* and at the same time for the distinction between them to become, perhaps, less sharp.

Chardin states that various types of grant were made on *khāṣṣa* land. These were (i) grants in lieu of salary, such grants being sometimes attached in perpetuity to an office, (ii) grants to officers and

servants of the royal household and for the pay of the standing army, and (iii) temporary and life grants, which were sometimes continued from father to son over several generations. What remained after the allocation of such grants was administered under the wazirs for the benefit of the *khāṣṣa* administration. So far as crown estates were not rented they were worked on a crop-sharing system, which probably differed little from that in operation in privately owned property. The main difference was that both the *māl* (the taxes) and the *mināl* (what remained after the payment of taxes) belonged to the crown. Kaempfer gives an account of the crop-sharing system prevailing in *khāṣṣa* land round Iṣfahān in or about 1684 (*Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediciarum*, fasc. v, Lemgo 1712, 91; *Landlord and Peasant*, 127). Du Mans, writing in 1660, states that most of the land was crown land, "moulki chaky", as opposed to privately owned (*arbabī*) land. He gives an unfavourable account of the administration of crown land, alleging, like Chardin, extortion by the wazirs and comptrollers (*Estat de la Perse en l'an 1660*, Paris 1890, 227, Chardin, v, 250-4, 276-7, 279). Sanson, on the other hand, alleges that the whole of Persia was the property of the shah, that all estates were held by his grace and that he could, when he wished, resume them (*Voyage ou relation de l'état présent du royaume de Perse*, Paris 1695, 96 ff.). This, however, would seem to be an exaggeration. It is possible that both Sanson and Chardin, whose evidence on the subject of land tenure is not wholly consistent (cf. Rohrborn, 113), in their interpretation of the legal status of the land, were influenced by their knowledge of western European feudal tenure.

Two administrative handbooks, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (ed. V. Minorsky, GMS, London and Leiden 1943) and the *Dastūr al-mulūk* (Muḥammad Taqī Dāniṣpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mirzā Rafi'ā*, in *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines*, University of Tehran, xv/5-6 and xvi/1-6), belonging to the late Ṣafawid period and possibly going back to a common original, make a clear distinction between the *khāṣṣa* administration and the *mamālik* administration. The duties of the *mustawfi* of the *sarkār-i khāṣṣa* give an indication of some of the matters (in addition to those pertaining to the royal household) which came under the *khāṣṣa* administration. These were not confined to the administration of crown land. The main duty of the *mustawfi* was to keep the records and files of the taxes and monies (*māl u djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) from the *maḥall* of Iṣfahān, Gilānāt, Māzandarān, Kāshān, Bandar [? 'Abbās], and Yazd, and certain monies (*wudjūhāt*) from other provinces (*sā'ir-i wilāyāt*), and monies from the *djāziya* of the Armenians, the sale of tobacco, road tolls (*rāhdārī*), *ad hoc* levies on sheep and goats in Iṣfahān, customs at the ports (*wudjūh-i 'ushr wa khurūdi-i banādīr*), the mints, *pishkash* from *kalāntars* [q.v.], fees (*dushulluk wa pishkashhā-yi muḥarrarī*), and other monies according to the assessments made by the *khāṣṣa* administration (? *sā'ir-i wudjūhāt-i djām'i-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa*), and to clear the accounts of the taxpayers with that administration (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 312). The *khāṣṣa* administration was not, however, wholly independent from the *mamālik* administration, since the *mustawfi al-mamālik* could, it seems, make drafts on *khāṣṣa* revenue (cf. *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 28a-b, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 299). Further, the grand wazir exercised supervision over both administrations, and documents for the appointment of scribes to the royal secretariat and private house-

hold (*daftar-khāna-i humāyūn wa khāṣṣa*) and of workers in the royal workshops (*buyūtāt*) were issued by the grand wazir with the approval of the *mustawfi al-mamālik*, the *nāṣir-i buyūtāt*, and the *mustawfi-i khāṣṣa*. Applications for remissions of taxation from taxpayers in *khāṣṣa* districts also had to be sanctioned by the grand wazir (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 10a).

One of the main tasks of the *khāṣṣa* administration was to administer the land round Iṣfahān, known as the *maḥāll*. This consisted of *khāliṣa*, *awḳāf*, and *intikālī* land. The first was under the wazir of the capital. His duty was to arrange for the cultivation of *khāliṣa* land either by concluding tenancies or crop-sharing agreements with the peasants, to ensure that no place lacked peasants or what was needed for its cultivation, to see to the repair of *kanāts*, and buildings (shops, caravansarais, baths, etc.), to protect the peasants from oppression from whatever quarter, to investigate agricultural disputes, to collect the revenue and produce of the *khāliṣa* districts, and, after the deduction of his own salary and the expenses of the administration, to see that what remained was expended upon its proper purposes (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvij/3, 319-20; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 72a-74a; *Landlord and Peasant*, 119). The second, *awḳāf*, came under the wazir of the *ḥayd āthār* department, whose duty was to see that the land concerned was cultivated according to its capacity, to provide whatever was needed for its cultivation, to see that gardens, buildings, mills, and *kanāts* were in good repair (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvij/3, 321; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 71a-72a; *Landlord and Peasant*, 121). The third, which came under the wazir of the *intikālī* department, possibly consisted of land newly transferred from the *diwān* to the *khāṣṣa* administration (cf. *Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvij/5, 540). The duties of the wazir of the *sarkār-i intikālī* were similar to those of the wazir of the capital (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 82a-b; *Landlord and Peasant*, 120).

With the fall of the Ṣafawids, the distinction between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik*, which had concerned the administration rather than the legal status of the land, disappeared. The sources use again, from time to time, the term *diwānī* for land which belonged to the state as opposed to *khāliṣa*, crown land belonging to the ruler and deriving from earlier times, confiscation or purchase. The difference between them is not always clear, however, especially since confiscated land sometimes became *diwānī* land and sometimes *khāliṣa*. The situation became further confused by later dynastic changes. New *khāliṣadīāt* were created, mainly by confiscation, while some old *khāliṣadīāt* were usurped. In 1151/1738-9 Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1236-47) issued orders for the resumption of the *awḳāf* of Fārs by the *diwān-i khāliṣa* (*Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, 1, 181, 183, cf. also ii, 46, 86), and in the last year of his reign promulgated a decree for the resumption of all *awḳāf*. Consequent upon this decree a considerable number of *awḳāf* were taken over and entered with *khāliṣa* estates in the land register subsequently known as the *raḥabāt-i nādirī* (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djābir-i Anṣārī, *Tārīkh-i nisf-i dīhān wa ḥama-i dīhān*, lith. n.d., 36-8; *Landlord and Peasant*, 131-2). The decree was revoked by Nādir's successor, ʿĀdil Shāh. Some of the confiscated estates were returned to their former owners (*Tārīkh-i nisf-i dīhān*, 49), but Sir John Malcolm, writing at the beginning of the 19th century, states that the lands were never fully restored (*History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 313).

Under the Kādījars, *khāliṣa*, deriving partly from earlier periods and partly from confiscation for ar-

rears of taxation, rebellion or other reasons, and purchase, became an increasingly important category of land (cf. J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 47). On various occasions the estates of a minister on his fall from power were confiscated, as happened in the case of two of Fath ʿAlī Shāh's *ṣadr-i aʿzams* (cf. *Landlord and Peasant*, 147). The estates of Muḥammad Shāh's *ṣadr-i aʿzam*, Ḥādīdī Mirzā Ākāsi, were also confiscated on the death of his master, while those of Mirzā Ākā Khān Nūrī, Nāṣir al-Dīn's *ṣadr-i aʿzam*, were confiscated on his fall, but later returned (cf. Gilānshāh, *Yak ṣad u pandjāh sāl-i salḥanat dar Irān*, Tehran 1951-2, 21, 60). According to E. S. Waring, one eighth of Fārs and Persian ʿIrāk was probably in the hands of the shah (A *tour to Sheeraz by the route of Kazroon and Feerozabad*, London 1807, 85). Land taken by conquest also became *khāliṣa*. Zuhāb, so acquired from the Ottomans, thus became *khāliṣa*, and was farmed by the governor of Kirmānshāh, in whose government it lay, to the chief of the Gūrān (H. C. Rawlinson, *Notes on a march from Zohab, at the foot of the Zagros, along the mountains of Khuzistan (Susiana) and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmanshah, in the year 1836*, in *JRGS* (1839), 26). In due course, as the conception of state revenue as something distinct from the personal income of the shah became stronger, *khāliṣa* land ceased to be considered as his personal estates and came to be regarded as belonging to the state rather than to him. The same terms continued to be used, but gradually they acquired different and separate meanings. In 1865 there is a reference to the *khāliṣadīāt-i diwānī* in the official gazette, *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Irān*, (12 Ṣafar 1282/8 July 1865) and in 1861 to the *khāliṣa-i dawlatī* (2 Ramaḍān 1277/15 March 1861, in the same journal). E. Stack, writing in 1882, notes that there was "a constant tendency for arbabi land to become diwani, by resumption of religious grants, confiscation, and by escheat" (*Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii, 248).

Ākā Muḥammad Khān, the first of the Kādjar rulers, who rose to power on the death of Karīm Khān Zand in 1779, is alleged to have bought considerable areas of land in Māzandarān, Astarābād and elsewhere and to have made these into *khāliṣa* (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagi-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, i, 657). Under Fath ʿAlī (1797-1834) there were new additions to *khāliṣa* property in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, the estates of his *ṣadr-i aʿzam*, Amīn al-Dawla, being confiscated for arrears of taxation and becoming *khāliṣadīāt-i dabfī*. In the case of an estate becoming *khāliṣa-i dabfī*, a portion of the revenue might be allowed to the former owner or his relatives as a *mustamarri* allowance. The estate remained annexed to the crown until its former owner (or his family) were restored to favour, when the estate might, according to the pleasure of the sovereign, be returned (*Landlord and Peasant*, 147). During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) a number of estates were confiscated from rebels and made into *khāliṣa* (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, i, 657). There was also again an increase, albeit temporary, in *khāliṣa* land in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān. As a result of a series of famine years many villages had become ruined, and so, in order that prosperity might be restored, *diwān* officials were instructed to provide the peasants with seed, and the names of the villages concerned were included in the lists of *khāliṣadīāt*. Although these lands were subsequently returned to their owners, they continued to be known as *khāliṣa*.

*djāt-i badhrī* (*Tārikh-i nisf-i djahān*, 49; *Landlord and Peasant*, 148).

*Khālīṣa* land, as at earlier periods, was either directly administered on a crop-sharing basis or let on a tenancy, which in effect amounted to a revenue farm, the farmer concluding crop-sharing agreements with the local peasants (*Landlord and Peasant*, 148-9). *Tuyūls* were also frequently assigned on the revenues of *khālīṣa* land either to officials in lieu of salary or as allowances and pensions to the ruler's supporters, tribal leaders or religious dignitaries (cf. Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey from Tabriz through Persian Kurdistan to the ruins of Takhti-Soleiman*, in *JRGS* (1841), 5). In the provinces, the taxes on *khālīṣa* land and the government's rent or share of the produce were collected by the provincial governors, provided that they had not been otherwise assigned. Grain obtained in this way was used primarily to provision the army, but also to prevent the creation of artificial shortages and hoarding in times of grain shortages.

By the second half of the 19th century much *khālīṣa* land, which still occupied a considerable part of the country, was in a state of decay and made little contribution to the revenue. Some estates had been abandoned by their peasants as was the case in Māzandarān (cf. *Rūznāma-i wakā'i-i ittifākiyya*, 29 *Djumādā I* 1269/2 March 1853). Many villages in the province of Iṣfahān, some of which were *khālīṣa*, had also fallen out of cultivation. At the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn (1848-96) a large sum of money, together with a considerable quantity of grain, was made available on the revenue of Iṣfahān to Mīrzā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, the head of the finance department of Iṣfahān, to enable him to bring them back into cultivation. Instead, he spent the money on military supplies and rebelled. After the ensuing disorders were put down, the estates of those implicated were confiscated and became *khālīṣa*. Subsequently, however, their former owners regained them by various means.

In 1861, Eastwick wrote that a third, or according to some, half of the land of Persia was *khālīṣa*, but that it was said to be much neglected. Advances for the expenses of cultivation at enormous rates of interest were made to the cultivators, who, subject to innumerable arbitrary exactions, were unable to accumulate capital to make improvements, and who would, in any case, not make them if they could "knowing that their rent would be raised or their leases rescinded" (UK. British Parliamentary Papers, 58 (1862)—Accounts and papers: Manufactures and commerce, and trade of foreign countries, Session 6 Feb.-7 Aug. 1862, LVIII (1862). Report by Mr. Eastwick, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, camp near Tehran, 5 July 1861, 70). Some two years later, in 1863, an attempt was made to develop *khālīṣa* land in Iṣfahān, and an order was issued that the necessary expenses should be provided by the government and that they should be let on a five-year lease (*Rūznāma-i dawlat-i 'aliyya-i Irān*, 18 *Dhu'l* Ḳa'da 1279/7 May 1863). The measures were abortive. Wakīl al-Mulk, who had been sent about the same time to Kirmān to look into the condition of *khālīṣa* property was apparently more successful (*ibid.*, 14 *Djumādā II* 1280/26 Nov. 1863).

More land fell out of cultivation during the famine years of 1871-2. No control was exercised over *khālīṣa* land, and further confusion ensued in the land registers. Finally in 1874, Zill al-Sulṭān, when he was appointed governor of Iṣfahān, concluded *muḳāfa'a* contracts for a ten-year period (instead of the more

normal three years) for the *khālīṣadijāt* of Iṣfahān, presumably hoping that a long-term contract would encourage the lessees to improve the land (*Tārikh-i nisf-i djahān*, 51 ff.).

Nāṣir al-Dīn and his successor, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, were repeatedly in need of money and on several occasions lots of *khālīṣa* land were sold, including, in the latter years of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign and the early years of Muẓaffar al-Dīn's reign, most of the *khālīṣa* round Iṣfahān (*Tārikh-i nisf-i djahān*, 63 ff.). Much of it was bought by the rich notables and the 'ulamā' (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 153-4, and cf. also UK. Consular reports 2260/1899, No. 2260 Annual series. Preece "Iṣfahan, 1897-8", 13). In 1901-2 there was another major sale of *khālīṣa* land, when the *ṣadr-i a'ẓam*, Mīrzā 'Alī Aṣḡhar Amin al-Sulṭān, disposed of most of Shūlīstān to Mu'īn al-Tudjīdīār Bushihri (*Gazeteer of Persia* 3, Calcutta 1910, under Mamassani, 653). For the rest, no effective steps were taken to improve the cultivation of crown lands or to exploit them effectively for the benefit of the state (cf. A. Destrée, *Les Fonctionnaires belges au service de la Perse 1898-1915*, doctoral thesis presented to the Free University of Brussels, 1973, i, 423).

In the 20th century new political exigencies led to the disappearance of some categories of *khālīṣa*, the creation of new *khālīṣa*, and legislation to deal with it. This legislation, however, was mainly concerned with the sale, acquisition, and administration of *khālīṣa* and no general legal principles underlying the existence of such land were formulated. The dichotomy in the administrative field between *dīwāni* (state) land and *khālīṣa* (crown) land, so far as it had survived, disappeared after the grant of the Constitution, and in due course the term *khālīṣa* came to be applied to crown lands in the sense of state lands and no longer signified the personal estates of the ruler, which were referred to as *amlāk-i shāhī* or *amlāk-i sālṭanātī* (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 238 ff., for an account of the history of crown lands since 1906, and A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-6*, Oxford 1969, index).

*Bibliography*: given in the article. It is not possible to give here a list of all texts which might contribute to the history of crown land in Persia since they would include most chronicles and local histories.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

AL-KHĀLIṢA, Fāṭimid citadel built in 326/937-8 by Khallīl b. Iṣhāk b. Ward, who had been sent by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḳā'im [q.v.] to suppress a rebellion of the Sicilians against the *amīr* Sālīm b. Abī Rāshīd.

For strategic reasons, in particular, the possibility of receiving with ease reinforcements by sea, the town was constructed opposite the ancient Cassaro (al-Ḳaṣr) of Palermo [see BALARM] and near to the port. Its construction, at the inhabitants' own expense, was achieved by demolishing a large part of the ancient urban centre, whose walls were carried off, according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr (for the information of this historian, and of the geographers cited below, see the *BAS*, cited in the bibliography, index). The town, called by its founder al-Khālīṣa ("the Pure") (Χάλισσα in Greek diplomas of the Norman period, Chalcia, Halcia and more rarely Chalesa in Latin documents down to the 14th century, and Alza or Alcza at the end of the 13th century, a vulgar form from which is derived the present name AUSA), was encircled by walls provided with gateways, apart from the eastern side. Al-Muḳaddasī gives the names of the four gates as Bāb Kutāma, Bāb al-Futūh, Bāb al-Bunūd and Bāb al-Ṣinā'a (Bāb al-Bāhr in al-Idrīsī). In the Fāṭi-

mid and Kalbid periods, it was the residence of the Muslim governor and his entourage, and at this time, according to Ibn Ḥawqal who visited it in 361/972, it possessed neither markets nor hostels (*funduqs*), but was provided with administrative services, a small Friday mosque, an arsenal, a prison and baths.

This new "external" town, whose prestige as an administrative centre was linked with all the fortunes of the Muslims in Sicily, is mentioned as one of the five sectors of Kalbid Palermo visited by Ibn Ḥawqal (in addition to al-Khāliṣa, they are named al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḥārat al-Djadida, Ḥārat al-Masjdīd and Ḥārat al-Ṣaḳāliba). It was then described by al-Idrīsī as part of the *rabaḳ* of Palermo, and by Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) as a mere *maḥall* in the centre of Palermo.

The disappearance of the walls, from the 14th century onwards, makes identification of the former Fātimid citadel difficult within the urban sprawl of modern Palermo, where the name of Kalsa has been extended to a quarter which goes from St. Francis of Assisi square to the port. If the reconstruction of the former urban limits done by Amari (*BAS*, i, 12 n. 3) seems to posit too great an extent for al-Khāliṣa, the hypothesis of Columba seems more acceptable: he proposed an area trapezoidal in shape and covering some 8 hectares, which would be enough to make Kalsa into a citadel including the *amīr*'s residence, administrative buildings, a small Friday mosque, baths and a certain number of other buildings.

*Bibliography: Biblioteca arabo-sicula* (= *BAS*) raccolta da Michele Amari, Ar. text Leipzig 1857, Ital. tr. Turin-Rome 1880-1, indices; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*<sup>2</sup>, Catania 1933-9, index; Ibn Ḥawqal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḳ*, ed. Kramers, Leiden 1938, 119, repr. Beirut 1963, 114, tr. Kramers-Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, Beirut-Paris 1964, i, 118; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyārī, *al-Rawḳ al-mi'fār*, ed. U. Rizzitano, in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts*, Cairo University, xviii (May 1956), 151-2; G. M. Columba, *Per la topografia antica di Palermo*, in *Centenario Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, ii, 395-426. (A. DE SIMONE)

#### **KHALK** (A.), creation.

##### I.—Lexicographical data.

*Khalk*, noun of action of the verb *khalaḳa*, which properly means the act of creating, can also be used to designate Creation in its entirety: *wa'l-khalk yakūn al-maṣḍar wa-yakūn al-makhlūḳ* (*LA*). The noun of the agent, *al-khāliḳ*, defined by the article, is applied only to God and is one of His Names. According to the *LA*, in the speech of the Arabs *al-khalk* is used to designate the production of some new thing (*ibtidā'*) on a pattern which has not been previously employed (*'alā mithāl lam yusbaḳ ilayh*). Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī, a philologist of the 4th/10th century, gives a slightly different definition: *khalk* is either a product (*inshā'*) designed on an invented model (*abda'a*), or it is the act that determines the proportions (*taḳdīr*) of something which is to be brought into being; thus when 'Isā b. Maryam (Kur'an, III, 49) says: "Yes, I will create (*akhluḳu*) for you from clay the likeness of a bird", he does not wish to say that he will bring into existence that which does not exist (*lam yurid annahu yuhdithu ma'dūm*<sup>am</sup>). Ibn Sidah (5/11th century) considers that for God to create is to bring into being a thing which previously was not (*ba'd an lam yakun*). It should be noted that some commentators (al-Hasan al-Baṣrī and Muḍjahid) give the meaning of *dīn* (religion) in the sense of *ḥukm* (the totality of classes of the Law) to the word *khalk* in

the verse (IV, 119): "They have tampered with God's creation". The reasoning behind this is that God has stamped on creation a nature (*faṭara 'l-khalk*) that conforms with Islam; cf. Kur'an, XXX, 30: "nature created by God (*fīrat Allāh*) according to which He has stamped the nature of men: there can be no change in God's creation", that is, in the truth of religion (*ṣiḥhat al-dīn*). Elsewhere, *khalk* can mean a mendacious forgery (Kur'an, XXVI, 137): three commentators indicate the reading, "It is nothing but a forgery (*khalk*) of the ancients" instead of the customary *khuluḳ*. *Khalk* is therefore equivalent to *asāfir al-awwalīn*, the legends of the ancients, which is found in a number of *sūras* (cf. al-Zamakḥshārī, *Kashshāf*). There is also the expression *ahādīth al-khalk*, which is synonymous with *khurāfāt*, old wives' tales.

Most of these meanings are supplied by relatively late lexicographers and bear the clear stamp of theological reflection on the word *khalk*. But the *LA* gives uses which seem to hasty back to the primitive meaning of the root. Thus the Arabs say: *khalaḳa'l-adīm*, which means: "to determine before it is cut how much leather is needed to make what is required, and to size it up with a view to cutting out a shopping-bag, a water bottle or a boot". Ibn Manẓūr gives, as an example, one of Zuhayr's verses and a *hādīth* from the sister of Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt, both evidence from early times, and a verse by al-Kumayt (d. 124/743). With the meaning of a lie, the form *ikhṭilāk* is also used (Kur'an, XXXVIII, 7). Moreover, although with other *maṣḍars* than *khalk*, the verb *khalaḳa* (or *khaluḳa*) means to be worn out (= *baliya*). The root subsequently carries the meaning of being smooth, polished, without cracks (the *LA* gives (*layyin*, *amlas*, *musmat* as synonyms of *akhḻāk*: equal, harmonious). All these meanings are found in the corresponding Hebrew root, *halak*: to shave, distribute, assign a part to; to be flat and polished. In the pi'el, *halek* signifies to differentiate separate, specify (cf. *taḳdīr*); in the hiph'il, *haḥ'leḳ* means to smooth, to polish, to plane. It seems therefore that the original sense of *khalk* expressed on the one hand the idea of determining parts (as does *taḳdīr*; cf. *ḳaddara 'l-arzāk*, to determine sustenance), and on the other the idea of polishing, equalising. These very concrete etymological values can be found in certain Kur'anic terms associated with *khalk*, and in the speculations of theological commentaries. The latest and most abstract meanings, grafted on to the earliest ones, constitute one of the bases of speculative and mystical *kalām*, as well as of *falsafa*.

##### II.—The Kur'anic vocabulary and the ideas it carries.

Before considering what creation is in the Kur'an, it must be stated first of all that the words *khalk* and *khāliḳ* are the most frequently employed. On only three occasions, in two verses, do we find the usage *al-Bārī*<sup>2</sup>, the Creator, the agent noun from the Semitic root which appears at the beginning of Genesis: *Bereṣhīt bārā Elōhim*. These passages are: "He is God, the *Khāliḳ*, the *Bārī*, the Maker (*al-Muṣawwir*)" (LIX, 24); "Return therefore, towards your Creator (*ilā Bārī'ikum*); it is best for you in the sight of your Creator (*idem*)" (II, 54). It is pointless to look for two English words to translate these two terms, which the lexicographers give as synonyms. Nevertheless, according to the *LA* the *Bārī*<sup>2</sup> is he who creates without imitating a model (*lā 'an mithāl*); moreover, it is nearly always used for the creation of living beings in particular. In the same way, *bariyya* is synonymous with *khalk*. The former term is found



twice in two verses (XCVIII, 6 and 7) and the context clearly underlines that the subject is human creatures. In the *LA*, *al-Bāri*<sup>3</sup> is associated with *al-dhāri*<sup>3</sup>, which is not Qur'ānic, although the Qur'ān uses the verb *dhara'a* with complements which designate living things: plants and cattle (VI, 136), djinns and men (VII, 179). Abū Ishāq and Tha'lab accord it the sense of God multiplying (*yukaththir*) the beings in creation. Parallel with *bariyya* we find *dhariyya*, which has a similar meaning but is not used in the Qur'ān. The Hebrew *berī'ah* has the etymological sense of "cutting and putting into shape" (*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, art. *Creation*).

Only once do we find the words "work of God" (*ṣun' Allāh*); in the context of mountains which seem inert but which God causes to travel like clouds (XXVII, 88), a context that led R. Blachère to translate the expression as "miracle". The commentators (al-Zamakhsharī, al-Djalālayn) consider it a strengthening verbal noun of the verb (*maṣdar mu'akkid*) which refers to the entirety of divine acts enumerated in the preceding verses. By these means God has worked a work of God, he has acted as God "who makes all things good" (*atḥana: aḥkamā*). In this sense, of merely accentuating the idea of a verb, which is retrenched (*maḥdhūf*) in other respects according to the *Kashshāf*, although it can be found in *dja'alnā* (we have established) in verse 86, the word *ṣun'* has no grammatical value alone and does not expressly designate the divine work of creation. Nevertheless, the presence of this term in the Qur'ān has authorised those who allow God to be given names formed by deviation (*iṣhtīkaḥ*) to call the Creator *al-Ṣāni'* the Artisan, the Demiurge of the Greeks, the τεχνίτης of some Church Fathers, and the supreme Maker of La Fontaine.

One important root is *s.w.r.* We have already met *al-Muṣawwir* following on from *al-Khāliq al-Bāri*<sup>3</sup>. *Taṣwir* is an action brought into being by the creative act proper: "We created you, and then We gave you form" (*wa-lakad khalaknākum, thumma sawwarnākum*, VII, 11). The same verb is employed for the shaping of a man in his mother's womb (III, 6). One verse is particularly rich in philosophical meaning: "In the very shape (*sūra*) He willed, He created you (*raḥkabaka*)". Therefore *taṣwir*, the constitution of a shape, is a *tarkīb*, a composition. Yet, in the hylomorphism of the *falāsifa*, creation is identified with this timeless insertion and is shaped from a single blow (*daf'at*<sup>an</sup>) in matter. By contrast, the Qur'ān links the creative act to the 'informing' act by the particle *thumma*. According to the grammarians, there is a relationship of diminishing order between *wa* (and), *fa* (and then) and *thumma* (and afterwards). There is therefore a certain distance between the act of creating and the act of giving form, the *khāliq* and the *taṣwir*. The verb *sawā* (to level, smooth; cf. above, the sense "to polish") is linked to *khalaḥa* by the particle *fa*: "He who has created you and then proportioned and stabilised you" (*alladhī khalakaka fa-sawwaka fa-'adalaka*, LXXXII, 7); "He who has created and proportioned" (LXXXVII, 2). The close relationship between these two verbs seems to indicate a kind of explanation of the etymological meaning of *khalaḥa* by the meaning of *sawwā*. Likewise, *khalaḥa* can be explained by *ḥaddara* (cf. above, the meaning of *taḥdīr*): "He created him from a drop of sperm and (*fa*) fixed his proportions" (LXXX, 19); "He has created all things and (*fa*) fixed their proportions of their species" (*fa-ḥaddarahu taḥdīr*<sup>an</sup>, LIV, 49).

What then, can be said about the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* in the Qur'ān? Quite simply that

Arabic, like all other languages, has had to use a word which originally signified something concrete and material for an ineffable reality. Similarly in Greek, Aristotle says that Anaxagoras employed Intelligence for "ordering" (κοσμοποιεῖ); afterwards, the word meant God's creation of the world. True, many Qur'ānic verses call to mind a demiurgic action when the verb *khalaḥa* is followed by the preposition *min*. For example: "He created man of a drop of sperm" (XIV, 4) and various ingredients (*amshādī*, LXXVI, 2, males and females according to the *Djalālayn*); "God created every animal of water" (XXIV, 45); "It was He who created man of a drop of water" (XXV, 54), or "of potter's clay" (*salsāl*, LV, 14), note to explain use of archaic "of" not "from" clay (*ḥin*, XXVIII, 89, VI, 2), of clinging clay (*min ḥin lāzib*, XXXVII, 12); of an extraction of clay (*sulāla min ḥin*, XXIII, 12) and of earth (*turāb*, XVIII, 37, XXX, 20, etc.); stinking mud (*hamā' masnūn*, XV, 28); "He created the djinn of smokeless fire" (LV, 15). But these examples indicate clearly that the preposition denotes the matter with which these created beings are created, and not a pre-existent matter from which they would be created. This can be seen specifically in the statement of Iblīs who, because he is made from fire, considers himself superior to men, who are made from mud. On the other hand, while *khalaḥa* designates the creative act, it can also mean the word *fi*, the mode of being which characterised the appearance of the resulting creative, either used along with the preposition *fi* (in), as in "We created man in the fairest stature" (XCV, 4) and "We created man in affliction" (*fi ḥabad*, XC, 4); or with the adverbial accusative *hāl*, as in "Then We created a speck of sperm into (or as) a drop of blood" (XXIII, 14). Here *khalaḥa* has precisely the same meaning as *dja'ala*: to render an object this way or that, to make from that object this thing or that, which is exactly equivalent to one of the usages of the Latin *creare*, e.g. *creare aliquem consulem*, *dja'ala fulānān ḥākimān*, to make someone a governor. In the passage in Qur'ān, XXIII, already cited, verse 12 has "We created (*khalaḥnā*) man of clay", verse 13 states, "We made (*dja'alnāhu*) a drop of sperm of clay", while in verse 14 the verb *khalaḥnā* reappears. Verse X, 5 follows the same pattern: "It is He who made the sun a radiance (*dja'ala 'l-shamsa ḥayā'ān*) and the moon a light". The preposition *min* does not seem to mean "from", as in expressions like "He created you from a single soul" (*khalaḥakum min nafsān wāhida*, IV, 1, VII, 189, XXXIX, 6). Here, however, the meaning is clear: the text refers to the children of Adam from whom Eve was drawn forth, who are themselves created; also clear is "We created you from a male and a female" (XLIX, 13).

But in a broader sense *khalaḥa* appears to mean "to create" like the Hebrew *bārā* as it is understood by the Jewish exegetes. Many Qur'ānic verses are the exact replica of the first verse of Genesis; such as "Praise be to God who created the heavens and the earth . . ." (VI, 1). Sometimes the text adds, "and what is between the two" (XXV, 59, etc.). God also created whatever is in the heavens or on earth (X, 6), the sun, the moon, etc. He created day and night. In a word, God's every action on one of his creatures can be called creation. Similarly, the different developmental phases of a created being are also creations: "He created you in your mother's wombs, creation after creation (*khāliq min ba'd khāliq*)" (XXXIX, 6). The same word is used for the act of creation in general, the heavens and the earth encompassing all creatures, and for the particular

creations of each category of beings. This second usage explains the extension of meaning which bring *khalaḥa* close to *sawwā*, *ṣawwara*, *ḥaddara*, *dja'ala*, *andata* (LXXI, 17: "God has caused you to sprout from the earth like shoots", which the *Tafsir al-Djalālayn* elucidates as "He created (*khalaḥakum*) you from the earth, because it is from earth that He created your father Adam"), and to *anṣa'a* (to make grow, to produce, to create), which is exactly synonymous with *khalaḥa* in the verse, "It is he who caused you to spring from a single soul" (VI, 98; cf. above). Other examples are: "He produced you from the earth" (XI, 617, LIII, 32) and "Say: it is He who produced you" (LXVII, 23). This root is important, because it is used to express the idea of two creations. In fact, we read: "Then We made him grow (the embryo being completed) in another creation" (*thumma anṣa'nāhu khalkan ākhara*, XXIII, 14)—by blowing the spirit into him, explains the *Djalālayn* commentary—which can be compared to: "See how God originated creation (*ḥayfa bada'a 'l-khalk*); then God produced the second production (creation) (*yunṣi'u 'l-nash'ata 'l-ākhirā*)" (XXIX, 20); and to: "On Him rests the second creation (*anna 'alayhi 'l-nash'ata 'l-ukhrā*)" (LIII, 47); and finally to: "You have certainly known the first creation (*al-nasha'ata 'l-ūlā*)" (LVI, 62). Thus in *khalk* in general there should be two degrees of production; and commentators battled with these texts.

Nevertheless, creation *ex nihilo* is not the incontestable deduction from the root *khalaḥa* in these Kur'ānic contexts, except perhaps in a very few verses such as the words addressed to Zacharias (XIX, 9): "I created you beforehand, when you were nothing" (*wa-lam taku shay'an*); this is the authority for the formula theologians later used to convey creation *ex nihilo*: that which was not, then came into being (*lam yakun, thumma kāna*). The arbitrariness of the divine will can be taken as a sign that nothing else plays any part in creation: "God creates whatever He wishes" (II, 47). God being the sole Creator, and the Creator of all things, then it follows that he creates from nothing. But the verses which are most widely used as the basis for the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* are those which say: "When God decrees (*ḥadā*) a thing He only has to say to it Be! and it is" (II, 117, III, 47, XIX, 35); "We only have to say to a thing when We desire it, Be! and it is" (XVI, 40). Verse VI, 73 is particularly important: "And the day when he says, Be! and then (*fa*) His Word is Reality (*ḥakk*)"; this can be compared to a number of other verses, where it is said: "He created the heavens and the earth *bi 'l-ḥakk*" (XXXIX, 5, etc.), which R. Blachère translates as "with gravity". He considers Grimm's translation: "Beide schufen wir durch die Wahrheit" (by the truth: The Book of God) inadmissible, and supports his own reading by pointing out the parallelism of verses 38 and 39 of Sūra XLIV: "We did not create the heavens and the earth... in a game (*lā'ibin*, in sport)" and "We did not create them except *bi 'l-ḥakk*, therefore "with gravity". Lexicographers do indeed give *la'b* (game) as the opposite of *djidd* (a serious, assiduous action, performed steadfastly). But if this parallelism is taken into account, it is not enough to put forward an opposite (*la'b-djidd*); the contradiction must be chosen: God did not create in sport (he was not *lā'ib*, but *ghayr lā'ib*). This goes much further than the simple opposite.

The Kur'ān, however, offers various equivalents of *lā'ibin*: "Do you think that We created you idly (*'abathān*) and that you would not be returned to Us?"

(XXIII, 115); "We have not created heaven and earth for nothing" (*bāfilān*); Blachère "lightly", which is weak; the *Tafsir al-Djalālayn* makes *bāfilān* synonymous with *'abathān* and interprets it by *lā li-shay'*). The word *bāfil* is very strong; it evokes all the futility of error and in the Kur'ān itself is opposed to *ḥakk*. Examples are: "Do not cover the true reality with the futility of error" (II, 42, III, 71); "And say: the truth has come and falsehood has vanished. Yes, falsehood by its nature, must vanish" (*ṣahūḥ*: which marks the instability and inconstancy of *bāfil* (XVII, 81); and "Say: Truth has come and falsehood cannot originate or repeat (creation)" (XXXIV, 49).

Thus the creative Word, the *kun* (equivalent to the biblical *fiat*), is not a *flatus vocis*: it brings about being in factual truth. Creation has an end, although God has no need of anything apart from Himself: He is sufficient unto Himself (cf. *wa-staghna 'llāh*, LXIV, 6). He is learned, wise, living, determined. Creation, say the theologians, disagreeing with some conclusions of Greek philosophy, does not emanate from Him by a natural and necessary process. The *Tafsir al-Djalālayn* expounds *bi 'l-ḥakk* (in XLIV, 39) in these terms: "that is to say, We have created by allowing Our Truth (*muḥikḥin*) to triumph, so that Our power and Our unity may be proven." Elsewhere the Kur'ān assigns a purpose to the work of creation: "I have created not men and djinns except to worship Me" (LI, 56). This worship profits God nothing, but it is the greatest good of mankind. This good is "in the hand of God" (III, 26); "that which is with God is the good of the pious" (III, 198). All the names of God by which he is designated as He who gives, who pardons, who pours out his bounties in favour of believers, who fear Him and obey Him, are therefore associated with this ultimate end of creation, the return to God. Verse XXIII, 115 (cited above) states this clearly, a point which recurs in XXX, 11: "God originates creation (*yabda'u 'l-khalk*), then repeats it (which refers to the latest Life), then unto Him you shall be restored". The same is true of all the passages concerning man. But man is privileged: God appointed him His viceroy on earth, (II, 30); He made all other creatures subject to man: "God has put at your service (on duty for you: *sakḥḥara lakum*) whatever is in the heavens and on the earth (XXXI, 20, XLV, 13): the rivers (XIV, 32), the sun and the moon, night and day (XIV, 33, XVI, 12), the sea (XVI, 14), etc. It can therefore be said that man is the purpose of creation, because he has been created with the power to know God, to obey Him, to worship Him, and to return to Him. Creation by the Word, but for the good of the creature, and done out of pure generosity, goodness and munificence, that is *ikrām* (LV, 27 and 78).

Nonetheless, one verse causes problems here. It is written concerning Adam: "He created him from earth, then (*thumma*) He said to him, Be! and he was" (III, 59). The *kun*, therefore, comes after the creation. The *Djalālayn*'s commentary gets over the difficulty by adding after *kun basharān*, "be a human being." This is not on the level of the ultimate creative act; in fact, the work made from earth is already a particular creation. Consequently, like the verb *khalaḥa*, the word *kun* can mean the act of creation *simpliciter* or a subsequent act of specific creation. It must be added, however, that this is the sole example of the use of *kun* with a relative sense in the Kur'ān. It is possible to speak of a creation *ex nihilo* which is primordial and universal, then of succeeding creations which give life to particular beings of which occur at different stages of their development. More-

over, the Qur'an alludes to a first beginning of creation. The expression *bada'a* 'l-khalq, therefore, does not always refer to an absolute beginning, as in, for example, the case of "He began the creation of man from earth" (XXXII, 7). Elsewhere we read: "As we originated the primordial creation (*bada'na awwala khalqin*), so will We repeat it" (XXI, 104; X, 4, 34, etc.). This refers to the creation of the visible world in its entirety and to a second creation in the hereafter. Al-Zamakhshari, followed by the Djalalayn, explains that the primordial creation is the fact of giving existence to the world by making it emerge from the void (*idjaduhā 'an al-'adam*). But this raises a grammatical problem: Why "a creation" in the indefinite form? "This is because it is said: *awwal radjulūn dīā'ani*, where the indefinite mode is employed with the sense of "the first of men who has come to me"; but the indefinite singular is used when what is meant is that they are dealt with in detail one by one (*irādāta tafsilihim radjulūn radjulūn*). Therefore *awwal khalqin* means *awwal al-khalā'iq* in the sense of *awwal al-khalā'iq*, the first of creatures, because *khalq* is a *maṣdar* which cannot be put into the plural." The aim of this commentary is not just to point out the idea of creation *ex nihilo* but also to pose the problem of the first creation drawn out of the void, a problem we shall encounter again.

Another term corresponding to *ibtidā'*, noted by the LA (above), is found once in the Qur'an: "The Inventor (*badī'*) of the heavens and the earth, when He decrees something, need do no more than say Be! and it is" (II, 111). The *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* explains *badī'* as: "that which gives existence (*mūdjīd*) without following a previous model". On the other hand, the Qur'an does not use the root *h.d.th.* to express, in the IVth form, the idea of producing a new being in time, nor do we find the words *ikhṭara'a* (to invent) and its derivatives, *hawwana* (to form a being which can generate: cf. generation and conception, *hawna* and *fasād*) and its derivatives, nor *awḍjada* (to cause to exist).

This creation, which had a beginning, must have an end. Not only because all that is born must naturally die, but because God willed it so: "Then He decreed a final term (*adjal*), a fixed term (*musammā*) in relation to Him" (VI, 2). This refers to the end of each man's life; but it seems that it is the idea of the end of the world, associated with the Judgement Day, that is conveyed by the expression *kuḍīya 'l-amr* which should be translated "the affair is finished" and not "the order is decreed".

The idea of the end of the world followed by a mustering (*hashr*, L, 44) is central to the Qur'an. As regards the second creation, of the Afterlife, that is, Heaven and Hell, certain verses lead to the conclusion that it will have no end: mankind, it is said, will be there eternally (*khalīdūn fihā abadān*). Yet, though no verse says anything explicit about a final term set on the duration of this stay, some theologians interpreted Sūra XI, 107 and 108 ("So live there forever, as long as the heavens and the earth shall remain . . .") as implying the destruction of Heaven and Hell. Therefore Djahm b. Ṣafwān, on the basis of LVII, 3 ("He is the First and the Last"), thought that God would remain alone at the ultimate end of time, just as He had been alone before the creation. But in expounding *mā dāmat al-samawāt wa 'l-arḍ*, al-Zamakhshari writes: "You must understand by this that the heavens and the earth of the region of the After life are perpetual and created forever." It is written: "Until the day when the earth will be replaced by another earth, and the heavens likewise"

(XIV, 48); and "Praise be to God who has bequeathed us the earth" (XXX, 74) in the sense of "the earth of Paradise" (*arḍ al-djanna*, *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*), for "we take up our estates in Paradise wherever we wish" (*ibid.*). It can also be said, adds the *Kashshāf*, that here is an *'ibāra 'an al-ta'bīd wa-nafy al-inḥitā'*, an expression which means perpetuation in eternity and denies its cessation. This is the sense in which the Arabs say "As long as the mountain of *Ṭhabr* endures".

Apart from the allusion in XIV, 48, the Qur'an does not mention explicitly the creation of Paradise and Hell. Yet it is said that these two places are prepared (*u'iddat*) for believers and unbelievers (III, 131, 133; cf. XVIII, 102, XLVIII, 6). Similarly, in the account of Genesis there is only an indirect reference to the creation of the angels: "Or did We create the angels female?" (XXXVII, 150). It should also be noted that Iblis says to God, "You created me from fire" (VII, 12, XXXVIII, 76). We also read: "Everything that is in the heavens and on the earth, the animals in fact (*min dabba*) and the angels . . . bows down before God" (XVI, 49). According to the *Kashshāf*, the word "animals" can refer to creatures both in the heavens and on earth, for there are creatures in the heavens which creep as man creeps on earth (*yaddibūn*). It may refer only to beings on earth, and then what is in the heavens is the creature called spirit (*rūh*). It could also refer to the angels, who are mentioned also by name because of their special worship. Finally, it is possible that the words "that is in the heavens" can mean the heavenly angels, while the word *malā'ika* which follows *dabba* refers to those on earth, such as the Guardian Angels (*ḥafaza*). If the angels in the skies are meant, then they were created at the same time as the heavens and all which they contain, just as Greek Fathers of the Church like Epiphanius had thought.

The text of the Qur'an poses several other problems: of the creation in six days, of the first created being, and of the process of creation. These will be dealt with under *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*.

### III.—*Khalq in ḥadīth*.

The Prophet was often questioned about the Beginning. One tale recounts this reply: "God was and there was nothing else with Him; His throne was on water (cf. Qur'an XI, 7). Then he created the heavens and the earth." When someone asked the Prophet where (*ayna*) God was before he created the creatures (*ḥabla an yakhlūka khalqahu*), he said: "He was in a mist (*'amā*); there was no atmosphere either above or below Him, and He created His throne on the water, that is, there was nothing with Him (*kaysa ma'ahu shay'*)." The role of water in creation is important (cf. Qur'an XXI, 30, XXIV, 45, XXXII, 8, LXXVIII, 20, LXXXVI, 6). Several *ḥadīths* relate how when water boils it becomes a vapour which constitutes the sky, while it forms on its surface a froth which becomes the earth. The vapour, called smoke (*dukḥān* = *bukḥār murtafi'*, *al-Djalālayn*) plays a part in the Qur'an (XLI, 11) in the creation of the sky. On this subject, the narratives are simply picturesque amplifications of the Qur'anic text conveying any number of mythical traditions of Oriental peoples which were transmitted by way of rabbinical *haggādā* or Iranian and Hellenistic gnosticism. A large number of them are found at the beginning of al-Ṭabari's *Annales*, in al-Mas'ūdī works, and, much later, in Madjlisi's *Bīḥār al-anwār*. A sea beneath the seven heavens, eight *awāl* beneath the sea, and a throne carried on their backs are also

described. This image is an extension of the verse: "And on the borders of the sky shall stand the angels, and on that day eight shall carry above them the throne of their Lord" (LXIX, 17). The word *wa'il* designates the chamois goat which lives on the mountain tops. The plural *aw'al* or *wu'al* is applied to those beings dwelling on the height, the *ashraf*, here the angels (*LA, malā'ika 'alā sūrat al-aw'al*). At this stage, the distance which separates each rung from the next is a 71, 72, or 73-years' walk (500 according to other versions). But in some texts, the figure 500 represents the thickness (*ghilaṣ*) of each sky.

There are many, though differing, narratives about the days of creation and their duration in terrestrial years, about the first day (Saturday or Sunday), and the division of the creative work between the different days. Many of them are designed to refute the Jewish concept of the sabbath day of rest: God never rests because tiredness can never affect Him (cf. Qur'an L, 38). Concerning the successive order of creation the Prophet said: "God created the earth (*turba*) on Saturday, the mountains on Sunday, the trees on Monday, the *makrūh* on Tuesday and light on Wednesday. On Thursday he dispersed the animals (*dawābb*) over the earth, and he created Adam at the end of creation, after the *'aṣr* of Friday in the last hour of the last day, during the period which separates *'aṣr* from night." But according to another tale, the Prophet replied to Jews who were quizzing him that God had created the earth on Sunday and Monday, the mountains and all the useful matter they contained on Tuesday, trees, water, cities, the prosperity of cultivated lands (*'umrān*) and destruction (*khārāb*) on Wednesday, which makes four days (cf. Qur'an XLI, 9-10). On Thursday He created the sky, on Friday, up to the last three hours of the day, the stars, sun, moon and the angels (cf. XLI, 12: "In two days, He, by his decree, established the heavens in seven heavens . . . and We adorned the lower heaven with lamps and placed it under a good watchman." Here, says al-Zamakhsarī, the text speaks of the creation of lights, stars and the angels. Then during the first of the remaining three hours, He created the fixed terms of the beings which live and die; in the second He threw the destructive (*āfa*) flame over all that man could take to his use, and in the third He created Adam, giving him the garden (of Eden) to dwell in and ordering Iblīs to bow before him. From these two examples we can see to what extent two accounts can diverge. However, they converge on one important point: God created moral and physical evil (cf. *makrūh*, *khārāb*, *āfa*).

The *hadīths* reveal the identity of the first created being. Most consider that this was *al-Kalam*: at God's command it wrote the *ḥadar* and marked out everything which could be engendered in being (*al-kā'in*). Consequently, if the *ḥadā'* is the Command by means of which God decides to create being as He wills, the *ḥadar* influences the determination of the temporal order and gives rise to *al-Kalam*. According to other traditionists, light and darkness are the first things created. Then came the creation of *'amā'*, of the mist or cloud (*ghamām*) to which Qur'an II, 210 alludes, followed by the Throne, water (or water, then the Throne), before the creation of the heavens and the earth. But other traditions give a different order: *kalām*, *kursī*, air and darkness, water. (The association between air and darkness recalls an old notion, adopted by the Stoics, that air is black.) Elsewhere a new entity, the *haykal*, appears: it encloses the seas which surround the heavens and the earth and is enveloped by the *kursī*. There is a notable *hadīth* on

the Intelligence (*al-'aql*) which, linked to Verse XVII, 85 on the Spirit (*al-rūḥ min amr rabbi*), greatly influenced later speculations (cf. below). The Prophet said: "When God created the Intelligence He said to it, 'Come forward', and it came forward. Then He said, 'Go back', and it went back. Then God said: 'I have created nothing that I love more than you and I will place you only in the creature I love most'."

#### IV.—*Khalḳ in tafsīr.*

All the Qur'anic commentaries on creation are based on a number of *hadīths*, some on more than others. Generally, they state precisely that it was a creation *ex nihilo* and often explain *khalk* by *idjād*, the gift of existence. But while taking their inspiration from these contexts, they sometimes make it follow that God speaks of His creative act to show that He is Almighty God, to whom worship is owing, because He is Unique, He alone is able to create. Thus when commenting on the verse, "Worship your Lord who created you," al-Zamakhsarī understands the verb *khalaḳakum* as constituting "an explanatory and distinguishing attribute" (*ṣifa mūdiḥa mumayyisa*) of our Lord (*rabbakum*). *Khalḳ* is therefore associated with divine lordship (*rubābiyya*). Creation is an act belonging to God, and is shared with no other. *Khalḳ* is also shown as a blessing (*ni'ma*).

One problem which caught the attention of the commentators was how to reconcile apparently contradictory verses, such as LXXIX, 28-32, where the creation of the earth and all it contains seems to follow that of the heavenly corners after the creation of all that is on earth. According to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, the earth must have been created before the sky, but God would not have "spread it out" (*dahāhā*) before creating the sky, since *taḥḥiya* is the act of displaying or unfurling (*baṣf*) not of creating. But, he said, this explanation raises two objections: the first is that since the earth is an immense expanse it is impossible to separate its *khalk* from its *taḥḥiya*, and if one occurs later so must the other. The second objection is that verse II, 29 proves that the creation of the earth and all it encompasses came before the sky; but the creation of things on the earth is not possible before it is "spread out." Thus both creation and unfurling of the earth came before the creation of the sky. There was an attempt to counter this by distinguishing between the creation and the "levelling" (*taswiya*) of the sky, particularly its division into the seven heavens. The creation of the sky was before the creation of the earth, but its *taswiya* came afterwards. Unfortunately verse LXXIX, 26 makes the construction, lifting of the vault and levelling of the sky all part of the same thing, and all take place before the spreading out of the earth. As a last resort, al-Rāzī suggests extending the preposition *thumma* (and then) in verse II, 29 to mean not an actual order of succession, a *tartīb*, but a simple list of bounties (*ta'dīd al-ni'am*), which enumerate in second place something which could very well actually have been first. The aim of this discussion is to show that some processes like *taswiya* and *taḥḥiya*, which come into the general category of *taḥḥir*, are, with a few exceptions, conceived of as creative acts, or at least as aspects of *khalk*.

Another contradiction, between XLI, 9-12 and L, 38, concerns the total number of days of creation. The first text seems to give a total of eight days; two for the creation of the earth, four for establishing (*wadī'ala*) the mountains and diversifying (*haddara*) its nourishment, two for the seven heavens. The second

text states quite precisely that six days sufficed for the creation of the heavens, the earth and what is between them. All the commentators solve this by saying that in XLI, 9-12 we must not make the addition  $2 + 4 = 6$ . The Qur'anic sentence *wa-dja'ala . . .* is an *isti'nāf*, a new sentence which goes back to the beginning and means that the creation of the earth and all it entails (mountains, foodstuffs) took place in four days. Likewise, explains al-Rāzī, when we say that it is twenty days' walk from Kūfa to Medina and thirty to Mecca, it does not mean that the distance from Kūfa to Mecca is  $20 + 30 = 50$ , but that Kūfa to Medina takes 20 days and (*isti'nāf*) Kūfa to Mecca 30. Here the *dja'l* and *taqdīr* are considered as creations. Ibn Ḥazm, however, in the *Refutation of Ibn Naḡhrila*, separates them from *khalk*: "The two days during which God created the sky in seven heavens are the last two of the four days when he distributed the crops on the earth, for this distribution is something other than creation." Hardly a satisfying explanation! Finally, some commentators also echoed theological or philosophical conceptions.

#### V.—*Khalk* in *kalām*.

With the theologians, especially the Mu'tazilis, the vocabulary of creation grew richer. In the first place, the creative act was expressed by the term *idjād*, the fact of giving existence to that which did not exist. God is He who also gives existence (*al-Mudjīd*). But in order to endure, existence (*wudjūd*) needs subsistence (*baḡā'*), and that in abundance; *khalk* is not only *idjād* but also *ibḡā'*, the gift of sustenance. Al-Rāzī related this second idea to the one expressed in the Qur'anic term *rizk*: the act of catering for, providing for, sustaining. God is *Rāzīk* and *Razzāk* just as He is *Khālik* and *Khallāk*. The Qur'an brings together the two ideas: "Is there a creator other than God who gives you sustenance (*yarzūkukum*)" (XXXV, 3). And, more explicitly: "He who originated creation and repeated it, and He who gives you sustenance from the sky and the earth, is there another than God?" (XXVII, 64). The sustaining power, like the creating power, is associated with the oneness of God. The act of creation is not simply an original snap of the fingers; it must be repeated at each moment of the existence of creatures lest they should sink into the void. This is the Muslim doctrine of continuous creation, which is illustrated to perfection in al-Bāqillānī's atomism and occasionalism, though it is not a prerogative of Ash'arism alone. Al-Bāqillānī thinks that an accident cannot last two minutes in succession on a body which God has created in each of those two moments. The Mu'tazilis are not unanimous on this point: some, the disciples of Mu'ammār, deny that God can create an accident; other affirm it. 'Abd al-Djabbār belongs to the second group, since he speaks of *ḡudūth* (generation of a new thing in time) of accidents, which are therefore *muhdath* and must have a *muhdith*, who is God. Nevertheless, the existence of accidents is a weaker proof of the existence of the Creator than that of bodies (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-ḡamsa*, 39 f.).

*Khalk* is an attribute of God; it is an attribute of action and for the Mu'tazilis, it is like the realisation of an act of goodness (*iḡsān*) or the exercise of justice (*'adl*). But it is necessary to know if God was thus eternally "creatory" (*lam yazal khālikan*), or if before the creation of the world He was, in pre-eternity, eternally "non-creatory" (*ḡhayr khālik*). In general, the Ash'aris think that *khālik*, as a name of God, was

eternally applied to him, but they do not press the analysis of the problem any further. All of the Mu'tazilis do not deny that God was eternally "non-creatory", "non-providing", "non-operatory". They think that this is true of all those attributes of action which are unambiguously styled (*laysa fī na'tihī iḡām*): in fact, God can be just either because justice is of His essence or because He exercises it. Thus, states al-Djubbā'ī, it must be said that He is eternally "not-just" and eternally "not-injust", for as long as the ambiguity lasts, that is, for as long as the object of his justice does not exist. But in the case of the creation there is no such ambiguity: the Creator is He who creates in reality. 'Abbād b. Sulaymān takes another stance: when he was told that God had never ceased to be *khālik*, he denied it; he denied it also when he was told that God had never ceased to be *ḡhayr khālik*. By this double denial, 'Abbād touched on the philosophical problem of the eternity of God and the temporality of his creation. He maintained in fact that God is before (*ḡabl*), but not before things or after things, just as it is not said that He is the First with regard to things (*awwal al-ashyā'*). The question of divine will was asked in this context of ideas. 'Abd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ*, 440) writes that God is "willing" by an "innovatory" will (*bi-irāda muḡdatha*). We will not dwell here on his evidence, but will observe that if, as Abū Hāshim thinks (*Sharḥ*, 548), the act of creation is none other than the act of will (*al-ḡhalk innamā huwa 'l-irāda*) and the act of creation cannot be realised without the realisation of a created being (*makhḡlūk*, *ibid.*, 549), this way lies the trap which philosophical reflection has spotted in connection with *muradidjīh*, that is, the thing which swings the balance in favour of creation. Is it eternal? Creation must then be eternal. Is it not so? It must therefore be created in its term, and the question stretches back into infinity. Or, perhaps the *muradidjīh*, eternal though it is, was hindered from acting? Therefore there must have been a hindrance, a *tark al-muradidjīh*. And was that eternal or created? This notion leads to the same labyrinth as the previous one.

But theological speculations, by Mu'tazilis at any rate, never went to these lengths. For them, the essential problem was to know what could be said of God from what the Qur'an teaches. They had not the least doubt that the creation, as regards creatures, was "innovatory". Creation was produced in time and cannot be eternal. The question of the eternity of the creative act, however, underlined in their eyes the general problem of the attributes of essence and action. 'Abd al-Djabbār thought (*Sharḥ*, 115) that God had the power to create and to will by His essence; but saying that His will to create is *muhdatha* does not imply that He needs a *muradidjīh* in order to create, just as from our own experience (*fī 'l-shāhid*, 116) we know that man does not need the will to will something in order to do so.

Relationships between attributes exist. *Khalk* is obviously connected with the Almighty (*ḡudra*). This latter substantive is not Qur'anic, but theologians consider that the word *ḡuwwa*, which occurs in verse II, 165 (*al-ḡuwwa li 'llāḡ djamī'an*), is its equivalent. God is *khālik* in respect of *ḡadīr* (Qur'an, XVIII, 99, XXXVI, 81, XLVI, 33). 'Abd al-Djabbār writes: "The proof which demonstrates that God is the Innovator of the world proves this attribute, His Almighty Being, acting without intermediary" (*Sharḥ*, 151). This is why the Mu'tazilis say that it was the Almighty who conceived us originally. Creation also proves that God is wise, through the

intermediary of the harmonious company of creatures (*taʿlīf*), the marvels of the animal world and the ordering (*tarkīb*) of the celestial spheres (*ibid.*, 157), in short, well-conducted processes (*al-afʿāl al-muḥkama*).

But the relationship between creation and knowledge did present the Muʿtazilis with a serious problem. Did God know his creatures before He created them? Did He have any knowledge of what their essential being must be before He gave them existence? Is it permissible to speak of a "before" at all? We have already looked at ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān's thesis. The disciples of Abū ʿl-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī claim that the Creator does not cease to be eternally "within the beforeness of things" (*lam yasal kablu ʿl-aṣḥyā*), but not "before things" (*kabla ʿl-aṣḥyā*). Following the *Maḥālāt al-islāmiyyin*, most Muʿtazilis nonetheless think that He has been eternally before things. Despite the various shades of opinion, this does not indicate a belief in the eternal simultaneity (*maʿiyya*) of God and things. Consequently, the preceding question is asked legitimately in this school. All the scholars agree that God is eternally knowing (*ʿālim*). But does He have eternal knowledge of the elements? Are those things which can be known (cognisables, *maʿlūmāt*) in fact known before they come into being (*kabla kawnihā*)? Furthermore, have "things" (a very general term corresponding to *mā*, Greek τ) never ceased to be (albeit as pure cognisables)? Various different answers are given. Al-Fuwaṭī, for example, thinks that God knows eternally what He is, but to say that He knows things from all eternity is tantamount to asserting their eternal co-existence with the Creator. It is not even possible to say that He knows what they will be, because that would be devising (*ishāra*) them and it is not possible to devise what exists. The name thing can only be applied to that which God has created or destroyed, *makhḥūk* and *maʿdūm*. The pure void (*ʿadam*) is not so named and cannot be known.

Abu ʿl-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī, however, is of the opinion that God knows things eternally, but "in their moments" (*fi awḥātihā*), that is, that motionless eternity embraces all times in the flow of their moments. The knowledge of God is eternal, immutable, but the objects of this knowledge are subject to a temporal factor. ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān acknowledges that God has eternal knowledge of the creative act (*al-makhḥūkāt*) elements or results of acts (*al-mafʿūlāt*). Al-Djubbāʿī subscribes to a similar doctrine.

What does this mean? If God has knowledge of substances and accidents before they are created, why does He not also know the elements which are the substances that transmit the accidents? The stress laid on the ideas of action (*khalḥ*, *afʿāl*) leads to the notion that God has eternal knowledge of the power which He has to create certain sorts of being without knowing these beings themselves in their concrete and transient reality. Eternal knowledge of the eternal Almighty Power to create, this creative knowledge, can neither, by the preceding definition, be an *a posteriori* knowledge of creation nor a knowledge of creation in the *a priori* of His Idea. In fact, these speculations encompass the problem of Platonism's exemplary Ideas, *muḥḥul*, which the Muʿtazilis reject. If such models existed in the divine mind, the creatures would resemble their Creator; but "nothing resembles God" (Qurʾān XLII, 11). If there was ever in Islām a *ḥadīth* that God created man in his image, it was either rejected as unauthentic or interpreted as meaning that man was created in accordance with his own form.

These speculations led to the theory that essences were eternal in the state of nothingness (*fi ḥāl al-ʿadam*). He did not create them to give them an essential existence before making them exist in things, because to create essences in this way implies that they are known beforehand, and this leads once more to the Platonic error they were anxious to avoid. If to create is to bring into being out of the void, it is reasonable to suppose that the essences of created things, like the things themselves, are in the void before creation. They must at least have the determination to be possible, meaning by possible that which is not but could be. This corresponds to God's almighty power, and its *mumkināt* are *mahdūrāt*. Thus what God knows eternally is His power. The problem, therefore, is to know if God creates all possible beings or if He makes a choice, or again if His power wears itself out in the creation of that which He creates. ʿIjāh thinks that the objects of God's power and knowledge have an end and a limit (*ghāya wa-nihāya*) and that His acts will end in a final act (*wa-li-afʿālihi ākhir*). But, agreeing with Islam's deepest conviction, the Muʿtazilis as a whole believe that God's power is limitless and that the created world does not exhaust it.

#### VI.—*Khalḥ in falsafa*.

As a general rule, the *falāsifa* used the word *khalḥ* in the sense of creation *ab aeterno*. Proclus formulated this conception precisely in the Commentary on the Timaeus and it was elaborated upon by commentators on Plato and Aristotle. It was revived by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sinā. Al-Ḥazālī criticised it in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, and his theological arguments were refuted by Ibn Rushd in *Fahāfut al-tahāfut* in the name of a pure Aristotelianism which differed significantly from the Avicennan ideas on this question [cf. KIDAM]. Ibn Sinā often uses the term *ibdāʿ* [q.v.]. It is the extent to which a thing owes its existence to something other than itself, and is subordinate to this other thing and no other, without the intermediary of matter, instrument or time (*Ishārāt, namaṭ*, v, section 9). "The Prime Innovator is an intellectual substance (*djawhar ʿakli*) which is innovated (*mubdaʿ*) in the true sense of the word. By his intermediary He (God) innovates an(other) intellectual substance and heavenly body (*ibid.*, VI, 21)." Here we have the theory of the emanation (*fayḍ*) of intelligences and spheres which comes directly from al-Fārābī. Quiddities exist in concrete form in things, abstractly in human thought and as an exemplar in God's knowledge. But, unlike the Platonic Ideas, these are not individualised as if divine thought was their "intelligible place" (τόπος νοητός). God had prior knowledge of the "exemplary representation of universal order" (*tamathihul al-nizām al-kullī*) from which this order is unfolded in its disposition and divisions (*ʿalā tariḥihi wa-tafāṣilīhi*), in the intelligible course of its emanation. The two major Neoplatonic principles adopted by the Muslims are present here; that nothing can come from the One but one, and that God has no knowledge of details as such, neither in their material reality nor in their individual essence. Yet verse LVII, 3, which states that God is the Manifest and the Concealed, gives rise to the notion that worldly beings are simply manifestations of God (cf. *al-Fuṣūs fi ʿl-ḥikma*: "In as much as He is manifest, he extracts All from His essence . . . His knowledge of All multiplies in a multiplicity which comes after His essence, and All is united by His essence in His unity . . . He is therefore manifest in as much as He is concealed and Concealed in as much as He is

manifest"). Ibn 'Arabī systematised this concept: Being had an interior reality and an exterior expression which are inseparable and dialectically united. This gives rise to the cosmological pair *khalk-halk* corresponding to the ontological pair *zahir-bāḥin*. Creation is an expression and a manifestation of God; it is the "epiphany" of God. Beings are manifold mirrors of the divine Essence, which is absolutely one, ineffable and without end. The most beautiful names of God are the patterns from which and for which all the beings in the world are "created" (*Futūḥāt*, I, ch. 4). "The first divine step in creation was resolution (*taḥḍīr*), even before the existence of creatures: it is the manner in which creatures are qualified in respect of being manifestations of Divine Reality (*bi-kawnihim maẓāhir li-l-Hakk*)" (*ibid.*, II, ch. 3, question 30).

The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* also believe in emanation, but of a different type than Ibn Sīnā's. They call the Creator (*al-Bārī*) *muhdith*, *mukhtari*, *mubdi*, *mubki*, *mutammim*, *mukammil*. The Intelligence, the prime innovator, has existence (*wudjūd*), sustenance (*baḳā'*), completeness (*tamām*) and perfection (*kamāl*). The soul, which comes after him, lacks perfection, while matter has only existence and sustenance. The soul achieves perfection through giving completeness to matter, which by this union has a body. Like Ibn Sīnā they believe that the creative, innovatory act of God affects directly His Intelligence alone, which receives all it requires at a single stroke (*daf'atan*). Here the *Ikhwān* make an interesting distinction. When discussing the verse: "A lahu 'l-khalk wa'-l-amr" (VII, 45) they explain that *khalk* designates corporeal things and *amr* spiritual substances. Their general term for creation is *ibdā'*.

A distinction of this type is even more marked among later Ismā'īlis. In *Kanz al-walad*, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī also speaks of an *ibdā'* which arose from a single stroke connected with the Prime Innovator (*al-mubda' al-awwal*) or Prime Intelligence; then came successively the first emanation (*al-Munba'ith al-Awwal*), *al-Kalam*, which subsists in action, and the second emanation, which subsists in power. Both are derived from the Prime Innovator, which was not created (*mukhtari*) as a result of "something which can be called an act of innovation", but which is "the very act of the Highest (*al-Muta'ālī*), gushing from Him towards existence." The first emanation glorifies, worships and sanctifies the Prime Innovator, and together they testify to the Highest. It too is perfect in its essence and completed in its act. The second emanation, however, while of course glorifying the Prime Innovator, neglected to join it in testifying to the Highest. It also occupied second place and did not acknowledge the first emanation's prerogative. For all these reasons, although perfect in its essence, it is defective (*nāḳis*) in its action, which is therefore power. Here we notice the appearance of a fault committed by the upper world, and the idea of a culpability that is inserted into the process of creation, which is not found in the *Ikhwān*'s thought, gradually develops in later Ismā'īlism. Evil is therefore born in the spiritual world, that of the *uḳūl* and the angels, although at the "emanatory" (*inbi'āthāt*) level and not that on the *ibdā'*. In his article "The Ismā'īli Vocabulary of Creation" in *SI*, xl (1974) 75-84, a study of the *Kitāb al-Yanābī*, a manuscript of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sidjīstānī's *Maḳālīd* and al-Kirmānī's *Kitāb al-Riyād*, P. E. Walker concludes: "In sum, the creation process ... divides into three distinct levels, each corresponding to the level of reality being created."

He cites the *Maḳālīd*, which makes a distinction between *aysiyya mukawwana*, *aysiyya munba'itha* and *aysiyya maḥḍa*. At the sensible level, things are created by the passage of time and things come to be out of things that were. On a higher plane, things in the intelligible world come forth by emanation or the special process of *al-inbi'āth*. Above all is creation by *al-ibdā'*. He defines creation by *ibdā'* as "the radical coming to be of being from what is not being." It is "an eternal, timeless existentiation." H. Corbin compares this theory with al-Kindī's in *Hist. de la philos. isl.*, 220. The source of such innovation is a God there is a recognisable will, one which does not more can be said than what He is not, while adding that He is not what he is not." *Ibdā'* is outside the realm of intellectual speculation and is not a process arising from an intelligible act; this gave rise to the voluntarist conception of it. God innovates through a commandment that is also will (*amr-irāda*). Oddly enough, we have here in the use of words a reflection of Ibn Ruṣḥd, who, for other reasons, also thought that God, immobile Prime Mover that He is, moves the world through His *amr*. He acknowledges that in God there is a recognisable will, one which does not resemble man's will at all but is for Him analogous to it. Ibn Sīnā, and especially his commentator Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, rejected the intervention of will in the creative act, for to will is to strive for something missing and God does not lack anything. He creates through pure generosity (*djūd*), which these philosophers consider the exact mean between a natural production (*tabī'i*) and a willed creation.

#### VII.—Creation in the thinking of the *Shī'i* Imāms.

Imāmī teaching introduces the concept of a pre-eternal creation of "forms of light, precosmic entities" (H. Corbin, *op. laud.*, 75). Many traditions speak of a pleroma of five of these: Muḥammad, Fāṭima, 'Alī, Hasan and Ḥusayn. The universe is made from them, governed by them and constructed to receive their temporal manifestations. The Muḥammadan Light is the Prime Innovator of all creation. There are many accounts of this topic in *Bihār al-anwār*. But all the *Imāms* are of a unique essence. In *Kāfi*, al-Kulaynī recounts a number of *ḥadīths* about the creation of the *Imāms*: "God created us from the light of His majesty. Then He shaped our already created beings (*ṣawwara khalkānā*) from clay kept hidden beneath His Throne and made this light dwell there. Thus we are creatures of light and men of light." Another *ḥadīth* speaks of a river flowing beneath the Throne; beneath the Spirits, the Spirit of Holiness and the Spirit which proceeds from God's Commandment (cf. *Qur'ān*, XVII, 85). God takes ten portions of clay, five from Paradise and five from earth. The *Imāms* are created from these and given breath by the two Spirits. Another text says that they are created from the sublimest of the 'Illiyūn (cf. *Qur'ān*, LXXXIII, 18-19). Clearly, while based on *Qur'ānic* verses, all these tales embody elements alien to Muslim Revelation and obviously showing Gnostic influence.

#### VIII.—Supplementary questions.

Some *ḥadīths* state clearly that God created evil and the pains suffered by mankind. Theology, particularly Aṣḥ'arī theology, supported this doctrine, justifying it by saying that creation does not entail that normal causality where effect issues from cause. God can therefore create evil, but it is not necessary to call Him evil. Associated with this question is that of the creation of human actions, a concept which the

Djabriyya upheld, which asserts that God created belief and unbelief, worship and disobedience. All that exists and is not God is created by God. Evil exists and is not God. The conclusion is inescapable.

Elsewhere, we find the doctrine of creation by the Word (the imperative *kun*, the *amr*), and creation by generosity (*djūd*). It should be added that some mystics, such as al-Ḥallādjī, believed that God created by love. In al-Ḥallādjī's eyes, says L. Massignon, concluding his study of the developments of *khalk* and '*ishk*', "the mystery of creation is love, essence of the divine essence" (*Passion*<sup>2</sup>, iii, 116 and index s.v. *khalk*).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

**KHALKEVİ** (Modern Turkish orthography, HALKEVİ, pl. HALKEVLERİ), "People's House", the educational and social centres founded by Muştafa Kemāl (Atatürk) to replace the "Turkish Hearths" (see *Türk Odjaghı*) which were active, with some intervals, between 1912 and 1932. The *Odjaks* represented originally the Pan-Turkist ideology of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihād ve Terakkī Diem'yyeti* [q.v.]). Although the government continued to support them after the foundation of the Republic in 1923, they were gradually looked upon as an obsolete institution, out of keeping with Kemalism, which rejected "unrealistic" ideologies (i.e. Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turanianism) and cultivated a nationalism based on the National Pact (*Mühāk-i Millī*). Hence they were dissolved on 10 April 1930. In the meantime, the Republican People's Party (RPP, see **DIJUMHURİYET KHALK FİRKASI**) Convention of May 1931 formulated the six fundamental principles of Kemalism: republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism and reformism, which were going to be disseminated all over the country through a new organisation, the People's Houses. Founded on 19 February 1932, they developed rapidly and their number in cities and towns reached 379 in 1940 and 478 in 1950. In 1939 they were expanded into villages, where they were called *Halk Odası* ("People's Room", pl. *Halk Odaları*), and their number reached 4,322 in 1950. People's Houses and Rooms were under direct control of the RPP, which appointed the heads of the houses and closely supervised their activities which were divided into nine areas: (1) Language and literature, (2) Fine Arts, (3) Theatre, (4) Sports, (5) Social Assistance, (6) Adult Education, (7) Library and publication, (8) Rural development, and (9) Museums and History. In addition to *Ülkü* ("Ideal"), the organ of the Central office in Ankara, almost every important provincial People's House published a periodical which encouraged the study of local popular literature and folklore. The collections of these periodicals (available in the Milli Kütüphanesi or National Library in Ankara) contain invaluable materials for research in these fields. The most outstanding of these periodicals, *Ülkü* (1933-50) was, under the editorship of the eminent scholar M. Fuad Köprülü, until 1941 a leading review of serious research in the field of Turcology, becoming later a predominantly literary magazine. Although primarily meant for the masses, the People's Houses, which possessed fully equipped libraries and theatres, attracted mostly the educated classes, particularly students, teachers, doctors, lawyers, government officials, etc. Apart from their remarkable achievements in adult education, the People's Houses made a great contribution in the field of drama, as they gradually became a training ground for many actors, producers and playwrights.

Following the end of the single-party régime in 1946, the RPP made great efforts to turn the People's Houses into non-party institutions. After the victory of the Democratic Party [see **DEMOKRAT PARTI**] in the general elections of May 1950, the RPP suggested to the government a compromise to "to save this heritage of Atatürk"; this was nevertheless rejected, and the People's Houses and Rooms were abolished on 8 August 1951 (by law No. 530) and all their property confiscated. After the Revolution of 27 May 1960, the military régime, which stood for the principles of Kemalism, on 12 April 1961 set up Turkish Cultural Associations (*Türk Kültür Dernekleri*). On 21 April 1963, these non-political associations changed their names to *Halkevi*. The revived People's Houses have not yet (1976) recovered their former important position in the country.

*Bibliography*: Uluğ İçdemir, *Halkevleri ve Odaları*, in *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, 1, Istanbul 1945, 342-5; Necmeddin Esin, *Halkevleri*, in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, xviii, Ankara, 1970, 411-2; K. H. Karpas, *The People's Houses in Turkey*, in *Middle East Jnal.*, xvii (1963) 55-67; idem, *The impact of the People's Houses on the development of communication in Turkey 1931-1951*, in *WI, N.S.* xv (1974), 69-84.

(FAHIR İZ)

**KHALKHA**, the name of a river which rises on the western slopes of the Great Khingan in Mongolia and empties into the Buyir-Nor; this river appears in the Chinese atlases in the forms Ha-lo-hin or Ha-êrh-ha, which render the name *Khalkha*. It is mentioned in the 12th century by the "Kin dynastic history" (*Kin-she*) in ch. 94, 3, under the name Ha-lo, very likely an incomplete transcription of this name for the river. It is cited on a few occasions in the Mongol period and the Ming one, appearing very frequently in the Manchu period in the Chinese, Mongol, Russian and western sources. Naturally, it is cited in the Mongol period by Raṣīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, in *Trudy VORAO*, xiii (St. Petersburg 1868), Persian text, 216, Russian tr. 134: *Qalā*, and xv (1889), text, 3, 1. 14, tr. 3. For the greater part of its course, this river forms the frontier between the province of Khingan (former Hei-long-kiang) and the Mongolian People's Republic. Since the 16th century, the term *Khalkha* has designated the northeastern part of Mongolia, from the actual province of Khingan to the eastern frontier of the province of Kobdo, and from the Russian frontier to the territory of Inner Mongolia. The name *Khalkha* is also used at the present time for the language spoken in almost all of the Mongolian Republic.

Sanang Setsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, ed. I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg 1829, 191, 197, and also the later Mongol chroniclers, speak of 12 *Khalkha* tribes, and they distinguish five "nearer tribes" and seven "further tribes" (*op. cit.*, 205, also 191, 285). *The Mong-ku she-hi p'u* "Genealogical tables of the Mongols" (L. Hambis, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Mongols*, Paris 1969, 235) relates thus: "The eighth son of Batu Mongkâ Dayan-Ĥan was called Gârösânja; he himself had seven sons who lived among the Qalqa tribes, whence their name of the seven Qalqa banners". On the other hand, J. B. du Halde, *Description . . . de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, The Hague 1736, 75, mentions thus in regard to the *Khalkha*: "This name is taken from the river Kalka. At Peking, they are called Kalka tase and Kalka Mongu". The ancestor of all the *Khalkha* princes was thus Gârösânja (or "Gesentse"), (d. 1543?); cf. on his genealogy, A. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia i Mongolī*,



St. Petersburg 1896, i, 472, and especially the genealogy in the *Šara Tūđzi*, ed. N. P. Šhastina, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 153-8. From the different branches of this princely family there derive the four *aymaqs*, into which the *Khalkha*, from the east to the west, the *aymaq* of Tsetsen-khān, that of Tushetu-khān, that of Sayin-noyan and that of Djasaktu-khān are nominally divided. The Mongol inscription of Dolon-Nor, inscribed on the occasion of the submission of the *Khalkha* to the emperor Kang-hi in 1691, published and tr. A. Pozdneyev, *op. cit.*, ii, 291 ff., mentions seven sons of "Geresentse", amongst whom the *Khalkha* were said to be divided in seven divisions (*khoshun*, in Arabic script *khoshūn*); these would be the seven "further tribes" of Sanang Setsen. Around 1585, the *Khalkha* appeared to have adopted lamaist Buddhism, and the Dalai Lama appointed for them a "Kutuktu". The five "nearer tribes" are essentially the *Djarayut* (< *Djarōd*) and the *Bārin* who live today in the southern part of the Khingan province on the borders of the former Manchuria (cf. B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Gde "pyat" Khalkhaskikh pokolenii—Tabun otoj yalya* ["Where are the 'five tribes of the *Khalkha*?'"], in *Dokl. Ak. Nauk* (1930, 201-5).

After the proclamation of the Chinese Republic in 1911, the *Khalkha* proclaimed their independence, but despite Russian intervention, were brought into subjection again by the Chinese government. After many vicissitudes, and after having received aid from the Soviet army in order to suppress the attempts of Ungern-Sternberg, they became independent under the name of "People's Republic of Mongolia", thus putting an end in 1921 to the feudal era. Since this time, and despite the fact that China has never recognised this independence as *de jure*, as official maps show, the *Khalkha* have undergone a radical transformation through the revolution and through socialisation, having suffered bitterly during the Stalinist period.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(L. HAMBIS)

**KHALKHĀL**, in mediaeval times a district and town, now a district only, of *Ādharbāyđjān* in northwestern Persia. It lies to the south of *Ardabil*, and is bounded on the east by that part of the *Elburz* chain which separates *Gilān* and *Tālīsh* in the Caspian coastlands from the upland interior of *Ādharbāyđjān*, the mountains here rising to over 10,000 feet. Much of the district is drained by the left-bank tributaries of the *Kīzl* *Uzun* affluent of the *Safid-Rūd*. In mediaeval times it adjoined on the east the district of *Tārom* and was part of the general region called *Daylam* [qq.v.].

The actual name *Khalkhāl* is not known before *Yākūt*, but it may be connected with the *Khalkhal* which lay in eastern Transcaucasia and was, according to Greek and Armenian authors of the 2nd-5th centuries A.D., the winter residence of the kings and then of Albania or Arrān (Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, 118). *Yākūt* describes *Khalkhāl* as both a town and a district of lofty mountains and strong fortresses, being two days' journey from *Ardabil* and seven from *Qazwīn*; he himself passed through it as he fled before the Mongols in 617/1220 (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 381-2). *Mustawfī* (wrote 740/1339-40) is more informative. He states that *Khalkhāl* district has four component sub-districts, *Khāmīda-Bīl*, *Sadjasrūd*, *Anđīllābād* and *Mīsdjīn*, that it comprises ca. 100 villages, with good pasture land and stocks of game, and that its revenue amounts to 30,000 *dīnārs* a year. The seat of its governors was formerly

*Firūzābād* at the top of the *Bardalīz* Pass; this had been replaced by the town of *Khalkhāl*, now itself declined to little more than a village (*Nuzhat al-kulūb*, tr. 84). The site of this old capital of *Firūzān* is marked, according to *Minorsky*, by the modern village of *Kabakh*.

The district of *Khalkhal* at present forms a *shah-rastān* of the *ustān* or province of *Ādharbāyđjān* East, and has four *bakhshs* or component sub-districts; the *Farhang-i djuđhrāfiyā-yi Irān* (1330/1951) estimates the population of the whole district at 110,000. The administrative centre is *Harawābād*, which lies on a relatively easy route across the *Tālīsh* mountains to the Caspian, and which seems to have existed as such for some three centuries, though *Minorsky* surmised that the *al-H.r* of *Bīrūnī's Kānūn* was probably the modern *Haraw(ābād)*, see his *Transcaucasica*, in *JA*, ccxvii (1930), 72. The present population is largely Turkish, ethnically and linguistically. The *Farhang*, ii, 104, also mentions a place *Khalkhāliyān* in *Tālīsh*, doubtless in origin a settlement of *Khalkhālīs*, and *Mustawfī*, tr. 206, records a fishing village called *Khalkhāl* on the eastern shore of the Caspian where the *Oxus* channel debouched from the direction of *Khwārazm*.

*Bibliography*: the information of the mediaeval geographers is given by *Le Strange, Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 169-71, and *Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter*, viii, 1173-4, see also *Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 210-11, and *Minorsky, EI<sup>1</sup> art. Tārom*. For the modern period, see *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 55, and *Farhang-i djuđhrāfiyā-yi Irān*, iv, 193-4, 546-7.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**AL-KHALLĀL**, AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. HĀRŪN, better known as *Abū Bakr al-Khallāl* (d. 311/923), traditionist, legal scholar and theologian, and an outstanding figure in the history of *Ĥanbalism*.

Very little is known of his life, however. He was a pupil of *Abū Bakr al-Marwadhī* (d. 275/889), the author of the *K. al-Wara'*, himself one of the favourite pupils of *Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. He further followed the teachings of the *shaykh* 'Abd Allāh (d. 290/903), younger son of *Ibn Ḥanbal*, who transmitted virtually the whole of his father's work and who arranged in an orderly fashion the materials of the *Musnad*. We also know that *Abū Bakr al-Khallāl* taught at *Baghdād* in the mosque of *al-Mahdī*, one of the city's most important ones. He died on the last Friday of *Rabi' II* 311/15 August 923, during the caliphate of *al-Muqtadir*.

*Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's* literary and dogmatic theological work is almost all lost today, yet it was extremely important. Above all, he was the author of the *K. al-Djāmi'*, the first great *corpus iuris* of *Ĥanbalism*. In this, he brought together and classified all the *responsa (masā'il)* of the *Imām Aḥmad* which had already been brought together into special collections. This enormous compilation ran to some twenty volumes, and was still in existence in the 8th/14th century, for both *Ibn Taymiyya* and *Ibn al-Kayyim* made abundant use of it.

It was for a long time considered that the *K. al-Djāmi'* was lost, but an important fragment is preserved in a British Museum ms. (*Brockelmann*, S I, 311; *Sezgin, GAS*, I, 511-12), of which we have given a short analysis in *Les premières professions de foi hanbalites*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1956-7, iii, 17-22. In this text are contained equally the elements of a profession of faith, of a treatise on public law and of a legal work. It is aimed against

the traditional enemies of Ḥanbalism and, more generally, against the committers of evildoing and disorder (*fasād*) likely to threaten the caliphate and the Sunnī order.

He also composed various manuals setting forth Ḥanbalī doctrines, whose importance is attested for us. Aḥmad b. Taymiyya tells us in his *K. al-Imān* (ed. Cairo, 158) that Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's *K. al-Sunna* was the supreme work of the Ḥanbalī school for the study of its ideas on dogmatic theology (*uṣūl dīniyya*), whilst his *K. fi 'l-'Ilm* was moreover the best Ḥanbalī manual for setting forth the *Imām* Aḥmad's doctrines in moral theology (*uṣūl fiḥhiyya*).

Al-Dhahabī also held the opinion that Abū Bakr al-Khallāl had written the first summa of Ḥanbalī doctrine, and emphasised the importance of his *K. al-'Ilal* on the defects of *ḥadīth* (*Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, iii, 7-8).

Finally, Abū Bakr al-Khallāl wrote a history of Ḥanbalism, of which a few leaves survive in the Zāhiriyya library at Damascus. The greater part of this work, however, was incorporated in two classic histories of Ḥanbalism which are still extant: the *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila* of the *ḥādī* Abū 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 526/1132) and the *Dhayl* of Ibn Raḍjab (d. 797/1395).

His work was transmitted, continued and to some extent completed by his chief disciple, Abū Bakr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Dī'far (d. 363/974), better known as Ghulām al-Khallāl (Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, ii, 119-27; *Iḥtiṣār ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, 334-40).

Abū Bakr 'Abd al-'Azīz completed the *K. al-Djāmi'* by his *Zād al-Musāfir* in which he sets down the *masā'il* which had escaped his master. The work is now lost, but we do have two texts by this same author. One is a *K. al-Amr*, preserved in the Zāhiriyya, in which there is a strong criticism of the life of luxury and ease enjoyed by the caliphal circles and the Turkish *amirs* which formed part of them; the other is a list of *masā'il* concerning which the author diverges from the doctrine of al-Khiraḳī (*Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 75-118).

*Bibliography*: *Tārīkh Baghdad*, v, 112-13; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 12-15; *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, iii, 7-8; Ibn Kaṭhīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 148; *Iḥtiṣār* 295-7; *Shāḥarāt*, ii, 261; Laoust, *Le hanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI* (1959), 79-80, 91.

(H. LAOUST)

**KHALWA**, technical term of mysticism, meaning "retirement, seclusion, retreat" (from *ḥalā* "to be alone"), and, more specifically, "isolation in a solitary place or cell" (*ṣāwiya*, [*bayt al-ḥalwa*]), involving spiritual exercises. "Seclusion" or "solitude" in general (syns. *'uzla*, *wahda*, *insirād*, *inkīṭā'*) is one of the fundamental principles of asceticism (*zuhd*); and the predilection of early Muslim ascetics for the solitary way of life is a prominent topic of Ṣūfī hagiographic literature. The example of Christian asceticism is likely to have exercised a certain influence in the formation of this ideal, though orthodox Muslim authorities, e.g. Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), are also quoted as favouring a life in separation from society (Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, Beirut 1387/1967, vi, 376, ll. 20-2). The Ṣūfī Dhū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860) learnt from a Syrian hermit about the "sweetness of seclusion, invocation (*dhikr*) and of secret conversation with God in private (*al-ḥalwa bi-munāḍi'ātihī*)" (*Hilyat al-awliyā'*, ix, 356, ll. 14-15). The same Ṣūfī is frequently quoted as "knowing of no better incitement to bring about spiritual sincerity (*ikhhlās*) than *ḥalwa*"; and another celebrated Ṣūfī, Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/945), is

said to have given this advice, "Cleave to solitude, abolish your name from the (memory of the) people, and face the wall (of prayer) until you die!" (al-Kuṣhayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1379/1959, 55 f.; Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī, *Awārif al-ma'ārif*, Beirut 1966, 210; cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, i, vv. 643-9). However, the statements of classical early Ṣūfīs quoted by Kuṣhayrī (*Risāla*, 54-6) and Ghazālī (*Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 197-216) reflect a wide spectrum of opinions as to the relative virtues of "solitude" and "community" (*ṣuḥba*, *mukhālafa*). Spiritual isolation from the world was considered higher than material seclusion; and it is clear that periodic retreats rather than permanent seclusion were practised in reality. The Sunna certainly does not favour the solitary way of life, and community life was, in fact, increasingly becoming a characteristic feature of Ṣūfism itself. Thus, Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907-8) is said to have strongly commended "community" as a means to practise "altruism" (*iḥbār*) ('Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1907, ii, 46, and Abū Ya'qūb al-Sūfī of Baṣra (ca. 300/900) is quoted with this statement: "Only the strong ones are able to support solitude, whereas community life (*al-idjtimā'*) is more beneficial for people like us, so that each individual's behaviour is controlled by each other" (Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādjī, *Kitāb al-luma'*, ed. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1914, 207, ll. 19-21; Kuṣhayrī, *Risāla*, 56, ll. 1-3).

In post-classical Ṣūfism, the situation is essentially the same. According to Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī ([*q.v.*], d. 632/1234), it is community life which distinguishes the Ṣūfīs from the ascetics, but Suhrawardī explains this difference by claiming that the Ṣūfīs prefer community because, due to their spiritual "health", they are free from the temptations from which the ascetics tried to escape by choosing the solitary way of life ('*Awārif*, 108). Still, the Ṣūfīs' spiritual sustenance is "solitude" (*ibid.*, 221), and even in the "common room" (*bayt al-djāmā'a*) of the Ṣūfī *ribāt* [*q.v.*], they are supposed to sit on their prayer carpets as if these were their individual retreat (*ibid.*, 108). Besides, the Ṣūfī establishment often has individual cells; and the practice of periodic retreats, which plays an important role in Ṣūfī education (*tarbiya*), is developed into a real institution. Suhrawardī devotes three chapters of the '*Awārif* to its description (*op. cit.*, 207-27). Special emphasis is also placed on it by the Kubrawiyya, the Shādhiliyya, the Qādiriyya and, of course, the Khalwatiyya. This *ḥalwa* involves the "Major Holy War" (cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, v, vv. 3785-6), i.e. ascetic discipline, notably vigils, gradually increased fasting, and concentration of the mind, mainly by means of *dhikr* [*q.v.*]. On entering *ḥalwa*, one should free oneself from worldly possessions and be in a state of ritual purity. Being in the cell should evoke the idea of being in the grave ('Ammār al-Bidlīsī, ca. 600/1200, in Kubrā, *Fawā'id al-djāmāl*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957, text 60, introd. 32); the cell itself should be a dark room prohibiting the entering of daylight. Its purpose is the "closing up of the external senses" and the "opening of the internal senses" (Kubrā, in M. Molé, *Traité mineurs de Naḡm al-Dīn Kubrā*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, iv (1963), 25; cf. *Fawā'id al-djāmāl*, text 18), i.e. readiness for mystical experiences. However, warnings against attaching too much value to such experiences (*wakā'*; '*al-ḥalwa*) are voiced frequently; the guidance of a spiritual director is, therefore, considered vital. According to Suhrawardī, visionary experiences and extrasensory perceptions in general may serve a certain purpose

on the mystic way, but the ultimate goal of *khalwa* is rather the experience of the “*dhikr* of the divine Essence” through consubstantiation (*taḥjawhur*) of its light in the heart (*‘Awārif*, 216, 219).

This institutionalised seclusion is normally limited to periods of forty days, which is why it is also called *al-arbaʿīniyya*, or *ʿilla* (from Persian *ʿihil*); it should not be interrupted except for ritual community prayers, and it should be repeated once every year (*‘Awārif*, 221). It is conceived as an *imitatio prophetarum*, the prophet Muhammad’s custom to retreat in a cave in Mt. Hira’ before he received the Kur’ānic revelation being taken as a traditional basis. However, the number forty is linked to the example of other prophets as well, especially Mūsā (cf. Kur’ān VII, 138/142). It also symbolises the “forty stages” of the universe, which is the scene of the mystic “journey” (*‘Awārif*, 207 f.; Atṭār, *Musibat-nāma*, cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 18 ff.).

At the same time, the *khalwa* extends ideally over the whole life of the Sūfī (*‘Awārif*, 221, 226). The practice of retreat is only a means to an end, and the goal of Sūfī education is *khalwa* “in spirit” (*khalwat al-maʿnā*), i.e. being spiritually with God in spite of material presence in the world (Kubrā, *Fawāʾih al-djāmāl*, 60). The same idea is expressed in the Naḳṣbandī formula of *khalwat dar andjuman* (solitude in society). Similarly, Ibn ʿArabī is not speaking of the common practice of retreat when he considers *khalwa* as the highest *maḳām*; he takes it to mean the absolute “emptiness” (*khalāʾ*) of the Perfect Man, i.e. the state of being “filled” with the Absolute (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Cairo 1270, ii, 166 ff.).

**Bibliography:** in addition to the works mentioned in the text, Tor Andrae, *Islamische Mystiker*, Stuttgart 1960, 70 ff. (for the early period); J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, glossary s.v. *khalwa* and index s.v. retreat; P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (m. 709/1309) et la naissance de la confrérie ṣāḍilīte*, Beirut 1972, 89, 127, 237 f.; *Sharḥ Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī ʿala ʿl-hikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya*, Cairo 1287, i, 18-20; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Isfarāyīnī, *Fī kayfiyyat al-taslik waʿl-iddlās fiʿl-khalwa*, annex to *Kāshif al-Asrār*, ed. H. Landolt, Wisdom of Persia Series, v, Tehran (forthcoming). (H. LANDOLT)

**KHALWATIYYA** (Turkish: Halvetiyye), a highly ramified and widespread *ṭarīqa* [q.v.].

History and branches. The *Khalwatiyya* is mentioned as a branch of al-Abhariyya al-Zāhidiyya by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (*Tibyān*, i, 343b), who gives as its founder ʿUmar al-Khalwātī (born in Lāhiǧī, Dījlān, died in Tabrīz, 800/1397). However, Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī [q.v.] stresses that ʿUmar’s *shaykh*, Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Bālīsī, who was called al-Khalwātī because of his frequent retreats, is the first in the *Khalwatiyya silsila* (cf. Muḥammad Hasanayn Maḳhlūf al-ʿAdawī, *Awrād al-Sāda al-Khalwatiyya*, Cairo 1963, 67 and ʿAbd al-Khālīq al-Shabrāwī, *Sirādī Ahl al-Bidāyāt fi ʿl-Taṣawwuf*, Cairo 1366, 180). *Khalwātī* literature mentions Yahyā al-Shīrwānī al-Bākūbī (born in Shemākhā, Shīrwān, d. in Bākū, 869/1464) as the second *pīr*, the first being ʿUmar. There are three *shaykhs* in between the two in the *Khalwatiyya silsila*. Al-Shīrwānī is the author of the *Wird al-Sattār*. Its reading is among the obligations imposed upon the members of most branches.

H. J. Kissling (*ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 240), has argued that al-Shīrwānī was the real founder. He discarded the suggestion of G. Jacob (*Türkische Bibliothek*, 9.

Band, 80) that the origins of the *Khalwatiyya* were in the Anatolian *Akhi*-fraternities [q.v.]. Among ʿUmar al-Shīrwānī’s *khalīfas*, who further shaped and spread the order, were ʿUmar Rūshānī (d. 892/1486 in Tabrīz) and Yūsuf al-Shīrwānī (d.?). The former became a protégé of the Aḳ Ḳoynlu ruler, Uzun Ḥasan, in Tabrīz. He initiated Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammādī (d. 929/1524) and Ibrāhīm Gulshānī [q.v.], each of whom founded their own orders, al-Demirdāshīyya and al-Gulshānīyya respectively, both with their centres in Cairo. Two branches of the latter order gained some renown: al-Sezāʾīyya, founded by Ḥasan Sezāʾī (d. 1151/1738, Edirne) and al-Ḥāletīyya, founded by Ḥasan Ḥāletī ʿAlī Aʿlā (d. 1329/1911, Edirne). Among the *khalīfas* succeeding Yūsuf Shīrwānī the most notable are Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Sīvāsī (d. 1006/1597 in Sīvās) and ʿAbd al-Aḥad Nūrī al-Sīvāsī (1061/1650 in Istanbul). Both established their own *ṭarīkas*, known as *Shamsiyya* [q.v.] and *Sīvāsīyya*.

Initially, the order spread in Anatolia mainly in the Amasya-region when it was governed by Bāyezīd II. Here, the most notable *shaykh* of the order was Mehmed Djamāl al-Dīn al-Aḳṣarāʾī, known as Čelebī Efendi (d. ca. 903/1497, Tābūt Ḳorus near Damascus). This branch was originally called al-Djamālīyya after him. After the death of his successor, Yūsuf Sünbül Sīnān al-Dīn (d. 936/1529 Istanbul), it became known as al-Sünbūliyya. Its history until the middle of the 17th century and its involvement in Ottoman politics have been dealt with by Kissling, *op. cit.*, 233 f. The stages of the order’s early history, subsequent to its spread in the region of Amasya, are the following: I.—a spread westwards during the reign of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), when the centre of the order’s activity shifted from Amasya to Istanbul; II.—stagnation during the reign of Selīm I, concomitant with the increasing Sunni orientation of the Empire and connected with the conflict with the increasingly Shīʿi-influenced Persia (the names of five Shīʿa Imāms were dropped from the *silsila*). III.—a new florescence during the reign of Sulaymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66) and Selīm II (974-82/1566-74). Many personalities prominent in the administration (e.g. the Djamālzādes and the grand-vizier Luṭfī Pāshā [qq.v.]) had links with the order and favoured it.

In this era the *Shaʿbāniyya*, named after Shaʿbān Velī al-Ḳaṣṭamūnī (d. 976/1568), became prominent. Its most notable branch, al-Ḳarābāshīyya, was founded by ʿAlī Ḳarābāsh (d. 1097/1685), who had been active in the Ḳaṣṭamonu and Ankara areas. His pupil Naṣūhī Mehmed (d. 1130/1717, Istanbul) established his own *ṭarīka*, al-Naṣūhīyya, from which the Čerkesḥīyya, named after Čerkesḥī Muṣṭafā (d. 1229/1813, Čerkes), separated itself. The *Khaliliyya* and the Ibrāhīmiyya are branches of the latter *ṭarīka* and were founded by Hādīdī Khālī Geredelī (d. 1229/1881, Gerede) and Ḳuṣadall Ibrāhīm (d. 1283/1866-7, Scutari) respectively (cf. H. J. Kissling, *Saʿbān Velī und die Saʿbāniyye*, in *Serta Monacensia, Festschrift Babinger*, Leiden 1952, 86 ff.).

In the first half of the 12th/18th century a branch of the Ḳarābāshīyya emerged under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī and called al-Bakriyya after him. One of his *khalīfas*, ʿAbd al-Ḳarīm Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 1199/1784, Gāza), established his own branch, al-Kamālīyya. Another *khalīfa*, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳarīm al-Sammān (d. 1189/1775, Mecca), also founded his own order, al-Sammāniyya which spread to the Sudan and Ethiopia, and from Mecca into South-East Asia. A branch of this *ṭarīka*, al-

Fayḍiyya, named after Fayḍ al-Dīn Husayn Ghunaym, was active in Istanbul, where its founder lived most of his life and died in 1309/1891 (cf. *Tibyān* i, 306a). Al-Bakrī's *khalifa* and direct successor in Egypt was Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Hifnī (d. 1181/1767, Cairo). The spectacular spread of al-Khalwatiyya in Egypt in the 19th and 20th century is due to the latter's students and their *khalifas* (cf. al-Djabartī, 'Adjā'ib, i, 298). For details on the various branches which developed in Egypt, see F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (in preparation).

Out of a Syrian branch of the Djamāliyya, introduced in Damascus by 'Uways al-Karamānī, a *khalifa* of Ḍalebi Efendi, two *ṭarīqas* emerged: al-'Assāliyya, named after Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Harīrī al-'Assālī (d. 1048/1638, Aleppo; cf. al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥḥar*, i, 248 f.) and al-Bakḥshīyya, founded by Muḥammad al-Bakḥshī al-Ḥalabī al-Bakfālūnī (d. 1098/1686, Mecca), which had its centre in the Ikhḷāṣiyya *tekke* in Ḥalab (cf. *Tibyān*, i, 108b). The remaining Khalwatiyya branches all have *silsilas* going back to Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn b. 'Isā al-Marmarāwī al-Diḡitbāshī (d. 910/1504, Maghnisa). He had founded his own order, al-Aḥmadiyya, which had spread mainly in and around Maghnisa. His *shaykh* 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Ushākī (d. 890/1485), was a student of Ibrāhīm Kayseriyyālī, who was initiated by Meḥmed Erzindjānī, one of Yaḥyā al-Shīrwānī's *khalifas*.

Further details, including the *silsilas* of most of these orders, are given by Kissling. From al-Harīrī's mention of his initiation into the majority of the branches, which had emerged prior to the middle of the 19th century, it appears that many had active nuclei or propagators around that time. Anderson, in *MW*, xii, 1922, 53 f., reports the number of active *tekkes* of the various branches in Istanbul in 1921 as follows: Djarrābiyya (10), Sha'bāniyya (25), Sūn-būliyya (18), Sināniyya (3), 'Ushākīyya (5), and four *tekkes* of unspecified branches.

Doctrine and practice.—The writings of the *mashāyikh* of the order manifest in various degrees the influence of Ibn al-'Arabī's thinking; the position taken with respect to the idea of *wahdat al-wudūd* varied over periods of time within the same branch and between the branches. Meḥmed Niyāzī al-Miṣrī, e.g. taught that *wahdat al-wudūd* is restricted to certain levels of being (cf. *Tibyān*, iii, 132a). Ḥasan Riḍwān (d. 1310/1892), a *khalifa* of Ibrāhīm al-Shālkānī al-'Imrānī, openly adhered to Ibn al-'Arabī's ideas (cf. *Rawḍ al-Kulūb al-Mustaṭāb*, Cairo 1332). Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī opposed monist views altogether (cf. E. Bannerth, *La Khalwatiyya en Egypte*, in MIDEO, viii (1964-6), 11 f.). He stressed the separate identities of God and the human soul, hence conceiving unity with the divine as a conjunction (*ittiṣāl*). Shī'ā conceptions have occasionally been incorporated and elaborated, e.g. by Dā'ūd al-Shāmī (cf. Kissling, *ZDMG*, ciii, 260; idem, *Zur Geschichte des Derwischordeus der Bayrāmijje*, in *Südostforschungen*, xv (1956), 248-9). In early as well as later Khalwatī writings it is stressed that the order is basically the *ṭarīqa* of al-Djūnayd (cf. *Tibyān*, ii, 65a; Sirāḡī, 160; al-'Adawī, 67; Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Muta'āl al-Buhūti, *Ithāf al-Baṣḥar bi-Sharḥ Wird al-Sahar*, Cairo 1953, 13). The foundations of this order are considered to be voluntary hunger (*djū'*), silence (*samt*), vigil (*sahar*), seclusion (*i'tizāl*), *dhikr*, meditation (*fikr*), permanent ritual cleanliness and tying (*raḍf*) one's heart to one's *shaykh*. In some treatises only the first four are

mentioned as such (cf. Muḥammad al-Munīr al-Sammanūdi, *Tuhfat al-Sālikīn*, Cairo 1934, 26 f.).

In most of the Khalwatiyya *ṭarīqas* periodic retreat, *khalwa*, is required of the *murīd*. The shortest period recommended is three days and the longest forty days (cf. al-Bakrī, *Hadiyyat al-Aḥbāb fi-mā li'l-Khalwa min al-Shurūṭ wa'l-Adāb*, in *Sirāḡī*, 179 f.). Various sets of rules, regulating the *murīd*'s behaviour before, during and after the period of *khalwa*, have been elaborated (see, e.g. E. Bannerth, *Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāsiyya-Sūfis in Kairo*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 125 f., for the *khalwa* rules of this order). Opinions about who may enter the *khalwa* have varied among the various *ṭarīqas*. According to some branches it is necessary to prepare for initiation, while others hold it to be appropriate only for those who have reached a specific *maqām* or stage of the soul [see ḤĀL], generally the fifth. *Al-'uzla* is recommended to those in the lower *maqāms* (cf. 'Abd al-Ḥāfiṣ 'Alī al-Azharī, *Lukḥat al-'Idāliān wa-Tuhfat al-Ikhwān*, Cairo 1323, 5, 23). In al-Khalwatiyya seven *maqāms* are postulated. To each *maqām*, *dhikr* of one of the seven names (*al-asmā' al-sab'a*), viz. *al-Tahlīl*, *Allāh*, *Hā*, *Ḥayy*, *Ḥakḥ*, *Ḥayyūm* and *Ḥaḥḥār* is appropriate. On this point, al-Khalwatiyya differs fundamentally from al-Shādhiliyya; in the latter only three *maqāms* are postulated. The first *maqām* of *al-nafs al-ammāra*, is conceived as a part of the preparatory stage of *tawba* and only the fifth, sixth and seventh *maqām* are conceived as reality. These cannot be reached by *idjtiḥād* but only by divine grace (cf. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Āmir al-Mughāzī, *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Ihsāniyya wa'l-Tadriḡāt al-Insāniyya fi Sayr al-Tarīq al-Khalwatiyya*, Cairo 1301, 15, 21).

*Dhikr* of the names is surrounded by a number of ritual prescriptions set out in the manuals. For communal *dhikr* exercises or *ḥaḍras*, similar rules apply, although the ritual itself, the formulas, and the names recited may be different. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn b. 'Isā al-Marmarāwī (see above) is credited for having added five names, (*al-furū'*: *Wahḥāb*, *Fattāḥ*, *Wāḥid*, *Aḥad*, *Ṣamad*) to be recited after completion of the other seven names (*al-uṣūl*). This practice is found in the Aḥmadiyya branches. It was incorporated by some Bakriyya branches as well (cf. Muḥammad Fu'ād al-Dayfī, *Maḡimū' al-Fawā'id al-Muḥimma*, Cairo 1930, 108 f.; Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Djūnaydī al-Maymūnī, *Risālat al-Sayr wa'l-Sulūk ilā'Ulāh . . .*, Cairo 1308). There are differing opinions about the *dhikr* of names not transmitted by the *shaykh* to the *murīd*, ranging from the point of view that any name is allowed as well as any noise or sound to the view that only the *dhikr* of a clearly pronounced *allāh* is permissible (cf. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān, *al-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Tarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1326, 26; *Tibyān*, iii, 59 f.; al-Munīr, *Tuhfa*, 21). In addition, other prayer-tasks, fasting and nightly vigils may be required from the *murīd*, which differ considerably between the branches. An element of ritual which all Khalwatiyya *ṭarīqas* have in common is the reading of Yaḥyā al-Shīrwānī's *Wird al-Sattār* at set times and occasions. It consists of three sections which glorify the oneness of God, the Prophet and his prophethood, and the Companions. According to Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, it is the pivot of Khalwatiyya ritual. It should be read aloud by a single person, while the others are listening; this is held to be more beneficial than reciting. It equals silent *dhikr*, the *dhikr* of the heart. The external union on these occasions is believed to lead to an internal

union, which equals *mudjāhada* and should lead to *mushāhada* (cf. al-Bakrī, *al-Manhādī al-‘Aḏh al-Šā’igh li-Warrādīhi fī Dhikr Šalawāt al-Tariḳa wa Awrādīhi*, Cairo 1332, 145 f.). In other words, participation in the community is conceived of as *murākaba* and may lead to *mushāhada*. Here lies a basic difference with other *tarikas*, e.g. al-Nakṣhabandiyya. It is the *shaykh* who, as object for *murākaba* of the *murīd*, leads to *mushāhada*. Some *Khalwatiyya* groups however take the latter position, e.g. al-Djūdiyya (cf. Djābir Aḥmad Mu‘ammar, *Manhal al-Warrād wa Bahājat al-Irshād li-man arāda Tariḳa al-Rashād*, Cairo, n.d., 430), where this is expressed by stating that the *fath al-murīd* is proportionate to one's belief in his *shaykh*. Within Turkish *Khalwatiyya* branches, notably within the *Qarābāshiyya*, the role of the *shaykh* in guiding the *murīd* is conceived of as necessarily a passive one. He is for the *murīd* what the *rūh* is for the body. If it goes, all is gone. He should not approve or disapprove of the *murīd*'s behaviour even if the latter were to become *kāfir* (cf. *Tibyān*, iii, 59b).

Restrictions upon membership existed within the *Aḥmadiyya* and its branches, which did not initiate illiterates. This was held to break off *al-fayḍ* [q.v.] and to diminish the light of gnosis (cf. *Tibyān*, i, 53).

Present-day situation.—In Albania the government recognised in 1945 the principal *tarikas* as independent religious communities with their own leaders. Leader of the *Khalwatiyya* became ‘Alī Hormova (cf. S. Skendi, *Albania*, New York 1956). This arrangement was brought to an end by the Albanian Cultural Revolution in early 1967. In Macedonia and Kosovo-Methohija 25 *Khalwatiyya tekkes* were functioning in 1939 (cf. G. Palikrusheva, *Dervishkiot red Khalveti vo Makedoniya*, in *Zbornik Shtipskoti naroden Muzey*, i (1958), 105-19). In 1971 *hadras* took place regularly in *tekkes* in Ohrid, Struga, Kičevo, Shtip (all *Hayātiyya*) and in Peč, Djakovice, Orahovac and Prizren (all *Qarābāshiyya*). For a description and historical information about the latter two *tekkes* see Mūcahit Asim, *Kosova'da Esirgenmiş İslam Anıtları*, Çevren ii, 8, Prishtina 1974. In Greek Thrace active groups with a *tekke* existed in Xanthi, Komotini and Echinosis.

No data are available for the *Khalwatiyya* in Turkey after 1925, when the orders were abolished and all *tekkes* and *zāwiyas* were closed. In the Middle East various *Khalwatiyya* groups are active in Lebanon (Beirut, Tripoli) and Syria (Aleppo, Damascus). Some of these groups have a *silsila* going back to Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Azūz, founder of the *Rahmāniyya zāwiya* in Naftā (Tunisia); cf. *al-Bayān fī ‘Amal al-Lisān*, Beirut 1964, 63-4. The Egyptian *Khalwatiyya* al-Djunaydiyya claims substantial membership in Syria (cf. *Madjalla al-Islām wa 'l-Taṣawwuf*, i/5, Cairo 1958, 82). *Khalwatiyya* and other *tarikas* active in Egypt are listed in Muḥammad Maḥmūd ‘Alwān, *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1958, 71 f. In addition to these *tarikas* and the *tarikas* mentioned by Bannerth, the following branches were active in Egypt in 1973: al-Dawmiyya (two branches), al-Djūdiyya, al-Fu‘ādiyya, al-Ḥaddādiyya, al-Ḳaṣābiyya, al-Ḥayātiyya, al-Nimriyya, al-Šarkāwiyya, al-Šawādifiyya and al-‘Imrāniyya al-Ḳubaysiyya. Al-Sammāniyya has its own *shaykh al-sādīqiāda* for Egypt. Some Egyptian *Sammāniyya*, however, consider themselves as a part of one or another of the Sudanese branches of this order. In Ethiopia, it is the only active *Khalwatiyya* branch. Little is known about its present functioning beyond what is reported by Trimmingham (*Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 247).

Nothing is known about the present state of al-Sammāniyya in Indonesia. L. P. Fauque (*Où en est l'İslam traditionnel en Algérie?*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, iv (1961), 17-22) provides the most recent information on al-Rahmāniyya, and he states its membership in Algeria as 230,000.

*Bibliography*: in addition to the references in the text, see the literature mentioned in the articles by Kissling and the bibliography to Bannerth's article, which gives information about *Khalwatiyya* orders active in present-day Egypt and includes a translation of Aḥmad al-Dardayr, *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān* (a set of rules for the *murīd*). Literature not mentioned in these studies may be found in B. G. Martin, *A Short History of the Khalwatiyya order of Dervishes*, in N. R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis, Muslim Religious Institutions since 1500*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1972, 275-305, which is largely based upon the work of Bannerth and Kissling. A Turkish source not mentioned by these authors is the anonymous *Tariḳet ‘Aliyye Khalwatiyyeniñ uşulu*, Istanbul 1288. For literature and detailed information about the *Khalwatiyya* orders in Egypt, see F. de Jong, *The Sūfi Orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (in preparation). Muḥammad al-Makkī b. ‘Azīz, *al-Nafahāt al-Rahmāniyya fī Manāḳib Ridjāl al-Khalwatiyya*, Istanbul 1327 (partly published), 11-8, gives a list of *Khalwatiyya* writings. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1299/1882), *Tibyān Wasā’il al-Hakā’ik fī Bayān Salāsīl al-Tarā’ik*, Muḥaḳ Fātiḥ, mss. 430-2, is as valuable for the study of the *Khalwatiyya* as it is for the study of other orders. Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ al-Būsnaḳ al-Ḳhāndjī, *al-Diawhar al-Asnā fī Tarāḳim ‘Ulamā’ wa Šu‘arā’ Būsna*, Cairo 1349, contains a number of biographies of *Khalwatiyya shaykhs* based mainly upon the sources mentioned by Kissling. It gives some original data. Mehmed Tewfik, *Monastir wilāyeti ta’riḳhlesi*, Monastir 1328 (cf. Babinger, 409), gives some information about the *Hayātiyya* in Macedonia and contains a section on Mehmed Ḥayātī, see p. 234 of the more easily-accessible Serbian translation, *Kratka Istorija Bitolskog Vilajeta*, Belgrade 1932, 190-244. For detailed information about *Rahmāniyya zāwiyas* in Algeria and Tunisia, see P. J. André, *Contribution à l'étude des confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1956, 263-89.

(F. DE JONG)

**KHAMĀSA** [see MUZĀRA‘A].

**KHAMBĀYAT**, modern Cambay in Guḍjarāt, western India. Various spelt in Arabic as Kanbāya, Kanbāyat, Kanbāyā, Kinbāya, Kinbātā, the name is derived from *Khambhāt* or *Khambha* (< *Stambha-īrtha*, i.e. "the place of pilgrimage of the pillar"). According to the Muslim geographers, it was situated about 3 *farsakhs* (9 Arabian miles) from the sea. As one of the most important ports of western India during the mediaeval period, Cambay was famous for the beautiful sandals (*al-ni‘āl al-kanbātiyya*) manufactured there. It also produced rice, fine honey and a variety of fruits, but had no date-palms.

Muslims seemed to have settled down in Cambay from early Islamic times; they had Friday mosques and Islam was practised by them freely. Al-Mas‘ūdī, who visited the town in 303/915, says that the local governor was a Brahmana named Bāniyā (probably Prachanda, of the Brahmalokas), who was fond of religious discussions with the Muslims and represented *al-Balharay* (Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III, 914-22 A.D.). During the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhilvāra

kingdom, and at the time of its conquest by the Muslims in 697/1298, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes it as one of the most beautiful towns of India, with fine mosques and gorgeous buildings constructed by the resident Muslim merchants. It was annexed by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 981/1573. Its decline as a port and commercial town, which took place during the 11th/17th century, was mainly due to the silting-up of the gulf and the swift high-tide or "bore".

*Bibliography:* Ibn Khurradādhbih, 56; al-Iṣṭakhārī, 179; Ibn Ḥawqāl, 320; al-Muḥaddasī, 477; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, i, 253-4; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 364, ii, 177, 244, iv, 52-7; Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India*, London 1927, 194; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, ix, 292-7; A. S. Altekar, *A history of important ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, liv (Bombay 1925), 47; S. Maqbul Ahmad, *Indo-Arab Relations*, Bombay 1969, 142 n.

(S. MAQBUL AHMAD)

**KHAMIS MUṢHAYṬ**, also Khamis ibn Muṣhayṭ, the main town in interior 'Asīr [*q.v.*] in Saudi Arabia, between al-Ḥijāz and the Yaman, 22 miles (32 km) almost due east of Abhā [*q.v.*], capital of 'Asīr, on the east bank of the principal branch of Wādī Biṣṣa, part of the main inland drainage system from al-Sarāt; situated at 42° 45' long. and 18° 20' lat., and 6000 feet (1950 m) of altitude. It is more a cluster of villages than a town, and the name is derived from the Muṣhayṭ clan of the Ruṣhayd section of Shahrān, the leaders of which have been the titular heads of the Shahrān tribe over an unrecorded but probably very long time. To the east and northwest, the Shahrān are by far the most important tribe, while towards the southeast elements of Kaṭṭān are also found. Most of the settlements of Khamis Muṣhayṭ cluster around the villages of Ḍarb and Ḳambar, and the Thursday (*khāmīs*) market is held on the plain between these two villages. Khamis Muṣhayṭ is important for strategic and economic reasons. Its easy access to Abhā, Ḳahrān, and Nadīrān made it a favourite staging point for military campaigns, e.g. those of 1338/1920 and 1353/1934. Its agricultural produce grows on terraces to the west and on gently sloping land to the east, irrigated by wells and some eastward-draining monsoon precipitation, and is quite varied, including spring wheat, autumn millet, alfalfa, and a number of fruit trees such as apricots, peaches, plums, pomegranates, and figs. Cattle are more common than camels, and dates must be imported. Khamis Muṣhayṭ has thus become the most important interior trading centre between Biṣṣa and the Yaman. It is also worthy of note that it is here where a traveller from the north first encounters the multiple-storey style of architecture characteristic of South Arabia. Since the early 1960s, Khamis Muṣhayṭ has experienced great growth in size and importance with the development of all-weather roads, a main airfield, and the establishment of a military garrison.

*Bibliography:* Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Fī bilād 'Asīr*, Cairo 1951; Muḥammad 'Umar Rafī', *Fī rubu' 'Asīr*, Cairo 1373. Admiralty Handbook, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946; H. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, Ithaca N.Y. 1952; W. Thesiger, *A Journey through the Tihama, the 'Asīr, and the Hijaz Mountains*, in *GJ* (1947); H. Philby, *The Land of Sheba*, in *GJ* (1938); P. Lippens, *Expédition en Arabie Centrale*, Paris 1956.

(F. S. VIDAL)

**KHAMR** (A.), wine. The word, although very common in early Arabic poetry, is probably a loanword from Aramaic. The Hebrew *yaṣn* has in Arabic (*wayn*) the meaning of black grapes. The question has been fully treated by I. Guidi in his *Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici*, in *Memorie della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, series iii, vol. iii, 603 ff.

#### I. JURIDICAL ASPECTS

Arabia and the Syriac desert are, in contradistinction to Palestine and Mesopotamia, not a soil fit for the vine; there are, however, exceptions, among which may be mentioned al-Ṭā'if (see H. Lammens, *Ṭā'if*, 35 ff. = *MFOB*, viii, 146 ff.), Shībām and other parts of Yaman. Wine, probably of an inferior quality, is also mentioned in Medina (see below). Usually, however, it seems to have been imported from Syria and 'Irāq; in early Arabic poetry the wine-trade is chiefly connected with Jews and Christians, who pitched their tent (*ḥānūt*, also a loanword from Aramaic) among the Bedouins and provided it with a sign denoting its character. In it entertainment sessions were held, in the company of female singers who often also belonged to the establishment. The wine was kept in jars or skins, provided with a mouth-piece which was closed by means of a string.

In the days of Muḥammad the people of Mecca and Medina used to indulge in drinking wine as often as an occasion offered itself, so that drunkenness often became a cause of scandal and of indulgence in a second vice, gambling, which together with wine, incurred Muḥammad's condemnation. Tradition has not refrained from describing how Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's uncle, in a fit of drunkenness mutilated 'Alī's camels (*Bukhārī*, *Sharb*, bāb 13; *Khums*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ashribā*, trads. i, 2; *Maghāzī*, bāb 12; Abū Dāwūd, *Kharādī*, bāb 19). The commentators on the Qur'ān also relate how Muḥammad's companions held drinking-parties which caused them to commit faults in ritual prayer (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ad sūra XIV, 44; Muslim, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣahāba*, trad. 44, cf. 45; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 185-6).

The prohibition of wine was not in Muḥammad's programme at the beginning. In Sūra XVI, 69 we even find it praised as one of the signs of Allāh's grace to mankind: "And of the fruit of palm-trees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourishment". But the consequences of drunkenness manifesting themselves in the way just mentioned are said to have led Muḥammad to change his attitude. The first revelation giving vent to these feelings was Sūra II, 216: "They will ask thee concerning wine and gambling (*maysir*). Answer, in both there is great sin and also some things of use unto men: but their sinfulness is greater than their use". This revelation, however, was not considered as a prohibition. As people did not change their customs and the order of prayer happened to be disturbed in consequence thereof, a new revelation was issued, viz. Sūra IV, 46: "O true believers! come not to prayers when ye are drunk, until ye understand what ye say" etc. But neither was this revelation considered as a general prohibition of wine, until Sūra V, 92 made an end to drinking: "O true believers! Surely wine and *maysir* and stone pillars and divining arrows, are an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper".

This sequence of revelations regarding wine is the accepted one among the traditionists and commentators of the Qur'ān (see Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 351-2; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v, 58 ad sūra IV, 46).

The prohibition of wine may, however, also be looked upon from a wider aspect, as Islam is not the only monotheistic religion which has taken a negative attitude towards wine. It is well known that, according to the Old Testament (Numbers vi, 3-4) the Nazarite who had wholly devoted himself to Yahweh had to abstain from wine and spirits, just as the priests before administering the sacred rites (Lev. x, 9). The Nabataeans, according to Diodorus Siculus (xix, 94, 3), likewise abstained from wine and one of their gods is called in their inscriptions "the good god who drinks no wine". Likewise, abstention from wine belonged to the rule of many Christian monks. All this has its roots in remote Semitic antiquity which ascribed a demoniac character to wine and spirits. The same is true for music, especially singing, which is also prohibited by Islam. It is not improbable that negative feelings of this kind may have worked, together with the motives mentioned above, to induce Muḥammad to prohibit wine.

The prohibition of the Kur'ān has been taken over by the jurists; all *madhhabs*, and also the *Shī'a*, call wine *ḥarām* and the wine-trade is forbidden. For an exposition of the *Shāfi'i* view, see al-Nawawī, *Minḥādī*, ed. van den Berg, iii, 241; for that of the Ḥanafīs, *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīri*, vi (Calcutta 1835), 604 ff.; for that of the Mālikīs, Zurkānī in his commentary on the *Muwatta'*, Cairo 1280, iv, 26; for that of the *Shī'a*, *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, 404. Theology reckons the drinking of wine among the gravest sins (*kabā'ir*).

*Ḥadīth* has many utterances regarding this theme. Wine is the key of all evil (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 238; Ibn Mādja, *Ashribā*, bāb 1). Who drinks wine in this world without repenting of it, shall not drink it in the other world (Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ashribā*, trads. 73, 76-8, etc.). Cursed is he who drinks, buys, sells wine or causes others to drink it (Abū Dāwūd, *Ashribā*, bāb 2; Ibn Mādja, *Ashribā*, bāb 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 316; ii, 25, 69, 71, 97, 128, etc.). Who drinks a draught of wine on purpose shall have to drink pus on Doomsday (Ṭayālīsī, no. 1134). Prayer of him who drinks wine is not accepted by God (Nasā'i, *Ashribā*, bāb 43; Dārimī, *Ashribā*, bāb 3), and faith is incompatible with drinking it (Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, bāb 1; Nasā'i, *Ashribā*, bāb 42, 44). It is even inadvisable to use it as medicine (Muslim, *Ashribā*, trad. 12; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 311, 317 bis etc.); and it is prohibited to use wine for manufacturing vinegar (Tirmidhī, *Buyū'*, bāb 59; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal iii, 119, 260 bis). But times will become ever worse and there will be people who declare wine allowed (Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, bāb 6; Nasā'i, *Ashribā*, bāb 41 etc.), and so it will be drunk by the generation of the last days (Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, bāb 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 176, 202, 213-4).

The prohibition of wine, although unanimously accepted, gave rise to dissensions between the juridical schools, dissensions which are reflected in *ḥadīth* in a historical disguise. The discussions start from the question: what is wine? It is said that, when the use of wine was peremptorily prohibited, the people of Medina poured out in the streets all that they possessed of the appreciated liquor (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 132-3; iii, 26, 189-90, 217, 260 bis; iv, 355-6). Ibn 'Umar declares, on the contrary, that at the time of the prohibition, there was no wine in Medina at all (Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, bāb 2). Anas b. Mālik (*ibid.*) says that there was scarcely any wine from grapes in Medina, when the prohibition was

revealed; people used wine from *busr* and *tamr* (two kinds of dates). In another tradition (*ibid.*, bāb 3) wine from *faḍīkh* and *zahr* (two other kinds of dates) is mentioned. 'Umar is represented as delivering a *khayṭa* which was meant to settle the question; according to his son 'Abd Allāh, he said: Wine has been prohibited by the Kur'ān; it comes from five kinds of fruits, from grapes, from dates, from honey, from wheat and from barley; wine is what obscures the intellect (*wa 'l-khamr mā khāmara al-'aql*; Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, bāb 2). The question remained, whether beverages prepared from grapes in a different way were prohibited. There was e.g. a kind of syrup. "When 'Umar visited Syria, the population complained of its unhealthy and heavy climate and they added: This drink alone will heal us. Then 'Umar allowed them to drink honey. Then they said: Honey cannot heal us. Thereupon one of the natives of Syria said to him: May we not prepare something of this drink for you? It has no inebriating power. He said: All right. Then they cooked it till two-thirds were evaporated and one-third of it remained. They brought it to 'Umar, who put his finger into it and licked it. Then he said: This is *ḥilā'* like camels' *ḥilā'* (viz. the pitch with which they smeared their skins). Then he allowed them to drink it" (Mālik, *Ashribā*, bāb 14). According to the first chapter of the same *kitāb*, however, 'Umar punishes a man who had become drunk on *ḥilā'*. Juice from grapes, prepared by pressing them only, is considered as wine. Ṭarīq b. Suwayd al-Ḥaḍramī said to the Prophet, We have in our country grapes which we press. May we drink the juice? He said: No. This negative answer is given three times and when Ṭarīq asks whether the juice may be given the sick to drink, Muḥammad answers: It is no medicine, it is sickness (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 292 f.). And not only those who drink and sell wine are cursed by Muḥammad, but also those who press grapes and have them pressed in order to drink the juice (Ibn Mādja, *Ashribā*, bāb 6).

Another question of importance arose, in connection with spirits: Had they to be considered as wine or not? All the *madhhabs*, except the Ḥanafīs, have answered the question in the affirmative sense. They have consequently extended the prohibition of wine, in accordance with the intention underlying it. Tradition, which is the best source for the history of the origin of several institutions, shows that the question belongs to the much-debated ones. The standard *ḥadīth*, which is found very frequently in the classical collections, runs as follows (Muslim's version *Imām*, trad. 26 is cited, because it contains important details): "Some men of 'Abd al-Qays went to the Apostle of God and said to him: O Prophet of God, we are a tribe belonging to Rabī'a; between us and yourself dwell the infidels of Muḍar, so that we can only reach you in the sacred month. Tell us therefore what we have to tell our tribespeople which will open Paradise for us if we to cling to it. The Apostle of God answered: I order four things and I forbid four things. Serve God without associating anything with him. Perform the *ṣalāt*, pay the *zakāt*, fast the month of Ramaḍān and deliver the fifth part of booty. And I forbid four things: *dubbā'*, *ḥanām*, *muzaffat* and *naḥīr*. They asked: O Apostle of God, how do you know what the *naḥīr* is? He said: Well, it is a palmtrunk which you hollow out; then you pour small dates into it and upon them water. When the process of fermentation has finished, you drink it with the effect that a man hits his cousin with the sword.—Now among these men there was someone who had received a blow of the sword in this way,

but he had concealed it out of shame before the Apostle of God. So he said: But from what vessels should we drink then, O Apostle of God? He answered: From leather skins, the mouthpieces of which are smeared with pitch. They answered: O Prophet of God, our country teems with mice so that no single skin can be kept whole. Then the Prophet of God answered: Even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them.

This tradition did not meet with general approval. It is said that the Anṣār or other people complained of their difficulty in finding the skins necessary for preserving drinks without their becoming fermented. Thereupon the Prophet is said to have withdrawn his prohibition, wholly or partly (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 63-6, etc.). In some versions of this tradition there occurs the restriction that all the fermented inebriating drinks remain prohibited. Innumerable are the traditions which only contain the rule that all drinks which may cause drunkenness are prohibited in any quantity (*kull muskir ḥarām kathīruhu wa ḥalīluhu*) and this rule has passed into many books of *fiḥh* (Bukhārī, *Maḡhāzī*, bāb 60; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 67-75; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 145; ii, 16 bis; iii, 38; iv, 87; v, 25-6; vi, 36, etc.). Of special traditions prohibiting fermented drinks, there may be mentioned the following. It is forbidden or disapproved of to sell raisins if they are to be used for preparing nabidh (Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bāb 51, 51). It is prohibited to mix together different kinds of fruits so that the mixture should become intoxicating. This tradition occurs frequently; see e.g. Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 11; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 16-29; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bābs 4-17; Ibn Sa'd, viii, 360; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 276; ii, 46; vi, 242, 292. But each of these kinds may be used separately for preparing a non-fermented drink (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 81-3; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bābs 14-18, etc.).

It can easily be seen that the difficulty in this matter was caused by two circumstances. People were accustomed to prepare from all kinds of dates, from raisins and other fruits, drinks which only became inebriating if they were preserved a long time, and probably also if they were prepared after special methods. Where was the line of demarcation between the allowed and the prohibited kind to be placed? Several collections of traditions went so far as to mention *nabidh* among the drinks prepared by Muḥammad's wives and drunk by him (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 79-89; Ahmad, i, 232-3, 240, 287, 320-1, 336, 355, 369, 372; ii, 35; iii, 304, 307, 313-14, 326, 379, 384, etc.). Abū Dāwūd (*Ashriba*, bāb 10) and Ibn Mādjā (*Ashriba*, bāb 12) have preserved a tradition on this subject which is instructive. Ibn Mādjā's version is given here: 'Ā'ishā said "We used to prepare *nabidh* for the Apostle of God in a skin; we took a handful of dates or a handful of raisins, cast it into the skin and poured water upon it. The *nabidh* we prepared in this way in the morning was drunk by him in the evening; and when we prepared it in the evening he drank it the next morning". In another tradition of the same bāb, Ibn 'Abbās says that the Prophet used to drink this *nabidh* even on the third day; but what was left then was poured out.

All this could, however, not persuade the majority of the *faḳīhs* to declare *nabidh* allowed; three of the *madhhabs* as well as the Shī'ā prohibit the use of *nabidh*. The Ḥanaff school, on the other hand, allows it, when used with moderation, for medicinal purposes, etc.

It would take us too far to give here a detailed survey of the opinions of the *faḳīhs* of all *madhhabs*; it would be superfluous, to some extent at least, because the more important differences regard chiefly *nabidh* only. The following rapid survey is based on the *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīri*, vi, 604 ff. (cf. Sha'rānī's *Mizān*, Cairo 1279, 192-3).

Allowed according to the *idjīmā'* is non-fermented, very sweet drink.

Prohibited (*ḥarām*), according to the *idjīmā'*, are wine and *saḡar* of every kind. As to wine, there are six cases: to drink it in any quantity or to make use of it is *ḥarām*; to deny this is *kufṛ*; to buy, sell, present it, etc. is *ḥarām*; no responsibility (*dimān*) rests on him who spoils or destroys wine (*mutliṣhā*); whether wine is a possession (*māl*) is an unsettled point; it is *nadjīs* just as blood and urine; he who drinks any quantity of it is liable to punishment.

Several kinds of products prepared by means of grapes (*bādhik*, *munaṣṣaf*, etc.) are prohibited according to the majority ('*amma*) of the *faḳīhs*.

Allowed, according to the majority of the *faḳīhs* are *filā'* (see above) or *mutḥallath* and *nabidh* from dates with the restrictions mentioned above. So is juice from grapes when the process of cooking has made to evaporate two-thirds. Muḥammad (al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]) has a deviating opinion on this point.

As to the punishment of him who drinks wine, *ḥadīth* tells us that Muḥammad and Abū Bakr were wont to inflict forty blows by means of palm branches or sandals (Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, bāb 2-4; *Hudūd*, trads. 35-7). Under 'Umar's caliphate, however, Khālid b. al-Walid reported to him that people were indulging in prohibited drinks. Thereupon 'Umar consulted the Companions, who advised him to fix the number of blows at eighty, a number suggested by the Qur'ān which prescribes that those who accuse *muḡsanāt* of *zinā'*, without being able to prove their accusations by the aid of four witnesses, shall be punished with eighty blows (Sūra XXIV, 4).

Repeated drinking of wine, according to some traditions, was punished by death at Muḥammad's order (Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 36; Ibn Mādjā, *Hudūd*, bāb 17; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 136, 166, 191; iv, 93, etc.). It is, however, added in some traditions that capital punishment in such cases is not according to the *sunna* of the Prophet (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 125, 130; cf. Ṭayālisī, no. 183).

The different *madhhabs* have adopted 'Umar's view; drinking wine is punished with eighty blows; if the transgressor is a slave this number is however reduced to forty, because in the Qur'ān the punishment of the handmaid's *zinā'* is fixed at half the amount of blows with which the free woman is punished (Sūra IV, 30). The Shāfi'is, however, cling to the practice ascribed to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr; with them the number of blows is consequently forty or twenty (see Zurkāni, iv, 42; Nawawī, in Muslim, iv, 156).

The prohibition of wine and spirits (according to three of the four *madhhabs*) is one of the distinctive marks of the Muslim world; its consequences can hardly be overrated. This is not seriously affected by the fact that transgressors have been numerous, according to literary evidence. The praise of wine, not uncommon in pre-Islamic poetry, remained one of the favourite topics also of Muslim poets (cf. the wine-songs by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Abū Nuwās, etc., and see KHAMRIYYA), and at the court of the Caliphs wine was drunk at revelling parties as if no prohibition existed at all (see e.g. *The 1001 Nights*, *passim*). Even the common people could not always and



everywhere refrain from their national drink, date wine of several kinds; the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz deemed it necessary to promulgate a special edict in order to abolish this custom (see von Kremer, *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1873, 68-9).

Wine has a special place in the literary works of the mystics, where it is one of the symbols of ecstasy. In this point they only took over the language of their Christian and non-Christian predecessors. As early as Philo of Alexandria ecstasy is compared with intoxication (see especially his *De Vita Contemplativa*). Among the Ibāḥiyya, language may have been a reflex of practice; but this cannot be said of Sūfīs in general, who on the contrary, clung to the ascetic methods of the *via purgativa*. As to Ḥāfiẓ's wine- and love songs, it is an unsettled point whether they are merely metaphorical or not.

*Bibliography:* Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, 272-3; G. Jacob, *Studien in vorislamischen Dichtern*, iii, 2nd ed., Berlin 1897, 96 ff.; A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, Vienna 1875-7, i, 149; ii, 204 ff.; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922, index; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 19-33; idem, in *ZDMG*, xii (1887), 40, 95-6; idem, *Muh. Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit*, in *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswiss.*, viii (1889), 408; A. Schaade, *Islam und Alkohol (Sonntagsbeilage Nr. 36 zur Vossischen Zeitung No. 454, Sept. 7, 1913)*; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 182, 3; 199, n. 1, 3; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, gen. index, s.v. *wijn*; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des isl. Gesetzes*, 178 ff., 304; 3rd ed., in Dutch, 172-3, 208; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*<sup>1</sup>, Heidelberg 1910, 63-7, French tr. Arin, *Le dogme et la loi de l'Islam*, Paris 1920, 53-7; H. Laoust, *Le Traité de droit publique d'Ibn Taimiyya*, Beirut 1948, 107-14; Ahmad Faṭḥī Bahnāsī, *al-Djārā'im fi 'l-fikḥ al-islāmī*, Cairo 1959, 155-65; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris-The Hague 1965, i, nos. 240-1.

(A. J. WENSINCK\*)

## 2. AS A PRODUCT.

Wine has been known in the Orient since the earliest times, and Arabic literature preserves vague memories of its legendary origin, not omitting to recall the demonic aspect, in accordance with Qur'ān V, 90-2. It takes account, on the one hand, of Babylonian traditions linked to Biblical characters such as Adam and Noah (cf. the *Midrash* based on Babylonian elements; *Tanḥūmā*, Lublin 1879, 28-9) and, on the other hand, of the Aramaic-Syriac extra-Biblical tradition, thus symbolising that ancient culture of the Fertile Crescent inherited by the mediaeval Muslim world. Certain versions link the origin of wine to the two great civilisations which were neighbours to Islam, that of Rūm and that of India (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūjī*, ii, 88-92, §§ 518-9; al-Raḳīq al-Kayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3302, f. 42; al-Nawāḍijī, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, Cairo 1938, 11-12; al-Badrī al-Dimaṣḥqī, *Rāḥat al-arwāḥ*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3544, ff. 58a-59a; *Baḥr al-hikāyāt*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3588, ff. 107b-108b; the literature of the *awā'il* [q.v.], notably Istanbul, Reisülküttab, 899, f. 98b; Topkapı, E.H. 1329, f. 69; B.N. Paris, ar. 2079, ff. 96a-97a, 593r, f. 252a).

The *Book of Agriculture* attributed to Ibn Wahṣhiyya [q.v.] points out the importance of the vine in the Fertile Crescent, and alludes to wines in speaking of the various types of grape which are

suitable for their manufacture (Leiden ms. or. 303, ii, 87-291).

The Arabs who settled in agricultural regions had no real tradition of viticulture; in fact, in pre-Islamic Arabia vineyards were rare and wine-vaults even more so (however, there were some in al-Ṭā'if). The quality of the wine was mediocre, and a certain amount must even then have been imported, mainly by Jewish and Christian merchants (after the birth of Islam, this commerce was practised exclusively by these two communities, as a result of the Qur'ānic prohibition). One should not suppose that the Bedouin knew nothing of wine (as is claimed by the *Shu'* ūbis [Bashshār, *Diwān*, Cairo 1950-6, i, 378, l. 2, and especially Abū Nuwās, *Diwān*, Cairo 1898, 244-5; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *'Uyūn*, iii, 237; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirā*, Istanbul Ragib, 1083, iii, f. 287a; Ibn Ḡharsiya, in *Nawādir al-makḥlūtāt*, Cairo 1951, 250)), nor that they drank it to excess (Ibn Ḥāwī, *Fann al-shi'r al-khamri*, Beirut n.d., 11). The truth is that the ancient Arabs were acquainted with wine, though tasting it only on rare occasions such as inter-tribal fairs (cf. G. Jacob, *Studien in ar. Dichtung*, Berlin 1895, 95-109; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Paris 1914, 84-5; H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and brewing in the Ancient Orient*, Leipzig 1922, 33-7, 143-51; *Djawād 'Alī, Ta'rīkh al-'Arab ḳabl al-Islām*, Baghdād 1951-9, viii, 162-5).

The expansion of Islam enabled the Muslims to familiarise themselves with new regional types of wine, and the taste of the consumers gained in refinement to the extent that connoisseurs were able to appreciate and distinguish between wines of diverse origin; al-Djāḥiẓ (*Shārib*) speaks even of various "wine-producing regions" (*bulḍān*). The poets of the Islamic era speak of countries renowned before the advent of Islam for the quality of their wines (for Beirut, see F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xv (1935), 39; for 'Āna, in Upper-Mesopotamia, see al-Aḳḥḥāl, *Diwān*, Beirut 1891, 117; F. Gabrieli, *art. cit.*, 51; J. Bencheikh, in *BEO*, xviii (1963-4), 18-20; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 223; for Iran see F. Gabrieli, *art. cit.*, 62; for the viticultural tradition, very often of Sāsānid origin, cf. the wine-producing regions mentioned by al-Tha'ālibī, in J. M. Unvala, *King Ḥusraw and his boy*, Paris 1926, 45, and J. Bencheikh, *op. cit.* There were also renowned wine-producing districts in Egypt and in other parts of the Muslim world.

As regards the wine-making process, the information that we have is not very extensive. The grapes were trodden, with a light jumping movement, in a *ma'sara* (shallow vat), according to an ancient procedure. Wine-presses of circular motion were not introduced in the Orient until very late (some ancient specimens still exist in certain monasteries in the Lebanon). A poet of the 4th/10th century (*apud* al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 144), describes the *ma'sara* as a sea of red flames in which the labourer stands, the lower half of his body soaked with the grape-juice. From the 7th/13th century onwards, miniatures provide the best illustrations of the process (see D. S. Rice, *Deacon or drink*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), to which may be added Leningrad ms. S. 23, p. 76); here labourers are seen carrying the grapes, others press them by treading them in a vat, hanging on straps in order to jump more easily; in the vat there is an aperture, allowing the juice to flow out into a receptacle; against a wall stand the amphorae (*dann*, pl. *dinān*) with tapered bases, in which the fermentation takes place (in vaults, seldom in the open), and the maturation (on the storing in amphorae, cf. Leningrad S 23, pp. 44, 103; yet what are

involved are perhaps not wine amphorae, but large water containers, see G. Le-Bon, *La Civilisation*, Paris 1884, 397, and cf. the *khazzān* described by Kūshādīm, *Diwān*, 1313, 83, and al-Suyūfī, *al-Hay'a al-saniyya*, Univ. of Istanbul, Arap 1476, f. 50). These various stages are described in works of literature, while religious treatises aimed at prohibiting the consumption of certain drinks, concern themselves at some length with the various types of vessel used for fermentation.

The mediaeval anthologies and the treatises of *fiḥh* list various ingredients for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages; fruits: dates (see TAMR), figs, apricots, cherries, mulberries, and various berries; cereals: wheat, barley, maize, millet; honey (hydromel is called *bū'*); sugar cane; milk (Ibn Kutayba, *Ashriba*, speaks of the making of alcoholic drinks from different kinds of milk), especially mares' milk (for making *kūmis*, introduced at an early stage by the Turks, and attested from the 5th/11th century onwards, which was to become the favourite drink of the Mamlūks [see KUMIS]). On all these beverages, see SHARĀB.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the references in the text, see *Djāhiz*, *Risāla fi 'l-shārib wa 'l-mashrūb*, in *Rasā'il*, ed. Sandūbi, 276-84; idem, *Madh al-nabiḥ*, *ibid.*, 285-91; Ibn Kutayba, *K. al-Ashriba*, ed. M. Kurd 'Alī, Damascus 1366/1947; al-Rakīk al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṣb al-surūr*, Damascus 1969 (this edition, based on a ms. of the British Museum, does not contain the section quoted above from that of the Bibl. Nat.); Nawādī, *op. cit.*, 7-8, 166-77; Badrī Dimashkī, *op. cit.*, 54-66, 74-5; *Concordance de la tradition musulmane*, s.vv. *bū'*, *āubbā'*, *faḍīkh*, *ḥantam*, *misr*, *mukayyar*, *musaffat*, *naḳīr*; Sarakḥsī, *Mabsūt*, Cairo 1324-31, xxiv, 1-35; Raffā', *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-mahbūb wa 'l-mashmūm wa 'l-mashrūb*, ms. Leiden or. 559, ff. 143b-176a; Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāli'*, Cairo 1880, i, 128-44; list of drinks by Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāk, in Ḥ. Zayyāt, *Fann al-ṭabīkh*, in *Machriq*, xli (1947), 25; *Dj. Sa'īd*, *Tatawwur al-khamriyyāt*, Cairo n.d. (J. SADAN)

**KHAMRIYYA** (A.), designates a Bacchic or wine poem in modern critical terminology, at least since Ṭaha Ḥusayn in 1923 (*Ḥadīth al-Arabi'a*, ii, 71). This name does not seem to be attested in the mediaeval nomenclature of the genres. The usual expressions *al-ḥawl fi 'l-khamr*, *lahu ma'āni fi 'l-khamr*, *waṣṣāf li 'l-khamr*, indicate the existence of themes, but do not include any willingness to organise them into an independent poem. In fact, the problem of appellation conceals the problem of evolution, of which the principal stages will be traced here.

i. *In early times: the inserted statement.* The state in which the works of the *Djāhiliyya* have been transmitted to us forbids our pronouncing on the problems that the working of the Bacchic framework poses. It is possible, despite that, to put forward observations which are not without interest. The first concerns the insertion of statements in compositions with many themes, sc. the *Mu'allakāt* of Labīd (vv. 57-61), 'Antara (vv. 37-40), and especially 'Amr b. Kulthūm (vv. 1-8), where the person involved already has a closer relationship with this type of inspiration. With the elegiac poet Murakkiḥ al-Aṣghar, uncle of Ṭarafa, the Bacchic statement presents itself in the *naṣīb* as a syntactic and semantic intrusion. As a tool for comparison, it does not have an autonomous function. Several other poems offer examples of instrumental, inserted statements: in an amorous evocation of 'Awf b. 'Aṭiyya (*Mufaḍ-*

*daliyyāt*, no. 124, vv. 5-6); in a heterogenous sequence of animal descriptions of Mutammim (or Mālik) b. Nuwayra (*Muf.*, no. 9, vv. 28-30); in a sequence of *fakhr* of Rabī'a b. Maḳrūm al-Dabbī (*Muf.*, no. 113, vv. 10-13); or even the object of a poem of *munādama* heightening both bragging and satire in 'Abd al-Masīh b. 'Asala (*Muf.*, no. 72).

There is reason to question whether this fact reveals the beginning of work on Bacchic statements presented in certain frameworks to which they are strictly subordinated or whether some themes, included in a framework more or less well established, appear in some common thematic areas in several registers. Is it a question of scattered and corollary statements, or of themes properly so-called?

The analysis of two other texts would rather incline one to the second hypothesis, obviously without being able to assert anything as historical. In one of these, attributed to 'Alḳama b. 'Abada (*Muf.*, no. 120, vv. 39-45), the Bacchic sequence follows a development of *fakhr*. It is written into a whole that is ruled and ordered by the amatory framework, which rules even the long description of a she-camel. However, we are in the presence of statements already on the lines of Abū Nuwās, with precise vocabulary, images finely welded together and homogeneous language.

Another piece, more important, dating from the first years of Islam confirms our impression. It comes from 'Abda b. al-Ṭabīb (*Muf.*, no. 26, vv. 66-81), and comprises a sequence of 15 purely Bacchic lines. The juxtaposition of several descriptions (she-camel, fight of a wild bull with dogs, visit to a wine merchant) permits one to note the relationship of the language used on these different occasions. The vocabulary, whose precision borders on technicality, derives from the Bedouin context and the images presented in the Bacchic statements originated in the same socio-cultural background. In fact, this poet is a technician of the *waṣf*, which uses similar realistic writing to describe an animal, a cup-bearer or an ewer. With this poet, there is no sensibility to pleasure, no awareness of voluptuousness. However, this text, in so far as it is genuine, proves the existence of an established framework.

The theory may be advanced that in the Bedouin tradition this framework, used in the form of coherent groups of statements or in inserted fragments, had already been made the object of a certain rectification. Its basic elements are in service, but it remains dependent on the major framework or enclosed in a purely descriptive scheme.

*The Precursors of al-Ḥira*: Attention should be drawn to the particularism of a group of poets of al-Ḥira [*q.v.*] in whom Bacchism constitutes a dominant characteristic, at least, if one wishes to believe the fragmentary texts which are in our possession. A new tendency seems to be displayed in an area more propitious to the blossoming of the *khamriyya*, where the literary production reflects an existential attitude and expresses a view of the world. The autonomy of the framework tends to assert itself, the language becomes more supple and better adapted to the nature of the inspiration, and the brief Bacchic poem makes its appearance.

It is possible to make a list of famous poets having more or less strong connections with the sphere of al-Ḥira. Some use the technique of the inserted statement. For instance, Murakkiḥ al-Aṣghar (cf. above), al-Aswad b. Ya'fūr [*q.v.*] (*Muf.*, no. 44, vv. 21-4; no. 125, vv. 6-7) and Ṭarafa. With the latter, the principal themes are in service and the

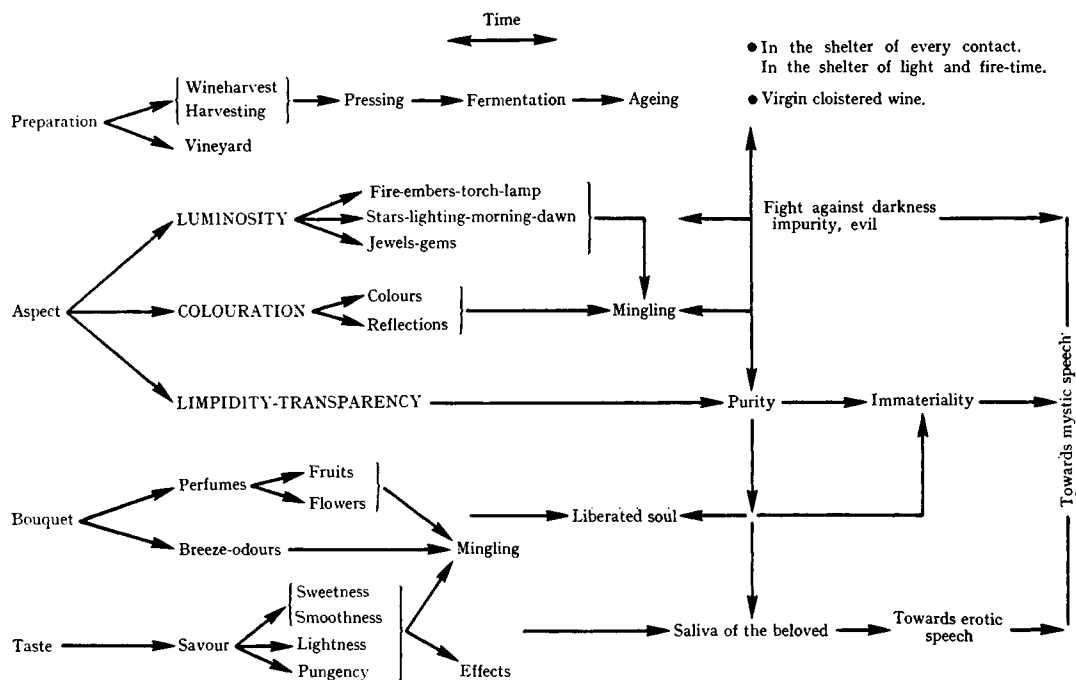


TABLE I

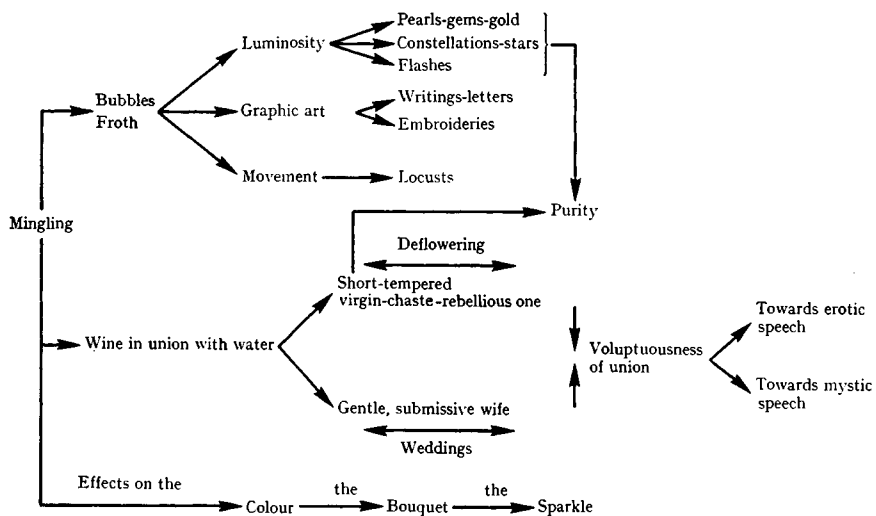


TABLE 2

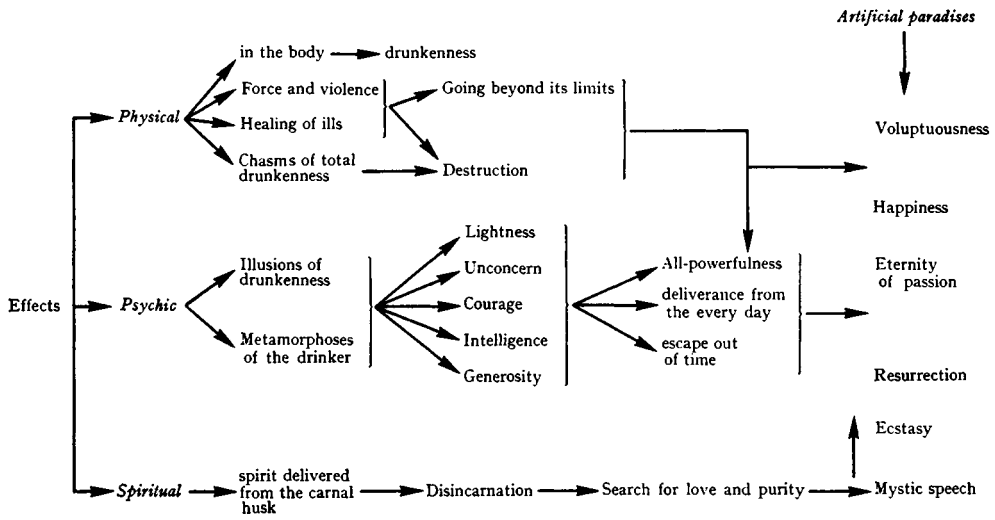


TABLE 3

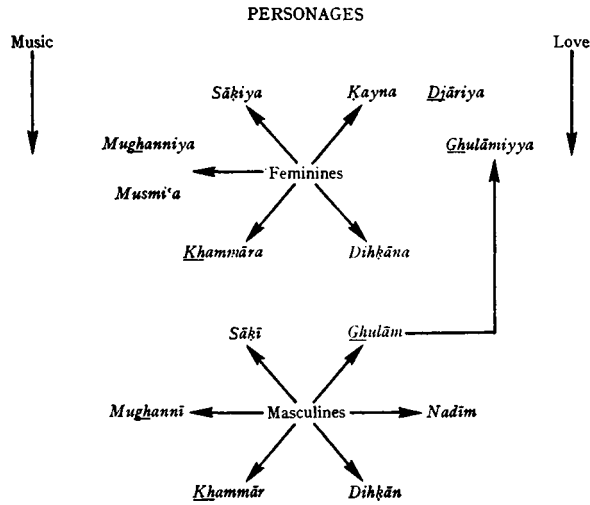


TABLE 4

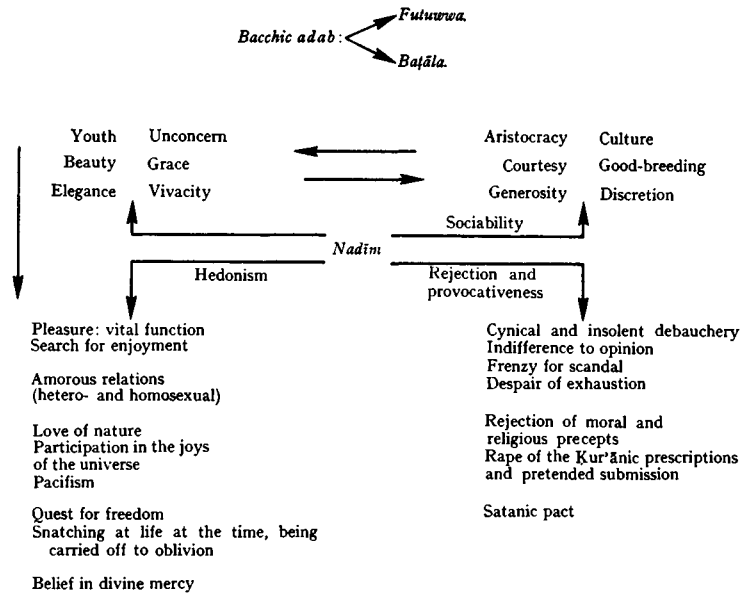


TABLE 5

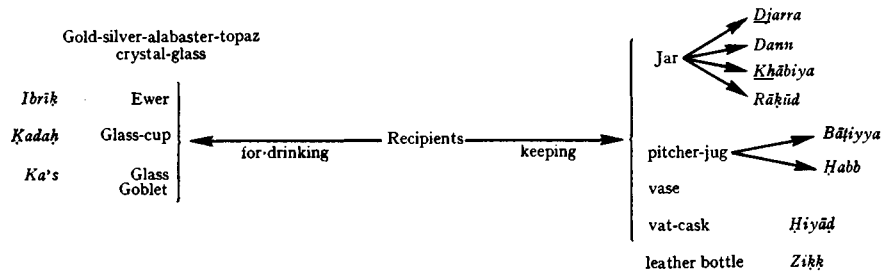
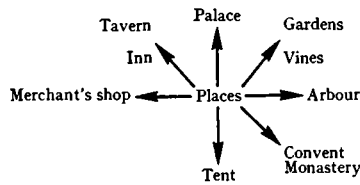


TABLE 6

philosophy of intoxication appears in relief (*Mu'allaḥa*, vv. 45-57). Although still attached to the *fakhr*, included in a heterogeneous *ḥasida* written in the Bedouin context, this poem introduces a particular treatment of Bacchism.

It is in this sense that several other poets are regarded rightly as true precursors. The Tamīmī Christian author of combined Arab-Iranian culture, 'Adī b. Zayd [q.v.], produced poems of which fragments survive. Their writing foreshadows unquestionably that of the later great tradition. The work of Abū Miḥdjan [q.v.] is badly mutilated, but his personality may be viewed as a means to illustrate the attitude of refusal that would characterise his successors. Finally, the *diwān* of al-A'shā Maymūn [q.v.] includes about ten pieces, important because of the number of lines devoted to the Bacchic framework, which, however, never constitutes the whole of the poem. We have before us here an autonomous discourse which is written in the space of the *ḥasida* similar to other frameworks. The poet expresses in it a genuine pleasure without a bad conscience or aggressiveness. The monsters of Bacchism, who will appear later, do not dwell there. Moreover, its language is strong, still rough and one may speak of an inspiration still sustained by the Bedouin environment. But the use of numerous Persian words must also be noted, especially when flowers are mentioned—there is the beginning of a poetry of *rawḍiyyāt* or *nawriyyāt* which was to develop later. Thus an Iranian influence is felt which also affected 'Adī b. Zayd. The work of al-A'shā reveals how the tendencies are entangled or juxtaposed and makes therefore hazardous any hypothesis which would claim to distinguish them. One must be content with the observation that several elements of the Bacchic framework are set there and that there is an evolution towards a specific kind of writing and the characteristics of a genre.

ii. *The First Century: consolidation of a framework.* While set entirely under the sign of a historic mutation, the first century of Islam is still a period of transition and, as such, marked by great complexity. In a purely operative manner, it is possible to distinguish two types of production:

(a) *Ḥiḍjāzī* Bacchism. In a *Ḥiḍjāz* disappointed in its ambitions, which history made of marginal consequence and immobilised as sacred, it is well-known how hedonism developed among the representatives of an idle aristocracy. This was a decisive stage for amorous poetry and Bacchic poetry, which lent support to one another and shared between them some large thematic areas. In view of this, Ḥassan b. Thābit is a forerunner, especially as the local trend is linked with the influence that the court of al-Ḥīra had on him. Even if his work is in part apocryphal, and even if his Bacchic statements survive scattered in mainly laudatory compositions, he was capable of some audacities, of which posterity preserved the memory (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xv, 164-6).

*Ḥiḍjāzī* Bacchism is well represented by Ibn Sayhān [q.v.], a not very productive poet, but one who dedicated himself to wine and love and was often punished for it. Al-Aḥwaṣ is the type of aristocrat of whom it could almost be said that he combined several features of the libertine, while taking care not to give to that word a meaning which would exceed the socio-cultural realities of the time. A great lover of the pleasures which love, music and drink offered him, he put an adventurous insolence into his pursuit of them, saw how far he could go with morality or even with religion, and arrived at a

political attitude that was critical of the régime that brought him to the pillory and exile. It is a great pity that the state of his works hardly allows judgement to be made, for certain fragments are significant, notably those that are concerned with the combined treatment of the elegiac and Bacchic frameworks.

(b) 'Irāqī Bacchism. Due to the copiousness of his Bacchic work, al-Akḥṭal [q.v.], another Christian connected with the milieu of al-Ḥīra, appears as the successor of al-A'shā, and that despite the harsh evaluation that certain modern critics have placed on his real importance. But once the necessary cautions have been given as to the present state of the *diwān*, it must be acknowledged that we are analysing here an important treatment of the framework studied. Indeed, Bacchic development is inserted in a *ḥasida*. But the variety of the themes (concerning the preparation of wine and its effects), the diversity of the descriptive processes, and, generally, the coherence of the scheme, allows some interesting observations to be made (M. S. Benani, *Bacchic themes and personalities in the diwān of al-Akḥṭal*, thesis [in Arabic], Algiers 1965, and *Maḍjallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb*, Algiers, i (1967), 59-78). One might mention here the overlapping of the themes of water and wine, which compose very rich semantic constellations. Beneficent or destructive, abundant or rare, calm or violent, occupying space with their sound and perfume, leading to drunkenness or suspending it, water and wine join together or confront one another to impose a framework of liquidity which continues in strict relationship with reality. Later poets were to depart from this reality and their work was to become enriched with symbolic significance.

The poetry of al-Akḥṭal preserves some characteristics of traditional Bedouin Bacchism as it continued in this first century in a few poems of al-'Uḍjāy b. 'Abd Allāh al-Salūlī (*Aghānī*, xiii, 60, and al-Djumahī, *Ṭabaḥāt*, 517 ff.) and al-Nābigha b. Shaybān (*Aghānī*, vii, 107-8, 110); cf. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 505). But it is also connected with another type of inspiration that develops in 'Irāq, especially at al-Kūfa, which sets itself up as heir of al-Ḥīra. With this type must be linked the works of Ḥāritha b. Badr al-Ḥudānī [q.v.], comprising about 80 lines, which certify that numerous Abū Nuwās-like processes were already in use. A great drinker (*ḥimīr*), this noble Baṣran of Tamīm defied the prohibition on drinking where Bedouin bragging takes on quite significant tones of rebellion. But the poet is mediocre and his Bacchism has few nuances, finding only inadequate expression.

Mālik b. Asmā' b. Khārīdja (*Aghānī*, xvii, 158-67; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 666-7), a senior official of al-Ḥadīdjādī's with few scruples, sings of the pleasures of love, music and wine in this light language which was soon to impose itself on *ḥamriyyāt*.

But it is above all another Kūfan, a pure Arab, al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh, called al-Uḳayshīr al-Asadī (*Aghānī*, xi, 234-59; cf. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 515), who represents one of the first truly Bacchic personalities of the literature of the first century. This writer was first of all a picturesque Bohemian with little to recommend him, but amusing and quiet-loving, who haunted the taverns and monasteries of al-Ḥīra, and formed with several companions a group called the *mudjāḍīn al-Kūfa*. We are here at the beginning of the libertine school of al-Kūfa which was henceforth to be exposed to the repression of official morality.

Al-Uḳayshīr is moreover an excellent poet, who describes wine in beautiful language, still strongly

marked by the Bedouin lexical tradition. In this poetry, which is very true to life, describing tavern adventures, the relation is skilful and lively, the Bacchism vigorous and sympathetic. This type of inspiration can be connected with the brief and rather dull pieces of the Kūfan Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tharwānī (al-Shābushṭī, *Diyārāt*, 49, 176, 230-2), an inveterate drinker and lover of young men, found dead among the leather bottles of a low tavern. So, in the first century, various tendencies exploited a well-established framework to which great poets were soon to give fuller expansion.

iii. *The Second Century: the assertion of a literary style.*

(a) *A great forerunner: al-Walīd b. Yazīd.*

The second century, which was to end with the glory of Abū Nuwās, had at its outset that of the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Between the two men the line of descent is direct. Everything is included between these two poles: a philosophy of existence, the conception of an art, the practice of a language. A style of writing defines Bacchic poetry as a major mode of speech.

Al-Walīd, a controversial personality if ever there was (see our brief sketch of a counter-portrait in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, *Thesaurus*, s.v.), Arab prince, poet and composer linked with the musical school of the Ḥijāz, throwing himself into the passions of life, free with a lordly freedom that could not conceive of any limit and, hence, of any morality, is doubly important. He gathered around himself a literary group, in which were Ibn Mayyāda [q.v.]; Ibn Shūrā'a; Yazīd b. Ḍabba, an excellent poet, the inseparable friend of the prince (*Aghānī*, vii, 92-100); Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, and many others. Also, conspicuous personalities like Muṭī' b. Iyās, Ḥammād al-Rāwīya and Ḥammād 'Adīrad, the famous libertines of al-Kūfa frequented his salon. The composition of this literary group is significant, and makes understandable the literary admiration of al-Walīd for 'Adī b. Zayd and for Bashshār b. Burd, whose personality and work incontestably dominates this century.

Moreover, al-Walīd is recognised as the master of modern Bacchism. The author of *al-Aghānī* asserts it already: this poet composed numerous poems which were plundered, notably by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk [q.v.] and Abū Nuwās (*Aghānī*, vii, 21). The quality of the borrowers is itself a homage rendered to a work of which only some fragments have been preserved. The Bacchic inspiration is here very close to the amorous inspiration which predominates. Features of exquisite delicacy in the sentiment, of finesse in the expression, can be neighbours to excesses which still go to set off an insolent elegance. The language by its simplicity and its naturalness breaks away from the heavy machinery of conventional poetry. Bacchism finds suddenly a personality which animates it and a way of writing, even more, a style—that is to say a depth—able to exploit the richnesses of its register. Bacchic speech has combined all its mediums.

(b) *The libertines of al-Kūfa.* The poets of al-Kūfa form a group whose homogeneity is such that it is permissible to speak of a school which becomes notable in the second half of the second century. Al-Kūfa became the centre of a poetical activity, of which the components are complex and the characteristics diverse. Its motivations originate at many levels, and their interactions do not allow them to be disentangled easily. Everything comes within the conception of what could almost be called a counter-

culture: the political, the religious, the racial, the economic and the social. It is here, and at its best, that Bacchism appears as the expression of a rebellion, that the attitudes of the poet take on subversive overtones. The rebellion is spectacularly directed against religious precepts: it is not an accident that most of the poets of this group fall under the accusation of *zandaqa* (cf. for example, *Aghānī*, xiii, 280, 335, but all the sources underline this point), and several of them paid with their life for their desire to reject a constraining socio-cultural system. For it goes without saying that the subversion did not only aim at the Qur'anic law; it was in fact the entire system of a culture that was threatened.

This group includes famous luminaries of the literary milieu, such as Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb; the three Ḥammāds: 'Adīrad, al-Rāwīya and al-Zībrikān; and Muṭī' b. Iyās, who all died between 155/772 and 169/787. Their freedom of morals, their anti-religious spirit or their indifference towards religion, their Shu'ūbī tendencies, are a mark of this period. Bashshār b. Burd is their great contemporary. But his work, fundamentally amorous, touches only slightly upon the Bacchic framework, and, if his companions are sometimes drunk, he loves above all to sing of the beauty of the *mughanniya* or singing girl.

Among the libertines one notices the presence of poets who are little-known, but who are nevertheless of great interest for the study of the genre. Such is Bakr b. Khāridja (*Aghānī*, xxiii, 66 ff.; al-Shābushṭī, *Diyārāt*, 242-3), a Kūfan *mawlā* of Asad, a poor Bohemian who was deprived of his reason by drink and misery. He spent most of his time in taverns, and took refuge to drink amongst the ruins of al-Ḥīra. He is the author of small pieces which al-Djāhīz and Di'bil enjoyed.

'Ammār b. 'Amr, whose *kunya* is poorly established as Dhū Kināz or Kubār (*Aghānī*, xxiii, 366 ff.), was the friend of Ḥammād al-Rāwīya and Muṭī' b. Iyās; his wife, a shrew, shared in his drinking. A minor poet, he is the author of numerous love poems and some *khamriyyāt*.

Appearing here also is Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī (*Diyārāt*, 247 ff.), who gave himself over to some unbridled orgies with his friend Muṭī' b. Iyās. The two were accused of *zandaqa*, and it is true that their provocative attitudes do not leave any doubt as to the unbelief of Muṭī' who was absolutely passionate in his anti-religious activities.

With the Kūfan milieu of this period is associated Abū Dulāma [q.v.], a habitué of taverns and a great lover of joyful evenings spent far from the palace where he was kept as a buffoon. Exasperated by the religious duties, he hurls several vigorous gibes against Islam. There must be noted in his production some characteristics, notably linguistic, which make one think of an inspiration of popular origin. This fact, attested also in Ḥammād 'Adīrad, shows firstly that the Bacchic genre is directly opposed to laudatory poetry, whose official function is specific. But one is also left thinking that the poetry of rebellion, based on an existential attitude, and transcribed in a literary or non-literary form—according to the dominant norms—has perhaps drawn vigour and vivacity from a people absolutely excluded from the cultural system (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe, Les voies d'une création*, Paris 1975, ch. i).

We may note finally that the works of this group are quite sparse. But they played a decisive role in the maturation of a genre which eventually found its masters in the second half of the century.

(c) *The Pre-Nuwāsians*. Emphasis must be placed on the most original, the most striking of these, and reparations be paid for an injustice that posterity commits against him, sc. Abu 'l-Hindī al-Riyāhī (it is difficult to establish his exact name: *Aghānī* xx, 293; al-Kutubī, *Fawāi*, ii, 240 ff.; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIkā*, vi, 342; al-Maʿarrī, *Ḥuḥrān*, 168, 208; Ibn Kutayba, *Shiʿr*, 572; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 136-43, etc.). A poet of Arab origin, he lived mostly in Khurasān and Sidjīstān, and this remoteness explains how he came to be forgotten. His talent was nevertheless real. Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who composed in the 3rd century the first anthology of Bacchic poetry that has come down to us, asserts that Abū Nuwās, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Abū Hiffān were able to establish themselves in the genre only after reading his poems (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 142). The author of the *Aghānī* quotes the judgement delivered by Abū 'Ubayda and confirmed by Ishāk al-Mawṣilī, according to which Abū Nuwās drew all his inspiration from Abu 'l-Hindī (*Aghānī*, xx, 29). Even anecdotes of which he was the hero are attributed to other personalities who were living in a similar way. Remote from cultural centres, Abu 'l-Hindī was unable to defend himself against being pillaged, and it seems that it did not worry him. He was one among these poets whose work contributes to the growth of a trend, to the putting of his own plan into effect, but who, melting into the collective effort of creation, leave little trace in memory. All his importance must be due to this *transmission function* in Arabic poetry.

Abu 'l-Hindī never wrote anything but *khamriyyāt*, which impels al-ʿIṣfahānī to assert that he was the first Bacchic poet of the Islamic period (*Aghānī*, xx, 293, copied by *Fawāi*, ii, 242). This is clearly false, but not useless for the understanding of an evolution: Abu 'l-Hindī is considered in fact as the first to give independence to the genre, and we must concur in this judgement. In a plain and harmonious language, this poet chisels poems of an excellent workmanship, highly representative of this lively, exciting spirit, that was also to be that of Abū Nuwās.

Aḥmad b. Ishāk al-Khārakī (*Fihrist*; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 306 ff.; Ibn al-Djarrāh, *Warāqa*, 58, etc.) was, according to Abū Nuwās, the origin of the public practice of debauchery (*mudjūn*) and of the composition of verse describing his drinking bouts and varied sexual activities. He was thus to open a path that his young contemporaries were quickly to follow in a kind of crescendo of libertinism. Out of a *diwān* of 50 pages that the *Fihrist* attributes to him, there remain several pieces representative of the genre, but without charm and lacking in inspiration.

This Baṣran had rivals. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Baṣrī constituted, with Abu 'l-Saffāh al-Anṣārī and 'Abd Allāh b. Riḍā, a group of *mudjūn* who decided to devote all their poetry to wine (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 339). The first-named has left a few lines of quality. Also at Baṣra, 'Ukkāshā b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad (*Aghānī*, iii, 251-60) deals differently with the Bacchic framework. This minor elegiac writer expresses his amorous despair, but includes in his poems important, often very happy, Bacchic developments. From the profligate violence of some verses, to the amorous passion of others, there is unfolded the full range of the relations linking the Bacchic and amorous frameworks which undergo a joint evolution.

The Kūfan tradition is maintained in lively manner with Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Khalīl (*Aghānī*, xiv, 165 ff.), a close friend of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Kuddūs,

accused with him of *zandaḳa*, but who escaped execution. While he regained, under al-Mahdī, a measure of wisdom or of prudence, which turned him away from pleasures, he composed in his youth Bacchic lines interspersed with panegyrics, and also short well-developed pieces not devoid of elegance, but which are more relevant to the drinking song than the poems.

But Bacchism, in this second century, was not the prerogative of 'Irāk solely. Ibrāhīm b. Harma [*q.v.*], a Ḥijāzī poet, continually gave himself over to drink throughout his life. Of the 10,000 lines attributed to him, at least a thousand have been preserved (*Diwān*, Baghdād 1969) and the Bacchic pieces must surely have suffered the greatest loss, for they are very few in number.

(d) *Abū Nuwās: the glory of a genre*. The last third of the century is dominated by poets who include some of the greatest names in mediaeval Arabic literature: al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Muslim b. al-Walīd and Abū Nuwās. Among them, other less famous men or men of lesser talent contributed to the masterly blossoming of the genre. The whole work of this period constitutes the most important corpus which we have at our disposal. Later work as good would be produced, but never better; above all, no further developments appear.

Abū Nuwās is not the creator of the *khamriyya*—far from it—and we ascribe to him the glory of inventions that were not his own. But he is a striking figure because he sums up everything that it had been possible for anyone to write before him. He explores the thematic register and refines some statements well; he handles the Bacchic language with an incomparable skill; his poetry and his life are closely linked, and with him the word magnifies the experience. With a talent made up of sensibility, elegance and intelligence, he wrote poems which do not always have the merit of originality, but often have the sparkle of exceptional success. Thus a unique work of its genre, through its abundance, its variety and its quality, comes to crown a long evolution. Abū Nuwās mastered a speech that others had forged for him, and nobody in this field can dispute with him for first place. Such was the domination that he exercised during his lifetime that he was able to force Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, for example, to cede to him some of his lines, and posterity was bound to attribute to him much that did not belong to him. A personality of remarkable prominence, he gave to Bacchism its existential significance, one which did not reduce it to the simple pleasure of drinking (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Thèmes bachiques et personnages dans le diwān d'Abū Nuwās*, in *BEO*, xvii (1963-4), 1-84).

In the very incomplete *diwān* of Muslim b. al-Walīd, a score of poems contain important Bacchic developments. These entail two observations. The first, in certain pieces, relates to the Bacchic note being given priority treatment and becoming a framework in which other themes are inserted. The second deals with the language; Muslim is a master of the *badīʿ*, and does not forget it even in these poems. This concern for formalism makes the expression heavy and goes against the nature of the inspiration.

Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk produced some verse which is better-developed (cf. Muḥammad al-Munīf, *al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, aḥrād khamriyyātihi wa-ashkḥāshuhā*, Faculty of Letters of Algiers University thesis, 1965). Despite the fragmentary state of his *diwān*, it is possible to place him among the poets of the first order. One should mention with him Abu 'l-Shiṣ [*q.v.*], cousin of Diʿbil, friend of Muslim and Abū



Nuwās, author of long Bacchic poems revealing a great mastery of the language (Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, 77-86). They are furthermore interesting to study, as the survivals of the Bedouin language are quite marked in them. Finally, 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Mālik al-Warrāq (al-Shābushṭī, *Diyārāt*, 172 ff.; al-Marzubānī, *Mu'djam*, 218; etc.) was a companion of Abū Nuwās, a lewd drunkard, a wicked rogue of a fornicator and pederast, an arrogant mocker of religion, who wrote a poetry without genius more closely connected with the drinking song than the poem.

iv. The *khamriyya* after Abū Nuwās: the playing-out of a style of writing. It seems that, having attained glory, the genre became fixed in the academic. While the formalists reduced poetry to the set exercise, the *khamriyya* was drained of its subversive function. Having become a stylistic exercise, it is not surprising to find it composed by any hand. Some poets whose temperament was as far removed as possible from Bacchism attempted it (al-Buḥṭuri, for example, wrote a dozen *khamriyyāt*). This evidently contributes to the playing-out of the genre. The surprises, quite rare, come from obscure authors in whom is found a note of sincerity or a felicitous expression.

Besides, the Bacchic tone becomes diversified—and loses some of its strong homogeneity—with the development of the *rawdīyyāt*, floral poems, of the *dayriyyāt*, poems describing evenings spent in convents or monasteries, and of the *ikhwāniyyāt*, versified friendly letters, whose respective domains are not always easy to delimit. These different forms competed to render familiar a light poetry, with a descriptive tendency, which expressed a pleasure in living surrounded by a peaceful and happy nature. The force of the Bacchic theme becomes insipid in this gentle culture of the Muses.

The 3rd century is dominated by Ibn al-Mu'tazz [*q.v.*] who composed an important Bacchic anthology (*Fuṣūl al-tamāhīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*). He wrote poems of youth, whose delicacy recalls that of the other talented aristocrat, al-Walīd b. Yazīd. But the well-born *adīb* Ibn al-Mu'tazz, an enemy of every passionate outburst and concerned with an elegant measure, was unable to exploit in depth a framework whose indispensable vitality he did much to lessen.

The voluminous work of Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] contains several *khamriyyāt* in which he attempts, not without difficulty it is true, a more spontaneous and sensitive language than that of his great compositions. But it is elsewhere that we must look for truly Bacchic temperaments. The literary circle of 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Munādījīm (cf. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, thesis, Paris 1972, i, 116 ff.) gathered together a number of libertine poets, among them Abū Hifān. The latter served his apprenticeship under the direction of Abū Nuwās and was his *rāwī*, but the fragments that remain to us of his works do not permit us to make a pronouncement. At his side, Abū 'l-Shībīl 'Aṣīm b. Wahb al-Burdjūmī was admitted into the society of al-Mutawakkil, a lover of scabrous narrative (cf. *Les voies d'une création*, i, 127-8). Indeed, he brings to life a group of jolly rogues who joined in rough escapades in the taverns of Baghdād and Sāmarrā. In the reign of the same caliph there should be noted Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Tarsūsī, who exercised his wit against the month of Ramaḍān (al-Marzubānī, *Mu'djam*, 395; *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shu'arā'*, ed. Mammeri, 1973, nos. 102, 134). In fact, these figures provide material for the anecdotal literature which flourishes around Bacchic poetry, but do not leave any striking work.

From this point of view, more interesting is Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Numayrī. A close friend of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, he exchanged with him a whole correspondence (*Aghānī*, ix, 137; al-Shābushṭī, 71 ff.; al-Marzubānī, *Mu'djam*, 336-7; etc.). It consists of *ikhwāniyyāt*, friendly invitations to profit from the pleasure of love and drink, where the poet shows himself skilful at making glittering promises, and subtle in expressing his joy in accomplishing them with friends. These notes are sometimes in *sadīq* (*Diyārāt*, 74). They deal with the same themes as poetry and offer samples of a Bacchic prose for consideration; it reveals an atmosphere and way of life. Here it is a case of well-born companions who have nothing to do with the "Fauvists" of the preceding century. They handle drunkenness like love, sc. with delicacy and good taste, in an allusive language which suits the courteous elegance of the salons. The *adab* of the *munādama*, already defined by Abū Nuwās, finished by imposing its rules on the *zurafā'* of polite society.

In the 4th century, Kushādjīm [*q.v.*] confirmed this insertion of Bacchism in a poetry of social relationship. This *nadīm*-poet was capable of describing a flower, a cup, a musical instrument in an exquisite, light, delicate language, closely related to a way of life. The social discourse determines the inspiration and the poem is subjected to an essentially descriptive plan (cf. al-Shābushṭī, *Diyārāt*, 259 ff.). On the last point, this approach becomes clear in the production of al-Ṣanaawbarī (*Diyārāt*, 218-24, which cites several poems that do not figure in the *diwān*). Here appears very clearly the relationship existing between the *khamriyya* and the poetry of nature. But it must be noted that in the *dayriyyāt*, the Bacchic themes become more and more secondary.

Associated with this tradition is Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. al-Baṣrī, called Ṣāhib al-Rākūba, a drug seller in the service of the *Ikhshīdids* of Cairo (*Diyārāt*, 292, 294-7). He is presented as a debauchee (*mādjīm*). But in his eclogues, the themes, reduced to commonplace stereotypes, serve above all to introduce here the description of a lake peopled with birds, and there that of narcissi and roses growing on the banks of a stream. In this poetry of a smiling nature, wine is described in it as a supplementary, but not exclusive, joy.

On the other hand, Abū 'l-Faraḍī Muḥammad al-Wa'wā' (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 367, ii, 301-6), a Damascene poet of simple and harmonious language, returned to the Bacchic tradition in dedicating certain excellent verses to the great themes well-known in the register and in rediscovering, sometimes with felicity, the Nuwāsian inspiration. But we can feel that in this 4th/10th century, still honoured by the works of al-Mutanabbī and Abū Firās [*q.v.*] (cf. the poems of the latter's *diwān*, nos. 150, 171, 178 and especially 364, his great *ṭardīyya* which finishes in a Bacchic development), Arabic poetry has nothing more to invent, so that it becomes set, worn out by nearly six centuries of an exceptionally abundant production. The few poets that remain to be cited wrote a poem worthy to be cited in an anthology, and reveal only a fanciful spirit already too familiar; they approach as well as possible these great masters of the past, of whom some are still cited by al-Ma'arri in his *Risālat al-ghufrān*, 134-45.

In the 5th/11th century Ibn Shībīl [*q.v.*] (and in addition, al-Kiftī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shu'arā'*, no. 254, 270 ff.; Yāqūt, *Udāba'*, x, 23-45), physician, philosopher and poet, composed numerous couplets full of jollity, and a few longer pieces describing

the pleasures enjoyed in a monastery. But the Bacchic note is minor in his work, as attested in the great philosophic poems where he gives himself up to a reflection on existence and the fate of man. Muḥammad b. *Khalifa* b. al-Ḥusayn al-Numayrī (al-Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, no. 403, ii, 402), a poet of Sayf al-Dawla's circle, strove without success in the genre. Ibn al-Nabīh [q.v.], a poet of the Ayyūbids, revived a few of the most frequently-repeated statements without introducing the slightest new note. We may conclude this list, which could be filled with the names of several minor authors, by citing three poets of the 7th/13th century.

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Is'īrīdī (619-56/1222-58: *Fawā'id*, no. 377, ii, 329-34; *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 284), who grouped the libertine part of his *diwān* under the title of *Sulāfat al-zardjūn fi 'l-khilā'a wa'l-mudjūn*, a work which also comprises an anthology section. This poet loved wine, and he speaks of it with passion in some quite long poems running to more than 20 verses. He asserts especially the superiority of alcohol over *hashīsh* for the quality of intoxication which it provides. But his poetry is prosaic, heavy, often trivial, deprived as it is of the Nuwāsian brilliance which lent glamour even to obscene developments. A little later, Ibn Nubāta [q.v.], poet of the Ayyūbid sovereign Abu 'l-Fidā', inserted Bacchic formulae in heterogeneous compositions. But it is above all Šaff al-Dīn al-Ḥilli who, at the end of the 7th/13th century and in the first third of the 8th/14th one, rediscovered a real inspiration with a richness of themes and remarkable images. The fact is so much more notable, since this poet took a great interest in the strophic poetry of classical or colloquial language.

v. *Mystical intoxication or substituted speech*. It was, paradoxically, the mystics drunk with their love for God who gave to Bacchism a new impetus. They took possession of a well-established framework and activated it by substituting for hedonistic motivations the decisive quest for happiness in God. From there, a whole symbolism became established. Wine becomes a divine emanation which spreads its rays from one form to another, a symbol of the supreme love which manifests itself in creation. Drunkenness is forgetfulness of all that is not He. Under the effect of this application of meanings, an inner discourse is substituted for a text apparently set in its formulae. For, it must be noted, the mystical poet is not anxious to renew the writing of the Bacchic framework, or he does not care to do so; instead, he adds to it another meaning. At the same time as he accepts and pronounces the fixity of a language, he enlarges his conceptual field. Thus constellations of symbols appear around original themes. A thorough study of these appropriations—it is necessary to reverse the order of things, says al-Nābulusī—would show how a new inspiration was able to raise from within an old language, to illuminate it, but not destroy it. No more than the Bacchic poets of the 2nd/8th century did the mystics conceive a poetic theory. In going beyond the Islamic orthodox vision, they imposed a style of speech, not a writing.

The operation had been attempted with success as early as the middle of the 2nd/8th century in the poems of Rābi'a al-ʿAdawiyya. The importance of the zones common to the erotic and Bacchic frameworks was to mark out the *khamriyya* for serving the passionate quest of the mystics. The *diwān* of al-Ḥallādjī contains only one quatrain of this type, which is furthermore also attributed to Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Abū Nuwās (*Diwān*, ed. Massignon, 73,

no. 38), but several anonymous poems were later dedicated to the description of mystical intoxications (*ibid.*, 127-30). The saint from Tilimsān, Abū Madyan [q.v.], composed some *zadjals* of very marked popular inspiration, illustrating also an ancient tendency of the Bacchic genre to distinguish itself from classical poetry. It is also true that the mystics had at their disposal two keyboards, that of esoteric composition, and that of popular incantation which was to become fundamental in the practice of the brotherhoods. An entire production of *khamriyyāt* was to see the light of day in the East and in the Maghrib, where a representative sample is supplied by Ḥurayfīsh al-Makkī (d. 801/1398-9; cf. *Diwān al-Ḥallādjī*, 140 ff.).

But it is Ibn al-Fāriḍ [q.v.] who draws attention with his great *khamriyya*. In this, indeed, he gives himself to a masterly re-interpretation of the whole Bacchic theme and deepens its symbolic range. Moreover, he does this without renouncing the artifices of a formalistic rhetoric. The mechanisms of poetic writing continue to be used, but here they injure neither the feverish palpitation of the substituted speech nor the powerful rhythm of the incantation. In the 11th/17th century, 'Abd al-Ḡhanī al-Nābulusī was to write a commentary on this poem, composed according to the comments made on it by the author of the *Tardjumān al-ashwāḥ*, Ibn al-'Arabī. Al-Nābulusī reveals also the secret significance of wine in pieces where Bacchic themes are intertwined with developments of love themes. In the mystics, the overlapping of the two registers becomes total in order to express passion and ecstasy. In the *diwān* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Šuštari, very few poems do not have recourse to Bacchic statements (*Diwān*, ed. al-Nashshār, Alexandria 1960, e.g. poems nos. 5, 8, 9, 12, 20, 26, 31, 38, and the majority of *muwashshahāt* and *zadjāl*; cf. also Massignon, *Recherches sur Šuštari*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, 1950, 251 ff.). The quest for the intoxication of love is a central theme which catches in him the nervous rhythm of a popular language. Moreover, he exploits the vein of an Ibn Kuzmān, and the narrative of visits to a monastery, or evenings in a tavern, could easily lead to confusion, the language being to such an extent that of the *khamriyyāt*. There could not exist here any of those deceptions which sometimes inspired pornographic poems with a pseudo-mystical aim. But it is interesting to note this second substitution of speech, by means of which we return to the origins.

The mystical *khamriyya* continued to be practised, anonymous or obscure, in classical or dialectal language, until the 19th century, where it is attested, for example, in the *diwān* of the Algerian *amir* 'Abd al-Kādir (cf. A. Ben Harrath, *Madjallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb*, i (1967), 47 ff.), and even in the 20th century in its popular form.

vi. *The khamriyya in Muslim Spain: atomised speech*. The Andalusian environment suited the fading of Bacchic poetry, especially after the proliferation of the kingdoms of the *Ṭawā'if*. On the literary side, the creation of strophic forms such as the *muwashshah* and the *zadjal* offered a more supple and effective structure to capture this type of inspiration. The use, especially in the *zadjal*, of a semi-popular language, assured a very appreciable source of invention. Linked with the pleasure of life, with the quest for love, with a profound communion with nature, Bacchism competed to express a certain mode of existence in the world.

Paradoxically, the conjunction of these favourable elements provoked, it seems, a contrary result. The Bacchic framework, already exhausted in the East,

falls into such common use here that it becomes increasingly worn out. Used to love or the joys of nature, it is instrumentalised and hardly requires an autonomous plan and specific style any more. If one needs to all this the proliferation of poets, and especially the mutilation that time has wrought in their work it is understandable why it is necessary to speak here of "pulverised" or "atomised" speech, echoing E. García Gómez.

As early as the 4th/10th century, during the period of the *amirs*, then of the caliphs, Ibn Darrādī [q.v.] included Bacchic statements in some *nawriyyāt*, floral poems, which augur the coming of Ibn Khafādja. The prince Abū 'Abd al-Malik Marwān, great-grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, also followed this path, and Bacchic themes came to sustain in him an inspiration of an erotic or descriptive order.

But it is in the 5th/11th century that Bacchism finds its full extent, as much from the point of view of poetic creation as from that of anthological activity. To the latter, Ibn Shuhayd ascribes the setting of a visit to the valley of the *tawābi'*, where he meets especially the inspirational genius of Abū Nuwās during a succession of very interesting poetic confrontations. For his part, the historian Ibn al-Raḥīq al-Kayrawānī [q.v.] dedicated to the Eastern *khamriyyāt* his *Kuṭb al-surūr fī waṣf al-anbidha wa'l-khumūr*, still in manuscript, and a *Kitāb mu'ākarat al-sharab* which has not come down to us. The vizier Abū 'Amir Ibn Maslama [q.v.] for his *Ḥadīkat al-irtiyāh fī ḥaḥīkat al-rāh*, draws upon the Andalusian works, his own notably, of which a few fragments survive devoted to largely banal forms of enjoyment.

In that which concerns poetry properly so-called, we must make a choice among numerous poets who are often known only by a few lines in anthologies. Ibn al-Abbār [q.v.], also an author of floral poems, dedicated a few pieces to the *madjālīs al-uns* in which an elegant aristocracy tasted the delights of love, walks and friendly evenings. The striking personality of the century was the sovereign of Seville al-Mu'tamid (cf. R. H. Souissi, *al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād et son œuvre poétique*, doctoral thesis, Paris 1973, 135-46). He drank with pleasure and describes the joys of drunkenness in poems where the themes of liquidity and luminosity are touched upon. But the statements do not represent an organised view, even if the signs of an existential anguish often appear. The author's attractive personality does not succeed in giving life to a language that has been over-used. The same observation applies to Bacchic mentions noted in the work of those faithful to the unfortunate prince, sc. Ibn al-Labbān [q.v.] (cf. *Dār al-Tirāz*, 55; M. al-Karīm, *Fann al-tawshīh*, 179 etc.) or Ibn Ḥamdīs [q.v.]. The *kātib* 'Alī b. Ahmad (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 304, ii, 140-1; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse*, 154) composed short pieces where the astral themes play an important role in the description of the sparkle of the wine.

Bestriding the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries were several poets who attempted the *khamriyya*. Ibn Khafādja [q.v.] (cf. H. Ḥadīdjādī, *Vie et œuvre du poète andalou Ibn Khafādja*, typed thesis, Paris 1969) did not detach himself in any way from the Nuwāsian vein, which he exploits in brief developments and without originality. His tavern outings supply the opportunity for imitation, and he remains incapable of rendering an atmosphere and painting a living picture. His talent is elsewhere. His nephew Ibn al-Zaḥkāk [q.v.] wrote mostly love poems or pastoral verse, a genre in which his uncle was famous. The sole aim of the Bacchic statement in his work is to under-

line the beauty of nature, or to introduce the presence of a cup-bearer. Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawī [q.v.] succeeded in a few beautiful descriptions where there must be noted the abundance of comparisons and metaphors making reference to the animal lexicon. Ibn al-Bāḳī [q.v.] (cf. e.g. *Dār al-tirāz*, 67; *Fann al-tawshīh*, 185; *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, iv, 240), and his friend al-'Amā al-Tuṭīlī (*Dār al-tirāz*, 43; *Fann al-tawshīh*, 183; Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, ii, 453; etc.) sprinkled with Bacchic statements the *muwashshahāt* of love in which they excel. Finally, Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Isrā'īlī [q.v.] incited his audience to the theme of *carpe diem* and sang promiscuously of his love of wine, flowers and the cup-bearer.

It may well be noted that the framework of the *khamriyya* is truly scattered in a poetry whose plan is no longer to exploit a genre to the full, but to limit itself to the thematic areas common to several frameworks. Eclecticism triumphs and imposes a structure whose analysis leads inevitably to the disintegration of the poem. A good example of this overlapping of themes is given by the production of Abū Bakr b. Zahr (*Fann al-tawshīh*, 193 ff., nos. 12-15; *Dār al-tirāz*, 45, 73; *Mughrib*, i, 268; *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, i, 440). Bacchic statements are more numerous and precise, but are never detached from the expression of the pains of love in poems articulated in connection with *hawā* ⇌ *muḍjūn*, *shawḥ* ⇌ *rāh*, *bukā'* ⇌ *khamr*. In short, we have a Bacchic elegiac form which innovates neither in one field nor the other.

In fact—and all the fragments which are left to us of an abundant œuvre confirm it (cf. H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse*, 359-77)—there is no original Bacchic expression in Andalusia.

Even such a picturesque personage as Ibn Ḳuzmān [q.v.] does not altogether escape this observation (see E. García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, Madrid 1972). This "impecunious Bohemian, open drinker and debauchee" combined all the conditions required to give to the genre a new vigour. He loved wine passionately, and led a dissolute life in the taverns and other places of ill-repute, of which he knew how to paint lively pictures. His inspiration is on a realistic level and his spirit assumes in it lively and colourful features. A certain sense of the burlesque even animates certain scenes. Finally, Ibn Ḳuzmān composed entirely Bacchic *zādjaḥs* among other heterogeneous pieces, in a Spanish dialect intended certainly to be understood in educated circles, as G. S. Colin remarks, but suitable all the same to allow itself to be invested with an inspiration of popular type. Despite all this, the poet did not succeed in breaking away from the old Bacchic language and one is very much disappointed to see him having recourse to formulae which are abundant in the works of his predecessors. Certain successes in this field do not conceal the recourse to hackneyed effects, which we are led inevitably to think belong perhaps to a language which has reached exhaustion in this framework.

The strophic Andalusian forms were definitely unhelpful for the revival of the genre. Practised also in the East, the *muwashshaha* continued to exploit a vein long since dried up. Also, in the 6th/12th century there is Yūsuf b. Zaylāq (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 482, ii, 633 ff. and M. Z. Enani, *Le muwashshah en Orient*, typed thesis, Paris 1973, index), author of quite long poems with nothing that reveals a personality or expresses a voluptuousness. East and West do no more than exchange formulas. The characteristic of a school exercise is that it is repeated *ad infinitum*. For a little longer, Muslim Spain, and

for a long time the Maghrib and the Near East, were to fill with languishing echoes the great silence of a bloodless poetry. After the *nahḍa*, Bacchic statements are rediscovered at the hand of a Amīn Naḥḥla or an Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shabbī in elegies with accents of Lamartine, *aghānī al-ḥayāt*. But the time of another poetry had by then come.

vii. The *khamriyya*: the scope of the poem. The evolution which led from the technique of inserted statements to the composition of homogeneous *khamriyyāt*, then to the "pulverisation" or "atomisation" of a style of speech, was not accompanied by the enactment of any rules which defined a genre or determined the architecture of a fixed form. The general characteristics that one can discern, belonging to a very much mutilated corpus (except perhaps in the case of Abū Nuwās), do not have an informative value.

(a) *Brevity: the requirements of a style of writing.* The *khamriyya* is a relatively brief poem. Only 41 poems of Abū Nuwās out of 299 have more than 14 lines. In his work, the tendency to conciseness is found again in conventional genres. But this brevity characterises all the Bacchic poets of different periods. A need was felt to keep to a number of lines, ranging from 4 to 15 as a verifiable average, even when it involved inserted statements in multithematic *ḥasīdas*. Bacchic writing was composed in a limited compass because the means used in writing the work required it (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ch. iii). This requirement of means was to lead the set *ḥasīda* on the other hand to a progressive lengthening. What may be called light or spontaneous poetry—all very ambiguous words—must in reality be analysed as a language whose internal connections appear very clearly. We must qualify not the nature of the inspiration, but that of mechanisms which determine the setting of the poem. For the *khamriyya*, this involves the choice of a certain compass—a poem is written in the plan of the creation at the level of the language and notably the phono-semantic organisation.

(b) *The organisation of an allotted space.* There is no rule for the thematic regulation of a *khamriyya*. If we except the poems that are ordered around a narrative and so of a chronology, the poet handles the statements freely (cf. the six thematic tables pp. 999-1001 above). The unity of the inspiration, the fairly strict limits of the framework, assure homogeneity to the whole. We have noted the frequent recourse to amorous or floral themes. It is a matter of common areas exploited by several frameworks. It is possible, moreover, in refining the analysis, to disclose an entire rhetoric of Bacchic discourse which governs small units of this discourse or even imposes a few broad lines of development. A good example is given by the erotic descriptions which often occur at the end of a poem. But it is also possible to note some more subtle or more closely-followed connections between certain statements of unequal importance. The first masters did a great deal in this direction, and the drying-up of the Bacchic vein is justly measured by an inability to imagine new relations between statements which are from now onwards set in unalterable relationship.

(c) *Relations within the frameworks.* It appears from the evidence that the *khamriyya* underwent and exerted influences within these. When it is concerned with *fakhr*, the Bacchic statement does not have the same value as when it is autonomous. Put to the service of the framework of love, or detaching itself from it, inspiring love of nature or instrumentalised in

floral poems, this statement follows an evolution and enjoys fortunes that we have analysed historically. There remains one observation to make concerning the particular treatment of erotic themes.

Compared with the themes of the *nasīb*, of the amorous *tashīb* of an 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a (whose poems contain a few formulaic statements, e.g. *Dīwān*, 107, ll. 7-8; 115, ll. 3-4; 120, l. 10; 149, l. 8; etc.), or with those of courtly love in the work of Baḥshār b. Burd' and al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf, the Bacchic *ghazal* appears specific. It is sensual at first, then tough and truculent, without prudery; it is further without delicacy, and often runs into obscenity. Drunkenness seems to destroy love, retaining only a caricaturist's style. The relation between the two frameworks has therefore become reversed. At first a unity of instrumentalised statements, the *khamriyya* later defines themes of love that are its own, as well as personages who express them. At the point at which courtly poetry refines its nuances but takes refuge in abstraction, the Bacchic *ghazal* on the other hand cloaks itself in the concrete. But one should not see there the simple transcription of orgiastic experiences; instead, one may perceive a desperate attempt to fight against the constraining morality and the good conscience of a socio-cultural system which pronounces the traumatic exclusion of the feminine being. It may also be said that the themes of homosexuality found in the *khamriyya* an opportunity for development without resorting to subterfuges. Bacchism makes its goal what is forbidden and what is recommended. It appears provocative, and its vigorous audacities could have had a subversive effect. But the scheme lacked a philosophy of existence which was detached from pure enjoyment and an ideology which went beyond simple rejection. The elegant master of Bacchic *adab*, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, put an end to an evolution which could have been dangerous, but which proclaimed its failure by not viewing the situation of woman differently. Even in Bacchism, love remains a masculine preoccupation.

(d) *Problems of metric specificity.* The problem of the adequacy of the metre for the framework is a very delicate one. The thesis according to which evolution takes place towards the choice of so-called "light" metres remains from many points of view subject to reservations (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ch. "De la mesure au rythme"). The fragmentary state of the Bacchic works keeps analysis within the field of hypotheses most of the time. In the case of developments inserted in a *ḥasīda*, it cannot be a question of specificity. In al-A'shā, the group of four major metres is formed by the *ḥawīl* (34%), the *kāmil* (14.5%), the *mutaḥārib* (12%) and the *basīf* (11%); and in al-Aḥḥḥal, by the *ḥawīl* (53%), the *wāfir* (15.7%), the *basīf* (14%) and the *kāmil* (9.2%). The *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, the only Bacchic corpus sufficiently important to lend itself to enumeration, supplies the following results, drawn from 893 poems: *ḥawīl* (15.45%); *basīf* (14.21%); *sarīf* (13%); *wāfir* (11.1%) and *kāmil* (8.75%). This general percentage, compared with a percentage drawn from only conventional poetry (panegyric, elegiac, etc.) brings out a perceptible decline of the *ḥawīl* and the *kāmil*, and a slight increase of the *basīf* and *sarīf* (cf. *op. cit.*, the curves of metric use drawn from three centuries). The one is a long metre, the other a short metre, which leaves the problem intact. Without denying the frequency of the use of so-called "light" metres such as the *sarīf* and the *khafīf*, a frequency confirmed elsewhere even in poets as little

modernist as Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, it is always worth asking ourselves the real nature of the connection between the metre and the theme treated. It will not be possible for any suggestions to be made in this matter as long as no serious analysis has been made of the connections established between the structures of the phonic chain in operation and the stylistic organisation of the verse which is wedded to the scheme. At this point, we return to the fundamental problem of the language of the *khamriyya*, which has unfortunately not been the object of study. Considerations as to the use of a simple vocabulary and the clarity of a syntactic organisation have certainly not taken place.

The study of Bacchic literature remains to be undertaken. Such a study ought to show how its expression was fed by a variety of philosophic tendencies, and how it analysed a series of spiritual attitudes in historical relationship with given socio-cultural situations. From materialism to the search for the absolute, the *khamriyya* was the field for a multitude of experiments, perhaps founded moreover on the same existential despair. Its scattering away thus signified the failure of individual attempts to escape a condition and an order.

*Bibliography*: Djamil Sa'īd, *Taḥawwūr al-khamriyyāt fī'l-shi'r al-'arabi*, Cairo 1945; Muḥammad Husayn, *Asālib al-ṣinā'a, shi'r al-khamra wa'l-nāḥa bayn al-A'shā wa'l-djahiliyyīn*, Alexandria 1960; Ilyā Ḥāwī, *Fann al-shi'r al-khamri*, Beirut 1960; M. al-Ṣādiq al-'Affī, *Thawrat al-khamriyyāt*, Beirut 1971. All these are very unequal studies. Several monographs on authors or periods dedicate sections of varying length to the *khamriyya*. (J. E. BENCHEIKH)

**KHAMSA** (A.) "five" still possesses, in several Muslim countries, as amongst peoples of ancient times, a magical value in connection with the use of the fingers of the hand as a defence against the evil eye [see 'AYN]. An efficacious method of protection against the evil eye, especially in North Africa but also in certain parts of the Near East also, consists essentially in stretching out the right hand, with the fingers spread out, towards the person whose glance can harm, and in pronouncing a formula containing the word *khamṣa*, e.g. *khamṣa fi 'ayni-k* "five in your eye". This gesture is supposed to send the evil to its source, but since it is not always possible conveniently to do, pronouncing the formula in the mind retains also a certain prophylactic force, and has in any event the force of a curse.

Various representations of the hand, which were formerly current also in ancient civilisations, may be attached to this belief (see J. A. MacCulloch, in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, vi (1913), 495). One of the best-known is the piece of jewellery called "the hand of Fatma", used as an amulet and called *mākhamsa*, *khamṣa*, *khumsa*, etc. (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 285; J.-H. Prost-Biraben, *La main de Fatma et ses antécédents symboliques*, in *Revue anthropologique*, xliii (1933), 370-5), but one often finds, on the walls of houses and elsewhere, the mark of a henna-painted hand, or a more schematic pattern with five branches. Also, many amulets contain patterns made up of five elements.

In certain countries, notably in North Africa, the name of Thursday (*al-khamis*) likewise possesses a prophylactic value, and it is combined with "five" in formulae against the evil eye, above all in *khamṣa wa-khamis*. Furthermore, Thursday is a day eminently favourable for undertaking enterprises (e.g. travelling) or ceremonies (e.g. circumcision, marriage), and

is referred to euphemistically by means of qualificative terms like *mabrūk* or *mubārak* "blessed".

The use of these terms against the evil eye makes them in practice to a large extent inconvenient to use. Thus the reply of *khamṣa* pure and simple to a question requiring such a response is avoided, and various euphemisms are employed: *yaddak* "your hand", *'add/'addat yaddak* "the number of your hand", etc., or else two numbers whose sum or differences is equal to 5: e.g. at Rabat, *llāta u-kūk* = 3 + 2.

*Bibliography*: E. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 317 ff.; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, ch. viii; idem, *Survivances paiennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, Paris 1935, index s.v. "cinq"; E. Panetta, *Pratiche e credenze popolari libiche*, 88, and bibl.; W. Marçais and A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroḥna*, Paris 1925, 337-8, 366, 393-4, 396-7, and bibl.; W. Marçais, *L'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghrébins*, in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, Brussels 1955, 375-6. (ED.)

**KHAMSA** is in the technical language of Persian and Turkish literature a set of five *mathnawī* poems. The term is used, first of all, to designate the five epic poems of Nizāmī [q.v.] of Gandja which were composed between ca. 570/1174-5 and 600/1203-4. The set contains one didactic poem *Makḥzan al-asrār*, in the metre *sari'-i maṭwiyy-i mawḳūf*; three romantic poems: *Laylā u Madjūnūn* in the metre *hazādī-i musaddas-i makbūd-i maḥdhūf*, *Khusrāw u Shirin* in the metre *hazādī-i musaddas-i maḥdhūf*, and *Haft Paykar* in the metre *khafī-i makhbūn-i maḳsūr*; and the *Iskandarnāma* in the metre *mutakārib-i muḥamman-i maḥdhūf* consisting of two parts, the *Sharafnāma* and the *Iḳbāl-nāma*. This last work belongs to the genre of the heroic epic as well as to that of the literature of wisdom. There is no general concept connecting these five poems. That they were traditionally regarded as a whole may have been caused by the exceptional brilliance displayed by Nizāmī in all of them, but it may also be a result of their being transmitted almost exclusively as a complete set in so-called *kullīyyāt* manuscripts. An earlier example of a collective name for a set of *mathnawī*-poems written by a single author is the term *Khizāna-yi Yamīn al-Dawla* ("Treasury of Yamīn al-Dawla", i.e. Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna) applied by 'Awfī to the romantic poems of 'Unṣurī (*Lubāb*, ii, 32). The enlargement of the *khamṣa* pattern to a set of seven poems by Djāmī constituted in its turn a model for so-called *sab'as* which were written by a number of poets from the 10th/16th century onwards. Occasionally, the term *sitta*, a set of six poems, is used for collections of the *mathnawī*-poems of 'Aṭṭār and Sanā'ī.

The entire *Khamṣa* as well as its individual poems have from the late 7th/13th century onwards inspired many imitators in Persian as well as in the main literary languages of the Turks (i.e. Čaghatay, Azeri and Ottoman Turkish) and, more rarely, in Kurdish. The attempts to write a parallel (*naṣīra*) to the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī can be classified into two main types. To the first type belong those efforts which were aimed at producing a *khamṣa*, every single part of which would correspond to one of the original poems, not only as far as the subject-matter was concerned but also in the choice of the metre and the characteristic features of Nizāmī's poems (e.g. the form of the opening lines, the presence of certain sections in the conventional introduction (*dībāča*) of the poems and specific traits in the structure of the tales). Although many Persian and Turkish poets

accepted this challenge, only very few of them succeeded in finishing more than one or two parts of the proposed scheme. The earliest imitation of the *khamsa* was written by the Indo-Persian poet Amīr Khusrāw Dihlāwī [q.v.] between 698-701/1298-1301. It contains the poems *Maḥla' al-anwār*, *Shīrīn u Khusrāw*, *Maḥjūn u Laylā*, *Haṣṭ bihiṣṭ* and *Ā'ina-i Iskandarī*. The last poem of this *khamsa* consists only of one part dealing mainly with Iskandar as a seeker of wisdom. The second successful *khamsa* of this type was written in Čağhatay Turkish by 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī between 888-90/1483-5. The poems are entitled: *Ḥayrat al-abrār*, *Farḥād u Shīrīn*, *Laylā u Maḥjūn*, *Sab'a-i sayyāra* and *Sadd-i Iskandarī*. Nawā'ī's work was inspired by both the examples of Nizāmī and Amīr Khusrāw.

The second type of *khamsa* is formed by those collections of *mathnawīs* which only contain some imitations of Nizāmī's works. The number of five is achieved by adding poems which are either entirely original as far as their subject-matter is concerned or may be regarded as imitations of the works of other great *mathnawī*-poets such as Sanā'ī or Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. In the *Khamsa* of Khwārdjū Kirmānī [q.v.], for instance, which was written between 732-46/1331-46, only the first poem, *Rawḍat al-anwār*, is a *naẓīra* of Nizāmī's *Makḥzan al-asrār*, whereas the four others, *Humā u Humāyūn*, *Kamāl-nāma*, *Gul-u Nawrūz* and *Djawḥarnāma* deviate from the Nizāmian pattern both as to their subject-matter and, partly, their metres. Collections of this latter type very soon contain even more than five poems, like the six poems in the *kullīyyāt* of 'Imād al-Dīn Faḫr-i Kirmānī (d. 773/1371-2) (cf. Ahmed Ateş, *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, Istanbul 1968, 273 ff.). His mystic *mathnawīs* in the metre *hazā'ij* show the influence of the works of 'Aṭṭār. The most celebrated instance of an extended *khamsa*, however, is the *Haft awrang* of Djāmī [q.v.] (written ca. 890/1485). These seven poems are entitled: *Silsilat al-dhahab*, in *khafīf*, *Salāmān u Absāl in ramal*, *Tuḥfat al-abrār* (a *naẓīra* of the *Makḥzan al-asrār*), *Subḥat al-abrār in ramal*, *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* (taking the place of *Khusrāw u Shīrīn*), *Laylā u Maḥjūn* and *Khīrad-nāma-i Iskandarī*. The last five poems are sometimes taken together as the *Khamsa* of Djāmī, but even in this way the scheme does not confirm to that of Nizāmī. Other notable *khamsa* writers in Persian literature were Hātifī [q.v.] who introduced a historic theme in his *Timūr-nāma* taking the place of the *Iskandar-nāma*, and Fayḍī [q.v.], among whose incomplete set of five poems there is a treatment of the Indian love story of Nal-Daman. In Ottoman-Turkish poetry prominent authors of *khamsas* were Bihīṣṭī; Lāmi'ī, who composed in fact a *sab'a* to the model of Djāmī; Yaḥyā Bey; 'Aṭā'ī; and Nergīsī [q.v.], who composed his *khamsa* in prose. All these collections consist mainly of poems which do not belong to the canon of Nizāmī. The imitation of Nizāmī's poems was particularly popular during the hey-day of the Indo-Persian literature in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries.

The numerous imitations of the individual poems of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* are to some extent parts of unfinished *khamsas*, but this is not necessarily always the case. The most frequently imitated works were the *Makḥzan al-asrār* and *Laylā u Maḥjūn*. Some of the best *naẓīras* can be found among the parallels to the latter poem, e.g. the *Maḥjūn u Laylā* of Makṭabī (written in 895/1489) in Persian and that of Fuḍūlī [q.v.] in Azeri. Most of these imitations, however, were not very successful. They have either disap-

peared completely or have only been preserved in very rare manuscript copies.

*Bibliography*: The *khamsas* of Nizāmī, Amīr Khusrāw and Nawā'ī, as well as the *Haft awrang* of Djāmī, have been described in the following works: E. E. Bertel's *Isbrannle Trudl. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 173-360; idem, *Isbrannle Trudl. Navoi i Dkimi*, Moscow 1965, 31-6, 126-170, 256-72; Muḥ. Waḥīd Mirzā, *The life and writings of Amir Khusrāw*, Calcutta 1935, 190-203; J. Eckmann, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 336-48. See further W. Björkman, *ibid.*, 436 ff., 444; A. Caferoğlu, *ibid.*, 640; H. Ethé, in *Gr.Ir.Ph.*, ii, 245-8; *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde türkçe hamseler*, Istanbul 1961, with introd. by Nail Tuman; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 210 f., 283-5. Cf. also IRAN. vii. LITERATURE and the articles on the individual authors.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

**KHAMSE** (WILĀYĀT-I —) [see WILĀYĀT-I KHAMSE].

**KHĀN**, a Turkish title (*khān* or *kan*) first used by the T'ü-chüeh apparently as a synonym of *kağhan*, the later *khākān* [q.v.], with which its relationship is obscure; it was afterwards normally applied to subordinate rulers. The title is first recorded in Muslim lands on the coins of the *Qarakhānids* or *Ilek Khāns* [q.v.]. Under the *Saljūqs* and *Kh'wārazm-Shāhs*, *khān* was the highest title of the nobility taking precedence over *malik* and *amīr*. It was applied by the Mongols to the head of an *ulus* [q.v.], *ka'an*, i.e. *khākān*, being reserved for the Great *Khān* in *Qaraqorum* or Peking. In *Şafawid* Persia, the *khān* was a provincial governor of lesser rank than the *beglarbegi* and higher than the *sulṭān* "deputy governor". The title survived into modern times in much the sense of the English "esquire". In India under the Turkish kings of Delhi, *khān* was the title of the principal nobles, especially those of Persian or *Afghān* descent; it was still in *Mughal* times restricted to courtiers, but to-day it is a common affix to the names of Muslims of all classes and is often regarded as a surname.

*Bibliography*: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 141-179 (no. 1161); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 630; V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, GMS, N.S. xvi, Cambridge-London 1943, 25, 43.

(J. A. BOYLE)

**KHĀN**, a word of Persian origin designating on the one hand a staging-post and lodging [see also *MANZIL*] on the main communication routes, on the other a warehouse, later a hostelry [see also *FUNDUK*] in the more important urban centres.

I. The highway *khān*. The economic functions served by this institution have changed little from the Middle Ages to the present day. It had its roots in the beginnings of organised highway trade in the earliest times, but it flourished with particular vigour in the Islamic world. The *Khān* was born of the need to ensure safe lodging and protection from robbery for travellers in regions where nomads and hill-bandits posed a threat to security. It was an indispensable factor for commerce on land and sea, necessary in regions where sources of provisions were not regular and where watering-places were few and far between. It seems that it was originally an enclosure protecting a well which in the course of time developed into a work of architecture. Herzfeld connects its origin to the relay-post system (*avahāna*) organized by the Achaemenids on the major com-

munication routes such as the Sardis to Susa highway. These staging-posts which Herodotus calls *καταλόσεις* and Ctesias calls *emporía* were numerous in the Byzantine empire, where they were set at a distance of 50 parasangs one from another. Little is known of the architectural evolution of these structures in ancient times, for the oldest *khāns* built of unfired brick have disappeared.

The appropriate term to describe the type of building which provided lodging for caravan traffic on the main trade routes is *caravanserai*, transcribed by Pierre Belon of Le Mans as "Carbaschara"; *khān*, with which it is often confused, being applied rather to an establishment where commercial travellers could lodge for a period of time and where facilities were provided for the sale of their wares. A stopping-place for caravans is often called *manzil* in the ancient Arabic texts.

As communal buildings for public use, mentioned by all the travellers who testify to their vast number in the east, the *khāns* marked the commercial highways once followed by caravan traffic in an area comprising Asia Minor and the "isthmus region", to borrow the phrase of Maurice Lombard, usually set at a distance apart of a day's journey, about 20 miles, the *khāns* of plain and mountain, varying in number according to the degree of prosperity of the region, provided staging posts or places of refuge. Often the *khān* was more than a shelter for travellers, pilgrims and itinerant traders; it was indeed a centre for the exchange of ideas among individuals from different parts of the world.

The institution flourished greatly from the 7th/13th century onwards in Iran, Syria and Anatolia; in this region alone, Erdmann has listed 119 *khāns* belonging to that century. Sometimes it happened that over a period of time there developed around the *khān* a conurbation such as at *Khān Shaykhūn* or at *Djīs al-Shughūr* in Syria.

The term appears for the first time in Arabic epigraphy in Syria on the occasion of the foundation of the *Khān al-'Akaba* in 610/1213 (*RCEA*, No. 3720).

The plan of construction of the highway *khān*, which was most often located in an isolated position, needed to provide for the security of people and of animals and of warehouse goods stored there for long or short periods. The construction material varied according to the regions: it might be brick, fired or unfired; it might be limestone; lastly, it might be basalt. The building comprised rooms for the accommodation of travellers, an oratory and sometimes a bath-house. There were places for the stabling of pack-animals and saddle-animals, covered stables for horses and donkeys, stalls for mules and camels or dromedaries, according to the area. The installations needed to take account of the temperament of each species, for horses cannot endure the smell of dromedaries and mules do not readily accept the proximity of donkeys.

From the outside, the *khān* appears as a quadrangular structure, often having two storeys, with massive towers at each corner and exterior walls supported by buttresses. It resembles a small fortress from which it is distinguished by an entrance protected by salients framing a monumental gateway, decorated to a greater or lesser extent according to the period. This gateway gives access to a deep vestibule on which there open, on either side, the warden's quarters and sometimes shops from which items of basic necessity could be purchased. From here there is access to a large central courtyard, usually square, with a water-cistern. Around the

courtyard on ground level there would be storerooms and shops, living-quarters and stables, sometimes a forge for the shoeing of animals. In many *khāns*, the travellers would sleep in a communal hall on raised platforms. In a *khān* of some importance there is an upper floor laid out on the same plan as the ground level, to which there is access by an internal stairway. The dimensions and number of rooms vary, the plan differing according to the region and the period.

The *khāns* of mountain districts are on a smaller scale than those of the plain. They are built square with corner buttresses; against the inner face of the outer wall there are installations for the accommodation of animals, while the travellers' quarters are built on the inner wall, opening on the central courtyard. There are also, in cold regions, very simple *khāns* without courtyard, consisting only of a hall with one or more aisles, whose archways, with openings for light, rest on columns or pillars while a bench runs the length of the interior, providing sleeping or sitting space. The prices paid by the traveller for accommodation, storage of goods and shelter of animals would vary according to the quality and facilities of the highway *khān*. Some *khāns* received *waqfs*, enabling them to entertain pilgrims free of charge.

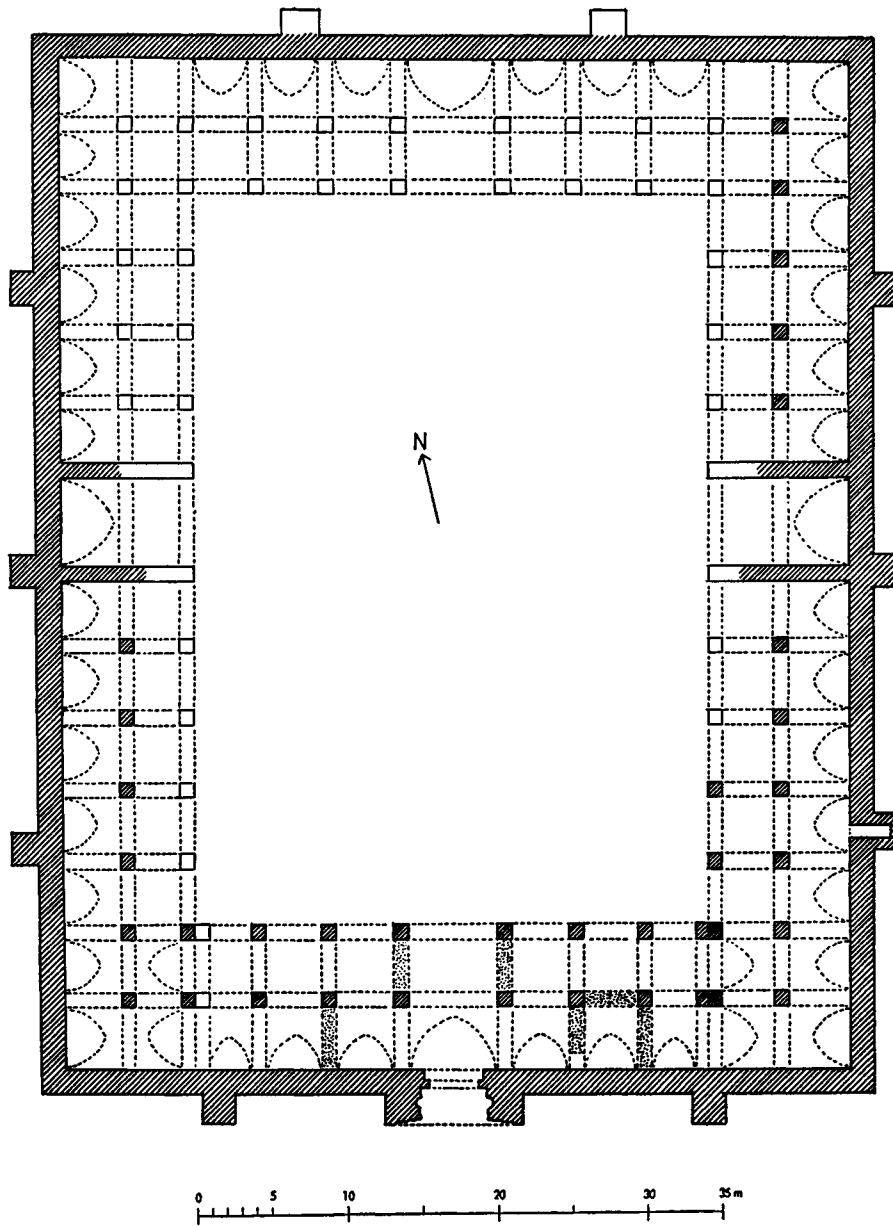
The *khāns* which have survived enable us to identify the characteristics distinguishing the various types. At the time of the expansion of Islam in the Near East, there were two types of staging-post in existence; the one, consisting of oblong halls running parallel to the central courtyard, is specifically Iranian. Soon axial *iwāns* appear and the gateway takes on a particular importance. The other consists of a quadrangular structure with galleries enclosing a central courtyard. This "Mediterranean" type existed from the earliest times.

The oldest known Muslim highway *khān* would seem to be, according to the hypothesis of Oleg Grabar, the building dating from the Umayyad era known as *Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī* [*q.v.*]. It consists of a structure with a windowless façade, corner towers and buttresses on the walls, on the inside two floors opening on a courtyard, a peristyle on the ground level and a gallery on the upper floor. It is thus built in the "Mediterranean" type.

There are distinctions to be drawn between the Saldjūk *khāns* of Iran and Anatolia, the Ayyūbid *khāns* of Syria, the Mamlūk *khāns* of Egypt and Syria, the *khāns* of the Pilgrims' route, the Ilkhānid and Safawid *khāns* of Iran and the Ottoman *khāns* of Asia Minor.

From the Saldjūk period in Iran, where there was a flowering of commercial activity at the end of the 5th/11th century, we know the *Khān Zafarānī*, between *Nīshāpūr* and *Sabzawār*. It is built on a square plan, the exterior walls 75 m. in length, built of unfired brick on foundations of fired brick, with circular towers at the corners. In the centre of the façade a high gateway flanked by towers gives access through a vestibule to the almost square inner courtyard (36 × 38 m.) on to which, as in the *madrasas*, open four *iwāns*. Those of the lateral sides are enclosed by four rooms on each face, while those of the rear and the vestibule have three rooms on both sides. The lay-out of the courtyard resembles that of the cruciform *madrasa*; it is only the purpose of the rooms which is different. In the one case they are designed for study, in the other for the accommodation of commercial traffic. On the right hand side of the entrance is a mosque, and on the exterior there is a bath-house attached to the building.

There are some excellent examples of Saldjūk



Plan of the Emdir Khân [K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, i].



*khāns* from the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries in Anatolia. They are of four types. There are *khāns* with a monumental entrance and a vestibule giving access to a central rectangular courtyard surrounded by arched galleries and rooms, as at Evdir *Khān* (606-16/1210-19) near Antaliya, Kırkgöz *Khān* (633-43/1236-46), Sultān *Khān* (633/1236) between Sivas and Kayseri, or Yeñi *Khān* (717/1317) on the road from Tokat to Sivas, and the *khān* of Marand in Ādharbāyḍjān (730/1330). There are covered *khāns* like Suzuz *Khān* (644/1246) near Burdur, measuring 25 m. by 26 m., with five cradle-vaulted girders and a central cupola. Some *khāns* combine the courtyard surrounded by rooms and the covered building, bringing together the "Mediterranean" and "Iranian" types, as at Sultān *Khān*i (626/1229, restored in 677/1278) 40 km. southwest of Aḳ Sarāy, not to be confused with its namesake near Kayseri. This *khān*, which is entered through a gateway decorated by stalactites, has two sections, one measuring 50 m. by 62 m. with a courtyard bounded by a portico upon which the living-quarters open and by a warehouse as well as a bakehouse and a *ḥammām*; in the centre of the courtyard is an oratory with a cupola standing on four pillars; to the south of the courtyard is the other section; a huge hall measuring 33 m. by 55 m., with five cradle-vaulted aisles and a door at each end, in which the animals were quartered. It is the most important *khān* of the 7th/13th century. Aḳ *Khān*, to the north-east of Deñizli, built in 650/1252 by sultan Kay Kāwūs, is of a rectangular plan with a square inner courtyard bounded by porticos on two sides and by a vaulted hall supported on ten lines of pillars. Finally, the Alara *Khān* to the north-west of Alaniya is of yet another design: the inner courtyard is nothing more than a corridor open to the sky with seven rooms on each side, the whole enclosed by long cradle-vaulted halls. Differing in design and dimensions, the Salḡiūk *khāns* are alike in having corner towers and walls supported by buttresses; they are remarkable for their large gateways, having broken arches decorated with stalactites, framed by intricately worked geometric patterns often consisting of figured decoration.

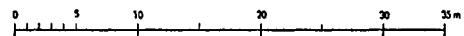
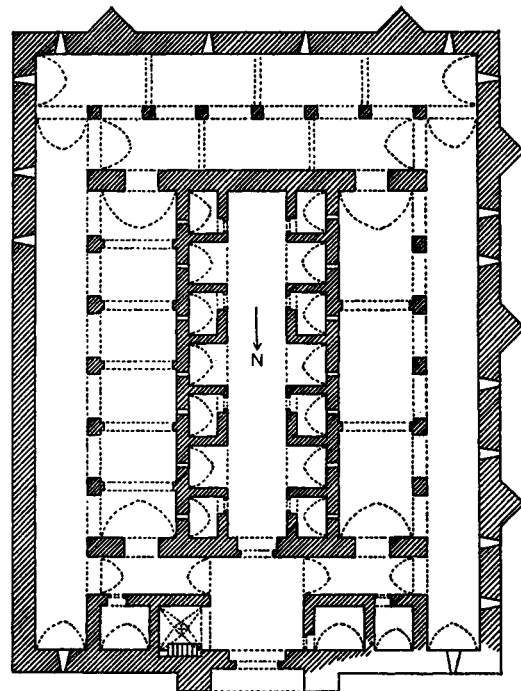
The Ayyūbid type (6th-8th/12th-14th centuries) in Syria is of square or rectangular plan with central courtyard and a peripheral gallery with cradle-vaulting, broken along the principal axis by an entry corridor, with, in some cases, a room on either side of the vestibule. The gate may be preceded by a salient. In the axis of entry there sometimes opens on the opposite side the wide bay of an *iwān*. The design of Ayyūbid *khāns* is almost always identical, the only variations being in the proportions of the various parts (e.g. *Khān* al-ʿArūs, Kutayfa, and Kara to the north of Damascus).

In the later Mamlūk period (9th/15th century) commerce in the Orient was most active and *khāns* multiplied in Syria, especially on the Aleppo to Cairo highway; there is, however, no particular architectural evolution to be noted. The *khāns* of this period are rectangular with windowless walls and a central courtyard containing a water-cistern and surrounded by a gallery, cradle or groin-vaulted, there is a mosque and often a bath-house, the main door-way opens in the façade or in a fore-projection of the wall, and the entry corridor is flanked by two vaulted chambers. Worthy of mention are, in the vicinity of Damascus, *Khān* Ayāsh to the north and *Khān* Dunnūn to the south, in Palestine *Khān* al-Aḥmar, *Khān* Rastān on a bridge over the Orontes

between Ḥims and Ḥamāt, and the *khān* of Kalʿat al-Mudīk (40 m. by 40 m.) at Apameus. There are examples of the same type from the 11th/17th century at *Khān* Tūmān and at Karamurt (1048/1638), and an enormous *khān* (161 m. by 122 m.) near Baghras [q.v.].

In Iran, the *khān* evolved more rapidly and with more frequent changes than in Syria. In the 8th/14th century, in the time of the Il-*Khān*ids, a new type of *khān* appeared. This is a building on a rectangular plan with the exterior wall reinforced by circular corner towers, and there is a monumental entrance in the form of a bastion with a solid vaulted doorway in an ornamental setting of brick such as that of which traces survive near Marand (730/1330). Within, one enters a vast courtyard bordered by lodging-quarters with *iwāns* in the main axes. A fountain, cisterns and a mosque complete the installation. These *khāns* often have two stories with gallery, on the ground floor there are the stables, and the shops, and there is access by an interior stairway to the first floor and the merchants' quarters, sometimes furnished with fire-places as at Sin (730/1330).

Under the Ṣafawids, in the 10th/16th century, wealthy caravans, signs of the significant progress made by the economy of Central Asia since the Timūrids, moved along the trade-routes. Shāh ʿAbbās I



Plan of the Alara *Khān* [K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 1].

made improvements in highway communications and in the system of staging-posts. The period saw an increase in the number of *khāns*, extending as far as the trade-routes to India. In these *khāns*, the monumental effect of the gateway with salient is accentuated, while the installations of a religious

nature tend to disappear. In the period following the death of the great sovereign, a concern for symmetry dominates the building-style and huge hypostyle stables appear. At the end of the 11th/17th century, *khāns* on an octagonal plan with circular corner towers are found in mountainous areas. We shall mention three examples, at Aminābād, at Khān-i Khurra and at Dahbid on the road between Isfahān and Shīrāz.

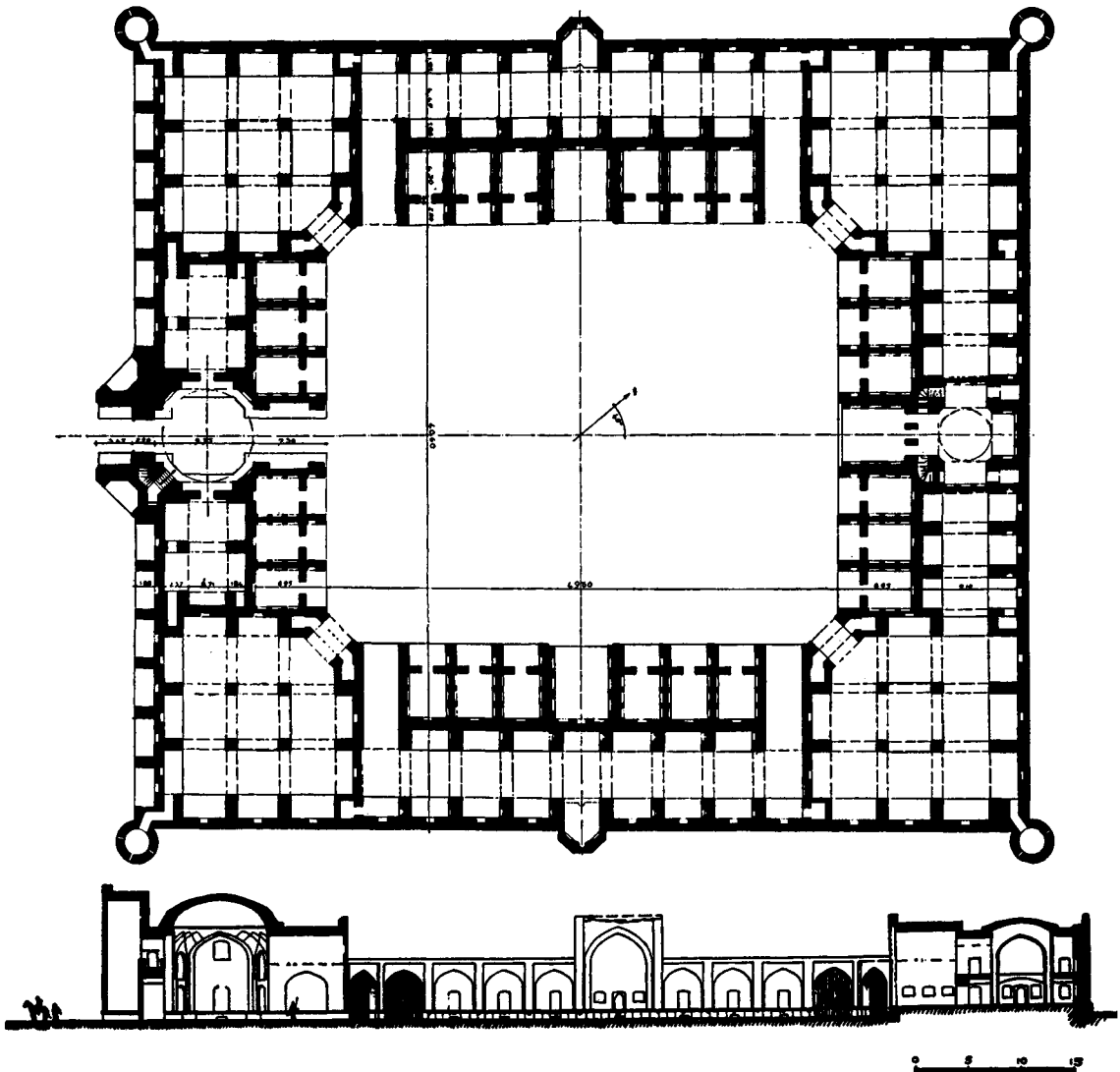
In Ādharbāydjān, the *khān* typical of the 9th/15th century is that of Sangatchali, near Baku, with its window-less walls, designed on a plan identical to that of the Mamlūk *khāns*. In the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries there existed in this region two types of *khān*: one, on a square plan with a central courtyard and a lay-out resembling that of the Mediterranean *khān*, and the other, on a rectangular plan, having a long hall open at both ends divided into three aisles, open at both ends with a single entrance in a pillared projection.

In the same period in the Ottoman empire, a large number of highway *khāns* continued to appear, some consisting of one section containing installations bor-

dering on a courtyard open to the sky and another section covered against the winter, others constructed according to the Saldjūk prototype, but decorated in a more sober fashion.

A new type appeared, built on a plan almost square, with a long central passage lying along an east-west axis and bounded by shops; in the middle of the passage, two doorways each giving access to an oblong hall running parallel to the passage, with four aisles and three sets of pillars. The chamber on the north side of the passage, provided with a bench, was intended for travellers, while that on the south side sheltered animals and merchandise. Of this type were the Yeñi Khān (10th/16th century), which has recently disappeared, but was formerly on the road from Tokat to Sivas, and Khān Mehmed Paşa (1028/1619) at Ulukışla to the east of Konya. Finally, at Gebze, on the road from Istanbul to Izmit, there is a *khān* of classical Ottoman type having a rectangular structure, without a central courtyard, and consisting of a double hall with six pillars marking off two sets of seven twin sections.

The last great highway *khān* was built in Iran in



Plan and section of the *khān* of Māder-i Shāh [M. Siroux, *Caravansérails d'Iran et petites constructions routières*].

the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II (1052-77/1642-66). It is the imposing *khān* of Mādar-i Shāh, a grim and impressive work of architecture 45 km. from Işfāhān.

Two instances of the structural evolution of the *khān* should be noted, one in Syria, the other in Iran. In the first case, we observe the transformation of a highway *khān* into an urban *khān*: in fact at Dījr al-Shughur, to a *khān* built in 1070/1660, in the course of time a refectory was added, later a hospital; this collection of buildings, on the left bank of the Orontes at the approaches to a bridge, became in the 19th century the nucleus of an urban settlement which grew up around it. The second case is that of the *khān* of 'Alī-ābād, between Tehran and Kūm which became at the end of the 19th century the nucleus of a flourishing oasis settlement; with the addition of a *hammām*, a flour-mill, two ice-houses and some shops, the *khān* lost its original character, ceasing to be a highway institution and taking on the functions of an agricultural centre.

II. The urban *khān*. While the highway *khān* is a staging-post and a relay-station, the urban *khān* lies at the end of a journey; it is a depot, a place for commercial transactions and brief stay.

In fact, the term *khān* has been applied to hostellers and urban depots in the Near East only since the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, more especially the latter.

In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries in Baghdād and Damascus, the large depots bore the name of *dār* with the name of the commodity for which the establishment was noted. The urban caravanserai would have been called *dār al-wakāla* (the house of procuration or agency), before this became a synonym for *fundūq*, which at the end of the 7th/13th century began to be replaced by *khān* as a designation for suburban hostelleries. Later, in the 11th/17th century the *khān* began progressively to take upon itself exclusively the functions exercised within the city-walls by the *dār al-wakāla*, the *fundūq* (πανδοχείον) and the *kayşariyya* [q.v.]. In fact, in the town, the *khān* gave lodging to travellers who could lodge there in exchange for a fee paid to the warden who provided bedding and straw. In the present day as in the past we find installed there wholesalers, middlemen, importers' agents, messengers, and retailers looking for merchandise. There is the bulk selling of imported merchandise or export-bound goods; bales and packing-cases are stacked in the courtyard.

The most common type of depot, the *khān*, providing the means to await the time for the transfer of merchandise, is designated either by the name of the founder or by the name of the principal commodity to be sold there. Thus there are to be found in most towns a *khān al-şābūn* (*khān* of soap) or a *khān al-zayt* (*khān* of oil).

In the second half of the 9th/15th century, the Mamlūk sultans provided certain facilities for European traders visiting Alexandria. After the grant of capitulations by the Ottoman sultans [see ΜΠΥΛΖΛΤ], the urban *khāns* flourished greatly in the Near East. The number of visiting Western merchants grew and they no longer confined themselves to staying in the harbour-districts (*iskele*) but went to do business in towns of the interior such as Aleppo and Damascus or Cairo, centres where export and import goods from all over the Orient were accumulated. Until the mid-11th/17th century, ambassadors from the major powers were accommodated in Istanbul in a *khān* specially adapted for their use, the Elçî Khāni.

In the 12th/18th century, the *khān* supplanted, as regarded commercial activity, the *fundūq* which

henceforward had only the function of a hostelry for pilgrims and travellers.

While the term *khān* was current in Asia Minor, by contrast in Egypt, the word was considered foreign and, from the start of the 10th/16th century tended to be replaced by the Arabic term *wakāla* used in a concrete sense, transcribed by Western authors as "okel" (and similar forms). The *khān* was to remain nevertheless, and at the end of the 18th century, there were still in Cairo 14 *khāns* as against 206 *wakālas*.

Situated in the middle of the souks in city centres, the *khāns*, by their number and their size reflected the amplitude of the traffic and the economic importance of each city.

Sometimes the urban *khān* would be not a structure, but a group of several specialised markets, like the Khān al-Khalīlī in Cairo, a collection of shops enclosed by two large gateways. Sometimes in the interior opening on the courtyard there would be shops (*hāşıl*), leased or bought by the merchants.

The plan of the urban *khān* "has not varied in the course of time: a central courtyard around which developed a row of shops built on to the surrounding wall and opening beneath a covered portico extending, in front of their doors, all around the courtyard. This arrangement simply reproduces, under a less monumental guise, the traditional plan of the agora." This description by Jean Sauvaget applies to the classic type of *khān* which has prevailed in the lands of the Oriental basin of the Mediterranean since the Mamlūk epoch, and subsequently throughout the Ottoman empire, as is attested by a picture of Raffet, depicting the *khān* of Bucharest in the 19th century.

The *khān* could be a pious foundation set up by a rich and illustrious person; it would then be either one of the sources of revenue of a *wakf* to the benefit of a *madrasa* like the *khān* Mādar-i Shāh in Işfāhān, or for the upkeep of a mosque, such as the two *khāns* of Bursa which supported the Green Mosque (Yeşil Cami), or the beneficiary of fixed revenues, attributed to it when it served the specific purpose of sheltering pilgrims. Being a profitable business, the *khān* could represent an investment, and more than one *amir* was proprietor of a *khān* in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. At the end of the 9th/15th century, at Damascus, out of five new *khāns*, three were built by *amirs* and two by merchants; at Aleppo, as against nine *khāns* built by *amirs*, only one was founded by merchants. The managers of *khāns* would often be the descendants of the founders, and the principal official was the *wakīl al-tuđđiār*, the agent of attorney who attended to the storage and sale of the merchants' goods; the *khān* also received visits from an inspector appointed by the *muhtasib*. At nightfall, the leaves of the door were always closed while a guardian kept watch in his lodge.

In the Ottoman period, according to J. Sauvaget, the plan is "uniform in principle: around two courtyards of unequal dimensions there are juxtaposed, on ground-level, shops rented by the foreign merchants lodging on the upper floor in rooms opening on a gallery, while a vaulted warehouse protects the stocks of merchandise against theft and bad weather." In some *khāns* the central courtyard is replaced by a covered hall, as at Khān As'ad Pāşhā at Damascus, or sometimes the central courtyard instead of being square becomes a long rectangle, divided crosswise into three suites, as at the Valide Han of Istanbul.

At Aleppo, the oldest *khāns* were situated in the suburbs of the city; Ibn Şhaddād (end of the 7th/13th century) mentions eight of them. Within the city-

walls, the oldest *khāns* date from the Mamlūk period; they are in the centre of the city. The *Khān* Bayrak-dīn was constructed by two *amīrs* in 827/1424. Between 815/1422 and 874/1470 numerous *khāns* were constructed. Ibn al-Shihna (d. 890/1485) mentions 25 of them within the city-walls and 13 outside. There were other *khāns* built, such as the *Khān* al-Zayt constructed by the *amīr* *Khayr* Bek, the *Khān* al-Kaṣṣābiyya begun by the *amīr* *Abra*k in 916/1510 and completed in 928/1522, and the *Khān* al-Ṣābūn with its rich façade, attributed to the *amīr* *Uzdamur*. Aleppo benefited, on the economic plane, from the expansion of the Ottoman empire. The buildings were situated on the edge of the commercial centres, and it was possible to set up on the exterior façades of the *khāns* rows of shops forming a souk, assured by its location of a good supply of business. "The prime example of the type at Aleppo is the *Khān* al-Kumruk (*Khān* of Customs) built in 982/1574, which combines within a single structure 52 shops, and 77 rooms as well as two stone-built souks lit by two cupolas, a total of 344 shops." It had two fountains, a mosque and a monumental entrance. Dating from the end of the 11th/17th century, the *Khān* al-Wazīr (1092/1682), now in ruins, still has its monumental entrance. In this period d'Arvieux counted 68 *khāns* at Aleppo; in the mid-20th century Sauvaget counted 38 still in existence.

At Damascus, the first *khāns* seem to have been built outside the city-walls as at Aleppo. In the 7th/13th century, in the northern suburb of al-ʿUḡayba, was the *Khān* al-Zindjārī; reputedly a place of debauchery, it was destroyed in 632/1236 and replaced by the al-Tawba mosque. The inner-city *khāns* are situated to the south of the Great Mosque in the western sector of the old city. Ibn Ṣaṣrā mentions five *khāns* at the end of the 8th/14th century, including the *Khān* al-Ḥabbālīn and the *khān* built by the *amīr* *Mandjāk* al-Yūsufī. In the 10th/16th century the *khān* replaced in the city certain *funduḡs* and *ḡaysāriyyas*; thus we have the *Khān* al-Zayt (*Khān* of Oil) and the *Khān* al-Ḥarīr (*Khān* of Silk), a vast building constructed by *Darwīsh* Pashā in 980/1572. The *Khān* al-Kumruk (*Khān* of Customs) was built at the end of the 10th/16th century and the start of the 11th/17th. Of the two biggest *khāns*, the one, covered by two cupolas, is attributed to *Sulaymān* Pasha (1145/1732), the other, with nine cupolas of which the central cupola has collapsed, to *Asʿad* Pasha al-ʿAzīm (1165/1752).

At Tripoli, the third city of Syria, we know of the existence of six Mamlūk *khāns*: *Khān* al-*Khayyā*-*ḡīn*, *Khān* al-*Ṣābūn*, the *Khān* of the Egyptians, *Khān* al-*Muhandīs*, *Khān* al-*Mansūl* and a *dār al-wakāla* which became a *khān* before 736/1336. Beirut had one *khān* in 766/1365. All the major ports of the Syria-Palestine coast had flourishing *khāns*, such as the *Khān* al-Firandj at Ṣayḡā, one of the caravanserais built by *Faḡhr* al-Dīn [q.v.] at the start of the 11th/17th century. There was also a *Khān* al-Firandj at ʿAkkā (Acre).

In Egypt, the term is applied essentially to the urban institution; it appeared in about 730/1330 designating the building of the *Khān* *Amīr* *Kūsūn*. The best known is the *Khān* al-*Khalīlī* which was built by the *amīr* *Djarkas* al-*Khalīlī* at the end of the 8th/14th century and was endowed with two porches by the sultan *Ḳānsūḡ* al-*Ghūrī*. This is no longer a building, but a conglomeration of specialist markets opening on the principal street of the commercial centre. It is a commercial estate, a business-area with specialised branches for precious textiles, silk-

works, embroidered cloth and carpets. There used to be workshops there for spinning and weaving. To this day it serves the functions of the ancient *ḡaysāriyya*.

The *khān* came to its peak of success at Cairo in the time of al-Maḡrīzī (9th/15th century): there were then built the *Khān* *Maṣrūr* and the *Khān* al-*Hadjīdjār* (827/1424). In the 11th/18th century, the *Khān* al-*Ḥamzāwī* came to rival the *Khān* al-*Khallīlī*, while the *Khān* al-*Bāshā* became the biggest warehouse of the city and ʿAlī *Bey*, the famous *shayḡḡ al-balad*, had a vast *khān* constructed at *Bulāk*.

In *Baghdād*, the identification of monuments is often difficult, for the city has undergone numerous destructions as a result of floods and fires, and often one would know nothing of its monuments were it not for references in the ancient texts. The most ancient *khān* is that of *Abū Ziyād* mentioned by al-*Khāṭīb* al-*Baghdādī* (end of the 5th/11th century). Often the *khāns* mentioned by the authors pose a problem of terminology; in fact, they are often cited, notably by *Yāḡūt* (7th/13th century) under the name of *dār*, as the *Dār al-Ḳuṭn* (House of Cotton), *dār al-Ḳazz* (House of Raw Silk); the term has the sense of a specialised commercial centre, close to that of *ḡaysāriyya*. *Dār* means "palace", there is a *Dār al-Ḳhayl*, the palace of the Cavalry, which was the hostelry reserved for the ambassadors and which was later to become the *Khān* al-*Khayl*. It owes its name to the stables which were incorporated in it.

In the 6th/12th century there existed a *Khān* al-*Safatiyyīn* (*Khān* of the Basket-weavers). In the mid-8th/14th century, the *amīr* *Mirdjān* constructed, in the commercial centre on the left bank of the Tigris, a *khān* which bears his name. In the 10th/16th century *Baghdād* became an important caravan centre. In 1089/1678 *Aḡmad* *Buṣhnāk* built the famous *Khān* *Banī* *Saʿd*. In 1823 the *madrasa* al-*Mustanṣiriyya* accommodated the Customs service and took the name *Khān* al-*Ortmā*; in this period European travellers testify to a great number of *khāns* at *Baghdād*.

At *Iṣfahān*, which knew a period of great economic prosperity after the accession of *Shāh* ʿAbbās I, *Chardin* counted in the 11th/17th century 1,802 caravanserais. Many have disappeared but the *khān* adjoining the *madrasa* *Mādar-i Shāh* remains and testifies to the prosperity of the capital at the end of the start of the 18th century.

In Asia Minor, the Ottoman *khāns* are mainly concentrated at *Bursa* and at *Istanbul*. The *khāns* of *Bursa*, the first Ottoman capital, rectangular in form with a central courtyard surrounded by a portico with arcade, are of classic Mediterranean type. The most ancient of these is the *Bey* *Khān* (mid-8th/14th century), which at the present day has lost its original form but survives under the name of *Emir* *Khān*. Mention should be made of the *Ipek* *Khān* (*Khān* of Silk) dating from the start of the 9th/15th century which, like the *Geyve* *Khān*, was constituted as a *wakf* to the advantage of the *Green Mosque* and of which only a few traces remain. The *Koza* *Khān* (*Khān* of the Cocoon), with a central water cistern in the courtyard and an octagonal mosque, was built at the end of the 9th/15th century. The *Pirinč* *Khān* (*Khān* of Rice) with two stories, in ruins today, was built in 913/1507.

At *Istanbul*, the two most ancient *khāns* whose ruins are known to us in the vicinity of the *Rustum* *Paṣa* *Mosque*, the *Hurmali* *Khān* (*Khān* of Dates) and the *Balkapan* *Khān* (*Khān* of Honey), date back for their origin to the Byzantine era. The most ancient of the sixteen *khāns* of the *Grand Bazaar* is the *Çuhaci*

*Hani* (Khān of Cloth); it dates from the 9th/15th century. These *khāns* are in most cases spinning-shops at the side of warehouses and retailers' shops. One of the largest warehouses is the Kūrkgüler Hani (Khān of the Furriers) constructed by the grand vizier Maḥmūd Paṣha in 872/1467; the building is of impressive dimensions (130 m. by 65 m.), with one courtyard measuring 40 m. by 45 m. and another pentagonal in shape, with a perimeter of 140 m. As many as 167 rooms open under the porticos on the ground-level; on the upper floor there are cradle-vaulted rooms with windows opening on the gallery, and in front of each door there used to be a miniature cupola covering the portico. The building remains, but has deteriorated beyond recognition. In the mid-roth/16th century, Sinān built in the name of Rustum Paṣha two *khāns* on the banks of the Golden Horn, Çukur Khān (Khān of the Ditch) at Istanbul and Kūrshunlu Khān (Khān of Lead) at Ghalāṭa. As elsewhere, the term stems from the dimensions of the installations. In the mid-11th/17th century, the buildings could not all have been large, for Ewliyā Çelebi counted 556 *khāns* at Istanbul. It was no longer a question of vast warehouses, but rather of places of sale for provincial and foreign traders.

The two finest specimens from the 11th/17th century are the Wālide Khānī with its three courtyards where all kinds of commerce were enacted, and opposite, the Büyüik Yefī Khān with its long rectangular courtyard bounded by two galleries with arcades; this stone-built edifice underwent modifications in 1178/1764. From the 18th century, we have the Khān Shirmakesh (Khān of the Silversmiths), whose façade has alternate rows of stone and brick and which was completed in 1128/1716 on the foundations of a mint. The original feature of this building is the fact that the rooms are set on both sides of a large corridor on the upper floor and do not open on the courtyard. Taking the examples of Üsküdar, the terminus of caravan-routes on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, we may note in the 17th and the 18th centuries different categories of *khāns*: there are large buildings with many rooms and multiple stalls for saddle-animals such as the Mihrimāh Sultān and Orta Wālide Khāns, and there are luxury establishments like the Kösem Wālide Khān. There are numerous *khāns* of more modest dimensions, reserved for "merchants of land and sea." There are *khāns* for pilgrims, some of them offering lodging free of charge, but most often the Muslims would be accommodated in the town in *madrasas* or *khānākhāhs*, while Christians would lodge in monasteries. The Wakf Khān (1918) of Istanbul, with its offices and commercial facilities, bears witness to the functional evolution of the contemporary *khān*.

*Bibliography*: C. E. Arseven, *L'art turc depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, Istanbul 1939, 60, 80; A. Barthélemy, *Dict. arabe-français, dialectes de Syrie*, Paris 1935-54, s.v. Khān; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911; A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961, 421-4; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *wakāla*; K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts, Istanbul Forschungen*, 21, Berlin 1961; A. Gabriel, *Les monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Paris 1931-4; idem, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris 1940, 39-40, 239-40, 274-5; idem, *Une capitale turque*, Brousse, Paris 1958, ch. xiii; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society. i. Economic foundations*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 186-91; O. Grabar and D. Hill, *Islamic architecture and its decoration*, London 1967; E. Herzfeld,

*Damascus, Studies in architecture*, in *Ars Islamica*, x (1943), 22-5; idem, *CIA, Alep*, in *MIFAO*, Cairo 1955, 346, 375, 403-6; Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *al-Durra al-muḍī'a, A chronicle of Damascus 1389-1397*, i, tr. W. M. Brinner, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963, 338; Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'ḫḫ al-khaṭīra*, i/1, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953, 56, 73, 90-2, 149, 153; I. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967, 59-62, 249; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> s.*, Paris 1962, 81, 457, 482-4; K. Müller, *Die Karawanseraim im Vorderen Orient*, in *Bauwissenschaftliche Beiträge*, 6, Berlin 1920; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1245-8; A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.*, Damascus 1974, i, 251-4, 260-2, ii, 468-9; R. M. Riefstahl and P. Wittek, *Turkish architecture in southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge 1931; J. Sauvaget, *Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep*, in *REI* (1931), 59-114; idem, *Monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut 1932, VII, 83, 86; idem, *Les perles choisies d'Ibn al-Chihna*, Damascus 1933, 193-5; idem, *Caravansérails syriens du Hadjaj de Constantinople*, in *Ars Islamica*, iv (1937), 98-121; idem, *Caravansérails syriens du Moyen Âge*, in *ibid.*, vi (1939), 46-55, vii (1940), 1-19; idem, *Alep*, Paris 1941, 77, 172, 215, 219; H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA* (1894-6), General Index by E. Ouéchék, Damascus 1954; M. Siroux, *Caravansérails d'Iran*, in *MIFAO*, lxxxi (1949); D. and J. Sourdel, *Memorial Jean Sauvaget*, ii, Damascus 1961, 106-7; O. Turan, *Selçuk karavansarayları*, in *Belleleten*, x (1946), 471-96; B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture*, London 1959, 48-56; D. N. Wilber, *Architecture of Islamic Iran*, Princeton 1955, 37-8, 176-7, 179-80; S. K. Yetkin, *L'architecture turque en Turquie*, Paris 1962, 46-62, 153-8; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971.

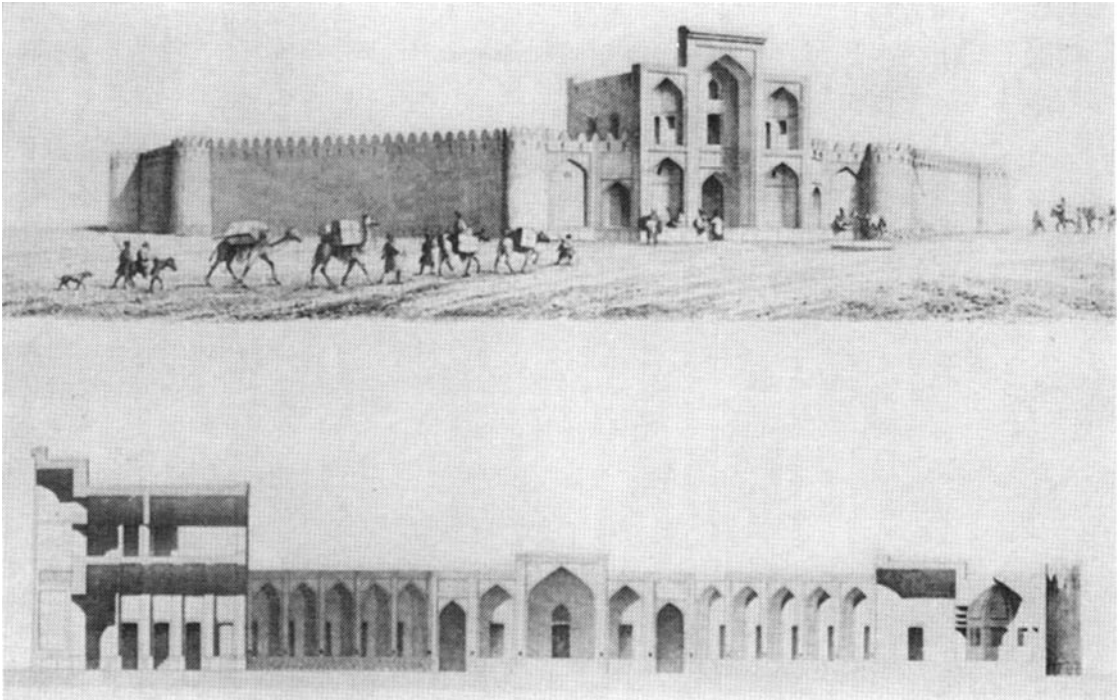
(N. ELISSÉEFF)

**KHĀN BĀLĪK** [see KHĀNBALĪK].

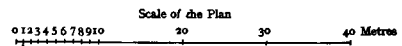
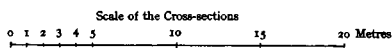
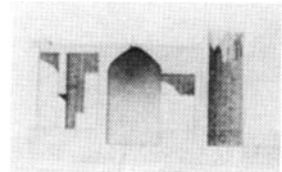
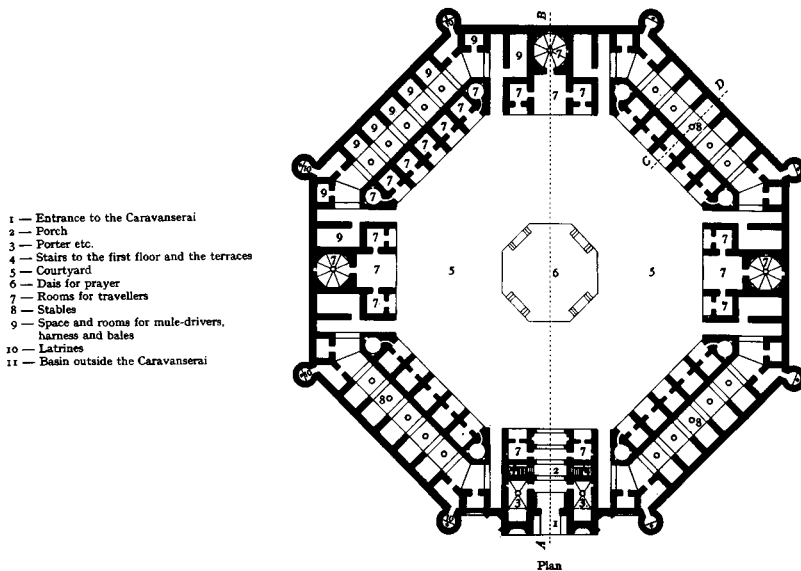
**KHĀN DJAHĀN LŌDĪ** (ca. 995-1040/ca. 1587-1631), military commander under the Mughals of India.

Pir Khān (Mir in the printed text of Shaykh Farid Bhakkārī, *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīm*, ii, Karachi 1970, is a misprint) was the younger of the two sons of Dawlat Khān Lōdī, an officer in Akbar's army and a nephew of the well-known Afghān nobleman, bearing the same name, who had invited Bābur to invade the kingdom of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī. The date of Pir Khān's birth is not recorded, but, as has been stated by Bhakkārī, he was about twenty years of age early in 1015/1607 when he was first received by Djahāngīr (*Tuzuk-e-Jehangeere*, ed. Syud 'Ahmud Khan, Ghazee-pore 1863, 42; *Dhakhīra*, ii, 74). It can, therefore, safely be assumed that he must have been born in 995/1587. The two brothers took service first under Rādīā Mansingh, and then under Prince Dāniyāl whom Akbar had appointed viceroy of the Deccan and whose service their father had joined. On the death of his father and subsequently that of his elder brother, Pir Khān was summoned to the court by Djahāngīr, who conferred on him the title of *Ṣalābat Khān* and a *manṣab* of 3,000 *dhāt* and 1,500 *sawār* besides honouring him with the epithet of *farzand* ("son"); later in the same year (and not 1017/1608 as stated by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad 1940, 226; see *Tuzuk*, 61, where the date is given as Rādīab 1016/October 1607) he was given the higher title of Khān Djahān.

In the Deccan the Mughal forces had been facing a difficult situation for several years. Hence in 1019/



Cross-section through A-B



Front, sections and plan of the *khān* of Aminābādh [P. Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, Paris 1867, Pl. lxvi].

1610 the Emperor decided to send Khān Djahān Lōdī to help Khān Khānān 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān against the Deccanī statesman and commander Malik 'Anbar (an Abyssinian or Habshī [q.v.] by birth). After the fall of Ahmadnagar, he had set up his headquarters at Khirkī, which was later given the name of Awrangābād by Prince Awrangzib. The Mughals had suffered several reverses at his hands, particularly because of the guerilla tactics which he used against their slow-moving armies laden with heavy equipment. On his arrival at the base of Burhānpūr, Khān Djahān found that the Khān Khānān had suffered a major defeat and signed a disgraceful treaty, and Ahmadnagar had also fallen to the enemy. Khān Djahān wrote to Djahāngīr that if he were given the chief command of the Deccan campaign, he would conquer Ahmadnagar and Bīdājpur within two years. The Emperor agreed and sent Khān A'zam with 10,000 troops and 2,000 ahadis to reinforce the Mughal army. According to the new plan of the campaign, Khān Djahān, Mansingh and the Amīr al-Umarā' were to march on Ahmadnagar through Berār and Khāndesh while 'Abd Allāh Khān, Ṣubahdār of Gujarāt, was to proceed from Ahmadābād by way of Nasik. Both the armies were to coordinate their movements and hem in the Deccanis, but 'Abd Allāh Khān, ignoring the advice of his colleagues to remain in contact with Khān Djahān, rushed into the territory of the enemy and sustained a defeat. The other army was also subjected to harassment by Malik 'Anbar's men who had cut their sources of supplies, and managed only with difficulty to withdraw to 'Adilābād, in the vicinity of Burhānpūr, where Prince Parwīz was encamping (*Tuzuk*, 107-8).

Djahāngīr castigated the commanders who were responsible for the defeat and transferred them to other places; Khān Djahān was also demoted and posted as Thānadār in Thalnīr, but a year later he was restored to favour. He was again sent to the Deccan with Mahābat Khān, and early in 1026/1617 he was present on the banks of the Narbada to receive Prince Khurram, who had now been appointed supreme commander of the Deccan campaign. The Prince succeeded in concluding peace with the States of Ahmadnagar and Bīdājpur and thus temporarily retrieved the Mughal position in the Deccan. Khān Djahān was among the principal officers who accompanied him on his departure from Burhānpūr and who were received by the Emperor in the fort of Māndū in Shawwāl 1026/October 1617.

In the account of the fifteenth year of his coronation, Djahāngīr says that Khān Djahān, who was a heavy drinker, suddenly abandoned this habit and "thenceforward did not touch wine despite my advice that he should give it up gradually"; possibly this action and a general change in his approach to life were due to his association with Shaykh Faḍl Allāh of Burhānpūr (see *Dhakhīra*, 115). However, in the same year he was appointed Ṣubahdār of Multān because reports were coming from the direction of Kandahār of threats on it from the Ṣafawīd Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafawī (*Dhakhīra*, 77). On receiving reports that the Persian forces had besieged it, Djahāngīr issued orders for a relief expedition, but Shāhdjāhān, who was to lead it, put forward conditions which the Emperor was not willing to accept.

In the last years of Djahāngīr's reign, the imperial court became a hotbed of intrigues on account of the plans of Nūr Djahān to raise Shahriyār, the youngest son of the Emperor, to power, because he had been married to her daughter by her former husband. Khān Djahān Lōdī, who had returned to the court in

1031/1622 and had been appointed Ṣubahdār of Gujarāt in the following year, was now ordered to take the place of Mahābat Khān as Atālik of Parwīz, and later, on his death in Muḥarram 1036/October 1626, was entrusted with the supreme command of forces in the Deccan with the title of Sipah-Sālār. On the death of Malik 'Anbar, the commander of the forces of Nizām Shāh offered submission, but this peace did not prove to be a lasting one, and it was not long before the new regent of Ahmadnagar, Ḥamid Khān, again declared war. Khān Djahān promptly opened a vigorous campaign, but instead of subjugating the enemy completely he granted him peace, restoring his territories for the very moderate sum of three lakhs of huns; some writers have, therefore, accused him of accepting this money as a bribe. It has also been suggested that by granting exceptionally easy terms, he wanted to place Nizām Shāh under obligation so that he might if necessary seek refuge with him.

At the time of Djahāngīr's death (October 1627), his son Shāhdjāhān was in the Deccan. After some hesitation, Khān Djahān Lōdī recognised his succession, and the new Emperor appointed him Governor of Berār and Khāndesh. He was directed to recover the lost territories in the Deccan; but noting his reluctance, Shāhdjāhān transferred him to Mālwā and ordered him to co-operate with Mahābat Khān in suppressing the rebellion of Djhūḍīhar Singh Bundela. After this campaign, he was summoned to court where however he was greatly disappointed at his lukewarm reception. Fearing danger, he fled in Ṣafar 1039/Sept.-Oct. 1629, and though overtaken with his followers near Dholpur, managed to escape through Gondwana and Berār to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, where he hoped to find a refuge. Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh welcomed Khān Djahān in his camp near Dawlatābād, and assigned to him the pargana of Bīr; he probably hoped to use Khān Djahān for recovering his territories lost to the Mughals.

Shāhdjāhān realised the threat to the Mughal position in the Deccan, and left Āgra in person in Rabi' II 1039/December 1629. Three detachments of Mughal forces under the general command of A'zam Khān invaded the Nizāmshāhī territories. In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1039/June 1630 the Mughals inflicted a heavy defeat on the Deccanis, but Khān Djahān nevertheless worsted one group of the invading forces. However, on the subsequent appearance of A'zam Khān's army, Khān Djahān lost his nerve. He made a stand, but was defeated and fled towards Shivagaon, and at last managed to reach Dawlatābād, where Murtaḍā had shut himself up in the fortress. In the face of Murtaḍā's unwelcoming attitude, however, Khān Djahān had to leave for Mālwā with the intention of going to the Panjab where he thought he would be able to rally the support of his fellow-tribesmen. The Mughal Emperor had him pursued to Bundelkhand, where his trusted officer, Daryā Khān, was killed in a sharp action with the forces of the Bundelah chief, Bikramādījit (Djumādā' II 1040/January 1631). Khān Djahān continued his flight and passing Kalinjar, where his son Hasan was captured and put to death by the Mughal commander, he reached and encamped by the side of a pond called Sibindah (see *Ma'āthīr al-umarā'*, i, 728), where he was attacked and slain by his pursuers. His head was taken to the court by Kāmgār, author of *Ma'āthīr-i-Djahāngīrī*, who was given the title of Ghayrat Khān.

Khān Djahān Lōdī was a brave soldier but lacked statesmanship, and this led to his downfall and ultimate ruin. The author of the *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*,

Shaykh Farīd Bhakkārī, who had served under him, nevertheless praised some of his personal qualities and says that he was a pious person, who passed hours in the society of the 'ulamā' and *shaykhs*.

*Bibliography*: 1. Primary sources. *Kh̄wādja Nī'mat Allāh, Ta'rikh-i-Khāndjahāni* (goes up to 1021/1612; see Ethé, 576, 577); Shaykh Farīd Bhakkārī, *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*, ed. S. Moinul Haq, Karachi 1970, ii; Djahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i-Djahāngīri*, ed. Syud Ahmad Khan, Ghazee-pore 1863; 'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshah-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1866, i; Sujān Rai, *Khulāṣat al-tawārikh*, ed. M. Zafar Hasan, Delhi 1918; Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-tubāb*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-74, Part i; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, Bibl. Ind., i.

2. Modern works. *The Cambridge History of India*, iv; Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad 1940; Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, Allahabad 1958. (S. MOINUL HAQ)

**KHĀN-I DJAHĀN MAKBŪL**, KIWĀM AL-MULK, minister and confidant of the Dihlī Sultans Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and Firūz-Shāh in the 8th/14th century.

Of Hindu origin (his original name was Kannū "flower"), he stemmed from Tilangānā in South India, and was converted to Islam in 722/1322 when the local Rādja surrendered to a besieging army from Dihlī under the amīr Ulugh Khān, the later Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. The amīr accordingly gave him the name of *makbūl* "the one accepted [into Islam]", and he rapidly became a favourite of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. The contemporary historian Baranī mentions him in his *Ta'rikh-i Firūz-Shāhi* as the Malik Makbūl, the *nā'ib* or deputy *wazīr* of the Sultan, and he acquired the *lakab* or honorific of Kīwām al-Mulk from the ruler also.

As well as being of undoubted administrative capability, Kīwām al-Mulk benefited from his Deccani Hindu origin, having no racial or tribal connection with the Turkish military nobility in Dihlī and being therefore utterly dependent on retaining the Sultan's favour. In 727/1327 he was in Dawlatābād or Deogīrī in the Deccan, which the Sultan had made his second capital, and after crushing the revolt of Bahrām Aybā Kīshlū Khān at Multān, was appointed governor of that important frontier province. He was subsequently transferred after a few years in Multān to Dihlī, where he became deputy to the chief financial minister or *Wazīr-i Mamālīk*, Kh̄wādja Djahān, achieving a reputation for strictness and probity in the auditing of the accounts and in the exaction of taxation from the *mukhta's* and provincial governors. He also accompanied the Sultan away from Dihlī on various military campaigns and punitive expeditions. During the years between 746/1345 and 751/1350 he was in the Deccan at Warangal, and in Guḍjārāt, subduing rebels, and shortly before Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's death in Sind in 752/1351, he returned to the capital as deputy to Kh̄wādja Djahān, the viceroy or *Nā'ib-i Ghaybat* in Dihlī during the Sultan's absence.

In the succession crisis on Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's death, Kh̄wādja Djahān promoted the short-lived cause of the child Maḥmūd against the rival contender Firūz-Shāh, the dead Sultan's cousin. Kīwām al-Mulk, however, espoused the side of Firūz-Shāh, and when the latter came to power, the new Sultan rewarded him by promoting him to the office of *Wazīr-i Mamālīk*, with the exalted titles of *Masnād-i 'Alī, A'ṣam Humāyūn, Khān-i Djahān*. He now set about restoring order in the fiscal system, after an amnesty

on outstanding debts left over from Kh̄wādja Djahān's tenure of office. He acquired far-reaching executive powers, including the hereditary grant of the vizierate for his family and the power to appoint or dismiss any official in the *Diwān-i Wizārat*. A strict system of financial control was adopted over the revenues coming in from provincial nobles and over the registering of all presents (*khiḍmātī*) in either the state treasury or else in the royal storehouse or *kārkhāna*. The purity of the coinage was regulated and the criminal law enforced. The pacific Firūz-Shāh tended to leave much of the civil administration in his hands, and when the Sultan was absent from Dihlī, Khān-i Djahān usually assumed full civil and military powers in the capital as *Nā'ib-i Ghaybat*. However, he never forgot that his whole position depended on retention of the Sultan's favour. Thus he cultivated the friendship of Firūz-Shāh's favourite slave Bashīrā, who held the office of *Amīr-i 'Arḍ* or Inspector-General of the Army with the personal title of 'Imād al-Mulk, even though the latter was notoriously corrupt. Khān-i Djahān himself acquired extensive *ikhṭā's* for the support of his official duties and rank, to the value of three million *tankāhs* per annum, and he built in them numerous markets and caravanserais and constructed irrigation canals.

He died, aged over 80, in 770/1368-9, and his office, his *ikhṭā's*, the title of Khān-i Djahān and all his other privileges were made over to his eldest son Djūna Shāh.

*Bibliography*: *Ta'rikh-i Firūz-Shāhi*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862; 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḳ al-salāḥīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948; anon., *Sirat-i Firūz-Shāhi* (compiled in 772/1370-1), Ms. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; 'Affī, *Ta'rikh-i Firūz-Shāhi*, Calcutta 1891; Khānī, *Ta'rikh-i Muḥammādī*, Ms. B. M. London; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, tr. of section on India by Agha Mahdī Husain, Baroda 1953; Yaḥyā Sirhīndī, *Ta'rikh-i Muḥārak-Shāhi*, Calcutta 1931; Shaykh Djāmāl Kamlū, *Siyar al-'arīfīn*, Ms. India Office Pers. 1313. (I. H. SIDDIQI)

**KHĀN KHĀNĀN**, a high military title in mediaeval Indo-Muslim usage. The term *Khān* [q.v.] became popular as the designation of a high officer or nobleman and in a technical sense it was used for a commander of ten thousand soldiers. In reproducing the instructions of Bughrā Khān to his son, Kayḳubād, Baranī (*Ta'rikh-i Firūz-Shāhi*, Bibl. Ind., 145) makes the former speak of a book, *Ādāb al-salāḥīn*, which had been especially brought from Baghdād for the sons of Ilutmīsh and which he had studied with Kh̄wādja Tādī al-Dīn Bukhārī; in this the legendary Iranian ruler Djāmshīd speaks of the decimal chain of command, in which a *khān* commands ten *malīks*. More historical, however, are the statements of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī in his *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālīk al-amṣār*, and al-Kāḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'-shā*, that a *khān* commanded ten thousand soldiers, a *malīk* one thousand, and an *amīr* one hundred; this decimal system probably came from Central Asia to the subcontinent.

*Khān Khānān* (Khān of Khāns) was the highest title conferred on an officer of the State, at least up to the time of Akbar, for Djahāngīr says that there was no title higher than that of *Amīr al-Umarā'*, shown also by the fact that normally the title of *Khān Khānān* was held by one person only. The first person to bear this title as recorded in the historical sources on the Dihlī sultanate was Maḥmūd, the eldest son of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz Shāh (Baranī, 176); another case is that of the brother of Khusrav Khān



the usurper (Barānī, 410). Under the Mughals, this title was conferred rather more frequently, the first person to receive it at the hands of Bābur being Dilāwar Khān, son of Dawlat Khān Lōdī. Humāyūn had conferred this title on Bayram Khān; on his dismissal early in the reign of Akbar, Mun'īm Khān received and held it till his death in 983/1575. Nine years later it was conferred on Bayram Khān's son, Mīrzā 'Abd al-Rahīm, who died in 1036/1627. Mahābat Khān (d. 1043/1634) held it in the time of Dīahāngīr and in the early years of Shāh-djahān's reign. Subsequently it was conferred on Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641), and in the early years of 'Ālamgīr's reign it was conferred on Mir Dīumla.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(S. MOINUL HAQ)

**KHĀNBĀLĪK** (usually written Khān Bālīk), the "Khān's town", the name of Pekin, the capital of the Mongol Emperors after 1264 in Eastern Turkī and Mongol and afterwards adopted by the rest of the Muslim world and even by Western Europe (*Cambaluc* and variants in S. Hallberg, *l'Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'Occident*, Göteborg 1906, 105 f.). According to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Berezin, *Trudī Vost. Old. Arkh. Obshč.* xv, Persian text, 34), Pekin (Chinese, then Cūngdū, i.e. "the middle capital") was called Khānbālīk even earlier by the Mongols, apparently as one of the chief towns of the Kin dynasty [see ČINGIZ KHĀN]. As everywhere in the Mongol Empire, Muslims enjoyed considerable prestige in Khānbālīk also. Maḥmūd Yalawāč b. Muḥammad al-Kh'ārazmī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 139), who died there in Rabī' I, 652/April 21-May 20, 1254, was several times confirmed in office as governor of North China (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 85, 309). On the assassination of the vizier Aḥmad Fanākātī in 1282 and the events that followed see *ibid.*, 508 ff.; Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, i, 415 ff.; ed. Hambis, 117-20 and index; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 10-1. On the town and its situation on the Imperial Canal cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 455 ff.; on the distances between Khānbālīk and other towns by the land routes see Waṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, 24, Indian ed., 12; *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 225 f. (al-'Umarī); Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Zafar Nāma*, Indian ed., ii, 219 f. The name Khānbālīk for Pekin was also retained after the decline of the Mongol empire in Central and Western Asia and also in Europe. On the five months' sojourn (Dec. 1420-May 1421) of the embassy of Sulṭān Shāh Rukh in Khānbālīk see *Notices et extraits*, xiv, 320 ff.; the original narrative, which survives in one MS only (Elliot 422 in Oxford, Bodleiana = *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, fols. 390<sup>b</sup> ff.), has so far not been fully investigated (brief account in Barthold, *al-Muḥaffariyya*, 27; *Mir Islama*, 107). There was a mosque in Pekin even in those days. Khānbālīk is mentioned as late as the early years of the 18th century in an anonymous history written in Kāshghar (*Zap.*, xv, 251). In the reports of the Russian Ambassadors of the 17th century, the form Kamballk (with variants) is used, under Western European influence (Yu. Arsenyew, *Puteshestviye... ruskago polannika Nik. Spafariya*, in the *Zap. Geogr. Obshč. zu old. etnogr.*, x, vip I, Index. Spafari (embassy 1675) is the first to write Piežin under the influence of the North Chinese pronunciation; this pronunciation also explains the names in the modern literature of Central Asia for Pekin (Bačīn or Bādjīn) (e.g. *Tārīkh-i Amāniyya*, 24; cf. *Zap.*, xvii, 0188 ff.

*Bibliography*: (besides the references in the text): Ch. Schefer, *Notices sur les relations des*

*peuples musulmans avec les Chinois... Centenaire de l'École de Langues Or. Viv.*, Paris 1895, 1-43; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, s.v. Cambaluc, i, 140-3 and index. (W. BARTHOLD\*)

**KHANDAK**, ditch, trench or moat. The word seems to have come into Arabic from Persian through Syriac (cf. A. Siddiqī, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919). It is also known as a place-name (cf. Yāqūt, ii, 476; al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 85). Its best-known application is to the so-called "expedition of the Khandak", in which Muḥammad foiled a Meccan attempt to storm Medina by digging a moat or trench at those parts of the oasis which were open to attack by cavalry. This was in Dhū 'l-Ka'da 5/April 627. The Meccans had been preparing for this attack on Medina since the battle of Uḥud two years earlier; they had persuaded several nomadic tribes to send contingents to join the Meccan forces, and altogether had about 10,000 men with 600 horses. Muḥammad, however, had already harvested the grain in the northern part of the oasis, and when the cavalry arrived they were soon short of fodder. Meanwhile, as soon as Muḥammad heard of the imminent departure of the army from Mecca, he summoned the Muslims to help with the digging of the *khandak*, and he himself took part in the work. Most worked with a will, and the digging is said to have been completed in six days. The Meccan cavalry, though on level ground overwhelmingly superior to the Muslim infantry, were repelled when they attempted to cross the *khandak*. With their main offensive tactic thus nullified, the Meccans and their allies were forced to set about besieging Medina—an operation in which they were wholly unskilled. After a fortnight of little military activity but much intrigue and counter-intrigue, the confederacy broke up and the siege was abandoned. The failure of the expedition greatly strengthened Muḥammad's position and led to dejection in Mecca.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Hiṣhām, 668-713; al-Wākidi (ed. Jones), 440-96; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1463-85; M. Hamidullah, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking, 1953, 25-30 (= *Islamic Review*, 1952, 1953); F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, 271-4; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 35-9; Qur'ān, XXXIII, 9-27; Wensinck, etc., *Concordance*, s.v.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**KHĀNDAMĪR**, surname of the Persian historian Ghiyāth al-Dīn who was born ca. 880/1475 into a family of high officials and scholars. His father, Kh'ādja Humām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kh'ādja Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kh'ādja Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, was for many years the minister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Abī Sa'īd, who at the end of his political career became the Timūrid ruler of Samarqand from 899-900/1494-5. The historian Mirkh'and [q.v.] was his maternal uncle and took an important part in his primary education. It is, therefore, likely that Kh'āndamīr was actually born in Herat where his grandfather lived, although the *Haft iklim* (ed. Dī. Fāḍil, Tehran 1340 sh., iii, 430) enters him under Bukhārā. The earliest patron of his own career was Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, who put his vast library at his disposal and to whom Kh'āndamīr dedicated his first three books. Shortly after the death of 'Alī Shīr in 906/1500, Kh'āndamīr entered the service of Mīrzā Badī' al-Zamān, the eldest son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqarā, who succeeded his father in 911/1506. During the years of the Uzbek invasion of the Timūrid lands which ended with the conquest of Herat by Shaybānī in 913/1507,

**Kh'āndamīr** was entrusted with diplomatic missions to potential allies of the Sultān. He was also appointed to the office of *šadr*. When the Uzbeks were marching on Herat, he wrote at the request of the citizens of the town a letter of submission to *Šhaybānī*. He remained in Herat after its capture, and he has given an account of how he and other members of the local aristocracy were squeezed by the Uzbeks (cf. *Habīb al-siyar*, Tehrān 1333 *sh.*, iv, 381 ff.). His verdict on the rule of the Šafawids, who took possession of Herat in 916/1510, was much more favourable, yet he seems not to have entered their service. In 920/1514 we find him living as a retired scholar in *Pasht* (or *Basht*), a township in the mountainous area of *Ġharġistān* to the east of Herat (*op. cit.*, iv, 397). He then attached himself to Mirzā Muḥammad-i Zamān, the eldest son of his old master Badī' al-Zamān, and performed a mission for him to the ruler of *Balkh*. Afterwards he returned to his secluded way of life and devoted himself to the writing of his main work, the chronicle *Habīb al-siyar*. Having completed this work in 927/1520, he departed from Herat and travelled by way of *Kandahār* to *Āgra* where he presented himself before *Bābur* in *Muḥarram* 935/September 1528. He entered the service of *Bābur* and accompanied him on an expedition to *Bengal* in the following year. After the death of *Bābur* in 937/1530 he served his son and successor *Humāyūn* until his own death. It is commonly said (e.g. *Firishta*, i, 402) that **Kh'āndamīr** died of dysentery on the return march from an expedition of *Humāyūn* to *Gudjarāt*, but *Badā'unī* has recorded a poetic chronogram by **Kh'āndamīr** on the death of the "riddle-maker" (*Mu'ammā'i*) *Shihāb al-Dīn*, which occurred in 942/1535-6 (*Muntakhab al-tawārikh*, Calcutta 1864-9, i, 343). At his own request he was buried at *Dihli*, near the tombs of the mystic *Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā* and the poet *Amīr Khusrāw*.

*Works.* **Kh'āndamīr** was a voluminous writer, whose collected works are not restricted to historiography proper, but include also political ethics, biography, geography and epistolography. He has left several poems as well, most of which were used as stylistic embellishment for his proseworks. As a poet, **Kh'āndamīr** made use of the penname *Mu'arikh* (cf. A. Gulġī-i Ma'ānī, *Šahrāshub dar shi'r-i fārsī*, Tehrān 1346/1967, 31 f.; idem, *Tā'rikh-i tadkhirahā-yi fārsī*, ii, Tehrān 1350/1971, 588-90).

His first work, *Ma'āshir al-mulūk*, a collection of political maxims attributed to pre-Islamic kings and sages as well as to the Prophet, the *Imāms* and the secular rulers of the Islamic period, was completed before the death of his uncle *Mīrkh'ānd*, which occurred in 903/1498 (cf. Storey, i, 102; Bregel' *Persidskaya literatura*, Moscow 1972, 380, 1398; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahāyi khaffi-i fārsī*, ii/2, Tehrān 1349/1970, 1675 ff.).

The *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fi bayān ahwāl al-akh'yār*, which was completed in 905/1499, is a concise world history digested from the *Rawdat al-ṣafā'* of his uncle but also based upon other historical material which was put at his disposal by 'Alī *Shīr Nawā'i*. The most original contribution of the author is his description of Herat and of the contemporary divines, scholars and artists living there (cf. Storey, i, 102 ff.; Bregel', 380 ff.; Munzawī, iii, 1398 f. An autograph of this work has been described by A. M. Piemontese, in *RSO*, xlvi (1971), 40-6).

Just about the time of death of his patron, in 906/1501, **Kh'āndamīr** completed a panegyric biography of 'Alī *Shīr Nawā'i* entitled *Makārim al-akh'lāk* (cf. Storey, i, 795; A. *Khayyāmpūr*, in

*Nashriyya-i Dānishkhada-i Adabiyāt-i Tabriz*, iii (1329/1950), 3-4, 41 ff. and 7, 68 ff.).

A collection of biographies of famous ministers, entitled *Dastūr al-wuzarā'*, was dedicated to **Kh'ādjā Kamāl al-Dīn Mahmūd, wazīr to Sultān *Ḥusayn Bayqarā'*, in 915/1509 (cf. Storey, i, 1091; edited by S. Nāfisi, Tehrān 1317/1938).**

**Kh'āndamīr's** contribution to epistolary literature is the collection styled *Nāma-i nāmī* (also known as *Inshā'-i Ghīyāth al-Dīn*) which is said to contain genuine historical documents. It cannot have been compiled earlier than 929/1522-3 (cf. F. Tauer, in J. Rypka, etc., *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 434, 437 n. 53; Munzawī, iii (1350/1971), 2121 f.; G. Hermann, *Der historische Gehalt des "nāmā-ye nāmī" von Ḥāndamīr*, Göttingen 1968, unpublished thesis).

The most valuable work of **Kh'āndamīr** is the *Habīb al-siyar*, a general history from the earliest times down to near the end of the life of *Shāh Ismā'īl I* (died 930/1524). The title refers to *Karīm al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh*, the Šafawid governor to whom the work was eventually dedicated, after the death of the original patron of the writer, *Sayyid Ghīyāth al-Dīn Amīr Muḥammad*. The work consists of an introduction (*dibāča*), three books (*mudjallad*), dealing respectively with pre-Islamic history, Islamic history up to the end of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, and the period of Mongol and Timurid rule till the foundation of the Šafawid state in Iran, each book being divided into four sections (*djuz'*), and an epilogue (*khātima*) containing geographical information. An interesting feature of the composition of the *Habīb al-siyar* is the occurrence of a great number of biographies at the end of the treatment of each major historical period. This innovation in Persian historiography was imitated by writers of the Šafawid period (cf. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'i, *Ridjāl-i kitāb-i Habīb al-siyar*, Tehrān 1324/1945). The original version of the chronicle (represented by the text of the lithogr. edition, Tehrān 1271/1854-5) was written in 927-30/1520-4. **Kh'āndamīr** continued however to make other, revised copies, the last we know of as yet being marked by a note added to the first volume in *Shā'bān* 935/April 1529 while the author was in the camp of *Bābur* at the *trimohini*, or the juncture of the *Sarjū* and the *Ganges*, during an expedition against *Bengal* (lith. ed. Bombay 1273/1857, i/4, 84 = ed. Tehrān 1333/1954, i, 587). On the question of the different versions of the *Habīb al-siyar*, see N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, *Redaktsii vseobščey istorii Xondemir (Khabib al-siyar)*, in *Pis'menniye pamyatniki i problemi istorii kul'turi narodov vostoka*, Leningrad 1967, 23 f.). The most interesting part of the work is of course the treatment of contemporary history from the moment where the sixth volume of *Mīrkh'ānd's* work had stopped, i.e. at the time of death of Sultān *Abū Sa'īd* in 873/1469. **Kh'āndamīr** used this part of his own work also for a continuation of the seventh volume of the *Rawdat al-ṣafā'* which was left unfinished by his uncle (cf. Storey, i, 92 f.). The historical value of the *Habīb al-siyar* is enhanced by the fact that the author was a close witness, and sometimes even a participant, of such decisive developments as the breakdown of *Timūrid* power in Central Asia and Eastern Iran under the impact of the Uzbek invasion, and the conquest of *Khurāsān* by the Šafawids. His account of *Bābur's* early career is one of the best sources for the latter's life and fills the two great gaps in the *Memoirs* of *Bābur*. He writes in the elegant Persian style of his times but applies the rhetorical embellishment with such moderation that

it does not obscure the factual contents of his text (cf. Storey i, 104-9, 1237 f.; Bregel', 383-93, 1399; Munzawi, vi, 4127-46).

The last work of Khāndamīr is the *Kānūn-i Humāyūnī* or *Humāyūnnāma*, a description of institutions, ordinances and buildings introduced or erected at the order of that ruler, made at the latter's request and completed probably in 940/1534 (cf. Storey, i, 536, 1313; ed. by M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1940).

In the introduction to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Khāndamīr claims also to have made an abridgement of the general history of Waṣṣāf [q.v.], but there are no manuscript copies of this known to exist.

The historiographical tradition of Khāndamīr's family was continued by one of his sons, Amīr Maḥmūd, who wrote a history of the reign of the early Ṣafawids (cf. Storey, i, 304, 1279; Bregel', 854-5, 1468).

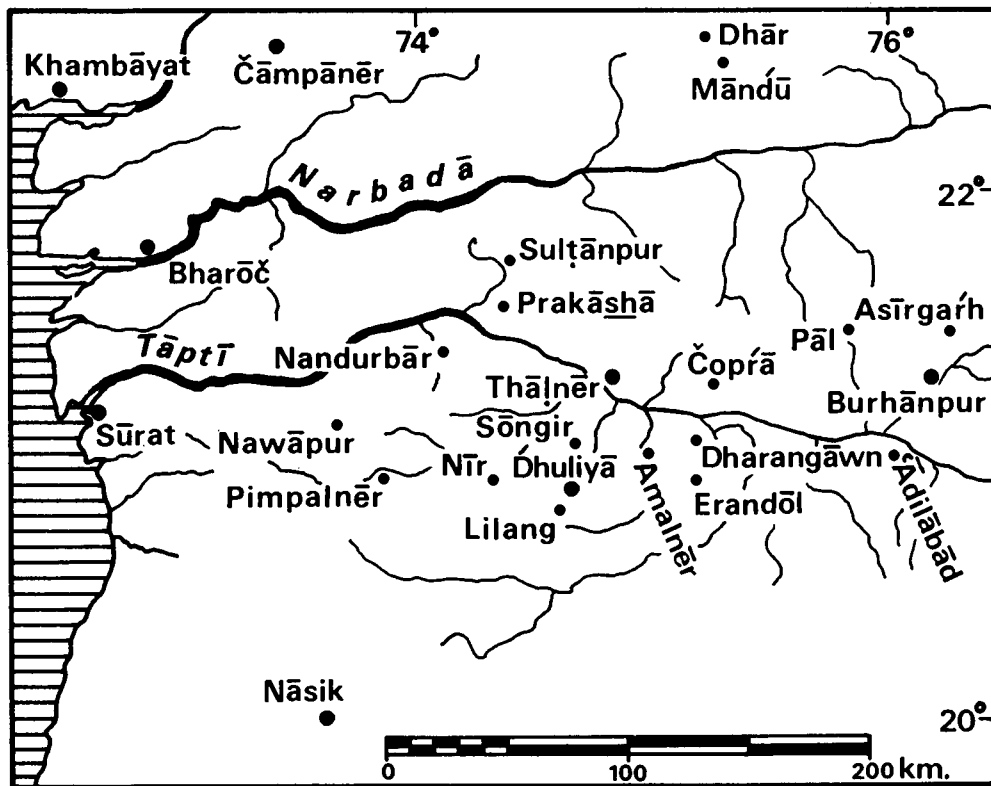
*Bibliography:* In addition to the references given in the article, further references to manuscripts, editions and translations of Khāndamīr's works as well as to secondary sources may be found in the works of Storey and Bregel' mentioned above and in the introductions to text-editions, notably those by M. Hidayat Hosain to the *Kānūn-i Humāyūn*, i-xxxvi, and the introduction by Djalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī to the edition of Tehrān 1333/1954 of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, i, 2-43.

(H. BEVERIDGE — J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

**KHĀNDĒSH**, a region of west-central India lying to the north-west of the Deccan [see DAKHAN], the upper valley of the river Tāptī (also called Tāpi), and the surrounding plain and forest country bounded on the north by the Satpufā hills and the river Narbadā, on the west separated from mainland Guḍjarāt

[q.v.] by the northern ranges of the Western Ghāfs, on the south by the Sātmālā hills which separate it from the Deccan tableland, and on the south-west by the Laling and Gālnā hills which divide it from the Nāsik district of Mahārāṣhtra. There is no well-marked eastern natural boundary, and the governed district, whether under the Dīhlī sultanate, the Fārūkī rulers, the Mughals, or the Marāṭhās, has frequently included territories outside the natural boundaries. The region owes its name to the Fārūkī rulers who, not being admitted by their more powerful neighbours of Guḍjarāt, Mālwā and the Deccan to the status of sultans, were known by the lesser title of Khān; but it has been suggested that the name Khāndēsh is a convenient Islamicisation of an older form. The Mughal *ṣūba* of Khāndēsh was for a time renamed Dāndēsh after Sulṭān Dāniyāl [q.v.], youngest son of Akbar.

The Tāptī, an ancient river flowing in a deep bed, is of no value for navigation or irrigation, although perennial; but its tributaries, all the more important of which lie on the left bank, provide irrigation water, and there is an abundance of wells in the central region. This is a 250 km. stretch of rich alluvial plain, ideal for cotton and foodgrains. The northern tract is hill forest, inhabited chiefly by Bhils; the west and south-west are also well forested. In Mughal times the region was famous for its sugar-cane, indigo, the snow-white rice of Nawāpur, and its fine cotton and the cloth trade, especially the gold and silver brocaded cloth produced at Burhānpur (J. de Thevenot, *Voyages . . . en Asie*,<sup>2</sup> Paris 1727, v, 212 ff. — J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages . . . aux Indes*, Paris 1676; although Bernier points out that the labour was exacted almost by force and that the labourers were wretchedly poor). Much of its prosperity derived



from the trade-route from the north through the Burhānpur gap, along Khāndēsh, and to Sūrat.

1. History.—The Khāndēsh region was in the time immediately before the first Muslim conquest held variously by the Yādavas of Devagiri (= Daulatābād) or a branch of the Čawhāns at Asīr. (The latter displaced the Tāks, a tribe (Takshaka) of Scythian origin; the statement s.v. ASĪRGARH identifying Tāks and Čawhāns needs correction.) In 695/1295-6 Asīrgaḥ was taken by 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldī on his return north from the Deccan expedition, although apparently the district was not laid under tribute; although the Čawhān ruler and his family were killed. Asīr seems to have been occupied by another Hindū king. In 705/1306 Malik Kāfūr [q.v.], sent from Dihlī to exact the tribute from Devagiri, occupied Sultānpur in the north-east of Khāndēsh; six years later Kāfūr, again collecting tribute, established a governor at Devagiri, and hence presumably at least controlled the western part of Khāndēsh for Dihlī. Muslim power was reinforced firstly by Kuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Khaldī, and later by Muḥammad b. Tughluq. The fact that Malik Rādīā received this region in *djāgīr* from Firūz Shāh in or before 772/1370, and that the region does not figure in the four *āyraf* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Bahman Shāh's kingdom, implies that it continued to be regarded as part of the Dihlī dominions; but many petty Rādīpūt chiefs held sway even within the central Tāptī valley region, and Malik Rādīā's first task as a *djāgīrdār* (later *sipah-sālār*) for Dihlī was bringing them under tribute. Malik Rādīā's independence from Dihlī did not come until about 784/1382 (it is worth stressing that this fell before the independence of both Guḍjarāt and Mālwa); for the history of the region from then until the capture of Asīr by Akbar in 1009/1601, see the article FĀRŪKIDS.

The *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (tr. Jarett, ii, 222-7) describes the district and its products and revenues at the time of its absorption into the Mughal empire, and European travellers (Fitch, Newberry, Jangigny) supply further information: it was highly fertile and well populated, and its markets well stocked. The *Ā'in* enumerates its sub-divisions (Nandurbār and the north-west seems to have been made over to Mālwa at this time), and mentions the principal towns and their forts (these are indicated on the map; some locations on this refer to the monuments, described below). But Khāndēsh rapidly became unsettled and its prosperity declined, and travellers in the next ten years (Hawkins, Finch) report bands of outlaws everywhere, necessitating huge armed escorts for travellers, and plundering of the country up to the Tāptī by "Deccanis": these were the bands of Marāthā mercenaries trained by Malik 'Anbar [q.v.] in guerilla warfare for the harassment of the Mughal armies, who conducted their Khāndēsh and Deccan operations from Burhānpur. Roe, in 1618, found conditions little better, although Burhānpur commanded enough trade to attract an English factory. Shāhjahān's reign saw even worse conditions at first, for the privations of the Deccan warfare were exacerbated by the terrible famine of 1039-40/1630; but conditions improved after Awrangzēb assumed the viceregency of the Deccan in 1045/1636, pacified the district, and introduced revenue reforms based on Todar Mall's earlier settlement (see PARĪBA, vi). By the mid-11th/17th century Khāndēsh knew its highest prosperity, as accounts of European travellers (Thevenot, Tavernier, Ogilby) confirm.

The peace was seriously disturbed by the rise of the Marāthās under Shivādī, who in 1081/1670 passed through Khāndēsh after the sack of Sūrat, demanding

*ḥawth* (= a fourth part of the revenues); thereafter he continued to plunder the district (especially the trade towns of Čopfā, Dharangāwn, Erandol) until his death in 1091/1680. Marāthā raids continued under Sambhādī, Burhānpur falling to them in 1096/1695, and under Shāhū, Shivādī's grandson; they were not checked until Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.], chafing against the manipulation of Mughal power by the Sayyids of Bārāh [q.v. in Suppl.], left his governorship of Mālwa and invaded Khāndēsh, then the northernmost province of the Deccan under the Sayyid Ḥusayn 'Alī. He gained possession of Asīrgaḥ and Burhānpur in 1132/1720, defeated the Sayyids' army, and moved on to assume the viceregency of the Deccan, whence he compelled from the Marāthās a guarantee of safety for Khāndēsh. His successors after his death in 1161/1748 [see HAYDARĀBĀD, i] were less competent: Šalābat Djang and the French general Bussy had to cede much of Khāndēsh and other western districts of Haydarābād in return for the guaranteed safety of the centre, and when in 1173/1760 Asīrgaḥ fell to the Peshwa Bādī Rāo the Marāthā possession of Khāndēsh was complete. For some years it remained peaceful, and recovered its prosperity, but later suffered in interneccine Marāthā struggles, and from plundering by Bhils and by disaffected Arab mercenaries in Marāthā employ. The British, first appearing in 1779, took Burhānpur and Asīr in 1803, and eventually the district was ceded to them in 1818. For the general history of the region under the Peshwas and others see MARĀTHĀS.

The British assumption of power was met with sporadic resistance from Arab bands (especially at Amalnēr, Sōngir fort), and everywhere from Bhils (two tribes of whom, the Tādvī and the Nirdhī, are Muslim, at least nominally), and it was not until 1846 that the district was finally pacified. With the reorganisation of district boundaries under the British, the Burhānpur-Asīrgaḥ region became part of the Nimār district of the Central Provinces (1864). In 1906 the district was divided into two new districts, West and East Khāndēsh; these are now known by the names of their headquarters towns, Dhulia and Jalgaon respectively.

*Bibliography:* For the early period of Khāndēsh history see Bibliography to DIHLĪ SULTANATE; for the Fārūkī period see that to FĀRŪKIDS, also ASĪRGARH, BURHĀNPUR, THĀLNĒR. To these now add H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, i, 491-516, Hyderabad 1973 (chapter on Khāndēsh by P. M. Joshi, giving many additional references to contemporary non-Muslim sources). For the Mughal period see MUĠHALS, and also: Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmi, *Ā'in-i Akbarī* and *Akbar-nāma*, ed. Bib. Ind., index; of later texts, especially 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawri, *Muntaḥhab al-lubāb*, Bib. Ind.; W. Foster (ed.), *Early travels in India*, London 1921, for Fitch, Hawkins, Finch, Coryat; ed. idem, *The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe in India*, Hakluyt Soc.<sup>3</sup> 1926; ed. idem, *English factories in India*, 13 vols., Oxford 1906-27. On trade routes: J. Deloche, *Recherches sur les routes de l'Inde au temps des Mogols*, Paris 1968 (some detailed maps on travellers' itineraries). Systematic geography of the region in O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: a general and regional geography*,<sup>3</sup> London 1957, index s.v. Khandesh. Now out of date in many particulars, but still very valuable for detailed descriptions of sub-districts, towns, products, ethnography, and history of British period up to 1880: *Gazetteer of*

the *Bombay Presidency*, xii (*Khandesh*), Bombay 1880; also *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xv, Oxford 1908, 225-39. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-KHĀNDJĪ [see HANDŽIČ in Suppl.].

**KHĀNFŪ**, an Arab name, denoting what was in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the most important port of China, and centre of the maritime commerce with the peoples of western Asia. Certain scholars have in the past (from J. Klaproth, in *JA*, v (1824), 40, up to I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême-Orient*, etc., Göteborg 1906, 213) tried to prove that *Khānfū* should not be identified with Canton, but the identification of the two cities seems certain. This view derived support from the fact of the confusion between *Khānsā* (Hang-čü) and *Khānkhū* (*Khānfū*) made by the informants of Abu 'l-Fidā (tr. Guyard, ii/2, 122-3); but in fact, *Khānfū* was the name by which Canton was known in the 3rd/9th century to the Arabs, since *Khānfū* is the rendering of Kuang-fu, the popular form of Kuang-čeu fu. According to Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 272, s.v. "Cin", there is a piece of information in Yi-tsing which states that "Če-na (Čina) is Kuang-fu (Canton); Mo-ho-čē-na (Mahāčīna) is the capital (Čang-ngan = Si-ngan fu)"; cf. Chavannes, *Religieux éminents*, 56. Again following Pelliot, thirty years after Yi-tsing (in 730), an identical passage can be found in the *Siu Ku-Kin Yi-Tsing* 't'u-tsi (Tripitaka, *kie*, iii, 93b): "The kingdom of Yin-tu (Indu, India) generally calls Kuang-fu (Canton) 'Če-na' (Čina), and gives to the imperial capital (Si-ngan-fu) the name of 'Mo-ho-čē-na' (Mahāčīna)". This note has passed into the *Song kao-seng čum* (Tripitaka, *che*, iv, 76b); cf. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, ii, 551-2.

In his commentary on the *Hūdūd al-Čalam*, 224, Minorsky gives some information concerning *Khānfū* not cited by that source.

It was only in the 8th/14th century that *Khānfū* was confused with *Khānsā* [q.v.] by the Arab travellers and by historians of the Mongols. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 92, 271-2, calls the city *Sin-Kālān* (cf. Yule, *Cathay*, etc., iv, 109, 120); this name is the Arabic form equivalent to the Indian name of Mahāčīn, whilst the Persian form was Čin-Kālān. Waṣṣāf, ed. von Hammer, i, Vienna 1856, 43, has Čin-Kālān; Raṣḥīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, ii, 493, writes "Kōngi (?) which the Persians call Čin-Kālān", which according to Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 276, should be corrected to Kōūfū, since this is one of the popular forms of Kuang-čeu fu (cf. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New-York-London 1971, 283-4, "Čin-Kālān"). Finally, Abu 'l-Fidā, in his *Geography*, ed. Reinaud, 363-4, tr. Guyard, 122-3, writes *Khānkhū*, which may be read as *Khānfū* (see above); this town (Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, 30, 123) is said to be four days' distance by boat from *Lūnkhīn-fū*, i.e. from *Lūkhīn*, which is mentioned in the 10th century as the land whose people had recently invaded Čampa. *Lūkhīn* should be corrected into *Lūfū* and identified with Long-pien = Hanoi, and as being 20 days by land.

Ibn *Khurradādhbih*'s information (text, 69, tr. 49) on the site of *Khānfū* (at a distance of 4 days by sea and 20 by land from the most southerly port of China *Lūkhīn*, modern Hanoi) can only apply to Canton, as was also noted by H. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg 1911, 22; cf. also Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert, i, 84, 90.

Among the western sources, the name of Čin-Kālān appears in Oderic of Pordenone (Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica-franciscana*, 458) in the form "Censcala", probably to be read "Nencala"; in John of Marignolli

(*ibid.*, 543) in the form of "Cynkalan", in a context which opposes this name, of which he says "it is Greater India", to that of "Cynkali", of which he says "it is Lesser India" and which he calls "Mynibar"; and finally, in the Catalan Map under the form "Cincalan", probably borrowed from Odoric (cf. on all these facts, Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 275-6, s.v. "Cin", and 583, 590, 595-6, s.v. "Čaiton", also 833, s.v. "Silingiu").

Under the T'ang, Canton was an extremely important port, where numerous Muslims settled, who in 758 plundered it (cf. e.g. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 173), an event not mentioned in Arabic sources. These last (Abū Zayd al-Sirāfi, in Reinaud, *Relations des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine*, Paris 1845, 64-5; Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, 6, 40; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 329 ff.; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, vii, 221) mention the circumstances in which a large number of foreigners (120,000 or 200,000) Muslims, Christians, Jews and Mazdeans are said to have perished at the time of the destruction of *Khānfū* by the rebel general Huang-č'ao in 264/877-8; according to the Chinese sources, Canton was captured by this latter general in 879 (cf. S. Levy, *Biography of Huang Ch'ao*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1955). It is in reference to this event that the importance of this city for overseas commerce is stressed (Pelliot, note on Ferrand's *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulayman en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851 suivi de remarques par Abū Zayd Hasan (vers 916)*, in *T'oung Pao*, xxi (1922), 410). According to the Arabic information, the city gave 50,000 *dīnārs* each day to the government (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, text 41; Ferrand, *op. cit.*, 58). When a foreign vessel arrived, the Emperor sent his eunuchs there to select the best goods (Reinaud, text, 73-4); the journey between *Khānfū* and the capital *Khūmdān* (Si-ngan-fu) took two months (*ibid.*, 77, 103). The ruler (*malik*), i.e. the governor, of *Khānfū* bore the title of *āifū* (*ibid.*, 38; according to Reinaud, n. 81, ii, 27, for Chinese Či-fu); cf. on this title, R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée*, Leiden 1948, ii, 554 *sh. c'e-fu* "army of the capital cities"—one should certainly understand here "[the chief of] the armies of the city", hence the governor. Concerning the treatment of the Chinese of merchants who had come from across the seas, cf. T. Lewicki, *Les premiers commerçants arabes en Chine*, in *RO* (1935), 173-86 (bibliography), and the Persian text of 'Awfi in Barthold, *Turkistan*, i (texts), 98.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(L. HAMBIS)

**KHĀNIKĪN**, a town in al-'Irāq, on the Helwān-Čay. The statement that Nu'mān V, king of al-Hīra, was kept here a prisoner till his death on the order of his overlord, the Sāsānian *Khūsraw* II, suggests that there was a fortress here in the period. The bridge of *Khānikīn* must also go back to Sāsānian times; it is built of brick and plaster in several arches across the river valley. At the Muslim conquest, a battle seems to have been fought at *Khānikīn*, for a "day of *Khānikīn*" is mentioned in Ibn al-Faḳīh. Under Arab rule *Khānikīn* was a small town and an unpretentious station on the road from *Baghdād* to *Khurāsān*. Ibn al-Mu'tazz praises the wine of *Khānikīn*. According to Abū Du'af, a naphtha well at *Khānikīn* yielded a considerable revenue to the state. The Zuṭṭ were deported to [the region of] *Khānikīn* after their rising in lower Mesopotamia had been suppressed in 219/834.

*Bibliography*: al-Ya'qūbī, i, 245, ii, 576;

al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 376; Ibn al-Fakīh, *BGA*, v, 172; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1028; iii, 1168; Ibn Rustah, *BGA*, vii, 164; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Bülāḳ, ii, 31, viii, 186; al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 121; al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, 320; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 393; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 61, 62, 80. (P. SCHWARZ\*)

**KHĀNḲĀH**, a composite word of Persian origin meaning a building usually reserved for Muslim mystics belonging to a dervish order. The terms *ribāṭ*, *tekke* and *zāwiya* [q.v.] refer to establishments with similar aims. After an early period of evolution which is still imperfectly known, these all became widespread throughout the Islamic world down to modern times. The usual translation of "monastery" does not, however, convey the complexity of the institution.

Etymology. From the outset, *khānḲāh* appears in two forms, sometimes in the same author: (1) the Persian form *khānagāh*, often lightened to *khānagāh*, with the *nisba* of *khānagāhī* (*Hudūd al-ʿālam*, 107; Frye, *The histories of Nishapur*, ii, 8a, 22b, 41b, iii, 19a; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, v, 29; Yāqūt, s.v. *Marw*); and (2) the Arabised form *khānḲāh* and its variant *khāniḲa*. The *nisba* of *khānḲāʿi* seems to be used only by the geographer Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-takāsim*, 44), whilst the normal term is *khānḲāhī* (*ibid.*, 323; Frye, i, 41a, 46b; al-Samʿānī, v, 29; Yāqūt, s.v. *KhāniḲa*). These uncertainties are also felt in the plural. *KhawāniḲ*, or sometimes *khawāniḲ* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, ii, 414) is mainly used by Arabic authors, but there is also found the Arabo-Persian form *khānagāhāt* (read as *khānḲāhāt* in Arabic) and the Persian plural *khānagāhā*, especially in Persian texts. In regard to meaning, the two component elements are easily identifiable: *-gāh*, Persian locative suffix becoming usually *-kāh* in Arabic; and *khān/ khāneh* with the same ambivalence as *bayt* "house", "room" (*Burhān-i qāṭiʿ*, s.v.). On the other hand, the general sense is quite obscure. In mediaeval times, other etymologies were put forward, starting from *khwān* "table" or from the root of the verb *khwāndan* "to recite". These etymologies have the advantage of providing the word with a satisfactory sense in regard to its evolution in the context of mysticism (place of the table, of recitation), but they can only be accepted in defiance of the most elementary rules of Persian orthography and Arabo-Persian phonetics: the vocable *khwā* never loses its *w* in Persian orthography, and if it passes into Arabic, becomes *khawā* or *khīwā*, cf. Pers. *khwān* cited above, which becomes Arabic *khīwān*.

History. The word *khānḲāh* seems to appear first of all in authors of the 4th/10th century, who describe it as an institution of their own time and localise these establishments above all in *Khurāsān* and *Transoxania*. The anonymous author of the *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, writing in *Gūzgān* in 372/982, gives on this topic highly valuable, though unfortunately so far unconfirmed in other sources, information: "In Samarqand stands the monastery of the Manichaeans (*khānagāh-i Mānaviyān*) who are called *nighūshāh* ("auditors")" (*Hudūd al-ʿālam*, 107, tr. Minorsky, 113). If one bears in mind the valuable information from the same period given by Ibn al-Nadīm in the *Fihrist* about the transfer of the centre of Manichaeism from *Babylonia* to *Soghdia*, the presence of these Manichaeans at *Samarqand* is not surprising. In regard to this establishment's functions, the use of the word "auditors" seems to show that it was a centre of worship as well as of teaching and evangelism, according to the traditional

and well-tryed Manichaeen system of militant evangelism (Puech, *Manichéisme*, 86 ff.).

A second, highly-important piece of evidence on the early *khānḲāhs* is provided by another contemporary, al-Muḳaddasī. According to him (179, 182, 238, 323, 365, 377), the *khānḲāhs* belonged exclusively to the theological and ascetic sect of the *Karrāmiyya*. The *Karrāmi* groups flourishing above all in *Khurāsān*, *Transoxania*, *Djurdjān* and *Ṭabaristān*, and those of the west in *Jerusalem* and around the tomb of *Ibn Karrām* there (d. 255/869), all had their *khānḲāhs*. The *nisba* of *khānḲāʿi* used by al-Muḳaddasī seems to be reserved for the *Karrāmis* alone. Mystics (the later users of *khānḲāhs*) are generally called by him (44, 118, 188, 415, 430) *Ṣūfis*, distinguished by him into specific groups and linked only with *masājids* or *ribāṭs* of the countryside. If one takes this information into account, it must be admitted that the early history of the *khānḲāh* cannot be properly elucidated until the early evolution of the *Karrāmiyya* and their eventual connections with the Manichaeans are examined [see *KARRĀMIYYA*].

However, from the end of the 4th/10th century there seems to be an evolution of the *khānḲāhs* (appearance of directors of them in *Niṣhāpūr*, Frye, i, 36b, 41a, 46b, 55b; al-Samʿānī, *nisba* of *khānḲāhī*; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 131, 344, iv, 127) into establishments connected with certain groups which become almost totally identified with them and largely disguise their origins. These groups are those of the *Ṣūfis*, often allied to *Shāfiʿism* and *Ashʿarism*; the emergence together of these and their links in eastern Persia have been too little studied (but see H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der schafiiischen Rechtsschule*, Wiesbaden 1974, and for the *Ṣūfi-Shāfiʿi* links, *Les étapes mystiques du shaykh Abū Saʿīd*, tr. M. Aghena, Paris 1974, 36).

The first half of the 5th/11th century is one of founding and organisation. The *Ṣūfi Abū Saʿīd* [see *ABŪ SAʿĪD B. ABĪ ʿĪ-KHĀYR*] (d. 440/1048) drew up a code of ten rules for the people in the *khānḲāh* (Aghena, *op. laud.*, 324, already noted by Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, 46). He was considered by the next generation as the first to have regulated the communal life in the *khānḲāhs* "according to rules still in use today" (Frye, ii, 74a). Such an enterprise inevitably led to the fabrication of references to it in the past. This is doubtless the reasoning behind the legend of the first *khānḲāh*, allegedly built at *Ramla* at the opening of the 2nd/8th century (al-Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, 9; in fact, according to al-Muḳaddasī, 164 ff., the district of *Ramla* was sprinkled with coastal *ribāṭs*). Moreover, the terminology was still indefinite; *madrāsa* could mean a centre for *Ṣūfis* (R. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 253-4), and *duwayra* often alternates with *khānḲāh* to denote the same establishment (*duwayra/khānḲāh* of al-Sulamī, in Frye, ii, 82a, iii, 6a, 18a, 27a, 42a, 73a). Finally, from this period onwards, certain *khānḲāhs* are also burial places, a fact which enabled them to benefit from the largesse of pious pilgrims (Frye, ii, 47a).

The second half of the century is marked by the alliance, in effect, of the people of the *khānḲāhs* with the *Saldjūq* ruling power. The ideological linkage of *Ṣūfism* with *Shāfiʿism-Ashʿarism* in *Khurāsān* now enjoyed an unprecedented expansion, not only on a local scale, but also outside the region (naturally, *Ḥanafism* was also able to adapt itself and integrate itself within this movement). *Saldjūq* expansionism, far from being territorial and political only, was often linked with an ideological expansionism, based in

the first instance on the spirited policies of official patrons. Niẓām al-Mulk and his Khurāsānian imitators were not the only ones to found *madrasas* and *khānkhāhs* (examples of such patronage at Nišāpūr in Frye, ii, 78b, iii, 192). The Saljūks of the west and their slave commanders, masters of Syria in the third quarter of the 5th/11th century, speedily imitated them at Aleppo and Damascus (lists of Syrian *khānkhāhs* in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, ii, 139-91, for Damascus; this list repeated with another for Aleppo and other towns by Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, iii, 765-71). In Damascus, however, there seem to be two *khānkhāhs* dating from the pre-Saljūk period; but in reality, these early foundations seem to have had little connection with the later developments in their function and probably only received the name of *khānkhāh* from the Saljūk period onwards (*Dāris*, ii, 146, 151, nos. 164, 166; Elisséeff, *op. laud.*, iii, 768, n. 1). From that time onwards, *ribāʿ* and *khānkhāh* seem to become synonymous; at the end of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Dīubayr wrote concerning Ayyūbid Syria, "As for the *ribāʿs*, called here *khānkhāhs*, there are many of them; they are meant for Šūfis, and are splendid palaces, since Šūfis are real Kings in this country" (*Rihla*, 256). In ʿIrāk, the word *ribāʿ* predominated (J. Chabbi, *Fonction du ribāʿ à Bagdād*, in *REI*, xlii/1 (1974); Aghena, *op. cit.*, 351).

In Egypt, the foundation of *khānkhāhs*, following the Saljūk tradition, began logically under the Ayyūbids after the fall of the Fātimids in the later 6th/12th century. It continued under the Mamlūks, but with some slowing-down after the second half of the 8th/14th century. The *khānkhāhs* were then gradually transformed into official institutions, hence controlled and not always linked to the Šūfi orders, which accordingly tended to move into institutions enjoying more autonomy.

Often they became part of complexes containing several institutions, e.g. *masjid-madrassa*-mausoleum. Nevertheless, terminology remained still imprecise, and mediaeval historians could not always agree on the name for such and such institution (see for all this period, art. AL-ĶĀHIRA, list of monuments shown on map, and section on Mamlūk *khānkhāhs*; al-Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, ii, 414-27). From the Ottoman period onwards (10th/16th century), *khānkhāhs* were still founded, but they appeared more and more in the form of the Turkish institution of the *tekke* (Pers. *takya*, Ar. *takiyya*). A good number of these various institutions have survived to the present days (see AL-ĶĀHIRA, section on the Ottoman period, *Madrasas, tekkes*). There is, however, a general conclusion to be drawn here: that whilst the *khānkhāhs* did not pass beyond Egypt, constituting the last wave of the original Saljūk expansion, the Turkish *tekkes* were carried along by the Ottoman conquests and reached the Maghrib.

During this time, in the east the Khurāsānian *khānkhāhs* swiftly spread beyond the Saljūk domains and reached the eastern Iranian fringes and Afghānistān, sc. the territories of the Ghaznawids and then the Ghūrīds (middle of the 6th/12th century). The severe local upheavals involving these powers seem to have affected them little, but the opposite became true with the Mongol invasions of the early 7th/13th century. The last Ghūrīds, soon replaced by their slave commanders, founders of the Dihlī sultanate, fled to India. There followed a migration, which included the Šūfis, comparable to that accompanying the westwards advance of the Saljūks. This does not of course imply that all the Persian *khānkhāhs* disappeared during the Mongol period, nor that new

institutions were not built (*Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 372, 511).

But from the course of the 7th/13th century onwards, two new dervish orders, the Čištīyya and Suhrawardiyya, founded by refugees and soon based upon a widespread network of *khānkhāhs*, appeared in the new sultanate (Kh. A. Nizami, *Some aspects of Khānqah life in mediaeval India*, in *St. Isl.* viii (1957), 52-69; see also ČIŠTĪYYA and DIHLĪ). In the 8th/14th century, the reforms imposed on the Šūfi movement by Sultan Muḥammad Tuḡluḳ took the form of a resumption of *khānkhāhs* but also of the extension of their network in the Indian territories [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN AL-BUKHĀRĪ]. This type of institution, brought from Persia in the 7th/13th century, prospered more there than almost anywhere else right down to modern times and constitutes one of the characteristic manifestations of Indian Islam [see HIND, v (a)].

Constitution and functions. It is impossible to give here more than a few bibliographical references, since such a study would be intertwined with the immense and complex question of the links between Šūfism and its various forms and the contemporary society and ruling institutions. The most exhaustive work is J. S. Tringham's *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; for the way of life in Khurāsānian *khānkhāhs*, Aghena, *op. laud.*, 79, 81, 97, 165, 180, 356, etc.; for Egyptian ones, al-Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, is a rich source; for Indian ones, Nizami, *op. laud.*

Architecture. Since they were institutions meant both for leading the communal life (rooms for prayer, corporate sessions) and also for sheltering individual mystics, often in significant numbers, all *khānkhāhs* contained both types of accommodation (and frequently too various annexes and dependent buildings permitting self-sufficiency). However, there was a great gulf between the sumptuous buildings founded under official patronage (Syria, Egypt) and the first Indian *khānkhāhs*. But neither of these gave rise to a special type of architecture distinct, for instance, from that of the *madrasas* (Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, iii, 265, 266). Moreover, at the end of the Circassian period in Egypt (9th/15th century), the *khānkhāhs* were integrated within great funerary complexes; they ceased to have individual living-rooms within them, and became non-residential centres for Šūfi activities [see AL-ĶĀHIRA, section on the Mamlūk period, *Khānkhāhs*].

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(J. CHABBI)

**KHANSĀ** or **KHINSĀ**, a town of China, in the province of Che-kiang, and capital of the empire of the southern Sung (1127-1279). From 15 December 1129 till 11 December 1277 it bore the official name of Lin-ngan, and is in fact the town of Hang-čū of the Ming. Under the Mongols it was called *Hing-tsaī suo* or *Hing-tsaī*, meaning "Temporary residence of the emperor", when the various Islamic transcriptions *Khingsāy*, *Khinsay*, *Khansa*, *Khinza*, yielding the "Quinsai" of Marco Polo and the "Camsai" of Oderic of Pordenone.

The town is often mentioned in the Mongol period, and described as one of the chief commercial centres; according to both Islamic and western sources, an important colony of Muslims was then located there, perhaps as many as 40,000 persons. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, ii, 1911, 459, 460, 489, writes *Khingsāy*, *Khinsāy*, and also Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols* . . . , i, 1836, LXXXVII, *Khinsāy*, as also K. Jahn and H. Franke, *Die Chinageschichte des Rasīd al-Dīn*, Vienna 1971, 20, l. 12. Waṣṣāf, lith. ed. Bombay 1869,

21-2, writes *Khinzāy* (or *Khanzay*, Blochet, *op. cit.*, 489, Quatremère, *op. cit.*, LXXXIX) and (*apud* Barthold) *Khitrāy*. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Kazwīnī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 215, l. 10 and 261, l. 10, writes *Khinsāy*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 284 ff. has *Khansā* (as in G. Ferrand, *Rel. de voyages et textes géogr.*, ii, 1914, 429), and connects it with the poetess al-*Khansā*' [q.v.]. Abu 'l-Fidā, tr. Reinaud, *Geogr. d'Aboulféda*, 124, has *Khansa* and also *Khinza*, as in Ferrand, *loc. cit.*, and Blochet, in *JRAS* (1917), 9. Amongst the western sources, as well as Marco Polo, tr. in Hambis, *La description du monde*, 195, 206-14, 217-18, 398, there is Oderic of Pordenone, in Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 463 (with apparatus criticus), who writes "Camsay", "Cansay"; Marignolli, in *ibid.*, i, 548, who writes "Campsay"; Pegolotti, in G. F. Pagnini, *Della decima . . .*, Lisbon and Lucca 1766, iii, 1, and Yule, *Cathay*, iii, 148, 172, "Chassai"; and in the *Livre du Grant Caan*, sometimes attributed to John of Cora, in *JA*, vi (1830), 60, "Cassay". On the other forms in various sources, see I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême-Orient dans la litt. et la cart. d'Occident*, Göteborg 1906, 428-9.

*Bibliography*: The best data can be found in A. C. Moule, *Quinsai*, Cambridge 1957, 1-53, to which may be added the Islamic sources: Quatremère, *op. cit.*, LXXXVII ff., and in Ch. Schefer, *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, 19-20, 23-4. On the foreign colony at Hang-čü, see Hirth and Rockhill, *Chao Ju-ku*, St. Petersburg 1911, 16; and on the town, Hirth, *Ueber den Schiefferkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit*, in *TP*, v, 186-390. (L. HAMBIS)

AL-KHANSĀ' ("the snub-nosed one" or "the gazelle"), sobriquet of Tumādir bint 'Amr, of the tribe of Sulaym and the clan of *Sharīd*, Arab poetess of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. She must have been born ca. 575 A.D. in the *'āliya* of Naǧīd, where her tribe was encamping. Only a few details are known of her life: the demand for her in marriage by Durayd b. al-*Šimma*, the old poet-warrior of *Djusham*, whom she refused; her marriage, after other brief liaisons, with her kinsman Mirdās b. Abī 'Amir, for whom she bore six children; her coming to Medina ca. 629 with a deputation from her tribe, in order to embrace Islam (a detail very suspect to western critics, as also is the information that she was present at the battle of al-*Kādisiyya*, where four of her sons fell fighting courageously); and her death at an advanced age at the end of 'Umar's caliphate (634-44) or even, according to another tradition, at the opening of Mu'āwiya's caliphate (661-80).

Al-*Khansā*'s fame rests on her poetic work, and above all on her elegies (*marāthī*) for her two brothers Mu'āwiya and *Šakhr*, successively killed in skirmishes of Sulaym with Murra and Asad. The *marthiya* genre, the elegy over a dead person, especially over one fallen in battle, was very old and widespread amongst the ancient pagan Arabs. It was certainly practised long before al-*Khansā*', with many well-known poets and poetesses achieving fame in it. The rôle of this poetess of Sulaym, apart from her undeniable personal talent expressing a deeply-felt sorrow, was to develop and perfect in a masterly fashion (as Rhodokanakis clearly demonstrated) the fairly rudimentary rough outlines of her predecessors. The basic stock-in-trade of images and *topoi* in the eulogising of the dead person (his liberality, valour in battle, justice and sagacity, eloquence in tribal contests of oratory, etc.), which still remained fairly stereotyped in al-*Khansā*'s poetry, was enriched by her with new expressions; these became fixed in the history of the genre after

her, but she brought in addition to these new stylistic and metrical embellishments which assured her a primacy in the elegiac genre which none could later dispute with her. One should nevertheless add that her verses make striking reading (there are about 1,000 of them, some of doubtful authenticity), especially the most famous of them, not only by their technical accomplishment, but also by the intensity, violence and tenderness of feeling, all of which place al-*Khansā*' well above the average level of accomplishment. She herself proudly proclaimed this, at the fair of 'Ukāz and elsewhere, by her insistence on a primacy in grief, no doubt along with a consciousness of her calibre as a poet. Although tradition makes her welcome Islam and even exhort her sons to fight to the death for the new faith, her poetry is wholly pagan in feeling, and her view of life and death is invariably that of the ancient *Djāhiliyya*.

Al-*Khansā*'s elegies were gathered together into a *Dīwān* in the 'Abbāsīd period, probably by Ibn al-Sikkī, and enjoyed great fame amongst the Arabs as models of the genre. Apart from the citations in Ibn Sallām, Ibn Kutayba, the *Aghānī* and other authors of 9th and 10th centuries, the poems have come down to us in several manuscripts of varying value, on which (and above all on the excellent Cairo ms.) was based the edition with commentaries of Père L. Cheikho (Beirut 1896, preceded by another edition of the same author, Beirut 1888). Père Coppier provided a good French translation (Beirut 1889), and there are other examples in Italian by G. Gabrieli in the book cited below.

*Bibliography*: T. Noeldeke, *Alchansa*, in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Poesie der alten Araber*, Hanover 1864, 152-82; G. Gabrieli, *I tempi, la vita e il conzoniere della poetessa araba al-Ḥansā*, Florence 1899, 2nd ed., Rome 1944; N. Rhodokanakis, *Al-Ḥansā und ihre Trauerlieder*, in *SBWAW*, cxlvii (Vienna 1904); R. Blachère, *HLA*, 290-2 (very sceptical, as always, about the poetess's life and the authenticity of a part at least of her work). (F. GABRIELI)

KH<sup>w</sup>ĀNSĀRĪ, SAYYID MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD BĀKĪR MŪSAWĪ ČĀHĀRSŪKĪ B. MĪRZĀ ZAYN AL-'ĀBĪDĪN (1811-95), was born into a religious notable family in *Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsār*, Persia. He studied Arabic and theology under his grandfather, Sayyid Abu 'l-*Qāsim*, and others. After his grandfather's death in 1824, however, *Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī* moved with his father to *Iṣfahān* where he studied *fiqh*, *hadīth*, and other religious subjects under *Shaykh* Muḥammad Taqī, the grandfather of *Ākā Nadjāfī* [q.v. in Suppl.], Sayyid Muḥammad *Shahshahānī*, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Karbāsī, and Sayyid Muḥammad Bākir Raṣṭī, known as "Hudjījat al-Islām". During a visit to the shrine cities of 'Irāk, *Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī* continued his studies under the religious authorities, from a number of whom he received his degree of *idjītihād*. As a *mudjītahid* he became expert in both traditional and rationalist sciences and gradually received a widely-based recognition as a religious leader in *Iṣfahān*.

Apart from leading congregational prayers and performing other religious functions, *Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī* lectured regularly before a sizable number of students in the field. Several great religious leaders and sole *marja' al-taqlīds* whom we know of have been mentioned among his disciples, such as Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzīm Ṭabāṭabā'ī Yazdī (d. 1919) and MīrZā Fāth Allāh *Shaykh* al-*Sharī'a* *Iṣfahānī* (d. 1920) (see A. H. Hairī, *Shi'ism and Constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 62-5).



**Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī** was also an active and productive writer; the 'Irāqī journal *al-Murshid* has ascribed to him 14 books and treatises on Arabic syntax, Islamic dogmatics, jurisprudence, and ethics, and other related subjects ('*All Wā'iz Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī, Kitāb-i 'ulamā'<sup>2</sup>-i mu'āsirin*, Tabriz 1947, 53-7). The grandson of **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī's** brother, Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Mūsawī, has added in his *Aḥsan al-wadī'a*, i, Najaf 1968, 102-28, another four items to the list of **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī's** works, the most well-known of which is, of course, his biographical dictionary, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fi aḥwāl al-'ulamā'<sup>2</sup> wa 'l-sādāt*, Tehran 1889.

**Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī** compiled his *Rawḍāt* in 1869, after having worked on it for over ten years. This book, which contains the biographies of over 700 learned men including the author's own (pp. 126-8), was compiled in an unusual manner which makes reference to it fairly difficult. The following authors therefore compiled separate guides to the book: Mirzā 'Aṭā' Allāh and Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Rawḍāti, **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī's** son and great-great-grandson respectively, Muḥammad Bākīr Ulfat, and Muḥammad 'Alī Mu'alim Ḥabībābādī (Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-yi āthār-i tārikhī-yi Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1965, 825).

**Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī's** approach to the subjects discussed in his *Rawḍāt* was not always objective; it was in fact overshadowed by certain sectarian tendencies, especially when he dealt with delicate problems such as that of the possibility of Ṭūsī's active role in the extinction of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in 1258 (*Rawḍāt*, 605, and Abdul-Hadi Hairī, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī: his alleged role in the fall of Baghdad*, in *Actes du 1<sup>er</sup> congrès International d'Arabistes et d'Islamistes*, Bruxelles, 31 août-6 septembre 1970, Brussels 1971, 255-66).

Since its appearance, however, the *Rawḍāt* has enjoyed a great reputation among the students of the field; it has been described by the journal *al-Murshid* as "the best and the most useful" (*aḥsan wa anfa'*) source among 14 other biographical dictionaries, such as the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* of Ibn Khallikān and the *Amal al-Amīl* of al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (Wā'iz, '*Ulamā'<sup>2</sup>-i mu'āsirin*, 54). The fame of the *Rawḍāt* has reached such an extent that its author himself has often been identified by the book and has been referred to by some biographers as Ṣāhib-i Rawḍāt al-Djannāt ("the author of . . .") (Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris, *Rayḥanat al-adab*, iii, Tehran n.d., 366-7). Many of his numerous descendants also took their last name from the title of the book and called themselves "Rawḍāti". **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī**, who was buried in the Takht-i Fūlād of Iṣfahān, left seven sons, five of whom succeeded in occupying certain distinguished religious positions.

*Bibliography:* Murtaḍā Anṣārī, *Zindigāni wa shakhsīyat-i Shaykh Anṣārī kuddāsa sirrūh*, 1960; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāṣir al-Sharī'a, *Tārikh-i Kum*, Kum 1971; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, iv, Cambridge 1953; 'Abbās Kummī, *Hadīyat al-aḥbāb*, Najaf 1930; Muḥammad Ḥasan I'timād al-Saltāna, *Ma'āthir wa 'l-āthār*, Tehran 1888; Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm al-Iṣfahānī, *Tadhkirat al-kubūr, riḍāl-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1906; Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i riḍāl-i Irān*, v, Tehran 1971; Abu 'l-Faḍl Sāwadjī *et alii*, *Nāma-yi dānishwarān*, Tehran 1878-1906; Zahra Khānlari "Kīyā", *Farhang-i adabīyāt-i fārsī*, Tehran 1969; Ḡulām Ḥusayn Muṣāhib, ed., *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i fārsī*, i, Tehran 1966; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Hirz al-Dīn, *Ma'ārif al-riḍāl*, Najaf 1964-5; Ḥasan Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, *Tārikh-i Iṣfahān wa Ray wa ḥama-yi djāhān*, Tehran

1943; Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *Tabakāt A'lām al-Shī'a*, i, Najaf 1954; Khānbābā Mushār, *Mu'allīfin-i kutub-i kāpī-yi fārsī wa 'arabī*, Tehran 1961; 'Abbās Kummī, *Fawā'id al-riḍawīyya fi aḥwāl 'ulamā'<sup>2</sup> madhhab al-Djāfariyya*, Tehran 1947; Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Rawḍāti, *Zindigāni-yi Āyat Allāh Cahārsūki*, Iṣfahān 1953.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

**KH<sup>w</sup>ĀNSĀRĪ**, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD TAQĪ MŪSĀWĪ (1887-1952), a Shī'ī *muḍjtaḥid* of distinguished piety; he was born into a clerical family to which belonged celebrated *fakīhs* such as Sayyid Ḥusayn (d. 1777) and Abu 'l-Kāsim Dja'far b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1744). After a preliminary education in **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsār**, he moved to Najaf in 1904 and studied under the then religious leaders, including Muḥammad Kāzīm Khurāsānī and Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī. He stayed in 'Irāk until the outbreak of World War I when the Shī'ī authorities of 'Irāk, in an expedient response to the Ottoman declaration of *djihad*, declared a holy war against the British and their allies. Led by the Shī'ī leaders, at whose head was Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Shīrāzī, **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī** joined the *djihad* campaign, which proved however abortive and resulted in his banishment to India while suffering from a wound received in the Mesopotamian war. After 4 years in exile, **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī** returned to his home town and later on, because of the establishment of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Ḥā'irī Yazdī [see ḤĀ'IRĪ in Suppl.] of the Circle for Religious Studies in Arāk (Iran), he moved to that city to attend Ḥā'irī's lectures. In 1922, when Ḥā'irī moved to Kum in order to re-establish its Circle for Religious Studies, **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī** accompanied him. In both Circles he also undertook a series of lectures on Islamic subjects. After Ḥā'irī's death in 1937, **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī** was recognized as a *marja'<sup>2</sup>-i taqlīd* by a considerable number of people and, in co-operation with two other *muḍjtaḥids* (Ṣadr and Ḥudjdiat), he took the responsibility of the Kum Circle, whose students had by then exceeded 700. In 1941 he took the initiative in leading the Friday Prayer, a tradition which had long been abandoned among the Shī'a in Iran. **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī's** name has also been associated with the 1943 prayer for rain, which was led by him and attended by some 20,000 people in Kum; "his prayer resulted in a heavy rainfall which astonished both Iranians and foreigners." (Mullā 'Alī Wā'iz Khīyābānī, *Kitāb-i 'ulamā'<sup>2</sup>-i mu'āsirin*, Tabriz 1947, 211-13).

In the arena of politics also, we see **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī** quite active. He supported the pro-Palestine movement in 1947-8 (cf. *Ustuwār* of those years); he issued a *fatwā* against a feudal candidate from Kum for the 17th Iranian Parliament in 1952 (Abdul Hadi Hairī's series of articles in *Ustuwār*, *Kānūn*, and *Payḥār-i Mardān* of 1952); and he sanctioned Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddīk's measures towards the nationalisation of the Persian Oil in 1952. In his *fatwā*, which gained him an overwhelmingly popular support, **Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī** declared that supporting the measures taken by Muṣaddīk was a most urgent Islamic duty of every Iranian Muslim (see *inter alia*, *Iḥtilā'āt*, *Kayhān*, and *Bākhshār-i Imrūz* of the period).

*Bibliography:* Abdul-Hadi Hairī, *Shimma-yi az aḥwāl-i Āyat Allāh Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Kh<sup>w</sup>ānsārī*, in *Muslimīn*, i, 1951; Muḥammad Rāzī, *Āthār al-Ḥudjdiya*, i-ii, Kum 1954-5; Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīfrazī, *Gandjīna-yi dānishmandān*, Tehran 1973; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāṣir al-Sharī'a, *Tārikh-i Kum*, Kum 1971; Sayyid 'Alī Riḍā Rayḥān Yazdī, *Ā'ina-yi dānishwarān*, Tehran 1967.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

**KHĀN-ZĀDA BĒGUM**, the title ("Princess") of Sevin Beg, a grand-daughter of Özbek, the ruler of the Golden Horde, and the wife successively of Timūr's eldest son Djahāngir and his third son Mirānshāh. After Mirānshāh's outbreak of madness at Tabriz she came in person to Samarkand to report his behaviour to Timūr. Dawlatshāh describes the interview with their father-in-law "with colourful details which are not in the other sources and can hardly be true".

*Bibliography*: Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Adjā'ib al-makdūr fi nawā'ib Timūr*, Cairo 1305/1887-8; Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, ed. B. Urubaeu, Tashkent 1972; Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Itinéraire de l'ambassade espagnole à Samarcande en 1403-1406*, ed. I. J. Sreznevsky, St. Petersburg 1881; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*, ed. E. G. Browne, London 1901; V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies in the History of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958. (J. A. BOYLE)

**KHANZĪT** (Grk. Antizene, in Yākut Hinzit), name of the province and of the basin enclosed between the great bend of the Euphrates to the NNW of Malatya and the Djabal Baharmaz, with the "little lake" Göldjūk (Ar. al-Buḥayra) of Dzovk (Ar. al-Bahīratān) at its foot; one of the great communication routes of history passes from here towards the Tigris sources. This region of Khanzīt was for long Armenian (in the 6th/12th century the Catholics of the Armenian Church resided at Dzovk); after being conquered by the Arabs it was reconquered by the Byzantines in the 4th/10th century. Then towards the end of the next century it was incorporated in the Turkish territories, first of the Hişn Kayfā branch of the Artuqids for more than a century, and then ca. 628/1230, of the Saldjūks of Asia Minor. Its principal town was Khartpert (in Yākut, Khartabirt, sometimes wrongly read as Khartput, Kharpūt), situated on a rock, as this Armenian name evokes, near the modern al-'Aziz; its Arabic name was Hişn Ziyād.

*Bibliography*: E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reichs*, Brussels 1935, index; Cl. Cahen, *Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtuqides*, in *JA*, ccxxvii (1935), 219-76; idem, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index.

(CL. CAHEN)

**KHAPUTS** (Russian designation—Khaputtsi, Gaputlints, Khaputlints (from the aul Khaput); other designation—Khaputli), a small Caucasian ethnical group, forming with the Krlz [q.v.] and the Dzhek the Dzhek subdivision of the Samurian group (Lezhgin, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek) of the Northeastern Ibero-Caucasian language family.

According to the Soviet census, in 1926 there were ethnically 12 Khaputs, and linguistically 4,284 (including speakers of Dzhek and Krlz dialects); in 1933 (estimation) there were 3,000 Khaputs, living in several auls in the Shakhdagh area, southwest of Konakhkend (Azerbaijan S.S.R.). The Khaputs are Sunni Muslims of the Shāfi'ī rite.

The traditional economy of the Khaputs was based on sedentary animal husbandry, agriculture, and horticulture. The Khaput language is only a variant of Dzhek (as is Krlz), which is a purely vernacular language; Azeri is used as the literary language, and the Khaputs are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

*Bibliography*: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane: le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *REI* (1955), 7-56; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges,

*Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958. (R. WIXMAN)

**KH<sup>w</sup>ĀR**, a group of villages in northern Persia, at present in the *shahristān* of Garmsār in the Central Province (*ustān-i markazi*), centred on approximately lat. 35° 15' N. and long. 52° 20' E. and lying at an altitude of 2776 feet. It is bounded on the north by the mountain districts of Damāwand and Firūzkūh, on the east by Simnān, on the west by Varāmīn and on the south by salt desert stretching away to Kāshān and Ardīstān. It was often called Kh<sup>w</sup>ār-i Ray to distinguish it from another Kh<sup>w</sup>ār in Fārs about which little is known. As a district, Kh<sup>w</sup>ār was generally considered to include the historically known villages of Ārādān and Dih Namak (earlier Karyat al-Milh), but not Lasgird to the east or Ayyvānikay (Ayyvān-i Kayf) to the west.

Kh<sup>w</sup>ār lies on the plain just east of the pass which is now identified with the Caspian Gates of the Ancient World, and constitutes a stage on the old arterial route that skirts the southern slopes of the Alburz from Rayy to Khurāsān. It was reckoned as three marches from Rayy and three from Simnān. An important route to the Caspian Sea leads north from Kh<sup>w</sup>ār up the valley of the Habla Rūd, and the stone road (*sangfarsh*) that was built under Shāh 'Abbās to shorten the route from Işfāhān to Khurāsān starts some 10 km. to the south of the fields of Kh<sup>w</sup>ār and leads south over salt mud flats (*kavir*) to Siyāh Kūh. Much of the *sangfarsh* is still intact. The name Kh<sup>w</sup>ār was characteristically applied both to the district and to the primary village; today, the name Garmsār is similarly applied to both. Historically, the present centre was known as Kishlāk, and this lies 114.5 km. from Tehrān by the railway line that was completed in 1938. Kishlāk remains the formal name of the *bakhsh* (administrative division) of the district. The name derived from the fact that Kh<sup>w</sup>ār has historically served as the *kishlāk* ("winter quarters") for the population of Firūzkūh in the mountains to the north, with which it has always been closely connected. Garmsār is probably simply an Iranicisation of Kishlāk, although *garmsār* is the more common equivalent. Paradoxically, Kh<sup>w</sup>ār was considered to be the coldest part of the province of Kūmīsh.

Kh<sup>w</sup>ār was a flat, well-watered plain surrounded by mountains on the north and west and looking out on to the great salt desert on the south and east. Alberts, in *Social structure and culture change in an Iranian village* (see bibliography), estimates the total area of the district at 2,000 km.<sup>2</sup> of which 230 km.<sup>2</sup> were the cultivable lands of 73 villages, and 185 km.<sup>2</sup> were cultivated in 1956. Twenty of the villages were *khālīşa* [q.v.]. According to the 1966 Census, the population of the district was 35,678, an increase of some 2,000 over the figure given in the first Census a decade earlier. This population was by no means homogeneous. Apart from Persian-speaking cultivators and transhumants from Firūzkūh—some of whom are said to speak a Simnānī dialect—there are several tribal groups which are mostly Turkish speaking. Of these the most significant are Pazuki, Osanlu, Alikahi, and Koti (transliteration uncertain). The Pazuki were traditionally a landowning élite in Ārādān, and appear to have split from a larger Pazuki grouping and settled in Kh<sup>w</sup>ār at the beginning of the 19th century (see Houtum-Schindler, cited in bibliography). The other groups are pastoralist, and in 1958 the Koti still lived exclusively in tents (see Alberts).

Kh<sup>w</sup>ār owed its existence as an agricultural centre

to the Habla Rūd which flows down from Firūzkūh. Curzon, *Persia*, i, 293, writes of an "abundant stream" that "descends from the mountains and separates into many channels, of which I must have crossed twenty in the space of half a mile. Cultivation improves in the same ratio, and at Kishlak . . . , which is *khalīṣāh*, or Crown property, is responsible for the grain and fodder with which the royal stables are supplied at Teheran".

In the late 1950s, 59 of the 73 villages of Kh<sup>w</sup>ār took all their water from the river. Three were supplied exclusively from *kanāts* while the remainder used both. There were 30 functioning *kanāts* and 15 in disrepair. The water was regulated for irrigation purposes by the Independent Irrigation Authority (*Bungāh-i mustakill-i ābyārī*). Regulation and supervision were apparently essential; when the water was low during the summer season, the villages would send representatives to watch upstream distribution points to prevent theft, and during the spring floods, damage was common (see Alberts).

Kh<sup>w</sup>ār provides an excellent example of a small-river irrigation system from the Iranian Plateau. The annual statistics of the *Bungāh-i mustakill-i ābyārī* for the 1950s show that the average monthly flow of the Habla Rūd at the point where it enters the plain varied between a low in late summer of 2.2 and a high in spring of 22.6 cubic metres per second. (For comparison: during the same period the most important river on the Plateau, the Zāyanda Rūd at Iṣfahān, showed a low of 13 and a high of 202 cubic metres per second).

The existence of such a good and reliable supply of water at an isolated point on a major arterial route makes it *a priori* likely that Kh<sup>w</sup>ār would have been one of the earliest centres of agricultural development on the Iranian Plateau. This hypothesis is corroborated by the known antiquity of the name Kh<sup>w</sup>ār and the abundance not only of ruins but of impressive archaeological mounds; unfortunately, however, no intensive archaeological research has yet been undertaken that might confirm it.

Because of its position as a stage on the route to Khurāsān, most travellers' accounts, geographies and histories from the earliest times to the present contain some reference to Kh<sup>w</sup>ār, yet it seldom seems to have stimulated more than a passing reference to its pleasantness or unpleasantness. It may never have supported a town large enough to engage the traveller's attention, although Ibn Hawḳal does use the term *shahr* to describe it. Generally, its fortunes seem to have varied with the long-term trends of the Plateau. Before it was occupied and plundered by the incoming Oghuz in the first half of the 5th/11th century, it was considered populous and fertile. It generally had an independent but low-ranking governor, and much of it became *khalīṣā* under the Sāfawids. Under Rīdā Shāh, the district became a *bakhsh* of Tehran, and was only restored to its relatively independent status as a *shahristān* during the 1960s.

The district of Kh<sup>w</sup>ār is unique as the site of the only detailed village study that has yet been carried out on the Iranian Plateau (by Alberts, see bibliography).

*Bibliography*: Significant information from early travellers and geographers is assembled in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographien*, and G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. Among later sources, very few add useful information, but see M. Danssy, *Mémoire sur les observations faites en 1307 par*

*M. le capitaine du génie Truilhier, dans son voyage en Perse*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Deuxième Série, xv, 94-114; C. Clerk, *Notes on Persia, Khorassan, and Afghanistan*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxi (1861), 37-65; A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1896; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892 (the most detailed account); and A. Gabriel, *Durch Persiens Wüsten*, Stuttgart 1935. Administrative information for the Sāfawid period is assembled in K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966. Finally, R. Alberts, *Social structure and cultural change in an Iranian village* is a detailed study of Dāvārābād, one of the major villages of the *shahristān* of Kh<sup>w</sup>ār (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1963, unpublished).

(B. SPOONER)

**KHARĀDJ**, a word derived, via Syriac, from Greek χορηγία, but attached by the Arabs to the native root *kh. r. dj*. Contrary to its original meaning, the word seems, in the current usage of the Near East, to have denoted "tax" in general, and is in fact found with reference to various specific taxes, thus causing considerable confusion [see *DIJZYA*]. Arabic technical and legal literature uses it more specifically, at least in the period before the formation of Turkish states, in the sense of land tax, and it is in this sense which is exclusively discussed in the present article. For other taxes, see BAYT AL-MĀL, DARĪBA, DAY'Ā and *DIJZYA*.

#### I.—IN THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN ISLAMIC LANDS.

At the outset of their conquests, the Arabs—whatever agreements had been made with the conquered towns—were in general careful to levy some kind of tribute which would reflect their own sovereignty and overlordship, whilst leaving to the indigenous authorities the task of raising the taxation according to their own traditions, as being the only authority capable of doing this. Even when a financial organisation more integrated with the new régime was set up, they were unable, or were largely unwilling, to do anything but follow the old traditions here, which were adapted to local geographical traditions and inherited from a long background of bureaucratic state organisations. It was of little importance that for the Arabs, these taxes were an acknowledgement of Islamic domination; for the populace, it was simply a case of the old taxes going to new masters. Because of this continuity, the Islamic fiscal system varied from region to region in such a way that it would never be able entirely to absorb the conceptualisation of the *fikh* or the centralising efforts of the 'Abbāsīd administration. It is accordingly all the more necessary to bear this basic truth in mind, since the paucity of information means that there is a risk in applying the state of affairs in certain regions which were privileged in this respect, above all 'Irāk and Egypt, to other parts of the Islamic world, whose individual characteristics must on the contrary be brought out.

Whether the texts of treaties handed down by later authors like al-Balādhurī are completely authentic or whether they have been put together later in order to explain the actual existing differences of organisation, known as such but not actually explicable, they undoubtedly convey the ideas of the first generations of Muslims. Some general principles emerge from amongst the particular practices. The first is the guaranteeing of their lands to all proprietors—at this time non-Muslim—in such a way as

to assure their value. They paid tax on these lands, apart from certain groups of owners on the frontiers, from whom some form of military service was required in lieu of tax, and apart from some pastoralist groups who paid in other ways, e.g. in slaves, beasts, manufactured products, etc. It is true that at the outset, there was a feeling amongst the Arabs that they should acquire the lands, which would then be liable only to the voluntary precept (*zakāt*) paid by the Muslim to the Islamic community; but the first caliphs assured the victory of the principle of the *fay*' [q.v.], the collective plunder made into a kind of pious or beneficial trust for the benefit of the whole community, present and future, over those who would have treated real property on the same basis as the movable property distributed as *ghanima* to the individual warriors. The land became therefore normally liable to tax, as it had been under the previous régimes.

Three points should be noted clearly, if one is to understand the future developments. Firstly, at the side of the non-Muslims' individual possessions, the new Islamic state allotted to some leading Muslims grants (*ḥafā'ī*)<sup>15</sup> in emphyteusis out of lands inherited from the previous régimes or from the territories of the old landlords who had since disappeared, and these grants were substantially the same as the properties already held by the Muslims in Arabia. From the fiscal point of view, these lands were henceforth only liable to the *zakāt* covering all the Muslims' possessions, taking here the form of a tithe (*'ushr*); the difference between this tithe and the payments exacted from the cultivators, analogous to the ordinary land tax of the *ḥharādī*, which was much higher, constituted the beneficial interest of this class of Muslim notables. This distinction must be borne in mind, as will appear later.

Secondly, there had existed under the previous régimes, more or less clearly, the idea of a land tax specifically conceived thus plus that of a poll tax levied on inferior strata of the population. In fact, the levying of the two taxes seems frequently to have been combined in the Byzantine empire, though less frequently, it appears, among the Sāsānids.

Finally, under the Muslims as previously, the tax was in general levied not directly upon individual properties but—outside the suburban areas of the cities—collectively upon the villages, according to the amount and state of the cultivated lands there. Hence the shortfall from an individual in no way reduced the obligations of the collectively responsible body.

Bearing these points in mind, we can study how the *ḥharādī* system was organised and developed under the new administration, and especially, when conversion of the indigenous peoples began to increase. It is often said that the heavy incidence of the land tax was one of the causes of conversion to Islam, but in practice, this movement of conversion, which was a slow one, took place in a much more complex fashion. The cultivation of village land and the payment of taxation to the treasury were in practice collective responsibilities, so that individual conversions were only possible by means of flight to the towns, this being against the will and interest of the remaining peasants, who were held responsible for the taxation lacking. When the attraction of the towns caused an increase in flight to them, the state, afraid of the loss of revenue involved, forbade flight and sent the fugitives back to their villages, paradoxically arriving at a state in which this type of conversion was stopped (al-Ḥadīdī's policy in

‘Irāk). Moreover, the idea soon evolved that conversion, if it entailed liberation from tax of a personal character, did not involve freedom from a tax which was a kind of beneficial foundation in perpetuity for the Muslim community. In this case, a distinction was made, wherever it was not clear, between the personal *ḍjizya* and the *ḥharādī* land tax, and since the convert had to pay the *zakāt* [q.v.], the benefit allowed for in the whole operation became very debatable. It was only later, under the pressure of an evolution of the state of affairs, that conversions took place collectively, by whole villages, without the fiscal structure being however changed.

From the technical point of view, there were two great problems in the administration of the *ḥharādī*: those of perception of the tax and of its method of collection. In all directly administered districts, a land survey or cadaster had been made [see *ḲĀNŪN*]. But whilst in the lands under the Sāsānid tradition and in others like Egypt, the basis was a fixed unit of land surface, the *ḍjarīb* in the East and the *fadān* in Egypt, in other, former Byzantine lands—as in the greater part of Europe—the unit was the amount of land which could be ploughed by a pair of oxen, which meant differences in actual area involved, according to the differing geographical conditions. In the latter case, the same amount of tax could be levied on two different amounts in area of land; but in the first case, the unit of surface area had to be adjusted in order to fix a level of taxation suitable to the land's potential. The factors involved here were essentially those of irrigation, natural or artificial, but also the general fertility which could be estimated experimentally through a periodic survey of the average yield over a certain number of years, with reductions and even exemptions being granted in the case of natural disasters; this procedure of estimating was called *'ibra*.

This question was, in fact, linked with that of the method of payment of the tax. In ancient times, there had been, *grosso modo*, no other possibility except the sharing of the crop, according to fixed proportions, between the cultivators and the state. But, as a money economy developed, the inconveniences of this procedure began to be felt, e.g. transport difficulties, fluctuation of prices and consequently, of the real income accruing to the state, profits for speculators and injustices for the tax-payers. Hence the Roman and Sāsānid governments introduced a system involving a fixed tariff of payment, and where possible, payment in money. Conversely, the disadvantages of the new system were not long in appearing: the peasants, rarely having immediately at hand the monetary sums demanded by the treasury, were obliged to borrow, often under ruinous conditions, and grain merchants could speculate on the difference between the low prices at harvest times and the high prices of the stocks of grain subsequently released. The Muslim régime at first retained as they were the Roman and Sāsānid usages which they found in the conquered countries, but under the first ‘Abbāsids there was a reversion, at least in the Sawād of Baghdād, to a proportional payment in kind, which furthermore best corresponded to the requirements of provisioning the great city; whatever one may say, it does not seem that this reform was generally applied elsewhere, and especially not in Iran. Indeed, in many provinces there was a mixed system, i.e. proportional payment in kind was exacted on certain products of the ground (especially grain), whilst others were taxed on a monetary basis (especially plants used in manu-

facturing, hence of more commercial utility). Moreover, even in the case of payment in kind, there was allowed, by means of a table of equivalences (*ta'asir*), the substitution, at least in certain cases, of one product for another, e.g. a quantity of wheat for a double quantity of barley (barley cost usually only half that of wheat), etc. The system of payment in kind had various names, the most general being *muḥāsama* (lit. "sharing"), that of *ḥharādī* itself, and at the same time others specially connected with a particular technical term or usage (in Egypt, *muḥāsana*, taxation by *faddān*), meaning taxation in kind generally. In effect, *muḥāsama* brought the taxpayer into the same status as the share-cropper, especially the share-cropper on state lands, because the latter always paid his dues to the landholder in kind on a basis of proportional sharing-out. It is possible that the *muḥāsama* system spread *pari passu* with that of the military *ikhfā'* [q.v.], since in general the *muḥḥa'* was a person already accustomed in other circumstances to control property exploited by métayage, and found the direct delivery of grain useful for his animals. Various lesser taxes were added to the *ḥharādī* proper, despite the lawyers' protests, in order to compensate and remunerate the different officials involved in the perception and collection of the tax.

In Egypt, where various authors dispute whether there ever was properly speaking any *ḥharādī*, taxation in all forms had its own special features, due especially to the rise and fall of the Nile floods and the use of them by the state since the time of the Pharaohs. In Egypt, the survey made at the time of the seasonal fall of the waters showed not only the area of land involved but also the necessary amount of cultivation to be done in regard to the level to be attained by the floods, whence the amount of taxation that could normally be expected. It is because of the misunderstanding of this system that it has been thought, on the basis of a passage in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, that this involved a tax system by apportionment, with a global total fixed arbitrarily in advance and then divided out by quotas on the districts and then villages. It was in fact nothing of the kind, but it was possible to calculate in advance the expected total, and for the process of perception, the accountancy offices of the time noted first of all the total and then the details.

In districts where administration was difficult, or simply when it was desired to favour some exalted person, *ighār* [q.v.] reductions or *muḥāfa'a* tax-farming contracts were granted to be set against the *ḥharādī*. In many cases, and especially in Egypt, where the system worked to the benefit of the army leaders, a notable guaranteed in advance the sum of taxation which the area was obligated to pay the exchequer (the *ḥabāla* [q.v.] system). In Egypt, there was a kind of adjudication process, and the sum handed over was not that of the tax, but of the tax with the subtraction of the equivalent of a salary for the beneficiary, an original local adaptation of what was elsewhere the *ḥafi'a* [q.v.] which was to lead to the *ikhfā'*. Furthermore, it appears that the peasants were compelled to cultivate certain lands belonging to the state, on which they paid taxes (*rusūm*) distinct from the *ḥharādī*, and this was also the case with pasture grounds. There was also added to the tax proper, on all the village, various small exactions in kind (straw, chickens, etc.). Inevitably, many places were in part or wholly bankrupt; in that case, the remaining amount (*bāḥi*) was noted down and carried over to the next assessment. Since this in

itself reduced the chances of attaining solvency, a compromise was usually reached after a certain time. In regard to collection of taxation in kind, it often happened that the peasant had not enough seed left from his own share of the crop to sow for the following year; he might then be lent, perhaps as a simple advance, a quantity of seed (*takāwī*). The later development of the *ikhfā'* system was to affect the levying of the *ḥharādī* but not its organisation, which the *muḥḥa'* had to respect. A tax paid in kind or narrowly dependant on the harvests was naturally paid according to the solar year; but in the case of tax-farming by contract or of a fixed amount, the exchequer made as many as possible of its demands by the lunar year, as with all other taxes not linked with the land. It appears also that payments were often made not all at once, but e.g. in three instalments; this was especially the case for taxes paid in cash, which the tax-payer had more latitude in obtaining. But apart from this, the taxes levied in kind or in cash on cultivated land were naturally paid over at different times as the crops ripened at various points of time.

For the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, we possess four budgets, bearing almost exclusively on the land tax, and leaving aside the other taxes. These budgets have been discussed in the article BAYT AL-MĀL (add to the Bibl. there Ṣ. al-'Alī in the present Bibl., below).

The various modes of tax-levying have already been alluded to. In general, administration and perception of taxation by a state agent (*'āmil*) was distinguished from tax-farming (*ḍamān*), which, as explained, should be distinguished from *ḥabāla*. Whatever régime was involved, the tax-collector arrived accompanied by police officers and various technical staff, such as the surveyor (*māsīḥ*) and the assayer-money changer (*dīahbadh*), for whose benefit the minor taxes mentioned above were exacted. Naturally, these all had to be given hospitality, which was also done according to a tariff. The various operations stretching from the preliminary survey to the actual collection generated mounds of papers setting forth the situation from the exchequer's point of view on one side, and the tax-payers' one on the other, and the final demand handed over to the payer had to be paid and a receipt obtained.

All that has been said so far rests on a purely eastern documentation and thus concerns the Muslim east exclusively. In the west, the information available and the studies so far made do not seem to admit such precision. A fairly strong impression may nevertheless be gleaned that at the time of the Arab conquests there was not so strong a division made between the possessions left to the indigenous peoples and the Muslim share of property, and that very often the Arabs and Berbers had to acquire lands to which they would have had no right in the east. Whence there resulted, it seems, both in terminology and in practice, a certain confusion between *'ushr* and *ḥharādī*, as much in the Maghrib as in al-Andalus. It does not appear—unless perhaps for a while under the Fāṭimids in Ifrikiya—that the efforts of the Spanish Umayyads or the Almohads in Morocco and Spain had any result in this direction. The word *ḥharādī* itself is only used rarely outside Fāṭimid and Zīrid Ifrikiya, and only in a vague sense. Other terms appear instead, whose precise meaning is uncertain, and it seems that the tax-payers had in fact to pay much more than an *'ushr*. In regard to Sicily, al-Dāwūdī's treaty bears witness to the confusion of the jurists themselves.

Further confusions appear to have resulted in the

east itself, in the Anatolia wrested from the Byzantines by the Saldjūk Turks. Since most of the lands there were considered as state property, there was no *ḵharādjī* properly speaking, but the peasants, assimilated in some degree to the share-croppers on public lands, did not thereby pay any the less taxation, which was combined with the *djizya* which they had to pay as non-Muslims. In practice, the term *djizya* came to denote the whole complex of their obligations, essentially pertaining to the land, and the word *ḵharādjī*, taken at first in a vague sense, was applied progressively to the personal poll-tax. This inversion of the state of affairs in classical Islamic times was to be extended in time and area all over the Ottoman empire. One is tempted to conclude that, in the general context of the Muslim east, where the Turks were nurtured and formed, the meaning of terms in current usage never corresponded exactly to the official definitions; one may find a confirmation of this in the preservation in Syrian usage of the Byzantine *dīmūs/dēmosion* to denote the basic taxation, which one never finds used thus in official texts before the Crusades, but after then till the Ottoman conquest.

*Bibliography:* 1. Sources. The first specialist treatises devoted to the *ḵharādjī* and related questions which have come down to us are those of Yahyā b. Ādam, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1896, Abū Yūsuf (written for Hārūn al-Rašīd) and, on a larger scale, the *K. al-Amwāl* of Abū ‘Ubayd b. Sallām, ed. Cairo 1353. To these should be added, from a century later, the *K. al-Ḵharādjī* (with a wider range of contents, but incompletely preserved) of Ḵudāma b. Dja‘far, unedited. The essential core of these three works, from the point of view of taxation, has been tr. by A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i (Leiden 1958), ii (1965) and iii (1969), but with a commentary of very unequal value. Abū Yūsuf has been tr. into French by E. Fagnan, Paris 1921. There is a whole chapter on the land tax in Māwardī’s *al-Aḵḵām al-sulṭāniyya* (5th/11th century). Apart from these, there is important information in various other types of work: historical, like Balādhuri’s *Futūḥ al-buldān* and Miskawayh’s *Taḏjārib al-umam*; encyclopaedic, like *Kh. wārazmī’s Maḡātib al-‘ulūm* (‘Irāḳī and *Ḵhurāsānī* material); mathematical, like the *K. al-Manāzil* of Abū ‘l-Wafā’ al-Būzadjānī (see Ehrenkrewitz, *Al-Būzadjānī on the ma’sir*, in *JESHO* (1965), 90 ff.) and the *K. al-Ḥāwī*, studied by Cahen in *AIEO Alger* (1952); administrative, like the histories of viziers by al-Djāhshiyārī [q.v.] and Hilāl al-Šābī’ [q.v.] and the *Ta’riḵ-i Kumm*, preserved only in Persian, by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḵummī, ed. Tehran 1934; and finally, all the great classical geographers, especially Ištāḵrī for Fārs. For ‘Irāḳ in the 8th century, see also the Syriac *History* of Dionysius of Tell-Mahré, analysed by Cahen from this point of view in *Arabica* (1954). We further have some versions of official correspondence archives like those of Abū Ishāḳ al-Šābī’, and especially of the Šāhib Ibn ‘Abbād, for the Būyid period. In the last century, A. von Kremer brought together from various sources four ‘Abbāsīd budgets and studied them, partly in his *Culturgegeschichte*, and partly in the *Denkschr. der Akad. der Wiss. Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., xxxvi (1888); on the oldest of these, see now Šāliḥ al-‘Alī, *A new version . . .*, in *JESHO* (1972). H. A. R. Gibb derived material from the *Sirat ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz* of Ibn ‘Abd Ḥakam (brother of the historian) for his *The fiscal rescript of ‘Umar II,*

in *Arabica* (1955). See also, Ibn al-Muḵaffa’s *Risāla fi ‘l-ṣaḥāba*, ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1976.

Egypt is a special case, partly because of the preservation of numerous papyri (or paper documents), and partly because of the original nature of its administrative literature. The interest of the papyri for the study of taxation was first demonstrated by C. H. Becker in regard to his publication of the Papyrus Schott-Reinhardt. Most of the subsequent publications emanate from A. Grohmann, who has himself published a commentary concerning this and has commissioned the economist C. Leyerer to make a synthesis, in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 40-69. Some complementary information can be found in the subsequent papyrological works of A. Dietrich (*Arabische Briefe aus . . . der Hamburger . . . Bibliothek*, 1955), and of J. David-Weill (*JESHO*, 1965, 1971). Finally, Greek papyri should be taken into account (see especially, Bell in *Isl.* (1911-13) and Rémondon in *Chronique d’Egypte*, 1965).

Furthermore, the centralised character of Egyptian administration allowed the composition of highly-detailed administrative and financial treatises which fill out for us the information of the published papyri, especially the *Minḥādjī* of al-Maḵḏūmī (6th/12th century), financial content analysed by Cahen in *JESHO* (1962), and the *Ḵawānīn al-dawānīn* of Ibn Mammātī (Saladin’s period), of which the administrative passages have been tr. and studied by R. S. Cooper in his unpublished 1973 Berkeley doctoral thesis. Their information may be completed by the *K. al-Fayyūm* of al-Nābulusī, ed. Moritz, cf. Cahen in *Arabica* (1956); Nuwayrī’s *Nihāya*, viii in *fine*; and Maḵrīzī’s *Ḵhiṭāt*. The *Secretary’s guide* early used by Sauvaire for his researches on money and numismatics (= ms. arabe, B.N. Paris 4445) and the ch. on finance and administration of the *Rawḡat al-arīb* of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī set forth by M. al-Hīla in the *Cairo millenary volume*, ii, 1043-95, are adaptations from the Mamlūk period of Ibn Mammātī.

There is important information on the Yemen in the *Mulāḵḵḵaṣ al-Ḵān* studied by R. B. Serjeant and Cahen in *Arabica* (1957), and also in other administrative documents in the hands of the first of these two authors.

For the Maghrib, there are extracts from the *K. al-Amwāl* of al-Dāwūdī by ‘Abd al-Wahḥāb and F. Dachraoui, in *Études d’orientalisme Lévi-Provençal*, ii (1962), 401-44.

2. Modern studies. Some pre-1950 works may still be mentioned: M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l’impôt foncier*, 1886; Becker, *Die Entstehung von ‘Uṣr- und Ḥarāḡland in Ägypten*, in *ZA* (1904), 301-19, also in *Islamstudien*, i, 218-33 (see also his papyri studies mentioned above); and A. N. Poliak, *Classification of land in the Islamic law*, in *AJSLL* (1940).

The basic contemporary works are F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, and D. C. Dennett, *Cowersion and poll-tax in early Islam*, both from 1950, of whose existence Diyā’ al-Dīn al-Ra’īs, *al-Ḵharādjī fi ‘l-dawla al-islāmīyya*, Cairo 1957, is unfortunately unaware. A. K. S. Lambton’s *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, has an interest, for the pre-Mongol period, which goes beyond Iranian territory. The main corrections or partial additions to these works have been given in the course of studies on the texts by the authors mentioned above. One might add, for

the transitional period between the Djāhiliyya and Islam, Grignaschi's communications at the Congress *La Persia nel medio evo*, Accad. dei Lincei 1970-1, and of M. Morony at the Economic History Colloquium at Princeton, 1974. On the origins, see further A. A. Dūrī, *Note on taxation in early Islam*, in *JESHO* (1974), and A. Noth, *Die literarisch-überlieferten Verträge . . .*, in T. Nagel *et alii*, *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem*, 1973. For the 'Abbāsīd period, see Makoto Shimizu, *Les finances publiques de l'état abbāsīde*, in *Isl.* (1965), and the communications of Hinds and Lapidus at the Princeton colloquium mentioned above. There is a good synthesis in D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāsīde*, 1960, Part 4, ch. 2. See also the more general works on the period by Dūrī and Sāmarrā'ī, *al-Mu'assasāt al-idāriyya fi 'l-dawla al-islāmiyya*, 1971; that of Mez, *Renaissance*, 1920, is outmoded.

On Egypt in the Ayyūbīd period and the beginning of the Mamlūk one, there is now a fine synthesis by Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt*, London 1972 (cf. Cooper, cited above). For Syria, see a forthcoming article by Cahen in *JESHO*.

On Saldjūk Anatolia, see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968.

For the Muslim west, see the classic works of Lévi-Provençal for Spain and R. Brunschvig for Ḥafṣīd Tunisia, to be completed by H. R. Idris, *Les Zirīdes*, 1959; R. Arie, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrīdes*, 1973; and J. F. P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 1960.

(CL. CAHEN)

## II.—IN PERSIA.

*Terms.* *Kharādj* was the basic term for land tax in mediaeval Persia, as in earlier times. By extension, it sometimes came to mean tax or taxes in general. *Kharādj-i abrishum* in the sense of a tax on silk, or possibly a tribute paid in silk, is found in Ilkhān and later times (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i gurūda*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, Tehran 1957-60, 607; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i tārikh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Khān Bābā Bayānī, Tehran 1971, 76). *Kharādj* is also used in mediaeval Persian in the sense of tribute; and *kharādj-gūdhār*, which in mediaeval Persian occurs in the meaning of one who pays tribute (Mīnhādī-i Sirādjī-i Dīūzjdānī, *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1963-4, i, 273, and cf. Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsāt-nāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, Persian text, 7), in modern Persian means a taxpayer in the broad sense (not simply one who pays tribute or land-tax).

By Ilkhān times the terms *māl*, *māliyyāt* and *māliyyāt-i arāj* were also used to denote land-tax (though *māl* had in addition a wider significance). In Djalāyirid and Timūrid documents the phrases *māl wa mutawadjjihāt* and *amwāl wa mutawadjjihāt* occur and (probably) mean land tax(es) and other taxes (cf. Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, ed. A. A. Ali-zade, Moscow 1971, ii/1, 150, and *passim*, *Maḥḥal al-sa'dayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shāfi', Lahore 1941, i, 322-3), while in Karā Koyunlu, Aq Koyunlu and Ṣafawid documents the phrase *māl wa djihāt wa wudjuhāt* is commonly found. Its precise meaning is not clear, but is probably land tax(es), other taxes, and dues (or fees). The phrase *māl wa mināl*, first found in Ilkhān times and in frequent use thereafter, means the tax on a landed estate and that which remains (for the owner) after the tax has been paid. Under the Kādījars, the terms *māl* and *māliyyāt* signify "regular" or "fixed" taxation, consisting of

taxes on the land, animals, flocks, herds, shopkeepers, artisans and trade (cf. Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 336 ff., and see also Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O., 881/7364, Report on the Persian Army by Lt. Col. H. P. Picot, Jan., 1900 (pt. 1, chs. 1 and 2, written by Sir A. Houtum Schindler), 11; C. H. Markham's statement that *māliyyāt* meant "fixed" revenue derived from the land, i.e. that it was exclusively derived from land taxes, is probably an error due to the fact that land taxes formed the major part of the "fixed" taxes, *A general sketch of the history of Persia*, London 1874, 561). Curzon, writing towards the end of the 19th century, defines *māliyyāt* as fixed revenue deriving from (i) regular taxation, i.e. land tax, taxes on animals, flocks and herds, and taxes on shopkeepers, artisans, and trade, (ii) revenues of crown lands, (iii) customs, and (iv) rents and leases (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 470). By about 1900, *kharādj*, as distinct from *māliyyāt*, no longer appears as a separate entry in the revenue accounts (Report on the Persian army, *op. cit.*, 11).

*Land taxes and the theory and practice of government.* Until modern times agriculture was the main economic activity of the country. The governing classes sought their material foundation in landed property and animal husbandry. The wellbeing of the land was closely affected by the existence or otherwise of "good" government and stability. Further, since the revenue of the state was derived primarily from taxes on the land, the financial wellbeing of the state was dependent upon agriculture prosperity. Governments were concerned to raise as much revenue as possible, but the fact that the ability of the land to provide revenue on a long term basis depended upon its being cultivated and upon the wellbeing of those who tilled it, set, in normal times, a limit to their demands. The peasant was not a serf and was free, at least in theory, to leave his land, though some rulers attempted to curb his freedom. If the burden imposed upon the peasant by the government's demands became intolerable, they would have recourse to flight and leave their lands uncultivated. The state could, in theory, lease the land to someone else or cultivate it itself at the expense of the public treasury (for which cases the jurists laid down certain conditions). But often neither course offered a practical alternative. The possibility of flight was, therefore, to some extent a restraining factor (see further below).

Many writers on the theory of government recognised the connection between stability and the financial wellbeing of the state. The tradition "no *kharādj* on land in a bad (ruined) condition", although not accepted by all schools of law, was widely held and demonstrates the general recognition of the financial dependence of the state on agriculture, and also, implicitly, the importance of "good" government, because one of the most common reasons for the land being left uncultivated was the flight of the peasants provoked by extortion. Ḥamid al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥamid Kirmānī, addressing Kawām al-Dīn Zawzanī, who took possession of Kirmān ca. 613/1216-17, states "The king of Islam (may God exalt his dignity) has acquired an extensive kingdom and there is no question but that it will prosper and that produce and benefit from it will accrue to his treasury". He then warns him that there could be no security or prosperity in the province or wellbeing among the peasants "as long as every six months or every year a new governor or *mukhta'* comes, because

every *muḳṭā'* who arrives will take possession of any produce or stocks he sees and will demand *ḵharādj*, in advance, or by force on produce not yet to hand; and when another *muḳṭā'* comes, hungry and unclothed, with an empty pocket to fill, he, too, will impose similar burdens and begin to torment the peasants all over again" (*al-Muḍāf ilā badāyi' al-zamān fī waḳāyi' Kirmān*, ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1952-3, 16). 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Kiyā al-Māzandarānī, writing in the middle of the 8th/14th century, makes a similar point. He states, though hardly with complete accuracy if one considers the arbitrary nature of Ilkhānid taxation practices in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, "Formerly the custom was that no alteration should be made [in the tax] of any place for which an assessment had been made, so that the subjects (*ra'āyā*) paid to the *diwān*, year by year, the tax as laid down in the assessment (*māl-i muḵammān*) and, with their minds at ease, occupied themselves in agriculture and the development of the country. Now, since the assessed tax is not permanently fixed [by the *diwān*] and every year the tax-collectors, when they come, demand the tax in a different way, the subjects, since they have no confidence, withhold their hands from cultivation and the provinces are becoming ruined" (*Die Resāli-ye falakiyya*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, 172).

Writers on the theory of government stress the need for justice by the government in the levy of land taxes and other taxes on both practical and ethical grounds. Their exhortations were frequently, perhaps usually, disregarded. The saying attributed to the caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) to the effect that one of the four pillars of kingship was a *ṣāhib ḵharādj* who would demand the taxes without oppressing the people (Tabarī, *Annales*, iii, 398), underlines the importance attached to the land tax as the sinews of the administration and to the observance of justice in its collection. Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī, writing in 900/1494-5 under the Timūrids, makes a similar statement, but substitutes for the *ṣāhib ḵharādj* a *wazīr* "who regulates financial affairs", which suggests a decline in the relative importance of *ḵharādj* compared to other forms of taxation, even though it was still, no doubt, the largest single item (*Aḵḵlāk-i muḵsinī*, ed. Ibrāhīm Tādjūr Shīrāzī, lith. Bombay 1890-1, 265). A 19th century writer, Nadīm Bārfurūshī (d. 1241/1825-6), asserts that one of the main causes leading to the destruction of a kingdom was the demand for the payment of taxes when the rains failed (*Mufarriḥ al-ḵulūb*, B.M. Or. 3499, f. 203a), from which it is to be inferred that agriculture still provided the economic basis on which the state rested.

Many writers recognise the fundamental importance of proper order in the assessment and levy of *ḵharādj*. The advice alleged to have been given by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to Malik al-Aṣhtar when he was appointed governor over Egypt in 38/658-9 is frequently quoted as a model to be followed (cf. Waṣṣāf, *Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. Muḥammad Mihdī Iṣfahānī, lith. Bombay 1852-3, 440). This was to the effect that he should give greater attention to the development of the land than to the collection of *ḵharādj*, because the latter depended upon the former, and whoever demanded *ḵharādj* without developing the land, destroyed the country and the people. If the people complained of the heaviness of taxation, or of some natural calamity, the interruption of irrigation, misfortune, or that the land had become waterlogged or parched, their burden was to be lightened so that their affairs might recover (*Nahāj al-balāgha*, Beirut

1890-1, ii, 45. See further, A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, repr. Oxford 1969, xx ff.). Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, Ghāzān Khān's *wazīr* (d. 718/1318), recommends that men of wealth and those with high aspirations should be appointed over the collection of the taxes, because such persons, being themselves satisfied, would not act extortionately against the taxpayers, or at least would not be covetous in small things (*Muḵātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shaffī, Lahore 1945, 118), while Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhḍiawānī urges the need for consultation in the administration of taxes (*Dastūr al-ḵātib*, 181-2).

*Land taxes and land tenure.* In the early centuries the jurists attempted to fit the tax practices of the conquered territories into the framework of Islamic law (see also BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY). In the theory, as worked out by them, there was a close connection between taxation and tenure. According to their expositions various factors were taken into account in the assessment of the land tax: the mode of conquest, which affected the tenure of the land, the geographical situation of the land, the manner of its irrigation, the crops grown, their yield, and price levels. In practice, however, local custom (which was itself also clearly influenced by most of these factors), was often the decisive factor. It follows, therefore, that there were wide variations from province to province and often from district to district.

In mediaeval times, although conditions were in many respects different from the early centuries, the influence of the 'ulamā' with the ruling classes and the population in general ensured that the legal theories would not be forgotten and made it possible to reactivate particular issues should circumstances so demand. Thus the principles laid down by the jurists continued to have more than simply theoretical importance. The mode of conquest was, it is true, no longer of crucial importance, but the tenure of the land still affected the levy of *ḵharādj*. Land fell broadly into four categories: private property (*milk*), crown lands including the personal estates of the ruler which were not always clearly distinguished from crown lands proper [see *Ḵhālīṣā*], *awḳāf*, and dead lands (*mawāt*). In the case of private property, *ḵharādj* was regarded as a tax on the land or its produce. In the event of a concession being granted on private property, the *ḵharādj* was paid not to the state but to the concessionaire, who might or might not have been granted exemption from its payment to the state (see further below). Crown lands, the extent of which varied greatly at different times, strictly speaking did not pay *ḵharādj*, the whole produce belonging to the state. However, they were often conceded to individuals on temporary or life grants, in which case the holder, unless granted exemption, paid *ḵharādj*, which was regarded as a rent rather than a tax, and the rate of which often differed from that paid on neighbouring estates.

In the 19th century, experience showed that crown lands often tended to be neglected and failed to provide the state with revenue (cf. *British Parliamentary Papers* 58 (1862) *Persia*. Report by Mr. Eastwick, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, Camp near Tehran, 5 July 1861, p. 70). Accordingly they were sometimes transferred to individuals in the hope of encouraging the spread of cultivation. This was the case in the latter part of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, when, in view of the decay then prevailing in *Ḵhālīṣā* land, it was decided to sell them to individuals. In some cases special rates of tax were laid down (Hasan Khān Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, *Tārikh-i niṣf-i*



*djahān wa hama djahān*, lith. n.d., 65 ff., Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 147 ff.).

Lands immobilised as *wakf* for charitable purposes were frequently granted exemption from the payment of land tax and other dues. Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), in an essay on finance written for his patron Hülāgū (or Abākā), states that kings considered it ill-omened to levy *kharādj* on *awḳāf* and ordered their proceeds to be spent entirely on the purposes for which they had been constituted (*Madīmū'a-i rasā'il az ta'lifāt-i Khwādja Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī*, in *Publications of the University of Tehran*, 308 (1956), 34. This was first published by M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, *Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī on finance*, in *BSOS*, X/3 (1940-2). In fact, practice probably varied. Under the Ilkhāns it seems that immunities were extended to *wakf* land by an extension of Mongol custom, which happened in this case to coincide with local custom. Bāyḏū is said to have reaffirmed on his accession in 694/1295 an old regulation (*yāsā*) of Činghiz Khān, which exempted *awḳāf* from taxation (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 284). Later rulers also granted immunities to *wakf* land. The Ṣafawid shrine at Ardabil, for example, enjoyed exemptions and immunities from the 9th/15th century, if not before (cf. V. Minorsky, *A soyūrgḥāl of Jahāngīr Aq-Qoyunlū*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9), 956-8, and *Landlord and peasant*, 104. See also H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zur islamischen Kanzeleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, for various grants relating to *wakf* land). Curzon's statement that all religious endowments were exempt from land tax under the Kādījārs (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 470) is rather too sweeping. Only those *awḳāf* which had been granted exemption by a special decree were exempted, but it is probable that many *awḳāf* came into this category.

A third category of land was formed by dead lands (*mawāt*) which had no owner, and had fallen into disuse. In view of the close dependence of the state upon *kharādj*, the desirability of bringing such lands under cultivation is clear. The jurists laid down special regulations for their revival (cf. sections on *ihyā' mawāt* in *fiqh* literature). These provide for the acquisition of ownership and are clearly designed to encourage individuals to undertake the revival of dead lands. Temporary exemptions from the payment of land tax and special rates of tax were moreover frequently granted to those who revived dead lands. Invasion and the overthrow of dynasties were often followed by a spread of dead lands. Perhaps the most striking case was that which occurred at the time of the Mongol attack in the 7th/13th century, which brought disaster to agriculture. When finally Ghāzān Khān (694/703-1295/1304) began to reorganise the finances of the state, realising that a rehabilitation of agriculture was a necessary basis to reform, he laid down regulations for the revival of dead lands and gave reductions, which varied from district to district, in the amount of *kharādj* to which they were liable (see further Raṣḥīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzāni*, ed. K. Jahn, *GMS*, London 1940, 353-4, cf. also 303 ff.).

The status of lands which had fallen into disuse or been abandoned (*bāyirāt*) but whose owners could not be deemed to have died without heirs (in which case the land became *mawāt*) was more shadowy. The main issue was whether such lands should pay *kharādj* or not. Hanafī jurists argued that since *kharādj* was levied according to the productivity of the land, it was due whether the owner cultivated the land or not, since by not cultivating it, the owner deprived the beneficiaries of *kharādj* of their revenue.

Mālikīs, however, rejected this view. They held that the owner did not pay *kharādj* if the land was not cultivated. If, however, the reason for the land being uncultivated was that the owner lacked the means to cultivate it, the *imām* was entitled to lease the land to another person on a *muṣāra'a* contract and to collect the tax from the owner's share of the produce, to lease the land to a tenant and collect the *kharādj* from the rental, or to have the land cultivated at the expense of the public treasury and collect the tax from the owner's share. Abū Ḥanifa held that if *kharādj* payers abandoned their lands, the *imām* might have them cultivated at the public expense or let them on a *muḳāfa'a* contract, the entire income from this belonging to the public treasury (see further N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, Lahore 1961, 384-5).

The problem of abandoned lands was a perennial one. It is illustrated by the following incident related by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī. He describes how Muḥammad Ṣhaybānī Khān, the Uzbek ruler, asked the Ṣulamā' at his court to give a *fatwā* in 914/1509 on the status of certain lands in the neighbourhood of Samarḳand. These lands had been abandoned by their owners for over thirty years. There was no one left in Samarḳand to cultivate them on behalf of the owners and ensure that the country did not fall into ruin and that the land became liable to tax. They had become virtually dead lands. What, Muḥammad Ṣhaybānī asked, would be the position if someone revived them? Would ownership be established thereby (as was the case with dead lands)? one of the jurists present said that it would be difficult to give a decree annulling the ownership of those who had abandoned them, but if it was known that the owners had left the land, a decree could be given to make the cultivation of the land permissible (*ibāhat-i zirā'at*). The Khān replied that this would not solve the problem which he had in mind. *Kharādj* land if cultivated paid *kharādj*. If its cultivation was abandoned, it was the duty of the governor to impose upon the owner a sum for its *kharādj* and to ask him why he had allowed the assets of the Muslims to be wasted by letting the land fall out of cultivation. Thus, if the land had an owner, he could be made subject to one of two rulings: either he would cultivate the land (and pay *kharādj*) or he would pay *kharādj* by estimation (*bi taḳḍīr*) on the land which had fallen out of cultivation. Two objects would be achieved: the land would be brought back into cultivation and it would be made liable to *kharādj*. By simply declaring the cultivation of the land permissible these objects would not be achieved, because in order for the cultivation of the land to be permissible, it was necessary for the right to demand rent to lapse; in other words if the owner made the land free for cultivation (*mubāh*), his right to demand rent ceased, and the ruler could not make it incumbent upon him to cultivate the land or to pay *kharādj*. Muḥammad Ṣhaybānī Khān then explained that this object in putting the question was that the owners of the abandoned lands should be subjected to one of the two rulings mentioned above.

Finally, Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, who was also present, stated that if someone became the owner of a property by purchase, his ownership, being based on a contract, was not affected by lapse of time, even if he did not take effective possession of the property. It did not follow from the abandonment of land by reason of a journey that the cultivation of the land became free (*mubāh*). The people who had left their estates had clearly done so by force of necessity:

excessive injustice had made it impossible for them to live in their homeland, and the imposition of extortionate dues by the *diwān* had prevented them from exercising effective ownership over their estates and so they had departed into different regions. It did not follow from the fact that they had left their estates that it was permissible for others to take possession of them (*ibāhat-i taṣarruf*). Then, in order to show that lapse of time did not affect ownership he related how the Atābeg Abū Bakr Sa'd b. Zangī had been persuaded to restore to their owners estates which he had seized in Fārs (see *Tāriḫ-i Waṣṣāf*, 163, for an account of this event), and advised the khan to seek conciliation with the owners of the estates in question, if they were known, so that they would return, and once they had returned, to treat them well, so that they would resume possession of their estates. In this way, the land would be cultivated, the kingdom prosperous, and the land liable to *kharādj*. If, however, the owners were not known, the ruler should take possession of the estates, cultivate them, reap their produce by virtue of the axiom "what is cultivated belongs to the cultivator even if he is an usurper" while purposing in his heart that he would give the owners, should they be found, the rent for their land from the public treasury. In this way also the land would be cultivated and be liable to *kharādj*, while the rights of the owners would not be annulled or lost (Faḡl Allāh b. Rūzbihān *Khundjī, Miḥmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, ed. Manūcihr Sūtūda, Tehran 1962, 295-9).

The state, however, clearly was not always bound by the letter of the law. Under the Ilkhāns it would appear that taxes were frequently demanded from land which had fallen out of cultivation (cf. *Tāriḫ-i Waṣṣāf*, 446, 631).

*The rates of kharādj.* The jurists were generally agreed in the early centuries that the *imām* could increase or decrease the rate of *kharādj* according to the ability of the land to pay and the taxable capacity of the land to pay and the taxable capacity of the payees. It was tacitly assumed that the temporal rulers had similar prerogatives. By the 7th/13th century a tradition appears to have evolved, perhaps deriving from the original theory of 'uṣhr land, that the proper rate for land tax was one-tenth of the produce. Mention of this as the basic rate is found from time to time. There is also frequent reference in documents to a tax or due called 'uṣhr, but whether this was land tax levied at the rate of one-tenth of the produce or a special due is not clear. Raṣhīd al-Dīn Faḡl Allāh in a letter to Aḥmad Turka states that he had laid down that the people of Iṣfahān should pay as land tax one-tenth on their cultivated lands (apart from orchards which paid different proportions according to the kind of produce) and that he had sent officials to other provinces to make a similar assessment (*Mukātabāt-i Raṣhīdī*, 33-4). In a letter to his son Shihāb al-Dīn, when governor of Shuṣhtar and Ahwāz, it is again mentioned that *kharādj* should be taken at a rate of 10% and should be levied in kind (*ibid.*, 121). There is nothing however in the *Tāriḫ-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī* to suggest that uniform rates were established over the whole country. In the late 18th century or early 19th century the rate is alleged to have been 10% (see below), and in the 19th century it was, in theory, one fifth of all agricultural produce, or its value in money. According to a report by Mr. R. F. Thomson, dated 1868, this was, as a general rule, somewhat exceeded and 25% could be taken to be the average assessment (excluding dues levied on cattle and flocks

and duties exacted for provisions brought to market in the principal towns) (*British Parliamentary Papers*, 69 (1868), *Persia*). Report by Mr. Thomson, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, on the population, revenue, military force and trade of Persia, 250-3. Extracts from this report are given in C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago and London 1971). There was in practice at all times great variety in the rate levied in different districts and on different crops.

The law-books laid down the purposes upon which *kharādj* was to be expended and those who had a right to its proceeds. Control over these matters, as over the rate at which *kharādj* was levied, was similarly tacitly assumed to have passed to the temporal rulers. Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī states that *kharādj* was levied for the expenses of the kingdom (*djihat-i maṣāliḥ-i pādī-shāhī*, 31). So far as the temporal rulers expended the *kharādj* on the payment of the army (which, in theory, if not in practice, was for the defence of the lands of Islam) and on the officials concerned in its collection, on pensions to the religious classes and the needy, and on public and charitable works, they could be regarded as expending it on the interests of the Muslims (*maṣāliḥ-i muslimīn*). Public opinion did not sanction the expenditure of reserves of *kharādj* on other purposes or the accumulation, a factor which, perhaps, militated against long-term economic development.

*Assessment and collection.* *Kharādj* was assessed in three main ways, by *masāha*, *muḥāsama*, and *muḳāṭa'a*. These methods, known in the early centuries, continued to be used down to modern times. Under the first the amount due was based on the measurement of the land. Under the second it depended upon the crop yield, while under the third the tax was compounded for a lump sum in cash or kind or both, and did not vary with the area sown or the amount of the crop. Assessment by *masāha* did not, however, involve a comprehensive cadastral survey. Usually only the land sown was taken into account, which practice was sanctioned by the tradition "no *kharādj* on land in a bad (ruined) condition", and the tax demand was based on the average yield from good, bad and medium land. There was, however, a difference of opinion among the jurists on the matter of land not under cultivation. Where a part was fallow, some held that *kharādj* should be levied on the whole area but at half the normal rate. The issue turned on the question whether *kharādj* was a tax on the produce of the land or a rent for the land. If the latter, the holder of the land paid whether the land was cultivated or not, provided he was not prevented by *force majeure* from cultivating it. Gardens, vineyards, and date groves were assessed either according to the extent of the land sown or the number of trees on the land, the number of years it had been planted being taken into account. Irrigated crops paid a higher rate than unirrigated, and in the case of the former the rate varied with the method of irrigation. The quality of the land was also taken into account, and to meet the variety of physical conditions a number of tax schedules (*waḡī'a*, *fiṣḳ*) were sometimes drawn up. The *masāha* method of assessment was thus in fact concerned not so much with the extent of the land as with its produce. It differed from the *muḥāsama* system in that the tax demand did not vary in a good year or a bad year. In districts where the climate was capricious this was to the disadvantage of the taxpayer, unless he was able to accumulate reserves to tide him over a bad year. So far as the peasants were concerned, this was probably seldom the case. This may well have been

one of the reasons why assessment by *masāḥa* tended to be replaced by *muḥāsama*.

This method was simpler in that it did not involve a calculation of the area under cultivation. It also had the merit of safeguarding the taxpayer in the event of partial or total crop failures—an important consideration in districts where these were of common occurrence. On the other hand, it was a disincentive to the extension and improvement of cultivation, since the heavier the crop the greater the tax. An added disadvantage was that the taxpayer could not remove the crop until the government's share had been taken, while budgeting was made difficult for the government since its revenue fluctuated and was not known until harvest time.

Valuation or *ʿibra* may have originated simply as an extension of *masāḥa* and *muḥāsama*, the average annual value of the crop over a number of years, usually three, assessed by whatever method, being taken as the basis on which the tax was calculated. The term *ʿibra* is not met with after the early centuries and appears to have been replaced by *harz*, which, in the later centuries, seems usually to have meant not an average calculation made on the basis of three or more years, but an arbitrary valuation arrived at by the tax-collector, sometimes, but not always, after an inspection of the crop during growth or harvest time. Arbitrary valuation, in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, under the Ilkhāns, and also in the 19th century, appears to have been common. The tax-collector, or his agent, would examine the crop *in situ* and estimate the tax due. Some were skilled in the task and made fair estimates, others did not. As the practice grew of assessing the provincial revenue at the centre and leaving its collection to the discretion of the provincial governor, who was then responsible for the remission of whatever sum remained after the deduction of provincial expenses, arbitrary valuation at the local level became increasingly common, whatever the assessment may have been according to the tax rolls drawn up at the centre (see further below).

The *muḥājaʿa* method probably prevailed over other methods in the more remote districts and in tribal areas. With the extension of the *ikhṭāʿ* [q.v.] from the 4th/10th century onwards, as more and more land became alienated from the direct control of the state, the *muḥājaʿa* method became increasingly adopted. Under this system, the landlord, since he knew the demand which the state made upon him, was not deterred from developing the land, while budgeting by the state was facilitated because its income from the land was also known. On the other hand the *muḥājaʿa* assessments were frequently out of date: land which had been improved or newly brought into cultivation sometimes paid a very low rate of taxation or was omitted altogether from the assessment, and conversely land which had deteriorated or fallen out of cultivation was assessed too highly. The same, however, was also true of land assessed by other methods, since an assessment once made tended to remain in force irrespective of changed conditions. The *muḥājaʿa* assessments, so far as they remained in force for a number of years, did not take account of changes in cropping. With the increase in the cultivation of cash crops in the 19th century this was disadvantageous to the government.

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī asserts that under just kings in the past valuation (*harz*) had replaced other methods of assessment. They had ordered the tax to be assessed in kind at the rate of 10% or 5% of the annual produce of land and gardens, the figure for

which was to be obtained by taking the average annual produce of a good year, a bad year and a medium year. This was the old tradition of *ʿibra* (though Naṣīr al-Dīn does not use the term). The amount in kind was then to be converted into cash at a medium rate, "neither high (dear) nor low (cheap)". He continues, "if the land is not cultivated every year or the garden does not bear fruit every year, the *ḥharādī* is taken at half rate [the variant "*ḥharādī* is not levied" reflects the conflicting views held by different schools of jurists, see above]. Every few years the lands and gardens are re-examined: if land in good condition (*ābādān*) has fallen into bad condition (*ḥharāb*), its *ḥharādī* is removed on the grounds of 'no *ḥharādī* on (land) in a ruined condition', and if land in a ruined condition has been brought into cultivation (*maʿmūr*), it is to be treated in two ways. If it has been out of cultivation for thirty years, it is exempted from tax for three years and then for the following ten years pays half rate so that its prosperity may be firmly established and men be encouraged to develop it. If it has recently become ruined and been brought back into cultivation, this should be taken into account when fixing the *ḥharādī*. Similarly if land is converted into orchards or orchards are converted into ordinary agricultural land the tax demand should be according to the value of its produce neither less nor more" (30-1).

In actual practice, however, in spite of what Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī says, it is clear that assessment by *masāḥa*, *muḥāsama* and valuation, together with *muḥājaʿa*, continued side by side under the Ilkhāns and later rulers. Raṣīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh alleges that valuation (*harz*) and *muḥāsama* predominated in those provinces in which the tax was levied in cash and kind, and that Ghāzān Khān determined in 703/1304 to abolish these methods in certain categories of land (Raṣīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 267, 354). According to Waṣṣāf, as a result of Ghāzān's reform of the *ḥharādī* the people were relieved from demands for extra payments when the crops were valued (*taksīr dar harz*) and when the tax-collectors drew up the assessments and obtained the acknowledgement of the taxpayers of their liability (*takrīr*), from additional payments when the tax was demanded in advance (*tafāwut-i taḥdīma*), from excess payments extorted when the amount due for taxes assessed in kind was converted into cash (*zawāʿid-i taʿsīr*) (see below), and from payment of the expenses and allowances of officials. They were also freed from the control and ascendancy of the *massāḥ* and *harrās*, whom he described as tyrants towards the peasants (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 386).

The various methods of assessment mentioned above were, to a greater or less extent, recognised by the jurists. Another method, based on custom, and probably in use in many districts from early times, was to take the ploughland (*djuft*, *zawdī*, *khīsh*) as the fiscal unit. This, in a sense, had something in common with *masāḥa* in that it was concerned with the area cultivated. The size of the ploughland, however, varied with the method of cultivation, the type of soil, the configuration of the land, and the pressure of the population on the land. It corresponded roughly to a single agricultural holding, and sometimes consisted of dispersed plots, and might be fragmented into smaller fractions such as halves or quarters. The amount of the tax and the dues levied on the ploughland varied. In the tax regime of the Aḳ Koyunlu ruler, Uzun Ḥasan, drawn up between the years 874/1470 and 883/1477, mention is made of dues levied on the ploughland (see W. Hinz, *Das Steuer-*

wesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, in ZDMG c/1, New series, xxv (2950), 177-201, and V. Minorisky, *A civil and military review in Fars in 881/1476*, in BSOS, xii (1939), 142. Cf. also P. M. Sykes, *Report on the agriculture of Khorasan*, Simla 1910, 3).

By whatever method the tax was normally assessed, it was paid partly in cash and partly in kind. If assessed by *masāha* (except in cases when the whole area, cultivated an uncultivated, was taken into consideration) or by *muḥāsama*, both of which methods were closely concerned with the actual amount of the crop, the assessment was according to the solar year (also known as *sāl-i kharādjī*), which began at the vernal equinox. *Muḥāfa'a* contracts, on the other hand, were usually according to the lunar year (see BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY, and also *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 403). The general tendency was for the tax, when assessed by measurement, to be paid predominantly in cash. Under the *muḥāsama* method, the tax on grain crops was usually paid in kind but on vegetables and summer crops it was converted into cash. The tax demand in a *muḥāfa'a* contract frequently included some grain to be paid in kind. There was, however, great variation in practice in different districts and at different times. In districts which were not self-supporting in grain the tax, although assessed in cash and kind, was paid wholly in cash, the part assessed in kind being converted into cash at one of several prescribed rates of conversion. This was also sometimes the case in districts from which, owing to their remoteness, the removal of grain was impractical (cf. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 3). Malcolm, writing in the early 19th century, states that according to the general rule taxes ought to be paid in cash and kind in equal proportions, but in practice the proportion varied. About the middle of the century the proportion of the total paid in kind was rather less than one-eighth but there were many local variations (see below). Some villages, where the inhabitants were poor, paid almost entirely in kind; but where the landowner was wealthy he preferred to pay in cash, thereby avoiding the interference of minor revenue officials (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 338-9). In 1844, Abbott noted that the revenue in Māzandarān was raised in money instead of money and produce as formerly, the difference being that what had formerly been collected in kind was priced and demanded in cash (F.O. 60: 108. Abbott, *Journey along the shores of the Caspian*, incl. in Abbott to Aberdeen, No. 8, Encampment near Tehran, 29 June 1844, also quoted in Issawi, *op. cit.*, who refers the quotation, wrongly, to Gilān).

From the point of view of the peasants, it was to their advantage to pay *kharādj* in kind. If the tax was demanded in cash, having small reserves, or no reserves at all, they were often forced to sell their produce immediately after harvest when prices were at their lowest, in order to realise the cash to pay the tax. It was also in the government's interest to collect the tax partly in kind, because it could use the stocks of grain thus accumulated to provision its armed forces, hold grain against a rise in prices, thus providing itself with additional funds, or, perhaps more importantly, release the grain on to the market in times of shortage or famine thereby lessening the danger of bread riots and forestalling shortages artificially engineered for political purposes. Karīm Khān Zand is alleged to have taken great care to replenish the government granaries regularly in order to ensure supplies of bread at low prices (cf. Muḥammad Hāshim Rustam al-Ḥukamā', *Rustam al-*

*tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafī, Tehran 1969, 421-2). In the early 19th century also, government granaries were well stocked, and those who had flocked into Tehran as a result of the famine of 1247/1831-2 were fed for seven months from government stores until the new harvest came to hand (Muḥammad Taqī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, ed. Djahāngīr Kā'im Maḳāmi, Tehran 1958-9, i, 296; cf. also R. B. M. Binning, *A journey of two years' travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, 1857, ii, 276-7, who alleges that Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh bought up grain and retailed it at ruinous prices). It was also customary for the government in the 19th century, and probably in earlier centuries also, to pay part of the salaries of its officials in kind.

So far as *kharādj* was assessed in cash, from the end of the 3rd/9th century, when an attempt was made to establish a unified system of accounting on the basis of the gold standard with a legal tariff for the exchange of the dirham [see BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY], it was usually assessed in gold *dīnārs* or some "standard" coin. Actual payment, however, was made in silver coins. There were many different coins in circulation, sometimes of greatly debased value, and the rates of exchange for them against gold *dīnārs* or "standard" coins were subject to fluctuation. By manipulating the conversion rates to its own advantage, the government could raise the amount of the tax without changing its nominal rate. In later centuries also the tax continued, for the most part, to be assessed in gold or a "standard" coin, and to be paid in some other coin (see further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*<sup>3</sup>, Berlin 1968, 300 ff. for a discussion of Ilkhānid practice). In the 19th century there were still a number of coins in circulation of varying values in different parts of the country, which made for difficulty over the payment of taxes (see H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, medals and seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941*, London 1945, 61 ff.; cf. also F.O. 60: 165 K. Abbott, *Report on the commerce of the South of Persia*, Trade report, Notes on the trade, manufacturers and productions of various cities and centres of Persia visited by Mr. Consul Abbott in 1849-50).

Frequently the tax when assessed in kind was converted into cash by a procedure known as *taṣ'īr*. Ideally, as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī stated, a medium price was taken, but in practice a number of rates were fixed arbitrarily and often bore little relation to prevailing prices. Raṣhīd al-Dīn mentions the heavy burdens placed upon the peasants (*ra'āyā wa muzārī'ān*) by this system (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzāni*, 267). It not only enabled the government, if it so wished, to raise or lower the amount of tax paid, it also provided an opportunity for the tax-collector or provincial governor to misappropriate sums of money which should rightfully have been paid into the central treasury. It also gave rise to innumerable wrangles between the central government on the one hand and the tax officials and governors on the other when their accounts were being cleared, a process which often ran over one tax year into succeeding years. Waṣṣāf cites numerous cases of officials who were forced to spend time and money over the clearing of their accounts during the reign of the Ilkhāns, and similar instances are frequently met with in later times. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Fūmīnī mentions the case of Mirzā 'Ālamīyān, who was for twelve years *wazīr* of Gilānāt, Māzandarān, Gaskar and Āstārā, and then *wazīr* of Kazwīn and later *wazīr* of Khurāsān in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās (985-1038/1587-1629). He was accused of not including in his

revenue accounts money which he was alleged to have taken from the taxpayers of Lāhīdījān when converting the tax assessed in rice into cash (*tafāwut-i ta'šir-i birindī*), and was finally made to pay this sum (*Tāriḫ-i Gilān*, ed. Manūčīhr Sutūda, Tehran 1970, 183 ff.).

Responsibility for the payment of taxes in general, including the land tax, was, in the early centuries, the collective responsibility of the taxpayers of a given district [see *ḲABĀLA*]. They were required, as a body, to make good the tax due from defaulters. This continued to be the case in practice, since so far as the tax was assessed on provinces and districts at the centre and partitioned locally among the villages and individual taxpayers, in effect those who remained had to make good the taxes of any who had left the district. Arrears were common. J. B. Fraser, writing in the early 19th century, states that there was a continual struggle between the governor of a province and his myrmidons on the one side, and villagers, *ḡabišs* (revenue collectors), and *kaḡḡuddās* on the other. Few villages paid without requisition. The giving and accepting of *douceurs* was common (*Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822*, London 1825, 221). The situation was probably not very different in earlier times.

If assessed in cash, or assessed in kind and converted into cash, the tax was often levied in two or more instalments. So far as it was paid in kind, the division of the crop was normally made at harvest time on the threshing floor. The responsibility for transporting the grain to government granaries was usually that of the landlord. If the land was worked by him under a crop-sharing agreement, the responsibility for the payment of *ḡharādjī* was, according to the law-books, both Sunni and Shi'ī, the landlord's (cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-ḡharādjī*, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 137, Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī, *Djāmi'ī* 'Abbāsī, Bombay lith. 1884, 162). In practice, so far as the tax was levied on the threshing floor before the division of the crop between the landlord and the peasants, the tax liability was shared between the two parties. *ḡhāzān Ḳhān* laid down special regulations in 703/1304 for the payment of *ḡharādjī* and the delivery of the amount due in kind on summer and winter crops. The dates when payment fell due in the *ḡarmsīr* and the *sardsīr* respectively differed. The taxpayer was responsible for the transport of the tax quota to the government storehouses within a fixed period (*Tāriḫ-i mubārak-i ḡhāzānī*, 264 ff.). There was, however, in the matter of the date when payment fell due and the number of instalments, a variety of practice. For example, in *Kāshān*, under the assessment made in 1233/1817-18 the tax due in kind in barley was collected from crown lands (*ḡhālīšādī'āt-i dīwānī*) towards the end of May (when the grain harvest had been reaped), and the tax due in cash was levied in three instalments, towards the end of June, September and January ('Abd al-Rahīm Ḍarrābī, *Tāriḫ-i Kāshān*, ed. Irādī Afshār, Tehran 1956, 286-7). In *Ḳhurāsān* at the beginning of the 19th century the revenue in cash was paid in three instalments, the first during the first month of the Persian solar year beginning on 21 March, the second four months later and the third towards the end of the tenth month. Revenue in kind and cash combined was paid in two instalments (Sykes, *op. cit.*, 5).

Extortion by government officials over the collection of land taxes was common. Often the tax was demanded before the harvest was reaped, a practice of which Niẓām al-Mulk disapproved as leading to the ruin and dispersal of the peasants (*Siyāsāt-nāma*,

18). In times of financial stringency and military campaigns, it was not only common to demand the taxes in advance but also to demand them several times over (cf. *Tāriḫ-i Waṣṣāf*, 326, 438, *Tāriḫ-i mubārak-i ḡhāzānī*, 267). The arbitrary exactions of government officials were, indeed, often more oppressive than the burden of taxation itself (see also below). The difficulties were, however, not all on one side. Governments and their officials were frequently extortionate, and the peasants feared that unless they counterfeited poverty, they would be supposed to be rich and become a mark for extortion (cf. F.O. 60: 194. Sheil to Shah, n.d.). Perennial difficulties were experienced over tax collection. Arrears were common. Sometimes they were the result of a series of bad years or some natural disaster for which no remission had been granted, and sometimes the result of heavy demands made on the taxpayers; but they were also at times due to the recalcitrance of the taxpayers. There were doubtless village communities other than that of Simakān in Fārs whom Mirzā Muḡammad Kalāntar's statement that they "were never in the habit of paying taxes" would have fitted (*Rūznāma-i Mirzā Muḡammad Kalāntar*, ed. 'Abbās Iḡbāl, Tehran 1946, 20). Estates were not infrequently temporarily taken control of by the *dīwān* until outstanding claims had been settled, while others were confiscated to the *dīwān*. Much of the *ḡhālīša* land held by the *Ḳādjārs* was acquired in this way (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 147; see also Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 389-90).

*Remissions of taxation.* Tradition demanded that remissions of *ḡharādjī* should be granted in the event of natural disasters, such as flood, drought, and the destruction of crops by pests (see also Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 388), and there is frequent mention in the chronicles of remissions and demands for remission of taxation. Waṣṣāf records that the *ḡharādjī* had not been paid in Fārs in 705/1305-6 as a result of a dry year coupled with the extortion of officials. Accordingly Uldjāytū, who had succeeded in 703/1304, recalled Djāmāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḡammad Shayḡh al-Islām to *Šīrāz* from *Kīšh*, whither he had retired after having been in charge of the financial administration of Fārs for a period, to take control of affairs again. Djāmāl al-Dīn gave orders for the sums outstanding for *ḡharādjī* to be recorded but not to be demanded from the taxpayers, and for seed and advances to be given to the peasants (*Tāriḫ-i Waṣṣāf*, 507; cf. also 446). He died shortly afterwards, apparently in 706/1306 (Aḡmad b. Zarkūb, *Šīrāz-nāma*, ed. Ismā'īl Wā'iz Djawādī, 1971-2, 99, *Tāriḫ-i Waṣṣāf*, 446), and there is no record of the results achieved by these measures. Fath 'Alī *Šhāh* gave remissions to the governors of *Iṣfahān*, *Gilān* and *Māzandarān* in 1247/1831-2 on account of heavy loss of life from cholera and the severe winter of 1830-1, and a decline in silk production (Muḡammad Taḡī Lisān al-Mulk Sīpīhr, *Nāsikh al-tawāriḫ*, i, 296). Despite the disastrous outbreak of silk-worm disease in *Gilān* in 1864-5, the tax assessment of the province remained unchanged until 1868 when it was reduced by about 20%, though the relative decline in silk output and in the population's income had been greater (see further G. G. Silbermann, *Persian constitutional revolution: the economic background, 1870-1906*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 1974, 149 ff.).

Remissions were also sometimes granted as a reward for services already performed, to mark a military victory, the birth of a son, or to encourage future support. *Šhāruḡh* b. *Timīr* in a *fatḡ-nāma*

issued after his defeat of Karā Yūsuf (823/1420-1) announced the remission of one-third (*dū dāng*) of the taxes of the kingdom (*māl-i mamālik-i mahrūsa*) as a favour (*suyūrghāl*) for his subjects ('Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'i, *Asnād wa muhātabāt-i tārikh-i Irān*, Tehran 1962-3, 214). It is not clear whether this was intended to be a temporary remission or a permanent reduction. Shāh 'Abbās remitted the taxes (*māl wa mināl*) of Iṣfahān for one year after his successful campaign in Khurāsān in 1007/1595 (Iskandar Munshī, *Tārikh-i 'Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsi*, Tehran 1956, i, 587) and in 1025/1616 he is said to have remitted one month's *kharādj-i diwāni* (i.e. the instalment due in Ramaḍān) from the Shī'īs in all provinces (*ibid.*, ii, 895). Nādir Shāh after his Indian campaign in 1151/1738-9 ordered the taxes to be remitted for three years (Mīrzā Mihdī Astarābādī, *Dīhāngushā-yi Nādirī*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Anwār, Tehran 1962-3, 334). He subsequently revoked this order (*ibid.*, 422. Cf. also Dīābirī Anṣārī, *Tārikh-i niṣf-i dīhān*, 122).

*Charges on the land taxes.* In mediaeval Persia, as in earlier times, the main charge on the land tax and the revenues in general was the payment of the army and officials. In times of peace the tax regime tended to be milder than in times of war or when the numbers and influence of the military were increasing. Waṣṣāf's account of Kirmān and Fārs in the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries illustrates how military adventures and defence affected the revenues. When the governor of Kirmān complained to the Salghurid ruler of Fārs, Sa'd b. Zangī, who had taken the province in 605/1208-9, that the revenues (*hāsilāt*) of Kirmān were not enough for the needs of the administration and the wages of the army (*maṣāliḥ-i salṭanat wa mawāḍi'ib-i lashkar*), the latter issued a decree for an additional levy of one-tenth from landed estates. The people complained of this levy, which was called *fidyat al-mulk*, and so, after his victory in Luristān, Sa'd b. Zangī abolished it (*Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*, 151). Later, for somewhat similar reasons, the rate of taxation in Fārs, which had been lightly assessed at the beginning of Sa'd b. Zangī's reign, was raised. Warned by his *wazīr* that more revenue would be required to satisfy the greed of Mongol *amirs*, the expectations of the Mongol princesses and the obligation to provide for their expenses (*ikhhrādjāt*) on the one hand, and to provide for the administration and the military needs of the country on the other, and encouraged by 'Imād al-Dīn Mirāthī, the head of the *diwān al-inshā'*, who pointed out that the *shari'a* permitted those in authority to levy sums from the rich for the defence of Islam, Sa'd b. Zangī increased the land tax and imposed a variety of new taxes upon the townspeople. Under this settlement, which was known as the Mirāthī settlement after 'Imād al-Dīn Mirāthī, who was responsible for drawing it up, half of the produce was taken from land irrigated by streams and exploited by tribes and peasants, a quarter, fifth, sixth or tenth, according to the situation of the land and the status of its owners, from estates watered by *kanāts* or wells, and from orchards, while dues were levied on those who had crop-sharing agreements and on fruit-bearing trees on the basis of measurement of valuation. Waṣṣāf alleges that great severity was practised in the collection of the revenue under this settlement (*Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*, 161-2).

*Additional cesses.* Land taxes were not limited to the payment of the basic *kharādj*. Numerous additional cesses (*far'*, pl. *furū'*, *ṣādir*, pl. *ṣādirāt*, *ṣādiriyyāt*) for "occasional" purposes were added to the basic tax. Rustam al-Ḥukamā', writing at the end

of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century, states that the traditional rate for the basic tax was one-fifth of the produce from privately owned lands and one-third from land owned by the ruler (*amlāk-i pādīshāhi*) and that in either case additional cesses (*ṣādiriyyāt*) should not exceed one-fifth of the tax (Rustam al-tawārikh, 172-3, 325). It is not clear whence he derived this theory. It was frequently transgressed if, indeed, it ever existed. The additional cesses in fact sometimes equalled or even exceeded the basic tax.

One of the most common of the additional cesses was that made for the payment of the tax-collectors. Whereas the jurists had laid down that those who collected the *kharādj*, of whom they required special qualifications, should be paid out of the proceeds of *kharādj*, sums for their pay were in practice commonly levied in addition as a proportion of the basic tax. They were subject to arbitrary increase or decrease, and varied from province to province, sometimes exceeding the basic tax. Naṣr al-Dīn Ṭūsī states that the additional cess (*far'*) for the dues (*marsūm*) of officials had recently been raised and that a cess of 10% or 20% was levied on this account (*ax mālḥā-yi dah yāzdah davāzdah mīstānand*) (*op. cit.*, 32). Under the Safawids the additional cess for the expenses of officials was sometimes known as *'amal kard-i hukkam*. Iskandar Munshī states that in 'Irāk (from the text it is not clear whether he means 'Irāk-i 'Arab or 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjam or both) an additional cess of five *dīnārs* per one *dīnār* had, in the course of time, been added to the basic tax for the perquisites of the *tuyūldār* and *dārūgha* (*manāfi'-i tuyūldārī wa dārūghagī*). This was contrary to both the old assessment and the assessment of Shāh Tahmāsp, and so Shāh 'Abbās, after his victory in Khurāsān in 1007/1595, remitted it ('Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsi, i, 587; see also K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 59-60), thus reducing it from 20% to 16%. Under the Kādjārs the costs of collection and administration were levied locally under the general head of *tafāwut-i 'amal* over and above the basic tax (*aṣl*) and additional cesses (*furū'*). Bizot, the French financial adviser appointed by the Persian government in 1907, states in a report dated 15 March 1909 that the *tafāwut-i 'amal* was levied in the form of a percentage of the *māliyyāt* and varied from province to province and often exceeded the basic tax. When he was writing it was more or less fixed and where there was a surplus under this head it had to be remitted to Tehran (*Further correspondence respecting the affairs of Persia*, Pt. xviii, April to June 1909, Report by M. Bizot on the financial situation in Persia, Tehran, dated 15 March 1909, incl. in No. 388, Sir George Barclay to Sir Edward Grey, Tehran, 8 April 1909).

The surveyor (*massāh*), like the *'amil-i kharādj*, received his pay from the proceeds of the *kharādj*, according to the theory of the jurists, but in the course of time dues for the surveyors also were levied in addition to the *kharādj*. Ghāzān Khān, as stated above, attempted to do away with the need for the surveyor and the valuer, but his efforts were only temporarily, if at all, successful. In a document dated 904/1498-9 for a *suyūrghāl*, the grantee is given exemption from the payment of the due for measurement and valuation (*rasm al-harz wa masāha*) (*Landlord and peasant*, 103). According to the Safawid manual, the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, a small sum was levied as a due for the surveyor (*massāh*) of Iṣfahān (M. T. Dāniṣpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafi'a wa tadhkīrat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Sami'a*, in *Rev. de la fac.*

*des lettres et des sciences humaines* (University of Tehran), XVI/5-6, 552).

Malcolm states that the sum derived from *šādīr* had been calculated at two-fifths of the fixed revenue (i.e. double the rate mentioned by Rustam al-Ḥukamā<sup>2</sup>), and ought to have been levied according to definite rules, each person paying in the same proportion as he paid the basic tax. But the governors of provinces, he alleges, usually exercised an arbitrary discretion in collecting the *šādīr*. It bore most heavily on "the proprietors of estates and citizens" (*History of Persia*, ii, 342-3). Once an additional cess was added for whatever purpose, the tendency was for it to become in due course part of the "fixed" tax (cf. *Landlord and peasant*, 144-5). Fraser relates that not long before his visit to Persia in 1821-2 various additional cesses, which had been imposed to make good the deficiency of the revenue, had been compounded for a figure of 10% of the produce and added to the basic rate, which was also 10%, so that the regular government dues, when he was writing, were one-fifth of the produce. The government, he alleges, had kept ill-faith over the matter and *šādīrāt* were still levied in capricious and arbitrary forms (*Narrative of a journey into Khorasan*, 211). Thomson reported in 1868 that "It is impossible to discover what people really do pay in excess of the fixed assessment. Some pretend that the irregular exactions amount to a sum equal to the legal assessments, and there does not appear to be any reason for supposing that this is an exaggeration" (Report on Persia, *op. cit.*, 254-5. Cf. also Sykes, *op. cit.*, 4 ff.).

The term *šādīrāt* covered not only additional cesses assessed in the same way as the basic tax (*aṣl-i māl*), i.e. on the produce or ploughland, but also extraordinary or "occasional" requisitions made on the occasion of the progress of the ruler of a governor through the country, or to meet the expenses of a military expedition, or for some other purpose (cf. J. Morier, *Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1818, 237, and Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 342). Such levies also tended to become part of the fixed revenue.

*Pasture taxes and taxes on flocks and herds.* In addition to the additional cesses and "occasional" requisitions, there were many other taxes and dues which those who lived on the land were required to pay. Some of these were known in the early centuries; many more were added in Ilkhān times and continued to be levied thereafter. They included cattle and sheep taxes, pasture taxes, poll-taxes, dues for officials other than those specifically concerned with revenue collection, together with a great variety of other dues and services. Although they were not paid only by those living on the land, yet since the latter formed the main body of taxpayers, it was upon them that these levies bore most heavily.

Pasture taxes and taxes on flocks and herds (*marā<sup>2</sup>i*, *mawāshī*, *mawāsh*), in contradistinction to the land tax, appear to have been paid mainly in cash. With the advent of the Mongols and the increase in the numbers of the nomads and their flocks, sheep and cattle taxes assumed greater importance. One of the meanings of the tax introduced by the Mongols and known as *kūbčūr* (see below) was a tax on flocks and herds. *Čūpānbeḡi*, which was levied in the 9th/15th century, was possibly synonymous with *kūbčūr* in its meaning as a tax on flocks and herds (cf. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, GMS, London 1943, 177). Shāh 'Abbās, after his victorious campaign in Khurāsān is alleged to have abolished it in that

province in 1007/1595. It amounted at that time to nearly 20,000 'Irāki *tūmāns* per annum (*Tārikh-i 'Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 587). It is unlikely, however, that the exemption was permanent or that it was extended to other provinces. The Muḥaddam tribe of Karābāgh still paid it in the reign of Shāh Saḡī (1038-52/1629-42) until they were exempted from its payment (Muhannad Yūsuf, *Dhayl-i tārikh-i 'ālamārā-yi 'abbāsī*, ed. Suhayl Khwānsārī, Tehran 1938, 286), and it was, according to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, one of the dues collected by the *qābīḡa-niwīs* (f. 68b).

It is not clear how *marā<sup>2</sup>i* and *mawāshī* differed from *čūpānbeḡi*. Iskandar Munshī states that Shāh Ṭahmāsp abolished them in most provinces (*mamālīk*), especially in Shī<sup>2</sup>i districts (i, 123; see further Röhrborn, 58). This, again, was not permanently effective. In 19th century usage in Kāshān *marā<sup>2</sup>i* was a tax on sheep and goats levied at so much per animal which bore young and was in milk. *Mawāshī* (*mawāsh*) was levied on cows, mules and asses at so much per head. The fiscal unit was the village, and only those living in the village and benefiting from its grazing, water and firewood were in theory liable to these taxes. Anyone cultivating land elsewhere and grazing his flocks elsewhere was exempt from these taxes in the village in which he resided. Similarly a difference was made in the incidence of land and water taxes between those who lived in the village and owned land there and absentee landlords. A due known as *nassāḡī* was also levied on every man or woman living in the village who had a loom ('Abd al-Raḡīm Ḍarrābī, *Tārikh-i Kāshān*, ed. Irāḡī Afshār, Tehran 1956, 91).

Malcolm states that for the most part the pasture lands allotted to the tribes in Kāḡjār times were considered as a payment in part for their military service, but that a tax was levied upon families according to their wealth and the number of their cattle and flocks (*History of Persia*, ii, 339. See also *Landlord and peasant*, 158, 163-4).

*Poll-taxes and dues.* Poll-taxes (*sar-šumārī*, *sar-šumār*, *sarāna*), and, less frequently, hearth taxes (*rasm-i dūdi*, *zar-i dūdi*, *khāna-šumārī*, *khāna-šumār*) became common after the Mongol conquest (see below). These poll-taxes had nothing to do with the poll-tax (*ḡizya*), sanctioned by Islamic law and levied on *dhimmīs*, but like the *ḡizya* they implied an element of subjection. 'Abd al-Razzāk records the levy of a hearth tax by Abū Sa'īd in 859/1454-5 and 874/1469 (*Maḡla<sup>2</sup> al-Sa<sup>2</sup>dayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shāfi<sup>2</sup>, Lahore, ii, 1087, 1410). In the 19th century a poll-tax of one kran was exacted from each male over 18 years of age. The inhabitants of towns did not pay this tax (Report by Mr. Thomson, *op. cit.*, 253). In some villages, however, *sarāna* was exacted from the age of fourteen (*Tārikh-i Kāshān*, 91).

Djuwaynī, describing the organisation of the Mongol horde, mentions certain contributions to which they were liable, including various dues (*'awāriḡāt*), sums for the maintenance of travellers (*ikhḡrāḡiāt*), the furnishing of mounts (*ulāḡh*), and provisions (*'ulūḡāt*) (*Tārikh-i Ḍjahāngushā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, GMS, London/Leyden 1912, i, 22). With the spread of the Mongol conquests, these contributions and many others were laid upon the conquered population (see also below). Raḡhīd al-Dīn mentions various levies made for the provisions of Mongol officials and the establishments of the Mongol princes and princesses—*sūsūn* (provisions for travellers), *'alafa*, *'ulūḡa*, *sāwari*, and *targhū*, among others—which he alleges were abolished under

Ghāzān's reforms (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 255). Uljāyṭū, on his accession, announced his intention of continuing Ghāzān's policy and forbade the demand of irregular dues (Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 96). In fact, however, similar levies continued to be made for the ruling classes, and large numbers of different dues and services are mentioned in documents granting *tuyūls* and *suyūrghāls* in the 9th/15th century and later (see further *Landlord and peasant*, and H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*. See also documents in T. M. Musevi, *Orta ėsr Azėrbaijan tarihine dair Fars dilinde yazilmish sėnedler*, Baku 1956, and idem, *Bakı tarihine dair orta ėsr sėnedleri*, Baku 1967).

One of the most grievous levies was *suyūrsāt* (purveyance), claimed not only by the officials known as *mihmāndārs*, who conducted foreign envoys through the countryside, but also by all great men or messengers travelling on behalf of the ruler. This first reached extortionate proportions under the Ilkhāns (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 270 ff.), and continued to be demanded under later rulers. Clavijo described its levy in the time of Timūr (*Embassy to Tamerlane*, ed. G. le Strange, London 1933, 166). Abel Piñçon, writing ca. 1605, mentions the ill-treatment of peasants who did not provide supplies for ambassadors, who were conducted through the country by soldiers furnished by the shah (*Antony Sherley, his Persian adventure*, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1933, 166). Under the Qādjārs a similar system existed and provisions by way of *suyūrsāt* were extorted from the private stores of the villages. "The villager", wrote Morier, "groans under the oppression, but in vain shrinks from it; every argument of his poverty is answered, if by nothing else, at least by the bastinado" (*Journey through Persia*, 37. Cf. also Fraser, *Narrative of a journey into Khorasan*, 88, 113, 115). The abolition of *suyūrsāt* was announced in the official gazette on 21 February 1851 except for soldiers on the march (F.O. 60: 158. Sheil to Palmerston, No. 29, Tehran, 21 February 1851), but there is no reason to suppose that this prohibition was effective. Sir Justin Sheil, writing in 1854, states that its exaction was attended by violence and oppression. *Muḥassils* were the chief offenders. Governors and other functionaries travelling to and from their posts were also a scourge to the country (F.O. 60: 194. Sheil to Shah, n.d.).

*The tax assessment and the levy of troops.* The provision of troops, so far as this was connected with the grant of *ikhtā's* and *tuyūls*, was closely connected with the assessment of the land tax. In 1851, under measures introduced by Mirzā Takī Amīr Nīzām, Naṣir al-Dīn's first minister, this connection became even closer. The basis of Mirzā Takī Khān's reform was that a certain quota of soldiers or government servants (*nawkar-i dawlat*) should be provided under the group assessment (*bunīda*) of each village, district or tribe, proportionate to the amount of its revenue assessment. The men served in theory for six months of the year and returned to their villages for the other six months. Their pay for this latter period was a charge on the village, as also was the small allowance paid to their families while they were away on service ('Abd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagi-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, i, 91-2). A decree issued in 1307/1889-90 laid down that one man per 180 male Muslims in each village was to be taken for military service and 150 *tūmāns* for every 180 non-Muslims, but this was probably never fully operative (see

further *Landlord and peasant*, 168 ff.). According to the report on the Persian army dated 1900, quoted above, nominally for every 12-20 *tūmāns* of the assessment one recruit was to be provided. *Dhimmi's*, *sayyids*, *ulāmā*, the inhabitants of towns, and peasants on crown lands were exempted. In practice, however, recruitment was fixed in an arbitrary fashion. A village of 500 might furnish the same quota as one with only 50, while a village whose revenue might have declined was still required to provide the same number of men as when its revenue had been much greater (Report on the Persian army, *op. cit.*, 97).

*Assignments on the land taxes: ikhtā's, suyūrghāls and tuyūls.* The jurists in the early centuries had sanctioned the practice of making assignments on the *khārādj*. Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī had, perhaps, such assignments in mind when he states that there were people whose *khārādj* had been remitted and others to whom a specific sum was allotted as a pension (*idrār*) or for other expenses and put against their *khārādj*. These privileges, he asserts, could be transmitted by sale and inheritance (*op. cit.*, 31), though it is not clear what exactly he meant by "sale" in this connection. Al-'Umārī also states that he had been informed that pensions (*idrārāt*), whether in the form of money or villages, remained, like landed property (*milk*), in the possession of the holder, who could dispose of them by sale or gift, or constitute them into *wakf*, as he pleased (*Das mongolische Weltreich*, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, Ar. text, 96).

The practice of assigning the fiscal rights of the state to the military as *ikhtā'* [q.v.], which became common from the 4th/10th century onwards, was, to some extent, an extension of the earlier assignments on *khārādj*. From about the 7th/13th century there was a change in terminology, and the term *ikhtā'* tended to be restricted to land grants made to soldiers (cf. the grants made by Ghāzān, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 303 ff.), though it was also used from time to time in other senses. The beneficiaries had no authority over the peasants except to see that they cultivated their lands or their villages and to collect from them the *dīwān* taxes (*māl wa mulawadīdīhāt-i dīwānī*). The grants could be transmitted by inheritance to a member of the holder's family or followers, provided he was prepared to bear arms, but could not be transferred by sale (*ibid.*, 307). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions *ikhtā's* in Āḡharbāyḡdīān, Shīrwān and Khurāsān (*Nuzhat al-kulūb*, ed. G. le Strange, GMS, London/Leyden 1915, Persian text, 83, 92, 93, 147).

In the 8th/14th century the term *suyūrghāl* came to be used for other aspects of the institution formerly designated by the term *ikhtā'*, and was itself replaced in the 9th/15th century by the term *tuyūl* so far as the institution designated earlier by the "provincial" *ikhtā'* was concerned (see further I. P. Petrushevsky, *K istorii instituta soyurgala in Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi (1949). The grants of *suyūrghāls* by Timūr would appear to have been very much like the earlier "provincial" *ikhtā's*. In post-Timūrid times, however, the term *suyūrghāl* for the most part designated a grant of immunity, often hereditary, from the payment of taxation, and frequently, though not by any means always, granted to members of the religious classes. If the grantee held land the grant might include not only immunity from the payment of taxation, but also the right to receive the taxes from the local population and sometimes to exercise rights of jurisdiction. *Suyūrghāls* were also attached to institutions. Thus, Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/



1694-1722) constituted six hamlets (*mazra'ā*) in Barā'n into a *wakf* for the Sulṭānī *madrāsa* in Iṣfahān and granted their revenues (*māl wa dījhāt wa khāridī al-māl wa sā'ir-i dījhāt*) as a permanent *suyūrghāl* to the administration of the *madrāsa*. No drafts for taxes or other sums (*māl wa dījhāt wa sā'ir-i wudjūhāt*) were to be made on those hamlets or their peasants on any account ('Abd al-Ḥusayn Sipintā, *Tārīkh-i awkāf-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1967, 223).

*Tuyūls*, on the other hand, were primarily temporary grants in return for services. They frequently carried with them the right to collect (as well as to receive) the taxes, and rights of jurisdiction. They were often in practice, and sometimes in name, hereditary. In theory, however, they had to be regranted on the accession of a new ruler. For example in Ṣafawid times, when the empire was divided into directly administered land known as *khāṣṣa* [see KHĀLIṢA] and indirectly administered land known as *mamālīk*, the taxes, including the land tax, were collected by the provincial governor or *tuyūldār* and retained by him for provincial and other expenses. One of the crucial differences between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālīk* was that *tuyūls* were granted on the latter but not normally on the former. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Fūmīnī quotes Mirzā 'Ālamīyān as saying, "in *khāṣṣa* districts (*dar ulkā-yi khāṣṣa*) the existence of a *tuyūl* has no meaning" (*Tārīkh-i Gilān*, 232). This statement, however, does not necessarily hold good throughout the Ṣafawid period. The *tuyūl* granted to Faḵr al-Dīn Aḥmad Bāfḳī (see below) was on *khāṣṣa* land.

Shāh 'Abbās in 1019/1611 appointed Burhān al-Dīn *khālīfa* of the district of Dizmār in succession to his father and allotted to him, as had been allotted to his father, 34 *tūmāns* 7938 Tabrizī *dīnārs* on account of the taxes (*māl wa dījhāt wa wudjūhāt*) of Dizmār as his *tuyūl* and *suyūrghāl* from the date of the death of his father. The *kadhkhudās* and peasants (*ra'āyā*) of Dizmār were to recognise him as the holder of the *suyūrghāl* and their *tuyūldār* and to pay to him their taxes year by year and to refer to him their affairs, apart from cases of murder (*siwā-yi kaḍīyya-i khūn*). The Ṣūfīs (i.e. the Kizilbāsh) of Dizmār and Uzumdil were to serve him as messengers and military followers (? *bi dīār wa yāsāk*) as they had served his father. The governors (*hukhām*), *dārūghas*, *tuyūldārs*, and tax-collectors ('ummāl) of Ādharbāyḍjān in general and Dizmār in particular were not to interfere in any way in his *suyūrghāl* or *tuyūl* or to make any drafts or allocations on account of expenses (*ikhvādīāt*) or dues ('*awārīdāt*), in particular the dues of the *dārūgha*, the wazir, or the *kalāntar*, etc., which according to the decree of the late sultan (Ṭahmāsp) were not levied on the *suyūrghāls* of the Ṣūfīs (Sarhang Bāyburdī, *Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, Tehran 1962, 160).

In the case of most *tuyūls* and some *suyūrghāls* the grantee was required to perform certain services or to provide military forces. For example Faḵr al-Dīn Aḥmad Bāfḳī was ordered by Shāh 'Abbās to provide 300 men from Bāfḳ and Yazd to serve as attendants in the *khāṣṣa* administration and to accompany the royal train on military expeditions. He collected 300 *tufangcīs* from the aforementioned places and returned with them to the capital. Shāh 'Abbās then ordered Bāfḳ, Yazd, Sar Yazd, Fahrādī (in the Yazd district), some of the districts of Kirmān, districts in the desert regions (*mafāsa*), *Djandak-i Nawḳāt* and elsewhere to be his *tuyūl*, and he also appointed *suyūrghāls* for his children. Faḵr al-Dīn attained freedom of action and authority in those

regions and spread justice among the people (Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmi'ī Muḥīdī*, ed. Irādī Afshār, Tehran 1961, iii, 276). Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn granted a *suyūrghāl* to Amīr Bāyandur Sulṭān, the governor of Ḳarāḍja Dāgh, in 1113/1702 allotting to him the sum of 6 *tūmāns* 3,096½ *dīnārs* from the taxes (*māl wa dījhāt wa wudjūhāt*) of the Dizmār district. After his death this was to pass to his son on condition that he provided seven men for the shah's service (*bi dīār wa yāsāk-i shāhi*). The headman and peasants of Dizmār were to remit the taxes (*māl wa dījhāt wa wudjūhāt*) and government dues to the grantee (*A soyūrghāl of Jahāngīr Āq-Qoyunlū*, 158-60). Nādir Shāh similarly granted a *tuyūl* in 1156/1743 to Sulṭān Muḥammad Beg, the *kurībāshī*, on one of the villages of Burkhār, which was his private property, so that it should be free of *dīwān* drafts (*hawāladjāt-i dīwānī*) and he should expend its revenues on his livelihood and perform whatever was demanded by way of service (*lawāzim-i lākiri wa dīān-sipārī*) (B.M., Or. 4935, No. 17).

The assumption appears to have been made that the obligation to service was a permanent one and that the *tuyūl* would therefore also be permanent, and it was, in fact, frequently regranted to the original holder's sons and descendants. The following example illustrates this. Muḥammad Mirzā (later Muḥammad Shāh), when governor of Ādharbāyḍjān, granted a *tuyūl* to Hādīdīl Djāmi Beg Bāyburdī in 1242/1827, allocating to him the taxes of the village of Nuḳdūz, in the district of Ahar, which was assessed at a lump sum of 15 *khārwarīs* of rice, as his permanent *tuyūl* just as it had been granted by 'Abbās Mirzā in former years to his late father, Ḥusayn Sulṭān, so that he should year by year collect the *dīwān* taxes (*mutawādīdīhāt-i dīwānī*) of that village, expend them on his expenses and perform what was demanded of him by way of service (*bi lawāzim-i khīdmat-gudhārī wa bandagi*) (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 260).

The degree to which a district on which or in which a *tuyūl* had been granted was removed from the control of the central government varied. In 1014/1605 Shāh 'Abbās sent Mirzā 'Ālamīyān to *Khurāsān* because speculation and extortion had been reported and ordered that the levy of taxes in *tuyūls* should be under his supervision (Ivāghlī Ḥaydar, *Djāma'ā-i murāsīlāt ulu 'l-albāb*. Add. 7688 f. 200b, quoted by Röhrborn, 106-7). For the most part, however, with the grant of a *tuyūl*, especially if this was in the form of a specific amount of cash and/or grain granted to an individual on his own land, the land and its taxes were removed from the control of the central or provincial government. For example, a *farmān* dated 1252/1836 from Muḥammad Shāh granted to Ḥasan Khān Bāyburdī Ḳarāḍja Dāghī as a *tuyūl* the village of Razin in the district of Ahar, which was his own estate, and gave him its taxes, in cash and kind, as pay, which he was to collect every year and spend on his living expenses. The *farmān* commands *Ḳahramān* Mirzā, the governor of Ādharbāyḍjān, to hand the village over to Ḥasan Khān as his *tuyūl* and to consider it immune from the entry of officials (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 264). Some years later in 1272/1856 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh issued a *farmān* to the commander-in-chief (*sardār-i kull*), 'Azīz Khān, stating that the 184 *tūmāns* 7300 *dīnārs* in cash and 47 *khārwarīs* and 50 *manns* of grain (*djīns*) as wages (*mawādīb wa mustamarri*) had been granted to Ḥasan Khān Bāyburdī Ḳarāḍja Dāghī on account of the taxes of Bohol and his other estates (*amlāk*) and debited against the revenue of Ādharbāyḍjān in the assessment (*dastūr al-'amal*). Since Ḥasan Khān had

been appointed to serve in Fārs, 'Azīz Khān was to order his *tuyūls* to be paid (*wā guḏhār namūda*) to him as before and to forbid anyone to interfere in them (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 268).

The amount of land or its revenue alienated from the crown as *tuyūls* varied. Rawlinson, writing about 1838, states that it was calculated that about one-fifth of the whole land revenue of Persia was then alienated from the crown (*Notes on a journey from Tabriz through Persian Kurdistan to the ruins of Takhti-Soleimān*, in *JRGS* (1841), 5, n).

Apart from *suyūrghāls* and *tuyūls*, grants known as *hamasāla* were also common. These were allocations on the revenue of specific villages or districts, according to which the taxpayers paid their taxes, up to the amount stipulated, to the holder of the *hamasāla* instead of to the government tax-collector. Since the holders were usually military men or government officials, they were not usually resident in the district on which their *hamasāla* was allotted. It was perhaps for this reason that the local people were sometimes required to certify their consent to the grant of pay (*hamasāla*) on the revenues of their village. A *farmān* from Shāh Sulṭān Husayn dated 1122/1710 states that Pīrī Beg b. Kalb 'Alī Beg, the deputy (*mā'ib*) of Naḏīaf Kulī Beg Yūzbāshī Bāyburdlū, who claimed that his wages (*mawāḏjib*) were paid by draft, part of which was paid by the people of the villages of Almān and Bohol (both near Ahar) out of their taxes (*māl wa ḏīhāt*), had asked that these sums should be paid as his *hamasāla* in accordance with the certificate (*riḏānāmča*) sealed by a group of the people of those villages. The *farmān* orders this to be done with the approval of the department (*sarkhār*) of the *kurčīs* (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 251; text also in Kā'im Makāmī, *Yak šad wa pañḏjāh sanad-i tārikhī*, Tehran 1969, 74-5).

Two earlier *farmāns* issued by Shāh Sulṭān Husayn in respect of Pīrī Beg also concern the payment of his *hamasāla*. The first dated Shawwāl 1113/1702 states that the peasants (*ra'āyā*) of Usnur in the district of Kandawān of Karahrūd were to pay, according to the attestation of the register of the *kurčīs*, 6 *tūmāns* annually on account of the annual grant of the *kurčīs*. The sum due to Pīrī Beg from this was in arrears. His presence (on duty) having been testified to and confirmed by the *kurčībāshī*, his pay was to be made available. The second document, dated Muharram 1114/1702 orders the peasants (*ra'āyā*) of the districts mentioned on the back of the document to pay, according to the statement and attestation of the *kurčī* register, 1,466 *dīnārs* in cash and 3 *khārūvārs* and 50 *manns* in grain, according to their individual assessments, in respect of the annual wages (*mawāḏjib-i hamasāla*) of Pīrī Beg, this sum being included in the total sum of 36,000 *tūmāns* odd (due to the *kurčīs*) (Kā'im Makāmī, *op. cit.*, 63-4).

Under the Ilkhāns, personal immunities, known as *tarkhān*, were granted to Mongol princes and princesses, and also to members of the religious classes and scribes (cf. *Djuwaynī*, i, 27-8 for the supposed origin of these grants). The historian Waṣṣāf claims to have held such an immunity, though it did not, in fact, protect him from the extortions of the tax-collectors (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 631). It is possible that the hereditary grants of immunity made to the religious classes and others as *suyūrghāls* (see above) developed out of the *tarkhān*.

The grants known as *mu'āfi* and *musallamī* were also personal immunities. So far as the persons to whom they were granted held land, the immunity included, presumably, immunity from the payment

of *kharaḏj*. Such grants are met with in the early centuries and continued to be made down to modern times.

So far as the *tuyūl* was simply a device for the payment of salary the tendency was, according to Tavernier, for the *daftar-khāna* to allocate the sums due to an official on different places in small sums so that it was uneconomical for the recipient to collect them in person and *tahsildārs* would buy the drafts at a discount and collect them together making a great profit (*Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 249-50). Chardin, however, states that 'Abbās II had reformed this practice (v, 422). Under the Kādjārs such grants were usually made as block grants and the *tuyūldār* would, as Sheil wrote in 1854, "by some means not very intelligible" make himself the temporary owner of the land to the exclusion of the real proprietor. Almost everyone holding a certain position at court, from the prime minister downwards was, he states, a *tuyūldār* (F.O. 60: 194, Sheil to the Shah, n.d.).

*Drafts on the revenue*. An even more harmful practice than the alienation of the fiscal rights of the state in the form of *ikhṭā's* and *tuyūls* was the practice of writing drafts on the revenue. This also arose because of the difficulties experienced in revenue collection and tended to reach high proportions in periods of financial stringency. It first became common under the Būyids and more especially under the Ilkhāns (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 244). The practice was highly detrimental to agricultural prosperity and to the wellbeing of the cultivators, who could never be certain that new demands for sums of money or supplies of grain and other crops would not be made upon them. Not infrequently the drafts made on the revenue exceeded the income. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī Falak 'Alā-yi Tabrizi in his handbook on financial administration, the *Sa'ādat-nāma*, written during the reign of Ghāzān Khān or Uldjāytū, describes how drafts for salaries and other purposes were drawn on the revenue, and states that drafts in favour of the ruler, the princesses, the princes, and the amirs had priority in that order on available funds (Mirkamal Nabipur, *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak 'Alā-yi Tabrizi über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1973, Persian text, 52b).

Ghāzān Khān attempted to lessen the evils of the practice. He prohibited the indiscriminate writing of drafts by the officials of the central government and forbade its practice altogether by provincial officials. He appointed a *bitikči* to be in charge of each province in the supreme *diwān* and made him responsible for writing drafts on that province, village by village, in accordance with the assessment (*kānūn*). These measures were only partially successful. It was found that the village headmen continued to levy more than they ought from the taxpayers. The next step was to require them to send detailed lists of the liabilities of each taxpayer to the *diwān* so that the taxpayer would know what he was supposed to pay, and the headmen could not make demands on those whose names were not entered in the registers (*ibid.*, 253 ff., and cf. *Landlord and peasant*, 82 ff.).

Under the Safawids and Kādjārs it was also common practice to write drafts on the revenue for the salaries of officials, and for pensions and government debts. Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) the issue of *barāts* or bills on the provincial treasuries in payment of his army, servants and other creditors exceeded tenfold the amount of the revenue. Their value was thus merely nominal, and none but a favoured few,

or those who bribed highly, actually received payment. Sheil, writing in 1846, states that scarcely any portion of the revenue from the provinces reached Tehran. Most of the holders of drafts were therefore glad to sell them at any price. The principal governors had their agents in Tehran to purchase these bills drawn on their respective provinces. The full amount was then afterwards charged in their accounts with the government although perhaps only a fifth or a tenth might have been really paid (F.O. 60: 125, Sheil to Palmerston, No. 117, Tehran, 20 November 1846. See also Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 386-7). This state of affairs was, in some respects reminiscent of that which prevailed under the Ilkhāns prior to Ghāzān Khān (cf. *Tārikh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 243 ff.).

*Revenue farming.* Another practice which closely affected the collection of *kharādj* was that of revenue farming. Partly because of a frequent shortage of funds and partly because of the perennial difficulties experienced over the collection of taxes governments frequently had recourse to this practice. The revenue farm [see *ḍamān*], which might be for a single tax such as *kharādj*, or for all the taxes of a district or province, had some outward resemblance to the *mukāṭa'a* contract. In fact, however, it was something different. The latter in the early centuries was for the most part made with the local landowner or tribal leader, who became responsible for the payment of the taxes, apportioned them among the local peasants, collected them and paid them to the government. The taxfarmer, on the other hand, contracted to pay annually to the state, for a stipulated period, a certain sum of money for a specific tax, or all the taxes, of a district or province, which sum he recovered on his own account from the taxpayers. In many cases he bid for his contract. There are cases of local landowners farming the revenue of their own land under a *ḍamān* contract, but in general the revenue farmer was a middleman whose only interest in the land was its revenue.

The system was open to great abuses. Its spread was usually symptomatic of a breakdown in the administration and the finances of the state. The revenue farm became increasingly common with the decline of the 'Abbāsīd empire, but by the 5th/11th century it had largely given way to the *ikhṭā'*. After the fall of the Great Saljūqs, it again increased. Ibn Dīawzi states, under the year 556/1160-1, that the *kharādj* of 'Irāk was put up to contract (*al-Muntaqam*, Haydarābād, Deccan 1939-40, x, 200). Under the Ilkhāns, especially prior to the reign of Ghāzān Khān, revenue farming, now known by the term *mukāṭa'a*, which had lost its original sense, became very common (cf. Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, *Nafā'is al-funūn*, ed. Abu'l Hasan Shī'rānī, Tehran 1958, i, 328, who defines *mukāṭa'a* as *ḍamān-i walāyat*, the farming of a province). In a specimen document (*taslīm-nāma*) for a *mukāṭa'a* contract quoted by 'Alā-yi Tabrizī, the tax-farmer undertakes to pay by a certain date the sum agreed upon, and is given immunity from interference. He is forbidden to impose new dues or to take more than the customary amount from the taxpayers, while the *diwān* is enjoined not to make drafts in excess of what is laid down or to send tax-collectors to the province (*Die beiden persischen Leihfäden*, f. 56a. Cf. also *Nafā'is al-funūn* for a specimen *taslīm-nāma*, i, 312-13).

Expenses for the post (*yām*), *'ulūfa* and *ulāgh* were allowed against the sums due from the tax-farmers. The fact that the establishments of the Mongol princes, princesses and amirs and the *ortāqs* (trading

establishments attached to the court) also made frequent and unauthorised demands on the peasants for provisions, fodder, and animals complicated the system (cf. *Tārikh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī and Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*). In theory a trial balance could be struck at any moment, but the checking of the tax-farmers' accounts was often a lengthy business, as the numerous references to the prolonged investigation of their accounts show (see especially *Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*). Although money may often have changed hands at the time of the award of a contract, it appears to have been unusual for payments of the amount due from a farm to have been made in advance. Waṣṣāf records that the Shaykh al-Islām Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, who received a *mukāṭa'a* contract for the *indjū* and *dalāy* of Fārs for four years from 692/1292-3 for 1,000 *tūmāns* less 114 *tūmāns* expenses (*ikhṭādjāt*) allowed him per annum, paid the money due for one year in advance together with various presents for the Ilkhān, the princesses, and amirs so that "no financial demands would be made on the poor peasants nor would the burden of the coming and going of *ilcīs* be laid upon them" (*Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*, 168). This was, to judge from Waṣṣāf's account, probably an exceptional case.

In the early years of Ilkhān rule many of the outlying provinces were farmed to the local rulers. The Saljūq rulers of Rūm, 'Izz al-Dīn Kay Kā'ūs and Rukn al-Dīn Kīlīdī Arslān and their successors, who acted as governors on behalf of the Ilkhāns, appear to have held their governments, nominally at least, on a *mukāṭa'a* tenure (cf. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad *Musāmarat al-akḥbār*, ed. Osman Turan, Ankara 1944, 62). Kirmān, after paying tribute for some years, was finally fully incorporated into the Ilkhān empire under Djalāl al-Dīn Suyūrghatmish, the Kutluḡh Khānid, who succeeded to the government of Kirmān in 681/1282. He farmed all the taxes of Kirmān for 600,000 *dīnār-i zar-i rā'idj*. He was allowed as regular expenses (*ikhṭādjāt-i muḥarrari*) 390,000 *dīnārs*. This sum was broken down as follows: 100,000 *dīnārs* for his personal expenses as governor, 120,000 *dīnārs* for the wages of the army, 10,000 *dīnārs* for guards (*talāya wa qarāwulī*), 10,000 for the repair of fortresses, city walls, and the digging of *diwānī kanāts*, 30,000 *dīnārs* for pensions (*idrārāt*), 90,000 *dīnārs* for provisions (*sūsūn*), 10,000 *dīnārs* for the post (*yām*), 10,000 *dīnārs* for provisions (*hawā'idj*) and *qahwa* (? = "wine"), 10,000 *dīnārs* for the wages of the officials of the *diwān* (Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī, *Simt al-'ulā*, ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1939-57).

Fārs had a varied fiscal history in the second half of the 7th/13th century. In 662/1263, on the death of the Muẓaffarid Saljūqshāh, with the succession of Abish Khātūn, the daughter of Sa'd b. Abū Bakr, who was married to Tāsh Mangū, Hülāgū's son, it came under direct Mongol rule. The Mongols were unable to establish an effective administration, and some three years later, in 665/1266-7, after an abortive rising led by Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the *hādī al-kuḏāt* of Fārs, a *bitikēi* came to Shīrāz to collect the taxes. He was unable to accomplish his task and in 667/1268-9 Abāqā sent Inkiyānū to Fārs as governor. He restored order and established an administration. The taxes were collected and the province prospered (*Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*, 193). Intrigues led to his dismissal and he was succeeded by Sughundjak Noyan in 670/1271. After investigating the accounts of the province, Sughundjak concluded *mukāṭa'a* contracts for the districts of Fārs with the local leaders (*aṣḥāb wa mulūk-i bulūk*) from the beginning of the *kharādjī* year 671/1272-3 on condition that each one should rule

independently in his own district and meet whatever requisitions were made on the revenue of the district by the *diwān* (*ibid.*, 195). Waṣṣāf states that although there were abundant surpluses under these contracts, yet owing to the numerous dues and requisitions made upon the revenues and the envy and strife prevailing among the local leaders, the revenue was not paid, the holders of drafts were unable to collect their money, the peasants were ruined, and the country lost its prosperity. Finally, in 676/1277-8 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Malik, a rich merchant with extensive trade connections with the east and the west, accepted a *mukāṭa'a* contract for the whole of Fārs. Because of the failure of the local leaders (*arbāb-i bulūkhāt*) to pay the sums due to him, all his reserves were rapidly dissipated in this venture (*ibid.*, 197-8). In 678/1279-80 Sughundjak was again sent to Fārs by Abākā to investigate the accounts and collect the revenue (*ibid.*, 204). He abrogated the *mukāṭa'a* contracts for the districts, demanded arrears and gave his wazīr Kh<sup>w</sup>ādja Nizām al-Dīn charge of all the districts (*bulūks*). However, as a result of the intrigues of rival factions, in which some of the revenue farmers were also involved, Sughundjak and Nizām al-Dīn fell from favour.

Meanwhile Abākā died (680/1281) (*ibid.*, 206-8). The next two years were a period of confusion. A Mongol *amir*, Bülūghān, who had been sent to Shīrāz as a provincial revenue official (*bāshkāḡ*), succeeded in maintaining his position in that town while refusing, at the same time, to pay the taxes and arrears demanded by the *muhāssilān* sent by Arghūn, the new Ilkhān. Tāsh Mangū was then sent to Shīrāz as governor with orders to remove Bülūghān. The latter on the approach of Tāsh Mangū set out for Khurāsān. Tāsh Mangū entered Shīrāz and during the next year accumulated much wealth. In or about 682/1283-4 Abish, Tāsh Mangū's wife, was appointed governor by Tegūdār (*ibid.*, 210-11). Partly, perhaps mainly, because of three years of drought and famine in which over 100,000 people were said to have died (*ibid.*, 212, 217-18), little revenue reached the central treasury during her government. She was accordingly summoned to Tabriz; she and her supporters after examination agreed to pay the arrears of taxation and various other sums. She died, however, almost immediately (685/1286-7) (*ibid.*, 222). A *yarlūgh* was then issued to the governors of Fārs, who had come to Tabriz with Abish, on their promising to pay 5,000,000 gold *ḍinārs* on account of arrears for several years, and they set out with a number of Mongol officials and *amirs* for Fārs to collect the arrears. Although the governors, tax-collectors and wealthy people were mercilessly mulcted, it proved impossible to collect the full sum and the Ilkhān was forced to reach a compromise with the governors of Fārs (*ibid.*, 224-5).

Fārs may have been an extreme case. But it seems likely that the revenue farmers all over the empire committed abuses. Rashīd al-Dīn states that they extracted double the amount for which they contracted but paid nothing into the treasury (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzāni*, 258). Ghāzān Khān, who sought to bring the financial administration of the empire under stricter control, considerably decreased revenue farming. It nevertheless continued on a modified scale. Bayāt in Khūzistān, for example, was farmed to the local leaders for a fixed sum which was to be used for the salaries of amirs of four hundred provided that they demanded their dues at harvest time (*Mukhātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 179).

Under the Kāḡiārs, revenue farming again became

widespread. 'Abbās Mirzā, when governor of Ādhar-bāyḡiān, is said to have made some progress in abolishing the practice and fixing the revenues of the province on a systematic scale and enforcing their collection (J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, London 1840, i, 8, and cf. Morier, *Second journey through Persia*, 240-1), but his reforms were limited and short-lived, and towards the end of the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh and under his successors revenue farming was again common. It was of two kinds. The first resembled the early Islamic *mukāṭa'a* contract, according to which powerful landowners farmed the duty of their estates to prevent the vexatious interference of the subordinate officials of the revenue (cf. Malcolm, ii, 338). The second, and more pernicious, was the system by which governors bid for their districts.

*The tax administration: central government records.* At the level of the central government, land revenue matters went through the department known as the *diwān al-istifā'*, which was part of the supreme *diwān* [*q.v.*]. Its elaborate procedure concerned with the assessment, collection and expenditure of the taxes was transmitted to posterity by the *mustawfis* [*q.v.*]. However, because of the widespread practice of farming the revenue, of the alienation of land from the control of the central government as *ikhfā's*, *tuyūls*, and *suyūrghāls*, and of the writing of drafts on the revenue, the registers of the *mustawfis* often bore little relation to the way in which the taxes were actually partitioned and collected in the provinces. The practical steps needed to keep the assessments up to date were seldom taken.

The two handbooks by 'Alā-yi Tabrizī, the *Kānūn al-sa'ādat* and the *Sa'ādat-nāma*, which have come down to us (see Mirkamal Nabipur, *op. cit.*), show that in spite of the introduction of new taxes, notably *kūblūr* and *tamghā* (see below) by the Mongols, there was a marked continuity in accounting practice (cf. also Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, *Nafā'is al-funūn*, whose description of the art of accountancy ('ilm-i istifā') is largely the same as 'Alā-yi Tabrizī's exposition, though less detailed). There were some minor differences in vocabulary and dating, the Khānī solar year having come into operation under Ghāzān Khān (see further *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 404), and also certain minor modifications, made, according to 'Alā-yi Tabrizī, with a view to a simplification of the accounts for the benefit of the Mongols (f. 33b).

The tax assessments were entered in two registers. One, the *daftar-i māl*, which was concerned with the "fixed" taxes of the villages, included land taxes. The other, *daftar-i qariba*, recorded dues and commercial transactions (*mu'āmilāt*), and included *tamghā* taxes, etc. (f. 62b; cf. also *Nafā'is al-funūn*, i, 324). 'Alā-yi Tabrizī's description of the subsidiary registers (*sūrat-i mufrīd-i wilāyāt*) throws considerable light on the sources of revenue, including land taxes, and their expenditure (see also below). Taking the case of the *tumen* (province) of Kāshān as an example, he sets out the total revenue in cash from (i) "fixed" taxes from *mu'āmilāt* (taxes on production other than agriculture), sheep and cattle taxes (*al-marā'ī*), and land tax (*al-'ushr*) according to the ancient assessment (*fi'l-kādim*), and (ii) *tamghā* taxes, responsibility for which had been accepted by a certain *malik*, Nāsir al-Dīn, for a given year, as from the Naw Rūz. The revenues from "fixed" taxes are set out under taxes from (i) the town (*al-balada*), these being levied on craftsmen (*al-mutaharriḡa*), who were sub-divided into those who paid 5 per cent *tamghā* and those who did not (and presumably paid higher *ad hoc* rates),

and *dhimmīs* (Jews and Armenians), and (ii) the outlying districts (*al-nawāhī*), sub-divided under villages. Against this he sets out the sums to be deducted under various heads. These were (a) the expenses of the province (*maṣāliḥ al-wilāya*) as laid down by the supreme *diwān*, namely allowances (*al-rusūmāt*) for the *bāshā*, the *malik* and the scribe (*kātib*) and sums for the upkeep of the roads, listed under two districts, and (b) drafts made on the revenue by the court for the upkeep of the establishments of two Mongol princesses (*āsh-i khawātin*), drafts (*al-ihtisābiyya*) for a Mongol princess for one year on specific villages, allocations for military personnel (*al-ʿasākir*) attached to falconers (*al-kūshiyya*), partly in cash and partly in kind, and partly as expenses (*taghār*), and for post-stations (*al-yām*) and forage for them (*al-sūsūn*) for six months. The revenue from *tamghā* is similarly set out under (a) brokerage (*dallākhāna*), camel-markets (*khafira*), slave-markets (*nakhkhāsīyya*), cattle and sheep markets (*sūkh al-dawābb*) and slaughterhouses (*al-sallākhīyya*), and (b) districts, together with the expenses charged against their revenue for various Mongol officials and amirs (ff. 67a-68b). Cf. also Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, who divides the taxes entered in the *daftar-i mufrīd wa djamī* into *māl*, *kūbūr* levied on craftsmen and on districts (*kūbūr-i mutaharrifa wa kūbūr-i har nāhiyati*), and *tamghā* on transactions (*tamghā-yi har muʿāmila*, i, 326-7).

At the local level in the early centuries the officials placed in charge of the *khārādj* in the different provinces seem to have made some attempt to establish records of villages and cultivated lands. Under the Būyids and the Saljūqs copies of these appear to have been held in the *diwān al-istifāʿ* and the *diwān al-djāysh* and to have served as the basis on which districts were assigned to the *amirs* and soldiers as *ikhās*. But it is doubtful whether these records were kept up-to-date. Once the collection of the *khārādj* and other taxes had ceased to be the direct concern of the central government, there was no great incentive to it to bring the records up-to-date, even had it had the facilities to do so. The existence of seasonal capitals and the fact that when the sultan or shah went on an expedition, military or otherwise, the court and the principal administrative officials frequently went with him, did not favour the accumulation of records. Further, the overthrow of one dynasty by another was sometimes accompanied by the destruction of existing records.

From time to time, partial or complete lists of villages and their lands were made by later rulers. Raṣhīd al-Dīn Faḡl Allāh mentions the existence of registers of the income and expenditure of former times (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 187-8). He alleges that consequent upon Ghāzān Khān's despatch of *bitikkīs* to the provinces to register all the villages, many places which had never before been registered became subject, for the first time, to assessment so that detailed lists of the villages were made available in the *diwān* (*ibid.*, 258, 260, 262. Cf. also *Mukhātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 33-4).

Uzun Ḥasan made an assessment between 874/1470 and 883/1477 under which the taxes, as in Ilkhān times, were grouped under three main headings: (i) land taxes, (ii) taxes on industrial production, and (iii) dues. The first consisted of a tax levied in cash on the ploughland (*djūft*) and due in spring; taxes in kind on the grain harvest, the rate varying and rising in some districts to 20 percent; a tax on vineyards, assessed usually in cash, and on nut trees at the rate of one-tenth of the produce; in some districts a levy in firewood and honey; and cattle and sheep taxes

levied at the rate of so much per animal. Cesses for government officials were included under the heading of dues. There were considerable local variations (see further *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, *op. cit.*). These regulations were apparently still in operation under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, according to the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* of Kādī Aḥmad (quoted by Röhrborn, *op. cit.*, 58), and until the end of the 9th/16th century in parts of ʿIrāk, Fārs and Ādharbāyḡjan, according to Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, (*Scheref-namah*, ed. Veliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, ii, 120). They are mentioned in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* in connection with the dues of the *sāhib djam* of the *rikābkhāna* (f. roob). Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Uzun Ḥasan's assessment was put into operation over the whole country, and it cannot, in any case, have operated efficiently during the fratricidal struggles between his son, Khalīl, who succeeded him, and Sulṭān Yaʿqūb. A considerable part of the country was at that time alienated from the control of the central *diwān*. Shīrāz was given to the Amīr Alwand, the son of Khalīl, for his expenses (*khawārisḥ*); the Shabānkāra, on the other hand, was brought directly under the supreme *diwān* (V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, an abridged translation of Faḡlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunji's *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, London 1957, 40). Sulṭān Yaʿqūb after his defeat of Khalīl in 894/1489 made an abortive attempt to reaffirm the authority of the *sharīʿa* in matters of land tenure "in which the limpid clarity of the commandments of the faith had become clouded with the opaqueness of the Chingizian *yāsā*" (*ibid.*, 92. See also Minorsky, *The Āq Qoyunlū and land reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 449-62). His intention was apparently to collect additional revenue from legal taxes (*abwāb-i kifāyat*) so that the various *tamghā* taxes could be repealed. Accordingly on 4 Rabiʿ I 894/5 February 1489 Kādī ʿIsā and Shāh Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd Daylamī, an inspector of the *diwān*, set out for ʿIrāk and Fārs to revise the *khārādj* in conformity with the *sharīʿa* and collect the land taxes. Their main activities appear to have been to resume *suyūrghāls*; their operations were cut short by the death of Yaʿqūb in 896/1490 (*Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, 93 ff.).

Under the Ṣafawids there would appear to have existed detailed records of the revenue of the tax districts of the empire and the charges made upon it. These were probably based on earlier records, notably the assessment of Uzun Ḥasan mentioned above. Faḡlī Ṣfahānī records under the years 963/1555 in the *Aḡdal al-tawārīkh* that a new assessment (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) was made by the *sadr*, Mīr Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī, and that it was based on "the customs of good administration and care for the subjects, designed to achieve the embellishment of armies (*kushūnārāʿī*) and to contribute to the pomp of sovereignty, and founded upon good treatment of the subjects and soldiers (*sulūk bā raʿīyyat wa sipāhī*), and concerned the levy of taxes (*māl wa djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) from every district and tribal region (*ulūs*), even [capital] offences and the fining of criminals" (quoted by Röhrborn, 58). Detailed statements of the individual taxpayer's liabilities were in theory, if not always in practice, entered in the registers of the *diwān* (see *Dastūr al-mulūk* and *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*). There is nothing, however, to show that the revenue records of the Ṣafawids were regularly revised, any more than earlier records had been.

Nādir Shāh in or about 1736 ordered an assessment of all landed properties in Fārs to be made. Their income and expenses were to be estimated, together

with the dues of the peasants (*bāzyārān*). No difference was to be made between *khālīṣa* land in possession of the supreme *dīwān*, land held by sayyids, 'ulamā and notables, and private property made into *wakf* for mosques or *madrāsas*. The facts were to be recorded in the registers and a report submitted to Nādir so that the *dīwān* taxes and dues might be justly fixed. He arranged for similar assessments to be carried out in all the provinces of Persia (Fasā'i, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣiri*, lith. Tehran 1894-6, i, 181). The assessment for Fārs appears to have been submitted to Nādir in Kābul in 1738-9, whereupon he issued an order for the resumption of *tuyūls* and *awkhāf* in Fārs (*ibid.*, i, 183). Similar orders were given in respect of Iṣfahān, but Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747 before the operation was completed (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 131-2; see also Fasā'i, *op. cit.*, i, 200-1). In 1739 and 1741 officials were sent to review the revenue assessments of Ādharbāy-djān. It is not clear whether their work was ever completed (Nādir Mirzā, *Tārikh wa djuḡhrāfiyā-yi dār al-salṭana-i Tabriz*, ed. Lisān al-Mulk Sipīhr, Tehran lith. 1905, 281 ff.). Rustam al-Ḥukamā' alleges that Nādir's registers were more accurate than any others, and that those of Karīm Khān Zand (1163-93/1750-79) were also accurate (*Rustam al-tawārīkh*, 325). His registers appear to have remained in force, broadly speaking, until Mirzā Taḳī Khān Niẓām, Nāṣir al-Dīn's *ṣadr-i a'zam*, carried out a new assessment in 1851, many alterations in the value of the land having meanwhile taken place.

In the second half of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign, between about 1878 and 1882, a number of reports were compiled on the villages, lands and population of most of the provinces of Persia, presumably with a view to achieving greater efficiency in the assessment and collection of the revenue and the levy of troops. New assessments were made in various districts during his reign and under those of his successors (cf. 'Abd Allāh Mustawfi, *Sharḥ-i zindagi-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, ii, 651-2). Curzon, who visited Persia in 1889-90, however, records that for the most part the assessments were obsolete in date and character (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 472). A land survey planned to be carried out under the Ministry of Finance in 1889-90 proved abortive (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 168 ff.).

There were perennial difficulties over the actual collection of taxes, and what happened at the local level often had little relation to the assessment drawn up at the centre. Ghāzān Khān, when he attempted to reform the tax system, found that the local authorities continued to exact more than they should. He sought to remedy this by demanding full returns from the provinces (see below). Although such steps under a strong government may have reduced abuses, the peasants and small landowners were for the most part unable to resist the demands of the tax-collectors, the provincial governors and the military. In the nineteenth century, although the central government continued to draw up the provincial assessments, the provincial governors, instead of collecting the taxes as authorised by the central government, followed a different procedure. Thomson describes this as follows: "In practice, a very complicated and irregular system of taxation is pursued, the main feature of which appears to be that it is designed solely with a view to take as little as possible from the wealthy and influential classes, and to get as much as possible from the hard-working peasant. The object, indeed of all Persian Governors and their subordinates, as well as of the landowners generally, is to avoid sim-

licity; for the more intricate and uncertain the method employed for levying taxes, the greater are the opportunities afforded to extortion and all sorts of illegal exactions. Instead, therefore, of simply adhering to the above rates, by which the revenue is made to depend upon the actual produce from the land, a sum, often arbitrarily fixed, is demanded from each village, without any reference to failure of crops, insufficiency of water for irrigation, disease amongst their flocks, or other losses to which the peasant may be subjected. The amount to be demanded is determined from time to time by Government assessors, "momeiyez", who are despatched to the various districts to assess the taxes whenever the authorities may feel disposed to alter their amount. The assessor is supposed to perform this duty in accordance with the rates authorised by Government, but great injustice is done on such occasions, as he invariably demands a large fee before giving his decision, and over-estimates the taxes if it is refused, or undervalues them when liberally paid. If the land belongs to an influential person, when taxed at all, the amount is made very trifling, and, in numerous instances, villages which have not been assessed for many years, continue to pay only a nominal sum, though they may have increased in size and wealth, simply on account of the proprietor's high position, while others, which have become impoverished are compelled to pay all the taxes imposed under more prosperous conditions" (report by Mr. Thomson, *op. cit.*, 253).

*Revenue from land taxes.* It is difficult to estimate the proportion of the revenue provided by land taxes over the centuries. Quantitative data is not available even for the nineteenth century and such records as we have frequently do not distinguish land taxes from other forms of "regular" taxation, while the practice of alienating districts from the control of the central government as *ikhā's* and *tuyūls*, writing drafts on the revenue and the removal of land made into *khālīṣa* or *wakf* from the control of the revenue authorities make it extremely difficult to interpret the available information. As stated above, agriculture was the main economic activity of the country and land taxes the largest single item of revenue. This continued to be the case even though the Mongol invasion in the 7th/13th century brought about a great increase in the numbers of the nomadic population. The immediate result of this change in the balance of the population, together with the depopulation caused by the massacres accompanying the invasion, and the introduction of a new system of taxation (although this became in due course assimilated to existing tax practices), was to disrupt the financial administration of the country (see further I. P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic conditions of Iran under the Il-khāns*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 483-537). A higher proportion of the wealth of the ruling classes was now derived from flocks than was the case formerly, and probably also from trade, but this was not reflected to any marked extent in the revenue which reached the central treasury. The decline in the amount of land under cultivation, on the other hand, adversely affected the revenue from land taxes.

*The Ilkhāns.* The Mongol system was based on a census (*shumāra*) of the population (cf. Djuwaynī, *Tārikh-i Djahāngushā*, i, 25, ii, 261, iii, 74, and also V. Minorsky, *Pūr-i Bahā and his poems*, in *Charisteria orientalia*, Prague 1956, especially verse 15) and not, as was the system in Persia, on the land. Further, the Mongol system appears to have

made a distinction between taxes levied on Mongols (who were nomads) and non-Mongols (who were sedentary), a dichotomy which was to some extent paralleled by the differences between taxes paid by Muslims and *dhimmis* in the Islamic system. The nomad taxes were "occasional", whereas those levied on the sedentary population, were "fixed" or "regular". The precise form of these two groups of taxes varied with the nature of Mongol rule and the role of the nomads in the state at different times and in different places (see further J. Masson Smith, *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1970), 46-85).

Under the Mongol system there were apparently three main taxes, *kūbčūr*, *kalān* (*kilān*) and *tamghā*. The last named was a tax on commercial goods. What the precise difference was originally between the first two, *kūbčūr* and *kalān*, is not entirely clear. According to Bartold *kūbčūr* was originally levied mainly on nomads. As Quatremère has shown, it was also applied to a 1 per cent tax levied on animals raised in the *yaylāk*, and, until the collapse of the Mongol empire, also to the poll-tax collected from the *ra'iyyya* (the settled population) (*Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, i, 256 n.). Bartold concludes that although *kūbčūr* was originally levied on nomads, it came to mean taxes imposed on cultivators and nomads in contradistinction to taxes levied on commercial goods under the name of *tamghā* (see further Bartold, *The financial situation in the Ilkhanid period*, and Zeki Velidi Togan, *Mongollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadi vaziyeti*, in *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuası*, i (1931), 1-42 and 135-59, respectively and Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Uygurlarda hukuk ve maliye istislahları*, in *Türkiyat mecmuası*, iv (1934), 1-45).

According to Djuwayni, the Mongols, "when they brought countries and peoples under their dominion, followed their established custom and imposed a census entering everyone in tens, hundreds, and thousands, and required of them the needs of the army, the post, expenses (*ikhrajdāt*) and fodder (*ulufāt*) apart from ordinary taxation (*khāridj az māl*) and over and above these burdens they imposed upon individuals a *kūbčūr* (? *bar bālā-yi in athkāl kūbčūri niz burīda kardand*)" (i, 25). Although Djuwayni later defines *kūbčūr* as a tax on flocks and herds (iii, 79), it would appear to have the meaning of some kind of poll-tax, in the passage quoted, a meaning which it could also bear in a passage in Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī's essay on finance (*op. cit.*, 33), which states that five classes were exempt from *kūbčūr*, namely (i) *tarkhāms* (persons enjoying certain immunities granted by the Great Khān), such as religious leaders, (ii) the old, (iii) the sick, (iv) the poor and (v) children. Rashīd al-Dīn similarly states that according to the *yāsā* of Činghiz Khān, judges, learned men, and 'Alids (*sic*) did not pay *kūbčūr* or *kalān* (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzāni*, 218). The references to *kūbčūr* in Pūr Bahā's poems also suggest that it was in the nature of a poll-tax. Further, it is clear from the passage in the *Djahāngushā* describing the amir Arghūn's report on Arrān in 656/1258, and the subsequent reassessment of *kūbčūr* at 1 *dīnār* for the poor rising to 500 for the wealthy, that *kūbčūr* was in this instance some sort of poll-tax (ii, 261, and cf. also ii, 256). Again from the description which 'Alā-yi Tabrizī gives in the *Sa'ādat-nāma* of the tax registers, it would seem that *kūbčūr* was not a tax on flocks and herds, but rather a poll-tax paid by villagers at so much per head per solar year. The registers contain separate entries for *al-māliyya* and *al-kūbčūriyya*, and under the former sub-entries for

*al-ʿushr*, *al-marāʿi* and *al-muʿāmilāt* (f. 62b). Maḥmūd-i Āmulī also states that there were subsidiary ledgers for *māl*, *kūbčūr* and *tamghā* for each province; he sub-divides *kūbčūr* into *kūbčūr-i mutaharrifa* and *kūbčūr-i har nāhiyat* (*Nafāʾis al-funūn*, i, 326-7). The inference to be drawn is that whereas *al-māliyya* included land taxes and taxes on flocks and herds, *al-kūbčūriyya* consisted of poll-taxes.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that *kūbčūr* meant the same thing throughout the Ilkhan period. Most probably, it was used at different times to mean respectively a poll-tax and a tax on flocks and herds, and also to cover respectively "fixed" or "regular" taxes and "occasional" or "casual" imposts. Rashīd al-Dīn on one occasion speaks of *kūbčūr-i mawāshī* levied on the Mongol tribes (*ulūs-i muḡhul*) (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzāni*, 304), by which he presumably meant a tax levied at so much per head on flocks and herds or an "occasional" tax on flocks and herds. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī referring to the administration of Kazaghān in Central Asia in the 8th/14th century, states that because of his justice no amir or wazir could take a single *dīnār* from anyone under any pretext except by way of *ʿushr-i dīns* and *kūbčūr-i rasmī* (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, 200). The former presumably meant a land tax levied in kind, but it is not clear what was meant by the latter; perhaps it was a poll-tax or a tax on flocks and herds. In documents issued by Yaʿqūb Beg and Alwand dated 884/1479 and 904/1490 respectively granting certain immunities and exemptions to sayyids descended from 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, *kūbčūr* does not seem to mean a flock tax. The relevant passage reads, "*mawāshī*, *marāʿi* and *tamghā* shall not be taken from them and their peasants (*barzigarān*) shall not be ordered to perform forced labour (*biḡār*) or to beat on hunting expeditions (*shikhār*) and *kūbčūr* shall not be taken from them" (*Untersuchungen*, 159, 166).

So far as the Mongols became in the course of time agricultural proprietors and town-dwellers, they presumably became liable to the "regular" taxes levied on the sedentary population, which, in turn, were assimilated, or had already been assimilated, to the taxes to which the Persian population were traditionally subject. With this the Mongol terms underwent modifications in their meanings. *Kūbčūr* lost its meaning of an "occasional" tax paid by Mongols. *Kalān* (a term not found in Djuwayni) also probably underwent modification. Bartold thinks that it was a tax levied on sown lands and on the peasantry in general. Caferoğlu accepts this view with some reserve. Masson Smith, following Bartold, thinks that *kalān* meant the pre-Mongol and essentially sedentary taxation of the conquered people and that it designated in the early Ilkhan period *māl*, "fixed" or "regular" taxation paid by non-Mongols (*Mongol and nomadic taxation*, 55). This may be so, but in many of the passages in which the word occurs it could carry a different interpretation. Al-ʿUmārī, quoting al-Djuwayni on the Mongol army, states that the ruler took from them *kalān*, *kūbčūr*, *ulāgh*, and *badraka* (*Masālik al-abṣār wa mamālik al-amṣār*, 11). The passage in Djuwayni reads *kūbčūr wa ʿawāriḍāt wa ikhrajāt-i ṣādīr wa wāriḍ wa tartīb-i yām wa ulāgh wa ʿulufāt* (i, 22). This suggests that al-ʿUmārī understood *kalān* in the sense of occasional levies (*ʿawāriḍāt*), which meaning it could bear in many, if not most, of the passages in which it appears; (cf. also the passage in Sayfī Harawī's *Tārīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, ed. Muḥ. Zubayr al-Šiddīfī, Calcutta 1943, 439, which states that Fakhr al-Dīn, the Kurt malik of Harāt, gave exemption to the people of Harāt from



*ḥalanāt* and *'awāriḍāt-i dīwānī* in 698/1298-9).

In Ghāzān's *yarliḡh* on the grant of *ikhā'āt* to the Mongol army, although the term *ḥalān* could bear the interpretation of sedentary taxation levied on the conquered peoples, it could equally well mean occasional taxes (*'awāriḍāt*), and this is, perhaps, more likely since the passage clearly refers to the Mongol army and not to the population in general. It reads, "It is known to everyone that formerly in the time of our good fathers the Mongol *ulūs* used to demand every kind of requisition (*muḥālibāt*) and vexatious demand (*muzāḥimāt*), such as *ḥūbūr* on flocks, the upkeep of the great post stations, the bearing of the heavy burdens of the law (*yāsāḡ*) and *ḥalānāt*, which in these days we have once and for all removed" (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 304). On the other hand, the phrase which occurs later in the same document, *mardum-i ėirik ki bi ḥalān dar āmada and wa ḥūl dīhand* (308) could be plausibly explained as "soldiers who have been brought into the assessment for sedentary taxes but [still] perform military service", though it need not necessarily bear this interpretation. If *ḥūl* means, as Minovi suggests, money paid by someone to the *dīwān* in lieu of performing military service as irregulars (*ėirik*), then the phrase could mean, "soldiers who have been brought into the assessment for sedentary taxes and give money to the *dīwān* in lieu of service as irregular forces (cf. Badī' al-Zamān Fīrūzānfar, *Kullīyyāt-i Shams*, Tehran 1966, pt. vii, 404-5), but this interpretation is not in keeping with the general tenor of the *yarliḡh* in question.

The term *ḥalān* occurs in the *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*. In a letter from Rashīd al-Dīn to his son Shihāb al-Dīn, governor of Shushtar, in which the tax lists for Khūzistān are set out, there are separate headings for *tamghā*, *ḡharādj-i arbāb*, *māl wa ḡharādj-i dīwānī*, *mawāshī*, *nīmār wa ḡappānī*, *nihāla*, *ėirik*, and *ḥalān bi dīḡhat-i umarā-yi ḡhān ṣādiran wa wāridan* (122-3). Clearly *ḥalān* does not mean in this document either "regular" taxes or land taxes, but rather, possibly, some sort of corvée or service (cf. also Ibn Bazzāz, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā'*, ed. Aḡmad b. Karīm Tabrīzī, Bombay lith. 1911, 68).

The Mongols, when they took possession of Persia, did not establish a uniform administration over the whole empire. Part of the country, as stated above, was farmed. Like the Arabs and Saldjūqs before them, they largely took over the existing administration, but with this difference that they remained as conquerors living a separate existence from the conquered population to a far greater degree than had been the case with the Arabs, to whom the conquered peoples became assimilated by conversion to Islam, and the Saldjūqs, who had been converted to Islam before they overran Persia. The Mongols divided their empire into provinces (*mamlīk*) or *tumens*, which broadly followed the lines of the provinces of the former great empires. They relied heavily upon local officials for the financial administration of their empire, and under their influence the Mongol system in the course of time became assimilated to the system which was current in the conquered territories. The Mongols, in the early years of the conquests, were a privileged class. How far, if at all, they were subject to taxation is by no means clear. So far as the revenue assessments were drawn up at the centre by the officials of the *dīwān*, it seems probable that they continued to be based primarily on the land, though, as shown by 'Alā-yi Tabrīzī, there would appear to have been an increase in poll-taxes and taxes on industry. When, however, these assessments were partitioned locally,

it may be that this was sometimes done on the basis of a poll-tax.

Rashīd al-Dīn's account of the Ilkhānid administration prior to Ghāzān Khān suggests that considerable variety prevailed in the fiscal administration. In assessing his account it must be remembered that his object was, in part at least, to show that the administration was in a state of disorder and that extortion had ruined the peasants. He states "before describing how the Lord of the World (Ghāzān Khān) reformed conditions in 'Irāq-i 'Adjam, Ādḡharbāyḡjān, and the provinces whose *dīwān* taxes consisted of *ḡbūr* and *tamghā*, I will mention briefly what a state of confusion had prevailed prior to this. The situation was such that these provinces were given on a *muḡāfa'a* contract to governors (*ḡḡḡām*), each one being assessed at a fixed sum, "regular" expenses (*ikhḡrādjāt-i muḡarrari*) being debited against it. The governor used to levy two *ḡbūr* from the subjects (*ra'iyyat*) and in some places twenty or thirty *ḡbūr*. The governor's instructions were to allocate among the individual taxpayers the sum due on account of *ḡbūr* according to the revenue assessment (*dīam'*) given to him [reading *bunīca sāḡḡī* for *natīdja sāḡḡī*]. When an *ilḡī* came to the province on account of some matter or to demand a tax or something that was needed, the governor, on that pretext, would impose a *ḡbūr* on the individual taxpayers (*ḡbūrī ḡsmat ḡardī*), and although many *ilḡīs* would come and their expenses (*ikhḡrādjāt*) and demands (*multamisāt*) would be unlimited, the governor would nevertheless be happy at their arrival and make requisitions upon the taxpayers, now for some important affair, now for the forage and expenses (*'ulūfa wa ikḡrādjāt*) of the *ilḡīs*, and now for some special undertaking or demand (*ta'ahḡud wa multamisāt*). Part of what he collected he would expend on those matters, part he would appropriate himself, and part he would give to the *shīḡna* and the *bitīklīs* so that they would become his accomplices and support him in his lies. Of all the taxes taken from the subjects nothing would be transmitted to the treasury and the taxes of the province (*amwāl-i wilāyāt*) would all be absorbed by "regular" expenses (*ikhḡrādjāt-i muḡarrari*) and drafts (*ḡawālī canā*)" (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 243-4). Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell from the Persian text whether 'Irāq-i 'Adjam and Ādḡharbāyḡjān were among the provinces whose *dīwān* taxes consisted of *ḡbūr* and *tamghā* or whether they fell into another category of provinces.

ḡamd Allāḡ Mustawfī's account in the *Nuzḡat al-ḡulūb* also suggests that considerable variety prevailed. He states that the important province of Khurāsān enjoyed a special status. This was because most of the *wazīrs* and scribes of the supreme *dīwān* were Khurāsānīs, and so they had constituted Khurāsān, Khūhstān, ḡumīs, Māzandarān and Ṭabaristān into a separate province (*mamlakat*), the accounts of which were kept apart from those of other provinces. ḡamd Allāḡ alleges that they put 200,000 *dīnārs* annually against the revenues nominally for the expenses of the army of Khurāsān, thus reducing the amount due to the central treasury. This situation continued until the reign of Abū Ṣafīd, when Ghīyāḡ al-Dīn Muḡammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn found out and stopped the practice. He had intended to draw up an account of the taxes of the province, deduct from the total the regular expenses of the province, sums for the *ikhā'āt* of the soldiers and other local expenses, and to have the rest remitted to the treasury, but he died before he was able to implement these reforms (Persian text, 147. Cf. also *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i*



*Ghāzānī* which states that prior to Ghāzān's reforms 80% of the drafts on the revenue of Khurāsān were unpaid, 244).

In his account of the revenue of the different provinces and districts, Hamd Allāh makes a difference between the revenues of certain towns and their surrounding districts (*wilāyāt*), the former being provided by *tamghā* taxes and the latter by *diwān* dues (*huḳūḳ-i diwān*). Among the towns and districts described in this way, all of which were along the main trade routes, were Baghdād, Kūfa, Wāsīt, Hilla, Iṣfahān, Sulṭāniyya, Qazwīn, Qumm, Kāshān, Hamadān, Yazd, Tabrīz, Ūdjān, Ahar, Shushtar, Āwa, Sāwa, Zandjān, Marāgha, and Shīrāz. The *tamghā* of the last five were farmed. Writing of Fārs, Hamd Allāh states that the *diwān* dues were in his time 2,871,200 currency *dīnārs* (*dīnār-i rā'idī*) and that in the provinces (*wilāyāt*) they were levied for the most part in kind (*maḥṣūl*), but in the towns they were fixed as *tamghā* (113). The inference to be drawn is that the taxes outside the towns were mainly land taxes. Hamd Allāh makes no mention of *tamghā* or other taxes in his description of the provinces of Kirmān, Khurāsān, Māzandarān or Tabaristān. So far as the last three are concerned this may have been because of the special situation which prevailed in Khurāsān. In 'Irāk-i 'Arab, what survived of the assessment of Ḥadjjādī b. Yūsuf was known as *kharādj-i rātib* and was included, when Hamd Allāh was writing, among the sums due to the *diwān* (*mutawadjjihāt-i diwānī*), which amounted in the Khānī year 35 (A.D. 1335) to 300,000 currency *dīnārs*. He points out that if the same amount of land had been under cultivation as in the time of 'Umar double this amount would have been yielded (29). In Kūfa *kharādj* was paid at the rate of one-third of winter and summer crops, the remaining two-thirds being equally divided between the tenant [reading *lānī*] and the cultivator (reading *barzigar*). The province (*wilāyat*), at the time he was writing, was assessed by the *diwān* (? *muḥarrar bi diwān ast*, 31). Orchards (*bāghistān*) in 'Irāk-i 'Arab paid *kharādj*, either according to the old assessment of Ḥadjjādī or according to a new assessment (*kharādj-i hādīth*) (31).

There is very little doubt that this "double" system of taxation bore heavily upon the people and also that it was the additional "Mongol" taxes which were felt to be especially onerous (cf. the poems of Pūr Bahā quoted above). Hamd Allāh Mustawfī alleges that most of the districts of 'Irāk-i 'Adjam were ruined because of *kūbūr* and that the people had abandoned their homes, "so much so that in Kazwīn the Friday prayers were not performed" (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 603-4). The tax officials brought up in pre-Mongol traditions, probably disapproved of the new taxes, just as the 'ulamā' had earlier disapproved of the *mukūs*. They were unable to abolish them altogether. The most that they could do was to limit them, or sometimes to abrogate them temporarily. In a letter to his son, Amīr Maḥmūd, when the latter was governor (*hākīm*) of Kirmān, Rashīd al-Dīn states that it had been reported to him that he (Amīr Maḥmūd) had committed oppression against the people of Bam and had ruined them by imposing upon them additional cesses, *diwān* dues (*tafawūt wa takālīf-i diwānī*) and repeated royal drafts (*hawālāt-i sulṭānī*), and by the levy of *kalān*, *kūbūr*, [money for] soldiers (*ḥirīk*) and various expenses (*ikhvādīāt-i mutafarriḳa* (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 11). He instructs him to remit for three years *kalān*, *kūbūr*, *ṭayyārāt* (occasional taxes) and the *diwān* dues levied for Kirmān and the Great Urdu, so that prosperity might

return to the deserted places and uncultivated lands, and agriculture be resumed. As for his own estates in Bam, seed and advances for the purchase of draught oxen and food were to be given to the peasants if they so desired (*ibīd.*, 12).

The reforms of Ghāzān Khān may have succeeded to some extent in ameliorating the condition of the peasants: certainly Rashīd al-Dīn alleges that prosperity returned during his reign. Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, on the other hand, while he gives due emphasis to Ghāzān's reforms, shows that the change in agricultural conditions was not dramatic, though he alleges further improvement under Uldjāytū (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 606).

Such figures as are given by Hamd Allāh Mustawfī and Waṣṣāf, incomplete though they are, suggest that the improvement was only marginal and that there was a striking fall in revenue compared to Saldjūḳ times. Prior to the reign of Ghāzān, the *diwān* received annually, according to Waṣṣāf, 18,000,000 *dīnārs*, or according to Hamd Allāh Mustawfī 17,000,000. After Ghāzān's reforms, the figure rose to 21,000,000 but fell in 1335-40 to 19,203,800. It is not clear whether these figures include the sums which were deducted for the expenses of local administration or not. Under the Saldjūḳ ruler, Malikshāh, *diwān* revenue had amounted to 215,000,000 red gold *dīnārs*, the equivalent according to Hamd Allāh of 500,000,000 currency *dīnārs* (see further Petrushevsky, who estimates the *diwān* revenue for the pre-Mongol period on the basis of figures in the *Nuzhat al-kulūb* to have been 100,580,000 currency *dīnārs*, *op. cit.*, 479 ff.). The figures for the two periods are not necessarily strictly comparable, because the extent of the land alienated from the control of the *diwān* and of crown lands was not identical. The evidence, fragmentary though it is, would, nevertheless, seem to point to a marked decline in the revenue reaching the *diwān*, though the decline was not equal in all provinces. If the revenue was still derived largely from land taxes, as would seem to have been the case, such a decline could be largely accounted for by first a decrease in the amount of land under cultivation consequent upon depopulation and the increase in the number of nomads, and secondly the removal of large areas of the country from the fiscal control of the agents of the central government.

*Ṣafawīds and Kādījārs*. Under the Ṣafawīds, there was a revival both of agriculture and trade, and it seems likely that the sums reaching the *diwān* from *kharādj* once more increased, but the proportion which they formed of the total may have fallen somewhat. Such figures as are available do not give a detailed breakdown (though an examination of Ottoman records for those provinces which from time to time came under Ottoman domination would doubtless throw further light), while the fluctuation in the extent of *mamālīk* and *khāṣṣa* land [see KHĀ-LIṢA] together with the changing distribution of *tuyūls*, *suyūrghāls*, and *awḳāf* further obscures the situation. Minorsky, on the basis of the figures in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, puts the revenue towards the end of the Ṣafawīd period at 800,000 *tūmāns*, excluding revenue directly collected by the *khāṣṣa* administration. He suggests that land taxes may have been responsible for 61% of the total. This may be an under-estimate. He also analyses the estimates of the revenue given by European travellers, which, he points out, were, in the absence of official statistics and the secrecy surrounding the question of state revenue, purely hypothetical. Chardin, who gives the

fullest account, puts forward, with some reserve, a total figure of 32,000,000 *livres* or 70,000 *tūmāns*. This figure is not far short of that given in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, but Chardin's figure includes 14,000,000 *francs* from demesnes, i.e. *khāṣṣa*, and only 2,000,000 *francs* from provincial revenues (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 173 ff.).

In the 18th century there was a period of recession. Rustam al-Hukamā' puts the revenue, excluding *pīshkash*, under Karīm Khān (whose writ did not run in Khurāsān) at 550,000 *tūmāns* (*Rustam al-tawārikh*, 322). In the nineteenth, the general trend was again towards expansion, although the total area under the control of Persia had greatly diminished. In the absence of statistics, however, it is not possible to give detailed figures, though an examination of the records of the *mustawfīs* would, no doubt, yield further information. Macdonald Kinneir, writing about 1813, states that the total revenue did not much exceed three million *tūmāns*, of which the land taxes and revenue from crown lands probably amounted to two-thirds (*A geographical memoir on the Persian empire*, London 1813, 47). According to Malcolm the "fixed" revenue amounted, in 1810, to some £ 3,000,000. This derived chiefly from first the produce of crown and government lands, secondly taxes and imposts on landed property (i.e. real estate in towns and villages), rents of houses, caravansarais, baths, shops and water mills, and thirdly duties on goods and merchandise. The last two items had greatly increased under the Kādjārs (*History of Persia*, ii, 336, 340).

At the end of the reign of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh (1797-1834), the revenue is reported to have amounted to 2,081,532 *tūmāns* in cash and payments in kind worth 379,217 *tūmāns*. The main constituents of the latter were 163,084 *khārṡwārs* (675 lbs each) of wheat, at 2 *tūmāns* each, 12,850 *khārṡwārs* of rice, at 3 *tūmāns* each, and 965 *manns* of silk, at 6 *tūmāns* each. (Revenues of Persia ordered by the late Shah to be paid to the General credit of Government, India Office, LP and S/9, vol. 53, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran*, 361-2.)

By about 1868, despite the sharp fall in silk production in Gilān, the total revenue had increased by 3½ crores of *tūmāns* (or £ 694,000) and amounted to 4,361,660 *tūmāns* (or £ 1,744,664) in money, most of which was from land tax, besides payments in kind in barley, wheat, rice, and silk valued at 550,840 *tūmāns* (or £ 220,336) (Thomson, *Report*, *op. cit.*, 250-1). The revenue of Khurāsān, which towards the end of the reign of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh had been ca. 200,000 *tūmāns* in money and 46,000 *khārṡwārs* in grain, was about the year 1876, although the population had decreased (because of the contraction of the frontiers), some 340,000 *tūmāns* in money and 46,000 *khārṡwārs* in barley and wheat, 620 *khārṡwārs* in rice and 83 *khārṡwārs* in tobacco. The whole of this was absorbed in payments for military service, pensions, salaries and other local disbursements (F.O. 60: 379. *Report on the Toorkoman tribes occupying the districts between the Caspian and the Oxus* by Mr. Ronald Thomson, *Secretary of Legation*, incl. in W. Taylor Thomson to Lord Derby, Tehran, No. 22, 29 February 1876, p. 211). From the fragmentary evidence available it is not clear to what extent this increase may have been due to more effective revenue collection, increased cultivation including more cash crops (which paid a higher rate of taxation), a decrease in the areas of land alienated from the control of the government or other causes.

The great famine of 1869-72 adversely affected the

collection of revenue, especially from the southern, central and northeastern provinces, which were the most severely affected by famine and cholera and took several years to recover. Only in and after 1884 did the total revenue from direct taxes surpass, in nominal terms, the total revenue of the pre-famine years. Assessments, however, were not adjusted to the growth in agricultural production which took place in many districts or to the fall in the real value of the kran, and as a result, government revenue from direct taxes at constant prices compared to the pre-famine years had fallen by the late 1890s (see further G. G. Silbermann, *op. cit.*). The figures given by Curzon for the 1888-9 budget show an apparent increase due to the depreciation of the silver currency. The total revenue was calculated at 55,369,516 kran (10 kran = 1 *tūmān*). *Māliyyāt* contributed 54,177,740 kran (taxes paid in cash 36,076,757 kran, taxes paid in kind 10,100,983 kran, and customs 8,000,000 kran), and revenue from other sources 1,191,776 kran (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 480-1). By the year 1900 total revenues had ostensibly risen to 7,000,000 *tūmāns* (*Report on the Persian army*, *op. cit.*, 11-12). The proportion of the whole formed by land tax was, however, probably slightly less than had been the case earlier. In 1905, the year preceding the grant of the Constitution, the total revenue was put at roughly £ 1,425,000. *Māliyyāt* (which consisted mainly of land taxes) amounted to £ 800,000. The percentage which it formed of the whole had thus considerably dropped, but it was still the largest single item and almost double the next highest item, which was customs (F.O. 416/26, App. (A) in Hardinge to Grey, London, 23 December 1905, separate and confidential). Thus agriculture still retained in the early 20th century its importance as the main economic activity of the country, and the state still depended, as it had in earlier times, upon land taxes for its current expenditure. Basically, the old patterns of land revenue assessment and collection, which had shown a striking continuity over the centuries, lived on and rulers still looked to the land—and this, in effect, meant to the peasants—to provide them with the material resources to support themselves and their governments.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

### III.—IN OTTOMAN TURKEY.

This term denoted in Ottoman usage both the land tax and the poll-tax on the state's non-Muslim subjects. In some documents the term *khārādj ru'ūsū* refers to the *ḍijīzya* [q.v.] payers (M. T. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 158; the *kānūnnāme* of Kandıya dated 1081/1670, in Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda sirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*, i. *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 351), whereas the word *khārādj* was only used for the tax put on the land. In the early period, both the *khārādj* and *ḍijīzya* were collected by the *khārājdjī*, an official appointed to collect the *khārādj*, so that the officials collecting the *ḍijīzya* were also called *khārājdjīs* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, *Maliyeden müdevver defterler*, no. 2775, p. 455). This state of affairs can also be seen in a *khārādj* register showing the records of *khārādj* and *ḍijīzya* between the years 954-6/1547-9 (*Maliyeden müdevver defterler*, no. 191).

The lands of the Ottoman Empire were, in financial theory, divided into three categories: (1) *arādjī-ḥshriyye*; (2) *arādjī-i khārādjīyye*; and (3) *arādjī-*

*memleket*, but in practice there was a great variety of application. 'Oshur land was the land given to the Muslims at the time of the conquests in return for a tithe. *Kharādj* land was the land retained by the non-Muslims in return for a tithe or greater proportion levied on its product, the *kharādj-i muḥāsama*, plus an annual requirement in cash.

The so-called *ard-i memleket* (that is, state or *mīri* land) was not the property of the subjects (*re'āyā*) but cultivated by them on a temporary basis; they paid *kharādj-i muḥāsama* instead of 'o<sup>shur</sup>, according to the amount of produce obtained from the land, and *kharādj-i muwazzaf* instead of the *ḥift aḥlesi* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 4, 66, 297-8, *Kānūn-name-i Sultān Süley-mān ve Ebu's-Su'ūd Efendi'nin ma'rūḍāt risālesi*, in *MTM*, i (Istanbul 1331, 109).

The 1081/1670 *tahrir defteri* of the island of Crete, newly added to the Ottoman Empire in 1080/1669, is the latest and perhaps the last register showing what the *kharādj* lands were and how this tax was applied. It was decided that one-fifth should be taken as *kharādj-i muḥāsama* from the produce of the lands retained by the non-Muslims. Those harvesting two crops a year would pay *kharādj* twice. The vineyards and orchards were surveyed and a *dirham-i shar'ī* was taken annually from every *djarīb* of them. *Kharādj-i muḥāfa'a* was a tax taken from the land even if the owner did not sow it. *Kharādj* lands were the full property of their owners, and therefore they had right to sell them as they liked; when the owner of the land died, it was divided between his heirs. If the non-Muslim owner of *kharādj* land abandoned his land and fled, then his land was rented out and its *kharādj* was taken from its produce (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 351-2). The financial difficulties of the Christian *re'āyā* in a newly-conquered land were taken into consideration. For example, in the island of Cyprus, immediately after its conquest in 980/1572, a register was made, and as a result of it, the non-Muslim subjects, taking into consideration their financial situation, were classified into three groups: the rich, people with average incomes (the middle class), and the people with lower incomes (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 349).

The *kharādj* taken from the non-Muslim subjects varied according to the productivity of the land and the type of agriculture practised on it. While 3 *aḥles* were taken from every 100 vine-stems of a vine-yard in the region of Malatya, 10, 8, 6 or even 4 were taken in the Arab lands (966/1559 *kānūnnāme* of Malatya *sandjak*). In Aleppo, 40 *aḥles* were taken from every 100 fruit trees and 40 from every 1000 vine-stems (978/1570 *kānūnnāme* of Aleppo). In Damascus and Jerusalem, one *aḥle* for every 2 olive trees, 2 *aḥles* for every date palm and walnut tree, one *aḥle* for every 5 other fruit trees, and 10 *aḥles* for every 100 vine stems, were paid as *kharādj* (*kānūnnāmes* of Damascus and Jerusalem, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 116-7, 207, 217, 220). The money taken from non-Muslims as *kharādj* varied because of changes in the value of money, but it does not seem that there was a substantial variation in the amount of annual *kharādj* paid by the Christian subjects around the end of the 9th/15th and the beginning of the 10th/16th centuries; the amount of the *kharādj* varied between 40 to 50 *aḥles* during the middle years of the 10th/16th century (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 23, 57, 96, 101, 105, 240, 301, 303). But in some regions, for example in Karadağ (Montenegro), the amount of *kharādj* remained at 33 *aḥles* for a long period between the years 934/1529 to 978/1570 (*Kanuni i Kanunname*, Za Bosanski, Hercegevski, Zverniski,

*Kliski, Crnegorski, Skadarski sandzak*, Serajevo 1957, 169, 173). However, some groups were exempted from the payment of the *kharādj*, including certain groups serving in the army such as the *voynuks*, Christian cavalrymen in the Balkans (H. Inalcik, *Stefan Dušan'dan Osmanlı imparatorluğuna*, in *Fatih devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, i, Ankara 1954, 173-4), and the *Eflākān* or Wallachians serving as guards and watchmen in the fortresses and outposts of such places as Semendre (Smedereve), Vidin and Eramişeva (*Kānūnnāme-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, ed. Mehmed 'Arif, Istanbul 1329, 63-4). Also exempted were miners and quarrymen together with their sons (*Kānūnnāme-i livā-i Bosna* (*Kanuni i Kanunname*), 15, 41, 170), and the Christians employed in public service, e.g. as *derbendājis* (guardians of internal security in the provinces) (Inalcik, *op. cit.*, 224, document dated 12th Djumādā II 860/18th May 1456).

The *kharādj* collectors (*kharādjīdīler*) had registers listing the amounts of tax required (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, no. 10140, *defter* dated 959, 1552), and the annual *kharādj* was collected according to this *defter*. Local officials were required to help the *kharādj* collectors (*Kanuni i Kanunname*, 41, 103). The *re'āyā* acquired a receipt from the collector, which they had to keep. These receipts (*Kharādjī kāghıtları, kharādjī tedhkiyeler*) recorded such information as the name of the tax payer and the name of his father, his country, the colour of his hair, beard and skin, plus his physical description, together with the year, month and day on which the tax was paid (for an example dating from 1765, see Henry Granville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 36-7). Because of the incidence of disputes and disagreements between the subjects and the *kharādjī*-collectors, the activities of the latter were controlled and inspected by officials from the group of *ḥavushs* of the Imperial court, and in the light of their findings, a new *defter* might be drawn up (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, No. 1531, *defter* of 937/1531, No. 9691, document dated 932/1526). These inspections were made every three years. In the course of them, names of dead persons (*mürde*) were removed from the *defter*, and the names of those who had become old enough (*bāligh*) to pay *kharādj* were added as *nev-yāste* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, 389; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 44). Women and children did not pay *kharādj*, but male children paid it when they were mature (Granville, *op. cit.*, 36).

The instructions given to the *kharādjīdīs* defined their duties and sphere of authority. Of these, the oldest document is dated 880/1475-6. According to this, if some of the *re'āyā* on *īmār* land ran away, the half of the *kharādj* of that land was to be taken from the *īmār*-holder and the other half from the remaining *re'āyā*. If one of the *kharādj* payers died, then his yearly *kharādj* was taken from his family and relatives; if they were not able to pay this, then it would be taken once only from the other villagers, and afterwards his name would be removed from the *kharādj* register. *Kharādj* was collected by the *kharādjī-emīn* and his staff at the latest before the month of Sha'bān every year, with the help of the local officials. The *kharādj* money collected each day would be counted up in front of those concerned, weighed and set down in a special register with the help of the local *kāḍī*, and recorded village by village. These registers were forwarded with the money to Istanbul through the agency of one of the *kharādjī* collectors (*Kānūn-nāme-i Sultāni ber müdājib-i 'Orf-i*

*‘Othmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, Ankara 1956, 76-8). The heads of Christian villages, and their notables such as priests, were charged with the responsibility of collecting the *kharādj*, *angaria* and the other taxes (cf. *Polonyalı Simeon'un seyahat namesi (1608-1619)*, tr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1964, 134).

The Christian dependent provinces like Ragusa or Dubrovnik, Moldavia and Transylvania were counted among the tributary *re'āyā* because they paid an agreed, fixed amount every year (the *kharādj makṭū'*) in gold (cf. N. H. Biegan, *The Turco-Ragusan relationship*, The Hague 1967, 132-3, 138, 140, 142 and C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler: Telhisler (1597-1607)*, Istanbul 1970, 35); but the situation of Ragusa, because it accepted the payment of *kharādj* as a result of a peace agreement and not after conquest, was somewhat different to that of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. The tributes taken from the peace agreements made after the victories of the Ottoman Empire in the west, at the times when it was powerful, were also described as *kharādj*, e.g. those paid at certain times by Austria and Venice (L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1965, i, 481). In the 11th/17th century, when there was a dispute over the question of borders, the Ottomans claimed (basing their argument on the *defters*) that the villages and towns in dispute belonged to the empire because of the presence there of *kharādj*-paying non-Muslim subjects (Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterhazy, 1606-1645*, Budapest 1932, 65 ff., 82 ff.).

From the end of the 12th/18th century, the task of collecting *kharādj* in the largely non-Muslim regions passed into the hands of the non-Muslim local élite (priests, headmen, etc.). From this time, too, the word *kharādj* came to be linked with the word *bādī* in the phrase *kharādj we bādī*, which was current till the *Tanzimāt* period (K. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache*, Freiburg-in-Breisgau 1970, 149 (dated 1112/1700), 162 (dated 1194/1780) 185 (dated 1254/1838). The officers charged with collecting the *kharādj* were everywhere called *kharādj-emīnis*, and at the beginning of the 19th century there was established an office of *kharādj* which looked after various problems involved in the tax and which later also took care of the *ḡizya* at the same time.

The *Tanzimāt* decree of 1839 brought a new concept of citizenship into the society of the Ottoman state, the idea that both the Muslims and the Christians living in the Empire were to be treated as equal before the law. This involved the question of taxation, including the *kharādj*, for the abolition of which there was pressure from Western diplomats in Istanbul.

A decision on this was only taken after the 1856 reforms, when both *kharādj* and *ḡizya* were abolished, and instead, non-Muslim subjects were to pay a tax in lieu of military service (*bedel-i 'askerī*) (cf. G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, London 1866, 13, 67); the tax is also mentioned under the names *'askerī*, *kharādj*, *ḡizya*, *imdādiyye*, *niḡāmiyye*, *bedelāt* (cf. James Barker, *Turkey*, New York 1877, 384; for the *bedelāt-i 'askerīyye*, see *Düstūr*, Istanbul 1289, ii, 26-33, and see also BADAL).

*Bibliography*: in addition to the works mentioned in the article, see 'Abdurrahmān Weffk, *Tehālif Kawā'idī*, Istanbul 1328, i, 21-23, 54, 263-4; Süleymān Südi, *Defter-i muktesid*, Istanbul

1307, i, 55-8, 68 ff.; Ö. L. Barkan, 894 (1488/1489) *yılı cizyesinin tahsilatına ait muhasebe bilançoları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belgeler, (Ankara 1964), 5-6; H. Hadzi Begić, *Dzizya ili harac, Prilozi*, iii, 51-135, iv, 43-102; idem, *Glavarina u Osmanskoj Drzavi*, Sarajevo 1966; C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler: Telhisler (1597-1607)*, Istanbul 1970, 35, 75, 91; C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, London 1829, 225, 226; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers Sultans*, Paris 1960, 102, 103, 104, 148, 149, 150; Glisa Elezović, *Turkski spomenici*, Belgrade 1940, 1952, see index; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Haraç-i arazi defterleri, no. 174, 175, 176; *Sultan I. Selim'in Kanunnamesi*, ed. A. S. Tveritnova, Moscow 1969, 107; Theodore Spandouyn Cantacusin, *Petit Traicté de l'Origine des Turqs*, Paris 1896, 142, 143, 144, 145; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1957, i/2, 251, 252; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 175; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reichs*, repr. 1963, i, 212, 213, 240, 424, 343, 344, ff. ii, 165, 151; J. Porter, *Turkey*, London 1854, ii, 209-11, 213; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 737.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

#### IV.—IN THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

In India, the term *kharādj* was less common in the administrative literature, being replaced by other expressions such as *ḡāṣil* or *maḡṣul*, meaning revenue or land-revenue. As in other Muslim lands, the *kharādj* in Muslim India also had two distinct forms, to which names of *mukāsama* and *muwaṣṣaf* or *waṣifa* were given. The former is defined as an impost which depended on the actual produce of the land, and was leviable only when the land was cultivated; the latter depended on the return that the land was capable of yielding, and was due whether the land was tilled or not. It is the *waṣifa* which is meant when the term *kharādj* is mentioned by the Muslim writers or historians of India, unless the *mukāsama* is specifically named.

The earliest record of the imposition of the *kharādj* in Muslim India relates to the reign of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḡammad Khāldīj (695-715/1296-1316), who fixed the standard of the revenue-demand at one-half of the produce, an arrangement which set the pattern for the agrarian system in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. A notable aspect of the implementation of the *kharādj* was a remarkable degree of harmony in the relation between the Sultan and the tribute-paying Hindu chiefs.

The system initiated by 'Alā' al-Dīn was never completely put into effect and soon fell into desuetude; it was not till the time of Shēr Shāh that any effort was made to revive it. The changes which the Dihli sultans endeavoured to introduce were afterwards perfected in the system which the Mughal administration under Akbar adopted concerning the imposition of the *kharādj*. Akbar first established a uniform standard of length which he termed *gas-i ilāhī* [q.v. in Suppl.] (corresponding to the Arab *ḡhirā'* [q.v.]) and having adopted the *ḡiarīb*, which he called *bīgha*, as the measure of surface area, he fixed it at 3,600 square *gas*. The land was divided into four kinds on the basis of its potential fertility. Of these four kinds, only the category called Perowty, i.e. land kept out of cultivation for a short time to regain its strength, was in reality the *kharādj-i*

*waḡifa* of the Islamic law which Akbar imposed, and the person immediately liable for the *khārādj* was the husbandman, who was assured of all required assistance by the state. In terms of the principles of this kind of *khārādj*, the cultivators who paid taxes direct to the state received proprietary rights from the conquerors in respect of the lands which they tilled.

Akbar's system of *khārādj* revenue collection did not cover his entire dominion, for the outlying *ṣūbas* contained large tracts of land which were left unmeasured; hence, in such cases, the Emperor himself, in accordance with the rules of *khārādj-i muḥāsama*, retained ownership of the land. The tenure and the position of the cultivators under *Djahāngir* and *Shāhdjāhān* was pretty much the same as was in vogue under Akbar's policy of settlement. The ownership rights of the husbandmen to the land of the *khārādj-i waḡifa* continued to prevail even throughout *Awrangzīb's* puritanical reign. Under *Awrangzīb*, the religious jurists on whose *fatwās* or pronouncements the royal orders were issued, sought guidance not from the rules or orders of *Shēr Shāh* or Akbar, but from the standard Islamic law books or commentaries written at an earlier period in the Arab lands. Standard authorities such as *Abū Ḥanīfa* and *Abū Yūsuf* were closely consulted when *farmāns* regarding the *khārādj* were drafted, with the result that Islamic terms, ideas and institutions, which were not in accordance with the facts of indigenous Indian life, were imported into the Muslim Indian system more vigorously.

In the midst of the chaotic political conditions following *Awrangzīb's* death in 1118/1707, when some strong-armed adventurers took over the reins of rulership as *ṣūbadārs* in outlying areas of the empire, the regular institution of the *khārādj* fell into disruption. The exigencies and characters of the rulers in particular territories brought about various pressures on the land, so that in some localities the cultivator, who was normally left with two-thirds of the produce of the land after paying one-third as *khārādj*, had to remain content with the bare minimum necessary for his and his family's subsistence. This state of affairs continued to prevail in the country till the British rulers brought about a settlement of the land revenue in 1793.

*Bibliography:* Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1867-77; *Khāfi Khān*, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh*, Calcutta 1869; W. H. Moreland, *The agrarian system of Moslem India*, Cambridge 1929; Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Moghul India*, Bombay 1963; Numan Ahmad Siddiqi, *Land revenue administration under the Moghuls (1700-1750)*, Bombay 1971. (ABDUS SUBHAN)

**KHĀRAG** (usually shortened to *Khārg*; *Khārak* in Arabic), a coral island in the Persian Gulf off the coast of Persia at lat. 29° 16' N, long. 50° 19' E. Lying 55 km. northwest of *Būshahr* [q.v.], the island is 8 km. long from north to south and 4 km. broad. Much of it is covered by treeless hills with a maximum height of 75 m. Four km. to the north is the smaller island of *Khārgū* (Arabic *Khuwayrik*). Between the two islands and also west of *Khārag* are banks where pearls of exceptional value were sometimes found until commercial pearling withered away in the present century.

Whether *Khārag* is to be identified with one of the islands in the Persian Gulf mentioned in the Greek and Roman sources remains uncertain. An examination of burial caves and rock carvings has indicated that a Christian community existed on the island in the 3rd century A.D.

The early Muslim geographers list *Khārag* as belonging to the *kūra* of *Ardashīr Khurra* [see *Ā'irūzā-bāb*]. It is also described as lying opposite the town of *Djannāba* [q.v.]. According to *Ibn Khurradādhbih*, *Khārag* as a port of call on the route from *al-Baṣra* to 'Umān and India was known for its cereals, grapes, and dates.

*Yākūt*, who visited *Khārag* more than once, saw the shrine pilgrims believed to be the tomb of *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya* [q.v.], a belief *Yākūt* declares unhistorical. *Yākūt* quotes *Abū 'Ubayda* as saying that *Abū Ṣufra*, the father of the renowned Umayyad general *al-Muhallab* [q.v.], was a native of *Khārag* who, for his military prowess, was adopted by the tribe of *al-Azd*. *Abu 'Ubayda's* statement is corroborated by verses of *al-Farazdaq*.

In modern times *Khārag* first became prominent in the second half of the 12th/18th century, when the Dutch East India Company made it the main base for its commercial activities in the Persian Gulf. The company's factor, the Prussian Baron von *Kniphausen*, secured the cession of the island by *Mir Nāsir*, the lord of *Bandar Rīg* on the mainland 35 km. to the northeast. Building a fort on the northeastern side of the island, the Baron proceeded to develop a flourishing community, described in detail by the Englishman *E. Ives* and the German *C. Niebuhr*, who stayed there in 1171/1758 and 1178-9/1765 respectively. Shortly after *Niebuhr* left, the Dutch were driven out by *Mir Muhannā* of *Bandar Rīg*, who took up residence on the island. *Karīm Khān Zand* [q.v.] then invested the island and forced *Mir Muhannā* to flee to *al-Baṣra*, where he met his end. *Karīm* undertook to turn *Khārag* over to the French East India Company, but the suppression of the company prevented the arrangement from being consummated. Again during the reign of *Faṭh-'Alī Shāh* [q.v.], Persia was on the point of giving *Khārag* to the French but was thwarted by British pressure.

In 1247/1832 bubonic plague on the Persian coast impelled the British Political Residency in the Gulf to move temporarily from *Būshahr* to *Khārgū*, and consideration was given to making *Khārag* its permanent site. When Persian arms advanced against *Afghānistān*, the British landed troops on *Khārag* in 1254/1838 and held it until 1259/1842, during part of which time the Residency was headquartered on the island. Lord *Auckland*, the Governor General of India, dreamed that "Karrak . . . could become the Singapore of the Persian Gulph". The initial Russian protest against the occupation of *Khārag* had failed to sway the British government, but prolonging the British presence there would have run the risk of giving Russia an excuse to move against Persia in the north, and in 1260/1844 the British coal depot was removed from the island.

Britain at the outset of its war with Persia in 1273/1856 again seized *Khārag*, whose Persian garrison had already been withdrawn. This time the grip on the island was kept for only a little more than a year. General *Sir J. Outram*, commander of the expeditionary force, advocated without success transferring the Political Residency from *Būshahr* to *Khārag*. For years thereafter the island's importance derived in the main from the skill of the pilots it provided for the upper Gulf and from its quarries for stone used in road building.

The growth of the oil industry has given *Khārag* a newly significant place on the map. The waters off the mainland coast of Persia (now Iran) are too shallow to accommodate large ships, while the island, lying 30 km. away from the coast, has waters deep enough

for this purpose. When Iran's production of oil for export mounted in the mid-20th century, Khārag was selected as the new terminal for shipping crude oil. Pipelines were laid to bring crude in from the producing fields as well as refined products from Ābādān [q.v.]. Huge storage tanks were built on Khārag to hold millions of barrels of oil. Tankers coming to carry the oil away berth at a jetty or a sea island; the largest of these vessels displace 500,000 tons. Khārag itself also lies within a recently-discovered area for the production of oil, with the Darius field stretching westwards from the island into the waters of the Persian Gulf. Moreover, the National Iranian Oil Company has constructed on Khārag one of its most elaborate petrochemical complexes. Besides the oil installations, the new prosperity has brought to the island greenhouses for the cultivation of vegetables.

*Bibliography:* I. Būshahri, *Naẓari be-Irān va Khalādi-i Fārs*, n. pl. 1949-50; M. Kabābi, *Bandar-i 'Abbās va Khalādi-i Fārs*, Tehran 1342; H. Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djuḡhrāfiyā-yi Irān*, vii, Tehran 1330; Ibn Khurradādhbih; Mas'ūdi, ed. Pellat, i, Beirut 1965; Admiralty, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944; *The Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968; G. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892; E. Ives, *A Voyage from England to India*, London 1773; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf* 1795-1880, Oxford 1968; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772; idem, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, Amsterdam 1780; Schwarz, *Iran*; Sir A. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1928; National Iranian Oil Company, *Iran Oil Journal*, Tehran 1974-5. (G. RENTZ)

AL-KHARĀ'ITĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. DJĀ'FAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. SAHL AL-SĀMARRĪ, traditionist and man of letters, originally from Surra man ra'ā (Sāmarrā; Zirikli, *A'ām*, vi, 297, makes him a native of Samaria/Sāmira), who was, in particular, the pupil of 'Umar b. Shabba [q.v.]. In 325/937 he went to Damascus and taught there *hadīth*, dying at 'Askalān (at Jaffa, according to Zirikli) in 327/939 aged ca. 90 years. He left behind several works on ethics and on belles-lettres, one of which has been printed at Cairo in 1350/1931-2, the *Kitāb Makārim al-akhḫlāq wa-ma'āliḥā*. Others are preserved in manuscript (see Brockelmann, S I, 250); *K. 'Ulāl al-ḫulūb fi akḫbār al-'uḣḣḣāq*, *K. Masāwī 'l-akhḫlāq wa-maḫmūmihā*, *Faḏīlat al-ḣukr*, *K. Kam' al-ḣirḣ bi 'l-kanā'a*, *K. al-Ḫubūr*, *K. Hawātiḥ al-djinn wa-'adīb mā yuḫkū 'an al-kuḫhān*, *Ta'āliq li-bn 'Isā al-Maḫḫsī*.

*Bibliography:* Yāqūt, *Uḏabā'*, xviii, 98; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'riḫh*, ii, 139; Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, f. 192b; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 309; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nuḏjūm*, iii, 265; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djāwzi, *Munāẓam*, vi, 298; *DM*, iv, 210. (ED.)

**KHARAKĀNI**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. AḤMAD, Persian mystic who died on the 10th Muḥarram 425/5th December 1033 at the age of 73. The *nisba* refers to the village of Kharaḳān situated in the mountains to the north of Bisṭām on the road to Astarābād (modern Gurgān). There are several variants for the vocalisation of this place-name even in the early sources for the life of this mystic. This confusion may very well be the result of the existence of other place names with the same consonant outline, such as Kharaḳān near Samarkand and Kharrakān between Hamadān and Kazwīn. In the poems of 'Aṭṭār, the name of the mystic is consistently treated

as a word with a closed first syllable (*Kh. rḫāni*). The form preferred in this article is based on the explicit statement by Sam'āni, who seems to have had a first-hand knowledge of the area (cf. Yāqūt, ii, 424; see further on this question, Le Strange, 23, 366; Schwarz, *Iran*, vi, 822; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī . . . , Commentary to Book iv*, 348, *Heading* [2]). Instead of the patronymic "Ibn Ahmad", which is supported by all the early sources, "Ibn Dja'far" is given by Djāmī and by many subsequent writers who were dependent on him.

The few details which are reported concerning the external life of Kharaḳāni point to a humble origin. He is said to have been a donkey-driver at the time when he was called to the mystic path (Sam'āni). As a youngster, he tended the cattle for his parents. But even in his later years he lived very close to the peasants of his home country. He seems to have travelled very little. There are no reports about his formal education, and he claimed to be an illiterate (*ummi*) who was ignorant about the correct pronunciation of even the most commonly used Arabic formulae (Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 510); some of his sayings show traces of a local dialect.

Kharaḳāni described himself as a resident (*muḫim*) *shaykh* who only travelled in the spirit. The renown of his high spiritual rank, gained after long years of extreme ascetism, attracted a great number of pilgrims to the hostel which was attached to his hermitage. Among his visitors were the most prominent representatives of Ṣūfism in his time. The meeting between Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr and Kharaḳāni in the latter's *khānaḳāh* has been recorded with many details in the hagiographies of both *shaykhs*. 'Abd 'Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, who was much impressed by Kharaḳāni, regarded him as an adept (*muntaḥi*) and chose him as his spiritual guide. Other well-known visitors were Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳuḣḣayrī, and from outside the mystic circles, Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā and Sulṭān Maḫmūd of Ḡhazna. Whereas the genuineness of the reports about the last two visits is questionable, the attention paid to Kharaḳāni by the great Ṣūfis of his time is undoubtedly historical, and fits very well into the pattern of Khurāsānian mysticism in the beginning of the 5th/11th century. The learned Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of the larger cities, in particular of Niṣhāpūr, took a lively interest in the single-minded and uncompromising spirituality of local mystics who stayed within the geographically, as well as intellectually, much more restricted realm of the small towns and villages where they were born. Another mystic of this type was Abu'l-'Abbās al-Ḳaṣṣāb of Āmul, a butcher turned into a mystic, who enjoyed a similar reputation as Kharaḳāni. He is reported as having predicted that his "little bazar" (*bāzārak*) would, after his death, be taken over by Kharaḳāni (Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 308). There is no evidence, however, of a formal initiation in the form of the bestowal of a *ḫirḫa*, as Ḳaṣṣāb did in the case of Abū Sa'īd (cf. Ibn al-Munawwar, 50 f.). Kharaḳāni laid claim to a direct succession to the spiritual essence (*rūḫāniyyat*) of Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr al-Bisṭāmī [q.v.] in spite of the great interval between his lifetime and that of his teacher. Abū Yazīd is said to have announced the coming of Kharaḳāni and to have initiated him in a dream after he had made a series of miraculous nightly visits to the tomb of Abū Yazīd in Bisṭām. A spiritual relationship of this kind, in which the normal requirement of personal contact between *pir* and *murīd* is disregarded, is often designated as an "Uwaysī"-relationship. Its archetype is the influence exerted by the Prophet on the pious Yemeni Uways

al-Karānī [q.v.] in spite of the fact that they never actually met. The line of mystic tradition which runs through al-Biṣṭāmī and Kharakānī was later in the same century attached to the classic *silsila* of Ṣūfism by Abū 'Alī al-Fārmadī (d. 477/1084). In addition to his regular affiliation to Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Gurgānī (d. 469/1076-7), al-Fārmadī chose also Kharakānī as his initiator, although it is hardly likely that both men ever met personally. In this way, Kharakānī has become a spiritual ancestor of the *ṭarīqa* of the Khwādjagān out of which the Naqshbandiyya order developed in the 8th/14th century. The interest of later generations in Kharakānī's mysticism is also shown by the use of anecdotes about him in Ṣūfī epic poetry, notably in the works of 'Aṭṭār and of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrawardī, the *Shaykh al-Ishrāk* (d. 587/1191), inserted Kharakānī after al-Hallādjī and Abū Yazīd in the line of *Khusrāwāniyyūn* who transmitted ecstatic mysticism to him from a pre-Islamic Iranian source (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, Paris 1971, 36).

It appears from some of the stories told about Kharakānī's relationship to contemporary mystics that his claim to the spiritual succession of Abū Yazīd made him into a rival of the leading *shaykh* of the Ṭayfūriyya tradition in Biṣṭām, Abū 'Abd 'Allāh Muḥammad al-Dāstānī (d. 417/1026), who is often referred to as *Shaykh al-Maṣhāyikh* (cf. Hudjwiri, tr. Nicholson, 164; Dījāmi, *Nafahāt*, 338 f.).

According to his hagiographer, the *shaykh* expressed the wish to be buried in Biṣṭām near the tomb of his teacher. In the 8th/14th century his grave was visited there by Ibn Baṭṭūta (iii, 82; Beirut 1379/1960, 390). But al-Kazwīnī (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 243) asserts that his grave was to be found in Kharakān itself. Recently, a mausoleum of Kharakānī has been discovered in the village of Kal'a-yi Naw, north-east of Biṣṭām; it was not, it seems, erected earlier than the Mongol period (see R. Hillenbrand, in *Iran*, ix (1971), 161).

Apart from the reflection of his personality in the accounts of his contemporaries, a considerable number of the sayings of Kharakānī have been preserved. There is no question of a systematic exposition of a coherent mystic doctrine. These sayings contain the account of a direct mystic experience expressed in bold and terse statements which sometimes possess a great poetic force. The influence of the celebrated utterances of Abū Yazīd is unmistakable. A sharp distinction is made between the profane or the "created beings" (*khālq*) who remain attached to the created world, and the "brave ones" (*djāwānmardān*) who venture out strive for a return to the world of the Command (*'ālam al-amr*) to which they really belong. The path of the latter goes through severe ascetic training and should end with the total extinction of the self (*fanā'*) and the subsequent permanence in the will of God. The ascetic preparation has no value in itself. The attainment of the goal is entirely an act of Divine Grace. This idea is linguistically expressed by the use of passive verbal forms whenever there is a reference to the fulfilment of the mystic's aim. At that stage, the mystic ceases to be the actor of his own deeds and the speaker of his own words. The highest gift granted to the adept is gnostic knowledge (*ma'rifa*) which is to be distinguished from the positive knowledge (*ilm*) of the theologians. When the former kind of knowledge has been attained to its full extent, it appears to be identical with the contents of the religious Law. Kharakānī emphasizes that he would refuse to travel any path that would deviate from that of the Prophet. In spite of this

adherence to Islamic orthodoxy, he dares to discourage other mystics to travel on to Mecca once they have "crossed the deserts of Kharakānī", i.e. after they have visited him and have accepted his teaching. The way of Kharakānī is a path of sorrow (*andūh*) and anxiety (*ḥabḍ*) which is contrasted to the joyfulness (*shādī*) and relaxation (*baṣṭ*) of mystics like Dāstānī and Abū Sa'īd. Humility and self-glorification are curiously mixed in the utterances of Kharakānī. He claims to be one of the rare true servants of God, and many of his sayings have the form of direct revelations from the Unseen. There are also some accounts of experiences in the higher world. One of his pupils recognises him as the *kuḥf* of his age. The superior status of the *shaykh* enables him to act as a mediator for other people before the Divine Judge. On the other hand, Kharakānī takes great pains to conceal the graces bestowed on him. Neither his ascetic merits nor his miraculous powers, which in the case of Kharakānī consist in particular of the gift of foresight (*firāsa*), should mislead the true mystic into false pretensions. It is therefore to be regarded as a special favour of God to His friends that He helps them to conceal these graces from the eyes of the profane. (On the characteristics of Kharakānī's mysticism, see also S. de Beaucueil, *Ansari*, 65-67).

The sayings of Kharakānī have been collected by one of his followers in the *Kitāb Nūr al-'ulūm*. Of this work, only an abstract seems to have survived in the so far unique manuscript British Museum Or. 249, dated 698/1299 (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 342a; ed. by E. E. Bertel's, in *Iran*, iii (1927), 155-224 = *Isbrannite Trudt. Sufizm i sufiyskaya literatura*, Moscow 1965, 225-78; the linguistic particularities of this text have been studied in the Introduction to Bertel's edition as well as in M. Taqī-Bahār, *Sabkshināstī*, ii, Tehran n.d., 226-8 and G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 123-4 and *passim*). Considerably more of the contents of the original has been preserved in the long section on Kharakānī in the Supplement to 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, ii, ed. Nicholson, Leiden-London 1907, 201-55. The *Nūr al-'ulūm* was divided into ten chapters, the last of which contained hagiographic stories (*manāqib*) about the *shaykh*. Another chapter was devoted to the prayers (*munādīāt*) of Kharakānī. A small separate collection of prayers is also known to exist (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.* xxv (1939), 63). The attribution of the edition of the *Munādīāt* of Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī to Kharakānī (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1968, 274) needs to be verified. Two short *risālas* attributed to Kharakānī have recently come to light in Pakistan (cf. A. Munzawi, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, ii, Tehran 1349 *sh.*, 1101 (nos. 10165-10166). There are also a few quatrains attributed to him (see, e.g. Naḍīm al-Dīn Dāya, *Mirṣād al-'ibād*, ed. Tehran 1337/1377, 25, 28; Amīn-i Aḥmad-i Rāzī, *Haft Iklim*, ed. Dī. Fāḍil, Tehran 1340 *sh.*, iii, 335; Riḍā-Kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-'arīfīn*, Tehran 1305/1887-8, 28-9; idem, *Maḍimā' al-fuṣṣahā'*, ed. Tehran 1295/1878, i, 66; Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library*, i, Oxford 1903, no. 1747, fol. 1b). A commentary to one of the sayings was written by Naḍīm al-Dīn Dāya (cf. F. Meier, in *Isl.* xxiv (1937), 38 n.). One of the divinely-inspired utterances (*shahīyyāt*) of Kharakānī has been studied by Rūzbihān Baḳīl.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the works quoted in the article: Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-mahjūb*,

tr. Nicholson, London 1911, 163; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Kābul 1962, index; *Hālāt-u sukhānān-i shaykh Abū Saʿīd*, ed. St. Petersburg 1899, 14, 69; Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. Tehran 1332 sh., 51, 53, 57, 146-58, 234, 269; al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Leiden-London, fol. 194b; Rūzbihān Baḳlī, *Sharḥ-i shaf-ḥiyyāt*, ed. Tehran-Paris 1966, 41, 317-18; Abū'l-Mafākhir Yahyā Bāḳharzī, *Awrād al-ahbāb*, ed. Tehran 1340 sh., 117; Aṭṭār, *Manṭiq al-tayr*, ed. M. Dj. Maṣḥkūr, Tehran 1347 sh., 114, 167, 170; *Ilāhī-nāma*, ed. Leipzig 1940, 362-3; *Muṣibat-nāma*, ed. Tehran 1338 sh., 360; *Asrār-nāma*, ed. Tehran 1338 sh., 115-6 (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1954, index, and 775); Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī-i maʿnawī*, ed. London 1925-1940, iv, *bayt* 1802 ff., 1925 ff.; vi, *bayt* 2204 ff.; *Djāmī, Nafahāt al-uns*, ed. Calcutta 1859, 336-8 (no. 364), 381-4; idem, *Manāḳib shaykh al-Islām ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī*, ed. A. J. Arberry, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 65-6; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, 87, 133-8, 145; idem, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 42-4; Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Ḥusayn ibn-Mansour al-Hallādī*, Paris 1922, 426; E. E. Bertel's, in *Islamicica*, iii (1927), 54 ff.; S. de Laugier de Beaucueil, *Khawādja ʿAbdullāh Ansari*, Beirut 1963, 62-74; J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 32, 52 f., 92, 221; *Aḳwāl wa aḳwāl-i shaykh Abū'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī, aḳwāl-i ahl-i taṣawwuf dar bāra-i ū ba-damīma-i Muntakhab-i Nūr al-ʿulūm manḳūl az nusḳha-i khaṭṭī-i London*, ed. by Mudjtaba Minuwi, Tehran 1354 sh. For further references, see Storey, i, 927 f.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

AL-KHARAKĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. (ABĪ) BIṢḤR, BAHĀ' AL-DĪN and SHĀMS AL-DĪN (and also ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. MUḤAMMAD) AL-ṬHĀBITI AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-MARWAZĪ, Persian mathematician, astronomer and geographer, who also concerned himself with philosophical questions. He seems to have been a native of Kharak (see Yāqūt, s.v.) near Marw, whence his *nisba* (which Ḥādīdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, Tehran 1947, 338, reads as al-Khīrakī). He lived in Marw, whither he had been summoned by the Khwārazm-Shāh Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490-521/1097-1127) or by Atslz (521-51/1127-56), and he also lived in Nishāpūr. He died at either Marw or Kharak in 533/1138-9.

Amongst his works, *al-Risāla al-shāmīla*, on arithmetic, and *al-Risāla al-maghribiyya* are lost, but there are extant manuscripts of his works on cosmography: (1) *Muntahā 'l-idrāk fi taḳṣīm (or taḳāsīm) al-aflāk*, which included, according to Ḥādīdjī Khalīfa, 1852-3, three parts—(a) the structure of the spheres, the movements of the heavenly bodies, etc. (b) the shape of the earth, with its division into an inhabited zone and an uninhabited zone, the differences in the ascendants (*ṭāliq*) and the ascensions (*maḳālīq*), according to geographical position (c) chronology; the conjunctions, especially those of Saturn and Jupiter; and the periods of revolution (*adwār*). In this work there is a description of the five seas borrowed from al-Djāyhānī (301/913-14), in which it is asserted that the Atlantic communicates with the Indian Ocean, just as the Black Sea communicates by means of the Don (Ṭānīs) with the Baltic (ed. and tr. C. A. Nallino, *Albatēnii Opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903-7, i, 169-75). (2) *Kitāb al-Tabṣira fi 'ilm al-hayʿa*, a work basically concerned with astronomy, and shorter than the preceding work. According to Ḥādīdjī Khalīfa 338,

it was dedicated to the minister Abū 'l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Naṣīr al-Dīn, and contained two parts concerning the celestial spheres and the earth respectively. In it, the author shows the positions of the apogees for the beginning of the year 1444 of the Seleucid era (1 October 1132), and he brought the longitudes of al-Battānī down to his own time (Nallino, *op. cit.*, i, 240).

In these two works, al-Kharakī develops the theory that the celestial bodies do not move along imaginary circles, but are drawn along by material spheres. The antecedents of this view can be found in Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses*, and the same idea was set forth by al-Khāzin [q.v.] and by Ibn al-Haytham [q.v.]. Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (633-710/1236-1311) airs this view in his *Nihāyat al-idrāk fi dirāyat al-aflāk*, referring both to al-Kharakī and to Ibn al-Haytham, and in Europe, it was known to Roger Bacon (ca. 1214-92).

*Bibliography*: Brockelmann, I, 624, S I, 863; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 116, 161, 164; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 204-5, 750, 956, 1018; E. Wiedemann, *Zur Geschichte des Kompasses...*, in *Zeitschr. Phys.*, xxiv (1924), 166-288; idem and K. Kohl, *Einleitung zu Werken von al-Charaḳī*, in *SPBMS Erlg.*, lviii-lix (1926-7), 203-18; Zirikli, *A'lām*, vi, 210. (E. WIEDEMANN - [J. SAMSÖ])

**KHĀRĀN**, a former native state of western Balūcīstān, now incorporated in Pakistan. Geographically, it comprises a wide basin, that of the Mashkel river in the west and the Baddo in the east, between high ranges of mountains, the Ra's Kūh rising to 9,900 feet; the valley terrain includes an extensive *rigistān* or sand desert. The population is largely Balūc, with some Brahūis in the eastern part.

The early history of Khārān is very obscure. Local tradition says that the Nawshīrwānī chiefs entered Khārān in the 8th/14th century. Over the ensuing centuries, these chiefs gave a vague allegiance to rulers in Persia, Kalāt and Afghānistān at different times; up till the period of Nādir Shāh Afshār (mid-18th century), Khārān seems generally to have been considered as an extension of the Persian province of Kirmān. The energetic Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt [see KILĀT] brought Khārān under his suzerainty, until conflicts in the latter half of the 19th century between Mir Khudādād Khān of Kalāt and Āzād Khān of Khārān inclined the latter to the Afghān side. In 1884, Sir Robert Sandeman, the pacifier of Balūcīstān, visited Khārān and arranged a settlement between the rival rulers. Khārān continued to acknowledge Kalāt's general suzerainty, but now received an annual subsidy from the Government of India and referred disputes to the British Political Agent in Quetta (see T. N. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 101, 180-2). It was around this time also that the frontier on the west of Khārān and the adjacent parts of Balūcīstān with Persia was demarcated. Few travellers visited Khārān before Sandeman's time; one of the few who did, H. Pottinger (1810), alludes to the fine camels of Khārān and to the fact that the local chief, Sardār ʿAbbās Khān Nawshīrwānī, had recently declared himself independent of Maḥmūd b. Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 129-30).

Disputes and conflicts with Kalāt in 1940 led to an agreement whereby Khārān was recognized as a separate native state under its own Nawāb. The latter immediately acceded to Pakistan in 1947. In 1952



Khārān was merged into the Balūchistān States Union, till in 1955 the whole of Balūchistān was incorporated in the single unit of West Pakistan. Khārān now forms a District of Pakistan (area 18,553 sq. miles) under a Deputy Commissioner; the population in 1961 was 42,483.

*Bibliography*: *Imperial gazetteer of India*<sup>2</sup>, xv 247-50; R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District gazetteer series*, 1907; *Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census reports, Kharan*.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KHARĀNA**, a fortified building, usually referred to as Kaṣr Khārāna. It is strategically located in the Transjordanian desert, 60 km. SE of 'Ammān in lat. 31° 42' N. and long. 36° 79' E., on the edge of a *wādī* at the meeting of several desert tracks. The land is stony, infertile and geologically basaltic (whence conceivably a connection of its name with Arabic *harra* [q.v.]), and there is no obvious water supply; 2 km. to the WSW is an Upper Palaeolithic-Mesolithic site, with an abundance of flint implements. The entrance to Kaṣr Khārāna (see Plate xxix a) incorporates two stone blocks with part of a Greek inscription, suggesting that there was an earlier building nearby, of the late Roman or Byzantine period.

The building is approximately 35 m. square, and is two stories high; it is built of rough masonry with decorative brick inserts and plaster details. The outer wall has a round tower at each corner, and semi-circular towers at the centre of the N, E and W sides. The single entrance is on the S side, flanked with quarter-round projections, with a large window above and a row of decorative niches. The walls are pierced with loopholes of unusual design, the vertical opening topped by a single stone against which two bricks are set diagonally. Between the two rows of loopholes and an upper row of rectangular openings are horizontal bands of decorative brickwork inserted in the masonry, the bricks being placed diagonally to produce a herringbone pattern.

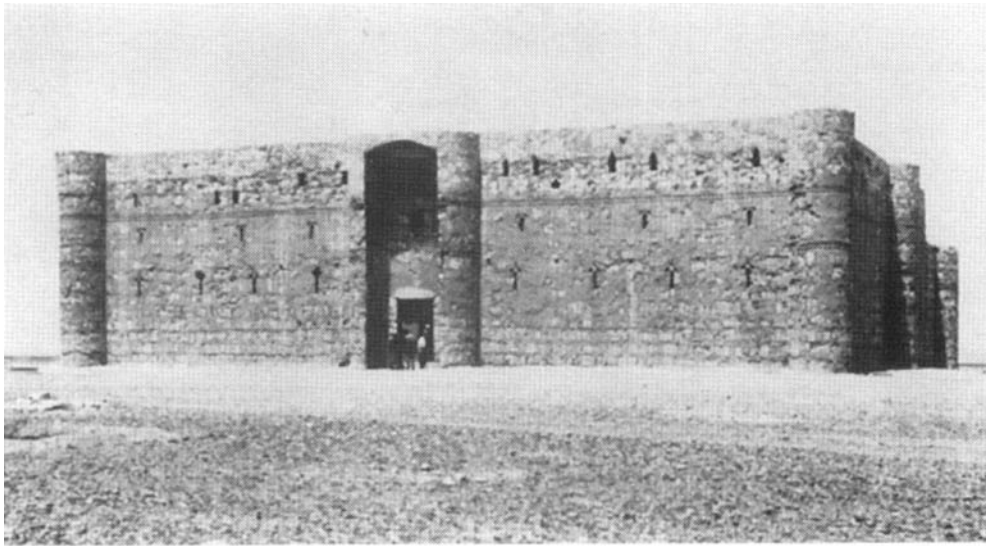
Inside, the covered entrance leads to a central courtyard, surrounded on all sides by *bayts* of varying dimensions, on two floors. Round the courtyard there was once a gallery, which has now disappeared (see Plate xxix b). Access to the gallery, and to the rooms on the upper level opening off it, was by means of two sloping ramps. The larger rooms on the upper floor are roofed by transverse vaults of stones set end to end, supported on triple engaged columns without bases or capitals, all plastered over. Two of these rooms have semi-domes at the far end, supported at the angles by squinch arches (see Plate xxx a). The rooms are plastered, with simple decorative mouldings, and a number of carved roundels with formal, symmetrical plant designs.

Important evidence for the date of Kaṣr Khārāna was the discovery by B. Moritz in 1905-6 of a *graffito* inscription on the wall of one of the upper rooms (see Plate xxx b). This inscription in eleven lines, and another three-line inscription nearby, are amongst the earliest extant painted Arabic texts. The last three lines contain the statement, "Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar wrote [it] on Monday three [nights] remaining from Muḥarrem of the year two and ninety" (tr. N. Abbott). This date corresponds to Monday, November 24th, 710 AD. It has been conjectured that 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umar (whose name is given thus at the beginning of the inscription) was a member of al-Walid's entourage, returning from a visit to Mecca in 91/710. Whilst the inscription cannot be interpreted in any way as evidence for

the Muslim origin of the building, it does provide a useful *terminus ante quem*. Most authorities, and notably K. A. C. Creswell, have identified the building as Sāsānid, and have associated it with the Persian occupation of 614-28 A.D. Creswell, and others, have observed that many of the structural and decorative features, such as the use of elliptical arches, the squinches, the engaged columns supporting transverse arches, and the quarter-round entrance towers, find their parallels in Sāsānid and Mesopotamian architecture; Creswell has also pointed out that the obviously defensive nature of the structure sets it apart from the majority of the later Umayyad desert palaces, which were seldom fortified.

*Bibliography*: A complete bibliography is given by K. A. C. Creswell in his note on Kaṣr Khārāna, *Early Muslim architecture, Umayyads, A.D. 622-750*, Oxford 1969, ii, 44-49. The most important works include the first account of the building by Gray Hill, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1896; J. A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Les châteaux arabes de Qeṣeir 'Amra, Ḥarāneh et Ṭāba*, Paris 1922, contains a detailed description; B. Moritz, *Ausflüge in der Arabia Petraea*, in *MFOB*, iii, (1908); A. Musil, *Kuṣejr 'Amra*, Vienna 1907; idem, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1907-8; G. L. Bell, *Ukhaidir*, Oxford 1914; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939-40); idem, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947; G. Lankester Harding, *The antiquities of Jordan*, London 1969; H. Gaube, *Ein arabischer Palast in Südsyrien, Ḥirbet el-Baiḍa*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1974, 74-5; J. Warren, *A Sasanian attribution of two buildings in Jordan*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, xi, London 1977, discusses the relationship with the *ribāṭ* on the citadel in 'Ammān; for the painted inscription, see *RCEA*, i, 1931, and the discussion of it by N. Abbott, *The Kaṣr Kharāna Inscription of 92H (710 A.D.) a new reading*, in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii (1946). (J. CARSWELL)

**KH<sup>W</sup>ĀRAZM**, in post-Mongol times increasingly known as Khīwa, the province lying along the lower course of the Amū Daryā [q.v.] or Oxus, classical Chorasmia. In the early Islamic period, the southern boundary of Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm was considered to be at Ṭāhiriyya, five days' journey downstream from Āmul-i Shaṭṭ (modern Čārdiūy), the crossing-place of the Khurāsān-Bukhārā caravan route. Ṭāhiriyya lay just to the south of the gorge of the "lion's mouth", Dahān-i Shīr, where the river narrows at modern Dūldūl Atlaghān near Pitnyak. However, the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī (5th/11th century) reckoned Darghān (in post-Mongol times, Darūghān-Atā), to the north of the gorge, as the beginning of Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm. Below the gorge, the Amū Daryā fans out into an extended delta plain, with numerous river channels and irrigation canals (*arḥs*), as far as the shores of the Aral Sea. This plain forms an island of fertility and cultivation within the surrounding steppe and desert, linked only with Transoxania by the strips of agricultural land along the Amū Daryā banks, and one would expect that in such a well-watered region, comparable in many ways to the habitat of the Nile and Mesopotamia, a sedentary, agrarian society would early arise. Soviet archaeology has in fact shown that the Kelte Minar Late Neolithic culture was characteristic of the region in the fourth millennium B.C., whilst in the second millennium B.C. the Taza Bagh Yab culture was typical of the Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmian Bronze Age (see S. P. Tolstov, *Drevniy Khorezm*, Moscow 1948, and A. L. Mongait,



a. General view, showing the main entrance with quarter-round towers (upper section restored)



b. The internal courtyard. Note the springing of arches and the traces of a gallery, now disappeared, on the first floor.



a. Upper floor room, with a semi-dome supported on squinch arches.



b. Squinch arch in upper room, with *graffito* inscription between the springing of the arch and the angle of the walls, dated 91/710.

*Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1959, 263-77).

The etymology of the name Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm has evoked much speculation. In his article *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm in the Mu<sup>w</sup>ḍjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 395-8, Yāqūt offers a folk-etymology relating to two outstanding features of the province, the food gained for the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmians from the Amū Daryā and its channels, sc. the fish, and the trees and bushes which probably covered some part at least of the region in early times and supplied fuel for cooking; the traveller Ibn Faḍlān (309/921-2) remarks on the cheapness and easy availability of firewood there. Hence, Yāqūt says, *kh<sup>w</sup>ar* = "flesh" (*lahm*), and *r.z.m.* = "firewood" (*haḡab*). Outside the realm of fancy, an obvious meaning for the name might well be "lowlands", if the *-zmi*-element of the Achaemenid name for Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, Huwārazmiš, reflects Middle and New Persian *zamin* "land" and the first element in New Persian *kh<sup>w</sup>ār* "low, abject". Another suggestion has connected the first element with *kh<sup>w</sup>urshid* "sun" and has explained it as "the land of the rising sun", reflecting Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm's position on the north-eastern periphery of the Iranian heartlands; and a further explanation has been that of "fruitful land", linking the first element with New Persian *kh<sup>w</sup>urdan* "to eat". Tolstov has even explained it as "the land of the people Khwarri or Kharri", connecting these with the Hurrians who founded the Mitanni kingdom in northeastern Mesopotamia and the Lake Van region in the middle of the second millennium B.C., presumably positing a migration of the proto-Hurrians westwards from Central Asia. Whether Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm is to be identified with the *Airyanem vaeḡo* "Aryan range" of the Avesta, sc. with the homeland of the old Iranian sacred books, as was maintained by, e.g. Marquart, is unproven but not unlikely; W. B. Henning suggested a possibility that the Gāthās, the oldest part of the Avesta, were composed in northern Khurāsān, the region of Marw and Harāt, perhaps then part of the pre-Achaemenid kingdom of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm.

It certainly seems that in Achaemenid times Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm was a flourishing land, and on the evidence of the Behistun and Persepolis inscriptions, was subject to some degree of Achaemenid control. Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm or Huwārazmiš provided a "dark-blue stone" (? turquoise) for decorating the palace of Darius at Susa. Herodotus alludes to what he calls "the plain of the Akēs River", i.e. the Oxus, as part of the Achaemenid dominions, and mentions the presence of Chorasmian and Parthian troops in the army of Xerxes as a special division under Artabazus son of Pharnaces; he further says that these soldiers were equipped in the same fashion as the Bactrians, sc. with Median caps, bows and short spears. By the time of Alexander the Great, however, the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmians had somehow thrown off Persian control, and when Alexander was in Bactria in 328 B.C. he received a visit from the King of Chorasmia, Pharasmanes, and his retinue of 1,500 cavalrymen. Apparently Pharasmanes claimed sovereignty over all the steppes westwards from Chorasmia to Colchis on the Black Sea shores—by no means an impossible boast, given the long-standing political, commercial and cultural connections of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm with the Volga basin and South Russia.

Once the exiguous Greek sources become silent, we are dependent for literary evidence about the next centuries on the equally fragmentary information from the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian Islamic scholar Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050) [q.v.], a Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian patriot who was clearly conscious of the ancient glories of his home-

land. In his *al-Āthār al-bāḡiyya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 35-6, tr. idem, *The chronology of ancient nations*, London 1879, 40-2, he has a section on the ancient history and rulers of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm and on its era. He also wrote a special history of the province, the *Kitāb al-Musāmara fi akhbār Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm*, cited by Yāqūt (who visited Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm personally in 616/1219-20, travelling from Marw in the depths of the harsh steppe winter) and utilised by Bayhaḡī in the closing section of his *Mudjalladāt (Ta'riḡh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Ḡhanī and Fayyād, Tehran 1324/1945, 665-91, tr. Arends, *Istoriya Mas'ūda* (1030-1041)<sup>2</sup>, Moscow 1969, 805-36); it is regrettable that no parts of this work on the pre-Ḡhaznavid history of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm have survived.

Until recent decades, we have had to depend largely on Bīrūnī for the history of the semi-legendary and pre-Islamic past of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm. He says that the land was first colonised 980 years before Alexander the Great, sc. before the Seleucid era, i.e. in 1292 B.C., when the hero of Iranian epic Siyāvush came to Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, and his son Kay Khusrav was established on the throne 92 years later, in 1200 B.C. He starts giving names only with the Afrighid line of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs, having placed the ascension of Afrigh in 616 of the Seleucid era, i.e. in 305 A.D.

The oldest Chinese name for Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, Yue-kien, given in the annals of the Earlier Han (first and second centuries B.C.), suggests as the centre of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian power Gurgāndj [q.v.], earlier form Urgāndj, on the left bank of the Amū Daryā in lower Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm. However, Ptolemy mentions that this centre lay on the right bank of the river, corresponding to the position of the royal palace excavated by Tolstov at Toprak-kala and that of the later capital of the Afrighids, Kāth [q.v.] or al-Fir/al-Fil, and this seems both historically and archaeologically more probable. The remarkable results of Soviet archaeological work have indeed vastly widened our knowledge of the pre-Islamic history of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm. Well over 1000 pre-Islamic and early-Islamic coins have been found, together with many inscriptions in the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian language and script on vessels, documents, etc. (see on these, below). In general, these results show that Bīrūnī's dates and names are not to be relied upon, for he was writing about matters which he could not verify. Thus V. A. Livshits has shown from dated Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian artefacts that Bīrūnī's eras from the Siyāvushid foundation of the kingdom and from the establishment of the Afrighids, were never in actual use; instead, there was an official era beginning in the opening years of the Christian era, and probably to be connected with the rise of the new, pre-Islamic line of Shāhs and the achievement of independence from Parthian control, a control which seems to be attested by the clear Arsacid influence in coin designs, etc. (*The Khwarezmian calendar and the eras of ancient Chorasmia*, in *Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum hungaricae*, xvi (1968), 433-46, and see KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZM-SHĀHS).

We are wholly dependent on archaeology for any information at all on social and economic topics. Soviet research has provided much basic data, though these may be capable of various interpretations. It has shown the presence of extensive agricultural estates, with outlying field systems irrigated by networks of *arīks* or canals, and with central concentration points and fortified citadels, within which the peasants and their herds could take refuge. It is likely that, as at all times in its known pre-modern history, Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm's borders were under pressure from the pastoralist nomads of the surrounding

steppes, probably by peoples like the Massagetes and Sakas in early times, and certainly by Turkish tribes like the Oghuz, Kıpçak, Pečenegs, etc. in Islamic times. Bīrūnī speaks in his *Āthār*, 236, tr. 224, of annual expeditions led by the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs against the Oghuz, so that there was an autumn festival in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm called *faghburīyya* "that of the King's expedition" (*faghbur* = Iranian *baghpur*). It seems certain that in the 4th/10th century a group of Oghuz, perhaps semi-sedentarised and practising some agriculture and fishing but still inclined by nature to plundering and rapine, were established near the mouth of the Syr Daryā or Jaxartes only ten stages from Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, and their *Yabghu* or leader spent his winters at their settlement of Yengi-kent (Dih-i naw, al-Qarya al-djadīda, modern Džānkent-kala). The fortified nature of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian agricultural domains can thus be easily explained by this need for security against external marauders. It is less certain that these fortified enclosures were, as Soviet authorities have suggested, designed also for internal defence purposes, in the shape of peasant revolts against the "feudal" landowners of the province.

Tolstov adduces in support of his argument the events surrounding the Arab conquest of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm in 93/712 by Kutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, the lieutenant in Khurāsān of the great governor al-Ḥadīdjādī b. Yūsuf. There had been attempts by the Arabs in the early Umayyad period to extend their raids through Transoxania to Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, and historians like Balādhuri, Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Aṭhīr mention various raids, such as that led by Salim b. Ziyād in 61/681 against a town on the borders of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm (possibly Hazārasp) where the local Iranian princes of Soghdia had banded together to resist the Arabs. Kutayba was able to intervene in internal Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian politics because he was summoned in from Marw by the Afrighid Shāh, unable by himself to make headway in a civil war with his younger brother Khurrazād ("the sun-born one"), who had seized power. Tolstov interprets Khurrazād's movement as one of social protest, of the Neo-Mazdakite type familiar in the disturbed countryside of Persia at this time, a rising of the urban and rural masses against the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāh and the landed aristocracy (what Ṭabarī, ii, 1237, calls "the *dihkāns* and *marzbāns*"). He bases himself on Ṭabarī's information that Khurrazād confiscated the slavegirls, fine horses, precious articles, etc. of those connected with the royal court; but the social implications of all this, if there were any, are not really explicit in the Arabic sources. See H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 42-3; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 239-45; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 31.

At all events, the two Arab invasions of this year, entailing the killing by the Arabs of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāh himself, brought the province for the first time into the Arab orbit, and the Arabs were able to exact the payment of tribute and the supplying of auxiliary troops. Much damage seems to have been wrought by the incoming Arabs. Bīrūnī says that Kutayba slaughtered all those who knew the old Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian script and who knew the old historical traditions. This is doubtless an exaggeration. The requirement of tribute lapsed, and Islam was certainly not implanted immediately. The Afrighids themselves did not become Muslim till three generations or so later, perhaps in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. The Shāhs continued to join with the Soghdian rulers of Trans-

oxania in common hostility to the Arabs, encouraging intervention by the Turks and Chinese; in 133/751 we hear from Chinese sources of an embassy from the Shāh Shāwushfar(n) (whose name is also known from coins) to the Imperial Court (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 145). The Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian language survived for several centuries to come, and so must some at least of the culture and lore of ancient Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, for it is hard to see the commanding figure of Bīrūnī, a repository of so much knowledge, appearing in a cultural vacuum.

The persistence of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian language was, in fact, an outstanding manifestation of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian ethnic and cultural vitality. Linguistically, this eastern Iranian language occupies a position midway between Soghdian on the east, known to us from a large number of Manichaean, Buddhist and other texts, and the rather less well-known Parthian on the west; an especially interesting feature of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian is its conservative character in preserving many Avestan words (cf. the hypothesis, mentioned above, that the Gāthās were composed in northern Khurāsān, then part of the pre-Achaemenid state of Chorasmia). It was a written language well before the Arab conquest, utilising, like Pahlavi, Parthian and Soghdian, an alphabet ultimately derived from the Aramaic one. This early stage of the language is known to us from the finds of Soviet archaeology, coin inscriptions, legends on pottery and silver vessels, documents on wood and leather, and many funerary inscriptions from ossuaries, but few of these texts have so far been satisfactorily published. It seems likely, however, that the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian script emerged around the first century B.C. and was probably influenced by the practice of the Arsacid Parthian chancery. Kutayba's invasions may have ended the old scribal tradition, but the language itself persisted, now written in the Arabic alphabet but with several characters modified to render the characteristic sounds of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian, e.g. <sup>ˆ</sup> for the labiodental fricative *v* or *β*, and <sup>ˆ</sup> for the affricate *ts* (as in Pashto) and probably for its voiced equivalent *dz*; these modified characters are to be found, for instance, in several manuscripts of Bīrūnī's works where Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian names and terms are cited. It may be that Bīrūnī knew something of the old Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian script, but this is uncertain. Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian speech struck the Muslim geographers and travellers to the province as particularly queer and harsh; Ibn Faḍlān compares it to the chatter of starlings and the croaking of frogs (A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, text 7, tr. 12).

The main sources for our rather exiguous knowledge of later Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian are the glosses in the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian scholar Zamakhsharī's Arabic dictionary the *Muqaddimat al-adāb*, together with Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian sentences in a series of Arabic legal works adapted for use in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, in particular, the *Kunyat al-munya* of Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī (d. 658/1260). Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian culture and speech felt the pressure of Turkish infiltration from northern Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm southwards, leading to the disappearance of the original Iranian character of the province and its complete turkicisation today, but Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian speech probably lasted in upper Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, the region round Hazārasp, till the end of the 8th/14th century. See on the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian language, W. B. Henning, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I. Abt., 4. Band, 1. Abschnitt, *Iranistik*, Leiden-Cologne 1958, 25, 56-8, 81-4, 109-20, and D. N. MacKenzie,

in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iii, *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid periods*, ch. xxv(f); the *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian dictionary* on which Henning was working till his death remains unpublished, but a section of it has now been edited by MacKenzie, *A fragment of the Khwarezmian dictionary* . . . , London 1971.

The religious pattern of early Islamic *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* shows the gradual permeation of Islamic faith and learning, so that *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* became, like *Khurasān* and Transoxania, a bastion of Sunnī orthodoxy and scholarship, attested by the large number of traditionists, lawyers, theologians, etc. with the *nisba* "al-*Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī*". The great mathematician Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-*Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī* (d. after 232/847) [q.v.] flourished at a time when the *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs* were only just becoming Muslims themselves, and in the following century we have such outstanding figures as the poet and prose stylist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-*Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī* (d. 383/993) [q.v.], and the Sāmānid secretary and official Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-*Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī* [q.v.], author of the pioneer encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿulūm*. The Arabic literary and philological sciences flourished there, as is shown by the section on the *fuḍalāʾ Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* in Thaʿālibī's anthology, the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Cairo, iv, 194-255, and by the figure of Bīrūnī himself. Bīrūnī normally used Arabic for his learned and scientific works, but he must have been trilingual in *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian*, Arabic and New Persian. One manifestation of the orthodoxy of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* was, according to Ibn Faḍlān, the customary cursing of ʿAlī at the end of the daily prayers. Muʿtazilism was specially linked in the popular mind with *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* (cf. Yākūt, *Irshād*, vi, 155), and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Muʿtazili ideas were still held by *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian* scholars long after they had disappeared from the Muslim lands further west. We may also suppose that *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* was, like Transoxania, a jumping-off point for dervishes and other enthusiasts to undertake missionary work within the steppes, and *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian ghāzis* manned *ribāṭs* or frontier posts on the steppe fringes against the marauding Turks.

Zoroastrianism seems to have lasted in *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* till the 5th/11th century, though Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 235 ff., tr. 223 ff., says that the Zoroastrians were then only a small remnant, who went through the outward forms of their religion and observed its festivals, without knowing much about its inner spirit. Christianity was more flourishing. Bīrūnī again tells us, *Āthār*, 288, tr. 282-3, that the Christians of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* were Greek Orthodox Melkites, their connections with the Byzantine world being made doubtless via the overland route to the Caspian and South Russia. Although the Christianity of Iran and Central Asia was strongly Nestorian, with its metropolitan centre at Marw, Bīrūnī also mentions a Melkite metropolitan for Iran based on Marw also. There were, moreover, some Jacobites or Monophysites in *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm*. An 8th century Melkite *Notitia episcopatum* shows that the Melkite bishopric of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* fell administratively within the archdiocese of Doros in the Crimea, see the map in Tolstoy, *Auf den Spuren*, 247. In the mid-7th/13th century, Latin travellers mention the Christians of Urgenč (Gurgāndj) as stemming from *Khazar*, Alan and Russian communities, and shortly afterwards, the Armenian king Haiton mentions that the *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* Christians came under the Patriarchate of Antioch (see Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 32-4). In the early Islamic

period, we hear of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian* Christians playing a rôle as officials and secretaries; Ibn Faḍlān found that the faithful intendant of the ʿAbbāsīd vizier Abū ʿl-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt's estate at Artak<sup>h</sup>ushmīthan was a Christian.

The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century give detailed accounts of the topography and climate of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* (with much emphasis on the intense cold of the winters) and of the flourishing economic and commercial condition of the province. The political division between the local governors controlling Gurgāndj in the northwest and the Afrighid *Shāhs* ruling the ancient capital Kāth in the east, a division which may conceivably go back to *Ḳutayba's* conquest, though this is uncertain [see *KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZM-SHĀHS*], was a reality in the early 4th/10th century; the rise to power at the end of the century of the Maʾmūnid family in Gurgāndj is probably to be connected with the commercial florescence of the town, situated as it was at the end of the trade route to South Russia and the northern forest zone. The extent of this trade may be gauged by the implanting of colonies of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian* traders (on the evidence of toponomy) in South Russia and eastern Europe, and by the fact that Ibn Faḍlān, on his mission to the King of Bulghār, left Gurgāndj in a caravan of 3,000 camels and 5,000 people. Kāth itself nonetheless still prospered, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 121, describes it as "the emporium of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxania and the *Khazars*". A detailed account of the topography and geography of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* at this time can be found in Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 142-55, see also Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 443-59. The geographers' accounts show that cultivation and the pattern of settlement there were still to some extent dependent on the position of the Amū Daryā and its frequently-changing channels; the citadel and palace of the Afrighid *Shāhs* in Kāth was gradually undermined by the river waters, and by the mid-4th/10th century the citadel and old city had been abandoned and a new city built to the east. As for the products of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm*, the sources mention fruit (especially melons, which in the Caliphates of al-Maʾmūn and al-Wāthiq were exported in leaden, snowpacked containers as far as Baghdād, and which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also praises as ones of incomparable quality), dried fish, textiles, cheese, snow, bows, etc.; whilst imports from the steppes and forests included sheep, camels, furs, hides, honey, hardwoods, and above all, Turkish and *Şaklabī* slaves.

In the 4th/10th century *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* was nominally under the suzerainty of the Sāmānid Amīrs of Bukhārā, but little is known of the internal history of the province during these last few decades of Afrighid rule. In 385/995 the Maʾmūnids of Gurgāndj overthrew the ancient dynasty and themselves assumed the title of *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs*, but in 408/1017 the province passed to the *Ḡhaznawids*; this control by Sulṭān Maḥmūd meant the end of political power in *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* exercised by local dynasties, just as the extinction of the Sāmānids in Transoxania meant the end of direct Iranian rule there. In the cases of both regions, the assumption of power by Turkish rulers and the breaking-down of the northeastern bulwark of the Iranian world against pressure from the steppes inaugurated an accelerating process of ethnic and linguistic turkicisation; *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* became wholly Turkish, and in Transoxania, only the restricted district of Tajikistan survives of the formerly vast *Iran extérieur*. *Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm* came into the Saldjūq orbit after the downfall of *Ḡhaznavid* power in *Khurasān*,



and was ruled by Turkish slave governors on behalf of the Saljūq Sultāns. In the last years of the 5th/10th century, the governor Anūshṭigin Gharcāʾī succeeded in founding an hereditary line in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, whose members also took the title of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs and who were, after the middle years of the 6th/12th century, virtually independent (for details of the history of these three centuries before the Mongol invasions, see KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZM-SHĀHS).

The extensive empire built up by this last line of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs nevertheless crumbled before the Mongol onslaught, and the Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad's capital of Urgenč (the former Gurgāndj) fell to Čaghatay and Ögedey in 618/1221 after a valiant defence. After this, the northern part of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm and the lower Syr Daryā region came within the lands of the Golden Horde for 140 years, with only the southern part, including Kāth and Khīwa, coming within the Čaghatayid ulus; till ca. 751/1350 Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm was directly ruled by the Golden Horde Khāns, and after the collapse of the Il-Khānids in Persia, Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm formed the base for military operations against Khurāsān. Thus the greater part of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm was politically linked under the Golden Horde with the region with which it had so many ancient links, that of the Volga basin and South Russia, and this unity favoured the growth of commerce across the steppes connecting the two regions; ca. 740/1340 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī found prices almost identical in the Golden Horde centre of Sarāy on the Volga and in Urgenč, and the same weights and measures were in use in both cities (see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, die Mongolen in Russland 1223-1502*<sup>1</sup>, Leipzig 1943, 275, 390). The capital Urgenč was rebuilt in 628/1231 on a new site some distance from the old Gurgāndj (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 323, who calls the capital *madīnat Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm*, in accordance with the tendency to name a capital after the province or region in which it is situated), and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled from Sarāy to Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm and Transoxania a century later, expatiates on its flourishing state, its fine markets and its populousness; Kāth, on the other hand, had sunk to the status of a village. Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm also became once more a home of learning and the arts, so that 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī describes it in his *Maṣā' al-sa'dayn* as "the rendez-vous of the most distinguished figures of the world", *madīma'-i a'yān-i qīhān*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa again praises the charitable foundations of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, the *madrasas*, hospitals, etc., some of which had been built by Özbek Khān's governor there, Kutlugh Timūr, and he visited the hospice at the tomb of the great Šūfi šhaykh Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, killed by the Mongols when they captured Urgenč, and the tomb of Zamaḥsharī (*Riḥla*, iii, 3 ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 541 ff.). The tomb of Kutlugh-Timūr's wife Turā Beg Khānum, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions, still survives in the ruins of Old Urgenč, Kunya Urgenč, as does that of Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (see *Āthār al-Islām al-tārīkhīyya fi 'l-Ittihād al-Sūfiyyī*, Tashkent ca. 1962, Pls. 18, 19).

Two or three decades after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit, there arose in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm an independent minor dynasty, the Šūfids, of a Kongrat Turkish tribe; the coins in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm for the Khāns of the Golden Horde cease in 762/1361, and those of Ḥusayn Šūfi, founder of the line, commence in 765/1364. Ḥusayn Šūfi displaced the Čaghatayids from Kāth and Khīwa, and held off Timūr from Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm till 781/1379. The line revived after a temporary submergence under the Timūrids, with help from the Golden Horde Khān Toqtamīsh, but in 790/1388 Sulaymān Šūfi was defeated and this time Timūr razed Urgenč to the

ground. Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm never really recovered from this blow, and it seems henceforth to have lost its former importance in both the cultural and commercial life of Central Asia.

In the 9th/15th century, possession of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm alternated between the Golden Horde Khāns and the Timūrids, but members of the Šūfi family seem to have retained local power as governors; 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad Šūfi is mentioned in 868/1464 as vassal of the Khān Muṣṭafā. In 911/1505 Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm passed to Muḥammad Shaybānī, founder of the Özbek amirate in Transoxania, and in 916/1510 briefly to the Šafawid Shāh Ismā'īl, the opponent of Shaybānī.

A new local Özbek dynasty now appears in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, like the Shaybānids of Transoxania descended ultimately from Djoči, son of Čingiz Khān, but only remotely connected with the main line of the Shaybānids. This was the dynasty of 'Arabshāhids (917-end of the 11th century/1511-end of the 17th century), whose genealogy (conjectural in parts) is given by Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, 274-5. The centre of the new principality lay at Khīwa, which from Timūrid times onwards becomes the principal city of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, and the 'Arabshāhid capital from the amirate of 'Arab Muḥammad I (1011-32/1602-23) onwards. Khīwa must be an ancient, pre-Islamic Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian settlement. Khīwa, older form Khīwaq, is already described as a place of fair importance by the 4th/10th century geographers, and became further celebrated as the birthplace of Shaykh Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Kubrā [q.v.]. Yāqūt says that its people were in this time still Šāfi'is, whereas the rest of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm had become Ḥanafī. Now, reversing the older process, the city of Khīwa began to give its name to the whole province, henceforth usually known as the Khānate of Khīwa. The old city of Urgenč, only partly rebuilt by Timūr, must have become deserted, for a new Urgenč arose 20 miles northeast of Khīwa, and soon became the most important commercial centre of Khīwa; the ancient capital Kāth, by then very shrunken, had to be completely abandoned when the channel on which it was situated dried up. However, the 'Arabshāhid Khān Muḥammad Anūsha (1074-85/1663-74) built a new Kāth on the left bank of the Amū Daryā below New Urgenč.

The 'Arabshāhids exercised direct rule in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, and held suzerainty over a considerable area beyond it, extending to the northern rim of Khurāsān and to the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, the regions known as "the side of the mountains", as opposed to "the side of the water", those regions lying along the Amū Daryā. Two of the Bukhārā Özbek Amīrs, 'Uhayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd in 945/1538 and 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar in 1001/1593 and 1003-05/1595-7, managed briefly to occupy Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, but on the whole the 'Arabshāhids maintained themselves against their Transoxanian neighbours, and at times carried warfare as far as Bukhārā itself, as did Muḥammad Anūsha in 1076/1665. Nevertheless, the cultural level of the 'Arabshāhid kingdom was perceptibly lower than that of Transoxania. The best-known ruler of the dynasty was Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān [q.v.] (1054-74/1644-63), the author in Čaghatay or Eastern Turkish of the *Sheḥere-yi Terākime* on the history of the Mongols and the *Shadjarat al-Atrāk* on the history of the Shaybānids, completed by his son Muḥammad Anūsha; but Abu 'l-Ghāzī states at the outset in the latter work that he was forced to write the history of his land because none of his subjects was educated enough to undertake this task.

After the end of the 'Arabshāhid line, there fol-

lowed various *fainant* khāns of Čingizid lineage but little competence or power, who were summoned from the steppes; the real holder of power in Khīwa was generally the Inaḵ (i.e. senior member and military chief) of the Kōngrat tribe, who simply sent these khāns back to the steppes when they proved inadequate for his purposes. It was in the 12th/18th century that relations between the Khānate of Khīwa and the expanding power of Russia began to assume some importance. Already, the Ural Cossacks had been attracted by the famed richness of Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm and had raided New Urgenč. In 1717 Peter the Great, drawn by the possibility of opening up an overland trade to Bukhārā and India, and acting on a pretext that was to be much used in the process of the Russian reduction of Central Asia, viz. the release of Russian prisoners, sent a military expedition against Khīwa under the Circassian adventurer Bekovič. The attempt failed, but in 153/1740 the Persian conqueror Nādir Shāh Afshār conquered Bukhārā and Khīwa temporarily; however, Nādir's nominee to the throne in Khīwa, Tagir, did not long survive the Shāh's withdrawal.

From now onwards, the Khīwa Khānate in general and the topography of the capital begin to be well-known from the accounts of Russian and western European travellers and visitors. Khīwa suffered badly from the raids from the south of the Yomut Türkmens of the Kara Kum desert, who almost completely destroyed the city shortly before 1184/1770; these Türkmens were however driven off and the city restored in that year by the Inaḵ Muḥammad Amin. In 1219/1804 the Inaḵ Iltüz, grandson of Muḥammad Amin, assumed the title of Khān, and the remaining Khāns of Khīwa were all from his line. Warfare with the Khāns of Bukhārā continued in the early 19th century, and in an expansionist phase under the Khān Muḥammad Raḥim (1221-41/1806-26) and his son Allāh Kulī (1241-58/1826-42), the Khīwa Khānate assumed its greatest extent, from the shores of the Aral Sea and the Syr Daryā mouth, to the south of Marw.

But Russian expansionism now assumed serious proportions. The winter expedition of 1839-40 from Orenburg under General Perovski failed miserably, but soon afterwards, the Khān had to accede to a set of Russian demands, after vainly trying to open up relations with Great Britain. The Russians founded a fort named Kazalinsk at the mouth of the Syr Daryā in 1847, used subsequently as a base against the Khānate of Khokand and Tashkent, but also constituting a threat to the flank of Khīwa. The Khānate was prosperous enough internally at this time, as is shown by the *Sifarat-nāma-yi Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm*, the account of the Persian envoy Ridā Kulī Khān, who visited Khīwa in 1267/1851 to negotiate the freeing of Persians captured by the Türkmens in Māzandarān and Khurāsān and then sold in the slave markets of Khīwa (French tr. by Ch. Schefer, *Relation de l'ambassade au Kharezm de Riza Qouly Khan*, Paris 1879). It continued, however, to be harassed by Türkmens depredations, and was at odds with the Khānate of Bukhārā. When in 1873 Russian forces from Orenburg, Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian, Perovski on the lower Syr Daryā and Tashkent, advanced simultaneously on Khīwa, the Khān had to capitulate after some fighting. Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥim lost all his territories on the right bank of the Amū Daryā to Russia, and in his truncated Khānate on the left bank, was to be under the protectorate of Russia, to consider himself as "the obedient servant of the Emperor of all the Russias",

and was to pay a heavy war indemnity. The Khāns of Khīwa were never considered by the Tsarist government to be on the same level as those of Bukhārā. Internal dissensions within Khīwa and attacks by the Türkmens still continued, but the last Khān, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh (1918-20) faced an invasion by Bolshevik troops and had to abdicate in February 1920 in favour of a nominally independent Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmian People's Soviet Republic. This lasted only till 1924, when the internal frontiers of Central Asia were redrawn by the USSR government on ethnic lines, so that the right-bank areas of the old Khīwa Khānate were incorporated in the Uzbek SSR and the left-bank ones in the Turkmen SSR.

*Bibliography*: In addition to those works mentioned in the article, see Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārazm*, in *SBWAW*, lxxiii (1873), 471-506, lxxiv (1873), 285-330; Barthold, *A short history of Turkestan*, and *A history of the Turkman people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i and iii; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 91-4; F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates*, London 1899; G. E. Wheeler, *The modern history of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1964; Z. V. Togan, *IA*, art. *Hārizm*; *BSE*<sup>2</sup>, xlv, 324-7; Mayer, *Bibliography of Moslem numismatics*, s.v. Khans of Khiva, Khwarizmshahs and Kungratids.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KH<sup>W</sup>ĀRAZM-SHĀHS**, the ancient title of the rulers of Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm [q.v.], used regularly in the early Islamic period (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1238, events of 93/712) until the Mongol invasions, and sporadically thereafter; hence as with the designations Afshin and Ikhshid [q.vv.], this is an example of the survival of what was probably an ancient Central Asian Iranian title well into Islamic times.

The Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmian scholar Bīrūnī gives the names and genealogical sequence of the first line of Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm-Shāhs, the house of Afrigh, which began, so he says, in 305 A.D. and continued until its overthrow by the Ma'mūnids in 385/995; these Afrighids followed a semi-legendary line of the Siyāvushids, progeny of the Iranian hero Kay Khusraw. Bīrūnī mentions 22 of these Afrighids, whose average reign spans neatly 31 years, a generation. This fact alone is suspicious, especially as all the 22 may not have ruled successively anyway, and Bīrūnī's reliability for topics relating to the pre-Islamic past of Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm, topics which he could not personally verify, has recently been called in question [see KH<sup>W</sup>ĀRAZM]. A large number of pre-Islamic Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmian coins (i.e. coins dated up till the 8th century A.D.) have been found by Soviet archaeologists, and the archive of the royal palace at Toprak Kala on the right bank of the Amū Daryā or Oxus has yielded some documents. The typical pattern of these coins, adhered to for nearly a millenium, is of the ruler's head on the reverse and of a cavalryman on the obverse, with the ruler's name in the Aramaic-derived Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmian script and the titles *MLK*<sup>2</sup> "king" and later, *MR'Y MLK*<sup>2</sup> "sovereign king". Unfortunately, few of the coin names correspond with those in Bīrūnī's list as we have it (there is, of course, always the possibility of scribal errors in copying these unfamiliar Iranian names), and nothing like the eponym *ʿAfrigh* of Bīrūnī; perhaps therefore our designation of the first line of Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm-Shāhs as the Afrighids is more one of convenience than accuracy.

One Shāh who appears on coins as Khusraw is not



mentioned at all by Bīrūnī. However, there are one or two tentative confirmations of Bīrūnī's names, e.g. of the Arthamūkh, Shāh in the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, according to Bīrūnī. At the time of Kutayba's two invasions of 93/712 (when the Arabs were invited in by the Shāh to aid him in a succession dispute, but eventually turned on him and killed him), the then Shāh is named by Bīrūnī as Askadjamūk son of Azkādjawār, the form of the latter's name being confirmed on a coin as Askatsvar (in this particular case, the coin of an earlier Shāh of the same name). Askadjamūk's own son Shāwushfar(n) seems to appear on coins, and must in any case be identical with the ruler Shao-she-fien mentioned by the T'ang annals as sending an embassy to China in 133/751 asking for assistance against the Arabs (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 145). See for an analysis of these coins legends V. A. Livshits, *The Khwarezmian calendar and the eras of ancient Chorasmia*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, xvi (1968), 439-44.

The first Islamic name of Bīrūnī is that one typical of the convert, 'Abd Allāh b. Turkasbāthā, whose reign should probably be placed in the early 3rd/9th century. However, even amongst the last Shāhs with Islamic names, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 310, mentions a Shāh not included by Bīrūnī, 'Abd Allāh b. Ashkām, who rebelled against his nominal suzerain, the Sāmānid Amīr of Bukhārā, Nūh b. Naṣr, in 332/943-4. It seems that the Sāmānids had extended their authority over Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm by the early 4th/10th century. When Ibn Faḍlān came from Baghdad in 309/921 accompanying the mission from the Caliph al-Muktadir to the King of the Volga Bulghārs, his party went firstly to Naṣr b. Aḥmad's court before proceeding to Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm; and in the operations of 309/921-2 against the Sāmānid rebel Layli b. Nu'mān in northern Persia, the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāh joined the Amīr's forces. In practice, the Shāhs were little disturbed except when they sheltered Sāmānid rebels, and in the last years of Sāmānid rule, Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian authority extended southwards as far as the northern fringes of Khurāsān and such frontier posts as Farāwa and Nasā. There are extant some coins of the penultimate Afrighid Shāh, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, from the years 348/959-60 and 366/976-7, see Markov, *Inventarniy katalog*, 295, 975.

One obscure aspect of the post-Islamic conquest history of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm is the growth of a rival power to the Afrighid Shāhs in the west of the province at Gurgāndj (the later Kunya Urgenč, Arabic al-Djurdjāniyya) [q.v.]. Gurgāndj is mentioned in the accounts of Kutayba's conquest as one of the three main cities of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, together with Kāth and Hazārasp [q.v.], and its rise as a rival to Kāth is probably explicable by its growing commercial prosperity as an entrepôt for steppe and South Russian trade; Gardīzi, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāzīm, 57, speaks of "ancient hostility", *ta'aṣṣubī kadīm*, between the people of the two cities. Bīrūnī describes how, whilst the Afrighids retained the royal authority (*shāhiyya*), another line exercised governorship (*wilāya*) in Gurgāndj at times. The actual relationship between these two lines of power holders is obscure, and there is not enough evidence to assert, as Sachau did, that the Gurgāndj amīrs exercised power continuously from the Arab invasion onwards, with a dual system of authority in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm. Nor it is clear who was the "Amīr of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm" at the time of the 'Abbāsīd Revolution, 'Abd al-Malik b. Harthama, mentioned in Narshakhī, *Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā*, tr.

Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 62. It is further strange that so percipient an observer as Ibn Faḍlān, who first visited the Shāh Muḥammad b. 'Irāk in his capital Kāth and then stayed over three months in Gurgāndj waiting for the winter ice and snow to end, does not mention anything of the political situation in Gurgāndj or the existence there of a rival governor. Yet towards the end of the 4th/10th century, Gurgāndj was certainly in the hands of the Ma'mūnid family of amīrs, for the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* (372/982), tr. 122, describes the town as "formerly belonging to the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs", but now under the control of a separate *pādishāh* or ruler, the Amīr of Gurgāndj.

This amīr, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, in 385/995 overthrew the Afrighids of Kāth and killed the last Shāh, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, whom Bīrūnī accordingly calls *al-Shahīd* "the martyr". Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn assumed the historic title and founded a brief-lived second line of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs (385-408/995-1017), and the Ma'mūnid court of Gurgāndj became a centre of learning and point of attraction for scholars and literary men from all over the eastern Islamic world. The Shāh Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn II b. Ma'mūn (? 399-407/? 1009-17) and his Vizier Aḥmad al-Suhaylī were surrounded by a brilliant concourse of figures like the philosophers Ibn Sīnā and Abū Sahl al-Masīhī, the mathematician Abū Naṣr al-'Arrāk, and the medical man Abu 'l-Khayr al-Hasan b. al-Khammār. The philologist Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'ālībī moved to Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm from his home town of Nišāpūr, impelled by the unsettled conditions there consequent upon the fall of the Sāmānids, and became an intimate of the Shāh, to whom he dedicated various works, including a "Mirror for Princes", the *Kūtab Adab al-mulūk al-kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmshāhi*, ed. and tr. by T. R. Topuzoğlu, unpublished Manchester Ph.D. thesis, 1975. The Ma'mūnids also adorned their capital with fine buildings, and a minaret now preserved in the ruins of Kunya Urgenč has an inscription describing how Ma'mūn II ordered its building in 401/1011 and supervised the laying of its foundations (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*<sup>2</sup>, 147 n. 4).

The Ma'mūnids unfortunately came up against the expansionist policies of the Ghaznawid Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin, who aimed at turning the flank of his enemies the Karakhānids by securing possession of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm. In 405/1014 Maḥmūd demanded that Ma'mūn II place the Sulṭān's name in the *khutba* of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian territories, i.e. in effect recognise him as overlord of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm. Maḥmūd's sister Kah-Kaldjī was successively wife of two of the Shāhs, and when Ma'mūn was assassinated in 407/1017 by a patriotic reaction against his submissiveness to the Ghaznawid, Maḥmūd had a pretext for intervention, the avenging of his brother-in-law. Maḥmūd's army invaded Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, defeated the local forces at Hazārasp, unleashed a reign of terror in Gurgāndj against the regicides, and carried off large numbers of slaves to Ghazna. See for these events, Barthold, *Turkestan*<sup>2</sup>, 275-9; Nāzīm, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 56-60, 184-5; Sachau, in *SBWAW*, lxxiv (1873), 290-301.

Thus from 408/1017 onwards, Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm was incorporated in the immense Ghaznawid empire, and possession of it gave Maḥmūd the preponderance in Central Asia against the Karakhānids. It was difficult to control so distant a province as Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm directly from Ghazna, hence the Sulṭān appointed as governor there his slave commander Abū Sa'īd Altuntāsh [q.v.], with the traditional title of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāh, and

Altuntāsh and his two sons form the short third dynasty of Shāhs (408-32/1017-41). Altuntāsh was the loyal servant of Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd, defending the frontiers of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm by the recruitment of auxiliary troops from the Kīpčak, Kūdjēt and Čaghraṭ Turks, and he died in battle fighting for Maḥmūd against the Karakhānid 'Alitigin in 423/1032. His son Hārūn succeeded as *de facto* ruler in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, though Mas'ūd conceded to him only the title of his representative, *khālifāt al-dār*. The interests of Altuntāsh's line were now clearly divergent from those of the Ghaznavids. Hārūn sought the alliance of the Salḡūḡ Türkmens and the Karakhānids, but Mas'ūd procured his murder in 425/1034. His brother and successor Ismā'īl Khāndān became the Sulṭān's bitter foe, and at this time when Mas'ūd had his hands full coping with the Salḡūḡ incursions, was able to rule as an independent ruler. Ismā'īl was expelled from Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm in 432/1041 by Mas'ūd's ally, the Oghuz Yabghu of Dījand at the Syr Daryā mouth, Shāh Malik, but by then, Mas'ūd himself was dead, and the whole Ghaznavid position in the west had collapsed. See Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 238-9; Sachau, *op. cit.*, 301-12; and GHAZNAVIDS.

Shāh Malik's occupation of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm was ended when the Salḡūḡ leaders Toḡhrīl and Chaghri came to Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm and Dījand in 433/1042 and drove him out (see O. Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabghu*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 405-10). Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm was incorporated into the Salḡūḡ dominions, coming within the eastern half ruled by Čaghri Beg. Over the next decades, the Sulṭān Alp Arslan had to come twice to the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Dījand region to restore order, and his son Arslan Arghun and a son of the vizier Nizām al-Mulk were at times governors of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm for Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh respectively; Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm and the surrounding steppes were of particular importance to Salḡūḡs as recruiting grounds for their professional Turkish slave troops or *ghulāms* and as a source for frontier auxiliaries.

Malik Shāh appointed his slave Anūshṭigin, keeper of the royal wash bowls (*fast-dār*), as titular governor at least of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, but it is not till Berk-Yaruḡ's sultanate that we find another Turkish *ghulām*, Ekinči b. Koçkar, appointed with the actual title of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāh (490/1097). This last was killed in this same year, and the governorship and title were given by the governor of Khurāsān to Anūshṭigin's son Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. Kuṭb al-Dīn's appointment inaugurates the fourth and most brilliant dynasty of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs (490-628/1097-1231), under whom Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm became for a while the centre of the most powerful military empire in the eastern Islamic world during the decades between the decline of the Great Salḡūḡs and the appearance of the Mongols. Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490-521/1097-1127) governed Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm as the faithful vassal of Sulṭān Sandjar, being assiduous in his attendance at the Salḡūḡ court. It was his son 'Alā' al-Dīn Atslz (521-51/1127-56) who was the real founder of the dynasty's splendour. Though he remained nominally subject to Sandjar right down to the end, he in fact pursued relentlessly his aim of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian autonomy and virtual independence and of enlarging his territories; notable here was the extension of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian rule over the Türkmens of the eastern Caspian shores and the Manghīshlāk peninsula. He skilfully balanced his own interests against those of the Salḡūḡs in Khurāsān and the Kara Khitay [*q.v.*] in Transoxania, and took maximum advantage of

Sandjar's difficulties with the Karakhānids and the Oghuz tribesmen of Khurāsān; for details, see ATSLZ B. MUHAMMAD B. ANÜSHṬIGIN.

Atslz's successors, beginning with Tādī al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Il-Arslan (551-67/1156-72) had greater freedom of action after the death of Sandjar and the collapse of Salḡūḡ power in the east, in so far as relations with the Kara Khitay allowed, for the latter claimed suzerainty over the Karakhānids in Transoxania and over Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm. However, provided that tribute was forwarded regularly to the Gür-Khān's *ordu* or military camp in Semireçye, the Kara Khitay were little disposed to interfere in internal matters. The Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs especially coveted the Transoxanian possessions of the Karakhānids, and intervened with profit in the quarrels of the Khāns of Samarkand and their turbulent Karluḡ tribal troops; hence in 553/1158 Il-Arslan invaded Transoxania on the latter's behalf.

The reign of Il-Arslan's son and successor 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish (567-96/1172-1200) brought the Shāhs to new heights of their power, and Tekish was able to check the ambitions of the Ghūrīds [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān and to bring about the final demise of the Great Salḡūḡ sultanate in western Persia. Tekish was placed on the throne with Kara Khitay help, but he soon rebelled against these last, and managed to ward off the Kara Khitay army which invaded Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm by the traditional expedient of opening the dykes of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm and flooding the land lying in the invaders' path. Over the ensuing years, he was involved not only against the Kara Khitay again but also against his brother and rival for power Sulṭān Shāh, who had established himself in northern Khurāsān, and against the Ghūrīds. He secured his northern frontiers by conciliation of the Kīpčak and other Türkmen tribes along the lower Syr Daryā, and the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian armies which came to terrorise Persia and to earn an unenviable reputation for cruelty and barbarity there, included large numbers of steppe Türkmens, many of them still pagan. Tekish first came westwards to Ray in 588/1192 and demanded that the Salḡūḡs and Ildegizid Atabegs of western Persia should place his name in the *khutba* immediately after the 'Abbāsīd caliph's one. A year later he mounted a further invasion, and in 590/1194 defeated Toḡhrīl b. Arslan, the last of the Great Salḡūḡ line, thus extinguishing this dynasty in Persia. Tekish was now able to occupy all Dījibāl as far west as Hamadān, so that his territories became coterminous with those of the resurgent 'Abbāsīd caliphs, and in 595/1199 the caliph al-Nāṣir deemed it prudent formally to invest Tekish with the sultanate of 'Irāk (sc. 'Irāk-i 'Adjami, western Persia), Khurāsān and Turkistān; however, when Tekish died in the next year, the population of Dījibāl rose and massacred all whom they could find of the hated Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian occupying troops.

Tekish's son 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (596-617/1200-20) continued his father's anti-caliphal policy, but for many years he was preoccupied in the east with his opponents, the Ghūrīds, the Kara Khitay, the Kīpčak of the northern steppes, and 'Uṭhmān Khān, the last Karakhānid ruler in Samarkand. For long, he was careful not to break with the Kara Khitay, and welcomed their support in ejecting Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī from Khurāsān in 601/1204. After the Ghūrīd Sulṭān's death two years later, the Ghūrīd empire fell apart, and much of its territories fell briefly into the hands of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs. 'Alā' al-Dīn could now dispense with Kara Khitay support, and when the latter became increasingly

distracted from Transoxanian affairs by the revolt in Semireçye of the Mongol chief Küčlüg, he was by 608/1212 able to kill ‘Uthmān Khān and succeed to the remainder of the Karakhānid heritage in Transoxania. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn was now assured of commanding prestige throughout the eastern Islamic world, though like his father, he continued to be satisfied with the circumscribed territorial designation of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāh and with that of Sulṭān. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn knew from captured correspondence that the ‘Abbāsīd caliph had in the past incited the Ghūrīds against him; and he denounced al-Nāṣir as unfit to rule and proclaimed an ‘Alid as anti-caliph. He began to march on Baghdād, but in the winter of 614/1217-18, snowstorms of unusual severity halted his forces in Kurdistān and Luristān, and news of unrest among the Kīpçaks compelled him to return to the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian frontiers. The menace of the advancing Mongols, successors to Küčlüg in Semireçye and Kashgharia, coincided with ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s closing years, and this new factor in Middle Eastern affairs was to occupy the attention of his son Djālāl al-Dīn (?) Mingburnu (617-28/1220-31) and to lead to the downfall and complete disintegration of the extensive but transient empire of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs. For these last events, see ČINGIZ-KHĀN and DJĀLĀL AL-DĪN KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZM-SHĀH, and for the general history of this fourth dynasty of Shāhs, see Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran. v. The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, ch. i.

The Mongol governors of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm do not seem to have employed the title of Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāh, nor did the line of Süfid local rulers in the post-II-Khānid period adopt it (see for these rulers, KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZM). However, the title was revived sporadically, or at least used in semi-official parlance, for the Timūrīd Shāh Rukh’s governor in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, Shāh Malik (815-29/1413-26) is given it in Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Kh<sup>w</sup>āfi’s anthology, the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, and his son and successor Nāṣir al-Dīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm also bore it until he was driven from Gurgāndj in 834/1430-1 by the Özbek Khān Abu ‘l-Khayr [q.v.]. The title is sometimes applied to the Özbek Khāns of Khīwa, the ‘Arabshāhidīs and their successors, in documents and literary works, but does not seem ever to have been formally adopted by them. Abu ‘l-Ghāzī applies it to no rulers later than the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs displaced by the Mongols, and even when his son and successor Muḥammad Anūṣha (1074-85/1663-74) assumed the title of Shāh after his conquest of Mashhad from the Ṣafawīds, he did not add to this the element “Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm”. The Ināk İltüz, who formally assumed the title of Khān of Khīwa in 1219/1804 and founded the line of Khāns which endured down to the Russian occupation and the Bolshevik Revolution, called himself on his coins (which were never issued, because of his premature death in battle in 1221/1806) “heir of the Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhs” (*wārīth-i Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm-Shāhān*), but this appears to be the last official usage of the title.

*Bibliography*: Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārizm*, in SBWAW, lxxiii (1873), 471-506, lxxiv (1873), 285-330; Birūnī, *al-Āthār al-bākiyya*, ed. and tr. Sachau; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*; idem, *A history of the Turkmen people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii; Mīrkhānd, *Histoire des sultans du Kharezm*, ed. C. Defrémery, Paris 1842; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*; idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran. v. The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, ch. i, and J. A. Boyle in *ibid.*, ch. iv; M. Nāzim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*,

Cambridge 1931, 56-60, 184-5; M. Fuad Köprülü, *IA art. Hārizmshāhlar*; I. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmshāhlar devleti tarihi (485-617/1092-1229)*, Ankara 1956; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, 208-9; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 107-10, Russian version, *Musulmanshaya dynastii*, Moscow 1971, 152-5; Mayer, *Bibliography of Moslem numismatics*, index; Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, i, 97, 113, 114; L. Richter-Bernburg, *Zur Titulatur der Ḥwārezm-Sāhe aus der Dynastie Anūstegins*, in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N. F., x (1976), 179-205.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZMĪ, ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. YŪSUF AL-KĀTĪB, author of the *Mafātiḥ al-‘ulūm* (“Keys of the sciences”), on which his fame rests. His origins were in the north-eastern part of the Iranian world, either in Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm, south of the Aral sea [q.v.], or, as al-Makrīzī would suggest, in Balkh in what is now northern Afghanistan (*Khiṭāṭ*, Būlāk 1854, i, 258); of course, he may have been born in Balkh while his family came from Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazm.

The *Mafātiḥ* is dedicated to Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-‘Uṭbī, vizier to the Sāmānid Nūḥ II b. Maṣṣūr (366/976-387/997), at whose court in Bukhārā al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī appears to have served.

Addressed to the class of secretaries (*kuttāb*) to which al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī himself belonged, the *Mafātiḥ* is an introduction (*maddkhal*) to the elements of the sciences (*awā’il al-ṣinā’āt*) which explains the key terms used by the various groups of scholars, artisans and government officials, in particular those terms which were left out of current lexica. Al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī did not set out to write an essay on the aim and structure of the sciences, as al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) had done in the *Iḥṣā’ al-‘ulūm*, or present a *Weltanschauung*, as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ were doing in their *Epistles* at about the same time. As a dictionary of basic technical terms drawn from many disciplines, and as a description of contemporary practices in the sciences and in the chanceries, the *Mafātiḥ* is of considerable value for the study of Islamic culture.

The book is divided into two roughly equal *makālas* or discourses dealing respectively with (i) the religious sciences (*‘ulūm al-sharī‘a*) and the Arabic sciences associated with them, and (ii) the “foreign” sciences (*‘ulūm al-‘adjiām*). Each discourse is divided into sections (*bābs*) and further into chapters (*faṣls*). The subjects of the sections in the two discourses are the following: (i) 1. jurisprudence, 2. dialectical theology (*kalām*), 3. grammar, 4. the secretarial art (*kitāba*), 5. poetry and prosody, 6. history; (ii) 1. philosophy, 2. logic, 3. medicine, 4. arithmetic, 5. geometry, astronomy and astrology, 7. music, 8. mechanical devices, 9. alchemy. Al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī’s book shows that to call the philosophical, natural and mathematical sciences “foreign” was not at that time a sign of rejection of these disciplines, but simply a statement of the fact that they had been developed by non-Arabs (*‘adjiām*). The book clearly implies the conception that to be considered educated, one had to be acquainted with both major branches of learning.

*Bibliography*: The standard critical edition of *Mafātiḥ al-‘ulūm* is that of G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, repr. 1968. There are other oriental prints. C. E. Bosworth describes six Istanbul manuscripts not used by van Vloten in *Some new manuscripts of al-Khwārizmī’s Mafātiḥ al-‘ulūm*, in JSS, ix (1964), 341-5, and comes to the conclusion that they do not add much to the elucidation of the text.

A useful general account is C. E. Bosworth,

*A pioneer Arabic encyclopedia of the sciences: al-Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmī's Keys of the Sciences*, in *Isis*, liv (1963), 97-111. A number of E. Wiedemann's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften bei den Arabern* deal with various parts of the *Mafāṭḥ*. Originally published in *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Societät in Erlangen* between 1906 and 1923, they are now conveniently reprinted in E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim-New York 1970, 2 vols. The following is a list of them: Beitr. VI, *Zur Mechanik und Technik bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxviii (1906), esp. 16-56 = *Aufsätze*, i, 188-228, translation and discussion of discourse ii, sec. 8, on mechanical devices; Beitr. X, *Zur Technik bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxviii (1906), esp. 307-13 = *Aufsätze*, i, 272-8, deals with disc. i, sec. 4, ch. 7, terms related to irrigation; Beitr. XIV, *Über die Geometrie und Arithmetik nach den Mafāṭḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xl (1908), esp. 1-29 = *Aufsätze*, i, 400-28, tr. of disc. ii, secs. 4 and 5; Beitr. XVIII, *Astronomische Instrumente*, etc., in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xli (1909), esp. 32-5 = *Aufsätze*, i, 550-3, disc. ii, sec. 6, ch. 4; Beitr. XXII, *Stücke aus den Mafāṭḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlii (1910), 303-10 = *Aufsätze*, i, 669-76, terms for weights and measures (disc. i, sec. 1, ch. 5, sec. 4, ch. 6, disc. ii, sec. 3, ch. 7) and terms used in the postal administration (disc. i, sec. 4, ch. 4); Beitr. XXIV, *Zur Chemie bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xliii (1911), 72-113 = *Aufsätze*, i, 689-730, tr. of disc. ii, sec. 9; Beitr. XXVII, *Geographische Stellen aus den Mafāṭḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlv (1912), 37-40 = *Aufsätze*, i, 812-15, disc. ii, sec. 6, ch. 2, on the construction of the spheres and the regions of the earth; Beitr. XLVII, *Über die Astronomie nach den Mafāṭḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlvii (1915), 214-42 = *Aufsätze*, ii, 186-214; Beitr. LXVI, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, liv-iv (1922-3), 7-22 = *Aufsätze*, ii, 580-95, disc. ii, sec. 6.

Disc. ii, sec. 3, on medicine, is fully dealt with in Ernst Seidel, *Die Medizin in Kitāb Mafāṭḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlvii (1915), 1-79, with a useful index of terms. A translation of disc. i, sec. 2, is given by C. E. Bosworth, *al-Ḥwārazmī on theology and sects: the chapter on kalām in the Mafāṭḥ al-ʿulūm*, in *Hommage Henri Laoust*, BEO, xxix (1978); and one of disc. i, sec. 4, with extensive commentary, is given by idem, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art: a contribution to the administrative history of mediaeval Islam*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 113-64. For a translation of disc. i, sec. 6, chs. 6 and 7, on terms used in historical reports about the Persians and the Arab conquests, see J. M. Unvala, *The translation of an extract from Mafāṭḥ al-ʿUlūm of al-Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmī*, in *Jnal. of the K.R. Cama Inst.*, xi (Bombay 1928), 76-110, with comments on the Persian, Turkish and Indian terms there; and for one of ch. 7, with detailed analysis, see Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 2-12; and for one of ch. 8, with detailed commentary, see Bosworth, *The terminology of the history of the Arabs in the Jāhiliyya, according to Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmī's "Keys of the sciences"*, in *Festschrift for Prof. S. D. Goitein*, Folklore Research Center Studies of the Hebrew University No. 7, Jerusalem 1978. For a translation of disc. ii, sec. 7, see H. G. Farmer,

*The science of music in the Mafāṭḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in *Trans. Glasgow Univ. Oriental Soc.*, xvii (1957-8), 1-9. See also Brockelmann, I, 282-3, S I, 434-5. (A. I. SABRA)

AL-KH<sup>W</sup>ĀRAZMĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ʿABBĀS, Arabic poet and writer (323-83/934-93). Since he alleged that his mother was the sister of the historian al-Ṭabarī, he fabricated for himself the *nisba* of al-Ṭabarīkhazī. He was born in Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazm and spent his youth there, but left it at an early date. It is difficult to trace his peregrinations, but he seems to have sought out, above all, the company of great men in order to live off their munificence. Hence we find him at Aleppo, in the service of Sayf al-Dawla; at Bukhārā, with the vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Balʿamī, with whom he quarreled, however; at Nišāpūr for the first time, where he eulogised the *amir* Ahmad al-Mikālī; in Sijjīstān with the ruler Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, who ended up by throwing him into prison; in Gharčīstān, where he had similar misadventures; at Arrāḍjān, in the entourage of the Šāhib Ibn ʿAbbād; and finally at Nišāpūr again, where he settled down and died, it was said, of chagrin from a defeat which he suffered at the hands of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamaḍhānī in a literary contest. If Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī is to be believed (*Mathālib al-wazīrayn*, ed. M. ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī, index), he enjoyed a privileged position with the Šāhib Ibn ʿAbbād, acting as an envoy and a spy for him, and the gifts which he received from the vizier were more for his secret activities than for his panegyrics. However, it was not long before the two persons fell out with each other, perhaps in part because al-Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmī admired al-Mutanabbī, whose poetic work he did much to make known in the eastern parts of Islam.

The critics agree in considering al-Kh<sup>W</sup>ārazmī as one of most knowledgeable authorities on the Arabic language amongst the ʿAdjam. He was further considered an authority on genealogies, but was above all famed for his prodigious memory, which allowed him, according to an anecdote recorded by many of his biographers, to know by heart a vast number of poems and to transform himself into a teacher of literature. Naturally, he wrote poetry, which has been judged rather severely by his critics; he nevertheless left, besides a *Diwān*, a collection of *Rasāʾil* (ed. Istanbul; see Brockelmann, S I, 150) which made him famous. One can therefore consider him as a letter-writer of talent, addressing these to great men, princes, viziers, commanders, scholars and officials on the most diverse, and often the most banal, subjects; the documentary value of these letters is by no means insignificant (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index). They reflect a considerably disturbed life and are written in a rhymed prose embellished with all the rhetorical devices, but in a personal style which is, every thing considered, simpler than that of his great adversary Badīʿ al-Zamān.

*Bibliography*: Hamadḥānī, *Rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1298, *passim*; Tawhīdī, *Muḥābasāt*, 102; idem, *Mathālib*, index; Ṭhāʿālib, *Yatīma*, iii, 54, 110, iv, 114-54; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 316; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 664; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 24, 209; Kifī, *Inbāh*, ed. 1950, i, 277; Yākūt, *Irshād*, i, 104 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, ii, 175 ff.; idem, *Buldān*, index; Šafādī, *Wāfi*, iii, 191; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 266; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, ix, 127 (sub anno 393); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 105; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 51; Kh<sup>W</sup>ānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, iv, 165; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 52; Zakī Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1931, 156-70; idem, *al-Naṭṭar al-fannī*, ii, 256-76; Wahhābī, *Marāḍīʿ*, i, 146-50. (CH. PELLAT)

**AL-KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZMĪ** (often written **AL-KH<sup>w</sup>UĀRIZMĪ**), **ABŪ DJĀ<sup>f</sup>FAR MUĤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ**, mathematician, astronomer and geographer, who utilised the Arabic language. He lived in the first half of the 3rd/9th century (ca. 184-ca. 232/800-47), and should not be confused with two other important persons with the same *nisba* [q.vv.]. We know that in his youth, during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, he worked in the *Bayt al-Hikma* [q.v.] of Baghdad, but we know very few other biographical details. However, his main works are well known to us, since many of them were translated into Latin in Spain and exercised a powerful influence on the development of mediaeval thought. If the attempts at dating put forward by C. J. Toomer (*Dictionary of scientific biography*, vii (1973), 358b) are correct, almost all these works were composed during the reign of al-Ma'mūn.

His *Algebra*, called *al-Muḥtaṣar fī ḥisāb al-djābr wa 'l-muḥābala* (ed. with Eng. tr. F. Rosen, *The algebra of . . .*, London 1831, repr. New York 1969; ed. 'Alī Muṣṭafā Muṣḥarrafa and M. Mursī Aḥmad, Cairo 1939) was translated partially by Robert of Chester as *Liber algebras et almucabola* (ed. with Eng. tr. L. Ch. Karpinski in *UMS*, xi (New York 1915), shortly afterwards, Gerard of Cremona made a second version of it, *De jebra et almucabola* (perhaps the anonymous work published by G. Libri in his *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie*, i, Paris 1858, 253-97; see B. Boncompagni, in *Atti . . . Lincei*, iv (1851), 412-35, and A. A. Björnbo, in *Bibliotheca mathematica*, vi (1905), 239-41, which is better and even surpasses Rosen. In this way, there was introduced into Europe a science completely unknown till then, and with it, a terminology which was still capable of growth but already completely developed. This discipline was called by the two technical terms which appear in the titles of the first Latin translations, until the time when Canacci (14th century) began to use only the first one, *algebra*, and two centuries later, this innovation became predominant and the word *al-muḥābala* fell completely into disuse. The term *djābr* may derive, according to Gandz, from Assyrian *gabru*; this etymology may be feasible, since, in the hundred or so mathematical tablets going back to the second millennium B.C., there appear algebraic problems parallel to those put forward by al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī and which, according to Bruins (*Computation in the old Babylonian period*, in *Acts of the XIIIth International Congress on the History of Science*, held in Moscow 1971), show that the Assyrians knew the six model equations [see **DJĀBR**] used by the Muslim scholar. However, from the strictly historical point of view, there is the problem that the word is not attested in any intervening language, such as Greek, and it is difficult to hold that it could have survived solely in Aramaic till the time of al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī. It is more likely that the word comes from medical terminology where *djābr* has the idea of resetting a dislocated limb, just as today, in the dictionary of the Real Academia Española, *algebra* designates an algorithm and *algebrista* is a synonym for a specialist in wounds and broken limbs. On the various mathematical operations involved in algebra and on the typical equations used in it, see **DJĀBR** and also G. A. Saliba, in *Centaurus*, xvii (1972), 189-204.

Almost at the same time as the *Algebra* was being translated, John of Seville made known the Latin version of an adaption made either by himself or by some Muslim author of al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī's *Arithmetic*, lost in the Arabic but which must have been called *Kūāb Ḥisāb al-'adad al-hindī* or *K. al-Djam<sup>c</sup> wa'l-*

*tafrīḥ bi-ḥisāb al-Hind*. John of Seville's work was called *Liber alghoarismi de practica arismetrice* (ed. B. Boncompagni, *Trattati d'arimetica*, ii, Rome 1857; K. Vogel, *Mohammed ibn Musa Alchwarizmi's Algorismus*, Aalen 1963; A.-P. Juschkewitsch, *Über ein Werk des Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Mūsā . . . zur Arithmetik der Inder*, in *Homage to G. Harig*, 1964, 21-63, with an appendix containing a photographic reproduction of the Cambridge ms.). The connections between the various mediaeval works deriving from al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī's one are not well established, but all of them have the common characteristic that they explain how to work with the numbers which we today call "Arabic" and which were known in the 3rd/9th century in the Iberian peninsula. Concerning these numbers, mediaeval scholars invented all sorts of etymologies and legends. Gaspar of Tejada asserted that "zero is not a sign, but an empty space" (cf. G. Menéndez Pidal, *Los llamados numerales arabes en Occidente*, in *BRAH*, cxlv/2 (1959), 179-208), an idea that one finds much earlier in the *Mafāṭīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 58, ll. 1-4, in regard to *tarḥīm*, a line brought into a calculation to indicate "nothing", i.e. to keep the order, and whose value is expressed in Latin by *nulla figura* or in German by *Null*. On the other hand, this same sign appears in Abraham ben 'Ezra to separate the whole number from the fraction. Other popular etymologies of the time derive algorithm from the name of a hypothetical Algor, king or philosopher, or from the coupling of the Arabic article *al-* with Greek *arithmos*, when in reality these technical terms come from the name "al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī", as Reinaud showed (*Mémoire . . .*, in *Mém. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, xviii/2 (1849), 303-4).

The actual form of the numbers is unimportant for the operations described in the *Liber alghoarismi*, but the existence of operations carried out by means of nine or ten symbols implies a knowledge of the rules expounded by al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī. In Spain, these were known by the 4th/10th century, proving the existence of a system of numeration by position. In regard to the form of the numbers used at that time, this is still debated. Destombes (*Un astrolabe carolingien et l'origine de nos chiffres arabes*, in *Archives intern. d'hist. des sciences*, lviii-lix (1962), 3-45) suggests that the monk Vigila of Albelda was present at the consecration of the monastery of Tipoll in 977 and that he knew the system of numeration by position, which he refers to in the appendix to Book iii of St. Isidore when he cites the skill of the Indians as able to create the nine figures described in the Escorial ms. d. I.2; the numbers are given from right to left and must therefore be incontrovertibly of Arabic origin, and their form derives, according to Destombes, from that of the Visigothic letters used in the second half of the 10th century as they appear on the Carolingian astrolabe. Given the fact that at this time of the appearance of this system of numeration by position, there must have existed various systems of representing the numbers, the need for tables of equivalents becomes evident, such as those of Alvaro of Oviedo. It also explains why in 1229 the Senate of Florence forbade their usage and imposed the practice of expressing numbers wholly in letters in order to avoid the possibility of a minor corruption in the form of the numbers or in the usage of different systems simultaneously, thus giving rise to errors.

The *Liber alghoarismi* and similar works all explain the operations of adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing; they show how decimal and

sexagesimal fractions should be used; and they use the so-called Egyptian fractions, sc. those with 1 as the numerator and from which one can obtain the others by means of addition (e.g.  $1/3 + 1/15 = 2/5$ ;  $1/4 + 1/28 = 2/7$ ). This type of fraction already appears in the Rhind papyrus and developed over the ancient and mediaeval periods, especially when the system of Qur'anic inheritance rules gave rise to the 'ilm al-farā'id [see FARĀ'ID] and made necessary the perfecting of arithmetical operations using fractional numbers. The system, by now completely developed, was introduced into Europe through the intermediacy of various Spanish versions and through that of Fibonacci.

The operations with sexagesimal fractions, necessary for astronomical computations, are even more interesting. Al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī gives some rules (*Algorismus de minutis*) which, through an adaptation in a work called *De numero indorum* and above all by John of Seville, were speedily taken into the courses of instruction of the universities. We know that the Arabic works of the 3rd/9th century devoted to these topics contained a table for multiplying in the sexagesimal system, of  $59 \times 59$  or  $60 \times 60$  (= 3,600) cases, parallel to the multiplication table which we call Pythagorean but which first appears in the *Arithmetica* of Boethius (Augsburg 1488); it has been reproduced in *Osiris*, v (1938), 138, and its antecedents can be found in the similar Arabic tables of an earlier period and triangular in shape. A sexagesimal table of the type just mentioned was to be found in the work of Kūshiyār b. Labbān (ca. 360-420/971-1029) called *Kitāb fī uṣūl hisāb al-Hind* (facs. edn. M. Levey and M. Petruck, *Principles of Hindu reckoning*, Madison 1965; E. S. Kennedy and W. R. Transue, *A medieval iterative algorism*, in *AMM*, lxiii (1956), 80-3), but is unfortunately lost, and the oldest version preserved is that in the Latin version of the *Astronomical tables* of al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī translated by Adelard of Bath (f. 57b). Tables of this type recall those of the cuneiform tablets.

Another of al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī's works which had a great influence in the birth of western science was his *Zīj al-Sindhī*, astronomical tables translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath (ed. H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914; Eng. tr. and excellent study by O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwarizmi*, Copenhagen 1962). This work became the subject of a commentary by a certain Ibn al-Muḥannā, lost in Arabic but preserved in Latin (ed. E. Millás Vendrell, Madrid-Barcelona 1963) and in Hebrew (ed. and tr. B. R. Goldstein, New Haven-London 1967), from which it appears that al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī's work had two rescensions; Adelard used the minor one, corrected by Maslama al-Maḍrītī for the position of Cordova. Some complementary pieces of information on the transmission and the contents of the Tables can be found in *El libro de los fundamentos de las tablas astronómicas* of Abraham ben 'Ezra (ed. and study by J. M. Millás, Madrid-Barcelona 1947) and in the monographs of J. J. Burckhardt, in *Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, cvi (1961), 213-31, of E. S. Kennedy and M. Janjanian, in *Centaurus*, xi (1965), 73-8, of Kennedy and W. Ukashah, in *ibid.*, xiv (1969), 86-96, and O. Neugebauer, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, 209-12.

It is in this translation that the first mediaeval mathematical symbols appear, sc. three tildes in a triangular arrangement followed by a number and placed above another indicate the sum of the first

and second; if, on the other hand, there is a single dot, it indicates a remainder. These notation systems as found in the West stem from the Arab world, and their connections with older systems, e.g. those of Diophantus, remain to be studied. An analysis of the *Tables* reveals their mixed character and the multiplicity of sources used. Thus the theory of the moon comes from an intermediate source which did not know the *Almagest*; the methods used for determining the true longitude of a planet stem from the *Sūrya Siddhānta* and the *Janda-Jādyaka*; the values of the movement come from Brahmagupta; and in the ms. of Corpus Christi College (which comes from Adelard's version) there is an allusion to the to-and-fro movement explained at length by Azarqui [see AL-ZARQALĪ], which stems equally from Indian sources. A similar origin can be recognised in the equation of the sun and in the primitive sine tables with  $R = 150$  (Ibn al-Muḥannā alludes to this value) replaced in Maslama's adaptation by others with a base = 60, a number of Hellenistic origin. On the other hand, the methods used to determine the direct and the retrograde movements of the planet stem, directly or not, from the manual *Tables* of Theo. Other elements stem from the *Zīj ma'mūnī* and the *Zīj al-shāh*. In the determination of the parallax, the repetitive algorism deriving from the *Janda-Jādyaka* is used, and this presents a certain parallelism with the method used by Kepler to determine the excentric anomaly.

Al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī's other works were not known in the mediaeval world. His geography or *Kitāb Sūrat al-arḍ* (ed. H. von Mzik, Leipzig 1926), has been the object of a detailed study by C. A. Nallino, *al-Khwarizmi e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo*, in *Raccolta di studi*, v, Rome 1944, 458-532. It consists of lists of co-ordinates of the main towns and geographical features, which are sometimes, but not always, in harmony with those of Ptolemy. His source of inspiration might possibly have been the mappa mundi constructed for al-Ma'mūn by a team of geographers in which al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī himself would have been included. The *K. Sūrat al-arḍ* depends, even if in an indirect manner, on the *Geography* of Ptolemy, some of whose errors he corrects, e.g. the excessive length of the Mediterranean.

His *Istikhṛāj ta'rīkh al-Yahūd* (ed. in *al-Rasā'il al-mutafarrīka fī'l-hay'a*, Hyderabad 1948) has been studied by E. S. Kennedy in *Scripta mathematica*, xxvii (1964), 44-9; internal evidence dates it to 208/823. This richly-documented work forms one of the oldest pointers which we possess concerning the Jewish calendar, and it necessitates the revising of many things previously written on the subject. Al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī was further the author of two works on the astrolabe (see J. Frank, *Die Verwendung des Astrolabs nach al-Khwarizmi*, in *AGNM*, iii (Erlangen 1922), of a historical chronicle, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh*, and a book on sun-dials, *Kitāb al-Rukhāma*, both these latter lost. In regard to the first of the two, it may be surmised that it gave an astronomical explanation of history like that later given by Abū Ma'shar, al-Nawbakhtī and the writer in al-Andalus Ibn al-Khayyāt (d. 447/1055).

*Bibliography*: In addition to works cited in the article, see Brockelmann, I, 216, S I, 381; Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 228-41; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 563; Suter, 10; *Nachträge*, 158-60; *Fihrist*, i, 274; Ibn al-Kifī, 206, 266; Ibn Šā'id, *K. Ṭabaḥāt al-umam*, tr. Blachère, Paris 1935, 47-8; Hādjīdī Khalifa, ii, 67-9, No. 10012. (J. VERNET)

**KHARBGA**, a type of the game of draughts

played in North Africa. Although the root *kh.r.b.g.* is known, yet the origins of this game are lost in the mists of time (squares marked out for it have been found at the tops of pyramids in Egypt). *Kharbga*, which is one of the four games brought into Ifrikiya by the Banū Hilāl, is played on a square board made up of holes marked out in the ground or in rock and has 49 component squares or "houses" (*bit*, *qār*); the board can equally be traced out on a stone slab or on a sack covered over with sand. According to the number of holes along each side, the game is called by the following names, *khamūsiyya* if there are 5, and *sabū'iyya* if there are 7. The central square is called *qār al-waṣṭ*, and is remarkable by the fact that after the first move of the first piece it remains unoccupied all through the game; other squares of special note or with particular functions surround the central one and serve in the game as places of security.

The game is played by two people, and once the game is set up (*manṣūb*), the players (*kharbāg* or *kharbāgi*) are surrounded by an audience of interested people who follow the game and offer advice. After having placed on the board, two by two, the different-coloured pieces called *klāb* (sing. *kalb* "dog"); this term is known in the Egyptian, Greek and Arab cultures, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), the players move them in turn. The substance and nature of the pieces varies according to the place where the game is played. They are black and white; the white ones are pebbles or snail shells, and the black ones are dried lumps of camel dung, peach stones blackened by the sun or even date stones. There are 24 of each colour for the games. The first stage is the placing of the pieces two-by-two in the places chosen for this by the players. The course of the game depends on this; each player moves his pieces whilst endeavouring to foresee his opponent's moves, and good players can plot the course of the opponent's moves as far as eight future moves. The game consists of "eating up" the opponent's "dogs" up to the last one by inserting them between two pieces and not going beyond them. In practice, the pieces can in principle be placed anywhere, and the player can move them in any direction, except, it seems, along diagonals. *Kharbga* is played in the spring and out-of-doors, in a specified place between the tents and left vacant for this very purpose. Elderly men come and play the game in the afternoon until sunset. At the backs of shops, *kharbga* is played on sacks, and the shop-owner, who sets out four or five games of the pieces, serves drinks at the same time. Shepherds, whilst out on the job, play on sloping and uneven terrains from where they can keep an eye on their flocks. This social pastime is difficult, and tournaments in it take place, for which *kharbga* enthusiasts travel round from place to place with their own provisions. A stake, called *khḥār* or *sharf* or *mukābil*, is chosen before the play begins, and this stake might be a beast (sheep, goat or camel); in the Hilālian epic, the loser may be liable to more savage stakes, going as far as physical nudity, and even, through tying up, the killing of a near relative.

A different game may be found under this same name of *kharbga* (e.g. with a rectangle on which diagonals are traced), and conversely, the game described above may bear differing names (e.g. the game of *gaṭra* in the *Ḥidjāz*).

*Bibliography*: G. Posener, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne*, Paris 1959, 141-2, art by J. Yoyotte "Jeux et jouets"; R. Alleau, *Dictionnaire des jeux*, Paris 1964, 275-6; Beausnier, *Dictionnaire*, 161; G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe*

*des Marasig*, Paris 1958, 141; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1842, ii, 60; A. Robert, *Jeux et divertissements des indigènes d'Algérie (Région de Bordj Bou Arreridj)*, in *Rev. Afr.* (1921); *Cahiers de Byrsa*, Carthage, vii (not seen). (L. SAADA)

AL-KHARDJ [see KHARAG].

AL-KHARDJ, a district in Naḍjd [q.v.], the central province of Saudi Arabia. Al-Khardj stretches from al-ʿArid [q.v.] in the north southwards to the area east of the oasis of al-Ḥawṭa [q.v.] in Wādī Burayk (Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa). To the west the crags of 'Ulayya, a section of the range of Ṭuwayḡ [q.v.], rise above the vale of al-Khardj, which is closed in on the east by the steppe desert of al-Bayād.

As the confluence of many *wādīs* (also called *shaʿībs*), al-Khardj is one of the most fertile places in Saudi Arabia. Wādī Ḥanifa (classical al-ʿIrd) and Wādī 'l-Sulayy flow down from the north to meet at the northwestern corner of the district. Just south of these two, Wādī Nisāb, which cuts its way due east through Ṭuwayḡ, empties its flood along with theirs into Wādī 'l-Sahbā', the large valley running eastwards to the sands of al-Dahnā'. From the south, al-Khardj is watered by Wādī 'l-Sawṭ, the northern extension of the trans-Ṭuwayḡ gorges Birk and Burayk, and by Wādī 'l-Aḳīmī, which runs parallel to the western edge of al-Bayād.

Besides the water brought by the *sayls* of these valleys, al-Khardj contains four unusually deep spring-fed pools ('*uyūn*), three clustered together in the northern part of the district and the fourth, *Khafs Daḡhra*, in the southern part. A channel called al-Sayḥ provides water for irrigation from 'Ayn Samhā in the north.

The two most important towns in the north are al-Salamiyya and al-Yamāma. The name al-Yamāma [q.v.], which in earlier times was applied to much of what is now called Naḍjd, has become restricted geographically to this one town, though the older usage has been revived by giving the name to a hotel and other establishments in al-Riyāḍ. Farther south lie Naʿḍjān, al-Dilam, and Zumayka. The largest of all the towns is al-Dilam (or al-Dalam; al-Daylam in a verse by 'Antara).

Many of the names given above occur in the literature of the *Djāhiliyya* and the early Islamic period. The dominant element in the population of al-Khardj then was the Banū Ḳays b. Ṭha'laba, a branch of Bakr b. Wā'il [q.v.]. Today the settled people of the valley belong in the main to Āl 'Āyidh (said to be of Kaḥṭān), the Dawāsir, Banū Tamīm, and Banū Khālid [q.v.]. Bedouins are from Subay', the Suhūl, and Āl Shāmir.

The district as such does not figure prominently in historical records until the 12th/18th century, in the middle years of which the men of al-Khardj stood forth among the principal opponents of the new movement of the Wahhābiyya [q.v.]. In 1187/1773 Āl Su'ūd of al-Dir'iyya [q.v.], the secular champions of the Wahhābiyya, captured the foremost enemy town, al-Riyāḍ, which had held the ground between al-Dir'iyya and al-Khardj. Zayd b. Zāmil, the lord of al-Dilam, took up the gauntlet against the Wahhābiyya and paid a large sum in gold to the Ismā'īlī chief of Naḍjran [q.v.] to join him and others in a campaign against Āl Su'ūd which ended however in failure. In 1190/1776 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Muḥammad Āl Su'ūd defeated Zayd and secured the submission of al-Dilam. The first *amir* sent to al-Khardj by Āl Su'ūd was Sulaymān b. 'Ufaysān, who held office for sixteen years and whose family

remained associated with the district long thereafter.

After Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt occupied al-Dir'īyya in 1233/1818, his lieutenant Ḥusayn Ḍjawkhḍār pillaged al-Dilam. When the "Turks" from Egypt withdrew, Turkī b. 'Abd Allāh Āl Su'ūd made al-Riyāḍ the new Wahnābī capital and reincorporated al-Khardj in the state. The *ḥādī* of al-Khardj under Turkī was the noted Ḥanbalī divine, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥusayn, a grandson of the founder of the Wahnābiyya.

The "Turks" from Egypt returned to Naḍj and took al-Riyāḍ. Fayṣal, who had succeeded his father Turkī as the Wahnābī *Imām*, based himself on al-Khardj, where Khūrshīd Pasha pursued and overcame him in 1254/1838 in a battle at al-Dilam and Zumayka and sent him a prisoner to Egypt, whence he eventually escaped to resume his rule in Naḍj. Fayṣal appointed a younger son of his, Su'ūd, as *amīr* of al-Khardj. On the death of Fayṣal in 1282/1865, Su'ūd's challenge of the right of his older brother 'Abd Allāh to the succession precipitated a long civil war that enfeebled Āl Su'ūd and opened the way for the ascendancy of Āl Rashīd of Ḥā'il. The forces of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Āl Rashīd caught three of Su'ūd's sons in al-Khardj and put them to death.

The fortunes of Āl Su'ūd were revived by 'Abd al-'Azīz, son of Fayṣal's youngest son 'Abd al-Rahmān. 'Abd al-'Azīz recovered al-Khardj in 1320/1902 and then repulsed an attack against al-Dilam by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad Āl Rashīd. About ten years later the grandsons of Su'ūd b. Fayṣal, still closely connected with al-Khardj, launched an abortive rebellion against their cousin 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Rahmān. In the end, 'Abd al-'Azīz forgave them and took into his entourage their leader, known as Su'ūd al-Kabīr ("the Older"), to distinguish him from Su'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who later became King Su'ūd). Su'ūd al-Kabīr was married to 'Abd al-'Azīz's favourite sister, Nūra. As King of Saudi Arabia 'Abd al-'Azīz was fond of visiting al-Khardj for diversion. He kept his stud of Arabian horses there, and a model farm run by Americans provided him with fresh produce.

*Bibliography:* See the bibliographies for AL-AFLĀḌJ and AL-DAWĀSIR. (G. RENTZ)

**KHARDJA** [see MUWASHṢHAH].

**KHĀRDJE, KHĀRGA** [see AL-WĀḤĀT].

**KHARGIRD**, or *Khārdjīrd*, has been the name of at least two different places in north-eastern Persia but is at present only current for one of them.

1. *Khargird* in the *shahristān* of Turbat-i Haydariyya, or, more precisely, the *dihistān* of Rūd-i miyān *Kh*wāf, is situated at about 6 km. to the southwest of the latter place. It is now a small settlement, the inhabitants of which live on the growing of cereals and cotton as well as on weaving. Archaeological remains point, however, to a much more prosperous past when *Khargird* was one of the main urban centres of the district of *Kh*wāf [q.v.]. Many mediaeval geographers (e.g. *Iṣṭakhrī*, 267 f.; *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 440; *Muḥaddasī*, 298) make mention of it among the cities of the district of *Būshandj* [q.v.]. As *Būshandj*, identified with modern *Ghūriyān*, lay at quite a distance from *Kh*wāf, it is not certain that the latter-mentioned *Khargird* was identical with the *Khargird* which *Yāqūt*, ii, 486, counts among the *mudun* of the *qaṣaba* of *Kh*wāf, as *Le Strange*, 357 f., seems to have understood. It is possible that this name, the constituent parts of which occur in several geographic names, was a common appellation for townships of secondary importance in this part of *Khurāsān*.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV

The modern renown of *Khargird* rests upon the presence of two remarkable monuments of Islamic architecture. The oldest of these is an *iwān* with a *mīhrāb* which, as A. Godard has found, constitutes the remaining part of a *madrasa* built on a symmetric scheme of four *iwāns*. E. Herzfeld read the inscription in floriated Kūfic as a reference to the foundation of the building by the Saldjūk vizier Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.] (cf. *Isl.* xii (1922), 98-101). It would, then, be the only surviving specimen of the famous Nizāmiyya *madrasas*. The second building, also a *madrasa*, is a splendid and well-preserved example of Timūrid architecture. Two inscriptions contain the records of its foundation by two ministers of Sultan *Shāhrukh*, Aḥmad b. *Ishāk* and *Fakhr* al-Dīn *Kh*wāfi, and the completion of the construction by *Kiwām* al-Dīn *Shīrāzi*, who was the leading architect of the period, and *Ghiyāth* al-Dīn *Shīrāzi* in 848/1444-5. The building is remarkable on account of several original features of its outline and its fine decoration of glazed tiles and mosaics.

2. *Khargird* in the district of *Ḍjām*, which is mentioned in the biographies of three prominent mystic poets of the Timūrid period, is certainly not identical with the former place. *Kāsim-i Anwār* [q.v.] died at *Khargird* of *Ḍjām* in 837/1433-4 and was buried there in the garden of his estate. A mausoleum was erected at this spot to the order of *Mīr* 'Alī-*Shīr* Nawā'i [q.v.] in ca. 892/1487 (cf. *Dawlatshāh*, 348 f.). In 817/1414 'Abd al-Rahmān *Ḍjāmī* [q.v.] was born here and his nephew *Hātifi* [q.v.] spent his life in the vicinity of the tomb of *Kāsim-i Anwār*, where he found the inspiration for one of his *mathnawī*-poems. At present, there no longer exists a place by the name of *Khargird* in the area of *Ḍjām*. Several Persian travellers and scholars have since the last century identified its site with modern *Langar* which lies on the road from *Mashhad* to *Turbat-i Shāykh-i Ḍjām*. As a common noun, *langar* or *langarkhāna* was used to denote an almshouse, as it was frequently attached to the tomb of a holy man. Sometimes it has developed into a place name, and there are quite a few instances of this to be found in *Khurāsān*. A similar development may very well have taken place in the case of *Khargird*. The shrine, which now exists at *Langar* and which contains no clues for its identification, has been ascribed to an unknown saint of the 12th/18th century by E. Diez on the basis of a popular tradition recorded by *Khanykov*.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the works referred to in the article,—1. C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh-London 1900, 129 f.; P. M. Sykes, *A fifth journey to Persia*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society*, 28 (Nov.-Dec. 1906), 581; idem, in *JRAS* (1910), 1148-51; E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, Berlin 1918, 29, 71-6; idem, *Persien. Islamische Baukunst in Churasan*, Hagen 1923, *passim*; E. Herzfeld, in *Isl.* xi (1921), 169; idem, in *ZDMG*, lxxx (1926), 274 f.; idem, *Archaeological history of Iran*, London 1935, 98 and Pl. xvii; R. Byron, in *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1126-8 and *passim*; A. Godard, *Khorasan, in Athar-e Iran*, iv (1949); idem, *L'art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 353 ff.; *Farhang-i āyugh-rāfiyā'i Irān*, ix, 1329 sh., 146; D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic architecture and its decoration A.D. 800-1500*, Chicago 1964, Pl. i and figs. 588-90.

2. C. E. Yate, *op. cit.*, 37; W. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, iii, Leiden 1962, 46, and n. 4 (identifies the two *Khargirds*); E. Diez, *Churasanische*



*Baudenkmäler*, i, 25, 69-70, Pl. 37, 4 and Pl. 39, 1; 'A.-A. Hikmat and 'Abd al-Hamid Mawlawi, *muḥaddama* to 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, *Madjālis al-nafā'is*, Tehran 1323 *sh.*, yā'-'ā' = *Diwān-i Kāsim-i Anwār*, ed. S. Nafisi, *muḥaddama*, cv-cvii; *Farhang-i diuzhrafīyā'ī-i Irān*, ix, 375.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

AL-KHARGŪSHĪ, ABŪ SA'D (or Sa'īd) 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD, a celebrated preacher (and therefore nicknamed al-Wā'iz) and ascetic, was born in the *Khargūsh* street of Nīshāpūr: the arabicised form of his name is al-Kharkūshī. He went to Baghdād in the year 393/1002 on his way to perform the pilgrimage, and thereafter resided at Mecca for a while, returning to Nīshāpūr to die there in 406/1015 or 407/1016. Three works are ascribed to him (Brockelmann, I<sup>3</sup>, 218, S I, 361). The first is a biography of Muḥammad, or rather a classified collection of traditions relating to him, in 8 volumes, variously entitled *Sharaf al-Nabī (al-Muṣṭafā, al-nubuwwa)* or *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*; a Persian translation of this, by Mahmūd b. Muḥammad al-Rāwandī, is extant (Storey, *Persian literature*, i, 175-6). The second is a treatise on oneromancy entitled *al-Bishāra wa 'l-nidhāra fi ta'bir al-ru'yā*, a pietistic compilation. The third, and most important work, is a systematic account of Ṣūfism in 70 chapters, *Taḥḍīb al-asrār*, which has survived in a single manuscript (Berlin, No. 2819). This last work derives not directly from al-Khargūshī himself, but from the recension of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shīrāzī, a notorious charlatan who led a rising against the governor of Āḥarbaydjan and died in 439/1047. For this and other reasons the value of the book cannot be rated very high, and it has been shown (cf. A. J. Arberry in *BSOS*, 1938, 345-9) that it is not entirely original, but plagiarises to a considerable extent the *Kitāb al-luma'* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrājī. Nevertheless it contains material for the history of Ṣūfism not extant elsewhere, and cannot therefore be entirely disregarded.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works mentioned in the article see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 670-1.

(A. J. ARBERRY)

WĀDĪ AL-KHĀRID or Ghayl al-Khārid, one of the principal watercourses of the Yemen. It originates about twenty km. north of Ṣan'ā', near Ḥadaḳān in Arḥab, and runs inland in a north-by-north-easterly direction, draining the eastern scarp of the highlands, towards the oasis of the *Djawf*, where it is joined by the Wādī Madhāb and veers to the south-east. After leaving the oasis, it unites with the Wādī al-'Aṭf and is lost in the sands of Ramlat Sab'atayn. According to popular belief, it reappears in the Ḥaḍramawt. Just east of Shīrā', in Nihm, where there are hot and mineral springs, it becomes a perennial river, one of the few in South Arabia, and is noted for supporting good-sized fish (*Barbus arabicus*), even in a dry summer. These provide a livelihood to the local inhabitants, who supply them to the Ṣan'ā' market. Otherwise, little is known of this part of the wādī because of the bad reputation of the inhabitants of Arḥab, and the Ṣan'ā'-*Djawf* road avoids the region. It is, however, well cultivated by the inhabitants, the Dhū Ḥusayn. In the *Djawf* itself an efficient agriculture is possible only by means of extensive irrigation schemes. This part of Wādī al-Khārid is presumably the river where Aelius Gallus in 24 B.C. fought a battle with the Arabs six days after leaving Negrana (Naḡīrān). The wādī, however, does not feature with this name in the South Arabian inscriptions, and indeed is not so named till the time of al-Hamdānī,

who describes it and its many tributaries in some detail.

*Bibliography*: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*; G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix, or the Turks in Yemen*, London 1915; E. Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arhab und Hāschid*, in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxx (1884), 172 ff.; S. D. Goitein (ed.), *Travels in Yemen: an account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najran in the year 1870, written in San'ani Arabic by his guide Hayyim Habshush*, Jerusalem 1941; J. Halévy, *Voyage au Nedjran*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Series 6, vi (1873), 36, 259, 582-4; *A handbook of Arabia*, i, Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Division, London 1916; W. B. Harris, *A journey through the Yemen*, London 1893; H. Scott, *In the High Yemen*, London 1942.

(A. K. IRVINE)

KHĀRIDJA B. ZAYD B. THĀBIT [see FUKAHĀ']  
AL-MADĪNA AL-SAB'Ā, in Suppl.]

KHĀRIDJITES (al-Khawāridjī, sing. *Khāridjī*), the members of the earliest of the religious sects of Islām, whose importance lies particularly, from the point of view of the development of dogma, in the formulation of questions relative to the theory of the caliphate and to justification by faith or by works, while from the point of view of political history the principal part they played was disturbing by means of continual insurrections, which often ended in the temporary conquest of entire provinces, the peace of the eastern part of the Muslim empire during the two last years of the caliphate of 'Alī and during the Umayyad period, and involuntarily facilitating first Mu'āwiya's victory over 'Alī, then that of the 'Abbāsids over the Umayyads.

#### I. The origins of the *Khāridjī* movement.

Opportunity for the schism was given by the proposal presented to 'Alī by Mu'āwiya during the battle of Ṣiffin (Ṣafar 37/July 657) [q.v.] to settle the differences arising out of the murder of 'Uṭhmān, which had provoked the war, by referring it to two referees who would pronounce judgment "according to the *Qur'ān*". While the majority of 'Alī's army readily adopted this proposal, either because they were tired of war or because the "*Qur'ān*-readers" (*ḥurrā'*) hoped there would emerge from this *Qur'ānic* judgment the justification of the furious campaign they had conducted against 'Uṭhmān which had ended in the latter's assassination, one group of warriors, mainly of the tribe of Tamīm, vigorously protested against the setting up of a human tribunal above the divine word. Loudly protesting that "judgment belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā li-llāhi*) they left the army, and withdrawing to the village of Ḥarūrā' [q.v.], not far from Kūfa they elected as their chief an obscure soldier, 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī [q.v.]. These first dissenters took the name *al-Ḥārūrīya* or *al-Muḥakkima* (i.e. those who repeat the above phrase; cf. *RSO*, viii, 789, note 1), which is often applied by an extension of meaning to the later *Khawāridjī* also. This little group gradually increased on account of successive defections, especially when the arbitration ended in a verdict quite contrary to what the *ḥurrā'* expected (probably in Ramaḍān or Shawwāl 37/Feb.-March 658); on this occasion a large number of partisans of 'Alī, including a number of *ḥurrā'* "went out" (*ḥharādja*) secretly from Kūfa (to which the army had gone during the truce) to join the camp of Ibn Wahb, who in the meantime had gone to the *Djūkhā* country on the left bank of the Tigris, to a place

which commanded the exits of the roads from Fārs and the bridge-head, at which in those days stood the little village of Baghdād, which later was to become the capital of the empire. The rebel camp lay along the Nahrawān canal. It is to this episode of the exodus from Kūfa that the *Khawāridj* owe their name ("those who went out"), more probably than to a general epithet expressing the idea that they had gone out of the community of the faithful, as it was later interpreted, probably at quite an early period (cf. the name of the Jewish sect of the Pharisees, which Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 283-4, derived from the incident of their separation from the partisans of Judas Maccaebus in 163 B.C., quoting in support of his explanation the name of the *Khawāridj*). Another name given to those first *Khawāridj* (which has also been extended to their successors and seems to be the one which they gave themselves) is *al-Shurāt* (pl. of *shārī*), the "vendors" i.e. those who have sold their soul for the cause of God (this idea is found in several contemporary verses).

The extreme fanaticism of the *Khawāridj* at once manifested itself in a series of extremist proclamations and terrorist actions: they proclaimed the nullity of 'Alī's claims to the caliphate but equally condemned 'Uthmān's conduct and disclaimed any intention of avenging his murder; they went farther and began to brand everyone infidel and outside the law who did not accept their point of view and disown 'Alī as well as 'Uthmān. They then committed many murders, not even sparing women. Little by little the strength of the *Khāridjī* army grew by the accession of other fanatical and turbulent elements, including a number of non-Arabs, attracted by the principle of equality of races in the faith that the *Khawāridj* proclaimed. 'Alī, who had so far tried to avoid dealing with the rebels, in order to avoid a war in his rear so long as he had to face the army of Mu'āwiya, after the rupture of the preliminaries of peace was obliged to take steps to avert the growing danger. He attacked the *Khawāridj* in their camp and inflicted a terrible defeat on them in which Ibn Wahb and the majority of his followers were slain (battle of al-Nahrawān, 9 Šafar 38/17 July 658 [q.v.]). But the victory cost 'Alī dear. Not only was the rebellion far from suppressed and was prolonged in a series of local risings in 39 and 40, but 'Alī himself perished by the dagger of the *Khāridjī* 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muldjām al-Murādī [see *IBN MULDJĀM*], the husband of a woman whose family had lost most of its members at al-Nahrawān. The tradition that a conspiracy of *Khawāridj* had aimed at killing simultaneously 'Alī, Mu'āwiya and the governor of Egypt, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, is almost certainly apocryphal.

It should be noted that the narratives of Arab historians on the origin of the *Khāridjī* movement are very confused and contradictory, and seem to have lost sight of the real connection between it and the arbitration; on the other hand the nature and date of the latter are quite uncertain. The reconstruction which is given above is that proposed by the writer of this article (see *Bibl.*) against the view of Wellhausen (followed by Lammens and Caetani), who thinks that the *Khāridjī* rebellion and the arbitration are independent of one another and even dates the battle of al-Nahrawān before the verdict of the arbiters.

## II. The wars of the *Khawāridj* under the Umayyads.

The wise and energetic administration of Mu'āwiya,

succeeding the feeble and vacillating rule of 'Alī, prevented the agitation of the *Khāridjīs* from breaking out, but it did not succeed in extinguishing it any more than it succeeded in suppressing the feelings and aspirations of the *Shī'a*. Our sources mention several risings that broke out in Kūfa and Bašra during the twenty years of Mu'āwiya's reign (40-60/660-80), but they were promptly put down and only served to increase the roll of martyrs, the worship and avenging of whom became one of the features of the *Khāridjī* movement. It is at Bašra in particular, under the governors Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son 'Ubayd Allāh, that we find most risings and suppressions of risings. These insurrections, of which the most formidable was that of Mirdās b. Udayya al-Tamīmī Abū Bilāl [q.v.], settled the tactics of the *Khawāridj*, whose raids henceforth took the form of guerilla warfare and owed their successes mainly to the rapidity—which soon became legendary—of their cavalry (the names of some of their horses are preserved in Arabic works on hippology). They mobilised unexpectedly, swept through the country, surprised undefended towns and then retired rapidly to escape the pursuit of the government troops. The centres of concentration of the *Khawāridj* were the marshy country of the Baṭā'ih around Bašra (see *AL-BAṬĪḤA*) and around *Djūkhā*, on the left bank of the Tigris, where their movement had originated, from which they could, if defeated, rapidly gain the mountainous lands of the Irānian plateaus.

It was only with the great civil war that broke out after the death of Yazīd I, that in the midst of the general disorder the *Khāridjī* movement assumed serious dimensions and contributed more than anything else to render precarious the hold of the pretender 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], on the territory that he had at first been able to subdue. After the fall of Ibn Zubayr, it was the Umayyad governors who had to wage a hard struggle with these indomitable rebels, enemies alike of victors and vanquished. It is at this time that we begin to distinguish among the *Khawāridj* half-political and half-theological subdivisions, the origin of which is not at all clear, for the tradition which makes them appear at the same time quite suddenly at Bašra on the death of Yazīd has probably altered the real succession of events. In any case, we henceforth find the *Khawāridj* breaking out throughout the eastern part of the empire (Syria was always free from them and Africa only knew them under the 'Abbāsids) into serious rebellions, at the head of which they placed individuals who have given their names to the *Azāriqa* or *Azraḳīs*, to the *Ibāḍiyya* and to the *Šufriyya* [q.vv.]. Of all these movements the most dangerous to the unity of the Muslim Empire and the most terrible on account of its ferociously uncompromising character was without doubt that led by Nāfi' b. al-Azraḳ [q.v.], which gave the *Khawāridj* temporary control of Kirmān, Fārs and other eastern provinces, constituted a permanent threat to the security of Bašra and surrounding country, and which al-Muhallab b. Abi Šufra at first, and later al-Ḥādjdjādī b. Yūsuf only overcame (in 78/698 or 79/699) after long years of effort which ended in the defeat and death of the last and most remarkable of the *Azraḳī* leaders, the valiant Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a [q.v.]. Less serious and less extensive and prolonged, but quite as stubborn as the *Azraḳī* movement, was the insurrection which was called after *Šhabīb* b. Yazīd al-Šhaybānī (76-7/696-7), although he did not begin it but was only its most distinguished leader; it began in the high Tigris country between Mārdīn and

Niṣībīn and its object was the conquest and devastation of Kūfa. The partisans of Shābiḥ, who advanced only in little bands of several hundred horsemen, but who often gathered round them large bands of malcontents, sowed terror throughout 'Irāk, and having several times defeated al-Ḥadjidjādī's troops were only destroyed by the help of an army of picked troops summoned from Syria. Shābiḥ himself perished, drowned in the Dūdīayl, while trying to reach the mountains of Kirmān; his successors caused a certain amount of trouble to the governors of Yazīd II and Hishām but never again were a serious danger.

Arabia was another field of Khāridjī activity, where during the rule of Ibn al-Zubayr between the years 65/684-5 and 72/691-2 their leaders Abū Ṭālūt, Naǧīda b. 'Āmir and Abū Fudayk captured in succession Yamāma, Ḥaḍramawt, Yaman and the town of al-Ṭā'if, and were only restrained by religious scruples from taking the holy cities. They were only destroyed after the intervention of al-Ḥadjidjādī, but they left the seeds of future movements, especially in the eastern part of the peninsula.

Owing mainly to the energy of al-Ḥadjidjādī, Khāridjism seemed definitely quelled. Another factor contributed considerably to its failure, namely the fanaticism and intolerance of the rebels, whose religious disputes ended in splitting their ranks and sometimes resulted in the removal of their ablest leaders on the charge of having on some occasion failed to observe the absolute irreconcilableness of their principles. Another cause of weakness may be recognised in the eternal feud between the Arab element and that of the *Mawālī* which brought fatal consequences along with it, especially among the remnants of the Azrakīs after the death of Kaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a. But under the last Umayyads, in the midst of the irreparable collapse of the central government, the Khawāridjī again raised their heads, and resumed their exploits, this time not in little bands but in large bodies. While the two most serious risings of this period, those of al-Dahḥāk b. Kays al-Shaybānī [q.v.] in the Djazira and 'Irāk and that of 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, surnamed *Ṭālib al-Ḥakḥ*, and of Abū Ḥamza [see *AL-MUKHTĀR* B. 'AWF] in Arabia (in the course of which Medina itself was occupied), ended in defeat, it is nevertheless true that the anarchy which they provoked destroyed the eastern rampart of Umayyad power and enabled the 'Abbāsīd insurrection to penetrate more easily to the heart of the empire.

Under the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, the Khāridjī movement may be said to be practically extinct in 'Irāk and adjoining regions. Except for a few local risings, promptly suppressed, Khāridjism no longer presented any serious danger and only survived as a religious sect, without, however, any remarkable vitality or wide dissemination. In Eastern Arabia, on the other hand, in North Africa and later on the eastern coast of Africa, one of the principal branches of the Khawāridjī, that of the Ibādiyya, played an important part in politics, and even after this role was ended it continued to be of importance from the religious point of view. It survives in our day with its dogmas, its rites and its special laws.

III. The political and religious theories of the Khawāridjī.

The Khawāridjī, who, as we have seen, never had any true unity of military and political action, did not have either a uniform body of doctrines. Their teachings seem to us like the particular views

of a number of independent sub-sects (the heresiographers number not less than a score including principal and subsidiary schools as well as political movements of a collectivist character, while others confine themselves to expressing differences of individual opinions among the theorists of the sect. One article is common to all: it is that which treats of the question of the caliphate, a question which has been the starting point of all the religious divisions in Islām. On this question, the Khawāridjī are opposed equally to the legitimism of the Shī'a and the quietism of the Murđjī'a. On the one hand they assert what Wellhausen aptly calls their "non-conformity" i.e. the obligation on believers to proclaim illegitimate and ipso facto deposed the *imām* who has gone off the right path (this is how they justify their abandonment of 'Alī after his acceptance of the arbitration); on the other hand they declare every believer who is morally and religiously irreproachable to be capable of being raised by the vote of the community to the supreme dignity of the imāmate, "even if he were a black slave". The result is that each of their leaders has been recognised by them as *amīr al-mu'minin*, although none of them had, among other things, the qualification of Qurashī birth. Consequently the only other caliphs besides their own that they recognise as legitimate are Abū Bakr and 'Umar (the latter is particularly venerated by them); 'Uthmān only during the first six years of his reign; and 'Alī till the battle of Ṣiffin.

Another capital article of Khāridjī heterodoxy is the absolute rejection of the doctrine of justification by faith without works. They push their moral strictness to the point of refusing the title of believer to anyone who has committed a mortal sin and regarding him as a *murtadd* (apostate); and their extreme wing, represented by the Azrakīs, says that he who has become an infidel in this way can never re-enter the faith and should be killed for his apostasy along with his wives and children. Of course all non-Khāridjī Muslims are regarded as apostates. Here we have the principle of *isti'rād* (religious murder [q.v.]) which we find applied from the beginning of the Khāridjī movement, even before it had been formulated in theory, and which found its completest application during the war of the Azrakīs. This ferocious principle forms a strange but not illogical contrast with the spirit of tolerance shown by the Khawāridjī to non-Muslims and which in some of their schools goes so far as to recognise as equal to Muslims in every way those Jews or Christians who will pronounce the *shahāda* with the modification: "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God to the Arabs and not to us." The tendency to the levelling of the Arabs and the *Mawālī* (which was already a result of their attitude to the problem of the imāmate) was pushed so far by one of the theorists of Khāridjī doctrine, Yazīd b. Abī Anīsa (founder of the *Yazīdiyya*), that he says that God will reveal a new Qur'ān to a prophet among the Persians and that he will found a new religion for them, divine in the same sense as Judaism, Christianity and Islām, which will be no other than that of the Ṣābi'ūn mentioned in the Qur'ān.

The same Puritanism which characterises Khāridjism in its conception of the state and of faith is found in its ethical principles: it demands purity of conscience as an indispensable complement to bodily purity for the validity of acts of worship; one of their sects goes so far as to remove Sūra XII from the Qur'ān (*Sūrat Yūsuf*) because its contents

are worldly and frivolous and make it unworthy to be the Word of God. If, on the other hand, they seem to be less strict than the orthodox in the punishment they inflict on adulterers, for whom they do not allow stoning, this is due simply to the fact that they do not recognise the authenticity of the famous verses added by 'Umar to the primitive text of the Kūr'ān (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qurāns*, i, 248-52).

Outside of general principles and a few particular cases, the law and dogmatics of the *Khawāridj* are not known to us in their totality except for the *Ibādīyya*, whose survival to the present day has preserved in its integrity their religious tradition. The *Ibādīyya* represent (as do the *Ṣufriyya* on the other side) a comparatively moderate school and their present views, in dogma as well as law, have been to some degree influenced by other Muslim schools. Attention has recently been drawn (by C. A. Nallino, in *RSO*, vii, 455-60) to the very close connection between the dogmatics of the *Ibādīyya* and of the *Mu'tazila*. It may also be supposed that it was the latter which, in certain points at least, received a stimulus from *Khāridjism*. What seems beyond doubt is that, as Wellhausen points out, *Khāridjism* played a very important part in the development of Muslim theology, either directly or by the impetus which it gave to reflection on the problems of the faith.

Although *Khāridjism* seems to us an essentially popular movement in its origins, we must be careful not to think of it as devoid of intellectualism. On the contrary, the very radicalism of its theories must have exercised an attraction on many cultivated minds, much as similar doctrines have done in other times and countries. It is particularly at the time of the early 'Abbāsids, under the influence of and at the same time in opposition to the refined and sceptical culture of the period, that we find many scholars and men of letters who were thought to cherish *Khāridjī* views, without this preventing their frequenting high society and enjoying the favour of the court. The best known of these *Khawāridjī sub rosa* was the famous philologist Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā [q.v.], regarding whose fanaticism, in conversation at least, a rather piquant anecdote is recorded by Ibn *Khallikān* (i, 107 of the 1310 edition; the poetic quotation should be corrected from the *Amālī* of al-Murtaqā, iii, 88-9). Poetry and eloquence were also cultivated among the *Khawāridjī*, which is explained by the fact that the majority of their leaders, especially in the early days, belonged to the Bedouin element in the military camps of Kūfa and Baṣra. Collections were compiled of the *khufab* pronounced by the *Khāridjī* leaders, and what survives of them, besides giving an excellent idea of their views, gives us a fairly high opinion of their oratorical talent. We also possess numerous fragments of their poetry (which had also been collected in particular *diwāns*), especially of those of 'Imrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [q.v.] (who is at the same time considered one of the founders of the *Khāridjī fikḥ*). A long list of *Khāridjī* orators, poets and jurists was prepared by *Diāḥiḥ* (see Ch. Pellat, *Diāḥiḥ et les Khāridjites*, in *Folia Orientalia*, xii (1970), 195-209).

The wars of the *Khāridjīs* had been recorded from the beginning of Arabic historiography in several works which have not come down to us in their entirety; we know, however, the substance of the more important among them, the authors of which were Abū *Mikhnaḥ*, Abū 'Ubayda and al-

Madā'ini from the extracts which have been preserved in the historical sources given below.

*Bibliography*: Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, *passim* (scattered throughout this work, in no sequence or order, are abundant literary and historical references to our subject; they have been translated by O. Rescher, *Die Kharidschitenkapitel aus dem Kāmil*, Stuttgart 1922); Tabarī, i, 3341 ff., ii, *passim*; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, in *RSO*, vi, 488-97 (résumé and specimens of the text for the period of the caliphate of 'Alī; errata: *ibid.*, 925); idem, ed. Ahlwardt, 78-96, 125-51 (for the period of the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik); Mas'ūdī, *Murūjī*, iv-vi, *passim*; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ix, 541-56, x, 76-151, 168-95, and *passim* (translation by the author of this article of the historical texts for the period of the caliphate of 'Alī and of other material relating to the *Khawāridjī*, taken from the collections of *ḥadīth*, etc.); idem, *Chronographia Islamica*, i; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, i, *Die Chawārij* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.S., 1901, v, 2; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Mo'awia I<sup>er</sup>* (reprinted from *MFOB*), 125-40; G. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 474-88; W. Thomson, *Khārijitism and the Khārijites*, in *Macdonald Presentation Volume*, Princeton 1933, 371-89; F. Gabrieli, *Sulle origini del movimento ḥārigita*, in *Rend. Accad. Lincei*, Ser. vii/2 (1941-2), 110-17; M. Guidi, *Sui Ḥārigiti*, in *RSO*, xxi (1944), 1-14; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḥārigismo in epoca abbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 31-44; eadem, *Sulla denominazione Ḥawāriḡ*, in *ibid.*, xxvi (1951), 51-6; M. Kafafi, *The Rise of Khārijism according to Abū Sa'īd Muhammad b. Sa'īd al-Azdī al-Qalhāṭī*, in *BFA*, xiv (1952), 29-48; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto 'Alī-Mu'āwīya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibādite*, in *AIUON*, N.S., iv (1952), 1-94; eadem, *Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto 'Alī-Mu'āwīya e la secessione khārigita*, in *AIUON*, N.S., v (1953), 1-98; R. Rubinacci, *Il Califfo 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāditi*, in *AIUON*, N.S., v (1953), 99-121; G. Scarzia, *Lo scambio di lettere fra Ḥārūn al-Raṣīd e Ḥamza al-Ḥāriḡī secondo il "Ta'riḥi-Sistān"*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xiv (1964), 623-45; idem, *Due precisazioni sul ḥārigismo sistānico*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xv (1965), 303 ff.; *Shāhrastānī*, *Mīlāl*, ed. Cureton, 85-103 (tr. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, 128-56); Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal*, Cairo 1320, iv, 188-92; 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baḡhdādī, *Farḡ* (tr. K. Ch. Seelye, *Moslem schisms and sects...*, Columbia University Oriental Series, xv, New York 1919, i, 74-115); I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*<sup>2</sup>, 191-6 (1st edn., 204-8, Fr. tr. F. Arin, 159-64); M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ash'ari*, Leiden 1875; F. Gabrieli, *La poesia ḥārigita nel secolo degli Omayyadi*, in *RSO*, xx (1943), 331-72; M. M. Moreno, *Note di teologia ibādita*, in *AIUON*, N.S., iii (1949), 299-313; R. Rubinacci, *La professione di fede di al-Gannāwunī*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xiv (1964), 553-95; C. Cremonesi, *Un antico documento ibādita sul Corano creato*, in *Studi Magrebini*, i (Naples 1966), 133-78; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 36 ff. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA\*)

**KHARĪṬA** (or **KHĀRĪṬA**), "map" in modern Arabic, derived from French "carte", (see I. I. Krachkovsky, *Istoria Arabskaya geograficheskaya literatura* (Moscow-Leningrad 1957), with Arabic tr.

by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'Uṭḥman Ḥāshim as *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-djughrāfī al-'Arabī*, i (Cairo 1963), 59, n. by translator; cf. Ibrāhīm Ṣhawkat, *Kharā'if djughrāfiyyi al-'Arab al-awwal*, in *Madjallat al-Ustādḥ*, (Baghdād 1962), 2). In mediaeval Arabic several terms were used for "a map" or "map of the earth", e.g. *djughrāfiyyā* or *djā'rāfiyya* (Greek Γεωγραφία), translated into Arabic as *šūrat al-arḍ*; then *rasm al-arḍ*, *šifat al-dunyā*, *ashkāl al-arḍ*, *lawḥ al-rasm*, etc.

Cartography had been practised in the Middle East since ancient times, but with the advent of Islam it received a new impetus due to the political and administrative requirements of the expanding Islamic world. Thus in the 2nd/8th century a map of al-Daylam was prepared for al-Ḥadjidjādī b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714); then a map of the Swamps of Baṣra is said to have existed during the reign of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75). (Krachkovsky, *op. cit.*, i, 59, 206; cf. Ṣhawkat, *op. cit.*, 2, 3). Whatever the quality of such maps, the Arabs' direct knowledge of the region gathered during their early campaigns, coupled with indigenous methods of drawing maps, probably enabled them to draw these.

It is not, however, until the early decades of the 3rd/9th century that we come across the first detailed world maps drawn in Arabic. This became possible through the introduction to the Islamic world of the Greek, Indian and Iranian astronomical and geographical works in the 8th and the early 9th centuries A.D. Thus from this period until the 17th century, cartography was practised as a science and passed through several stages of development. Muslim astronomers and geographers drew world maps and regional maps, as well as sea-charts, following various traditions until their mediaeval techniques of cartography were replaced by the modern ones.

The first world map, the original form of which is not extant, was constructed by the scholars of Baghdād who worked in the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* "House of Science" [q.v.] there under the patronage of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33). This map was named after the caliph as *al-Šūrat al-Ma'mūniyya*. According to al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), who had seen this map, it depicted "the universe with spheres, the stars, land and the seas, inhabited and barren (regions of the world), settlements of peoples, cities, etc." It was, he says, more exquisite than the world maps of Claudius Ptolemy, Marinus and others, (al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 33; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdi*, i, 183-205). According to al-Zuhri (lived ca. 532/1137), al-Fazārī had made a copy of the map, and al-Zuhri's own work, the *Kitāb al-djā'rāfiyya*, was based on this copy of *al-Šūrat al-Ma'mūniyya* (al-Zuhri, *Kitāb al-Djā'rāfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Hadj-Sadok, Damascus 1968, 306; cf. Krachkovsky, *op. cit.*, 86/7, 279). As the arrangement of the geographical material in al-Zuhri's work follows the ancient Iranian *kišwar* system [see *DJUGHRĀFIYA*], it is possible that *al-Šūrat al-Ma'mūniyya* represented a synthesis between the Iranian system and the Ptolemaic system according to which the inhabited world was divided into seven climes running parallel to the equator and divided according to the length of the day. It is evident, therefore, that while much of the data of the map was derived from Ptolemy's *Geography*, a substantial amount of it and its arrangement must have come from non-Greek sources.

It was during this period that Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kh̄wārazmī (d. after 232/84 [q.v.]) wrote his geographical work entitled *Kitāb Šūrat al-arḍ*. Though essentially based on Ptolemy's *Geography*, the work

gives in a tabulated form the co-ordinates of places (cities, mountains, rivers, etc.) arranged according to the Ptolemaic climes. There is little doubt that the work must have been originally accompanied by regional maps of each of the climes or by a single world map, but none of these seem to have survived. The four maps produced in the printed edition of the work seem to be later recensions of the original maps depicting *djāzirat al-djawhar*, a map of the seas, gulfs, etc., of the Nile and the Sea of Azov drawn by the author. (For the maps, see *Kitāb Šūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, Leipzig 1926, Tafel I (*djāzirat al-djawhar*); Tafel II (shapes of the seas, gulfs, etc.); Tafel III (Map of the Nile); and Tafel IV (Map of the Sea of Azov). Ṣhawkat reasons that since al-Kh̄wārazmī wrote a brief work, he did not draw a complete map of the world but confined himself to drawing the four maps as an illustration, see *op. cit.*, 7-8). Al-Kh̄wārazmī's maps have now been fully reconstructed by S. Razia Jafri on the basis of the data given in his *Šūrat al-arḍ (A critical revision and interpretation of Kitāb Šūrat al-arḍ by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kh̄wārazmī)*, thesis, Aligarh Muslim University, unpublished). A comparison of these maps with those of the extant maps of Ptolemy (see E. L. Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, New York 1932; cf. the map of Afrika by al-Kh̄wārazmī as interpreted by von Mžik (reproduced by Youssef Kamal, *Monumenta Cartografica Africae et Aegypti*, iii (Époque Arabe), Fasc. I, 1930, 525), shows their close resemblance to each other, just as the maps reproduced in al-Kh̄wārazmī's work resemble those of Ptolemy.

Ṭhābit b. Qurra (d. 288/901 [q.v.]), who was credited with an excellent translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* into Arabic, also drew a world map called *Šifat al-dunyā* (Krachkovsky, i, 206), but it has not survived.

The maps enumerated above followed what may be called the Greco-Muslim tradition in cartography, yet they differed from the maps of Ptolemy in several aspects. First, they did not follow the Ptolemaic technique of conical projection. The cartographers drew their maps with latitudes and longitudes as straight lines as though on a plane surface, and without any regard to the spherical shape of the earth. Al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050 [q.v.]), criticising Marinus for some assumptions in his map of the earth, and also al-Battānī (d. 317/929 [q.v.]) for his determination of the direction of the *qibla*, says that "They treated the meridian circles as parallel straight lines and the parallels of latitudes as straight lines. Thus they have fallen into this outrageous error," (al-Bīrūnī, *The determination of the co-ordinates of positions for the correction of distances between cities*, tr. of *Kitāb Taḥdīd miḥayāt al-amākin li-iaṣṣiḥ masāfat al-masākin*, by Djamīl 'Ali, Beirut 1966). Similarly, al-Zuhri was critical of the scientists who had constructed *al-Šūrat al-Ma'mūniyya*, for, he says, while the earth was in fact spherical in shape, they drew the map of the earth on a plane, a method followed in the construction of the astrolabe (*op. cit.*, 304). Again, while in the Ptolemaic maps the inhabited world is divided into seven climes (subdivided into 21 parallels north of the equator and 4 parallels south of it), in the Greco-Muslim maps only the broader division of the climes is followed, while the subdivision into the parallels is neglected. Thirdly, differences in the physical features as depicted on the Ptolemaic and the Greco-Muslim maps can also be noticed. For instance, in the Ptolemaic maps the Indian Ocean is shown as a lake, while on the Greco-Muslim maps it

is shown as having water communication with the Pacific (the "Encircling Ocean") in the south-east. Again, Ceylon in the Greco-Muslim maps is much smaller in size than that shown in the Ptolemaic maps. These and similar dissimilarities were partly due to the more intimate knowledge of Asia and Africa enjoyed by the Muslim geographers and cartographers. Moreover, the Muslim astronomers of the later period had revised the astronomical tables of the Greeks as well as those of the early Muslim astronomers in the light of their own observations, which must have helped the cartographers to draw more accurate maps (for details, see *Shawkat*, 11, 5).

During the 4th/10th century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Yūnus (d. 399/1009 [q.v.]), along with al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallabī, prepared a world map for the Fāṭimid caliph al-'Aziz (365-86/975-96). It was drawn on a Tustarī silk cloth and woven in gold and different colours in silk. On it were shown the climes, mountains, rivers, cities, seas and the different routes, and Mecca and Medina were prominently depicted on it. It cost 22,000 *dīnārs*. Except for some differences in the south-eastern coast of Arabia and the northern coast of Africa, it conformed to the map of al-Khwarazmī (*ibid.*, 12-13).

Also in this century, Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī (d. 322/934 [q.v.]) initiated a new tradition in Islamic cartography which exercised a deep influence on later cartographers and became the most popular style of cartography in the Islamic world. Al-Balkhī wrote a geography of the Islamic world entitled *Ṣuwar al-aḳālim*, in which he described each of the various provinces, calling it an *iklīm*. Though brief, the work was a description of the maps of the provinces drawn by the author with their boundaries, main cities and towns, rivers, mountains and the main roads connecting the cities. He also drew maps of the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Caspian and a world map in which Mecca occupied the central position. Neither the geographical treatise nor the maps of al-Balkhī have survived independently. However, his maps were copied and probably improved by al-Iṣṭakhṛī (ca. 340/951 [q.v.]) and his treatise incorporated in the latter's work. Al-Iṣṭakhṛī drew 21 provincial maps (including one of the world) which are found attached to his *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik*. (For the maps, see *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. Muḥammad Djabīr 'Abd al-'Alī al-Ḥinī, Cairo 1961; see also *ibid.*, 195-205, for a discussion of the maps by the editor; see also coloured maps in a Persian translation of al-Iṣṭakhṛī's work entitled *Masālik wa mamālik*, ed. Irādī Afshār, Tehran 1340/1961). Another geographer who followed the cartographical tradition of al-Balkhī was Ibn Ḥawqal (ca. 367/977 [q.v.]). One of the outstanding geographers of the time, Ibn Ḥawqal produced an excellent work on the geography of the Islamic world, his *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*. Though essentially based on the Balkhī-Iṣṭakhṛī tradition, the work includes the rich personal experiences and observations of the author. For his work, Ibn Ḥawqal drew 22 maps, including a world map. In his opinion, some of the maps of al-Iṣṭakhṛī were excellent, whereas others were confused and full of defects. Hence, on al-Iṣṭakhṛī's own request, he revised some of the former's maps (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1939, ii, 329-30). A glance at the maps of Ibn Ḥawqal shows that they are superior to those of al-Iṣṭakhṛī. A third follower of this school was al-Muḳaddasī (ca. 375/985 [q.v.]), who was perhaps the most original of the geographers of mediaeval Islam. In his *Kitāb Aḥsan al-taḳāsim fi ma'rifat al-aḳālim* he gave a systematic

account of the geography and the cultural aspects of each of the provinces of the Islamic world. Having rearranged the provinces, he drew the maps of 12 of them (for al-Muḳaddasī's maps, see Kamāl, iii, fasc. I, 672-7), and claimed to have drawn a more accurate map of the sea round Arabia in the light of his own experiences and the information derived from experiences of sailors whom he had met (al-Muḳaddasī, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, iii, Leiden 1877, 10-1). It seems therefore, that the cartographers of the Balkhī school continuously endeavoured to improve the maps of their predecessors.

This new tradition of cartography differed fundamentally both in approach and content from the Greco-Muslim tradition, and could be described as reflecting the Islamic political point of view of the time. As against the Greco-Muslim maps in which 'Irāk was usually placed in the central clime (i.e. the fourth), in the world maps belonging to the Balkhī school, Mecca occupied the central position. Another interesting feature of these round world maps is that south is placed at the top and north at the bottom, for which religious reasons are assigned (*Shawkat*, 21, n. 3, is of the view that the geographers put south at the top of their maps because of reverence for the cities of Mecca and Medina in Arabia, beyond which there was no land). Again, land is surrounded by the "encircling Ocean" (*al-Muḥīṭ*) and practically the whole of the southern quarter of the earth is shown covered by land, following the Greek concept of *terra incognita* as an extension of the African continent. Then, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean are depicted as two "gulfs" coming out of the "Encircling Ocean" and reaching nearest to each other at the Isthmus of Suez, thus conforming to the Qur'ānic concept of the two gulfs meeting at al-Barzakḥ [q.v.] ("the barrier", XXV, 55/53). Thus the Indian Ocean, though connected with the Pacific in the south-east, has no water communication with the Atlantic. The separate sea maps are usually geometrical in shape, and resemble a bird or some other figure, which are again based on ideas of Muslim traditionists. In these world maps, arbitrary boundaries of the provinces (*iklīms*) of the Islamic world, as well as those of the non-Islamic regions, are drawn so as to convey an overall picture of the political and the ethnographic divisions of the world. It is, above all, in their provincial (*iklīm*) maps that these cartographers display their originality. In each of these maps, the boundaries, cities and towns, rivers, mountains and roads are shown with great dexterity. Obviously, the main purpose of the author was to highlight the Islamic world. These maps, therefore, may be taken as a distinctive achievement on the part of the cartographers of the Balkhī school and an improvement on the mathematical division of the climes of the Greco-Muslim maps.

K. Miller attributed some maps which have traces of the Balkhī school in them to the famous Sāmānid *wazīr* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Djāyhānī, the author of the lost work called *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (written ca. 310/922) (*Mappae arabicae*, Stuttgart 1931, Islam Atlas, Band v, Tafel 66-70, 72v and 73r). It is unlikely, however, that these maps were drawn by him, for in his work he followed the Ptolemaic arrangement of the seven climes.

One of the earliest Persian geographical works produced in this century was the anonymous *Hudūd al-'ālam* (compiled in 372/982-3). According to V. Minorsky, the author "worked on the basis of some previous map", probably a modified form of Abū

Dja'far al-Khāzin's maps, upon which he seems to have made some improvements. However, the map upon which the anonymous author worked has not survived. (Minorsky based his view on Barthold's suggestion that al-Balkhī's book on geography may have actually been an explanation of Abū Dja'far

traditional *terra incognita* is replaced by sea which covers most of the southern quarter, the Indian Ocean is connected with the Atlantic, and Africa acquires a small size (for al-Bīrūnī's map of the sea, see Fig. 1). Al-Bīrūnī's theory was adopted by many a later geographer and cartographer. (For example, see Abu

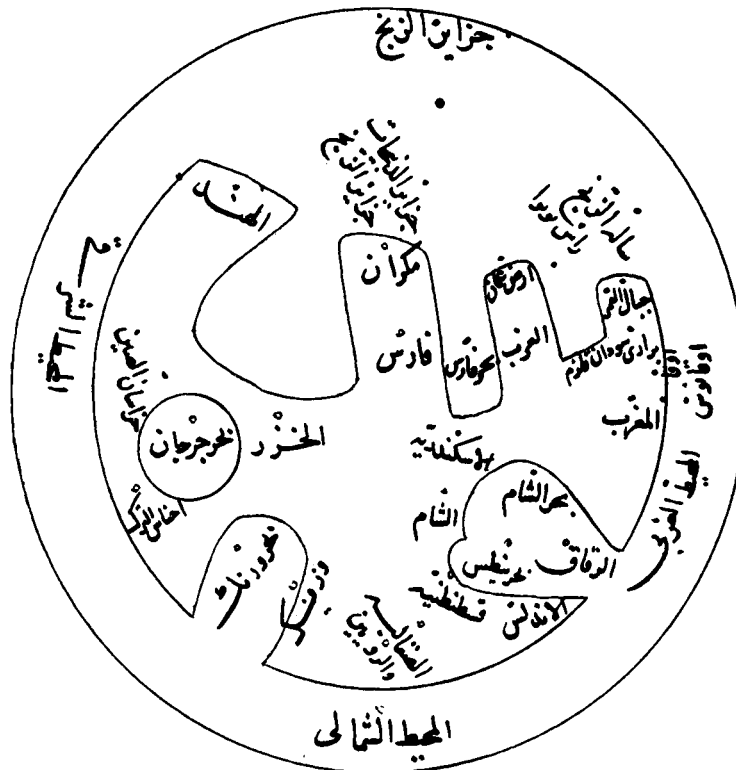


Fig. 1. Map of the seas by al-Bīrūnī as contained in his *Kitāb al-Taḥḥīm li-awā'īl al-tandjīm* (written in 420/1029), British Museum, MS. Or. 8349, f. 58.

al-Khāzin's maps, see *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 18, n. 5; for Minorsky's view, see *ibid.*, p. xv). It might have belonged to the tradition of the Balkhī school.

It was, however, left to al-Bīrūnī to introduce new concepts in physical geography which resulted in innovations in the world maps hitherto drawn by the Muslim cartographers. He was the first to propound the theory that the Indian Ocean must have a connection with the Atlantic through certain channels south of the Mountains of the Moon, the traditional sources of the Nile. He argued that just as *al-Baḥr al-Kabīr* (the Indian Ocean) penetrated into the northern continent (Asia) on the east and entered it in many places, creating many islands there, similarly, the continent, to keep up the balance jutted out into *al-Baḥr al-Djūnūbī* (the Southern Sea) in the west. He continues that in this region, the sea had entered the mountains [of the Moon] and the valleys, with a continuous ebb and flow, and was stormy, causing shipwrecks and preventing sailing, but in spite of this it was still connected with the *Uḫiyānūs* (the Atlantic) through these narrow passages. He then says that towards the south and beyond these mountains, signs of the connection of these two seas have been discovered, even though no-one has personal experience of their connection. Thus al-Bīrūnī conceived of the inhabited continent as being surrounded by the "Encircling Ocean" (*al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdi*, Hyderabad 1955, ii, 538); and in his map of the seas, the

'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. J. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Paris 1840, 12-13; Yāqūt, *Mu'adjam*, i, 506, and the map of the seas based on al-Bīrūnī, cf. Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 30-2). The absence of the *terra incognita* in many of the later world maps and the changing shape of the African continent in them may have been due to the influence of this theory.

During the 5th/11th centuries, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [q.v.] drew a rather unusual world map with a linguistic basis, giving prominence to the Turkish-speaking regions and placing Kāshghar at the centre of the world, with other regions receding to the periphery. (For his map, see Kamāl, iii, fasc. II, 741; cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, *Arabische Welt- und Länderkarten*, Band v, Weltkarten, 142-8.)

While the Balkhī school was gaining popularity with the cartographers in the east, in Europe some of the most outstanding maps in the Greco-Muslim tradition were still being produced. In Sicily, the well-known geographer al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1166 [q.v.]), who lived at the court of Roger II, produced a series of world and sectional maps at the orders of the king. Taking the Ptolemaic maps as the basis, he constructed a large silver map. He then drew a world map and by dividing each of the seven climes into ten longitudinal sections, he drew a separate and detailed map of each of these sections. Into these he incor-

porated the geographical information collected from Arabic as well as Norman sources. The maps form a part of his monumental geographical work *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muḥtāḥ fi 'khtirāk al-āfāk*, and except for the silver map, all have fortunately survived the vicissitudes of time. (For his maps, see Miller, Band i, Heft 2, Heft 3; and Band vi). Al-Idrisī's maps represent the best example of Arabo-Norman co-operation in cartography.

An interesting world map belonging to the middle of the 6th/12th century exists in an anonymous work entitled *Muḥtāṣar Ibn Hawḳal*, in which the shape of the inhabited world is drawn elliptically rather than round. The Indian and the Atlantic Oceans are separated by a narrow isthmus of land near the sources of the Nile, which is connected with the *terra incognita* and which is partly visible (of the three mss. of this, two carry the title *Kitāb Hay'at ashkāl al-arḍ wa-miḥdārūhā fi 'l-lūl wa 'l-'arḍ al-ma'rūf bi-djugh-rāfiyā*, Kamāl, iii, fasc. II, 804-17. Kamāl reproduced all the maps belonging to the various mss. of this work. One of these (B.N. No. 2214), according to Kramers, is an abridgement of Ibn Hawḳal's ms. Top Kapu Saray No. 3346, which was copied in 479/1086 with supplementary annotations relating to the period of the epitomiser, i.e. 534-80/1139-84, see Ibn Hawḳal, ed. Kramers, *Introd.* pp. v-vi). Among the various maps belonging to the manuscript of this work, there is a map of the Nile reproduced by Kramers in his edition, i, 149, but it differs in detail from the map of the Nile by al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī (see above).

To this century also belong the six maps of Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī, one of the earliest Muslim cosmographers and author of the Persian work *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-maḥhūbat* (written ca. 576/1180); these were probably drawn in the Balkhī tradition, and are the maps of the Caspian (*Baḥr Kazwin*), the Mediterranean, al-Djibāl, al-Sind and the Persian Gulf (Krachkovsky, 325).

During the 7th/13th century, a number of world maps were produced, some of which belonged to the Greco-Muslim tradition and others to that of the Balkhī school. A peculiar world map belonging to the former tradition and dated 646/1248 is found in a fragment of a Persian geographical treatise. In this map, the Indian Ocean passes south of the Mountains of the Moon and then turning northwards joins the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, thus surrounding what appears to be the continent of Africa. However, the *terra incognita* is also shown covering part of the southern quarter of the earth and then extending northwards around Africa where it joins Spain (see Kamāl, iii (1935), fasc. V, 996; the volume containing the Persian geographical treatise (Leiden ms. Ar. 1899) also contains an astronomical treatise by Aḥmad al-Sidjī copied in 646/1248). The author seemed to have been influenced by al-Bīrūnī, but at the same time persisted in retaining the *terra incognita* on the map, and it was this which led him to connect it with the European mainland. To the Greco-Muslim tradition also belonged the Syriac world map of Bar Hebraeus (Ibn al-'Ibrī, A.D. 1226-86 [q.v.], Miller, i, 9; v, 169; cf. Krachkovsky, 373-4).

The elliptical world maps attributed by Miller to Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d. 673/1274 or 685/1286), see Miller, Band v, Tafel 71, and i, 1, 21-2, are more likely to be the work of the anonymous author of the *Muḥtāṣar Ibn Hawḳal*. Ibn Sa'īd's world map, on the other hand, follows the Greco-Muslim tradition, but the *terra incognita* is replaced by sea in the southern quarter of the earth and the Indian Ocean is connected with the Atlantic south of Africa, whose

southern part is fork-shaped. However, the author seemed to be confused with regard to the outlines of the continents and the islands. (For the world map of Ibn Sa'īd, see L. Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of cartography*, London 1964, Pl. xxvi).

The maps drawn by the cosmographers of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries present some special and interesting features. For instance, the world map of Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Kāzwinī [q.v.] (d. 682/1283) follows the tradition of the Balkhī school, but the "Encircling Ocean" is shown as being surrounded by the legendary *djabal ḥāf*, from the southern side of which the legendary 'ayn al-ḥayāt ("the Fountain of Life") flows into the *terra incognita*. (Miller, Band v, Tafel 80 (2. Kazwini Gotha). However, his map of the seas is based on that of al-Bīrūnī and the climatic world map is in the Greco-Muslim tradition (*ibid.*, Weltkarten, 129-32). The world map of Sirādj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs 'Umar, called Ibn al-Wardī [q.v.] (d. 861/1457 or 850/1446), is similar to that of al-Kāzwinī, following the Balkhī tradition of cartography and depicting the legendary *djabal ḥāf* surrounding the "Encircling Ocean" and the 'ayn al-ḥayāt (*ibid.*, Band v, Tafel 75-9; Weltkarten, 134-8). On the other hand, al-Dimashkī (d. 727/1327 [q.v.]), drew diagrams, distinctive in their nature, of the relative distribution of various races in the inhabited parts of the world (*ibid.*, Band v, Weltkarten, 139-41).

By this time, new trends seemed to be appearing in Islamic cartography. Of great interest are some maps in which the Muslim cartographers used a grid of horizontal and vertical lines representing latitudes and longitudes, which form small squares within which place names are shown to indicate their geographical positions. Whether this new experiment in Islamic cartography was due to any influence of Chinese cartography, in which the rectangular grid was used as a scale to indicate distances, or whether it was indigenous to Muslim cartographers, is not certain. We have some examples of Mongol maps of this design produced in China during this period; for instance, the Mongol map of A.D. 1329 which formed part of the *History of the Yuan Shih* used the rectangular grid. Krachkovsky believed that this map may have been drawn by a representative of the Iranian-Arab school of cartography and that the place names given on the map were possibly in the Mongolian language initially, and the map later translated into Chinese (Krachkovsky, 398-9). However, since the Islamic maps of this category differ fundamentally from their Chinese prototypes, in that the former use the horizontal and the vertical lines to represent the latitudes and the longitudes, while the latter use them to form squares to indicate distances, it is not unlikely that the concept of using a grid was originally borrowed from the Chinese by the Muslim cartographers, considering the fact that Mongol rule at this point covered much of the region between Iran and China.

A notable example of this class of maps is the world map of Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfi (d. 750/1349 [q.v.]), in which the inhabited world is divided into 18 equal longitudinal divisions and the longitudes are drawn as straight lines as through on a plane surface, without converging at the poles; similarly, the inhabited world is divided into 9 parallel divisions beginning from the equator and going northwards. Thus, the squares formed are approximately of  $10^{\circ} \times 10^{\circ}$ , each degree being equal to  $56 \frac{2}{3}$  Arabian miles (according to al-Ma'mūn's astronomers). Place names are then arbitrarily written within each of the squares, and so are the names of the seven climes around the circum-



ference of the inhabited world. The map shows traces of al-Birūnī's concept of sea covering the southern quarter of the earth, and southern Africa is fork-shaped, as in some of the maps discussed above. In his detailed map of Central Asia, Iran, etc. called by Miller "Irankarte", al-Mustawfī used a rectangular grid in which each of the squares represents  $1^\circ \times 1^\circ$  and the names of the main cities and towns are given in each of the squares. The map covers longitudes from  $64^\circ$  to  $111^\circ$  from west to east and latitudes from  $16^\circ$  to  $45^\circ$  north of the equator (the Muslim astronomers generally calculated their longitudes beginning from the Canary Islands ( $0^\circ$ ) to China ( $180^\circ$ )). Again, according to al-Mustawfī, his map spreads between the 1st and the 6th clime north of the equator, but these are arbitrarily mentioned and seem to have no relation with the actual astronomical divisions of the climes as worked out by the astronomers. With an arbitrary division of the parallels of latitudes and with no regard for the sphericity of the earth in drawing the longitudes, it was hardly to be expected that the places would find correct geographical positions as known to the Muslim astronomers (Miller, Band v, Tafel 83-6; Band v, Weltkarten, 178-82).

Another example of this category of maps is the world map of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 833/1430 [q.v.]). While the three regional maps accompanying his work on geography are drawn after the tradition of the Balkhī school, his world map belongs to the category under discussion and resembles in many respects that of al-Mustawfī. The world map is superimposed on a grid of squares of  $5^\circ \times 5^\circ$  with vertical lines representing the longitudes and horizontal lines representing the latitudes. The longitudes begin at  $0^\circ$  (passing through the west coast of Africa) and then go eastwards up to  $180^\circ$  which crosses a place called Kankdūz and are drawn as straight lines; the latitudes begin at  $0^\circ$  at the equator and go up north up to  $90^\circ$ . The climes indicated along the margins, each of which is divided into two parts arbitrarily, have no relation to the actual astronomical divisions of the climes. The southern quarter of the earth is covered by sea and the southern coast of Africa is round in shape, which is an advance upon some of the earlier maps depicting it as forked (*ibid.*, Band v, Weltkarten, 111-12, 122-3, 178; Band v, Beiheft, Tafel 72, 82. "Kankdūz" (Kang-diz), was a legendary town which, according to the Persians, was built by Kay Kā'ūs or Djām in the most remote east, behind the sea, Minorsky, *Huādūd al-Ālam*, 189).

Muslim astronomers also drew maps of cities and towns and the direction of the *qibla* [q.v., 2. Astronomical aspects], of which quite a few examples are extant, see Miller, Band v, 149-54 for the *qibla* maps.

In the 10th/16th century, the members of the al-Sharaffī al-Sifāksī family of Tunisia distinguished themselves by drawing several maps between 958/1551 and 1009/1601. The oldest member of the family, 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, compiled an atlas in eight sheets in 958/1551 (ms. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), to which is probably related the world map of al-Sharaffī (Oxford, Uri, 1787, I, see Miller, v, 176) belonging to 979/1571-2. The atlas contains several maps: a map of the *qibla*; a general map of the world based on al-Idrīsī; and maps of the various coastal regions of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. To the atlas is also attached an agricultural calendar for each month. The atlas was probably drawn for some sea captain who sailed on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea in Christian and Syrian shipping. The same cartographer was probably responsible for the world map dated 987/1579, which

according to Miller, was an attempt to combine the Catalanian sea map with that of al-Idrīsī to produce a new Arabic sea map. Another member of the family, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sharaffī, produced a world map in 1009/1601, the eastern half of which was based on al-Idrīsī and the western half (Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast) and the Black Sea on Catalanian portolanos (Krachkovsky, 455-7; cf. Miller, Band v, Weltkarten, 175-7).

#### Turkish maps and sea-charts.

During this century, Turkish cartographers made some very significant contributions to Islamic cartography. In fact, they may be said to have formed a bridge between mediaeval Islamic and modern cartography. Among the most prominent examples are the maps of Pīrī Re'īs [q.v.] (d. 962/1554). He drew a world map, completed in 919/1513, only the western part of which has been preserved. This portion depicts the Iberian peninsula, north-west Africa, the Atlantic Ocean and the coasts of the islands of America. Drawn on a gazelle hide, it includes coloured pictures and notes about the countries, peoples, animals and plants. It was presented to Sulṭān Selīm in 923/1517. A portolano chart, the map has a mathematical basis, and Pīrī Re'īs used some twenty maps in constructing it, four of which were by Portuguese explorers, including the lost map of Christopher Columbus recording the discoveries made by him during his third voyage (A.D. 1498). In 341/1528, Pīrī Re'īs drew a second map showing the northern part of the Atlantic Ocean and the newly-discovered regions of North and Central America. Sevim Tekeli points out that a comparison of the two maps shows that Pīrī Re'īs followed the new discoveries very closely. His sailing manual for the Mediterranean, the *Baḥriyye*, included numerous maps after the fashion of the Italian portolanos and probably based on them, each representing the portion of the Mediterranean coast treated in the respective chapter (see *DIUGHRAFİYA*, vi. The Ottoman geographers (Taeschner); cf. Sevim Tekeli, *Pīrī Rais*, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, New York 1974, x, 616-9).

It may be pointed out here that the world map hitherto attributed to Ḥādjīdjī Aḥmad of Tunis and dated 967/1559 (preserved in Marciana, Venice) has now been proved by V. L. Ménage to be of European origin (Taeschner, 2; Ménage, *The map of Ḥājjī Aḥmed and its makers*, in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958), 291-314; cf. Krachkovsky, 457-8; G. Kish, *The suppressed Turkish map of 1560*, Ann Arbor 1957).

We may finally mention the maps of Kātib Čelebī [q.v.] (1017-67/1609-57), drawn by him in the first manuscript of his *Djāhān-nūmā*; these were mainly based on modern European cartography (Taeschner, 2; cf. Abdūlhak Adnan Adivar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 107-8). Also, a manuscript of the Near and Middle East was printed by Ibrāhīm Mūtefferīka, dated 1139/1726-7 or 1141/1728-9 (Taeschner, *loc. cit.*).

#### Arab Sea-charts of the Indian Ocean

Although there are no direct references to the existence of Arab sea-charts in the works of the Arab navigators, Ibn Mādjīd [q.v.] (d. after 905/1500) and Sulaymān al-Mahrī (first half of the 10th/16th century) (see G. R. Tibbetts, *The navigational theory of the Arabs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, in *Agrupamento de estudos de cartografia antiga*, xxxvi (Coimbra 1969), 19), one does find references to Arab sea-charts of a type in the Portuguese and other sources. At an earlier date, according to Marco Polo,

the "Arabs had good charts" (Tibbetts, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 4; cf. A. Teixeira da Mota, *Méthodes de navigation et cartographie nautique dans l'Océan Indien avant le XVIIe siècle*, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, in *Studia*, xi (January 1963), 72-5). Two references are of some interest here. One of these is the sea-chart described by João de Barros which Ibn Mājjid had shown to Vasco da Gama during his meeting with the latter in East Africa. The chart, according to João de Barros, depicted the entire coast of India and had the meridians and the parallels drawn on it in the Moorish (i.e. Arab) way but had no rhumbs of the winds indicated on it. The squares formed by these lines were very small, hence the coast traced between the two rhumbs of north-south and east-west was very exact. In the opinion of Teixeira da Mota, the parallels may have represented the altitudes of the stars and were probably traced in the scale 1/4 by 1/4 of an *iṣbaʿ* (1° 36'), conforming to the altitudes given in the works of Ibn Mājjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, and the meridians could have been lines of equal distance, east-west, at an interval of perhaps 24 hours or 8 *zāms* (1 *zām* being equal to 3 *farsakhs*) (op. cit., 64-5, 69-72; on the value of 1 *zām* (= 3 *farsakhs*), see *ibid.*, 57, n. 9). Teixeira da Mota further points out that according to *Le Livre de Marinharía d'André Pires* (ca. 1550), 5 *iṣbaʿ*'s of the Moorish maps were to be taken as being equal to 8 parts which was 8° (i.e. 1 *iṣbaʿ* represented 1° 36', whereas the correct value is 1° 37' (*ibid.*, 74-5).

The second example is that of the nautical map possessed by a skilled navigator of Mogadishu met by Sir Thomas Roe. Drawn on a parchment, this map was lined and graduated in an orderly fashion. But Teixeira da Mota believes that the map may have actually belonged to the European type, for the pilot spoke Portuguese and the Portuguese had since long established themselves in East Africa and maintained close relationships with the local navigators (*ibid.*, 72-3).

From the above example, it may be concluded that the Muslim navigators of the Indian Ocean did evolve an indigenous technique of drawing sea-charts with graduated lines in which the parallels represented the altitudes of the stars in *iṣbaʿ*'s and "the meridians", the fixed distances. According to Tibbetts, the Arab navigators of the Indian Ocean had followed a system of measuring the *masāfāt* or distances (*The navigational theory of the Arabs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, 16). These could have been represented by the vertical lines on the charts.

Finally, it may be said that Islamic cartography, despite its technical drawbacks, as pointed out by scientists like al-Bīrūnī, did serve the purpose of the conqueror, the traveller and the scholar alike throughout the Middle Ages. The mistakes initially made persisted, even though in certain aspects like regional maps there were signs of progress. Its influence in the Islamic world lasted until the 11th/17th century, when it seems to have been replaced by modern cartography.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(S. MAQBUL AHMAD)

**KH'ĀRĪZM, KH'ĀRĪZMĪ**, etc. [see **KH'ĀRAZM, KH'ĀRAZMĪ** etc.].

**KHARLUKH** [see **ĶARLUK**].

**KHARM** [see **ĶARUP**].

**KHARPŪT**, wrong spelling for **KHARTPERT** [q.v.].  
**AL-KHARRĀZ**, ABŪ SA'ĪD AHMAD B. 'ISĀ, mystic of the school of Baghdād. Born in Baghdād probably

early in the 3rd/9th century, he joined al-Nibādī, Abū 'Ubayd al-Busrī, Sarī al-Sakaṭī, Bishr al-Ḥāfi, Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Ṭūsī and other Ṣūfi *shaykhs*. He travelled extensively from an early age, though only few details about his itineraries are known from his own statements. His final departure from Baghdād may be connected with the wave of persecution of the Ṣūfis instigated by the Ḥanbalī Ghulām al-Khallīl during the coregency of al-Muwaffaq (257-78/871-91), for he is reported to have been accused of infidelity by a group of 'ulamā' for some daring expressions in his *Kitāb al-sirr*. According to his own testimony, he visited al-Ramlā, Jerusalem, and Ṣayda and lived in Mecca for eleven years, regularly visiting Medina in order to perform the pilgrimage from there. He was expelled from Mecca by the governor because of his teaching. During the last part of his life, and perhaps during an earlier period, he lived in Egypt. From there he travelled to al-Baṣra in order to meet the Ṣūfi Abū Ḥatīm al-'Aṭṭār, and he also visited Ḳayrawān. According to the best attested report, he died in 286/899.

Like his contemporary al-Djunayd [q.v.], al-Kharrāz strove to combine a doctrine of ecstatic mysticism with orthodox support of the religious law. He affirmed that any esoteric (*bāḥin*) doctrine that contradicts the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of the law is false. Upholding the superiority of the prophets over the saints (*awliyā'*), he argued that every prophet is a saint before becoming a prophet. He addressed a letter to a group of Ṣūfis in Damascus, refuting their heretical view that they could see God with their hearts as the inhabitants of Paradise will see Him with their eyes. In a book on proper conduct in the canonical prayer (*adab al-ṣalāt*), he described the significance of its rites for the Ṣūfi. Al-Kharrāz is credited by al-Sulamī and others with having been the first one to speak about the states of annihilation (*fanā'*) and subsistence (*baḳā'*) [q.v.]. This is not literally correct, for these concepts had been used by earlier Ṣūfis and were commonplace among his contemporaries. They appear, however, as fundamental in his doctrine and designate the highest stages of the mystic "beyond which no created being can reach". He defined *fanā'* as "annihilation of the consciousness of manhood" and *baḳā'* as "subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead". At the highest stage, so he stated in his *Kitāb al-dīyā'*, the mystic loses his (human) attributes and attains the attributes of God, a doctrine disputed by al-Djunayd and expressly condemned as heretical by al-Sarrāḍī.

*Bibliography*: al-Sarrāḍī, *al-Luma'*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Ṭ. 'Abd al-Bāḳī Surūr, Cairo-Baghdād 1380/1960, index, s.v. Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz; al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 223-8; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1351-7/1932-8, x, 246-9; *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, iv 276-8; al-Ḳuṣhayrī, *al-Risāla al-Ḳuṣhayriyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd Ibn al-Sharaf, Cairo 1385 1966, index, s.v. Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz; Hudīwīrī, *Kaṣf al-maḥdīyūb*, ed. V. A. Zhukovskii, Leningrad 1926, 180 f., 311-7, tr. R. A. Nicholson, GMS, xvii, 2nd ed., London 1936, 143, 241-6; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī Kandahārī, Kābul 1962, 133-6; *Ta'rikh Dimashk*, ed. Badrān, i, 426-32; *Djāmī, Nafahāt al-uns*, ed. Maḥdī Tawḥīdī-Pūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 73-6; al-Kharrāz, *Rasā'il*, ed. Ḳāsim al-Sāmarrā'ī, Baghdād 1387/1967; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musul-*

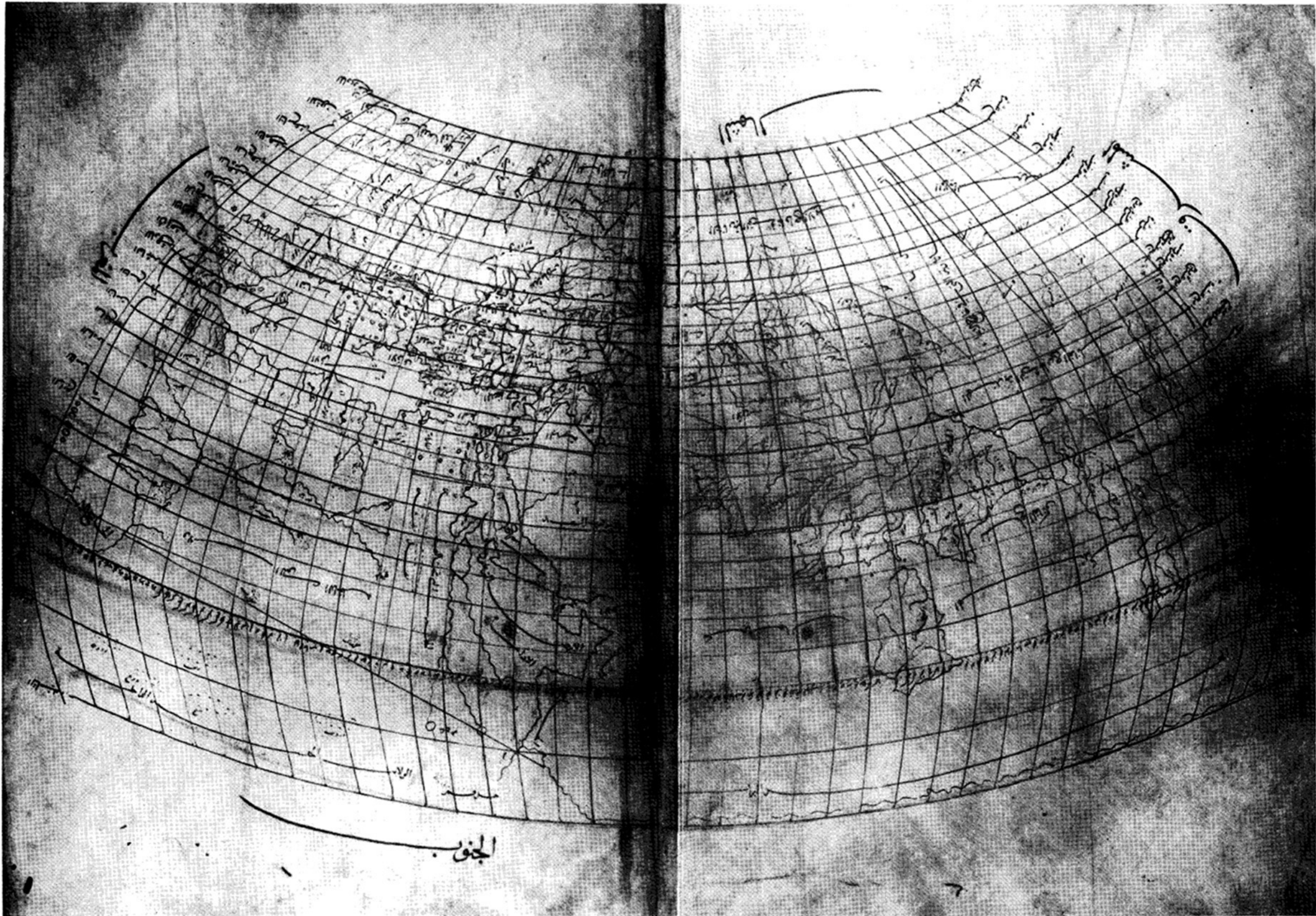


Fig. 2. The world map of Ptolemy translated into Arabic, as contained in the MS. Istanbul, Aya Sofya, No. 2160 (which bears the seal of Bāyezīd II, 886-918/1481-1512).



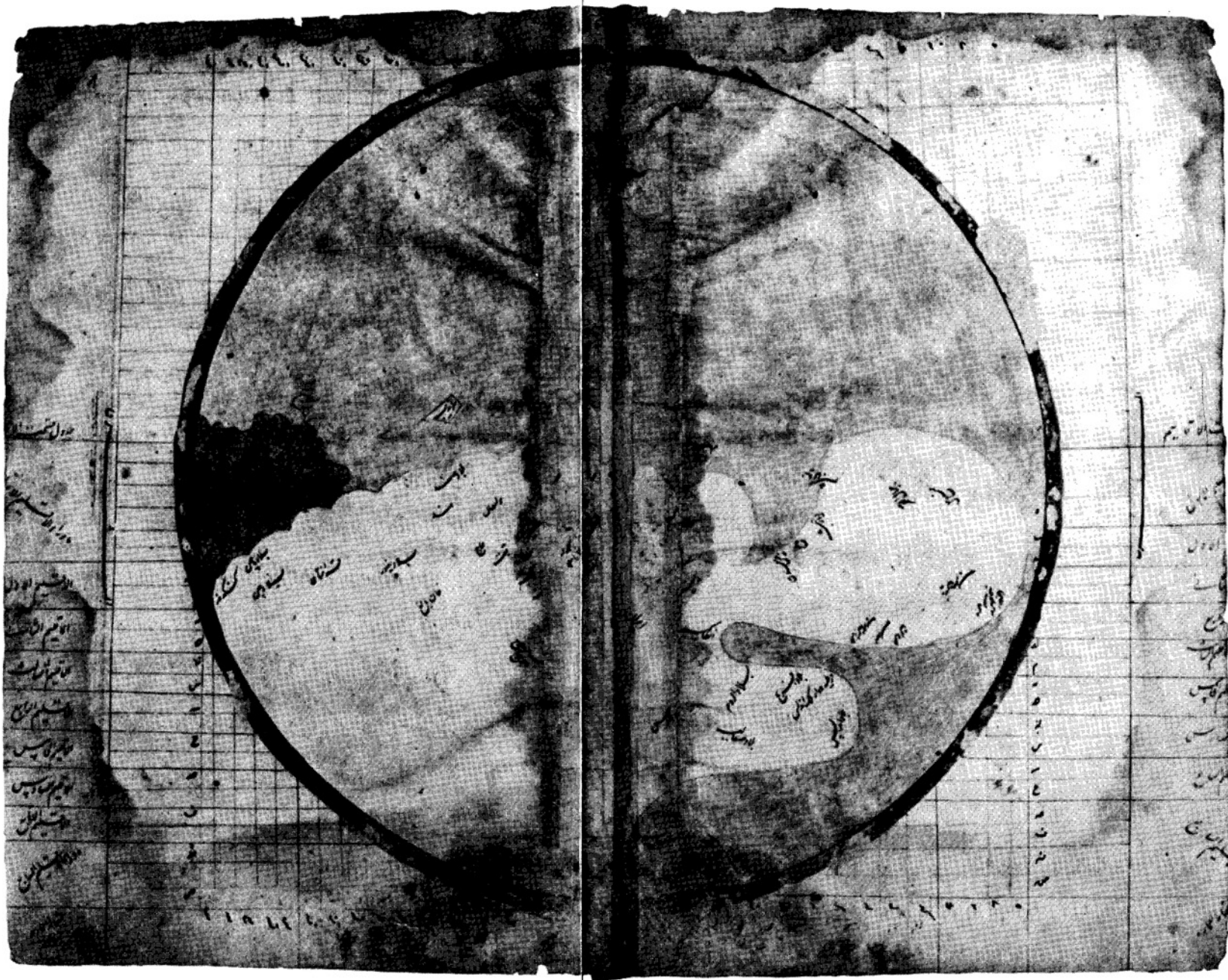


Fig. 3. Map of the world by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū as contained in his untitled work on geography (written between 817/1414-5 and 823/1420), British Museum, MS. Or. 1577, ff. 7b-8a.





Fig. 4. Map of the world as contained in al-Iṣṭakhṛī's *Kitāb al-Masālik* (written towards the middle of the 4th/10th century), Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 3101, pp. 4-5.



mane<sup>3</sup>, Paris 1968, 302-5; P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 212, 231-310. (W. MADELUNG)

**KHARRŪBA** [see MAKĀYĪL].

**KHĀRŞĪNĪ** (Persian *khār čini* "hard substance from China"), also *hadīd šini* "Chinese iron" (J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, Heidelberg 1926, 70, tr. 75), to which corresponds the Persian *āhan čini* (*Āyin-i Akbari*, tr. H. Blochmann, i, 40) is not zinc, as often assumed, but a hard, highly-esteemed alloy, the constituents of which have not been established with certainty. According to the physical qualities attributed to it, *khārşini* would best correspond with hard lead, i.e. an alloy consisting of a mixture of lead, antimony and small quantities of copper, iron and tin. Next to gold, silver, iron, copper, lead and tin, *khārşini* is mentioned as the seventh "metallic substance" (*Kh* ʾārazmī, *Mafātiḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 258; *Djābir*, *K. al-Khawāṣṣ al-kabīr*, see M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 141; Dimashki, *Nukhbāt al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 1866, Arab. text 48, tr. 52) and called "mercury" (*uḫārid*) by the alchemists. In his *K. al-Sirr al-rabbānī fī ʿilm al-mizān*, an alchemical treatise on the theory of the proportions to be mixed, Iznikī deals with this metal in a separate section (Mss. cited by Ullmann, *op. cit.*, 243). Rāzī compares it with the "Chinese mirrors" (*al-marāyā al-šiniyya*) and *Djābir* with lead (both following al-Bīrūnī, who in his *K. al-Djāmāhir*, Hyderabad 1355, 261 f., deals with *khārşini* in a special chapter). This "strange substance" (*djāwhar gharīb*) was "all but unknown" to the Arabs: this is probably the meaning of *shabih bi 'l-ma'dūm* (*Kh* ʾārazmī, *loc. cit.*); van Vloten's interpretation "colourless" is less likely, since occasionally the yellow colour of *khārşini* is mentioned.

*Bibliography*: in addition to the references in the article, see E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim-New York 1970, i, 49 f., 120, 697, 703 f., 707, 833, ii, 599. (A. DIETRICH)

**KHARTABIRT** [see KHARTPERT].

**KHARTPERT**, a stronghold of eastern Anatolia situated on a rock (Armenian, *per*) 350 m./1,100 ft. above the plain of *Khantzit* [q.v.], to be identified with the *Ḥiṣna Zayt* of the Aramaic texts (and already in Ammianus Marcellinus, *castellum Ziata*, whence, through a confusion, the Arabic *Ḥiṣn Ziyād*, a term in use till the 16th century). The corrupted form *Kharpūt* is found in colloquial Armenian (whence already in the Byzantine author Cedrenos, ii, 419) and in modern Turkish. The Latin and French authors at the time of the Crusades use forms like Quart-Pierre. Al-Dimashki, ed. Mehren, 190, thought that *Khartpert* was the name of the fortress and *Ḥiṣn Ziyād* that of the settlement as a whole, but this appears to be a personal interpretation.

*Khartpert* was situated on the Arab-Byzantine borders, which were frequently crossed and re-crossed by armies from both sides. It is mentioned by Ibn *Khurradādhbih*, but is nevertheless not apparently cited in the Islamic historical sources before 367/977-8, when the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib took refuge there with a brother-in-law, a Byzantine vassal. In the 6th/12th century, after the Turkish invasions, it fell temporarily to a Turkmen called *Djubuk*, and soon afterwards to the Artukids, amongst whom was the celebrated Balak, who imprisoned there Jocelyn of Edessa and Baldwin II of Jerusalem. When *Diyār Bakr* was partitioned between rival branches of this

dynasty, *Khartpert* fell within that centred on *Ḥiṣn Kayfa*, and then under a subordinate branch of these last Artukids in 581/1185. The town played a big part at the time of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil's expedition of 631/1234 against the Rūm Salḡūk Kaykubād, who annexed it directly. It passed subsequently into the hands of all the powers who transiently held power over the region during the Mongol period, and in the 9th/15th century the Banū Eretna, the Dulghadir, the Aḡ Koyunlu [q.v.], and finally, after an interval of Şafawid control, into the grip of the Ottomans in 921/1515. The Ottoman governors established themselves at the foot of the rock at Mezere, now named Ma'mūrat al-ʿAzīz (a name later extended to all the province, along both banks of the Euphrates). In the 9th/15th century *Khartpert* had been visited by Joseph Barbaro (*Viaggi*, ed. Venice 1545, 48-9), and it was described in the 11th/17th one by Ewliyā Çelebi.

The population, partly Armenian until the massacres of the present century, had nevertheless been largely Turkicised and Kurdicised over the preceding centuries. According to the register from 936/1530 published by Ö. L. Barkan, its revenue at that time was about 250,000 *aḳces*. The town possessed an old mosque and a more recent one built by Uzun Ḥasan, a *madrassa* and 50 (?) schools. Amongst the industries mentioned were saddle-making, silk production, wax, dyeing, and at least in the 6th/12th century, coins were minted here. The 19th century travellers who visited *Khartpert* give population estimates from between 20,000 (Cuinet's figure) to over 40,000; in 1945 it had a mere 2,095. At the end of the 19th century, *Khartpert* also had an American mission station.

*Bibliography*: This is given essentially in the arts. of *EA* (Kramers) and *IA* (Besim Darkot, s.v. *Harput*). It is named in most of the Arabic geographers from Ibn *Khurradādhbih* and Ibn Serapion onwards (information summed up in Le Strange, *Lands*, 116-17), till the time of Ewliyā Çelebi, ed. 1314/1896-7, iii, 216-17, and the 19th century travellers, Moltke, Brant, Hommaire de Hell, Saudredzki, Taylor, Tozer, Lynch and Lehmann Haupt (summed up in Ritter, *Erskunde*), and finally Cuinet (cf. Darkot in *IA*). The most important Muslim and other mediaeval historians include Ibn al-Aḥḡir; Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriḡī, *Ta'rikh Mayyāfāriḡin*, Marwānid period ed. B. A. L. Awad, 1959, Artukid one resumed by Cl. Cahen in *Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA* (1935); the historians of the campaign of 631/1234, especially Ibn Wāṣil and Ibn Bibi; those of Jocelyn and Baldwin's captivity (Foucher of Chartres, Matthew of Edessa); and Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus. The inscription of 561/1166 (*REA*, No. 3271) has now been more satisfactorily published by Sauvaget in his *Quatre décrets selḡukides*, Damascus 1947; another unedited inscription has been brought to light. For archeology, see especially A. Gabriel, *Voyages*, 257-8. There is an Artukid coin given in I. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul ... sikkeler katalogu*, i, 396.

(CL. CAHEN)

**BANŪ KHARŪŞ**, a tribe which has played an important role in the history of the Ibādiyya [q.v.] in ʿUmān. Descendants of Yahmad, a branch of al-Azd [q.v.], members of the tribe migrated to ʿUmān in pre-Islamic times and established themselves in a valley which came to bear their name. Wādī Banī *Khārūş* runs down from the heights of the western mountain range of al-Ḥadjar to join Wādī al-Far' before debouching on the plain of al-Bāṭina and then

into the Gulf of 'Umān. On the right bank not far below the juncture of the two valleys is the famous Ibāḍī stronghold of al-Rustāk [q.v.].

Yaḥmad provided most of the Ibāḍī *Imāms* of 'Umān before the advent of the Ya'rubī dynasty in the 11th/17th century, and of these a goodly share were *Kharūṣīs*. The first *Kharūṣī* to be elected to the high office appears to have been al-Wārith b. Ka'b (179-92/795-808), during whose tenure of power the centre of the Ibāḍiyya is believed to have moved from al-Baṣra to 'Umān. Hārūn al-Raṣhīd sent an expedition against al-Wārith's Ibāḍīs, who won a signal victory over it near Ṣuḥār. In the words of Wilkinson, the period of rule of al-Wārith and the other early *Imāms* was "in many ways Oman's golden age."

Sā'īd b. *Khalḥān* al-*Khalīlī* al-*Kharūṣī* was largely instrumental in the choice of 'Azzān b. Ka'ys of Āl Bū Sa'īd, the only Ibāḍī *Imām* elected in the 13th/19th century. When the *Imāmate* was revived in 1331/1913, Sālim b. Rāshīd al-*Kharūṣī* became the head of the community. Upon his assassination in 1338/1920, the succession went to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, a grandson of Sā'īd b. *Khalḥān*, who reigned until his death in 1373/1954. For the careers of these later *Kharūṣīs*, see 'UMĀN.

*Bibliography*: 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥumayyid al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-a'yān fī sirat ahl 'Umān*, Cairo 1332-47; G. Badger, tr., *History of the Imāms and Seyyids of 'Omān*, London 1871 (the MS. by Ḥumayd b. Ruzayq translated by Badger is in the Cambridge University Library); J. Wilkinson, in D. Hopwood, ed., *The Arabian peninsula*, London 1972; G. Rentz, ed., *Oman and the southern shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952. (G. RENTZ)

AL-KHAṢĀṢĪ, ABU 'L-FADL KĀSIM B. AL-ḤĀDIDĪ KĀSIM B. KĀSIM AL-KHAṢĀṢĪ, a Moroccan saint, member of the *Djazāliyya* order [q.v.]. Originally from Andalusia, he owed his ethnic name to the town of al-Khaṣāsa, which was situated on the al-Kālf'a mountain on the Mediterranean coast. He was born at Fez in ca. 1002/1593-4, where he studied and had, in particular, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Ma'n al-Andalusī as his pupil. Al-Kādirī [q.v.] devoted a work called *al-Zahr al-bāsim* to his *manārib*. He died at Fez on 19 Ramaḍān 1083/8 January 1673 and was buried in the mausoleum of al-Ashyākh.

*Bibliography*: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 273 and n. 6; Ifrānī, *Ṣafwa*, 171; Kādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 9; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, i, fols. 129b-130b; idem, *Iḥkāt*, fol. 30b; Ibn Ayyūn al-Sharrāt, *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāfir al-anfās*, fol. 64a; Kattānī, *Sahwa*, ii, 282 ff.; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, ii, 'A. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 255. (M. LAKHDAR)

**KHASHAB** (A.), wood. In the major part of the Muslim world, wood is fairly scarce and for this reason plays a relatively minor rôle in the material life of its populations in comparison with that of societies in which it is more plentiful. However, precisely because its use is limited, it occupies an important place in artistic creation, for example in private furniture and the appurtenances of mosques. Architecturally, it is employed for doors, roofs, arches, etc. and ceilings; it is also used in the galleries of mines, the construction of numerous implements such as presses and hydraulic machines (there are few "vehicles"); brushwood is often used as fuel and its gases (often produced from scrub) provide sufficient heat for metal-working, glass-blowing and ceramics; for cooking, straw is often used. The uses of most interest to the authorities were in the arms-making (archery, javelins and above all siege engines) and naval construction vital to

their political ends. See further the articles on the various related techniques, such as *NADIDJĀR*, *DĀR AL-ṢINĀ'Ā*, etc.

Woods and thickets, though generally of less importance in the Middle Ages than in antiquity because of deforestation, were nevertheless more numerous than today. Lebanon was criss-crossed by oaks, prolonged into northern Syria and Asia Minor (Byzantine and then Turkish), where some Turkmens combined the tasks of shepherd and woodman. In Iran, the major forest zone was the mountain slopes region along the Caspian shores which stretched to Armenia on one side and the mountains of *Khurāsān* and *Afghānistān* on the other. In the *Saldjūk* era, the wood carvers of Marw and *Ādharbaydījān* had a semi-corporate organisation which was far in advance of its time (Cl. Cahen, *Y a-t-il eu des corporations dans le monde musulman médiéval?*, in *The Muslim City*, ed. A. Hourani and S. M. Stern, Oxford 1970, 59). Egypt, which was obviously devoid of conifers, conserved her acacia thickets (*sant*), used particularly for small river craft, and care was taken that they were intelligently managed (cf. Ali Bey Baghat, *Les forêts en Egypte*, in *BIE* (1901), 41-58). The central and western *Maghrib* (not *Ifrikiya*), Spain and the Mediterranean islands still had fine coniferous forests and various species of oak, etc. Palms and fruit trees were naturally looked after as much as possible for their fruit. The northern regions, especially of Central Asia, were the home of the high-growing poplar (*khalandī*), which was greatly prized for bows. The African and Asian coasts (beyond Arabia and Iran) of the Indian Ocean supplied precious timber such as teak, which was excellent for ships and widely used even for the construction of houses in ports like *Sirāf* [q.v.]. Archipelagos like the *Maldives* provided the coconut palm which was used for many nautical purposes (hulls; masts, especially; ropes; etc.).

The practical possibilities of the use of timbers in places other than their native habitats obviously depended on transport. Carriage by land on the backs of animals was almost impossible in the case of large blocks; these were therefore floated over the sea, especially the Indian Ocean, in calm weather. It was also vital that the ports of embarkation should not be too far from the forests, which was the reason for the importance of the little ports in the Gulf of Alexandretta, among others. Smaller blocks and resin pitch could be brought from greater distances (the forest zone of Russia). The urban and craft development of Muslim countries in the classical period and the allied development of agriculture and consequently of irrigation increased the demand for different types of timber, and accentuated the dependence of most Muslim countries on trade with the outside world; the striking maritime activity in southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf, for example, could only be maintained by materials for ship-building furnished by India, Africa and the *Maldives*. The Mediterranean fleets, inasmuch as they remained important, were provisioned more and more from Italian merchants.

These considerations explain the attention paid to this trade by the authorities. In the documents on Egyptian-Italian trade, for example, the facilities accorded to Italian merchants in Alexandria and likewise Cairo were made dependent in large part on their promise to supply wood for ship-building at a discount (as well as iron), and it had to be delivered to the trading office of the state (*matdījar*) and not to private buyers. The state undertook to

buy in full, without any authorisation for re-exportation. Thus in the time of the Crusades there was a kind of "war of wood" with the Latin East which was sustained by conciliar decrees as clear-cut in intention as they were useless in practice. As early as the 10th century the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimiskes had forbidden the sale of timber to the Muslims of the Maghrib, but they managed to buy already-constructed ships at Amalfi or to re-use the valuable parts of unseaworthy vessels. It has been said that the decline in Muslim shipping at the end of the Middle Ages resulted from the scarcity of wood. This idea cannot be accepted in its entirety, since the Byzantines, who had a wealth of wood, still allowed the Italians to achieve mastery of the sea, but this scarcity undoubtedly played a part.

**Bibliography:** For topics on which the information is both scattered and tenuous, it is impossible to provide a proper bibliography. The essential facts on the production of wood and naval arsenals can be found in the articles by Maurice Lombard (reproduced in a posthumous collection, *Espaces et réseaux au haut Moyen Âge*, Paris and The Hague 1972), *Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane (VII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> s.)*, in *Le Navire and l'économie maritime . . . Second colloquium on Maritime History*, Paris 1958, 53-106) and *Le bois dans la Méditerranée musulmane*, in *Annales ESC* (1959), 234-54, with good bibliographies up to these dates. For trade, see the histories of Levantine trade and the Crusades, and Cl. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte Médiévale*, in *JESHO* (1965), and the few references cited in this article.

(CL. CAHEN)

**AL-KHASHABĀT**, pl. of Arabic *khashaba* "wooden beam", the name given to wooden pillars which in mediaeval times were driven into the seabed at the place where the *Shaṭṭ* al-'Arab empties into the Persian Gulf. These beacons were placed at six miles' distance from 'Abbādān, and were meant to guide sailors in danger of been drawn into a dangerous whirlpool and also on occasion to signal the approach of pirates. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 230, 330-1 = §§ 242, 361-2, mentions three pillars, and al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī, *Mafātīh*, 124, states that lamps were lit on their upper parts. Naṣīr-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, text 90, tr. 246, gives a more exact description. They consisted of four teak columns set obliquely in the water and supporting, at some 60 feet above water-level, a platform with a little shelter for the watchman. This last at night lit up lamps which were protected by glass casings. Al-Idrīsī, *Nuṣha*, 3rd clime, 6th section, adds that the watchmen had a boat in order to get back to land.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see Iṣṭakh<sup>r</sup>ī, 32; Muḳaddasī, 12; Ibn Khurrādādhbih, 60; *BGA*, iv, *Gloss.*, 225; Mez, *Renaissance*, 479, Eng. tr. 513; E. Wiedemann, *Über Leuchfeuer bei den Muslimen*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Naturwiss. und der Technik*, ii (1909), 151-4, describing the places where beacons of this type were to be found.

(E. WIEDEMANN\*)

**KHASHABIYYA**, "men armed with clubs", was originally an abusive name for the Mawālī [see MAWLĀ] of Kūfa, who were armed with clubs (*khashab*, sing. *khashaba*) and formed the main part of the followers of al-Muḳhtār [q.v.] and took the field under his generals, for instance Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Aṣhtar (Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 300; Ibn Rusta, *al-A'lāk al-naṣīa*,

*BGA*, vii, 218, tr. Wiet, 259; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 684, 1798; *Aghānī*, v, 155; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 226-7 = §§ 1990-1; idem, *al-Tanbih*, *BGA*, viii, 313; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhīr al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa'l-ta'rikh*, v, 133; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iv, 207; Maḳdī al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1311, i, 294; *LA*, *TA*, s.v.).

The troops which marched upon Mecca by al-Muḳhtār's order and released Muḳhammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [q.v.], who was imprisoned by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], are called *khashabiyya* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 693; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 74, cf. 76; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iv, 206-7). They themselves apparently called their cudgels *kāfir-kūbāt* [q.v.].

The remark in Ibn al-Aṭhīr's chronicle (iv, 207) that the liberators of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya bore cudgels in order to avoid the use of swords in the *haram*, is as improbable as is the interpretation which connects the name *Khashabiyya* with the wood piled up by Ibn al-Zubayr beside the prison of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya with the threat to have him and his fellow-prisoners burned.

With reference to a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar in which the performing of the *ṣalāt* behind the *Khashabiyya* is mentioned, the latter name was explained as denoting people who reverently kept the pole or tree-trunk (*khashaba*) on which Zayd b. 'Alī [q.v.] had been executed. But, as Maḳdī al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*loc. cit.*) observes, this explanation is chronologically untenable.

According to an observation made by Ibn Ḥazm (*Fīṣal*, cf. I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1909), 63, note 1), the *Khashabiyya* regarded the bearing of iron weapons as forbidden till the expected Mahdī had appeared.

The fact that "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" (*yā la-tha'rāt al-Ḥusayn!*, e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 694) was the rallying cry of the *Khashabiyya* possibly tended to replace this name by *al-Ḥusayniyya*, which is graphically only slightly different; the latter is, however, to be retained in places like Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhī, *Iḥd*, Cairo 1317, i, 190, and Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Kaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, ed. Dozy, 187).

Moreover, *al-Khashabiyya* was another name for the Kaysāniyya [q.v.] and then was applied to the adherents of the doctrines which were current among the latter, like that of the return (*radī'a* [q.v.]) and that of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh* [q.v.]). The poetical representative of these doctrines, Kuthayyir, is called a *Khashabī* and is said to have been gained for the *Khashabiyya* by the poet Khindif al-Asadī (*Aghānī*, viii, 33-4, xi, 47, where *Khindif* is to be read instead of *Khandak*).

According to Muḳhammad b. Aḳmad al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī (*Mafātīh al-'ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 29), the name *al-Khashabiyya* was used for a group of the Zaydiyya [q.v.] known as *Ṣurkhābiyya* after a certain *Ṣurkhāb* al-Ṭabarī, of whom nothing seems to be known; it might be possible to think of the *Ṣurkhāb* who played a part in Ṭabaristān in the time of Ḥasan b. Zayd [q.v.] (cf. Ibn Isfandiyyār, Engl. tr. E. G. Browne, Leiden-London 1905, Index). It must be left undecided whether they were called *Khashabiyya* after their weapons or perhaps on account of Kaysānī doctrines which asserted themselves among them. The same statement occurs in Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, in *Chrestomathie persane*, ed. Ch. Schefer, i, Paris 1833, 157, where *Ṣurkhāb* is to be read instead of *Ṣ-rhāt*.

According to a statement given on the authority of al-Layth (apparently Ibn al-Muzaḳfar), al-Khasha-



biyya was also the name of a section of the *Djahmiyya* [q.v.], which maintained that Allāh does not speak and that the Qurʾān is created (*LA* and *TA*, s.v.).

*Bibliography* (in addition to the works cited in the article): Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, Leiden-London 1912, f. 199b; Ṭabarī, *Gloss.*, s.v. *kh-sh-b* and *k-f-r*; *BGA*, iv, *Gloss.*, 278; H. D. van Gelder, *Muḥtar de valsche Proefet*, diss. Leiden 1888, 71-3; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G.W.G.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.F., No. 3, Berlin 1901), 80; H. Banning, *Muḥammad ibn al-Hanafīya*, diss. Erlangen 1909, 46-7; Friedländer, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Haṣm*, in *JAOS*, xxix, 93-5.

(C. VAN ARENDONK\*)

**KHĀṢĪ** (A.), pl. *khīṣyān* "castrated man, eunuch".

#### I.—IN THE CENTRAL ISLAMIC LANDS.

From the 4th/10th century especially, several euphemisms were applied to eunuchs, who were numerous in the palaces and frequently invested with important functions: notably *khādīm* (coll. *khādām*, pl. *khuddām*), *muʿallim*, *shaykh*, *ustādḥ* (see M. Canard, *Akhbār ar-Rādī* . . . , i, 210-1, note), later on *ṭawāshī* (which, according to al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, 1/2 (1849), 132, comes from the Turkish *ṭāvūshī* = Osmanli *tapuğhī* "servant" and also designating in the administrative language of Egypt a military position in the body-guard), all in the Arabic-speaking world; in Turkish, *khādīm/hādīm*, *khwādīja/khōdīja/hoca* and *aghā*, in Persian *khwādīja* and *aghā/ākā* [q.v.] were employed. Placed before or after the name of the person concerned, these terms are not generally ambiguous, but employed on their own, in the sing. or the pl., most of them can cause confusion, particularly the first, *khādīm* [q.v.], equally frequent in the ancient texts to designate normal slaves, and even free servants; it is the same, in Muslim Spain and other parts, with *fatā*, *ghulām* [q.v.], etc., and one never knows exactly what an author intends by these words when the real state of the person cited is not known from other sources. On the other hand, eunuchs were often named Yākūt, Kāfūr, ʿAnbar, etc. (see in al-Ḳalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 489, the honorific titles corresponding to these names), but nevertheless these appellations are not sufficient to identify them as such. *Khāṣī*, by contrast, is never equivocal, and the same can be said of *makhṣī* (passive participle particularly frequent in the passages of al-Mutanabbī about Kāfūr [q.v.]); these terms, as well as *khādīm*, are opposed to *faḥl* "stallion", and there is a characteristic example in the distinction between the two famous homonyms, Muʿnis al-Faḥl and Muʿnis al-Khādīm [q.v.].

Even so, the use of the preceding terms and of the word *khāṣī* itself allows an uncertainty to continue, for it does not permit the distinction to be made between the two fundamental categories of eunuchs: in Arabic, *khāṣī* designates, properly speaking, the man or animal who has undergone the ablation of the testicles (called among other things *khīṣy/khūṣy*, *khīṣya/khūṣya*, the operation being called *khīṣāʾ*), whereas the complete eunuch, deprived of all his sexual organs, is a *maḍībūb* (pl. *maḍībūbīb*); this latter word, which rhymes with *masībūb* "castrated by evulsion" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 149 = § 3290), while distinguished from it, rarely appeared in the texts, as is the case with the verb *ḍiʾabba* and the verbal noun *ḍiʾibāb*; one encounters at times one or the other in the account of a mutilation inflicted on a slave by his master or even on a free man by a

flouted husband who takes vengeance on his rival. With regard to this, one of the most frightful stories is that of a Sindī slave surprised by his master in the company of his wife and punished by the latter in the following manner: *ḍiʾabba ḍhakara-hu*; taking the sons of his tormentor as hostages, he forced their father to mutilate himself (*ḍiʾabba nafsa-hu*) with a knife, after which he threw the children from the top of the house (al-Masʿūdī, vi, 264-5 = 2472; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaḍraf*, Cairo n.d., ii, 103).

Similar acts of cruelty enter into the arsenal of folkloric themes, and the *Thousand and One Nights*, where the person of the eunuch plays a certain role (notably 3rd, 7th, 27th, 107th, 237th, 719th nights; see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une Nuits*, Damascus 1949, index), offer several examples of the mutilation of a man by a mistress (113th night) or a jealous husband (33rd night), or to punish the seducer of a young girl (39th night); even a school-master is seen depriving himself of his virility (403rd night), and a slave who refuses to be freed, is castrated and sold at a very high price (39th night). Independently of more or less legendary traditions, the case is cited of ʿAlqama b. Saḥl, emasculated by a king of Yemen (al-Djāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 120-1), which caused perhaps the epithet of al-Faḥl to be added to the name of ʿAlqama b. ʿAbada [q.v.]. The famous story is also reported of the letter of Hishām (*Ḥayawān*, i, 121) or of Sulaymān (*al-Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iv, 275) or of al-Walīd (*ibīd.*, iv, 278) b. ʿAbd al-Malik ordering the governor of Medina or Mecca to take a census of (*aḥṣī*) the effeminate men of the two holy towns; having read *ikhṣī*, the official had two (or nine of them) castrated, notably the singer al-Dalāl (*al-Aghānī*, iv, 273 ff.), by one named Badarāḳus/Bardarāḳus, who was a circumciser; this last detail does not figure in al-Djāhīz and, despite the traditions which tend to make it an historical fact, the whole account is, by all appearances, nothing other than a pleasing anecdote, forged to provide evidence of the inconveniences of the Arabic script, but later exploited by anti-Umayyad authors. Some cases of accidental castration were also related, and it seems that some doctors practised from early on such an operation, when the state of an illness made it necessary (*Ḥayawān*, i, 121-3).

At all events, the vocabulary used rarely permits the specification of the exact nature of the emasculation undertaken, and in a famous passage (*Aḥsan al-taḥāsīm*, 242; ed.-tr. Pellat, *Descr. de l'Occident musul. au IV<sup>e</sup> = X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Algiers 1950, 57-9 (where "inciser", p. 57, should be replaced by "trancher"); Germ., Engl., Span. tr. in A. Mez, *Renaissance*, and on the transl. of this work, ch. xx), al-Muḳaddasī uses the collective *khādām* and the verb *khāṣā* in the part of his description which applies to complete eunuchs, i.e. to the *maḍībūb*. To judge by this text, two methods were used for the emasculation of eunuchs that the author has been able to encounter: simultaneous ablation of the testicles (*miṣwad*) and the penis or incision of the scrotal sheath (*ṣafan*) and evulsion of the testicles first of all, then cutting of the male member; after this operation a rod of lead was placed in the urethra and replaced after each urination, until the healing was complete, in order to prevent the tissues from joining.

However, this horrible mutilation was not general, and it is probable that the majority of eunuchs were not actually *maḍībūb*, but *khīṣyān* properly so-called, who had undergone a *khīṣāʾ* consisting, for the operator (*khāṣī*), of incising and at the same time cauterizing the scrotum by means of a red-hot blade

of iron and removing (*sall*, *salb* or *imtilāḥh*) the testicles. This emasculation is also called *mals* or *matn*, since it is especially associated with rams. As for *widiā*, another form of castration, it consisted of binding the cord supporting the testicles and making them gush out, when they underwent a crushing (*raḍḍ*) and atrophied naturally; twisting of the cord (*ʿasb*) was also known. Al-Djāhīz (*Hayawān*, i, 130-1) gives us to understand that the first of these processes was applied to men and speaks immediately afterwards of animals, but it is highly likely that, never having had the opportunity to see the operation practised on a human being, he generalised, although the word *widiā*, probably deprived of its technical meaning, is also used for a man (see below).

In fact, if curious investigators were able easily to interrogate stock-breeders and obtain exact information on the castration of animals, they were less well informed on emasculation of men, and, as far as we know, al-Muḥaddasī alone reports at first hand the information supplied by eunuchs whom he says he had questioned. Speaking of the *khadam* of Byzantine origin who fell into the hands of the Muslims at the time when the latter made incursions into the territory of Byzantium, this author states that he had come across children whose parents had had them castrated in order to consecrate them to the service of the Church; he also demonstrates that the religious origin of emasculation was not unknown. In fact, the Council of Nicea (325 A.D.) had clearly prohibited eunuchs from the priesthood, but they could be choristers and even priests in the Oriental Church. Moreover, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 354 = 771) asserts that Romanus Lecapenus had made his son [Theophylactus], who succeeded in occupying the patriarchal see of Constantinople, undergo this operation. For his part, al-Djāhīz already knew that some nations possessing a régime founded on a religious law (*ahl al-milal*) consecrated castrated children to the service of temples, and he cites the example of the Rūm and the Sabaeans (*Hayawān*, i, 124, 125, 128). Concerning Islam, the texts are discreet in this respect, but it is of some interest to note that at a much later period, Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] instituted in 557/1161 a body of ministers of the *ḥudjra* of the Prophet: it consisted of twelve Abyssinian eunuchs, whose number was then doubled by Saladin (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, ii, 559). In the period of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 278 = tr. Gibb, i, 175), the servants and door-keepers of the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina were also eunuchs of Abyssinian or other origin, under the orders of the *shaykh al-ḥuddām* (see the text of a decree of nomination in al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xii, 260 ff.). In the 19th century, J. L. Burckhardt (*Travels in Nubia*, 294) mentions that some eunuchs of Dārḥūr were sent by the African kings to the Friday Mosques of Mecca and Medina, and reports (*Voyages en Arabie*, Paris 1835, i, 211-14) that at Mecca, after the *nāʿib al-ḥaram*, came the *agha* of the *ḥawāshīs*; the latter, numbering more than forty and mainly blacks, were entrusted with the policing and cleaning of the Kaʿba and its periphery; a *ḥawāshī ʿl-nabi* could not enter the service of an individual after having been attached to the temple. These eunuchs engaged furthermore in commerce and disposed of considerable revenues resulting particularly from the tips that they wrung from the faithful. It might be imprudent to translate by "eunuchs" the word *khadam* employed by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Buldān*, 100; tr. Massé, 123) as early as the year 278/891 to designate the personnel serving the Mosque of Jerusalem, but this same town possessed,

in the 10th/16th century, a *zāwiyat al-ḥawāshīyya* (H. Sauvaire, *Hist. de Jerusalem et Hebron*, Paris 1876, 162 [see also AL-KHĀLIL]).

The Arab authors do not seem to have been aware of the existence of "private" eunuchs in the oriental societies of antiquity, as well as in Greece and Rome. Al-Djāhīz considers besides that the Rūm, although Christians, were the first in the world, despite their pretention to charity, to practise this mutilation and adds, an important detail, that it only affected the testicles (*Hayawān*, i, 124). With regard to the white slaves of European origin (Slavs, Franks, Galicians, etc.) included under the word *Ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*], al-Muḥaddasī states that they were taken to Spain to be castrated there; the operation was carried out by Jews in a town situated around Pechina (probably Lucena), and the eunuchs who recovered were sold in al-Andalus or sent on to the Orient. This detail confirms the note of Ibn Ḥawḳal (2nd ed., i, 110; French tr. Kamers-Wiet, i, 109) who asserts that "all the slave eunuchs that are found on the surface of the earth originate from Spain. They are made to undergo castration in this land". Moreover, the trade in these slaves was said to be related to the activity of the famous Rādhāniyya [*q.v.*], and it seems apparent that Verdun had been an important centre for the creation of eunuchs (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 125; Ibn Ḳhurradādhbih, 153, ed.-tr. M. Haḍī-Sadok, *Descr. du Maghreb et de l'Espagne au III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Algiers 1949, 21 and n. 198).

Al-Djāhīz also knew (*Hayawān*, i, 113, 118-9) some eunuchs originating from *Ḳhurāsān* and *Sind* (the latter castrated by one named *Mūsā b. Kaʿb*) and above all, like al-Muḥaddasī, some blacks from Africa described as Abyssinians; al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 148 = § 3288) adds there some Chinese (with regard to China, the author of *Aḥḥbār al-Ṣīn waʿl-Hīnd*, ed.-tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, 37, remarks that the Chinese eunuchs are natives of the country who have been castrated (*maslūl*) and gives us to understand that is is not the same in Islam, where all are foreigners).

While one may estimate that the majority of white eunuchs, besides being less and less numerous as the centuries progressed, originated from Spain in the Middle Ages, there is a scarcity of information for a much later period, and it is not known exactly where the operations were performed on those who were found further afield in the harems and courts of the sovereigns of Iran and Turkey.

Concerning the blacks, their origin is sufficiently well-known, for it is evidently identical to that of the slaves [see 'ABD], on which, moreover, there is some precise information. Al-Muḥaddasī distinguishes three kinds: the first, which is, he says without any other specification, the best, was exported to Egypt; the second, that of the Berbers, was sent to Aden; the third "resembles" the Abyssinians. Al-Iṣṭaḥḥrī, 40, remains equally vague in saying that the eunuchs sold in the Muslim lands are neither Nubians, nor Zandj, nor Ethiopians, nor *Bedja*, but belong to a still blacker race; al-Maḳḍisī (*Badʿ*, iv, Ar. text 69, tr. 65) speaks of the *Zaḡhal* (?) and *Zaḡḥāwa*; al-Idrīsī (tr. Dozy-de Goeje, 3; partial edn. Pères, Algiers 1957, 4; ed. Naples-Rome, i, 1970, 18) cites *Takrūr* [*q.v.*], i.e. Lower Senegal, as a region from which the Moroccan merchants imported gold ore and *khadam*. (It is a fact that the *Takrūrīs*, besides the Rūm, Indians and *Ḥabash*, belonged to one of the four races which supplied the Mamlūk sultanate with eunuchs, see D. Ayalon, *Names, titles and 'nisbas' of the Mamlūks*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, v

(1975), 220.) For his part, Ibn Baṭṭūta (iv, 441; partial tr. H. A. R. Gibb, London 1957, 336) says that they came from Bornu, via Zawila [q.v.], to the Mediterranean world. But given that emasculation was practised secretly, it is difficult to know the centres where it was carried out in the Middle Ages. According to the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 165, the Sūdān is, without doubt, the land from which the majority of eunuchs came; in a lively passage, the author adds that the Egyptian merchants stole children there—or bought them from blacks that they had themselves stolen—took them, castrated them and imported them into Egypt where they sold them. A. Mez (ch. xx) mentions that in the 6th/12th century, the town of Hadya, in Abyssinia, ranked as the only place where eunuchs were produced, but the region of Asyūt [q.v.], in Upper Egypt, is also cited. L. Frank (*Mémoire*, 13-14) estimates, at the beginning of the 19th century, at 100 or 200 the number of young Africans castrated each year in Upper Egypt, at Abūṭīdī, to the South of Asyūt, on the caravan route leading from Sudan to Egypt. Several years later, Burckhardt who, in 1813-14, visited Upper Egypt and Sudan, was able to discover two centres of production, one in the Borgo district to the west of Dārfūr, the other, more important, at Zāwīyat al-Dayr, also near Asyūt (*Travels in Nubia*, 294-6). In the detailed account that he has left, he specifies that the operation was carried out, for a sum of 40 to 60 piastres, by two Coptic monks, under the protection of the government, to whom an annual tax was paid. Contrary to what other authors have said (notably E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 125; E. W. Bovill, *Golden trade*, 244: 10% of survivors; H. von Maltzan, *Wallfahrt nach Mekka*, Leipzig 1865, i, 48-9), the Swiss traveller claims that the children (from 8 to 12 years) who died were a very small number. These young eunuchs were valued at 1,000 piastres at Asyūt, whilst they had been bought for 300 piastres. The annual figure (150) that Burckhardt gives corresponds to that of Frank; he adds that two years previously Muḥammad ʿAlī had had 200 young slaves from Dārfūr castrated to offer them to the Ottoman Sultan. Until recent times, slavers from Muslim states situated further to the north raided Central Africa; women slaves and eunuchs passed clandestinely via Djibouti to people the harems of the Ḥidjāz (L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 4th edn, Paris 1955, 357, 385).

*A priori*, these practices hardly appear legal. Before Islam, although some isolated cases of castration were reported (see above) and although the Arabs of the period without doubt possessed some eunuchs (it is sometimes thought that a reference to them appears in the *Qurʾān*, xxiv 31, where it is said that women can show their finery to their male servants who have no carnal desire, *al-ṭābiʿin ḡhayr ūlī l-irba*), they cannot have had them produced regularly on their territory, so that the question of knowing whether emasculation of men was permitted was not put clearly to the first Muslims. With regard to this, the *ḥadīth* is not very explicit, and we must once more place a certain amount of confidence in al-Djāhīz, who reports a reply of Muḥammad to ʿUḥmān b. Maḏʿūn: the latter having expressed the desire to mutilate himself, the Prophet is said to have replied to him that it was fasting (*ṣawm*) that had replaced castration (*ḫhiṣāʾ*; var. *widīʾāʾ*) in Islam (*Ḥayawān*, i, 128-9); in the collections of *ḥadīth*, it is said simply that Ibn Maḏʿūn wanted to devote himself to celibacy (*ṭabattul*) and that the Prophet forbade him to do it; Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ allegedly

cried out, "If he had permitted him to do it, we would have castrated ourselves." (Abu'l-Djārūd al-Nisābūrī, *K. al-Muntaḥā*, Cairo 1382/1963, 226, and the main collections, in particular al-Bukḥārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-Niḫāḥ*, bāb 7). The word *widīʾāʾ* appears in another *ḥadīth* (*ibid.*), according to which the Prophet is said to have recommended fasting for young men who were unable to get married, adding that fasting was a *widīʾāʾ*. All this evidence confirms the tendency of certain pious Muslims to deprive themselves of the pleasures of the flesh, and illustrates the reaction of the Prophet against the weakening of the community that would have resulted from it. In any case, there is no text forbidding the possession of eunuchs, and it has been noted that Muḥammad received them and accepted one who was offered him by the Muḳawḳis [q.v.] at the same time as Mary the Copt (*Ḥayawān*, i, 163). Neither can the *Qurʾān* serve to enunciate a rigorous prohibition. The verses 118/119 of Sūra IV certainly read: "Let God curse (the demon) who said: '... I will ordain them to modify the creation of God'", but it is open to divergent interpretations: for Anas b. Mālik, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿIkrima, it is definitely *ḫhiṣāʾ* (of animals rather than of men) that is visualised, whereas for Saʿid b. Djubayr and Muḏjāhid, it is a matter simply of "the religion of God" (in *Ḥayawān*, i, 179). Besides, it is notable that al-Masʿūdī (*Murūḏī*, viii, 149 = § 3290) endeavours to demonstrate that castration does not prevent a eunuch from remaining a man. In conclusion, from the juridical point of view, prohibition of practising emasculation appears to have proceeded by a sort of tacit consensus: moreover, it was unnecessary, for it was left to Christians and Jews, preferably outside the *dār al-Islām*, to produce eunuchs, which the Muslims could then acquire without contravening their Law.

As regards animals, the problem is different, since the operation took place within the Islamic world and it was Muslims who were able to practise it. Some forbade the castration of horses only (*Ḥayawān*, i, 159), whereas others relied on a *ḥadīth* according to which the prohibition extends to horses, cattle and sheep, which assure the survival of the species and without the existence of which the females would have no reason for being (*ibid.*, i, 178). ʿUmar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb was also opposed to the castration of horses and other domestic animals (*ibid.*, i, 178), but it is certain that the breeders could not respect these prohibitions; in fact they dreaded the battles between camel stallions and, although they spared some males that they tied up during the mating season (see *LA*, s.v. *al-saḏīm al-muʿannā*), they had a tendency to keep whole only the good stallions who produced mainly females; gelded horses were always very much appreciated, notably for war, for their endurance, their pace and silence (*Ḥayawān*, i, 180); in the same way, in the stock-breeding regions, calves were castrated, for it is extremely difficult to make bulls work, and it was always considered that the flesh of oxen and castrated steers was more tender and tasty (cf. al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed.-tr. Bercher, 323); it was the same with capons (*Ḥayawān*, i, 131). In addition, a special reasoning to justify it was to compare *ḫhiṣāʾ* improperly with the mark of the red-hot iron practised on flocks and herds (*ibid.*, i, 160).

If, in the final reckoning, the castration of domestic animals was always tolerated, and the legality of the possession of eunuchs does not seem to have given rise to serious discussions, considerations on the behaviour of the latter must certainly have sustained conversations (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḏī*, viii, 148-9 =

§ 3288-90); but al-Djāhīz is probably the first author to have recorded his observations on their characteristics and the transformations that they undergo physically, morally and intellectually (*Ḥayawān*, i, 106 ff.; in a more condensed form in *Mufaḥḥarat al-djawāri wa'l-ghimān*, ed. Pellat, Beirut 1957, 52-5; ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1965, ii, 123-5; cf. al-Bayhaḡi, *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-masāwi*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 609-12; al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Laḡā'if wa'l-ḡarā'if*, Cairo 1300, 74). He remarks rightly that if emasculation takes place before puberty—which is the most frequent case—the beard and body hair do not grow, but the hair of the head, eyebrows and lashes remain and never fall, exactly as with women, who do not experience baldness (i, 108, 114; cf. al-Tawḥīdī, *Imiā'*, i, 160-1). Eunuchs have soft skin, a florid complexion, but they become lined and thin very quickly with advancing age, which does not prevent them from enjoying a great longevity, for they do not use their strength to copulate (i, 137). Their voice, having changed after the operation, is recognisable (i, 113) by everyone (which allows *ḥākiyas* to include them easily in their imitations; al-Mas'ūdī, viii, 162, 164 = §§ 3300, 3302). They have long feet, knotted fingers in their old age, long limb bones, and by contrast with castrated animals, thick (which is an error, for they are thin), their muscular tonicity is weak and their flesh is flaccid; their walk is ungainly (*Ḥayawān*, i, 116) due to the weakness of their nerves. Because of the fetidness of their sweat, they give off a peculiar odour, contrasting on this point with the animals who, after castration, smell no longer bad (i, 106; al-Mas'ūdī, viii, 149 = § 3290, asserts on the contrary that their armpits do not give off a fetid odour); finally, urinary incontinence is their lot (*Ḥayawān*, i, 158). If the operation takes place in adulthood, the pilary system disappears, with the exception of the pubic hair (i, 113), and strength diminishes (i, 115).

The character of eunuchs is comparable with that of women and children (i, 135-6); like them, they particularly like playing with birds. Finding in food and drink (they appreciate wine especially; i, 158) a kind of compensation for the deprivation of other pleasures, they have a tendency to eat and drink heavily, which, with their continence (vii, 223), explains their obesity (i, 111). They are avaricious, indiscreet, as quick to lose their temper as to show their joy or to weep (i, 135), inclined to gossip and slander. They despise the common people and accept only the powerful and the rich as masters (i, 136, 159). They like domestic work, but are ill-adapted to arduous trades (i, 117); on the other hand, they endure long horse rides better than the Turks and *Khāridjīs* (i, 136) and are excellent at archery; especially devoted to that are white eunuchs who deploy their warlike qualities against the Byzantine to avenge themselves for the mutilation that the latter have made them undergo; they dedicate themselves to harbouring an implacable hatred (i, 124-5, 173-4). Appreciating the value of that which they have lost (i, 125), they are jealous of and hate the *fuhūl* (i, 173), and do not lack cruelty; this trait of character shows itself in their taste for cockfights (i, 118).

Intellectually, they are superior to their normal brothers and are better at their trade, but one must not demand of them too much reflection (i, 117); those from *Khurāsān* are highly appreciated (i, 118), but for the blacks of Abyssinia, Nubia and other parts, castration entails a complete physical as well as moral decline (i, 119).

Eunuchs are often sexually obsessed, and al-

Djāhīz speaks (i, 125-8) of a Sabaeen who, although he had been castrated in his youth, vowed at a very advanced age that women still excited him. The same author asserts (i, 136) that they are not effeminate—which astonishes him—but that they are frequently homosexuals (i, 136, 172). He even cites the case of one of them who gave himself up to bestiality (i, 172).

However, according to current opinion, *khīṣā'* is associated with the total loss of the sexual faculties, and it is from this point of view that certain Muslims of early times had envisaged it (see above; cf. e.g. al-Ma'arri, *Luzūmiyyāt*, Beirut 1381/1961, ii, 42; *al-khīṣā' khayr min al-zawādī*); al-Muḡaddasī thinks that emasculation, among the Rūm consecrated to the Church, was intended to spare them the tortures of lust; but, given that mutilation was incomplete, al-Djāhīz (i, 124) reckons that it was intended simply to prevent the monks from impregnating the nuns. In fact, the sexual act remained possible and even provided the eunuch with a durable and profound pleasure. Moreover, according to the same author (i, 166), women like partners whose "erection is swift and ejaculation slow in coming" (*sarī' al-ifāka, baḡī' al-irāka*; i, 167), to such a point that they particularly appreciate their guardians, for with them the embrace lasts a long time (*muḡāwala*) and the dangers of conception are nil (see below), since the eunuch is *ma'mūn al-ilḡāḡ*; furthermore, they can abandon themselves to their pleasure, whereas with their husband they have to show themselves modest and reserved (i, 167); to all these advantages is added the attraction of forbidden fruit. It is known already through Juvenal that the Roman women did not deprive themselves of entering into sexual relationships with their eunuchs, and one may consider as likely, in the light of the details that precede, the orgy that in the prologue of *Thousand and One Nights* drives *Shahriyār* to avenge himself on the women by having a new wife executed each morning. The amours between the female slaves and eunuchs of *Khūmārawayh* [q.v.] appear to have been the cause of his assassination (Ibn al-Aṡḡir, viii, 191; Mez, ch. xx) and it is understandable that Mu'āwiya had decided to send only old eunuchs to his wives (al-Mas'ūdī, viii, 148-9 = § 3289) and that the Ottomans preferred as harem attendants negroes who had been completely castrated and who were physically ugly. Besides, al-Muḡaddasī records that, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, eunuchs could marry (and take concubines, adds al-Djāhīz, i, 123, 166); however, it must in practice have been very rare (see e.g. Ibn al-Aṡḡir, ix, 39, with regard to a eunuch of 'Aḡud al-Dawla who has as wife an Abyssinian slave), but Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 158-9) asserts that "Extraordinary as it may appear, the grown-up eunuchs [of the Ka'ba] are all married to black slaves." The paternity of the children that their wives brought into the world was naturally attributed to them: this curious assertion is explained by the automatic application of the principle according to which *is pater est quem justae nuptiae demonstrant* and also by the fact that a *khāṣī* is not always *ma'mūn al-ilḡāḡ*: in fact, during the operation, the child might experience such fear that one of his testicles would rise up into his body and escape mutilation (cf. *Ḥayawān*, i, 129, where this statement is followed by the remark that a *maḡjūbūb*, in these conditions, preserves a testicle and remains neither a man nor a woman nor even an eunuch); if it is the left (for it is popularly held that this is the procreative one; *Ḥayawān*, i, 123), the half-eunuch secretes sperm

and can engender children; if it is the right one only, the beard grows, but the case has been known of a man deprived of his left testicle who had a child whom he could not repudiate because he looked exactly like him (i, 123-4).

Generally, eunuchs lived with their master, whether he was a private individual or a ruler, and did not mingle much with the population, especially as they were easily recognisable and as the humbler people did not refrain from hurling gibes at them (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2164; al-Masʿūdī, viii, 180 = § 3318). In the palaces of the caliphs, in Cordoba as in the East, they were always numerous, despite the high price that was asked for them; by way of example, Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 139, 209) states that in Morocco a slave girl was worth 15 *dīnārs*, a man, 20 and a eunuch, 40; in general, it is double the price of an ordinary slave that is mentioned by the sources. The historians charge al-Amin (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 950 ff.; cf. Abū Nuwās, *Diwān*, 188: rhyme *-nā* and *nī*) with having bought many more eunuchs than his predecessors and with having had them constantly in attendance at his side, associating them even in the affairs of state. His successors largely imitated his example, and the figures supplied, although to be treated with caution, remain very high; in the time of al-Muktafi (289-95/902-9), there were in the palace 10,000 *khādām*, blacks and whites (*Ṣakālibā*), and that of al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-32) sheltered 11,000, comprising 7,000 blacks and 4,000 whites (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʿ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Baghdad, 1964, 8). It is remarkable that al-Ḳalkāshandī (v, 92) also mentions the figure of 10,000 for the court of Dihlī, but precise details of this kind are rare and are clearly exaggerated. However, the organisation of the corps of eunuchs is well-known, particularly under the Fāṭimids (see below). In the Islamised lands of West Africa, the custom of surrounding oneself with Turkish slaves and eunuchs bought in Cairo also spread (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 65, 90-1); the king of Gao owned a eunuch as early as the end of the 4th/10th century (R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique*, 341) and six centuries later, Leo Africanus (471) encountered at the palace of his distant descendant an indeterminate number who were appointed to guard the women. In the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *askia* Dāwūd maintained 700 (*Tarikh El-Fettach*, 208) and in 1008/1599, the *pasha* Djawdhār [see AL-MANṢŪR] brought back a large number to Morocco (R. Mauny, *op. laud.*, 342; H. de Castries, *Sources inédites, Angleterre* iii, 1925, 146). In the 19th century still, Denham counted 200 of them in the harem of the Sultan of Bornu (E. W. Bovill, *Golden trade*, 245) but Burckhardt (*Travels in Nubia*, 296) states that the number had considerably diminished in Syria and also in Egypt, where there were no more than 300 belonging to the aristocracy who, alone, could afford such a luxury; the whites were extremely rare. Similarly, in the Persian Gulf, even the black eunuchs were very few in number (see B. Lewis, *Race and color*, 84 and bibl. cited there). By the force of circumstances, the white eunuchs were always less numerous than the blacks and, from the 16th century, they became more rare at the Ottoman court (see below); the supply ceased completely with the annexation of the Caucasian regions by the Russians at the beginning of the 19th century (see B. Lewis, *op. laud.*, 81).

In a general way, the eunuchs were authorised to circulate freely in the harems and served as intermediaries between their master and his wives and

concubines. This freedom of movement permitted a number of them to become accomplices of the women who hatched plots (see for example M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, index) and to participate in the political life of the state. Although Hilāl al-Ṣābiʿ (*Rusūm*, 91) says only that some [white] eunuchs used to surround the throne of the Caliph, brushing away the flies, while others, armed with cross-bows, killed the birds of ill-omen or those that were too noisy, it is certain that not all were assigned domestic functions, and history provides us with evidence of the political and military rôle that a number of them, as in Greece, Rome or Byzantium, succeeded in playing throughout the centuries.

As early as the 3rd/9th century, al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, i, 125) reports that some rich eunuchs bought estates in the marches [see ʿAWĀṢIM, THUGHŪR] recruited fighting men and made attacks on the Byzantines to revenge themselves (see above) for their very serious injuries. It may not be by chance that several governors of Ṭarsūs [q.v.], notably Biṣhr, *mawlā* of Ibn Abī'l-Sādī, were white eunuchs who launched expeditions against the Rūm (see Vasiliev-Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/1, Brussels 1968, 130) and that Ṭhamal, commanding the naval forces in the Mediterranean, was also one (*ibid.*, index). In the same way, in 307/919 the admirals commanding the Fāṭimid and Byzantine fleets respectively were both eunuchs (al-Kindī, *Judges*, 276). At this period, moreover, there were numerous generals who were *khūṣyān* (for example Masʿūd, Mufliḥ al-Muqtadirī, etc.; see Vasiliev-Canard, ii/1, index); similarly, some of them were leaders of the Ḥudjariyya [q.v.]. Without doubt, the most famous and successful in his enterprises was Kāfir [q.v.], who died in 357/968 after he had been master of Egypt and Syria; it will be noted that he was black. Under the first Fāṭimids, Ustādh Djawhar [q.v.] who was a Slav eunuch, played a rôle so important that he merited a special biography. A little later, Bardjawan [q.v.] who was also white, was the tutor of the caliph al-Ḥākim; having assumed the functions of regent of the Fāṭimid Empire, he was killed by another eunuch, Raydān, on the orders of the caliph. The organization of a body of a thousand eunuchs (al-Ḳalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 477) under this dynasty will be noted below. In the 6th/12th century a number were to be found in charge of various forces, directing rival states and governing important towns (see, for example, N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, ii, 327, 340, 385, 484, 557, 657); in the reign of the Fāṭimid al-ʿĀḍid, the black eunuchs exercised a considerable influence (B. Lewis, *op. laud.*, 71-2) it was his *muʿtamin al-khilāfa*, Djawhar, who, in 564/1169, hatched a plot against Salādin (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix, 103). Eunuchs were still found among the troops of the latter (ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Faith al-ḡussī*, 324; tr. H. Massé, 287) who took *Ḳarākūsh* completely into his confidence (Bahāʾ al-Dīn [q.v.]). It would be easy to multiply the examples.

In Persia, a notable case cited is that of Manūčīhr Khān Muʿtamid al-Dawla, sometime governor of Iṣfahān during the reign of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh; he had been taken prisoner in Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh's wars with Russia and castrated. On his death, his property was claimed by the Persian crown on the grounds of his having been a slave, though this was disputed (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60/29. Murray to Clarendon, No. 69, Baghdad, 8 August 1856). Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Kājār dynasty, was a eunuch, having been castrated in childhood by ʿĀdil Shāh, the nephew of Nādir Shāh, into whose hands he had fallen.

It goes without saying that such accession to the throne, which was exceptional, is in contradiction to the law of Islam which demands the physical integrity of the ruler. A. Mez (ch. xx) mentions that a eunuch functioned as a *kādi* at Damietta, but it is certain that the *khīṣyān*, from the sole fact of their mutilation, were normally excluded from the magistrature [see ḡāpī]. However, Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyāsāt-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, 41) considers that it is preferable to confer the functions of *muhtasib* on a eunuch and it will be noted that, under the Ottomans, the control of the *wakfs* of the Holy Cities and most of the mosques was assured up to the 16th century by the *ḡapī aghasī* [q.v.], in the 17th century by the latter and the *ḡizlar aghasī*, respectively the Chief White Eunuch and the Chief Black Eunuch, in the 18th century by the *ḡizlar aghasī* alone, after the weakening of the power of the whites (see below).

It should be noted that, in different courts of Muslim rulers, the eunuchs were organised in a body at an early date. According to the account of the Byzantine embassy received by al-Muqtadir at Baghdād on Monday 24 Muḡarram 305/17 July 917 (see Vasiliev-Canard, ii/1, 238 ff.), the ḡudjariyya and eunuchs of the Caliph were to be seen positioned between the latter and the soldiers; some of them accompanied ambassadors during all their visits. At the court of the Fāṭimids (see al-Kāḡashandī, *Ṣubḡ*, iii, 480-1), the eunuchs (*ustādḡ*) used to come immediately after the *amirs*. The officials in private service were eunuchs, of whom those of greatest dignity wore a turban passing under the chin and were therefore called *muḡannak*. "The most exalted rank among the *muḡannak* eunuchs was held by the one who had the charge of wrapping a special crown round the head of the Caliph for ceremonial occasions . . . Next [came] the *ṣāḡhib al-maḡlīs* or master of the audience hall; the *ṣāḡhib al-risāla*, or master of correspondence; the *zimām al-kuṣūr*, the intendant of the palaces; the *ṣāḡhib bayt al-māl*, or director of the Treasury; the master of the registry (*ṣāḡhib al-daftar*) who directed the general offices (*dīwān*); the bearer of the inkwell (*ḡāmil al-dawāt*); the superintendent of the Caliph's kinsmen (*zamm al-aḡarīb*); the intendant of the table (*ṣāḡhib al-mā'ida*). Important household offices held by non-eunuchs included the deanship of the descendants of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib . . . and the intendency of the different corps of *ṣibyān*, young men, and other regiments of the army" (M. Canard, *Cérémonial fatimite* . . ., in *Byzantion*, xxi/2 (1951), 367 ff.; cf. B. Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York, etc. 1974, i, 202, 204-5).

For eunuchs at the Ottoman court, see below.

**Bibliography:** Given essentially in the text, but the titles of some important works have been cited in abridged form: J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1822; L. Franck, *Mémoire sur le commerce des Nègres au Kaire et sur les maladies auxquelles ils sont sujets en y arrivant*, Paris 1802; E. W. Bovill, *The golden trade of the Moors*, Oxford 1958; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain*, Dakar 1961; B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York, etc. 1971; the text of al-Djāḡiẓ of which considerable use had been made was studied by M. Asín Palacios, in *Isis*, xiv, 42-54; see also G. Rotter, *Die Stellung des Negers in der islamischen-arabischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Bonn diss. 1967 (not seen); D. Sourdrel, *Vizirai*, index; *Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa-l-ḡadā'ik*, ed. 'U. Sa'īdī, iv, Damascus 1972-3, index, s.v. *khādim*; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*

*au moyen âge*, Leipzig 1923, i, 126 ff.; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii, 154; H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, 1937, 236; R. Millant, *Les eunuques à travers les âges*, Paris 1908. (CH. PELLAT)

## II.—IN PERSIA.

In Persia, it was only under the Ṣafawids that the eunuchs (*Khwādjaḡān*, *Khwādja-sarāyān*) in charge of the women's apartments in the royal palace began to play an important role in political affairs. Chardin placed the number of eunuchs at court at ca. 3,000, and says that these were mainly white persons coming above all from the Malabar coast (*Voyages*, Amsterdam 1711, 283-5). But under Shāḡ Abbās (985-1038/1587-1629) it became common practice to enslave and castrate Georgian and other captives taken in war and to use them as palace servants, especially in the royal *ḡaram*. According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, he was the first shah to introduce white eunuchs into the palace alongside the black eunuchs (f. 31a ff.). He also initiated the practice of immuring the royal princes in the *ḡaram*. This practice unfitted them for rule and in due course enabled the palace eunuchs to dominate affairs of state. On the death of Shāḡ Abbās II in 1077/1667, the palace eunuchs contrived the succession of Shāḡ Sulaymān and seized control of the state. On the latter's death in 1105/1694, with the connivance of Maryam Begum, Shāḡ Sulaymān's aunt, they placed Shāḡ Sulṭān ḡusayn on the throne. He left the management of affairs of state entirely to them. They succeeded in extending their influence over military as well as civil affairs, the only check on their power being the faction which prevailed in their own ranks and the rivalry of the religious party under Muḡammad Bāḡir Maḡlīsī. The irresponsible character of their government and the faction to which it gave rise was one of the main causes of the decline of the Ṣafawid dynasty. The *ḡaram* of Shāḡ Sulṭān ḡusayn, and with it the number of eunuchs, reached enormous proportions and swallowed up a large part of the revenue.

After the fall of the Ṣafawids, the eunuchs never again achieved political importance or large numbers. In 1887 it was reported that there were only thirty-eight eunuchs in the royal *ḡaram* (I'ṡimād al-Saltāna, *Rūznāma-i khāfirāt-i I'ṡimād al-Saltāna*, ed. Iraj Afshār, Tehran 1966, 644).

**Bibliography:** Muḡammad Taḡī Dānīsh-pazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mirzā Rafī'ā wa tadḡkirat al-mulūk-i Mirzā Samī'ā*, in *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines*, University of Tehran, xvi, 3 (1968), 306-7; Thevenôt, *The travels of Monsieur de Thevenôt into the Levant*, London 1687, ii, 99; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 283-4; Raphaël de Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890, 20-1; T. J. Krusinski, *The history of the revolution of Persia*, Dublin 1729, 72 ff.; L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafawī dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 25 ff.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

## III.—IN TURKEY.

It is believed that there were eunuchs in the palaces of the Salḡjuqs of Rūm or Anatolia, and in those of the beyliks of the Čandarḡullarī [see DĀNDĀRLĪ] in Kaṡtamonu in the 8th/14th century (see Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri hakkında mülāhasalar*, in *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i (Istanbul 1931), 208-11). Their first appearance in the Ottoman state was in the first half of the 9th/15th century, and these eunuchs

were of two kinds: white (*aḳ agha*) and negro (*karâ agha*). According to tradition it was Murâd II (824-55/1421-51) who first employed the *khâdim aghas* (chief eunuchs) in the palace; during his reign the *aḳ khâdim aghas* (white chief eunuchs) in the harem occupied the offices of *kapu aghası* (chief white eunuch in the Imperial Palace), *khâzinedâr-başı* (the title of the fourth officer of the white eunuchs) and *saray aghası* and *klârâdjî-başı* (chief clerk of the imperial pantry); above them all was the *Dâr al-sa'âda aghası* (chief eunuch of the palace) (Ṭayyâr-zâde 'Atâ', *Ta'riḳh-i Enderûn*, Istanbul 1292, i, 34). Later, some eunuchs of particular ability were employed outside the palace. The mention of some well-known government officials bearing the title of *khâdim* or *ṭawâshî* in the first half of the 9th/15th century may indicate an earlier date for the employment of white chief eunuchs in the palace. For instance, the appointment on several occasions of Şihâb al-Din Pasha (Kula Şahîn, d. 853/1454) during the reign of Murâd II to the office of *beylerbey* of Rumelia means that his early life and upbringing should be placed in the reign of Çelebi Mehemmed (805-24/1403-21). (Neshri, *Djihân-numâ*, ed. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 170, 181, 230; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Edirne ve Paşaeli livası*, Istanbul 1952, 255-7). The use of negroes, that is black eunuchs, in the palace started during the reign of Mehemmed the Conqueror (855-86/1451-81) and from the beginning of the 10th/16th century we find black eunuchs employed alongside the white ones. In 918/1513 there were 10 white and black *khâdîms* (eunuchs) serving in the palace (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşivi, N.D. 10052). The head of the eunuchs in charge of the Bâb al-sa'âda of the palace was called the *kapı aghası* or *Bâb al-sa'âda aghası*, which was the highest office in the harem. But in 990/1582 the superintendence of the harem and the office of *Dâr al-Sa'âda aghası* passed into the hands of Habâshî Mehmed Agha and the black eunuchs, and the white eunuchs were relegated to second place and had to be content with the office of *kapı aghası*. However, among the white eunuchs there were some who rose to the office of Grand Vizier, such as *Khâdim 'Alî Pasha* (first time, 906-8/1501-3, second time 912-17/1506-11) under Bayezîd I; *Khâdim Sinân Pasha* (922-3/1516-17) in the reign of Selim I; *Khâdim Süleymân Pasha* (948-51/1541-4) in the reign of Süleymân the Magnificent; *Khâdim Mesh Pasha* (994-6/1585-6) in the reign of Murâd III; *Khâdim Hasan Pasha* (1005-6/1597-8) in the reign of Mehemmed III; and *Khâdim Mehmed Pasha* (1031-2/1622-3) in the reign of Muştafâ I.

Although the majority of the eunuchs in the harem were now negroes, there were also some white chief eunuchs amongst them. In the period 990-1087/1582-1676 there were 35 black eunuchs and ca. 20 *farrâshs* or servants under them (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 1059, 1027, 10181, 6205). The number of *kapı aghası*s or chief white eunuchs varied from 32 to 37 between these same years, but their number fell to 24 in 1676 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 34, 10181, 6205). The absolute supremacy of the negroes in the harem continued until the end of the Ottoman Empire (see Safiye Ünüvar, *Saray Hatıraları*, Istanbul 1964). Outside the Imperial Palace there were also great personages who kept eunuchs, the majority of them black, in their palaces and residences, and indeed, throughout many levels of Ottoman society (see E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1954, 137).

These black eunuchs were imported from Egypt,

often as children between the ages of 8 and 11. The negroes employed in the Ottoman palace were chosen and sent by the *beylerbey* of Egypt. Although as mentioned above, the operation of castration was often done in Upper Egypt, there was also a professional group of *djerrâh-i djellâbis* in 11th/17th century Egypt (Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 376). Mortality was low among those children who had the operation before puberty, but high among those castrated after the age of maturity (cf. Penzer, *The Harem*, 142, 145; M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem*, Ankara 1971, 128). The negroes brought to Istanbul as children were brought up in the palace, and those in the Harem formed a corps, the *aghalar odjâkı*, trained by the senior eunuchs; often they were given flower names. After a strict training and education, they were sent to the palace and to the residences of princes and other great men of state for a kind of probationary period (see Safiye Ünüvar, *op. cit.*, 77). As stated above, castration was normally done outside the heartlands of the empire, e.g. in Upper Egypt. A private person had no legal right in the empire to castrate his slave (M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi fetvaları ışığında 16. asır Türk Hayatı*, Istanbul 1972, 120). Thus in 967/1560 an *alaybeg* in Prizren in Serbia attempted to castrate three children from the local *re'âyâ* by force, but caused their deaths; he was thereupon dismissed from his office and punished by being deprived of his *ze'âmet* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci catalogue, Ruus defteri, no. 216, 11).

In 1127/1715 the Grand Vizier Şehîd 'Alî Pasha tried to remove the black *khâdim aghas* from the palace because of their maleficent influence there. He succeeded in getting a decision that negroes were not to be castrated from then onwards and sent his decision to the *odjâks* of Egypt and the west in the form of an imperial *firmân*; and he gave strict orders that existing eunuchs should not be brought into Rumelia under any circumstances. But he was killed in the battle of Peterwardein, and the possibility of enforcing this decision was then lost in 1129/1717 (Râşîd, *Ta'riḳh*, Istanbul 1282, iv, 175-6; Derwîsh 'Abd Allâh, *Risâle-i Tabardâriyye*, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, ii, 233, ff. 66a-b). The process of abolishing slavery and the negro slave trade in the Ottoman Empire started during the reign of Maḥmûd II, and in *Djumâda* II 1273/February 1857 a *firmân* was issued prohibiting slavery and the slave trade in the Ottoman lands (*Dustûr*, Istanbul 1299, 1st series, v, 368, 396, etc.). After this, slavery and the use of eunuchs gradually disappeared, their use persisting longest in the harem of the palace.

*Bibliography*: In addition to works mentioned in the article, Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 701-3, *khâdim*, iii, 422-4, *ṭawâshî*; B. Lewis, *Race and Color in Islam*, New York 1971; M. Izzeddin, *Les eunuques dans le palais Ottomane*, in *Oriens*, xxiv, 1962; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945; P. Rycart, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668; Aḥmed Resmî, *Hâmilel ül-küberâ*, Belediye Kütüphanesi, M. Cevdet yazmaları, no. k/28; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913; N. M. Penzer, *The Harem*, London 1936, 125-51, 223; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, Oxford 1950-7, i/1, 76-7, 329, i/2, 92, 170, 177; Mustafa Âli, *Mevâ'idü'n-nefâ'is fi kavâ'idü'l-mecâlis*, Istanbul 1956. (CENGİZ ORHONLU)



AL-KHAŞİB [see IBN AL-KHAŞİB].

AL-KHAŞİBĪ, name given to AĦMAD B. 'UBAYD ALLĀH B. AĦMAD B. AL-KHAŞİB, vizier of al-Mukṭadīr and al-Kāhīr, who was probably the grandson of al-Muntaṣır's vizier AĦmad b. al-Khaşīb [see AL-DJARDJARĀ'Ī]. He was originally secretary to the caliph's mother, and then suddenly was made vizier after the fall of al-Khāḳānī, but only filled this office for a few months (Ramaḳān 313-Dhu 'l-Ka'da 314/Nov. 925-Jan. 927). Faced with the hostility of the military leaders, and treating administrative affairs in a very perfunctory way, he immediately ran into serious difficulties which he was unable to surmount. He re-appears in 318/930 as a financial official in the Persian provinces, and then as one of the caliph's counsellors who brought about the fall of the vizier al-Ĥusayn b. al-Kāsim. He became vizier for the second time under al-Kāhīr, from Dhu 'l-Ka'da 321/Oct. 933 till Djumādā I 322/April 934, but was unable to prevent the intrigues of the former vizier Ibn Mukla [q.v.] nor to put down the discontentments of the palace guards, who ended up by imprisoning the caliph.

Under al-Rādī, al-KhaşībĪ still held important functions in the central administration, but was exiled for some time to 'Umān by the vizier Ibn Mukla, upon whom he was later able to take vengeance. He helped 'Abd al-Raĥmān b. 'Isā during his short vizierate (324/936), and died in Baghdād in Shawwāl 328/August 940.

*Bibliography*: D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāsīde*, index; Şūlī, *Akhbār ar-Rādī billāh*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-KHĀSİR [see SALM AL-KHĀSİR].

KHĀŞŞ (A.) and its fem. *khāşşa* "personal, private, pertaining to the state or ruler". In Ottoman administration and society, *khāşş* and *khāşsa* were generally used interchangeably, with pls. *khāşşahā* and *khawāşş*, see on these various forms, Meninski, II, 530-1. It appears in Turkish literature for "a person close to the ruler", "something personal to the ruler", in the 7th/13th century, see Meccud Mansuroġlu, *Sultan veled'in (1226-1312) türkçe manzumeleri*, Istanbul 1958, vv. 26, 48-9, 53-4, 143-5, 149. The word, used for describing the palace services of a ruler, first appear in the Ghaznavid state (*Ta'rikh-i Bayhaġī*, ed. Ghānī and Fayyād, Tehran 1324/1945, 235, 253, 271 and *passim*), and then was used in the Great Saldjuġ state in regard to the Sultan's personal estates (Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Kazwīnī, Tehran 1334/1955, 95, 105-6). Under the Kh'ārazm-Shāhs and Mamlūks of Egypt, the officer in charge of the ruler's estates was called the *Nāyir al-khāşş* (al-Kalkaşhandī, *Şubh al-a'sha*, iv, 30). In the Il-Khānīd state, the property and the land belonging to the ruler were called *indju*, and sometimes *khāşş-i indju* (see Z. Velidi Togan, *Umumi türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 278-9). The words *khāşş* and *khāşsa* were used synonymously during the first period of the Ottoman empire. Then *khāşsa* came to be used for the services and matters concerning the ruler and his palace (*khāşsa bostandjıları*, *khāşsa doghandjıları* etc.), whilst *khāşş* was used rather for the private estates of the ruler; hence we find from the end of the 9th/15th century terms like *khāşş-i pādīshāhī*, and sometimes *khāşş-i humāyūn*, *khawāşş-i humāyūn* or *khāşş-i shāhī*, meaning the imperial lands (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluġunda zirāt ekonominin hukūkl ve mali esasları*. I. *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, index).

The *Khāşş* lands followed a course similar to that of the *timār* system. From the existing *timār defters*, it

appears that the *khāşş* lands stretch back to the reign of Bāyezīd I (791-805/1389-1403) (Başbakanlık arşiv Genel Müdürlüġü, tapu defteri, 1/1, Mis. 331, 332) and beyond. The term *khāşş*, pl. *khawāşş*, in the Ottoman *timār* system was used for the more extensive *timārs*. There were only *timārs* during the first period of the Ottoman state (for the 804/1402 and 807/1405 *timār* entries, see Süheyl Ünver, *Yıldırım Bayezīd'in oġlu İsa'nın bir emri*, in *Belleten*, xlii (1944), 335, 337), but at the beginning of the 9th/15th century the term *khāşş* was also used for some personal *timārs* worth 46,208, and 50,702 *aġles*. (H. Inalcik, *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanīd*, Ankara 1954, 33-55). Hence at this time the *timār* included the *khāşş*; the *timārs* of begs which were called *khāşş* and *ze'āmet* were also alike called "great *timārs*". The *kānūn-nāmes* show how the *khāşş* was used. In the *kānūn-nāme* of Meĥemmed Pātīh, it is indicated that the most productive lands in the provinces were to be included in the *khāşş* of the Sultan, and that the *defterdārs* or treasurers had the authority to confiscate the lands of a person, if they discovered that he had very productive land, and give him less productive land as a *khāşş*. The viziers, it was stipulated, were to have *khāşş* lands with an income of 1,200,000 *aġles*, the *beglerbegs* those with an income of 1,000,000, the *defterdārs* those with an income of 600,000 as long as they remained in office; for this see *Fātīh kānūn-nāmesi*, Istanbul 1330, 28. Because the *sandjaks*, rather than the *eyālets*, constituted the basis of the administrative system, the *khāşş* lands assigned to a *sandjak* beg were more numerous during the 9th/15th century (for the *khāşş* of the *sandjak* beg of Üsküp, see *Hicri 859 tarihli suret-i defter-i mücmei-i vilayet-i Yeleġ ve İsveġan ve Hududide ve Seniġa ve Res ve Üsküp ve Kalkandelen ve tevabīha*, ed. H. Sabanoviġ, Sarajevo 1964, 7). After the organisation of a *sandjak*, the villages and *khāşş* lands there could be terminated as *khāşş* land with the permission of the *sandjak* beg, if it was thought to be necessary, or some of the *timār* land could be made into *khāşş* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 74; *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanīd*, pp. xxiii, xxiv, xxviii, 12, 39, 100).

*Khāşş* lands were granted to the members of the upper ranks of the administration, the *Diwān-i Hümayūn*, such as the Grand Vizier and the viziers, and to high officials such as *sandjak* begs and *beglerbegs* as long as they held their posts. The *khāşş* lands might be scattered throughout a *sandjak* or province. The *khāşş* holders, when going on a campaign, would take with them one *djebelü* for every 5,000 *aġles* of revenue from their *khāşş*, while the *eyālets* or provinces of Bosnia (739,000 *aġles*), Aleppo (700,000 *aġles*), Karamān (633,000 *aġles*) were the administrative units with the highest *khāşş* income in 933-4/1527-8, the *sandjak* beg of Semender (622,000 *aġles*) had the highest income among the *sandjak* begs; in contrast to this, the *sandjak* beg of Voynak (52,000) and that of Kırġkilise or Kırġlareli (81,000) had the lowest *khāşş* incomes (for the other provinces, and the *khāşş* lands of *beglerbegs* and *sandjak* begs in general, see Barkan, 1527-1528 *yılı bültesi*, 25-8; for the *khāşş* lands of the Grand Vizier, the *Ĥubbe-ālī* viziers and retired viziers in 1070/1660, see Hezārfen Ćelebi, *Telġhīşü 'l-beyān fi Ĥawānīn-i āl-i 'Othmān*, 45b, 46a, 47a ff., and cf. Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi, Haslar kalemi defteri, no. 3069).

The *khāşş* lands were administered on the basis of registers made up annually, and according to the sources were divided into three: (1) *khawāşş-i*



*humāyūn*; (2) the *khāṣṣ* lands of Viziers, *amirs*, *beglerbegs* and other high officials of the imperial Chancery or *Diwān*; and (3) the *khāṣṣ* lands called *paṣhmaḳlīk* which were appropriated to the needs of the Sultan's wives.

Any surpluses from all these at the end of each financial year were added to the *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* treasury. The *khāṣṣ* lands given to the Sultan's wives were awarded for life, and could not be transferred to anyone; if the holder of a *paṣhmaḳlīk khāṣṣ* died or had no further need for it, then it would be transferred to the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* (*Kanun-ı Osmanı mefhum-i defter-i hakani*, ed. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, in *Bellelen*, lix (1951), 386; *Rasprava Ali causa iz Sofija i timarskoj organizacij u XVI stoljecu*, in *Glasnik Zemal'kog Muzeja u Sarajevu*, Nova seria, ii (Sarajevo 1947), 152).

The *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* and the *khāṣṣ* lands of high officials and administrators formed an important part of the revenues of every province; for example, they constituted 48% of the general revenue of Rumelia, 26% of Anatolia, *Ḳaramān*, *Dhulḳadriye* and *Rūm* (Sivas), 31% of *Diyārbekir*, 48% of *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, and 86% of *Egypt*. Out of all the Ottoman provinces, they formed 277,244,782 *aḳḳes*, 51% of the total revenue; the other *khāṣṣ* lands and *timārs* comprised 200,186,394 *aḳḳes*, 37% of the total revenue (Barkan, *H. 933-934 (M. 1527-28) mālī yılına ait bir bütçe örneği*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (Istanbul 1955), 277). According to the calculations made from the 1071/1660-1 budget, about three-quarters (1 billion, 800 million) of the total revenue of the state (2 billion, 400 million) went to the officials in charge of *khāṣṣ*, *timār* or *wakf* lands; the revenue from *khāṣṣ* lands was not always sent to the capital, but could be spent on the spot (Barkan, *Osmanlı bütçelerine ait notlar*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii (1960), 190).

The value and extent of *khāṣṣ* lands would vary according to the productivity of the provinces and *sandjaks*. Although the most productive lands were already included in the *khāṣṣ* estates at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, their boundaries and the revenue accruing from them tended to increase by a considerable amount (for the situation in the *sandjak* of *Szegedin*, see L. Fekete, *Die Siyākat-Schrift*, i, 402, 610, 612; for the situation in the *sandjak* of *Mārdīn*, see *Nejat Göyüncü, XVI. yızılarda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969, 142-7). Apart from the agricultural produce of arable fields, vineyards, orchards etc., there were, also, revenues from the *djizya*, sheep tax, *yaylak* tax, *ḳışlak* tax, firewood and hay tax, bride tax, *bād-i havā* or irregular taxes, *fudju* tax, pasture tax, *tapu* tax, *çift* tax, taxes on the produce of nomads and revenues from some of the *mukāfa'as* in the towns, all of which constituted the income of the *khāṣṣ* lands. In the cities, such items as taxes on the *bāshkāne* (slaughter-houses), *ḳirishkāne* (catgut factory), the *ihlīsāb* tax, *bozakhāne*, rents from shops, etc., formed part of the revenues of the *khāṣṣ*; however, agricultural products constituted the greater part of the *khāṣṣ* revenues. According to the comparisons made between the years 1550 and 1650-70, there was a 50% decline in the revenues from agricultural products, hence the revenues of the *khāṣṣ* lands were topped up by other means. Accordingly, some of the *timārs* and *ze'amets*, and even the *khāṣṣ* lands of viziers, *beglerbegs* and *sandjak* begs, were added to the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* lands (see *Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi*, haslar kalemi, no. 3064). When a vizier or a *beglerbeg* retired, some of his *khāṣṣ* was added to the *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn*,

but some was left to him as a retirement *khāṣṣ* (*Kāmil Kepeci Tasnifi*, no. 3065). From the 10th/16th century onwards, the number of viziers and *beglerbegs* increased, but the *khāṣṣ* lands allotted to them became insufficient and inadequate, and henceforth there was *khāṣṣlar muḳāyakast* ("scarcity of *khāṣṣ* lands") in the financial system (Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler, telhisler (1595-1605)*, Istanbul 1970, 13-14, 131; see also *Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi*, ahkām defteri, no. 70, p. 214). As a result of this decrease in agricultural income, the *khāṣṣ* lands of viziers, *beglerbegs* and *sandjak* begs began to be transferred to the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* (*Kitāb-ı Müsteḳfāb*, Ankara 1974, 40; for various records regarding this, see *Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi*, haslar kalemi defteri no. 3064).

During the period of the empire's expansion, there were—in accordance with the ordinances regarding *miri* land—*khāṣṣa* farms and *khāṣṣa* pastures called *ḳillē yeri* which were run by the *sipāhīs* and which belonged to a system different from that of the farms of the *re'ayā*; in some places there are records of *khāṣṣ* vineyards, *khāṣṣ* mills, etc. The *sipāhīs'* share in *khāṣṣa* vineyards and orchards was a third or a quarter. Because it was against the law for a *sipāhi* to buy, with acquisition of title-deed, land from his own *timār*, for himself or his family, the *khāṣṣa* farms eventually decreased in the empire (Barkan, *Toprak işçilerinin organizasyon şekilleri*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vfi (1939), 213 ff.). The *khāṣṣa* farms which were, in a way, estates of the *sipāhīs*, were run by themselves by way of partnership (see *Ḳawānīn-i 'orfıyye-i 'Othmāni*, ed. N. Beldiceanu, Wiesbaden 1967, 14-15). When the register of a province was made up, vineyards, pastures, farms, fruit trees and mills which were recorded among the *khāṣṣ* lands were not sold with title deeds to them, and could not pass into private possession (*Kanuni-i Kanunname*, Sarajevo 1957, 38, 52). Thus lands recorded as *khāṣṣa* would not normally be given with a title deed, and if they were thus given to a *sipāhi*, and then passed into the hands of another *sipāhi*, then title-deeds would be abolished and they would be transformed into a *khāṣṣallık*. The *khāṣṣa* lands were exempted from all taxes and from the entry of officials. The *khāṣṣa* lands could be sold in some regions, but only by obtaining special permission from the government (Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirāt ekonomisinin hukukt ve mālī esasları*, I, *Kanunlar*, 143, 314, 321, 343, 399).

From the 10th/16th century onwards, the term *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* started to be used as equivalent to that of *miri mukāfa'a*. The officials supervising the *khāṣṣ* lands of *sandjak* begs and *beglerbegs* could not therefore interfere with the revenues of *miri mukāfa'a* or *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* in any way (Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nin iki numaralı şer'iye sicili*, Ankara 1974, 128-9). During the middle years of the century, because of financial and administrative difficulties, *miri mukāfa'as* and *khāṣṣ-i shāhi* began to appear as two different types of entities (M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadī ve içtimadī tarihi*, Ankara 1972, ii, 92-3, 299).

*Khāṣṣ-i pādishāhi* or *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* and *khāṣṣ* lands were managed by a *voyvoda*, who had under their command the *sekbān* soldiers in order to carry out their duties (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *XVII. asırda Saruhanda eşkıyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Ankara 1944, 319). In some places the *voyvodas* who were in charge of recording the shares of state and of individuals from *khāṣṣ* revenues (*Kāmil Kepeci tasnifi*, haslar kalemi defteri, no. 3065) were called *khāṣṣ dābīti* or "*khāṣṣ* officers" (*Şikayet defteri*, i,

160). However, the taxes on the *re'āyā* living and working on the *khāṣṣ* lands were collected by *emins*, who had nothing to do with the *voivodas* (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, pp. 1047, 1229). Beside the *voivodas*, there were also some other officials, including the *khāṣṣ kâtibis* or clerks, appointed by a decree (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, p. 567). These officials were in charge of managing the imperial *khāṣṣ* lands, with authority to pursue runaway cultivators and safeguard the interests of the imperial treasury in the *khāṣṣ* lands. They also had such duties as ensuring the transference to the treasury of heirless estates and abandoned properties, the inheritors of which had disappeared and had not returned within 6 months (*Kānūn-nāme-i sultāni ber müd'eb-i 'orf-i 'Othmāni*, ed. H. Inalcik and R. Anhegger, Ankara 1956, 70-1).

In earlier times permission was not given for the *khāṣṣa* lands to be farmed out on *iltizām* [q.v.] (H. Inalcik, *Arvanid livası*, 123-5), but this was not adhered to in later applications (Halit Ongan, *op. cit.*, 8, 43, 85; cf. *Arazi Kanunnāmesi ve Ebusuud Efendi'nin araziye müteallik fetvaları*, in *MTM*, 1/2 (Istanbul 1331), 324). Although the principle of not giving out *khāṣṣ* lands thus still existed at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the actual practice had become established (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *op. cit.*, 211). In 1658/1069 the *khāṣṣa* lands of eight viziers, amounting to 23,507,943 *akçes*, were given out as *iltizām* for the sum of 26,272,485 *akçes* (see Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, *haslar kalemi*, no. 3069).

During the composition of the register, the children on the *khāṣṣ* lands were not registered as such (*khāridi ez defter*), but were assumed to be registered through the registration of their fathers. Natural calamities such as drought and epidemics affected the *khāṣṣa* lands, leading to the emigration of *re'āyā* from their villages and farms to other places (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, pp. 560, 1661).

Gradually, the *khāṣṣ* lands belonging to the ranks of viziers, *beglerbegs*, and *sandjaq begs*, were abolished and were added to the *miri mukāta'āt* lands, and payment in cash was made in lieu of these lands (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 14525, pp. 14 ff.). After the treaty of Karlova [q.v.] in 1110/1699, new *khāṣṣ* lands were allotted to some of the *beglerbegs*, and in some places they were given the right of collecting taxes called *hadariyye* and *seferiyye*. The government office which existed from the 11th/17th century onwards and was charged with recording matters relating to the *khāṣṣ* lands of the various government officials in the *Dīvān-i Humāyūn* was called *Khāṣṣlar Mukāta'ası kalemi*. In 1833 this office was combined with the *Baş Mukāta'adillik* and the office of the official historiographer, and then was added to the *Harameyn mukāta'adillik* under the name of "the three offices", *aklām-i thalāthe* (A. Vefik, *Tekâlif kavâ'id-i*, Istanbul 1328, i, 217). In 1838 the department of the *Khāṣṣlar Kalemi* was in the same room as the *Baş Mukāta'adji* in Istanbul and his subordinates below the rank of treasurer (Maliyeden müdevver defterler no. 8999, p. 4). Later, only the *khāṣṣ* lands belonging to the offices of the vizierate, the High Admiral and the *Nishāndji* were retained, and the rest were added to the *Miri mukāta'āt* or *khāṣṣahā-i humāyūn*. The *ze'amets* allotted to other government officials came under the legal ambit of offices given for life, that is as *malikāne*, owned property; but because the revenues appropriated were insufficient, certain revenues were provided, in various ways, for the high officials in

Istanbul and in the provinces. Through the *malikāne* system thus established, some advantages, such as the protection of the sources of taxation and the provision of surplus income from the treasury and the maintenance of the productivity of the *mukāta'as*, were gained. Since no *khāṣṣ* land was allotted to new appointments (in other words, because of the abandonment of this system), provincial governors (*beglerbegs*) considered a *sandjaq* as providing a good income if in that region there was more of *mukāta'at-i miri* and less of *timār*, *ze'amet* and *wakf* land (Muştafâ Nürî Paşa, *Netāyidju 'l-wukū'āl*, Istanbul 1328, iii, 76, 79-80). The *mukāta'at-i miri* lands, with their values recorded in the *defters*, were given to the governors as personal property, and they would give them to the *mültezims* by adding a surplus amount of income. From 1790/1205 onwards, all the *khāṣṣ* lands, including those belonging to the Sultans' wives, were transferred to the jurisdiction of the newly-founded *Irād-i djedid* treasury (Djevdet, vi, 60 ff.; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 3205). After the *Tanzimāt*, the principle evolved of settling every kind of expenditure from the treasury; the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* revenues were now given to governors and *mültezims* from the Imperial Mint, and *Mukāta'at-i miri* revenues from the treasury. After 1838, instead of the old system of revenues set apart for the support of officials, a monthly salary was allotted to each of them. In 1839 the *mukāta'āt* treasury was combined with the *miri* treasury, and placed under the control of the Ministry of Finance (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 8999, pp. 6 ff., 38; cf. Muştafâ Nürî Paşa, *op. cit.*, iv, 102, 105 ff.).

Even after the old system was abolished, its memory survived in the names of certain places; for example, one of the names of the Eyyüb *kaḍā'* in Istanbul was *Khawāṣṣ-i refi'a* or *Khāṣṣlar Kaḍāsi*; the name *Khāṣṣ-köy* as the name of villages in Rumelia and Anatolia shows their former status (see *Türkiye'de meskûn yerler kılavuzu*, Ankara 1946, i), the most famous ones having this name being the town of *Khāṣṣköy* (Haskova) in Bulgaria and the town of *Khāṣṣa*, founded in 1865, in the Hatay province of Turkey.

The terms *Khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* and *Khāṣṣ-i pādishahi* gradually disappeared after the *Tanzimāt*, as explained above, but continued to be used for the services related to the Imperial Palace and to the Sultan, e.g. the *khāṣṣa* treasury, *khāṣṣa avcılari* or infantry, *khāṣṣa bostandjilari*, *khāṣṣa süvārileri* or cavalry, *khāṣṣa-i kitābet*, *khāṣṣa ordusu* or imperial guard regiments, *khāṣṣa müezzini*, *khāṣṣ-i 'askeriyye*, *khāṣṣa taburlari* or battalions, *khāṣṣ akhur*, treasury for the imperial stables, *khāṣṣ oda*, *khāṣṣ baghçe*, *maibakk-i khāṣṣ* or imperial kitchen (for the other terms, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index).

*Bibliography*: apart from the works already mentioned in the text, see: M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadi ve içtimai tarihi*, Ankara 1971, ii, 263, 264, 279, 299, 315, 316, 320, 321; H. A. R. Gibb -H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1951, i/1, 144-5, 148, n. 4, 238, 253; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941; idem, *Osmanlı devleti'nin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 105, 106, 164-5, 203-4, 352; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 157-8, 244-5; *Fâtih Kānūn-namesi*, ed. M. Arif, Istanbul 1330; Sultan I. Selim'in *Kanun-namesi*, ed. Anna Tveritinova, Moscow 1969, see Index; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des Premiers Sultans*, 1969, I, 164, II, 86-8; U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*,

1552-1615, Oxford 1960, see index; 'Aynī 'Alī, *Kawānīn-i āl-i 'Othmān der khulāṣa-i medāmin-i defter-i khākānī*, Istanbul 1280, 6-8, 10; Sarf Mehmed Pasha, *Neşā'ih ül-wūzerā we'l-ūmerā*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935; 'Abdurrah-mān Wefīk, *Tekālif kawā'idī*, Istanbul 1328, i, 241-2, 297-8; P. Rycout, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 51-5; Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirât ekonominin hukukt ve malî esasları*, I. *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 104-9, 210; Ö. L. Barkan, *İA*, art. *Timar*; idem, 1079-1080 (1669-1670) *malî yılına ait bir Osmanlı bülgesi ve ekleri*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii (1956), 226, 245, 252, 257, 259; Khlidr İlyās, *Lej'if-i enderün*, Istanbul 1276; Klaus Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur Osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1973, p. 27, 101-4; M. Fuat Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri hakkında bazı mülâhazalar*, in *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i (Istanbul 1931), 223-4; M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, i, 750-2.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

**KHĀṢṢ, KHĀṢṢA** in Persia [see KHĀLIṢA].

**KHĀṢṢ BEG** or ARSLAN BEG B. BALANGIRI (d. 547 or 548/1153), Turkmen *amir* under the Great Salḡūks of 'Irāk and western Persia. The name *Khāṣṣ* Beg seems to have been bestowed on him because of his favoured position under Sultān Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad (529-47/1134-52); it is used in similar contexts in the works of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and in the *Kitāb Dede Korkut*. During the latter years of Mas'ūd's reign, *Khāṣṣ* Beg secured an ascendancy in the state, disposing of such rivals as Togḡa Yürek's son 'Abd al-Rahmān, governor of Arrān (541/1147), and Boz-aba, governor of Fārs (542/1147). On the sultan's death, *Khāṣṣ* Beg raised his nephew Malik Shāh b. Maḥmūd to the throne (547/1152), but seeing his incompetence, *Khāṣṣ* Beg and the other Turkish *amirs* deposed him in the next year in favour of his brother Muḥammad. However, the new sultan was ill-disposed to tolerate this over-mighty subject, and *Khāṣṣ* Beg was murdered, together with the *amir* Dījāndār, three days after Muḥammad reached Hamadhān (end of 547 or Şafar 548/winter-spring 1153).

*Bibliography*: Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Topkapu Saray, Ahmet III Ms. 2948, fols. 182b-183b; Ibn al-Djawzi, *al-Muntaẓam*, x, 143, 147-8, 153-4; 'Imād al-Dīn al-İṣfahānī, in Bundārī's *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma, 192, 198-9, 214-18, 224-30; Şadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akḡbār al-dawla al-salḡūkiyya*, ed. Iqbal, 114-15, 118-21, 126-7; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, ed. Cairo 1301/1884, xi, 47, 52, 60, 64, 74; Rāwandī, *Rāḡat al-sudūr*, ed. Iqbal, 237, 241-4, 249, 254, 259-62, 284; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-tawāriḡh*, ed. Ateş, Ankara 1960, ii, 120-3, 127-39, 159; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 131-3, 175.

(F. SÖMER)

**KHĀṢṢ ODA**, the "Privy Chamber" of the Ottoman palace organisation and the most important of the four departments comprising the *Enderün* or Inside Service (the others being, in decreasing order of importance, the Treasury or *Khasīne* [q.v.], the Privy Larder or *Kilār-i Khāṣṣ* and the Great and Little Chambers or *Büyük ve Küçük Odalar*).

The *Khāṣṣ Oda* as we know it was created by Meḡmed the Conqueror, who in his *Kānūn-nāme* mentions by title its four chief officers and its staff of 32 pages or *İ' Oghlans* [q.v.], who became known as the *Khāṣṣ Oda ghilmānī* or *Khāṣṣ Odallıar*. Selīm I increased their number to what became the classic

one of 40, and entrusted to them *inter alia* the duty of guarding the Prophet's mantle [see KHİRKA-I ŞHERİF]; in the 12th/18th century, according to d'Ohsson, they still numbered 40.

The principal ones of these 40 pages waited on the Sultan personally in the *Mā-beyn* apartments [q.v.] of the palace, becoming thereby known as the *Mābeyndiis*; their duties included helping him to dress, shaving him, etc. The chief page was the *Silḡdār* or Sword-bearer, but the supervision of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the responsibility of the White Eunuchs, the particular one in charge being known as the *Khāṣṣ Oda Başlı*. In Meḡmed's *Kānūn-nāme*, one of his duties was as *Şāhib-i 'Arḡ* or presenter of petitions to the Sultan. By the 18th century, however, the *Khāṣṣ Oda Başlı*'s duties were, according to d'Ohsson, restricted to certain ceremonial duties as Master of Ceremonies of the Inside Service (*Enderün Teshrifāldīf*).

*Bibliography*: A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 126-8; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 322-35, 340-53; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, London 1950-7, i/1, 78, 80-1, 332-3, 358 ff.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KHĀṢṢA**, plur. *khawāṣṣ*, also *khāṣṣiyya*, plur. *khāṣṣiyyāt*, "sympathetic quality" is a recurring theme in magic and occult sciences indicating the unaccountable, esoteric forces in animate and inanimate Nature. The conception that everywhere in Nature such forces are active or can be activated, developed during the Hellenistic period. It was believed that all objects were in relation to one another through sympathy and antipathy—as is evident in the mysterious forces of the magnet—and that diseases could be caused and cured, good and ill fortune be brought about as a result of the relations of these tensions. Unlike peripatetic philosophy, this way of thinking renounces a rational explanation of phenomena. It was voiced in the Φυσικά of Bolos of Mendes (ca. 200 B.C.), the Λιθογνώμων of Xenocrates (see M. Ullmann, *Das Steinbuch des Xenokrates von Ephesos*, in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, vii (1972), 49-64; idem, *Neues zum Steinbuch des Xenokrates*, in *ibid.*, viii (1973), 59-76), the *Cyranides* and other hermetic treatises, in the Book of Animals of Timotheos of Gaza and in the books of agriculture. These views also entered into medical and pharmacological literature (see Galen, viii, 421; xi, 823; xii, 192 Kühn; Dioscorides, *passim*) and gained a theoretical foundation in the Neo-platonic doctrine of the graded structure of the world.

The translation of the above-mentioned Greek works carried the doctrine of the occult qualities of Nature to the Arabs, among whom it found an extraordinarily fertile soil and called forth an extensive literature. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzi, "Djābir b. Ḥayyān", Ibn al-Djazzār, Abu 'l-'Alā' Zuhri, 'Alī b. Aydamir al-Djildakī and others wrote books with the title *Khawāṣṣ al-ashyā'* (or the like). Furthermore, there is hardly any Islamic work on the natural sciences in which the *khawāṣṣ* are not treated at greater or shorter length. The "Books of stones" by Aristotle and Tifāshī, the "Books of animals," by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥawāfir and Damīri, the "Books of plants" by Ibn Waḡṣhiyya, the "Books of poisons" by Ibn al-Bitriḡ and Ibn al-Mubārak, the encyclopaedias of Kaẓwīnī and Nuwayrī and the manual of medicine by 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, are all full of information on the most remarkable effects of "sympathy".

Finally, abstract entities were also believed to possess mysterious forces: al-Būnī, al-Djillī, al-Nadrūmī and others wrote about the *khawāṣṣ* of letters and numbers, of the names of Allāh and of the verses of the Qur'ān.

*Bibliography:* P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, ii (MIE 45), Cairo 1942, 61-95; H. Ritter and M. Plessner, *Picatrix*, London 1962, *passim*; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (HO, Erg. Bd. VI/2), Leiden 1972, 393-416, see *Index s.v. ḥawāṣṣ*. (M. ULLMANN)

AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-'ĀMMA (A.), two antithetical terms which, as here, and also in the plural *al-khāwāṣṣ wa'l-'awāmm*, denote in a general way the élite and commonalty, the notables and the plebs, or the aristocracy and the masses. It is, however, extremely difficult to be more precise about these two elements of the population. Despite the equalitarianism preached by Islam, the existence of social classes within the community is indisputable, and it is certain that the use of these two general terms, by both ancient and modern writers, clearly conceals a much more differentiated social reality. The combination of ideas of religion, race and legal status very soon shook up the structure of Bedouin society and resulted in four basic social groups: the Arab conquerors and their clients from a long time back; the non-Arab converts; the non-Muslims; and the slaves (cf. A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams*, Leipzig 1873, 15, who does not take the slaves into account). However, economic development quickly brought about a social mixture of classes and a new society, organised on different lines, comprising the pure-blooded Arab aristocracy; the bourgeoisie, embracing Arab and non-Arab, Muslim and non-Muslim elements; the people; and the slaves (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu syrien*, 224 ff.). In the succeeding period, the composition of these different classes underwent various more or less profound changes, but authors nevertheless continued to speak about the *khāṣṣa* and the 'amma; thus, whilst affirming the complexity of Islamic society, a 19th century writer, Ḥusayn al-Marsafī (d. 1890), still uses only these two terms, whilst at the same time he tries to distinguish internal categories and sub-divisions of these two great groups, which nevertheless remain fairly blurred.

Although Sāsānid society had possessed four estates divided into several classes (cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, 97 ff.), it is not impossible that Persia (and possibly Greece; cf. al-Fārābī, *K. al-Ḥurūf*, 133-4) exercised an influence on the division adopted by the Muslims (cf. al-Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois de Perse*, 469, 608, 730; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-'uyūn*, Cairo 1903, 44-5, ed. 1964, 67), but the aristocratic spirit of the Arabs is enough to account for this dichotomy. All the same, one of the earliest authors to speak about the *khāṣṣa* and 'amma is Ibn al-Muḳaffa', who in various of his writings uses the terms in the general sense mentioned above, but gives to them a different timbre in one passage of *al-Adab al-sagħīr* (ed. Kurd 'Alī, in *Rasā'il al-bulaghā*, 1946, 13) where he is pointing out the attitude which one should adopt according to whether one is in the presence of a member of the *khāṣṣa*, understood as comprising people of merit and quality, or of the 'amma, a thousand times more numerous; in practice, this author divides mankind, in relation to himself, into two categories, and in this passage alludes to a personal *khāṣṣa* made up of friends having outstanding moral qualities.

If the same conception is transferred to the level

of the rulers, one finds already the idea of a *khāṣṣa* confined to their intimates and confidants. The historians often mention the persons who were closest (*khāṣṣ*) to the caliphs and sultans. Thus Kabīṣa b. Dhū'ayb al-Khuzā'i in relation to 'Abd al-Malik (see al-Djāhshiyārī, *Wusarā'*, 34); Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had a specially favoured position (*khāṣṣa*) at Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik's side, who allowed his protégé to sit next to him on his throne (*ibid.*, 50); Sālim al-Suddī was part of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's *khāṣṣa* (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdi*, v, 419 = § 2172); al-Mas'ūdī goes as far as saying that Mu'āwiya had his *khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, without however naming anyone specifically. Under the 'Abbāsids, 'Isā b. 'Alī, al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad and 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd were the *khāwāṣṣ* of al-Manṣūr (al-Djāhshiyārī, 37, 97), Abū 'Abbād Thābit b. Yahyā was the *khāṣṣ* of al-Ma'mūn (*Murūdi*, vii, 3, 35 = § 2695, 2723) and Ibn al-Zayyāt was one of the *khawāṣṣ* of al-Mu'taṣim (Ibn al-Tiḳṭakā, *Fakhri*, 233). Many other examples could be cited of these persons, officials or courtiers, who enjoyed the sovereign's special favour. Naturally, there were amongst all these, a certain number of parasites (cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *K. al-Taffil*, Damascus 1927, 99).

In another sphere, the word *khāṣṣ* was applied to "royal" institutions and estates. Under the 'Abbāsids and Fātimids, landed estates belonging to the caliphs and especially to members of their families were called *ḍiyya' al-khāṣṣa*. Similarly, the productions of the *firāz* manufactories were sometimes called *khāṣṣ* (cf. Serjeant, *Materials for a history of Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 158). The *bayt al-māl al-khāṣṣa* was created at a later period by the 'Abbāsid caliphs in order to distinguish the privy treasury from the public one supplied by state revenues; a department called the *diwān al-nafaḳāt al-khāṣṣa* was set up during the reign of al-Mutawakkil to take charge of the royal household expenses.

Various viziers, high officials and rebel chiefs who occupy an important place in Islamic history also had their *khāṣṣa* (cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Lubāb*, Beirut n.d., i, 412; Ibn al-Djāwzī, *Muntazam*, x, 143; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maḍīma' al-adab fi mu'djam al-alkāb*, Baghḍād 1967, iv, 756; al-Azdi, *T. al-Mawṣil*, 67; al-Djāhshiyārī, *op. cit.*, 67; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahāj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1963, iii, 17; etc.).

The *khāṣṣa* described so far had a personal character and only merited being called thus in relationship to the person who had chosen it; whatever its unofficial role may have been, it had no legal status. However, one part at least of the ruler's entourage made up a wider *khāṣṣa*, which was itself able to intervene, or had the right to intervene, in affairs of state, e.g. to share in the designation of an heir presumptive or the installation of a new caliph, without taking into account the fact that certain of its members had precisely-defined functions. It is unfortunately difficult to discern its exact composition, since the sources give hardly any details in this regard. The oath of allegiance called *bay'at al-khāṣṣa* was given to the caliph, before the *bay'at al-'amma*, by a group of which we do not know the criteria for its membership. Nor can we enumerate those persons who were privileged to pass through the *bāb al-khāṣṣa* into the palace at Baghḍād or at Sāmarrā, who were allowed into the *maḍīlis* or *dār al-khāṣṣa* (*diwān-i khāṣṣ* amongst the Mughals of India), or who could be cited before the tribunal of *maḳālim al-khāṣṣa* set up for them (cf. al-Šābī, *Wusarā'*, 20, 22, 27; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 338). One is tempted to render *khāṣṣa* or *khawāṣṣ* by "court" or "courtiers", which are terms

vague enough as a blanket designation for what is hard to pinpoint precisely in reality; but one may nevertheless try and define further this idea of *khāṣṣa*.

It is quite probable that the *khāṣṣa* in the east was not substantially different, at least in early times, from that described by E. Lévi-Provençal: "The *khāṣṣa* at Cordova [was] originally composed above all of aristocrats of Arab stock, and more particularly, of relations more or less distant from the prince in power". In official ceremonies "these Ahl Quraysh took first place; they were followed by successive groups of high officials in the central administration" and by the legal and civil magistrates included within the *khāṣṣa*, "whether they were members of the Arab nobility or slave officials", as well as by "the holders of more or less honorific posts, which their riches, old-established or recently-acquired, had allowed them to purchase for money, in order to acquire in this fashion a place in the most privileged social class" (*Hist. Esp. musulmane*, iii, 188 ff.).

For its being placed in an eastern context, this institution ought probably to be given some altered touches (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, ch. x) and to be rounded out by various pieces of information derived particularly from the descriptions of official ceremonies (e.g. see M. Canard, *Le ceremonial fātimide et le ceremonial byzantin. Essai de comparaison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), 355-420) or by lists of notabilities and officials (e.g. see al-Kalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 480-8, tr. B. Lewis, in *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York 1974, i, 201-8), but prudence is still necessary.

Lévi-Provençal's last remark provides an easy transition allowing us to pass from the *khāṣṣa* of the state to that of the nation, for without thinking in any way of the venality of appointments, Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, i, tr. Massé, i, proposed precisely to take it, following here al-Faḳīh b. Yaḥyā, as the rich and cultivated people, at the side of the rulers and their ministers, with the rest of humanity making up a completely uninteresting 'amma. If the categories of the rulers and their ministers are only to be expected, the other two are remarkable because this writer includes in the *khāṣṣa* a higher class ('ilya) which has been raised to a higher level through riches, and "people of middling status whose education has made them assimilated to the previous class", i.e. the bourgeoisie, which is largely made up of merchants who have grown rich (and these were often scholars also) and the intellectual élite. The idea of a bourgeoisie is very recent, and al-Marsaff himself still places the middle class amongst the *khāṣṣa*, but one would like to know more about the *shurṭa wustā* set up in al-Andalus and probably responsible for ferreting out crimes committed by this intermediate class (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musulmane*, iii, 156-7). As for the intellectual élite, it would require an unusual amount of modesty for authors to place themselves in the 'amma when they talk of the two great social classes. In practice, the secretaries of the administration tend to apply the term *khawāṣṣ* to the ruler's entourage, of which they were a part, whilst literary men and the authors of religious works apply it to an ill-defined élite which corresponds to the educated people mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh. It would probably be unfair to base oneself on the criterion adopted by the philologists who wrote works on the *lahn al-'amma* [q.v.], because all the people utilising this medium of expression, not in classical Arabic at all but in dialect, 'ammīyya, were part of the 'amma, including gross and untutored rulers. This linguistic criterion cannot then be upheld, especially

as authors recognise that the *khawāṣṣ* generally use a language which is different, and in any case, more correct than that of the 'awāmm, even if they may at times commit the faults which, for instance, al-Ḥarīrī has brought out in his *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awḥām al-khawāṣṣ*.

If writers do not seem to have composed much else on the *khāṣṣa* and were content to address themselves to it as did Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī with his *Tadhkirat khawāṣṣ al-umma*, the 'amma is a theme of Arabic literature which was treated from a critical point of view. Thus al-Djāhīz has left a *Risāla fī waṣf al-'awāmm*, and Abu 'l-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī was the author of the *Masāwī 'l-'awāmm wa-akhbār al-sifla wa 'l-aghniām*, etc. (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. i. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 30 ff.).

The title given to his opusculum by Abu 'l-'Anbas [q.v. in Suppl.] shows revealingly a mentality current at that time which tended to make no differentiation between the various elements making up the 'amma and which tended to assimilate this last to the mass of population which was, in greater or lesser degree, turbulent. Hence the terms *ghawghā'*, *awbāsh*, *siḥla*, *aghniām*, etc. were applied to the 'amma, all of these being pejorative expressions inspired by an aristocratic vision which an Abu 'l-'Anbas would have been the last to exploit. Whilst the *khāṣṣa* in its proper sense was—justifiably—the recipient of only praises for its moral and intellectual qualities and for the *adab* [q.v.] of which it had a monopoly (cf. for example, Abū Ḥayyan al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, iii, 61, 151-2), all possible sins were fathered on to the 'amma. It was ignorant, without any morality, unrespecting of religious obligations, and let itself be easily manipulated by the *khāṣṣa*, whose play-thing it was (but the two classes then needed each other). It was conformist for some, but easily won over to heterodox teachings for others, and it was the 'amma which made up the hordes of extremist sects, all the more so because it was incapable of distinguishing the true from the false, hence acted without due reflection and easily rallied to mischief-makers. It does not seem necessary to dwell any further upon this unattractive picture which writers sketch out, but this general picture does not prevent there occurring also in their works more cheering references and examples of praiseworthy deeds accomplished by members of the 'amma.

*Bibliography:* In addition to references in the text, see Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā' wa 'l-kullāb*, Cairo 1938, 97, 167, 178, 189; Djāhīz, *Uḥmāniyya*, Cairo 1955, 250-6; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫh*, Beirut 1970, ii, 484, 493, 503; Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Hurūf*, Beirut 1969, 133-4; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghāni*, Cairo 1950, xii, 36; Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, Beirut ca. 1953, i, 205, ii, 13, 48-9, iii, 62, 95-6, 151-2; Miskawayh, *Tadjarīb al-umam*, ii, 62-3; Ṭha'ālībī, *Ta'riḫh ḡhurar al-siyar* ("Histoire des rois de Perse"), new edn. Tehran 1963, 390, 482, 498, 535, 730; idem, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Beirut 1973, iv, 203; Šābī, *Tuḥfat al-umarā' fī ta'riḫh al-wuzarā'*, Cairo 1958, 15-6, 20, 22, 27, 34-5, 40, 156, 258, 340; Rāghīb, *Dhārī'a*, Cairo 1881, 51; Ibn al-Ḳalānīsī, *Dhayl Ta'riḫh Dimashk*, 215; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Murtaḏam*, vii, 287, viii, 22, 143, 170; Maydānī, *Madjma' al-amḥāl*, Cairo 1892, ii, 211; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xvi, 87, 271; Ibn al-Tīkṭakā, *Fakhri*, Beirut 1966, 26-7, 268, 270, 294; Bundārī, *Sanā' al-barḳ al-Shāmī*, Beirut 1971, 55-6; Ibn al-'Ibrī, *Ta'riḫh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1958, 132, 153; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1927, 54, 58-9; *Alf Layla wa-layla*, Beirut 1909, iii, 8, vi, 75, 86, 211 and 15 (sic); Ibshīhī, *Mustatraf*, Cairo 1911-12,

i, 143; Sourdel, *Le vizirat*, i, 338, ii, 592; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1969, 395; Lane, *Lexicon*, 746-7, 2150. (M. A. J. BEG)

**KHĀṢṢAKIYYA** (under the Mamlūks). These were the sultan's bodyguard and select retinue. Most of them usually belonged to the corps of the reigning sultan's freedmen (*mushṭarawāi*, *adīlāb*, *dīlūbān*). Most of the commanders (*amīrs*) rose from the *khāṣṣakiyya*. They were considered to be the most prestigious body within the Mamlūk military aristocracy, and were the closest to the sultan. Frequent reference is made to their being sent on special missions inside and outside the Mamlūk sultanate, their being appointed governors of some of the Syrian provinces, and their being dispatched to arrest and imprison rebellious amirs and governors. There were amongst them pen-box holders (*dawādāriyya*), cup-bearers (*suqāt*), treasurers (*khāzināriyya*), masters of the robe (*dīamāriyya*), armour bearers (*silāhdāriyya*) and shoe-bearers (*bashmakāndāriyya*). The rest of the *khāṣṣakiyya* held no offices and were inferior in status to the office holders.

The numbers of the *khāṣṣakiyya* varied considerably. The minimum number was 40 and the maximum 1,200. The increase of the number of the *khāṣṣakiyya* was a clear symptom of the decline of the military aristocracy in the later years of the Mamlūk sultanate, but attempts to curb that process met with only partial and temporary success.

*Bibliography*: D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 213-16, and the bibliography on p. 213, n. 7; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına mehdal*, Ankara 1970, 347-8. (D. AYALON)

**KHĀṢṢEKĪ**, Turkish form of Persian *khāṣṣagī* from Arabic *khāṣṣ*, "private, special, confidential", applied to persons in the personal service of mediaeval Turco-Islamic rulers [see further **KHĀṢṢAKIYYA**].

The term was used in the Ottoman palace service from the 10th/16th to the 13th/19th centuries and in military organisation. The first of these usages was as applied to the Sultan's concubines who were known by the title of *khāṣṣekī*. Their number varied between 4 and 7 (Mahmūd I had 6, and Selim III had 7), and these were the special favourites of the sultan, above all other concubines, and honoured by the title of *kadīn* with their own private apartments and attendants. Those bearing a child to the sultan were called *khāṣṣekī sultān*. Thus *Khurrem Sultan* [q.v.], one of the Süleymān the Magnificent's *kadīns*, *Khādīje Turkhān Sultān*, one of the seven *khāṣṣekīs* of Sultan İbrāhīm, Gülnüş Emetü'llāh Sultān, one of the *kadīns* of Mehemmed IV, were all therefore called by the honorific title of *Khāṣṣekī Sultān* (for this last lady, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 2081, 33/10). When a sultan died, some of the *khāṣṣekīs* who were childless or whose children had died might be given in marriage to one of the ministers or high officials. (For documentation on the *Khāṣṣekī Sultāns* in the period 936-1223/1530-1809 see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Unpublished Catalogue, N.E. 6425.)

The 14th, 49th, 66th, 67th companies or *ortas* of the Janissary corps were called *khāṣṣekī ortaları*. Each one of the *khāṣṣekī* companies was headed by an *agha*, the most senior of these *aghas* bearing the title of *Baş Khāṣṣekī* "Chief *Khāṣṣekī*"; these *khāṣṣekīs*, according to tradition, were introduced during the reign of Mehemmed the Conqueror. Just as it was customary for the sultan's attendants, together with the greyhounds, to accompany him on his hunting expeditions, so there were four senior *aghas* of the

*khāṣṣekī ortas* who walked, two on the sultan's right and two on his left, when he went to the mosque; these *aghas* of the four companies were therefore given the title of *khūnkār khāṣṣekī*. The most senior of them, when promoted, became the *Turmadjī başlı* (*kaḡwānīn-i yenīleriyān*, Süleymaniye, Esat Efendi Kütüphanesi, no. 2068, ff. 85, 86 etc.). The number of the four *khāṣṣekī* companies amounted to 1,018 in 1032/1623 and 1,210 in 1074/1664 (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtında kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 205). These *khāṣṣekī* companies were dispersed with the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1241/1826.

There were also the *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs*, numbering 500 in the 12th/18th century, who formed a group within the larger organisation of the *Bostāndjīs* which were looking after the palace gardens and orchards as well as undertaking certain other palace services.

These *khāṣṣekīs* were chosen from among the *bostāndjīs*, and 60 of them acted as escorts for the ruler round the imperial boat, with a *khāṣṣekī agha* in charge of the boat. The *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs* also acted as diplomatic couriers (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 2939, Mehmed 'Aṭā', *Ta'riḡh-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1292, i, 293 ff.). One should also mention the *bostāndjī khāṣṣekī* (also called *wezir karaḡulagħī*), who performed the duty of carrying correspondence between the sultan and the Grand Vizier, and others who held such offices as *kirellī başlı* "Chief lime burner", *ballıḡ emini* (collector of dues on fish brought to market in Istanbul), *sharāb emini* or *emīn-i khāmır* (collector of dues on wine). The *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs* were abolished in 1244/1829 (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 474).

*Bibliography*: Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, see M. C. Şahabettin Tekindag, *Berkuk devrinde Memluk sultanlığı*, Istanbul 1961, 33, 152; P. Rychaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 40-1; Theodore Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit Traicté de l'Origine des Turcs*, Paris 1896, 321-2; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reichs*, repr. 1963, ii, 69, 107, 196, 204; *Khāḡīr İlyās*, *Lejā'if-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1276, *passim*; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1824, vii; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1951-7, i/1, 321-2, 350-1; Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem*, Ankara 1971, 44; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 5695; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 752-4; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, art. *Haseki* in *İA*; A. D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, 80, 81, 106.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

**KHATA'** (A.), a mistake, which is made in thought, speech or action (a fault which one has is called *'ayb*), the opposite of *sawāb*, what is correct; hence in the field of knowledge, error; in that of action, omission, failure, all this, of course, unintentional. From the last meaning develops that of wrong which one commits, transgression; whether this is to be regarded as unintentional or—as in *khafī'a* and *khū'i'*—deliberate (sc. a sin) is a disputed point with the lexicographers. *Khafa'* and *khaf'* (the latter is found only in the *Kāmūs*, so that it is hardly classical) are synonymous (or phonetic variants?). *Khafa'* is sometimes regarded as an infinitive of *khafī'a* used as a substantive (which it originally was and still is), sometimes as a substantive from *akhfa'a* (which it has become through linguistic usage), and sometimes as belonging to both. The lexicographers have the most diverse opinions regarding the more accurate definition of the meaning

of these two verbs, within the sphere of ideas above outlined. *Khafa'* and *khaṭā'* are exceedingly rare in classical poetry (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, ed. 1888, 120 "sin" (parallel with *ḍhanb*); also Qurʿān, XVII, 33: "sin", as a variant of *khiṭ*; IV, 94: "transgression"); more frequently only the verbal forms *khaṭī'a* and *akhṭa'a* are used as synonyms.

The use of *khaṭa'* as a technical term is in keeping with the general use of the word; the principal uses of it are as follows:

1. Error in logic (opposite of *ṣawāb*), synonymous with *bāṭil*, the "invalid" (opposite of *ḥaḳḳ*); the former pair of concepts ought to be used in questions of *idjtiḥād* [q.v.] and the latter in questions of *i'tihād* [q.v.] (this may be the result of the corresponding use of the word in the Qurʿān), so that Islam and the other religions are contrasted with one another in *ḥaḳḳ* and *bāṭil*, opposite views in the *furū'* of the *fiḳḳ* [see *fiḳḳ*], as *ṣawāb* and *khaṭa'*; but there is only one verb for each, *aṣāba* and *akhṭa'a*, which points to the artificiality of this distinction, and in reality the rule is often not observed; in other branches of learning also *khaṭa'* and *bāṭil* are used promiscuously, as indeed are *ṣawāb* and *ḥaḳḳ* also. The works which deal with the *uṣūl al-fiḳḳ* [see *uṣūl*] discuss the question whether the *muḍjtahid* [q.v.] *muṣṭlak* can err. In the orthodox community, the opinion has prevailed that the *muḍjtahid* can err and in cases of difference of opinion only one can be right at a time, and a tradition is even cited on this point; the Mu'tazilis asserted that every *muḍjtahid* is right, and even celebrated orthodox teachers held this view, e.g. Abū Yūsuf, Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣhaybānī, Ibn Suraydj, al-Muzanī, al-Ash'arī and his school, al-Bāḳillānī, al-Ḡhazālī; Abū Ḥanīfa adopts a middle view. The champions of the orthodox view believe, in keeping with this, that Allāh has already come to a definite decision before every *idjtiḥād* and that the correctness or otherwise of the decision of the *muḍjtahid* results from its agreement or not with that of Allāh; those of the Mu'tazila assume either different decisions by Allāh which coincide with those of the individual *muḍjtahids* and are valid for them and their *muḳallids* [q.v.], so that all differing decisions of the *muḍjtahids* are equally justified, or they consider one decision more justified than the others and believe that Allāh has taken no decision in such cases but "if He did do so", would express quite a definite one: this supposed decision by Allāh is then compared with those of the *muḍjtahids*, and the *muḍjtahid* who agrees with it is considered in the right in every respect; but those which differ from it are considered in the right with respect to the basis, the *idjtiḥād* (*ibtidā'a* *idjtiḥād*), as the *muḍjtahid* has endeavoured with all his power to find the decision, in the wrong with respect to the result, the decision itself (*intihā'a* *ḥukm*). The representatives of the orthodox view, who are essentially in close agreement with this form of the Mu'tazili view, make the same distinction (the opinion is rejected that the *muḍjtahid* who makes a mistake is completely in the wrong); the other Mu'tazili view, however, is in sharp contrast to this. But this difference only exists in questions of the derivation of legal rules from the *uṣūl al-fiḳḳ* (*fi 'l-shar'iyāt*) and only in the case when no clear decision is given in the *uṣūl*; if there is one, but it has not been regarded by the *muḍjtahid*, he is, of course, wrong. In the domain of the *uṣūl al-dīn*, of *ḥalām* [q.v.], particularly in reasoned deductions (*fi 'l-ʿakliyyāt*), according to the general consensus, only one view can be right in a case of differences of opinion. Only a few Mu'tazilis, as whose representa-

tives Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnbarī and al-Djāhīz are cited, asserted that here also in dogmatics every *muḍjtahid* (the word is used in a wider sense, meaning everyone who does all in his power to solve a problem) is right; while al-ʿAnbarī adds so long as he can be still described as a Muslim, and al-Djāhīz without limitation. Tradition on this point is no longer certain, as is apparent in differences in detail and in a certain irresolution; in this Mu'tazili teaching, however (as in the polemics regarding the *muḍjtahid fi 'l-shar'iyāt*), the other meanings of *khaṭa'* come into consideration, so that it is doubtless correctly explained that by "being right" is not meant agreement with the actual facts, but that the *muḍjtahid* has duly fulfilled the task imposed on him and therefore cannot be punished (while according to the orthodox consensus, every non-Muslim is doomed to the pains of hell eternally), and that that to which his *idjtiḥād* leads him is what is right for him by Allāh's decree itself. This ambiguity in terminology must have contributed to the ambiguity in tradition. That, taken purely logically, several differing views could be right at the same time, has never been asserted. The *muḍjtahid* in the wrong is not punished for his error and is not considered as being in a religious error (*ḍalāl*), but is regarded as excused and is rewarded, since he has done everything that is demanded of him if he has really used all his energy for the derivation of the legal rule. If he has not done this, he is punished for his error; others say that every error of a *muḍjtahid* is a sin, but this view is rejected. All this holds only of the *muḍjtahids* of the Sunnis; those of the "Twelver" Shi'is are infallible.

2. Unintentional action (opposite of *ʿamd*); this use comes from Qurʿān, IV, 94-5 (cf. *ḲATĪE*, section i, I; passages like II, 286 and XXII, 5 may have also had an influence). This is of interest here, in so far as it is illegal. It may be more accurately defined as an act contrary to law, in which the intention of committing an illegal act is lacking, while the action itself may be deliberate; any negligence is left quite out of the question in the juridical appreciation. The Mu'tazilis asserted that one could not be punished by Allāh for it, for punishment is only conceivable for a deliberate illegal act. Orthodoxy on the contrary teaches that, while *khaṭa'* is not a sin (*iḥm*), any negligence, however, is something deliberate, and the *khaṭa'*, as its result, is liable to be punished (it was regarded as belonging to the *ʿawāriḍ muktasaba*, happenings only indirectly intended, in themselves not deliberate, for which man can equally be made responsible); but Allāh in his mercy will overlook the punishment in the next world. The *khaṭa'* is thus considered as an ameliorating, often even exonerating, circumstance in the infliction of punishment in this world (*shubḥa* [q.v.]); it cannot be punished by *ḥadd* [q.v.]. But not all of Allāh's rights are waived: anyone who, contrary to the prohibition, kills an animal in the *ḥaram* [q.v.], the sacred territory of Mecca, whether with *ʿamd* (deliberately) or from *khaṭa'* (unintentionally), has in the opinion of all four *madḥ-habs*, to make the prescribed atonement. Dāwūd al-Zāhirī alone in this case considers *khaṭa'* as an excuse. This is doubtless connected with what is ultimately a pre-Islamic idea, that Allāh has an especial right of ownership to the *ḥaram*, its plants and animals (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 7, 10). It follows that an unintentional infraction of this right of property is to be atoned for like an intentional one (the substance of this is also found in the following difference of opinion: Mālik and Aḥmad



b. Ḥanbal do not require a special compensation if the animal has an owner—who, of course, must be compensated—i.e. does not belong to Allāh; Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi'ī demand it in every case, so that they extend their area of application). In *khafa'* there also is a full liability for any injury done to another. Here *kiṣāṣ* [q.v.] is a special case; its application is excluded when *khafa'* is present; and instead, the *diya* [q.v.] is to be paid and the *kaffāra* [q.v.] to be performed. For further details, see the article *ḲATL*, Section i, 5, 6, where the variations of *khafa'* in the meaning of an unintentional act are given. From them it will be seen that this terminological use of the word is based on the two meanings "error" (in the case of *khafa'* fi 'l-*kaṣd*) and "failure", "accident" (in the case of *khafa'* fi 'l-*fi'ī*) and is no more uniform than the use dealt with under I.

*Bibliography*: The statements of the dictionaries are collected in Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, i/2, 761; on its use as a technical term, see *Dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Muslims*, i, 401-2; Dschordschāni, *Definitiones*, ed. G. Flügel, 104; for further details the works on *uṣūl* and the *fiḥh*-books are indispensable. See also *ḲATL*. (J. SCHACHT)

**KHATĀ'Ī** [see ISMĀ'ĪL *SHĀH*].

**KHATAK**, a Paṣhtūn tribe living in the Kohāt and Peshāwar Districts of the North-West Frontier region of former British India, now Pakistān, estimated at about 200,000 individuals; for their genealogy, see the table in *AFGHĀN*. They are Ḥanafī Sunnī Muslims, and their original home appears to have been the *Shawāl* valley in Wazīrīstān. In the early 8th/14th century they were driven by other Paṣhtūn tribes to the southern portion of the Ṭēri mountains of Kohāt, where the main body still lives as neighbours of the Bangash tribe. They speak the so-called "soft" dialect of Paṣhto [see *AFGHĀN*, ii. The Paṣhto language], but a section of this tribe, the Akora *Khataks*, live in Nowshera *Tahsil* of the Peshāwar District, and they have adopted the "hard" dialect. The *Khataks* are the only major Paṣhtūn tribe which is divided into the two main Paṣhto dialects.

Although not mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, the *Khataks* do appear in 10th/16th century documents. Malik Ako (or Akōray) led his clan of *Khataks* to the land they occupy to this day west of the confluence of the Kābul and Indus Rivers. He was granted the land from the Indus to Nowshera (1586) by the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and given the right to levy ferry tolls at the Attock crossing [see *ATAK*], in return for keeping open this part of the road to Kābul, then a province of the Mughal Empire. This stretch formed part of the famous Grand Trunk Road from Hindustān to *Khurāsān*. Control of the Attock crossing brought the *Khataks* into conflict with the neighboring Yūsufzay tribe living north of the Kābul River, who had, at this time, been resisting Mughal encroachments into their areas. The *Khataks* took advantage of Akbar's attempted suppression of the Yūsufzays to occupy part of their lands. Later, the *Khatak-Yūsufzay* rivalry was caught up in the struggle for succession between Aurangzib and his competing brothers (1068/1658). The *Khataks* were then hard hit by the abolition of the Indus ferry tolls. During most of the second half of the 11th/17th century the *Khatak* and some other tribes were in constant rebellion against Aurangzib, a resistance in which *Khush-hāl Khān* [q.v.] was the guiding force. He secured the assistance of the Afrīds (led by Malik Daryā *Khān* and Aymal *Khān*), but failed with the Yūsufzays because of the historic *Khatak-Yūsufzay* feud. There

was no major resistance by the *Khataks* against the Mughals after Aurangzib. In 1823 the *Khataks*, in confederation with the Yūsufzays, formed a tribal army under Akbar *Shāh*, Sayyid of the Pīr Bābā family, and gallantly resisted the advance of the Sikh Mahārājā, Rāndjīt Singh. In 1828, *Khatak* tribesmen joined the forces of Sayyid Aḥmad of Barēll (supported by the family of the Pīr Bābā Sayyids), who defeated the Sikhs. The British found the *Khataks* "industrious" and "happy folk", strict in the observance of Islam, adhering to the *Afghān* code of honour, the *Paṣhtūnwalay* (Col. E. "Buster" Goodwin). The tribe could muster 32,000 able-bodied men, of which 12,000 were in Peshāwar Valley and the rest of Kōhāt (Sir William Barton). Today, *Khatak* individuals play important rôles in politics and business in the North-West Frontier Province. The *Khatak* dance, a version of the traditional *atan* of the *Afghān* tribes, plays a great part in festivities and folklore.

*Bibliography*: J. M. Ewart (updated by Evelyn B. Howell), *Story of the N-WFP*, Government Printing Office, Peshawar, 1930; C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908, with a survey of policy since 1849*, Cambridge 1939; J. W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963; Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957*, London 1965 (fundamental work); D. Dichter, *The North-West frontier of Pakistan: a study in regional geography*, Oxford 1967; A. Swinson, *North-West Frontier, 1839-1947*, London 1967; J. G. Elliot, *The Frontier 1839-1947: the story of the North-West Frontier of India*, London 1968; E. "Buster" Goodwin, *Life among the Pathāns (Khataks)*, Rawalpindi 1975. Works in the Paṣhto language: 'Abdul-Ra'ūf Bēnawā, *Paṣhtūnistān*, Kabul 1951; pp. 228-35 contain a summary of Sayyid Anwar-ul-Haq's Paṣhto article on the *Khataks*, published in *Inṣāf*, No. 7, Peshawar 1949.

(RAVĀN FARHĀDĪ)

**KHĀTAM, KHĀTIM** (A.) (P. *muh*), seal, signet, signet-ring, the impression (also *khātm*) as well as the actual seal-matrix; it is applied not only to seals proper, engraved in incuse characters with retrograde inscriptions, but also in the very common seal-like objects with regular inscriptions of a pious or auspicious character; for the latter, which are amulets and further readily distinguished from seals by the absence of a personal name, see *TILSAM*; indeed anything with an inscription stamped upon it may be called *khātam*. Here we are only concerned with seals in the strict sense of the word. The word *khātam* is said by Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 112 to be of Aramaic origin, and in this he is followed by Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, 252, who also recognises a loan word in *ḥarḥas*, seal-clay.

The part played by the signet-ring in the east cannot be better illustrated than by the following quotation from Lane (*Modern Egyptians*,<sup>6</sup> 1860, 31). Describing the dress of a Muslim Egyptian he says:

"On the little finger of the right hand (it is allowable to wear it on a finger of the left hand) is worn a seal-ring (*khātim*), which is generally of silver, with a carnelian, or other stone, upon which is engraved the wearer's name; the name is usually accompanied by the words "His servant" (signifying "the servant, or worshipper, of God"), and often by other words expressive of the person's trust in God, etc. The Prophet disapproved of gold; therefore few Muslims wear gold rings: but the women have various ornaments (rings, bracelets, etc.) of that precious metal. The seal-ring is used for signing letters and others writings; and its impression is considered more valid than the sign-



manual. A little ink is dabbed upon it with one of the fingers, and it is pressed upon the paper; the person who uses it having first touched his tongue with another finger, and moistened the place in the paper which is to be stamped. Almost every person who can afford it has a seal-ring, even though he be a servant".

The use of seals dates from remote antiquity in the east, and they have never been supplanted by the spread of a knowledge of the art of writing and the use of the signature, as has happened in the west. In the east, the seal takes the place of the signature and it is the former that gives validity to a document even if the latter is also used. The seal is also much used as a guarantee that property will be kept intact and thus takes the place of locks and keys. Goods are simply roped up in a packet and the knots sealed with the owner's seal, a plan which to Chardin, for example, appeared more reliable than the western system, owing to the practical impossibility of counterfeiting a seal. It is also used to stamp property as a mark of ownership (e.g. books and bindings) and in this way corresponds to a coat of arms in the west. The possession of another person's seal is evidence that the latter has delegated his authority. There is abundant evidence of these usages in the east from very early times. Pharaoh, for example (Gen. xli, 42), gives to Joseph his signet, as a sign of authority, just as the Sultan of Turkey did to his grand vizier. Jezebel (I Kings, xxi, 8) forges a letter in Ahab's name and seals it with his seal to give it validity. The books of Esther and Daniel give similar examples of the power of the Persian king's seal. Herodotus (i, 195) tells us that every Babylonian carried a seal and the abundance of seals, usually cylindrical in form, that have survived from ancient times in Mesopotamia, illustrates this statement. Seals of the Sāsānid period still exist in large numbers, whether made for mounting in rings or pierced for suspension. In South Arabia also the pre-Islamic civilisation has left numerous specimens of its signets.

No seals of the pre-Muslim Arabs are known. The earliest Arab seals come from Egypt with papyri and belong to the period soon after the conquest. Whether we accept or not the story that only seventeen men in Mecca could write in the time of Muḥammad, we must suppose that seals were in common use in this important commercial centre as in other parts of the east. Tradition, in any case, has a certain amount to tell about the Prophet's *khātam*. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Būlāk 1311-13/1894-6, vii, *libās*, 48, says that the Prophet wished to write to the Byzantines. He was told they would not read his letter unless it had a seal, so he adopted one of silver with the inscription *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*. According to al-Mas'ūdī, he adopted this ring in Muḥarram of the year 7/May-June 628. The Prophet is also said to have originally worn a *khātam* of gold, but gave it up when he forbade the wearing of gold rings and silk and brocade (Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*). Women did not observe the prohibition of gold rings and 'Ā'ishā for example wore them (*ibid.*). The Prophet wore his signet on his right hand and used to take it off when he went to the privy (al-Tirmidhī *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Būlāk 1242/1826-7, i, *libās*, 324). Opinions differ as to the proper hand and finger for the ring, and there is no established rule. Later stories illustrate the Prophet's disapproval of metals other than silver for signet-rings. He is reported to have said that a brass ring savoured of idolatry, that an iron one was emblematic of souls condemned to eternal fire, while words could not express his horror of a gold ring; meeting the wearer of one, he cast upon him a terrible frown and turned away as if he

had encountered a dog or an infidel. The Prophet's seal was handed on and used by his successors, who had however also their own seals, until 'Uthmān lost it in a well at Aris, or in Zamzam, or according to others in the Tigris near Mawsil. The Prophet's interdiction has been generally observed, and it is exceedingly rare to find signet-rings of the more precious metals or mounted with the more valuable precious stones, upon which there was no embargo.

The earliest known seal of a Muslim is that of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, conqueror and governor of Egypt whose signet was a bull (Rainer, *Führer*, No. 556). Whether this is due to local influence, or whether the representation of an animal was not unusual with the pre-Muslim Arabs, is impossible to say. Other Arab seals bearing animals are known of this period, but the rigorous avoidance of images of living things was soon applied to seals also, for we soon find seals in Egypt of the Muslim type, although as late as 88/707, we find the governor Qurra b. Ṣhārik using a wolf (Rainer, *Führer*, No. 593). The seals of Abū Hā'im b. Yahyā (No. 572) and of the head of the Treasury Rāshid b. Khalīd "who trusts in God" (No. 577) are already of the style that became stereotyped. A notable seal from Egypt is that of the tax-collector Naḍīd b. Muslim which bears his name in Greek and Arabic (No. 589). Bilingual seals are again found in Syria and Asia Minor in the 4th/10th century (cf. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, and Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Here also under Byzantine influence we find double sided impressions of seals in lead (*bullae*); of these the most notable is that of the Kākūyid 'Alā' al-Dawla of 430/1038-9 with a horseman on the obverse (Halil Edhem, No. 30). Another remarkable seal from the same region is that of the Hamdānid Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Ṣharīf with obverse a bust of St. Theodore and his name in Greek characters (*op. cit.*, No. 31).

The materials of these early impressions are the same as in later times, a special kind of clay (*ḥarkas*), or lead, appended by cords to the documents as in the mediaeval west also. When the seal is stamped on the documents itself, it is done with a special thick kind of ink and the paper is moistened before receiving the impression; red wax is also used where the climate permits it. As in mediaeval Europe, there are instances recorded in the east of *bullae* of the precious metals, silver and even gold for very special occasions (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i, p. 112).

Charles White (*op. cit.*) deals very fully with the use of seals among the Turks and the guild of engravers in Istanbul. The latter have, he says, a special quarter in the bazaar called after them *ḥakkāklar Ḥarṣhī*. The members of the guild are Muslims (in contrast to the dealers in stones, who are usually Jews) of fair education conversant with Arabic, Persian and Turkish. A few can decipher the Kūfic character. Their training is a long one. Apprentices after a good education take lessons from the best calligraphers of the day and then serve seven years with a master-engraver. When their indentures have expired, they become journeymen (*kalfa*), until they can acquire a business of their own and be admitted into the guild as master-members (*usta*), the number of whom is limited to fifty. Their shops are regularly searched by the police lest they be tempted to put their skill to illegal uses, such as the engraving of false coin-dies. Such great care is taken to ensure the genuineness of a seal that the trade are forbidden to engrave two seals exactly the same for the same person. When a seal is lost the owner has some trifling alteration made in the new one, such as a change in

an ornament or the date, so that the forgery can be detected if his first seal should fall into evil hands.

The Istanbul engravers date the origin of their art in the time of the caliph 'Uḥmān and say the first engraver was a certain Muḥammad al-Hiqjāzī who engraved seals for 'Uḥmān and 'Alī bearing their names with the additional epithet 'abd Allāh; the rings were of silver and the stones were bloodstones.

White's account of the seals of the sultan and dignitaries of the Ottoman empire follows d'Ohsson. The sultan has three seals of different sizes, all of emerald set in gold with the same inscription, the *tughrā* [q.v.] and a religious legend. The first is a small seal always carried by the sultan and handed to his secretary as required. The second is somewhat larger and is entrusted to the grand treasurer of the harem, who uses it for all matters relating to the harem—the Mughal Emperor Akbar similarly had a special seal for all documents relating to the harem. The third imperial Ottoman seal is the seal of state confided to the grand vizier of the day, who is supposed to keep it in his bosom day and night. The head of each department of state has also his own seal for matters relating to his office.

Persons of distinction do not usually wear signet-rings on their fingers. Great dignitaries have a confidential seal bearer (*muhrdār*) who carries the signet in a small bag in his breast pocket and produces it when required inked for the stamp or clean if wax is used. People of humble rank carry their seal in the breast pocket or suspended round the neck. The impression of the signet stands for a signature, although for documents of importance the latter is also necessary. In the case of the sultan, the seal used and the presence or absence of the signature vary with the importance of the document, as does the format of the latter.

Chardin's account of the seals used by the Shāh of Persia is similar. There are three seal-keepers (*muhrdār bashī*) but they only affix the seals, which are kept in a box in the palace sealed with the king's own seal. Friday is the usual day for sealing documents; the *muhrdār* prepares the seal and the paper and makes the impression on a sign from the Shah, who does not usually do it himself. There are three great seals, used for military, civil and foreign affairs, and two small seals used for the palace accounts etc. The same inscription is in the centre of the three large seals, *banda Shāh wilāyat Sulaymān ast 1080* (A.H.); the small seals have *dīn* in place of *wilāyat*. One of the large seals has a quatrain round it and another has the names of the 12 Shī'ī Imāms. At the king's death his name is erased and that of his successor engraved on it. Of the general use of seals, Chardin observes that it would not be easy to steal one, as they are worn around the neck and only taken off in the bath; they are also worn on rings. It is rarer to find a seal counterfeited than a signature in Europe. The seal engravers used a drill and a small wheel with emery.

Abu 'l-Faḍl in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* devotes a special chapter to the Emperor's seals, which are used in the three branches of the government—"indeed every man requires them in his transactions". (Here we may note that English officials in India in the 18th and 19th centuries found it necessary to have a seal with their names in Persian characters).

At the beginning of his reign, Akbar had a circular seal bearing his name and those of his ancestors back to Timūr in the *riḳ'ā* characters; later he had a simpler one with his name only in the *nasta'liq* character. The former was at first used for letters to

foreign kings and the latter (known as *uzuk*) for home affairs but the distinction was not maintained. A second seal used for juridical business was lozenge-shaped (*mihrabī*) and bore an appropriate verse in praise of justness, round his majesty's name. For other business a small square seal with the legend *Allāh Akbar, djalā djalāluhu* was used and the harem, as already stated, had its own special seal.

The great figures of Muslim tradition had of course their seals. That of Sulaymān b. Dāwūd is particularly famous and plays an important part in many of the stories of his miraculous exploits. It was held in particular awe by the *djinn*. Djāmshīd, the Solon of Persia, according to Sa'dī, was the first person to wear his signet on the left hand. In Firdawsī's story of Shāpūr II's escape from captivity in Rūm, he reveals his return by sending an impression of his signet to the grand *mōbed*.

Coming to more historical periods, we have a record of the seal inscriptions of all the early caliphs (e.g. in Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, under each caliph; collected by Hammer-Purgstall and von Murr); specimens of the seal impressions of several early Caliphs still exist; (cf. Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Timūr's seal bore his special mark, three small circles arranged in a triangle, and the motto *rasū rustī*, and an impression still exists in the Bibl. Nationale (de Sacy, *op. cit.*). Joinville mentions a ring of "moult fin or" bearing his signet which was among the presents sent to St. Louis by the Shaykh al-Djibāl. Specimens of the seals of sultans of Turkey and other high Turkish dignitaries are given by Hammer-Purgstall (*op. cit.*). Of these, the most remarkable is the original seal of Sultan Muḥṣafā II of 1106/1694-5 found on the battle field of Zenta (1697) where its bearer, the Grand Vizier Elmas Mehmed Paṣha, was killed. A special medal was struck by the Austrians to commemorate this trophy. The *tughrā* is a feature of the imperial Turkish seals; it is said to be an imitation of the impression of the hand, because Orkhān's sign-manual was the impress of his hand in red ink. Timūr is also said to have used this primitive signature, but we know that he was not illiterate. The *tughrā* is also traced back to the Prophet himself.

Muslims have followed the example of the Prophet in having simple inscriptions on their seals. Sometimes the name alone is used, sometimes it is accompanied by a brief pious inscription, often indicative of humility; if the owner has the name of a person mentioned in the Qur'ān, the reference is frequently worked into the seal inscription. The name is given in a simple form and titles are as a rule avoided, in keeping with the general modesty of the signet; for examples of legends, see Reinaud and Hammer-Purgstall; in later times in Persia and India seals became much more elaborate and the seal of a minor official of the Mughal court of the end of the 18th century often has several lines of bombastic inscription and forms a striking contrast to the seal, for example, of the great Sinān Paṣha, five times Grand Vizier of Turkey, with its modest inscription "O God Thou art full of mercy, pardon poor Sinān, son of 'Alī".

The commonest materials for rings are silver or copper; and if a stone is mounted in it with the seal, it is one of the less valuable stones, cornelian, garnet, jacinth, agate, coral; the turquoise is not uncommon and one often sees them carved as amulets with inscription inlaid with gold. When not worn on a ring, the seal is mounted on a handle and carried in a bag; sometimes the stone itself is pierced for suspension and worn round the neck. The shapes of Arab seals

vary; oval is naturally the commonest, but they are also square, hexagonal or octagonal; a round shape is not common except for the largest sizes.

The art of the seal engraver was at its best, like that of calligraphy, in the 16th and 17th centuries. Its decline in the 18th was followed by the practical extinction of the art in the 19th. The names of few celebrated engravers have been preserved. Altun at the court of Timūr was reckoned a master of his art. Abu 'l-Faḍl gives the names of four masters of the craft at Akbar's court, each of whom was a specialist in a particular branch.

*Bibliography:* Adrian Reland, *Dissertatio de Gemmis Arabicis*, in *Dissert. Misc.*, Utrecht 1728, iii, 233-51; C. G. von Murr, *Drey Abhandlungen von der Geschichte der Araber*, Nürnberg 1770, 85-102; Hammer-Purgstall, *Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, Perser und Türken*, Vienna 1849; J. Reinaud, *Monuments Arabes, Persanes et Turcs*, Paris 1828, i, 1-130; ii, 1-296; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Alterthümer*, Vienna 1899, 52-7, pl. xiii; de Sacy in *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, Paris 1822, vi, 516-19; A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden 1925, s.v. Seals; Halil Edhem, *Catalogue des Sceaux en Plomb Arabes, Arabo-Byzantins et Ottomans*, Istanbul 1904 (in Turkish); Mouradja d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général*, Paris 1790, ii, 132-3, 143; iii, 325; G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantine*, Paris 1844, 73-6; Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Vienna 1894, *Arabische Abtheilung, passim*; E. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1860, 31; C. White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, London 1845, iii, 147-58; J. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, Paris 1811, iv, 143; v, 451-63; Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, tr. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1897; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta 1873, i, 45, 52, 263-4. For the *Diwān al-Khatam*, the department of state, allegedly founded by Mu'āwiya as a precaution against the falsification of letters and documents, see *DĪWĀN*. i. The caliphate.

(J. ALLAN)

The stamp which every ruler in the Islamic lands utilised in order to authenticate documents sent out in his name, had a design peculiar to each ruler, and was the symbol of his power. Hence when a caliph proved to be in a physical state unfitting him to govern, his seal was taken from him. Moreover, it was his seal which the caliph entrusted first of all to his confidants, i.e. usually to his successive viziers. Nevertheless, it seems that the caliph always retained a personal seal, quite distinct from the official seal which he used to authenticate his letters.

In the central administration of the 'Abbāsīd period, there was an organisation of state specially charged with the task of gathering together the documents, letters and investiture patents prepared by the chancery or *Diwān al-Rasā'il* and then ready to receive the caliphal seal. This was the *Diwān al-Khātām*, which played on these occasions a crucial rôle, since it had to be certain in advance that the documents prepared for sealing were in conformity with the caliph's and vizier's instructions on the one hand, and in conformity with the administrative rules then in force on the other hand. In the first decades of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, there were at times bitter contests for control of the *Diwān al-Khātām*. In practice, the vizier, at a time when his duties and sphere of competence were not clearly defined, could not exercise his powers properly unless he controlled this office; hence it happened that its head might,

out of animosity towards the vizier, hold back deliberately the execution of orders and in this way bring all the administrative machine to a standstill. It was at a later period, from the opening of the 3rd/9th century, the custom to give the vizier direct control over the office of the seal, and the chroniclers note generally, in this connection, that the viziers received "the seal and the vizierate". If this detail no longer appears at the end of the century, it is because by that time the vizier's control over the whole of the offices making up the caliphal administration was firmly recognised, and the office of the seal could no longer function except under his direct orders.

*Bibliography:* D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāsīde*, Damascus 1959-60, index. (D. SOURDEL)

In the Maghrib, at the present time, *khātām* (dialectical, *khāt'm*) denotes not only seal-rings, but any kind of ring worn on the finger. The seal itself, whether mounted on a ring or on a stem, is called *fāba'*. Its impress, stamped with thick black or violet ink, served until a recent time for the authentication of official documents, whether emanating from the *banīkas* of the Sharīfian *Makhzen* or from the tribal *khā'id*s. For judicial acts, the *fāba'* is rarely used; the complicated flourishes of the signatures of the adouls ('*udūl*) and the *khā'id*s take its place. The impresses of most of the royal seals of the Sa'dīd and 'Alawīd houses have been preserved. They are usually circular in shape, but sometimes oval. Reproductions of them can be seen in Nehlil, *Lettres chérifiennes*, Paris 1916, and in H. de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire de Maroc*, Paris 1905 ff. In general, the sultans used two seals, a large one and a smaller one, and the vizier of *hādīb* was left with the responsibility of affixing it. The same procedure doubtless obtained in Muslim Spain; the historians of the Umayyad caliphs and *mulūk al-fawā'id* often give, after a physical sketch of the ruler and a list of his honorific titles, the legend inscribed on his seal (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 15). (ED.)

**KHATH‘AM**, an Arab tribe (the name is triptote, although in several European editions of Arabic texts we find it wrongly vocalised as a diptote). They inhabited, at least from the 6th century A.D., the mountainous territory between al-Ṭā'if and Naḍīrān along the caravan route from Yemen to Mecca. Historiographical theory on the migrations of the tribes, which is bound up with their genealogical systematisation, makes them settle, at the time of the separation of the sons of Ma'add, in the mountains of al-Sarāt [*q.v.*], from which the Azd are said to have driven them at the time of the migration of the South Arabian tribes after the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib, to the lands they occupied in historical times (al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 28, 38, 41-2 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. ar. Stämme*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xiv, 39, 53, 58 = *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, 113-14, following Ibn al-Kalbī; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 464, ii, 326-7; Wüstenfeld, *Register z. d. genealog. Tabellen*, 130-1). According to this theory, the *Khath'am* (like the Baḍjīla [*q.v.*] who figure everywhere as their brethren) were part of the tribes of 'Adnān, their descent being *Khath'am* b. Anmār b. Nizār (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 49-50; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 50; al-Maḳḍisī, *Bad'*, iv, 110-11, who all attribute this view to "the genealogists of Muḍār"). But another theory (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Gamharat ar-nasab*, Leiden 1966, table 221) connects them with a branch of the Saba' according to the genealogy: Aftal, surnamed *Khath'am* b. Anmār b. Irāsh b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (the latter is also the father of the Azdī tribes) or more

Simply, **Khath'am** b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (see also Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭihāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 302; Ibn Ḳutayba, 50; Ibn Hishām, 50; *Aghānī*, xv, 151; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 9; Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, 116, gives the isolated genealogy: **Khath'am** b. Rabi'ā b. 'Āmir [?]; and Ibn Ḳutayba, 50, makes Anmār the son of Saba', cf. Reiske, *Primae lineae*, 133; Mas'ūdī, iii, 148 = § 998, replaces Irāsh by Iyād). These contradictory statements seem to indicate that, like so many other tribes, the **Khath'am** do not represent an ethnic unit but rather a confederation of clans of different origins. This seems also to be deducible from the etymology of their name, which connects it with the verb *takḥath'ama* "to smear oneself with blood" on the occasion of a pact of alliance (on this custom, cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 21-2, 25-6 and the bibl. cited there). Other etymologies which make **Khath'am** the name of a mountain or of a camel are not worthy of consideration (Ibn Durayd, 302, 304; *Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 72, 375; *LA*, xv, 56). In any case we always find the **Khath'am** associated with tribes of the south, either in alliances made on the occasion of expeditions (e.g. *al-Aghānī*, ix, 17; xii, 47-8; xviii, 35-6) or during the *riḍā* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1985-6), or latterly in the grouping of the tribes stationed in the military camps of Baṣra and Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2495, 3074; ii, 122; but in ii, 1382, we find them also grouped with the Kināna, Ḳays 'Aylān, Muzayna and even Ḳuraysh, all tribes of the north, under the general denomination of *Ahl al-'Āliya*. It seems that at this time (101/720) the territorial principle had prevailed over the ethnic one). Their principal clans were the **Shahrān**, **Nāhish** and **Aklub**, the latter, according to the South Arabian genealogy, was of another origin (Aklub b. Rabi'ā b. Nizār) and was late in entering the tribe (cf. al-Bakrī, 53), but Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel, table 224) makes him nevertheless descend from **Khath'am**.

We have no authentic information on the **Khath'am** for the remote period in the history of the Arabian peninsula (the identification proposed by Blau, *ZDMG*, xxii, 658; xxiii, 561, n. 6 with the Ἄδραμιῶται *Adramitae* of Uranios and Pliny, who are to be distinguished from the *Χατραμωῖται* of Ḥadramawt, is quite untenable). From the 6th century we find them inhabiting, along with other tribes of diverse origins, the districts of **Bisha**, **Turaba**, **Djurash** and **Tabāla**; this last was the centre of the cult of the God **Dhu'l-Khalāsa** (on him see Wellhausen, *Restes*, 45-8, and T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 61-8), whom the **Khath'am**, like the **Badjila**, **Daws**, **Bāhila** etc., worshipped (Yāqūt, i, 791; ii, 461, 703; iv, 62, 567 [= *Aghānī*, xi, 152], 578, where there are numerous references to the neighbours of the **Khath'am** and to the assignation of the part of the territory of **Bisha** at the end of the 1st century A.H. to some members of the Umayyad and **Hāshimī** families; Hamdānī, 135-6; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, ed. and tr. Atallah, 29-30).

Among the numerous guerilla wars in which the **Khath'am** were involved (cf. *Aghānī*, vii, 119; xii, 47, 51-2; xiv, 25; xviii, 35-6; *Naḳā'id*, ed. Bevan, 46; Yāqūt, ii, 735; iv, 56; Hamdānī, 170), the best known is that of Fayl al-Rih in which their chief Anas b. Mudrik (or Mudrika), allied to the greater part of the **Madhhijī**, defeated the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a commanded by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl [q.v.], who lost an eye in the battle (*Naḳā'id*, 468-72; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, i, 474; *Ikd*, ed. 1293, iii, 102-3; *Diwān* of 'Āmir, ed. Lyall, *Introd.*, 82-3, nos. x, xi [= *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. cvi.], xii, xix, xxv, xxvii, *Suppl.*, nos. i, 19). Anas b. Mudrik, famous also as a poet, was the hero of an-

other enterprise of the **Khath'am**, sc. that against the Banū **Djusham** (*Aghānī*, ix, 17), and that in which he killed the famous poet-brigand Sulayk b. Sulaka (*Hamāsa*, 415-16; *Aghānī*, xviii, 137-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, 217). The biographical notes on Anas, who lived for several years after the introduction of Islam, have been collected by Levi della Vida in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x, 499-500 (year 40 A.H., § 347).

The position of the lands of the **Khath'am** enabled them to play a part in the Abyssinian expedition against Mecca. They tried to oppose Abraha's advance, but beaten by him, they were forced to guide the enemy's army as far as al-Ṭā'if (see the sources collected in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Arab. 206-17*). The spread of Islam at first left them indifferent (no heed need be paid to the story in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1079-80, of the **Khath'amī kāhina** of Tabāla, Fāṭima bint Murr, who saw a divine light on the face of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the future father of the Prophet. The only interesting feature of the story is the epithet "Judaising", *Mutahawwida*, conferred on the *kāhina*). Their first relations with Muḥammad were certainly hostile (Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 387; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1730-1), but they ultimately sent him an embassy and recognised him, and accepted a letter from him which declared all the blood-feuds previous to Islam abolished (Ibn Sa'd, ii, 34, 78; *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 330, year 10 A.H., § 28, cf. also § 23, 326-7).

On the death of the Prophet, only a section of them rebelled (*Annali*, ii, 573-4, 581, 585, year 11 A.H., § 87-8, 98, 104). The destruction of the sanctuary of **Dhu'l-Khalāsa** by 'Abd Allāh b. **Djarir** al-Badjalī must have broken their resistance, along with that of other tribes who were grouped round this turbulent centre (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1985-6). During the wars of conquest we find them in the army of Syria (Ibn 'Asākir, in *Annali*, iii, 588, year 15 A.H., § 66a, cf. also al-Ṭabarī, i, 3287, 3408), as well as in those of 'Irāq (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2188), and as we have seen, they formed part of the tribes quartered at Baṣra (Pellat, *Milieu*, index) and Kūfa.

Several **Khath'amī** women were married to **Ḳurashis**. One of them played rather an important part in the early history of Islam, Asmā' bint 'Umayy [q.v. in *Suppl.*]. Her sister Salmā was the wife of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*Annali*, loc. cit., § 285, Ibn Sa'd, viii, 209); a daughter of Anas b. Mudrik, Asmā', was the wife of **Khālid** b. al-Walid (Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo, ed., viii, 6, no. 39; *Annali*, ix, year 37 A.H., § 412; x, 499).

The **Khath'amī** poets were few in number; the most notable is Ibn al-Dumayna [q.v.].

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

**KHAṬĪ'A** (pls. *khafāyā* and *khafī'āt*), moral lapse, sin, a synonym of *dhanb* (pl. *dhunūb*). The root *kh ḫ ṭ* means "to fail, stumble" (in Hebrew, Prov. xix, 2), "make a mistake" (e.g., one says *akhḫa'a* of an archer whose arrow misses the target); [see **KHAṬĪ'A**].

The form *khafī'a* appears five times in the **Ḳur'ān**, and the root *kh ḫ ṭ* is frequently found there. It combines within itself the three meanings of "error" (*khafa'*, e.g., XVII, 33), "culpable lapse" (*khū'*, e.g., XVII, 31; cf. *khafī'a*, XCVI, 16), and "sin" (*khafī'a*, II, 81, IV, 112, VII, 161; XXVI, 82; LXXI, 25). However, "sin" is more often conveyed by *dhanb*, *dhunūb*; a *sayyi'a* is an evil action, and an *ithm* a very grave sin, a crime against God.

We likewise find sometimes *khafī'a*, but more often *dhanb*, and occasionally *ithm* or *sayyi'a*, in works on 'ilm al-kalām, *fiḫh* and *taṣawwuf*. It would be tedious

to study each of these terms separately; sufficient to say that in endeavouring to pin down the idea and the theological aspect of sin in Islam, reference should be made above all to the article *DHANB* rather than to that on *khaṭi'a*.

I. *Kur'anic references*. On one hand, sin brings down divine anger and punishment (for *khaṭi'a*, see II, 8r; IV, 112; LXXI, 25), but on the other hand, it nevertheless remains within the operative sphere of the divine mercy. Thus Abraham says, "It is He whom I ardently desire to forgive me my sins (*khaṭi'a*-*āfi*) on the Day of Judgment" (XXVI, 82; cf. VII, 161). God, through His apostles and prophets, summons mankind to Himself in order to pardon their sins (XIV, 10; XLVI, 31; LXXI, 4). If a man avoids grave sin (*iḥm*) and depraved actions, he will receive pardon from his Lord (LIII, 32). God gives absolution from sin (*dhanb*) and accepts repentance (XL, 3), and He forgives sins (*dhunub*) completely (XXXIX, 53).

God is the All-Pardoning One whose power to pardon is endless, *al-ghafūr al-ghaffār*, two of the "Most beautiful names" upon which pious Muslims like to meditate [see *AL-ASMĀ' AL-HUSNĀ*]. However, one sin is unpardonable, sc. the rejection and the disavowal of God and His Oneness (IV, 48, 137; XLVII, 34). Impious persons, guilty of *kufr* and *shirk*, will only receive pardon if they repent (VIII, 38). Those who have perpetrated an evil action (*sayyi'a*) and remain "encompassed" within their sin (*khaṭi'a*) will bring down on themselves the torments of everlasting hell-fire (II, 81).

Thus there are three types of sins mentioned in the text of the *Kur'ān*: (1) minor sins, not affecting a man's faith, which can be submitted to the divine mercy (LIII, 32); (2) grave sins (*kabā'ir al-iḥm*, according to XLII, 37) and "depraved actions" which God may pardon immediately or may punish for a specific period, according to His mysterious will (cf. II, 284; III, 129); and (3) *kufr* and *shirk*, attacks on the Divine Oneness, which cannot be wiped out except through repentance (*tawba*) and which, failing this last, remain under the threat of eternal hell-fire: "those guilty of *kufr* will be rounded up in Gehenna" (VIII, 36).

II. *The traditions*. There are numerous *hadīths* which stress the idea of sinfulness and the fate reserved for the sinner, out of which two main themes emerge:

(1) *Faith and sinfulness*. There is a certain amount of self-contradiction here. (a) Some traditions stress salvation through faith. The divine pardon is assured, provided that there is not rejection of faith in the One God. Thus the Prophet related that *Djibril* appeared before him and comforted him by this assurance: "Every member of your community who dies professing the Oneness of God will enter paradise". The Prophet replied, "Even if such a person is guilty of adultery and theft?" *Djibril* replied, "Even if he is guilty of adultery and theft" (Muslim, *Imān*, 113). Certain *hadīths* (*ibid.*, 201-8) go so far as to affirm that God "does not take into account" sins of simple intention, seeing that the thoughts involved are not expressed in words not realised in deeds. The delicate conscience of the believer who discovers in himself "evil thoughts" which he is "too scrupulous to express", is praised as an act of faith (*ibid.*, 209). (b) However, according to another chain of traditions, "grave sins" are considered as an attack against faith itself: "The Messenger of God said that whoever is guilty of fornication is not a believer, any more than he who steals or drinks wine" (*ibid.*, 100, cf. 101-5,

and al-Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, i, 6, 20, etc.). (c) In any case, the Prophet's intercession at the Last Judgment for the sins of his community is emphasised in many *hadīths* [see *SHAFĀ'Ā*].

(2) *What are the "grave sins"?* The *Kur'ān* mentions clearly and on several occasions the *kabā'ir* or "grave sins", grave sinfulness (*iḥm*) and "depraved actions" (*faḥshā'*), and gives various examples of each class, but without setting forth a precise table. One *hadīth*, which has been seen as a version of the "seven capital sins" of Christian morality, enumerates them thus: "The Messenger of God said, Avoid the seven deadly [sins] (*mūbikāil*). When he was asked what these were, he replied, 'Associating others with God (*shirk*); sorcery; unlawful homicide (except when there is a legal reason); despoiling an orphan of his property; practising usury; flight from a battle being waged against the enemy; and taking advantage of the weakness and credulity of virtuous women (*muḥṣanāt*)'" (Muslim, *Imān*, 144; al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 23). The tendency towards a laxity which tends to blur the distinction between grave and lesser sins is condemned: "Anas related: Indeed, you commit sins which are only a single hair's weight according to your own view, but in Muḥammad's time we used to consider them as grave sins" (al-Bukhārī, *Rikāb*, *bāb* 32).

III. *Tafsīr* and '*ilm al-kalām*. Discussions and elaborations went on through the course of the ages, emphasising such-and-such *Kur'anic* verse or such-and-such *hadīth*, according to the tendencies of the different schools of thought.

(1) *The distinction between grave sins and lesser ones* (*kabā'ir* and *ṣaghā'ir*). This distinction, which appears in both the *Kur'ān* (e.g., LIII, 32) and *hadīth*, was developed at great length by the various schools. The exact definition of *kabā'ir* remained variable. It can be said that the generally-accepted idea of moral lapse or sin was one of disobedience (*ma'ṣiya*) to the prescriptions of the divine law, to the point that *ma'ṣiya* often becomes a synonym for *khaṭi'a* or *dhanb*. It was then readily explained that it was the hardening of the heart and persistence in evil-doing which constituted the seriousness of the sin, expressed by Ibn 'Abbās as "Everything forbidden by God, once persisted in, becomes a grave sin". Moreover, it is related from 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās (text cited by al-Nawawī) that "No sin is a grave one, if one asks pardon for it; but no sin is a venial one if the sinner persists in it". In other words, persistence in minor sins makes them become grave ones.

Is there, then, only a difference of degree between great and small sins? Mu'tazilī tradition, as represented by the *kāfi* 'Abd al-Djabbār, states that a man whose acts of disobedience (*ma'ṣiyāt*) on the whole outweigh his acts of obedience (*tā'āt*) is guilty of "grave sin", whereas, on the other hand, a man whose acts of obedience outweigh his acts of disobedience is only guilty of "lesser sin" (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uḥmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 789). For the *Ash'arī* al-Djuwaynī (Irshād, ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 331), every sin is necessarily grave, in relationship to the divine Majesty. Sin is a failure of duty towards God, and every failure of duty towards God is necessarily grave. However, there are sins of greater or lesser degrees of gravity. The two views expressed here are certainly completely divergent, but it seems that one might posit a simple difference of degree amongst the "acts of disobedience".

The leading members of the various schools nevertheless attempted to lay down different kinds of sins.

(a) For the *Khāridjīs* and *Mu'tazilīs*, the "actions of the limbs" form an integral part of faith [see *IMĀN*, 1170-1, §§ 1, 3]. Consequently, grave sins which are destructive of faith are deliberate acts of disobedience against the *Qur'ānic* injunctions, above all, against the *'ibādāt* "pillars of Islam", and against those prescriptions whose non-performance is punishable by the *ḥudūd*. (b) The usual *Sunnī* trend of thought seeks to establish a list of sins which are, as such, grave, but even here, there is some variation. The *Shāfi'ī* jurist *Taqī 'l-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī* puts forward this tautology: "Every sin which has grown so grave that one can call it a grave sin is in fact a grave sin" (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Hāshiyā 'alā . . . Dīawharat al-tawhīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 114). As for lists of *kabā'ir*, these vary amongst writers; al-Bādjūrī's popular manual gives two differing enumerations, and asserts the validity of both (*ibid.*, 102, 104). These lists refer almost invariably to the *ḥadīth* about the *mūbikāt* mentioned above, and to *Qur'ān*, VI, 151, and they freely admit that the number seven is not a limiting one. One may state that the following are unanimously considered as "grave sins": apostasy from the faith, *kufṛ* and *shirk*, insults to the Prophet, fornication and adultery, sins against nature, murder, usury and black magic; very often, the use of fermented liquors, theft on a serious scale, and flight from the battle field, are added to these.

Al-Nawawī relies on Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Salām in his commentary (ii, 170) in order to set forth this criterion: if there is any doubt about the gravity or lightness of any sin which has been committed, it should be compared with the "seven capital sins" of the *ḥadīth*. If it proves to be less serious than the least grave of those, it belongs to the *ṣaghā'ir*; in the opposite case, to the *kabā'ir*. Other authors define these last as sins connected by the *Qur'ān* with hell-fire, the divine anger, malediction or punishment. Others stress the subjective attitude of the sinner: every sin is grave which is committed without signs of fear or circumspectness, or committed in a heedless fashion; only involuntary acts of negligence in the domain of the control of speech or the passions can be accounted *ṣaghā'ir*. Finally, others (such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī) note that the sacred law itself calls certain sins "grave" and describes others as venial, but that it omits to apply either description to several other sins mentioned in it. The prudent believer should therefore eschew all sin, lest he suddenly finds that he has committed one of the gravest possible ones.

(2) *Sinning and repentance*. The idea of repentance (*tawba*) is common to the varying schools. For example, we find it expressed in identical terms in 'Abd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl*, 791), just as in al-Idjī-al-Djurđjānī (*Sharḥ al-mawākif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 314). This formulation is "regret for an act of disobedience (against God) in itself, combined with the firm intention of avoiding it in the future". Cf. also in the *Ta'rifāt* of al-Djurđjānī, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 74, the two definitions of *tawba* and sincere *tawba*. But although the notion of repentance is shared, the degree of the necessity to repent is formulated variously by the different schools.

(a) The *Khāridjīs* and *Mu'tazilīs*, relying on *Qur'ān*, II, 81, condemn to hell-fire everyone who remains "encompassed" by his own sin, and for those who have committed grave sins, only repentance accepted by God can avoid eternal hell-fire. When a moderate *Mu'tazilī* like al-Zamakhsarī comments on the words "He pardons whomsoever He wills (*Qur'ān*, III, 129), he explains, ". . . in *tawba*, for God is only inclined

to extend His pardon to those who repent"; and he strongly opposes the interpretation attributed to Ibn 'Abbās—"God extends His pardon for grave sins to whomsoever seems good to Him, and punishes whomsoever seems good to Him in regard to venial sins". According to the *Mu'tazila*, it is not that the *tawba* is efficacious in itself, but because of his justice, God is bound to accept it when it is sincere. The *Mu'tazilīs* of *Baghdād* explain in general that He remits the punishment on the grounds of repentance (cf. 'Abd al-Djabbār, *op. cit.*, 790).

(b) The *Ash'arī* school, on the contrary, insists on absolute freedom of action by the Almighty. Only the sins of *kufṛ* and *shirk* necessitate a "turning-back" of the heart before they can be pardoned. If one wanted to establish an equivalence with Christian terminology, one would have to say that, according to the dominant *Sunnī* trend of thought, only these last-named sins really merit being called "mortal sins" (though the ideas at work here do not really correspond).

A comparison with the "capital sins" certainly fits the *kabā'ir* better, and every "capital sin" is not in itself (in Christianity) a "mortal sin". In *Sunnī* Islam, God, in His mercy, can therefore either pardon every "grave sin" apart from *kufṛ* and *shirk*, or else, in His justice, punish it by a period in hell-fire. It is for these sins that the Prophet's intercession can be invoked. Must the believer repent of them? Certainly, if he wishes to remain faithful to the divine prescriptions and regain complete purity of heart and intentions (*ikhhlās*). The rules concerning *tawba* [*q.v.*] are very numerous. In regard to perfecting the purity of a man's faith, it is necessarily required. Furthermore, if *tawba* for grave sins is strongly urged, these last can nevertheless be "wiped away" by *istiḡfār* "asking for pardon". Thus al-Bādjūrī, for instance, states that it can be achieved by repeating 100 times "He is God, the One", and this is the "great act of achieving release"; by making the pilgrimage to Mecca; or by "fighting in the way of God" (*djihād*). In regard to venial sins, these can be wiped out by the single act of abstaining from grave sins (or by repenting of them); by faithfully observing the religious obligations (*'ibādāt*); or by ritual ablutions. In regard to these, *tawba*, whilst doubtless praiseworthy, is not required, even for purity of faith.

All this concerns judgments made on the perfection of the believer's status. But one must point out that according to the consensus of *Sunnīs*, and contrary to the *Khāridjīs* and *Mu'tazilīs*, *tawba* for grave sins is not necessary for salvation. If the sinner repents, and if God accepts his repentance, the sin is "wiped out"; it requires neither reparation nor penitence, for it no longer exists. For, as al-Djurđjānī remarks, if God's pardon "were to come into effect after (the sinner's) repentance, it would no longer be an act of pardon" (*Sharḥ al-mawākif*, viii, 311). It is when "grave sins" are wiped out neither by *tawba* nor *istiḡfār* that God can, if He wills, show Himself as Pardoner. To sum up: on one hand, divine punishment of grave sins which have not been repented of is not necessarily obligatory (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafāhīḥ al-ghayb*, on *Qur'ān*, II, 82), and on the other hand, if the punishment does not come into effect, it can only be temporary. Consequently, "it is untrue that *tawba* is necessary for the pardoning of sins, with the exception of *shirk*" (*ibid.*, v, 455), and one finds the same teaching in other *Sunnī tafsīrs*. According to al-Bayḍāwī on *Qur'ān*, II, 81, the "encompassing" by sin of those threatened with (eternal) hell-fire refers only to those impious per-

sons guilty of *kufr* or *shirk*. Those believers who have committed grave sins do not come under the verdict of this verse.

On all these points, the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī trend of thought is very close to the Ash'arī attitude, with one difference, however (cf. L. Gardet, *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 304 and ref.). For the Ash'arīs, everything is submitted to the inscrutable Divine Will which may, just as it pleases, pardon straight away or punish for a period of time the believer who is guilty of prevarication; and there are no reservations here. It is therefore possible that for a certain period of time, there will be sinning believers in hell-fire, but it is not certain. For the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theologians, God's promises must always come into effect, and God has threatened punishment for grave sins, even when committed by a believer. Hence it is "obligatory that certain individuals out of those who have committed grave sins will be punished" (Māturīdī thesis adopted by the Ash'arī al-Laḳānī, *Djawharat al-tawhīd*, verse 117). It is uncertain whether such a prevaricating believer will be condemned to spend some time in hell-fire, but it is certain that some sinning believers will spend some time there.

IV. *Taṣawwuf*—a few examples. We find in the works on the spiritual life and on mysticism abundant classifications and analyses of the various kinds of moral sins. In Ṣūfism also the most frequently-employed term is *dhanb*, *dhunūb*, rather than *khaṭī'a* (e.g. al-Kalābādī, *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf*, ed. Arberr, Cairo 1934, 64). One may cite as an example al-Ghazālī, who in his *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (iv, treatise on *tawba*, ed. Cairo 1325/1933, 2-53), takes over the analyses in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Kūṭ al-ḳulūb* and endeavours to classify these sins according to their nature and to lay down a precise list of *kabā'ir*:

(1) *The classification of sins (dhunūb)*. According to Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī, these are of four kinds (a) the "lordly" (*rabbūbiyya*) ones, such as pride, scorn, boastfulness, arrogance, love of praise, love of life, ambition and despotic behaviour; (b) the "satanic" (*shayṭāniyya*) ones, such as envy and deceitfulness; (c) the "bestial" (*bahimiyya*) ones, such as greed, covetousness, anger and concupiscence; and (d) those attributable to "wild beasts" (*sabu'iyya*), such as furious anger, lust for battle and murder.

(2) *The enumeration of the "grave sins"*. Al-Ghazālī firmly maintains the distinction between grave and lesser sins (*Ihyā', ibid.*, 28 ff.). The list of grave sins which he puts forward is not governed by the number seven for the *mūbiḳāt* in the *hadīth*. He proposes lists varying between four and eleven, and cites al-Makkī's view that there are seventeen. In this last case, they can be grouped as follows: four come from the heart, sc. the sin of *shirk*, persistence in evil-doing, lack of confident belief in God's Mercy and lack of any fear of His power to punish; four come from the tongue, sc. bearing false witness, misusing an upright man (*muḥṣan*), perjury and sorcery; three stem from the belly, sc. drinking wine and intoxicants, despoiling orphans of their wealth and practising usury; two are connected with the genitalia, sc. fornication and homosexuality; two with the hands, sc. murder and theft; one with the feet, sc. flight from the battle field; and finally, one is connected with the whole body, sc. disobeying one's parents.

In regard to moral sin, certain extremist Ṣūfī traditions oscillate between two attitudes which are opposed in principle, but which are at the same time often apparently mixed together in fact. An attitude of laxity carried to excess, with which one might

accuse those called the *Ibāhiyya*, asserts that anyone who attains to union with God no longer has to worry about the fear of sinning, nor about the prescriptions, injunctions and prohibitions of the law. Opposed in this is the rigorism of a special variety of the *Malāmīyya*, which is characterised by a deeply-rooted care to shun the praise and admiration of men; in order to achieve this, such a person will make no attempt to avoid actions which seem to be scandalous, but will indeed indulge in them. In the first case (the attitude of laxity), we have the abandonment of all asceticism, and in the second "rigorism", we have ascetic behaviour which goes to the point of being perfectly content with disdain and disapproval, shunning what are undoubtedly sins, but embarking on acts which look like sins in the eyes of men.

However, the dominating fact in the counsels and adjurations of the Ṣūfī masters is the necessity of avoiding any kind of voluntary sin, and this goes to the point of a refined scrupulosity of heart (*wara'*). Man, the *'abā*, is fallible and a sinner before God, hence he must take account of this feebleness and his small stature as a created being, in relationship to the greatness of the Almighty. Self-control, awareness of one's spiritual condition (*muḥāsaba*), is necessary. From the time of al-Muḥāsibī onwards, examination of one's conscience (*muḥāsaba*) is willingly prescribed, and al-Ghazālī insists upon it (*op. cit.*, 336-61, esp. 346; cf. Asín Palacios, *La espiritualidad de Algezel*, iii, Madrid-Grenada 1940, 80-103). Al-Ghazālī goes on to say that the heart is like a mirror which is pitted and spoilt by rust, and which must therefore be cleaned and polished, so that the superior world can be reflected in it.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(A. J. WENSINCK — [L. GARDET])

**KHAṬĪB** (A.), plur. *khaṭabā'*, was, among the ancient Arabs, the name for the spokesman of the tribe. The *khaṭīb* is therefore often mentioned along with the *shā'ir*, the poet (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 934, 938; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 484), and, like the *kāhin* and the *sayyid*, was one of the leaders of the tribe. The character and significance of his office is clearly explained by *Ḍiāḥiz*, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1332, i. The distinction between *khaṭīb* and *shā'ir* is not absolutely definite, but essentially is that the *shā'ir* uses the poetic form while the *khaṭīb* expresses himself in prose, often, however, also in *sadīq* [q.v.] (cf. *Ḍiāḥiz*, *op. cit.*, i, 159); his speech is introduced with *ammā ba'du* (al-Ḥarīrī, ed. de Sacy, 1822, 42). According to *Ḍiāḥiz*, there were only a few *khaṭabā'* who were also *shu'arā'* (i, 27). In the *Ḍiāḥiliyya* the *shā'ir* is said to have been more highly esteemed than the *khaṭīb*, but when the numbers of poets gradually increased and the latter's art declined and they became beggars, the *khaṭīb* obtained more prestige (i, 136; iii, 227). The *khaṭīb* is also associated with the story-teller, the *kāṣṣ* [q.v.], and with the *aṣḥāb al-akhbār wa'l-āthār* (*Ḍiāḥiz*, i, 167-8 and *passim*); the office was sometimes hereditary in the same family. The *khaṭabā'* did not form a gild or caste; they were the men who had the ability to be spokesmen. They appear not only at the head of a *wafā'* to negotiate as representatives of their tribe, as we know from the *Sīra* (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, i, 20), but, like the poets, they were also the leaders in the war of wits with the enemy (*muṣākhara*). The *khaṭīb* had to be able to extol the glorious deeds and the noble qualities of his tribe and to narrate them in perfect language and to be able likewise to expose the weaknesses of his opponents. He had therefore to be *faṣīḥ* and know how to employ *balāgha* [q.v.] and

in this way to overcome his opponents (cf. *The Muṣaḍ-ḍaliyat*, ed. Lyall, xci, 22-3, xcvi, 9; al-Ḳuṭāmi, ed. J. Barth, xiv, 20; Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, S.B. *Ah. Wien*, xlv (1902), 19; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 20). Lampoons give the following characteristics of a poor *khaṭīb*: his pronunciation is bad, he turns to and fro, stammers, coughs, strokes his beard and twists his fingers, a sign of cowardice (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 650, verse 5; *Kāmil*, 20). It is in keeping with the character of the ancient Arab *khaṭīb* that he is included among the fighting knights and nobles (al-Ḳuṭāmi, *op. cit.*; *Ḍjāḥiẓ*, i, 134, 172), indeed, *khaṭīb* itself is used as a name for a brave warrior (*Ḍjāḥiẓ*, i, 129). When the *khaṭīb* makes a public appearance his insignia are lance, staff or bow (*al-makhāṣir*), just as a man taking an oath carries tokens of masculine honour; he often strikes the earth with it (cf. al-Ḳuṭāmi, xxvii, 6; Labid, *Diwān*, ed. al-Ḳhālidi, 27, 45; *Ḍjāḥiẓ*, i, 197-8, iii, 3 ff., 61-2).

In the earliest days of Islām the *khaṭīb* retained much of his old character. "The prophet came forward as a *khaṭīb*" after the conquest of Mecca (Ibn Hiṣhām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 823) and spoke publicly with ceremony and authority. But the *khuṭba* now became solely an address to the Muslims, not a part of the war against the enemy and *muṣākhkhara* was no longer part of the activities of the Muslim *khaṭīb*. But it is quite in keeping with the nature of early Islam and with that of the Arab *khaṭīb* that the ruler himself was spokesman and that he not only made edifying speeches from the *minbar* as *khaṭīb* but also issued orders, made decisions and pronounced his views on political questions and particularly questions of general interest. This was the case under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads (cf. *Ḍjāḥiẓ*, i, 190), and the governors appointed by them also acted as *khuṭabā'* (e.g. al-Ya'ḳūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii, 318; *Ḍjāḥiẓ*, i, 179). The local governors, appointed by the latter were also entrusted with the control of the *minbar* and of the *ṣalāt* (al-Ṭabart, ii, 929). Diatribes against and curses on the enemy were part of their *minbar* speeches, e.g. the curses on 'Alī and occasionally on Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr (*Ḍjāḥiẓ*, i, 165). *Khaṭīb* was therefore still synonymous with "leader"; a poet of the *Ḳhawāriḏi* says: "There will be no peace so long as there is a *khaṭīb* from Ṭhaḳīf on the *minbars* of this world" (*Ḍjāḥiẓ*, iii, 135). An inheritance from the ancient Arab spokesman is the staff or lance which the Muslim *khaṭīb* holds in his right hand during the *khuṭba*, a custom which provoked the scorn of the Persians (*Ḍjāḥiẓ*, iii, 135). But the close connection between the *khuṭba* and divine service gave the Muslim *khaṭīb* a specifically religious character. After the conclusion of the wars of the first generations, this element became more predominant and in the time of the 'Abbasids, as early as Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, the caliph left it to the *kādīs* to deliver the sermon at the service while he himself was simply a listener (*Ḍjāḥiẓ*, i, 161). But in theory, the leaders of divine service in the great mosques are representatives of the caliph (cf. Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *Muḳaddīma*, Cairo 1322, 173).

The Egyptian Faṭimids still occasionally preached themselves (behind a veil), namely three times in the month of Ramaḍān and at the great festivals (Ibn al-Ṭaḡribirdi, ed. Juynboll, ii, 482-6; ed. Popper, 331 ff.; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ḳhiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1334, ii, 322, 327, 329). On this occasion his highest dignitaries stood on the steps of the *minbar* (*op. cit.*, 327, 329), while on the other hand the *ra'īs* of a district often stood on the *minbar* if the *khaṭīb* was preaching, a custom which testifies to the original high rank of the *khaṭīb*, but was later condemned by strict authorities

on morals (Ibn al-Ḥādīdī, *Kitāb al-Maḍkhal*, Cairo 1320, ii, 74). Special *khuṭabā'* were everywhere appointed. There were three of them in Cairo during the earlier Faṭimid period (for the 'Amr, Ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Azhar mosques); cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Ḳhiṭaṭ*, ii, 348; as a rule it seems to have been the honorary office of a *kādī*; cf. *op. cit.*, 224. On the 'Id al-Ḡhaḍīr, a special *khaṭīb* pronounced the *khuṭba* on a *minbar* with nine steps in the sanctuary of Ḥusayn in Cairo, while the chief *kādī* conducted the *ṣalāt*; the *khaṭīb* on this occasion was given a silk robe and 30 or 50 *dīnārs* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ḳhiṭaṭ*, ii, 224-5). On other occasions also the *khaṭīb* received a robe of honour (*op. cit.*, ii, 387). The *khaṭīb* usually was also the conductor (*imām*) of the Friday *ṣalāt* at which he preached and, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and a tradition of Mālik, he must actually do so unless there were special reasons for a deviation from the rule. The daily *ṣalāts* are as a rule conducted by other *imāms* (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥ-kām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 181). According to al-Shāfi'ī and Mālik, the Friday worship with *khuṭba* can only be held in one mosque in each town, if the size of the town does not make it impossible, while Abū Ḥanīfa has no such rule. The *khuṭba* was therefore delivered, for example, in Cairo after the end of the Faṭimid period in the mosque of al-Ḥākim only, because Saladin appointed a Shāfi'ī chief *kādī*. This state of affairs was altered by Baybars when he appointed a Ḥanafī chief *kādī* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ḳhiṭaṭ*, iv, 53). Abū Ḥanīfa on the other hand allows the worship in which a *khaṭīb* takes part only in a large town (*miṣr*), in which the ruler of his deputy is present in person. The other schools are less rigorous on the point. But the *imām-khaṭīb* of the Friday service is, according to the other schools also, in theory the representative of "the highest *imām*". Several *imāms* can be chosen, if necessary with their exact functions defined. According to al-Māwardī, 172, the Sulṭān appoints the *imāms* of the larger mosques, in keeping with the theory of their representative character. But, according to al-Ḳalkaṣhandī (*Ṣubḥ al-a'ṣhā*, Cairo, iv, 39), each mosque under the Mamlūks had its own *khaṭīb* while the Sulṭān only concerned himself with the larger mosques. The office of *khaṭīb* of the important mosques was a very distinguished one. Thus, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the Shāfi'ī chief *kādī* himself was *khaṭīb* of the great mosque in the citadel of Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamālīk*, 1894, 92) and it was regarded as a special distinction, anxiously coveted, when Saladin after the conquest of Jerusalem chose the *kādī* Muḥyi al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ma'ālī to act as first *khaṭīb* in the Aḳṣā mosque (Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-daw-latayn*, Cairo 1288, ii, 108 ff.). The document confirming his appointment under the Mamlūks is further evidence of the *khaṭīb*'s dignity (cf. al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 222-5; al-'Umarī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīf bi 'l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 126-7). He is the natural authority to whom new converts announce their conversion to Islām (Ibn al-Ḥādīdī, *Kitāb al-Maḍkhal*, 76); the people touch his robe *li 'l-tabarruk*, etc. (al-Sha'rānī, *Kitāb al-Mizān*, i, 169). According to al-Māwardī, 185, the *khaṭīb* ought preferably to wear black clothes, according to al-Ḡhazālī, white, while the first mentioned would be *biḍ'a (Iḥyā')*, Cairo 1322, 131 ff.). His insignia are *al-'ūdāni*, the "two things of wood" i.e. the *minbar* and the staff or wooden sword which he has to hold in his hand during the sermon, according to the *fiḳḥ* books also. According to the law of 1911 applied to al-Azhar, art. 59, every one who has passed through the second of the three divisions of the institute can become a



*khaṭīb*. While in al-Azhar itself only one *khaṭīb* is appointed (al-Zayyāṭi, *Ta'riḫ al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, 207), there were in 1909 in the mosque of the Prophet in Medīna 46, in Mecca 122 *khaṭībā*<sup>2</sup>, besides their deputies. They enjoy certain benefactions and the office is on the whole hereditary (al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Hādīziya*<sup>2</sup>, Cairo 1329, 101, 242).

Beside the official *khaṭīb*, the *wā'iz* exercised the function of an edifying preacher, when he pleased (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 1922, 318 ff.).

*Bibliography*: I. Goldziher, *Der Chaṭīb bei den alten Arabern*, in *WZKM*, vi (1892), 97-102; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph in Tijdschrift. Bat. Gen.*, xlii (1900), 401-4 = *Verspreide Geschriften*, 1923, ii, 426 ff.; C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, i, 331-51 = *Islamstudien*, 1924, i, 450-71; idem, *Zur Gesch. d. islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 374-99 = *Islamstudien*, i, 472-500; T. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, 1910, 87-9; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Every Man's Library edn., 84; the *fiḫh*-books under *Salāt al-djuma'* and al-Sharānī, *Kitāb al-Mi'ān*, Cairo 1329, i, 164-71; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḫd al-farīd*, Cairo 1321, ii, 128 ff.; J. Pedersen, *The criticism of the Islamic preacher*, in *WI*, N.S. ii (1952), 215-31; M. Hammad, *L'évolution de la chaire dans la vie religieuse en Égypte*, in *Cahiers d'hist. égyptienne*, viii (1956), 117-29; see also Pearson, *Index islamicus*, i, 71 suppl., i, 25.

(J. PEDERSEN)

**AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ**, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. ṬHĀBIT B. AḤMAD B. MAḤDĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī, known as AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, was born on 24th Djumādā II 392/10th May 1002 (*Ta'riḫh Baghdād*, xi, 266) in Hanīkiyā, a village in the neighbourhood of the Nahr al-Malik below Baghdād (Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, vii, 191; see M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1900, i, 27). According to Ibn al-Nadīdjār (see Y. al-'Ishsh, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Damascus 1364/1945, 17) he was born in Ghuzayya, a hamlet about half-way between Kūfa and Mecca. The son of the preacher (*khaṭīb* [q.v.]) of Darzīdīān, a large village on the west bank of the Tigris below Baghdād, he began his studies very early with his father and other *shayḫhs* (*Ta'riḫh Baghdād*, xiv, 75-6; iv, 393; i, 351-2). Preceding from the Qur'an he occupied himself primarily with *hadīth*, a science which remained all his life the centre of his interest, even when he extended his learned studies to other branches of science, above all to *fiḫh*, and also after he had become famous as preacher far beyond the walls of Baghdād. At the age of twenty, in the year in which he lost his father (*ibid.*, xi, 359), he set out for Baṣra in search of *hadīth*, on which occasions he seems to have stayed also in Kūfa. Three years later, in 415/1024 (Yāḳūt, *Udabā*<sup>2</sup>, i, 246), he set out on a second journey which brought him to the north and east as far as Niṣhāpūr. On the way, either on the outward or the return journey, he collected further *hadīth* material in Rayy and Iṣfahān, whither his teacher from Baghdād al-Barḳānī (*Ta'riḫh Baghdād*, iv, 373-6) had given him a letter of introduction to Abū Nu'aym [q.v.] (preserved in Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Ta'riḫh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329/1922, i, 400; Yāḳūt, *Udabā*<sup>2</sup>, i, 258 f.; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Huffāz*, iii, 276; <sup>2</sup>1093), as well as in Hamadān and Dinawar. How long he remained en route is not known in detail; according to his own testimony (*Ta'riḫh Baghdād*, iv, 374) he was back in Baghdād in 419/1028. In the following years his preaching secured him great fame and he became an authority in *hadīth* because of his

profound erudition in this field. One of his biographers (al-Dhahabī, *Huffāz*, iii, 317; <sup>2</sup>1141) says that preachers and teachers of tradition usually had to submit the traditions they had collected to his expert opinion before quoting them in their sermons and lectures. On the other hand, al-Khaṭīb seems to have suffered from the hostility of the Ḥanbalīs, who were numerous and powerful in Baghdād at this period. After having been at first a Ḥanbalī himself like his father, his preference for the Shāfi'ī school—probably definite after a journey to Nahrawān in 430/1038-9 (*Ta'riḫh Baghdād*, xiii, 157)—and his theological opinions, which were quite uncompromising in their Ash'arism, attracted to him the hatred of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's pupils who were enemies of all bold theological speculation. In spite of the Ḥanbalī opposition and thanks to the protection of Caliph al-Kā'im and the vizier Ibn al-Muslima [q.v.], he succeeded in opening a course of lectures on *hadīth* in the al-Manṣūr mosque (Yāḳūt, *Udabā*<sup>2</sup> i, 246 f.). Retaining a bitter resentment at the enmity shown to him, al-Khaṭīb seems never to have lost an opportunity in his lectures and writings of making malicious insinuations against Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Ḥanbalīs and of even attacking them openly (cf. al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 210-17). On that account, later generations accused him of *ta'aṣṣub* (legal and theological bias) (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1359/1940, viii, 267 f.) and there is a body of polemical literature against him (al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 229-45). Apparently al-Khaṭīb entered upon these direct relations with the court only after his pilgrimage in 445/1053-4 (Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, i, 398), which directed him on the outward journey to Syria (*Ta'riḫh Baghdād*, ii, 361) and, after a rather long sojourn in Mecca (*ibid.*, vi, 174; viii, 29), on the return journey in 446/1054-5 via Jerusalem (*ibid.*, vi, 316) and several Syrian towns. When the successful rebellion of al-Basāsīrī [q.v.] brought about the fall of Ibn Muslima, al-Khaṭīb fled in 451/1059 (*ibid.*, ix, 403) to Damascus. During eight years the highly esteemed al-Khaṭīb was intensively lecturing, above all in the Umayyad mosque (Yāḳūt, *Udabā*<sup>2</sup>, i, 254 f.; al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 92-119). His teaching activities brought him occasionally also to other Syrian towns like Ṣūr (Tyre), known to him from earlier journeys (R. Sellheim, *Arabische Handschriften, Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1974, i, 69-73, no. 20). A personal mishap enraged suddenly the Shī'ī circles in Damascus against him. Arrested by order of the Fātimid governor, he had a narrow escape from execution only through the intercession of a distinguished Shī'ī personality and by a precipitous flight to Ṣūr. Returning to Baghdād via Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) and Aleppo after the Salḳūks had restored order there, al-Khaṭīb, the "Ḥāfiẓ of the east", died in Baghdād on Monday 7 Dhū 'l-Hiḍḍja 463/5 September 1071 (Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, i, 401), in the same year as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr [q.v.], the "Ḥāfiẓ of the west". In the presence of a great crowd he was buried beside the tomb of the venerated Bishr al-Ḥāfi [q.v.].

Al-Khaṭīb's fame is in general based on his biographical encyclopaedia of more than 7800 scholars and other personalities, among whom were also included women, connected with the cultural and political life of Baghdād. He seems to have corrected and completed it right up to the year he died (cf., e.g. *Ta'riḫh Baghdād*, iii, 108, 336). It is known under the title *Ta'riḫh Baghdād* and there is a printed edition in 14 volumes: Cairo, 1349/1931 (reprint Beirut 1968). Praiseworthy as al-Khaṭīb's monumental work indeed is, it should not be overlooked that he intended to

produce with his biographical work a reference book for traditionists, through which chains of transmitters (*isnād*), relations between teachers and pupils, questions on the reliability of a *ḥadīth*-scholar etc. can be ascertained, checked and established. The arrangement and contents of the biographies, set down in a not strictly alphabetical order, show also that a traditionist rather than a biographer has been at work. A look at the rest of al-Khaṭīb's extensive scientific production makes it clear that his works on *ḥadīth* have made him the great critical systematiser of *ḥadīth* methodology. In addition to Brockelmann, I, 401 and S I, 563 f., there are mentioned here: *al-Kifāya fī ma'rifaṭ uṣūl 'ilm al-rivāya*, on the ideal *rāwī* (transmitter) (printed Hyderabad 1357/1938, Cairo 1972; cf. al-Albānī, *Fihriṣ makḥṭūfāt . . .*, 268, no. 947; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 183 f.); *al-Djāmi' li-akḥlāk al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmi'* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 938); *Takẓīd al-'ilm*, with the central question whether it is forbidden or permitted to determine traditions in writing (ed. by Y. al-'Ishsh, Damascus 1949; on this see A. Ateş, in *Ilāhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* [Ankara], i (1952), 91-103; 'A. al-'Azzāwī, in *MMIA*, xxviii (1953), 330-2; M. Weisweiler, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 193-4); *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, a work on the prominent significance of the traditionists (ed. by M. S. Hatiboğlu, Ankara 1971; cf. al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 268, no. 942; al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 212, 219); *al-Sābiḥ wa 'l-lāḥik*, a biographical dictionary of traditionists (only known in the Chester Beatty ms. 3508, dating from the 7th/13th century); *al-Mu'tanif fī takmilat al-Mu'talif wa 'l-mukḥṭalif*, on the correct spelling and pronunciation of resembling proper names, gentilic names and nicknames, with biographical data, in addition to al-Dāraḳuṭnī's [q.v.] *al-Mu'talif* (cf. al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 133-4, no. 74); *al-Mutaṭṭif wa 'l-muṭṭarīk*, a biographical lexicon of traditionists who, according to their name, seem to be one and the same person, but in fact are different persons (cf. al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 131 f., no. 71); *Talkḥiṣ al-mutashābih fī 'l-rasm wa-himāyat mā aṣḥala minhu min nawādīr al-taṣḥīf wa 'l-waḥm* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 937); *al-Asmā' al-mubḥama fī 'l-andā'* *al-muḥkama*, a work concerning 171 (?) *ḥadīths* arranged in alphabetical order according to the personalities who remain anonymous in these *ḥadīths*, concerning whose identification there exists confusion or difference of opinion, but who are now ascertained by the author (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, no. 933; R. Sellheim, *op. cit.*, 69-73, no. 20); *Mūḍiḥ awḥām al-djām' wa 'l-tafrīk*, quoted by the author in his *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 429, 4 (printed in 2 vols., Hyderabad 1378/1959 f.; Hatiboğlu, *op. cit.*, 10; al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 133 no. 75); *al-Riḥla fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 940; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 175 ff.); *Iktidā' al-'ilm al-'amal* (ed. by al-Albānī, cf. al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, nos. 934 and 941; A. Ateş, in *RIMA*, iv (1958), 14, with table); *al-Faḳīh wa 'l-mutaṣaḳḳih* (ed. by I. al-Anṣārī, 2 vols., Riyāḍ 1389/1969; cf. al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 126, no. 34); for further short works on *ḥadīth*, see al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266-9. Next to his *Amālī*, which he dictated in the Umayyad mosque at Damascus (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, no. 935; cf. al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 121, no. 1), special mention should be made of three other works which in their own way are characteristic for the famous preacher: (1) *al-Taṭfīl wa-hikāyāt al-ṭufayḥiyyin*, a collection of often delightful stories and verses built around the rich *adab*-theme of the "self-invited guest", naturally provided—as in all the works of the author—with detailed chains of traditions (printed Damascus 1346/1927 and al-Nadjaḥ 1966; ms. of the 6th/12th century, Chester Beatty

3851); (2) *al-Buḥḥalā'*, (ed. by Aḥmad Maṭlūb *et alii*, Baghdād 1384/1964) is parallel to al-Djāḥiḡ's well-known "Book of misers"; (3) a *Risāla fī 'ilm al-nudjūm hal al-shurū' fīhi maḥmūd aw maḥmūm*, a treatise on the "permitted" astronomy, including the astronomical chronology, and on the "forbidden" astrology, including the prediction of astronomical events like eclipses (cf. M. Plessner, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 532 f.). According to al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1167), al-Khaṭīb's works amount to 56 (in al-Dhahabī, *Huḍfāz*, iii, 316; 21139). Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245) numbers more than 60 (in al-Subkī, *Tabakāt*, iii, 13), and Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) ca. 100, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 76 f.). According to a register of al-Khaṭīb's writings up to 453/1061 (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 564), the assertions of biographers and bibliographers and his own research in libraries, al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 120-37, records a total of 81 titles. He completes and enlarges Brockelmann's list with 23 items referring to manuscripts of hitherto known and also unknown writings of al-Khaṭīb. His inventory can further be completed and enlarged from statements in al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, and others, as indicated above. Finally, the two surveys by al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 79-91 and 92-119, on al-Khaṭīb's *shaykh*s, colleagues and pupils, one hundred in number, and on the works he read in Damascus, are also helpful.

*Bibliography*: (a) On the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*: H. Ritter, *Orientalia*, I, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, i, 1933, 67-71; J.-P. Pascual, *Index schématique du Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, Paris 1971; O. Spies, in *Isl.* xlvii (1970), 224 (= Brockelmann, I, 401, 6 f.); other manuscripts, e.g. Chester Beatty 4702, 4818; M. N. al-Albānī, *Fihriṣ makḥṭūfāt dār al-kutub al-zāhiriyya al-muntakhab min makḥṭūfāt al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1390/1970, 266, no. 936, cf. 269, no. 953; for abstracts and continuations see Brockelmann, I, 401, S I, 563 and G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, Damascus 1963, 31 ff.; al-Khaṭīb's introductory chapter on topography (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, 4-101) was published with a French translation by G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'Histoire de Baghdād*, Paris 1904; the *ḥadīths* were compiled by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghamarī al-Maghribī, *Miftāḥ al-tarīḥ li-ahādīth Ta'rīkh al-Khaṭīb*, Cairo 1355/1936; for further literature see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*; Munir ud-Din Ahmed, *Muslim education and the scholars' social status up to the 5th century Muslim era in the light of Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, Ph.D. thesis, Hamburg 1968. (b) In addition to the works mentioned in the article: Kh. Ziriklī, *al-'Īlām*, Cairo 1954, i, 166; 'U. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifin*, Damascus 1376/1957, ii, 3 f. (with the most detailed compilation of sources on al-Khaṭīb); M. 'A. Muḍarrīs, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, 2nd ed., Tabrīz 1347/1969, ii, 144 f.; M. Ben Cheneb, *L'Idjāza du Cheikh 'Abd el Qādir el Fāsy*, in *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congr. Intern. des Orient.*, Paris 1908, 344 ff., no. 144; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 2, Leiden 1968, index; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, Leiden 1967, i, index.

(R. SELLHEIM)

**KHAṬĪB DIMASHK** [see AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ].

**KHĀTIM** [see KHĀTAM].

**KHATMA**, **KHITMA** (A.), pl. *khitām*, the technical name for the recitation of the whole of the *Qur'ān* from beginning to end, the verbal noun from *khātama*, denominative verb from *khātama* [q.v.]. The complete recitation of the *Qur'ān* is, especially if it is done within a short time, a meritorious achievement, e.g. in eight nights, as Ubayy b. Ka'b is said to have done (Ibn Sa'd, iii/2, 60, 23; cf. on 'Uḥmān, *ibid.*, iii/1, 53, 3). It is related of Sulaymān al-A'mash

that he accomplished the *khātma* at times according to 'Uḥmān's recension and at times according to the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd. For a dead man, the reciters were asked to recite the *kirā'at al-khālamāt* (e.g. in the *root Nights* in the story of the merchant Ayyūb and his son). In Egypt the *khātma* was used as an entertainment for guests. In modern Mecca the so-called *ikhāba* is celebrated when a boy has read through the whole of the sacred book (the ceremony after the half or one-third is called *isrāfa*). In South Arabia a *khātam* is presented to one who has recited the whole book for the first time.

*Bibliography*: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 146, 272; Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 126 ff.; Lane, *Arabian Nights*, i, 382; Goldziher in *Isl.*, vi (1915), 214, on *khātm al-Bukhārī*. (FR. BUHL\*)

**KHATT** (A.), writing.

i. — IN THE ARAB WORLD.

The Arabic writing used, according to tradition, as early as the lifetime of Muḥammad, for setting down the sacred text of the Qur'ān, subsequently underwent a diffusion corresponding to the expansion of the Islamic faith and to the development of the Islamic civilisation in which it came to full fruition.

A script of alphabetic and phonological type, belonging to the vast family of Semitic scripts, it shows in this capacity the characteristics of a consonantal script, with vocalisation signs added in the form of accents, and thus belongs to the category of scripts of which "the orthography always comprises an element of interpretation by the reader, an ideographic element" (M. Cohen). Its conditions of use and development were therefore determined by its association with the language which it was required to express, in terms of social facts to which we shall have to return, for the Arabic language became very quickly a major academic and literary language, while experiencing here and there divergencies of articulation and pronunciation which belonged to the sphere of colloquial usage and were consequently ignored at the level of orthography. This very individual script was also applied to other languages where the conditions thereby created do not concern us here.

On the other hand, in the evolution of Arabic script, the shapes of the letters themselves underwent changes in appearance which were not only linked to the rare attempts at orthographic adaption imposed by the cultural milieu, but were also determined by other influences, technical, aesthetic and psychological, within Arabo-Islamic society during its evolution in the course of the centuries, not the least of these influences being the assimilation of graphic writing to an art-form.

It would be impossible here to make a proper study of either the nature or the evolution of Arabic writing in its many different manifestations, while taking into account the principal studies dealing the subject, without some preliminary and indispensable remarks, regarding both its scope and its propagation. These remarks can only be brief and inconclusive, because the perspective has been insufficiently pursued to this day: it appears in fact more to the curiosity of the historian and the sociologist than to that of the specialists who have hitherto interested themselves in decipherment or in stylistic analysis of Arabic writings. It nevertheless opens up directions of research which can only prove to be fruitful, inviting us to consider, behind the simple observation of palaeographic facts, the meaning and the value of the evidence carried by the documents themselves. Here we encounter some of the questions of a general

order which have been posed by the linguist Marcel Cohen when he has reflected on the conditions of birth, expansion and transference of different types of script, and has been obliged to envisage them in the terms of the axiom affirming that "the use of the script is a function of its utility in a given society" (see *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution*, Paris 1958, *passim*).

The first point to be underlined in this sense is, without doubt, the incomparable prestige which has constantly been enjoyed, in the world of Islam, by an Arabic script borne, it could be said, by the expansion-movement of the religion with which it had been associated from the beginning. As the instrument of materialisation and transmission of a message identified with the Divine Word, this script permitted, among the members of the first Muslim community, the precise conservation of the letter of the revelation and, thus facilitating its study as well as its memorisation, obtained a sort of "sacred character". The reality of this "consecration" is confirmed by the textual Arabic sources; the data regarding this subject, found in the Qur'ān itself and the *hadīth*, also in personal opinions of various authors, deserve a more extensive and systematic exploration than has been undertaken hitherto (see, for example, the attempt made by F. Rosenthal, *Significant uses of Arabic writing*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iv (1961), 15-23; cf. idem, *Abū Hai'yān al-Tawhīdī on penmanship*, in *Ars Islamica*, xiii-xiv (1948), 1-30).

At the same time, the Arabic alphabet benefited in its diffusion outside Arabia, from the rapid propagation of Arabic as a liturgical and cultural language of the Arabo-Islamic empire, itself constituted shortly after the conquest to which Muḥammad had given the first impulse and which followed almost immediately upon his death. The various usages, profane as well as religious, for which the Arabic script was henceforward adopted, conferred upon it a considerable expansion in its territorial scope: not only did it take the place of local scripts previously employed, in the same way that Arabic was to some extent substituted for the autochthonous languages temporarily reduced to an inferior role; but it was also offered to all Muslims, by means of the teaching of the Qur'ān, first written and read in Arabic, as the means of graphic representation of various non-Arab languages, those which continued to be employed or which were gradually revived, in various provinces of this rapidly-fragmented empire, or even those which were introduced, in differing circumstances, by new ethnic elements, but which all encountered, in the course of the centuries, a preferential treatment linked to the development of states and of national feelings. Thus the Arabic script became the script of Iranian languages (such as Persian and Pashto or Afghān) or Turkish languages (such as the 'Oḥmānī Turkish of the Ottoman Empire and other Turkish dialects then current in Ādharbāyḏjān, in the Caucasus, in Turkestan and as far away as China) languages of the Indian (the Urdu variety of Hindustani) and Malayan peninsula (the ancient script of Malay, as well as languages belonging to Madagascar and the Comoro islands), languages of North Africa (Berber), of mediaeval Spain (literature of the *al jamīa* [q.v.]), of Slavonic Europe (the Croat language, for example), and of Black Africa (languages of the Bantu family, such as Swahili, or Sudanese languages, such as Hausa, Peul and Kanouri from the Chad region). At the same time, it was the object of other episodic usages (for more precise details and essential bibliography, see M. Cohen, *Grande invention*, 184-6, and doc. 109-11).

It would thus not only appear difficult to distinguish formally from the Arabic script the various scripts of the Islamic domain which borrowed its alphabet, but it is even more difficult to draw with precision, over the course of the centuries, the contours of the geographical area marked by its usage. The historical mutations of the Muslim world, losing some of its provinces, making gains in other directions and attaining its actual limits by the device of proselytism and peaceful conversion, provoked constant modifications in the parallel developments of a language, a religion and a script, whose contour-lines did not necessarily coincide. There were of course some absolute regressions on the part of Islam and of Arabic speaking (the reconquests of Spain and of Sicily, for example), resulting in a similar abandonment of Arabic graphisms, except in the case of ornamental inscriptions; but there were also cases where the spoken Arabic language declined, ceasing to cope adequately with the administrative or literary requirements, but the Arabic script survived, linked to the maintenance of the academic Arabic languages in circles still Islamised. Also, there were cases of Islamic gains, at once territorial and demographic, especially notable in South-East Asia and Black Africa, which resulted in an expansion of Arabic graphisms surpassing that of the language, to correspond with that of the Muslim faith itself; on the other hand, areas Islamised in ancient times, where Arabic retained its prestige as a religious language, have seen in modern times a decline in the use of the Arabic script, as decisions have been taken favouring the phonetic notation of, for example, Turkish, Malay, Malagasy or African languages into the Latin, and sometimes the Cyrillic alphabet.

The consequences of these various phenomena of replacement, or on the contrary, of adoption, of the Arabic script cannot be evaluated quantitatively in a precise manner, any more than can the effects of the recent tendency to an increased utilisation of this script, in the Arab countries, for the practical reasons of the proliferation of documentary material and especially of the progress of education and the spread of literacy, familiarising the vast masses of the population with the alphabet.

This progress at least seems clear-cut, and the crystallisation of sentiments linked to a new consciousness of Arabism and of its cultural patrimony even today reinforces the vogue and the universality of a script which has never ceased to transcend, as a mode of symbolic expression, the frontiers of the Arabic-speaking world. We know in fact to what extent its characters, privileged symbols of a true politico-religious unity, were able, by emotional as well as practical means, to impress upon the minds of Muslims of every race and every country that recognised them, from the classical period of Islam onwards, their superior and incontestable artistic worth.

In that period, in fact, when the triumphant society which had adopted the Arabic characters used them for utilitarian ends (archives, historical inscriptions, coinage, writings of all kinds) or for sacred purposes (copies of the *Kurʾān*, pious inscriptions, religious texts), the script was tending through its use in these media towards a high degree of aesthetic and decorative accomplishment in accordance with certain rules of formal beauty, as well as with the exigencies of literal meaning. The practice of writing Arabic was from that time onward an art, as well as a science, reserved for initiates. All the same, the experts in calligraphy were judged worthy, and this has remained the general rule in every Muslim society, to

attain to the double distinction of artist and respected sage, acceding sometimes to the rank of masters of the "science of letters" (see *HURŪF*), itself a branch of the divinatory science of *ḍiʿāf* [q.v.] and an instrument of a talismanic art linked to certain aspects of mystical speculation.

This exceptional situation regarding the Arabic script over the centuries, in a particularly vast world where the "thing written" was at once admired and preserved, is insufficient alone to explain the abundance and the variety of documents on which today all knowledge of the forms belonging to this script, and their history, must rely. Developments of another order must also be invoked, among them one factor which in its way considerably influenced the development of Arabic civilisation, viz. the widespread manufacture of paper in the lands of Islam from the 3rd/9th century onward (see *κἀΓΗΙΔ*). The expansion of this industry, which was not without effect in the sphere of economic exchanges and the transmission of sciences, facilitated the manifestations of the art of writing in providing the most convenient medium, with the smoothness of its surface and its lightness, a medium that was durable and not too costly. Sheets of paper of various formats, which could be carried, rolled up, folded and sealed, thus supplied the indispensable material for innumerable letters and archives, the latter sometimes enriched with artistic and illuminated signatures, which came to supersede the rare and costly specimens previously represented by pieces of tanned skin or parchment [see *ΔΥΙΛΔ*] as well as by papyri [see *ΚΙΡΤΛΣ*]. Their use permitted hand-written books, preserving in Arabic the texts of literary or academic works so that they proliferated at such a rate that the profession of copyist-cum-book-seller became, in the mediaeval Islamic cities, a profitable occupation in the context of the growth in popularity of "reading-rooms" and of private libraries [see *ΚΗΙΖΛΝΑ*]. It was not only intellectual life that gained a fortunate boost; but from that time on, the educated Muslim became an indefatigable writer, recording the oral tradition of his masters through the medium of the written word, never hesitating to comment upon or summarise, pen in hand, his own works as well as those of his predecessors, from whom he gladly reproduced extracts and quotations.

In the same line are the effects of another technical invention, which came much later to the Islamic world, that of printing with movable characters. From its expansion in the Near East in the second half of the 19th century—four centuries after its invention and diffusion in western Europe (although impressions on blocks of wood had made their appearance in the 'Abbāsīd period, in the 4th/10th century for the reproduction of prayers in Arabic and of talismanic formulas; cf. M. Cohen, *Grande invention* pl. 53)—dates a new transformation in the conditions of usage of Arabic writing, which have recently been further aided by the advent of typing and other industrial processes. The phenomenon, interesting to consider in itself, could have resulted in a radical normalisation of Arabic writing, an undertaking which is still recommended in some quarters today in the form of various projects for the improvement or even the replacement of the traditional alphabet. In fact, it resulted only in the hardening of some types of usage, halting, in favour of the most widespread cursive, that is the "oriental" cursive, the evolution of signs which have preserved to this day in printed texts the features of a hand-written script.

We must return to the various functions supplied by Arabic writing in the mediaeval world in order to understand the abundance of stylistic varieties which corresponded, in spite of its constant orthography, to successive or concomitant stages of its development in the course of the centuries.

The writing practised by government scribes in their compilation of archives or their official documents could not be the same as that of calligraphers working to satisfy the taste for luxury of some patron, nor that of pious people copying the texts of the Qurʾān, nor that of scholars making rough drafts or taking down speeches and discussions as dictation, nor that of merchants writing private letters and statements of account, nor that of makers of amulets and magical diagrams, for example. The greater or lesser degree of legibility required in each case—whether it was a case of documents intended to be widely read or appreciated solely from an artistic angle, or designs of limited, technical and sometimes even esoteric usage—intervened to modify the types of letters used; thus certain types of script reserved for certain uses are differentiated, scripts of diplomacy or of business accounts, for example, but also artistic scripts illustrated by inscriptions on objects of common usage, such as the illegible anthropomorphic scripts whose letters, on precious objects of inlaid metal, are disguised as the gesticulations of small figures (see on this subject, D.S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris 1954, 22-33), or on the contrary, the rigid and simple “kūfic” or “astronomical” scripts used particularly for the figures and other markings born by astrolabes (see for example, M. Destombes, *Les chiffres coufiques des instruments astronomiques arabes*, in *Physis*, II (1960), 197-210).

Other types may have been given shape by the influence of the many different regional milieux and national temperaments which coexisted in the world of Islam and whose heritages it is difficult to define with certainty. Even if our remarks on this subject may be connected with reflections concerning other families of scripts (see the collective work devoted to *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples. XXIIe Semaine de Synthèse*, Paris 1963), the ethnico-linguistic procedures which are often applied to these local schools of writing should not be handled without caution. It may be admitted, for example, that the resources of artistic imagination belonging to Iranian and Turkish artisans were the origin of some of the finest compositions which have ever been executed in angular Arabic characters, and it is fashionable to give the credit to the ornamental artists of the eastern provinces. Living in the semi-independent kingdoms of Khurāsān and Sīstān, as well as in the Iranised Baghdād of the Būyids, for example, they could be counted among the artisans most active in the embellishment of ornamental writing, their efforts being parallel to those which they pursued in imposing their own style upon the intricacies of the arabesque. They must also often have been the initiators of the styles which subsequently spread towards the western regions of the world of Islam, and they must have contributed to the popularity there of motifs at once calligraphic and floral, enriched with geometric embroidery, which were adopted there after a short lapse of time. But the exact role played by ethnic association cannot be appreciated any more than the relations uniting, as some scholars express it, the melodic line of Arabic music or song and the almost undulating and dynamic rhythm towards which the most

elegant Arabic cursive scripts are always obliged to tend.

At other levels, other technical factors were involved, regarding notably the length of time required to execute a certain specimen of calligraphy one or more times, according to the material and the process chosen, according to the originality peculiar to the “hand” of each artist, and the opportunity he had of transferring inflections or inspiration from different styles. It was often the opportunities offered to the artisans, to the stone-cutters or the scribes, by the material at their disposal, according to the periods and according to the areas, which determined the birth of different styles, attributed also to the personality of the famous calligraphers who invented them or illustrated them and who are mentioned in the accounts traditionally repeated or amplified by the ancient Arab authors. As regards the handling of the pen, echoes are found in western works having taken as the basis of their developments, in the Europe of the 19th century, information still alive in the Ottoman empire (see for example, ch. II of A. Herbin, *Essai de calligraphie orientale*, Paris 1803). Each time there is stressed the importance of the *ḥalam* [q.v.] and of the manner of cutting it; attention is also drawn to the types of ink used; the other items of equipment of the copyist are listed (see the precise details supplied on this subject by A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967, completed by the more recent commentaries supplied by J. Sadan, *Encore du nouveau sur scribes et copistes*, in *REI*, xlv (1975). But we should not at the same time forget the influence exerted by the utilisation of different techniques, which were prevalent both for monumental and furniture inscriptions and could range from incision and sculpture in champlévé, in stone and stucco, to painting on plaster or pottery, to carving on metal, to inscriptions in relief or to the complex construction of mosaics with cubes of glass and especially, with fragments of brick and ceramic.

Actual fact does not allow us to establish, as has sometimes been suggested, that there are two separate categories of Arabic characters, one represented by epigraphic documents of every genre and the other by manuscript texts. It is known, in fact, that the eminent calligraphers often provided, by setting them down on paper, the models for inscriptions subsequently executed in every other manner and that a trait peculiar to the artisans of the mediaeval Muslim world was that they loved to prove their virtuosity by transposing, from one material to another, and from painting to sculpture, or from metal to ceramic, or conversely, worked. It seems, on the other hand, that the supple involutions of rounded letters, sometimes credited solely to the talent of the copyist, are found from the 6th/12th century onward in monumental inscriptions and that there is, on the other hand, no shortage of ancient manuscript having recourse to the angular characters incorrectly described as “lapidary”. But in any case, it must be admitted that the nature of the technique practised is often sufficient to explain the variations, at the same time multiple and concurrent, without being of exactly simultaneous usage, that are to be found among inscribed compositions, of the same date and of the same origin, established on different material bases. There is no doubt that here we find the determining cause of much in the way of subsequent stylistic ramifications, of which the birth would otherwise appear fortuitous.

Here should be added the effects of choices which are more difficult to discern in their motivations, for they were linked with the very attitude of mediaeval Muslim society to artistic invention, to its taste for the repetition of formulas and the conventions of workshops, to its admiration for redundancy and sumptuousness which developed under the aegis of patrons motivated as much by love of ostentation as by concern for their own glory, and which gave rise to the refinement of sumptuous manuscripts which multiplied in the same way as that of monumental and movable epigraphs. These last factors in the differentiation of shapes acted, however, without going against the spirit of conservatism which marked Arabic writing on the level of orthography and which held to a great extent to the spirit of an Arabo-Islamic civilisation conscious of its superiority, at the same time reserving to a small élite the monopoly of a written communication of limited accessibility and destined to remain thus.

For all these various reasons (more extensively developed by J. Sourdél-Thomine, *The development of Arabic script*, in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, i, ch. 1), the Arabic script was abundantly used in an Islamic milieu over the course of the centuries, and innumerable documents bear witness to it. Such wealth excites admiration, but it also explains the difficulties always encountered by those wishing to study it methodically: the world of Arab palaeography remains that of scattered and unevenly accomplished exploratory studies, where general surveys of sufficient completeness are lacking as well as systematic inventories of such-and-such a series of specimens and the information they provide.

In the absence of any means of ameliorating this deficiency, we shall content ourselves here with presenting a provisional survey of the results obtained. On the one hand we shall stress the defects in orientation of the scanty working-material that exists, and on the other hand we shall indicate the principal opportunities that present themselves for tackling this vast question, pursuing a double approach: bringing out on the one hand the specific traits of an Arabic script remarkable to the present day for the consistency of its system of transcription, whilst drawing attention on the other hand to important chronological phases discernible in the evolution of its shapes. Furthermore, it should never be forgotten that in addition to these major stages, there were secondary phases, linked together, following one another in succession or on the contrary overlapping, in a somewhat anarchic process of development, according to the changing modalities of usage and the great artistic flowering to which allusion has been made above.

As the science of studying Arabic graphisms, which figures among the modern disciplines of orientalism but remains a science in its infancy, Arabic palaeography has not yet given birth to a single manual or introductory work other than one major publication, which after many years of planning remains incomplete. The idea for this work first occurred to Adolf Grohmann when he attended the lectures given on this subject by Josef von Karabacek in 1910 and 1912 at the University of Vienna. Only two volumes have appeared to this date (A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, Teil i, Vienna 1967; Teil ii, Vienna 1971), which there is little hope of ever seeing completed. The historical summary of the first efforts devoted to the study of Arabic writing, first in the Islamic world (i, 4-32),

then among a growing group of western orientalists from the beginning of the 17th century to the present day (i, 32-65) is followed, after remarks bearing on materials of writing (*Die Beschreibstoffe*, i, 66-131) only by analyses concerning the types of writing defined by the author as "lapidary" (*Das Schriftwesen. Die Lapidarschrift*, ii, 3-290), types whose study is certainly of vital importance, but whose various aspects are not sufficient to characterise the evolution of Arabic writing in its entirety.

There is also the survey, meticulous but of limited scope, compiled by B. Moritz in 1910 in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [s.v. ARABIA]. Other similarly hasty surveys followed, which attempted notably to place Arabic writing among the various systems known of notation of language signs (thus M. Cohen, *Grande invention*, esp. 181-6, 234-8, and 328-30, where the previous works are mentioned and remarks of a methodological order made; see also J. Sourdél-Thomine, *L'écriture arabe et son évolution ornementale*, M. Rodinson, *Le monde islamique et l'extension de l'écriture arabe*, in *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples*, 249-61, 263-77, and D. Divinger, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*<sup>2</sup>, London and New York 1968, i, 210-15), or which attempted to place it before a more extensive public by increasing the number of illustrations (thus E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*, Berlin 1942; A. M. Schimmel, *Islamic calligraphy*, in *Iconography of religions*, section xxii/x, Leiden 1970; N. Zayn al-Dīn, *Muṣawwar al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, Baghdād 1968, or idem, *Badāʾiʿ al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, Baghdād 1972). Yet others have been content to place the accent on certain aspects of the problem (thus M. Minovi and Ph. Ackermann, *Calligraphy. An outline history*, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, ii (1939), 1707-42; N. Abbott, *Arabic palaeography in Ars Islamica*, viii (1941), 67-104, which combined with a critical study of the preceding account, replies to certain positions adopted by A. Jeffery on the possibilities of identification of ancient Arabic scripts). Finally, there have been others who have confined themselves, either to a geographical area (for example O. Houdas, *Essai sur l'écriture maghrébine*, in *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux*, 1886, 85-112) or to a period (S. al-Munadjjid, *Dirāsāt fi taʾrīkh al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī mundhu bidāyatihī ilā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, Beirut 1972), or to both of these at once (S. Y. al-Djābūrī, *al-Khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī wa-taʾawwuruḥu fi ʿl-ʿuṣūr al-abbāsiyya fi ʿl-ʿIrāq*, Baghdād 1962), or even to the work of a single calligrapher (D. S. Rice, *The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin 1955). Here there are only to be found provisional elements and incomplete syntheses upon groups of graphical variations which seem, by their very volume, to have dampened the enthusiasm of the specialists, who, although a list of their works might give the impression that each of these subjects was covered at length, have never dealt with more than a small part of an immense and still partially unknown field.

But these sometimes superficial works have nevertheless surpassed in ambition the tentative endeavours to which other scholars too often confined themselves, collecting and regrouping, in the form of simple books of plates, specimens considered as typical of Arabic writing used, here or there, in such-and-such a period. Hence the several albums, often with ambitious titles, of which the most important since the end of the 19th century are easily listed (W. Wright, *Facsimiles of manuscripts and inscriptions*, Oriental series, Palaeographical Society-

London 1875-83; B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, Cairo 1905; E. Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientaliū*, Bonn 1914; A. J. Arberry, *Specimens of Arabic and Persian palaeography*, London 1939; G. Vajda, *Album de paléographie arabe*, Paris 1959; S. al-Munadjjid, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabi al-makhtūf ilā ʾl-harn al-ʿāshir al-hidiri*, i. *al-Namāhidī*, Cairo 1960), and to which may be added collections of exercises in decipherment conceived at any early date (such as M. Bresnier, *Éléments de calligraphie orientale*. Algiers-Paris 1855, or L. Cheikho, *Spécimens de cent écritures arabes pour la lecture des manuscrits anciens et modernes*, Beirut 1885 and 1895).

In fact a search has to be made in works belonging to disciplines other than palaeography, in the narrow sense of the term, in order to find some of the most positive results regarding the study of Arab characters. Thus we may mention the important data obtained concerning the writing of the first centuries, through the progress of the science of papyrology. To the conclusions, today considered obsolete, reached by a Silvestre de Sacy and forming the basis for subsequent researches (as in his *Nouveaux aperçus sur l'histoire de l'écriture chez les Arabes du Hedjaz*, in *JA*, x, (1827), 209-31), there have succeeded the publications of results owed to the experience of Adolf Grohmann or of N. Abbott, as well as several other specialists (see on this subject the synthesis-data in A. Grohmann, *From the world of Arabic papyri*, Cairo 1952, esp. 69-93, and *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, i, Prague 1955, esp. 88-103; cf. *Arabisches Papyruskunde*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i/2, Leiden-Cologne 1966). These permit appreciation of the true value of such texts, difficult to decipher but of unquestionable historical authenticity, of which however only most incomplete series have yet been published, in occasional articles or in the catalogues of some great collections.

Also, there is the information provided by works of numismatics, starting with monetary materials (pieces of all kinds, jetons, glass weights and even seals) most often datable with certainty, emanating from equally identifiable mint centres and bearing inscriptions composed invariably in carefully executed scripts. These types of information have seldom been collated as they deserve, though mention should be made of the first results in this field, contained either in catalogues compiled according to modern rules (see the table of letter-forms set out by J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad coins*, London 1956, p. cii), or in specialised *Corpus* essays (see for example, the remarks of a palaeographic order contained in G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights and stamps*, New York 1948, 29).

Studies which have proved particularly fruitful, from the viewpoint of palaeography, are the works devoted by epigraphists to this decorative aspect of Arabic inscriptions and to the ornamental distortions of their characters, which constitute one of the most significant features. Not only has the system inaugurated by Samuel Flury concerning certain artistic schools locatable in time as in space (see for example, his *Islamische Schriftbänder*, *Amida-Diyarbekr XI. Jahrhundert*, Basel-Paris 1920; idem, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna*, in *Syria*, vi (1925), 60-90; idem, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments fatimides du Caire*, in *Syria*, xvii (1936), 365-76; and *Ornamental Kufic inscriptions on pottery*, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, ii,

1743-69) have continued to be followed for other periods or other places (thus V. A. Kratchovskaya, *Notices sur les inscriptions de la mosquée Djoum'a à Vêramine*, in *REI*, v (1931), 25-38; idem, *Ornamental Naskhi inscriptions*, in A. U. Pope, *Survey*, ii, 1770-85, and *Evoluyisia kufičeskogo pišma v Sredney Azii*, in *Epigrafika Vostoka*, iii, (1949), 46-100; J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Épigraphes coufiques de Bāb Saghir*, in *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, iv, Paris 1950; idem, *Le coufique alépin de l'époque seljoukide*, in *Mélanges L. Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 301-17, and *Le style des inscriptions arabo-siciliennes à l'époque des rois normands*, in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 307-15; M. Ocaña Jiménez, *El cúfico hispano y su evolución*, Madrid 1970), but a similar method has been applied to the study of inscriptions on movable objects (L. Volov-Golombek, *Plaited Kufic on Samanid epigraphic pottery*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1966), 107-33). Then the procedure used for precise cases has also on occasion received particular attention (thus J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Quelques réflexions sur l'écriture des premières stèles arabes du Caire*, in *Annales islamologiques*, xi (1972), 23-35). Elsewhere, observations of this type have been collected and linked together in an ambitious treatment, such as that which was attempted by Adolf Grohmann, starting from a truly encyclopaedic knowledge of the question, but in a manner too diffused to allow a clear perspective of the evolution of the whole phenomenon (see A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, cited above, of which the plan of research has been announced by the author in *The origin and early development of floriated Kufic*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii, (1957), 183-213).

Finally, the studies brought to fruition more specifically under the disciplines of codicology, the science of manuscripts and their dating, utilising with profit the examination of their various external characteristics, must in their turn not be forgotten, even if they are still far from attaining a degree of scientific precision sufficient to bring to palaeography the elements of certainty that might be expected. There is, in fact, a contrast between the minute care taken by the scribes, users and owners of every copy of an Arabic text to add to it notes supplying its history, on the one hand, and the insufficient use, on the other hand, made of these notes in modern times to establish the dating of these copies and, thereby, the classification and verification of their scripts.

Certainly, the details recorded in modern catalogues, details supplied by the title pages or the final pages of manuscripts and enabling us to date them by means of their colophons as well as by the various marks of ownership, certificates of donation such as *wakfs* [q.v.], seals, reading marks and certificates of audition that they contain, have served as points of reference, in the case where they have been noted: introductions to critical editions of good quality, presentations of collections, studies bearing on the conditions of transmission of ancient texts, announcements of discoveries shedding new light on opinions previously held (see for example, J. Schacht, *Sur quelques manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la mosquée d'al-Qarawiyyin à Fès*, in *Mélanges Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 271-84, or S. M. Stern, *A Manuscript from the library of the Ghaznawid Amir 'Abd al-Rashid*, in *Paintings from Islamic lands*, *Oriental Studies* no. 4, Oxford 1969).

Nor has use ever been made for purposes of systematic classification nor of description of series of manuscripts belonging to such-and-such a type of

script, for there has been no attempt, on sufficiently broad bases, to make recensions with the purpose of establishing the chronological sequences of dated specimens, which would themselves be subjected to necessary palaeographic analyses. Two difficulties are encountered here: these are (1) the extraordinary quantity of copies of Arabic texts preserved to this day and (2) the insufficient knowledge that we have of them, the resources of some public libraries being incompletely studied in the West as well as in the East, and the relative importance of the contents of private libraries not yet catalogued or even sometimes noticed. It is to be hoped that in the future such inventories will be put to proper use; this will have to depend on a previous recension of the accessible Arabic manuscripts, an enterprise which is at present impossible in spite of the results contained in the monumental collections of works written in Arabic owed to C. Brockelmann and, more recently, to F. Sezgin. These inventories will enable us to fix with confidence the exact moment of appearance of a certain palaeographic feature, belonging to a certain local milieu or a certain well-known workshop. This is not yet possible, but one may at least use for first approximations the remarks supplied by the best catalogues of manuscripts and, by listing autograph signatures or references to contemporary copyists, enlarge considerably the actual field of research of the palaeographers.

To these data may profitably be added the results gleaned from thorough searches of archives containing official or private documents of all kinds (see remarks on the documentary wealth of a source of this type in J. Sourdél-Thomine and D. Sourdél, *Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au moyen âge*, in *REI*, xxxii (1964), 1-2; *A propos des documents de la grande mosquée de Damas conservés à Istamboul. Résultats de la Seconde Enquête*, in *ibid.*, xxxiii (1965), 73-85). Here there is to be found palaeographic evidence of the first importance, ranging from notary acts [see *WATHĪKA*] to requests or personal letters (for publications of letters of this kind see, for example, A. Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe aus der Papyrussammlung der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Hamburg 1955; S. M. Stern, *Petitions from the Mamluk period*, in *BSOAS*, xxix (1966), 233-76, with reference to his previous articles on the requests on the Fāṭimid or Ayyūbid epoch; D. Sourdél, *Deux documents relatifs à la communauté hanbalite de Damas*, in *BEO*, xxv (1972), 141-51).

But the most abundant source of elements immediately of use for a rational knowledge of Arabic writing still remain, amid all these manuscripts relics, these copies of the Ḳurʿān, which have already supplied the material for a special chapter of philological and palaeographic research. In the same way that the modalities of recension of the Ḳurʿānic text and the divergencies of reading to which certain of its passages can give rise led to the development, during the early centuries of Islam, of the first grammatical as well as exegetical studies. Hence copies of the Ḳurʿān offer the most solid base that we have to this day for describing the evolution of fine Arabic characters.

Catalogued since the end of the 19th century in the major western collections of which they were a part, these copies were the source of the studies of "hieratic" angular calligraphy which form the basic material for G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl (*Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, Leipzig 1938), who summarize in this volume their previous essays and

especially for the series of new hypotheses subsequently expressed by N. Abbott (*The rise of the North Arabic script and its Ḳurʿānic development*, Chicago 1939), A. Jeffery (review in *The Moslem World*, xxx (1940), 191-8), R. Blachère (*Introduction au Coran*, Paris 1947, 83-9), and G. Levi Della Vida (*Frammenti coranici in carattere cufico nella Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican 1947), without forgetting the very illuminating note by A. Grohmann (*The problem of dating early Qurʿāns*, in *Isl.*, xxxiii (1958), 213-31) taking the discovery of a new fragment of the Ḳurʿān on papyrus as a basis for proposing the attribution to the 1st/7th century copies of the style previously called *hidīāzi*.

Certainly, the conclusions reached till now, especially concerning the calligraphic material in ornamental "kūfic" known as "lapidary", remain fragile and imprecise. There is no scientifically defensible position other than to suspend in this regard all judgement until there have been made, with the most minute observations of detail, regroupings by families, which comparisons and careful indexing will perhaps enable us to apportion chronologically and geographically. There is no guarantee even that the points of reference established then will not appear to be deceptive in regard to the work of research and analysis which they will require and which would have to take account of extensive collections not yet inventoried like that of the Damascus Ḳurʿāns of Istanbul (cf. J. Sourdél-Thomine and D. Sourdél, *Nouveaux documents*). But, in spite of these reservations, the several working hypotheses already adopted, according to which were recently classified in an approximative manner the 164 exhibits of a remarkable exhibition of Ḳurʿāns of all kinds (see M. Lings and Y. H. Safadi, *The Qurʿān. Catalogue of an exhibition of Qurʿān manuscripts at the British Library, 3 April — 15 August 1976*), prove themselves to be indispensable in enabling the reconstruction, by means of Ḳurʿānic scripts alone, of the history of Arabic manuscript writing and its enrichment through elaboration of forms and the introduction of illuminations sometimes foreign to the shapes of the letters.

Beside these various scientific considerations, there are furthermore the data supplied by the ancient textual sources which have for a long time served as a basis for the reflections of the specialists and which should not be neglected. Even if most often they do no more than repeat one another and thereby ensure the permanence, to the modern milieux of calligraphers, of notions which were enunciated by the authors of the mediaeval period and which seem to have been subsequently perpetuated without being always fully understood, they show the interest felt by an erudite traditional society in the writing which it used, and they reflect in this sense the fruits of an instructive and solid experiment.

Certainly, the ideas which to this day have been extracted and expressed in western surveys correspond to a view of the problems at once formal and incomplete. What has been largely extracted from them is either the names of famous scribes considered to be the heads of schools and presented in the course of accounts of an anecdotal character, or enunciation of rules of calligraphy remaining obscure in the absence of an adequate terminology, or lists of technical terms, especially those which were in use to designate the styles of writing which scholars were content to enumerate. Even when an approach has been made on a more critical level, and attempts



made to determine the exact bearing of the terms adopted, to this day it is rare for sure conclusions to be reached. Whence arise the discussions which are still pursued among modern authors; and whence certain divergencies of interpretation concerning the text of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (end of the 4th/10th century), regarding the *hiǰāzī* and *kūfī* styles in the writing of the first Qur'āns, may be chosen as examples (on this question, see e.g. N. Abbott, *North Arabic script*, 17-18, 23-25, 29-30). Researches such as have been pursued regarding the expression *al-khaff al-mansūb* or any other expression borrowed from the mediaeval vocabulary of copyists have in fact regularly ended in an impasse, the arguments used succeeding only in producing literary statements devoid of a direct link with the reality of the written documents: the deficiency, which was only accentuated progressively with the transmissions and transpositions of the same formulae from one author and one text to another, already affected the definitions of the most ancient historical sources accessible to us, of which the developments were never accompanied by explicit illustrations.

Nevertheless, this deficiency, which should be stressed, does not prevent the specialised Arabic literature from having a unique position in shedding a light, in certain cases on the past of a writing which forms the subject of the first *kitāb al-khaff*, *kitāb al-kuttāb* and *kitāb al-kitāba*, dealing with the types of script themselves, the presentation of the letters, the orthography, the grammar, the style, and the administrative techniques. The most ancient of these treatments date back to the 3rd/9th century, such as that of al-Baḡhdādī, where there are significant links with different passages included in the works of a contemporary polygraph like Ibn Qutayba (see D. Sourdel, *Le Livre des secrétaires de 'Abd-al-lāh al-Baḡdādī*, in *BEO*, xiv (1952-4), 115-63; cf. J. Sadan, *Encore du nouveau sur scribes et copistes*).

The encyclopaedic enterprises which such endeavours represented, and which sometimes came to give the tinge of a more literary research when they were conducted by an author like al-Tawḥīdī, were constantly reviewed and enriched throughout the mediaeval period until the works of the Mamlūk period which paid particular attention, as previously had the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, to various types of script or *khufūf*. The chapter which al-Kalkāshandī devotes to these (*Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Cairo, ii) wonderfully illustrates the importance of information thus gathered by a man of secretarial training, calling upon his own experience of chancery practices to present a survey in which he enumerates the six principal types of Arabic script, which he designates by the names *al-Ṭūmār al-kāmil*, *mukhtaṣar al-Ṭūmār*, *al-Ṭhulḥ*, *al-Tawḳī'*, *al-Riḳā'* and *al-Ḡubār*. But one could equally well cite the text, recently published, of an author of the 10th/16th century, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭībī (*Diwān mahāsīn kitābat al-kuttāb*, ed. S. al-Munadjjid, Beirut 1962).

All the commentaries thus attached to ancient calligraphic varieties, themselves classed in groups and sub-groups according to a system varying somewhat according to the authors, furnish in fact the elements of a traditional science which preserves its diffuse historical validity and whose ambiguities certain western palaeographers have partially succeeded in surmounting. Not only have they seen there a means of access to details of protocol put into practice in various periods by the bureaucracy of the Muslim states for their official correspondence, but

the chronological indications developed in this manner have permitted them to determine, from Ibn Muḳla (273-328/886-940) to Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 418/1022 or 432/1032) and to Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī (640-58/1242-58) the most logically-supposed phases of a progression towards the elegance and suppleness which characterised, over the centuries, the evolution of the Arabic writing practised by scribes and copyists.

Such are the works on which at present our knowledge of the history of Arabic writing rests. The provisional assessments which may be drawn from them can conveniently be grouped under a small number of rubrics.

The first of these rubrics concerns the archaic Arabic writing which is seen to appear in the 1st/7th century and the importance of which rests on two fundamental features: the coherence, on the one hand, of its system of consonantal notation based on the existence of an alphabet, defective perhaps but already well established; and on the other hand, the normative quality accorded to it from that time, which was to enable its form to be maintained under the most elaborate of later graphical variations.

This archaic or primitive Arabic writing was employed in Arabia at the very beginning of Islam, from the lifetime of Muḥammad and during the caliphates of his immediate successors. The most ancient sources of evidence other than literary at our disposal are firstly, rare and uncertain: fragments of undated copies of the Qur'ānic text or letters of Muḥammad on parchment of which the authenticity has not yet been firmly demonstrated. Subsequently, some inscriptions are found on coinages of the type known as Arabo-Sāsānid or Arabo-Byzantine, and of greater importance are various lapidary remains, notably an epitaph from 31/652 preserved on a stele in the Cairo museum, of which the alphabet has already been extensively studied, and a historical inscription from 58/677-8 in the name of Mu'āwiya found in Arabia near al-Ṭā'if on a dam out in the countryside. These texts permit a clear knowledge of the crude forms, so simple in fact as later to cause confusion, of the seventeen characters which constitute its alphabet, eighteen if we are to include the double letter *lām-alif*, still more counting the variations imposed on the isolated, initial, medial or final letters, put forward by the grammarians, from the 2nd/8th century, according to an original scheme taking account both of their appearance and of their phonetic characteristics. The shapes thus used had been inherited from earlier Semitic scripts, but according to a line of descent which cannot easily be established. They required in any case an orthography which was the object of some later improvements, by the addition of supplementary signs, but which always demanded a reading of the Arabic based on the recognition of the words themselves and thus permitted only to trained scholars to do this.

This orthography was first based on the small number of signs adopted to designate the twenty-eight phonemes of the Arabic language, twenty-five consonants and three semi-vowels, without counting the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, corresponding to the three vocalic tones of classical Arabic, and the short vowels which, in a Semitic language are generally considered as foreign to the "skeleton of the word" but which require no less a special system of notation, which became evident, according to the textual sources, before the end of the 1st/7th century. The same sign having been assigned to two or three phonemes, these were subsequently differentiated by the

adjunction, above or below the line, of one, two or three of those diacritical points which have been preserved to this day and to which was added also a special sign, the *shadda* or *tashdid*, to mark the doubling of a consonant. Thus it became possible to distinguish letters such as *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ*, *nūn* and *yāʾ*, in their initial and medial forms, or *hā*, *khā* and *ḏīm*, *dāl* and *ḏhāl*, *rāʾ* and *zāy*, *sīn* and *shīn*, *ṣād* and *dād*, *fāʾ* and *zāʾ*, *ʿayn* and *ghayn* as well as *fāʾ* and *hāʾ*. The introduction of this practice, which in general may be seen as the imitation of a process put into practice by Syriac writing, cannot be dated with certainty, especially as the pointing appeared to be more or less necessary according the difficulty of the words transcribed and according to the more or less hieratic and stylised character required for the writing; but the example supplied by the inscription of Muʿāwiya mentioned above would seem to prove that its use in moderation, in the form elsewhere of little oblique strokes rather than points, dates back to the same antiquity as the use of the Arabic alphabet in the ancient Muslim era. Then, later in the same century, appeared special signs for vowels.

As for the shapes themselves, we should emphasise not only the simplicity of the contours and the irregularity of proportions, but also the abundant use made of ligatures, which joined the letters between themselves in the interior of the words, so as to give the illusion of a continuous line in which the letters were placed. This fact would seem to prove that the Arabic script derives from a "well-worn" script in which characters already degenerate were preferred to facilitate the joining of cursive script; but the question remains open as to where or when this derivation took place, and by means of which models drawn from the vast family of Aramaean writings which was formerly spread over the entire Near East.

The question of origins, for which the basic documentation continues to be limited to the rare inscriptions known as "Proto-Arabic", has excited a number of theories from the statements of Bernhard Moritz, re-examined by Nabia Abbott, to the recent hypotheses of J. Starcky (see on this subject J. Sourdél-Thomine, *Les origines de l'écriture arabe à propos d'une hypothèse récente*, in *REI*, xxxiv (1966), 151-7; cf. on the same point the reservations of A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, 7-33), but to this day the question cannot be considered settled. The ancient Arabic sources, which attribute the invention of the Arabic script to persons of legendary nature, presented, according to the accounts in question, in different contexts, are on this point of very little help: they content themselves with affirming that the script was in use in the Arab kingdom of the Syria-Mesopotamia region as well as in Mecca in the 6th century A.D. On the other hand, the researches of modern scholars have as yet produced only controversial approximations. The opinion which has prevailed for more than fifty years would have it that there was a progressive transformation, in Arabic characters, of the symbols used, several centuries earlier, by the Nabataeans of the kingdom of Petra. The *petitio principi* on which this opinion rests and which consists in assimilating to the inscriptions known as "Proto-Arabic" the "Nabataean-Arabic" inscription of al-Namāra, quite different in appearance and two centuries earlier, has recently been vigorously opposed by specialist scholars of Nabataean who deny the existence, in its cursive forms, of the least resemblance to the future Arabic forms. These same specialists insist on the

total hiatus that would in fact exist, as regards writing, between the distant period of the zenith of the Nabataean kingdom, in the 2nd century A.D., and the birth, in the 1st/7th century, of the Islamic state whose development ensured that of Arabic writing. So there arises for them the necessity to search out the prototypes of the Arabic characters in the symbols which served for the notation of other languages used, between the 3rd and the 6th centuries A.D., in the pre-Islamic Near East, especially in the Christian Arab kingdoms of Lower Mesopotamia, around the famous intellectual centre of al-Ḥīra [q.v.]. These symbols are not known to us today through any relics, but there remains as a clue the fact that the archaic Arabic script, this "linked cursive with reduced bodies for letters", as it has been strikingly defined, obeys the same principles as the Syriac script, of which some varieties no longer in use could well have been in practice in al-Ḥīra and in its surroundings.

Distinguished from archaic Arabic writing by its concern for equilibrium and regularity—this will be the second rubric—is "the imperial script" of the following period, which deserves the dynastic title of Umayyad. While remaining faithful to the preceding orthographic system, eventually improved in copies of the Qurʾān by the notation of short vowels, in the most anciently attested form, that of coloured dots, this script was in fact modelled, from a stylistic point of view, by the taste of the sovereigns who distinguished themselves in this sense by various innovations. Such was the official decision of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik imposing the use of Arabic on the scribes of the central as well as of the provincial administration, and ordering the composition in that language of the legends on coinage, which represented henceforth a new type, without any décor other than calligraphic. One notes that from his reign date the first specimens of Arabic writing worthy of comparison with Greek inscriptions previous to the conquest, and it is no accident that these specimens are found on milestones, themselves erected according to ancient usages. It subsequently fell to the lot of the son of ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Walīd, to leave on the walls of the first prestige monument of Islam, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, an epigraphic band of hitherto unequalled importance.

Thus there rapidly came to be felt in full force the effects of a quest for equilibrium imposing on the various letters of the alphabet a stricter form, and permitting their classification into three series based on simple geometric schemes: tall and straight letters producing, above the base line, perpendicular or oblique strokes of variable dimensions; those which develop, on the level of this central axis or slightly above it, loops formed like little circles or like quadrangular figures of variable dimensions; and those finally which exhibit, still in a timid manner, below this same axis, curves which are more or less open and generally treated as simple fragments of almost perfect circumferences. These results had been obtained by the vertical elongation of the *alif*, the horizontal extension of the *dāl* and especially of the *fāʾ* or the *hāʾ*, the harmonisation of the shape of the letters with loops, the extension of the terminal curves of the *rāʾ* and especially of the *hāʾ* or of the final *nūn*, the eventual turning towards the right of the termination of the final *yāʾ*. The same shapes could be inscribed in a rigid manner on stone or rough parchment, for texts slowly copied and intended to last on account of their religious or historical value (manuscripts of the Qurʾān or

royal inscriptions, for example), or on the contrary copied more casually, with rounding and modification of forms, when it was a question of less important texts and of private or even official letters, and written with light pens on the uniform and smooth surface of sheets of papyrus.

Differences in treatment thus began to engender observable graphical variations, without, however, permitting a distinction at that stage between a utilitarian and cursive script, marked solely by the requirements of legibility and speed, and a more dignified script aimed purely at the requirements of art or of prestige. These differences none the less indicate the two directions which were soon to be followed and on the basis of which certain specialists formerly considered themselves authorised to insist on a supposed ancient duality of Arabic writing of which the two equally primitive forms, the angular form known as "kūfic" and the flexible known as "naskhī", would correspond to different systems destined to be perpetuated side-by-side. Today emphasis should be laid, contrary to such a hypothesis, on the fundamental unity of the earliest Arabic writing, which Bernhard Moritz and Adolf Grohmann agreed in recognising; but it is nevertheless correct to place in the Umayyad period the individualisation of the currents which subsequently led to the ramification of its styles according to two principal branches.

It is to the nature and the vitality of the first of these currents that the third rubric should then be devoted, envisaging an angular script, at the same time slow of execution and naturally ornamental, whose aesthetic value and nobility always prevailed over convenience, but whose taste for the most varied usages no less characterised the ancient 'Abbāsīd period. Not only were copies of the *Ḳur'ān* transcribed in this style until the middle of the 4th/10th century, but it was also used to preserve works of erudition or pious texts of all kinds which were written on parchment, while monumental inscriptions owed to it their astonishing decorative quality.

Thus we may speak of a constant flowering of kūfic over several centuries, simple kūfic at first when writers contented themselves with reproducing, in relief and with increased breadth, the thin lines of the Umayyad compositions, subsequently ornamental when the means for enriching and adding to it appeared favourable. The successes at once artistic and epigraphic, whose achievement it permitted while observing the priority of the textual quality of the inscription, became diversified up to the turn of the 6th/12th century, in the form of various styles often deserving to bear the names of regional dynasties which had favoured them individually: one may in fact speak of Aghlabid, Ṭūlūnid, Fāṭimid or Ghaznawid kūfics for example, each presenting its répertoire of calligraphic embellishments, corresponding especially to so many historical and geographical stages in the transformation of Arabic writing in the context of an immense and soon fragmented Islamic empire.

To give an idea of these various styles and of their nature, it is not sufficient to recall the fundamental rules according to which kūfic scripts evolved, obeying a common tendency, that of combatting, by various devices, the imbalance originally present in every epigraphic band, between an upper section that was too empty and a lower section weighed down with characters crammed together. In such cases, a common tendency was to expand into palmettes the upper extremities of characters while

their lower terminations little by little gave birth to slender or daring curves returning to the level of the high strokes. Other tendencies subsequently showed themselves, according to which the artists had recourse either to elongations or flexions of the letters themselves, or to casual motifs associated with the characters and situated in their backgrounds.

From the judicious use of these various procedures were born all the various types of "ornamental kūfic" which one may begin to distinguish and classify by means of the systems of analysis of alphabets brilliantly inaugurated by the works of Samuel Flury. There were, for example, the inscriptions where the letters were placed on a background entirely covered with ornamental arabesques, of which the stems could develop into asymmetrical branches passing at random over the empty spaces or on the contrary crossing the characters without ever becoming confused with them, then following their coils by means of an independent and more or less involved foliated scroll. There were also techniques of developing, while starting from the letters themselves and their terminal points, either leafed or even flowered stylisations arranged regularly in a festoon, or networks of articulated lines in the style of a more or less important geometric border, capable of being extended into an unbounded knot-work pattern. Some daring experiments went so far as to insert within the letters figures of living creatures, rows of human heads for example or mixed groups of animals and humans. All these decorative processes are evoked, in modern classifications and definitions, by the terms of kūfic, leafed or flowered with ripple scroll, with floral border, with geometric border and finally anthropomorphic border. But at the same time, modifications were made of the outline of the letter itself, sometimes to the point of distorting its appearance and making one forget that the symbols in question could retain an alphabetic function under the distortions to which they were subjected. Thus there came about a proliferation of vertical strokes with counter-curves applied in the guise of "rising tails" to continue, in the upper part of the band, the final letters which originally finished below the base line. Use was already also made of breaks with rectangular turns, of elongations of all kinds, of braiding, indentations, ornamental ligatures and folding knots which characterise especially the multiple varieties of braided kūfic, although such a succinct enumeration cannot possibly take into account the gifts of imagination which made of every new decorative kūfic inscription a work of art that was unique, because based on the previous establishment of an alphabet and of an ornamental répertoire belonging to it.

Now these are precisely the typical details of this genre which marked the specific styles of the local schools which should be distinguished if one is to follow with any advantage the history of kūfic writing. Thus we observe the Syrian character of certain types of *ḍīm*, *hā'* or *khā'*. Similarly, the taste for braiding certain letters which might be, according to local tradition, the *dāl*, the *kāf* or the *hā'* for example, the taste also for superimposed motifs such as knots on tall strokes inserted between neighbouring letters such as the two *lāms* of the word *Allāh*, would distinguish the works from *Khurāsān* where, in the 5th/11th century, particularly refined specimens are noted. In still another context, the direct decoration of letters with flowers would have prevailed especially in an Egyptian milieu, and the perfection attained in this respect by Fāṭi-

mid inscriptions, belonging to the style to which the name *Karmāṭī* "Carmathian" was for a long time erroneously applied, would crown the success of efforts begun in the mid-3rd/9th century. Finally, the sobriety which for many years remained in use in the western provinces of the Empire, in Andalusia as well as the Maghrib—which should be interpreted as a sign of artistic regionalism—concealed in the 4th/10th century, at the time of the apogee of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain, the nature of a kūfic script that was already scholarly beneath an archaic appearance of the inscribed line.

In this fashion, one may understand the fragmentation and proliferation of the local schools to which reference should be made in order to supply even a concise picture of the varieties of angular writing practised during the first centuries of Islam. Such a precise picture has never yet been drawn; but only this would enable us to understand the stylistic developments and variations which are seen subsequently to become blurred in the latter phase of this evolution, when kūfic became, after the 6th/12th century, a script set in its purely ornamental role and in some respects outdated. If in fact it continued to be used for the ornamentation of architectural surfaces, it no longer had any other role—and this would be the final phase of its evolution—except to supply controlling outlines to purely decorative compositions, which could without any geographical restriction call upon all the formulae previously tried, mingle them in the most imaginative fashion, and in particular, set a seal on their transfer from East to West. But these compositions, while continuing to be legible, were no more than symbolic, henceforth used only for transcribing short religious invocations without historical counterpart. Aesthetic quality and concealed religious sense were all that counted, and they explain the birth of varieties such as "square kūfic" which had been influenced by certain Chinese characters and which succeeded in engendering, from Central Asia to Turkey, complex and rigid types of lace-work where the distinctive fundamental features of ancient Arabic writing are barely recognisable.

It is, however, this writing whose original aptitudes for flexibility and speed are immediately revealed when one tackles, under the fourth and last rubric, the success gradually enjoyed, in the post-Umayyad period, by a rounded script whose use soon spread well beyond the offices of the administration. Not only, in fact, did this favourite script of the scribes continue to be employed for all purposes, of which there survive especially Egyptian specimens, sometimes with striking contrasts between the more carefully written, hence semi-rigid script used for the text of the document itself and the irregular cursive employed for the signatures of the witnesses; but copyists of widely differing "hands" also used it, after the end of the 3rd/9th century, for the commonest of manuscripts, and the new style came to dominate, in the 4th/10th century, the sphere of copies of the Qurʾān. It was the expansion of this hybrid script which has sometimes been called "broken kūfic" or *nashḥī* kūfic and which seems to have spread first in the far Iranian provinces, where it was used especially for personal inscriptions on pottery. The emphasis on the play of full and slender strokes obtained by the elegant handling of the pen led to the pre-eminence of triangular as well as diagonal elements, the cursive character of which did not cease to be stressed. Soon this "transitional" script, which itself underwent a number of slightly

differing regional interpretations, encountered a new vogue in the Muslim West, where it lasted longer than elsewhere and where it inspired many of the features of later writings in the Maghrib.

At the same time, there came to light in the East the first manifestations of the successive styles of writing of those copyists who appear to enjoy such prestige in the accounts of Arab authors, evoking for each one among them the studies of eminent masters and their pupils. Thus it is known that it was the vizier Ibn Muḳla [q.v.] who, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, took the initiative in codifying for the first time in a precise manner, by measuring them with pointing, the relationships of relative proportions binding together the various letters of the alphabet; it also fell to him to make the first systematic treatment of the best-known "six styles". A little later his reputation as a theorist of calligraphy was eclipsed by that of such accomplished artists as the great Ibn al-Bawwāb [q.v.] at the start of the 5th/11th century—the period in which cursive writing was judged of sufficiently high prestige to be employed subsequently in copies of the Qurʾān—and the no less famous Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿsimī [q.v.] towards the end of the 7th/13th century. This was the period of the apogee of the rounded script often known by the convenient dynastic name of "Ayyūbid *nashḥī*", before the scribes of the Mamlūk period turned towards redundant forms and a taste for thick interweavings of vertical strokes, and also before the appearance of novel tendencies, belonging especially to Iran and Turkey, which had two principal objects: on the one hand, the deliberate segmentation of the written line into sections "suspended" obliquely, in the true sense, one above the others according to a new art of writing which developed under the aegis of Ilkhānid and Tīmūrid princes before coming triumphantly into its own with the works of Mir ʿAlī of Harāt; on the other hand, the methodical pursuit of a "monumentalisation" of cursive writing applied to vast surfaces, as was the rule for example in the schools of Shayḫ Ḥamd Allāh in the 10th/16th century or of Ḥāfiẓ ʿUṭmān more than a century later.

The rounded graphic forms thus ultimately held sway in the majority of Islamic lands, at all levels of the art of writing, and supplanted the hieratic forms for which they became substituted, since the 6th/12th century, in the lapidary inscriptions themselves. In this context, one could return to some of the remarks previously made in response to the more beautiful and baroque realisations of ornamental kūfic, while bearing in mind that a chronological and geographical classification has not yet been made of the most original schools according to which they flourished. Nevertheless, we should not forget the relative consistency of shapes which remains an essential characteristic and which justifies in a sense the sentimental attachment still shown today by every literate Arab, the attachment to a script of which the apparent variations have never been an obstacle to legibility while being the source of constantly renewed aesthetic achievements.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

#### ii. — IN PERSIA

The calligraphy which developed in Baghdād culminated in Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿsimī (d. 697/1298), the last great calligrapher at the ʿAbbāsīd court. Thereafter Baghdād lost its importance, and in such

calligraphic styles as *muḥakkak*, *riḥān*, *thuluth*, *nashk*, *tawḳī*, *riḳā*, all of which made up the "six styles", *aḫlām-i sitta*, gave place to Harāt, Mashhad, Tabriz and eventually Tehran in Persia. Persian calligraphers, under the influence of Yāqūt al-Mustaʿsimī, carried these six types further, and created a Persian style of calligraphy by writing in them in a way suited to their own taste, and furthermore increased the number of styles by adding their own invention of *taʿliḳ* and *nastaʿliḳ*.

Although in the section on *khutūʿ al-maṣāḥif*, Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* says that the Persians, in the first period of Islam's appearance, used a type of calligraphy called *kirāmūz* (read *pirāmūz*? See *Atlas-i khaṭṭ*, 126-30) for writing their copies of the *Kurʾān*, yet there is no early-enough attested surviving manuscript here. Badrī Atābāy, on pp. 299-300 of his work *Fihrist-i Kurʾānhā-yi khaṭṭi-yi kitāb-khāna-yi salṭanātī*, Tehran 1351/1972, gives a *Kurʾān* page as an example of this *pirāmūz* style of calligraphy, yet this seems hard to prove or disprove. Some Persian scholars, e.g. Bayānī and Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-Farrukh have argued that this style of calligraphy emerged during the Sāsānid period and continued until just after the advent of Islam (see *Atlas-i khaṭṭ*, 397-8).

In order of their development, the different styles of calligraphy are as follows:

*Kūfi*. *Kūfi* script continued to be in use for some five centuries after the advent of Islam, especially for writing *Kurʾāns*. Moreover, it was used for writing the titles of manuscripts and their sections and the *basmalas* at their beginnings until almost the end of the 7th/13th century, often as an element of decoration.

The oldest extant *Kurʾān* written in Persian is dated 198/813, and appears to have been written for the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Maʿmūn, see Muhsin Shāmlū, *Sahm-i Irān dar nashr u tawṣīʿa-i maʿārif-i islāmī*, in *Wāḥid*, no. lxxxvii, Tehran 1971, 75-85. The *Kurʾān* copied by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shārif in 1323/1905 during the reign of the Qāḍīār Muzaḥḥār al-Dīn, in *kūfi* and *nashk* script, represents a harking-back to the ancient *kūfi* style of calligraphy.

The *Djalī* type of *kūfi* script was often used, together with *thuluth*, as a decorative element on buildings until recent times. Good examples of *kūfi* writing, in various types, are the inscriptions of the Pir ʿAlamdār tomb (built in 418/1027) in Dāmghān, and the Ḥaydariyya Mosque (built in the 6th/12th century) in Kaḏwīn.

*Muḥakkak* ("strongly expressed [word], tightly-woven [cloth]") has as its main characteristic the feature that the left corner of the letters ت پ ی ون م ل ك ق ف ض ص ش س ژ ز ر ذ دث are angled. This script was used for long-page format *Kurʾāns* and also for frames. The long-page format *Kurʾān* of Bāysunghur b. Shāhrukh b. Timūr (d. 837/1433), some pages of which have been preserved in Persian museums, is very famous. *Djaʿfar-i Bāysunghurī* (9th/15th century), ʿAbd Allāh Ṭabbākh-i Harawī (9th/15th century), and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tabrizī (10th/16th century) are the most important calligraphers after Bāysunghur. *Muḥakkak* yielded place to *thuluth* after the end of the 11th/17th century.

*Riḥān*, *riḥānī*, *rayḥān*, *rayḥānī* ("the aromatic plant basil", "having a fragrance") is a smaller version of *muḥakkak*, i.e. when *muḥakkak* is written in the size of *nashk* it is called *riḥān*. This script was also used for copying *Kurʾāns*, and like *muḥakkak*,

started to go out of circulation after the 11th/17th century in favour of *nashk*.

*Thuluth* ("one-third") is generally said to have derived its name from being based on the principle of a third of each letter being sloping. This is the script from amongst the *Aḫlām-i sitta* which has survived longest. It was and still is used for every kind of frame and for book titles in all Muslim countries. The most able calligraphers in this script are: Bāysunghur (d. 837/1433), Asad Allāh-i Kirmānī (d. 892/1486), Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥāfiẓ Harawī (d. 974/1566), ʿAbd al-Bāḳī-i Tabrizī (10th/16th century), ʿAlī Kulī-i Shīrāzī (10th/16th century), ʿAlī Riḍā ʿAbbāsī (11th/17th century).

*Nashk* ("act of cancellation, abrogation"). Here, the Persians, just like in *thuluth*, followed the style of Yāqūt al-Mustaʿsimī. There are some Persian manuscripts in *nashk* of the 5th/11th century which already show a gradual transition from *kūfi*. The most clear example of this is a manuscript of Abū Maṣnūr Muwaffaq b. ʿAlī al-Harawī's pharmacological book, the *Kitāb al-abniya ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-adwiya*, now in Vienna; this was written in 447/1055 by a Persian scribe called Asadī-i Ṭūsī (see Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 1865, ii, 534).

After a period of temporary decline, *nashk*, during the Mongol period, regained its beauty during the Timūrid period, but receded again in the 18th and 19th centuries. Persian *nashk* had a flavour of the *riḥān* script until the 18th century. Aḥmad Nayrīzī gave to it in the 12th/18th century a new style and liveliness, until it almost acquired a *nastaʿliḳ* character; it had an angular look and the verticals of the letters became relatively finer, giving this script a particular beauty and fineness. ʿAbd Allāh Ṣayrafi (8th/14th century), Bāysunghur, ʿAbd Allāh Ṭabbākh-i Harawī, Asad Allāh-i Kirmānī, Muḥammad Ḥādī-i Iṣfahānī (d. 1135/1722), Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn-i Iṣfahānī (d. 1300/1882), Mirzā Ṭāhir-i Tabrizī (20th century) are the most powerful exponents of this script. Modern Persian calligraphers follow the example of Aḥmad Nayrīzī in *thuluth* and *nashk* calligraphy.

*Tawḳī* is a variety of *thuluth*, with its letters somewhat more compressed and rounded. Another special feature of it is that the letters like ول ژ ر ذ د ا are joined to the letters following them. Sometimes, however, one may come across examples of *tawḳī* in which all the letters are almost joined together; sometimes the final letter of a word would be joined to the first letter of the following word. This script was used in Persia for the final page, sc. that with the colophon showing the date and place of copying and the scribe's name, of elongated format *Kurʾāns*.

*Riḳā* is a smaller version of *tawḳī* and has the same rules. *Riḳā*, which was formerly used for writing letters, epics and stories, later came to be used for writing the final pages of *Kurʾāns* and especially those of learned books. The Ottoman calligraphers called this script *idjāza* or *khaṭṭ al-idjāza*.

*Djalī*, *djalil* was a name given to every large type of script, but was more specifically used for the large type of *thuluth*. The *djalī* variety of *thuluth*, which was little developed during the Saldūḳ period, gradually started to become more beautiful by the 9th/15th century, and reached its utmost beauty during the Timūrid and especially Ṣafawid periods. This script was used for large-sized frames and also for public buildings and their inscriptions.

Its foremost exponents included 'Abd Allāh Ṣayrafi, Baysunghur, 'Alī Riḍā 'Abbāsi-i Tabrīzī and Muḥammad Riḍā Imāmī-i Iṣfahānī (11th/17th century). Amongst their works, Baysunghur's inscription on the Gawharshād mosque in Mashhad and 'Alī Riḍā 'Abbāsi's inscriptions on the Masḍīd-i Shāh and the Luṭf Allāh mosque in Iṣfahān are the most beautiful examples in Persian *ḍjālī* script.

*Ghubār*, *ghubāri* ("dust", "dust-like") is a term for every type of very small script difficult to read with the naked eye, but is often found in the *nashk* script; some very small-sized Qur'āns were written in *ghubāri* script.

*Musalsal* ("strung together") is a term for the letters of *thuluth* script when joined to each other, rather than a special type of script. It was sometimes practised by calligraphers to show off their skill.

*Siyākat*, *siyāk*, a script considered to have been used from the Umayyad period onwards, has no artistic appearance and was used in financial registers and suchlike. The question whether it was used during the Sāsānid period has been put forward. See Aḥmad Gulcīn Ma'āni, *Risāla dar 'ilm-i siyāk*, in *Madḡalla-yi Dānīshkade-yi Adabiyyāt*, Tehran 1344/1965.

*Ta'lik* ("suspension, hanging together") is said to have got this name from its letters being connected to each other, and is in fact a compound of *tawḡī'*, *riḡā'* and *nashk* scripts, according to Persian scholars, and it is alleged that the sinuous style of the letters of the Pahlavi and Avestan alphabets played a rôle in its formation. *Ta'lik* was used for writing books and letters and also in the *dīwāns* for official correspondence; it apparently started to be formed perhaps in the 5th/11th or following centuries, and by the 7th/13th century it emerged in its definite form. It was not used very much until the 8th/14th century, but then started to slowly lose its importance, and give place to *shikasta ta'lik*; the works on calligraphy call the *ta'lik* either *ta'lik-i ḡadīm* or *ta'lik-i aṣl*. The invention of this script is attributed either to one *Khwādja* Abu'l-'Āl (of whom nothing is known) or to Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn 'Ālī Fārisī Kātib (4th/10th century). Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad-i Shīrāzī (8th/14th century) was one of the great exponents of this script. The letters of *ta'lik* are joined to each other, and letters like *و ل ژ ز د ا* would be joined to the letters following them, and the script simpler than *shikasta ta'lik*.

*Shikasta ta'lik* ("broken *ta'lik*") is the result of writing *ta'lik* rapidly. The letters are written in a more intricate style, which makes *shikasta ta'lik* difficult to read. It started to appear in the 8th/14th century, and was developed by *Khwādja* Tāḡī Salmāniyī Iṣfahānī (d. 897/1491). *Shikasta ta'lik* declined in use when *nasta'lik* started to spread everywhere in the 10th/16th century, and was used decreasingly after the 19th century. Nowadays it is used in Persia for artistic display and for variety. *Khwādja* Iḡhtiyār al-Dīn Munshī (10th/16th century) was especially famed for this script. Persians customarily call this script simply *ta'lik* without the prefix *shikasta*.

*Tarassul* ("correspondence") is a name given by the *dīwān* secretaries to a plainer form of *shikasta ta'lik*.

*Nashk-i ta'lik*, *nashk-ta'lik*, *nasta'lik*, is said in the works on calligraphy to have been formed by joining *nashk* and *ta'lik*, and this compound gradually came to be pronounced as *nasta'lik*. Although it is

said that it was invented by Mīr 'Alī Tabrīzī (d. 850/1446), the existing manuscripts contradict this view and show that the invention of this script goes back as far as the 7th/13th century. In Turkey and in Arabic countries it is erroneously called *ta'lik*.

*Nasta'lik*, after its emergence, became divided into two styles: (a) that of Mīrzā *Dja'far-i* Tabrīzī (9th/15th century) and Azhar-i Tabrīzī; (b) that of 'Abd al-Raḥmān-i *Kh*ārazmī (9th/15th century). The first style, developed in *Kh*urāsān, was accepted as being particularly suitable to Persian taste, whereas the second style, developed in Western Persia, was gradually forgotten. The first style, later called the "*Kh*urāsānian style", flourished under such able masters as *Sulṭān* 'Alī-yī Mashḡadī (d. 926/1519), Mīr 'Alī Harawī (d. 951/1544) and Bābā *Sh*āh-i Iṣfahānī (d. 996/1587), and reached its highest point of beauty with Mīr 'Imād-i Ḥasanī-i Sayfī (d. 1024/1615 or 1027/1617), modern Persian calligraphers follow his path.

*Shikasta nasta'lik*, *kh*ṭṭ-i *shikasta*, came into existence at the beginning of the 11th/17th century under the Ṣafawids, as a result of writing *nasta'lik* rapidly and of the calligraphers being under the influence of *shikasta ta'lik*. Official correspondence had been done in *shikasta ta'lik* until then, but was now replaced by *shikasta nasta'lik*. Murtadā Kullī Khān *Sh*āmlū (d. 1100/1688), *Sh*afī'a (d. 1081/1670) and Darwīsh 'Abd al-Madḡīd-i *T*āḡkānī (d. 1185/1771) are the great masters of this script. *Nasta'lik* was used in writing literary works, whereas *shikasta nasta'lik* was used mostly in writing letters and sometimes for official correspondence. Nowadays it is sometimes used in writing poetry in an artistic fashion. The Turks, however, showed very little interest in this particular script.

*Tahrīrī* ("epistolary") is a more simple form of *shikasta nasta'lik*, used for writing letters and taking notes.

*Muthannā*, *kh*ṭṭ-i *muthannā* ("facing each other"), is not a special script. Although it is possible to apply *muthannā* to any type of script, this was especially done with *thuluth* and *ḡūfi*.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1348/1929; *Kalkashandī*, *Ṣubḡ al-a'shā fi sinā'at al-inshā'*, Cairo 1332/1914, ii; Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭayyibī, *Djāmi' mahāsīn al-kutūb wa-nuzḡat ūlī al-baṣā'ir wa'l-albāb*, ed. Salāh al-Dīn al-Munadḡīdī, Beirut 1962 (these are the three main works on calligraphy); Mīrzā Sanglakḡ, *Tadhḡkirat al-kh*ṭṭāfīn, Tabrīz 1291/1874; C. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908; *G*hulām Muḥammad Dihlawī, *Tadhḡkira-i khushnuwīsān*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusaynī, Calcutta 1910; B. Moritz, *Et Arabic writing*; 'Abd al-Muḥammad Khān-i Irānī, *Paydāyish-i kh*ṭṭ u *kh*ṭṭāfān, Cario 1345/1926; Dost Muḥammad, *Hāṭāt-i hunarwarān*, ed. M. 'Abdullāh Čaghtāi, Lahore 1936; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1706-84; Arberry, A. J., *Specimens of Arabic and Persian palaeography*, London 1939; Aḥmad b. Mīr Munshī al-Ḥusaynī, *Calligraphers and painters*, tr. V. Minorsky, Washington 1959; 'Alī Rāḡḡjīrī, *Paydāyish-i kh*ṭṭ u *kh*ṭṭāfān ba-inḡimān-i *tadhḡkira-i khushnuwīsān-i mu'āsīr*, Tehran 1346/1967; Mahdī Bayānī, *Aḡwāl wa-āthār-i khush-nuwīsān*, 3 vols., Tehran 1345-8/1966-9; Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic calligraphy*, Leiden 1970; Ḥabīb Allāh Faḡā'īlī, *Aṭlas-i kh*ṭṭ, *Tahḡkīk dar kh*ṭṭ-i Islāmī, Iṣfahān 1350/1971; Muḥsin Shāmlū, *Sayr-i takāmil wa-numūna-i kh*ṭṭ-i

*günâgün-i Kur'an*, in *Wahid*, Tehran 1350/1971, no. xc; 'Abd al-Hayy Ḥabībī, *Tārikh-i khatt wa nuwīshahā-yi kohan-i Afghānistān*, Kabul 1350/1971; E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst* 1972. Important works on calligraphy and various styles of writing: Bayānī, *Fihrist-i numāyishgāh-i khutūt-i khūsh-i Nastā'liq-i Kitābkhāna-i Milli*, Tehran 1328/1949; idem, *Numūna-i khutūt-i khūsh-i Kitābkhāna-i Shāhanshāhi-i Irān*, Tehrān 1329/1950; G. Kostigova, *Obraztsy kalligrafii Irana. i Xrednei Azii, XV-XIX vv.* Moscow 1961; Nādjī Zayn al-Dīn al-Maṣrif, *Muṣawwar al-khatt al-'Arabī*, Baghdad 1388/1968; idem, *Badā'iyi al-khatt al-'Arabī*, Baghdad 1391/1971; Muḥammad 'Aziza, *La calligraphie Arabe*, Tunis 1971.

(ALİ ALPARSLAN)

### iii. — IN TURKEY

The Turks also followed the path of Yākūt al-Musta'şimī in the *aklām-i sitta* until the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1452. But with refinements of mathematical and dimensional precision introduced by Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (840-926/1436-1520), the famous calligrapher of Sultān Meḥmed II and Bāyezīd II's reigns, these scripts reached a peak of beauty, and as a result of this a Turkish style emerged. After the conquest, other types of script came into existence, and gradually Istanbul became a centre for the calligraphic art.

The Turks elevated the main Islamic scripts, the *Aklām-i sitta*, to the highest point of beauty; hence the expression became current, "the Qur'an was revealed in Mecca, recited in Egypt, and written in Istanbul".

*Kūfi*. The Saldjūks of Anatolia inherited the use of this script from the Great Saldjūks of Persia. The best examples of its ornamental use on buildings are on the Karatay *madrassa* (built in 649/1251) and Indje Mināre *madrassa* (built in 662/1264 at Konya).

The Ottomans did not favour the *kūfi* script much, though it had a restricted use during the first two centuries of the empire on buildings in Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, e.g. the Fātiḥ mosque in Istanbul.

*Muhakkak* and *riḥān*. *Muhakkak* was especially used for writing inscriptions within frames, and *riḥān* for writing Qur'āns. These two scripts reached their artistic peak in the 9th/15th century, but from the 10th/17th gave place to *thuluth*. Notable calligraphers here were Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (840-926/1436-1520), Aḥmad-i Karāḥiṣārī (874-963/1469-1556), Hasan Celebi (d. 1002/1594) and Ḥāfiẓ 'Oṯmān (1052-1110/1642-1698).

*Thuluth* and *naskh*. These two scripts had special forms among the Saldjūks of Persia, being called Saldjūk *thuluth* and *naskh*, and these continued to flourish in Anatolia, especially with the influence of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh and his school; subsequently Ḥāfiẓ 'Oṯmān raised these two scripts to an aesthetic climax. Modern Turkish calligraphers follow the "school of Ḥāfiẓ 'Oṯmān". Some of the important masters of this school are Yediḳuleli 'Abd Allāh (d. 1144/1731), Küçük Darwīsh 'Alī (d. 1128/1716), Meḥmed Shawkī (d. 1306/1888), Naẓif Bey (d. 1332/1913), Kāmil Akdīk (d. 1941), Muṣṭafā Ḥalīm Özyazıdī (d. 1964). The difference between the schools of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh and Ḥāfiẓ 'Oṯmān is, in fact, only in minor and superficial details.

*Tawḳī'* and *riḳā'*. During the Ottoman period, when a student received his diploma (*idjāzat-nāma*) in *thuluth* and *naskh* calligraphy, his teacher would

authorise and sign it using *riḳā'* script; hence this last was called *idjāza* or *khatt-i idjāza*. The calligraphers mentioned under *thuluth* and *naskh* also used these two scripts very beautifully (see album of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh, Topkapı Sarayı Library, E.H. no. 2084, 2086, and also album of Ḥāfiẓ 'Oṯmān, Aḥmed III, no. 3655).

*Djālī*. The most typical and beautiful examples of *djālī* in the period of the Anatolian Saldjūks, although they lack any dynamic quality, are on the portals of Indje Mināre *madrassa* and the Şāhib 'Aṭā' külliyye in Konya. The first change in *djālī* made by the Ottomans dates from the 9th/15th century, so that a distinctive Ottoman *djālī* starts to emerge. The pioneer here was the calligrapher 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Şūfī, writer of the inscription on the Fātiḥ mosque and the Bāb-i Humāyūn in Istanbul. *Djālī* acquired an especially vigorous character in the 19th century through the works of Muṣṭafā Rākīm (1171-1241/1757-1825), and thus an "Ottoman *djālī* school" was established. Maḥmūd Djālāl al-Dīn (d. 1253/1837) also founded a school of *djālī* reminiscent of Aḥmad Karāḥiṣārī's style of three centuries previously, but it was only followed by a few; Turkish calligraphers today follow the way of Muṣṭafā Rākīm. Şhaffīk Bey (d. 1297/1880), Sāmi Efendi (d. 1330/1912), Kāmil Akdīk, Ḥalīm Özyazıdī and Ḥamid Aytāc (b. 1309/1891) are the eminent masters of this school. *Djālī* script especially was used in inscriptions.

*Ḡhubār*, *ḡhubārī*. Some very small-size Qur'āns were written in this script, meant for carrying on the tips of banners during battle; some examples of these may be seen in the museums.

*Musalsal*. It appears that the *musalsal* method of writing was followed for some of the texts done in *riḳā'* during the period of the Anatolian Saldjūks. But this method was most generally applied to *thuluth*. Aḥmad Karāḥiṣārī sometimes used the *musalsal* style.

*Siyākat*, *siyāḳ*. We already know that *siyākat* was used in the financial land register and *awḳāf* offices by the Saldjūks of Anatolia (see Houtsma, *Recueil de textes, Histoire des Seldjucides d'Asie Mineure*, ii, Leiden 1902, 253). We do not much know about the situation of *siyākat* during the first period of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. up to the reign of Meḥmed II, since very few official registers of this period have survived. We do, however, come across the use of *siyākat* in the documents of that Sultan's reign.

*Ta'liḳ*. Although we find some simple patterns in this script in the documents of Meḥmed II's reign, it was little-used in the later periods, and was not favoured to any great extent by the Ottomans. (For examples, see: *Fath-nāma-i Agriboz*. Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi no. E. 10822, and Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmed devrine ait vesikalar*, in *Bellelen*, xiv (1950) 49. *Şhikasta ta'liḳ* and *tarassul*, like *ta'liḳ*, were not used in Turkey.

*Diwānī*. Although the script, according to the Turkish sources, was allegedly invented for writing official documents and registers of the *Diwān-i Humāyūn* founded by Meḥmed II after the conquest of Istanbul, there is no doubt that it must have existed before then, probably evolving through the inspiration of *ta'liḳ*. Reading *diwānī* depends on a knowledge of its rules, since in this script letters like

ش س ا و ژ ر ذ د are joined to following letters like ل ل following them. *Diwānī* written contrary to the rules is called *diwānī kirmasi* "broken *diwānī*".

This is also a result of writing *diwānī* rapidly. We do not know the names of the *diwānī* calligraphers until those of the end of the 19th century, since it was not customary to sign the documents issued by the *Diwān*. *Diwānī* reached its peak of perfection in the 19th century. Some of the *diwānī* calligraphers, famous at the beginning of the 20th century, are Sāmī Efendi, Kāmīl Akdik, Ismā'īl Hakkī Altunbezer (d. 1946), Ḥalīm Özyazıdî and the still-living Ḥamid Ayaç. The use of *diwānī* passed to the Arab lands through the Ottoman influence, and is still used in those countries.

*Ḍialī diwānī*. This is a variant type of *diwānī* with the letters written within each other, and used for writing *fermāns* and *berāts*. It was written, like *diwānī*, from the top-right hand of the sheet to bottom-left hand in an oblique direction and with every line rising upwards at its end. The same vowel points used in *ḥulūṭh* are used in this script, and empty spaces are filled with small dots. *Ḍialī diwānī* flourished from the 9th/15th century onwards, its perfection being in the 19th century. The calligraphers of *diwānī* also wrote in this script.

*Nasta'liq*. We come across the first examples of this script in Turkey during the reign of Meḥammed II. It was brought to Turkey by calligraphers coming to the Ottoman court from Persia, and flourished under Darwish 'Abdī (d. 1057/1647) and Kātib-zāde Meḥmed Refī' (12th/18th century), and reached as high a standard of beauty as in Persia. It was Yasārīzāde Muṣṭafā 'Izzet (d. 1265/1849) who freed Turkish *nasta'liq* from Persian stylistic influence, and thus a distinctive Turkish *nasta'liq* style came into existence. This last has unchanging geometrical and mathematical measurements, and the letters are slightly wider and longer than in Persian *nasta'liq*. Sāmī, Kḥulūṣī and Neḍīm al-Dīn (d. 1976), are the great masters of this style. Although the Turks called the type of *nasta'liq* written rapidly and contrary to the rules *ta'liq kīrmastī*, it is more correct to call it *nasta'liq kīrmastī*. *Nasta'liq*, used for writing poetry and for inscriptions, was also used in the office of *Shaykh al-Islām*.

*Shikasta nasta'liq*. This was very little used in Turkey, though the official papers of the *Shaykh al-Islām*'s office were sometimes written in this script. Turkish *shikasta nasta'liq* is less complicated than that of Persia.

*Rik'a, rik'i*. This was probably invented during the second half of the 12th/18th century by simplifying *diwānī* script, on the evidence of the archival sources. The main characteristics of this script are that its letters are less rounded and more straight. *Rik'a* was used along with *diwānī* in the *Diwān-i Humāyūn*, and just like Persian *shikasta nasta'liq*, it also became a standard form of hand-writing amongst Turks, used for letters and every kind of correspondence.

The type of *rik'a* used in the *Bāb-i 'Alī* was an improved form devised by Mumtāz Efendi (d. 1287/1871), and hence was called either *Mumtāz Efendi rik'astī* or *Bāb-i 'Alī rik'astī*. A second change in *rik'a* was made by 'Izzet Efendi (d. 1320/1902), hence is called *'Izzet Efendi rik'astī*; this has softer lines than the previous type. *Rik'a* written rapidly and without adhering to the rules is called *rik'a kīrmastī*.

*Khaff-i muthannā*. Much importance was originally attached to this script. There are very beautiful patterns of it in the Ulu Cami in Bursa, but use of it decreased after the 10th/16th century. It was also called *'aynall yazı* "mirror-like writing".

*Appendix*. Artificial scripts used in both Persia and Turkey.

These are the scripts which have been invented by distorting other scripts.

*Resim yazı*. This means drawing pictures with script. Although this could have some attractive aspects, the first-class Persian and Turkish calligraphers did not attach great importance to this practice.

*Khaff-i mu'ammā'i*. This can be applied to any script, and is the re-arrangement of a *ḥadīth* or some other important saying in a way which is difficult to read.

*Khaff-i shadjari* ("tree-like writing"). In this script, so-called by western scholars, the letters bear a resemblance to the branches of a tree. It was applied to *ḥulūṭh*, and was sometimes used in both Persia and Turkey for writing book titles.

*Khaff-i sūnbūlī* ("hyacinth script"). The letters of this script, invented by the Turkish calligrapher 'Ārif Hikmet (d. 1337/1918), resemble a hyacinth, and are also reminiscent of the letters of *diwānī*.

*Ālev yazısı* ("flame-like writing"). The letters of this script, which was invented by the Turkish calligrapher Ismā'īl Hakkī Baltadīloḡlu (still alive), resemble a flame. This style may be also applied to *ḥulūṭh*.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the sources already mentioned in the text, the main sources are: Muṣṭafā 'Alī, *Manāḳib-i hunarwarān*, ed. Ibn al-Amīn Maḥmūd Kamāl, Istanbul 1926; Nafas-zāde Sayyid Ibrāhīm Efendi, *Gulzār-i ṣawāb*, ed. Kılıslı Muallim Rif'at, Istanbul 1939; Meḥmed Naḍīb, *Dawḥat al-kuttāb*, ed. Kılıslı Muallim Rif'at, Istanbul 1942; Mustakīm-zāde Sulaymān Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi, *Tuḥfa-i khaffātīn*, ed. Ibn al-Amīn Maḥmūd Kamāl, Istanbul 1928; Ḥabīb, *Khaff u khaffātān*, Istanbul 1306/1888-9; Ismā'īl Hakkī, *Türk yazıların tıkkine tedkikine medhal*, in *Dār al-Funūn İlahiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmu'ası*, ii (Istanbul 1926), nos. 5-6; Mahmud Yazır, *Siyākat yazısı*, Istanbul 1941; *idem*, *Eski yazıların okuma anahtarları*, Istanbul 1942; Melek Celāl, *Şeyh Ḥamdullah*, Istanbul 1948; Kemal Çiğ, *Hattat Hafız Osman Efendi*, Istanbul 1949; Sübeyl Ünver, *Hektimbaşı ve hattat Kātibzāde Mehmed Refi*, Istanbul 1950; *idem*, *Türk yazı çeşitleri ve saidedi bazı bilgiler*, Istanbul 1953; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih devri hattatları ve hat san'atı*, Istanbul 1953; İbnülemin Mahmud Kemāl İnal, *Son hattatlar*, Istanbul 1955; L. Fekete, *Die siyāqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955; I. Hakkı Baltacıoḡlu, *Türklerde yazı san'atı*, Ankara 1958; Mālik Aksel, *Türklerde dini resimler*, Istanbul 1967; M. Bedreddin Yazır, *Medeniyet aleminde yazı ve İslām medeniyetinde kalem güzeli*, 1972-4; Ali Alparslan, *Écoles calligraphiques turques*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi İslam Tedkikleri Dergisi*, v (Istanbul 1973) nos. 1-4; *idem*, *Yazı-Resim*, in *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, i (Istanbul 1973). Important works on palaeography etc.: Kazim Baykal, *Bursa'da Ulucami*, Istanbul 1950; M. Guboglu, *Paleografia și diplomatia Turco-Osmana*, Bucharest 1958; Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics*, tr. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, The Hague 1968. See also the sources on palaeography given in 2. Persia.

(ALİ ALPARSLAN)

#### iv. — IN MUSLIM INDIA

The earliest extant Arabic writing in the form of



an inscription is found in South India at Trivandrum. This is in an old mosque at Koelum and has been written in a very crude form of *nashkī* style of writing: Ismāʿīl—109 [727]—b. Malik Dīnār, in three lines (*Maḡalla Ṭilsānīn*, Hyderabad. Dn, i, 51. However, the Pakistan Archaeological Department has recently discovered near Thaṭṭa at Bhanbhore two inscriptions written in *kūfī* script, on marble slabs and dated 290/902 and 294/906 (M. A. Ghaffur, *The calligraphers of Thatta*, Karachi 1968, 49, 63). The conquests in Sind of Muḡammad b. Kāsim in the Umayyad period (93/711) had extended beyond Daybul to Multān, and he had built mosques in the conquered area; this doubtless implied the official introduction of Arabic script into the Indian sub-continent. There are two old inscriptions in Sind, one at Rohri on an old mosque of *Kh*ʿādja *Kh*idr dated 341/952, and the other at Sakhhar showing the date of death of one Saʿd al-Dīn in 483/994. Both are in ordinary *nashkī* characters (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta 1912, 54, 120).

In the early 5th/11th century, the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] under Sultan Maḡmūd began raiding into Northern India and established military headquarters at Lahore. Maḡmūd had struck at Lahore his *tankas*, which bore both Arabic and Sanskrit versions on their two sides, and the town also became a centre for literary activity. There is extant in the Panjab University Library, Lahore, an Arabic ms. of the *Bahdāt al-nufūs wa'l-asrār fi ta'riḡh al-hidārat al-mukhtār* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik which was transcribed at Lahore in 436/1044 in a very ordinary *nashkī* script. The present writer has also discovered an Arabic inscription on the rear wall of the Katḡh Masḡid in Aḡmadābād which is dated 24 Rabiʿ I 445/14 July 1053. It is in an ordinary *nashkī* script, and may be read as: "This Mosque was built on 24 Rabiʿ I, year 445". Its authenticity is guaranteed by two Persian separate later inscriptions fixed on its right and left sides, which show that it came from the foundation of the present mosque (*The earliest Muslim inscription in India from Aḡmadābād*, in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, iii, Calcutta 1939, 647-9).

The Ghaznawid régime was replaced in 586/1190 by the Ghūrids [*q.v.*], whose commanders subsequently established their capital at Dihli [*q.v.*]. The congregational mosque was built there in 587/1191 of red stone by Kutb al-Dīn Aybak, the so-called *Ḳuwwat al-Islām*. It was finally inaugurated by the Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḡammad b. Sām Ghūri in 594/1198. This mosque's arches and façade bear inscriptions in several varieties of Islamic script, such as *ṡughrā*, *kūfī*, *nashkī* and *ṡulṡh*.

Also, during the period of the Slave Kings of Dihli and after, the copying of manuscripts flourished, the *nashkī* script being especially popular. It is recorded that Shihāb al-Dīn, the calligrapher, was made Ṣadr-i Dīhān during the *Khaldī* period (*Ta'riḡh-i Firūzshāhi*, Calcutta 1862, 353; Farishta, ed. Lucknow, 129, 133, 322, 335, etc.).

The introduction of the *nasta'liḡ* script into the sub-continent was mostly due to the Mughals, Mir ʿAlī Tabrizī being generally regarded as its originator, who wrote one manuscript of the *Kulliyāt* of *Kh*ʿādī Kirmānī in 798/1395-6 (B.M. Add. 18.113) at the court of Sultan Aḡmad Dījalāyir at Baghdād. There exists an illustrated manuscript of the *Memoirs* of Bābur in this script which was copied by ʿAlī al-Kātib in 937/1530-1 in Alwar state in India, and many calligraphers seem to have used this style of writing. In the mausoleum of Akbar at Agra, the

Emperor's sarcophagus on top of the mausoleum was adorned in inscriptions this style of writing, written by the scribe ʿAbd al-Ḥaḡḡ.

In the pre-Mughal period, when use of the *nashkī* script flourished, special attention was devoted to the writing of the Ḳurʿān, and a special style arose within the sub-continent for the Ḳurʿān, generally called *Bāhar*, referring to a special type of paste which was applied to paper to be used for writing the text of the Ḳurʿān; hence the script used on this paper came to be called the *khaff-i bāhar* (Wadīd ʿAlī, *Maḡlaʿ al-ʿulūm wa-maḡimaʿ al-junūn*, Lucknow 1913, 331; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniatures de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1908, 51). There exists in the Kābul Museum a Ḳurʿān which was transcribed in this style by *ḡādī* Abū Bakr Yaʿqūb b. Nāsir al-Dīn at Lahri (Sind) on Friday, 17 Rabiʿ I 776/26 August 1374. One manuscript of a commentary on the Ḳurʿān in the library of the Panjab University at Lahore has the text of the Ḳurʿān in this *Bāhar* script and the commentary in ordinary *nashkī*.

During the absence of the Emperor Humāyūn in Persia, Shēr Shāh Sūrī built in stone the grand mosque in the old fort of Dihli, with its arches and façade adorned with Ḳurʿānic inscriptions, including *Sūrat Yāsīn* on the central part of the façade in *ṡulṡh* characters, perhaps the finest example of *ṡulṡh* from those days.

Abu 'l-Faḡl ʿAllāmi [*q.v.*] devoted a full chapter of his *ʿĀṡn-i Akbarī* to calligraphers and miniaturists, reflecting Akbar's patronage of outstanding artists. *Nasta'liḡ* was especially favoured; its exponents included Mullā Muḡammad Ḥusayn of Kaṡhmīr, ʿAbd al-Raḡīm, Muḡammad Bāḡir, Mir Husayn Kalingī and others. Special mention should be made of Sulṡān Bāyazīd Dūrī, who came at Humāyūn's court during the last years of his reign, and wrote one copy of the *Dewāl Rānī Khidr Khān* of Amīr Ḳhusraw in 967/1559-60 during the early years of Akbar's reign (see *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore 1934); also, there exists an inscription on the wall of a mosque in Nagawr (Rajputana) composed and written by Kātib al-Mulḡ Dūrī in 976/1568-9 (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1950, 38-9; Badāʿunī, *Muntakhab al-tawāriḡh*, Calcutta 1869, iii, 227-9). There were many other calligraphers at Akbar's court employing various styles; the calligrapher Bāḡī Muḡammad of Bukhārā, who wrote the decorative inscriptions on the tomb of ʿĀṡiḡa Khān in the compound of Ḥaḡrat Niḡām al-Dīn Awliyāʿ at Dihli, should be mentioned here.

At Akbar's court, Ashraf Khān (d. 980/1572) was the *Mīr Munshī* [see KĀṡIB, iii. In India], and also a poet; his duties included the inditing of *farmāns* (*Muntakhab al-tawāriḡh*, iii, 181). The calligraphy used for these *farmāns* was the *khaff dīwānī*, one defined by Anand Ram Mukhlīṡ (d. 1164/1750) as a variety of writing which could not be immediately read by everyone (*Bahār-i ʿĀḡam*, i, 376). This style for writing *farmāns* was used only at the Mughal court in India.

Akbar died in 1014/1605, and his son Dīhāḡngīr [*q.v.*] who succeeded him especially encouraged the fine arts. During this period, ʿAbd al-Raḡīm, Muḡammad Ḥusayn of Kaṡhmīr and ʿAbd Allāh, were given the titles of ʿAnbarīn Ḳalam, Zarrīn Raḡm and Mushḡkīn Ḳalam. He was the lover of the Persian master Mir ʿAlī of Harāt, and it is recorded that once he was given a special present by Khān-i Khānān ʿAbd al-Raḡīm of Irānāy of an illustrated manuscript of the *Ḳhamṡa* of Niḡāmī (*Tūzūk-i Dīa-*

*hāngīrī*, Lucknow 1914, 351). During the reign of *Shāh Dījahān*, who succeeded his father *Dījahāngīr* in 1037/1628, two great calligraphers came to his court from Persia, sc. Rukna, who wrote the manuscript of the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī in 1048/1638, and who was also a poet, and 'Abd al-Rashīd Daylamī, who was related to the famous calligrapher Mir 'Imād of Persia and was made the royal librarian. Muḥammad Šālīḥ Kanbū has a special chapter dealing with the calligraphers, in his *Amal-i šālīḥ* (Calcutta 1939, iii, 443-6). It contains mention of Muḥammad Murād of Kashmīr, Ākā Rashīd Daylamī, Mir Muḥammad Šālīḥ and Muḥammad Mu'min, the sons of Mir 'Abd Allāh Mushkīn Raqam, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh, Mir Sayyid 'Alī Tabrizī and Mirzā Muḥammad Dīja'far Khān, called Kifāyat Khān and inventor of the *shikasta* style of writing, and Dījamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, who also used the *shikasta* hand (see *Ars Islamica*, xi, 423-5).

This interwoven *shikasta* script is defined by Anand Ram Mukhlīš in his *Mī'rāt al-iṣṭilāḥ*. One manuscript of the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī transcribed by Dīja'far Khān Kifāyat Khān in 1086/1675-6 is preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan at Karācī, written for his son 'Abd Allāh, called Darāyat Khān; this style was accordingly called *Darāyat khānī*. Finally, it may be recalled that the Emperor Awrangzib [q.v.] used to write out copies of the *Qur'ān* and send them to the Holy Cities of Arabia, but he never signed these; he was the pupil in calligraphy of Sayyid 'Alī Khān Dījawhar Raqam, who died in 1097/1686 (*Tadhkirat-i khūshnuvīsān*, Calcutta 1910, 56-7).

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(M. ABDULLAH CHAGHATAI)

#### V. — IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Here the Arabic script was, until ca. 1500, almost exclusively used for writing Arabic, the Tréngganu stone inscription, dated probably 726/1326 or 788/1386 and written in Old Malay, being a noticeable exception. At the beginning of the 16th century the Arabic script became one of the most common scripts for Malay and other Indonesian languages. One of the oldest known texts in Arabic script in South Asia is the Arabic inscription of Leran on the northern coast of East Java, probably to be dated 475/1082. This tomb stone of "the daughter of Maymūn" may have been imported, together with its inscription. In any case, it remains so far an isolated testimony to the use of the Arabic script in Indonesia, since the next example, the tomb stone of Sultan Malik al-Šālīḥ of Tarai in northern Sumatra, is dated 691/1292. This was followed by a number of other tomb stones, all but one written in ornamental Arabic script of Persian type and probably imported from Guḍjarāt. The exception is the inscription from Minye Tujuh in Atjeh, dated 782/1380 and written in a type of Malayan script, but apparently influenced by the style of Arabic writing. A few other Arabic tomb stones in the Malay peninsula are dated in the 9th/15th century. In Java, the most important are found on Muslim tomb stones (*mae'san*) in Troloyo, near Tronnan. They have a quotation from the *Qur'ān* or other sacred texts in Arabic on one side, and a date expressed in Old Javanese numerals on the other. The script, fully discussed by Damais (*Études Javanaises*, i. *Les Tombes Musulmanes datées de Tralāyā*, in *BEFEO*, xlvi/2 (1957), 351-415), corresponds to that of contemporary Arabic inscriptions elsewhere in the Muslim world. The best known Arabic inscription in Java of this period is

that on the tomb of Malik Ibrāhīm at Grésik, north-east of Surabaya, dated 822/1419 and beautifully written in an ornamental Arabic which is similar to the contemporary inscriptions of Tasai and Guḍjarat.

*Bibliography*: J. G. de Casparis, *Indonesian palaeography*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vi, section I, 70-2 and literature quoted there. (Ed.)

**KHATT**, more precisely *al-khatt bi-raml*, the original name for Arab geomancy. In the Islamic era, *raml* (or '*ilm al-raml*') was dominant, but with the growing influence of astrology on the occult sciences, the term *shakl* (pl. *aṣḥkāl*), "figure" was used (see below, the expression *aṣḥkāl al-raml*, *aṣḥkāl al-turāb*, *ḥulūl al-aṣḥkāl*). From *shakl* are derived "squill" a figure in geomancy, and "to squill", to practise divination by sand, cf. G. Ferrand, in *JA*, 10th Series, vi (1905), 195. In Madagascar, the words *sikili* and *skidy* also denote geomantic figures, cf. G. Ferrand and M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, xxxi (1877), 762-5.

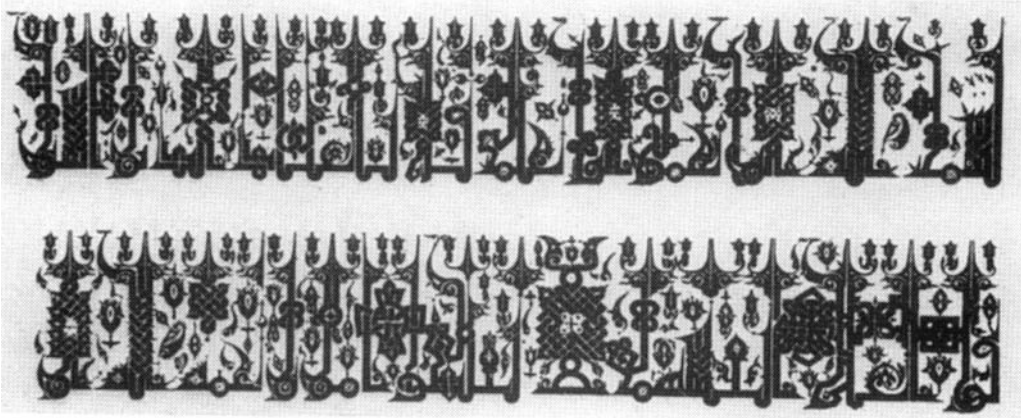
The development from *khatt* to *raml* began with the juxtaposition of the two terms. Indeed, *khatt al-raml* is frequently used to denote geomancy (cf. for example, Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddama*, i, 203-9, tr. by Slane, i, 232-40, tr. Rosenthal, i, 226-34, Leiden ms., Cat. de Jong and de Goeje, iii, 184). Instead of *khatt*, *ḍarb* began to be used especially in dialect; *ḍarb* is in fact the modern substitute for *ṭarḥ*, which was used originally to denote lithomancy, so we find that *khatt* = *ṭarḥ* = *ḍarb* as terms for geomancy.

At first sight, *khatt* is the line which the geomancer traces on the sand when, strictly speaking, he is practising psammancy. This is the meaning of *raml* also, but, as well as the sand, *raml* and *khatt* mean the black or white lines on the hooves of wild cattle or on the flanks and the backs of stags (cf. *TA*, vii, 351, l. 29; details in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 197 f.). Lexicographers have shown that *ṭarḥ*, '*ilm al-khatt*' and '*ilm al-raml*' (cf. *TA*, v, 129, l. 4) are perfectly synonymous.

*ṭarḥ* and *ḍarb* are also synonymous and originally denoted the "casting of pebbles", that is, lithomancy (*al-ṭarḥ* or *al-ḍarb bi'l-ḥaṣā*). The technicalities of this cleromantic rite are unknown to us, but is supposed to have consisted of casting pebbles on the sand and of interpreting the patterns they made. In a recent source, al-Alūsī, *Bulūḡh al-arab*, iii, 323, the following definition is found: the *ṭarḥ bi'l-ḥaṣā* consists of finding the answer to a question, which has been posed by a questioner, from the signs which are given by the way pebbles have fallen on top of each other. Instead of pebbles, grain or nuts could be used (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 191; ii, 177; tr. de Slane, i, 191; ii, 205 f; tr. Rosenthal, i, 214, ii, 201).

From the marks made by the pebbles on the ground lines were traced in the sand, and from this idea there has been a gradual development which ultimately results in making *ṭarḥ* (or *ḍarb*) *bi'l-ḥaṣā* the synonym of *khatt bi'l-raml*. This development occurred very early; Ibn al-'Arābī (died ca. 230/844), following Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (died 215/830), defined the *ṭarḥ bi'l-ḥaṣā* as the act of tracing marks on the ground (for details, see *Divination arabe*, 196 ff.).

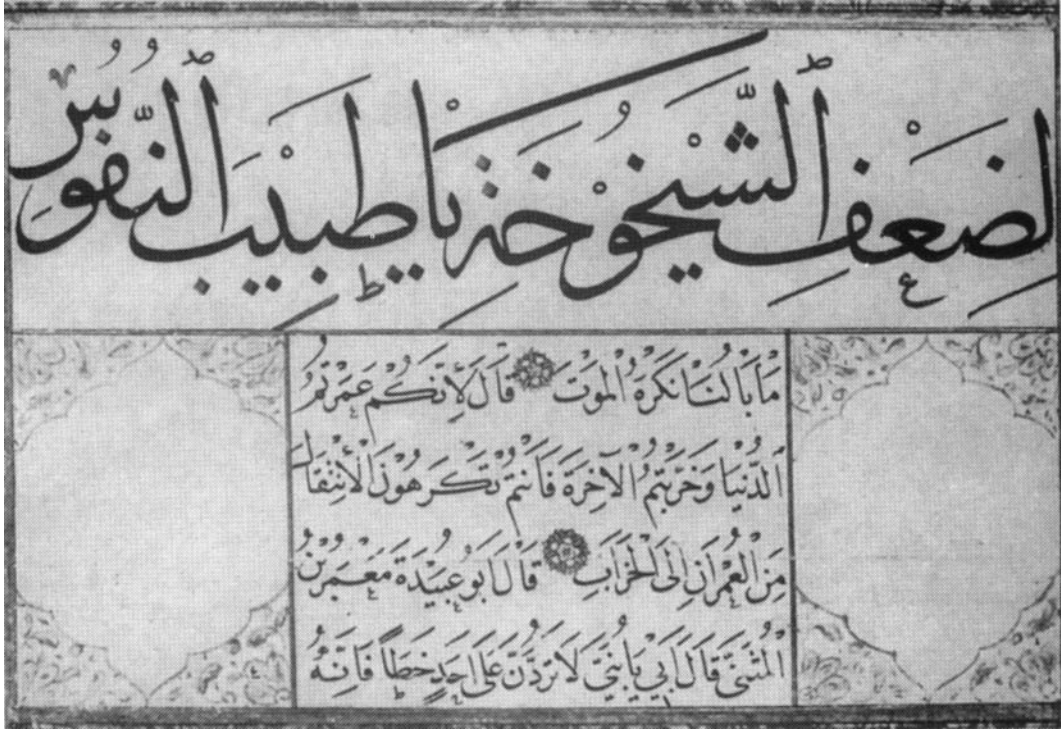
Thus *al-ṭarḥ bi'l-ḥaṣā* and *al-khatt bi'l-raml*, two different divinatory practices, became progressively confused in the Islamic era and denoted geomancy in general; this may be explained by the great variety of geomantic procedures. *ṭarḥ* was the observation of the fall of pebbles on sand; the marks they made were joined by other marks (*khutūf*) in order to complete a figure (*shakl*). When these figures became



1. *Kūfī* (the inscription of the grave of Pir ʿAlamdār, 418/1027, Dāmghān, Iran).



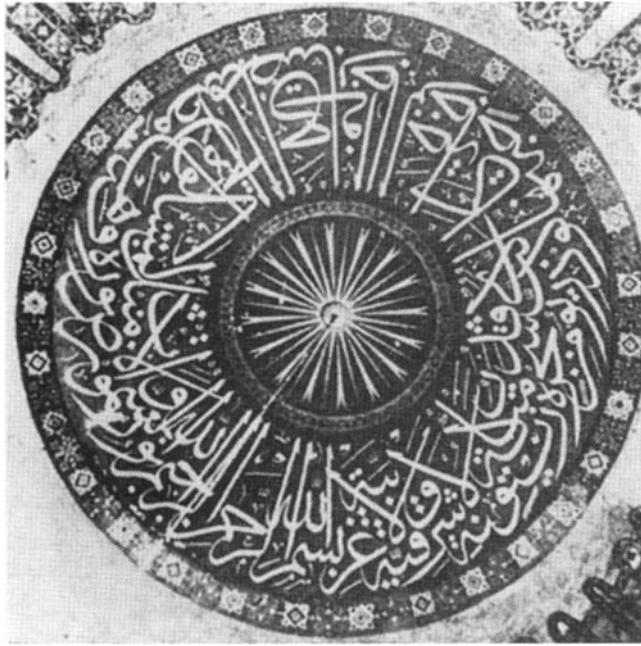
2. *Muḥakkak* (top) and *rihān* (bottom) by Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (Turkey) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, No. 2078).



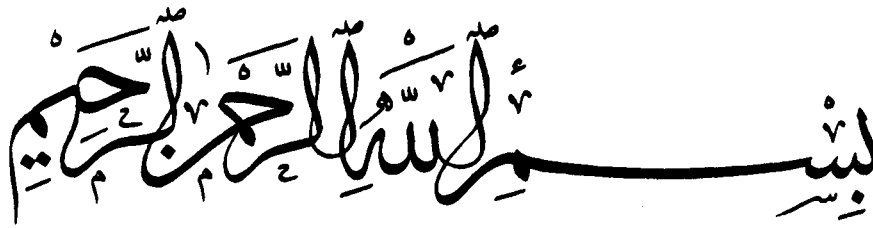
3. *Thuluth* (top) and *naskh* (bottom) by Shaykh Hamd Allāh (Turkey) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, No. 2084).



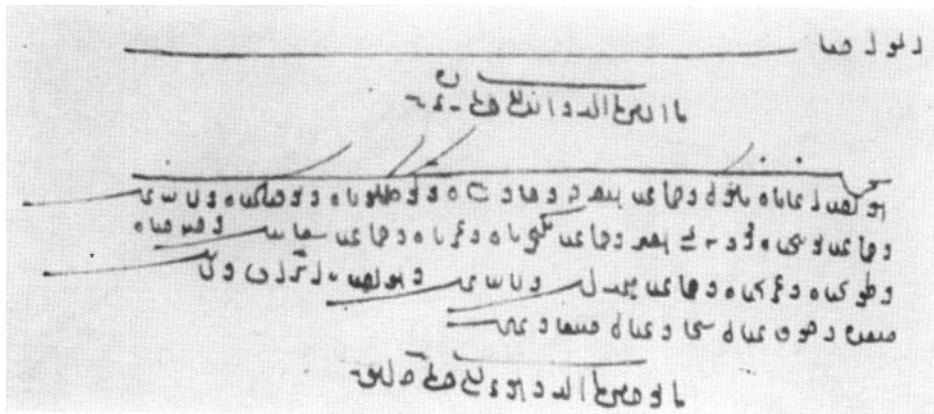
4. *Tawhīc* (top) and *riḳāc* (bottom) by Shaykh Hamd Allāh (Turkey) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, No. 2078).



5. *Djalī thuluth* by the *kādi-ʿaskar* Muṣṭafā ʿIzzet (Istanbul, dome of the Aya Sofya) (Qurʾān, xxiv, 34).



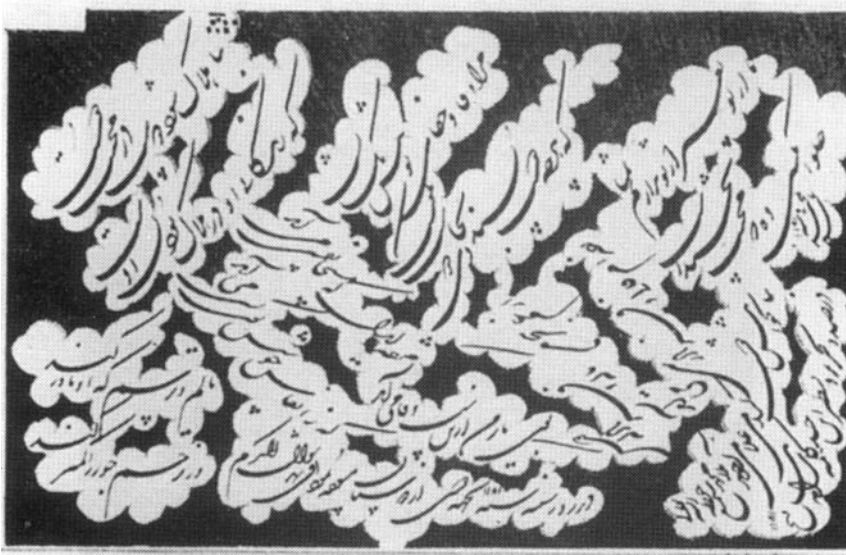
6. *Musalsal* by Bekir Paktan (Turkey).



7. *Siyāḩat* (Turkey).







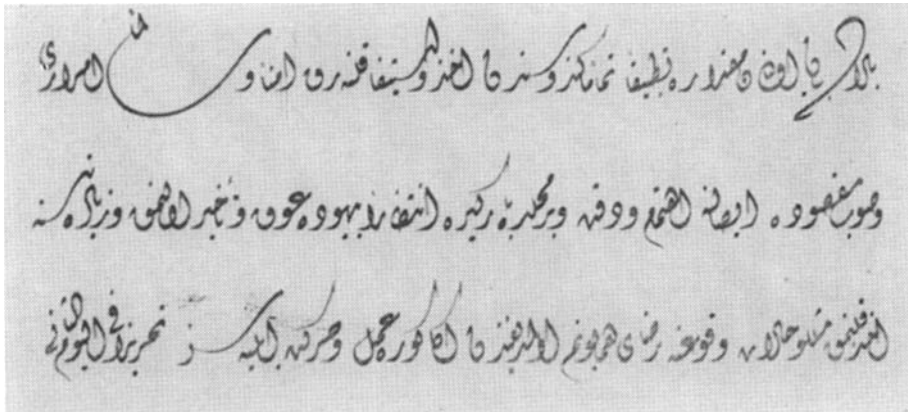
10. *Shikasta Nasta'liq* by 'Abd al-Madjid Talkāni (Iran) (Chazāli čand az Hāfiz bā khatt-i khoshnuvisān-i mashhūr, Tehran).



9. *Nasta'liq* by Es'ad Yesārī (Turkey) (Topkapi Sarayı Kütüphanesi, G. Y. 325/4488).



11. *Muḥannā* by Ḥamīd Bey (Istanbul, inscription in Şişli Camii representing *Qurʾān*, IX, 18).



12. *Dīwānī* by ʿIzzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ʿIzzet, *Khutūṭ-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309).

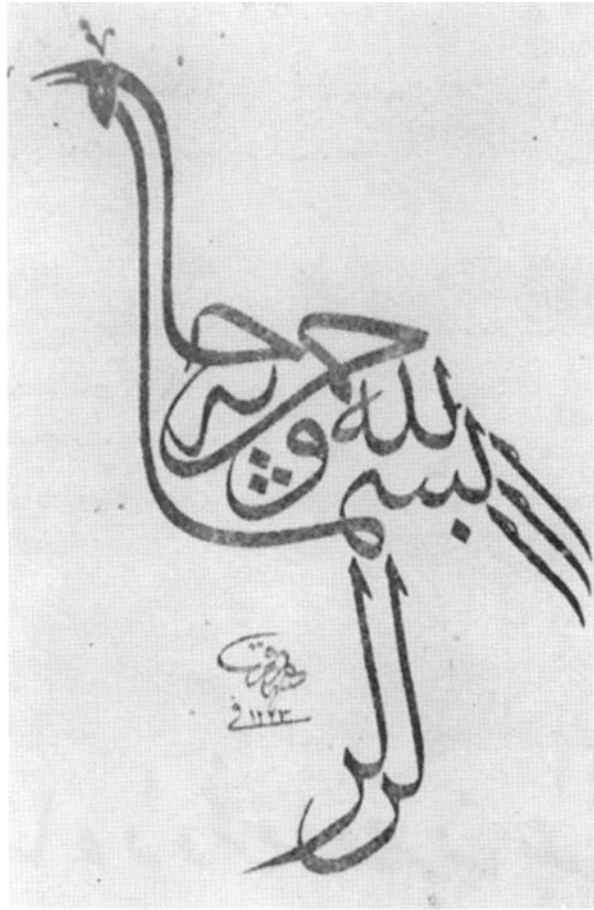




۱۳. *Djalī dīwānī* by ‘Izzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ‘Izzet, *Khuṭūṭ-i ‘Oṭhmāniyye*, Istanbul ۱۳۰۹).

پادشاه داد فرما حضرت عبدالمجید  
پادشاه داد فرما حضرت عبدالمجید  
سایه سندان سایه در سخا تمام ایدوب  
سایه سندان سایه در سخا تمام ایدوب

۱۴. *Rikā‘i* by ‘Izzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ‘Izzet, *Khuṭūṭ-i ‘Oṭhmāniyye*, Istanbul ۱۳۰۹).



15. *Resim yazı* attributed to Muṣṭafâ Râkım (Turkey). The picture represents the *basmala*.



16. *Khatt-i mu'ammâ*'i by 'Abd al-Fattâh (Turkey). The text reads: *Min kulli fadjjîn 'amiḳ* (Kur'ân, XXII, 27).

stylised at a particular place, a board was used, which was covered with sand or even flour, and the finger was drawn over it at random; the shapes formed in this way were then examined. A sheet of paper could be substituted for the board, and on it pencil dots were marked at random or, according to Ibn Khaldūn, on four lines (cf. ref. in Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 3789; compare R. Jaulin, *La géomancie*, 17, n. 1).

Behind this popular, primitive practice lay a divinatory art of extreme complexity. Indeed, since the introduction of astrological and mathematical speculation into the science of geomancy, we must deal with a theory as esoteric as that of the *ḍiʿāf* [q.v.]. As in the *ḍiʿāf*, one is successful in the study of geomancy by being able to isolate numerous speculations and determining laws from them. The *Analyse formelle* by R. Jaulin, with contributions by R. Ferry, F. Djean and B. Jaulin, achieves this aim. It is not possible to give a complete picture in an article of restricted size. But it should be said that the sixteen shapes, which are obtained by the permutation of the four basic lines and their eight joins, giving rise to four even and four uneven symmetrical shapes, reduce the basic geomantic values by assigning to them agreeable or contrary meanings; they are also associated with the "external" and "internal" elements concerned with more or less reassuring or dangerous, favourable or ill-omened ideas (cf. Jalin, *op. cit.*, 53-71).

In this mathematical analysis, arithmomantic and geomantic considerations have had their part to play, but they do not in themselves make a geomancer. In geomancy, two other components must be represented, astrology and a predisposition to "perceive hidden meanings" (*idrāk al-ghayb*). Ibn Khaldūn emphasises these two aspects in a long paragraph devoted to this art of divination (*Muḥad-dima*, i, 203-9, tr. de Slane, 232-42, tr. Rosenthal, 226-34, with references and figures in the notes).

After a description of the sixteen geomantic combinations, each named and classified into favourable and unfavourable, Ibn Khaldūn explains this classification by the astral influences which are brought to bear on each of them. Indeed, the sixteen geomantic combinations are set under the domination of the twelve signs of the zodiac and of the four cardinal points. From then onwards the geomancers, called by him *munadḍijimūn*, "astrologers", have derived meanings to provide geomantic figures from astrological speculations. The author contests the validity of this method, disagreeing with the fact that the astrological deductions have natural signs as their basis while geomantic deductions rest on conventions.

Even more aberrant, Ibn Khaldūn thinks, is the pretension of certain geomancers to succeed in perceiving the unknown by applying their minds to the geomantic figures and then abstracting a complete understanding of the human sphere and penetrating the spiritual realm, in the manner of the soothsayers and, particularly of those among them who practise omoplatoscopy, hydromancy and lecanomancy. Ibn Khaldūn thus concludes: "The truth that you must present to the mind is that the supernatural cannot be revealed by any technique; it cannot be perceived by an élite class of men naturally predisposed to pass from the conscious world into the spiritual". Concerning the doctrine of Ibn Khaldūn relating to divination, cf. *La divination arabe*, 45-50. According to him, the astrologers qualify as the type of men called "Venusians" because of the influence which Venus exerts on them on the day

of their birth, by which they are fitted to perceive supernatural phenomena.

Because of a verse in the *Ḳurʿān* (XLVI, 4), interpreted by some as alluding to geomancy (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 3, l. 3 ff.) and a *ḥadīth* noted by ʿAtāʾ b. Yaṣār (Wensinck *et al.*, *Concordance*, i, 40), which speaks of a prophet who practised geomancy excellently, some licence has been given to this art and it has been allowed to experience an amazing expansion across the Islamic world. Like oneiromancy, Arab geomantic science extends beyond the frontiers of the Muslim empire, both to the Indian coasts and the coasts of Byzantium, and to the Latin West and Black Africa and Madagascar (cf. C. H. Becker, *Neue Literatur zur Geschichte Afrikas*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 305; B. Carra de Vaux, *La géomancie chez les Arabes*, *ap.* Paul Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 299-317; A. and L. Delatte in *Mélanges F. Cumont*, Brussels 1936, 575-658).

This expansion has led to a great number of manuals and treatises, examples of which can be found in almost all the Arab collections in the East and the West. Many are anonymous works like: *Risāla fī ʿilm al-raml* (Aya Sofya, 4785 (1), *risāla* 34); *Rasāʾil fī ʿilm al-raml* (*ibid.*, 4860 (64), 1-9, cf. also *ibid.*, 2052 (36), 14); *al-Muntakhab fī ʿilm al-raml* (Asir Ef. 1164, 6 = Reisülkuttāb Mustafa Ef., 11646, ff. 107b-112b); *Kitāb al-raml* (Beşir Ağa, 430); *al-Kawḥab al-azhar fī ʿilm al-athar wa ʿilm al-raml* (*ibid.*, 433); *Risāla fī ʿilm al-raml*, in Turkish (Fatih, 3430); *Fī ʿilm al-raml wa ʿilm al-nudjūm* (Hamidiyye, 189, 6); *Fī ʿilm al-raml* (*ibid.*, 1468, 7); *Kitāb fī ʿilm al-raml* (Nuruosmaniye, 3639); *Kutub ʿilm al-raml* (Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef., 920-6; Saray, Ahmet III, 3475 ff.); *ʿilm al-raml* (Leiden, Cat. de Jong and de Goeje, iii, 184; Gotha, *Cat. Perisch*, iii, 487 f.); *Ashkāl al-raml* (Cambridge, Trinity College, *Cat. Palmer*, p. 29, the page describes several geomantic figures); several geomantic mss. in Karshūnī at Oxford (Bodleian vi, col. 596 f., no. 180, 3 and 4; col. 598, no. 181, 2, 4, 6); *Kitāb ʿaḍīb fī ʿilm al-raml* (Aleppo, Sbath, 58, 5; 580, 1 (abridged) and 2: *K. al-Shaḍjara wa ʿilm al-ḥamara wa ʿilm al-nuḥḥa*, attributed to Daniel, 1180, 1 and 81); Vatican, *Cat. Levi Della Vida*, index, 299-300; Berlin, *Cat. Ahlwardt*, 4200-12; *Kanz al-muḥīṭ* (Copenhagen, xxiii, in Turkish); etc.

Among the best known authors of geomantic works are Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Zanāṭī, who founded a school in this field. His followers are called al-Zanāṭīyya, and in fact a ms. from the collection Ismail Saib Sincer (Ankara), I, 2111, not foliated, 24.5 × 17.5 × 1, *nashḥī*, no date, entitled *K. fī ʿilm al-raml ʿalā tartīb al-Zanāṭīyya . . .* (the same collection, under No. 1, 1970, contains a *madjmuʿa* with two geomantic drawings; *Bayān fī ḍarb al-raml*, pp. 1-38, attributed to al-Zanāṭī, and *Risāla min ʿilm al-raml fī ʿistikhrāj al-damīr*, pp. 39-61, anonymous); the work which is attributed to him bears different titles: *K. Fath al-akfāl fī ʿilm al-ashkāl* (Saray, Ahmet III, 1603, 120 ff., 28 × 20, *nashḥī*, very fine illustrated copy, no date); *Ḥulūl al-ashkāl* (Nuruosmaniye, 3638, 28 fol., 25.5 × 17, fine *nashḥī*, no date); lithographed in Cairo in 1280/1863 under the title *K. al-Faṣl fī uṣūl ʿilm al-raml*, and also edited in Cairo in 1316/1908 under the title *al-Aḥwāl al-mardīyya fī ʿilm al-ashkāl al-ramīyya*. There is also *Lubāb al-lubāb fī ʿilm al-khatṭ wa-ashkāl al-turāb* (Cairo ms. 7622). The geomancy of al-Zanāṭī was translated from Persian into Greek verse by the monk Arsenius in 1266 (cf. M. Steinschneider, *Europ. Übersetz.* 7, No. 22).

Next in order of fame comes ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥfūf

al-Munadjjim, who, according to the colophons of the mss. Esat Ef. and Rağip Paşa, died before 664/1265. His work is entitled *Muthallathāt Ibn Maḥfūf fi 'ilm al-raml* (Rāğip P., 964, 72 fols. 21.5 × 16). It is a fine copy made by Aḥmad 'Isā from an exemplar dated from 664/1265, *nashḥī*; another copy made from the same original but bearing the title *Risālat raml* is found in the collection Esat Ef., 1988 (83 fols., 21.5 × 16, *nashḥī*) and was made by Aḥmad 'Iyād at al-Madrassa al-Zāhiriyya. The Berlin ms. 4200 (2), pp. 12-67, has some Berber glosses and contains some tables, and the one at Manchester, 373, is entitled *K. fi 'l-raml*. His work was translated into Latin (cf. M. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 1, No. 125; Thorndike, *A catalogue of incipits of mediaeval scientific writings in Latin* (revised and augmented by Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, London 1963, 452, 1281, 1553). The title *Liber de tribus figuris spirituum*, placed under the name of Candas the astrologer (Thorndike, *op. cit.*, 1481) recalls the *muthallathāt*.

Several other geomantic writings are known which are enumerated in *La divination arabe*, 202-4. It should be noted that two of them have been translated into Latin, the one of Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Zunbul al-Maḥallī, surnamed al-Rammāl (died after 960/1653) entitled *K. al-Maḥālāt wa-hall al-mushkilāt fi 'ilm al-raml* (ms. Üsküdar, Selim Ağa, 547 bis, 168 fols., 29 × 20, *nashḥī*, no date), an excellent and well-illustrated treatise with an introduction and thirty chapters (cf. F. Klein-Franke, *The Geomancy of Aḥmad b. 'Alī Zunbul: a study of the Ambic Corpus hermeticum*, in *Ambix* xx (1973), 26-35) and that of Abū Sa'īd Khaliḥ b. Farḥūn al-Ṭarābulī entitled *Ṭamarat al-fu'ād al-muḥaddith 'an al-murād fi 'l-bawāfiṅ wa'l-ahbād* (ms. Paris 5834, 2; reworked by Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Sūsī, ms. Algiers 1531; Bayezit Umumi 4652, 23 fols., 19 × 14 *ta'lik*, in Turkish). It was translated into Latin by Hugo Sanctallensis (M. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 36, No. 54r; P. Tannery, in *CRAIBL* xxv (1897), 519; partially edited *ap.* Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 373-402; tr. *ibid.*, 405-9).

Other Arabic geomantic writings have been translated into Latin, such as *Alfakimi arabici filii Quaestiones Geomantiae a Platone* (= Plato of Tivoli) in *latinum translatae ex antiquo mss. . . . Fasciculus Geomanticus*, Verona 1687, 2nd. ed. 1704 (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 64b); similarly, Gerard of Cremona translated an Arabic geomantic work under the title *Liber geomantiae de artibus divinentibus* (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 30, No. 84); Bernardinus or Bernardus Silvestris translated a geomancy established according to the twenty-eight mansions of the moon under the title *Experimentarius oder liber fortunae* and many mss. of this survive (cf. *ZDMG*, xxv (1871), 338-90; other references in Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, i, No. 27). An *Astrologia terrestris* attributed to one 'Alī b. 'Umar has been translated from Arabic into Italian and German (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 3, No. 133; Nic. Catani, *Geomantischer Schöpfungstuhel*, Freystadt 1716). It is concerned with the treatise of Ibn Maḥfūf (see above).

In addition to the authors cited in *La divination arabe*, the following should be mentioned: Abu 'Imrān al-Zanāṭī, probably from the Zanāṭiyya school, *Dhakhira fi l-khatt* (ms. Paris, 2758, 9; *GAL*, S II, 1040); Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar al-Khiṭā'ī, *al-Djadāwil al-zuhrawiyya fi idāh 'ilm al-raml wa 'l-zā'irāja al-khafīyya* (ms. Gotha, 1317; *GAL* S II, 1041); Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Andalusi, *al-Durr al-muḥiṭ bi-ṣifāt al-'amal*

*bi-hukm al-basīṭ fi 'ilm al-raml* (Berlin Oct., 2467; *GAL* S II, 1040); 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Djazā'iri, *al-Hāshīya al-ikhṭisāriyya al-ramliyya al-falakiyya* (*GAL* S II, 1039); Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd al-Manānī, *Raf' al-ikhṭāl 'an waḍ' al-ashḥāl* (Alexandria, *Hurūf* 17, 9; *GAL* S II, 1042); Saḥnūn b. 'Uṭmān b. Sa'īd b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Waṣḥarīshī (wrote before 1167/1753), *Sihām al-rab' fi 'l-mukḥammās al-khālī al-waṣṭ* (Leiden 1233; Algiers 1535; *GAL* S III, 715); Shāraf al-Dīn b. Shālāh al-Dīn b. al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Kawkabānī, a South Arabian writing in 1111/1699, *Sahm al-gharīb fi 'l-mukḥarrāj al-damir bi-lā rayb* (Berlin 4227; *GAL* S II, 567).

Despite its length, this list is far from being exhaustive; the subject deserves a monograph, for geomancy follows only oneiromancy in the prestige it has enjoyed in Islamic lands. Its claim to fame lies in a saying attributed to Muḥammad: "Among the prophets there was one who practised *khatt*; whoever succeeds in doing it according to his example will know what that prophet knew" (see above).

*Bibliography*: In addition to the sources in the article, see T. Fahd, *La Divination arabe* 195-204; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, 377 ff.; E. Caslant, *Traité élémentaire de géomancie*, Paris 1935; R. Ambelain, *La géomancie magique*, Paris 1940; B. Maupoil, *La géomancie à l'ancienne Côte des Esclaves*, Paris 1943 (= Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, 42); idem, *Contribution à l'étude de l'origine musulmane de la géomancie dans le Bas-Dahomey*, thesis, Paris 1943, and in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xiii (1943-6), 1-94; V. Cruzet, *Du "khet-er-Raml" ou art de lire l'avenir sur le sable*, in *RT* (1920), 267-76; R. Davies, *A system of sand divination*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, iii (1920), 157-62, and in *MW*, xvii (1927), 123-9; N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et Une Nuits. Essai de classification*, Beirut 1959, 127-8 (five examples of the usage of geomancy, three for indicating a person and two for predicting the future); Abou Bakr ben Choāib, *La bonne aventure chez les musulmans*, in *RA* (1906), 62-70; G. Ferrand, *Un chapitre d'astrologie Arabico-Malgache*, in *JA*, 10th series, vi (1905), 193-273 (a chapter taken from ms. 8 of the Arabico-Malgache collection in the B.N., Paris); Hādīdjī Khalīfa, iii, 478 f.; J. Maxwell, *La divination*, Paris 1927, 135-7; P. Tannery, *Le Rabolion*, in *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 295-311; A. and L. Delatte, in *Mélanges F. Cumont*, Brussels 1936, 575-658; R. Jaulin, *La géomancie. Analyse formelle*, Paris-The Hague 1966 (= Cahiers de l'Homme, N.S. IV).

(T. FAHD)

AL-KHATT, a strip of coast on the Persian Gulf. The Arab geographers are not agreed as to its exact extent. While Yāqūt limits the name to the coast of al-Baḥrayn and 'Umān, which is also apparent from the mention of al-Ḳaṭīf, al-'Uḳayr and Ḳaṭar, al-Bakrī says definitely that al-Khatt is the whole coast between 'Umān and al-Baṣra on the one side and Kāzima and al-Shiḥr on the other. This difference of opinion is probably the result of the variation in extent of 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn in the wider sense of these terms in course of time.

There are in any case authors who allot al-Khatt to either the one or the other territory. Al-Khatt according to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, for example, is simply a collective name for the villages in 'Umān, while Ibn al-Anbārī uses al-Khatt as the name for the coast of al-Baḥrayn. In contrast to

these wide applications of a fairly general term there is a narrow one, according to which al-Khaṭṭ was a particular settlement on the coast which belonged to the 'Abd al-Kays. A Sprenger has adopted this view, which was held by al-Balādhuri amongst others, and there is much in favour of locating al-Khaṭṭ preferably in the Gulf of al-Baḥrayn. The place was in any case noted as a market for the famous Khaṭṭī lance-shafts imported from India and sold to the Bedouins. The name al-Khaṭṭ seems to be old. If A. Sprenger is right in connecting it with "regio Attene" and "Chateni" in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 28, 147, and the "Atta vicus" in Ptolemy, the name dates back to long before the Islamic period.

*Bibliography*: Yāqūt, ii, 453-4; *Marāsid al-Iḥṣā'*, ed. T. G. Juynboll, Leiden 1852, i, 358; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, i, 314; *LA*, s.v.; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, 92, 116, 118 f., 130 f., 135; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, 18, 86 ff.; F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 217-18; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890, 227-8, 251, 260, 263. (A. GROHMANN\*)

**KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN** and **KHAṬṬ-Ī ŠHERĪF**, the terms used for the decrees and rescripts of the Ottoman sultans, and written by them personally; the former term is the more usual one. A few surviving examples announcing appointments and decrees date from the reign of Selīm I. However until the end of the 10th/16th century, that is till the reign of Murād III, the sultans wrote the *khaff-ī humāyūns* sparingly. From the reign of Murād III onwards, the decrease in the power of the Grand Viziers to act independently in state affairs led to a system of obtaining from the sovereign a *khaff-ī humāyūn* for almost anything except trivial matters. Because of this reluctance to act on their own responsibility, the Grand Viziers customarily made clear their intentions by drawing up a résumé of every proposed official action and submitting it to the sultan for observation and additions; these brief remarks are the sultan's "sublime observations", that is, his *khaff-ī humāyūn* (Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler: telhisler (1597-1605)*, Istanbul 1970, xxii, and *passim*). After this, the surviving *khaff-ī humāyūns* became commoner, and we have extant those of Murād IV (Aḥmed Refik, *IV. Murād'ın khaff-ī humāyūnları*, in *TOEM*, xxxix (1332), 129-41) and İbrāhīm (Çağatay Uluçay), *Sultan İbrahim deli mi idi, hasta mi idi*, in *Tarih Dünyası*, i-ii (Istanbul 1950), iii (Istanbul 1951), either in the form of independent judgements and decrees or their remarks on the condensed reports drawn up and presented by the Grand Viziers. After the writing of *khaff-ī humāyūns* by the sultans became customary, there appeared in certain administrative manuals instructions and advice for their drawing up on various matters. Despite this, it should be pointed out that all the *khaff-ī humāyūns* announcing a decree, did not come directly from the sultan's pen, but rather, the originals were drafts made into fair copies by the ruler's private secretary (Koçu Bey, *Risāla*, ed. Ali Kemali Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 96-7).

*Khaff-ī humāyūns* can be classified under several headings: (1) The very brief personal remarks of the sultan on the condensed reports or memoranda sent to him by the Grand Vizier; (2) Decrees concerning appointments and transfers; (3) Documents containing the direct command of the sultan to the Grand Vizier on an important state affair and re-

questing his remarks. There was also a type of *firmān* or imperial edict, where the sultan gave his own comments on the contents of the *firmān*, in his own hand; the *firmān* was then drawn up by the *Diwān* and called a "*firmān* adorned with the *khaff-ī humāyūn*". After the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I (1187-1203/1774-89) the sultans issued *khaff-ī humāyūns* or *khaff-ī šherifs* in the form of general instructions written on the memoranda presented for remarks by the Grand Viziers. These instructions might be either written by the sultan personally or by his private secretaries. There was no official person addressed nor date on these *khaff-ī humāyūns*, though it is possible, from their context, to determine when some of them were written. It appears that during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39) because of his centralising and reforming policies, the *khaff-ī humāyūns* assumed an increased importance. However, from 1248/1832 onwards the system of the sultans expressing their opinions in their own *khaff-ī humāyūns* declined, and it became customary for the Grand Vizier to instruct the chief intermediary secretary (*mabeyn bash kâtibi*) about what they wished to do, and then have the latter pass it to the sultan for oral commands, which were later put into writing. Thus the "imperial act of will" (*irāde*) took the place of the *khaff-ī humāyūn*. Nevertheless, the system of the sultans expressing their opinions in a personal *khaff-ī humāyūn* continued, at the side of the *irāde* system, until the middle of the 19th century. After reaching this stage, even the *firmāns* published by the order and will of the sultan about important affairs and decisions, were called *khaff-ī humāyūn*; thus the *Tanzimât* decree of 1839 was known as the "*khaff-ī humāyūn* of Gülhâne", and the imperial decree of 1856 concerning reforms within the empire was likewise called a *khaff-ī humāyūn*. Henceforth *khaff-ī humāyūn* came to be regarded as the equivalent of *firmān* (for examples of these types of *khaff-ī humāyūn* between 1831 and 1860, see Mehmed Süreyyâ, *Nukhbetü'l-vekâyi'*, Istanbul n.d., i, *passim*).

*Bibliography*: Kemal Edip Kürkçüoğlu, *Kanuni'nin Bâli Beğ'e gönderdiği hatt-ı humayun*, in *AÜDTCFD*, vii/1-2 (1950), 225-31; Enver Ziya Karal, *III. Selim'in Hatt-ı Humayunları*, Ankara 1942-6, 2 vols.; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 58, 68-9, 171, 282, 370-1; idem, art. *Hatt-ı Humayun* in *İA*; *Kânün-nâme*, Veliyüddin Efendi Küttüphanesi, no. 1970; G. G. Elerescu, *L'Aspect juridique des khaff-ī Chérifs*, *Contribution à l'étude des relations de l'Empire Ottoman avec les principautés Roumaines*, in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, i (Bucharest 1958), 121-47; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reichs*, repr. 1963, i, 31, 449. (CENGİZ ORHONLU)

**KHAṬṬ AL-İSTIWĀ'** [see İSTIWĀ'].

**KHAṬṬ-Ī ŠHARĪF** [see KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN].

AL-KHAṬṬĀBĪ, ḤAMD (> AḤMAD) B. MUḤAMMAD B. İBRĀHİM B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB ABŪ SULAYMĀN AL-KHAṬṬĀBĪ AL-BUSTĪ, traditionist of ŠHĀFĪ' tendencies and poet, who is said to have been a descendant of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, brother of 'Umar, but this genealogy has been questioned. Born at Bust in 319/931, he travelled throughout the Muslim world, from Khurāsān and Transoxania to 'Irāk and the Hīdjāz, "in search of learning" and also engaged in trade; he studied, particularly in Baghdād, with famous teachers and had in his turn a number of pupils. He died at Bust in either 386/996 or 388/998, according to Yāqūt, who prefers the latter date. Al-

Tha'ālībī, who reproduces a selection of poems by al-Khaṭṭābī, compares him with Abū 'Ubayd [q.v.] al-Kāsim b. Sallām for his learning and his piety, and even considered him superior to him because he wrote poetry.

Of the twelve or so works which are attributed to him, one only, so far as we have been able to ascertain, has been published, the *Bayān i'djāz al-Kur'an*, ed. 'Abd al-'Alīm, Aligarh 1953; ed. 'Abd Allāh Ṣiddīq (?); ed. M. Khalafallāh and M. Zaghlūl Sallām, in *Thalāth rasā'il fi i'djāz al-Kur'an*, Cairo 1955, 17-66. Several others exist in manuscript (see Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 275): *Ma'ālīm al-sunna (al-sunan)*, commentary on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (see Brockelmann, S I, 267, adding the manuscripts mentioned by 'Abd al-'Alīm, p. wāw); *K. Gharib al-Ḥadīth*; *Shā'n al-ad'īya al-ma'thūra*; *I'lām al-muḥaddīth fi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (see Brockelmann, S I, 261); *K. al-'Uzla (or al-I'tisām)*; *Islāh ghalat al-muḥaddīthīn*; *'Ilm al-ḥadīth*. The other titles mentioned are: *K. Tafsīr asāmī 'l-Rabb (or sharḥ al-asmā' al-husnā)*; *K. al-'Arūs*; *Kitāb al-Ghunya 'an al-kalām wa-ahlīh*; *Sharḥ da'awāt li-Abī (= Ibn) Khuzayma*.

*Bibliography*: Whereas his contemporary Ibn al-Nadīm does not mention him in the *Fihrist*, his friend Tha'ālībī considers him worthy to appear among the poets mentioned in the *Yatima* (iv, 321). Main notices: Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 222b; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, 218-22; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 127; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iii, 209; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ibn Khallikān, i, 153-5; Baghdādī, *Khiṣāna*, ed. Ṣāwī, 1934, iv, 301-13; Yāqūt devotes to him two notices, the first under Aḥmad, *Irshād*, ii, 81-7 = *Udabā'*, vi, 246-60, and the second under Ḥamd, *Irshād*, iv, 141-3 = *Udabā'*, x, 268-72; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 239; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, ii, 494; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 256 (where Ceuta should be corrected to Bust, thus in *Muslim Studies*, tr. Barber and Stern, ii, 235 n. 6); Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 275.

(Ed.)

**KHAṬṬĀBIYYA**, extremist Shi'ī sect in al-Kūfa founded by Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī [q.v.] (killed ca. 138/755). Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb claimed that the Imām Dja'far al-Ṣādiq [q.v.] had appointed him as his deputy and legatee (*waṣī*) and taught him the Greatest Name of God. He was at first encouraged by the Imām, but later, probably still before 130/748, was repudiated and cursed by Dja'far. As a result, his followers split up into several subsects. The reports of the heresiographers about these early sects are based on two accounts which are partially complementary and partially contradictory, and which can be traced back to the contemporary Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [q.v.] and to Abū 'Isā al-Warrāk (writing after 270/883), whose ultimate source is unknown. The former account is reproduced by al-Nawbakhtī and Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh, while the latter is quoted most extensively by al-Ash'arī. The following summary combines the two accounts with additional information from other sources.

One group continued to accept Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb as their leader and asserted that he was a messenger prophet sent by Dja'far, who was God. They held that there must be at all times two prophets, one speaking (*nāṣiḥ*) and the other silent (*sāmīṭ*). In the time of Muḥammad, he had been the speaking prophet and 'Alī the silent one, and now Dja'far was the speaking prophet and Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb the silent one. They considered all *imām*-prophets, including Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb, as God. This doctrine is to be related to

the belief ascribed to the Khaṭṭābiyya in general, that the divine Light or Spirit inhered in the bodies of the *imāms*. They held that Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb had lifted the fetters of the religious law from them, considered false testimony in favour of their sectarian brethren as licit, and interpreted the religious duties and sins mentioned in the *Kur'an* as referring to certain specific persons.

A second group, the Bazighiyya, were the followers of Bazigh b. Mūsā the weaver, who was killed during the lifetime of the Imām Dja'far. They considered Bazigh, like Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb, as a prophet sent by Dja'far. While they testified to the prophethood of Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the latter repudiated Bazigh's claim. They asserted that every one of them was inspired (*yūḥā ilayhi*), that they would not die but be raised to heaven when their worship reached perfection, and that they were able daily to see their "dead". Their claim of immortality was repudiated by the 'Umayriyya, followers of 'Umayr b. Bayān al-'Idlī. Like the Bazighiyya, however, the 'Umayriyya claimed that they were all *imām*-prophets and that Dja'far was God. When they assembled in al-Kūfa to worship Dja'far, 'Umayr was seized and killed by Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra (governor 129-31/747-9).

Another group were the followers of al-Sarī al-Aqṣam who claimed that Dja'far had sent him as a prophet, calling him Mūsā, the Strong and Trustworthy. They worshipped Dja'far, saying that he was Islām and that they were the Sons of Islām (*abnā' al-islām*) in accordance with the statement of the Prophet: "Salmān is the Son of Islām".

The Mu'ammariyya, followers of Mu'ammār b. al-Aḥmar the corn dealer, affirmed that the divine Light had been transferred from 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib through Abū Tālib, Muḥammad, 'Alī and the *imāms* to Dja'far, Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb and finally to Mu'ammār. With the passing of the Light from the bodies of Dja'far and Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the latter had become angels, while the persons now claiming to be Dja'far and Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb were in fact impostors. Mu'ammār was the God on earth who was obedient to the Greatest God in heaven. The Mu'ammariyya denied that the world would come to an end and held that the bliss of paradise and the punishment of hell took place on earth. They claimed that they would be raised to heaven alive with their bodies, and also taught libertinism.

The account of al-Warrāk enumerates as a further subject of the Khaṭṭābiyya the Mufaḍḍaliyya, followers of al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Dju'fī the money-changer. They agreed with the other Khaṭṭābiyya sects in deifying Dja'far and claiming prophethood for themselves, but diverged from them by repudiating Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb. According to an Imāmi report, al-Mufaḍḍal was appointed by the Imām Dja'far to guide the followers of Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb after the condemnation of the latter. Although some negative statements of Dja'far are reported about him, al-Mufaḍḍal, unlike the other Khaṭṭābī leaders, was never excommunicated. He became a trusted agent of the Imām Mūsā b. Dja'far (148-83/765-99), during whose lifetime he died.

Statements attributed to the Imām Dja'far accent the lowly social status of the followers of Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb and al-Mufaḍḍal, characterising them as scum (*safila*) and outcasts (*shuffār*). Some sources identify the Khaṭṭābiyya with the Mukḥammisa sect [q.v.]. This identification does not appear valid for the early Khaṭṭābiyya sects described above, but must refer to a later stage which may, however, have begun still in the time of the Imām Dja'far.

The assertions of some Imāmi sources broadly identifying the nascent Ismā'īliyya [*q.v.*] with the Khaṭṭābiyya, must be viewed with caution. More specifically, it is reported that a group of supporters of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb after the latter's death joined the followers of Muhammad b. Ismā'il b. Dja'far, claiming that the spirit of Dja'far had devolved on Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, and from him, on Muhammad b. Ismā'il. There are also reports associating al-Mufaḍḍal with Ismā'il b. Dja'far. After the death of Dja'far, however, al-Mufaḍḍal supported the imāmate of Mūsā, although he evidently did not approve of the condemnation of Ismā'il pronounced in other Imāmi circles. The doctrine of the Ismā'īli movement emerging out of obscurity about the middle of the 3rd/9th century shows little affinity with the specific doctrines of either the early Khaṭṭābiyya or the Mukhammisa and generally repudiates Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. Mukhammisa texts which eventually were adopted into Ismā'īli literature, like the *Umm al-Kitāb*, are secondary importations. The bulk of the Khaṭṭābiyya-Mukhammisa evidently remained within the extremist fringe of the Imāmiyya. Mukhammisa doctrine formed the basis of the beliefs of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*], who revere Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, al-Mufaḍḍal and his son Muhammad as the *bābs* [*q.v.*] of the *imāms* Dja'far, Mūsā and 'Alī al-Riḍā.

*Bibliography:* al-Nawbakhtī, *Firak al-shi'a*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 37-41, 58-64; Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kummi, *al-Makālāt wa 'l-firak*, ed. M. Djawād Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 50-60, 63 f., 81-5; al-Ash'arī, *Makālāt al-islāmiyyin*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 10-3; al-Kashshī, *Ikhṭiyār ma'rifat al-riḍāl*, ed. H. Mostafavi, Mashhad 1348, 290-308, 321-9; Nashwān al-Himyarī, *al-Hār al-'in*, Cairo 1367/1948, 166-8. I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Hazm*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907) and xxix (1908); *passim*; L. Massignon, *Sālman Pāk*, Paris 1934; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismailism*, Cambridge 1940, 32-43; W. Ivarow, *Ibn al-Qaddah*, Bombay 1957, 98-110. (W. MADELUNG)

**KHAṬṬĀRA** [see KANĀT].

**KHĀTŪN**, a title of Soghdian origin borne by the wives and female relations of the T'u-chüeh and subsequent Turkish rulers. It was employed by the Saljuks and Kh'warazm-Shāhs and even by the various Čingizid dynasties. It was displaced in Central Asia in the Tīmūrid period by *begüm*, which passed into India and is still used in Pakistan as the title of a lady of rank.

*Bibliography:* G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 132-41 (No. 1159); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 602-3. (J. A. BOYLE)

**KHĀWA**, a colloquial variant of the classical *ikhāwa* ("brotherliness"), is a term formerly used in the Arabian Peninsula for payments made in return for the right to enter alien territory and for protection while staying there. Whenever there was no central authority strong enough to guarantee freedom of transit for all, travellers or wanderers coming into the *āra* or range of a powerful tribe would hand over *khāwa*, which usually consisted of livestock such as *ghanam*, or foodstuffs such as ghee, in amounts determined by negotiations. Refusal by merchant caravans to pay *khāwa* could lead to trouble between the nomads demanding it and the towns from which the caravans hailed or for which they were bound. Similar payments made by pilgrim caravans on the way to the Holy Cities

were called *ṣurra* ("bag" or "purse"), which is not to be confused with *ṣurra al-Haramayn*, the sum once sent by Islamic countries such as Egypt and Tunisia for distribution to the poor of Mecca and Medina in the days of the pilgrimage.

As 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Su'ūd [see AL-IKHWĀN.] extended his control over the larger part of the Peninsula, he outlawed the paying of *khāwa*. While *khāwa* may have been extorted clandestinely for a time thereafter, Ibn Su'ūd's crushing of the revolt of the Ikhwān [*q.v.*] by 1348/1930 and the ensuing decline of tribalism, along with the spread of modern communications, brought an end at last to this outmoded practice.

*Bibliography:* See that given for AL-IKHWĀN. (G. RENTZ)

**KHAWAND** [see AKHUND].

**KHAWĀRIDJ** [see KHĀRIDJITES].

**KHAWĀRIZM, KHAWĀRIZMĪ**, etc. [see KH'WĀRAZM, KH'ĀRAZMĪ].

**AL-KHAWARNAK**, a place situated about a mile east of Najaf [*q.v.*] in 'Irāq. Inhabited at first by the tribe of Iyād, a palace was built in it by the Lakhmid chief Nu'mān (d. after 418 A.D.) for his Sāsānian suzerain. It was there that Parwīz heard the news of the defeat of Dhū Kār [*q.v.*]. The palace was enlarged and used by the early 'Abbāsids. It was in ruins in the 8th/14th century. The pre-Islamic Arab poets frequently quote al-Khawarnak as one of the "30 wonders of the world", along with the neighbouring castle of Sadir (perhaps Ukhaydir [*q.v.*]). Al-Khawarnak is also celebrated for having given rise to the proverbial expression "the reward of Sinimmār", the Greek architect who had built it and who was executed by Nu'mān. The name *Khawarnak* seems to be of Iranian origin (*Huvarna* "with a beautiful roof" according to Andreas, or *Khawarnar*, "place of feasting" according to Vulers), although Ibn Djinnī connected it with the Arabic *Khīrnīk* and Nöldeke with a Rabbinical Hebrew word meaning "arbour, plantation".

*Bibliography:* R. Basset, *Les Alixares de Grenade et le Chateau de Khaouarnaq*, in *Revue Africaine*, (1906) cclx, 22 f.; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, in *MIFAQ*, xxviii (1910), 36-7 and plate 37; xxxi (1912), 136; B. Meissner, *Eine Reise von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Hira und Huarnaq*, in *Sendschriften der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1901, no. 2, 19. (L. MASSIGNON)

**KHAWĀṢṢ** [see KHĀṢṢA].

**KHAWĀṢṢ AL-KUR'ĀN**, the art of drawing prognostications from verses of the Qur'ān to which beneficial effects are attributed. The sacred text is used here in the same spirit as in rhapsodomancy (*'ilm al-kur'a*) and onomatomancy [see DJAFR and HURUF.] But it is here more particularly a case of the "natural properties" (φυσικά) which certain formulae of a magical and superstitious nature can have, based upon suitable Qur'ānic verses, letters drawn from these verse, words, names of angels, prophets or God, prayers bearing celebrated names and poems (e.g. the *Burda*). Hence these varied elements are treated just as the "science of properties" treats animals, plants and minerals, by calling attention to the sympathy and antipathy which exists between them (on this science, extensively developed in Islam, cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, 61 ff.; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 393 ff.).

Two series of results are sought from this practice, prognostications and beneficial effects (*manāfi'*). Medical prognostications are the most sought-after,

and the treatises of popular medicine are crammed with them (e.g. see *al-Dā' wa'l-dawā'* of Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya, which deals more specifically with the medical properties of the Fātiḥa; the *K. Khawāṣṣ al-Fātiḥa al-sharīfa* of 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djīlī; and the literature on *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*).

There is an abundant literature on these properties, and a large number of them are treated in compilations like the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ wa-kanz al-ikhṭiṣāṣ fi 'ilm al-khawāṣṣ* of al-Djildakī (d. 743/1342) or the *Tadhkirat ūlī 'l-albāb* of al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1599). There exist also some monographs, of which the most famous is the *K. Manāfi' al-Kur'ān* of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī, who wrote at the end of the 4th/10th century (Istanbul Univ. Libr. A 2243, ff. 48, 18 × 13 cm, *nashḥī*, N.D. but fairly old). This includes a large number of superstitious uses of the Kur'ān aimed at arriving at a knowledge of hidden things. Abū 'Abbas al-Būnī (d. 627/1225) wrote both a *K. Manāfi' al-Kur'ān* (*ibid.*, A 5582, ff. 132, 23 × 14 cm, very fine *nashḥī*) and a *K. Sirr al-makṭūm min al-'ilm al-maknūn wa-khawāṣṣ al-Kur'ān* (*ibid.*, A 4514, ff. 71, incomplete, 15 × 9,5 cm, *nashḥī*). A *K. Manāfi' suwar al-Kur'ān* and a *K. Khawāṣṣ al-Kur'ān al-'aẓim* are attributed to Dja'far al-Šādīq (see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 530). One should also mention the *Khawāṣṣ al-Burda fi bur' al-dā'* of Ibn 'Abd al-Salām b. Idrīs al-Marrākushī, which divides up the famous *ḥaṣīda* of al-Būšīrī into several sections and describes the beneficial effects residing in each (see Ullmann, *op. cit.*, 415-16).

**Bibliography:** For other works and for fuller details, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 214-45, esp. 241-3. One can also find in Ahlwardt's Berlin mss. catalogue, under no. 4153, the titles of works on the *khawāṣṣ al-Kur'ān* and under no. 4176, six works on the *ahzāb* or *ad'īya* reputed to have special properties. The magical character of such prayers has been demonstrated by Goldziher, *Zauber-elemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orientalische Studien zu Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, I, 303 ff. (T. FAHD)

#### **KHAWBAR** [SEE KHŌBAR].

**KHAWLĀN.** 1. The name of a South Arabian tribe, of great antiquity and now divided into two branches. The larger section, which al-Hamdānī calls *Khawlān al-'āliya*, is now known as *Khawlān al-ḥiyāl* and dwells south-east of Ṣan'ā' on the upper reaches of the Wādī Dhana, with the lands of Murād to the south-east and Niḥm, in the highlands proper, to the north-west. The tribe now belongs to Bakīl. Their territory, which was described by Carsten Niebuhr in 1763 and visited by Eduard Glaser in 1885-6, is a very mountainous region, bisected by numerous tributaries of the Wādī Dhana, and with a widely scattered population. It is noted for the cultivation of cereals and grapes. The chief town is Djahāna, and of lesser import are Bayt al-Kibsi and Tan'im. The latter was formerly renowned as a centre of the Yemenī Jews and possessed many synagogues. The *Khawlān* consist of many independent clans and families, rarely under a single ruler, dispersed throughout innumerable fortified villages, and have always been loyal Zaydis. Their savagely fanatical temperament and warlike disposition have given them a reputation for feuding and division. The Arab genealogists give as their eponymous ancestor *Khawlān* b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārīṭh b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. 'Arb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'.

The other branch of *Khawlān*, variously known as *Khawlān al-Shām*, *Khawlān* b. 'Amir, or *Khawlān* Kuḏā'a, lives just south of the Hīdžāz border, in the

mountains north-west of Ṣa'da, on the Ṣan'ā'-Mecca road, four days' journey from the port of Ḥālf. They too are described by Niebuhr, who mentions a number of their villages but no large towns. Since it is alleged that gold used to be mined in the region at Kuḏā'a, some authorities, most recently von Wissmann, have identified *Khawlān al-Shām* with the Biblical Ḥawila. The district is fertile and produces grapes, wheat, and coffee in abundance. The *Khawlān al-Shām* are also Zaydis and have their own *shaykh*, but maintain no contact with the southern *Khawlān*. Their genealogy may be seen in the variant given for *Khawlān* by some Arab writers, notably Yāqūt: *Khawlān* b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāf b. Kuḏā'a b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. Murra. Since, however, *Nashwān* states that the *Khawlān al-'āliya* also belonged to Kuḏā'a, the distinction between the two tribes may be taken as regional rather than genealogical. Von Wissmann has suggested that originally the tribe of *Khawlān* occupied the entire area between Ṣa'da and Ṣirwāḥ, but was split in antiquity into the two branches by which we now recognise them by the invasion of Ḥāshid and Bakīl, who now occupy the intervening territory, and in whose lands it is interesting to find the village of Bayt *Khawlān* on Djabal Ḥādūr Nabī *Shu'ayb* [*q.v.*] and the mountain 'Urr *Khawlān*.

The two-fold division into a northern and a southern *Khawlān* is reflected in the ancient inscriptions where the tribe is frequently mentioned. The earliest reference, in *RES* 3022 (Minaean), is probably to the southern branch. The inscription may be dated at the latest to the late 3rd century B.C. and tells how Saba' and *Khawlān* attacked a Minaean caravan en route from Ma'in to RGMT (in or near Naḏīrān). Later references, which for the most part to the time of the Sabaeo-Ḥimyarite wars of the 3rd century A.D., are more explicit in drawing a distinction between *Hwln HDLm*, with which are associated the towns of ṢRWḤ and TN'CM and probably the tribe *KBSYm*, and *Hwln GDDm* (also *GDDN*, *qGDDTN*, and *2GDDN*), which possessed the city of Ṣ'DTm (e.g., *Jamme* 577, 601, 616, 629, 649, 658, *CIH* 308). There can be no doubt that the former were *Khawlān al-'āliya* and the latter *Khawlān al-Shām*.

In *Shābān* 10/Nov. 631, envoys of *Khawlān* appeared before Muḥammad in Medina and professed Islam on behalf of their tribe. They were instructed in the teaching of Islam by the Prophet himself, and promised to destroy their idol 'Amm Anas; they then received the usual gift of honour of 12½ ounces of silver and returned home. After the death of the Prophet they at first joined the general movement of apostasy, but Ya'qā b. Munya, whom the Caliph Abū Bakr sent against them with an expeditionary force, succeeded in regaining them for Islam in the course of the year 11/632. Politically they were on closer terms with the government in Medina than the other tribes of the Yemen, which was probably the result of their relations with the Persian rulers in Ṣan'ā'. They afforded shelter to the two Persian princes *Djuṣhaysh* and *Fayrūz* who were driven out of Ṣan'ā' by the rebellion of the Arabs under *Kays* b. 'Abd *Yaghūth* b. *Makshūh* and supported them till help came from Medina.

Members of the tribe of *Khawlān*, after their lands were finally opened to Islam upon the subjection of the Yemen in 13/634 or 14/635, played an important part among the southern Arabs who participated in the conquest of Egypt and settled there. We frequently find *Khawlānīs* in important positions in Egypt; in Old Cairo (al-Fuṣṭāṭ) they gave their



name to a quarter, and the name generally is not rare in the papyri and on Arab tombstones in Egypt.

2. The name of a village near Damascus. One of the most distinguished of the companions of the Prophet is buried there, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mishkam Abū Muslim al-Khawlanī.

*Bibliography*: 1. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*; idem, *Iklīl*, x, Cod. Berol. Glaser, 22, p. 2; Hishām b. Muḥammad, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Caskel; Ibn Ḥawkal, *BGA*, ii, 31, 32; al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, *BGA*, vii, 320; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 499, iv, 147; *Marāṣid al-iḥṣilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i, 375; 'Azimuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Šams al-'Ulūm*, *GMS*, xxiv, Leiden 1916; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg 1903; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, ii, Milan 1907; E. Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Hāschid*, in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxx (1884), 171; idem, *Über meine Reisen in Arabien, in Mith. der Geogr. Gesell. in Wien*, xxx (1887), 23; idem, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890; *Eduard Glaser's Reise nach Mārib*, ed. D. H. von Müller and N. Rhodokanakis (*Sammlung Eduard Glaser*, i), Vienna 1913; S. D. Goitein (ed.), *Travels in Yemen: an account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najran in the year 1870, written in San'ani Arabic by his guide Hayyim Habshush*, Jerusalem 1941; M. Hartmann, *Die islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, ii, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909; Admiralty Handbooks, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 248; A. Jamme, *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilḡs (Mārib)*, Baltimore 1962; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772; H. von Wissmann and M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Wiesbaden 1953; H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien (Sammlung Eduard Glaser, iii)*, Wien 1964.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 499; *Marāṣid al-iḥṣilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i, 375; 'Azimuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Šams al-'Ulūm (GMS, 24, Leiden 1916)*. (A. GROHMANN — A. K. IRVINE)

**AL-KHAWLĀNĪ**, ABŪ IDRĪS 'Ā'IDH ALLĀH B. 'ABD ALLĀH, a Successor who lived from 8/629-30 until 80/699. Apart from Abū Muslim al-Khawlanī [q.v.], with whom he often seems to have been confused, he was the only one of his tribe among the early settlers in Syria, according to Khalifa b. Khayyāt's *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, Baghdad 1967, 307 f. During the last years of his life, he was *ḥādī* of Damascus under 'Abd al-Malik. He was considered to be one of the 'ubbād (pious devotees) and one of the *ḥurrā'* [q.v.] of Syria. Before he was appointed *ḥādī*, he held the function of story-teller (*ḥāṣṣ*) [q.v.] or preacher (*wā'iz*) [q.v.] in the mosque. Apparently he took his function very seriously, instructing the people in the *aḥkām*, *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*, in which he allegedly was an expert. He was also described as a reliable transmitter of traditions, many of which were eventually recorded in the "six books". The most extensive collection of his own sayings is preserved in Abū Nu'aym's *Hilyat al-awliyā'*. A few of these sayings can be traced in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections provided with complete *isnāds* to Muḥammad. Like Abū Muslim al-Khawlanī, Abū Idrīs is reputed to have transmitted some *ḥadīth qudsī* [q.v.] which smack of Christian

influence (cf. Muḥammad al-Madani, *K. al-Iḥkāfāt al-sunniyya fi 'l-aḥādīth al-ḥudsiyya*, Hyderabad 1323, 20, no. 110 and Muslim, *birr*, 55).

*Bibliography*: Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, v, 122-9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, v, 85-7; Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭulūn, *Ḳuḍāt Dimashq*, ed. Š. al-Munajjid, Damascus 1956, 5; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, Hyderabad 1955, i, 56 f.; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, Hyderabad edn., v, 235; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, vi, 441.

(G. H. A. JUYNBOLL)

**AL-KHAWLĀNĪ**, ABŪ MUSLIM 'ABD ALLĀH B. THUWĀB, one of the eight Successors allegedly famous for their asceticism (*zuhd* [q.v.]). He was born of the tribe Khawlan in the Yaman. One report (Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, ii, 125) has it that he only became a Muslim in Syria during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya, but other reports say that he had already been converted to Islam during the prophet's lifetime while still in the Yaman. When al-Aswad b. Ḳays (cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, xii, 236 and Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, ii, 128; or: b. Ka'b, cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1795) al-'Ansī Dhū 'l-Himār [q.v.] summoned him to embrace his cause, Abū Muslim refused and was consequently thrown into a fire which did not harm him. He was then given leave to travel to Medina, where he arrived a short time after the Prophet's death. Abū Bakr and 'Umar are reported to have given Abū Muslim a warm welcome, the rumour of his ordeal having preceded him. He eventually settled in Syria. It is also said that he participated in a campaign into Byzantine territory. The sources have preserved various reports in which Abū Muslim boldly criticised Mu'āwiya. Furthermore, it is alleged that he offered Mu'āwiya his services as messenger in an endeavour to appease the latter's attitude towards 'Alī. He died in 62/682.

Although Abū Muslim is considered as one of the forerunners of Islamic asceticism, reports about his ascetic behaviour are on the whole very few in number. The most extensive account of his habits and the miracles ascribed to him is preserved in Abū Nu'aym's *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, in which also a few sayings attributed to him can be found. This information is, on the whole, insignificant. It seems, moreover, that he was not only claimed by Muslim ascetics. It is also suggested in several reports that he had affiliations with Jewish as well as Christian circles.

On the one hand, Abū Muslim's suffering at the hands of al-Aswad reminds one of Abraham and Nimrod. Besides, Ka'b al-Aḥbār [q.v.] called him the sage (*ḥakīm*) of the community, although he had to admit to Ka'b on one occasion that the Torah was right where he himself had been wrong (*Hilya*, ii, 128). On the other hand, a Christian monk once asserted that in his books Abū Muslim was mentioned as a companion of 'Isā b. Maryam (*ibid.*). Furthermore, cf. the *ḥadīth qudsī* discussed below, which smacks of Christian influence.

Although generally recognised as a reliable transmitter of traditions, Abū Muslim is credited in the canonical collections with the transmission of only a few. The best known of these is a *ḥadīth qudsī* [q.v.]: "My love will be realised for those people who love one another because of me, my love will be realised for those people who visit one another because of me", etc. (cf. Muḥ. al-Madani, *K. al-Iḥkāfāt al-sunniyya fi 'l-aḥādīth al-ḥudsiyya*, Hyderabad 1323, 10, no. 47 and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, v, 236, 237, 239 and 328). In several *isnāds* of this tradition (cf. Mālik b. Anas, *Muwatta'*,

ed. 'Abd al-Bāḳī, ii, 953 f., Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 229, 233, 247) his name seems to be confused with that of another transmitter called al-Khawlanī, namely 'Ā'idh Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh Abū Idrīs, one time *kādī* of Damascus. Since Abū Idrīs is considered as really too young (born in A.H. 8, he died in 80/699, cf. *Tahdhīb*, v, 86 f.) to have transmitted this *hadīth kudsī* from the Companion Mu'adh b. Djabal, Abū Muslim's name may have been inserted to bridge the gap in an otherwise imperfect *isnād*. Confusion of the two Khawlanīs seems to be also apparent elsewhere (cf. Balādhuri, *Ansūb al-ashraf*, iv/b, ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1938, 60).

*Bibliography*: Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, ii, 122-31, v, 120-2; Nasr b. Muzāhim, *Waḳ'at Šifīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962-3, 85 f.; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, vii/2, 157 (in this source it is alleged that he came from Baṣra, which is most probably an apocryphal statement not borne out by evidence found elsewhere); Dārimī, *Sunan, muḳaddīma*, 34; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. 'Ukkāsha, 439; Dīnawarī, *al-Aḳhbār al-tiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 172 ff.; Bayhaḳī, *K. al-Maḥāsīn wa'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 380; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḥd al-farīd*, index s.v.; Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, iii, 93; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, xii, 235 f. (G. H. A. JUVNBOLL)

**KHAYĀL**, the most important song form in the classical repertoire of north Indian music, is regarded by some to have been invented by Amīr Khusraw (651-725/1253-1325) and attributed by others to Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī (862-934/1458-1528), the ruler of Dīawnpūr, who was dispossessed by Buhlūl Lodī in ca. 1476. Whatever its genesis, there is little doubt that it saw its greatest development during the Muslim period of Indian history and that its major exponents have generally been Muslims. It arose as a reaction to the traditional composition *dhrupad*, whose rigid and austere character seemed to inhibit improvisation and technical virtuosity. In contrast, *khayāl*, as its name implies, was intended to afford greater freedom to the musician's imagination. The two forms continued to exist in competition with one another, their advocates rivalling among themselves and claiming superiority for their respective styles. In the 12th/18th century, *khayāl* received a tremendous impetus as a result of the efforts of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748) and that of his court singers Adā Rang and Sadā Rang. It now leads all musical compositions and is regarded as the most significant contribution to the development of music. Its content deals primarily with religious and amorous themes, and consists of a relatively short set piece employed as the basis for improvisation.

*Bibliography*: Faḳīr Allāh, *Rāg Durpan*, I. O. Pers. Ms. 1937; Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Faḳīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tuḥfat al-Hind*, I. O. Pers. Ms. 1269; Wāḳīd 'Alī Shāh, *Sawt-i Mubārak*, Lucknow 1853; S. N. Haidar Rizvi, *Music in Muslim India*, in IC, xv (1941); M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London 1967; Aziz Ahmad, *An intellectual history of Islam in India*, Edinburgh 1969; N. Augustus Willard, *Music of India*, Calcutta 1962; H. A. Popley, *The music of India*, Calcutta 1950; N. A. Jairazbhoy, *The Rāgs of North Indian music*, Middletown, Conn. 1971. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

**KHAYĀL**, Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī, of Aḥmadābād in Guḍjarāt (d. 1173/1759-60), author of a collection of tales in 15 volumes entitled *Bustān-i Khayāl*, composed in Persian prose between 1155/

1742 and 1169/1756, at the request of his patron Nawwāb Rashīd Khān, or, according to one manuscript, for the two brothers Nawwāb Rashīd Khān and Nawwāb Muḥammad Ishāḳ Khān, sons of Dīa'far 'Alī Khān (Nawwāb of Bengal 1170-4/1757-61 and 1176-8/1763-5); an account of the contents of this work, which is made up partly of historical legends and partly of fantastic fairy tales, is given by Ethé, *Cat. of Persian Mss. of the Bodleian Library*, No. 480.

*Bibliography*: Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.* ii, 342.

(Ed.)

**KHAYĀL AL-ZILL** ("Shadow fantasy"), popular Arabic name for the shadow-play, possibly brought over from South-East Asia or India and performed in Muslim lands from the 12th century A.D. to the 20th one. Although occasionally presented during the long evenings of the Ramaḳān fast, it has now virtually disappeared with the spread of education, the cinema and television.

The only extant texts of medieval Arabic shadow-plays were composed in the 7th/13th century A.D. by an Egyptian ophthalmologist, Ibn Dāniyāl [q.v.], and consist of a humorous pageant of Egyptian life under the Mamlūk ruler Baybars I [q.v.]. More frequently, however, the text of a shadow-play amounted to no more than general guidelines for the performers. In the Ottoman period the shadow-play spread through North Africa and other Arabic-speaking countries, as the Ottoman Turks popularised the *Ḳaragöz* [q.v.], in which several stereotyped characters amused an unsophisticated audience. The *Ḳaragöz* also penetrated Anatolia, the Arab countries, Greece and Roumania. Iran had its own form of shadow-play, as had Muslim communities in Central Asia, but they did not attain the same popularity.

After Ibn Dāniyāl's time, one finds scattered references to Arabic shadow-plays; however, only from the 12th/18th century onwards is relatively more known. In Syria and in most of North Africa a *Ḳaragöz*-type prevailed, but Egypt held to its own tradition of shadow-play, which usually presented the adventures and misadventures of characters in the market-place or on Nile boats (e.g. *li'b al-markīb*, *li'b al-timsāh*).

A standard *khayāl al-zill* performance in the 18th and 19th centuries was usually constructed on the following lines: a large sheet was hung as a screen on an improvised stage in the open air, in a coffee-house, or, more rarely, in a public hall, and a bright lamp placed behind it. Between the two, small (often 30 cm. high) two-dimensional figurines, of thin coloured translucent leather, were manipulated by the shadow-play master, who was called the *muḳaddīm*. He used several sticks to move the head and limbs of the figurines, through holes specially pierced into the figurines; the shadows thus cast on the screen were both lifesize and lifelike. One or more persons assisted the *muḳaddīm* in this task and in the recitations of the different characters.

The texts recited were memorised, rather than read, but often seemed also to bear the mark of improvisation, not unlike the *commedia dell'arte*. The *li'b* ("play") started with a *maṣla'* ("prologue") and was divided into *fuṣūl* ("acts"), although some plays were of one *faṣl* only. Songs and music were interspersed as needed, prose alternating with verse. The vernacular predominated and the contents and style were geared to a familiar background, e.g. the bath-house or the market-place. The plot was simple enough, usually based on misadventures and misunderstandings. Slapstick—including severe thrash-

ings and teratological elements—was common, as was an obscenely erotic element bordering on pornography.

Historical shadow-plays were performed, too, but more rarely. The farces, more frequent, were humorous rather than satirical, but had important socio-economic and political undertones. In what amounted to a "comedy of character", many shadow-plays ridiculed the upper classes and denounced the exploitation of the poor, while in North Africa the shadow-play sometimes criticised French rule. In fact, the shadow-play, by its social and political commentary, to some extent anticipated the local press.

**Bibliography:** The earlier literature on *Khayāl al-zill* may be consulted in the pioneer study of this field—Georg Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, Hanover 1925. To this one should add the following: O. Spies, *Tunesisches Schatten-theater*, in *Public. d'hommage offerte au P. W. Schmidt*, Vienna 1928, 693-702; N. N. Martinovitch, *The Turkish theatre*, N.Y. 1933; K. Levy, *La'bāt el'hotā. Ein tunesisches Schattenspiel*, in *Festschrift für Kahle*, Leiden 1935, 119-24; E. Saussey, *Une farce de Karagueuz en dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *B.Ét.Or.*, vii-viii (1937-8), 5-37; P. Kahle, *The Arabic shadow play in Egypt*, in *JRAS* (1940), 21-34; J. M. Landau, *Shadow plays in the Near East*, Jerusalem 1948; H. Ritter, *Karagöz, türkische Schattenspiele*, 3 vols., Istanbul-Wiesbaden 1924, 1941, 1953; J. M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958; Ibrāhīm Hammāda, *Khayāl al-zill wa-tamthīliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo 1963; Metin And, *A history of theatre and popular entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara 1964; idem, *Geleneksel Türk tiyatrosu: kukla—karagöz—ortaoyunu*, Ankara 1969; Mukhtār al-Suwayfī, *Khayāl al-zill wa 'l-'arā'is fi 'l-'ālam*,? Cairo, N.D., 153-86.

(J. M. LANDAU)

**KHAYĀLĪ**, also known as **KHAYĀLĪ BEY** or **KHAYĀLĪ MEHMET BEY**, nicknamed Bekār Memi as he was never married, Ottoman Turkish poet (d. 964/1556). He was born in Vardar Yenidjesi (modern Giannitsa), near Salonica in Macedonia. He did not go through the usual *medrese* training, but taught himself most of the knowledge expected in an educated man of his time, and began, as a very young man, to write poetry. The poets Uşūlī and Hayretī were among his friends. According to 'Ashkīk Ālebi, his closest friend and whose *Tedhkir* is a main source for his biography, he came at an early age under the influence of the Ḥaydarī dervish Baba 'Alī Mest-i 'Adjemī, who called at Vardar Yenidjesi during his travels, and **Khayālī** soon joined his party of wandering Ḥaydarī and Qalenderī dervishes, roaming from place to place and sharing their free-and-easy way of life. Eventually he ended up in Istanbul, where his poetical talent, intelligence and refinement attracted the attention of the Kāđī Şarī Gürz Nūr al-Dīn, who ordered Uzun 'Alī, the city *muhtesib*, to save **Khayālī** from this vagrant life ('Ashkīk Ālebi, *Meshā'ir al-shu'arā*, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, 271a). 'Alī says, however, that Baba 'Alī Mest treated **Khayālī** like his own son and helped him with his further education (*Kūnh al-akhbār*, biographical section, Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 117, f. 494b). 'Ashkīk Ālebi himself came to Istanbul in 942/1536 as a young boy, where he met **Khayālī**, and their friendship lasted more than twenty years, during which time 'Ashkīk was able to follow the poet's private life and his successful career and, as a scholar and poet himself,

advised him occasionally on grammatical problems in his writing. In the capital, **Khayālī** soon won the favour of Süleymān the Magnificent, to whom he was introduced by the Grand Vizier Makbūl (Makṭūl) İbrāhīm Paşa [q.v.], who had patronised the poet on the Defterdār İskender Ālebi's recommendation. Almost all his *kasides*, which have no particular literary distinction, are dedicated to Süleymān. The over-generous favours of the Sultan aroused the jealousy of most of his fellow-poets, particularly of Dhātī ('Ālī, *ibid.*, f. 495a) and Tashhdjall Yahyā [q.v.] who frequently attacked him with his pungent satires, to which **Khayālī** did not fail to retort. Following the execution of İskender Ālebi and İbrāhīm Paşa in 942/1535 and 943/1536 respectively, **Khayālī** lost two powerful protectors. Although 'Ashkīk Ālebi says unconvincingly that the Sultan's favours never diminished ('Ashkīk Ālebi, *ibid.*, f. 271b), it seems that **Khayālī** began to feel uncomfortable at the court during the grand vizierate of Rüstem Paşa [q.v.], who was not particularly inclined to the arts. He must have hinted to the poet that his presence in the capital was no longer desirable, for we see **Khayālī** pressing for a post outside Istanbul, more exactly, to become *Rumeli Kethüdāsı* or *Sandjağ Beyi*, the latter of which he seems to have obtained. **Khayālī**'s public life after this period is somewhat obscure. His meeting with Fuḍūlī in Bağdād, which must have taken place during Süleymān's sojourn in 941/1534, is mentioned only by 'Alī (*ibid.*, f. 5066) without further comment. He died in Edirne, where he is buried (for the present state of his burial place, see A. N. Tarlan, *Haydī Bey divanı*, Istanbul 1945, XI).

**Khayālī** is an outstanding and original *Diwān* poet of his time. He wrote a few dozen brilliant lyrics which are lost, to the casual reader, in the mass of mediocre *ghazals* of the most conventional type. His reputation is thus disproportionate to his poetical achievement. It may be that the circumstances in which he left the court after the disappearance of his powerful protectors, and the fact of his apparently being an 'Alawī in an environment where orthodox Islam was predominant, were important factors for his comparatively secondary position among his more celebrated colleagues. Although his superiority to Bākī [q.v.], as claimed by A. N. Tarlan (*Hayalī-Bahī*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, No. 1 (1946), 26-38), may be debated, since **Khayālī** is far from having the mastery of form and the flow of style of the "Sultan of Poets", there can be no doubt that some of **Khayālī**'s lyrics are more heart-felt and are more imbued with pervasive mystic passion than is the case with Bākī and with the two prominent followers of his school, Şheykh ūl-İslām Yahyā and Nedīm.

**Khayālī**'s *Diwān* has been edited by Ali Nihad Tarlan (*Hayalī Bey Divanı*, Istanbul 1945); this is based on manuscripts available in Istanbul libraries.

**Bibliography:** see the *tedhkir*es of Sehi, Laṭīf and 'Ashkīk Ālebi, and the biographical section of 'Alī's *Kūnh al-akhbār*, s.v.; Mu'allim Nāđī, *Osāmī*, Istanbul 1308/1892, 137; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, iii, 58; Fahir İz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, i/1, Istanbul 1966, 272-80 (selections from his *ghazels*). (FAHIR İZ)

**KHAYBAR**, the name of a famous oasis, and of its principal settlement, about 95 miles/150 km. from Medina; the district owes its renown to events which took place there in the years 7 and 20 A.H., not to natural features which distinguish it from other oases in the region. For this reason the

ancient Arab geographers, although they do mention it, provide only the briefest of information about it, giving special praise to the abundance of its palm trees.

#### 1.—Geographical information.

Only al-Bakrī and Yāqūt have devoted to Khaybar as much as two pages in their *Muʿdjam*s: the former is concerned primarily with the details of certain places in the interior in the light of their historical importance, the latter informs us that the place-name Khaybar encompassed the entire *wilāya* and that this *wilāya* comprised 7 *ḥiṣṣ*ns whose names were: Ḥiṣṣ Naʿīm, al-Ḳamūs (= Ḥiṣṣ Abī ʿl-Ḥuḳayk), Ḥiṣṣ al-Shikk, Ḥiṣṣ (al-)Naʿāt, Ḥiṣṣ ʿl-Sulālim (*sic*), Ḥiṣṣ al-Waṭṭh and Ḥiṣṣ al-Katba. All these place-names are found in the historical Arab sources and are listed alphabetically in the *Muʿdjam* of Yāqūt. Wüstenfeld (*Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen* . . . 15) adds to them two other names, al-Yaʿkūbi, ii, 56, another two, al-Bakrī, 331, one other.

Yāqūt states in addition that Khaybar was the equivalent of *ḥiṣṣ* in the dialect of the Jews and since there were several of these in the region, the locality was also designated by the plural form *Khayābir*. He quotes some verses where mention is made of the fever which was endemic in the oasis, and of the abundance of its date-palms.

From the texts of modern geographers we can glean some supplementary information: distance from Medina: 60 *mils*; altitude: 2,800 feet (thus Doughty ii, 211; Twitchell, 12: 2,200); site: in a *ḥarra* [*q.v.*]; principal settlement: in the main *wādī*, called Wādī Zaydiyya; administrative district: at present, one of the four *imāras* of Djabal Shammar (see C. A. Nallino, 73); several villages, swampy soil and unhealthy air; 3,000 inhabitants, most of them mulattoes, descendants of negro slaves imported in ancient times to cultivate the oasis (see below). The only satisfying description of the locality is that of Doughty, who stayed at Khaybar from Nov. 1877 to March 1878. The impression given by his notes is that the entire *ḥarra*, despite the fertility of the soil, has a depressing and desolate atmosphere because of its stagnant waters, the salt encrustation of its *wādīs* and above all because of the blackish colour of its basalt rocks. Doughty said on arrival: "all is horror at Kheibar" (ii, 79; cf. 76, 81, 215, etc.). Recently, many changes have taken place at Khaybar. Twitchell informs us that a large dam has been constructed not far from the principal settlement, that other dams are planned and that a road suitable for vehicles now connects the oasis to Medina.

#### 2.—History

The earliest mention of Khaybar figures in the bilingual inscription of Ḥarrān in the Laḳja: it bears the date "the year 463, one year after the Khaybar expedition" referring therefore to the year 568 A.D. (see E. Littmann, *Osservazioni sulle iscrizioni di Harran e di Zebed* in *RSO*, iv (1911-12), 193 ff.). Ibn Kutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 313) states furthermore that this expedition took place under the king al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir (= b. Djabala) who reigned 528 to 569-70 A.D.

In the time of the Prophet, the population of Khaybar was made up of Jewish tribes and of Hebrew tribes. The time of the arrival of the Jews is not known, but one may assume that their departure from Palestine and emigration to Khaybar were part of a considerable migratory movement which took a large number of Jews towards the more fertile regions of North Arabia; that the displacement of such large numbers of people must have had very serious mo-

tives, otherwise, it is difficult to understand why it should have consisted of a movement from fertile regions towards the desert; and that the emigration began probably after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., but proceeded steadily on account of the persecutions which the Jews continued to suffer in Palestine. Also, in our opinion, a factor would have been invitations sent to relatives and friends by those who, having settled in Arabia, were satisfied with their new situation. How did this satisfaction come about? In our opinion, the Jews found in Arabia conditions favourable to their spirit of initiative and appropriate to their customs. We believe that sufficient attention has not been paid to the following circumstances: (1) The traffic in precious merchandise from India and the Far East, diverted from Mesopotamia to Arabia following a series of grave events, had brought to the inhabitants of the peninsular a certain prosperity; (2) The Arabs were not at that time capable of producing for themselves the tools, the weapons, the textiles, and the jewelry which they needed or coveted, and the Jews, being skilful artisans and drawn by nature towards commerce, were in a position to supply these objects because they understood the art of manufacturing them or the means of importing them; and (3) Arabia was a vast country with a sizable population which offered, now that economic conditions were much improved, considerable opportunities for commerce.

In our opinion, the Jews in Arabia, besides their activity in agriculture (they were the pioneers in the cultivation of the oasis) and their commercial activities in their capacity as craftsmen, bankers and money-lenders, probably carried these on in collaboration with the Arabs. They provided the capital, while the Arabs acted as intermediaries between them and the tribes of the interior. The Jews possessed considerable wealth and it would seem difficult to suppose that this was due solely to the work of farmers and artisans whose production was for local consumption only. In fact, despite the absence of precise information, we possess certain indications. Some objects found by the Muslims in a redoubt at Khaybar (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 6) seem to us significant: a siege-engine, 20 bales of Yemenī cloth and 500 cloaks. Wellhausen, apparently struck by the singularity of the existence of such a machine among the Jews, attempted to explain it, suggesting (tr. of al-Wākidī, 269, n. 1) that these were used for settling quarrels among the families of the community. It would seem more logical to suppose that it was being stored in a *depôt* for future sale, in the same way that swords, lances, shields, etc. had been sold by the Jews. Equally, the 20 bales of cloth and the 500 cloaks must have been intended for sale, as it is not conceivable that such a quantity of luxury goods was kept for the exclusive use of the Jews. If one accepts the idea of commercial activities undertaken especially by the Jews of Medina (cf. moreover M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history, a new interpretation (600-750)*, Cambridge 1971, 10, 13), one understands better the reasons for which Muḥammad attacked them in particular. His hostility towards the Jews would have had economic causes similar to those which have brought about persecutions and pogroms in so many countries during the course of history.

According to Caetani (7 a.H., § 7) Muḥammad was moved to attack Khaybar by motives of political opportunism: on the one hand, the pact concluded with Kuraysh at Ḥudaybiyya gave him the assurance of not being attacked by them during the expedition; on the other hand, if he conquered Khaybar he would

be able to satisfy with ample booty those of his companions who, having hoped to capture Mecca, were disappointed and discontented.

Montgomery Watt has drawn attention to the fact that the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, driven out of Medina, had taken refuge in Khaybar and that their chieftains and the chieftains of other Jewish groups, eager for revenge, were intriguing against Muḥammad along with the Arabs tribes of the neighbourhood. So Muḥammad had not only a just motive for attacking them, but there was also the positive necessity to destroy these enemies, more formidable even than the Quraysh because of their adherence to their own religion, their intelligence and their superior culture. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (385-6) maintains that the Prophet did not feel sure of the northern fringes of the peninsula: he was afraid lest the Jews established in the oases of Northern Arabia betray him, and lest Heraclius and Kisrā seek help from them against him. The sources give support to the view of Montgomery Watt, showing that the Jews, already responsible for the coalition which had laid siege to Medina in 5 A.H. and worried by the growing power of the Prophet, continued to stir up the Arabs against him. Haykal's opinion, however, is to be rejected in that it is inappropriate to consider an event in the light of subsequent developments. In the year 7 A.H. Muḥammad was not yet a figure to be reckoned with in the estimation of the rulers of the empires to the north of the peninsula. While giving full credit to the opinion of Montgomery Watt, one should not overlook the fact that the Prophet was in great need of arms and money to accomplish his objectives and he knew that he could find these among the Jews at Khaybar (the sources give precise details of the number and type of arms captured by the Muslims from the Jews at Medina and at Khaybar; Caetani, 4 a.H., § 13; 5 a.H., § 49; 7 a.H., § 31).

Muḥammad marched against Khaybar with 1,800 or 1,600 men and 100 horses (according to al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 256, with 1,400 men and 200 horses). The date of departure indicated by Ibn Hishām, sc. Muḥarram 7/May-June 628, is to be preferred to those of the other sources (see Caetani, 7 a.H., § 7 and n. 2). The march of the Muslims was secret and rapid, and the Jews only became aware of their arrival when they went out to their work in the fields. Alarmed, the inhabitants of the oasis took refuge in their homes, confident of their ability to defend themselves there, and from that time onwards each family or group held defensive positions in its own redoubt.

The attack by Muḥammad had been foreseen, but no serious preparations for withstanding it had been made; at Khaybar there was no political authority which could have imposed a communal defence policy, and it seems moreover that discord reigned there (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 9, and 8). Their defensive policy was limited to seeking, with promises of reward, the support of the neighbouring Arab tribes. In fact, several thousands of the Ghaṭafān, pressed by the insistence of and the rewards offered by the Jews, came to Khaybar to offer their aid, but they withdrew at the very moment when their aid was needed. The sources explain their departure, describing how they had left their women, children and livestock in an encampment in the middle of the desert and, hearing great uproar from that place, they believed that the Muslims were attacking it and they rushed to defend their families (another version attributes their departure to a mysterious voice which warned them of danger [Caetani, 7 a.H., § 12]). Now, the Ghaṭafān embraced Islam immediately after the conquest of

Khaybar and they did not return to Khaybar until after the successful completion of the operation; Muḥammad conceded to them a hill in the oasis and one may suppose that this concession was the price of their withdrawal.

The process of the military operation has not been clearly described in the sources, and for purposes of reconstruction, the historian cannot base himself on the topography of the oasis, nor on a survey of the remains of ancient constructions in the *ḥarra*, nor on the local tradition which indicates the sites where Muslims and Jews fought one another. The actual place-names, which Doughty collected, differ entirely from those mentioned in the sources (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 6); one site alone can be identified, the place where 'Alī gave proof of his valour, and this only because there is a mosque bearing his name. We restrict ourselves here to drawing out from the detailed accounts of the sources those aspects which characterised the hostilities and the more famous of the episodes. Two facts should be noted. First, in the oasis there were three regions: al-Naṭāt, al-Shiḥk and al-Katība, probably separated by natural diversions (*wādīs*, lava-drifts, swamps). Second, each of these regions contained several *ḥiṣns*. Those which Muḥammad besieged and which provided for the Jews homes, store-houses and stables (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 26, 28) could probably be described as "farm-strongholds", the term applied by Ph. Lippens in his *Expédition en Arabie centrale*, Paris 1956, 37, to the buildings in another oasis, also called Khaybar, situated to the south of Mecca on the Biṣṣa-Abhā road (cf. Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Bilād*, 263); "farm" because after the fashion of the buildings described by Lippens, the *ḥiṣns* of our Khaybar were surrounded by cultivated fields and palm-groves (Muḥammad ordered the felling of 400 palms around one *ḥiṣn* to force the defenders to capitulate; Caetani, 7 a.H., § 17); "strongholds" because they were raised up on the hills or on the basalt rocks of the oasis as to be more defensible, such as the *ḥiṣn* of the principal settlement which stands on a long, basalt crag (Doughty, ii, 76) and the *ḥiṣn* of al-Zubayr which, we are told by the sources, stood on the summit of a cliff (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 27).

The situation following the retreat of the inhabitants into their redoubts was as follows. The Jews, after a rather bloody skirmish in front of one of the *ḥiṣns*, avoided combat in the open country and Muḥammad, having none but the most primitive means of assaulting the fortifications, found himself obliged to invest one *ḥiṣn* after another, and to wait until the capitulation of the defenders should become inevitable through lack of water and food. This did not prevent those besieged from transferring, under cover of darkness, women, children and treasures from one *ḥiṣn* to another as the situation demanded; sometimes the warriors themselves, to make their resistance more effective, passed from one region to another, from al-Naṭāt to al-Shiḥk and from al-Shiḥk to al-Katība.

There were, during these sieges a number of skirmishes preceded by duels, a number of sorties by the defenders, some attacks by the Muslims and exchanges of arrow-shots between the two sides (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 15, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31); among the Jews there were spies and traitors who, in order to save their own skins, gave useful information to the enemy, in particular, concerning the use of certain machines of war which the Muslims learned to use at this time (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 28). All these episodes are recounted in great detail by the Arab chroniclers; there were others which had much greater

repercussions and consequences for Islamic history and law.

As those besieged in one of the *ḥiṣns* defended themselves stubbornly (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 20-3), first Abū Bakr, then 'Umar, took up the standard in the hope of breaking down their resistance, by putting themselves at the head of the attacks; but they still failed. Muḥammad then declared that the next day he would entrust the standard to "a man who loves God and his Prophet and whom God and His Prophet love"; he then called to 'Alī (this tradition, reported by Ibn Hishām, 1579 and 1580), shows a *Shi'ī* tendency) and 'Alī, cured of his ophthalmia after the Prophet had spit into his eyes, killed a valiant Jewish chieftain with a sword-stroke which split in two the helmet, the head and the body of the unfortunate victim. He then gave another proof of his exceptional physical strength. Having lost his shield, he lifted one of the doors of the *ḥiṣn* from its hinges and defended himself with it, then used it to make a bridge whereby the attackers gained access to the redoubt. The door was so heavy that later, when it was put back in place, eight men were needed for the purpose. 'Alī had showed his prowess at Badr, at Uḥud and elsewhere, but this fact astounded the Muslims (al-Ṭabarī devotes a page and a half to it, 1579-81); it was greatly exaggerated (see Doughty, ii, 126), and finally became one of the reasons for which the *futuwwa* [q.v.] made of 'Alī the prototype of heroes.

At the start of hostilities, the Muslims suffered from lack of provisions (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 24, and cf. 9 a.H., § 41). Their need drove them to kill, dismember and cook a score of asses which had escaped from one of the *ḥiṣns*. Muḥammad declared that the meat of horses, mules and asses was forbidden and the cauldrons in which the ass-meat was being cooked were overturned. This judgement was nevertheless mitigated: it is permissible to eat even forbidden foods when one is forced by necessity (Qur'ān, II, 168/173, VI, 119/118, XVI, 116/114).

One of the women taken prisoner in one of the *ḥiṣns*, Ṣafiyya, who was married to a Jewish chieftain, caught the attention of the Prophet (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 27, 30, 36 and n. 2, § 48 and n. 4); he threw his mantle over her, a sign that he had chosen her for himself; then Ṣafiyya's husband was put to death because, in disobedience to the orders of the Prophet, he had hidden the treasure of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr. Muḥammad set free his captive and took her in marriage, whence a problem was to arise later for the jurists—to know whether the enfranchisement of the slave could replace the nuptial gift (*mahr*, an essential condition for the legitimacy of marriage), or if the enfranchisement of Ṣafiyya was to be considered as a *jus singulare*, that is to say, one of the *khawāṣṣ* or special privileges of the Prophet (see e.g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 256).

A Jewess laid before Muḥammad, who was dining with his Companions, a roast sheep (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 37). Muḥammad took from it his favourite part, the shoulder, but putting it to his mouth he noticed that it had a strange taste and spat it out (according to one tradition the sheep spoke to him to warn him). One of his fellow-diners who had tasted the dish fell ill and died some time later. The woman confessed her crime (during the hostilities at Khaybar she had lost her husband and other close relatives), but it is not known whether Muḥammad had her executed or pardoned her (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1584, says that he did not punish her, *tadīwawā 'anhā*).

The Prophet ordered the restitution to the Jews of the books containing the holy Scriptures (Caetani,

7 a.H., § 38). It was at Khaybar that he laid down instructions concerning the sale and exchange of precious metals (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 38).

After about a month and a half of hostilities which cost the Muslims very few casualties (a score of dead; Caetani 7 a.H., § 43), the Jews asked the Prophet to offer them an agreement and they capitulated, accepting his conditions (thus Ibn Khaldūn, ii, App. 39, and his version is preferable, in its details, to those of the other sources: Caetani, 7 a.H., § 15 nn. 1 and 2, and § 33). Under the terms of the agreement, the Jews were to remain in the oasis on their land and were to cultivate it, but in future were to hand over one-half of the produce to the Muslims. From a legal point of view, the pact was defective, since it did not define the situation of the Jews and did not say whether they were to remain the owners of the soil which they were to cultivate (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 34); it must be assumed that the problem was not even envisaged by the Prophet, whose sole concern at this time was that the oasis should continue to be cultivated, and by the Jews, since Arabs did not like working on the land. The Prophet limited himself to subjecting the Jews to a perpetual servitude, reducing them to the status of land-serfs.

For this reason, in later years when an interest in legal matters developed among cultivated Muslims, the jurists wondered under what terms the Prophet had left the lands of Khaybar to the Jews, and they defined his settlement as a *musāra'a* or a *musākāt*, that is to say, according to our terminology, a *métayage*, land tenure with rent paid in produce.

The decision taken by Muḥammad at Khaybar to leave the lands to the Jewish cultivators was different from those which he had taken at Medina where, in the year 4, he had handed over part of the lands of al-Naḍīr to Meccan emigrants and reserved a part for himself; in the year 5 he had divided 4/5 of the lands of Qurayṣa among four family groups (Caetani, 4 a.H., § 13; 5 a.H., § 52). Even at Fadak [q.v.] he was later to take a completely different decision. The explanation which he gave for his conduct, when he disposed of the lands of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr as he pleased, was that he had become master of them without the Muslims having had to fight for them; according to the terms of the Qur'ān, LIX, 6, they were "what God has given back to his Messenger from them (i.e. from the Banu 'l-Naḍīr), and you spurred neither horse nor camel to capture them", *mā afā'ā Allāh 'alā rasūlīhi minhum fa-mā awāḍjastum 'alayhi min khayri wa-lā rikābi*. Under the terms of this declaration, goods obtained *'amwat* (by force) were to be divided among the warriors who had taken part in their capture; as to those taken *sulḥ* (by treaty), the soldiers had no rights. But the caliph 'Umar, when he conquered the Sawād—and he conquered it *'amwat*—did not follow the precedent of the Prophet. Far from dividing up the land, he made it a source of future revenues for the Muslim community as a whole; in this he justified himself on the grounds that he would have divided up all the conquered villages "had he not feared lest nothing would be left for the last man" (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, cited in the bibliography, §§ 106, 107, 121). In short, 'Umar placed the interests of the state above those of individuals, but by his decision he caused discontent among the troops and gave a strong motive for grievance to the opposition which was unleashed against the caliph 'Uthmān and which finally brought about the civil war under the caliphate of 'Alī. Both the defenders of the policy of 'Umar on this point and his opponents sought justification in the conduct of the Prophet, and the tradi-

tionists came to their aid—with material suiting the interests of one or the other party, as will be seen below when we shall deal with some of the traditions collected by Yahyā b. Ādam (d. 203/810) in his *Kitāb al-Kharāʾiḍī*, on the nature and the distribution of booty and the spoils of war.

The goods of the Jews (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 39, 41-42), of which Muḥammad took possession by his conquest of Khaybar, consisted of movable and immovable property. The former posed no problem; all the objects would have been piled up to await distribution, and anyone who took anything out of turn was compelled to return it. As for the land, the sources are not clear, either what was the kind of property to be divided, or on the manner by which the distribution was effected. Caetani maintains that the Prophet divided solely the produce of the lands of Khaybar; on this point he is categorical (7 a.H., §§ 33, 41 n. 2 218; 10 a.H., §§ 100-102; 20 a.H., § 237; 23 a.H., § 559) and Montgomery Watt, 250, is in agreement with him; Caetani criticises (10 a.H., § 100 n. 1) Baron von Tornauw and M. van Berchem, who did not doubt but that in 7 a.H. the Prophet divided up the property, the former in *Das Eigentumsrecht nach moslemischen Rechte*, in *ZDMG*, xxxvi (1882), 298, the latter in *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers Califes*, Geneva 1886, 8-9. Caetani bases his conclusion on a passage of al-Balādhuri according to which it was 'Umar who in the year 20 (see below) attended to the division of the *raḥabat al-arḍ*, an expression to be translated as "the ownership of the land" (cf. Glossary to al-Balādhuri). But some details of the distribution of the goods of Khaybar could also serve as a basis for the arguments of Caetani, for example: 'Umar in undertaking a new division of the oasis, invited the widows of the Prophet to choose between the guarantee that they would receive their annual share of the produce and [the possession of] the land (*al-arḍ*: Yahyā b. Ādam, text 24; another version, the price or the estate (*al-day'a*), *ibid.*, text 25).

If some scholars have asserted that Muḥammad at Khaybar distributed the lands, it is because Muḥammad, instead of amassing the half of the products of the oasis after each harvest for distribution to those Muslims entitled to them, gave to each Muslim beneficiary of a plot of land (see below how he divided the land of the oasis in plots and how he designated the beneficiaries) the right to exact directly from the Jewish cultivator the half of the products which that plot of land had yielded. In short, he established a relation between such and such a piece of land and a beneficiary, and 'Umar, when he divided the land, took account of this relation.

The manner adopted for the effecting of these measures was as follows. Muḥammad first detached the share of the fifth which belonged by right to him as the leader of the expedition—he chose the region of al-Katība—and then he divided the territory into 18 major parts, and each of these into 100 plots having the same productive capacity. (Previously, an evaluation had been made of the products which each plot of land and palm-grove could be expected to provide). Lots were drawn for the major parts, and since these subsequently bear names, the list of which has survived, and since these names are sometimes those of eminent Companions, such as 'Umar and Ṭalḥa, and sometimes those of tribal groups, we may deduce that the responsibility for allocating the 100 plots contained in each major part was entrusted to reliable men, some of them chosen by the Prophet, the others, probably later on, chosen by the tribal groups.

What makes the distribution of goods at Khaybar interesting to the historian is a variant account, presented as a tradition by al-Balādhuri (26) and confirmed by other traditions in the collection of Yahyā b. Ādam (§§ 90, 91, 94, 95). These traditions change substantially the account given above of the assessment and distribution of the lands at Khaybar, and change it in such a manner that one is tempted to suppose that all these traditions were invented, in spite of their number (we consider them to be authentic), in order to justify the decision of 'Umar about the lands of Sawād—a decision which was certainly judged politically correct, if not necessary, by most of the people, but which, to be rendered legitimate in the eyes of all, had to be supported by the precedents of the Prophet referred to in traditions. According to the variant account, the land of Khaybar was divided into 36 parts (instead of 18) and Muḥammad divided half of this amount among the troops (Yahyā b. Ādam, § 90); of this half he also received a share for himself (*ibid.*, §§ 91, 94); the other half he reserved to provide funds against administrative needs and matters in hand (*ibid.*, §§ 90, 91), against expenses of his guests, and of delegations coming to him from the interior of the peninsula, and against any other eventuality (*ibid.*, §§ 91, 94, 95). Thus the Prophet, well in advance of the time of 'Umar, was concerned with the interests of the state.

But let us examine the traditions collected by Yahyā b. Ādam which reveal the efforts made by the traditionists to interpret the conduct of the Prophet at Khaybar. First of all, they draw a distinction between *ghanima* (that which is taken by force, *'anwatan* and *fay'* (that which is obtained by treaty, *ṣulḥan*) (Yahyā b. Ādam, §§ 1, 2, 11); since it could not be denied that Khaybar had been captured *'anwatan* (see e.g. *ibid.*, 18), and since it would have been difficult to expunge traditions according to which the Prophet had reserved for himself part of the lands of Khaybar (see the variant version of al-Balādhuri and Yahyā b. Ādam, § 9), there were traditionists who settled the question declaring that the fifth part of the *ghanima* having first been detached—this part belongs to God and it is "given back" by God to those whom He has named (Qur'an, VIII, 42/41: His Messenger, the Messenger's relatives, the orphans, the needy, the wayfarer—the rest belongs to the Muslims who have captured it, and must be divided among them equitably (Yahyā b. Ādam, §§ 4, 11, and cf. 18, 12, end), one part for each warrior and two for his horse, if he has brought a horse with him (the question becomes controversial if he has two, *ibid.*, 5-7). Others (*ibid.*, and 8) declared that the lands are excluded from the *ghanima*: these (*ibid.*, and § 101) are *fay'* and (*ibid.*, and § 48) belong to the Muslims, that is to say, to the Muslim community (al-Ṭabāri, i, 1583<sup>a</sup>, is explicit: Khaybar was a *fay'*). Others again, resorting to subtlety, claim that the *Imām* after having taken the fifth part and thus having made of the lands a *ghanima*, may distributed the remaining 4/5 between the warriors who had capture it, or hand over the whole to the Muslims in perpetuity as a *fay'* (Yahyā b. Ādam, §§ 9, 10, 12, 101; in the *fay'* there is no fifth share, *ibid.*, § 12, and cf. §§ 11 and 101).

The *Imām* may abstain from the distribution to the warriors, because the Prophet at Khaybar kept for himself a portion of the lands (*ibid.*, § 9; on the significance of the word *wakafa* in this text, see translator's note on p. 112 no. 9), and other parts were distributed (*ibid.*, § 9). Muḥammad assigned some shares of the produce of al-Katība (his fifth) to his wives and to

certain members of his family. Calculations have been made of the quantity of dates and grain which this fifth would have provided (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 42), and there have been attempts to assess the amount of the rents accruing to the Prophet from the oasis cultivated by the Jews; they were certainly considerable, but Sprenger's idea, that Muḥammad could have maintained with these revenues an army of 4,000 or 5,000 men, is an exaggeration (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 46).

The caliph Abū Bakr made no changes in the situation established by the Prophet at Khaybar; 'Umar made no change during the first years of his government, but in 20 A.H. he modified it completely. That year (Caetani, 20 a.H., § 234-237) he announced in a speech delivered in the mosque of Medina that he had decided to expel the Jews from Arabia. To justify this decision, which reversed the pact concluded with them by the Prophet, he claimed to have learnt, and to have acquired positive verification, that Muḥammad had declared before his death that two religions could not co-exist in Arabia. According to Caetani, the traditions which report this phrase of the dying Prophet and those which accuse the Jews of misconduct and of crimes were invented; equally, one should doubt the veracity of the suggestion that Muḥammad warned the Jews that he was reserving the right to expel them at a later date, and that he was leaving them their lands only in so far as it was pleasing to God, all land being the property of Muslims. These traditions tend evidently to absolve 'Umar from the charge of having acted against the will of the Prophet in his decision regarding the land of the Sawād.

Caetani claims that the true motive for the new assessment made by the caliph was contingent and local: the oases could henceforth be cultivated by slaves, whose numbers had been greatly swollen through military campaigns outside Arabia (al-Balādhuri in a way confirms this motive, saying that the Muslims, having become powerful, were now in a position to expel the Jews). Having removed the Jews far away from the oases of Arabia, giving them lands in Syria, 'Umar proceeded to a new partition of Khaybar, in the sense that he assigned to the beneficiaries of the produce the ownership of the land from which they were receiving their rents.

The success of the Prophet at Khaybar had as an immediate effect an increase in his power, for several tribes, enemies until that moment, embraced Islam and recognised the hegemony of Medina (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 45); another consequence of great importance lay in the economic advantages which Muḥammad and the Muslims, particularly the *Muhājirūn*, gained from the conquest of the oasis: Muḥammad because from now on he could rely on fixed revenues, the Muslims because it was not only 'Ā'isha who could cry out "Now we can have our fill of dates". Many had cause to rejoice in the change in their economic situation. However, the historical importance of the event lies not in the facts above indicated, but in the pact concluded between Muḥammad and the Jews which set more or less directly the style for relations between the Muslims, conquering vast territories beyond the confines of Arabia and the non-Muslim peoples who fall under their domination. (For a juridical interpretation of this pact, the relevant traditions and the additions which were made to them, see Santillana, i, 359-62 and n. 235).

The history of Khaybar during the succeeding centuries is bound up with that of the Hīdžāz and of the Naǧd, and offers nothing of interest.

It may be noted that some Jews either stayed in

the oasis or returned there (al-Muḥaddasī, 95: Caetani, 20 a.H., § 220); Varthema, who travelled in Arabia during the early years of the 16th century, noted that in a locality between Damascus and Medina (Khaybar?) lived between 4,000 and 5,000 Jews (but Pirenne doubts this, pp. 215-16). Towards the mid-19th century, the Jews were in considerable numbers there (Pirenne, 76). In the mid-19th century, Khaybar was part of the amirate of the Āl Rashīd, whose capital was at Ḥā'il, and it stayed under the domination of this dynasty until its collapse following the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rashīd (1906). It then belonged to the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn of Mecca until 1922, when it was captured by Ṭalāl, son of 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd (in 1918 he had defeated the troops of the Hīdžāz near al-Ṭā'if) (OM, iv (1924), 599). On these events, see in particular, H. St. John Philby, *Saudi Arabia*.

*Bibliography:* Mediaeval Arab Geographers: Ibn Khurradādhbih, *BGA*, vi, 129, 248; Hamdānī, ed. D. H. Müller, 124, 130; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, *BGA*, viii, 246-7, 256-8; Muḥaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 83, and index; Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 331-3 and Index; Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome fasc. ii, (1971) 145, fasc. iv (1974), 347, 351-2; Yākūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 503-5. Modern Arab Geographers: Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb Djazīrat al-'Arab*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 50, 68, 268, 332-44 and index; *idem*, *al-Bilād al-'arabiyya al-sa'ūdiyya*, Mecca 1355/1937, 176-82 and index; Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, *Djazīrat al-'Arab fi 'l-karn al-'ishrin*<sup>2</sup>, Cairo 1375/1956, 19-21 and index; Kaḥḥāla, *Djuḡhrāfiyyat Shihh Djazīrat al-'Arab*<sup>2</sup>, Mecca 1385/1964, Cairo 1964, 138-40, 186 and index.

European Travellers: Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1924, ii, 77-215 and index s.vv. Kheybar, Kheybāra, Ḥarrat Kheybar; illustrations of the *ḥiṣn* of the principal settlement, pp. 95, 104, a map of the valleys of the oasis, p. 182; K. S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton 1947, 12. Historical and other sources: Wākidi, *K. al-Maghāzī, in verführter deutscher Wiedergabe*, ed. J. Wellhausen, 264-96 and index s.v. Xaibar; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 755-81; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, 25-9; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, i, 298, ii, 56-7, 178; Ṭabarī, i, 1575-89, 1590-4, 2594-5; Ibn al-Aḥḥir, ii, 165-71, 444; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, Bülāk 1284/1867, ii, App. 38-40; Diyār-bakrī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥamīs*, Bülāk 1302/1885, ii, 47-65; Ḥalabī, *al-Sira al-ḥalabiyya*, Alexandria 1280/1863, iii, 143-8, 155, 172-7, 183; Bukḥārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 57-8, iii, 74, 121-2, 127, 128, 129-30, 132-3; Yahyā b. Ādam, *K. al-Kharājī*, ed. T. W. Juynboll, Leiden 1896, tr. A. Ben Shemesh,<sup>2</sup> Leiden 1967, *Taxation in Islam*, i, §§ 18, 90, 91, 94, 95, 97, 98 and index (many references to other texts).

Studies: A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, § 225 (= p. 153) and index s.v. Chaibar; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen*, Göttingen 1862, 15-18; *idem*, *Das Gebiet von Medina*, Göttingen 1873, 69-70 (159-60); L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Milan 1905-26, i, ii, 7 a.H., §§ 5-48; 10 a.H., §§ 101-2; 20 a.H., §§ 220-6, 236-7, 241; 23 a.H., § 559; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto malchita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, Rome 1925-38, i, 92-6, 207, 217, 359 ff. and index s.v. Bottino; C. A. Nallino, *L'Arabia Sa'ūdiana* (1938), in *Raccolta di scritti*, Rome 1939, i, 73, and cf. 64 and n. 1; M. H. Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*<sup>4</sup>, Cairo 1947, 385 ff.; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 36, 51-4, 212, 217-9, 256 and index; J. Pirenne, *À la découverte de l'Arabie, cinq siècles de science et d'aven-*



ture, Amsterdam 1958, 33, 76, 215 ff., 218; H. St. John Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, repr. Beirut 1955, 171, 251, 283. (L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

**KHAYBAR** or **KHYBER PASS**, one of the principal passes (together with the Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan Passes) through the mountain barrier separating the Indus valley plains from Afghānistān. The pass runs northwestwards for ca. 33 miles/50 km. from the Shadi Bagiar opening 3 miles/5 km. beyond Fort Jamrud, itself 7 miles/12 km. from Peshawar, to the barren plain of Loi Dakka, which then stretches to the Kābul River banks. The highest point of the pass is at Landi Kotal (3,518 ft./1,280 m.), an important market centre for the region, after which the road descends to the beginning of Afghān territory and Landi Khana. The surrounding country, now falling mainly within Pakistan, is controlled by Afridi Pathans, with Mohmands to the north.

The pass has been of great strategic importance all through history as a gateway for invading armies to debouch on the plains of northern India. It was probably used by Alexander the Great's generals, and in Islamic times, was used at least once by Maḥmūd of Ghazna and on various occasions by Bābur, and more recently, by Nādir Shāh Afshār and Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. In the 19th century, it became especially valuable as the most direct channel for the Government of British India to exert pressure on the Kings of Kābul, being little blocked by snow during the winter months. During the First Afghan War (1839-42) there were various skirmishes between British troops and the Afridis. A Khyber Agency was created by the Government of India, with a special officer in charge of it, during the Second Afghan War (1878-80), the guiding policy being non-interference with the Pathans, who were given subsidies, provided that the route through the pass remained unmoles- ted.

After 1881, there were formed the Khyber Rifles, a force of *jezailchis* or tribal levies, who were paid by the Government of India and who guarded the pass until the risings of the Afridis and Orakzais under Mullah Sayyid Akbar in 1897-8. Thereafter, the Khyber Rifles were supported by a mobile British army column in Peshawar, and the British became responsible for the safe passage of caravans through the pass. After the Third Afghan War of 1919 showed the undependable nature of the Khyber Rifles, they were disbanded and their place taken by regular British troops, by Khassadars (local tribesmen enrolled for escort and similar duties, paid by the government but supplying their own arms and equipment), by the Scouts and by the Frontier Constabulary. Under the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1899-1905), an extension of broad-gauge railway had been made to Fort Jamrud and a road to Landi Kotal, and in 1925 a narrow-gauge railway was constructed as far as Landi Khana.

After 1947, Pakistan became responsible for the Khyber Agency, which was attached to the Peshawar division of the North-West Frontier region of West Pakistan.

*Bibliography: North-West Frontier Gazetteer, Peshawar District*, vol. A, 1931, Lahore 1934, 84 ff.; C. Collin Davies, *The problem of the North-West Frontier, 1870-1908*, Cambridge 1932, 24, 91-2, 103-4, 111, 135-8; *Sir Olaf Caroe, The Pathans 550 BC-AD 1957*, London 1958, index; J. W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, index.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KHAYL** (A.), a fem. sing. noun with a collective meaning denoting the equine species. The term has no

singular and, like *ibīl* "camels" and *ghanam* "sheep", it is to be included in the category of collectives for domestic animals forming the basis of nomadic life (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9); however, the plurals *khayūl* and *akhayāl* are found for it. The extent of the concept of *khayl* covers the whole range of terms comprising, in Islamic society, the activities based upon use of the horse, such as, *inter alia*, the nouns *barīd*, *ḡaysh*, *ḡjarīd*, *ḡjīhād*, *ḡjund*, *faras*, *furūsiyya*, *ḡalḡa*, *isṭabl*, *ṡawladjān*/*ṡawḡān*, *maydān*, *ṡayd* and *sibāk* [q.v.]. According to the Arab philologists, *khayl* "horses", from the double radicals *kh. w. l/kh. y. l*, is supposed to refer to the "haughty gait" of these proud animals (*li-khṡiyāl miṡṡyaliḡā*); but this ingenious explanation is, even in the eyes of Ibn Siduh himself, somewhat subject to caution (*Mukḡaṡṡas*, vi, 165). One might well ask whether *khayl* is not from a substratum of terms inherited from the languages preceding Arabic, which may be confirmed by the parallel usage of preciser terms, like *faras* "riding horse", *ḡjawād* "excellent runner", *ḡjīr* "mare", *ḡjān* "stallion of noble blood", *ramaka* "non-thoroughbred mare", *birḡḡawm* "nag of non-Arab stock", which all have plurals. In the same way, Latin *had*, at the side of the classical *equus*, the vulgar *caballus* of Gaulish origin.

Starting from its metonymous sense of "mounted troop", *khayl* furnished, by the process of derivation, some exact denotations, such as *khayāla* "equitation" and *khayyāl* "horseman", but without the knightly connotation of *fāris* or the military one of the old Persian term *suwār* (pls. *aswār*, *asāwir*, *asāwira*); it was also said of the Turanian peoples that they were a *ḡawm khayyāla* "mounted race".

In Arabia, at the outset of Islam, horses were very few in numbers and, thanks to the *kutub al-khayl*, the names and pedigrees are even known for the most famous of them (see G. Levi della Vida, *Les «Livres des chevaux» d'Ibn al-Kalbī et d'Ibn al-Arābī*, Leiden 1928). To possess a horse was a mark of superiority and riches. The only horse-dealers were some horse-breeders plying their trade in Naḡjd, and zealously preserving the purity of the Arab breed with small herds left in semi-liberty but keenly watched. In distinction to the camel, which was universally at home in semi-desert terrains and could live adequately off spiny shrubs and saline and acid pasturage (*ḡamḡ*), at horse requires each day water and a sweet nourishing on graminaceous and herbaceous vegetation (*khulla*). Hence it was only possible to rear horses in the zone of steppe vegetation, such as that part of Naḡjd watered by the Wādī 'l-Rumah. The horse appeared amongst the nomadic tribes of this region hardly more than a century or two before Islam, and the Banū Taghlib [q.v.] boasted of being the first to ride this noble animal (al-Bakrī, *Mu'ḡtam*, 54; according to the legend, the ancestor of the horses of Taghlib and then of those of other tribes was none other than Zād al-Rākīb, offered by Solomon to the Azd of 'Umān, *Les «Livres de chevaux»*, 5-6). Without giving too much credence to these pretensions, it is undeniable that the nomads of Naḡjd took the initiative in adopting the institution of the *ḡimā* [q.v.] or "natural reserve for stockbreeding", into which no tribe, except the owners, could enter and where the animals lived and bred completely freely. This method of stockbreeding was the only feasible one in a land of such deprivation, and it was this which the Ghassānids [see GHASSĀN] had followed with success, furnishing horses to the Byzantines, and likewise the Lakhmids [q.v.], benefiting from the bloodstock of Persia. It

was doubtless following these examples that the great confederation of *Ghatafān* [q.v.], spread over *Nadīd*, utilised the system of the *himā*, favoured by having at their disposal relatively rich pasture lands on the fringes and slopes of the great plateau, with drainage from running streams. The results of this well-thought out stockraising policy showed positive results, since in the 6th century, several tribes, including the Banū 'Abs, were each able to fit out nearly a thousand riders; it is at this time that the *sayyid* assumes the name of *fāris* and the *ra'is* that of *hā'id al-khayl*. One of the oldest-established and most famous of these reserves for breeding horses was the vast *himā Dariyya* [q.v.], which in the time of the caliph 'Uthmān had several tens of thousands of beasts, horses as well as camels. Equally flourishing was the *himā* of al-Baḳī' near Medina, which had a permanent water supply for the whole year. Correspondingly, the great caravan centres of the *Ḥijāz* had near them their own *himās* forming a protective zone against the depredations of nomads.

The Prophet Muḥammad, conscious of the supreme value of the horse for the success of Islam, was skillfully able to appropriate the resources of the existing *himās* for the benefit of the new community, at the same time strengthening their inviolate character by their integration of function into the Islamic *haram*. Consequently, the warriors for the faith benefited considerably from these reinforcements for their campaigns of *razzias*. Admittedly, there was a need at first to cope with the incredulosity and indiscipline of the Bedouin plunderers, but some severe reprisals soon instilled into them a respect for "enclosed tracts belonging only to God and His Messenger" (*lā himā illā li-llāh wa-li-rasūlihi*). The effects of this policy of utilising horses were immediate, and thus one sees the Banū Sulaym, at the time of the conquest of Mecca, bringing to the Prophet the support of some 800 horses. The *haram* territories were enlarged and new ones created.

The Orthodox caliphs, and 'Umar especially, concentrated their efforts on building up the potential force of horses for Islam; the establishment of the reserves of al-Rabadha, which was several hundred square km. in extent, and of al-Naḳī', showed this tangibly. Following them, the Umayyad caliphs accelerated the expansion of the breeding stud in the *Ḥijāz*, and there was added to this already considerable stock those of Syria and Iraq. After the conquest of the *Maghrib*, there was gained the support of inexhaustible contingents of mounted Berbers, whose Barbary stallions brought an invigorating element into the Arab stock's blood, putting the Muslim cavalry in the forefront compared to that of the western world and gaining for the "Arabs" or "Saracens" the reputation of being essentially a mounted people; thanks to the horse, Islam was able to extend from Spain to the Indus. But by turning their backs on Arabia, the 'Abbāsids—who had vast resources of Persian and Central Asian horses—doomed the stockbreeding of the *Nadīd* and *Ḥijāz himās* to an ineluctable decline from which it was never able to recover. The tracts left for stockbreeding *in natura*, gradually allowed to run down, gave place to the "garrison settlements" ('*askar*, *mu'askar*, *ma'askar*), stables and military stud-farms founded in the vicinity of the capital, the caliphal residences and the great urban centres of Mesopotamia and Syria in the East and of Egypt and the *Maghrib* in the West. Later on, each local dynasty, once freed from the control of *Baghdād*, would set up its own policy regarding cavalry remounts and its military

potential; the history of each of these powers is essentially contained in this.

The very wide sense given to the term *khayl* could not indicate distinctions in groups of mounts from the numerical point of view. There were ancient terms of the nomadic stockbreeders, like *miḳnab*, *mansir/minsar*, *ra'īl* and *kanbal* for herds of up to 50, and *kurdūs*, *djahfal* and *faylak* for 100 and above into the thousands, and in the Islamic period, these passed into military terminology at the side of *katiba* "squadron", *khamis/khums* "fifth part of the army", *jalī'a* "vanguard", *djarrār* "army corps", etc.; but it would be futile to try to find an exact numerical equivalent for each of these, given the widely varying evaluations of the historians and chroniclers.

From a study of numerous mediaeval treatises in Arabic on *furūsiyya* and on the *djīhād*, there emerges, in regard to the individual or collective horse-driving, that the majority, if not all, of these texts are of non-Arabic origin, the reason for this being that "les véritables Arabes n'ont jamais constitué de vrais corps de cavalerie susceptibles de devenir des écoles d'équitation, des centres d'émulation, pour mieux dire. Il n'y a d'équitation arabe pure que celles des Bédouins nomades . . . qui ont toujours fourni des contingents de cavaliers irréguliers aux autorités dont ils dépendaient, mais pour un temps limité . . . Il n'a jamais été dans leur tempérament de se plier à la discipline, à la contrainte continue d'une troupe régulière" (L. Mercier, *Parure* . . . , 385-6). In the light of this state of affairs, and after the Islamisation of western Asia had been completed, the caliphs used for their regular cavalry the recently-converted mounted peoples of Iran and Turan, sc. Persians, Turks, Mongols and Türkmens. All Muslim sovereigns continued to draw on this inexhaustible mine of men and horses until the 9th/15th century, and it was from this mine that the masters of real schools of equitation and the authors of treatises on this art, considered now purely as a military art, arose. The handling of horses is only approached with a view to individual combat and the manoeuvres of groups as in tournaments, polo, the *djarid*, "the gourd-shooting" (*ḥabaḥ*), jousting and arms-play on horseback; at the present time, only the *Afghān buz-kaḥḥi* "goat-dragging" can give any idea of the spirit of competition and the enthusiasm animating these equestrian sports, in which virtuosity and brutality existed side-by-side. Far from equalling these feats, the Arabian Bedouins only used their horses for occasional straightforward charges over short distances, getting the maximum from the animal's resources. Hence their method of riding was of the simplest. Not knowing the use of saddles, stirrups and bits, they rode bareback or with a saddle-felt (*mirshaha*) strapped on, and with some padding attached in the rough semblance of a saddle. The bridle (*liḍjām*, from Persian *liḥām*) was only a rudimentary cavesson or snaffle-bit, whose snaffle was usually of cord or of wood (see *LA*, root *l. dj. m*). Such a primitive method of harnessing could not permit a tradition of equitation which might become a school. Moreover, shoeing horses with nails (*tasmir*), a Gallo-Roman invention in the 6th century, being unknown, some *Nadīd* tribes used, on hard and pebbly terrains, a sandal of iron or leather (*na'ī*), as is attested in a verse of al-Ḳuḥayf al-'Uḳaylī (see *Aghāni*, xxi, 250), which must have considerably restricted the horse's speed when ridden fast.

The method of riding used by the Arabs of 'Irāq and Syria was quite different and much more elegant. Amongst the *Lakhmids*, heirs of the Parthian-Sāsānid

method, and amongst the Ghassānids formed in a similar tradition of the Greeks, the tribes were much more habituated to use of the horse than their brethren in Arabia. They used at that time a method of harnessing perfected long before, and from antiquity till the 8th/14th century, hardly changed. The saddle shaped like a cradle, built upon a wooden saddle-bow (*ḥayḥāb*) and shaping both the cantle and the pommel, resembled somewhat the modern type said to be "for rapid riding". Held in place by a single or a double saddle-girth, it generally had also a breaststrap and a buttocks-strap to prevent it sliding either forwards or backwards. For display purposes, a large cloth over the hindquarters, richly decorated (the *kunbūsh*), was added, as many Persian miniatures on equestrian themes show; the saddlery of persons of high rank showed a luxury sometimes excessive, in which applied work in precious metals and encrustations of precious stones competed in display. At a time when the Mamlūks had levelled down the saddle-cantle so that they could shoot backwards in the ancient Parthian method, the Persians conceived the idea in the 8th/14th century of a saddle with a high back, not very compatible with a rational method of riding, but suitable for shooting with the arbalist or cross-bow, which had become a common weapon of war. The soldier thus armed had in fact to rear up in the stirrups and wedge himself against the cantle. This kind of saddle-cum-chair has persisted till the present day, above all in the Maghrib, but was strongly criticised by the Mamlūk Muḥammad Ibn Manglī, in his treatise on hunting written in 773/1371 (*K. Uns al-mala'* . . . , Paris 1880, 13-14), who found in it seven major faults which militated against good riding technique (see F. Viré, review of *Saracen archery* by J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, London 1970, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 260).

As for the bridle and its bit, these remained unchanged from the time of the great civilisations which evolved them. The ensemble comprised essentially a bridoon with a curb-bit (*lazma*), whose slender lower parts, curved inwards in an S-shape (whence the name *nāzīkī*, from Persian *nāzīk* "stylised"), operate as a lever. The beams could be more or less severe in degree, with or without allowing freedom for the tongue, according to the hardness of the mount's mouth. The deplorable invention of the curb-bit, called—perhaps wrongly—"the Arab curb-bit" and a real instrument of torture going contrary to all the natural principles of the horse's handling, seems to have come from a need to reduce the animal to a simple machine, at a time when there had been formed regular corps of mounted cavalry, mounted on entire horses or stallions which were hard to control and with which co-ordinated mass movements required absolute discipline and perfect execution. It is nevertheless true that, from the viewpoint of modern equestrian art, the backed saddle, the Arab curb-bit and the heavy stirrups with soles, all of which make up the image of the perfect "Arab knight" and the Maghribī spahi, show a total ignorance of a rational method of riding based on the mount's accord with his rider's desires. The addition to the bridle of a fixed martingale (Persian *sarāfsār* "headrope", Maghribī *ḍiabbāḥa*, classical *ḥakama*), Persian in origin, appears ca. the 5th/11th century in miniature paintings.

Stirrups, used in China from the 2nd century B.C. onwards, were probably known at the time of the Lakhmids, but not very widespread. In the likeness of the stirrups of Mexican gauchos and of the Mongols, these were made of wood, and according to al-Mubār-

rad (*Kāmil*, ii, 228, and in Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1299/1882, ii, 192, tr. de Slane, iii, 510), it was allegedly al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufra, governor of Khurāsān in 79/699 and leading figure in the suppression of the Kharijites of al-Djazīra, who was the first to equip his cavalry units with forged iron stirrups, since the wooden ones then in general usage broke too frequently in the course of military engagements.

Spurs (*mihmāz*, pl. *mahāmiz*; *kullāb*, pl. *kalālib*; Maghribī, *shabūr/shābīr*) were much more in vogue in the Muslim West than the East, this being from the Hispano-Moorish influence; the equipment of the Muslim rider of al-Andalus and that of the Spanish rider hardly differed at all. Moreover, the heavy stirrup with a tread mentioned above, which was a replica in metal of the wooden stirrup-shoes of the "gardians" (cow-boys) of corrida-fighting bulls, came also from Spain. From its being made of iron, there was added to its function of being a foot-rest that of spur, by the use of the heel pressing the sharpened edge of the tread against the horse's flank. Most of the Barbary horses of the Maghrib, having been thus ridden, show on their bellies the marks of a too severe application of this use of this type of stirrup.

These schematic details about the harnessing of horse in Islam cannot be regarded as absolutely authentic for all space and time, since each land and each period had its own usages and customs in regard to equipment, according to its own special resources. Differences of detail appear when one compares, on one hand, the information of western authors like the Andalusī Ibn Hudhayl [*q.v.*] with that of easterners like Ibn al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], and on the other hand, places them alongside the documentation provided by iconography. Riders and horses were indeed one of the most-used themes in the minor arts; miniatures, ceramics, textiles, carved ivories and engraved copperware objects depict a great variety of types of harnessing and accoutrements in sense of princely court-life. The richness which these objets d'art endeavour to depict confirms the description given in the 6th/12th century by the chronicler Ibn al-Tuwayr (525-617/1131-1220) of Fātimid ceremonial at the festival of the New Year (see M. Canard, *La procession du Nouvel An chez les Fātimides*, in *AIEO Algiers*, x (1952), 374-9). He speaks there in fact of saddles worked with gold, silver and enamelling, hung with brocade and siglaton; the 70 mounts of the caliph himself bore necklaces of gold and amber collars round their necks, and anklets plated with precious metals round their feet. An animal equipped was estimated to be worth a thousand *ḍinārs*.

With the help of all the Arabic texts dealing with horses and, especially, the two mentioned above plus the "Book of agriculture" (*K. al-Filāḥa*) of the Andalusī Ibn al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], one can get an idea of the level of horsemanship practiced by the Muslim cavalryman in the Middle Ages, apart from the Arab Bedouin. The authors, whoever they may be, were never able to disentangle the three concepts of hippiatry, hippology and equestrianism, any more than they were able to observe the mechanism and movement of the horses at its various paces; hence there was no question for them of passages, changes of pace, jumping over obstacles or any of the exercises which make up a fairly advanced equestrianism. The recommended technique was fairly simple, advising a bearing and a seating identical to that taught in Europe to the straightforward military cavalryman right up to the time of mechanisation. This method could be resumed in the formula "legs without reins and reins without legs". Long stirrups and legs held

forward in the so-called "French" manner gave an adequate amount of stability. The insistence of the authors on an indispensable equal length of reins and on the synchronisation of the use of the two spurs brings out clearly the absence of any predominant action of a rein or a leg.

In contrast to all the other treatises, an acephalous manuscript of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (Ar. No. 2815) puts forward a more thoughtful method based on constant exercise in a circular training-routine (*nāward*), at all the varying paces and with two hands. Without being described completely and explicitly, it envisages the change of pace and the correct backing, with release of the bit, followed by a period of the grand trot, and describes this perfectly. Nevertheless, this documentation is a late one, and one may well think that it has been inspired by western techniques; one accordingly wonders whether in this method of riding, the average Muslim rider ever, one day, rose to this degree of perfection. Whatever the truth, it must be admitted that over a long period of time, equestration amongst the Muslims regressed, whereas amongst Christendom, it improved progressively up to the methods of the great school of horsemanship.

It can easily be imagined how important, in the economic life of the Islamic world up to the modern period, was the upkeep of cavalry units, with all that they needed of furnishings and equipment. Because of these exigencies, a number of specialist artisans, connected with farriery, saddlery and harness-making, had an era of prosperity, and there are hardly any Islamic settlements without their *sūkh al-sarrāḍīn* or their *bāb al-haddādīn*. A good amount of the basic equipment required for these activities were imported into Baghdad. Saddle-seats came from China; from Berbera [q.v.] via the Red Sea and from Ifrikiya via Kayrawān and Barqa, where they were tanned, there came luxurious panther skins, the saddle-carpets preferred by the Mamlūks and whose use was spread by the Turks to the cavalry forces of Central Europe. The saddle felts (*mish*, pls. *amsāh*, *musūh*) were sought from Armenia, Adharbāyḍiān, Kūmis and Mawṣil, as well as pack-saddles for beasts of burden, whilst Susa furnished expensive sumpter-cloths. Imports were not limited to these materials and manufactures, but extended also to lively nags (*birḥawn*, pl. *barāḥīn*) from the Mongol and Byzantine worlds, equally good as mounts and as beasts of burden; they formed a lively element of trade at markets and fairs set up at the gates of towns. As for mounts of Arab stock, these were most often the objects of direct trade between breeders and purchasers (see the *K. al-Tabaṣṣur* attributed to al-Djāhīz, tr. Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, i (1954), 158-60; J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, Paris 1946, 10-12; M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse dans le monde musulman (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, in *Annales*, xxiv/3 (1969), 577-8). Despite all the speculations in horse-dealing and trading which this lively commerce in horses engendered within Islam, one can be certain that no-one ever thought of speculating financially in regard to the semen (*ʿasb*) of stallions, since the Prophet had formally proscribed making money out of breeding. According to certain traditions, the mating of mares and asses was allegedly forbidden, but the importance attached to mule-breeding studs [see *BAḤŪ*] by people in the Islamic world proves that such a prohibition was never in fact put into force; even so, the mules of the Caucasus, and especially of Bardhaʿa [q.v.], were imported and prized for their speed and endurance.

But if the Muslims freely imported horses, their

sale outside the *Dār al-Islām* [q.v.] was, in the first Islamic century, absolutely prohibited and considered as an illegal act by the majority of jurists, who based themselves, in the interests of the legal requirement of *ḥiḥād*, on the divine words "Prepare against them whatever force and cavalry you are able to get together, of those held ready (*min ribāḥ al-khayl*), to overawe thereby the enemy of God and your own . . ." (Qurʾān, VIII, 62/60). The horse was thus elevated to the rank of fighter for the faith and received two shares in the plunder if it were of Arab stock, whereas its rider had only one. The horse-potential thus revealing itself, for the new community, as the nerve-centre of warfare and the secret of victory, it was further forbidden for *Dhimmīs* [see *DHIMMA*] to ride horses. Later on, when the Islamic frontiers had reached their maximum extension, these rigours were relaxed and applied only then to horses of pure Arab stock, to which Abū Ḥanifa added valuable mules. However, in Morocco right up to the eve of the Protectorate, the prohibition of riding horses was applied to the Jews, at a time when elsewhere, and for a long time back, this law no longer bore down on non-Muslims. The latter, all through the Ottoman empire, only had the bother of obtaining a special authorisation from the sultan in order to export horses to foreign lands. Since then, all restrictions were abandoned in all Muslim states. Certain lands relaxed these at quite an early date; a proof of this is the felicitous introduction, in the 18th century, into the British studs, of the famous stallions Darley-Arabian and Godolphin-Arabian which inaugurated the Stud-Book and were the origin of the present pure-blooded English stock. From this last and by breeding with new Arab stocks, M. Gayot obtained in 1833, in the Pompadour studs, the perfected type of Anglo-Arab horse, which now holds the top rank in international racing. At the side of that, the Maghribī Barbary horse has continued to restock the numerous stables for training horses and equestrian centres of France, after having built up over a century and more, the glory of the splendid squadrons of North African spahis.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the references given in the article, see the bibliographies of the respective articles further referred to within the article. (F. VIRÉ)

**KHAYMA** (A.) "tent". When the ancient poets and the writers of the Middle Ages spoke of a nomad's tent they generally described it by the very widely-known Semitic term *bayt* [q.v.], which refers to a dwelling of some kind, either permanent or temporary, and so is not without ambiguity. A more precise term is *bayt shaʿar*, lit. "dwelling of hair". But this word can also cause confusion since the *ductus* is the same as in *bayt shiʿr*, "verse of poetry". There is, however, less confusion in the spoken language and the expression has a typically bedouin air; it is still current among nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes from North Africa to the Near East where, beside the normal name for tent, *bayt/bēt*, b. *shaʿar*, there occurs no less frequently, in the speech of rural peoples, town dwellers and even transhumants, the term *khayma/khēma*. This word has followed a curious semantic evolution (see below) and has come to acquire the general meaning of a mobile dwelling made of animal hair, wool or any other material except leather. Today, among many rural people and even town dwellers, the memory of a former nomadic way of life is preserved by their actually using *khayma/khēma* to denote a house, and it has totally replaced *bayt/bēt*. For a number of reasons, therefore, it seems conve-

nient to record under this heading a general exposition of the use of the tent among the tribes of the Muslim world including the nomadic, semi-nomadic and those becoming sedentary.

#### i. — ANCIENT ARABIA

Arab philologists of the earliest periods of Islam have collected the vocabulary of the tents that were used in pre-Islamic Arabia; in particular al-Aṣmaʿī, author of a *Kitāb al-Akḥbiya wa'l-buyūt* (quoted in the *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 82). Mediaeval commentators on archaic poetry and lexicographers have widely exploited the documentation which they repeat in their work, and from this material ancient terminology may be reconstructed, even though there is no hope of answering all the questions that arise from it. Given that ancestral practices tend to be maintained, it may be possible to infer from the present-day situation, to a certain degree at least, what obtained before and immediately after the birth of Islam.

According to the author of the *Lisān*, the *miṣallaḥ maṣalla*, made of goat's hair, was the most spacious tent. Although the term has several meanings it does not appear to have been used frequently; one occurrence of it is found in the *Nakāʾid* of Ḍjarir and al-Farazdaq, ed. Bevan, 806, for example.

Next in size came the *wasūf*, which was also made of hair according to Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (in *LA*). This word would seem not to have been widely used, for the lexicographers are not agreed about its meaning and some even take the *wasūf* as the smallest tent.

The *bayt* or *bayt shaʿar* was also of goat's hair and of average size. It served as a dwelling for breeders of small livestock (that is to say, of numerous bedouin) and the term takes on a type of generic significance.

The *khībā* was probably similar to the *bayt* in size, but was distinguished from it by the camel hair (*wabar*) or wool (*ṣūf*) that was used to make the awning. Apparently it was the usual dwelling of the cameleer nomads, who were called *ahl al-wabar* in contrast to *ahl al-madar*, the sedentary peoples. Although the influence of alliteration may have played its part in the formation of these expressions, their literal meaning must have some significance. Even so, it is impossible to be certain whether the distinction between *bayt* and *khībā*, which are both equally frequent in ancient texts, corresponds to a different geographical distribution, to a contrast between two large categories of nomads in Arabia [see BADW], or simply to different levels of life within one tribe.

*Surādīk* denotes a cloth tent of quite large dimensions; a *fusṭāṭ* was a smaller hair tent used by travellers; the *miḍrab*, described as a "royal *fusṭāṭ*", was likewise a tent under which important people camped when travelling (today the word occurs in military vocabulary); and *ḥubba* was applied to a hide tent (*adīm*).

Finally, there is the term *khayma*. It does not figure in the lists of various tents that can be gathered from classical lexicographical works, but it seems to be approximately synonymous with *zulla*, *ʿarīsh* and *ʿarsh*, all of which denote simple shelters. Originally a *khayma* was erected on three or four stakes (*aʿwād*, *āl*) driven into the ground with supporting cross-members (*ʿawāriḍ*) covered with branches (*shadījar*) or grass (*ṭhumān*, one of the *Graminacea*). It was essentially a rudimentary shelter, circular in construction, which the nomads would erect especially near wells and watering-places. Its coolness would have provided shelter from the rays of the sun

and they must have also erected frames around their tents to benefit more completely from the slightest breeze. There is, therefore, nothing surprising in the fact that in the *Ḳurʿān*, LV, 72, the plural *khīyām* denotes the tents in which were the houris. *Zulla* (*Ḳurʿān*, VII, 170/171) means a sort of canopy and these two terms are the only ones of those under discussion which are attested in the Holy Book—except *bayt*, which is very frequent but which never denotes a nomad's tent there.

The meaning of *khayma* given by the dictionaries is found again in classical poetry (e.g. *Nakāʾid*, 173, 333-4, 395, 1004), and just when this meaning evolved—an evolution which is being maintained today—is not known. The extension of the meaning (for which the reason is not clear) had arisen at a fairly ancient period, since the mediaeval lexicographers use *khayma* or one of its plurals to define a tent of any type whatever (e.g. *Lisān*, s.v. *ḥ.b.b.*: *al-ḥubba*, *min al-khīyām*). Given that in ancient Arabia there does not seem to have been a specific term to denote the awning, it is not impossible that before it was applied to the entire tent, the word had a more restricted meaning; the roof of a *khayma* implies the idea of stretching it over something and it may follow also from a passage of *al-Barḥ al-shāmī* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṣfahānī (ms. Oxford, Marsh 425, f. 64b), where it is stated that among the main products of the town of Ḍmid appeared *busuf*, *furush* and *khīyām*, all woven products.

Whether the material used was hair or wool, the awning of the Arab tent was made of bands (*falīdja*, *shukḥka*) sewn side-by-side and forming a rectangle. The length and number of these bands would vary according to the desired dimensions, but their width had to be of the order of 50-80 cm., so that they would be more easily manageable and replaceable. Those that were placed at the two edges, that is, those that form the larger side of the rectangle, were called *kisr* or *kasr*. Inside the awning, one or several bands of hair or wool (*ṭarīka*), about twenty cm. wide at the most, were attached to the sewing of the *falīdjas* and ended perpendicularly at the large sides with two *kisrs*. Each *ṭarīka* was equipped at each of its extremities with a device for anchoring it called *ḥatār*, and it was to this that the ropes (*ṭumub*, pl. *afnāb*) were attached and tied to pegs (*watīd*, pl. *awtād*) driven into the ground some distance away with a mallet (*mīṭad* or *mītada*). The anchoring of the tent was completed on the small sides of the awning by cords (*iṣār*, pl. *uṣur/āṣira*), shorter than the *afnāb*, but similarly joined to pegs (also called *iṣār*). The words *ḥatār* and *ḥitr/ḥutra* both denoted a band placed vertically around the awning to fill the space which separated it from the ground.

In a *bayt*, so the dictionaries say, the main ridge piece, which was of considerable importance, was called *ḍiāʾiz*, but Arab tents do not seem to have used a ridge pole, since the central *ṭarīka* takes its place. It is said that this *ṭarīka* rested on vertical posts (*ʿamūd*, *diʿāma*, *biwān/buwān*) and that there were pads of felt (*libd*, pl. *albād*) on which the chamfered ends of the posts were cushioned to prevent it from being pierced. The same precaution was probably taken for the side *ṭarīkas*, which in the big tents leaned on slanting poles, shorter than the others, in order to diminish any sag in the awning. The same construction may still be seen in the East (see below) and it is worthy of note that in North Africa, where the ridge pole is used, it is the only part of the tent, *mutatis mutandis*, not to have a name which is attested in ancient Arabia.

Finally, to prevent water from penetrating underneath the tent it was surrounded by a drain (*nu'y/nū'y/na'y/nu'a*) edged with mounded earth (*iyād*).

Inside, the lay-out scarcely differed from what can be seen today (see below). The section reserved for women, like the palanquin, was generally called *khidr*, pl. *khudūr*, from the name of the curtain which separated it from the rest of the tent; poets frequently hymned the *rabbāt al-khudūr*.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the dictionaries, see especially G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinleben nach den Quellen geschildert*, Berlin 1897.

(CH. PELLAT)

## ii. — IN THE NEAR EAST

The noun *khayma* belongs primarily to the city-dwellers' vocabulary. It is applied to various kinds of tents, whatever their form and whatever they may be made from. The desert peoples are aware of this, but for preference they use the term *bayt sha'* for their portable home, often abbreviated simply to *bayt*.

Apart from the question of size, bedouin tents vary very little from one region to another. Essentially, the *bayt* is always rectangular and never circular; it is made out of a roof covering of the hairy skin of a black goat, sometimes mixed with camel's wool (*sūf*, *wabar*), walls of the same material, poles and cords. The technical terms used to designate the different parts of the bedouin tent are not always identical in all tribes.

The roof is called *sakf al-bayt* by the Tiyāha of Bīr al-Sab'. It is made up of several oblong bands or panels, *shikka* (pron. *shégga*), pl. *shikak* (*shégag*) sewn together, their number depending upon the importance which one wishes to accord to the tent. The dimensions of a *shikka* vary. The length generally fluctuates between 8 and 12 m., and the width, which is limited by the weaver's technical skills, is rarely more than 70 cm.

The roof covering is supported by several tent-poles (*amūd*, pl. *umūdān*) placed in parallel rows, one of which, in the centre, forms the ridge-pole. Since there is a danger of its being torn through tension and especially through its own weight where it is stretched over the poles, it is reinforced by transverse strips called *bifāna*, *fariga*, etc. These are sewn together on the internal surface in such a way as to hold together between themselves the *shikak*. These strips are 10-15 cm. wide, and they extend beyond the dimensions of the tent, from one side to the other, by some 15 cm. After being folded over and sewn, a loop is thereby made at each extremity, through which a small stick can be placed. Thanks to an attachment contrivance which has a V-shape, the connection between these sticks and the tent-pegs (*watād*, pl. *awtād*) can be effected. The pegs are fixed into the ground and held by cords (*habl*, pl. *hibāl*, or *funb*, pl. *aḥnāb*), which secure the tent and make the roof covering taut and in place.

The number of poles supporting the roof varies, and it is according to this variation that the different types of tent are classified. However, in this calculation, only the poles of the central row are taken into account, and not those at the two extremities. Hence we have a tent whose ridge-pole rests on a row of three poles, but is nevertheless called *'udīya* (Tiyāha) or *gotba* (Sbā'), sc. having a single tent-pole. One with two tent-poles is called *fāsa* by the Tiyāha, and *mgawren* or *garneyn* by the Sbā'. From three tent-poles onwards, the terminology tends to be a general one; with some variations in pronunciation: *mūhawlah* (three poles), *murawba'* (four

poles), *mukhawmas* (five poles), *musawdas* (six poles). A *bayt musawba'* (seven poles) is of considerable size, some 50 metres long, and bears witness to its owner's power, he being generally a great chief. However, tents of this size are sometimes occupied by Bedouins of only middling status who have newly adopted sedentary life, since they no longer have to make big upheavals and migrations.

The names of the tent-poles vary according to position. In an *'udīya* tent, the central pole is called *'amūd al-wāsif*, or *'amūd al-'āmir*; the front one is called *'amūd yād al-bayt*; and the rear one, *'amūd al-riḍīl*, according to the terminology of the Tiyāha.

The tent is open at the side opposite the direction of the wind, and the other three sides are closed by the tent-walls. The rear wall, placed against the direction of the wind, is called *rwag*. A narrow band, about 25 cm. wide, is sewn on to the top edge, and this reinforces it and is attached to the roof covering. The lower edge has sewn on to it another band, the lower (*sufli*) one, some 60 cm. wide, and this trails on the ground, where it is held down by the pegs and by stones. When the wind changes direction, the *rwag* is moved and the opposite side opened up. In summer and weather permitting, the tent is opened as far as possible; even the side-walls are rolled up, thus making the *bayt* into an enormous parasol. At this time, the *bayt* changes its colour; the heavy goat's hair roof covering is replaced by a cotton cloth. Often, old jute sacks are used, on which can still be seen imprinted the exporter's trade-mark.

The *bayt* is divided into two parts, separated by a curtain hooked on to the internal tent-poles, which has sufficient height for the people in one compartment not to be able to see what is happening in the other. One of these two compartments is reserved for receiving menfolk and is called the *rabā'a* or *mag'ād al-riḍīl*. In the middle, a hearth is scraped out and used for making coffee. The other one is reserved for the womenfolk, and is called the *mahrem* or *mharram*. Here, the cooking is done and the provisions stored.

The womenfolk are responsible for preparing the materials and sewing up the various components of the *bayt*, their erection and dismantling. This is an essentially feminine activity, for the men must always be ready to ward off a possible attack.

Despite its apparent frailty, a bedouin tent is hardwearing and often lasts for a whole generation. The erection, *binā'*, of a tent often means that a new hearth has come into being. The master of the new dwelling must, at the moment of taking possession, offer a blood-sacrifice to appease the spirit of the place where the tent has been raised up. The central pole (*al-wāsif*) is then smeared with the sacrificial blood; sometimes the *rwag* is also sprinkled with it. A further sacrifice is necessary if the tent is significantly enlarged. Finally, when the *rwag* is worn out and has to be replaced, a blood-sacrifice often accompanies this operation.

However humble it may be, a Bedouin tent is above all a dwelling-place. It has accordingly certain strictly-defined rights, and contravening them can have extremely serious consequences for the offender. When a stranger comes into a Bedouin's tent, he is considered to be a guest. Any attack on his person, physical or moral, whilst he is there, is felt not only as an insult to the host but equally to his dwelling. In the customary law, reparation for the tent's honour is as severe as the penalty attracted by someone guilty of an involuntary homicide. In his turn, the guest must show great respect for the dwelling

which has received him. If he shows himself unworthy of the confidence shown to him, the tent's master brands him as a traitor to the rules of hospitality; he may then be liable to corporal punishment, abhorrent to the Bedouin, and be perpetually dishonoured.

The right of asylum also inheres in the *bayt*. A murderer who manages to escape his pursuers and to take shelter in any dwelling which is not his own or that of a close relative, has secured refuge from danger. Moreover, it is not necessary, for his security, actually to enter the tent; he may merely touch the ropes or even reach the protective zone around the tent, sc. the inviolable area called by the Bedouin *maḥārim* or *madārīk al-bayt*. In order to delimit this, a strong and vigorous man stands at the entrance of the tent and hurls a large stick straight in front of himself. The spot where it falls marks the extreme edge of the zone within which the rights of the tent operate. This idea of inviolability is not dissimilar to that of the sacred area of pre-Islamic times, like the *haram*, the *ḥimā* and the *ḥawṣa*.

*Bibliography*: This is rich and varied. See Doughty, *Arabia deserta*, London 1926, 1, 221 ff. and index, s.v. "tent", etc.; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*<sup>a</sup>, Paris 1948, 199-200, 340-1; A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 61-2; V. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, Paris 1931, 211-12; R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947, 32 ff.; A. de Boucheman, *Matériel de la vie bédouine*, Damascus 1934, 108 ff.; C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944, 65-78; H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, 66-107; J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1971, 242 ff.; Naoras Daker, *Contribution ethnographique à l'étude de l'évolution de l'habitat bédouin en Syrie*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1975 (very important for the study of the bedouin habitat; valuable bibliography). (J. CHELHOD)

### iii. — NORTH AFRICA

The nomads and semi-nomads of North Africa and the Sahara live in several different types of tent, but these are basically similar, and the differences can most often be explained by economic and geographical features. Besides *bēt* and *bēt shā'y*, the usage of which has now spread to the major nomadic groups, the word *khēma* is the one most current in Arab speech. In Berber three main terms appear: *ehen* and variations among the Touareg, *ibergen* and variations in the east and south-east of the Berber area, *akham* and variations in the central and western areas. The first two terms are Berber, while the third could be derived from the Arabic, although a convincing etymology has not been established. In the different northern Berber languages, words denoting the main parts of a tent are borrowed from Arabic, treated in different ways and not of major interest. Those belonging to Berber are extremely varied, and could give rise to an interesting study in linguistic geography, but it would be too much to cite in the present article, which must be restricted to discussing essentially Arabic (and Touareg) terminology.

As elsewhere, the rectangular awning is made of bands (*flizh*, pl. *felzha*), 70-100 cm. wide and varying in length up to 18 m. They are black or brown in colour and sometimes have a white border (in Libya). In some regions, the wool and goat or camel hair which make up the main material are sometimes mixed with palm flock (*lif*) or vegetable fibres. A more rudimentary awning can equally well be made

with long plaits of dwarf palm leaves (*dūm*), or *drin* (*stipa barbata*) or of alfa grass (*ḥalfā'* [q.v.]). Among the Touareg, the awning is made from the skins of goat, sheep, moufflon (less and less) or even ox, coarsely cut and sewn one after the other to form equal bands (*taḡḡde*). The whole is supported either by a single vertical pole (*tamankayt*) about 2 m. long, surmounted by a little wooden ridge-pole, or by two arches (*agegu*) of tamarisk wood aligned 1.5 m. apart and linked by a cross-bar. In the first type, the vertical pole is used especially in the rainy season so that the awning has a sufficient fall for water to drain away. At other times it is replaced by two poles supporting a cross-bar, but this second type is becoming less common.

In the rest of North Africa, only the first type of frame is used and there are some significant variations in it. In the east the ridge pole is a broad square stay-block (Tripolitania: *kerfās*) which becomes longer and narrower in the Tunisian South (*gorfās*) and the Algerian South-East (*genfās*); in Morocco, longer ones are seen, called *ḥammār*, and reaching a length of 2 m. The ridge-pole may be supported by a single vertical pole (*rḥīza*), as in the Sahara, Libya and Tunisia, or by two slanting poles as in the large tents of Tripolitania (except the Djabal Nafūsa), or by two intersecting poles, which may be quite short as in Tunisia and Awrās, or simply by vertical poles, more widely spaced as the tent becomes longer.

The *friga*, the descendant of the classical *farīḡa*, is everywhere to be seen but it is supported by a ridge-pole. Often secondary *frigas* are added to the main one; they are supported by slanting poles which raise the awning to drain off rain water and to maintain a convenient height inside. The awning is secured with small cords (*ḥbel*, *fārfa*, *mezḥbed*) which are fastened to the *frigas* and to the *flizhs* on the small sides with wooden hooks; at the other ends they are fixed to pegs (*uted*, *mekem*). Among the Touareg these pegs (*tasdest* in the east and west sides, *unnus* in the north one, *madraḡh* in the south one) generally number twelve, equally spaced around the cardinal points and fastened directly to the edges of the awning, which they support. On the south side the central peg (*igem*) is longer than the others and is used to raise the awning to provide an entrance. Nowhere does the awning touch the ground, and the empty space is filled according to the climate with brushwood, rush matting or special long narrow covers (*reffa*, *rāfa*). In North Africa the place where the *friga* ends on one of the long sides is directed towards the centre of the encampment or the *dawār* [q.v.], and access is gained by lifting the edge of the awning; this forms a door during the daytime. Finally, the tent is surrounded by a trench (*ūni/wani*; cf. above, *nu'y*) for draining away any rain-water.

The classical *ḥayṭūn* "room in a *bayt*" survives as *gīṭūn* (Fr. *guitoune*), the name given to shelters made of sackcloth or pieces of material or of canvas produced in Europe (South Tunisian: *gāṭūn*). In Morocco, the official tent of state authorities is made of unbleached cloth decorated with black patterns and is of conical design; it is called a *khzāna*.

The nomads load the dismantled tents on to asses. When they arrive at the camping ground the task of erecting them (verb: *bnā*) is reserved for the women. Once the frame and awning have been stretched out on the ground and the pegs put into position—by guesswork but generally exactly spaced—the woman calls her neighbours to help her. She creeps under the awning to lift it over the poles, and then the tent is anchored and the usual furniture put back into place.

Among the Touareg, the left side on entering is reserved for the man and there are placed his seat, his arms, his saddle-bags and also his water-skin. The woman uses the right side where she puts her possessions as well as the bags of food, the kitchen utensils and dishes, which are rudimentary. Two fires are built in front of the tent, one for warming oneself and the other for cooking. Each tent is occupied by a family. The boys sleep with their father, the girls with their mother on sheep skins stretched on the ground; the richer families have carpets.

Elsewhere the interior arrangement of the tent may vary, but it shows some common features. The kitchen utensils usually include a cooking pot, a couscous pan, a dish on which to bake bread, a water jug, platters and winnowing baskets of esparto grass, wooden spoons, leather water bottles—which are also used for churning butter—a sieve, skin bags for dry food, and woollen or hair bags for grain. The fire is kindled in a hollow in the ground, which is surrounded by three large stones or topped by an iron tripod. In some tents an opening is made in the awning above the fire to allow the smoke to escape. A pottery stove is used especially for the preparation of coffee and tea and it is fed with charcoal. The mill is generally shared between several tents. The simplest type consists of two semi-spherical millstones. The upper one is pierced by two holes, one hole in the centre is to receive the grain to be milled and the axle mounted in the nether millstone; the other is set at an angle to hold the wooden crank, which sets it working, and often requires the efforts of two women. In addition to all this equipment, there is a loom for the *flūghs* and a second loom for weaving carpets, covers and woollen garments etc. The nomads sleep on mats and wrap themselves in covers. The area kept for the women (*khālfā*) is sometimes separated by a curtain (*hāyl*) hung between the poles, but often carpets, covers, clothes and miscellaneous possessions are piled on nets mounted on legs to provide an adequate separation.

It is the men's responsibility when the *flūghs* have to be sewn to make a new awning (they rarely last more than five years) or to replace a damaged band; of course, they also prepare the wooden pieces for the frame.

Each operation is accompanied by prophylactic rites intended to protect men and beasts. The ornamentation of the ridge pole, which has a symbolic value since it supports the whole construction, includes drawings which originally had a magical significance. Finally, various objects and amulets are supposed to ward off the djinn and to assure the prosperity of the tent's inhabitants.

*Bibliography:* Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, Paris 1951, i, 247-9; A. Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Hoggar*, Algiers 1908; H. Lhote, *Les Touareg du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 223-9; G. Delphin, *Recueil de textes pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé*, Paris-Algiers 1891, ch. 39 (French tr. by G. Faure-Biguet, Algiers 1904); E. Ubach, E. Rucknow, etc., *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika, in Zeit. für vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xl/2 (1923), 168-9; Michaux-Bellaire, in *AM*, iv, 109; A. Bernard, *Enquête sur l'habitation rurale en Algérie*; E. Laoust, *L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central*, in *Hespéris* (1934-5), as a separate book, Paris 1935, 1-79; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroāna*, Paris 1925, 313-32 (concerning the mill). (CH. PELLAT)

#### iv. — IN CENTRAL ASIA

A light, prefabricated yet rigid tent has until

modern times been the standard domicile of the Inner Asian steppe nomads, being usually loaded on the backs of camels for transportation. In order to present the minimum resistance to the keen steppe winds, it has usually been circular in shape. From the western steppes, the domed, felt-covered tents of Turkmen nomads, known as *yurts*, were spread by the migrations of the Oghuz as far west as Anatolia, although the more southerly and westerly Türkmens, such as the Avshar and Kaşhka'ı, and the Anatolian Yörüks, gradually took over the use of the black tents made from goat hair, which are apparently more suitable for the damper climate of the more mountainous regions (see on this latter type of tent, C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944). In fact, the word *yurt* seems originally to have meant "homeland, encampment or camping place", and in Orkhon and early Turkish, even "an abandoned campsite", cf. Kāshgharī's definition *al-ḥilal wa 'l-rab' wa 'l-dīman* (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 958); the basic Turkish word for "tent" seems to be *ev* and its cognates (Orkhon Turkish *äv*, *äb*). The term *alālīk* and its cognates "temporary, nomadic home", as opposed to *ev* "permanent home, centre of the household or group", is also widely used throughout the Turkish world, appearing in mediaeval Persian (e.g. in the verses of Niẓāmī and of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī) as *alācuḡ* (see Ulla Johansen, *Alāyq*, in *Reşid Rahmeti Arat için*, Ankara 1966, 286-99).

The tent used in recent times and at the present day by the Türkmens on northeastern Persia, northern Afghānistān and the Turkmenistan SSR has been described in detail by P. A. Andrews, *The White House of Khurasan: the felt tents of the Iranian Yomut and Göklen, in Iran. Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xi (1973), 93-110, with especial reference to the two Türkmen tribes named in the title. These possess two main types of tent (1) The *aḡ öy* "white house" (taken from the colour of the covering felts when new) or *ḡara öy* "black house" (from the colour of the felts when old and blackened by smoke). This has a trellis wall, with a doorway in it, circular in plan, with a roof wheel supported by struts from the top of the trellis wall. The size of the tent is referred to by the number of these roof struts, which might go up to 128, yielding a tent of ca. 12 m. diameter, though 62 or 64 struts is the average; the large size of tent favoured is to accommodate an extended family. (2) The *göt-tikme*, essentially an *öy* but without the trellis walls, and regarded as an inferior form of the *öy*, though more portable. The wooden frames for the tent were made by a specialist class of carpenters (called *uśśāt*, < *ustād* ?) of the more agricultural and semi-settled Türkmens.

The Islamic historical sources on the Turkish migrations into the Iranian world and beyond are inexplicit on the technical details of Turkish tents in the mediaeval period, and we can only find odd gleanings, such as the information in Gardīzi, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. M. Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 81-2, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 282, that when Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the Ḳarā-Khānid Qādīr Khān Yūsuf met at Samarḳand in 415/1025, the Sultan had a personal tent of ruby-coloured *Shush*tārī brocade, with a canopy and roof of woven brocade (the tent, *sarāy-ḡarda*, which allegedly held 10,000 horsemen, must have been in fact a whole series of tents forming an encampment for Maḥmūd's forces).

The early habitat of the Mongols probably com-



prised both the forest zone of northern Mongolia and the Lake Baikal region and also the steppelands. The characteristic modern Mongol felt tent or *ger* is essentially similar to the Türkmen *öy*, i.e. it has trellis walls, and the roof of light poles, also felt-covered, is born upon a roof-ring, though the shape is usually conical rather than domed. Thus a great deal of wood is required for its construction, a commodity scarce in the steppes and one which often has to be brought from a considerable distance. The Mongols do, however, have another type of tent, the *maykhan*, which is a low tent requiring much less wood and in recent times covered with cotton cloth purchased from Chinese traders; this is taken on Mongol caravans, with the *ger* used for camping at the regular pasture grounds (see O. Lattimore, *The geographical factor in Mongol history*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, xcix (Jan. 1938), 9-10, also in *Studies in frontier history, collected papers 1928-1958*, London 1962, 250-1). It seems accordingly probable that the Mongol *ger* evolved in the prehistoric (sc. pre-13th century) past of this people from the tents of the forest peoples, perhaps from an origin like the tepee or wigwam of the Tuva forest tribe of northern Mongolia, of Turkish peoples of this region like those dwelling in proximity to Mongol tribes around Lake *Khubsugul*, and of the reindeer-herding Tungus, which is a conical frame covered either with skins or birch-bark (Turkish *uruča*, Mongol *obughakay*, cf. A. Róna-Tas, *Preliminary report on a study of the dwellings of the Altaic peoples*, in *Aspects of Altaic civilization, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the PIAC*, ed. D. Sinor, Bloomington-The Hague 1963, 50). Certainly, the Mongol epics of recent times, of the Oïrot of north-western Mongolia, describe the hero's tent as made with a framework not of wood but of animal bones, and as covered not with felts (since forest dwellers have no sheep) but with animal pelts (B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols, le féodalisme nomade*, Paris 1948, 49). In regard to the fittings and furnishings of the *ger*, the central fireplace or hearth has always been the focal point; amongst the Kazak Turks of western Mongolia, this is now usually a four-legged iron fireplace, and it is gradually replacing the old stoves (see Róna-Tas, *Notes on the Kazak yurt of West Mongolia*, in *Acta orientalia Hung.*, xii (1961), 84).

The earliest Mongol sources, such as the *Secret history* and the accounts of the Mongol expansion of the 13th century, both Islamic and European (the latter including e.g. the travel narratives of William of Rubruck and John of Plano Carpini) state that, at that time, the steppe peoples, Turks and Mongols, often transported their tents in ox carts (see Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 50-1, and also 'ARABA and KANGHLI); these last were not only highly-mobile within the steppes, but could be very quickly loaded up with the tents and the whole encampment (Mongol *küriyän|güriyän* "circle") quickly broken up.

*Bibliography*: given in the article, essentially, but note that Part A of *Aspects of Altaic civilization* (see above) is devoted to "The dwellings of the Altaic peoples". (C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KHAYR** (A.), charity, gifts in money or kind from individuals or voluntary associations to needy persons. The religious significance of *khayr* in Islam is still quite clear, although assistance to the needy is nowadays extended mainly by secular governmental agencies; such assistance is regarded as "public welfare" rather than "charity". A public benefit is indeed implied in *khayr*. The word has the sense of freely choosing something, i.e. virtue or

goodness, a service to others beyond one's kin. It also means goods such as property or things that have material value (H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1961, s.v.). There are few studies of *khayr* in earlier or modern times, though there are brief references scattered through the literature on the Ottoman Empire, Khedivial Egypt and the Indian subcontinent.

*Khayr* must be considered in relation to *zakāt* and *ṣadaqa* [q.v.]. *Ṣadaqa* is practically synonymous with *khayr* in the sense of charity. *Zakāt* refers to an obligatory tax collected by Islamic governmental agencies and prescribed in the *Qurʾān* and Sunna. *Zakāt* in its traditional and precise form has almost disappeared, but *khayr*, as a broader and more informal quality and activity, continues. *Khayr* occurs in the *Qurʾān* in its general sense of virtue and good works in obedience to God and religious law (e.g. III, 103, XXII, 77, IV, 113) as well as material wealth (e.g. C, 8). In interpretations of *Qurʾān* and in philosophical works the term is used similarly.

Private charity and public welfare are extended out of mixed motives: humanitarian, to relieve misery, and political, to reduce instability. On the part of the private donor, moreover, there is the motive of doing good in accordance with religious precepts. This motive operates strongly in *khayr* among Muslims as well as non-Muslims minorities living in larger Islamic communities. Christian and Jewish charities were an important function of the millets under the Ottoman rule and continued after it, often with help from co-religionists in Western countries.

Today charity by individual Muslims to less fortunate members of their religious communities is still widespread. Parallel to these donations are those made by voluntary associations which stand between the individual and the government and disburse larger sums more widely. A United Nations survey made in the mid-1960s found several hundred such associations in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, and a beginning even in Kuwait, where the government, with vast oil revenues, was already the main distributor of funds going to the needy (U.N. Economic and Social Office in Beirut, *Studies on Social Development in the Middle East, 1969*, New York 1970, 10). The activities of these associations, though significant, have been seldom studied in detail, though published reports and observations yield some details on several countries.

In Egypt in 1960 there were about 3,200 voluntary charitable associations (*djāmʿiyyāt dīniyya* or *khayriyya*) with a religious basis, with 700,000 members, a total income of £ E 6 million (coming from members' dues, modest fees paid by the needy, and governmental subsidies), extending a variety of services to several million people at a total cost of £ E 4 million (M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt Today*, Cambridge 1970, ch. 4).

In Iran the structure of voluntary associations seems to be looser. As in other Muslim communities, however, in Iran individual donations are made to local *imāms* for formal institutions such as clinics, schools and scholarships, as well as directly to the needy. Donations to poor families occur mainly on the anniversaries of the deaths of Fāṭima and the *imāms* venerated by Shīʿīs. They are also made in times of threat or danger, even in connection with "modern" activities. For example, in 1974 a businessman started to construct an air-conditioned building, with the help of several architects and engineers trained in the U.S.A., in the most expensive and

modern area of Tehran. Before the first column went up, the foreman told the builder he must sacrifice a sheep for the workers to eat and protect them: the blood of the sacrificial sheep would avert the shedding of the workers' blood on the job. Very little is known about the distribution of funds by the local *imāms*, nor are they taken into account in governmental calculations of need. Donors to these *imāms* do not have a formal role in the distribution of these funds, although they are duly registered by accountants who keep records of income and disbursements (source: personal observation and interviews).

*Khayr* and *wakf* [q.v.] overlap, for example in public conveniences such as water fountains [see *SABIL*] and soup kitchens (*'imāret*) erected in Ottoman times. Somewhat similar to *khayr*, also, is the *largesse* often distributed by rulers, especially on accession to power. Such *largesse* is, in turn, a forerunner of the welfare programme of modern states.

Although women in Islamic countries have not traditionally been active in public affairs, their recent emergence into public roles has been associated with private charity and governmental welfare programmes. Among the earliest employments outside the home which became socially approved for women are teaching, nursing and social work. These professions are regarded as extensions of the Islamic ideal of women as the guardians of home and family. In several countries it has been customary in recent decades for the women members of the families of heads of state (in republics as well as monarchies) to be active in promoting education and the care of the needy. Thus in 1973 the *Shāh-Bānū* of Iran opened the first national seminar on social welfare by reviewing the development of private philanthropy, defining current social needs, and indicating the need for governmental coordination of the means of meeting these needs (Plan and Budget Organization of Iran, *Nakhsūn siminār-i millī-yi riṣāh-i idjtimā'i*, Isfand 1352 (February 1973), Tehran, n.d. and no pagination). This seminar, indeed, was the prelude to the creation of a new Ministry of Social Affairs a year later. Such ministries had already been established in other countries, for example in Egypt as early as 1939. The first woman to become a member of an Iranian cabinet, *Farrukhrū Parsay*, was Minister of Education from 1968 to 1974. Similarly, the first woman to join a cabinet in Egypt, *Hikmat Abū Zayd*, became Minister of Social Affairs in 1962.

The state has always assumed some of the burden of assisting the needy. Its role increased as modern industry and urbanisation developed, while public needs grew and the capacity of individuals and voluntary associations to meet the growing expectations declined. The state's assumption of the responsibility for public welfare was a demonstration also of the concentration and expansion of governmental power, which further discouraged private welfare agencies. Under these new arrangements, the public increasingly regards governmental relief of need as a right of the recipient; on the side of the "donor", the public regards aid to the needy as a secular, involuntary obligation performed through the machinery of government.

This development in many Islamic countries is reflected in the currency of the Arabic term for welfare state, *dawlat al-khayr al-'amm*, which did not appear under *khayr* in H. Wehr's first German edition (Leipzig 1952), but did appear in the English

edition of 1961 (*Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, and *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*). Appropriations for social welfare grew considerably in the 1960s and 1970s, following the establishment of specialised welfare ministries several decades earlier (United Nations Economic and Social Council, *1974 Report on the World Social Situation. Part One: Regional Developments. I. Social Trends in Developing Countries. Western Asia*, New York 1974, 23-5). Iran, for example, allocated about 10% of the total budget of the year 1354 (1975-6) for "social affairs" (Iran, Plan and Budget Organization, *The Budget 1345 and Amended 1353, 1974-75, 1975-76. A Summary*, Tehran n.d., Part 2, p. 7). Increasingly, also, governmental welfare programs are tied to national planning (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Social Welfare Planning in the Context of National Development Plans*, New York 1970, 6, 34).

In Islamic countries where socialist ideas and rhetoric have recently made headway, welfare has been tied to ideology and to the religious tradition of mutual social responsibility among Muslims, or *al-takāful al-idjtimā'i* as developed by several writers, especially in Egypt (Sami A. Hanna and George H. Gardner, eds., *Arab Socialism. A Documentary Survey*, Leiden 1969, 147-200). The increasing role of government has led to widespread exaggeration of achievements, for example a claim by an official Egyptian agency reporting to the United Nations in 1967 that: "After the revolution of 1952, equal opportunities were eventually granted to the people" (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Organization and Administration of Social Welfare Programs. A Series of Country Studies. United Arab Republic*, New York 1967, 1). A U.N. evaluation of state programmes only two years later described them as still rather weak in concept, administration and effect (United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut, *Studies on Social Development in the Middle East, 1969*, New York 1970, 1, 11-13).

On top of the increasing role of the state came, after World War Two, an increasing role for the organisation of states, the United Nations. Through publications, surveys, seminars and conferences, various U.N. agencies encouraged the "developing" (or formerly "underdeveloped") countries to expand and systematise their welfare programmes. The U.N. also spread the new conceptions of welfare, going beyond traditional "remedial" care of the needy to "preventive" policies to enable the needy to maintain themselves and even further to "developmental" programmes which would enable the people of all classes to play a greater part in national growth based upon broad planning (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Proceedings of the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, 3-12 September 1968*, New York 1969, 76, and *Training for Social Welfare, Fifth International Survey. New Approaches in Meeting Manpower Needs*, New York 1971, 2, 64-5). Special United Nations seminars for the Arab states have been held since 1949 (see, for example, *Fourth United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East, Baghdad, 6-21 March 1954*, New York 1955).

These governmental and inter-governmental influences and discussions have all but removed *khayr* by individuals and voluntary associations from public consideration in Islamic countries. *Khayr*, however, continues, and even *zakāt* has been men-

tioned noticeably in one of the aforementioned U.N. seminars. In preparation for it, the U.N. Secretariat sent a questionnaire to seven Arab states, which elicited reports that in most of them this tax was still being collected and spent "in accordance with Islamic principles" (*Third United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East, Damascus, 8-20 December 1952*, New York 1953, 60). It is possible that the welfare programmes of governments are overestimated through the tendency of states and international agencies to issue many reports, while traditional *khayr* is underestimated because individual donors and voluntary associations are scattered and not given to public reporting.

For a treatment of charity in Turkey see the Supplement, s.v. **KHAYR**.

*Bibliography*: given in the article.

(M. BERGER)

**KHAYR ALLĀH EFENDI**, Ottoman physician, historian and administrator; born in Istanbul ca. 1235/1819-1820 of a family which had provided chief physicians for the Empire. He followed in the profession of his father 'Abd al-Ḥaḡḡ Mollā (d. 1270/1853-1854) and after completing the *medrese* education he became the *mollā* of Izmir in 1256/1840-1841, to be promoted in the following year to the rank of *ḡāḡī* of Mecca. Meanwhile, he studied medicine at the *Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye* and graduated in 1260/1844. Appointed *ders nāzīrl* (director of studies) at the *Ṭibbiyye* School, he transferred from the *ʿilmiyye* (religious) to the *mülkiyye* (civil) branch of administration. Thus in *Raḡjāb* 1265/May-June 1849 he was appointed a member of the Council of Education. On 25 *Raḡjāb* 1267/26 May 1851 he was also entrusted with the vice-presidency of the *Endjūmen-i Dāniṣh* (Academy of Arts and Sciences) and in *Shawwāl* 1268/July-August 1852 he became a member of the *Medjlis-i Wālāy-i Ahkām-i Adliyye* (High Council for Judicial Ordinances). Nominated *Mekātīb-i ʿUmūmiyye nāzīrl* (Minister of Public Schools) on 22 June 1854, he returned to the field of education. Upon the establishment of the Ministry of Education in March 1857 he was charged with the function of *müteshār* (undersecretary) and on 7 *Safar* 1275/16 September 1858 he assumed responsibility as deputy minister. On 21 May 1859 he became the administrator of the *Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye*. In *Raḡjāb* 1278/January 1862 he was moved to the directorship of the 6th sector of the Istanbul Municipality [see **BALADIYYA**]. He was again appointed a member of the *Medjlis-i Wālāy-i Ahkām-i Adliyye* on *Safar* 1281/July-August 1864, and in the same year he visited Europe to take a cure. Back in Istanbul, he went to Tehran on 3 May 1865 as Ottoman minister to the Persian court, and died there in *Shawwāl* 1282/December 1865-January 1866. His younger son is the well-known poet 'Abd al-Ḥaḡḡ Ḥāmid [q.v.].

Khayr Allāh Efendi contributed much to the modernisation of Turkey through his publications. He undertook to write a general history of the Ottoman Empire, but could not go further than the year 1026/1617. This work was published under the title *Dewlet-i ʿAlīyye-i ʿOthmāniyye taʾriḡhi* (Istanbul 1271-81, 15 vols.), and was later continued by 'Alī Shewki, who took it up to the year 1058/1648 (Istanbul, vols. xvi-xviii, 1289-92). The author abandoned the annalistic method of Ottoman chroniclers and adopted the modern systematic treatment of history. He also made use of Western sources written in French. He seems to be the first Ottoman playwright, with his *Hikāyet-i Ibrāhīm*

*Pāshā be Ibrāhīm-i Gulshenī* written ca. 1260/1844 (first printed in *Türklük*, no. 8 (1939), 77-91, for the second time by Aytekin Yakar, *Hikāye-i . . .*, Ankara 1964). His publications also include translations from the French on subjects ranging from medicine to agriculture. Among his printed works are *Makālāt-i Ṭibbiyye* (Istanbul 1258), a collection of medical articles, *Beyt-i dehkānī* (Istanbul 1264), a treatise on agriculture, *Kıf'a-i Afrikā* (Istanbul 1268), Malte-Brun's work on geography, and *Mesā'il-i hikmet* (Istanbul 1270), a textbook on physics prepared for *rüşdiyye* (secondary) schools. His *Aurūpā siyāhat-nāmesi*, a narrative of his European tour in 1864, still remains unpublished (Ms., Library of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, Ankara).

*Bibliography*: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 319; *ʿOthmānlı mü'ellifleri*, iii, 50 f.; *EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v.; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.; *Riḡā Tahsīn, Mir'at-i Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye*, Istanbul 1328, 50 f.; *Maḡmūd Djevād, Ma'ārif-i ʿUmūmiyye Nezāreti taʾriḡhçe, teşkilāt ve idāraʾāt*, Istanbul 1338, 65; Babinger, 360 ff.; A. Süheyl (Ünver), *Tabip Hayrullah Efendi ve Mekālāt-i Ṭibbiyye*, Istanbul 1931; idem, *Osmanlı tıbbeti ve Tanzimat hakkında yeni notlar, in Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 937, 942 f.; A. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 195 f.; Gündüz Akıncı, *Abdülhak Ḥamit Tarhan*, Ankara 1954, index; Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye eğitim sisteminin gelişmesine tarihi bir bakış*, Ankara 1964, index. (E. KURAN)

**KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA**, Tunisian and Ottoman statesman of the 19th century. He was born in 1822 or 1823 into the Caucasian tribe of the *Abkhāz* [q.v.]. He lost his father in a Russian attack, and subsequently was taken as a *mamlūk* to Istanbul, and brought up in the palace of *Taḡsīn Bey, nakīb al-aṣhrāf* and *ḡāḡī-ʿaṣker* of Anatolia. In 1839 a Tunisian envoy brought him to the court of *Aḡmad Bey* [q.v.], and he soon rose in the favour of the Bey himself and his chief minister *Muṣṭafā Khaznadār* [q.v.]. He entered the army and became commander of the cavalry. As a soldier, he had contacts with the French officers attached to the *maktab ḡarbi* founded in 1840 at Bardo by the Bey in order to train a modern-type army. He also met *Maḡmūd Ḳābādū* [q.v.], poet and teacher, who was the first Tunisian to advocate the introduction of the modern sciences into education.

His first direct contacts with Europe dated from 1846, when he accompanied *Aḡmad Bey* on his visit to Paris. Between 1853 and 1856 he acquired a profound knowledge of modern civilisation through his residence in Paris as the Tunisian government representative in the legal suit against *Maḡmūd ʿAyyād*, the former farmer-general of taxes in Tunis, who had fled to France bearing large sums of money. Having been victorious in this legal process, *Khayr al-Dīn* was rewarded by the office of Minister of Marine (January 1857), and he married a daughter of *Muṣṭafā Khaznadār*. As minister, he showed himself as a competent and restrained administrator, making the best of the ageing fleet and endeavouring to introduce a better administration.

He was one of the most enthusiastic and vigorous proponents of the modernisation of the Tunisian political system. He greeted with approval the proclamation in 1857 of the *Aḡd al-amān* and in 1861 that of the Constitution [see **DUSTUR**], and he was a member of various commissions set up to implement the promises made in 1857 and 1861, including a law on conscription. He was also a member of the

beylical *maǧlis al-khāṣṣ*, and a member, and then president, of the *maǧlis al-akbar* or Parliament set up in 1861. In these positions, he worked for reform of the judicial system (which, of course, did not affect personal law, which remained within the sphere of competence of the *shariʿa* courts, but was confined to criminal law and to commercial and agricultural practices).

In November 1862, *Khayr al-Dīn* gave up his posts as Minister of Marine and president of the *maǧlis al-akbar*, whilst remaining a member of the latter and of the *maǧlis al-khāṣṣ*. Behind this partial retirement, which lasted till 1869, was his opposition to a Tunisian loan raised in Europe; the agreement for this was nevertheless made, and it opened the country to bankruptcy. In 1864 a revolt sounded the knell of the period of reforms begun in 1857. During these years, he acted as the Bey's envoy to Istanbul and other European capitals.

When he returned to politics in 1869, Tunisia had to accept, because of *Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's* maladministration, a financial commission to direct the country's finances, in which French and British influence was paramount; *Khayr al-Dīn* now became president of this. Till July 1877, he endeavoured—at first, as *wasir mubāshir*, and then, after *Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's* fall on 21 October 1873, as *wasir akbar*—to reform the Tunisian administration and to introduce a sound financial programme which would enable a debt which swallowed up about half of the country's annual revenue to be reduced. Amongst the measures which he adopted during this time was an agricultural regulation defining the rights and obligations of all those concerned with agriculture, including the *khammās* [see *MUZĀRAʿA*]. He also set up a mixed tribunal for cases between Tunisians and foreigners involving less than 1,000 piastres. He tried to improve the economy by decreasing export dues and increasing import ones. To help corn exports, he planned to build a railway line between Jendouba and Tunis. One of his most valued collaborators at this time was *Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis* [q.v.], who became president of the *ǧamʿiyyat al-awḳāf* and was able considerably to increase the income from these charitable foundations. The sums confiscated from *Muṣṭafā Khaznadār* were used to finance a new modern school as successor to the *maktab ḥarbi, al-madrasa al-ṣādiqiyya*, opened in 1875 as a place where the Tunisian élite could receive an adequate education.

*Khayr al-Dīn* wanted above all to fulfil Tunis's financial obligations to the foreign creditors of the financial commission, in the hope of preserving the country's political independence. This involved necessarily a careful and economical policy, precluding the adoption of large-scale reforms. Moreover, the Tunisian people had a greater need, psychologically, for a period of peace and of just government than for reforms, since the memory on the period 1857-64, when taxes had risen and there had been a culmination in the rebellion of 1864, was still very fresh. Nevertheless, *Khayr al-Dīn* made an effort in 1877 to inject fresh life into the constitution and to re-open the Parliament, at the time when the Turkish constitutionalists had achieved temporary power in Istanbul; but *Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq Bey* [q.v.] firmly opposed this.

On the international plane, *Khayr al-Dīn* was always a firm supporter of close links between the Bey's official suzerain, the Ottoman Sultan, and Tunis. It was, in his view, the best safeguard against an increasingly burdensome European influence;

whilst the Ottoman empire continued in existence, the Regency of Tunis could retain a *de facto* political independence. During the Balkan War, in 1876, he showed his support by sending considerable material aid to the Porte, whilst refraining from sending troops in order not to incur French displeasure.

His departure from office on 21 July 1877 was due to various reasons. The Bey, under the influence of persons like *Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿil*, preferred a more pliant and less economy-minded prime minister; because of two consecutive bad harvests, the treasury was empty, and the instalment of debt had to be paid. As for France and Britain, the twin pillars of the financial commission, the latter had never supported *Khayr al-Dīn*, and France abandoned him above all because of his help to the Porte and his refusal to let the Jendouba-Tunis railway line be linked with the Algerian network.

On his leaving office, *Khayr al-Dīn* fell into disgrace, and even feared lest his property be confiscated. But in August 1878, thanks to the mediation of *Muḥammad al-Zāfir*, head of the *Madaniyya* religious order [q.v.], he received an invitation from *ʿAbd al-Ḥamid II* [q.v.] to come to Istanbul, where on 4 December 1878 he was made Grand Vizier. The sultan, who had just managed to throw off the Young Ottomans, hoped to find in him an efficient servant in the *Tanzīmāt* [q.v.] style. During the eight months when he was at the head of the Sublime Porte, he was concerned with the deposition of the Egyptian Khedive *Ismāʿil*, among other things. The main motive behind his dismissal, on 28 July 1879, was that his personal experience at Istanbul had turned him into a belated Young Ottoman, advocate of a parliamentary system and of ministerial responsibility. Until his death on 30 January 1890, he lived in retirement at Istanbul.

*Khayr al-Dīn*, as well as being a politician, was one of the first Muslims to be concerned with the causes of the decadence of the *umma* [q.v.]. In 1868 he published his study *Akwām al-masālik fi maʿrifat ahwāl al-mamālik*, the greater part of which gave a review of the countries of Europe from the economic, political, etc. points of view. More interesting is the introduction (2-89), in which *Khayr al-Dīn* sets forth his ideas on the possibility of the Muslims regaining their former grandeur. A good government which inspires the people's confidence is the best means of achieving this. *Khayr al-Dīn* avers that Europe has not become strong thanks to Christianity, but rather to a good system of government in which the monarch has had to delegate some of his powers. Then he notes that it is permissible for the Muslims to borrow from the Europeans their technical inventions and their political system. It ought not to be difficult for the *umma* to re-introduce good government, since the *shariʿa* prescribes it, and in the past, it had been shown as perfectly attainable, always bringing with it a period of glory for the Muslims. It should be further noted that, for *Khayr al-Dīn*, the modern European parliament is nothing but the institution of the *ahl al-hall wa 'l-ʿaḳd* [q.v.] adapted to modern needs and conditions. He claimed to remain within the tradition of classical Islamic political thought, and this explains why he considered his ideas as valid for the whole of the *umma* and why he was especially concerned with the position of the Ottoman empire, at the time the main Muslim power, and with the *tanzīmāt*. His opinion on these last was favourable. Although he favoured an Ottoman parliament, he did not consider it indispensable for the realisation of his ideal of a good government.

This explains why at the same time he paid so much attention to the 'ulamā' and the role which they ought to play in helping modernisation of the *umma*, since they comprised the greater part of the élite and could pronounce on whether the desired reforms were consonant with the *shari'a* or not. In this regard, *Khayr al-Dīn* had an influence on the thought of Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Tahtāwī [q.v.]. Concerning Europe, *Khayr al-Dīn* adopted a suspicious attitude, for he feared that some day or other the Muslim world would fall an easy prey to the expansionist continent.

In the person of *Khayr al-Dīn*, statesman and theorist were combined in a happy manner, since the politician was himself always faithful to the principles set forth in his *Aḥwam al-masālik*.

*Bibliography:* *Khayr al-dīn, Aḥwam al-masālik fi ma'rifaṭ ahwāl al-mamālik*, Tunis 1868, Istanbul 1876, Alexandria 1881-2, Tunis 1972<sup>4</sup> (with an introduction and notes by al-Munṣif al-Shanūfi (Fr. tr. under the title of *Reformes nécessaires aux États musulmans; essai formant la première partie de l'ouvrage politique et statistique intitulé "La plus sûre direction pour connaître l'état des nations"*, Paris 1868, 1875<sup>2</sup>; Eng. tr. *Necessary Reforms of the musliman states. Essay which forms the first part of the political and statistical work entitled "The surest way to know the state of the nations"*, Athens 1874; new tr. in L. C. Brown, *The Surest Path, the political treatise of a nineteenth-century Muslim statesman*, 65-178); *idem*, *Mémoires*, ed. by M. S. Mzali and J. Pignon as *Khérédine, homme d'état, documents historiques annotés*, Tunis 1971; *idem*, *Correspondance*, partially ed. by M. S. Mzali and J. Pignon, in *RT* (1938) 92-152, (1940) 71-107 and 251-302; I. Abu-Lughod, *The Arab rediscovery of Europe; a study in cultural encounters*, Princeton 1963; Bayram al-Khāmīs al-Tūnīsī, *Ṣafwat al-'tibār bi-mustawda' al-amṣār wa 'l-aḥḥār*, 5 vols., Cairo, 1302-11; L. C. Brown *The Surest Path, the political treatise of a nineteenth-century muslim statesman*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1967; J. Ganiage, *Les Origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age (1798-1939)*, London 1962; Ibn Abi 'l-Diyāf, *Ithāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis wa 'ahd al-amān*, 8 vols., Tunis, 1963-6; M. F. Ibn 'Āshūr, *al-Ḥaraka al-adabiyya wa 'l-fikriyya fi Tūnis*, Cairo 1956, Tunis 1972<sup>2</sup>; M. R. Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrazamlar*, Istanbul 1945, vi, 895-960; Muhammad al-Sanūsī, *al-Rihla al-hidā'iyya in Hawliyyāt al-Djāmi'a al-tūnisiyya*, vii (1970), 79-111; M. Smida, *Khérédine, ministre réformateur*, Tunis 1970; B. Tlili, *Éléments pour une approche de la pensée socio-économique de Khérédine*, in *ROMM* ix (1970), 119-52; *idem*, *Autour du réformisme tunisien du XIX<sup>e</sup>-siècle: la notion de liberté dans la pensée de Ḥayr ad-Dīn*, in *CT*, lxxvii-lxxviii (1972), 59-85; G. S. van Krieken, *Les Rapports culturels et idéologiques entre l'Orient et l'Occident, en Tunisie au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1830-1880)*, Tunis 1974; *idem*, *Khayr al-Dīn et la Tunisie (1850-1881)*, Leiden 1976).

(G. S. VAN KRIEKEN)

**KHAYR AL-DĪN (KHĪPĪR) PASHA**, BARBAROSSA (?870-953/?1466-1546), famous Turkish corsair and Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet. He was born at Metellin, where his father Ya'qūb, *sipāhī* of Vardar Yenidjesi (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 5b; *Lūḍiyyāt al-abrār*, in *Kūnh al-akhbār*, fol. 254a; *Hādījī Khālifa*, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 25: of Edjeova), had settled after the Turkish conquest of 866/1462;

according to Cómara, *Crónica*, 351, his mother Catalina was the widow of a Greek priest. The date of his birth may be fixed in ca. 1466, according to the notice of Hādījī Khālifa, who makes him over 80 at death (for Sandoval, ii, 208, he had likewise *más de ochenta años*, and for Guglielmotti, *Storia della marina pontificia*, iv, 117, he was 77 in 1543). The assertion of Haëdo, that he died aged 63 (*Topografia*, i, 261) and the information contained in a report of 3 June 1534 to the Venetian Senate, where he is described as *di cinquanta e più anni* (Albèri, iii/1, 30), deserve less credence.

*Khldīr* began his activities by carrying merchandise to Saros, Salonica and Negroponte in a ship of his. After Selīm I forbade sailing on the Aegean Sea without his authorisation, since he wished to prevent his brother and rival Korkud's flight (1513; cf. I. H. Unzuçarşılı, *11. inci Bayezid oğullarından Sultan Korkud*, in *Belleten*, xxx (1966), 583-90), he fitted out a second boat at Metellin, carried corn from the north to Africa, purchased 95 black slaves, sold them in Rumelia, and from there, with his two ships, rejoined his elder brother 'Arūdī [q.v.] at *Djarba* (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 23b-24a). (The date of 'Arūdī's arrival in North Africa is corrected by S. Souček, *Remarks on some Western and Turkish sources dealing with the Barbarossa brothers*, in *Güneydoğu Avrupa araştırmaları dergisi*, i (Istanbul 1972), 63-76 = *The rise of the Barbarossas in North Africa*, in *Archivum otomanicum*, iii, 1971, 238-50). He achieved numerous exploits by land and sea, but in general remained in the shadow of 'Arūdī, first at Tunis and then at Algiers.

After 'Arūdī's death in 1518, *Khldīr*, now controlling only Algiers, had to face the expedition led by Hugo of Moncada, viceroy of Sicily, of 80 sail and 6,000 men (Manfroni, 260, based on Spanish documents; *Ghazawāt*, fol. 68a: 170 ships and 20,000 men; Grammont, 32: 40 ships and 5,000 men). Towards the middle of August, the enemy landed at the mouth of al-Ḥarrāsh and seized a position on the eminence of Kudyat al-Sābūn; *Khldīr*, with 600 Turks and 20,000 local troops, took the Spanish from the rear and forced them to re-embark. A storm sent a great proportion of the ships to the bottom of the sea, and *Khldīr* took numerous prisoners, including 36 officers of high rank (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 69a-71b). Immediately afterwards, he put the sultan of Tlemcen to flight, since this last had allied with the Spanish and had marched on Miliana. In the spring of the next year (1520), he retook Ténès, which had rebelled, whilst his squadron of 18 ships put to flight 15 Spanish ships which had been sent to reinforce the town (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 72a-73a). From this time onwards, according to the *Ghazawāt*, the Christians gave *Khldīr* the name of Barbarossa, because of the colour of his beard (see also Charrière, i, 264).

Like his brother, *Khldīr* divided the Algerian territories into two provinces, under two local chiefs as governors: Ahmad b. al-Ḳāḍī in the east (where he himself had already been governor), and Muḥammad b. 'Alī in the west. He assumed the honorific or *laḡab* of *Khayr al-Dīn* (Ariadeno) and the title of *sulṭān*, according to an inscription of the mosque of Algiers built by him, dated in the first ten days of *Djumādā* 1 926/19-28 April 1520: *al-sulṭān al-mudjāhid mawlānā Khayr al-Dīn ibn al-amīr al-shahīr al-mudjāhid Abī Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Turkī* (cf. A. Devoulx, *Épigraphie indigène du Musée archéologique d'Alger*, Algiers 1874, 54-5; see also P. Giovinio, *Delle historie del suo tempo*, ii, Venice 1557, 315).

In this period *Khayr al-Dīn* sought help from the

Ottoman sultan, sending an embassy with four ships and with 40 slaves for Selim I and an equal number for the *pashas* of the *Diwān*, together with a petition of the Algerian people, during the first ten days of *Dhu 'l-Kāda* 925/25 October 3- November 1519, whose text has survived in a Turkish translation (in Topkapı Sarayı, publ. by A. Temimi, in *Revue d'histoire maghrébine*, v (1976), 95-101). The envoys were very well received by the sultan (who died on 9 *Shawwāl* 926/22 September 1520), and Selim accepted the overlordship of the kingdom of Algiers and sent via *Hādīdjī Hüseyin* an investiture decree (*khalf-i sherif*) and a flag (*sandjak*). Moreover, he sent to him 2,000 Janissaries and some artillery, and authorised him to enroll volunteers, to whom he promised the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Janissaries (Haëdo, i, 249). The Turkish squadron coming from Istanbul was greeted on 20 September 1520 off Cerigo (see M. Sanudo, xxix, 284). From that moment, the name of the Ottoman sultan was inscribed on coins minted at Algiers and his name placed in the *khufba*, thus affirming his suzerainty (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 88b; for the coins struck at Algiers from 926/1520, see İ. Artuk, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman adına basılan sikkeler*, Ankara 1972, 29-31).

Soon afterwards, whilst his fleet was seizing Mostaghanem, *Khayr al-Dīn* helped 'Abd Allāh unseat Mas'ūd in Tlemcen, receiving payment of an annual tribute of 10,000 gold pieces (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 93b-102a).

*Khayr al-Dīn's* domination in Algiers was temporarily interrupted through an attack of the sultan of Tunis, Muḥammad, who had allied with Ibn al-Kāḍī and *Qara Hasan*, head of the Turkish garrison in Cherchell. Defeated on the lands of the Flissat Umm al-Lil (Grammont, 32), and besieged in the town of Algiers with only limited supplies of food and munitions, *Khayr al-Dīn* was forced to flee with nine ships of Djidjelli, after the population of Algiers itself (divided into eight quarters under eight *shaykh's*) had risen in rebellion against him.

After having secured the help of the head of the Banū 'Abbās of Little Kabylia, 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Khayr al-Dīn* from Djidjelli seized Collo (1521), Bône and Constantine (1522: Haëdo, i, 250-1). He also took up privateering in the Mediterranean. Sailing with seven ships, he captured nine ships loaded with corn, which he divided amongst the population then afflicted by famine. He then had built a galley of 27 banks of rowers, and in the spring of 1523 seized some ships in the Gulf of Genoa and five vessels loaded with corn off the coast of Rome. From there, he set sail for *Djarba*, and soon secured control of it, and it was there that the most famous corsairs of the age, like *Sinān Re'īs* (Ebreo) and *Aydīn Re'īs* (Cacciadiavolo) joined him. With a fleet of 41 ships, *Khayr al-Dīn* and his corsairs ravaged the coasts of the western Mediterranean, seizing large amounts of booty (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 123a-126b; Gomara, 393-5). Now feeling that he was strong, he decided in 1525 to march from Djidjelli on Algiers, invited thither by the populace, who were suffering hardship because of the loss of revenue from the corsair spoils. The occasion for this was Ibn al-Kāḍī's prohibition of some ships of *Khayr al-Dīn's* loaded with Moriscoes from mooring in the port of Algiers. Ibn al-Kāḍī went forth with 20,000 men to engage *Khayr al-Dīn*, but was beaten at Wādī Bugdura, and then at the hill of the Banū 'Abbās, where he was beheaded by his own men (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 127a-136b; Grammont, 33). From 1526 till 1528, *Khayr al-Dīn* strengthened his position by retaking Cherchell,

where *Qara Hasan* had 500 men, at the same time forcing 'Abd Allāh, sultan of Tlemcen, to pay the tribute for the past six years and to pay in the future 20,000 pieces of gold per annum; he also took Ténès and Constantine again, where the people had rebelled (Grammont, 34), and forced *Husayn*, brother and successor of Ibn al-Kāḍī in Great Kabylia to pay tribute of 30 loads (*yūkh*) of silver (1528: *Ghazawāt*, fols. 138b-146a).

The Spanish still controlled the island of Peñon, which faced Algiers at a distance of some 300 metres only, but they were poorly-armed and poorly-provisioned. At the opening of May 1529, *Khayr al-Dīn* attacked the fortress and took it on the 27th. With the débris, he built a causeway linking the islet with dry land, and thus secured a roadstead to protect his ships against the winds (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 148a-152b); Grammont, 35). A few days later, an Algerian squadron seized nine Spanish ships which had come to the relief of Peñon (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 154b-156a).

In summer of the same year, *Khayr al-Dīn* sent a detachment of fifteen ships under *Aydīn Re'īs* to the vicinity of Oliva in Spain, in order to help the Moriscoes who were in revolt. *Aydīn Re'īs*, having loaded his ships with as many Moriscoes as possible, put to flight off Formentera a Spanish squadron commanded by Rodrigo Portundo; of the eight ships here, one was sunk and the rest brought back to Algiers (Gomara, 397-9; Haëdo, i, 253-3; *Ghazawāt* fols. 160b-162a: fifteen ships, of which three were burnt and three sunk). *Khayr al-Dīn* sent two galleys to Istanbul to proclaim this victory to Süleymān. The *Çawuş* Muştafā told him about the negotiations with the King of France. (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 163a-164b).

In May 1531, news reached *Khayr al-Dīn* that Andrea Doria was sailing towards Cherchell with a fleet of 40 ships, including 20 French ones (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 167a-b), according to the terms of the Treaty of Cambray of 5 August 1529 (Manfroni, 291, assures us that there were 30 ships, including 13 French ones). *Khayr al-Dīn* planned to go out and engage him with 48 ships, but had to delay his departure through lack of supplies (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 172a; Giovinetti, ii, 129-30); he was in the vicinity of the Balearics when Andrea Doria had already attacked the fortress and after being repelled, had fled to Cadix, leaving on the ground 1,400 dead and 646 prisoners (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 175a-b). *Khayr al-Dīn* then ravaged the coasts of Liguria and Spain, capturing abundant plunder.

In 1532, he attacked the sultan of Tlemcen, who had the support of 14 Spanish ships based on Oran, and forced him to pay an increased tribute of 30,000 gold pieces. He then sent five ships to plunder the Spanish coasts, capturing *inter alia* 14 out of the 15 ships responsible for the defence of the coasts. Soon afterwards, he put down a revolt of 7,000 captive Christians, led by twenty Spanish nobles, for whom he had previously refused a ransom of 20,000 sequins (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 215a-223a).

However, *Khayr al-Dīn* assumed the role of intermediary between Francis I and Süleymān, receiving in 1533 a French ambassador making his way towards Aleppo (J. Ursu, *La politique orientale de François I<sup>er</sup>* Paris 1908, 79-80). Having received an invitation in a *khalf-i sherif* which *Sinān Çawuş* brought to him, he left *Hasan Agha* (Sardo) in charge at Algiers and left for Istanbul with seventeen of his ablest *re'īs* and 44 ships, set on fire a squadron of 18 ships before Messina, sent 25 of his ships to

pursue the fleet of Andrea Doria, who had left Coron for the Adriatic, and finally reached the Ottoman capital at the end of the year (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 224a-226b).

Shortly afterwards, he departed for Aleppo after an invitation from the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Paṣha, who bestowed on him officially the office of Kapudan Paṣha [q.v.], with the title of *Djexā'ir beglerbegi* (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 229a; State Archives of Venice, coll. Tkish. docs., dossier xv. 7, last ten days of Raġjab 940/5-14 February 1534), which should be understood as "Beglerbeg of the Islands" (i.e. *Djexā'ir-i bahr-i sefid*), and not of Algiers (cf. Albēri, iii: 1. 30, narrative of Daniello de' Ludovisi of 3 June 1534: "beilerbei del mare"; Ramperti, *Libri tre delle cosei die Turchi*, Venice 1939, c. 22: "beglerbey del mare").

Some months later, Khayr al-Dīn set sail with a fleet of 84 ships, of which 18 were his own, five belonging to corsairs and 61 newly-built. The mission entrusted to him was the conquest of Tunis, whose throne had been claimed by Raṣhīd, brother of Mawlay al-Ḥasan. After pillaging Reggio, San Lucido, Cetraro, the Gulf of Naples with the adjacent islands, Sperlonga, Fondi (on the flight of Giulia Gonzaga, see B. Nicolini, *Giulia Gonzaga e la crisi del Valdesianesimo*, in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, N.S., v (Naples 1942), 204-8) and Terracina, and then taking on supplies of water and wood at the Tiber mouth (Guglielmotti, iii, 384-5) and capturing Bizerta, he seized La Goletta (*Khalk al-Wādi*) on 16 August and then on the 18th, Tunis, which had been abandoned by Mawlay al-Ḥasan. The whole of Tunisia fell into his hands after Mawlay al-Ḥasan had been defeated at al-Qayrawān by an army of 10,000 men (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 235a-241a). He then pacified a revolt of the Arabs calling for Raṣhīd, who had remained in Istanbul, where he died shortly afterwards (Hādīdī *Khalfā*, 44; Pećewī, *Ta'rikh*, i, 492).

In April 1535, a new French ambassador, La Forest, visited Barbarossa in Tunis and from there, left for Istanbul; he had the task of preparing a joint expedition of the French and the Ottomans to plunder Corsica and conquer Sardinia and Sicily, then under Spanish control (D. C. Rouillard, *The Turk in French history, thought and literature (1520-1660)*, Paris 1938, 111-12). Charles V decided to take action, and assembled an armada of 300 ships and about 30,000 men. He reconquered La Goletta on 14 June and on the 20th attacked Tunis with the support of the Arabs and over 4,000 Christian captives, who had broken their fetters and now threw the Turkish ranks into disarray (these Turkish forces amounting to 9,700 men). Khayr al-Dīn was hurled out of Tunis and headed for Bône, whence, with 15 ships, he went to Algiers. He set off with 32 ships for the Balearics, burnt and sacked Port Mahon in Minorca (P. Estamislao - K. Aguilo, *Documentos relativos al sitio y saqueo de Mahon por Barbarroja*, in *Revista de Menorca* (1898), 137-56; (1909), 261-80; *non vidi*) and Palma in Majorca, and returned on 15 October to Istanbul (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 257b-272a). In the following spring, he went with 30 ships to the coasts of Calabria, where he sacked La Castella (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 272a-b; G. B. Moscato, *Cronaca dei musulmani in Calabria*, Cosenza 1963, 102).

Till spring 1537, Khayr al-Dīn was busy getting ready the fleet which Süleymān had promised Francis I for supporting his Italian expedition. During this period, Süleymān took up a position with his army at Valona, and the fleet, comprising 280 ships, concentrated along the Albanian coast. Whilst the

greater part of the ships under the Third Vizier Luṭfī Paṣha headed for the coast of Apulia, Khayr al-Dīn went with 60 galleys to escort 20 ships loaded with provisions from Egypt. He then took part in the unsuccessful siege of Corfu. From there, and after the main part of the fleet had returned to Istanbul, he went with 60 ships and seized Nio, Zea and Naxos. In the next year, 1538, he attacked and occupied Skiatos, Skiros, Tinos, Andros, Karpatos, Kandelesa and other islands of the Venetians in the Aegean. Also, Crete was plundered for a week and over 15,000 captives taken (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 278a-282b).

On 27 September, the Turkish fleet of 120 ships commanded by Khayr al-Dīn clashed before Prevese with a Christian fleet of 138 galleys and 70 ships (Manfroni, 337), which had been got together by the Emperor, the Pope and Venice, under the command of Andrea Doria; the engagement ended in the retreat of Doria's Imperial forces after some skirmishing by the vanguards (for the battle, see now A. Büyük-Tuğrul, *Prevese deniz muharebesine ilişkin gerçekler*, in *Belleter*, xxxvii (1973), 51-85). The existence of secret negotiations between Doria and Barbarossa, shown in numerous published documents (see Manfroni, 332 f.; C. Capasso, *Barbarossa e Carlo V*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, lxi (1932), 169-209, 304-48) explains why the two admirals never provoked each other and why they both adopted an extremely prudent attitude towards each other. Barbarossa, without hurrying overmuch, pursued the Christian fleet and forced it to retreat to Ste. Maure.

In the next year, Khayr al-Dīn went with 150 ships and reconquered Castelnuovo, taken in the preceding year by the Christian fleet after the battle of Prevese.

Khayr al-Dīn's last appearance on the sea was in 1543, when, after the agreements reached between Süleymān and Francis I, he was given the task of co-operating with the French fleet in the western Mediterranean. After ravaging the Italian coasts, staying three days at Reggio and terrorising Rome by a halt at the Tiber (Guglielmotti, iv, 117-18), he joined the Duc d'Enghien, commander of the French fleet, at Marseilles. The two united fleets sacked Villefrance and unsuccessfully besieged Nice, Khayr al-Dīn attributing this check to the shortcomings of the French fleet (cf. Charrière, i, 578-9). The arrival of Andrea Doria's fleet and the Marquis del Vasto's army compelled Khayr al-Dīn to retreat and to spend the winter at Toulon, which was evacuated on this occasion by its inhabitants. However, he sent 25 galleys under Şāliḥ Re'īs and Hasan Celebi to plunder the Gulf of Lyons and the Spanish coasts (J. Laroche, *L'expédition en Provence de l'armée de mer du Sultan Suleyman sous le commandement de l'Amiral Hayreddin Paṣha dit Barberousse (1543-1544)*, in *Turcica*, i (1969), 161-211; *Ghazawāt*, second part, ms. 1186 of the B. N., Paris). The Peace of Crépy in 1544 ended the war between Charles V and Francis I, and Khayr al-Dīn sailed back to Istanbul after pillaging the coasts of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples (ms. 1186, fols. 41a-45a; Guglielmotti, iv, 123-5).

Khayr al-Dīn spent the rest of his life in pious works, amongst other things, having a *medrese* and a mosque built at Beşiktaş, of which however no traces remain (see T. Öz, *Istanbul camileri*, ii, Ankara 1965, 30). He died on 4 July 1546, and was buried at Beşiktaş, with the chronogram مات رئيس البحر [= 953/1546] engraved on his tomb. The mausoleum was

built by the architect Sinān (Öz, *op. cit.*, ii, 10), and became the place for the ceremony of investiture for new *kapudan paşhas* (note at end of ms. 2639 of Istanbul Univ. Library, fol. 392a-b). The Turkish fleet, before leaving on an expedition, would go there and fire a salvo in greeting (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 439; A. Bombaci, *Le fonti turche della battaglia delle Gerbe (1560)*, in *RSO*, xx (1942), 279).

Very little is known of Khayr al-Dīn's private life. He was twice married: once, at Algiers, with a local woman, who bore him a son Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who was on several occasions *beglerbegi* of Algiers; and a second time, at the age of 77, with the 18-year old daughter of the governor of Reggio (pillaged in 1543, see above), Flavia or Maria Gaetani (Haëdo, i, 272; Guglielmotti, iv, 117). He also had a daughter who is buried near his *türbe* (Öz, *loc. cit.*).

Khayr al-Dīn gave the Ottoman empire a well-organised North African province. As Grand Admiral, he strengthened the Ottoman maritime presence, assuring it of a total domination which lasted for over 30 years. He has remained in the Turkish memory as a national hero. His name struck terror in the Mediterranean, but he also had a reputation for generosity and prudence (see the letter written to him by Pietro Aretino, beginning "Salve, o re inclito, bassà degno, capitano invitto e uomo egregio . . . poiché la tua generosità, la tua altezza, il tuo valore e la tua prodenza ti sostengono. . ." (*Il secondo libro delle lettere*, ed. F. Nicolini, Bari 1916, 54-5). Barbarossa replied to him thus: "Certo tu hai più presto cera di capitano che di scrittore" (B. Croce, *Poesia popolare e poesia d'arte*, Bari 1933, 252).

**Bibliography:** Sources. The most important contemporary source is the *Ghazawāt-i Khayr al-Dīn Pasha* by Sayyid Murād, composed on the basis of directly-communicated reports from Barbarossa and his travelling-companions, and also on the basis of what he himself had personally witnessed; two redactions of the original exist, one in prose and one in verse, and there are other, second-hand redactions. It is preserved in several manuscripts but still unedited, and is divided into two parts; the first narrates Khayr al-Dīn's adventures from his birth till 1541, whilst the second, concerned with the French expedition of 1543-4, has only come down to us in ms. 1186 of the B. N. in Paris. Scholars have used it basically through the intermediary of a bad French translation of an Arabic résumé of the Turkish text (the Arabic text was published at Algiers in 1934 by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Kādir; on this is based *al-Zuhra al-nā'ira*, ed. S. Baba 'Umar in *Jnal. d'histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb*, iii (Algiers 1967), 1-18 of the Arabic section). The French tr. was published in two vols. at Paris in 1837 by S. Rang and F. Denis as *Fondation de la Régence d'Alger. Histoire de Barberousse*. On the other hand, the Italian tr. made from a Spanish version of the Turkish text (ms. 1663 of the Escorial, to which the citations in this article refer), made by Giovan Luigi Alcamora in 1578, has been little used. This Italian tr. was published at Palermo by E. Peleaz in *Archivio Storico Siciliano* between 1880 and 1887 and as a monograph in 1887 with the title *La vita e la storia di Ariadeno Barbarossa* (see A. Gallotta, *Le ghazawāt di Ḥayreddīn Barbarossa*, in *Studi Magrebini*, iii (Naples 1970), 79-160).

Another contemporary work on Barbarossa is the *Lū'ūdīyat al-abrār* or *Lū'ūdīyat al-akh'yār* of Yetim

'Alī Çelebi, d. 959/1552 (see A. S. Levend, *Ghazawāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ghazawāt-nāmesi*, Ankara 1956, 74), of which only one manuscript is known, that in the private library of İ. H. Uzunçarşılı. There is an extract from this work in 'Alī, *Kūnh al-akhbār*, 4th section, 3rd part, still unedited; this has been used *apud* Istanbul Univ. Library ms. 5959, fols. 253a-256b. Ḥadjīdjī Khālifa, *Tuhfat al-kibār fi asfār al-bihār*, Istanbul 1329, 25-59, is based on the *Ghazawāt*, with some variations. A contemporary Spanish source, written in 1545, is the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* of F. Lopez de Gómara, published in *Memorial historico español*, vi, Madrid 1853, 327-439. There are also notices on Barbarossa in the *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V* by Prudencio de Sandoval, written at the end of the 16th century, of which an edition was published at Madrid in 1955 (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, lxxx-lxxxii), and in the *Topografía et historia general de Argel* by Diego de Haëdo, written towards the end of the 16th century (Valladolid 1612 and Madrid 1927-9, in 3 vols.). The citations in this article refer to this last edition.

Collections of documents: *Collección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, 112 vols., Madrid 1842-95, for which there is a catalogue raisonné by J. Paz, *Catalogo de la colección*. . . , 2 vols., Madrid 1930-1; E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i, Paris 1848; E. de la Primaudaie, *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, in *Rev. Afr.*, xix-xxi (1875-7); M. Sanudo, *I diarii*, 58 vols., Venice 1879-1902; E. Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, Ser. 3, vol. i, Florence 1840; M. T. Gökbilgin, *Venedik devlet arşivindeki vesikalar külliyyatında Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri, in Belgeler: Türk tarih belgeleri dergisi*, i (Ankara 1964), 119-20 (nos. 27-8, 34, 40-1, 61, 82; the document xv. 7 is not included in this collection); idem, *Venedik devlet arşivindeki türkçe belgeler koleksiyonu ve bizimle ilgili diğer belgeler, in Belgeler*, v-viii (1968-71), 1-151 (nos. 131, 188).

Khayr al-Dīn's life is included, from the historical point of view, in H. D. de Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque (1515-1830)*, Paris 1887; C. Manfroni, *Storia della marina italiana dalla caduta di Costantinopoli alla battaglia di Lepanto*, Rome 1897; A. Samih Ilter, *Şimali Afrikada Türkler*, i, Istanbul 1937.

There are several more or less recent works, the last of which being E. Bradford's *The Sultan's Admiral, the life of Barbarossa*, London and New York 1968, of little worth. (A. GALOTTA)

**KHAYR AL-DİN PASHA** [see **DIANDARLI**].

USTĀD KHAYR AL-DİN, Ottoman architect, popularly considered as the founder of Turkish architecture. We have very little certain knowledge of his life, and do not even know when he was born and died, but his father Ustād Murād is known to have restored the Galata Tower after the earthquake of 913/1509. His name is not included in a list of architects in a *defter* from the first years of Sultan Süleymān's reign (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, D 7843), indicating that he may no longer have been alive then. In Ayvānsarayī Ḥüseyn Efendi's *Ḥadīkat al-Djāwāmi'*, written in 1193/1779, the following information is given about him: "Khayr al-Dīn, the architect—who was the builder of the Mi'mār Khayr al-Dīn mosque opposite the mausoleum of Sinān Paşa in Dīwān Yolu—was the architect of



Sultan Bāyezīd. He is buried outside the Sinān Pasha mausoleum. There is a quarter bearing his name". This mosque, according to its inscription, was burnt down in 1316/1898 and rebuilt by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II. Ṭayyār-zāde Ahmed 'Aṭā' Enderūnī, in *'Aṭā' Ta'riḫhi*, Istanbul 1291, i, 76, attributes to him buildings in Edirne, Amasya and Istanbul during the reign of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), and his information is repeated in Mehmed Ṭhüreyyā, *Sidjill-i 'Oṭhmāni*, ii, 314.

Khayr al-Dīn seems to have begun his career outside Istanbul. The *küllīyye* or complex of religious and educational buildings in Amasya of Sultan Bāyezīd, founded by the prince Ahmed, governor of Amasya, in his father's name, was his first major work, and was completed in 891/1486. In this project, on the banks of the Kızılırmak River (of which only the *medrese*, mosque, *'imāret*, *türbe* and fountain survive today), the architect tried to give unity to the whole site by the plan chosen, which included two large domes, one after the other, and then three smaller domes at their sides.

The second and larger *küllīyye* of Sultan Bāyezīd was built by Khayr al-Dīn in Edirne between the years 889/1484 and 893/1488. With its mosque, *'imāret*, hospital, *medrese*, baths, kitchen and provision depots, this is one of the biggest social-religious foundations of the 9th/15th century. The mosque, with its many tombs, dominates the architectural complex; it has a lofty dome, 21 m in diameter, mounted on four walls 19 m high. The low, nine-domed, small *tābhānas* are adjacent to the mosque. At the outer corners of the fountain courtyard, in front of the *tābhānas*, are two minarets with galleries.

More controversial is Khayr al-Dīn's role in the construction of the mosque of Sultan Bāyezīd in Istanbul, which was designed as a *küllīyye* and completed in five years between 906/1501 and 911/1506. In this, the first plan of the single half-domed Fāṭih mosque is taken up and developed further by the addition of a second half-dome to the north and one small dome on each side. The central dome is 18 m in diameter; the fountain courtyard has two rows of windows, and the two minarets, with single galleries and 87 m apart from each other, are at the outer corners. The various domes and arches of the mosque were restored by Sinān after the 915/1509 earthquake, according to the *Tuḥfat al-mi'mārīn*.

Now Muṣṭafā Nūri Pasha, in his *Netā'idī al-wuḫū'āt* (Istanbul 1327), put forward the name of Kemāl al-Dīn as the architect of the Bāyezīd mosque, whilst more recently, Rifki Melül Meric has suggested the name of Ya'qūb b. Sulṭān Shāh as the architect, basing this on records in Istanbul Belediye Library manuscripts; see his *Bayezid camii mimarı*, in *İlāhiyat Fakültesi, Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi*, ii (Ankara 1958), 4-77, and *L'architecte de la mosquée Bayezid d'Istanbul*, in *Proc. First ICTA* (Ankara 1961). There are certainly many obscurities and chronological difficulties about the dating of the building process, but according to the mosque's inscription, work started on it at the end of 906/1501 and was completed in 911/1506; the dome was completed in the third week of Rabi' I 910, and in the next month, the outer courtyard of the mosque in the garden of the Old Palace and its boundaries were marked out and enclosed with walls. There does not seem to be any specific information about Ya'qūb's hand in it; Khayr al-Dīn had become architect-in-chief previously, and the sources indicate that Khayr al-Dīn was alive after Ya'qūb's death. It is also

known that he was in charge of construction at the caravanserai, later known as the Piringdi Khān, at Bursa, built by the Sultan as a *wakf* to provide income for his mosque in Istanbul (Bursa Müzesi arşivi, Shari'a register-defters, No. 20, entry No. 67; Kāmil Kepeci, *Bursa Hanları*, Bursa 1935).

*Bibliography*: (in addition to sources mentioned in the article): Ewliyā Celebi, *Seyāhat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 142; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-tawāriḫ*, Istanbul 1279, ii, 211; L. A. Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Geneva 1956; B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times 1071-1923*, London 1959; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 143, 150-1, 155, 168; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1971, 210-14. (O. ASLANAPA)

### KHAYRĀBĀD.

i. — A small town in Uttar Pradesh, India, 27° 32' N., 80° 45' E., 75 km. north of Lakhna'ū (Lucknow) on the Barēli road, now of small importance but in Mughal times the headquarters of one of the five *sarkārs* of the *sūba* of Awadh (Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī, *A'in-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Jarrett, Bibl. Ind., ii, 93, 176). Under the kingdom of Awadh [q.v.] it became the headquarters town of a *niẓāmat*; but after the British annexation of Awadh its importance declined with the rise of Sitāpur 8 km. to the north. Before the partition of the Indian sub-continent, the population of the town and surrounding district was about 60 % Muslim. Except for the Djāmi' masjid, of the time of Shāhājahān, its buildings are undistinguished; Abu 'l-Faḍl's lists show it as possessing a brick fort.

*Bibliography*: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *loc. cit.*; H. R. Nevill, *Sitapur: a gazetteer* (= *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces . . .*, xl), Allahabad 1905, s.v. Khairabad.

ii. — A settlement on the west bank of the river Indus opposite Aḥak [q.v.] (Attock). Whether or not the name was deliberately given for its assonance with Kafak at the south-eastern extremity of Akbar's dominions, as Abu 'l-Faḍl asserts (*Akbar-nāma*, ed. Bibl. Ind., iii, 355), the name certainly means "obstacle". A popular legend (not in the *Akbar-nāma*) has it that Khayrābād is the "habitation of well-being" attained after the "obstacle" has been successfully passed, and was named by Akbar after the successful bridging of the Indus at a notoriously treacherous point. The *sarā'ī* of Khayrābād is frequently referred to in accounts of Akbar's operations in the north-west after 989/1581.

*Bibliography*: *Akbar-nāma*, iii, index s.v. Aḥak; and see Bibliography to Aḥak.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

### KHAYRPÖR.

i. A former native state of the province of Sind in British India, now in Pakistan, lying to the east of the lower-middle Indus River between lat. 27°46' and 26°10' N. and between long. 68°20' and 70°14' E., and with an area of 6,018 sq. miles; it is also the name of a town, formerly the capital of the state, lying some 25 miles south-west of Sukkur and Rohri.

The southeastern part of what was Khayrpör state is largely desert, but the alluvial plains in the north and west, adjacent to the Indus, are fertile and are irrigated by canals from the Indus valley, so that such crops as cereals, cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, oilseed and indigo can be cultivated.

The separate historical existence of the state

dates only from the late 18th century. In 1783 the Balūč chief Mir Fath 'Alī Khān Tālpūr overthrew the Kalhoras of Sind and secured a *sanad* from the Durrānī ruler in Kāndahār as titular ruler of Sind. His nephew Mir Suhrāb Khān (d. 1830) asserted his power in Khayrpūr town, and founded a state of his own, whilst continuing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Tālpūr Mir of Sind at Hāydarābād. By conquest and intrigue he enlarged his possessions beyond the environs of Khayrpūr town southwards and eastwards to the Great Indian Desert fringes and westwards to the Indus. During the internal convulsions in Afghānistān which led to the supersession of the Sadōzāy line by the Bārakzāy line of Dūst Muḥammad [see AFGHĀNISTĀN. v. History], the Mīrs of Sind withheld tribute, and by ca. 1813 the province had become virtually independent; in 1832 the independent existence of Sind was acknowledged by Britain. The Mīrs of Sind attempted to impede the passage northwards of British troops during the First Afghan War (1839-42), but one of the sons of Mir Suhrāb Khān in Khayrpūr, 'Alī Murād, was more co-operative, and after the operations in Sind by Sir Charles Napier and its annexation in 1843, 'Alī Murād became Mir of Khayrpūr and also honorary *Ra'īs* of Upper Sind.

However, internal disputes in Khayrpūr and friction with the Government of India—Sir Bartle Frere had in 1851 commented on the wretched state of the populace of Khayrpūr—led to 'Alī Murād being in 1852 deprived of this office as *Ra'īs* and his territories being reduced to his patrimonial possessions of Khayrpūr. The confiscated territories, amounting to some 5,412 sq. miles, were now incorporated into what was at the time the Shikarpūr District. Subsequently, a *wazīr* on loan from British service was placed at the Mir's side as chief executive with the powers of a District Magistrate, and the Collector of Sukkur acted as British Political Agent in Khayrpūr. Khayrpūr thus subsisted as the only remaining native state in Sind, and in 1866 a *sanad* was granted to Mir 'Alī Murād in which the Government of India promised to recognise the succession of any Mir ascending the throne according to Islamic law. 'Alī Murād did not die till 1894, and was then succeeded by his son Fā'iz Muḥammad.

In 1947 Khayrpūr state acceded to Pakistan, but after the administrative reorganisation of 1955 it was merged into the province of West Pakistan, and is now a District, under a Deputy Commissioner, sub-divided into six revenue *talūkas* (Khayrpūr, Gambat, Kōt Dīdī, Mir Wah, Fā'iz Gandī and Nāra). In 1961 the population of the District was 472,137, this being overwhelmingly rural and 83 % Sindi speaking. The town of Khayrpūr, which is today an important textile centre, had 34,144 inhabitants in 1961.

*Bibliography*: E. A. Langley, *Narrative of a residence at the court of Meer Ali Moorad, with wild sports in the valley of the Indus*, London 1860; E. H. Aitkens, *Gazeteer of the province of Sind*, Karachi 1907, 121-8, 150-1, 510-19; *Imperial gazeteer of India*<sup>2</sup>, xv, 210-16; H. T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and the conquest of Sind*, Oxford 1952 (Genealogical Table 2 at p. 387, "The ruling house of Khairpur"); H. T. Sorely, *The gazeteer of West Pakistan, including Khairpur State*, Karachi 1968; *Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census report, Khairpur*, Karachi N.D.

2. A town and *taḥṣīl* of the former Bahāwalpūr State [q.v.] in West Panjab, now in Pakistan; the town is situated in lat. 29°35' N. and long. 72°18'

E., 38 miles to the north-east of Bahāwalpūr town. See *Imperial gazeteer of India*<sup>1</sup>, xv, 216.

3. A town in the 'Alipur *taḥṣīl* of the Muẓaffargāh District of West Panjab, now in Pakistan. It is situated in lat. 29°20' N. and long. 70°49' E., 57 miles to the south of Muẓaffargāh town, and near the junction of the Indus and Chenab Rivers. It was founded in the early 19th century by the Bukhārī Sayyid Khayr Shāh, from whom it derives its name. See *Imperial gazeteer of India*<sup>2</sup>, xv, 216-17. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

**KHAYSH** (A.; pl. *khuyūsh*, *akhūyāsh*, n. of unity, *khaysha*), a coarse, loose linen made with flax of poor quality and used in the manufacture of sacks, wrappings and rudimentary tents. The Arabic dictionaries only mention, in its literal sense, this meaning; Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.) renders it by "canevas; linon; serpillière; treillis", and de Goeje (*BGA*, iv, 355) remarks that this linen is manufactured in Ṭabaristān. Sometimes, the expression '*Arab al-khaysh*' is used to designate the Bedouins (Quatremère, *Mém. géogr. éthi st. sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, il, 218).

However, this term clearly designates a means of obtaining a certain freshness of air, without the texts in which it appears being always explicit, for example when Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Buldān*, 88; tr. Massé, 108) says that the Cordovans have no need of *khaysh* in summer. In a certain number of mentions, the use of the expressions *fī khaysh* or, better still, *bayt khaysh* (al-Djāhīz, *Bukhālā'*, 187; idem, *Rasā'il*, ed. Hārūn, i, 393) leads one to think that it has the meaning of a summer room. Ṭ. al-Hādīrī (the editor of *Kitāb al-Bukhālā'*, 322) puts forward the view that *khaysh*, in this sense, is the Persian *kāshān* "a summer room" and it is probable that the usage comes in fact from Persia. Al-Mukaddasī (449) says that he saw at Shīrāz some *buyūt al-khaysh* "where water runs constantly, brought by pipes which encircle the room, reaching it from high up". Perhaps the walls were bare, but they may also have been covered with *khaysh*; in any case, al-Ṭabarī (iii, 418) recounts that al-Manṣūr had a pavilion hung with *khaysh* "that was constantly moistened; his successors preferred mats of palm leaves" (Gaufrey-Demombynes and Platonov, *Monde musulman*, 381; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 354-60: *kubbāt al-khaysh*).

Finally, the word *khaysh* designates another process that can be identified with certainty when it is used in connection with the verb '*allaka*' "to hang up" (al-Djāhīz, *Hayawān*, i, 82; al-Bayhaḳī, *Mahāsin*, 394): in this case, it means a kind of fan, of which a detailed description will be found in Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.); al-Sharīshī, (*Sharḥ*, ii, 313; cf. al-Ghuzūlī, *Maḳālī'*, i, 65; Miskawayh, i, 167; Mez, *loc. cit.*; M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, vi (1942-7), 177, n. 79) speaks in the same way of a *mirwahāt al-khaysh* and says of this apparatus that it "has the form of a ship's sail; it is hung from the ceiling and a cord is attached to it to set it in motion; it is moistened with water and sprinkled with rosewater. When anyone wishes to take a siesta or sleep at night, he pulls the cord and the apparatus moves back and forth the whole length of the house, directing a fresh, perfumed breeze on to the sleeper". In fact, young slaves were appointed to work the *khaysh*, whose use, which seems to have made its first appearance in 'Irāk from the 1st/7th century, has not disappeared in that country, where it is, however, designated by the Indian name *pānka* (see *Lughāt al-'Arab*, ix (1931), 621-3).

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(CH. PELLAT)

**KHAYYĀM** [see 'UMAR KHAYYĀM].

**KHAYYĀT** (A.) "tailor", "dressmaker". In classical Arabic literature, tailors formed a group of skilled artisans who made the clothing for all social classes in the Near East. A maxim attributed to the Prophet runs 'amal al-abrār min al-ridiāl al-khayyāta wa-'amal al-abrār min al-nisā' al-ghazal "the occupation of pious men is tailoring, and that of pious women is spinning. Though this saying is of dubious authenticity, it does establish a division of labour between men and women, and it furthermore links piety with the tailor's craft. It is accordingly not surprising to note that, in the ancient history of the Islamic community, there were numerous Muslim jurists who worked as tailors for their daily bread; and it might well be concluded that it was these very men who ensured for this saying a wide circulation in order to create a favourable image of their profession.

Numerous tailors and other skilled workers were employed by the caliphs and their viziers in the state workshops (*dar al-tirāz* [see TIRĀZ], whilst independently-employed tailors usually worked in little workshops in a particular street or in the markets of Islamic towns. Some pious but poor tailors worked inside mosques (cf. al-Makkī, *Kūt al-kulūb*, Cairo 1961, ii, 562; Ibn al-Djawzi, *al-Muntazam*, Hyderabad 1357, v, 132). The proverbial expression *abnā' al-darāza* (lit. "sons of sewing"), current in the 'Abbāsīd period, referred to the tailors of Kūfa, who had taken part in the revolt of Zayd b. 'Alī, great-grandson of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, against the Umayyads (120-2/738-40). According to al-Tha'ālibī, it was applied to the lowest classes (*sifal*) and the dregs of the population (*sukkhāt*), and this is evidently the oldest literary mention about the introduction of Shī'ism amongst the artisanal population of 'Irāk.

We have no authentic information enabling us to state that there existed guilds of tailors in the early Islamic Near East. However, some proofs do exist, at least in theory, which allow one to conclude that certain of the urban *khayyāfūn* formed associations (*sharikā*) with their colleagues living in the same area. Some associations of artisans (*sharikat al-ṣanā'ī'*) existed amongst other groups of workers, such as the dyers (*ṣabbāghūn*), the fullers (*kaṣṣārūn*) and the goldsmiths (*ṣāghā*); this must have been a case of the usual type of grouping-together amongst artisans. The only proof which we have comes from a solitary nomination of a tailor to the office of *ra'īs 'alā 'l-khayyāfīn* made by the 'Abbāsīd vizier Ibn al-Furāt (d. Rabī' II 312/July 324); this must relate to the tailors employed in the Baghdād *dar al-tirāz*.

Tailors, whether free men or slaves, were well-paid. According to al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan, vizier to al-Muktafi (289-95/902-8) and to al-Muktadir (295-320/908-32), "when an artisan like a tailor (*khayyāf*) works with silk brocade (*dibādī*), he earns a thousand *dīnārs* a day, but when he works only with *kūhī* (cloth of inferior value), he gets then *dirhams*"; even allowing for exaggeration, this assertion permits us to see how much certain tailors might earn. According to some sources, a slave tailor paid over to his master as *ḍaribat al-'abd* (payment for securing manumission), a payment which was handed over in instalments, two *dirhams* out of his daily wage; hence this was clearly quite a high one. A comparative study of workmen's wages in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd periods leads one to think that tailors enjoyed a good standard of living and had considerable resources, and this is confirmed by a tale of the

*Thousand and one nights*. In addition to his normal wages, a tailor could supplement his income by hiring out clothing, e.g. *ṣaylasāns*, to specific people.

The literary sources of the 'Abbāsīd and Mamlūk periods also combine to show that the social status of the *khayyāfūn* was higher than that of all other groups of artisans. We find further proof of this in the fact that the customary law of *kafā'a* requiring social compatibility in marriage was applied with less strictness in regard to them than for any other groups or workers.

The manuals of *ḥisba* [q.v.] enumerate certain fraudulent practices current amongst tailors and lay down the requisite measures for stopping them and for protecting the public interest. They require, for instance, that these artisans should weigh precious materials at the moment at which they are handed over to them, and that the left-overs and off-cuts should be returned to the original owner when the garment is completed, at the same time as they exhort them to fulfil the orders as quickly as possible, thus leading one to think that these orders were not always done expeditiously within the corporation of tailors. The Syrian Ibn Ṭūlūn (880-953/1473-1546), writing at the end of the Mamlūk period and beginning of the Ottoman one in Syria, stresses the basic theological principle that tailors should not use silk for men's garments, although this is permissible for women and children. This echoes a tradition based on the authority of 'Alī b. Tālib, which Ibn Ṭūlūn thought fit to recall in connection with the professional responsibilities of tailors, and leads one to think, amongst other things, that there was a distinct and strong Shī'ī influence discernible amongst the Arab tailors of the Near East.

*Bibliography*: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-Aṣl*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, ms. of Hanafī *fiḥh*, 34, fols. 57-77; Ṣaḥnūn, *Mudawwana*, Cairo 1905-6, xii, 42-3; Mas'ūdī, *Murūūi*, iv, 343-44; Wakīf, *Akhbār al-kudāf*, Cairo, 1366/1947, i, 133, Tanūkhī, *Niḡwār al-muḥādara*, Beirut 1971, i, 66-7; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-tatfīl*, Damascus 1346/1927, 82-3; Tha'ālibī, *Arba' rasā'il*, Istanbul 1301/1883, 203; idem, *Khams rasā'il*, Istanbul 1301/1883, 27; idem, *Thimār al-kulūb*, Cairo 1908, 215-6; idem, *Khaṣṣ al-khaṣṣ*, Beirut 1966, 83; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥādarat al-udabā'*, Beirut 1961, ii, 463; *Alf layla wa-layla*, ed. Muḥammad Kaṭṭāb al-'Aḍawī, Bulak, 1926, i, 95 ff.; Ibn al-Djawzi, *al-Kawī al-nabīl bi-dhikr al-tatfīl*, ms. Chester Beatty 4770, fols. 48-9; Ibn Kudāma, *Mughni*, Cairo 1947, v, 1-5; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī talab al-ḥisba*, Baghdād 1968, 78; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālīm al-kurba*, ed. R. Levy, Cambridge, 1937-8, 137-40; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ff. 214a-214b; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhib al-ansāb*, ed. H. al-Kudṣī, Cairo, 1347, i, 397-8; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Nakd al-tālib*, ms. Chester Beatty, 3317, fol. 50a, idem, *Daw' al-sirāḍī fī mā ḥīla fī 'l-nassāḍī*, ms. Chester Beatty, 3317, fols. 127-9; A. von Kremer, *Ueber das Einnahmehudget des Abbasiden Reiches vom Jahre 306 H./918-919*, Vienna 1877, 68 ff.; R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix (1942), 78; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 335; Khalīl al-'Azam and Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Kāsimī, *Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris 1960, i, 130; T. Fahd, *Les corps de métiers au IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle à Bagdād*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 195; A. L. Udovitch, *Labour partnerships in early Islamic law*, in

JESHO, x (1967), 65-80; H. J. Cohen, *The economic background and secular occupations of Muslim jurists-prudentes and traditionalists in the classical period of Islam*, in JESHO, xiii (1970), 16-61; M. A. J. Beg, *The social history of the labouring classes in Iraq under the 'Abbasids*, unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge 1971, 400 ff.; idem, *A contribution to the economic history of the Caliphate: a study of the cost of living and the economic status of artisans in Abbāsīd Iraq*, in IQ, xvi (1972), 140-67; E. Ashtor, *Prix et salaires*, index. (M. A. J. BEG)

AL-KHAYYĀT, ABŪ 'ALĪ YAḤYĀ B. ḠHALĪB, astrologer and pupil of Māshallāh [q.v.], died ca. 220/835. He was known to mediaeval Christendom as Albohali (vars. Alghihac, Albenahait, etc.), and should not be confused with the Andalusian astronomer Abū Bakr Yahyā b. Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāt. The *Fihrist*, 276 (Cairo edn., 385-6) attributes to him a *K. al-Masā'il* [*fi ahkām al-mudjūm*] and a *K. al-Mawālīd*, which are both extant, together with the following works, now lost: *K. al-Madkhal*, *K. al-Ma'ānī*, *K. al-Duwal*, *K. Taḥwīl sinī 'l-mawālīd*, *K. al-Manḥūr*, *K. Kaḏīb al-dhahab*, *K. Taḥwīl sinī 'l-tālam* and *K. al-Nukat*. A *K. Sirr al-'amal* and *Fawā'id falakiyya* have further been preserved. Al-Khayyāt's fame in mediaeval Europe stems from the *K. al-Mawālīd*, a work on judicial astrology which also contains horoscopes for illness, frequent citations from Ptolemy and Hermes on the pars fortunae, etc. Two Latin translations were made of it, one by Plato of Tivoli (Plato Tiburtinus) at Barcelona in 1136, and the other by John of Seville (Iohannes Hispalensis) in 1153; the latter translation was printed at Nuremberg (1546, 1459) under the title *Albohali de iudiciis nativitatum liber unus* and probably retranslated into French. Al-Khayyāt is often cited as a secondary authority by the European schoolmen, and he seems to have been used, through John of Seville's version, by Leopold of Austria (floruit ca. 1271), for his *Compilatio de astrorum scientia*.

*Bibliography*: Brockelmann, I, 250, S I, 394; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 9-10; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 569, ii, 170, 178; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, Berkeley 1956, 49-51; Zirikli, *A'lām*, ix, 204.

(H. SUTER — [J. SAMSÓ])

AL-KHAYYĀT, ABŪ 'L-ḤUSAYN 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'UTHMĀN, theologian and jurist, ca. 220/835—ca. 300/913, foremost representative of the Baghdad school of the Mu'tazila at his time. He still remembered Dja'far b. Mubashshir (died 234/849), whom he had asked certain questions on a much-debated exegetical problem (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḏā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mu'tazila*, 76, ll. 5 ff.), but he seems to have received his main theological training from two members of the following generation about whom we know little, sc. 'Isā b. al-Haytham al-Ṣūfī and Abā Muḏjālid Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Darīr al-Baghdādī, an influential *mawlā* of the caliph al-Mu'taṣim (d. 268/882 or Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 269/May 883), both of them pupils of Murdār and Dja'far b. Harb (d. 236/850-1), Abū Muḏjālid being also a pupil of Dja'far b. Mubashshir (cf. *Ta'riḫh Baghdad*, iv, 95 f.; Ka'bi, *Makālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, 74 l. 22). To Abū Muḏjālid he seems to have owed his interest in and his relatively tolerant attitude towards *ḥadīth*. His juridical knowledge procured him the discipleship of members of different *madhāhib*, among them the famous Shāfi'ī Ibn Surayḏī (d. 306/918; cf. Ibn al-Murtaḏā, 129, ll. 16 f. and Kāḏī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Faḏl al-i'tizāl*, ed.

F. Sayyid 30r, ll. 1 ff., here together with a Māliki and a Zāhiri). His theological activity was determined by problems inside his own Baghdādī school (see below), above all by the shock caused through the books of Ibn al-Rāwandī, a co-disciple of his in the school of 'Isā b. al-Haytham al-Ṣūfī. He was very well informed about the history and the doxographical tradition of early Islamic, and especially about Mu'tazilī *kalām*. His authority seems to have been relatively unquestioned (cf. the remarks by Ibn al-Nadīm and by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī in Ibn Ḥaḏjar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, iv, 8, apu. ff.); only Djubbā'ī, who simultaneously tried in Baṣra to restructure the Mu'tazilī system by going back to the ideas of Abū 'l-Hudhayl, attacked him in a book against his doctrine of the pre-existence of the body (see below; cf. Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, 165, ll. 3 ff. and Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufasssīrīn* [ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar], ii, 190, l. 4). His main disciples were Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ṣaymarī and especially Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ka'bi al-Balkhī (d. 317/929 or 319/931), who through their antagonism towards Djubbā'ī's son Abū Hāshim, both stressed their difference from the Baṣrī school.

Works: (a) Eight books against Ibn al-Rāwandī, namely refutations of his *K. al-Tādī*, his *K. al-Dāmigh*, his *K. al-Zumurrudh*, his *K. Na't al-ḥikma*, his *K. al-Farīd*, his *K. Kaḏīb al-dhahab* and his *K. Imāmat al-maḥdūl*, none of which are preserved (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm in *WZKM*, iv (1890), 223 apu. ff., and *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 302 [without explicit reference to al-Khayyāt]; Ibn al-Kāriḥ, in al-Ma'arrī, *Risālat al-Ḡhufrān*, ed. Bint al-Shāḥīp 35, ll. 4 ff.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mumtaḏam*, vi, 100 l. 1), and a refutation of his *K. Faḏīḥat al-Mu'tazila*, known under the title of *K. al-Intiṣār* and probably finished shortly after 269/822 (ed. H. S. Nyberg, Cairo 1927; re-edited with a translation by A. N. Nader, Beirut 1957; for the date of composition, cf. Madelung in *Le Shi'isme imāmīte*, 14). (b) Refutation of the *K. al-Djārūf* by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück in *Muḥ. Shāfi Pres. Volume*, 71, ll. 10 f.; for the contents, cf. Van Ess, *Erkenntnislehre des Ict*, 223). (c) *K. al-Radd 'alā man aḥbata ḥabār al-wāḥid* (cf. *Fihrist*, quoted by Ibn Ḥaḏjar, *Lisān al-mizān*, iv, 9, l. 3), mentioned and corrected by Ka'bi in his *K. Kabūl al-akhbār* (cf. ms. Cairo, Dār al-kutub, *Mustalah* 14 m, p. 2, ll. 5 f.). (d) Refutation of the *K. al-'Aks* by 'Abbād b. Sulaymān (cf. *Fihrist*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 302). (e) Refutation of a *K. al-Burhān* (= Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*?; cf. *Fihrist*, loc. cit. [both (d) and (e) only under the assumption that Fück's identification of the passage is valid]). (f) A book on *al-istidlāl bi 'l-shāḥid 'alā 'l-ghā'ib*, mentioned by Kāḏī 'Abd al-Djabbār in his *Muḥīṭ* (167, l. 14 'Azmi = 165, l. 4 Houben). Identical with (d) or (e)? (g) A vast amount of doxographical and biographical material taken up by Ka'bi in his *K. al-Makālāt* and in his *Balkhiyyāt*, partly through oral transmission during his courses with Khayyāt in Baghdād, partly through a series of *quaestiones* (*masā'il*) which he sent to his teacher from Balkh and which were further treated by Kāḏī 'Abd al-Djabbār (cf. Ḥākim al-Djushāmī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. F. Sayyid, 368, ll. 12 f.).

Doctrines: In Khayyāt's time, the main accent of theological discussion in the Baghdādī school had shifted from problems like the relation between God's essence and his attributes, the status of the believer and the nature of the Qur'ān (taboo since the time of the *mihna*), to the question of God's relation to the world, of creation and annihilation. Khayyāt

tries to preserve a certain self-determinedness of the created world in relation to God's almightiness: God cannot interfere with the laws of nature (cf. Ash'arī, *Maḥālāt*, 314, ll. 3 ff.), perhaps even not by a *ḥarḳ al-āda* as the Baṣrī school believed. The qualifying momentum (*mukḥaṣṣiṣ*) for an action lies in the action itself, not in the agent (cf. Ṣāliḥ al-Maḳbālī, *al-Ālam al-shāmikh*, Cairo 1328, 21 ff.). The order of causality is guaranteed through *tawallud* (cf. *Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, 60, ll. 11 ff.). Similarly, God has no power to do injustice (cf. *Intiṣār*, 22, l. 4). For the same reason, Khayyāt is able to hold an extreme position concerning the much-debated thesis brought up by the Baṣrī Mu'tazilī al-Shahḥām that "the possible in the state of its non-presence in the world, has some reality" (cf. R. M. Frank, in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Ravello 1966, 324 ff.). The potentially existent (*ma'dūm*) is, insofar it is known by God and comprised by His power, not only "something" (*shay*' = ḍv), but also "body" (*ḍiṣm*), i.e. it is *ma'lūm* and *maḥdūr* 'alayh in its corporeality as composed of substance and accidents. Through its accidents it possesses already in its pre-existence all qualities, with the exception of createdness (*maḥlūḳ* or *muhdath*), which are added through the fact of creation) and movement (because a body is not moving in the moment of its coming-into-existence; cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal*, v, 42, ll. 12 ff.; Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firak*, 164, ll. 13 f.; Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, 38, ll. 14 f.). Incompatible with the possible as not-yet-existent is also the quality of permanence (*baḳā*). In this case, however, Khayyāt concluded that *baḳā*' is no separate quality or accident at all, but only an expression for the continuance of being. This meant that annihilation, too, does not result from God's withdrawing the quality of *baḳā*' and subsequent disintegration of the different parts of the body, as it was frequently believed, but through direct conversion into non-existence (*i'dām*; cf. Abū Raṣḥīd an-Nīsābūrī, *al-Masā'il fi 'l-khilāf*, in A. Biram, *Die atomistische Substanzlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen zwischen Basrenern und Bagdadensern*, Berlin 1902, text, 58, apu. ff., and 69, l. 4 f.; also al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fā'iq fi uṣūl al-dīn*, fol. 154b. with special reference to the death of human beings).

The theory seems not yet to be fully developed in *Intiṣār*, § 79, and is passed over in silence in *Intiṣār*, 23, ll. 2 ff.; on the other hand, it is not easy to differentiate it from the ideas of Shahḥām (cf. Ash'arī, *Maḥālāt*, 504, ll. 16 ff.). Djubbā'ī attacked it on the basis that it implies the eternity of bodies (and matter, because bodies are material, whereas atoms and accidents are not, as long as they are not put together?; cf. Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 165, ll. 3 ff.). Khayyāt, however, did not apparently react against Djubbā'ī, but against the older Baṣrī Mu'tazilī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṣāliḥī, an adherent of Ṣāliḥī Ḳubba (from whom he seems to have got his *nisba*). Ṣāliḥī rejected the *ma'dūm*-theory (cf. Ash'arī, *Maḥālāt*, 501, ll. 8 ff. and Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 163, apu. ff.) as well as *tawallud* (cf. Ash'arī, 233, ll. 3 f.); he stressed God's power to interfere with the laws of nature (cf. Ash'arī, 309, ll. 12 ff., and esp. 310, ll. 9 ff.; also 570, ll. 7 ff.).

Khayyāt differed from Ṣāliḥī in yet another point about which his discussions with him are expressly attested (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḳā, 72, ll. 16 f.), sc. concerning *irḍā'*, i.e., the definition of belief and the eternity of punishment for the grave sinner. Khayyāt upheld the intransigent and moralistic outlook of *al-wa'd wa 'l-wa'd* which he may have inherited

from the ascetics among the Baghdādī Mu'tazilīs (*ṣūfiyyat al-Mu'tazila*), in whose circle he had grown up, and which remained the view of the majority of the school; it is for this reason that he rejects, e.g. the intercession of the Prophet (*shafā'a*; cf. Muḥid, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukḥtāra* 2 i, 47, ll. 7 ff.). The contrary attitude, centering around the idea of final remission for Muslim sinners or at least for some of them, according to God's free decision, was, however, quite frequent at this time. It seems to have had its roots in the theology of the influential "Djahmī" theologian Bishr al-Marīsī (d. 218/833), and was taken over also by another Mu'tazilī contemporary of Khayyāt, al-Nāshī' al-akbar (d. 293/906; cf. Van Ess, *Frühe mu'tazilitische Häresiographie*, 144).

Khayyāt considered the caliphate (*imāma*) as necessary by reason, not by revelation (cf. Ibn 'Arafa, in *Hawliyyāt Djāmi'at Tūnis*, ix (1972), 190). The sovereign may act freely according to his *idjāhād* as long as he thinks to serve the benefit (*ṣalāh*) of the community. This is how some irregularities of 'Uḥmān may be explained (cf. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahḍī al-balāgha*, iii, 34, ll. 6 ff.). 'Alī had the highest qualities among the *Ṣahāba*, but as he did not object to the caliphate of his predecessors, the *Ṣahāba* must have been right in not electing him then. The reasons for his and for their behaviour are unknown (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḳā, 86, ll. 12 ff., and *Sharḥ Nahḍī al-balāgha*, i, 7, ll. 6 ff.). In the first civil war, 'Alī acted in legitimate performance of *idjāhād*, but the *Ṣahāba* among his opponents, sc. 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, will be exempt from divine punishment because they repented (cf. al-Shaykh al-Muḥid, *al-Djāmal*, Naḍjaf 1382/1963, 28, ll. 3 ff.). There is, however, no excuse for his other enemies, especially Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (cf. *Intiṣār*, 74, ll. 8 ff.). The agreement of the contemporaries (*ahl al-qaṣr*) has been considered a convincing argument (*ḥudūdja*) even if a few of them dissent (cf. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *al-Mu'tamad*, 486, ll. 14 ff., a reflection of the situation of the Mu'tazila after the *mihna*). The community is infallible when it transmits *ḥadīth* from the Prophet (cf. *Intiṣār*, 72, ll. 3 f.), but isolated traditions (*āḥād*) have to be rejected (cf. Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 165, ll. 10 f.). The Prophet is infallible when he speaks as a lawgiver, because God demands obedience towards his commandments; in other cases, he may commit light sins which do not entail eternal punishment and do not cost him the solidarity of his adherents (cf. *Intiṣār*, 71, ll. 16 ff.). In *kalām*, only the Mu'tazilī are competent (cf. *ibid.*, 43, ll. 6 ff.); in spite of numerous disagreements in minor details (cf. *ibid.*, 79, ll. 5 ff., 106, ll. 1 ff. etc.), they are held together through the *uṣūl al-khamsa* (cf. *ibid.*, 93, ll. 2 ff.).

*Bibliography*: (a) additional sources for the biography: Ta'rikḥ Baghdādī, xi, 87; Ḳāḍī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-i'tizāl*, ed. F. Sayyid, Tunis 1974, 296, ll. 4 ff.; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, v, 250, ll. 9 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mizān*, iv, 8 f.; Ibn al-Murtaḳā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mu'tazila*, 85, ll. 12 ff.; GAL S I, 341; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, iv, 122 (taken over by Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifin*, v, 213). (b) for the doctrine: M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 376 ff.; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, 155 ff.; Ash'arī, *Maḥālāt al-islāmiyyin*, 353, ll. 6 ff. (cf. the corresponding doctrine of Nāshī' in *Frühe mu'tazilitische Häresiographie*, 127); *Intiṣār*, 89, ll. 11 ff., and Ibn al-Murtaḳā, 86, ll. 1 ff. (doctrine of free will); *Intiṣār*, 83, ll. 7 ff., 84, ll. 6 ff., 85, ll. 5 ff., and 87, ll. 5 ff. (God's know-

ledge has no predetermining effect); Maḳḳisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rikh*, ii, 121, ll. 12 ff. (definition of man). (J. VAN ESS)

**AL-KHAYZURĀN BINT 'ATĀ' AL-DJURASHIYYA**, a former slave of Yemenī origin (on the *Djurash*, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 278), who was freed, and then was married to al-Mahdī, to whom she bore three children, Mūsā (al-Hādī), Hārūn (al-Rashīd) and a daughter called al-Bānūka (Ibn Kuṭayba, *Ma'ārif*, 380). According to a tradition given in particular by al-Djahshiyārī (*Wuzarā'*, 136), she suckled al-Faql b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī, whilst al-Faql's mother provided milk for Hārūn; this kind of alliance through co-lactation would accordingly explain the devotion shown to her by Yaḥyā b. Khālīd, together with whom she ended up doing the work of government during the first three years of al-Rashīd's reign, i.e. until her death in 173/789.

During the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) she played a more obscure part but, even so, the strong influence which she held over him can be seen from his designation of Mūsā as the heir presumptive from 159/775-6 and then of Hārūn in 166/782-3; furthermore he excluded from the succession all other sons, especially those borne by his Hāshimī bride Rayṭa, daughter of al-Saffāḥ (Ibn Kuṭayba, *ibid.*). Although Mūsā seems to have submissive to his mother during his childhood, traditions agree in stressing that Hārūn was the preferred son. Al-Khayzurān accordingly schemed to exclude the older son from the caliphate, and al-Mahdī may even have decided to change the order of succession in favour of Hārūn before he died suddenly in Muḥarram 169/August 785.

Immediately after the caliph's death an army mutiny broke out in Baghdād. Al-Khayzurān is accused of having started this disturbance in order to put Hārūn on the throne, but it does not seem to have had a political nature, for the troops were complaining simply of not having received their salary. It rests on no more than the fact that she, with al-Rabī' b. Yūnus, made the arrangements to appease the mutineers (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 544-7). When Mūsā became caliph under the name of al-Hādī she tried to dominate him, or at least to involve herself in state affairs and to assume a political role, but her older son gave her no scope to work. He told her sharply that she would have to stop receiving the dignitaries who made state visits to her, he threatened to take severe measures against her visitors, and he ordered her to mind her own business. According to one tradition, he even tried to poison her (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 570; Ibn Ṭīkṭakā, *Fakhri*, ed. Dérenbourg, 262). The young caliph resorted to extreme measures; he imprisoned Hārūn and Yaḥyā and even gave orders to put them to death but, thanks to the intervention of al-Khayzurān with the appointed executioners, the two condemned men were saved. In such circumstances, the sudden death of al-Hādī in Rabī' I 170/September 786 could not have failed to arouse suspicion, and there was no hesitation in accusing the queen-mother of having had him suffocated by her minions (*Fakhri*, 261; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vi, 68) in order to ensure the success of the faction over which she had become the leader and to rid herself of a son who refused to be manipulated. According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, vi, 282 = § 2486), al-Hādī called his mother to his bedside and drew his last breath while holding her hand, not without first having declared that Hārūn should rise to the throne immediately. Even this if scene really occurred, there was no witness present and probably the declaration attributed to al-Hādī is a complete

fabrication. He had in fact provided enough proof to show that he wanted to remove his brother from the succession and to replace him by his son Dja'far for such words to be regarded with suspicion. Dja'far, who could have been no more than ten years old, was put in a safe place and forced to recognise his uncle (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 569). Historians naturally see the hand of al-Khayzurān in this event, but she was after all only following the wishes of al-Mahdī.

After the accession of her favourite son to the throne of Baghdād, it is conceivable that she may have envisaged executing the dignitaries who had supported al-Hādī (al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 490). However, she did not complete the scheme and was content to exercise effective power with the help of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, though not without thwarting the wishes of al-Rashīd when the opportunity came.

Chroniclers vie in stressing the enormous fortune amassed by al-Khayzurān, and she engaged in some undertakings of public interest. It is particularly noted that she bought the house in Mecca in which the Prophet was thought to have been born, had it restored and turned it into a mosque. She is frequently cited in *adab* literature and it must also be mentioned that 'Utba, the beloved of Abu 'l-'Atāhiya, was one of her slaves.

*Bibliography*: As well as the references cited, see *Djāhiz*, *Bayān*, ii, 269; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 45; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 274, 276; Ṭabarī, index; *Djahshiyārī*, *Wuzarā'*, index; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, index; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Ikā*, index; Maḳḳisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rikh*, iv, 124; Ibn al-Sa'ī, *Nisā' al-khulafā'*; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, index; Suyūṭī, *Mustaḥraf*, Beirut 1963, 24-5; N. Abbot, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, New York 1946; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; Farouk Omar, *The 'Abbāsīd caliphate*, Baghdad 1969, 334-43 and index. (ED.)

**KHAZAF** (A.), ceramics. The radical transformation of ceramics under the rule of Islam took place chiefly in areas where their production had long been established, such as near the vital river beds of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Transoxiana, as well as on the banks of ancient inland seas, lakes and the shorter rivers of Syria and Iran. Pre-Pharaonic beakers, bowls from Jericho, jugs from Eridu, ewers from Sialk, all point to early skills in shaping and painting. By the 20th century B.C. in Egypt, the glassy potential of certain minerals led to the firing of a ceramic body, often called Egyptian faience, made from a mixture of natron or plant ash and powdered quartz from pebbles. A glaze of similar composition, but previously pulverised, and often coloured turquoise, was added to the shaped body and might be painted with a black pigment. In Assyria, glazing started as early as the 12th century B.C., rhytons from Ziwiheh probably go back to the 8th century B.C. and the glazed friezes from Babylon and Susa are well-known examples. Under Parthian and Sasanian rule, the same area and adjacent lands produced a large series of vessels, including coffins, with a coarse sandy body and an alkaline glaze often coloured turquoise with copper oxide. Coloured lead glazing became standard in the Eastern part of the Roman world from the 1st century B.C., probably at about the same time as in China, but with neither influencing the other at that stage. The moulded shape, as well as the dark copper green colour, tended to imitate metalwork. It is difficult, prior to the zenith of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in the 3rd/9th century, to distinguish any new ceramic production. At *Khīrbat al-Mafḍjar* [q.v.], the Umayyad complex near Jericho, pre-Islamic and lead glazed shapes are found in the undisturbed level

below the rubble caused by the earthquake of 128/746.

Problems of archaeology, classification and technique. Although archaeological missions have long worked in Western Asia, it is only recently that the Islamic levels have been examined scientifically, rather than being discarded before reaching the classical and prehistoric levels. Since the Islamic levels are the most easily accessible, they are often found disturbed either by more recent buildings or by unofficial excavations. Most of the ceramic finds belong to pit and sewer fillings and only rarely to sealed levels. Too few excavations have yet been fully published to permit anyone without an intimate knowledge of the material to gain a clear understanding of the development of Islamic pottery. Thus the crucial publication of the finds from Sāmarrā in 1925 has conditioned most subsequent studies. Although other Islamic towns are as important from the ceramic point of view, they lack proper archaeological records. Apart from the Kal'at Banī Ḥammād (1913 and 1965), Baalbek (1925), Susa (1928 and 1974), Miletus (1935), al-Minā (1938), Antioch (1948), Ḥamāt (1958), Lashkari Bāzār (1963), Apamea (1972), and Nishāpūr (1974), the specialist must be content with preliminary reports such as those of Baṣra, Wāsiṭ, Ctesiphon, Kiṣh, Iṣṭākh-r, Rayy, Sirāf, Takht-i Sulaymān, Kangavār, Iznik and Tarsus. In order to reduce considerably the time lag between excavation and publication, the whole study of the ceramics is best done in the field; photographs, profiles, descriptions of bodies with Munsell chart number and basic tests with chemical and microscopical examination should thus be included.

In such a vast area as the Islamic world, there has been a tendency in ceramic studies to rely on historical, and more particularly, dynastic classifications, with names of towns used in a rather arbitrary manner and subdivisions based on colours and decorative motifs. As a result it has been found more convenient to restrict such terminology and to bear in mind the wide spread of a technique at one given time, while concentrating on terminology and technical problems. When seen in the context of world ceramics, the Islamic potter has contributed fundamental glazing techniques in the field which, in turn, have made certain European developments possible. The compulsion to create a white background for decorative motifs led the craftsman to evolve various formulae in glazing which would allow for whiteness, firm outline to the colour decoration and substitutes for the precious metalwares forbidden by the Faith. Chronologically, three methods of producing whiteness exist in early Islamic pottery: first, an opaque white glaze on a yellowish body; second, a white slip under a transparent and clear lead glaze, usually on a pink body; and third, a composite white body called soft paste and not unlike the Egyptian Faience, with a transparent clear glaze. Lustre painting, chiefly with copper oxide, can be added in a possible second firing at a lower temperature and in a reducing atmosphere in the first and third cases. The origins of lustre painting on ceramics are still unclear; the earliest glass painted in this manner is datable to 183/779 and was excavated in Fuṣṭāṭ. It is as well to remember that the glass blower and the potter often work in neighbouring areas of the bazar. Subdued minai colours may also be added using the muffle kiln. Standard variations in the decoration are produced by mechanical devices: moulding, combing, incising of the leather-hard body as well as incising through a white slip before glazing, a technique usually referred to as *sgraffiato*. The colour effects

rely on the use of certain metallic oxides which fuse at similar temperatures as those required for the glazes: green and turquoise from copper, purple from manganese, blue from cobalt, all shades of brown from iron, and yellow from antimony or arsenic. Finally, the last technical step in Islamic pottery, is the controlled use of underglaze painting, which came into its own in the 7th/13th century and has been the dominant decorative technique ever since. A large variety of vessels and pottery bodies were made throughout Islam, as well as wall and dome revetments of baked bricks, glazed tile mosaics and tiles.

Early development of Islamic pottery. By the middle of the 3rd/9th century, a striking departure from the pre-Islamic shapes takes place in the creation of a visual reproduction of the plain porcelain from China datable to the 3rd—early 4th/9th—early 10th century. Numerous sherds of original bowls have been found in Mesopotamia with everted, straight or lobed rims and narrow or broad base rings. They are first mentioned in the *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdi* of Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [q.v.] as gifts by the governor of Khurāsān to the caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. Most of the Islamic copies are decorated with sparse, often spongy-looking cobalt-blue motifs: they consist of palmettes, loose calligraphy and stylised leaves, sometimes with added copper-green runs on an opaque white glaze. At times, the glaze, which might be an underfired alkaline one, is made grey by the addition of minute specks of manganese oxide. In other cases, dense compositions, not unlike the patterns of Byzantine mosaics, fill the cavetto of the short-lived polychrome lustre painted bowls and dishes; dashes and circles or both and even plain *sang-de-bœuf* lustre, decorate the outside. The 139 square tiles around the *mihṛāb* of the Sidi 'Okba mosque in Ḳayrawān, ca. 248/862, provide a fascinating pattern book; the tiles with more complex designs in polychrome lustre were imported from Mesopotamia, whereas the simpler ones with bichrome designs could well have been made in the area. Monochrome lustre decoration on bowls, usually with simple compositions of animals, birds and even human beings silhouetted against a stippled background, have been found from one end of the Islamic world to the other throughout the 4th/10th century, including at Madīnat al-Zahrā'. The shape is usually that of the porcelain bowls already mentioned.

A monochrome lustre painted bowl in Cairo with traditional palmette and tree design bears an inscription in the name of Ḡhāban, the commander-in-chief of al-Ḥākim, who died in 403/1013; it seems to mark the end of a fairly abstract style. After this period, more freely-handled lustre painting, often incised through the lustre on to the tin-opacified white background, points to the traditional realism of the local Egyptian Christians with fish patterns, or representations of a priest, as well as a definite revival of Hellenism in the arts of Eastern Mediterranean with scenes of banquets or dancers, often painted in reserve. Such a new departure coincides with a change of body and shape away from earlier imitations of Chinese porcelain and formal designs of palmettes or animals. The simple flaring walls of bowls with either straight rims or everted, flattened ones have a coarser, gritty body; the glazed base ring remains narrow and occasionally the base bears the signature of a potter or pottery workshops. Earlier signatures are found inside the cavetto, such as that of Ibrāhīm, or inside the base ring in the case of Muslim. In Romanesque churches during the early period of

Italian commercial activities before and during the time of the Crusades in Syria, Fāṭimid lustre bowls had been embedded in the outer fabric of walls to adorn the structure of new churches in Lombardy and in the republic of Pisa. Excavations at the ʿĀlʿat Banī Ḥammād in the Maghrib have brought to light cross-shaped tiles painted in monochrome lustre of the 5th/11th century.

Besides vessels with cobalt or lustre painting, early moulded wares have been found on various Mesopotamian sites, at Fustāt, and also below the collapsed structures abandoned by the last Zoroastrians in Takht-i Sulaymān, dated 331/943. Details, not unlike those of *terra sigillata*, and beaded geometric band compositions on the larger surfaces, are all covered with lead glaze, often coloured green or yellow; shapes vary from flat dishes, some with small feet, to bowls with vertical walls, and small cups. Other vessels of the same shapes, but not moulded, have a similar fine pinkish body with a vivid yellow and green colour scheme. Contrary to Sarre's theory, life continued in Sāmarrā after the return of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs to Baghdād in 278/892. The mint worked until as late as the middle of the 4th/10th century, while the potters continued even beyond that time. Their production, although less spectacular, emphasises technical research in the use of metal oxides for runs, splashes and spots, with an increasing proportion of lead in the closer fitting glaze; the body colour changes from pale salmon to pink, the potting becomes thicker and the profiles less graceful. Such production is also common to Susa, Iṣṭakhr, Rayy and Nīshāpūr amongst other places. In Egypt, wares of the Fayyūm indicate a better control of the runs; excavations of Aghlabid and Zīrid towns of the Maghrib have brought to light deep bowls with straight vertical rims and simple animal decoration inside in yellow, green and manganese; the latter two colours are found in Umayyad Spain on an opaque background starting in the 4th/10th century.

The uses of slip. By the 5th/11th century, true Islamic shapes had evolved on the Iranian plateau and in Transoxiana: large dishes with flattened rims, and at the earlier stage, bowls with a wide inside across the bottom and flaring walls. At this point, the second method of producing whiteness appears in the use of a white clay slip which hides the pink body. According to the visual impact required, the potter would paint the slip with plain metallic oxides in order to obtain variegated runs of colour, or else he would thicken the oxides with slip in order to prevent running under the transparent lead glaze. The first group has often been equated with Tang three-colour funerary ceramics. It has now been proved that such a luxurious production in China virtually ceased after the An Lu-shan rebellion in 756 A.D., and in any case, could not have been the object of international trade. A more likely parallel could be found in the production of Northern kilns under the Liao dynasty in Southern Manchuria (907-1124 A.D.).

A second group, making full use of the slip technique, has been in turn labelled Nīshāpūr or Samar-kand wares according to the quality of design and execution. Recent publications have made it difficult to be so definite, since similar wares appear in Khurāsān, Transoxiana as far as Frunze and Sistān throughout the Sāmānid, Ghaznawid and Ghūrid periods, by which latter time the production had become rather simplified and mechanical. It in fact exists to this day in the Uzbekistan SSR. Early on, superb examples of calligraphy, such as blessings and proverbs, elaborate palmettes and textile designs, stand out against

a white or colour slip background. A particular instance is the use of human representations on simpler bowl shapes from the area of Nīshāpūr. The Zoroastrian survival with the *Gabri* or fire worshippers, has long been overstressed at the expense of the thriving Nestorian and Syrian Christian communities of the region. This could partly explain the appearance of concrete scenes, the falconer on horseback and the more prosaic birds and horned quadruped compositions. Later, abstract and heraldic slip painting of a rather coarse kind also decorated bowls and cups under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans before the fall of Constantinople. A more refined type of slip decoration was occasionally used on Šafawid and Ottoman ceramic shapes in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.

A third group, that of *sgraffiato* wares, technically runs parallel in time with the two previous ones. The incised pattern through the slip into the pink body is designed either visually to counterbalance a splashed decoration, or later, it seems, to stand out as the sole ornament under a clear lead glaze, with the occasional green run, or with the glaze sometimes coloured green with copper oxide. In the latter case, the incision can be narrow as in metalware, or broader not unlike *champlevé*, in which case large areas of slip are lifted out; the contrasting shade of the naked body is often made even darker by painting in black or brown. The potters of Ādharbāydjān seem to have produced the best specimens of *sgraffiato*, as emphasised by the excavations of Takht-i Sulaymān, and finds from the area of Garrūs, Aghkand, Rīdāʿiyya and Āmul in Māzandarān. Less inspired animal designs with narrow incisions, have come from Rayy, Nīshāpūr, Iṣṭakhr, Sirāf and western Afghanistan. There has been a tendency to date *sgraffiato* wares rather early, whereas it seems now more likely that if one is to relate the best of slip painted wares to the latter part of the Sāmānid rule, then *sgraffiato*, technically speaking, has to be placed later during the rule and more specifically the decline of the Great Saldjūks (429-590/1038-1194), in particular under Toghril III in Hamadān and the thriving regencies of Atabegs such as the Ildegizids (531-622/1147-1225) [q.v.], both courts providing suitable conditions for a renewal of original ceramic production under their realm.

Although it was at its best in north-west Persia and was only used for a relatively short period, *sgraffiato* technique was subsequently produced throughout the Caucasus and Eastern Turkey as shown in the excavations of Āni and Dvin. On the whole, the incised designs of diaper patterns or fanciful birds and animals, and also of figures, convey an impression of haste rather than of skill, although the latter do not lack humour. Either the lead glaze is colourless or made green with copper, or else the typical scheme of purple, yellow and green is used in an uncontrolled way. The technique seems to have spread to Cilicia, known at the time as Lesser Armenia, and to areas ruled over, if intermittently, by the Crusaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The better-known production is that of Cyprus, with high-footed deep bowls or drinking cups; human décor, usually incised through the white slip under a colourless lead glaze, is unlike the heraldic Mamlūk cups of the 7th/13th century and onwards, although the shapes belong to the same repertoire. It is not yet clear when and where *sgraffiato* started in Byzantium, but it certainly reached Europe in the late Middle Ages and flourished in Renaissance Italy.

Soft paste. It could be suggested that the second



half of the 6th/12th century was the very period which must also have witnessed the last of the three methods of producing whiteness. It is described by Abu Ḥ-Kāsim in his by now famous treatise of 700/1301, and consists of a man-made body; the ratio of ingredients between body and glaze is such that they adhere closely together. This fine white soft paste (also called frit) proved to be the ideal material to reproduce local metal and glass shapes, as well as the delicate Chinese northern white wares and the Ch'ing-pai (Ying Ching) porcelain of the south in the 6th/12th century. Never again were beakers and bowls to be so light and elegant; the shapes, when moulded or carved, remain pure white or might have a coloured glaze. A short-lived group of pitchers and bowls, called silhouette wares, is sparsely decorated with single animal or human figure at the centre; the thick design in black sharply contrasts with the white background; occasionally the transparent glaze is coloured turquoise. *Lakabi* (painted) wares are also shaped out of the same hard composite body with raised outlines for the broad designs of animals, so as to prevent the colour from running. On vertical shapes the result is less satisfactory. It is likely that these latter wares were produced in northern Mesopotamia as well as in north-west Iran.

On-glaze painting: *Minā'i*. In the last resort, it is the paint brush which lends itself to the most fluent and versatile decoration; on the new white body of various shapes, from low stands to moulded vessels, the potter paints either in lustre or *minā'i* (enamel) on the glaze, or in black and blue under a transparent glaze. Both *minā'i* and lustre techniques require a second firing in a muffle kiln at a lower temperature. The more intricate manner of *minā'i* painting, although varied and subtle in colour, failed to survive beyond the 7th/13th century. The best two examples are an undated slender beaker with scenes from the story of Bidjen and Manidja in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī, and a large dish with a vivid battle scene datable to the early 1230s A.D. on the basis of the names written alongside the main figures. A simpler bowl, with a seated figure and two attendants on a turquoise background, is dated 640/1242. Soon after this, the colour scheme deteriorates and the body, at times, reverts to earthenware. Only echoes of the best *minā'i* survive in the 8th/14th century.

Lustre painting. A fragment of a lustre painted ewer in the British Museum, the earliest dated Persian piece so far known (575/1179), has a large band of seated figures, separated from a lower arabesque by a frieze of racing quadrupeds. Although Persian lustre painting has been traditionally divided into two main schools, Rayy and Kāshān, it might be that after the great feud in Rayy between Sunnī and Shī'ī communities in 582/1186-7, the latter group fled to the more congenial atmosphere of Kāshān. All other dated lustre pieces so far known are subsequent to that event, and a number of them, whether vessels or tiles, emphasise with relevant calligraphy and Kāshānī signatures of whole dynasties of potters, the significant Shī'ī trend of the town, whence the name of Kāshī [*q.v.*] for tiles. The Kāshān style evolves from large figures and single fantastic animals to more crowded garden scenes and to dishes with radiating panels, often with cobalt outside and the odd spot inside, no more than a kiln mishap. The most controlled composition in lustre painting occurs on a *mīhrāb* dated 623/1226, once in Kāshān and now in the Staatliche Museen of Berlin; it is made up of large moulded tiles.

Not too great importance should be attached to

the Mongol invasions with regard to a possible interruption of ceramic production. That there was a slowing down, as may be noticed from less frequent dating on lustre star tiles, is undeniable, but production of such a basic item, as well as luxury wares, soon picked up, in particular under the firm rule of the Il-khānid Abāka (663-80/1265-82). The star and cross tile decoration and moulded frieze of his palace in Takht-i Sulaymān and similar wall coverings in holy places, often within easy reach of Kāshān, point to a slow transformation, if not degradation, in the brushwork and colour scheme through the 8th/14th century. Moreover, lustre painting still enhanced vessels with a new type of décor shared with the tiles: fabulous birds, dragons and gazelles, as in the bowl dated 668/1269, or stylised blossoms in the cavetto of a dish dated 676/1277. Quotations from the Qur'ān or the *Shāhnāmā* often frame the central theme, regardless of the function; cobalt lines may be used for emphasis of geometric compositions, so are gold leaf and red and white outlines on a turquoise or dark blue (*lādjuvard*) glazed background.

Although the more versatile production of lustre undoubtedly comes from Kāshān, including the group of vessels found buried in large jars in Gurgān, the so-called Raḡḡa wares extending up to 656/1258 make up a typical group of Syrian ceramics; blue and lustre combine in décors of calligraphy, stylised leaves, arabesques and the occasional figure or animal on basins, shallow dishes with everted flattened rims, globular jars and small hollow rectangular stands. Lustre was still occasionally used under the Mamlūks, especially on handsome drug jars from which sprang the Italian albarello. A late specimen of a lustre tile from Persia bears the date of 891/1486. From the mid-12th century A.D. onwards, the Spanish potter developed an original lustre production which culminated in the 15th century in large dishes and grand ewers with intense patterning; it was exported all round the Mediterranean. Fragments from Malaga and Manises workshops have been found in Fuṣṭāt. Technically, some of the best lustre pieces were to be found in 16th century A.D. Gubbio, the work of Maestro Giorgio. A short revival of lustre painting on ceramics in Persia under the Ṣafawids is known from a series of bowls and bottles of soft paste with bold branch and flower decoration in a reddish tint of lustre.

Tile mosaics and cuerda seca. At first, turquoise glazed bricks often made up inscriptions in the 6th/12th century through Khurāsān and Ādhar-bāyḡdīān; tile mosaics (faience mosaic) came into their own in 7th/13th century Anatolia. One of the earliest uses of more than one colour appears on the entrance to Kay-Kā'ūs I's tomb in his hospital of Sivas (614/1217-18). The inner dome of the Karatay *madrasa* in Konya (650/1251-2) illustrates the technique at its best, with a colour scheme of blue, turquoise and dark purple-black. In the Sirçali *madrasa* (640/1242) the glazed work is signed by a craftsman with a *nisba* from Tūs. Although Tabriz buildings of the Mongol period no longer exist, tile mosaics do cover part of Öldjeytü's mausoleum in Sultāniyya. The final phase starts with the Muẓaffarids, especially in Yazd and Iṣfahān, with the introduction of green and brown colours with the addition of white. The patterning of unglazed bricks with glazed ones to simulate courses of bricks (*binā'i* technique) also increases the visual effects as well as the use of various insets of mosaics or *terra cotta* in panel compositions. The bulk of the production was sponsored by the Timūrids, seen at its best in Harāt and Samarkand. Later examples

are those of the Aḳ Koyunlu in the so-called blue mosque in Tabriz (870/1465) and at Işfāhān, followed by the early buildings of the Şafawid era in Ardabil, Işfahān and Kirmān. The Çinili Köşk in Istanbul (877/1472-3) relates to the *binā* revetments in Harāt. Some of the best tile mosaic works of North Africa and Spain are datable to the late 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries A.D. Spasmodic attempts at glaze tiling and tile mosaics were made in the first half of the 9th/15th century in Cairo. In the Indian sub-continent also, five colourful tombs in Multān bear dates from 547/1152 to 724/1324, and glazed bricks were used in the Bahmanī complex of buildings at Bīdar; tile panellings were included in Rajput buildings of the 18th century A.D.

A Sevillian document of 1558 A.D. mentions *cuerda seca* for the first time; however, it is now used to describe a technique which prevents the glaze colours flooding into each other during the firing; the barrier consists of a purple line of paint with an added greasy substance which vanishes in the firing. The technique was already used in Achaemenian Susa; there are some examples at Madīnat al-Zahrā<sup>2</sup>; it came into full use in 8th/14th century Persia in order to imitate tile mosaics at a smaller cost. Examples are known from Timurid Samarqand, the Yeşil mosque and tomb in Bursa, the Selimiye (928/1521) and the Ahmet Paşa mosque (ca. 961/1554) in Istanbul. Şafawid buildings from the 11th/17th century onwards used the technique extensively, as did those of the Kādījārs. There are a few examples in Lahore in conjunction with tile mosaics. The best-known remain those of Spain.

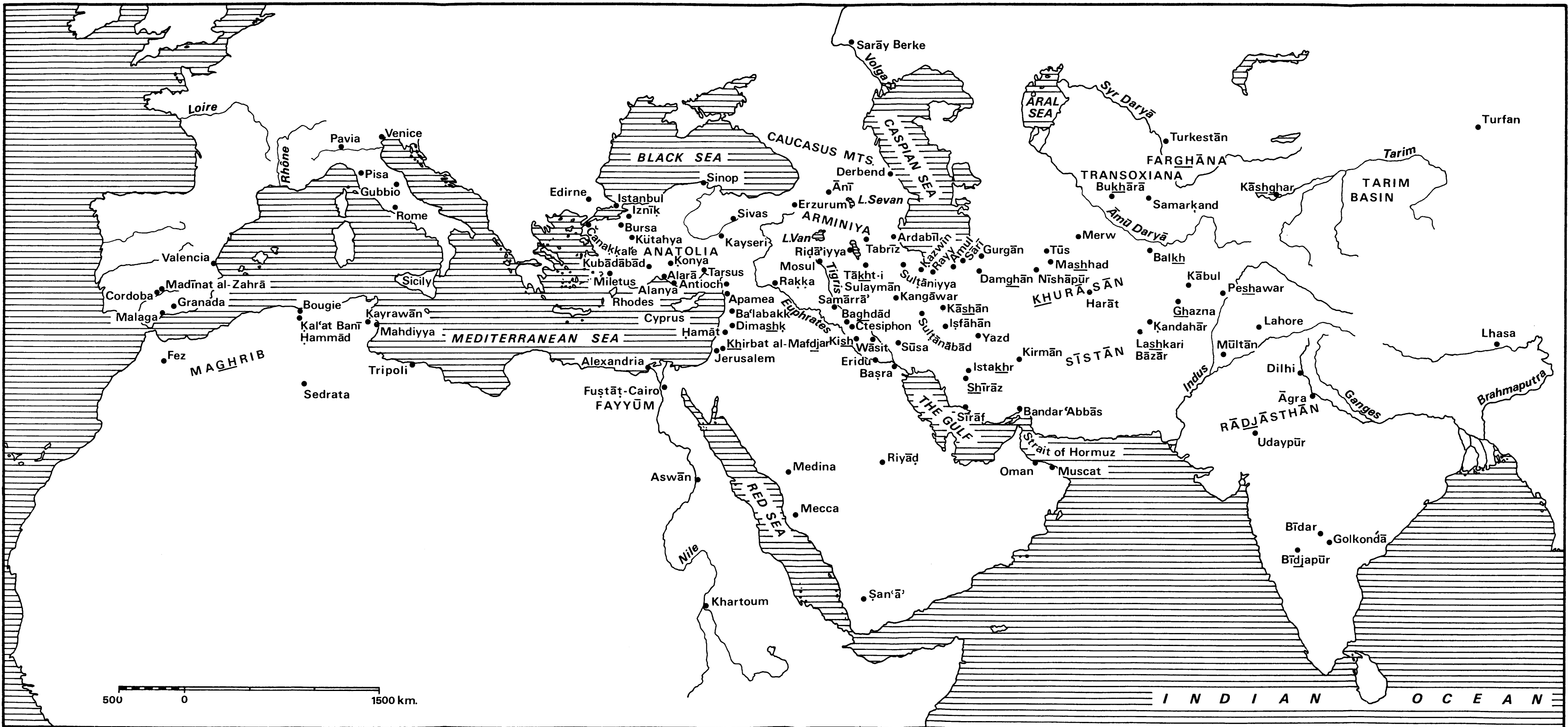
Underglaze painting. When the mediaeval potter discovers, often by accident, a new technique, it spreads rapidly in an already mature form. It is difficult to determine where underglaze painting came into being either on earthenware or soft paste, but by the first half of the 7th/13th century this last and major break-through was well-mastered; it gradually superseded earlier methods of decoration and became established over the centuries through a series of changing styles. Prior to the *Pax mongolica*, Persian underglaze painting in black or blue or in both under a transparent glaze, often coloured turquoise, either recalls the arabesques and figures scene from the lustre repertoire or reveals new motifs of flowing water weeds, fish or sharply contrasted striations. Both genres are well illustrated in the so-called Gurgān material. Some soft paste bowls recall similar shapes in glass with the same slender splayed foot, although the T-shaped rim only occurs in ceramics. Other shapes include double-shell pitchers, one dated 612/1215, the ewers with phoenix heads, sweet-meat dishes, globular jars and a series of small figurines, including birds, animals, musicians, riders and mothers suckling their babies. In the so-called Raḳka wares, the Syrian potter developed during the same period a less contrived style of painting on dishes with flattened everted rims: typical court figures, riders, aquatic birds, compositions of arabesques, dragons' heads and palm tree leaves. Similar treatment of motifs exists on the eight-pointed star tiles in the palace of Ḳubādābād in Anatolia ca. 633/1236, as well as on simpler cross and star tiling under a turquoise glaze in other official buildings of the sultāns of Rūm in Kayseri, Aspendos, Alarā and Alanya.

The *Pax mongolica*. In the same way as the final extension of 'Abbāsīd rule filled a political vacuum early in the 3rd/9th century and thus made possible the creation of one area of influence, so,

after a period of strife and weakening foreign influences in cosmopolitan Syria, the Mongol era was one of stability and brought about decided contacts with China along both sea and land routes, even as far west as Europe, as is proved by the Chinese silk dalmatic of Pope Benedict XI dated before 1304 A.D. Through the rich Kārimī and other seagoing merchants, and many of the sinicised retinue of the Ilkhānid court of Tabriz, alien decorative themes, drawn at first from large quantities of celadons, textiles and no doubt commercial paintings and block prints, triggered off the new Islamic style in the most recent technique of underglaze painting from Cairo to Sarāy Berke. The transition from two-dimensional textiles to three-dimensional vessels implied skilful adaptation of the foreign motifs to a totally Islamic system of distribution. Two motifs new to ceramics stand out: the spiky lotus and leaf already picked up in miniature painting and enamelled glass, and the ogee panels, well-known from Islamic carved stone, stucco and metalwares. An intense leafy background, a general impression of grey, and the stylised imitation of the petal design on the outside of celadons, characterise the so-called Sultānābād types. At their best, the main themes under a clear glaze are set in relief by a thickness of white clay also outlined in a greenish brushstroke on a pale manganese slip. Fillings of pale cobalt may warm the compositions of phoenixes or cranes in flight, cantering gazelles and sedate geese or Mongol courtiers. The earlier and later wares rely more on a white background, with greater emphasis on traditional geometric divisions, radiating panels filled with crosshatching, groups of four dots, dotted circles, zigzag patterns or calligraphy.

Transition. By the middle of the 8th/14th century, the new blue and white Chinese porcelain of the Yüan period had started to reach the Islamic world in as great a quantity as the long-favoured Lungch'üan celadons (also called Ghūri or Martabani). In the same way as the latter was faithfully imitated, including the saucer base, so the potter took over the new bi-chrome treatment, without appreciating, it seems, that it was in fact the product of imported cobalt from Persia as well as a new experiment in export wares especially designed for the Islamic market by the Chinese potters, in shapes and in a style totally alien to their own taste. Traditional motifs were reorganised on the larger surfaces of dishes in concentric circles and lobed panels possibly akin to early so-called Sultānābād panelled bowls and certainly to metalwares easily available in the large colonies of Muslim merchants established from the 3rd/9th century onwards in South China ports. Not only in Persia, but also—and perhaps even more—in the Mamlūk territories, variations on the Chinese lotus pond were produced in quantity, as gradually the running of the cobalt was controlled by the introduction of an added layer of frit over the soft paste body.

In the first half of the 9th/15th century, Chinese export blue and white compositions, although still preserving a certain geometric quality, gradually reverted to a more delicate and restrained treatment of the surface. The Islamic potter, prior to his Iznik follower in the 10th/16th century, picked up the trend and adapted the arabesque of flowers and the peony blossoms, dragons and waves to his own taste, using in turn, classic scroll, meander band or diaper pattern, with petal panels on the outside of bowls and dishes. He seems to have been undaunted by the raids of Tmūr and the internal strife in both Mamlūk and Ottoman lands at the turn of the century. It



should be emphasised that throughout the 9th/15th century, from Sistān and Farghāna to the Mediterranean, this imitative production never overtook the more traditional decorative approach of radiating motifs and panels, either in blue and white or when black was added on the mediocre soft paste body. Such an approach is apparent on early so-called Kubači wares, dated to the second half of the century: the well-controlled panels or circular compositions are painted in black under a turquoise coloured glaze. So-called Miletus wares are now known to have prevailed in the early stages of the Ottoman rule in Iznik, among other sites, as well as at Miletus. They differ in that the body is red earthenware, but the visual impact often remains geometric with little of the white slip left undecorated. More background is visible when debased Chinese motifs of flowers or birds appear on a field of scattered shapeless leaves. Only the more elaborate Mamlūk wares carry a signature such as that of Ghā'ibī or his atelier.

To this period also belong several series of tiles, also under-glaze painted and hexagonal in shape. The decoration recalls either elements of the early 9th/15th century A.D. Chinese blue and white dishes which display geometric blossom compositions or a bunch of flowers, or else the geometric of the transition period. The tiles in Murād II's mosque in Edirne (ca. 843/1440) could have been made in Iznik like related ones a century later; they are neatly finished and the largest in dimension of the series. The Damascus group, including the tiles of the mausoleum of Tawrizī (ca. 833/1430), is more freely painted with occasional purple and a turquoise border. Egyptian examples, hardly recalling Chinese themes, draw on architecture and bold vegetal motifs.

Ottoman rule. On the whole, the Ottoman potters of Asia Minor produced soft paste vessels with a fine white slip under a transparent lead glaze for the metropolis; and to a lesser extent, those of Syria, Egypt and North Africa also drew on the same technique and on a fund of designs from the *nakkāsh khāne*, the special studio of court designers. Around the turn of the 9th/15th century, they borrowed from book-bindings and illuminations for the controlled, if austere, dark blue and white arabesque variations of stylised flowers and palmettes on dishes and deep bowls with a splayed foot. The lay-out of the ewer signed by Ibrāhīm of Kütahya (916/1510) is already less dense in design. By 923/1517, the final conquests of Selim I had made available a large booty of Chinese stonewares and blue and white procelains. The last crucial impact of Chinese (*Khatāyī*) wares in the area, resulted in the close imitations of early 15th century A.D. Ming dishes, such as blossom and vine compositions. Strictly speaking, the word *chinoiserie* applies only to the 18th century A.D. European stylistic interpretation of Chinese motifs. For the Ottoman potter, rim borders could be either 8th/14th or 9th/15th century wave pattern. The so-called Golden Horn group also belongs to this first period and was presumably inspired by the flimsy spirals of official *tughrās*; sherds first found in Istanbul gave it the label; more have now been excavated in Iznik. A broken bottle in this style bears an Armenian dating which corresponds to 1529 A.D. The long-veged problem of Armenian craftsmanship has now been resolved by the study of archives which indicate participation and production of the non-Muslim minorities at most stages of Ottoman history. The mosque lamp from the Dome of the Rock (956/1549) is the only dated piece of Iznik; it could well be one of the last examples of the first group, also known as the Ibrā-

hīm of Kütahya group; pale turquoise and black relieve the blue shades.

The tile restoration on the Dome of the Rock ordered by Sulaymān I in 952/1545 constituted a new point of departure for Ottoman ceramics as well as for the building programme pursued by the Sultan, his entourage and his successors. *Cuerda seca* was totally replaced by underglaze painted tiles, approximately 24 cm. square. The colour palette, also applied to dishes and jugs, reached daring tones of blue, green and occasionally purple, with at its best, contrasting pure white and luscious red in relief made of Armenian bole (a red local clay) well-mastered under the transparent lead glaze of unflinching quality. Such technical development was combined with a renewed repertoire of available blossoms from the Anatolian plateau, and thus forms a completely new second group. At first pale green was used as well as the blue, and the compositions on the dishes were still enclosed in panels and roundels; however, the plants soon burst out of their frames into the cavetto, often to the exclusion of borders of debased waves (often called ammonites) or earlier clusters of small tulips on the rim. A considerable number of large tile panels are dated by the new mosque into which they were built: the Sulaymāniyya (965/1557), the Rustam Pasha mosque (968/1561), the Sokollu mosque (979/1571), the Piyāle mosque (981/1574) and various parts of the Saray. In a short-lived group of dishes and pots, the potter experimented also with dark slip background and sparse light-coloured decoration. In Syria and Egypt, a number of monuments bear witness to the active part played by the local potteries, although the colour scheme of both vessels and tiles did not include the famous sealing-wax red.

International trading with Italy, in particular, allowed for exchanges in shapes and patterns: *tondini* with large rims and tankards. By the 18th century A.D., figures, and buildings with dates and boats, increased the vocabulary of a less elegant production, and these make up the third group of Ottoman ceramics, also known as Rhodes pottery. These dishes and jugs were intended to be traded in public places such as the international silk market of Bursa, rather than to meet the special orders of high-ranking officials or foreign ambassadors except in the case of a few examples of dated pieces. The decline in prosperity, and therefore that of orders, affected the production of Iznik. A new factory was started in the Tekfur Saray of Istanbul in 1136/1724 and this resurrected, for a while, some of the past achievements of Iznik, including the famous red. Kütahya survived better and its 18th century A.D. production is well known by a series of dated pieces ranging in fact from 1716 to 1843. A most important group of tiles dated 1718-19, intended for restoration work in the Holy Sepulchre, are now in the Convent of Saint James in Jerusalem. The vivacity of the colour treatment on cups and saucers, bowls and incense burners, bottles and eggs, contrast with the remarkably simplified brush work of the potters from Çanakkale in the middle of the 18th century A.D. Sailing boats and buildings, giraffes, fish and fowl, briskly fill the shallow dishes and bowls (*çanak*s); later, complicated shapes restricted the painting. From 1893 to 1920, a porcelain factory was sponsored by the Porte, but could not compete with European china. Iznik production has now become fully industrialised.

Later Persian treatment. After the collapse of the Aḳ Koyunlus, it took some time for the Şafawid rule to become established, since it had to resist pressures from both the east and the west. In the 10th/

16th century, the capital was moved first to Tabriz, then to Qazwīn and finally to Iṣfahān in 1006/1597-8, by which time the frontiers were more secure, the new sea route by the Cape had proved itself and the European East India companies felt strong enough to open new markets. It is difficult to locate precisely the ceramic production of the time, despite some indications given by foreign embassies, travellers and merchants; Mashhad, Kirmān, Shīrāz and Yazd are mentioned. Iṣfahān must have been a great centre, too, although there is no reference other than to the tiled monuments. Be this what it may, the Persian potter of the 10th/16th century A.D. reacted to the impact of Chinese celadon and blue and white porcelain much the same way as his Ottoman counterpart; a substantial amount must have been available to provide inspiration, besides the specimens looted by the Ottomans and those in the collection of Shāh 'Abbās I which he donated to the shrine of Ardabil in 1015-16/1607-8. The blue and white blossom compositions and the wave border were re-interpreted on a soft paste body, as well as the polychrome Anatolian flower compositions down to the bent branches and the *saz*. Yet the zodiac dish of 971/1563 illustrates the regular recurrence of the geometric division of surface. Eventually a stylised repertoire of impressionistic vegetal and animal designs was developed on jars, bowls and dishes, the shape of which owed little to the outside world. The less dramatic visual impact was probably due to a reduced contrast in the colours and relative control of the firing and the irregular quality of the glaze.

Although a few examples of so-called Kubači wares were found in that remote town of the Caucasus, it is not clear where in fact they were made; the early fortunes of the Ṣafawī capitals eventually led them to Iṣfahān. The unusual compositions break away from controlled geometric; sketches of human busts verging on caricature, are more usual than animals or unidentifiable plants. Turbaned youths, foreign merchants and sailors, suitable females, enliven the repertoire. Large tiles show more delicate brush work on a white or beige background not unlike that of the mosque of Shāykh Luṭf Allāh in Iṣfahān (1028/1618); on the smaller tiles and dishes, the yellowish transparent lead glaze tends to crackle and the clay used for red colouring is never as effective as the Armenian bole. The same red is also found in patterns and outlining devices on vessels attributed to Kirmān in the 11th/17th century.

Besides emulating large export celadons and Chinese monochrome bowls and ewers, with moulded or carved designs, the Persian potter remained, in essence, faithful to his predilection for blue and white, contrary to his Ottoman counterpart who abandoned it fairly soon. Patterns of the Chia-ching (1522-66) and Wan-li (1573-1619) reigns were swiftly adapted, with a partiality for wild birds and animals, ludicrous landscapes and garden genre scenes, totally misunderstood. A few dates and potter's marks have been recorded such as the tassel mark. In most of the painting a black outline holds in the various shades of cobalt wash. At its best and most original, the production takes the shape of a large dish with a very white soft paste body; a carved arabesque in the cavetto surrounds a medallion densely filled with wild beasts or birds and foliage. A possible added reason for the continued production of Persian blue and white was the greed of the European market for the export porcelain, all the more so when the Chinese ports closed from 1659 to 1682 and replacements had to be found. Kirmān within reasonable distance of Bandar

'Abbās (Gombrun) on the Gulf certainly rose to the occasion and imitated *Kraak porselein* with its paneling in the cavetto and central themes of flowers or bird on a rock. A number of 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries dated pieces show the gradual deterioration in the decorative treatment with a few exceptional pierced wares, imitation of celadons, humouristic *kalyāns* and slip-painted wares on a dark background, often called Gombrun wares, the Persian version of similar Ottoman specimens, in both cases, copies of Chinese originals.

Some of the best underglaze painting remains that of the continuous tile programme undertaken in Iṣfahān, and later under the Zands and the Qājārs in Shīrāz, Kirmān, Tehran and Simnān. The introduction of *famille rose* colours brought a new flavour to flower compositions in mosque and *madrasa* tile panels from the end of the 18th century. It is also reflected in bowls of the 19th century, in which attempts to imitate European porcelain only preserve a certain Persian flavour. To this day, ceramics are a living tradition in Iran and all Islamic lands, more for practical purposes than as a distinctive part of the artistic production of the period.

Unglazed wares. Undaunted by the passage of time, the large storage jar with lid, and the jug which allows its water content to keep cool through slow evaporation, are a permanent product of the potter's workshop. It would require more systematic studies to appreciate their various shapes, volumes of content and ornament. Although decoration can be produced by incising or by painting on the leatherhard body, the best visual effects come from the use of dies and moulds, either as a complete half of a flask, two identical halves being luted together by a central band with the addition of handles and neck device, or in the shape of stamps. The best examples seem to have been produced from the 4th/10th to the 8th/14th century from the Mediterranean to Afghānistān and Transoxiana. Specifically Egyptian is a large series of surviving filters where the pierced area is made to represent calligraphy, animals or geometric patterns. From northern Mesopotamia come some of the best applied, incised and stamped large jars for storage. Aeolipiles, spheroidal shapes, still remain a puzzle; about 10 cm. long, they are heavy for their size, not very porous and with a small opening; their shape prevents them from spilling over; some have incised patterns, calligraphy or even turquoise glaze inlays. Earthenware stands were early made in the shape of an hourglass or of a square with a circular recess in the centre for holding a large tray; later, these were made of metal, but were never higher than 20 to 30 cm. Various shapes of lamps, lampstands and candle sticks would complete the household requirements.

*Bibliography: General.*—K. A. C. Creswell, *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam*, Cairo 1961; also the *Supplement*, Cairo 1973, for the publications in the Soviet Union; E. Atil, *Ceramics from the world of Islam*, Washington DC, 1973; G. Fehérvári, *Islamic pottery*, London 1973; *Islamische keramik Catalogue*, Düsseldorf 1973; *Keramos*, No. 64 (April 1974), Berlin, in conjunction with the above; T. Mikami, *Islamic pottery mainly from Japanese collections*, 2 vols., Tokyo 1962-4.

*Technique.*—J. Allan, *Some observations on the origins of the Medieval Persian faience body*, in *Percival David Foundation Colloquy*, No. 4 (1974); M. Centlivres-Demont, *Une communauté de potiers en Iran*, Wiesbaden 1971; H. Hodges, *Artifacts*, London 1964; C. Kiefer, *Les céramiques silicieuses*

*d'Anatolie et du moyen orient*, in *Bulletin de la société de céramique française* (1956); H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966.

*China and Islam*.—J. Carswell, *Six tiles*, in *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1972; M. Medley, *Chinese ceramics and Islamic design*, in *Percival David Foundation colloquy*, No. 3 (1973); J. A. Pope, *Chinese porcelain from the Ardebil shrine*, Washington DC, 1956; D. Whitehouse, *Some Chinese and Islamic pottery from Siraf*, in *Percival David Foundation colloquy*, No. 1 (1971).

*Turkey*.—O. Aslanapa, *Anadoluda Türk çini ve keramik sanatı*, Istanbul 1965; G. Öney, *Türk devri çanakakale seramikleri*, Ankara 1971; K. Otto-Dorn, *Türkische Keramik*, Ankara 1957; T. Öz, *Turkish ceramics*, N.D., Turkey.

*Special studies*.—M. Bahrami, *Gurgan saiences*, Cairo 1949; D. C. Baramki, *The pottery of Khirbet el Mejfer*, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, x (1942); Y. Crowe, *Certain types et techniques de la céramique de Suse*, in *Atti del VII convegno internazionale della ceramica* 1974; D. Duda, *Spanisch-Islamische Keramik aus Almeria vom 12 bis 15 Jahrhundert*, Heidelberg 1970; J. C. Gardin, *Céramique de Bactres*, Mémoires de la DAFA No. 15, Paris 1957; idem, *Poteries de Bamiyan*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957); idem, *Lashkari Bazar*, ii, Mémoires de la DAFA No. 18, Paris 1963; I. Lushey-Schmeisser, *The tile cycle of Hasht Bihisht in Isfahan* No. 14, *Reports and memoirs*, ISMEO Rome, in the press; E. and R. Naumann, *Ein kösk im Sommerpalast des Abaga Chan auf dem Tacht-i Sulaïman und seine Dekoration*, in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens*. In *memoriam K. Erdmann*, 1969; J. M. Rogers, *Apamea, the mediaeval pottery*, in *Colloque Apamée de Syrie, Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1969-1971*, 1972; M. Rosen-Ayalon, *Ville royale de Suse. IV. La poterie islamique*, 1974; U. Scerrato, *Islamic glazed tiles with moulded decoration from Ghazni*, in *East and West*, xiii (1962); R. Schnyder, *Mediaeval incised and carved wares from north-west Iran*, in *Percival and David Foundation colloquy*, No. 4 (1974); R. Naumann, D. Huff, R. Schnyder, *Takht-i Suleïman, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen 1965-1973*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, i, (1975); O. Watson, *The Masjid-i 'Alī, Qshrad*, in Iran, xiii (1975); C. Wilkinson, *Nishapur*, New York 1974. See also the bibliography to **Fakhkhār**. (YOLANDE CROWE)

**KHAZ'AL KHĀN**, IBN HĀDJDJĪ DJĀBIR KHĀN, *Shaykh* of Muḥammara, born ca. 1860, died 27 May 1936. On the death of *Shaykh Hādjdjī Djābir Khān* in 1881, leadership of the Muḥasayn tribe, the great bulk of which resided in Persian territory, passed to Miz'al Khān, *Shaykh Djābir's* fifth son. His rule became unpopular on account of his meanness and avarice and on June 2 1897 Miz'al and his nephew 'Abd al-Djallil were shot dead, as they were disembarking from a boat at Fallāhiyya, by three negro slaves. A large number of Arabs under Salmān b. Maṣūr, a cousin of *Khaz'al*, were, however, on hand to give further support if necessary in the assassination attempt. It seems that *Khaz'al* approved the murder, even if he did not actually instigate it. (A. T. Wilson: *A précis of the relations of the British Government with the tribes and sheiks of Arabistan*, Calcutta 1912, ch. iv). Miz'al left no sons. *Khaz'al* quickly took charge of affairs and was later confirmed as *Shaykh* by tribal election. The Persian Governor General of 'Arabistān, Sardār Akram, opposed *Khaz'al's* candidacy and endeavoured to have a cou-

sin of *Khaz'al's* called 'Abūd appointed as *Shaykh*. He failed in this attempt and *Khaz'al's* position was confirmed by the *Shāh* in April 1898 when the *laḡab* of Mu'izz al-Saltāna, which had also been held by his predecessor, was conferred upon him (J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1915, i/2, 1744-1754).

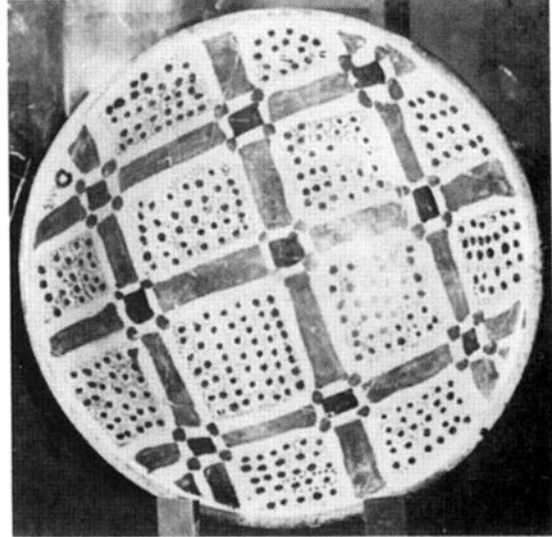
*Khaz'al* followed with great success his brother's policy of endeavouring to extend the area over which the Muḥasayn held sway. The subjugation of the Ka'b (Ča'b) tribe was completed during 1897 and in the autumn of 1898 *Khaz'al* mounted a successful expedition against the Bāwiyya tribe in the area between the Kārūn and Djarrāhī rivers. By 1904 the *Shaykh* had the *de facto* power to nominate the governors of Ahwāz and M'ashūr and the central government was reported to exercise little authority south of Band-i Kīr (Major E. B. Burton to Government of India, Rawalpindi Feb. 28 1904, in F.O. 416/17). The weakness of the central government was also revealed by the fact that the collection of arrears of taxation from the Banī Turuf could be undertaken in 1903, and again in 1905, only with the support of *Khaz'al* and his armed followers.

When the Persian government proposed to introduce Belgian customs officials into 'Arabistān in 1902, *Khaz'al* objected strongly, fearing that his power over his followers would be weakened as the degree of central government control increased. Wilson agreed that any attempt to impose new taxes on the Arab tribes of the area would have caused serious unrest and could have resulted in the deposition of *Khaz'al* unless he was successful in defending the tribes' traditional rights. (Wilson, *op. cit.*, ch. v). One of *Khaz'al's* advantages in the subsequent negotiations was the fact that he owned a large area of land in Turkish 'Irāq, and could realistically threaten to leave Persian territory together with his followers. More important reasons for *Khaz'al's* success in the negotiations over the introduction of the Belgians were, however, the degree of support which he received from the British diplomatic mission in Tehran and the number of armed followers which he could call upon. A. H. Hardinge, the British Minister in Tehran, estimated that he could put 20,000 armed men into action against the central government if he so wished. (Hardinge to Lansdowne No. 57, 12 April 1901, marked confidential, in F.O. 60/636). In May 1902 the authorities in Tehran agreed that the *Shaykh* should receive a salary as the Director-General of Customs in 'Arabistān and that the Belgian official who was to be appointed should accept the *Shaykh's* orders with regard to the dues to be paid by the local Arab inhabitants (see H. J. Whigham, *The Persian problem*, London 1903). In 1903 the *Shaykh* received three important *farmāns* confirming his land holdings and proprietary rights in 'Arabistān from Muzaffar al-Dīn *Shāh*.

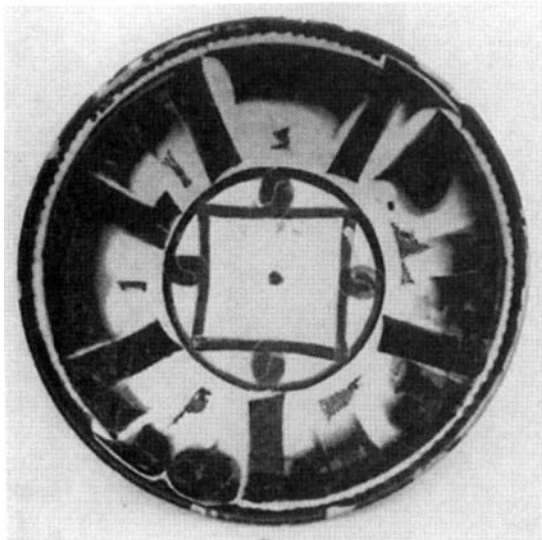
It was because *Khaz'al* possessed such local power, because he was suspicious of Russian designs in the Persian Gulf, and because he made serious endeavours to reduce the level of piracy in the waters under his control, that his friendship was regarded highly by local British officials (see the despatch by Major E. B. Burton cited above). After the discovery of oil at Masjid-i Sulaymān in 1908, *Khaz'al's* friendship became even more important, for the pipeline that was necessary to carry the oil to a deep water port had to cross his territory as well as that of the *Bakhtiyārī*. *Khaz'al* granted the necessary wayleaves in 1909 and also leased land for the building of a refinery and loading jetties at Ābādān (see S. H.



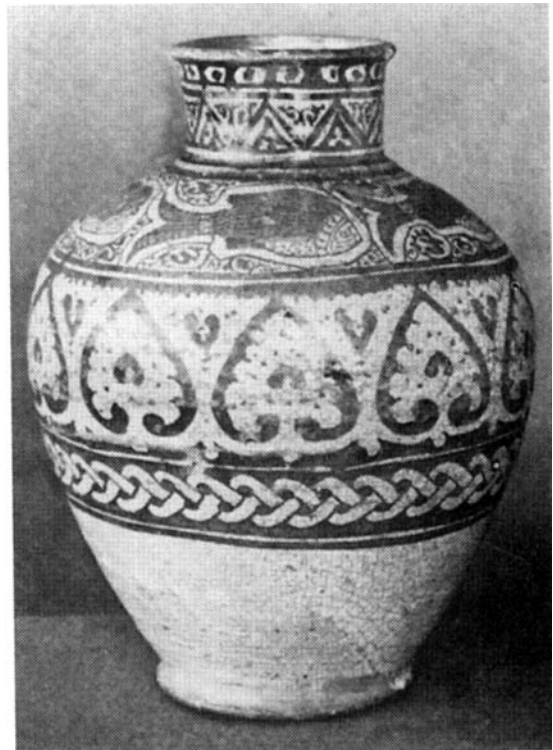
1. Bowl, W: 13.8 cms, H: 6.5 cms, cobalt blue on opaque white glaze. Susa, 3rd/4th/late 9th/10th c. *Iran Bastan Museum Tehran*, No. 3077. *Service photographique du musée Iran Bastan*.



2. Bowl, W: 27 cms, H: 7.5 cms, polychrome lustre on opaque white glaze. Egypt, 3rd/late 9th c. *Islamic museum, Cairo*, No. 4176.

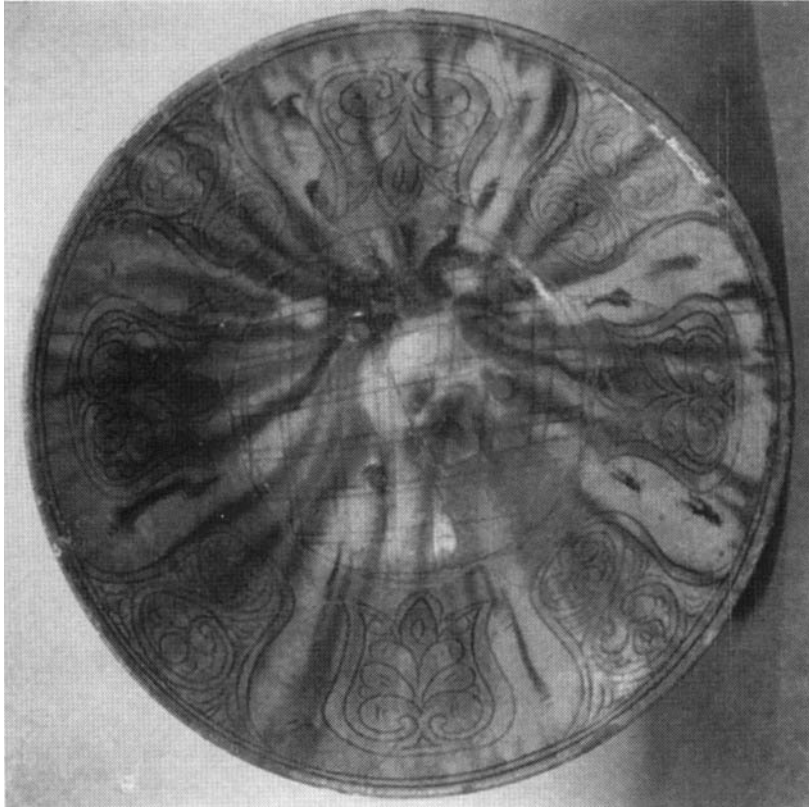


3. Dish, slip painted under transparent colourless glaze. *Khurāsān*, 5th/11th c. "Enjoy feasting in good health". *Museo d'Arte Orientale di Roma*, No. 1974.



4. Jar, H: 30.5 cms, monochrome lustre, Egypt 5th/11th c. *Victoria and Albert Museum, London* No. C. 48.1952 *Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum*.





1. Dish, W: 26 cms, H: 7.2 cms, *sgraffiato* design with yellow, green and purple runs; transparent colourless glaze. Nishapur 5th/11th c. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum excavations 1937 and Rogers Fund.*

2. Ewer with zoomorphic spout, H: 36 cms, carved slipped design filled in black under transparent green-tinted glaze. Ādharbāyğjān, 6th/12th c. *Musée du Louvre, Paris No. 7247.*

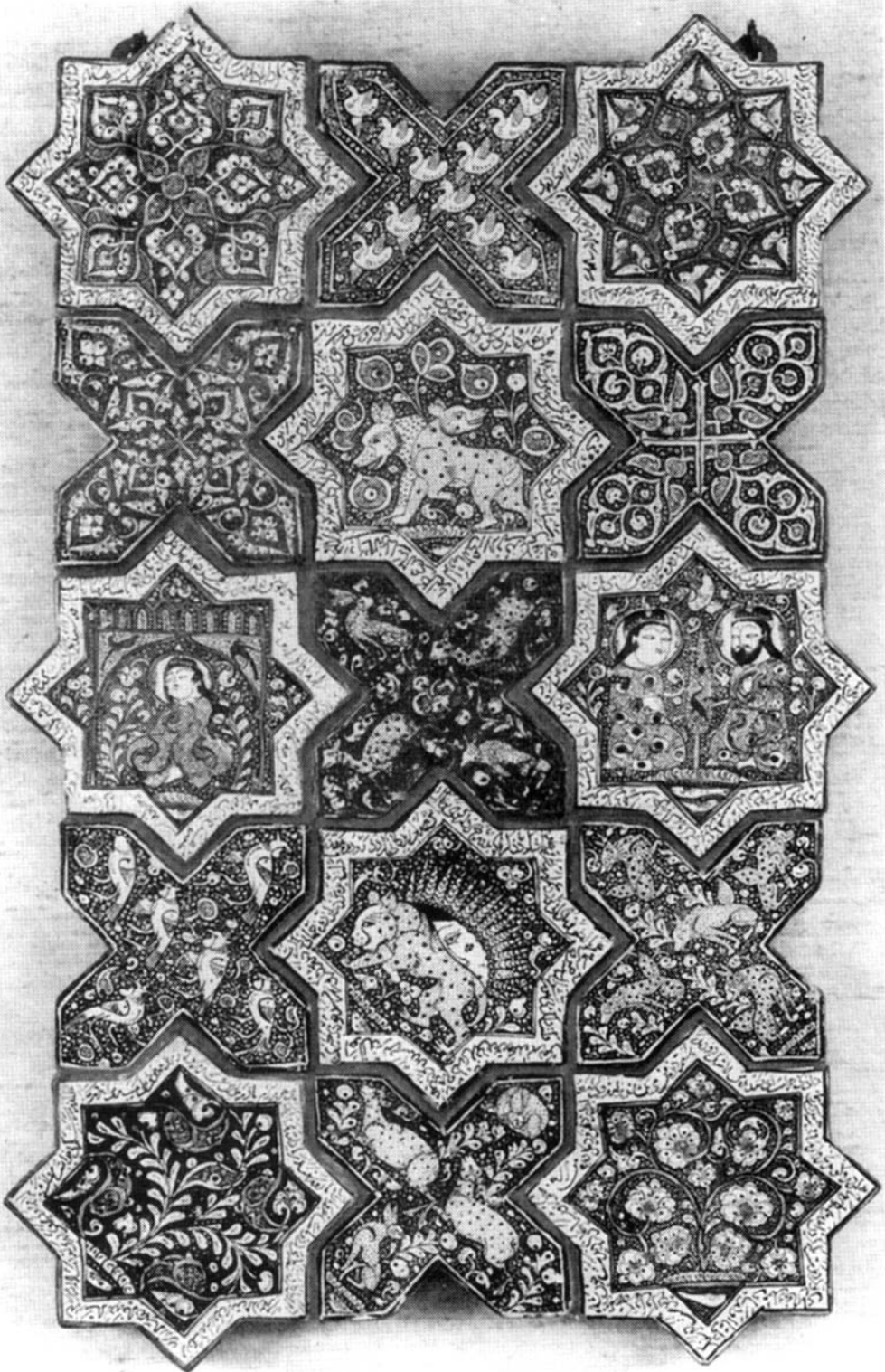




2. Bowl, W: 19.7 cms, moulded soft paste. Iran, 7th/12th c. Victoria and Albert Museum, London No. C. 185 1926. *Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum.*



1. Bottle fragment, H: 14 cms, monochrome lustre. Iran, 575/1179. *British Museum, London.*



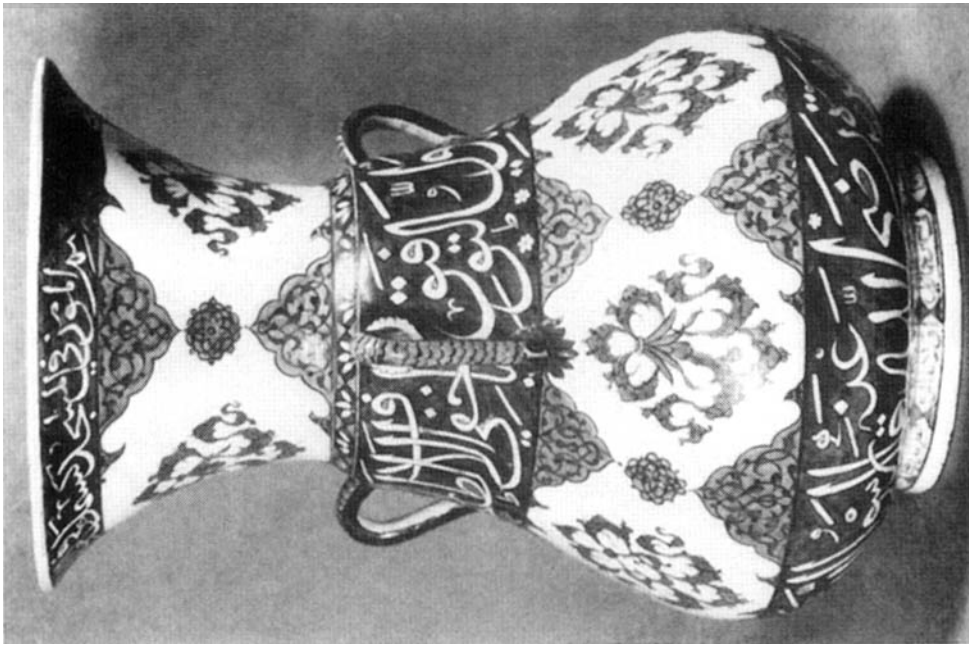
Panel of lustre painted tiles, W: 78.5 cms, H: 49.5 cms. Kāshān, 665/1267. *Musée du Louvre*, Paris, No. 6319.



1. Dish, W: 26,6 cms, H: 7.6 cms, black design under transparent turquoise glaze. Syria, early 7th/13th c. *Freer Gallery of Art, No. 47.8, Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC.*



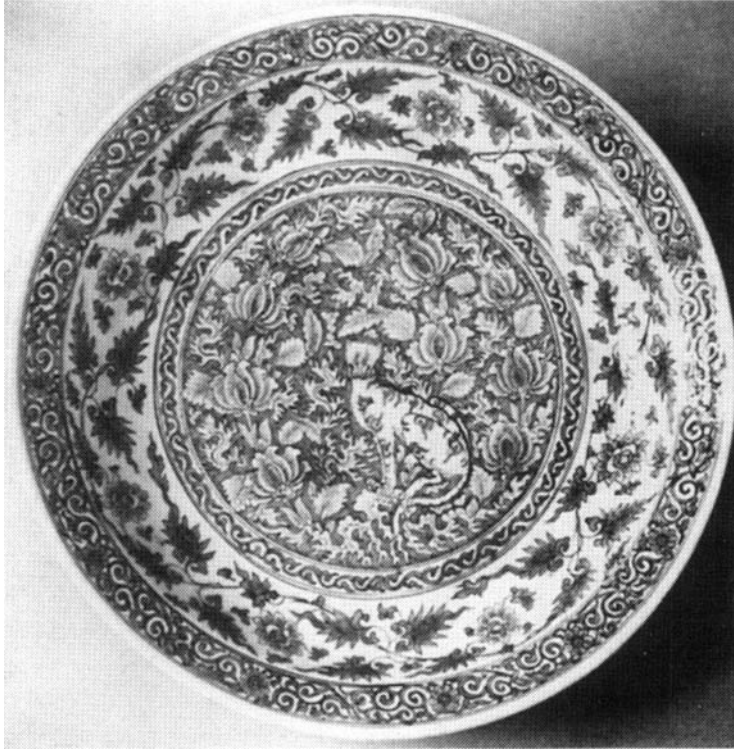
2. Bowl, W: 19 cms, H: 9.5 cms, thick white slip design on grey ground under transparent colourless glaze. Iran, early 8th/14th c. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, No. 65.1669, Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Fund: Charles B. Hoyt Bequest.*



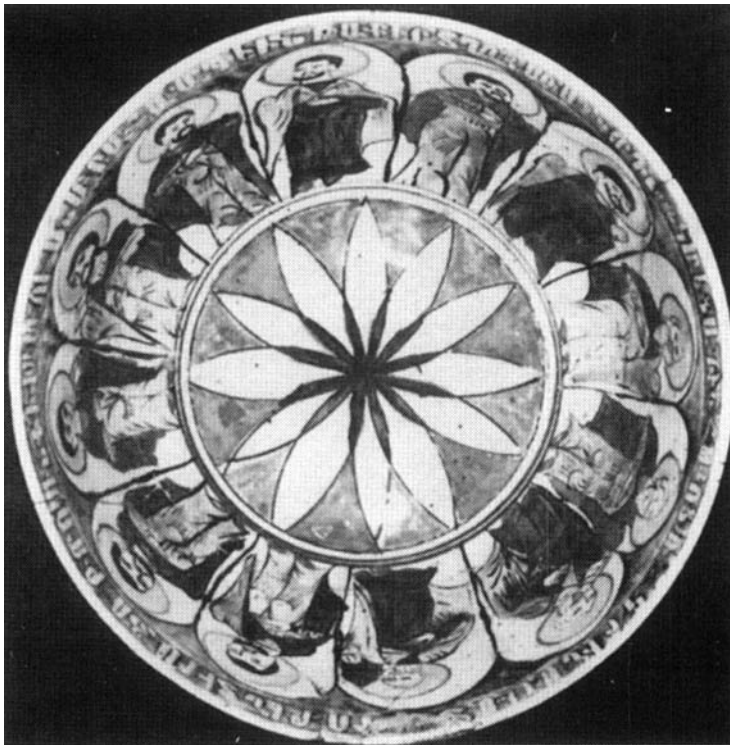
1. Drug jar, H: 27.5 cms, blue and dark green design under transparent colourless glaze. Syria, 717/1317. *Museo di Capodimonte*, Naples, Coll. De Ciccio, No. 5.

2. Mosque lamp, H: 38.1 cms, blue, turquoise and black underglaze painting. Iznik, 956/1549. *British Museum*, London.





1. Dish, W: 45 cms, blue and black design under transparent colourless glaze. Iran, ca. 1000/1600. *Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt/M.*



2. Bowl, W: 18.5 cms, H: 11.8 cms, polychrome underglaze painting. Kütahya 1718-9 A.D. *Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Bruxelles, No. 3170-II.*





Jar, H: 77.5 cms, unglazed, stamped decoration. Spain 8th/14th c. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. C. 400.1888. *Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.*

Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, London 1961, 19-20). The *Shaykh* also assisted the British after Turkey joined the First World War. In 1910 the *Shaykh* had been made Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire (K.C.I.E.) in recognition of his friendliness towards British interests.

After the end of the war and with the rise to power of *Riḍā Khān*, the situation began to change. The official British promises of support for *Khaz'al* had been made dependent on his recognition of his obligations towards the Persian government. While that government was weak the issue was largely academic, but when *Riḍā Khān* began to extend the power of the central government the problem became a pressing one. *Khaz'al* probably expected greater British support than he received. He was encouraged by London to seek an agreement with *Riḍā Khān* (see G. Waterfield, *Professional diplomat: Sir Percy Loraine of Kirkharle Bt.*, London 1973, chs. 6-9 for details and further references to the British diplomatic archives on this complex issue). In Nov. 1923 *Khaz'al* came to an arrangement with the central government over the payment of taxes (A. C. Mills-paugh, *The American task in Persia*, New York 1925, 216-36), but *Riḍā Khān's* expedition in the spring of 1924 against the *Lurs* to the north alarmed *Khaz'al*. He refused, with good reason, to go voluntarily to Tehran and in August he stated that he would resist *Riḍā Khān* by force if necessary. British intervention failed to bring about a reconciliation. The *farmāns* of 1903 were revoked by the *Shāh* and in September *Khaz'al* accused *Riḍā Khān* of violating the laws of Persia and of acting as a usurper. This outburst lost *Khaz'al* the sympathy of the British government which had begun to realise that British interests lay in the creation of a strong central government in Persia (R. M. Burrell, *Britain, Iran and the Persian Gulf: some aspects of the situation in the 1940s and 1930s*, in D. Hopwood (ed.), *The Arabian Peninsula: society and politics*, London 1972). *Khaz'al* offered an apology for his statement in Dec. 1924, but *Riḍā Khān* was by now determined to extinguish the *Shaykh's* power. Military preparations were made by the Persian army during the winter of 1924, and on 19 April 1925, *Khaz'al* was arrested on board a boat at *Muḥammara*. He was transferred to Tehran and kept there under virtual house arrest until his death.

*Bibliography*: In addition to references in the text, M. J. A. Saldanha, *Précis of Persian 'Arabistan' affairs*, Simla 1904; *Administrative Reports on the Persian Gulf Residency and Muscat political agency*, Calcutta 1873 onwards; A. T. Wilson, *Southwestern Persia, a Political Officer's diary 1907-1914*, London 1941; E. R. Durand, *An autumn tour in Western Persia*, London 1902; V. Chirol, *The Middle Eastern question*, London 1903; Mahdi Bāmdād, *Tārikh-i Riḍā-i Irān*, i, Tehran 1966.

(R. M. BURRELL)

**KHAZAR**, a nomadic people in the South Russian steppes who flourished in the early Islamic period. The *Khazar* tribal union emerged in the course of the 6th century A.D. in the aftermath of a series of migrations of nomadic peoples from Inner and Central Asia. With the collapse of the European Hun state in 454 A.D., some of the nomadic elements of Attila's horde withdrew to the Pontic steppe zone. They were joined here, ca. 463 A.D., by waves of *Oghur* tribes which had been driven from Western Siberia and the *Kazakh* steppe by the *Sabirs* who, in turn, had been forced to migrate to the *Kazakh* steppe from their Central Asian homeland by the expansion of the Avar (Juan-juan, Uar-Hun)

tribal confederation (on the history of these migrations, see K. Czeglédy, *A nomád népek vándorlása napkeletől napnyugatig* ("The Migrations of nomadic peoples from East to West"), Budapest 1969). The *Sabirs* themselves arrived in the North Caucasian steppelands and Volga region in the opening decades of the 6th century. When Avar (Juan-juan) hegemony in Mongolia was overthrown by the *Türks* (*Türküt*, *Kök Türks*) in 552 A.D., elements of the *Avars* (or perhaps the *Hephthalites*, whose tribal union was composed of kindred Uar-Hun tribes) migrated westward and entered the Volga-Pontic steppe zone after 557 A.D. where they subjugated some of the *Oghur* tribes. Avar dominion in this region was short-lived, for they were soon forced to migrate, together with some of their *Oghur* subjects, to Pannonia (ca. 567 A.D.), by the advent of their enemies, the *Türks*.

Although there are indications in Armenian sources (see *The History of the Caucasian Albanians* by *Movsēs Daszurānci*, tr. C. J. F. Dowsett, Oxford 1961, 70) and Arab sources (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. De Goeje, 194; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, i, 200-4) that would appear to give evidence of a *Khazar* presence in the Volga delta and in the Caucasus prior to the middle of the 6th century (see D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 20-22, and M. I. Artamonov *Istoriya Khazar*, Leningrad 1962, 116-7, for an evaluation of these sources. The *Khazars* have nothing to do with the *Akatzir/Akatir*, *Khotzir* etc. who figure in Byzantine and Syriac sources during this period, see O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*, Berkeley 1973, 427 ff.); it is only under the aegis of the *Türks* that the *Khazar* tribal confederation (most probably an amalgamation, by this time, of Hunnic, *Sabir*, *Oghur*, *Türk* and other nomadic, Altaic elements) fully emerges on to the historical scene. It cannot be determined, at present, whether a tribe named "*Khazar*" actually existed prior to the conquest and organisation of the Volga-North Caucasian-Pontic steppe nomads by the *Türks*. It may well be that the *Khazar* tribal union was a creation of the *Türks* and the name of this new tribal grouping was then anachronistically ascribed, by our early sources via local, oral historical tradition, to those earlier tribes which ultimately came to compose it. In many of our early accounts, the ethnonyms *Khazar* and *Türk* are interchangeable. In any event, it is under *Türk* leadership (the *Djēbu Khak'an* of *Movsēs Daskhurants'i*, the *Djībgha* of the *K'art'lis Ts'khovreba*, Ζιέβηλ of the Byzantine writers, perhaps to be identified with the *T'ong Yabghu* of the Western *Türks*, see J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 394, 498) that the *Khazars* figure prominently in the Perso-Byzantine wars of the first third of the 7th century. The *Khazars*, acting as allies of Byzantium, relieved the *Sāsānid* pressure on *Heraclius* (610-41) by devastating Persian holdings in Transcaucasia. In 626, the *Djābghu Kaghan* and his nephew, the *Shād* (*Shat'* in the Armenian sources) ravaged Caucasian Albania and in the following year turned on Georgia whose capital, *T'bilisi*, fell to them in 628 (*Daskhurants'i*, tr. Dowsett, 81-8, *K'art'lis Ts'khovreba*, ed. S. *Kaukhč'i*, *T'bilisi* 1955, i, 225, 374-5). The *Khazar*-Byzantine alliance cemented during these wars remained, although subject to occasional buffetings, the cornerstone of the Byzantine defence network against the nomads of the Eurasian steppes until the 10th century.

*Türk* overlordship in the western half of their

realm had been steadily weakening during the first half of the 7th century as the result of internecine strife. With the submission of the Western Türk (On Oğ) to the Chinese in 659, it came to an end. Two Türk successor states emerged in the western sector of the Eurasian steppes, the Khazar Qaghanate (perhaps under a scion of the ruling clan of the On Oğ, the Nu-shih-pi as suggested by Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 170-1) and the Bulghar-Onoghur/Onogundur state (a tribal union composed largely of Oghur elements led by the Dulo, the rivals of the Nu-shih-pi in the On Oğ confederacy. The Bulghar ruling clan may also have had Attilid affiliations, see O. Pritsak, *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*, Wiesbaden 1955, 36-8). The inevitable conflict that broke out between the two (reported, with mythic overtones, in Theophanes, Nicephorus Patriarchus and the Letter of the Khazar ruler, Joseph) ended with the defeat of Pontic (Magna) Bulgaria (Παλαιά Βουλγαρία) in the 670s. In the course of this struggle, and perhaps even earlier, some Bulghar (the name may be etymologised in Turkic as meaning "the mixed ones", see Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* ("The Formation of the Hungarians of the Conquest Period"), Budapest 1930, 95-6) elements migrated to the Volga-Kama region founding Volga Bulgharia. Another horde, under Asperukh, made its way to Byzantine Moesia and established Danubian Bulgharia there ca. 679. Other Bulghar tribes remained in the eastern Pontic steppe zone under Khazar rule.

The Khazars were now undisputed masters of the western Eurasian steppelands. Their hold over the North Caucasus, however, was contested by the Arabs who had begun to penetrate this region by 21/641-2. This was the first thrust in a series of wars that spanned a century. Much of the campaigning centered on gaining possession of Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) [*q.v.*], a strategically-important town guarding the approaches from the steppe zone to Transcaucasia, and the Khazar cities Balandjar (Balangar, probably of ethnonymic origin, cf. the "Barandjar" mentioned in Ibn Faḍlān, *Kniga Akhmeda ibn Fadlana o ego puteshestvii na Volgu v 921-922 gg.* ("The Book of Ibn Faḍlān on his Journey to the Volga"), tr. and facs. ed. A. P. Kovalevskiy, Kharkov 1956, 323 (f. 207b), or Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, in *Abh. K.M.*, xxiv/3 (1939), Arabic text, 30, or tr. M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, xvi (1950), 107, who were found in his day in Volga Bulgharia) and Samandar. Al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, 62) states that Balandjar was at one time the Khazar capital. He contradicts this statement in the *Murūdi* (ii, 7, ed. Pellat, i, 211-2) where he makes Samandar the early Khazar capital. These cities may have been the winter and summer quarters of the Khazar ruling clan, hence the confusion in al-Mas'ūdī. The Khazar capital was later removed to the less exposed (to Arab raids) Volga delta where the city of Attil [*q.v.*] developed. The exact location of the Khazar North Caucasian cities has yet to be determined. T. Lewicki, *Ludy Daghestanu i północnego Kaukazu w oczach średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich* ("The Peoples of Daghestan and the North Caucasus in the eyes of Mediaeval Arab Writers") in *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, No. 2 (46) (1963), 93, and Z. V. Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul, repr. 1970, i, 57, place Balandjar west of the Sulak river, at the ruins of Enderē. Togan identifies Samandar with present day Kizlyar. V. F. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*,

Cambridge 1958, 106, however, believes it was located at or near Tarḳu in the North-Eastern Caucasus, not far from present-day Maḳhaç-ḳala. Like Balandjar, the name Samandar may be of ethnonymic origin.

Balandjar was first attacked in 22/642 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2667-8; ed. Cairo 1963-70, iv, 158), in the course of which the Arabs may even have penetrated into the Khazar hinterland. Minor Arab raiding continued until 32/652 when 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rabī'a al-Bāhillī, disregarding a standing caliphal order to the contrary, led a large force on Balandjar where he was defeated and killed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2889-91, ed. Cairo, iv, 304-5; for a full discussion of this and other Arabo-Khazar campaigns, see the detailed treatment in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, chs. iii-iv, and also **КАВК**).

While the Arabs were caught up with domestic affairs, the Khazars raided Caucasian Albania several times in the period ca. 661-664 and again in the 680s (as reported in the Armenian historians Daskhurants'i, Asolig and Lewond). In 681-2, the ruler of Albania, Varaz-Trdat, sent the bishop Israyēl to Varac'an, the capital of the North Caucasian "Huns", who were, at this time, ruled by "Alp' Iilit'ueh" (\* Alp Il-teber/tever), a Khazar vassal (or perhaps a representative of the royal clan; this is implied in the Turkic title *il-teber* and was a practice common in the nomadic world). The detailed description of North Caucasian "Hunnic" shamanism given in Daskhurants'i's account of Israyēl's mission is extremely valuable as it sheds some light on the religious practices that were, undoubtedly, present amongst the Khazars as well. The worship by these "Huns" of "T'angri Khan", the cult of the sacred forest, worship of fire, thunder and lightning and the funeral practices described in Daskhurants'i (tr. Dowsett, 155-6, 161) all conform in general and in many of their specific traits to the descriptions of Türk shamanism in Chinese sources and later accounts of Turkic shamanism as practised up to the present century. The Islamic geographers (cf. Ibn Rusta, 139; for a discussion of these sources, see B. N. Zakhoder, *Kaspiyskiy svod svedenii o vostochnoi evrope*, Moscow 1962, i, 146-7) note that the Khazar pagans practise a religion "similar to that of the Turks" (Gardīzī specifically states that it resembles that of the Oghuz/Ghuzz, i.e. shamanism).

During this same period, the Khazars apparently came into possession of most of the Crimea, except for Kherson which remained under a Byzantine administration. From here, they began to play an important rôle in the domestic politics of the Byzantine empire in connection with the ill-fated reign of Justinian II (685-95, 705-11).

In the opening years of the 2nd/8th century, the Arab-Khazar struggle for hegemony in the North Caucasus quickened in pace. In 95/713-4, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik retook Bāb al-Abwāb which had, apparently, changed hands several times in the preceding years, and drove deep into Khazar-North Caucasian "Hunnic" territory. Difficult but indecisive fighting continued until 112/730 when Djarrāh b. al-Hakamī, who alternated command of this important theatre of operations with Maslama when the latter's services were needed elsewhere, was defeated and killed by the Khazars under the command of "Bārdjik (so Bal'fami, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *Kitāb al-Futūh*, Ms. Topkapı, Ahmed III, 2959, ii, ff. 180a-188b, has *Bārsbik*). The relationship of Bārdjik/Bārsbik to P'arsbit' (in Lewond, *Paimut-twn*, ed. Ezeants' St. Petersburg 1887, 101) noted



as the "mother of the Qaghan", is unclear), son of the Khākān", at Ardabil. Perhaps with a view towards strengthening the resolve of the Khazars, a Byzantine-Khazar marriage alliance was arranged in which Constantine (later Constantine IV Copronymous), son of Leo the Isaurian, married Čiček, the daughter of the Qaghan, ca. 732-733. Their son, Leo IV (775-780), was known as "the Khazar".

The decisive campaign came in 119/737, when Marwān b. Muḥammad (called *Murvan Kru*, "Marwān the Deaf", in Georgian sources), through a clever ruse was able to advance deep into Khazar territory, by-pass the Khazar capital, Atfil, on the lower Volga and catching the Qaghan unawares pursue him into the land of the Finno-Ugric Burtās, a subject people of the Khazars. Here, the defeated Qaghan agreed to become a Muslim and a subject of the caliph (the campaign is described in Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī, al-Balādhuri, Balʿami and Ibn al-Aṭhīr). Al-Balādhuri, 208, reports that Marwān settled 20,000 Šakālība families from Khazar territory in Khākhīt and had Khazars transplanted to the steppe zone in the province of al-Lakz between Samūr and Shābirān. Continued Khazar submission, however, was contingent on a strong Arab presence (i.e. an army of occupation). This was an impossibility and consequently, the conversion and submission of the Khazar Qaghan was short-lived. Leo III's victory over the Arabs some three years later, at Acroinon, in addition to further weakening the Umayyads, undoubtedly enabled the Qaghan (if he had not already done so) to break free of Arab overlordship.

Thus, despite Marwān's brilliant generalship, Arab rule was not and never would be firmly established on the Volga or even in the somewhat more accessible Dāghistān where, in the 4th/10th century, Khazar rule reached almost up to the wall of Derbend [see DĀGHISTĀN]. In effect, the Khazars and Arabs had fought each other to a standstill in the Caucasus. Although the campaign of 119/737, unlike the Arab advance defeated by Charles Martel at Tours several years earlier, was successful, the results were similar. The Caucasus and the Pyrenees became the border zone between the Arab world and Europe.

The Khazars, whose raiding was resumed by the second half of the century and was combined with the frequent revolts of the Christian peoples of Transcaucasia, gave little peace to the Arabs in that region; never again, however, did they constitute a serious threat to the Arab possession of Transcaucasia.

The caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75), undoubtedly in an attempt to better relations with the Khazars, ca. 760 ordered Yazid b. Usayd al-Sulami, the governor of Armenia, to marry a daughter of the Khazar Qaghan (her name is given only as Khātūn, a title; the name of the Qaghan appears to have been \*Baghātur, cf. Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī, ii, f. 241b). The marriage was arranged (the bride bringing a dowry of 10,000 dirhams) but her death in childbirth and that of her child shortly after (Balādhuri, 210) perhaps served as the cause for two large-scale Khazar raids into Transcaucasia in 145/762-3 and 147/764-5. The name of the commander of the Khazar forces is given in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 328, Cairo ed., viii, 7, as "As Tarkhān al-Khʿarazmī" and in al-Yaʿqūbī as "Ras" (*Historiae*, ii, 446; John Rylands, Arabic Ms. 231 (801), f. 152a) or "Rāsh" (Cambridge QO10, f. 192a) Tarkhān. Lewond (*Patmuʿiuan*, ed. Ezeantsʿ, 132) has "Raž Tʿarkhan". These names and the *nisba* "al-Khʿarazmī" point to an Iranian origin. Following Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, 147, we may conclude that

this commander was drawn from the As/Aorsi (cf. "al-Arsiyya", the Muslim bodyguards of the Khazar Qaghans "from the region of Khʿarazm" who were long-time residents of Khazaria, having settled there not long after the rise of Islam, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 10, ed. Pellat, i, 213) who were part of the mass of Iranian (Alan-As-Aorsi) nomads living east of the Caspian sea in territories subject to the Khazars. The "Arsiyya", as Muslims, were granted the right to remain neutral whenever the Khazars were engaged in warfare with Islamic peoples.

In 780 A.D., the Georgian prince, Nerse, attempted to enlist the aid of the Khazars in his continued struggle with the Arabs. He was, on this occasion, politely refused. This refusal probably stemmed from a brief anti-Byzantine shift in Khazar policy. This is clearly evident in 786 when the Khazars aided Leon II, the ruler of Abkhazia (Apʿkhazetʿi), and a grandson of the Khazar Qaghan, to secure the independence of Apʿkhazetʿi and Egrisi (= mediaeval Western Georgia) from Byzantine suzerainty (*Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba*, i, 251). This re-orientation may have been the product of Khazar-Byzantine disputes in the Crimea (perhaps associated with the anti-Khazar revolt of John of Gothia, see Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 252-5). The last major Khazar incursion into Arab holdings in Transcaucasia occurred in 183/799 (detailed discussion in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 183 ff.) Georgia proper (*Kʿartʿli*) being the principal victim. This invasion, according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 647 ff., was brought about by the failure of a proposed matrimonial alliance between the daughter of the Khazar king and the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (cf. above i, 1034 and ii, 732). It may also have been a diversionary tactic to relieve the Byzantines (presuming that Khazar-Byzantine relations had returned to their normal state of co-operation in the face of a common foe), who were then able to induce the caliphate to make peace.

The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism has been the subject of a sizable literature, often of a conjectural or polemical nature. The date of the conversion—if, indeed, there is one specific date that marked the acceptance of Judaism by large numbers of Khazars—has not yet been firmly established (cf. the exhaustive discussion of this question and a critical evaluation of the Islamic and Hebrew sources, including the much debated "Letter of King Joseph" and the Cambridge Document, in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, chs. v-vi). It is most probable, that, following al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 8; ed. Pellat, i, 212), the Khazar king, "his entourage and the Khazars of his tribe" (i.e. the ruling clan or tribe or the ethnic Khazars, if such indeed existed, as opposed to the non-Khazar tribes who were under Khazar overlordship), had become Jews during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809). The comments of Ibn al-Fakīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 298, writing ca. 290/903, that "all of the Khazars are Jews, for they have recently converted" is undoubtedly based on earlier tradition (Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 109; T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*, Wrocław 1969, ii/1, 121). Al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. de Goeje, 220, 224, notes that the Khazars are Muslims, Christians and Jews, the latter forming the smallest group but including the king and his court, i.e. the royal clan. He also reports that the Qaghanate resided in a certain family (this is in keeping with Türk tradition) and could be passed on only to Judaized members of this family. This latter claim and his story of the young Muslim Khazar barred from the throne because of his religion is not typical of the religious

indifference usually manifested by the Altaic, nomadic peoples of this time, and may well be a pious fabrication.

The extent of Khazar Judaism and the degree to which it may have influenced the subject peoples and neighbours of the Kaghānate (cf. the rather Judaic names of the sons of Seldjuk) is the subject of some speculation. The view, originating with Firkovič and advanced in one modified form or another by L. Rásonyi, *Tarihte türkükük*, Ankara 1971, 115-6, and A. Zajaczkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarским* ("Studies on the Khazar Problem"), Cracow 1947, 61-6; idem, *Karaims in Poland*, Warsaw-The Hague-Paris 1961, 16 ff., amongst others, that the Khazars adopted Karaites rather than Rabbinic Judaism has been forcefully countered by Z. Ankori, *The Karaites in Byzantium*, New York-Jerusalem 1959, 64-79.

At some time in 861, Constantine (later St. Cyril, the "Apostle to the Slavs") led a Byzantine mission to Khazaria, the ostensible purpose of which was to participate in a religious debate at the court of the Kaghān. The real motivation behind the embassy undoubtedly had to do with the 860-1 Rus' raid on Constantinople and questions of joint Khazar-Byzantine cooperation against this new foe. According to the *Life of Constantine* (*Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses*, *Fontes*, ed. F. Grivec, F. Tomšić, Zagreb 1960), some Khazars asked to convert to Christianity and were allowed to do so.

The later reports of the conversion of the Khazar Kaghān to Islam after the collapse of the Khazar state in 354/965 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 418; Ibn Miskawayh, ed. and tr. Amedroz-Margoliouth, text, ii, 203, v, 223, and al-Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, 361). In the latter the adoption of Islam as the result of the campaigns of al-Ma'mūn (Abu 'l-Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḳammad) ruler of Gurgāndī and later (after 995) of all Khwārazm [see Khwārazm-shāhs] may well be historical. Prior to 354/965, Islam had adherents not only amongst subject peoples (cf. in particular the Volga Bulgars) but amongst the Khazars as well. Atīl, according to al-Iṣṭakhri, 220, had 10,000 Muslim inhabitants. Al-Balādhuri, 203, tells of the Khazars who were settled by Bugha the Türk in 240/854-5 in Shāmkūr (Shānk'or) because of their interest in Islam and security. Confirmation of Bugha's activities in this area (warfare against the Khazars and Alans) is found in Münedidjīm bāshī (Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, Arabic text, 3, tr. 25) and in the K'arī'is *Ts'khovreba* (i, 256-7) which further notes that he settled 300 Khazar families in "Shānk'or" (no mention is made of their Islamic affiliations), but then came under the suspicion of the caliph who feared he "was taking council with the Khazars, his tribesmen" (*tom'a mist'a*, which can also be translated as "his kinsmen") and relieved him of his post. Bugha's campaign about this time, against the Georgian mountaineers, the Şanariyya (in Georgian *Tsanar*) which led to an unsuccessful attempt on their part to enlist the aid of the Byzantines, Khazars and Şakāliba, should be viewed in light of the above.

The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism was no obstacle to continuing Khazar-Byzantine cooperation, especially in view of the unstable situation that was developing in the steppes. In 838 (for the dating, see I. Sorlin, *Le problème des Khazares et les historiens soviétiques dans les vingt dernières années*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, iii (1968), 436 n. 51), the Byzantines assisted in the construction of the fortress Sarkel/Şarkil on the Don which was built as a defence

(probably for Byzantine Crimea) against the Hungarian tribal union, or elements of it, and the Pečenegs who were beginning to cause problems for the Khazars and ultimately the Byzantines (Ibn Rusta, 143; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperii*, ed. and tr. Gy. Moravcsik - R. Jenkins, Washington 1967, ch. 42; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, 122 ff.; Scylitzes, ed. Bonn ii, 129-30; for a full discussion of this question see P. B. Golden, *The migrations of the Oğuz*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, iv, 1972).

During the caliphate of al-Wāthīq (227-32/842-7), two Arab embassies were sent to Khazaria, one led by Muḳammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī and the other that of Sallām the Interpreter (al-Muḳaddasī, 362; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 162 ff.; Ibn Rusta, 149).

Khazar-Arab hostilities in the North Caucasus continued during the course of the 3rd/9th century on a reduced scale. Münedidjīm bāshī (in Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, text, 4, 17, tr. 26, 46) speaks of warfare that, apparently, persisted from Rādjāb 288/August 901 to ca. 300/912. The name of the Khazar ruler who figured in these campaigns is given as K-sā (or T-nīz K-sā) b. B-ljān (cf. *Bluč'an*, the name of a Khazar commander mentioned in the K'arī'is *Ts'khovreba*, i, 249-50).

Khazar power was now on the decline. As with all nomadic tribal unions, there were continual centrifugal tendencies on the part of individual clans or tribes to break away from the power of the Kaghān. The first signs of serious internal difficulties of this nature may be seen in the revolt of the Kabars (whose name may be etymologised in Turkic as "rebel", see Németh, *op. cit.*, 236-7) some time in the second half of the 9th century (Const. Porphyrogenitus, *op. cit.*, 174). The Hungarian tribal union (to which the Kabars attached themselves), which had, in the early 9th century, been hostile and had later become an ally (the Árpád dynasty came to power under Khazar auspices, Const. Porph., 172) had now been replaced in the Pontic steppes by the Pečenegs. Moreover, elements of the turbulent Oghuz tribal union which had been allies of the Khazars against the Pečenegs were now under pressure from tribes to their east. They began to push towards the Volga, occasionally crossing it in search of winter pasturage (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 19; ed. Pellat i, 218) and skirmishing with Khazar patrols. Another new factor was the unification, ca. 885, of the Eastern Slavic tribes, some of whom had been tributaries of the Khazars, under the Rus' who were drawn to the Volga because of the lucrative trade that passed through Atīl. A series of daring Rus' raids into the Caspian lands of Islam began in the last quarter of the 9th century. Two large-scale raids took place in 298/910 and 299/911-2 (on the dating, see S. Aliev, *O datirovke nabega rusov, upomyanulikh ibn Isfandi'yarom i Amoli, in Vostochnie Istochniki po istorii narodov iugo-vostochnoi i tsentral'noi evropy* ("Eastern Sources on the History of the Peoples of South-Eastern and Central Europe"), ed. S. Tveritinova, Moscow 1967, ii, 316-21). Al-Mas'ūdī reports another raid after the year 300/912-3 (Aliev, *op. cit.*, places this raid after 310/922).

Khazar willingness to allow the Rus' access to the Volga route in order to carry out these raids may perhaps be related to the hostilities between the Arabs and the Khazars in the Caucasus recorded in Münedidjīm bāshī (see above). In the raid reported by al-Mas'ūdī, the Kaghān is said to have given his assent on the condition that the Rus' give him half of the booty. The Kaghān was unable, however, to prevent the slaughter of the returning Rus' by

Khazar Muslims who were enraged at the activities of the former against their co-religionists (*Murūdi*, ii, 10, 18-23; ed. Pellat i, 213, 218-21). The devastating Rus' raid on Bardha'a/Partav (see BARDHA'A), in *Ādharbāyḍjān* in 332/943-4 (*Daskhurants'i*, tr. Dowsett, 224; Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz-Margoliouth, ii, 62-7; al-Maḳḳisī, *K. al-Bad' wa-ta'rikh*, ed. Huart, iv, 66-7; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 134-5) undoubtedly played a rôle in the ensuing reorientation of Khazar policy with regard to the Rus'. In his letter (written probably in the 960s) to Hasday b. Shaprūt, the Khazar ruler Joseph remarks that he is no longer willing to give the Rus' passage down to the Volga, adding "I war with them. If I left them (in peace) for one hour, they would destroy the entire land of the Ishmaelites up to Baghdād" (P. K. Kokovtsov, *Evreysko-Khazarskaya perepiska v X veke* ("The Jewish-Khazar Correspondence in the 10th Century")) Leningrad 1932, 102).

Khazar exclusion of the Rus' from the Volga route was probably one of the causes of the war of 354/965 recorded in the Rus' chronicles (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, i, 65, ix, 31). According to this very laconic account, the Rus' ruler, Svyatoslav, "overcame the Khazars and took their city and Bēla Veža" (= Sarkel). Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 392-3, who heard of this several years after the event and places it in 358/967, states that the Rus' sacked Bulghar and Khazarān (a section of Aṭl). Both of these accounts ignore the role of the Oghuz (*Ghuzz*). Ibn Miskawayh, text, ii, 209, tr. v, 223, and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 418, report that in 354/965, the "Turks" attacked Khazaria. These "Turks" could only have been the Oghuz (the *Torki* of the Rus' chronicles and *Turk* of the Anonymous Hebrew Khazar Cambridge Document) who undoubtedly entered into an alliance with Svyatoslav, just as they would later do with his son and successor, Vladimir I, in 985 against Volga Bulgharia. According to Islamic sources, the Kaḡhan appealed to the Khārazmians for aid and the latter drove off the "Turks" Khārazmian-Oghuz hostility at this time is reported in al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āṭhār al-bāḳiyya*, ed. Sachau, 236, and confirmed by archaeological evidence, cf. S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii* ("On the Tracks of Ancient Khārazmian Civilization"), Moscow-Leningrad 1948, 249), in return for which they demanded the conversion of the Kaḡhan to Islam (see above). Although the destruction, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, was considerable, it is not clear just what the Rus' gained. Sarkel probably came into their possession, but Aṭl, and hence control over the Volga, probably remained in the hands of the Khazars who had now become a Khārazmian protectorate (this might explain why Svyatoslav, apparently blocked here, was willing, in 968, to embark on a campaign in the Balkans to gain possession of Bulgaria and the Danubian trade routes). Ultimately, it did become an Oghuz holding (they appear to be there in strength in the 12th century, cf. the "40 tribes of the Ghuzz" mentioned there by Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (*Abū Ḥāmid al-Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, ed. and tr. C. E. Dubler, Madrid 1953, 5).

Khazar Jews are mentioned as coming to the court of Vladimir I in 986 in connection with the religious debates that are alleged to have preceded his conversion to Christianity. The account, however, rather suspiciously parallels the story of a religious debate which preceded the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 7 ff. Indeed, it may have been inserted in the Rus' chronicle to support Rus' claims to succession to the Kaḡhanate.

The tradition of a Rus' Kaḡhan is already known in the 9th century (cf. the "Chacanus Rus" of the *Annales Bertiniani* and the "Rūs Khākān" of Ibn Rosta), and repeated in the 11th century *Slovo o zakonē i blagodati* of Ilarion who pointedly refers to Vladimir I and the then reigning Yaroslav (d. 1054) as "kagans".

In January, 1016, a territory called "Khazaria" in Scylitzes (ed. Bonn, ii, 464) which was ruled by a certain Georgius (presumably a Christianised Khazar) "the Tzoulé" (this form Τζουλέ, found in the 12th century Vienna Ms., Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hist. Gr. 35, f. 132a and in the 13th century Vatican ms. 977, f. 287a, is to be preferred to the "Tzoulus" of the Bonn ed.) was attacked and conquered by a joint Rus'-Byzantine force in which "Sphengus, the brother of Vladimir, who was the brother-in-law of the Emperor" (Basil II, cf. γαμβροῦ τοῦ βασιλέως of the mss. cited above and not "brother" as in the Bonn ed.) led the Rus' forces. The identity of "Sphengus" and the location of "Khazaria" have not been convincingly demonstrated thus far (it has variously been suggested that Sphengus is Mstislav, a son of Vladimir I, see G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, New Haven 1948, 75 and that "Khazaria" is to be found in the Crimean peninsula, Tmutorokan' or in the North Caucasus. Mstislav was, indeed, in the Tmutorokan' region ca. 1022 and, according to the Rus' chronicle, he led a force of Khazars and Kasogians in 1023 against his brother Yaroslav).

Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix, 279, notes that the Kurd Faḳlūn, ruler of Gandja, attacked the "Khazars" in 421/1030 but was defeated and slain by them. This was Faḳl b. Muḥammad of the Shaddādid dynasty, cf. above i, 660 and ii, 975 and V. F. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, 40 ff. The "Khazars" mentioned here are probably a misprint for either the Abkhaz or Djurz (Georgians), both of whom had hostile relations with the Amirs of Gandja. Münedjījim bāshī, in Minorsky, *Studies*, text, 11, tr. 17, states that the Abkhaz attacked Arrān and were beaten off by Faḳl of Gandja in 417/1026. The *K'art'lis Ts'khovreba*, i, 296, tells of Georgian warfare with the rulers of Gandja in the early 1030s. Finally, a raid from Gandja against the Khazars is very improbable on geographical grounds.

Münedjījim bāshī, in Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, text, 24, tr. 51, reports that in 456/1064 "the remnants of the Khazars, consisting of three thousand households, arrived in Kaḡtan (which Minorsky, *Hist.* 107, identifies with Khayḍaq, lands now occupied by the Turkic Kumuks in Dāghistān) from the Khazar territory. They rebuilt it and settled in it".

In 1079 and 1083 A.D., the Khazars are again mentioned in the Rus' chronicles in connection with events in the principality of Tmutorokan' where they appear to have wielded some power (*PRSL* i, 204-5). Individual Khazars took service with the various Rus' princes. Thus, s.a. 1106 A.D. we read of an Ivan Kozarin ("the Khazar"), the *voevoda* of Kiev who drove off a Polovtsian (Coman) attack (*PRSL*, ix, 140). A Hungaro-Latin source (Thuroczī, cap. 500) mentions a "princeps Bissenorum (= Hung. *Besenyö* "Pečeneg") nomine Kazar", which would indicate that Khazar elements had joined the Pečeneg union. Documents from the Cairo Geniza purport to tell of messianic movements in "Khazaria" in the 11th and 12th centuries. The reference, here, however, was probably to events in the Jewish communities in the Crimea which was regularly called "Khazaria" or "Gazaria" in later Greek and Latin

sources (see Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 254-6, and Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 444).

As with many steppe empires, Khazaria did not suddenly vanish, although it appeared to, but rather it gradually melted back into the steppe. The nomadic elements were undoubtedly incorporated into the Pečeneg, Oghuz and ultimately Coman-Kıpçak tribal confederations (this would probably explain the presence of the Hebrew loanword *Shabbat* in Coman-Kıpçak: *Shabat kün*, Karaçay-Balkar: *Shabat K'un*, cf. also Cuvash: *Shâmat*). The collapse of Khazar power after 345/965 had severe consequences for Byzantium which—as the orientation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Adm. Imp.* would indicate—was already seeking to establish a new balance of power in the steppe zone in the 940s-950s. With Khazaria now unable to blunt the thrusts of on-coming nomadic invaders, Byzantium's Balkan borders and, even more crucial, the Crimea, Constantinople's eye into the steppe, were extremely vulnerable. The volatile Oghuz tribal union in the steppes to the east of Khazaria which had hitherto been held in check by the Khazars (cf. the Oghuz prisoners held by the Khazars as reported in Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Togan, text 16, tr. 31) or allied with them (in joint operations against the Pečenegs, cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Adm. Imp.*, 166), now began to break up. Some elements entered the Pontic steppe and ultimately caused disturbances in the Balkans. Another faction, led by Seldjuk set off, in the decades following 354/965, that chain of events that led to the Turkish conquest of Anatolia.

The Khazar Qaghanate at its zenith was a vast, multi-religious, multi-national state (Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Kovalevskiy, 313, ed. Togan, 44, reports that there were 25 subject peoples who sent hostages to the Qaghan's court) which, in addition to the tribes that formed the Khazar union, included the Volga and Pontic Bulgars, the Burtās and other Finno-Ugrians (including at one time the Hungarians), the "Huns" of the North Caucasus as well as the aboriginals of that region, the Iranian Alan/As of the Caspian steppes and North Caucasus and various Eastern Slavic tribes. Its borders extended to Kiev in the west, the Volga Bulghar realm in the north (near present-day Kazan'), the steppes of Kh'ārazm in the east and the Crimea and the northern Caucasus in the south. The Qaghanate, in its political and economic organisation, evidences all of the characteristics of other, Altaic, nomadic tribal empires of the period. It was presided over by a ceremonial Qaghan (probably of Türk-Ashina origin, descent from the Türk royal clan being one of the main criteria for the assumption of the Qaghanal title), while the actual governance of affairs was in the hands of the *shād* (the *ishā/ishād* of the Ibn Rusta-Gardīzī tradition) or the *Beg* (cf. the *πέγ* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Adm. Imp.*, 182, the *Bek-Yilik* of the al-Iṣṭakhri, - Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, ii, 390, tradition). Ibn Faḍlān (ed. Togan, text. 43-4) calls him the "Khākān B-h" who he notes, was assisted by the "K-nd-r Khākān" and *Djāwshigh-r*". This system is a variant of the well-known Turkic dual kingship. The ceremonial Qaghanate, described by the Islamic geographers (who regularly distinguish between the Khākān and the "king"), has parallels in the Turkic world. The earliest precedent for this particular evolution of the Qaghanate may be seen in the institution of the *I K'e-han* (\**eb* Qaghan "House Qaghan" of the Türks themselves) noted in Chinese sources. Seen in this light, Artamonov's speculations (*op. cit.*, 275 ff.)

associating this institution with the judaicisation of Khazaria and the alleged *coup d'état* of Obadiah in the early 9th century, are to be dismissed. Many of the ancient Türk traditions which underscored the shamanic aspects of the Qaghanal office, were preserved by the Khazars. Thus, the ritual of the ceremonial strangling of the Qaghan at his investiture (al-Iṣṭakhri, 224), during which the new Qaghan on the verge of losing consciousness is asked to state the length of his rule (should he exceed it, he is killed; Ibn Faḍlān notes that the Khākān may rule no more than forty years) is identical to the ritual practised by the Türks as described in Chinese sources (Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*, Wiesbaden 1958, i, 8).

The Khazars, or at least the "royal" or core tribes, continued to practice a modified form of nomadism, wintering in their cities (which were large conglomerations of nomadic yurts, hence little archaeological evidence has survived) and passing the summer in the steppes (al-Makdisi, iv, 66). Agriculture and fishing were also practised. (On the nomadism of Western Eurasia, see Gy. Györffy, *A honfoglaló magyarok települési rendjéről* ("On the Settlement Pattern of the Conquest Period Hungarians"), in *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, xcvi (1970), for a description of this system as practised by the Árpád Hungarian. On the material culture of the Western Eurasian nomads, see S. A. Pletneva, *Ot kočeviy k gorodam* ("From nomadic encampments to cities"), Moscow 1967). The importance of fishing in Khazaria is confirmed by al-Iṣṭakhri who notes that isinglass was the only product made by the Khazars themselves. Khazaria exported to Byzantium and the lands of Islam large quantities of furs, obtained as tribute from subject peoples, but imported the material for clothing from Gurgān, Tabaristān, Ādharbāyḍjān and Rūm. The *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 161, indicates that livestock breeding, as might be expected, was practised and was one of the numerous exports of Khazaria. But, unanimously with our other sources, the *Hudūd*, 162, notes that "the well-being and wealth of the King of the Khazars are mostly from the maritime customs". Khazaria took ample advantage of its favourable geographical position lying astride the great commercial arteries between east and west, north and south. The Qaghans of Atll, like the Volga Bulghar ruler, took a tithe on all trade passing through their territory. Nomadic empires (cf. the Türks and their relationship with the Soghdians) regularly encouraged trade because of this lucrative source of revenue. According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 22, ed. Pellat, i, 220, the Khazars had no sea-going vessels; yet according to Hilāl al-Šābī (ed. Amedroz, 217, below), the dams built at Derbend were intended as a defence against the ships (*marākib*) of the Khazars. There is some evidence to indicate that the Khazars minted their own coins. These were imitations of contemporary Arabic coins with many mistakes. Some, apparently, bore Turkic runic inscriptions; see A. A. Blkov, *O Khazarstvom tekane VIII-IXvv.* ("On Khazar Minting"), in *Trudi gosudarstvennogo ermitaža*, xii (1971).

With regard to Khazar urban sites, our sources present a number of Khazar toponyms, few of which can be located or given etymologies with absolute certainty. In addition to Balandjar and Samandar (see above), we may note Atll, the name of the Volga and the Khazar capital located in its delta. L. N. Gumilyov, *Otkritie Khazarii*, Moscow 1966, has recently advanced the thesis that the Khazar capital

was submerged by a rise in the level of the Caspian and consequently hopes of finding this largely "tent" city are slim. The al-Iṣṭakhri - Ibn Hawḳal tradition reports that it was divided into two parts (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūḏi*, ii, 7, ed. Pellat, i, 212, and the Letter of Joseph, Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, 74-5, 102, say it was divided into three parts), a western (called "Khazarān" in Ibn Hawḳal and in Ibn Rusta, 165, who elsewhere, see below, reports a different tradition) in which the king lived (al-Iṣṭakhri, 220, Ibn Hawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 389) and an eastern part. Another tradition, that of Ibn Rusta - Gardīzi - al-Bakrī and al-Marwāzi, going back to al-Djarmī via al-Djayhanī, calls the Khazar capital \**Sarighshin* (*Sarigh* = common Turk. "yellow") whose relationship to "al-Bayḏā" ("the White City"; *Sharigh* in some Bulgharo-Oghuric dialects denotes "white") is unclear. It should be borne in mind that "white" cities and fortresses in this region are not toponymical rarities and may have taken their name from the coloration of the bricks used in their construction. The later *Sakstin* may be a garbling of this name. Within *Sarighshin* is another city: *H-bn-l-c* or *Khamlikh* (Ibn Rusta, 139; al-Muḳaddasi, 51, 355; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, i, 730, 793, ii, 471; *Hudūd*, Tumanskiy ms. f. 38b (*H-m-dī*), Ibn Khurdādhbih, 124, 154-5), all of which may be corruptions of \**Khan Balik* "The Khan's City" (cf. "Cambaluc" of Marco Polo for Peking). The relationship of this form to the city \**Kullugh*, Turk. "blessed, fortunate" (Gardīzi, Oxford, Bodl. Ouseley 240, p. 474; *Hudūd*, Tumanskiy ms. f. 38b; cf. also the *H-ihl-gh*, *H---l-gh* of al-Bakrī and al-Marwāzi), which may be either a separate and distinct city or the same city repeated in the not-always-critical compilations that form the bulk of our sources for the Khazars, is not clear. Marquart (*Streifzüge*, 18), Lewicki (*Żródła arabskie*, i, 29, 115) Zajāczkowski (*Ze studiów*, 50) and Minorsky (*Hudūd*, 454) have suggested that *Khamlikh* was the eastern part of Attil. The anonymous *Risāla fi 'l-Aḳālim* (Köprülü Ms. 1623, f. 209b) notes that *Sarighshin* was located "in the plain". The Khazar fortress Sarkel/Sharkil which appears only in Byzantine and Hebrew sources and is curiously absent in the Arabo-Persian accounts, has occasioned a considerable literature. The *kel/kil* of Sarkel is probably from Iranian *gil* ("house, dwelling", see J. Harmatta and K. Czeglédy in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953), 178-83, 177 respectively). *Sar* may be viewed as either common Turkic *Sarigh/Sari* ("yellow") or Bulgharo-Oghuric *Sharigh/Shari* ("white" in some dialects). Byzantine sources (Theophanes Continuatus and Constantine Porphyrogenitus) translate it as "White Dwelling". It may well have been the Rus' "Bēla Veža" ("White Fort") and perhaps the Arabic al-Bayḏā', but there are numerous problems associated with this (see above). It was located on the Don river, near the *Tsimlyanskaya* stanitsa (and is now submerged); since this lay in Pontic Bulghar lands it may well have borne a Bulgharic name. This does not imply, as some have claimed, that the Khazars necessarily spoke Bulgharic. Other toponyms associated with Khazaria (although not necessarily having a Khazar population) are *Varač'an* in the lands of the north Caucasian "Huns" (it is, perhaps, to be connected with the *Warthān* of al-Ya'qūbi, *Historiae*, ii, 381. The mss. Cambridge, QQro, f. 175b and John Rylands, Arabic 231 (801), f. 139b, have *W-r-ān*; the Letter of Joseph, Oxford, Christ Church 193, f. 18a has *V-rsān/V-rshān*. Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, 93-4, emends al-Ya'qūbi's form to \**Warshān*

and connects this with *Varač'an*), *Suwār* (in the north Caucasus and Volga Bulghar lands, undoubtedly from the ethnonym *Sabir*), *Ḳishūi* (?) and *B-gh-nd*.

The religious situation in Khazaria was quite complex. In addition to Jews (whose numbers grew due to the migration of their co-religionists from Byzantium as the result of the persecutions of Romanus Lecapenus (919-44) reported in al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūḏi*, ii, 8, ed. Pellat, i, 212, and the Khazar Cambridge Document, Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, 35, as well as from the Islamic lands) and Khazar converts, there were large numbers of Muslims and Christians as well as pagans of various types (Turkic, Slavic and Finno-Ugric). In Attil there was a principal mosque with a lofty minaret and 30 mosques. In the year 310/922-3, the Khazar ruler received a report that in a Muslim country a synagogue had been destroyed (the name given in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii, 440 is not clear; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 4, 477 ff.). He therefore had the minaret destroyed and the *mu'adhḥin* killed. He left the mosque unharmed for fear that all the synagogues in Muslim lands would be destroyed.

The question of Khazar ethnic affiliations remains one of the most difficult aspects of Khazar studies. Given the context in which the Khazar state came into being, we may properly look to the Altaic, or more specifically, perhaps, to the Turkic world for an answer (al-Mas'ūdi's comment, *Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, 83, that the name *Khazar* is Iranian and in Turkic is *Sabir* is undoubtedly a garbling of the fact that elements of the Sabirs formed one of the constituent tribes of the Khazar confederation. Both names may be explained in Turkic with the meaning "nomad", "wanderer", see Németh, *A honfoglaló...*, 37. This might also account for al-Mas'ūdi's confusion). Unfortunately, we do not, as yet, possess any texts in the Khazar language (a recently discussed Hebrew document from the Cairo Geniza, see Cambridge, ms. T-S 12.122, which may have been written by Khazar Jews in Kiev, has an inscription in a variant of the Türk runic script which was used by many of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia and Eurasia. It has yet to be satisfactorily deciphered. Moreover, it consists of one word and hence can hardly be considered decisive). It is generally accepted that Khazar must have been, broadly speaking, Altaic; whether this was common Turkic or a form of Bulgharo-Oghuric is still the subject of polemics. Our sources provide little guidance here. Thus, al-Iṣṭakhri, ed. de Goeje, 222, in one passage, remarks that Khazar does not resemble Turkic, Persian or any other language. Elsewhere (p. 225), he states that it is similar to Bulgharic. Al-Birūni (*al-Āthār al-bākiya*, ed. Sachau, 42) remarks that the Bulghar and Suwār speak a language which is a mixture of Turkic and Khazar. This would seem to contrast Turkic and Khazar and perhaps place Khazar in the Bulgharo-Oghuric grouping. But one must bear in mind the compulsory nature of our sources, which undoubtedly compounded the complexities of the linguistic situation in Khazaria where common Turkic, Bulgharo-Oghuric, Finno-Ugric, Iranian and Slavic were spoken. Individual Khazar words, names, titles, hydronyms and toponyms scattered in Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Byzantine, Rus', Armenian and Georgian sources cannot fully answer this question because of the obvious difficulties of interpretation and the paucity of their number (depending on what one is willing to consider Khazar, there are, roughly, some fifty known Khazar words). Khazar titles are invariably Turkic or an-

cient Inner Asian loanwords long associated with Turkic: *Kaghan*, *Khatun*, *Alp* (both a name and title, as is true of many names in Turkic), *Baghatur*, *Beg*, *Tegin* (*Ir-tigin*), *Djabghu*, *Il-teber*, *Shad*, *Tarkhan*, *Tarmač* (*Tolmač*), *Tudun* and *Yilik* (*Ilık*). Other titles (or perhaps names) are problematic, cf.: *Balgızes* (*Belgiči?* *Balkıč*), *B-l-šhtst* (*Bolushči?*), *Tsoulé* (*Cult?*), *Djāwshigh-r*, *K-ná-r*, *Salifān*. Similarly, some *Khazar* personal names are clearly Turkic, cf.: *Avči* (*Awč'i*), *Bulan*, *Čitek*, *Čorpan*, *Kadhır* (*Khat'ir*), *Barsbek/P'arsbit'*, while others pose numerous difficulties of interpretation: *Bārdjik* (if it is not a corruption of *Barsbek*, see above), *Bāshwā*, *Blu'ān/Buldjān*, *Č'at' Kasar*, *Č'at'n*, *Ibuz(s)er Ghaban(r)*, (*T-n*)*K-sā*, *Papatzyz*, *\*Yazır Bulāsh*, *Ziebel*. A few names show Iranian influence (cf. *Hazār Tarkhan* and perhaps *Kundādjik*, with the Turkic diminutive suffix *-djik*). Of the tribal names, we know only *Khazar* (*K'azar*), *Kara Khazar* and *Kabar/Kavar*. The clan name *Ansā* (*Hudūd*, ms. Tumanskiy, f. 38b), if it is not a corruption of *Ishā/Ishād*, may well be a garbling of the Türk *Ashina*. Of the nomina, we know only the obviously Arabised *al-djadā* (Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, Topkapı, Ahmed III 2956/ii, f. 192b), a kind of tent-cart. With the possible exception of *Sarkel* (if it is to be read as *Sharkil*), none of these forms shows specific Bulgharo-Oghuric characteristics (i.e. *Turun* for *Tudun*).

Another major question of *Khazar* studies, for which there is as yet no ready answer, is the relationship of the *Khazars* to the origins of Eastern European Jewry.

*Bibliography*: Partial bibliographies of the *Khazar* question are found in: A. Yarmolinsky, *The Khazars; A Bibliography*, in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, xlii (1939); and his later *The Khazars: (an annotated) Bibliography*, in *ibid.*, lxiii (1959); B. D. Weinryb, *The Khazars, an annotated Bibliography*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore, Library of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion*, vi (1963); Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, Berlin 1958, i, 83 ff.

The major works on the *Khazars* are M. I. Artamonov, *Očerki drevneyshoy istorii* ("Outline of the Most Ancient History of the *Khazars*"), Leningrad 1936 and his later *Istoriya Khazar*, Leningrad 1962 which is useful from the archaeological standpoint. A. Zajáczkowski, *Ze Studiów nad zagadnieniem chazar skim* ("Studies on the *Khazar* Question"), Cracow 1947, is important from the Turcological viewpoint, but rather weighted in favour of *Khazar-Karaim* ties. D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, an excellent outline of *Khazar* history with detailed treatment of Arabic, Hebrew and Byzantine sources. P. B. Golden, *Q'azar Studies, An historical-philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Q'azars*, in *Monographs on Medieval Eurasia*, i, Lisse-Budapest, forthcoming, is a detailed treatment of the *Khazar* "Sprachreste" with emphasis on the Turcological aspects of the *Khazar* question. Z. V. Togan's "Hazarlar" in *IA* is fanciful and at times uncritical.

The major Arabic sources for the *Khazars* are, in addition to the geographers of the *BGA* series; al-Balādhuri, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*; al-Dimashqi, *Cosmographie*, ed. F. Mehrens, St. Pb. 1866, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *Kitāb al-Futūh*, Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmed III 2956 (extracts can be found in Togan, *Ibn Faqlān's Reisebericht* and A. N. Kurat,

*Muhammad bin A'sam al-Kūfi'nin Kitāb al-Futūh'u*, in *Ank. Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, vii (1949); Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, 1851-76; Ibn Faqlān (see the Kovalevskiy and Togan editions cited in the text); al-Idrisi, *Géographie d'Édrisi*, tr. A. Jaubert, Paris 1836-40; al-Makdisi, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rikh*, ed. C. Huart, Paris 1899-1919; al-Kazwini, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848; *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1942; Münedjdim bāshī (excerpts in Minorsky, *Studies*, and *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband* cited in text; mss. are Istanbul, Nūr-i 'Oḡmāniyya 3171-2, Topkapı, Ahmed III 1954, i-ii, Bāyazīd 'Umūmī Küttüphanesi, Veliyüddin 5019-20, Süleymāniyye, Es'ad Efendi 2101-2103; al-Ṭabari, *Kitāb Akhbār al-Rasūl wa'l-Mulūk*; al-Ya'kūbi, *Historiae*; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, and the Judaeo-Arabic work of Yehuda ha-Levi, *Book of Kuzari (Kitāb al-Khazar)*, tr. H. Hirschfeld, New York 1946. The Armenian sources are extremely important: Lewond, *Patmut'iwon*, ed. I. Ezeants', St. Petersburg 1887, tr. as Grémond, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*, by V. Chahnazarian, Paris 1856; Movsēs Daskhurants'i (Kaṭankatuats'i), *Patmut'iwon Awanits'*, ed. M. Emin, Moscow 1860, now available in the excellent translation of C. Dowsett (see text above). Movsēs Khorenats'i, *Histoire d'Arménie*, ed. and tr. P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival, Venice 1841 and the *Geography* ascribed to him, *Géographie de Moïse de Corène*, ed. and tr. A. Soukry, Venice 1881. The most important Byzantine sources for the *Khazars* are Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* (see text above), which gives a detailed analysis of the situation in the steppes in the mid-10th century; Nicephorus Patriarchus, *Breviarium*, ed. J. Bekker, Bonn 1837; Georgius Cedrenus, *Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, ed. J. Bekker, Bonn 1839; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883; Theophaus Continuatus, *Historiae*, ed. J. Bekker, Bonn 1838. The Georgian compilation, the *K'art'lis Ts'khovreba* (see text above), contains valuable supplementary material on *Khazar* activities in the Caucasus, but is generally unconcerned with events outside of Georgia proper. P. K. Kokovtsov's *Evreysko-Khazarshkaya Perepiska* (see text above) contains critical editions of the *Khazar* Hebrew Correspondence and the Cambridge Document with an exhaustive commentary. Of Persian works, Bal'ami's translation and re-working of al-Ṭabari is extremely useful as he adds many details missing in the Arabic original. The work is available (in full) only in H. Zotenberg's translation, Paris 1867-74. The ms. of M. Minovi's facsimile edition, Āstān-i Kuds 7481 (*Ta'rikh-i Ṭabari*, Tehran 1345/1926-7), unfortunately has lacunae in many important passages relating to the *Khazars*. The mss. in the Bodleian at Oxford (Elliot 376, Fraser 131, Ouseley 249, Ouseley 360) and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Pers. 63, Pers. 162, Pers. Suppl. 162A, Pers. 163, Pers. 164) should be consulted. Important excerpts from Gardīzi are found in V. Bartol'd, *Otčet o poezdke v srednyuyu aziyu s naučnoy tsel'yu*, in *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk* viii/4 (1897), and in the collection *A magyar honfoglalás kútifői* ("Sources on the Hungarians of the Conquest Period), ed. and tr. Gy. Pauler, S. Szilágyi, Budapest 1900. The *Khazar* section of the Cambridge Ms. (King's College 213) of Gardīzi

is, regrettably, damaged and difficult to read; the Oxford Ms. (Bodleian, Ouseley 240), is probably derived from it and should be used. The Rus' chronicles (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisey*, i, *Lavrent'evskaya letopis'*, Moscow, reprint 1962, and ix, *Nikonovskaya Letopis'*, Moscow, reprint 1965) make occasional references to the *Khazars*.

Important collection of sources (texts, translations and commentaries are: Ch. Fraehn, *Ibn Foslan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älter Zeit*, St. Petersburg 1823; A. Ya. Garkavi (Harkavi), *Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisateley o slavyanakh i russkikh* ("The Accounts of Muslim Writers on the Slavs and Russians"), St. Petersburg 1870, and his *Skazaniya evreyskikh pisateley o khozarakh i khozarskom tsarstve* ("The Accounts of Jewish Writers on the *Khazars* and the *Khazar Kingdom*"), St. Petersburg 1874; A. Kunik - V. Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugikh autorov o Rusi i slavyanakh*, St. Petersburg 1878-1903, and the more recent F. Kupfer - T. Lewicki, *Zródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy* ("Hebrew Sources on the Hist. of the Slavs and some other Peoples of Central and Eastern Europe"), Wrocław-Warsaw 1956, and T. Lewicki, *Zródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, ("Arabic Sources for the Hist. of the Slavs"), i-ii/1, Wrocław-Cracow 1956-69; the latter is still in progress. An interesting discussion of the sources of the "Caspian Codex" can be found in B. N. Zakhoder's two-volume study *Kaspiyskiy svod svedeniy o vostochnoy evrope* (cited in text above). Analyses of specific problems of Arabic sources relating to Eastern Europe in general and *Khazar* problems can be found in J. Marquart, *Ein Arabischer Bericht über die arktischen Länder aus dem 10 Jh.*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, iv (1924); idem, *Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, ix (1929); T. Lewicki, *Ecrivains arabes du IX<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle traitant de l'ambre jaune de la Baltique et de son importation en pays arabes*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1962-3). S. G. Klyashornly, *Drevneyshee upominanie slavyan v nizhnem povol'ze* ("The Oldest Mention of the Slavs in the Lower Volga Region"), in *Vostochnie Istochniki*, ed. Tveritina (1964), i; A. P. Novosel'tsev, *Vostochnie istochniki o vostochnkh slavyanakh i Rusi VI-IX vv* ("Eastern Sources on the Eastern Slavs and Rus' VI-IX cents."), in *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezdunarodnoe znachenie* ("The Ancient Russian State and its International Significance"), ed. A. P. Novosel'tsev, V. T. Pashuto et al., Moscow 1965; F. Kmiotowicz, *The Term Rādāniya in the Work of Ibn Hurdādbek*, in *Folia Orientalia*, xi (1969).

The Hungarian scholar, K. Czeglédy, in addition to his important monograph (cited in the text) has contributed a number of very useful articles on various aspects of *Khazar* history and culture: *Egy bolgar török yltavar méltóságnev* ("The Bulghar Turkic title Yltavar"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xl (1944); *Egy kazár méltóságnev* ("A *Khazar* title"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xliii (1947); *A kazár kil-kel eredete* ("The Origin of *Khazar* kil-kel"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953); *Herakleios török szövetségesei* ("The Turkic Allies of Heraclius"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953); *Nyugati türk eredetű méltóságnevek* ("Titles of Western Türk Origin"), in *Névtudományi vizsgálatok* ("Onomastic Studies"), ed. S. Mikesy, Budapest 1955; *Khazar Raids in Transcaucasia in A.D.*

762-764, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xi (1960); *A korai kazár történelem forrásainak kritikaijához* ("A Critique of Contemporary Sources for the History of the *Khazars*"), in *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, nyelv-és irodalomtudományi osztályának közleményei* (Communications of the Linguistic and History of Literature Section of the Hung. Acad. of Sci.), xv (1960); *Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xiii (1961); ТЕРМАТЗОУС, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, x (1962). Hungarian interest in *Khazar* history, which was so intimately intertwined with their early history, has always been strong. Most major works dealing with early Hungarian history (i.e. prior to their occupation of Pannonia) have something to say regarding the *Khazars*. The collection of articles under the heading *A Magyarorság őstörténe* ("Hungarian Proto-History"), ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1943, contains valuable contributions dealing with *Khazar* and Hungaro-*Khazar* problems from Czeglédy and T. Halasi-Kun.

The *Khazar* problem has engendered a rather large specialised literature. Some of the more important articles are: H. H. Howorth, *The Khazars, were they Ugrians or Turks?*, in *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, St. Petersburg 1876; S. Patkanov, *Über das Volk der Sabiren*, in *Keleti Szemle*, i (1900); J. Thüry, *A Khazar isa méltóságnev* ("The *Khazar* title *Isha*"), in *Keleti Szemle* iii (1903); J. (Gy.) Moravcsik, *Proiskhozhenie slova Tzitzakion* ("The Origin of the word Tzitzakion), in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, iv (1913); V. Minorsky, *The Khazars and the Turks in the Ākām al-Marjān*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9); Gy. Németh, *A magyar népnév, a magyar törzsnév, a kazár népnév* ("The ethnonym Hungarian, Hungarian tribal names, the ethnonym *Khazar*"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xxxiv (1938); Z. V. Togan, *Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches im neunten Jahrhundert*, in *Korösi Csoma Archivum*, iii (1940); M. I. Artamonov, *Belaya Vezha*, in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, xvi (1952); H. Schönebaum, *Zur Kabarenfrage*, in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (BBA 5, 1957)*; M. I. Artamonov, *Sarkel-Belaya Vezha*, in *Trud' volgodonskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii, Material i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*, lxii (1958) (Works of the Volga-Don Archaeological Expedition, Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR); see also there the article of I. I. Lyapushkin, *Pamyatniki saltovo-mayatskoy kul'turi v basseyne r. Dona* ("Monuments of the Saltovo-Mayats Culture in the Don river basin"); N. Ya. Polovoy, *O marshrute pohloda russkikh na Berdaa i russko-Khazarshkikh otnosheniyaakh v 934 g.* ("On the Route of the Russian Campaign on Bardha'a and Russo-*Khazar* relations in 943"), in *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*, xxv (1961); T. Lewicki, 'Artsu', *Un nom de tribu énigmatique cité dans le lettre du roi Khazar Joseph (X<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, iii/1 (1962); O. Pritsak, *يوار Yowār und Καβαρ Kāwar*, in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxxvi (1965); P. B. Golden, *The Q'azaro-Hungarian Title ∞ Personal name يلك ~ 'Éllex* in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, i (1975); idem, *The People نوكرده*, in *ibid.*

On the Turkic runic script and inscriptions that



may have Khazar connections, see: A. M. Shčerbak, *Neskol'ko slov o priyomakh čteniya runičeskikh nadpisey, naydenykh na Donu* ("A Few Words about the Methods of Reading the Runic Inscriptions Found on the Don"), in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, xix (1954); idem, *Znaki na keramike i kirpičakh iz Sarkela-Beloy Vezhi* ("Signs on the Ceramics and Bricks from Sarkel-Bela Veza"), in *Materiali i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* ("Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR"), lxxv (1959); idem, *Les inscriptions inconnues sur pierres de Khoumara (au Caucase du Nord) et le problème de l'alphabet runique des Turcs Occidentaux*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xv (1962); Gy. Németh, *The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy-Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe*, in *Acta Linguistica*, xxi (1971).

In addition to some of the works cited in the text, there is a relatively large body of literature dealing with the history of the peoples and cultures of the Eurasian steppes which has a bearing on a number of problems of Khazar studies. The following is by no means exhaustive, but should provide a good guide to the study of the area as a whole: N. I. Ashmarin, *Bolgari i Čuvashi* ("The Bulgars and the Chuvash"), Kazan' 1902; Z. Gombocz, *Die Bulgarisch-Türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache*, in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, xxx (1912) (extremely important); J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in W. Bang and J. Marquart, *Ost-türkische Dialektstudien*, which appeared in the *Abh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), N.F., xiii (1914); Z. Gombocz, *Árpádkori török személynveinek* ("Our Turkic Personal names of the Árpád Period"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xi (1915); I. Berlin, *Istoričeskije sud'bi evrejskago naroda na territorii russkago gosudarstva* ("The historical Fate of the Jewish People in the Territory of the Russian State"), Petrograd 1920; V. V. Bartol'd (Barthold), *Mesto prikaspjiskikh oblastey v istorii musul'manskogo mira* ("The Place of the Caspian Region in the History of the Muslim World"), first appeared in Baku 1925, now republished in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya* ("Works"), ii/1, Moscow 1963; J. Moravcsik, *Zur Geschichte der Onoguren, in Ungarische Jahrbücher* x (1930) (important); C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, Cambridge 1930 (useful); F. László, *A kagán és családja* ("The Kaghan and his Family"), in *Körösí Csoma Archivum*, iii (1940) (important for understanding of the structure of Turkic states); P. Pelliot, *Quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples finissant en -ar*, in *Œuvres Posthumes*, ii, Paris 1949; O. Pritsak, *Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der Altaischen Völker, in Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxiv (1952) (very important); H. W. Haussig, *Theophylaktis Exkurs über die Skythischen Völker, in Byzantion*, xxiii (1953); G. Vernadsky, M. de Ferdinandy, *Studien zur ungarischen Frühgeschichte*, Munich 1957; G. Fehér, *Zur Geschichte der Steppenvölker von Südrussland 9-10 Jhr.*, in *Studia Slavica*, v (1959); K. V. Trever, *Ocerki po istorii i kul'ture kavkazskoy Albanii* ("Essays on the History and Culture of Caucasian Albania"), Moscow-Leningrad 1959; B. A. Vasil'ev, *Problema burtasov i mordva* ("The Problem of the Burtas and the Mordva"), in *Voprosi etničeskoy istorii mordovskogo naroda, Trudi instituta etnografii* ("Questions of the Ethnic History of the Mordvin people, Works of the Institute of Ethnography"), lxiii (1960);

A. P. Smirnov, *Železnij vek čuvashskogo povol'ž'ja*, in *Materiali i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* ("The Iron Age in the Chuvash Volga region, Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR"), xcv (1961); B. Ögel, *Islâmiyetten önce Türk kültür tarihi*, Ankara 1962 (useful survey of the archaeological material); V. F. Gening, A. Kh. Khalikov, *Rannie bolgari na Volge* ("The Early Bulgars on the Volga"), Moscow 1964 (important); G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965 (important study, contains detailed discussion of a number of Khazar words that appear in Persian sources); T. Halasi-Kun, *The Caucasus, an Ethno-Linguistic Survey, in Studia Caucasica*, i (1967); L. N. Gumilyov, *Drevnie Turki* ("The Ancient Türks"), Moscow 1967 (useful, but often fanciful study); Gy. Németh, *A Baskir földi magyar őshazdról* ("On the Ancient Hungarian Homeland in the Bashkir Country"), in *Élet és Tudomány*, xiii (1966) (brief, but very important); I. Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs*, The Hague-Wiesbaden 1967 (important, iconoclastic, but not always convincing); J. Wiesner, J. V. Farkas et al., *Die Kulturen der eurasischen Völker*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1968; A. Kollautz, H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes (Die Jou-jan der Mongolei und die Awaren in Mitteleuropa)*, Klagenfurt 1970 (important); A. N. Kurat, *IV-XVIII yüzyillarda karadeniz kuzeyindeki Türk kavimleri ve devletleri*, Ankara 1972 (brief, not always critical).

(W. BARTHOLD — P. B. GOLDEN)

**KHĀZIN** (A.), usual pl. *khazzān* (the pl. *khazāna* is found in the Qur'ān in XXXIX, 71, 73, etc. for the angels who guard Paradise and Hell), literally, "he who keeps safe, stores something away", a term of mediaeval Islamic administration for certain members of the financial departments (on which see BAYT AL-MĀL and, for Ottoman times, also KHĀZĪNE) and also of the chancery. It was used in 'Abbāsīd times, for there was prominent in the early 4th/10th century Mu'nis al-Khāzin (so-called in the sources to distinguish him from the commander of the guard Mu'nis al-Muzaffar [q.v.], an associate of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt's in a kind of regency council, *al-sādat*, set up when al-Muqtadir regained the throne in 296/908 after the failure of Ibn al-Mu'tazzi's putsch; Sourdel has suggested that Mu'nis may have been the treasurer of the personal revenues (*māl al-khass*) of the caliph (*Le vizirat 'abbāsīde*, ii, 387-8, 742). But the term *khāzin* could equally be used at this time for quite menial and lowly members of the caliphal household; in his detailing of the budget for 306/918-19, Hilāl al-Šābi' enumerates the wages of such servants as those who kept the stores of bedding (*khuzzān al-farash*) and the one who kept the supply of candles (*khāzin al-sham'*), these being classed with the attendants of the private chambers and the audience hall, the porters, etc. (*Wuzarā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Farājī, Cairo 1958, 23).

We have some information from treatises on finance and administration in Egypt about the term's usage there under the Fātimids, Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. According to Ibn al-Mammātī (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]), the *khāzin* was a secretary in the *Diwān al-Māl* who collected the taxes paid in kind (*ghallāt*) and stored them in the state granaries and warehouses, giving out receipts (*barā'āt* [see BARĀ'Ā.

ij) for these, and also securing the repayment (*mur-tādī'*) of advances to the cultivators of seed (*taḥāwī*); he kept an inventory of the holdings, for which he was strictly accountable, and then issued the produce when required (A.S. Cooper, *Ibn Mammātī's rules for the ministries: translation with commentary* of Qawanin al-Dawawin, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. thesis 1973, unpublished, 238, 244; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans L'Égypte médiévale*, in *JESHO*, v (1962), 269-70 (citing Makhzūmī); Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt, A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 160-1). An extension of this function of store-keeper is that of keeper of books or librarian (*khāzin al-kutub*), whose duties included the careful guarding of books and their issue only against pledges of the equivalent value (Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am wa-mubīd al-niḥam*, ed. Muḥ. 'Alī al-Nadīdīār et alī, Cairo 1367/1948, 111, and see further, KH127-N1).

However, the term was also used simultaneously in Egyptian administration for an official in the chancery or *Diwān al-Inshā'* who acted as registry clerk and archivist in the department. According to the *Kānūn diwān al-rasā'il* of Ibn al-Ṣayrafi (died 542/1147 [q.v.]), the head of the *Diwān* had under him seven secretaries for various specialist jobs plus two non-specialists, the *khāzin* and the *ḥāḍiḡib* or doorkeeper of the office. Whilst not required to possess the encyclopaedic knowledge of *adab* and of administrative procedures required of the *kātib*, the *khāzin* had to be a man of intelligence and the highest probity, for he kept the record of all incoming and outgoing chancery documents, placing copies of all letters sent out plus the originals of those received in a file or portfolio (*iqbāra*, pl. *aḍābir*) for each separate month. Hence if he was susceptible to corruption, he could easily abstract confidential documents, and Ibn al-Ṣayrafi accordingly states that "the guiding reins of the whole *diwān* are in his hands" (cited in Kaḷkaṣhandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, i, 135-6, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 22, 39, 89).

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHĀZIN, ABŪ DJA'FAR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-KHURĀSĀNĪ, astronomer and mathematician, originally from Khurāsān (not to be confused with al-Khāzinī [q.v.]). He was a protégé of Abu 'l-Faḡl Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 359/969-70), minister in Rayy of the Buwayhid Rukn al-Dawla (326-66/937-76), and died between 350/961 and 360/971.

Amongst his purely mathematical works, the *Fihrist*, 282, ed. Cairo 393, and Ibn al-Kifṭī, 396, ed. Cairo 259, cite a *Kiṭāb al-Masā'il al-'adadiyya* (now lost), whilst Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *K. Shakh al-ḥaṭṭā'* Istanbul 1891, 148-51, mentions the *Maḥālib al-djuz'iyya*, mayl al-muyūl al-djuz'iyya wa 'l-maḥālib fi 'l-kūra al-mustakāma, which contained a demonstration of the theorem of the sine for right-angled spherical triangles. According to the *Fihrist*, 266, ed. Cairo 371, he wrote a commentary on the *Elements* of Euclid, but the only part of this which survives, in several manuscripts, is the commentary on the opening of Book X. Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr, *Risāla fi taṣḥīḥ ma waḥa'a li-Abī Dja'far al-Khāzin min al-sahw fi xīdī al-ṣafā'ih*, in *Rasā'il Abī Naṣr ilā 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1948, 3, speaks of "his book on the *Elements* of geometry", and we know that he set forth a defective proof of the fifth postulate of Euclid;

ms. 1014 Leiden contains the reply of Abu 'l-Djūd Muḥammad b. al-Layṭh to a geometrical problem set out by al-Khāzin. Moreover, it was possibly our al-Khāzin who demonstrated, with a method closely connected with Hero's procedure in his *Dioptra*, the formula of this latter author for finding out the surface of a triangle as a function of its sides. By using conic sections, he resolved the so-called equation of al-Māhānī ( $x^3 + a^2b = c^2x$ ).

One of his best-known astronomical works is the *Zidj al-ṣafā'ih* (table of the plates of the astrolabe?), which he wrote for Ibn al-'Amīd (al-Bīrūnī, *Tahdīd nihāyat al-amākin*, in *RIMA*, viii (1962), 119-20); two brief chapters concerning astronomical instruments in ms. Berlin 5857 may conceivably belong to this work, which Ibn al-Kifṭī considered as the finest and most splendid on the subject. According to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 326, in this work the author adequately sets forth the theory of the trepidation of the equinoxes along an 8° arc. The same author, in an obscure passage of the *Tamhīd al-mustakarr li-taḥḥīḥ ma'nā 'l-mamarr* when he deals with the question of the transit in depth (comparison of the vector radii of two consecutive planets, each in relationship to its own maximum and minimum distance), states that al-Khāzinī dealt correctly with the problem in his *Zidj al-ṣafā'ih*, although he was mistaken in another, unspecified work; he also sets forth the criticisms levelled by al-Khāzin against Abū Ma'shar on this topic (*On transits*, tr. M. Safouri and A. Ifram, comm. by E. S. Kennedy, Beirut 1959, 85-7, 172). Abu 'l-Djūd Muḥammad b. al-Layṭh reproduces (ms. Leiden Or. 168 (4)) al-Khāzin's assertion in the *zidj al-ṣafā'ih* that he could calculate the chord of an angle of 1° provided that it were possible to trisect the angle. Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr devotes the *risāla* mentioned above to the correction of certain errors made by al-Khāzin in this work. It can accordingly be deduced that the *Zidj al-ṣafā'ih* included at least two *maḥālas*, together with a third one in which the author dealt with the following topics: a method for determining the ascendant, when the degree of the "midpoint of the heavens" was known but the oblique ascension was unknown (*R. fi taṣḥīḥ* . . . , 4-14); the way of determining the meridian when the degree of the sun is known (15-33); the determining of the azimuth of the *ḥizba* "by means of the instrument" (*bi 'l-āla* = astrolabe?, 33-9); the movement of the apogees (39-42); and in a spherical triangle, if the sides are known, the angles are also known, and vice-versa. This last topic was one of those about which he corresponded with Ibrāhīm b. Sinān (42-9).

Al-Khāzin also wrote a commentary on the *Almagest* in which he gave information about the value of the obliquity of the ecliptic (23°35') obtained by the Banū Mūsā at Baghdād in 254/868 (al-Bīrūnī, *Tahdīd*, 95), and also about the observations, likewise made at Baghdād in the year 212 of the Yazdigirdī era/844 A.D. by Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī, 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Ḥarrānī and Sanad b. 'Alī, in the course of which the length of the spring and summer was determined (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Kānūn al-mas'ūdi*, Hyderabad 1954, ii, 653; on this work, see also al-Ṭūsī, *Shakh al-ḥaṭṭā'*, 123). In another work, now lost and which had the title *Sirr al-'ālamīn*, al-Khāzin probably set forth his theory according to which the heavenly spheres are solid, and developed the earlier ideas of Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses*; this latter theory was later set forth by Ibn al-Hayṭham and al-Kharakī [qq.v.]. Al-Khāzin was furthermore the author of a *al-Madhkal al-kabīr ilā 'ilm al-nudjūm*,

in which were set forth two methods of determining the 'alāmāt Muḥarrām (sc. the day of the week corresponding to the 1st Muḥarrām in any given year, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 202-3). In an unspecified work, he tried to pin down exactly the date of the Jewish Passover in the year of Jesus's crucifixion (idem, *Kānūn*, i, 332). Finally, we know that in a *Kitāb fī 'l-ab'ād wa 'l-aḍrām*, he gave the diameters of stars between the first and the sixth magnitudes, but without specifying whether these calculations were his own personal ones or how he had arrived at them (*ibid.*, iii, 1312).

Al-Khāzin seems to have been an astronomer who made practical observations. He is associated with one or more determinations of the obliquity of the ecliptic; according to al-Bīrūnī, *Tahdīd*, 98, he was present when Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Harawī made his observations in 348/959, which gave the value  $\epsilon = 23^{\circ}40'$ . 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī also speaks of the determining of  $\epsilon$  made by al-Khāzin and a certain number of colleagues, by means of a circle ca. 4 m. (in diameter?), but does not mention any date or place; according to yet another source, al-Khāzin measured  $\epsilon$  at Edessa in 359/970. At all events, al-Khāzin and Ibrāhīm b. Sinān were both advocates of the idea of a progressive diminution of the obliquity of the ecliptic caused by the movement of its poles round "a point" (al-Bīrūnī, *Tahdīd*, 101). It is also of interest to mention that according to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 258-9, *Tahdīd*, 57-8, and *Kānūn*, 630-2, al-Khāzin wrote a *makāla* in which he put forward the idea of a solar model different from that of Ptolemy, and without having recourse to eccentrics or epicycles: viz., the sun goes round the centre of the universe in a path which is circular but moving with irregular speed, and a point situated on the line of the apsides and different from the centre of the universe is the centre of the uniform movement of the sun. This system finds its justification in the fact that, according to al-Khāzin, Ptolemy failed to observe any change in the apparent diameter of the sun in the course of the year. The same system was set forth by Henry of Hesse (1325-97) in his *De reprobatione eccentricorum et epiciclorum* (cf. Claudia Kren, in *Isis*, lix (1968), 269-81), but it is not easy to see any possible connection between the two authors. Finally, one may note that Ibn Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena*, tr. de Slane, i, III, tr. Rosenthal, i, 115, tr. Monteil, i, 114, gives al-Khāzin's determination of the latitudes corresponding to the seven climates.

*Bibliography*: in addition to the works cited in the article: Hādīdī Khalifa, i, 382, ii, 584-5, iii, 595, vi, 170; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 58; Brockelmann, S I, 387; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 664; Y. Dold-Samplonius, *al-Khāzin*, in *Dict. of Scientific Biography*, vii, New York 1973, 334-5; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 298-9; E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, Hildesheim 1970, 498, 503, 633; G. Jacob and E. Wiedemann, *Zu 'Omer-i-Chajjām*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 56 (al-Khāzin and the fifth postulate of Euclid); G. P. Matvievskaia, *Učenie o čisle na srednevekovom Bližnem i Srednei Vostoke*, Tashkent 1967 (ch. 6 studies the commentary of al-Khāzin on Book X of the *Elements*); H. Suter, *Über die Geometrie der Söhne des Mūsā ben Schākir*, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, Ser. 3, vol. iii/1 (1902), 271; M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages*, i (Madison 1964), 353 (both on al-Khāzin and Hero's formula); F. Woepcke, *L'Algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyāmī*, Paris 1851, 2-3 (al-Khāzin and al-

Māhānī's equation); Aydın Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960, 103-4 (al-Khāzin as an astronomical observer); J. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, Barcelona 1931, 50-2 (al-Khāzin and Ibn al-Layth). (J. SAMSÓ)

**KHAZĪNE** (A. *Khazina*), state treasury.

In Turkish, the word *khazine* acquired a meaning close to this at least in the 7th/13th century (*Taniklarile tarama sözlüğü*, Ankara 1967, iii, 1907) and it was widely used from the 9th/15th century onwards to mean "a place where official and/or private money, jewels and various valuables were kept" (Muḥṣafā 'Alī, *Mewā'id ül-nefā'is fī ḥawā'id ül-me'diālis*, Istanbul 1956, 117; Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraat ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*, i, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 370). The word in popular usage gradually took the form of *khazne*, and came to be used as a place for storing any kind of goods or for storing water (Aḥmed Wefīk, *Lehdje-i 'Othmāni*, Istanbul 1293, i, 547).

In Ottoman government organisation, the *khazine* was the place where the state's cash and resources were kept; hence there could be only one *khazine* in existence at the time the state organisation first developed. However, at a later stage of development, there were two treasuries, an inner (*enderün*) treasury and an outer (*birün, tashna*) treasury. The inner treasury was kept in the Harem section of the Palace, and was a reserve treasury; it was guarded by the Treasury Wardens (*khazine koghusu*) inaugurated by Sultan Meḥmed Fātiḥ and comprised at that time three officers (Aḥmed Refīk, *Fātiḥ devrine 'a'id wethikalar*, in *TOEM* (1339), 5); their number was increased to sixty at the end of the 10th/16th century. Both the inner and the outer treasuries were maintained by the body of treasurers, who were directed by a Head Treasurer (*Bash Khazinedār*). Between the years 933-4/1527-8 there were 10 officers, including the Head Treasurer, working in the inner treasury, and 9 people, including the head treasurer, employed in the outer treasury (Ö. L. Barkan, *H.933-934 (M. 1527-1528) mali yoluna ait bütçe örneği*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (Istanbul 1956), 309, 322). In the official and other documents of this time the term *khazine-i 'amire* denoted the principal, i.e. outer, state treasury (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 359-61, 363, 399).

The Inner Treasury was located near the guard room in the palace; during the middle years of the 11th/17th century it was managed by a group of about 110 officials, with a Head Treasurer and a Superintendent of the Treasury (*Khazinedār ket-khūdası*) as his assistant (Hezarfen Hüseyin Celebi, *Telkhiş al-beyān fī Kawānin-i 'Al-i 'Othmān*, ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, f. 18 b). In 1185/1772 there were 157 people with a Head Treasurer and an assistant Superintendent of the Treasury at their head (İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 316), whereas at the end of the 12th/18th century the Treasury was supervised by the Superintendent of the Treasury, with the head clerk of the Treasury under him; the seal of the Treasury was kept by the Superintendent of the Treasury and its key with the head clerk. When it was required to extract something from the Treasury, the Sultan's permission was obtained and it was opened in the presence of a number of clerks, the operation being registered on the spot and an entry being made in the main register. The officials working in the Treasury were under strict control, and could not fill their own pockets while working.

Thus at this time the supervision of the Treasury was done by the Superintendent and the *aghās* of the Treasury, whilst the requisitions upon and the stocks contained in the Treasury were recorded by the clerks of the Treasury (*Ta'riḫ-i 'Alā'*, i, 198, 199; for the stocks and a description of the Inner Treasury, see J. B. Tavernier, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Intérieur Séraï du Grand Seigneur*, Paris 1675, 109 ff.). After an Ottoman sultan came to the throne, he would go to the Treasury and inspect the deposits personally. This was an important ceremony, in which the interior palace personnel would take part, and the head clerk of the Treasury would present a register, showing details of the Treasury deposits, to the sultan before he entered the Treasury (Çelebi-zāde 'Aṣim, *Dhāyl-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, 19; *Ta'riḫ-i 'Alā'*, i, 254-6).

The Outer Treasury was under the management of the Head Treasurer, as a member of the Exchequer or *Khazīne-yi 'Amīre*, who was directly responsible to the *Defterdār* or Minister of Finance. The actual expenditure of the State was made from this Treasury. In 933-4/1527-8 there were in the *Khazīne-yi 'Amīre* 9 treasurers, under the *Defterdār*, 32 clerk and 23 apprentices, comprising respectively the *djāmā'at-i kātibān-i Khazīne-yi 'amīre* and the *djāmā'at-i shāgirdān-i Khazīne-yi 'amīre*, and who were attached to the various offices, such as those of the *rūznāmeđi* (the office in charge of financial transactions), the accounts office of Rumelia and that of Anatolia, etc. (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 324-6). In 975/1567-8 the clerks of the Exchequer numbered 30 (Barkan, *H. 954-955 (M. 1547-1548) mali yılına ait bir osmanlı bütçesi*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xix (Istanbul 1960), 330). However, not all of the state's wealth in cash was in the Treasury; for example the records of the 955/1548 budget show that the cash amounted to 36,021,027 *aḳḫes*, of which 25,021,027 *aḳḫes* were kept in the Treasury, and 11,000,000 *aḳḫes* were kept in the cellars of Yedikule; the silver and gold coins were mostly in purses, and other things were kept loose (Barkan, *ibid.*, 235); for the stocks of the Treasury in 975/1567-8, see 291). From the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, it became difficult for the Exchequer or *Khazīne-yi 'amīre*, that is the Exterior Treasury, to meet expenses, and it was therefore strengthened by transfers from the Inner Treasury. Such situations occurred at the time of military campaigns, and a memorandum was drawn up during the reign of Meḫemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603) showing that the practice of reinforcing the Outer Treasury from the Inner Treasury when there was difficulty in paying the troops dated from the time of Süleymān the Magnificent. However, Meḫemmed III came strongly to criticise his *Defterdār*, because there was not only cash being paid out from the Outer Treasury, but also, as was the case with the Inner Treasury the money intended for presents, such as robes of honour and ceremonial swords; these latter were if necessary also taken from the Inner Treasury (Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler; Telhisler (1597-1607)*, Istanbul 1970, 33-4, 109). These financial subsidies from the Inner to the Outer Treasury at times of crisis had to be returned later. In actual fact, the Inner Treasury had come into existence from the surplus of the Outer Treasury; in other words, the surplus income of the Outer Treasury was placed in reserve as an income from the Inner Treasury, and it was in turn obliged to meet the expenses of the Outer Treasury. For instance, the surplus of the annual income from Egypt formed

the income of the Inner Treasury; likewise when there was surplus money in the Outer Treasury, it was transferred to the Inner Treasury in order to prevent excessive expenditure. The other sources for the income of the Inner Treasury came from the customs of Baghdād and the estates of those dying without heirs. (Rāshid, *Ta'riḫ*, Istanbul 1282, i, 359-60; Flndkllll Meḫmed Agha, *Silahdār Ta'riḫi*, ed. Aḫmed Refik, Istanbul 1928, ii, 306; *Ta'riḫi Sāmi Shākir Şubḫi*, Istanbul 1198, 43a; also see Halil Sahilliođlu, *Siviş year crises in the Ottoman Empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970, 242 ff.).

The annual income of a province sent to the capital was also called *Khazīne*. For example, the money sent from Egypt was called the *Irsāliyye Khazīnesi* or Forwarding Treasury (see S. J. Shaw, *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt 1005-1006/1596-1597*, 1968, 13-14). The various provinces of Rumelia and Anatolia also sent the surplus of local income to the capital, and the amount sent was termed *Khazīne*, such as the Treasury of Baghdād, the Treasury of Erzurum, etc. However, when the budget of a province was overstrained by political disturbance or war, with more troops under arms than the province could support, the deficit would be met by a supplementary *Khazīne* sent out from Istanbul or from the neighbouring provinces (Sahilliođlu, *Osmanlı idaresinde Kıbrıs'ın ilk yılı bütçesi*, in *TTK, Belgeler*, iv (Ankara 1969), 2-4; for the subsidies sent from Istanbul to certain provinces, and from the provinces to Istanbul in 1213/1798, see Halis Cinliođlu, *Osmanlılar zamanında Tokat*, Tokat 1951, 16). Moreover, the taxes collected in a province were also called a "treasury"; at the same time, the financial office which assumed the responsibility for this was termed "the provincial treasury" (*vülayet khazīnesi*). The use of the word "treasury" in this way indicates that it was used as the equivalent of "finance" in general or of the financial department (*defterdārlik*). For example, tax policy in Aleppo was determined according to the registers kept in "the treasury of Aleppo", that is, in the finance office (Barkan, *Kamunlar*, 142, 209).

The money brought to the *Khazīne-i 'amīre* was examined by the official in charge of weighing and assaying (*wezẗān*, *weznedār*), who decided whether there was any spurious coinage and whether the total was correct. The money put into or taken out of the treasury was registered and recorded by the clerks sitting in a row behind the *defterdārs*, and at their side were the weighers and assayers, who would count and fix the value of the money. The equipment of the latter included braziers and an iron oven, as well as scales and balances. After being weighed, the money would be put into bags and these bags would be taken to the treasury which was beside the assembling room before the *Divān-i Humāyūn* (J. Chesneau, *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Araman*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, 237-8; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 369-70).

The word "treasury" gradually came to be used from the end of the 10th/16th century onwards with a more diffused meaning in Ottoman usage. Thus the collected monies set apart for the supplying of a fortress garrison (e.g. that of Egri in 1011/1602) was called a "treasury" (see Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 39-41, 43, 52). In time of war, the money required for every kind of the soldiers' needs, and the state treasury containing the treasury registers were sent along with the army under the title of the "army treasury" (*Ordu Khazīnesi*). The army treasury was transported

in chests on camels, and was kept under the guard of Janissary cavalrmen in the Treasury tent at halting places. It was therefore necessary that the *defterdârs* should accompany the Sultan and the Grand Vizier on campaigns, taking with them the treasury registers in order to record the daily expenditure in detail. The treasury registers, together with the army treasury, were kept in the Treasury tent (Feridün Bey, *Münşe'ât al-selâim*, İstanbul 1274, i, 589-90; Na'îmâ, *Ta'rikkh*, İstanbul 1280, i, 94; cf. Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha, *Nusret-nâme*, simplified version by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, İstanbul 1962-4, i, 171, 281, 294, 299-300). In order to give an idea of the size of the army treasury, one may note that there were 26 trains of camels assigned to carry the treasury for the army commanded by the Vizier Lâlâ Muştafâ Paşa during the Persian campaign of 986/1578 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, no 232, p. 397).

The Interior Treasury was still richer in money and goods than the *Khazine-i 'Amire* at the end of the 12th/18th century. Even at this period, there was very little aid given from the inner treasury to the *Khazine-i 'Amire* or Outer Treasury, except in time of wars and financial crises. Nevertheless, these subsidies were credits and were returnable, as was the case in earlier times. In times of crisis, confiscation was often resorted to whenever the state treasury was in financial straits; these confiscations were usually of the wealth of officials, see Cavid Baysun, *IA*, art. *Müsadere*.

The losses of territory by the state during the various wars necessitated a reorganisation of the inner and outer treasuries. The need to find a new source of income led to the foundation of the "new receipts treasury", *irâd-i djedîd khazinesi*. Some sources of income were assigned to the new treasury, and whenever there was an annual surplus of more than 10 purses from the income of the state lands and the *Haramayn*, it was also transferred to this treasury. The "new receipts treasury" consequently grew richer than the state treasury, which was deprived of some of its income, so that further reorganisation became necessary (*Djewdet*, *Ta'rikkh*, İstanbul 1309, vi, 272-3; 'Âşîm, *Ta'rikkh*, ii, 356). The "new receipts treasury" continued its existence, despite its ups and downs, during the reign of Selim III (see Enver Ziya Karal, *III. Selimin Hatt-ı Humayunları*, Ankara 1946, 89, 92-3), but it was abolished after he was deposed (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Hattı Humayun Vesikalari, no. 19418). As a result, part of the "new receipts treasury" 's income was stopped and the rest transferred to the treasury of the mint, the *darbhâne-yi 'amire khazinesi*, which was a branch of the inner treasury. Thus state expenditure was met, as before, from the state treasury, and the surplus income was transferred to the inner treasury, the latter once more serving as a reserve treasury giving subsidies to the outer treasury in times of war or crisis. In the 19th century, changes began to be made in the Ottoman financial system. From 1820 onwards, about 15 of the Anatolian *sandjaks* began to be governed by lieutenant-governors or *müesellims*, without the appointment of provincial governors or *wâlîs*, and of *mutaşarrıfs* in the *sandjaks*, and the income assigned to the *wâlîs* and *mutaşarrıfs* was registered as income to the *muşkâfa'a* treasury, which was the treasury for the *nizâmîyye* or new army. After the abolition of the Janissary corps and the *timâr* system, the financial department was in 1834 divided into two, the *khazine-yi 'amire*, and the

*manşûra khazinesi*, which supervised the income and expenditure of the Imperial army (*mühimme-yi 'askeriyye*). At the death of Mahmûd II in 1255/1839, there were the *khazine-yi 'amire* and exchequers for the *muşkâfa'a*, the munitions manufacture (*bârûd-khâne*), the *awkağ*, the *Haramayn* and the *zahire* in existence. With the establishment of separate ministries and government offices, it appears that branches of the treasury such as the dockyard, the arsenal, the kitchen, the *zahire* and the *Haramayn* acquired a more definite shape. Each one of these branches of the treasury had an *emin* or superintendent, and a treasury assistant (*ketkhüdâ*) (Muştafâ Nûri Paşa, *Netâyi'di ül-wukû'ât*, İstanbul 1329, iv, 114-5, 118).

Formerly there was a special imperial treasury (*djeyb-i humâyûn khazinesi*) for the private expenditure of the sovereign, and then in 1839 the office of the Sultan's privy purse (*Khazine-yi khâssa dâ'iresi*), in charge of the palace income and expenditure, was established. Because the property owned by the ruler was at this time all transferred to the state treasury, this office, which was made into a ministry, looked after the part of the estates and property left to the sovereign on condition of paying tax. The ministry of the *Khazine-yi Khâssa* continued in existence until 1908.

The Ministry of Finance was founded on 28th February 1838 and the financial matters, which were then in chaos, were more centralised. During the first months of 'Abd al-Medjîd's reign, the Finance Ministry was abolished and divided into the financial department of the exchequer (*nezâret-i khazine-yi 'amire defterdârîgh*) and that of the *muşkâfa'a* treasury, but the Ministry of Finance was re-established in 1840 (Mehmed Thüriyyâ, *Nukhbet ül-wekâyi*, İstanbul 1298, i, 48-9, 63, 72).

In 1871 it was decided to divide the ongoing expenditure into two headings for the annual budget (*devletîñ muvâzane defteri*), the first was for specified and private expenditure for every government office, and the other was for the general expenditure incurred in the Ministry of Finance. For the first heading, there were included the Sultan's privy purse, the military treasury, the treasury of the dockyards for naval expenditure, the appropriation for the salaries of judges and *Shari'a* matters, the *awkağ* treasury, the appropriation for internal domestic affairs, the appropriation for foreign affairs, the financial appropriation for the finance organisation abroad, the appropriation for trade and public works, and the appropriation for public education. Apart from the privy purse treasury or *khazine-yi khâssa*, every ministry and office was required to submit a register in the following year showing its annual expenditure and the payments for unexpected outlays which had been taken from the financial treasury (*mâlîyye khazinesi*) for details, see *Dustûr*, 1st Series, İstanbul 1289, ii, 70 ff.); the provinces were also to submit a budget and send the registers of balance, which they had prepared, to the financial treasury.

*Bibliography*: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 362 ff.; Kâtib Çelebi, *Dustûr ül-'amel*, İstanbul 1280, 133-5; Thos. Thornton, *The present state of Turkey*, London 1809, ii, 3-4, 46; Muştafâ Kesbî, *'İbret-nümâ-yi devlet*, Ali Emiri kütüphanesi, *Tarih kısmı*, no. 484, ff. 61b-62a; M. Belin, *Essais sur l'histoire économique*

de la Turquie, Paris 1864; Henry Granville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'empire Ottoman*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 34; Defterdār Mehmed Pasha, *Neşâyih ül-ümerâ ve'l-wuzerâ*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1939, 46-62; W. Eton, *A survey of the Turkish empire*, London 1799, 39 ff., 50 ff.; P. Rycart, *The present state of the Ottoman empire*, London, 1668, 36, 57; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1950-7, i/1, 78, 128, 136, 149, i/2, 9-10; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, repr. 1963, ii, 25-6, 168 ff.; M. Baudier, *Histoire générale du Serrail et de la Cour du Grand Seigneur des Turcs*, Paris 1632, 96 ff.; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarihi deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, i, 785-94; A. du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie depuis le règne du Sultan Mahmud II jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1903; L. Fekete, *Die SİYĀqat-schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955, i, 98-101. See also Khidr İlyās, *Leḥâ'if-i Enderûn*, Istanbul 1276; the author was educated in the palace and worked in the treasury, and in his book mentions occasionally the workings of the *enderûn* treasury during the period 1812-30. (C. ORHONLU)

AL-KHĀZINĪ, ABU 'L-FATH 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN (OR ABŪ MANŞŪR 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN OR ABŪ 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN MANŞŪR), astronomer and physician who lived in Persia at the opening of the 6th/12th century. He is occasionally confused with Ibn al-Haytham, al-Khāzinī and other authors bearing similar names and writing on the same topics. He was in origin a young Greek slave of 'Alī b. Muḥammad, treasurer of the court in Marw; his master took it upon himself to give him the best possible education, but we have virtually no biographical details, and we merely know that he was a man of austere morality, that he had some pupils and that he enjoyed the patronage of the Salḍjūk sultan Sandjār b. Malik-Shāh (511-52/1117-57).

He wrote the following works: (1) *al-Zīdī al-mu'tabar al-sandjārī al-sultānī*, astronomical tables dedicated to Sandjār and based on his personal observations, of which he made a résumé in 525/1130. These were utilised, either directly or indirectly, by the Byzantine scholars George Chrysococces (in Trebizond, ca. 1335-46) and Theodore Melitenotes (in Constantinople, ca. 1360-88). In the contents of these works one always finds the ephemerides of the pseudo-planet Kayd. (2) *Risāla fī 'l-ālāt* (or *al-ālāt al-'adība al-raṣadiyya*) on astronomical instruments. (3) *K. Mizān al-hikma*, written in 515/1121. This is a basic work on the hydrostatic balance, whose varieties are classified here according to the number of scales or pans; there is a defective but useful edition of Hyderabad 1359/1940. It comprises eight discourses (*maqālas*) divided into chapters (*bābs*) and subdivided into sections (*faṣls*), and contains a series of theorems deriving from the classic works of Archimedes, Euclid and Menelaus; it describes the areometer of Pappus; it uses frequently the works of Muslim predecessors like Thābit b. Qurra, Abū Sahl al-Kūhī, al-Asfizārī, al-Rāzī, 'Umar Khayyām, and above all, al-Bīrūnī, whose picnometer it describes; it touches upon traditional problems, like the determining of the law of alloys or the well-known one of the chess-board (calculation of a geometrical progression); and it explains the use of proportions and above all describes al-Khāzinī's hydrostatic balance [see *mīzān*] which was superior in its accuracy to all those constructed by his predecessors. The concept of weight which emerges from his work stems clearly from Archimedes, and

according to his definition (1, l. 1) it is the force inherent in solid bodies which causes them to move, of their own accord, in a straight line towards the centre of the earth and towards this centre alone; this force, in turn, depends upon the density of the body. Al-Khāzinī also has some idea of the influence of temperature on density, and his tables of specific weights are in general correct.

*Bibliography*: Brockelmann, S I, 902; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii/1, 216; Suter, 122 (no. 293), 226; Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, Lahore 1935, 161-2. There is a basic study by R. E. Hall, in *Dictionary of scientific biography*, vii, New York 1973, 335-51, s.v. Amongst the works mentioned above, only the *Mizān al-hikma* has been edited (Hyderabad 1359/1940 and Cairo 1947); see on it N. Khanikoff, *Analysis and extracts of Kitāb mizān al-hikma... by al-Khāzinī in the twelfth century*, in *JAOS*, vi (1859), 1-128, and E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, indices. (J. VERNET)

AL-KHĀZIR, a right-bank affluent of the Greater Zāb river [see *ZĀB*], which drains the *kūra* of Nakhlā, to the east of Mawṣil; locally, it is called Barīshū. It was on the banks of this river that there took place, on 10 Muḥarram 67/6 August 686, a decisive battle between Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Ashṭar [*q.v.*] and 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]. After having suffered a defeat at 'Ayn Warda [*q.v.*], 'Ubayd Allāh made for 'Irāk with his army, but was intercepted by the forces of Ibn al-Ashṭar, who was fighting in the name of al-Mūkhṭār [*q.v.*]. According to tradition, 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who commanded the right (or left?) wing of Ibn Ziyād's army, wished to get vengeance for the defeat suffered at Marḍī Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] by the tribes of Muḍar. Since he had formerly been Ibn al-Ashṭar's secretary, he met the latter secretly and betrayed his own leader. Thanks to this act of treachery, Ibn al-Ashṭar defeated Ibn Ziyād, who was killed in the fighting together with several other Syrian leading figures. Another battle of very minor importance took place at Ma'rūba on the banks of the Khāzīr in 293/905-6, see Canard, *H'amdaniides*, 342.

*Bibliography*: Yāqūt, s.v.; Ṭabarī, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdjī*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1353/1938, 1012-13; see also KALB B. WABARA, 'UBAYD ALLĀH B. ZIYĀD. (ED.)

KHAZNADĀR, KHĀZINDĀR, variants of *khizānadār*, "Keeper of the treasury" in Mamlūk usage. It is a compound of Arabic *khizāna*, meaning treasury, and Persian *dār*, meaning keeper; according to Kaḷkaṣḥandī (*Subḥ*, v, 463) "fast-talking scribes" transferred the *alif* from the second to the first syllable and dropped the *tā'* *marbūṭa* from *khizāna*, thereby producing *khāzindār*, which is the form found most frequently in Mamlūk texts.

According to Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Nudjūm*, Cairo, vii, 183-4) the *khizānadār* was one of several offices that Sultan Baybars al-Bunduqḍārī either introduced or transformed, assigning them to military personnel. In addition to the *khāzindār*, these included the *dawādār*, *amīr akḥūr*, *sarākhūr*, *sukāt*, *dīmadārīyya*, *ḥudūdīyāb*, *ru'ūs al-nuwāb*, *amīr silāh*, *amīr madjilis* and *amīr shikār*. The context in which this passage occurs would suggest that Baybars made these innovations under the influence of Mongol practice. During the Fātimid period this official was called *ṣāhib bayt al-māl*, according to Kaḷkaṣḥandī (iii, 481).

Although the term was used in Mamlūk times for any person who served as keeper of treasuries—to the caliph, for example, or to an *amīr*—it refers in par-

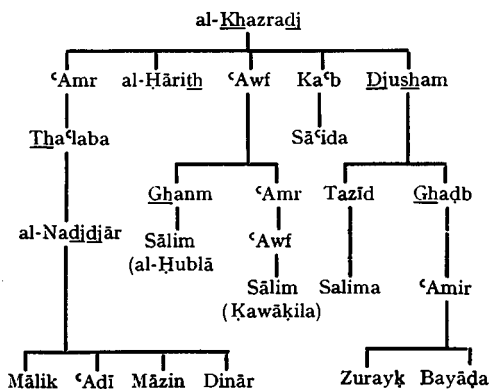
ticular to the officer who acted in this capacity for the Mamlūk sultan in Cairo. Originally the office was given to an *amir* of forty, but later was upgraded and was filled by an *amir* of one hundred. The office ranks as twelfth among the twenty-five positions listed by Kalkashandī as reserved for military personnel in attendance on the sultan. Furthermore, the *khāzindār* was almost certainly overshadowed by the civilian *nāzīr al-khāṣṣ*, who, during his heyday in the Bahrī period, often exercised almost complete control over the sultan's financial affairs. The primary duties of the *khāzindār* were custodianship of the sultan's treasuries (cash and otherwise) and distribution of gifts on certain ceremonial occasions. These duties were at times divided among three keepers. The *khāzindār al-ṣiṣf* was responsible for the sultan's precious fabrics (brocades, embroideries, silks), gold saddlery, and furs; this official worked in conjunction with the *nāzīr al-khāṣṣ*. The *khāzindār al-ʿayn* had custody of the sultan's jewels; since these were kept in the harem, this functionary was a eunuch. The *khāzindār al-kis* was responsible for distributing alms to the needy during royal processions and to the sultan's guests on ceremonial occasions. In Damascus the viceroy appointed four eunuch *amirs* as *khāzindāriyya*; they were responsible for the royal robes of honour and other gifts stored there.

In Ottoman Egypt, the *khāzinedār* was in charge of the Imperial Treasury, and variants of this title were given to similar officials elsewhere in the Ottoman empire. *Khāzīnadār* and *khāzīnadār* were also used as titles for officials in India under the Dihlī sultans and the Mughals.

*Bibliography:* M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, lx-lxi; Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *Nuḍjūm*, Cairo vii, 182-6; Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 481, iv, 20, 21, 186, 191, v, 92, 457, 462-3; I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Mughul empire*, Karachi 1966, 235; idem, *The administration of the sultanate of Delhi*, Lahore, 1944, 65; Stanford J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton 1962, index. (D. P. LITTLE)

**KHAZNADĀR**, MUṢṬAFĀ [see MUṢṬAFĀ **KHAZNADĀR**].

**AL-KHAZRADJĪ**, one of the two main Arab tribes in Medina. With the other tribe, al-Aws [q.v.], it formed the Banū Qayla in pre-Islamic times and the Anṣār [q.v.] or "helpers" (sc. of Muḥammad) under Islam. The ancestors of al-Khazradjī are given under al-Aws. The following are the main subdivisions of the tribe:



Al-Khazradjī and al-Aws settled together in Yathrib or Medina after leaving the Yemen, and for a time were subordinate to the Jews there. The

leader in gaining independence from the Jews was Mālik b. al-ʿAḍlān of the clan of Sālim (Kaʿwākila) of al-Khazradjī. It is doubtful, however, whether at this time al-Khazradjī was thought of as a unity, for the effective units seem to have been certain subdivisions, which may be called "clans". It was groups of these which were involved in the feuds in Medina before the *hidjra*. In the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, 341-4) there is no mention of al-Khazradjī but only of its five clans: al-Nadīdjār, al-Hārith, ʿAwf, Sāʿida and Dījusham.

In the period before the *hidjra*, one of the prominent men among al-Khazradjī was ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāda. He gained some advantages over the neighbouring clan of Zurayk, and later appears to have been involved along with al-Hārith in fighting against some clans of al-Aws. Hostilities increased until about 617 there took place the battle of Buʿāth [q.v.] in which ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān with support from al-Nadīdjār and some nomads defeated various groups of Awsīs and others under Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk. Both leaders were killed. Two important Khazradjīs, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy of B. al-Ḥublā and ʿAmr b. Dījamūh of Salima, were neutral at this period. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [q.v.] hoped, before the coming of Muḥammad, that he might have become "king" of Medina.

The Khazradjīs seem to have been more numerous and more enthusiastic Muslims than the Awsīs; 10 at the first ʿAḳaba agreement as against 2; 62 at the second ʿAḳaba agreement as against 11; 9 *nukabāʾ* as against 3; 175 men at Badr as against 63; 228 women named by Ibn Saʿd as against 121.

Khazradjī poets included Hassān b. Thābit of Maghāla of al-Nadīdjār [q.v.], Kaʿb b. Mālik of Salima [q.v.] and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa of al-Hārith [q.v.]. Many descendants of the last were later found in Spain. During the Umayyad period, the Khazradjīs mostly supported the ruling dynasty, but al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, governor of Ḥims, threw in his lot with ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr.

*Bibliography:* al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, Cairo 1908, i, 116-40 (also Beirut 1971, i), summarised in F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, Göttingen 1860, 32-40; idem, *Khulāṣat al-Wafāʾ*, Mecca 1316; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 492-511; J. Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin 1889, iv/1; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, 646-90; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 151-71. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**AL-KHAZRADJĪ**, DĪYĀʾ AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUTHMĀN AL-MĀLIKĪ AL-ĀNDALUSĪ, the author of a long poem which contains a versified treatise on Arabic metrics. This poem, entitled *al-Rāmīza al-Shāfiyya fi ʿilmay al-ʿarūd wa ʿl-kāfiyya*, is popularly known as *al-Kaṣīda al-Khazradjīyya*.

The *Khazradjīyya* is a didactic poem of 96 verses composed in *ṭawīl* metre containing the essence of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad's theory of metrics, and was thus originally meant to be learnt by heart. Many manuscript versions of this work have been preserved, but nevertheless almost nothing is known about the author. He is mentioned by Ḥādīdī Khālifa (see bibliography), who gives no information however concerning his life, but he appears to have been active during the 7th/13th century in the western regions of Islam. His work became widely known in the East as a result of numerous commentaries which appeared subsequently.

In the West, the interest of orientalists in the *Khazradjīyya* seems not to be justified by the rather



small intrinsic value of the poem concerned, it being only one of many similar compilations of the theory of Arabic metrics (see the list of similar works from the 4th/10th until the 12th/18th century in 'ARŪḌ). The acquaintance of western orientalisks with the *Khazradjiyya* can be ascribed to the early text edition by Ph. Guadagnoli in his *Breves Arabicae linguae institutiones* (Rome 1642), 286-329, and the much later edition an translation by R. Basset in his *La Khazradjiyah* (Algiers 1902), which unfortunately contains many inaccuracies and printing errors which are not always corrected. Basset in the Introduction to his edition (*La Khazradjiyah*, VII) wrongly assumes the author of the *Khazradjiyya* to be identical with a certain Diyā' al-Dīn al-Khazradjī al-Sā'idi mentioned by al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, Leiden 1871, i, 590).

Concerning the contents of the poem one may observe the following. If one compares one of the earliest known versified treatises dealing with metrics, for example that of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 328/940) in his *al-'Iḍā' al-farīd* (Cairo 1305, iii, 146 ff.) with al-Khazradjī's poem, then it becomes clear that there is no essential difference in the subjects treated, which together form the theory of Arabic metrics ('*arīd*). However, apart from this general identity in subjects treated, the *Khazradjiyya* is distinguished by its extensive use of separate Arabic letters, these either serving as abbreviations to denote various rhythmic feet (represented by mnemonic words, like *fa'ūlun*, *majā'ūlun* etc.), or—in their numerical values—as numbers indicating the different metres (*ṭawīl*, *madīd*, etc.). Accordingly, this method of treating the theory of metrics made the use of commentaries indispensable for a better understanding of the text.

The contents of the *Khazradjiyya* can be summarised as follows: Vv. 1-2 definitions of metres and rhythmic feet; 3-9 the syllables as formative elements in a rhythmic foot; 10-12 the circles which al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad invented for his graphic representation of the Arabic metres, and the 16 metres contained in al-Khalīl's circles; 13-17 general definitions; 18-24 simple and complex elision (*ziḥāf*); 25-51 exhaustive treatment of all possible changes in rhythmic feet; 52-79 application of the rules given in vv. 25-51 to certain well known verses in particular; 80-96 a discussion on rhyme (*kāfiyya*) and all possible deficiencies of rhyme.

In conclusion, some commentaries on the *Khazradjiyya* are mentioned below in chronological order: Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Ṣharīf al-Andalusī al-Sabtī al-Ḡharnāfī, d. 760/1359 (Brockelmann I, 312, S I, 545); Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Marzūq al-Khaṭīb al-Tilimsānī, d. 781/1379 (Brockelmann, II, 239, S II, 335); Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Fattūh al-Ṣanhādī al-Zammūrī, his commentary finished in 816/1413 (Brockelmann, I, 312, S I, 545); Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, d. 827/1424 (Brockelmann, II, 26, S II, 21); Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī al-Bastī al-Ḳalaṣādī, d. 891/1486 (Brockelmann, II, 266, S II, 378, does not mention his commentary, but al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 936 does); Abū Dja'far Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Balawī al-Ḡharnāfī, his commentary finished in 908/1502 (neither he himself nor his work mentioned by Brockelmann, but mentioned in Hādīdī Khalīfa ed. Flügel, iv, 203); and Zayn al-Dīn Zakariyā' al-Anṣārī al-Samaykī al-Ṣhāfi'ī, d. 926/1520 (Brockelmann II, 100, S II, 117). In addition to the above-mentioned works, other commentaries exist: see lists in Brockelmann, I, 312, S I, 545. Bibliographical details of editions of commentaries can be found

in the Introduction of Basset's *La Khazradjiyyah*.

*Bibliography*: Hādīdī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 340, iv, 201, 203, 536; G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 37-38. Editions of the *Khazradjiyya* (in addition to the works by Guadagnoli and Basset mentioned in the article): *Maḳīmū' min muḥimmāt al-mutūn*, Cairo 1328/1910, 505-13; edition and commentary by al-Damāmīnī, with a second commentary added in the margin by Zakariyā' al-Anṣārī, Cairo 1323/1905. (P. SMOOR)

AL-KHAZRADJĪ, MUWAFFAḲ AL-DĪN ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. AL-ḤASAN AL-KHAZRADJĪ AL-ZABĪDĪ, called IBN WAHHĀS, South Arabian historian who wrote under the Turkish Rasūlid dynasty [q.v.] in the Yaman, d. late 812/early 1410 aged over 70.

The biographical dictionaries give virtually nothing on his life, except that Sakhāwī states that he met him in Zabīd and that his ancestor Ibn Wahhās had been praised for his learning by the commentator Zamakhsharī. According to Hādīdī Khalīfa, *Khazradjī* wrote three histories of the Yaman, impelled, so he says, by the prevailing disregard for the study of history. One was in annalistic form, apparently *al-'Asḍiād al-masbūk wa'l-zabarjad al-mahkūk fi man waliya al-Yaman min al-mulūk*. One dealt with events dynasty by dynasty, *al-Kifāya wa'l-'islām fi man waliya al-Yaman wa-sakanahā fi 'l-Islām*, of which the best-known part is *al-'Uḳūd al-lu'lu'iyya fi akhbār al-dawla al-rasūliyya* (ed. and tr. Sir J. W. Redhouse and Ṣhaykh Muḥ. 'Asal, GMS, iii, Leiden-London 1906-18). This is for earlier times very much a compilation, drawing on authors like Bahā' al-Dīn al-Djanādī and his *K. al-Sulūk*. The fulsome eulogies in it of the Rasūlids, and its comparatively late date, have led G. R. Smith to compare it unfavourably as a source for Rasūlid history with the earlier historian of the Yaman Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Hātīm al-Hamdānī, who wrote ca. 694/1295 the *K. al-Sim' al-ghālī al-thaman fi akhbār al-mulūk min al-Ḡhuzz bi 'l-Yaman* (see GAL I, 394). A further point of significance is the virtual identity of *Khazradjī*'s *al-'Uḳūd al-lu'lu'iyya* with the *Fākihāt al-zaman... fi akhbār man malaka al-Yaman* of the Rasūlid monarch al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismā'īl b. al-'Abbās (778-803/1377-1400); it is difficult to tell which of the two was written first, see Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, cols. 406-10, and GAL S II, 236-7. The third one was in biographical dictionary form, complementing Djanādī's work, compiled at the behest of al-Malik al-Ashraf, and called *Tirāz al-'lām al-zaman fi ṭabaḳāt a'yān al-Yaman* or *al-'Iḳd al-fākhīr al-ḥasan fi ṭabaḳāt akābir ahl al-Yaman*. Kaḥḥāla further mentions a local history of Zabīd and Aden, the *Mir'āt al-zaman fi ta'riḫh Zabīd wa-'Adan*, and *Khazradjī*'s poetry was also collected into a *diwān*.

*Bibliography*: Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, v, 210; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāi*, vii, 98-9; Hādīdī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 159, ed. Cairo, i, 310; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'ḍjam al-mu'allifīn*, vii, 61-2; Ziriklī, *al-'A'lām*, v, 83-4; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, pp. xv-xviii; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden 1968, 312, 443, 485-6; G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and Rasūlids—the transfer of power in 7th/13th century Yemen*, in IC, xliii (1969), 175-88; M. L. Bates, *Yemen and its conquest by the Ayyūbids of Egypt (A.D. 1137-1202)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 23-5. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHAZRADJIYYA. [See AL-KHAZRADJĪ.]

KHAZZ [See ḤARĪR]